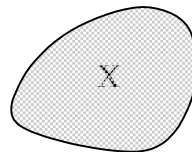


August 8, 2007

Handout 3

Cont. Handout 2: more on *drum rum*

- (i) a. **Um den Baum** hat er die Stühle **drum rum** gestellt.
around this tree aux he the chairs DRUM RUM put
- b. **Um den Baum drum rum** hat er die Stühle gestellt.
- c. ??**Um den Baum rum** hat er die Stühle **drum** gestellt.
- d. ***Um den Baum drum** hat er die Stühle **rum** gestellt.
- (ii) a. Das ist der Baum, **um den** er die Stühle **drum rum** gestellt hat.
'That's the tree around which he put the chairs.'
- b. ?Das ist der Baum, **um den drum rum** er die Stühle gestellt hat.
- c. ??Das ist der Baum, **um den rum** er die Stühle **drum** gestellt hat.
- d. *Das ist der Baum, **um den drum** er die Stühle **rum** gestellt hat.
- drum rum* is not always possible: *drum* is excluded, if the PP refers to a place that is attained as a result of going in an around-path, but where the 'around path' does not also define the region itself:
- (iii) a. Sie ist um die Ecke (*drum) rum gelaufen.
she is around the_{ACC} corner (*DR-around) R-around run.
'She ran around the corner.'
- b. Der Laden ist gleich um die Ecke (*drum) rum.
The store is just around the_{ACC} corner (*DR-around) R-around run.
'The store is just around the corner.'
- Presence of *um ... rum* shows that *um* is both Mod_{PLACE} and Mod_{PATH}
 - '[+def]-R_{PLACE}' in the case of *um* entails (either stationary or dynamic):



*À to zu***O Preliminaries**

Talmy (1985 ...)

- Germanic languages conflate Motion and Manner in the verb root ('satellite languages')
- Romance and Japanese-type languages conflate Motion and Path in the verb root

- (1) a. The girl danced into the room.
 b. La fille est entrée dans la pièce en dansant.
 the girl aux entered in the room by dancing

Higginbotham (2000):

- English has "accomplishment" prepositions (P with two event positions; *into/ onto*)
- English permits telic pair formation with locational Ps (*it floated under the bridge*),
- Spanish, Italian, Japanese etc. lack both these objects/processes.

Folli (2002)

- Italian and French have some 'accomplishment' prepositions (e.g. Italian *fino a...*; French *jusqu'à*)
- English does *not* permit telic pair formation with locational Ps
- Italian *does* permit telic pair formation

- (2) a. Gianni è corso nel bosco. → directional
 b. John ran in the forest. → not directional

- English prepositions such as *under, over, ...* (contrary to *in* and *on*) are ambiguously locative and directional ($\text{under}_{\text{DIR}} = \text{TO under}$)

- (3) John ran under the bridge. (ambiguous)

But:

- (4) John jumped in the pool/ran in the kitchen. → directional reading possible (mostly NAE)

Inagaki 2002

- Hale & Keyserian account; $\text{Rel}_{\text{Path}} > \text{Path} > \text{Place} > \text{N}_{\text{RelPlace}}$
- English Ps incorporate into Rel_{Path} and Path (cf. 'satellite' languages)
- Japanese (but not English) verbs incorporate Rel_{Path} and Path (cf. 'verb-framed languages')
- Japanese has one adposition (*-made* 'up to') that incorporates Path.

Hypothesis¹

- (5) $V_{\text{DIR}} > R_{\text{PATH}} > (\text{Mod}_{\text{PATH}}) \text{Path} > P_{\text{LOC}} > R_{\text{PLACE}} > (\text{Mod}_{\text{PLACE}}) > \text{Place} > \text{DP}$

- Variation in terms of pronunciation/non- pronunciation of each of these categories
- Unpronounced categories must be licensed by ²
 - being selected by a pronounced head, or
 - by attracting a pronounced category.
- Variation in motion events tied to licensing of abstract V_{DIR} (*GO*)

¹ See also van Riemsdijk 1990, Koopman 1997, den Dikken 2003, Svenonius 2004, Terzi 2006, etc for related approaches.

² See Koopman 1997 Kayne 2000/2005b.

I zu

- (6) a. Sie ist zum Laden (hin) gelaufen.
she is to the_{DAT} store prt run.
b. Er ist zu unseren Treffen gekommen.
he is to our_{DAT} meetings came
c. Komm zu mir her.
come to me_{DAT} prt

Older uses of *zu* are locational; (see (35)). This locational interpretation survives in contemporary German in the expression *zu Hause* ‘at home’:

Older uses of *zu* are locational (*zu* = locative preposition used for place names):

- (7) zu Berlin, zu Göttingen, zu Paris, ... (archaic)
(8) Sie ist zu Hause.
‘She is at home’

In contemporary German *zu* is directional, but restricted to non-place names:

zu = ‘to’ used with places and people
nach = ‘to’ used with place names

- (9) a. Ich fahre nach/*zu Berlin.
‘I’m driving after/*to Berlin.
b. Wir gehen zu Martin/ihm.
we go to Martin/him_{DAT} ‘We’re going to Martin’s/his (place).’
c. Wir gehen zum Laden.
‘We’re going to the store

- *zu* **can** co-occur with directional particles *hin/her* (=R_{PATH}) (encoding motion towards (*her*) or motion away from (*hin*) a speaker reference point) ...

- (10) a. Er läuft zum Laden hin.
he runs to-the_{DAT} store HIN
‘He is running to the store.’
b. Komm zu mir her.
come to me_{DAT} HER
‘Come to me.’

- ... and with Path postpositions.

- (11) a. Guck mal, da geht er zum Laden rein!
Look! there goes he to-the_{DAT} store R-in
‘Look! There he is going into the store.’
b. Er ist zum Gipfel rauf geklettert.
he aux to-the_{DAT} peak R-up climbed
‘He climbed up to the peak.’

- c. Das Zebra guckt zum Fenster rein.
the zebra looks to-the_{DAT} window R-in
'The zebra looks in at the window.'
- d. Er kam zur Tür rein.
he came to-the_{DAT} door R-in
'He came in at the door/through the door.'³

- *zu* **cannot** co-occur with locational Ps.

- (12) a. *Er geht in den/dem Laden zu.
he walks in the_{DAT/ACC} shop to
- b. *Er geht zu in den/dem Laden.
he walks to in the_{DAT/ACC} shop
- c. *Er geht in zu den Laden.
he walks in to the_{ACC} shop

Question: which of the heads does *zu* lexicalise?

$P_{DIR} > R_{PATH} > Mod_{PATH} > Path$	$>$	$P_{LOC} > R_{PLACE} > Mod_{PLACE} > Place > DP$
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- Directional interpretation suggests P_{DIR} or Path
- Dative case suggests P_{LOC}
- Word order suggests P_{LOC} :

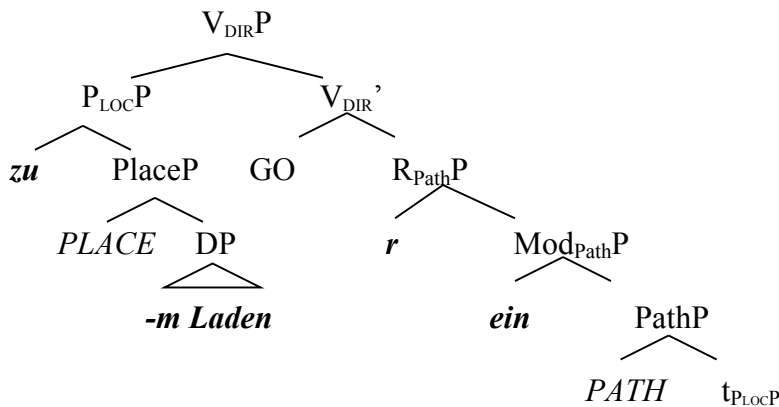
zu	dem Laden	rein
in	den Laden	rein

zu	dem Tisch	rauf
auf	den Tisch	rauf

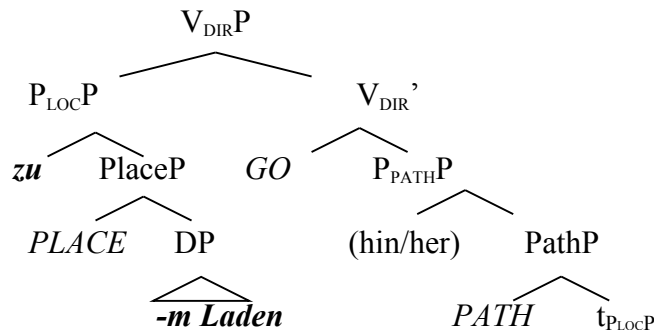
- (13) **Hypothesis:**
- *zu* is generated as the head of $P_{LOC}P$
 - - P_{LOC} selected by Path → pronounced as *zu*;
- elsewhere → pronounced as *bei*

³ Note that in the c-d cases, *zu* is translated as meaning *at*. I will return to this presently.

- (14) Da geht er **zum Laden rein** lit. there he goes to the store R-in



- (15) Da geht er **zum Laden hin**



II à

- (16) a. Marie est à la gare.
Marie is at the station
- b. Gaëlle est à Londres.
Gaëlle is in London
- c. L'homme à la fontaine est grand.
the man at the fountain is tall
- (17) **Hypothesis:** à = P_{Loc}
- (18) a. Nora est allée à la piscine.
Nora AUX gone à the swimming pool
- b. J'ai couru au parc. (ambiguous)
I AUX run à-the parc
'I ran in the park.' or 'I ran to the park.'
- (19) a. *Jim a nagé à la rive gauche.
Jim has swum à the left bank
- b. *Elle a dansé à la cuisine. (locational only)
she has danced à the kitchen

Place adpositions:

- (20) a. %Elle a couru sous le pont (afin de se mettre à l'abris).
she has run under the bridge (in order be covered)
'She ran under the bridge.'
- b. %Elle a couru dans la cuisine pour chercher de la glace.
she has run in the kitchen to get some ice
- c. *Elle a nagé sous le pont. (locational only)
she has swum under the bridge
- d. *Elle a dansé dans la cuisine. (locational only)
- (21) **Hypothesis:** silent V_{DIR} (*GO*) licensed by
- a. $P_{LOC}P$ movement to Spec, V_{DIR} (\checkmark German, Dutch, English, *French, Italian, etc)
- b. overt affixal Path incorporates to V_{DIR} (*entrer*, 'enter', *monter* 'go up', *descendre* 'go down', ...) ⁴
- c. V_{DIR} selected by (incorporates to) verb with DIR feature (e.g. *courir*) (cf. Inagaki 2002)

Path nouns?

- (22) a. Il a couru **à travers** le parc.
he has run at across/through the parc
- b. Il a couru **autour** du chateau.
he has run at-the-circumference of-the castle
- c. Il a couru **le long** de la clôture.
he has run the length of the fence
- (23) a. Il a couru à travers le parc (% en 10 minutes).
he has run at across the parc in 10 minutes
- b. Il a couru autour du chateau (% en 10 minutes).
he has run at-the circumference of the castle (in 10 minutes)
- c. Il a couru le long de la clôture (% en 10 minutes).
he has run the length of the fence (in 10 minutes)
- (24) Gianni ha/*è corso attraverso il parco. (G. Cinque, p.c.)
Gianni has/is run across the parc

→ *travers/traverso*, *-tour*, ... do not lexicalise Path (but Place)

- (25) a. Die Basilica ist durch den Park (durch)./ The basilica is through the park
b. Der Laden ist um die Ecke (rum)./The store is around the corner.
- (26) a. *La basilique est à travers le parc.
b. *Le magasin est autour du coin.

⁴ This is reminiscent of a suggestion in Koopman (1997): in order to restrict the distribution of prepositional directional PPs in Dutch, she postulates that silent Path incorporates to a motion verb (what she calls Path corresponds more closely to my V_{DIR}). Den Dikken (2003) points out that only certain motion verbs (overlapping with those that tend to also allow directional readings with PPs in French) permit prepositional PPs. (We will return to this.)