

Compare distribution of

- ing enghon
- poss-ing acc-ing
- In argument positions - In argument positions?
- Na in order

poss-no, PRO na

ni
ne

- In argument positions
- Complement of restructuring verbs
- ever PRO?
- overt overt?

Bengali rise fall give take

This may have I will leave this aside unless I have extra time to think about it. rule based analysis, and we will see an interaction between Identity(ATR) and *+ATR. As I don't yet know what other effects earner hears on the surface then the lexical representations for my OT analysis will differ from the -ATR vowels which the phonemic inventory. (Kager 1999:46) If Lexicon Optimization encodes the learner to posit the -ATR vowel representations in my 192, Kager 1999:33) By having the markeness hierarchy of POA in the Contraints, the ranking of constraints will determine if is labelled OK. Then the learner should choose, as the underlying form for phi, the input IL. Prämke and Smolensky 1993: suppose outputs must be the most harmonic, by virtue of incurring the least syllable violation marks: supposes this optimal one of which are realized as the same phonetic form phi? - these inputs are phonetically equivalent with respect to G. Now one of suppose that several inputs II, IJ, Im, when parsed by a grammar G lead to corresponding outputs O1, O2...On, all that should be derivable in the universal constraint set.

in Turkish may differ from the Javanese /a/ as the data presented in Kager do not show it surfaceizing ever as an [a] or [a']. But, considering Turkish as an example where +low vowels show rounding, this is a phenomena in a +front-round context and [ɔ] in a -front,+round context (Kager 1999:374). The underlying low vowel from the tightmost stem vowel onto the suffixes. In Turkish the underlying suffix -čakı/ varies between [e] in a +front-round context and [ɛ] in /butuh/+e/

4.6 /a/ Rounding

*+ATR	Max	C _o	IO	Onset	DepIO	IdentIO	No	*+ATR	*	bu.tuh	*	*	*	**
BestMark	DepIO	*IDI(O(ATR))						*+ATR C _o	*+ATR	bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										/butuh/+e/				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				
										bu.tuh				

(51) (High) Vowel Laxing in Closed Syllables

In the tableau below we see that ranking *+ATR C_o over Identity(ATR) will ensure that tense vowels are not found in closed syllables.

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BestMark
*+ATR C_o *IDI(O(ATR))
bu.tuh

BestFaiith
*+ATR C_o *IDI(O(ATR))
bu.tuh

MaxMark
DepIO *IDI(O(ATR)), NoCoda
bu.tuh

bu.tuh

bu.tuh

bu.tuh

bu.tuh

bu.tuh

bu.tuh

bu.tuh

bu.tuh

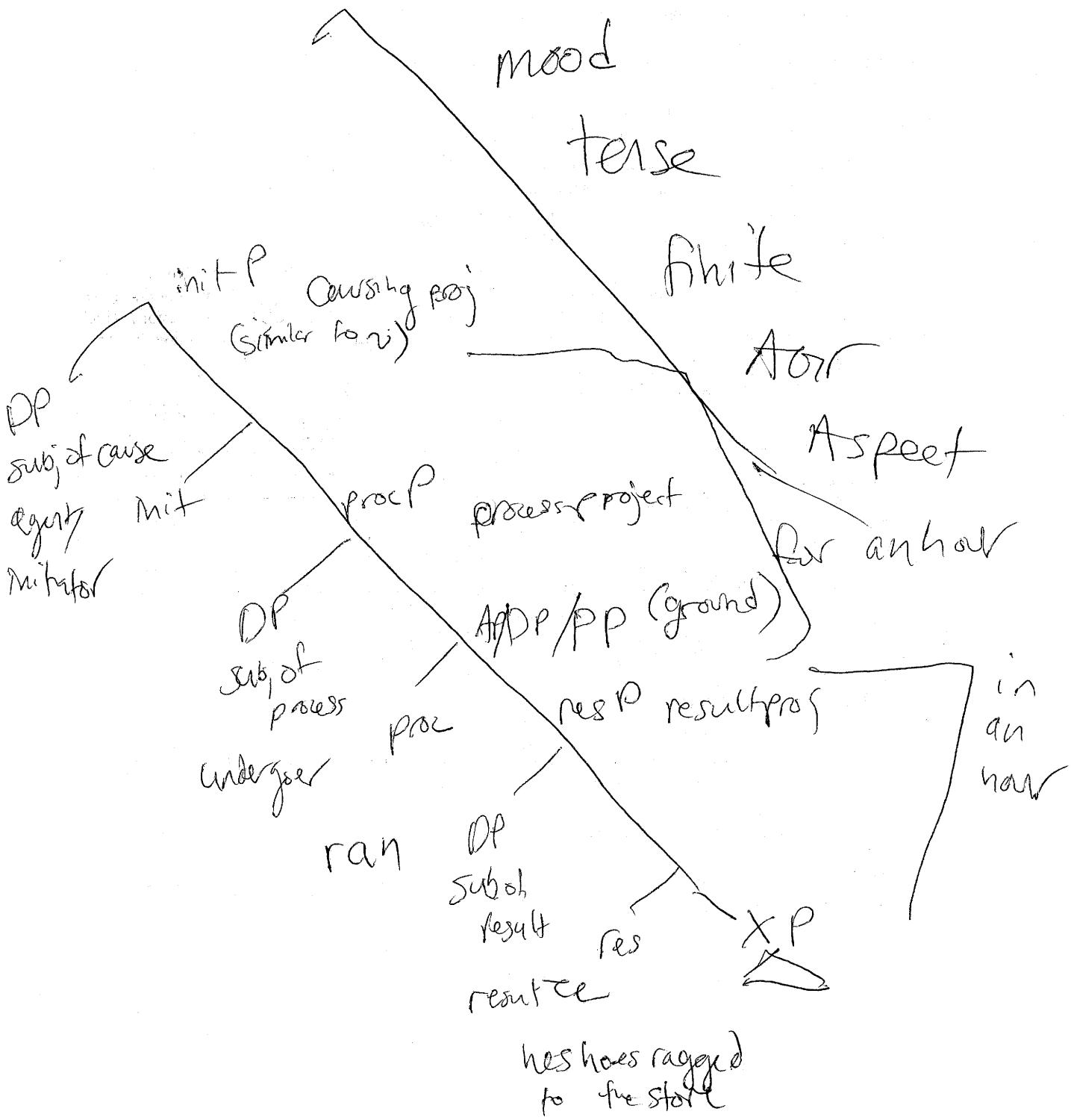
No tense vowels. (Based on *-back Kager 1999:127)

(50) *+ATR

Unlike the other processes discussed so far the tense/lax distinction does not seem to be contrastive

underlyingly in Javanese. Kager (1999) points out that as there are no contrasts purely on input, there is no sense of 'contrastive' in OT as there is in a rule based framework (Kager 1999:19). Richness of the base holds that "lexical representations in any language are free contrast any kind of phonological contrast" (Kager 1999:29). For this reason we do not see an interaction between Identity(ATR) and *+ATR in Javanese as there will not be a case where a surface ATR vowel is not due to a change from the satisfaction of the constraint markedness *+ATR C_o.²

no sense of 'contrastive' in OT as there are no contrasts purely on input, there is no sense of 'contrastive' underliningly in Javanese. Kager (1999) points out that as there are no contrasts purely on input, there is no sense of 'contrastive' in OT as there are no contrasts purely on input, there is no sense of 'contrastive'



problems with OT in Ch9, but as we never studied these issues I have no experience to rework my OT analysis to avoid the ranking paradox. Despite this I will continue with my OT analysis as leaving aside the ranking paradox candidates as they don't seem to have a bearing on the other phenomena in Javanese.

4.4 Obstruent Devoicing in Coda Position

Javanese shows a preference for unmarked codas. Like Dutch and (other Germanic languages), this results in a devoicing of obstruents (as voiceless obstruents are less marked than voiced obstruents) word finally and before voiceless obstruents. Sonorants do not devoice, as voiced sonorants are unmarked and voiceless sonorants are highly marked. To derive allophonic obstruent devoicing I will use the markedness constraints *VoicedCoda, and *VoicedObs along with the faithfulness constraint IdentIO(voice).

- (43) *VoicedCoda
Coda obstruents are voiceless. (Kager 1999 :40)
- (44) IdentIO(voice)
The value of the feature [voice] of an input segment must be preserved in its output correspondent. (Kager 1999 :40)
- (45) *VoicedObs (also called VOP, Voiced Obstruent Prohibition)
No obstruent must be voiced. (Itô & Mester 1998 cited in Kager 1999 :40)

In (46) I repeat the constraint ranking from analysis of Dutch Obstruent Devoicing found in Kager 1999 which I will also adopt for Obstruent Devoicing in Javanese.

- (46) Ranking for Dutch Obstruent Devoicing(Kager 1999 :40,325)
*VoicedCoda »IdentIO(voice) »VOP(*VoicedObs)

Obstruent devoicing in coda position can be obtained by ranking the context sensitive markedness constraint *Voiced Coda over IdentIO(voice). Voiced obstruents will surface in other environments by ranking IdentIO(voice) over a context free markedness constraint VOP (Voiced Obstruent Prohibition) which I will refer to as *VoicedObs as it is easier to remember. The optimal candidates selection is show in the the tableau below.

- (47) Obstruent Devoicing in Coda Position

		*Vce Coda	DepIO	IdentIO Voice	No Coda	*Vce Obs
	/murid/					
BestMark	☞ mu.rit			*	*	
BestFaith *VceCoda »IdentIO(vce)	mu.rid	*			*	*
	/murid/+/e/					
BestFaith	☞ mu.ri.de					*
BestMark IdentIO(voice) »*VoicedObs	mu.ri.te			*		
	/kulit/+/ku/					
BestFaith	☞ ku.lit.ku				*	
BestMark DepIO »NoCoda	ku.li.tø.ku		*			

4.5 (High) Vowel Laxing

Javanese shows a process of Tense vowel laxing in closed syllables. This is also found in Quebec french and took place in the history of English. Thus this process seems well motivated for universality. To derive laxing in closed syllables I will use the constraints defined below.

- (48) *+ATR C] σ
No tense vowels in closed syllables. (Based on æ-Tensing Kager 1999 :275)
- (49) IdentIO(ATR)
The value of the feature [voice] of an input segment must be preserved in its output correspondent. (Kager 1999 :275)

Roulant

VF

Tense
V^o Tense

Tense
V^o Tense

V^o Tense - tens
Ag + D
Acc + D
Adv + D

CG

ECM?

him to do
see
do + finite

both - Tense?

Authors Summary Examples	Clausal Complements	ECM+inf	Clausal gerunds/accusative-ing) Pres (bare IP) Behave in most respects like clauses (cf. Reuland 1983; following Horn 1975) and Williams (1975). (i) Acc-ing constructions as complements to verbs (1a); a. Many favored Bill taking care of her land. (ii) Acc-ing constructions as complements to subcategorized prepositions (1b); b. Susan worried about John being late for dinner. (iii) Acc-ing constructions in subject position (1c); c. Paul showing up at the game was a surprise to everybody. (iv) Acc-ing constructions in prepositional phrases in adjunct position (1d); e. Mike expected to win in the game, he/him being the best athlete in the school. (v) Absolute constructions (1e). d. Sylvia wants to find a new house without Mark helping her.	Poss-ing DP Abney (DP) DPs(nominization)
External Tests	Inside Indirect Q	yes	yes no "Mary talked about (that), John moved out. yes	yes no "Mary talked about John moving out. no ? It was tragic Paul losing the elections.
Internal Tests	Inside Indirect Q	yes	yes no "Mary talked about him to move out. (?) no	yes no "Mary talked about John's moving out. no
Internal Tests	contain sentential adverbs	yes	yes yes I thought that he quickly left. yes I thought that she revised the book. no	yes no "What did everyone imagine Fred's singing? no Many probably being responsible for the accident, the attorney did not want to defend her. no John's quickly leaving surprised everybody. yes Mary's revising the book. yes no Anyone winning this prize would be unexpected. no? maybe ? The train's arriving late in New York upset everybody.

jones-CONTROL AND RECONSTRUCTION EFFECTS OF ADJUNCTS IN HINDI-91.notes
Thus the resolution of this paradox is that control is established at the LF position of the kar-phrase

whereas binding condition C is evaluated with respect to its D-structure position.

- formed by adding -kar to a bare verbal stem.
- the event of the adverbial immediately precedes the event of the modified clause
- The event associated with the adverbial has perfective aspect
- impossible for it to have an overt subject.
- no agreement morphology on the verb.

siitaai-ne [PROi raam-ko dekh-kar] mohan-ko maar-aa
[PROi raam-ko dekh-kar] siitaai-ne mohan-ko maar-aa (preferred ?!)
siitaai-ne mohan-ko maar-aa [PROi raam-ko dekh-kar]

[PROi raam-ko dekh-kar] mary-ne soc-aa ki [siitaai-ne mohan-ko maar-aa]
mary-ne [PROi raam-ko dekh-kar] soc-aa ki [siitaai-ne mohan-ko maar-aa]
mary-ne soc-aa ki [PROi raam-ko dekh-kar] [siitaai-ne mohan-ko maar-aa]
mary-ne soc-aa ki [siitaai-ne [PROi raam-ko dekh-kar] mohan-ko maar-aa]
mary-ne soc-aa ki [siitaai-ne mohan-ko [PROi raam-ko dekh-kar] maar-aa]
mary-ne soc-aa ki [siitaai-ne mohan-ko maar-aa] [PROi raam-ko dekh-kar]

isnt this ambiguous between mary and siitaa?, check referents

[PROi raam-ko dekh-kar] mohan-ko siitaai-ne maar-aa

this is ok?? what question or focus would give this response?

evidence from negative polarity items (NPI's) and binding facts
which shows that kar-phrases are fully clausal.

licensing of NPI's is clause-bounded. If negation in the main clause does not license a negative polarity item in the kar-phrase, it would suggest that karphrases are clausal.

*[PROi kisii-ko bhii dekh-kar] siitaai-ne mohan-ko maar-aa nahiIN (what wierd word choice and order?!)

[PROi koy bhii dekh-ke] amna fahad-ko nahiiN maar-ti (should be fine)
[PROi koy bhii nahiiN dekh-ke] amna fahad-ko nahiiN maar-ti
[PROi koy bhii nahiiN dekh-ke] amna fahad-ko maar-ti
seing anyone amna doesnt hit fahad (doesnt make sense anyway!?)

the first time, the author has been able to study the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species. The results of this study will be presented in a series of papers.

The first paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species. The results of this study will be presented in a series of papers.

The second paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The third paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The fourth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The fifth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The sixth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The seventh paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The eighth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The ninth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The tenth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The eleventh paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The twelfth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The thirteenth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The fourteenth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The fifteenth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

The sixteenth paper, which will be published in the near future, will deal with the effect of the presence of a large number of different species on the growth of a single species.

jones-CONTROL AND RECONSTRUCTION EFFECTS OF ADJUNCTS IN HINDI-91.notes

However, an NPI contained in a more complex noun phrase⁸, for example, is licensed under matrix negation,
siitaa-ne [kisii-ke bhii pitaa]-ko nahiiN dekh-aa
sita didnt see anyones father

Generic Binding Theory

BT(A) Anaphors are bound in domain D.

BT(B) Pronouns are free in domain D.

BT(C) R-expressions are free.

D D has a subject and tense.

The pronoun in the kar-phase must refer to raam not to a third person (??)

siitaa-ne raamj-ko [usej/*k dekh-kar] maar-aa
-can use refer to mohan/k? check the i/ks

[usej/k dekh-kar] siitaa-ne raamj-ko maar-aa
siitaa-ne *[usej/k dekh-kar] raamj-ko maar-aa
siitaa-ne raamj-ko maar-aa [usej/*k dekh-kar]

siitaai-ne raamj-ko [PROi/*j apnei/*j/*-ko dekh-kar] maar-aa
seeing herself sita hit raam (i guess he was doing her makeup and messed up)
*seeing him sita hit raam

We still need to account for why this PRO must corefer with the matrix subject.

I propose that the tense dependency of the kar-phrase is established by moving it to be in a SPEC-head relationship¹⁰ with TNS at LF.

Since the closest higher NP to the PRO in the kar-phrase is the matrix subject (in [SPEC, AgrS] at LF) we correctly predict subject control of kar-phrases.

[ramj-ko dekh-kar] siitaa-ne usej/k maar-aa (k as mohan-ko)
siitaa-ne [ramj-ko dekh-kar] usej/k maar-aa
*siitaa-ne usej/k [ramj-ko dekh-kar] maar-aa (the order seems wrong?)
siitaa-ne usej/k maar-aa [ramj-ko dekh-kar]
-check asterisks

We can tell that

the kar-phrase c-commands the object by considering data as in (13)
(13)*siitaa-ne usei maar-aa tha [raami-ko dekh-kar]

wh-words behave like R-expressions

[PRO kisj-ko dekh-kar] siitaa-ne usej maar-aa
siitaa-ne [PRO kisj-ko dekh-kar] usej maar-aa
siitaa-ne usej [PRO kisj-ko dekh-kar]maar-aa
siitaa-ne usej maar-aa [PRO kisj-ko dekh-kar]

hasegawa-the (nonvacuous) semantics of te-linkage in japanese-1995.notes

causation is all but impossible

- (20) zyon wa sinbun o yonde heya o sooz si ta.
TOP newspaper ACC read-TE room ACC cleaned
'John read a newspaper and cleaned the room.'

so not just temporal or causation/enablement but rather "what is expressed by TE-linkage in (20) is not the mere fact of TEMPORAL SEQUENCE per se, nor the fact of causation, but that both actions were intentionally performed by the same person...choosing to encode a non- incidental sequence, but not an incidental one, with TE."

causation without temporal sequence "My daughter will begin college soon, and I had to quit the gym [to save money for tuition]."

can use naka or kara for this meaning:

- (22) musume ga moo-sugu gakkoo ni hairu node zimu o
daughter NOM soon school LOC enter-NPST because gym ACC
yamenakereba naranakatta.
had-to-quit

'Because my daughter will begin school soon, I had to quit the gym.'

can also be implicated by parataxis with the same clause order as (22).

It cannot, however, be expressed by TElinkage while maintaining the same clause order,

could propose that the basic function of TE is to expres a temporal sequence, a fact upon which cause is parasitic. and then TE would be ungrammatical because of inability to mark tense in a TE phrase

However, this seemingly attractive explanation depends crucially on the assumption that TE-linkage does express TEMPORAL SEQUENCE per se;

cause is not compatible, illistrated by an example of the speaker's attitude toward the proposition. first sentence in (24a) is naturally interpreted as the CAUSE of the speaker's emotion,yet linking these two sentences by TE will result in an anomaly,

- (24) a. kutu o katta. uresii.
shoe ACC bought am-happy

psych verbs in non-past are modality expressions, so CAUSE relation can indeed be expressed by TE-linkage when the predicate is in the past tense,

Semantic info

dependant

semantic info obtained within the larger whole

independant

semantic info obtained from expression itself

grammatical info

conversational implicature

most usual use of implicature, can be cancelled

conventional implicature

involves the non-truth conditional lexical meaning of some element and is attached to a particular expression by convention

both and- and TE-linkage, the perceived semantic relation would be present even if the linked constituents were in pure parataxis without and or TE,

The CAUSE relation associated with a TEconstruction
is cancellable and hence can be taken as an implicature.

- (11) kaze o hiite atama ga itai. atama ga itai no wa
 cold ACC catch-TE head NOM ache head NOM ache NMLZ TOP
 itumo no koto dakedo.
 always GEN thing though
'(I) caught a cold, and (my) head aches. I always have a headache, though.'

In a typical such scenario the speaker, after uttering the first sentence, realizes the potential implicature and cancels it explicitly.

The TEMPORAL SEQUENCE relation is also cancellable, and hence it, too, can be regarded as an implicature.

- (12) maki wa oosaka e itte hiro wa oosaka kara kaette kuru.
 TOP ALL go-TE TOP ABL return-TE come
 hiro ga kaette kuru no ga saki dakedo.
 NOM return-TE come NMLZ NOM first though
'Maki will go to Osaka, and Hiro will return from Osaka. Hiro's return comes first, though.'

use of te as x enables y

- (17) zyon wa asa me o samasite kao o aratta. (Kuno 1973)
 TOP morning wake-TE face ACC washed
'John woke up in the morning and washed (his) face.'

hasegawa-the (nonvacuous) semantics of te-linkage in japanese-1995.notes
te claims incidentalness between the first conjunct and the second.

if te is discussed in traditional semantic terms, te seems to infer TEMPORAL SEQUENCE, CAUSE-EFFECT, MEANS-END, CONTRAST. When such a relation is understood to be intended by the speaker, it is always inferable solely from the conjuncts themselves. Furthermore, these relations are cancellable and thus can be regarded as implicatures.

It must have some meaning that excludes TEMPORAL SEQUENCE from the range of possible interpretations.

Uses of TE, check to see if useable with KE

(2) ADDITIVE

zyoon wa akarukute kinben da.

Joan TOP be-cheerful-TE diligent COP-NPST

'Joan is cheerful and diligent.'

(3) TEMPORAL SEQUENCE

gogo wa tegami o kaite, ronbun o yonda.

afternoon TOP letter ACC write-TE thesis ACC read-PST

'In the afternoon, (I) wrote letters and read the thesis.'

(4) CAUSE-EFFECT

taihuu ga kite, ie ga hakai-sareta.

typhoon NOM come-TE houses NOM destroy-PASS-PST

'A typhoon came, and houses were destroyed.'

(5) MEANS-END

7

okane o karite, atarasii kuruma o kau.

money ACC borrow-TE new car ACC buy-NPST

'(I) will borrow money and buy a car.'

(6) CONTRAST

zyoon wa syuusyoku-site, tomu wa kekkon-sita.

Joan TOP get-a-job-TE Tom TOP marry-PST

'Joan got a job, and Tom got married.'

(7) CONCESSION

kare wa okane ga atte, kasanai.

he TOP money NOM there-be-TE lend-NEG-NPST

'Although he has money, (he) won't lend (it to anyone).'

jones-CONTROL AND RECONSTRUCTION EFFECTS OF ADJUNCTS IN HINDI-91.notes
both the adverbial and the object may move to their respective SPEC positions,

[PRO raami-ko dekh-kar] usei siitaa-ne maar-aa
usei [PRO raami-ko dekh-kar] siitaa-ne maar-aa
usei siitaa-ne [PRO raami-ko dekh-kar] maar-aa
usei siitaa-ne maar-aa [PRO raami-ko dekh-kar]

surface BT(C) violation involving an NP argument
unj- ko [[siitaa Or raam]j ke shikSak]-ne maar-aa

Mahajan 1990 shows that arguments reconstruct to the SPEC position of the functional head, not to their VP-internal D-structure position. (thats cause they werent int here, but are gnerated in speck of funcitonal heads above)

no weak crossover effect is induced by scrambling to pre-matrix sentence position an embedded wh- element direct object.

(17) kis-koi raam-ne socaa ki t1 [uskiii bahin-ne] t0 dekhaa tha

Mahajan concludes that the reconstruction site is in fact the SPEC position of AgrO - the position of t1 in (17).

it could be the case that only one chain is formed, schematically: (kar-phrase, t1, t0).

Adverbial postpositional phrases formed with the postposition par,
'upon' have roughly the same meaning as kar-phrases.

in addition to subject control, these phrases allow object control, although subject control is preferred. it is possible, given the appropriate context, to construe a salient person in discourse as the controller.

[proi/h/k mohan-ko dekh-ne par] siitaai-ne raamj-ko maar-aa
siitaai-ne [proi/h/k mohan-ko dekh-ne par] raamj-ko maar-aa
siitaai-ne raamj-ko [proi/h/k mohan-ko dekh-ne par] maar-aa
siitaai-ne raamj-ko maar-aa [proi/h/k mohan-ko dekh-ne par]
check referents

ne-par phrase, although superficially very similar to the kar-phrase, differs in that it licenses an overt subject, [mary-ke mohan-ko dekh-ne par] siitaai-ne raamj-ko maar-aa

[proi/h/k apnei/h/k-ko dekh-ne par] siitaai-ne raamj-ko maar-aa

(i) 'after Sita saw herself, she hit Ram', (ii) 'after

Ram saw himself, Sita hit him', or (iii) 'After Ram saw Sita, she hit him'.

Notice that even when the empty embedded subject is coindexed with the matrix object, the reflexive apne may corefer with the higher subject.

hasegawa-the (nonvacuous) semantics of te-linkage in japanese-1995.notes

(25) kutu o katte uresikatta.

was-happy

'(I) bought shoes, and (so) I was happy.'

CAUSE relation is not possible in (24c), where the fact of being happy is coterminous with uttering the sentence. (hmmm)

int na

VS

ger na

Notes

- can be complement of

control verbs

Recursion function verbs

Ram-ne [PRO ^{AMITKA} dekhnna] chataa ~~ta~~
 Vada Kiyata

mastike suhane dhalde tee

Ram [PRO ghar Jane] chayla ~~ta~~
~~ta~~

Ami ^{am} ^{pro} Ramo sita ko ^{pro} ^{pe} kia
 hospital ^{hospi} marathi ^{mar} amki ghar Jane pe

apna ghar Jane barby hahi hai

apna ghar Jane muge interest nehi kears

~~task~~ muge apna ghar Jane ka mood hai

Ram ko

farah kasona

farah ke sone pe

achha sona ta

things	flat	Agree	
participle	real	prog	perf
	-ta	-rana	-ya

adjective ~~lakha~~ lamha

subjunctive ii-ga oga etc...

futur -ga

third forms of be not ~~ta~~

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Na as informant

- recordshful (gvt verbs)

Buff 1995 ^(refas) NP

- it ^{lkd} can get marked as ~~it~~
or ke

un ke aane ki baat important hai

- can have gen subjects like NP

- can have valiaa modification

Sabzi vala

sabzi begne vala

Tarka parnevalaa hai

? Sona vala verb + na + vala

? Nihd vala nam + vala

= no infinal gaster or rel clause

~~but~~ kya karna jaate he?

Ram What do you know how to do?

* You know what to do?

sunhonya gari bsko paisa dena acha hai

P12
bhakt
IDA lecture

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interpretation gives a difference between inf/ger

Control infinitives feel semantically diff from other instances of infinitives.

inf in subject

Tinaka karachi jana karnak hai

This is going to Karachi is dangerous

Ram ne PRO kachi janae ki koshish ki

Ram ne tinaka karachi janae ki ^{very} bohart
koshiki
ko chalhaa
ko manakia(?)

travis Chap 3.pdf

- there is an asp next to V

Sitaane ~~ka~~ larkaa dekhaa

Sita larkaa dekh rehi he

change of object but also
situation aspect

telic to atelic

specific to non specific

moves to the specifier of the higher VP where it gets the second theta-role from *want*. Its final movement is to the specifier of matrix TP, where it satisfies the uninterpretable phi-set and EPP feature on T, and gets a nominative value for its own uninterpretable structural Case feature.

For the unaccusative structure in (141), the nominal *Mary* base generates as the internal argument of the lower predicate *arrive* and then moves (via the specifier of lower v to the specifier of matrix predicate *want* where it receives the second theta-role) to Spec,TP for case/agreement and EPP reasons.

Note, especially for the unaccusative structure involving an underlying 'object', the nominative case marked nominal fails to trigger agreement even though it moves via the specifier of the lower v on its way to the final landing site. As is evident, the locus of case/agreement here is T (illustrated by the nominative case-value on the subject), and not matrix v.

This difference seems to be a crucial one. These are not restructuring environments; restructuring environments are induced only in the presence of a case/agreement checking v. Parasitic agreement on the infinitival is restricted to restructuring contexts. In all other instances, the lower verb (irrespective of whether it is able to assign Case or not) does not show overt agreement. Agreement in HU therefore appears to be tied to finiteness/finiteness T. In the absence of a finite T, the verb must show default agreement. What a restructuring verb does is open up the domain of a lower (non-finite) clause (possibly by a process of head-incorporation (see footnote 49)). Finiteness of the matrix T is passed onto the lower clause only via the case/agreement-valuing restructuring verb.

The second issue concerns the types of agreement mechanisms in the grammar: Spec-head vis-à-vis Agree.

In recent minimalist theories, movement and phi-feature checking are considered separate operations. Phi-feature valuation takes place at a distance while overt movement is restricted for EPP reasons. Existential constructions provide compelling evidence for Agree or more generally, for phi-agreement and movement dissociation.

(142) There seem/* seems to be several men in the room.

In (142), the associate *several men* triggers agreement on the matrix predicate without moving to the specifier of a feature checking head. The agreement is either realized via formal-feature movement at LF (à la Chomsky 1995) or via Agree.

What is crucial for our present purposes is that the associates in these constructions are always non-specific/non-definite, as illustrated by the unacceptability of the following sentence.

(143) *There seem to be the man in the room.

The requirement that the associate be non-specific/non-definite in structures like (143) implies that these nominals are "...NPs rather than DPs" (Chomsky 1995:342). If so, Agree is an operation that applies to NPs; only NPs can agree with probes long distance (i.e. without overt movement). Further, there is ample evidence provided in the literature (den Dikken 1995, Lasnik 1995, among others) from scope, anaphoric binding, NPI licensing and WCO to suggest that associates remain low in the structure.

Given these observations, I will conclude by assuming that Agree is restricted to NPs, which do not move to a higher position in the clause and consequently fail to show definiteness/specification effects. On the other hand, the case/agreement valuation of DPs is accomplished in a spec-head configuration.

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Spatial Aspect

stative (-dynamic)

Activities (-telic)

View point aspect

Imperfective (-band)

perfective (+band)

Kashmiri LDA has the same representation as that of HU LDA (see (75)). The object moves to the outer specifier of the higher predicate, via the (outer) specifier of lower *v*. Kashmiri object agreement (in the LDA instances) takes place in a local spec-head configuration. The other details remain the same.

Our account provides a general framework to treat HU and Kashmiri LDA patterns, in contrast to Bhatt who provide a separate account for the latter. Below is summarized Bhatt's treatment for Kashmiri LDA.⁵⁸

Bhatt proposes that Kashmiri Inf functions as a probe for AGREE. Recall that Inf in HU on the other hand, was a goal for the probe *T*. *T* entered into a kind of 'dependency' with it and 'co-valued' it once its own features were valued by the embedded nominal. An independent status of a probe is imparted to Kashmiri Inf instead, given its ability to agree with its object even in the absence of a higher restructuring predicate. In the LDA construction (133), Inf therefore independently AGREES with the object. Once its features are valued, it is invisible to the computational system. Next, matrix *T* AGREES with the embedded object, resulting in LDA. Note that PRO must be realized 'semantically' and not syntactically for AGREE to take place between the matrix *T* and the embedded nominal.

For the construction in (134), Inf AGREES with the object. "After entering into AGREE Inf cannot by itself trigger further agreement on a higher *T* because the features on Inf are uninterpretable, and by the definition of AGREE a Probe can only use interpretable features to value its unvalued features". (Bhatt: 38)⁵⁹ Probe *T* is unable to access the object, as the infinitival clause has a syntactically realized PRO.

Unlike Bhatt, the alternative account does not stipulate a different strategy for Kashmiri LDA. As already mentioned, Kashmiri LDA is a process similar to HU LDA. The object must move in instances when the lower *v* cannot satisfy its Case features. This generates the structure where agreement shows up on both predicates.

The object must move through the specifier of the lower *v* in order to move to the higher clause. Thus agreement on the lower *v* is obligatory, when the higher predicate displays overt agreement. The prediction is that this language allows structures where LDA is available without overt agreement on the lower verb.

For structures like (135), I assume that Kashmiri infinitival verb 'optionally' agrees with its object. This is a non-restructuring environment where the object's features have already been checked within the lower clause. There is no object movement to matrix *v* and hence no LDA. This generates a structure where infinitival agreement exists, even though the matrix verb displays default agreement.

On par with HU object agreement, we will assume that Kashmiri object agreement takes place in a spec-head configuration. The object in (134) raises to the specifier of the lower *v*, but since its Case feature is already checked, it does not raise further. Restructuring is therefore optional.

⁵⁸ Boeckx suggests briefly that for the specific HU dialect and Kashmiri speakers, *T*-finite selects a *v+phil*. The following structure represents the Multiple Agree Relation (between the bold elements) in constructions where the embedded predicate shows object agreement in the absence of LDA.

(i) [v₁ [v₂ [TP T (...) [Subj v₃ v₄ Obj]]]]].
Bhatt does not clarify why *Inf*'s features remain 'uninterpretable' even after it has AGREEd with the object.

Finally for non-LDA constructions where both predicates display default agreement, we assume that the object is assigned partitive Case within the lower *vP*. There is no object movement and hence no LDA.^{60(a)}

VII. Conclusion: Some Remaining Questions

In summary, this paper revealed some problems with Boeckx and Bhatt's Agree-based analyses of LDA. First, the scope/specificty and agreement correlations cannot be explained under these accounts. Second, these studies need to stipulate a redundant mechanism for control.

An alternative for the data was provided within the control-as-movement analysis, and it was proposed that the object moves to the specifier of the matrix *v* to trigger overt agreement with it. Object agreement in HU LDA (as well as in simple clauses) takes place in a local specifier-head relation.

I discuss a few remaining issues in this section.

Firstly, 'parasitic' agreement on the lower predicate in LDA constructions was assumed to follow from the successive cyclic movement of the object through the outer specifier of the lower *v*. This movement is restricted to a restructuring context, where the selecting (matrix) verb assigns Case to an embedded nominal. We now turn to a few remaining cases with embedded unergative and unaccusative predicates.⁶²

(138) Mary hasnau/*hasnii chaahii he.
Mary-nom. laugh-inf.def/*sg.fem. want.sg.fem. be.3P.sg.

Mary wants to laugh.

(139) Mary vahan pahunchhaa/*pahunchhii chaatii he.
Mary-nom. there arrive-inf.def/*sg.fem.

Many wants to arrive there (on time).

As illustrated above, 'parasitic' agreement is impossible in both these constructions, irrespective of the fact that the subject moves via the specifier(s) of the embedded verb(s.) Following are the structural representations for each of the (acceptable) sentences.

(140) [TP Mary-1 [vP Mary-2 v [V want [vP Mary-3 v [V laugh]]]].

(141) [TP Mary-1 [vP Mary-2 v [V want [vP Mary-3 v [V arrive Mary-4]]].

Consider (140) first. The nominal *Many* base generates as the external argument of the lower unergative predicate and receives the theta-role (of *laugh*) at the specifier of lower *vP*. It then

⁶⁰ Kashmiri pronominal objects trigger person agreement, as shown in the following example.

(i) aslam-an vuch-a-kh ts1.

Aslam-erg. saw-mas SG-2SG. you.mas.sg.

'Aslam saw you.'

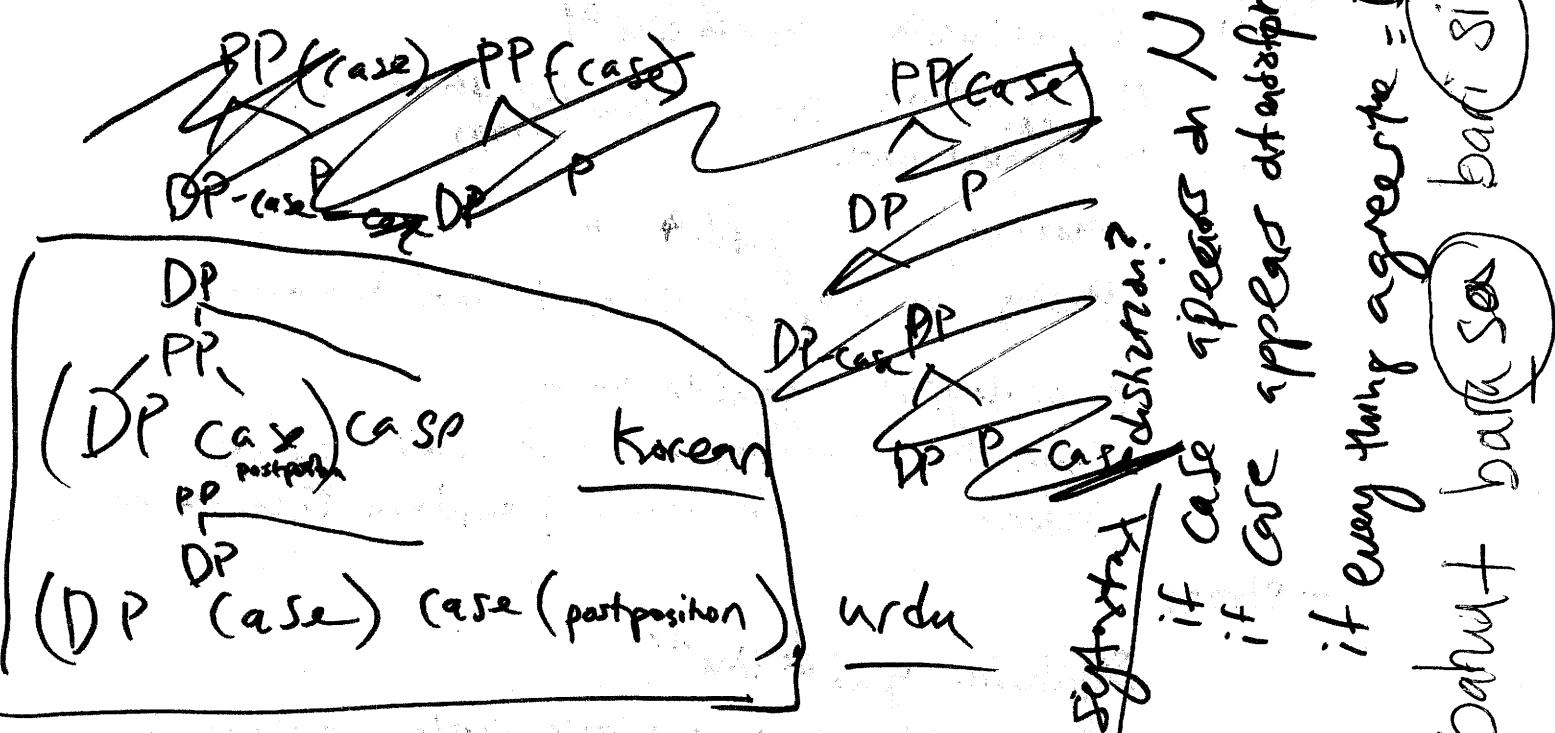
Whether person agreement in this language exists outside its pronominal clitic system is not evident at this point. I leave this issue, and its relevance for LDA, as a topic for future research.

⁶¹ In the absence of adequate Kashmiri data, I am unable to provide evidence for my claim from other facts,

⁶² such as scope, semantic effects (specificity/ tense dependency) and binding.

⁶³ I do not consider constructions with ergative subjects as they fail to trigger any agreement.

"Case Stacking"



agreeing things (gender, number, object, focus)

- nouns
- adjectives
- genitives
- verb + na/ni/ne
- aspect reha/rehi/rehi
- tense galgilge
- pronouns?

things that can get e/o

- nouns
- verb + ne
- reduplication?
- focus?

other features

- distal
- normal
- indef

Complements

- to and A_r
- of prepositional
- agreement
- get oblique
- get -e
- get hwant

agreement person
be pronoun

Clinics

Bickford

D74

Phonological guideline #1

No utterance can be shorter than a single phonological word.

Phonological guideline #2

Pausing are only possible at word boundaries

Phonological guideline #3

look for phonological rules that provide information about word boundaries in unclear cases

- Stress

Syntactic guideline #1

any phonological break is also a syntactic word break

Syntactic guideline #2

Any major continuous break (^{begins} end of phrase) is also a syntactic word break

Syntactic guideline #3

Affixes tend to occur next to a single type of word and in a fixed order; words occur more freely

Syntactic guideline #4

Morphology often shows great irregularities, while combinations of separate syntactic words don't

Clinics are affixes by phonology, and words by syntax

060523 Data from power point notes

to check

How do you say:

1. Anna

Intended: Anna wanted to cry.

2. Anna

Intended: Anna started to cry

3. Anna

Intended: Anna started crying.

4.

Intended: A crying girl came into the room.

5. Anna

Intended: Anna's crying annoys me

(Ylikoshi 2003)

Context: Pretend a young girl has come to work at the house. Her name is Anna.

1. Hum gari main bet rehe hain, Bahar dofan ho raha hai, Amne ke shish~~e~~ khole se/ke wife mati undr a raha hai.

Intended: Sand is coming in because Anna opened the window.

2.

Hum oghar wapas agia hain, Aj suba Anna ne parlor ki kirki khol dia, uski Kirki khole se/ke wife mati undr aya jab hum bahar the.

Note that in the above structure, subject reconstruction is to a position above AgtOP. This structure does not allow the object to scope over the subject. This problem however does not arise if we assume that object raises to the outer specifier of vP (for accusative Case-valuation) and the subject reconstructs back to the inner specifier of the same head (see (124)/(126)).

Similarly for (125)/(127), we will assume that the embedded object raises to the specifier of matrix vP and scopes over the subject when the latter reconstructs to its base generated position.

VI. Kashmiri – A Case for Optional Restructuring

This section is a brief discussion of Kashmiri LDA.

Kashmiri belongs to the same (Indo-Aryan) family as HU, and it too displays LDA. Consider the following example (from Bhatt, also see Wali and Koul 1997).

- (133) Raan-an che
vuchini. hameesi yatshilmats! paalnis necivis khAAtri koori
Ram-erg. be.fem.pres. always wanted.p1.fem. self-dat. son.dat. for girls

Ram has always wanted to see girls for his son.

The matrix verb agrees with the object of its infinitival complement. This is accompanied by ‘parasitic’ agreement on the embedded infinitival verb. Kashmiri however differs from HU in that it allows infinitival agreement without LDA.

- (134) Raan-an chu
vuchini. hameesi yotshlmnt paalnis necivis khAAtri koori

Ram-erg. be.g.mas.pres. always wanted.sg.mas. self-dat. son.dat. for girls
see-inf.fem.pl.

Ram has always wanted to see girls for his son.

Recall that structures like (134) are unacceptable in HU; object-infinitival agreement is always ‘parasitic’ on LDA. However researchers (Malaiyan 1990, Butt 1995, among others) claim that some speakers find similar HU structures acceptable. I assume (along with Boeckx and Bhatt) that this reflects a dialectal variation, and analyze it along with the Kashmiri data.

Consider (133) first. The object’s features are not satisfied in the lower clause, and hence it moves to check them against the matrix predicate. On the other hand, in the sentence in (134), the object’s features are satisfied within the lower vP. This is not a restructuring environment and consequently there is no LDA. Restructuring is therefore not obligatory in this language. The object raises to the specifier of the lower vP; further movement to the specifier of the higher v is not necessary (if the nominal’s case feature is valued in some way within the lower clause).

This is in direct contrast to HU restructuring, which as we observed, is obligatory. The embedded object’s features are never satisfied within the lower clause, and it must move to check them against a higher head.

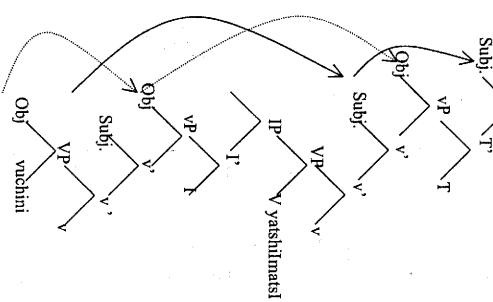
The other significant difference between HU and Kashmiri is that only the latter allows object infinitival agreement in non-LDA environments, i.e. in situations where LDA (and restructuring) is not possible.

- (135) mohint yi philim vuchini munkin

Mohan-gen.sg.fem. this film.fem.sg. see-inf.fem.sg. be.mas.sg.pres. possible.

The ability of the infinitival verb to (independently) agree with its object in the Kashmiri sentences (133) and (135) explains why restructuring is optional in this language. Restructuring is possible only when the lower (infinitival) verb cannot check the embedded object’s features. Following is the structural representation of a Kashmiri LDA construction like (133).⁵⁷

- (136) [tro] *khaani[khaana]
Fruit-acq.sg.fem. *eat-inf.sg.fem./eat-inf.def. health for good
Eating bread is good for health.



⁵⁷ The HU counterpart for the Kashmiri sentence in (135) is given below.

(i) [Mohankaa yeh film dekhna] naamunkin tha.

Mohan-gen this film.acq.sg.fem. see-inf.def. impossible be-past.

It was impossible that Mohan saw this movie.

Recall that the presence of a genitive subject indicates a gerund. If this is true, then we are dealing with a gerund and not an infinitive in (i).

another context:

3) Sab Ko pereshan hai ki Amna bhi baci hai, ~~sas~~ usse bacce samhaalne kese hogा? Likin ajs rat ko ek function hora hai. Baki sub nokrani kapre dholne hain kana pakana hain, ghar ki dusting kame hain, bahut kuch karne hai. Jab Auntie ko pata chela ki Biha (Amna ki Ma) bacce samhaal rehi hai, Auntie ne yeh kaha!

1. Maine kehdia, Amna ko bacce samhaalna tha, baas.

Negated:

2. Maine kehdia, Amna ko bacce samhaalne the, baas.

Negated:

3. Waise Amna bahut samajdar ladki to nahi hui, uske bacce samhaalne pe wiswas matdalo.

In direct contrast to ergative subject constructions, HU nominative subject constructions allow scopal ambiguity: the object *every poem* may scope over the subject *some poet* and vice versa. The scope variations are illustrated below:

- (122) [TP some poet-1 [vP every poem-2 [vP t-1 [V recite t-2]]]]

- (123) [TP Some poet-1 [vP t-1] [V wanted [vP every poem-2 [vP t-1] [V recite t-2]]]]]

In a simple nominative subject construction, the subject reconstructs and takes scope under the accusative object, placed at the outer specifier of v. In a non-LDA construction, the subject reconstructs back to its base generated position. The object, which raises to the specifier of the lower v in order to check Case may scope over it. Note that object must not move (either overtly or covertly) to the specifier of matrix v. Such a movement would allow it to scope over the matrix predicate, contrary to fact.³³

English sentences like the following also allow inverse scope between the nominative subject and the accusative object.

- (124) Someone visits everyone.

Someone > everyone

Everyone > someone

- (125) Someone wanted to visit everyone.

Someone > everyone

Everyone > someone

The nominative subject (may) reconstruct to a vP-internal position and take scope under the object, placed at the specifier of v /matrix v respectively, as shown in (126)-(127).

- (126) [TP some poet-1 [t-1 [v visits t-2]]]]

- (127) [TP Some poet-1 [vP every poem-2 [vP t-1 [V wanted [vP t-2 [vP t-1 [V recite t-2]]]]]]]

There is some evidence in the literature that objects in English raise overtly (Johnson 1991; Koizumi 1993, 1995; Lasnik 1999).

³³ As observed here, for the object to scope over the matrix subject, it must move to the specifier of the lower v for case checking purposes. I have nothing interesting to say about the nature (structural or lexical) of this Case. However note that even though the object has moved to the edge of v, it cannot move further.

One reason could be that in non-LDA counterparts with nominative subject constructions, there is no Tense-Dependence between the two clauses; i.e., though the event of *wanting* must be completed in the past through the event of *eating* need be. That implies that there is no lower T raising to higher V/F, thus ruling out restructuring. Since it is not a restructuring environment, the object cannot enter into case/agreement relations with the higher verb (see footnote 49).

- (128) The DA questioned two men during each other's trials.

- (129) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trial.

As illustrated above, the simple direct object and the exceptional-case-marked subject bind the anaphor, suggesting that they must have moved out of their base generated positions (which are too low for binding purposes). Compare the acceptable sentences in (128)-(129) with the unacceptable (130) which is ruled out a Condition A violation.

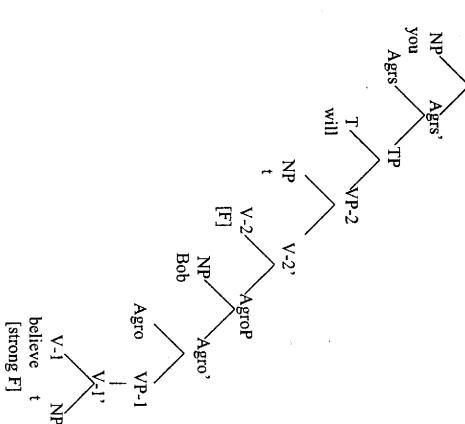
- (130) *There seem to each other [to have been some linguists given good job offers].

Note that Condition A cannot be satisfied by covert object raising in the acceptable sentences. If that were the case, the above sentence must be acceptable too. Lasnik provides further evidence for overt object raising from pseudogapping constructions like the following.

- (131) You might not believe me but you will Bob.

Adopting Koizumi's split-VP structure (132), he suggests that the object raises overtly to the specifier of AgO. The verb (V-1) also has a strong feature that must be checked by V-1-raising to V-2. If it raises, the result is the non-elided structure *You might not believe me but you will believe Bob*. If it does not raise, the derivation crashes (due to the unchecked feature on V-1), unless the VP-1 is deleted at PF³⁴. This gives us the elided construction in (131).

- (132)



³⁴ Lasnik's analysis of English pseudogapping constructions is evidence for the PF crash theory that states that a strong feature that is not checked in overt syntax causes a derivation to crash at LF.

Another context:

1. Auntie Amna ko urdu ki citthi parni sik raha hai. Likin auntie se Anna ki urdu ki citthi parhni aj tak nahi jati, shaid kissi aur se hogा...

Intended: "Anna's reading of urdu letters still hasn't happened." (Butt 2005)

Another:

1. Auntie ne Kaha ki aj paoda katna hai, likin Anna ke pass sirif dull kenci hai aur usne kenci kabi use nahi kia. Usne kenci ghalat se pakr lia aur buri koshish ki paoda kata.
[Uske bari koshish karne se] paoda kata, uski ghalat pakrna ne nahi kia.

Intended: 'Her ~~&~~ extreme trying is what cut the plant, not her incorrect grip.'

2. Auntie ne [Anna ki bari koshish karne se] paoda kataya.

Intended: 'Auntie got the plant out by Anna's extreme trying.'

The lack of wide scope for the nominal (over the matrix predicate) in non-LDA constructions, like (112), results from the absence of object-movement. The object does not move for Case/agreement relations and hence it fails to take wide scope.

- (112) Nainme har kitab parhnaa chaah-aa.
Nain-erg. every book-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.def want.def.

Nain wanted to read every book.
Want > every book

*Every book > want

The absence of wide scope of the non-agreeing nominal also suggests that HU does not allow object QR (to vP in this case). The relevant steps are sketched in (113).

- (113) [TP Nain [vP [vP [v wanted [vP read every book]]]



Similarly, object QR to TP must also be blocked, as shown by the rigid scope in (114).

- (114) kisi shaayane [har ghazal paRhnii] chaahi.
Some poet-erg. every poem-acc.sg.fem read-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.

Some poet wanted to recite every poem.

Some poet > every poem

*every poem > some poet

This sentence has only one reading: *there is a unique poet who wants to recite every song*. If the object is allowed to scope over the subject, we will get the disallowed interpretation: *for every poem, there is a (possibly) different poet who wants to recite it*. This is schematized below.

- (115) [TP [TP Some poet [vP every poem [v wanted [vP recite every poem]]]]]



The first movement of the (agreeing) object (in 115) is for Case/agreement purposes. This allows it to scope over the matrix predicate. The second movement (object-QR to TP) is not permitted, and hence the impossibility of generating the inverse scope reading. An alternative explanation with Nevins and Anand's (2003) QR+restructuring analysis is also possible, to which we now turn.

Nevins and Anand consider sentences like the following:

- (116) kisi shaayane har ghazal paRhi.
Some poet-erg. every song-acc.sg.fem. read.sg.fem.perf.

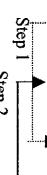
Some poet recited every song.
Some poet > every song
*every song > some poet

The accusative object in (116) cannot take scope over the ergative subject; i.e. there is only one interpretation for the sentence: *there exists a (particular) poet, who recited every song*. Nevins and Anand claim (i) that HU ergative subjects do not reconstruct at LF and (ii) more generally,

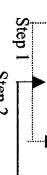
that movement driven only for the EPP does not reconstruct. They suggest that HU ergative is a lexical Case and that an ergative DP (first merged into the specifier of vP) has no uninterpretable Case features and moves to the specifier of TP for pure EPP reasons. The scope rigidity of these DPs follows from a general principle in the grammar: A-movement driven for EPP does not reconstruct.

They adopt a QR-plus-reconstruction derivation, on the lines proposed by Hornstein (1995), and Johnson and Tomioka (1997). Inverse scope, according to them is contingent on two operations: (i) reconstruction of the higher quantifier phrase (QP), and (ii) raising of the lower QP, as schematized in (117). Failure to do either (i)/step 1 or (ii)/step 2 yields scope rigidity.

- (117) [QP-1 [QP-2 t-1 [t-2]]]



Step 1



Step 2

The raised QP-1 must reconstruct to its base-generated position and the lower QP-2 must QR to a position from where it can c-command the reconstructed QP-1 in order to generate the inverse scope reading. In their system, the object QRs to vP, but the ergative subject fails to reconstruct to its base generated position. This accounts for the lack of inverse scope in simple ergative subject constructions (116), as illustrated in (118). Note that in our account, the object is already present in the specifier of vP (for case/agreement reasons).

- (118) [TP [TP some poet-1 [vP every poem-2 [vP t-1 [V recite t-2]]]]]

We adopt their analysis to explain the scope relations for LDA constructions. For the sentence in (114), the object that is already placed in the specifier of matrix v scopes over the matrix predicate, but fails to take scope over the subject as the latter fails to reconstruct (119).

- (119) [TP [TP Some poet-1 [vP every poem-2 [vP t-1 [V wanted [vP t-2 [vP t-1 [V recite t-2]]]]]]]



Let us now consider some nominative subject constructions.

- (120) koi shayar har ghazal paRhiha.
Some poet-nom. every poem-acc.fem.sg. read.mas.sg.perf.

Some poet recited every poem.
Some poet > every poem
Every poem > some poet

- (121) koi shaayar har ghazal paRhnaa chaantaa he.
Some poet-nom every song-acc.sg.fem.read-inf.def. want.sg.mas. be.3P.sg.

Some poet wanted to recite every song.
Some poet > every song
Every song > some poet

Another }

1. Auntie ne Amna ko tencī tik se pakna
sikā dia. Auntie ne [Amna ki ghalat
kencī pakrne ko] tik Karaya.

Intended: "Auntie made Anna's incorrect gripping
correct."

Another :

1. Agar Amna ki urdu ki cittni barni
bittr ho jata to auntie uske
School pejegi.

Intended: "If Anna's Urdu letter reading gets
better, auntie will send her to school."

(Dawson 2004)

Certain adverbs like *quickly* are ambiguous between two readings (as first observed by Travis 1988). The first reading is termed ‘process reading’, where the adverb qualifies the action itself. The process reading of *quickly* is available in a sentence like *She read the book quickly*, meaning *rapid reading*. The other meaning, ‘the event reading’ of *quickly* is available in a sentence like *She quickly read the book*. On this interpretation, the *actual reading* might take a long time, but the commencement of the action is immediate. These two meanings of the adverbs, as Travis argued, indicate its different structural positions; ‘process reading’ is associated with a VP-adjointed adverb, whereas ‘event reading’ indicates an I'-adjointed adverb.

The sentence in (103) has a ‘process reading’ for the adverb, meaning *Ram worked quickly* (i.e. *the action was done quickly*). The adverb *quickly* is therefore adjointed to VP, and the object is placed higher than VP. On the other hand, (104) has an event interpretation: *Ram commenced on the work quickly* (though *the work itself might have progressed slowly*). The adverb *quickly* is adjointed to I', suggesting that the agreeing object is placed lower than I'. Based on these variant adverbial interpretations, Mahajan contends that agreeing objects are positioned above VP (but lower than I'), namely the spec, Agr-O in his system or the (outer) specifier of VP in our system.³³

Mahajan compares these constructions to nominative subject sentences with non-agreeing objects.

- (105) sita kaam jaldise kartii thi.
Stat-nom. work-acc.mas.quickly do.be.3P.sg.fem.past.

- Sita worked quickly.

- (106) sita jaldise kaam karti thi.
Stat-nom. quickly work-acc.mas. do-be.3P.sg.fem.past.
Sita worked quickly.

The sentence in (105) is ambiguous between ‘event’ and ‘process’ readings, though the latter interpretation is stronger. The important point to note here is that the non-agreeing object requires focal stress, suggesting that it scrambles to a focus position (either above I' or VP). This is in direct contrast to the sentence in (103), where the agreeing object bears no such focal stress.

The sentence in (106) is also ambiguous. Compare this to the sentence in (104) where a ‘process reading’ is impossible. This indicates that the non-agreeing object, unlike its agreeing counterpart, is placed at a position below the VP-adjointed adverb.

So far, we have observed that HU object agreement is related to the nominal's specific interpretation. However there are some nominals that do not trigger agreement on the verb, but

nonetheless are interpreted as specific/definite. These are the nominals that are overtly (accusative)-case-marked with a -*ko* morpheme.

- (107) Johnne us laRkiko dekhaa.

- John-erg. that girl-acc. saw.def.perf.

John saw that girl.

- (108) *Johnne us laRkiko dekhi.

- John-erg. that girl-acc. saw.sg.fem.perf.

As shown in (107)-(108), -*ko* marked objects do not trigger agreement on the embedded predicate. Similarly, these nominals do not allow LDA (109)-(110).

- (109) Johnne us roTiko khaanna chahaai.

- John-erg. that bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.def. want.def.perf.

John wanted to eat that bread.

- (110) *Johnne us roTiko khaanni chahaai.

- John-erg. that bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.

John wanted to eat that bread.

As with all (agreeing) specific objects, we assume that these (non-agreeing) specific objects also raise to the specifier of v to for case and agreement checking. The -*ko* marker is either a (default) accusative case-maker or a (default) specificity marker. These objects move to spec. VP, but fail to show overt agreement due to a general prohibition on overtly case-marked nominals to agree overtly with the verb.⁵⁴

V. On Scope

Let us now consider the phenomenon of scope in HU, starting with ergative subject constructions.

- (111) Naimne har kitab parhnii chaah-ii.

- Nain-erg. every book-acc.sg.fem.read-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.

Nain wanted to read every book.

Want > every book

Every book > want

Within the alternative analysis, the agreeing object in the LDA construction in (111) moves to the specifier of the higher predicate, permitting it to take wide scope over the latter. This generates the interpretation, where *for every book, Nain has a desire to read it*. The second reading, where *every book* scopes under *want*, is available when the ‘reconstructed’ or lower copy of the nominal is taken into consideration.

³³ Mahajan does not provide similar examples with non-agreeing objects in ergative subject constructions (also note that he is using a masculine object that makes it difficult to differentiate actual object agreement from default agreement). For my informants, the following sentences (with a feminine object) display different semantic interpretations. The former has a process reading, while the latter has an event interpretation. However the process reading is available for (i) only with a certain intonation.

(i) Johnne toTii jaldise khayyi.

John-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. quickly eat.sg.fem.perf.

(ii) Johnne jaldise rotii khayaa.

John-erg. quickly bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.def.perf.

John ate the bread quickly.

⁵⁴ Participle object agreement in French, Italian, Swedish and Norwegian also suggest a specifier-head agreement relation (see Kayne 1989, Christensen and Tørildsen 1989, among others). Overt object agreement with the participle is possible only if the object moves to a pre-participle position (by A-bar (clitic/wi-) movement or A'-movement (passives/inaccusatives)). In most cases, there is also a specificity effect associated with these objects.

*part
of
ven's
comment*

Goals of Butt 1993, my comments.

- gift
out
(Hindi) each in 1993

Butt 1993

Hindi-Urdu Infinitives as NPs

061212 -na/he, -na/hi/he

Butt aims to show that -na has the external distribution of NPs

- She didn't show any -ni in nominative position

- Without this it can be claimed that there are two na, one is na/ne, has inherent gender and it's a pure genitivoun, the other is, na/nine and gets its gender from the things it modifies, it's a participle/adicitive

To provide this, make a list of the properties of the NV internal alternations she found. Test both types in the object position of verbs that don't assign -ko. Try I hit him on the ears with my loud screaming/curseball ringing?

I know are LEXICAL restructuring verbs... if they are functional then need to explain them the way that other aux are explained. Either by percolating/concord with differing insides. And thus allows the matrix verb in LDA to agree locally with the -na rather than with the distant embedded object.

Show both insides in the LDA and the non-LDA environments (ie the obliques) are both the complements of the matrix verb Ego since all the LDA matrix verbs I know are LEXICAL restructuring verbs... if they are functional then need to explain them the way that other aux are explained. Either by percolating/concord with differing insides. And thus allows the matrix verb in LDA to agree locally with the -na rather than with the distant embedded object.

Because of the lack of this crucial data she succeeded only in showing that SOME -na have the external distribution of NPs. And that there are two na with different internal structures, (similar to English -ing.)

1

2

Constructions: "tell", purposive, permissive - na, non-nominative objects = oblique ne.

- Informant check: does bhejaa (always) mark its object
- Anjum sent sadaf the letter
- Change haar (M) to anguti (F) as these could easily be the masc from haar, rather than the default

Kishan (1989:40) refers to Hindi infinitive constructions as 'infinitival complements'. As the sentence in (1) shows, this analysis is essentially correct. In (1a) the infinitive has no object, while in (1b), because of the complementing auxiliary, the matrix verb in (1b), becomes 'Bhikharne' is an argument of the verb 'kam'.

- a. *agniye* *bhikharne* *ko* *kaam* *karne* *ki* *par*.
- b. *agniye* *bhikharne* *ko* *kaam* *karne* *ki* *par*.

Anjum (DPIg 1993) (P) But sentence (P) has a problem.
Anjum sent Sadaf in write a postcard.
c. *agniye* *ko* *postcard* *write* *kaam* *karne* *ki* *par*.
Anjum (DPIg 1993) (P) But sentence (P) has a problem.
Anjum sent Sadaf in make a postcard.

Nominative = agreement, Informant check: aatii never case marks its object

The examples in (2) show that the morphology on the infinitive can also vary according to the gender of its object. In fact, the matrix verb also agrees with the embedded object of the infinitive, thus creating an effect of agreement across clause boundaries. In Urdu/Hindi the generalization

- (2) a. *mujhe* (*baatii*) *catamaij* *aatii* *hai*
I-Dat car-F-Nom drive-Inf-F come-Impl-F is

'I know how to drive a car.'

- b. *mujhe* (*tāgaa*) *catamaij* *aatii* *hai*
I-Dat tonga-M-Nom drive-Inf-M come-Impl-M is

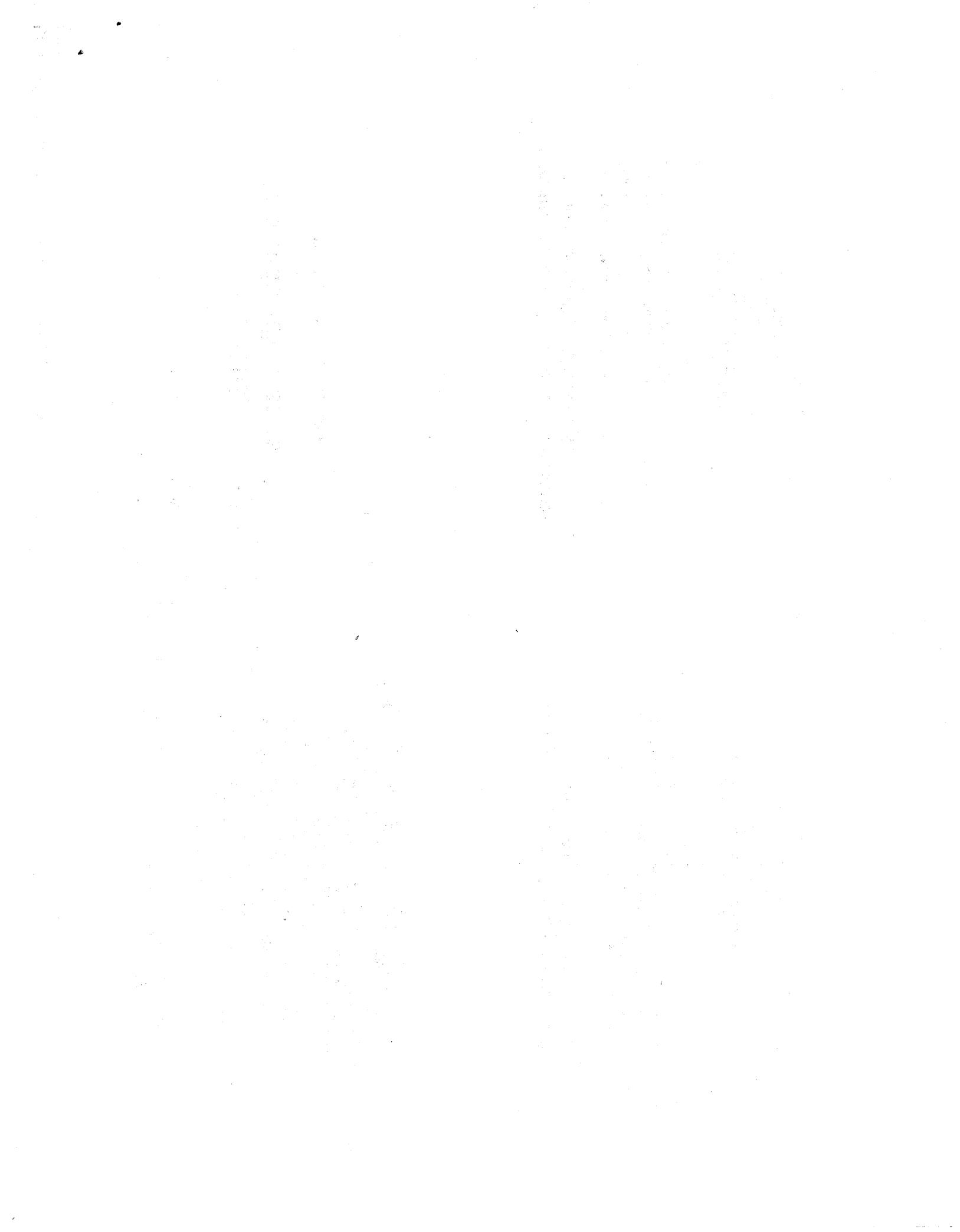
'I know how to drive a tonga.'

- c. *mujhe* (*laft*) *par* *nej* *sati* *hai*
I-Dat word-Pl-Nom read-Inf Pl know-Impl-Pl are

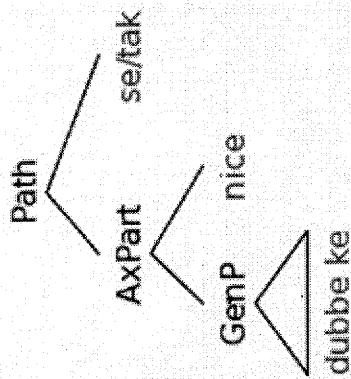
'I know how to read the words.'

3

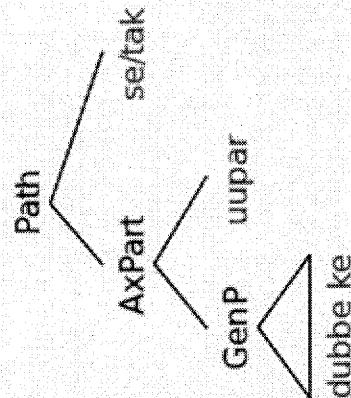
4



[Path [AxPart
[GenP dubbe
ke] nice]
se/tak]

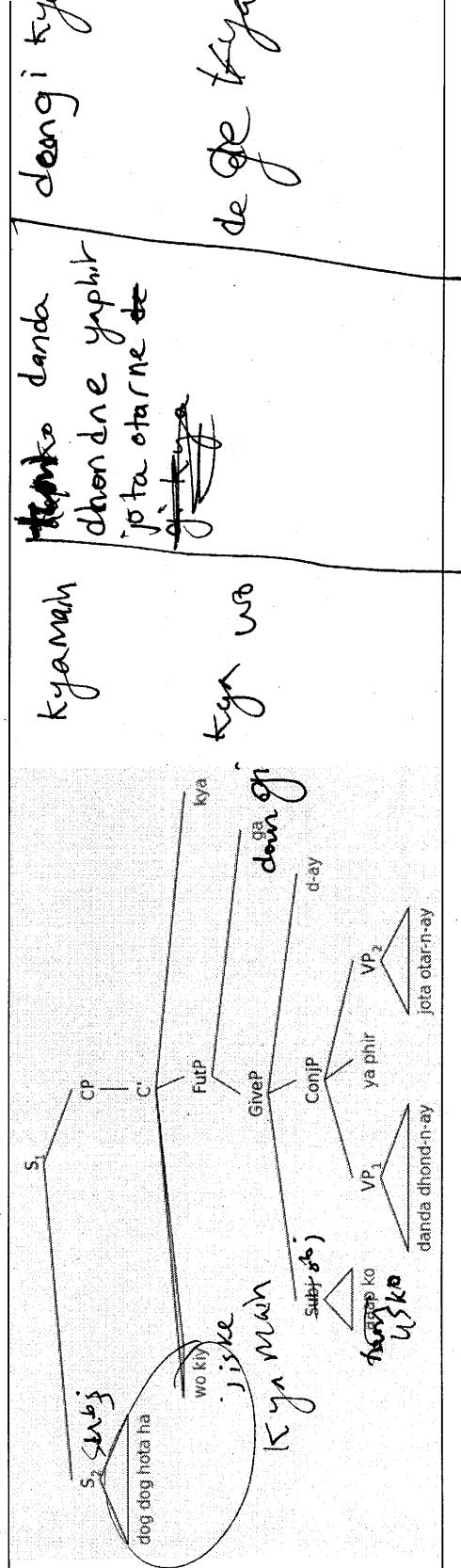


[Path [AxPart
[GenP dubbe
ke] uupar]
se/tak]



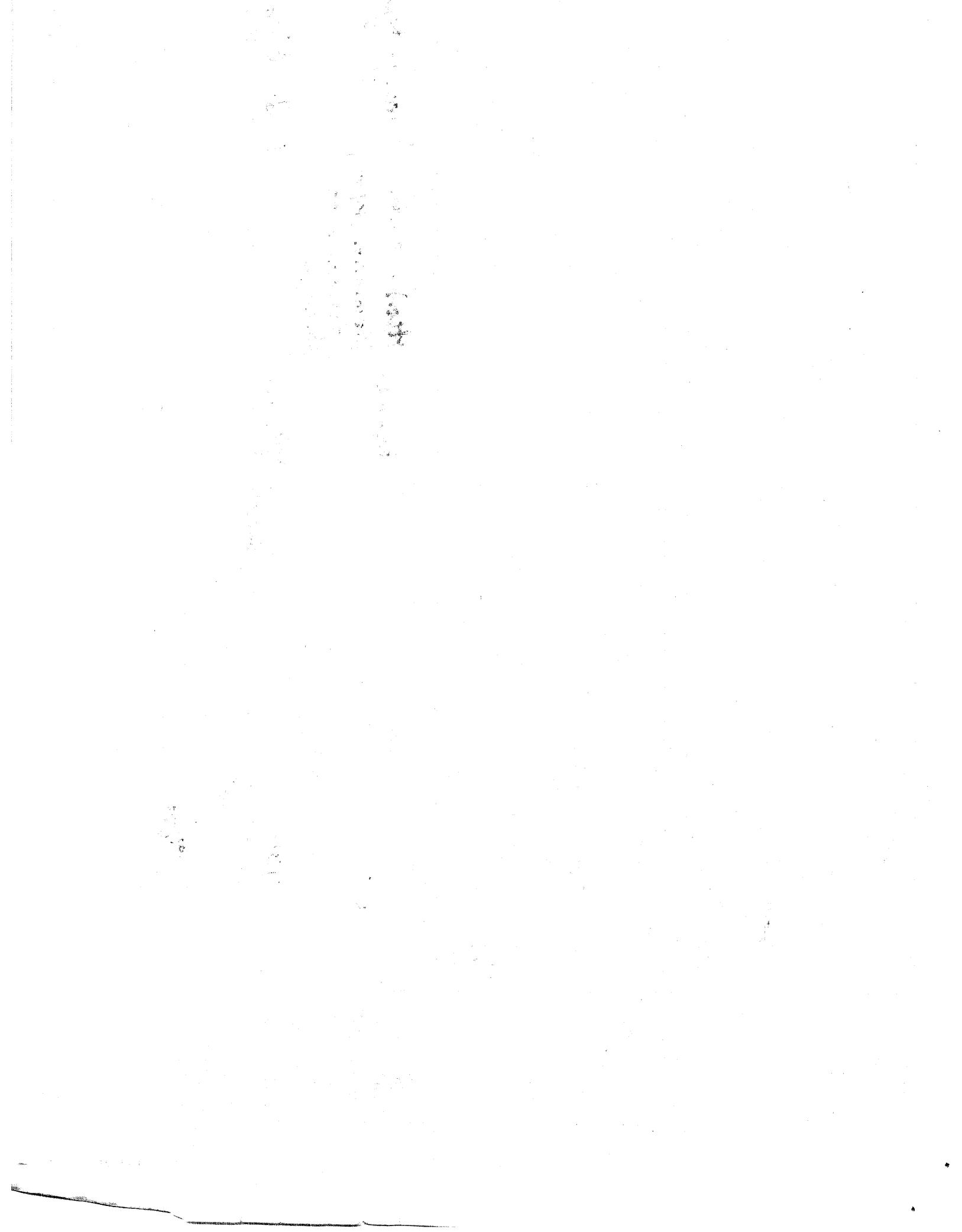
-ey ga
Line 3

[S [S dog dog
nота ha] [CP
wo kya [FutP
[GiveP [Subj
aaap ko]
[ConjP [VP
danda dhond-
n-ay] ya phir
[VP jota otar-
n-ay] d-ay]
ga]]]



Make
paradig
m

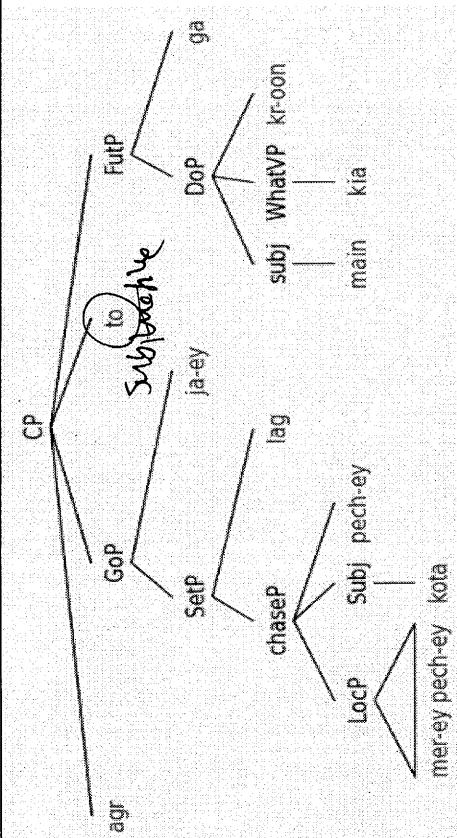
-du
-do gi
Tum DanDa



DhunDo ge
 (adv) (hair*)
 Wo DanDa
 DhunDo ga/gi.

You'll look for
 a branch.
 1 order,
 2 prediction

Line 2 [CP agr [GoP
 [SetP [chaseP
 [LocP mer-e
 pech-e][Subj
 kota] bhonk-
 n-e] lag] (ja-
 e)] to [FutP
 [DoP [subj
 main][WhatV
 P kia] kr-oon]
 ga]]



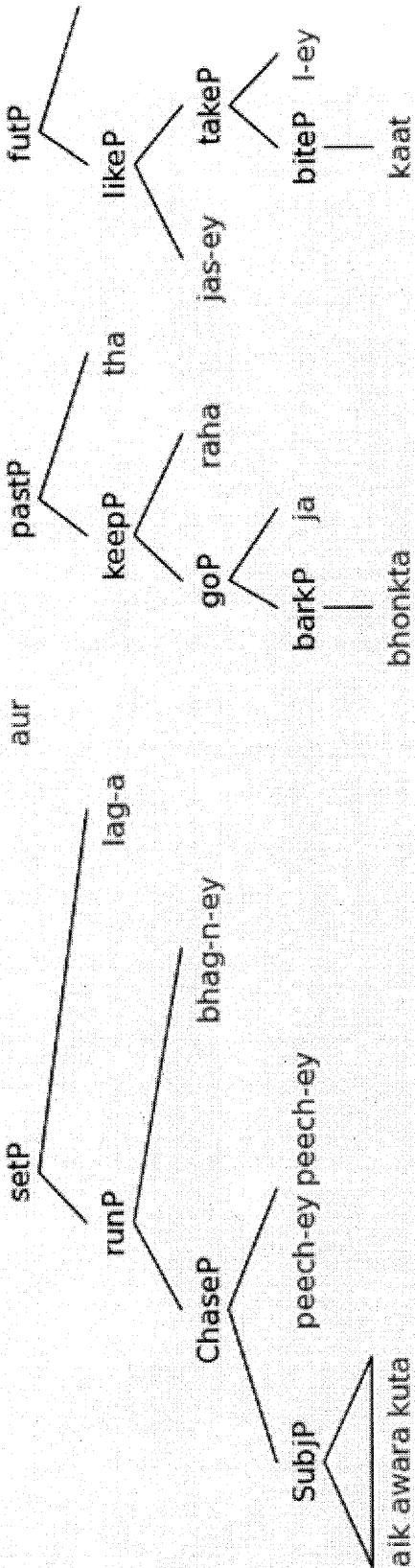
Check
 length of
 the
 vowel

Wo kya karee
 ga

Lage is fine to,
 with out the
 jaP

Line 4

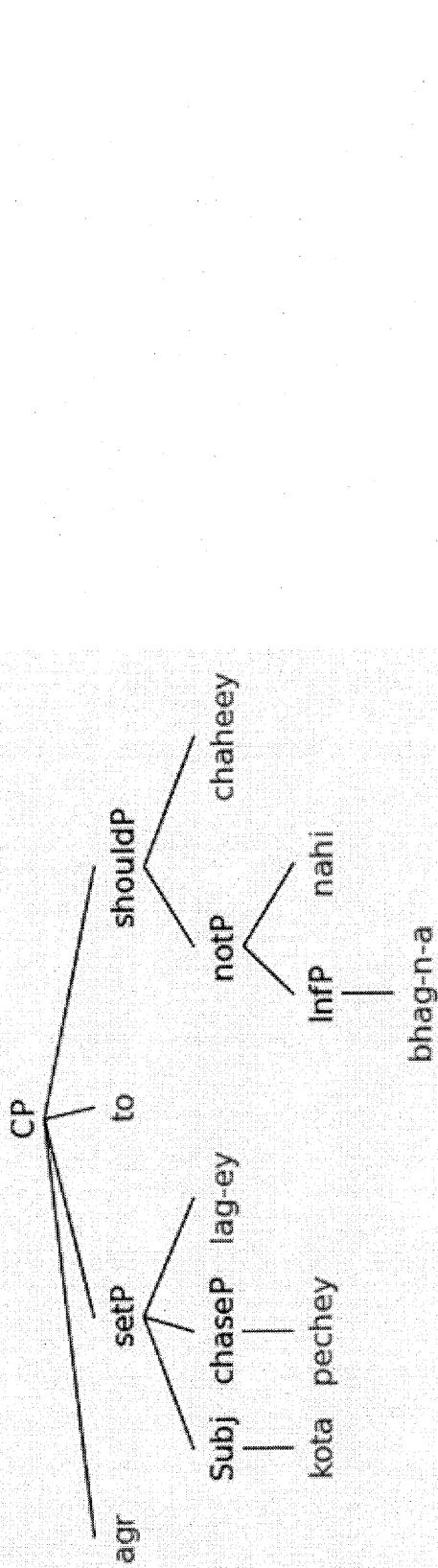
ConjP

[ConjP [setP
[runP [ChaseP
[SubjP alk
awara kuta]
peech-ey]]
bhag-n-
ey] lag-a] aur
[pastP [keepP
[goP [barkP
bhonkta] ja]
raha] tha]
[futP [likeP
jas-ey [takeP
[biteP kaat]-
ey]] ga]]]

chayey

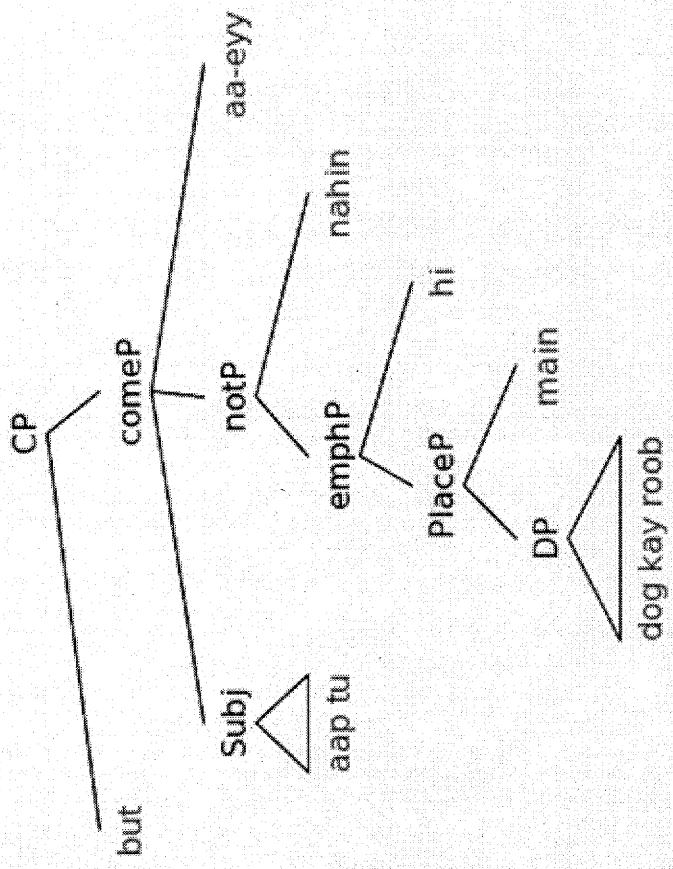
Cant have lage

Line 2

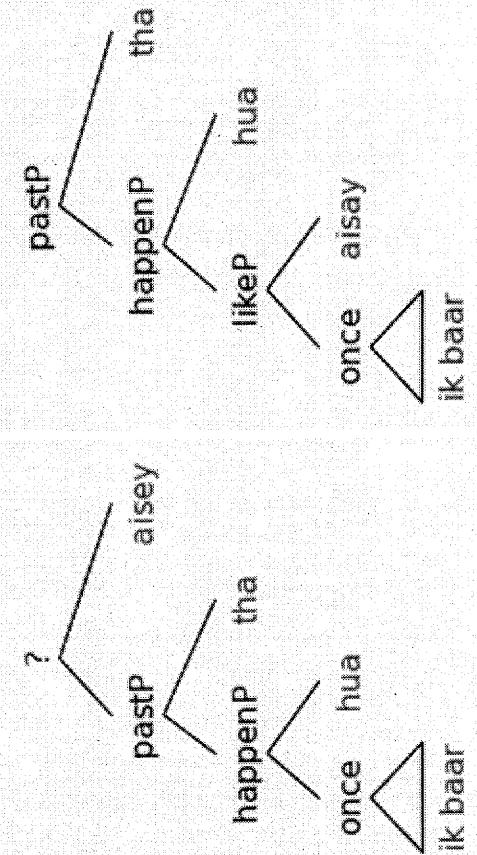
[CP agr [setP
[Subj kota]
[ChaseP
[pechey] lag-ey]
to [shouldP
[notP [InfP
bhag-n-a]
nahi]]
chaheey]]

aa-eyy

Line 3
 [CP but
 [comeP [Subj
 ap tu] [notP
 [emphP
 [PlaceP [DP
 dog kay roob]
 main] hi]
 nahin] aa-
 eyy]]



Line 4
 [? [pastP
 [happenP
 [once ik baar]
 hua] tha]
 aisey]
 derived from
 [pastP
 [happenP
 [[likeP [once ik
 baar]aisay]
 hua] tha]



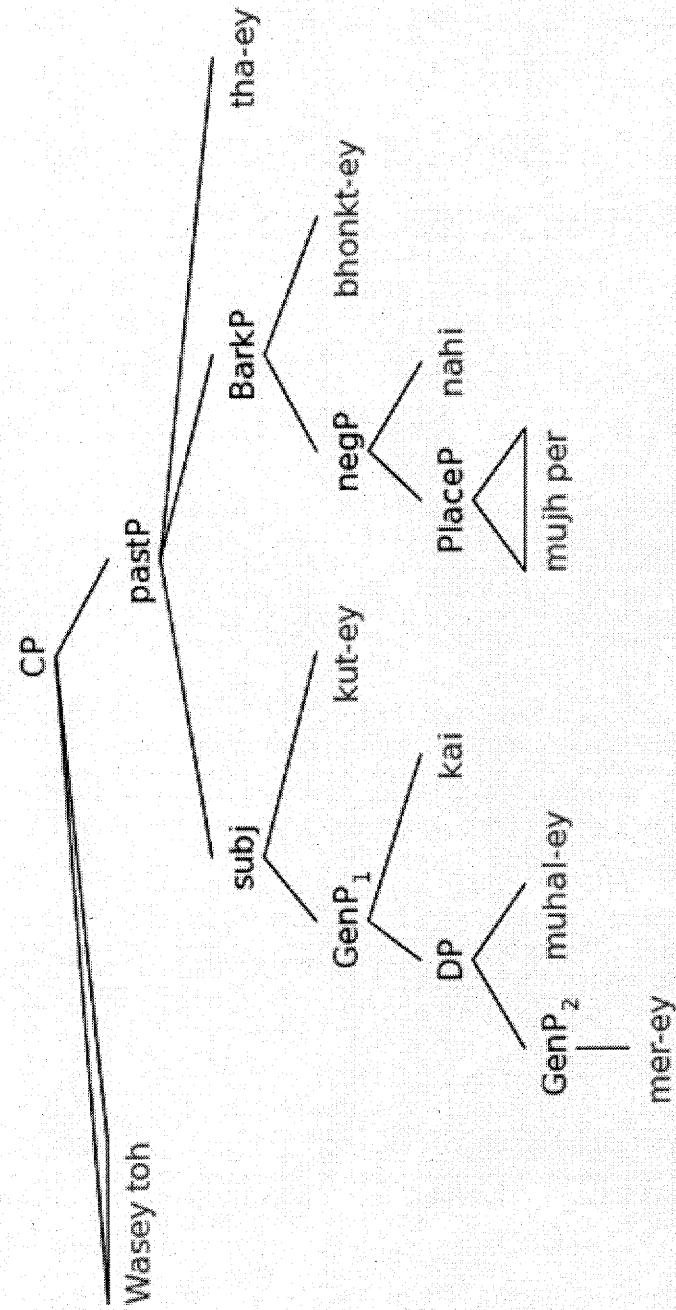
?

Wasey
...Tha-
ey

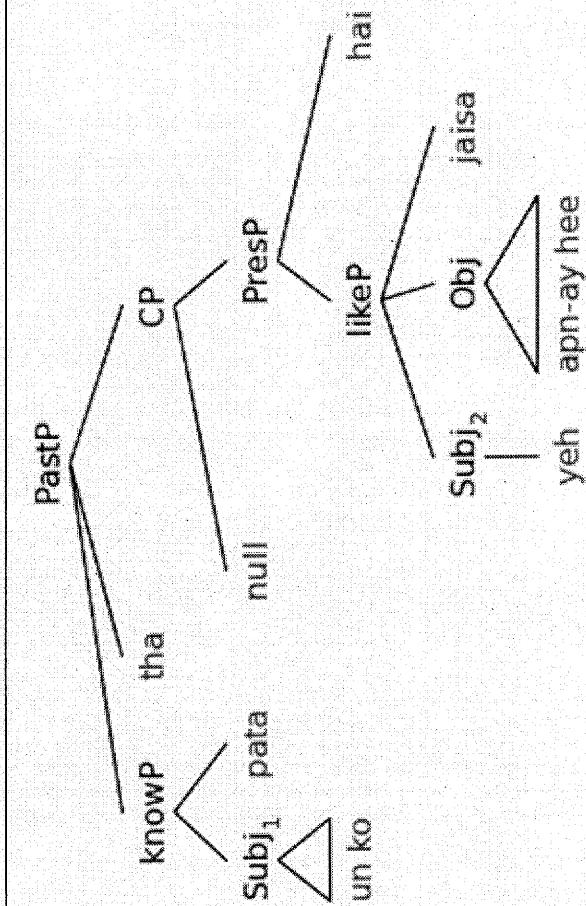
Line-4

[CP Was-ey
toh [pastP
[subj [GenP
mer-ey]
muhal-ey]
kai] kut-ey]
[BarkP [negP
[PlaceP mujh
per] nahi]
bhonkt-ey]
tha-ey]]

Wasey toh



Line 4
[PastP [knowP
[Subj un ko]
pata] tha [CP
null [PresP
[likeP [Subj
yeh] [Obj
apn-ay hee]
jaisa]
hai]]]
Jaisa or jaisay?
Apnay? Object
of hee?



Postpositions in Urdu

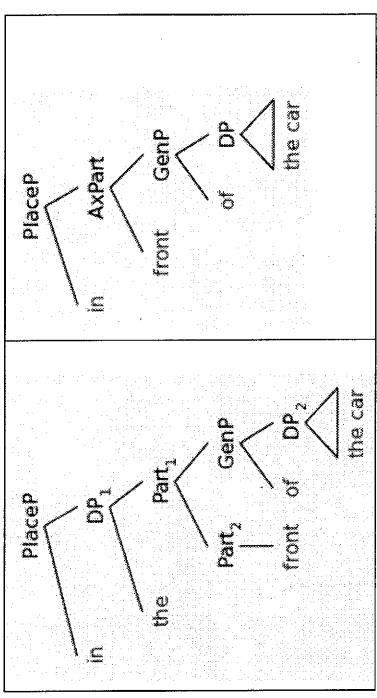
1 The internal structure of a PP

Words like 'front', 'back', 'top' have two uses, the 'N use' ('the front of x') in its 'part' sense and the 'AxPart' use (**in front** of x) as the spatial sense.

1. N use
There was a kangaroo **in the front** of the car.
2. AxPart use
There was a kangaroo **in front** of the car.
3. N use can be plural, but AxPart use cannot
There were kangaroos **in the fronts** of the cars.
*There were kangaroos **in fronts** of the cars.
4. N use can be modified by an adjective, but AxPart use cannot:
There was a kangaroo **in the smashed-up front** of the car.
*There was a kangaroo **in smashed-up front** of the car.
5. AxPart can be modified by a measure, but N use cannot
*There was a kangaroo **sixty feet in the front** of the car.
There was a kangaroo **sixty feet in front** of the car.
6. N use can be referred to with a proform, but AxPart use cannot.
The kangaroo was **in [DP1 the front of the car]**, but the koala wasn't **in it^{*}**.
The kangaroo was in **[DP1 front of the car]**, but the koala wasn't in **it^{*}**.
The kangaroo was in **[DP1 front of a car]**, but the koala was in **one^{*}**, too.
7. N use can strand the preposition, but AxPart use cannot.
It was **the front of the car** that the kangaroo was **in t** .
It was **front of the car** that the kangaroo was **in t** .

Svenonius (2006:50) argues for a projection which he calls AxPart for based on Jackendoff's (1996) and Marr's (1982) discussion of axial structures in spatial cognition.

8. Compositional Semantics of the Projections:
GenP: acts as a type shifter, lifting DPs to predicates over some of projection of N
AxPart: identifies a region based on the ground element (DP)
DP: is the ground
- | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|
| N use | AxPart use (Svenonius 2006:52) |
|-------|--------------------------------|



9. Words which allow both AxPart and N use (Svenonius 2006:52)

In the table below we see that these are the words which are ambiguous in the English prepositions and places.

10. Table of (most) English Prepositions and Places

Places (y)	Unbounded 3D Space			Unbounded 2D Lines/Planes			Bounded 3D Object			Bounded 2D Planes		
	The exterior, the outside	The interior, the center of the thing	The middle of the group	The field	The ground object	The side, the edge	The top, the bottom	The front, the back	The front, the fore, the back	The front, the back	The front, the back	The front, the back
Directional Front (e.g. S, E, N, W)	front	behind	forward	backward	over	under	above	below	onto	under	onto, upo	upo
Location Space	in	out	into	into	into	into	on	on	on	on	on, upo	upo
Directional Source (e.g. P, Y)	comes	from	from	through	from	from	from	from	from	from	from	from
Location Time	at	out of	at	out of	at	at	at	at	at	at	at	at
Scalar	in	outside	in	outside	in	inside	in	inside	in	inside	in	inside
Relative												

over, on top in front of, opposite

	within	within	underneath	underneath	in back of	
a-	around	among	against	against	ahead of,	
be-		Between	along	along	before,	
Time direction / goal			Beside	below,	behind	
Time direction				beneath		
Sources						
Location						
Scalar						
Relative						
Affective						
Comitative						

gaaDi house/road=gen=e back-e/[end in-e]

is-3sg

Translate:

The top paper is pink.
Sab-se upper jo paper hai, wo gulabi hai

The bottom of the pot is burned.

The front of the house is not painted.

The back of the house is not painted.

The ball is in the middle of the house,
Wo ball ghar ke bic (mein) hai

The ball is in between the trees.
Wo ball peD(on) ke bich (mein) hai ??

The bird is above the tree,
Wo chiDiya ped-ke upar hai

The bird is over the house,
Wo ciDiya ped-ke upar hai

The car is next to the house,
Wo gaaDi ghar ke paas(hi)(nonstandard - baju mein) khaDi hai

The car is near the house,
Wo gaaDi ghar ke paas hai

The house is after the next street,
Wo ghar agle road baad hai

The ball is below the tree,
Wo ball peD ke nice hai

The ball is under the tree,
Wo ball peD ke nice hai

The ball is underneath the tree,
Wo ball peD ke nice hai

2. Urdu also has prepositions which mean something like "in front" and take a genitive complement; does Urdu have both the AxPart use and the N use?

There are no determiners in Urdu, bare nouns can be DPs, so it difficult to see if there are both uses.

CHECK DATA:

11. N use: 'The kitchen is in the front of the house.'

Urdu ghar kay aage/'sammne bhaag me hain.
kitchen house=gen-e front-e side in-e is-3sg
 'The kitchen is in the front (part) of the house.'

Japanese kitchen=nom house=gen mae=gen-ho
 'The kitchen is in the front (part) of the house.'

Korean garden to ghar ke aage/sammne hain.
garden=focus house=gen-e front-e is-3sg
 'The garden is in the front of the house.'

12. AxPart use: 'The garden is in front of the house.'

Urdu garden to ghar ke aage/sammne hain.
garden=focus house=gen-e front-e is-3sg
 'The garden is in the front of the house.'

Japanese

Korean garden to ghar ke aage/sammne hain.
garden=focus house=gen-e front-e is-3sg
 'The garden is in the front of the house.'

13. N use: 'The air conditioner is in the back of the house.'

Urdu cooler ghar ke #piche[fakhr] kamre [me]
 house=gen-e back/[last.F room-e in-e] hai
 'The air conditioner is in the back of the house.'

14. AxPart use: 'The car in back of the house.'

Urdu gaaDi ghar/sarak ke piche/[fakhr] me] hai
 'The car in back of the house.'

The dog is ahead of the car.
Wo kutta gaadi ke aage hai

The dog is behind the car.
Wo kutta gaadi ke piche hai

The garden is in front of the house.
Wo baag ghar ke saamne hai

The bird is on the edge of the roof.
Wo pandhi chhat ke kinaare pe baittha hua hai ??

The lizard is on the side of the house.
Wo cipkali ghar ke diwaar pe hai ??

The ball is outside the house.
Wo ball ghar ke baahar hai

The ball is inside the house.
Wo ball ghar ke andar hai (inside the house)
Wo ball ghar mein hai (in the house)

The rope is around the tree.
Wo rassi ped par lipTi hui hai

The rope is through the house.
Wo rassi ghar ke andar se jaai rahi hai

Divah:

the top of the box is red.
E Fosheege amathrai

the side of the box is red.
E Fosheege armathrai

the bottom of the pot is burned.
Thelegee ~~too~~ andhaata

the underside of the box is red.
E Fosheege (diah) too rai

the front of the box is red.
E Fosheege karimathrai

the back of the box is red.
E Fosheege fahat rai

the ball is in the middle of the house
E Boalha othee gey mednuga^{mednugaa}

That ball is in between the trees.
E Boalha otheed dhegasdheyferey

the ball is among the trees.
E Boalha otheegasthakfiftheryga

the bird is above the tree.
E Dhoomi gas matheega udhuhenee

the bird is over the house.
E Dhoomi gas matheega udhuhenee

the car parked is next to the house.
E Gey kaireega caru baavafa

the house is after the next street
EGe hummanee dhien oily maguga

the ball is below the tree.
EBoalha othee gas dhashiga

the ball is under the tree.
EBoalha othee gas dhuvanee

the dog is ahead of the car.
E kutthaa caaru kureega dhuvanee

the dog is behind the car.
E kutthaa caaru fahathuga dhuvanee

the dog is running after the car.
E kutthaa caaru tahathun dhuvanee

the ball is in front of the house.
E boalha othee e gey kurimatheega

the bird is on the edge of the roof.
E dhooni inee furailhu kolhinga

the lizard is on the outside wall of the house.
E (rakis) bondu inee gey beyru faaruga

the lizard is (at) near the side of the house.
E (rakis) bondu inee gey kaireega

the ball is outside
E boallha vee beyrugaa

the ball is under the cup
E boallha vee joachu dhashugaa

the rope is around the tree
Er roanugandu othee gahuge vrashaiqen olhaafaa

the rope is pulled through the sac
Er roanu gandu huree goani therain laafa dhamaafaa

the man is on top of the ladder
E meeha huree harungandu matheega

If that works, or doesn't work check also with other postpositions:

15. Urdu Postpositions

DP complement	Gen complement
Noun-e P	noun-e k-e P
dai ko	'from' 'erg' me
'in' 'me'	'on/at' pe
'to/until' tak	'toward' taraf 'inside' andar 'above/over' upar 'next to' paas 'near' nazdik 'after' baad 'except' (e)lava 'like' tarah 'without' binaa 'with' saath
	gen ka/k/ke

Then create the tests for the prepositions that have both meanings.

17. N use can be plural, but AxPart use cannot:
There were kangaroos in the fronts of the cars.
*There were kangaroos in front of the cars.

18. N use can be modified by an adjective, but AxPart use cannot:
There was a kangaroo in the smashed-up front of the car.
*There was a kangaroo in smashed-up front of the car.

19. AxPart can be modified by a measure, but N use cannot
*There was a kangaroo sixty feet in the front of the car.
There was a kangaroo sixty feet in front of the car.

Check translations below, looking for nouns that correspond to the postpositions:

16. Urdu AxParts, maybe look over the big table above and try to translate parts of it into urdu.
Word Nominal Translation Prepositional Translation
P-e On

20. N use can be referred to with a preform, but AxPart use cannot.
The kangaroo was in [pre the front of the car], but the koala wasn't in it.
The kangaroo was in [pre front of the car], but the koala wasn't in it*.
The kangaroo was in [pre front of a car], but the koala was in one* too.

21. N use can strand the preposition, but AxPart use cannot.
It was the front of the car that the kangaroo was in t.

It was front of the car that the kangaroo was in t.

Check also the DP data from

Nouns in Kithiaraka can take a wide range of postnominal modifiers, and a small number of prenominal modifiers which come in the following neutral order.

- (28) Focus > Quantifier > NOUN > Dem > Genitives >
 even/also every N that of-mine
 Num > Adj > AssociativeP > Relative-clause >
 two red of-maths
 Quantifiers
 only/done

- (29) Maria a- ri- ij -it -e me-bukun ma-un ma-kwa ma-
 1.Maria S11-PERF-steal-STAT-FV 6- book 6- this 6- mine 6-
 tano ma-time n-a ma-thabu
 five 6- red 6- AS 6-
 'Maria had stolen these five red books of mine of mathematics'
 (N>Dem>Gen>Num>Adj>AsP)

- (30) John a- na-gar-ir -e ma-bukun u-a ma-thabu ma-ra
 1.John S11-PN-had-PERF-FV 6- book 6- math 6- that
 ma-re-ij -it -e un-onthe
 6- PN-steal-STAT-PASS-FV 6- all
 'John bought all the books of mathematics that were stolen'
 (N>AsP>Rel-Q)

- (31) a. Kiuya kira mw-arimini u-a- ki- i pati -ni
 eaten every 1- teacher F-S11-SH17-be party-LOC
 'Even every teacher was at the party'
 b. Maria a- keth-ir -i -e kiuya kira mw-arimini
 1.Maria S11-greet-PERF-CST-FV eaten every 1- teacher
 'Maria greeted even every teacher' (Focus>Quantifier)

(My attempts:)

28 [inere har-ek la-l-si mathmatek-i kitab hi] le lia

29 Mary ne [mere panch la-si mathmatik-i kt?] kitab hil le lia

30 John kharide ga [us sare mathmatik-i kitaab jsne mary ne le lia]

31 a Har bhi teacher party pe tha

31b Mary ne har bhi teacher ko salaam kch dia

APPENDIX Preposition stacking, so far doesn't seem to tell us much about the hierarchy...

22. Table of combining and ambiguities.

Modifier	Path (moves)	Place (is)	Ground
	in, on, over, off		
	out, up, from		
		under, underneath, above, below, around, near, beside, along, among, between	of the car
		side, edge, bottom, center,	
		middle, right, left, north,	
		south, east,	
	to, toward, through		
		at, beneath	
in, on, over, up	to		
next, close	to		
out, off	of		

23. Preposition stacking in English

- It came in from the rain.
 It came in through the rain.
 It came through under the bed.
 It came from under the bed.
 It came out up from under the bed.
 ?It came over down out from off the refrigerator.

in/out			from	under	The bed
in					The rain
out/over		up			The bed
over	down	out	from	under	The bed
				over/above	The refrigerator

Prepositions which can be stacked (functional)

In, out, over, off, from, to, up, through

More lexical prepositions which can be stacked
 It went along among the trees.

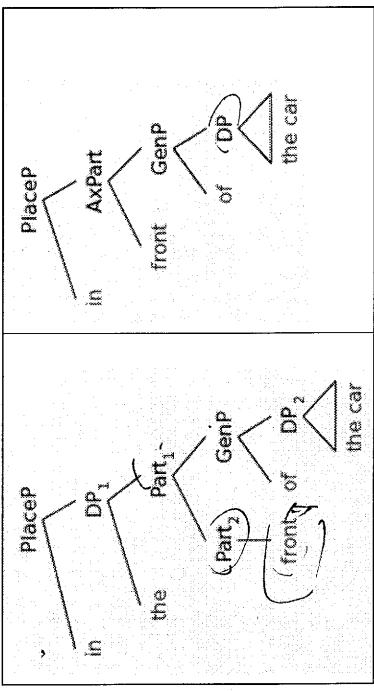
It went along beside the river.
It went around below under the house.
It went under around the house
*It went between around the trees.
?It went underneath around the house.

Postpositions in urdu

Words like, 'front', 'back', 'top' have two uses, the 'N use' (**the front of x**) in its 'part' sense and the 'AxPart' use (**in front of x**) as the spatial sense.

1. N use
There was a kangaroo in the front of the car.
2. AxPart use
There was a kangaroo **in front** of the car.
3. N use can be plural, but AxPart use cannot:
There were kangaroos **in the fronts** of the cars.
*There were kangaroos **in front**s of the cars.
4. N use can be modified by an adjective, but AxPart use cannot:
There was a kangaroo **in the smashed-up front** of the car.
*There was a kangaroo **in smashed-up front** of the car.
5. AxPart can be modified by a measure, but N use cannot
*There was a kangaroo **sixty feet in the front** of the car.
There was a kangaroo **sixty feet in front** of the car.
6. N use can be referred to with a proform, but AxPart use cannot:
The kangaroo was in [DP₁ **the front of the car**], but the koala wasn't in **it**.
The kangaroo was in [DP₂ **front of the car**], but the koala wasn't in **it***.
The kangaroo was in [DP₃ **front of a car**], but the koala was in **one***₁ too.
7. N use can strand the preposition, but AxPart use cannot:
It was **the front of the car** that the kangaroo was **in t**.
It was **front of the car** that the kangaroo was **in t**.

- Svenonius (2006:50) argues for a projection which he calls AxPart for based on Jackendoff's (1996) and Marr's (1982) discussion of axial structures in spatial cognition.
8. Compositional Semantics of the Projections:
GenP: acts as a type shifter, lifting DPs to predicates over some of projection of N
AxPart: identifies a region based on the ground element (DP)
DP: is the ground
- | N use | AxPart use (Svenonius 2006:52) |
|-------|--------------------------------|
| | |



9. Words which allow both AxPart and N use (Svenonius 2006:52)

- in (the) front of the car
in (the) back of the car
on (the) top of the car

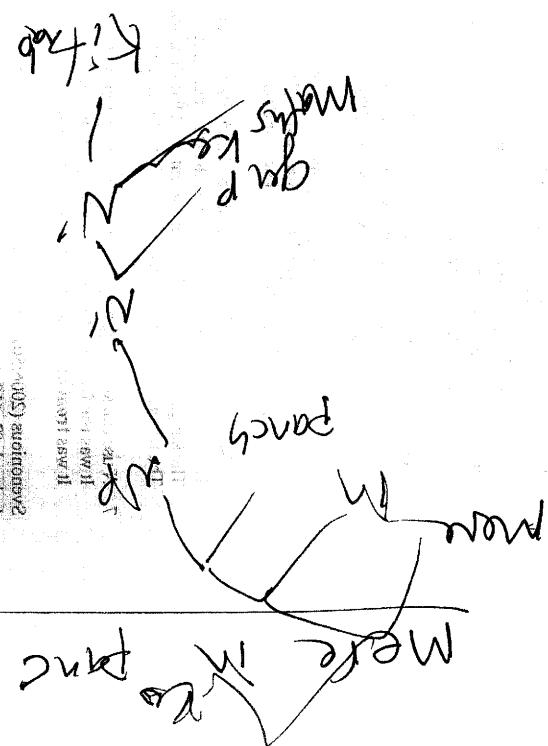
In the table below we see that these are the words which are ambiguous in the English prepositions and places.

10. Table of (most) English Prepositions and Places

Unbounded 3D Space		Unbounded 2D Lines/Planes		Bounded 2D Object		Bounded 2D Planes	
Place (y)	The exterior, the outside	The interior, the center of the thing	The field	The ground object	The side, the edge	The top, the bottom	The front, the back, the top, the other thing?
Dimensional	does to	to	in	on	in	on	in
3 space P.v.	drive	travel	travel	travel	travel	travel	travel
Space	between	between	into	into	through	through	through
	into	into	out of	out of	out of	out of	out of
			at	at	at	at	at
Directional	comes from	from	from	from	from	from	from
3 space P.v.	takes	out of	out of	out of	out of	out of	out of
Space	to	at	at	at	at	at	at
Directional	comes from	from	from	from	from	from	from
3 space P.v.	takes	out of	out of	out of	out of	out of	out of
Space	to	at	at	at	at	at	at
Location	in outside	in outside	in outside	in outside	in outside	in outside	in outside
3 space P.v.							
Scalar							
Relative							

1. $\text{matters} - \text{like K. Lass}$
2. $\text{matters} - \text{like K. Lass}$

Wu
Matters
Someday



(5) $\text{matters} - \text{like K. Lass}$

a-		within		of under, underneath above,	In back of
be-	around	among		against along	ahead of, after
		Between		Beside	before, behind
				below, beneath	
Time direction					
source		2 hours		to/for/lock	
Location				until/to	
Scalar				since/turn	
Relative					
Affine					
Comitative					
		during/within/for		at/on	
		before/after			
		for		before/after	
		#/in			

Does Urdu have AxPart or just Nuse?

- No determiner like
English to
or free surface
They could be
the same
tests

11. Urdu Postpositions

DP complement	Gen complement	
noun-e P	noun-e P-e	noun-e k-e P-e
dar ko	erg ne	'middle' bic
'in' mē	'from' se	'behind' pic-e
'to/until' tak	'on/at' pe	'toward' taraf
		'inside' andar
		'ahead' ag-e
		'above/over' upar
		'before/first' pel-e
		'next to' pass
		'in front' saamn-e
		'near' nazdik
		'after' baad
		'except' (ellava)
		'like' tarah
		'without' binaa
		'with' saath
	gen kalkike	

12. Urdu PathP phrase

gaaR-e	k-e	samni-e	s-e
car-E	gen-E	front-E	from-E
'from the front of the car'			

[PathP [AxPart [GenP [DP car-e] GEN-e] AxPart front-e]] from]
[PathP [AxPart [GenP [DP car-e] GEN-e] AxPart front-e]] from]

gare ke use samne se
most front

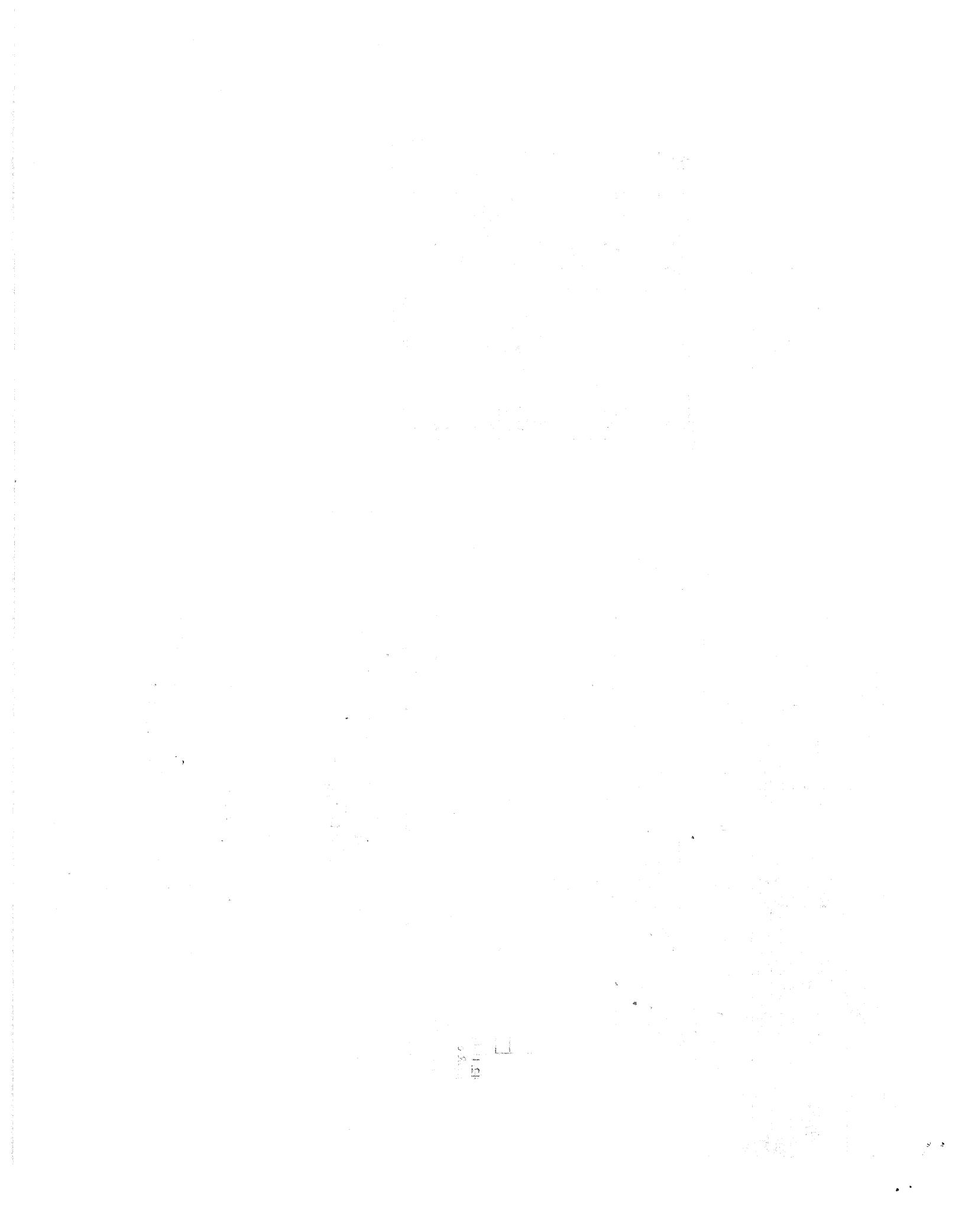
or right?

tutor = broke a referee

tutor was = broken participant

can they have
modifiers

in tutor nice
one
nearby
opposite



It went along beside the river.
 It went around below under the house.
 It went under around the house
 *?It went between around the trees.
 ?It went underneath around the house.

APPENDIX preposition stacking, so far doesn't seem to tell us much about the hierarchy...

14. Table of combining and ambiguities.

Modifier	Path (moves)	Place (is)	Ground
	in, on, over, off		
	out, up, from		
	under, underneath, above, below, around, near, beside, along, among, between	side, edge, front, top, bottom, center, middle, right, left, north, south, east, west	of the car
	to, toward, through		
	at, beneath		
in, on, over, up	to		
next, close	to		
out, off	of		

15. Preposition stacking in English

It came in from the rain.
 It came in through the rain.
 It came through under the bed.
 It came from under the bed.
 It came out up from under the bed.
 ?It came over down out from off the refrigerator.

in/out			from	under	The bed
in		up	from	under	The rain
out/over	up	up	from	under	The bed
over	down	out	from	over/above	The bed

Prepositions which can be stacked (functional)

In, out, over, off, from, to, up, through

More lexical prepositions which can be stacked
 It went along among the trees.

Morphology Homework

- 1.A solid- adj solidify- verb
 intense- adj intensify- verb
 pure- adj purify- verb
 clear- adj clarify- verb
 rare- adj rarify- verb
- B. rigid- adj rigidity- noun
 stupid- adj stupidity- noun
 hostile- adj hostility- noun
 intense- adj intensity- noun
 responsible- adj responsibility- noun
- C. union- noun unionize- verb
 terror- noun terrorize- verb
 hospital- noun hospitalize- verb
 crystal- noun crystallize- verb
 magnet- noun magnetize- verb
- D. repress- verb repressive- adj
 act- verb active- adj
 disrupt- verb disruptive- adj
 abuse- verb abusive- adj
 explode- verb explosive- adj
- E. invent- verb invention- noun
 inject- verb injection- noun
 narrate- verb narration- noun
 express- verb expression- noun
 pollute- verb pollution- noun
- F. name- noun nameless- adj
 penny- noun penniless- adj
 use- noun useless- adj
 heart- noun heartless- adj
 mind- noun mindless- adj

2. See other attachment.

- 3A. um
- B aba
- C fund- read dlal- play lim- farm fundis- teach baz- carve
- D a
- E i forms the noun. Attaching um makes it singular or attaching aba makes it plural.

F. Add the suffix i.

G. "Read" is fund. "Carve" is baz.

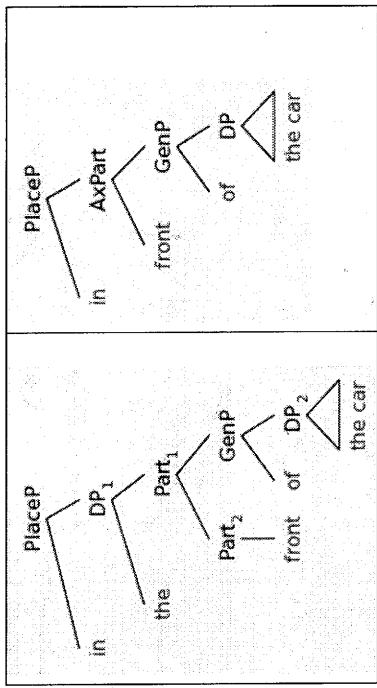
Postpositions in urdu

1 The internal structure of a PP

Words like 'front', 'back', 'top' have two uses, the 'N use' (the front of x) in its 'part' sense and the 'AxPart' use (in front of x) as the spatial sense.

1. N use
There was a kangaroo **in** the front of the car.
2. AxPart use
There was a kangaroo **in front** of the car.
3. N use can be plural, but AxPart use cannot:
There were kangaroos **in** the fronts of the cars.
*There were kangaroos **in front** of the cars.
4. N use can be modified by an adjective, but AxPart use cannot:
There was a kangaroo **in the smashed-up front** of the car.
*There was a kangaroo **in** the front of the car.
5. AxPart can be modified by a measure, but N use cannot
*There was a kangaroo sixty feet **in the front** of the car.
There was a kangaroo sixty feet **in front** of the car.
6. N use can be referred to with a proform, but AxPart use cannot.
The kangaroo was in [bp1] **the front of the car**, but the koala wasn't in it.
The kangaroo was in [pr1] **front of the car**, but the koala wasn't in it*. too.
7. N use can strand the preposition, but AxPart use cannot.
It was **the front of the car** that the kangaroo was **in**.
It was **front of the car** that the kangaroo was **in**.
8. Compositional Semantics of the Projections:
GenP: acts as a type shifter, lifting DPs to predicates over some of projection of N
AxPart: identifies a region based on the ground element (DP)
DP: is the ground

N use AxPart use (Svenonius 2006:52)



9. Words which allow both AxPart and N use (Svenonius 2006:52)

in	(the)	front	of	the car
in	(the)	back	of	the car
on	(the)	top	of	the car

*There are words which are ambiguous in the English prepositions and places.

10. Table of (most) English Prepositions and Places

Place (v)	The exterior or the outside	The interior	The middle of the group	The field	The ground object	The side the edge	The top the bottom	The front, the back	Bounded 2D Planes	
									Unbounded 2D Lines/Planes	Bounded 3D Object
Direction (adjective)	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to		
Direction (verb)	to	toward	toward	toward	toward	toward	toward	toward		
Scalar	into	into	into	into	into	into	onto	onto	onto	onto
Location (adjective)	from	from	from	from	from	from	from	from	from	from
Location (verb)	out of	out of	out of	out of	out of	out of	off	off	off	off
Scalar	at	at	at	at	at	at	at	at	at	at
Relative										

The top of the water is dirty

Futa chulka ki aper ha. Futa buwanupri beng

outside of tree am is dirty

Te Bo (Te Dog crooked) =

~~Entnommen~~ - ~~ausgetrocknet~~

water

gen.
-u

[Surface] - nam
- un [dry]

- un

[dry] - un

[kitchen] - un

[pred] - un

[pred]
- un

but

water - contrastive topic
- un

dirty not

wet

dry

~~hij~~ ~~hij~~
~~hij~~ ~~hij~~

touched

[dry] Surface
[wet] N & P [wet]
[dirty] No + [wet]
[above] -

[up]

Watergrond - O

ok what

cat mostly surface of water w/ a speaker because all

can mostly surface of water w/ a speaker because all
adjectives are predicates

I touched the dirty

[surface]

of the water

* we
above touch ok

a		within	within	of, under, against, along Beside	In back of	
b:	around	among		above, below, beneath	ahead of, before, behind	across
		Between				
time duration		2 hours		0 o'clock		
time duration source				until		
location		from		since from		
scalar			In			
relative				at, on		
adjective				During, within, for before, after		
comitative				For With		

Check translations below, looking for nouns that correspond to the postpositions:

13. Urdu AxParts, maybe look over the big table above and try to translate parts of it into urdu.

Word	Nominal Translation	Prepositional Translation
P-e	Age	On
s-e	Nic-e	From
m-e	Pice	In
	?	Ahead, in front
	Nic-e	Underneath
	Pice	Behind
	Saamn-a/e	in front
	Tarah	Like
	Nazdik	Near
	Upar	Above, over
	Andar	Inside, interior
	Tarf	Toward
	Bic	Between?
	Paas	Next to, near, possession
	Pelaa/e	Before
	Liy-e	For
	Baad	After
	Binaa	Without
	Saath-i/o	Accompaniment?
		With
		Bottom
		Edge
		Outside
		Center
		Around

2 Urdu also has prepositions which mean something like "in front" and take a genitive complement; does Urdu have both the AxPart use and the N use?

There are no determiners in Urdu, bare nouns can be DPs, so it difficult to see if there are both uses.

CHECK DATA:

تیکا
the (اُسی)

گارڈ کے سامنے
car-E gen-E front-E

past-pl
/ε

کہاں میں پیس رکھا, تاکہ عکس ہائی.
'in maine pice rak dia, take unkle ~~کو~~ ~~کو~~ T saakhi hai.'

'but I put them in the back, so that uncle could sit down.'

AxPart use: 'The books were in front of the car.'

'Agar maine nahi denki to, ~~کو~~ ~~کو~~ home.'

'If I hadn't seen them, they would have been completely ruined.'

If that works, or doesn't work check also with other postpositions:

اور سڑک

DP complement	Gen complement
noun-e P	noun-e k-e P
dat ko	'middle' bic
'in'	'toward' taraf
'to/until'	'inside' andar
'se'	'above/over' upar
'on/at'	'next to' paas
'pe'	'near' nazdik
	'after' baad
	'except' (e)lava
	'like' tarah
	'without' binaa
	'with' saath

12. Urdu Postpositions

Then create the tests for the prepositions that have both meanings.

14. N use can be plural, but AxPart use cannot.

There were kangaroos in the fronts of the cars.

*There were kangaroos in fronts of the cars.

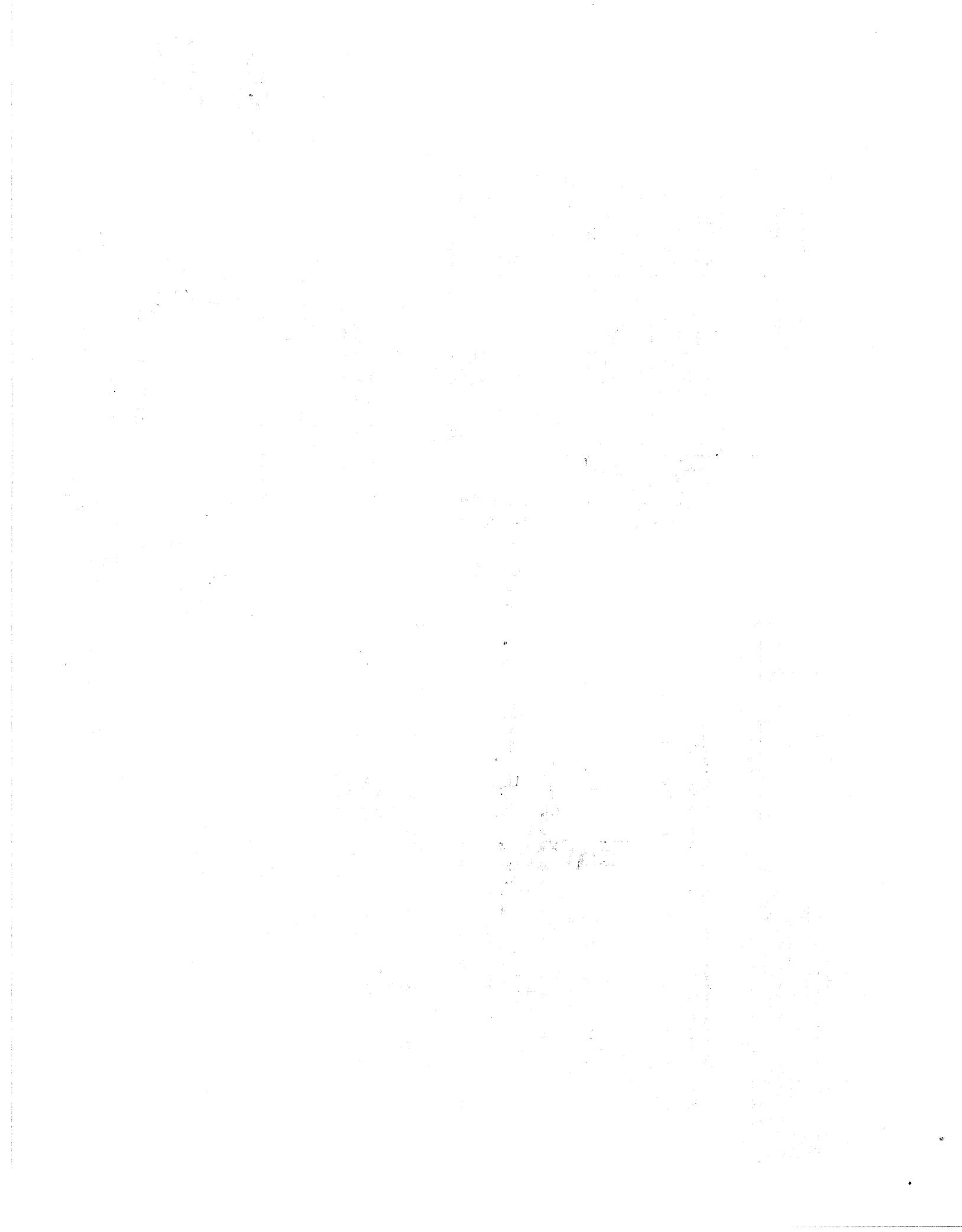
15. N use can be modified by an adjective, but AxPart use cannot:

There was a kangaroo in the smashed-up front of the car.

*There was a kangaroo in smashed-up front of the car.

16. AxPart can be modified by a measure, but N use cannot

Only axial part use
کیون - کوئی worse
garden - نہیں worse
no use
کوئی opes
dir exist
کوئی
AxPart
N
use
worse
in front
garder
front



*There was a kangaroo sixty feet in the front of the car.
There was a kangaroo sixty feet in front of the car.

17. N use can be referred to with a proform, but AXPt use cannot.
The kangaroo was in [DP1 the front of the car], but the koala wasn't in it*.
The kangaroo was in [DP1 front of the car], but the koala wasn't in it*.
The kangaroo was in [DP1 front of a car], but the koala was in one*, too.

18. N use can strand the preposition, but AXPt use cannot.
It was the front of the car that the kangaroo was in t.
It was front of the car that the kangaroo was in t.

Check also the DP data from

Nouns in Kitharkata can take a wide range of position nominal modifiers, and a small number of prenominal modifiers which come in the following neutral order.

- (28) Focus > Quantifier > NOUN > Dem > Genitives >
every/also every N the of-mine
Num > Adj > AssociativeP > Relative-clause >
two red of-maths
Quantifiers
only/alone

- (29) Maria a- ri- ij fit -e ma-habuk ma-ma ma-kra ma-
1 Maria SML FIERF steal-STAT-FV 6- book 6- this 6- mine 6-
tauo ma-tume n-a ma-thabba
five 6- red 6- AS 6- mathi
'Maria had stolen those five red books of mine of mathematics'
(N>Dem>Gen>Num>Adj>AsP)
- (30) John a- ra-gur-i- -e ma-babuk n-a ma-thabba ma-
ma-ra- ii -ift -w -e m-onthe
6- PN-steal-STAT-PASS-FV 6- all
'John bought all the books of mathematics that were stolen'
(N>AsP>Rel>Q)

~~pastak~~ ~~curage~~ ~~curage~~ ~~curage~~

John-ne sare curage hui pastak Kitab Kharide Kitab stolen
+ had user o

sabhi ~~Kitab~~ ~~curage~~ gaye han, ~~under~~ under John ne Khari do,

To ~~Kitab~~ ~~curage~~ gaye han, ~~under~~ under John ne Khari do,

(31)

- a. Kinya kira nw-arimū n-a- kū- ti pati -ni
even every 1- teacher F-SML SML7-he party-LOC
Even every teacher was at the party.
b. Maria p- kekk-ir ^ i -e kinarakka nw-arimū
1 Maria SML-green-PERF-CSL-FV even every 1- teacher
Maria created even every teacher? (Focus>Quantifier)

- (My attempt:)
28 Inere har-ek la-si mathnamek-i kitab hi [le lia]

- 29 Mary ne [Inere panch la-si mathmatik-i (ki?) kitab hi] le lia
30 John Kharide ga [us sare mathmatik-i kitab jsne mary ne le lia]

- 31a Har bhi teacher party pe tha
31b Mary ne har bhi teacher ko salaam keh dia

APPENDIX preposition stacking, so far doesn't seem to tell us much about the hierarchy...
19. Table of combining and ambiguities.

Modifier	Path (moves)	Place (is)	Ground
	out, up, from	in, on, over, off	
	under, underneath, above, below, around, near, beside, along, among, between	side, edge, front, top, bottom, center, middle, right, left, north, south, east, west	of the car
		to, toward, through	
		at, beneath	
	in, on, over, up	to	
	next, close	to	
	out, off	of	

20. Preposition stacking in English
It came in from the rain.
It came through under the bed.
It came from under the bed.
It came out up from under the bed.
It came over down out from off the refrigerator.

		from	under	The bed
in/out		from		
in	up		under	The rain
out/over	up	from	under	The bed
over	down	out	from	over/above
				The bed
				refrigerator

Prepositions which can be stacked (functional)

In, out, over, off, from, to, up, through

More lexical prepositions which can be stacked

It went along among the trees.

It went along beside the river.

It went around below under the house.

It went under around the house

*?It went between around the trees.

?It went underneath around the house.

Event (De-)Composition of Directed Motion in Korean and English

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1 Introduction

- Variation in the expression of directed motion

English/German

- (1) a. Mary went/came to the store.
b. Mary ran/walked/crawled to the store.
- (2) German
- a. Hans ging/kam zum Laden
'John went/came to the.DAT store'
b. Hans lief/kroch zum Laden.
'John ran/crawled to.the.DAT store'
'John ran/crawled to the store.'

Korean/Romance (e.g., Spanish)

- (3) Korean
- a. Mary-ka kakay-ey ka/o-(a)ss-ta.
Mary-NOM store-LOC go/come-PAST-DC
'Mary went/came to the store.'

*I am grateful to Peter Svenonius and Gillian Ramchand for their insightful comments and suggestions on this topic. Many thanks also go to the participants of the Moving Right Along seminar held in Spring 2006 and Spring 2007, where the initial versions of this paper were presented. I am also indebted to Changyong Shim, Eunkyung Sung, and Yeonjoo Shim for sharing their judgement on the Korean data reported here. I also thank informants on various languages, Antonio Fabregas and Luisa Martí for Spanish, Isabelle Roy for French, Yanti for Indonesian, Klaus Abels and Christian Uffmann for German, and Gaby Hermon and Hagit Borer for Hebrew.

- b. *Mary-ka kakay-ey ttwi/kel/ki-ess-ta.
Mary-NOM store-LOC run/walk/crawl-PAST-DC
'Mary ran/walked/crawled to the store.' (Korean)

(4) Spanish

- a. Juan fue/vino a la tienda.
'John went/came to the store'
'John went/came to the store.'
- b. Juan ?corrio/*anduvo/*gateo a la tienda.
'Juan ran/walked/crawled to the store.' (Spanish)
'John ran/walked/crawled to the store.'

(corrio a la tienda is ok with another meaning of the verb, 'hurry up', Luisa Martí (p.c.))

2 Background

2.1 Talmy (1975; 1985; 2000)

- Talmy's generalization on lexicalization patterns of directed motion
 - Satellite-framed languages (e.g., Indo-European Languages except Romance, Chinese)
 - Satellite: the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root (Talmy 1991:486).
- (5) a. The bottle floated under the bridge. (Locational and Directional)
b. Mary ran into the house.
- (6) German
- a. Maria ist in das Haus gelafen.
'Maria is in.the.ACC house run'
'Mary ran into the house.' (Directional)
b. Maria ist in dem Haus gelafen.
'Maria is in.the.DAT house run'
'Mary ran in(side) the house.' (Locational)
- Verb-framed languages (e.g., Romance languages, Korean/Japanese)
- (7) Spanish
- a. María corrió en la casa.
'Maria ran in.the house'
'Mary ran in(side) the house.' (Locational only)
b. María entró a la casa corriendo.
'Mary entered to the house running'
'Mary entered the house running.'

- (8) **Korean¹**
- a. Mary-ka cip-an-e-yey ttwi-ess-ta.
Mary-NOM house-inside-LOC run-PAST-DC
(Locational only)
 - b. *Mary-ka cip-an-e-yey ttwi-ess-ta.
Mary-NOM house-inside-LOC run-PAST-DC
'Mary ran into the house.'
 - c. Mary-ka cip-e-yey ttwi-e tul-e-kxa-(a)ss-ta.
Mary-NOM house-LOC run-LINKER enter-LINKER-go-PAST-DC
'Mary entered the house running.'

HOWEVER,

- Existence of path-encoding adpositions in purported V-framed languages.

- (9) a. Juan caminó por del túnel (dos horas).
Juan walked through the tunnel two hours
b. La botella flotó hacia la cueva.
the bottle floated towards the cave
'The bottle floated towards the cave.'

(10) a. La fille a dansé le long de la rivière.
the girl a dance the long of the river
b. La fille a dansé vers le garçon.
the girl a dance towards the boy
'The girl danced towards the boy.'

• Korean also allows path to be expressed by PPs when the path does not involve an end-point
(Zubizarreta and Oh in press; Chae 1999; 2000).

- (11) a. John-i kakye-lo tiwi-ess-ta.
John-NOM store-DIR run-PAST-DC
'John ran towards the store.'

- b. John-i hakkyo-lo kel-ess-ta.
John-NOM school-DIR walk-PAST-DC
'John walked towards the school.'

(12) **Postpositions derived from verbs**

- a. Mary-ka haypyenka-lul triala. kel-ess-ta.
Mary-NOM seashore-ACC along walk-PAST-DC
'Mary walked along the seashore.'
- b. Cheiswu-ka tungtay-lul hyanghay tiwi-ess-ta.
Cheiswu-NOM lighthouse-ACC towards run-PAST-DC
'Cheiswu ran towards the lighthouse.'

¹There are two different locative postpositions in Korean, the static locative -ey and the dynamic locative -eys. The former occurs mostly with stative/punctual transition verbs, while the latter occurs only with dynamic/activity verbs.

- Atelic (or unbounded) path PPs are adjuncts in Korean while a telic goal-PP (headed by the locative -ey) is a complement of the motion verb (Zubizarreta and Oh in press; Chae 1999; 2000); thus Talmy's generalization holds.
- Evidence for the argumental status of atelic path PPs (e.g., the directional -uto phrase) on the basis of 'do-so' test (Son 2006a) - there exist path-encoding Ps in Korean similar to Spanish and French.

(13) *Japanese* (Kageyama 2003)

- a. Taruga salao korogatta.
Taru-NOM hill-ACC rolled
b. Ken-ka taru-rolled down the hill.
Ken-wa yama-miti-o aruita.
Ken-TOP mountain-trail-ACC walked
'Ken walked (along) the mountain trail.'
- c. Karera-wa dookutu-ro-hoo-e hasitta.
they-TOP cave-GEN direction-forward ran
'They ran towards the inside of the cave.'

2.2 Refinements of Talmy's Typology

2.2.1 Two Types of Paths

- Two types of path phrases: Bounded vs. Unbounded²
- Verb-framed languages allow path to be expressed by satellites (e.g., prepositions) when the path is unbounded (Aske 1989; Slobin and Hoiting 1994; Stringer 2002).
- Aske (1989): no adjectival resultatives in Spanish

2.2.2 Beavers et al. (2004)

- Path may be encoded in any (non-nominal) category
- Restrictions on possible path encodings in a particular language are due to independent language-specific morpho-lexical features (e.g., availability of result phrases, aspectual affixes).
- Correlation between the possibility of encoding path in satellites and the possibility of forming resultative phrases (see also Snyder and Lillo-Martin 2005)

English (purported S-framed language)

- (14) a. John broke the vase open.
b. John melted the chocolate liquid.
c. John pounded the meat flat.

²See Zwarts (2005) for a detailed semantic analysis of bounded (non-cumulative) and unbounded (cumulative) path prepositions.

German (purported S-framed language)

- (15) a. Die teekanne leer trinken
 the teapot empty drink
 'Drink the teapot empty.'
- b. Sie haben den Tisch sauber gewischt.
 'ihey have *the table* clean wiped'
 'They wiped the table clean.'
- c. Sie hat die Tulpen platt gegossen
 she has the tulips flat watered
 'She watered the tulips flat.'

Spanish (purported V-framed language, no adjectival resultatives)

- (16) a. *El se congeló sólido
 the river se froze solid
 'The river froze solid'
- b. *John golpeó la carne plana.
 John pounded the meat flat
 'John pounded the meat flat.'
- c. *John frotó la mesa limpia.
 John wiped the table clean
 'John wiped the table clean.'
- (17) a. John trocó el pan en dos
 John sliced the bread in two
 'John sliced the bread into half.'
- b. John rasgó el papel en pedazos
 John tore the paper in pieces
 'John tore the paper into pieces.'

participal

lo octo bien cortado

2.2.3 No Correlation between the availability of adjectival resultatives and the existence of path-encoding PPs

- Purported V-framed languages with adjectival resultatives (e.g., Korean, Japanese)³

- (18) **Korean**
 - a. Inho-ka khangthong-ul napcahkha-key twutulk/i/nwulu-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM con-ACC flat-KEY pound/press.down-PAST-DC
 'Inho pounded/pressed down the can flat.'
 - b. Koki-ka tantanha-key el-ess-ta.
meat-NOM solid-KEY freeze-PAST-DC
 'The meat froze solid.'
- (19) **Washio (1987) (Japanese)**
 - a. John-ga kabin-o konagona-ni kowasita.
John-NOM vase-ACC pieces-ADJinf broke
 'John broke the vase into pieces.'

³Snyder and Lillo-Martin (2005) note that Japanese is "by rights" a satellite-framed language, but this fact is obscured by an independent property (e.g., an extremely limited inventory of adpositions).

- Purported S-framed languages with no adjectival resultatives (e.g., Hebrew, Indonesian)
- Hebrew** (no adjectival resultatives, some PP resultatives)
- (20) a. David rac/zaxal le-zeder.
 david ran/crawled to-room
 'David ran/crawled to the room.'
- b. David rac/zaxal le-tox ha-xeder.
 David ran/crawled to-inside the-room
 'David ran/crawled into the room.'
- (21) a. *Hu kata et ha-xavila ptuxa.
 he tore ET the-package open
 'He tore the package open.'
- b. Hu cava et hakir *he) adam.
 he painted ET the-wall in-red
 'He painted the wall red.'
- Indonesian** (adjectival resultative predicates must be introduced by 'until')
- (22) a. John berjalan/berjalan/merangkak ke ruangan.
 John ran/walked/crawled to room
 'John ran/walked/crawled to the room.'
- b. John berjari/berjalan/merangkak ke dalam ruangan.
 John ran/walked/crawled to inside room
 'John ran/walked/crawled into the room.'
- (23) a. Sungai itu membeku *(sampai) keras.
 The river froze solid'
 'The river froze solid'
- b. Tika meunbuluk daging itu *(sampai) peyeyet.
 Tika pounded meat the until flat
 'Tika pounded the meat flat.'
- c. Tika mengelap meja itu *(sampai) bersih.
 Tika wiped table the until clean
 'Tika wiped the table clean.'
- (24) a. Tika tidur sampai pagi.
 Tika sleep until morning
 'Tika slept until morning.'
- b. Tika tidur sampai saya pulang.
 Tika sleep until I return
 'Tika slept until I came home.'

- No necessary correlation between possible path encodings and the availability of result phrases in a language.

◆ Goal of This Paper

- ▷ The parametric variation shown in English and Korean motion constructions is driven by 1) the differences in the lexical features of adpositions (e.g., *to* vs. *-ey*),
- 2) the availability of a lexical item (e.g., the dynamic preposition *to*) in a given language.⁴
- ▷ Korean lacks a lexical item corresponding to the dynamic, telic preposition *to* in English.

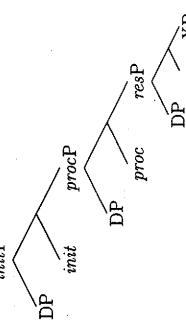
3 Proposal

3.1 The Framework

3.1.1 Decomposition of V

- Syntactic decomposition of events (e.g., Hale and Keyser 1993, Borer 1994, Harley 1995, Travis 2000, Ramchand 2006)⁵
 - A verb phrase is decomposed into its subevental components as Initiation (*initP*), Process (*procP*), and Result (*resP*).
 - Each component is syntactically projected and forms a core predicational structure with the specifier position being filled by the subject.

(25)



- * *initP* introduces the causation/initiation of event and licenses different types of external argument (comparable to Kratzer's VoiceP).
- * *procP* specifies the nature of the change or process and licenses the object of change or process (comparable to VP).
- * *resP* gives the telos of the event and licenses the object of result (comparable to a small clause (e.g., Hoekstra and Mulder 1990)).
- The projection of each subevental component is determined by verbal meaning (e.g., *initP* is present when the verb expresses a causation or initiation.)

⁴See Foli and Ramchand (2004) for a similar argument regarding Italian.
⁵See Ramchand (2006) for semantic composition rules.

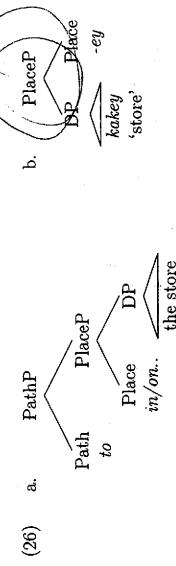
3.1.2 Decomposition of P

- PlaceP and PathP (e.g., Jackendoff 1983, Higginbotham 1995, Koopman 2000, van Riemsdijk and Huybrechts 2002, Svenonius 2004b, Tungseth 2006)⁶
- PathP > PlaceP : semantic composition (Zwarts and Winter 2000), morphological make-up with the place-denoting morpheme always being closer to the root than the path-denoting morpheme (e.g., Kracht 2002, Svenonius 2004a)

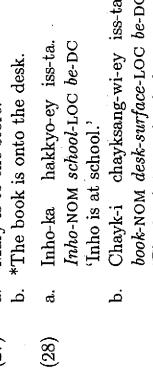
3.2 Analysis

- The dynamic (accomplishment) preposition *to* is argued to be a Path head (e.g., Koopman 2000, Svenonius 2004b).

- The postposition *-ey* in Korean is a Place head. (cf. ⁷Zhitareva and Oh in press)



(26)



(27)

- a. *Mary is to the store.
- b. *The book is onto the desk.

(28)

- a. Inho-NOM school-LOC be-DC
Inho is at school.
- b. Chayk-i chayksang-wi-ey iss-ta.
Chayk-i desk-surface-LOC be-DO
 ‘The book is on the desk.’

Ramchand (2006)

- Verbs that contain *resP* in their representation must combine with a location-denoting PlaceP by event complement composition.

- The semantics of the *res* head will straightforwardly give rise to the goal interpretation of that location.

- Verbs that only contain *procP* (e.g., *run*) in their representation cannot combine directly with PlaceP but must combine with PathP.

⁶See Svenonius (2006) for finer-grained decomposition of Place into AxPart and Place.

⁷PlaceP here is distinguished from adjunct Locative PPs, which are modifiers of VP (e.g., PP headed by the dynamic locative *-ege* in Korean)

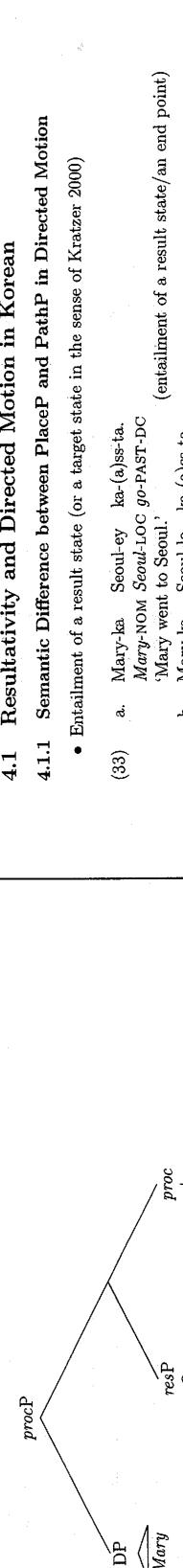
- Manner-of-motion verbs in Korean often take path arguments.
- (29) a. Mary-ka ku khu-n kyengkicang-ul sip pwun-maney ttwi-ess-ta.
 Mary-NOM the big-ADNOM stadium-ACC ten-minute-within run-PAST-DC
 'Mary ran that big stadium in 10 minutes.'
- b. Inho-nun mayil achim-nata. Olympic-kongwon-ul ket-nun-ta.
 Inho-TOP daily morning-every Olympic-park-ACC walk-PRES-DC
 'Inho walks the Olympic park every morning.'

- Inherently directed verbs *ka/o*-‘go/come’ in Korean is of both the *res-type* and the *proc-type*.

- (30) a. Mary-ka kakey-ey ka-(a)ss-ta.
 Mary-NOM store-LOC go-PAST-DC
 'Mary went to the store.'
 b. Mary-ka kakey-lo ka-(a)ss-ta.
 Mary-NOM store-DIR go-PAST-DC
 'Mary went towards the store.'

- Syntactic Representation of Directed Motion⁸

- (31) Directed Motion with PlaceP headed by *-ey*



Korean example (11)

- 4 Support for the Current Analysis
- #### 4.1 Resultativity and Directed Motion in Korean
- ##### 4.1.1 Semantic Difference between PlaceP and PathP in Directed Motion
- Entailment of a result state (or a target state in the sense of Kratzer 2000)

- (32) a. Mary-ka Seoul-LOC go-PAST-DC (entailment of a result state/an end point)
 Mary-NOM Seoul-LOC go-PAST-DC
 'Mary went to Seoul.'
- b. Mary-ka Seoul-lo ka-(a)ss-ta.
 Mary-NOM Seoul-DIR go-PAST-DC
 'Mary went towards Seoul.'
- (33) a. Mary-ey ka-(a)ss-ta.
 Mary-NOM Seoul-LOC go-PAST-DC (no entailment of a result state/an end point)
 'Mary went to Seoul.'
- b. Mary-ey ka-(a)ss-ta.
 Mary-NOM Seoul-DIR go-PAST-DC
 'Mary went towards Seoul.'
- (34) a. Maykwuppyeng-i tall-mit-ul/*-ey i-pwun-maney tie(-e)
 beer/bottle-NOM bridge-bottom-DIR/LOC two-minute-in float-LINKER
 nayli-e-ka-(a)ss-ko, (nameci) pawikkaci-nun il-pwun-money
 descend-LINKER.go-PAST-LINKER (rest) rock-up-to-TOP one-minute-in
 tie(-e) nayli-e-ka-(a)ss-ta.
 float-LINKER descend-LINKER.go-PAST-DC
 'The beer bottle floated down under the bridge in two minutes, and as for the rest of its trajectory, which was up to the rock, it floated down in one minute.'

⁸I assume that the entire verbal phrase is further embedded under a tense projection with the possibility of intervening aspectual/mood functional projections.

4.1.2 Diagnostics for a Result State

- Aspectual Form *-a/e iss-* : describes a continuation of a result state at the reference time.

(35) Change of State Verbs

- a. Aiskulimi *noka* iss-ta.
ice.cream-NOM melt-LINKER be-DC
 'The ice cream has melted and is still melted.'
- b. Mwun-i *yell-e*.
door-NOM open-INCHO-LINKER be-DC
 'The door has opened and is still open.'
- c. Koyang-ka *cwuk-e*.
cat-NOM die-LINKER be-DC
 'The cat has died and is still dead.'

(36) Unergative/Activity Verbs

- a. *Inho-ka *wuntongcang-eye tall-e* iss-ta.
Inho-NOM playground-LOC run-LINKER be-DC
 'Inho has run in the playground.'
- b. *Mary-ka *kongwen-eye tel-e* iss-ta.
Mary-NOM park-LOC walk-LINKER be-DC
 'Mary has walked in the park.'
- c. *Ai-ka *wui-e* iss-ta.
child-NOM cry-LINKER be-DC
 'The child has cried.'

(37) Motion with PlaceP

- a. Mary-ka *Seoul-e* ka-(a) iss-ta.
Mary-NOM Seoul-LOC go-LINKER be-PAST-DC
 'Mary has gone to Seoul (and is still there).'
- b. Inho-ka *oksaeng-e* ol(u)-a-ka-(a) iss-ta.
Inho-NOM rooftop-LOC ascend-LINKER go-LINKER be-DC
 'Inho has gone up to the roof top (and is still there)?'
- c. Mary-ka *cihasil-e* nayli-e-ka-(a) iss-ta.
Mary-NOM basement-LOC descend-LINKER go-LINKER be-DC
 'Mary has gone down to the basement (and is still there).'

(38) Motion with PathP

- a. *Mary-ka *Seoul-lo* ka-(a) iss-ta.
Mary-NOM Seoul-DIR go-LINKER be-PAST-DC
 'Mary has gone towards Seoul (and is still there),'
- b. *Inho-ka *oksaeng-ul* ol(u)-a-ka-(a) iss-ta.
Inho-NOM rooftop-DIR ascend-LINKER go-LINKER be-DC
 'Inho has gone up towards the roof top (and is still there)?'
- c. *Mary-ka *cihasil-lo* nayli-e-ka-(a) iss-ta.
Mary-NOM basement-DIR descend-LINKER go-LINKER be-DC
 'Mary gone down towards the basement (and is still there),'

• Adnominal Modifier

- When unergative/normal transitive verbs appear as adnominal modifiers formed by the embedded past tense morpheme *-(-)n*, they describe a past event.
- Change of state verbs in their adnominal forms describe a result state that continues at the local evaluation time (Son 2006b)

(39) Unergatives/Normal Transitives (Past Tense)

- a. Mary-ka *nolay-lul* *pwulu-n* ai-lul palapo-ko iss-ta.
Mary-NOM song-ACC sing-ADNOM child-ACC look-at-ko be-DC
 'Mary is looking at the boy who sang a song.'
- b. Mary-ka *wunlonghang-il han pakhwi ttwif-n* ai-lul palapo-ko iss-ta.
Mary-NOM playground-ACC one round ran-ADNOM child-ACC look-at-ko be-DC
 'Mary is looking at the boy who ran a playground.'
- c. Mary-ka *Elinwangca-hul* ill-un sonye-lul palapo-ko iss-ta.
Mary-NOM little.prince-ACC read-ADNOM girl-ACC look-at-ko be-DC
 'Mary is looking at the girl who read Little Prince.'

(40) Change of State Verbs (Result State, not Past)

- a. Mary-ka *nok-un* *aiskulim-ul* palapo-ko iss-ta.
Mary-NOM melt-ADNOM ice.cream-ACC look-at-ko be-DC
 'Mary is looking at the melted ice cream.'
- b. Mary-ka *nemeci-n* *kitwung-ul* palapo-ko iss-ta.
Mary-NOM fall.down-ADNOM pole-ACC look-at-ko be-DC
 'Mary is looking at the fallen pole.'
- c. Mary-ka *cwulk-n* *koyangtlul* palapo-ko iss-ta.
Mary-NOM die-ADNOM cat-ACC look-at-ko be-DC
 'Mary is looking at the dead cat.'

(41) Motion with PlaceP (Result State, not Past)

- a. Chelswn-ka *Seoul-ey* ka-n Yenghi-wa *thonghwa-ha-ko* iss-ta.
Chelswn-NOM Seoul-LOC go-ADNOM Yenghi-with phone.do-LINKER be-DC
 'Chelswu is talking with Yeonghi who has gone to Seoul and is still there.'
- b. Chelswn-ka *kulkang-ey* ka-n Yenghi-wa *thonghwa-ha-ko* iss-ta.
Chelswn-NOM theater-DIR go-ADNOM Yenghi-with phone.do-LINKER be-DC
 'Chelswu is talking with Yeonghi who has gone to her hometown and is still there.'

(42) Motion with PathP

- a. ??Chelswn-ka *Seoul-lo* ka-n Yenghi-wa *thonghwa-ha-ko* iss-ta.
Chelswn-NOM Seoul-DIR go-ADNOM Yenghi-with phone.be-LINKER be-DC
 'Chelswu is talking with Yeonghi who has gone to Seoul and is still there.'
- b. ??Chelswn-ka *kulkang-ul* ka-n Yenghi-wa *thonghwa-ha-ko* iss-ta.
Chelswn-NOM theater-DIR go-ADNOM Yenghi-with phone.be-LINKER be-DC
 'Chelswu is talking with Yeonghi who has gone to her hometown and is still there.'

4.2 Distribution of PlaceP and PathP in Korean

- The analysis proposed above captures distributional facts about the PlaceP (headed by -ey) and the PathP (headed by -ul/o).
- PlaceP can also occur with punctual transition verbs (e.g., *fall into*) and gives rise to a directed goal interpretation.
- Punctual transition (and Achievement) verbs are of the resP type.

(43) PlaceP /*PathP

- a. Mary-ka hankanginwae/*lo ppaci-ess-ta.
 'Mary fell into the Han river.'
- b. Chelswu-ka patak-ey/*ulo ssuleci-ess-ta.
 'Chelswu-NOM ground-LOC/DIR fall-PAST-DC
 'Chelswu fell/collapsed on the ground.'
- c. John-i pesu-ey/*lo tha-ass-ta.
 'John-NOM bus-LOC/DIR get.on-PAST-DC
 'John got on the bus.'
- d. Pihayngki-ka Pusan-ey/*ulo tochakha-yss-ta.
 'plane-NOM Pusan-LOC/DIR arrive-PAST-DC
 'The plane arrived in Pusan.'

- Verbs that do not contain resP do not allow PlaceP, as expected.

(44) PathP /*PlaceP

- a. I kangeun tonghay-le/*ey hulh-n-ta.
 'this river-top east-sea-DIR/LOC flow-PRESENT-DC
 'This river flows towards the East sea.'
- b. Yenghi-ka kulkang-ulo/*ey palkil-il tolli-ess-ta.
 'Yenghi-NOM theater-DIR/LOC step-ACC turn-PAST-DC
 'Yenghi turned her way back towards the theater.'
- c. Mwilkwuklu-ka hanul-lo/*ey chisos-ass-ta.
 'water-line-NOM sky-DIR/LOC rise suddenly-PAST-DC
 'A spout of water suddenly streamed upwards towards the sky.'
- d. Kong-i pak-ulo/*ey thwi-ess-ta.
 'ball-NOM outside-DIR/LOC bounce-PAST-DC
 'The ball bounced towards the outside.'
- e. Totwuk-i kolmok-ulo/*ey thwi/talana-ess-ta.
 'theif-NOM alley-DIR/LOC run-away-PAST-DC
 'The thief ran away towards the alley.'

- Verbs that do not contain resP do not allow PlaceP, as expected.

(45) PathP /*PlaceP

- a. *Mwilkewuklu-ka chisos-a
 'water-line-NOM soar-LINKER be-DC
 'A spout of water has streamed upward.'
- b. *Kong-i thwi-e
 'ball-NOM bounce-LINKER be-DC
 'The ball has bounced.'

- *Totwuk-i thwi/talana-a iss-ta.
 'theif-NOM run-away-LINKER be-DC
 'The thief has run away.'
- *ttleci- 'fall (down)' behaves like *ka-go*: both PlaceP and PathP are compatible.
- *ttleci- with the PathP requires elongated trajectory.

(46) a. Chaky-i ttangpatak-ey/*ulo ttleci-ess-ta.

- book-NOM ground-LOC/DIR fall-down-DC*
 'The book fell down on the ground.'
- b. Chaky-i ttangpatak-ey/*ulo ttleci-e
 book-NOM ground-LOC/DIR fall-down-LINKER be-DC
 'The book has fallen down on the ground.'
- c. Inho-ka ttangpatak-ey/*ulo ttleci-n chayk-ul palapo-ko iss-ta.
 Inho-NOM ground-LOC/DIR fall-ADNOM book-ACC look-at-ko be-DC
 'Inho is looking at the book that has fallen down on ground.'

(book being still on the ground)

- *jump-class (e.g., *ttwi-e-ola*- 'jump up', *ttwi-e-nayi*- 'jump down') has only a punctual reading unlike English *jump* but it does not seem to license *resP*.

(47)

- a. Mary-ka mwutay-lo/*ey ttwi-e-ola-(a)ss-ta.
 Mary-NOM stage-DIR/ LOC run-LINKER ascend-DC
 'Mary jumped onto the stage.'
- b. John-i patak-ulo/*ey tiwi-e-nayi-ess-ta.
 John-NOM ground-DIR/ LOC run-LINKER descend-DC
 'John jumped down to the ground.'

- a. *Mary-ka mwutay-ey ttwi-e-ola-(a)ss-ta.
 Mary-NOM stage-LOC run-LINKER ascend-LINKER be-DC
 'Mary has jumped onto the stage.'
- b. *John-i patak-ey tiwi-e-nayi-e
 John-NOM ground-LOC run-LINKER descend-LINKER be-DC
 'John has jumped down to the ground.'

- **ttwi-e-tul*- 'jump in' is acceptable both with PlaceP and PathP but cannot occur in the -a/e iss- construction even when the PlaceP is used.

(48)

- a. *Inho-ka kangnawul-ey/lo ttwi-e-tul-ess-ta.
 Inho-NOM river-LOC run-LINKER-enter-DC
 'Inho jumped into the river.'
- b. ??Inho-ka kangnawul-ey ttwi-e-tul-e
 Inho-NOM river-LOC run-LINKER-enter-LINKER be-DC
 'Inho has jumped into the river.'

5 Japanese and French

5.1 Japanese

- ni as a (static) locative postposition, not a path P (Tanaka 2002, Kageyama 2003)

- (50) a. John-ga kinoo kooen-ni itta.
John-NOM yesterday park-LOC went
 'John went to the park yesterday.'
- b. *John-ga kinoo kooen-ni aruita.
John-NOM yesterday park-LOC walked
 'John walked to the park yesterday.'
- (51) a. John-ga kooen-de/*ni asonda.
John-NOM park-LOC played
 'John played in the park.'
- b. John-ga niwa-ni/*de iru.
John-NOM park-LOC be
 'John is in the garden.'

*OK (in orchard
sense)*

- Change of Location/ Punctual Transition Verbs

- (52) a. John-ga yuka-ni/*de hon-o oita.
John-NOM floor-LOC book-ACC put
 'John put a book on the floor.'
- b. John-ga yuka-ni/*de hon-o otosita.
John-NOM floor-LOC book-ACC dropped
 'John dropped a book on the floor.'
- c. John-ga yuka-ni/*de oita.
John-NOM floor-LOC fell
 'John fell on the floor.'

- -ni as a (static) locative postposition, not a path P (Tanaka 2002, Kageyama 2003)

- b. J'ai chanté dans la chambre.
I have sung in the room' (*DIR)

- (56) a. Marie a couru/*marché/*rampé à la maison.
Marie has run/walk/crawl to the house' (DIR)

- b. Je vais à Paris pour les fêtes
I go to Paris for the.PL holidays'

- (57) Locative use of à
 a. J' habite à Paris.
I live in Paris.'

- (58) à vs. chez (PlaceP with human location: 'at the home of someone')

- a. Marie a couru chez/*à elle/Isabelle.
Marie has run at/place her/Isabelle'

- b. Marie a couru au/*chez magasin.
Marie has run to/the/at/place store'

6 Conclusion

- The variation shown in English and Korean (and perhaps Japanese/French) in terms of possible path encodings in the P domain is driven by featural differences of the lexical items in question (Path-to vs. Place-e'y).
- The impossibility of expressing bounded Path with manner verbs in Korean is due to the absence of a lexical item that corresponds to the accomplishment/telic Path to.
- Additional support for a decompositional approach to VP and PP.

5.2 French

- (53) a. Marie a couru dans la maison.
Marie has run in the house' (*DIR/ LOC)
- b. Marie ~~est~~ entrée dans la maison en courrant.
Marie is entered in the house in running
 'Marie entered the house at a run.'
- (54) a. Je suis tombé dans un trou.
I am fallen in a hole' (DIR ok)
- b. Je suis tombé sous le pont.
I am fallen under the bridge' (DIR ok)
- (55) a. Je me suis promené dans la chambre.
I me am strolled in the room' (*DIR)

*Unaccusatives
tend to be
directionals*

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10:30

GURT '07 • "Little Words" • 8-11 March 2007

Little big da
Maire Noonan, McGill University, maire.noonan@mcgill.ca

2. R-pronouns and locative pronouns

Dutch R-pronouns (van Riemsdijk 1978)

(8) er/daar 'there' waar 'where' hier 'here' ...

1. Introduction

Preposition

Non-pronominal DPs and non R-pronouns: P > DP

(1) a. Sie sitzt in dieser Kiste in
she sits in this-dat box

b. *Sie sitzt dieser Kiste in

(2) a. Sie sitzt auf ihm.

b. *Sie sitzt ihm auf

R-pronouns

(3) a. Sie sitzt darin.
she sits there-in

b. *Sie sitzt in da

(4) a. Sie steht darauf.

b. *Sie stands auf da

P-stranding (Dutch and German): * with non-R DPs → (5)
✓ with R-pronouns → (6)

(5) *Welke tafel heb je dat boekje op gelegd

Which table have you that book on put
Which table did you put the book on?

(6) a. Ik heb er dat boek op gelegd

I have there that book on put
I have put that book on it.

b. Waar heb hij dat boekje op gelegd

Where have you that book on put
What did you put that book on?

(7) a. [_{PP} er | Place [_{PP} Spec P [_{PP} [_{PP} el]]]]]]] (Koopman 1996)

b. er/daar/waar ... [_{PP} top | Place [_{PP} Spec P [_{PP} to]]]]]]]

van Riemsdijk 1978, Koopman 1996: postpositional order correlates with stranding → movement to spec

Proposal: i) R-pronouns are generated higher than the lexical adposition → postpositional order

ii) "P-stranding" is really R-pronoun stranding by PP and subsequent remnant movement

iii) The "R" of R-pronouns realises a separate syntactic head ...

iv) ... and so do the vowel and the d/w, respectively (cf. Kayne 2005b)

The pronoun a number of hands

2. R-pronouns and locative pronouns

German → no R

(8) da wo waar 'where'

hier 'here' ...

German → r - P

(9) da wo hier ...

there where here ...

(10) a. Er ist da.
he is there

b. Wo ist er?
where is he

Pronoun - r - P

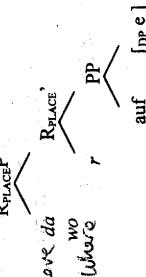
(11) a. Es liegt darin.
it lies there-in

b. Darin liegt es.

c. Worin ist es?
where-in is it

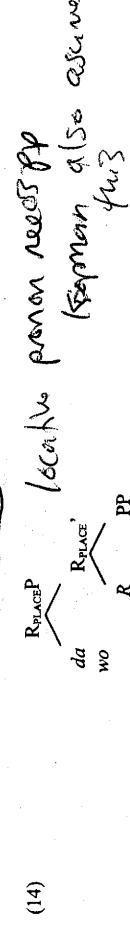
Preliminary hypothesis:

'r' = realizes a syntactic head → RPLACE



(12) Dutch versus German:

Dutch (& English): R is pronounced iff Spec RPLACE is pronounced
German: R is pronounced iff P is pronounced (need to exclude (r)auft dem Tisch ('r' on the table))



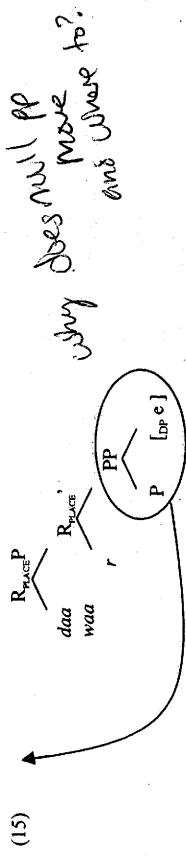
(13) Dutch versus German:

Dutch (Koopman 1996):
Man-to Spec P USE Spec to escape

German (Koopman 1996):
da wo r auf [DP e]

Problem: how is P-stranding in Dutch possible? (→ pronoun + R are not a constituent)

Solution: P stranding: Move PP creates a remnant RPLACE



Problem: German "P-stranding": *wod/da* *d-r-auf*

(16) a. *Wo(r) stand sie (rauf)?

 where stood it (R)-on
 b. Wo stand sie drau? (Colloquial German)
 where stood it (DR)-on

(17) a. Da sitzt er *d-r-auf*.

 there sits he d-r-on
 b. *Da sitzt er drauf.

c. *Da sitzt er darauf.

Cf. Directional PP (Noonan 2005b):
Wo(*) sprang sie *(*r*)rauf?

 where jumped she R-on

3. Decomposing the locative pronoun (R-pronoun)

(19) i. *d/w/h* : ~~PLACE~~ ^{de lez en} ~~PLACE~~ ^{de lez en} ^{accusatif} ^{accusatif}

ii. *a/o/i*: *PLACE* ^{de lez en} ^{de lez en}

iii. *r* : *PLACE* ^{de lez en} ^{de lez en}

iv. PLACE : a silent noun

v. Mod_{PLACE} : pronounced place adposition → modifier of PLACE (Terzi 2006)

vi. *P_{Loc}* > *D_{PLACE}* > *R_{PLACE}* > *NP_{PLACE}* (Mod_{PLACE}) > PLACE > NP (*pro*)

(20) *[Proc d-i-a [PLACE [NP pro] d] [PLACE R [PLACE PLACE [NP pro]]]]*

(21)

(22) *[Proc d-i-a [PLACE d] [PLACE r [ModPlaceP auf [ModPlace PLACE [NP pro]]]]]*

(23)

(24) English *there and thereon*: *[Proc th-i-e [PLACE th] [PLACE r [ModPlace on [ModPlace PLACE [NP pro]]]]]* (cf. Kayne 2005/2006)

(25) (Aside) conjecture about French *là* and *là aedans*: *[Proc là-i-à [PLACE là] [PLACE de [ModPlace dans [ModPlace PLACE [NP pro]]]]]*

4. Back to stranding

a. *[ModPlace op t_{pro}] ... [Proc d aa [PLACE pro d [PLACE r [ModPlaceP]]] ... [ModPlaceP op t_{pro}] ... t_{loc} remnant*

b. *[Proc d-a [PLACE pro d [PLACE r [ModPlaceP]]] ... [ModPlaceP op t_{pro}] ... t_{loc} remnant*

(27) German: *D_{PLACE}P moves: [Proc d-a [PLACE pro d [PLACE r [ModPlaceP]]] ... [Proc d-a [PLACE r [ModPlaceP]]] ... t_{loc} remnant*

a. *[PLACE pro d [PLACE r [ModPlaceP auf t_{pro}] ... [Proc d-a [PLACE r [ModPlaceP auf t_{pro}] ... t_{loc} remnant*

b. *[Proc d-a t_{pro}] ... [PLACE pro d [PLACE r [ModPlaceP auf t_{pro}] ... t_{loc} remnant*

(28) Generalisation: When *D_{PLACE}P* moves, its head must be pronounced (part of a more general principle)

(29) a. Da sass er drauf. *Not a copy but like a referring rule*
 there sat he d-r-on
b. Wo sass er drauf.
 where sat he d-r-on
c. Hier sass er drauf.
 here sat he d-r-on

German: silent (except *hier*)
Dutch: *r*

(30) 'd': "resumptive" D_{PLACE} → spells out the least marked [-Q] [-Prox]

Support for the remnant *da*-stranding approach to "P-stranding"

- (31) a. Ich frage mich ob er ____ schon oft * hat * sitzen wollen. ____ = auf diesem Tisch
I wonder if he ____ often ____ has sit want _____ on the table

- b. Ich frage mich ob er ____ schon oft ____ hat (?) sitzen wollen. ____ = darauf
I wonder if he ____ often ____ has sit want _____ thereon

- c. Ich frage mich ob er da schon oft * hat ____ sitzen wollen. ____ = drauf
I wonder if he there often * ____ has sit want _____ DR-on

- d. Ich frage mich wo er * ____ schon oft * ____ hat ____ sitzen wollen. ____ = drauf
I wonder where he * ____ often * ____ has sit want _____ DR-on

→ suggests that d-r-P ($D_{PLACE}P$) "incorporate" to the verbal complex

5. "Shadow"-construction in Colloquial German (Noonan 2004/2006)

- (32) a. Mein Kater sitzt auf dem Tisch drauf.
my cat sits on the table d-r-on

- b. Die Emma sitzt in der Kiste drin.
Emma sits in the box d-r-in

- c. Das Kaugummi klebt an der Wand draan.
the chewing gum sticks on the wall d-r-on

- d. Die Spinne hängt unter dem Schrank drunter.
the spider hangs under the wardrobe d-r-under

Observations:

- i. No [r pro]
- ii. Semantic restriction : impose a specific spatial interpretation → example (34)
- iii. d-r-P ("shadow") can move → example (33)

- (33) a. ... weil er **in der Kiste** hat **drin** sitzen wollen.
... because he **in the box** has DR-IN sit wanted

- b. In der Kiste hat er immer drin gesessen.
in the box has he always D-R-IN sit

- (34) a. Er hängt **an dem Tisch**.
he hangs on **the#r table**

- i. idiomatic: He is attached to the table.
- ii. spatial: He is hanging on/off the table.

- b. Er hängt **an dem Tisch** dran. → spatial only! (ii)
he hangs on **the#r table** D-R-on

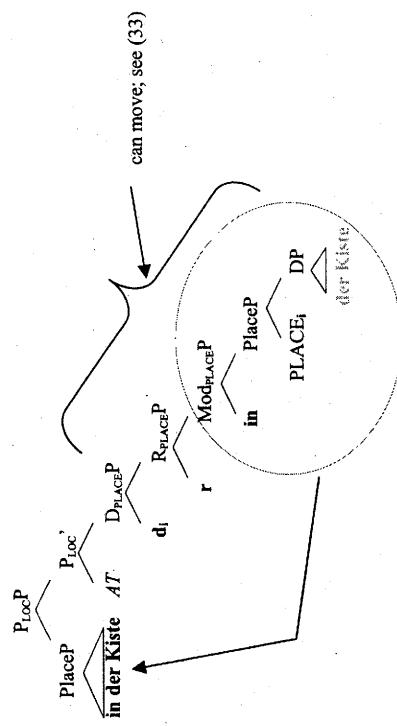
- (35) a. Das Gift ist in der Luft (*drin).
the toxin is in the#r air (*DR-in)

- b. Ich bin in Montreal (*drin).
I am in MtL (*DR-in)

(36) Analysis (see Noonan 2005a for details):

- i. Associate of d = PLACE → interpretive property
- ii. $Mod_{PLACE}P$ moves to $Spec_{PLACE}$; P_{LOC} = abstract (silent AT)
- iii. $Mod_{PLACE}P$ does not delete → double pronunciation
- iv. Object of P = possessor of PLACE (on the table = AT the table's TOP)

- (37) *in der kiste dr-in* (in the#r box DR-in)



6. Conclusion
- i. German *da* is big, but little than Dutch *daar*
 - ii. PPs are too big to fully discuss in a workshop on little words.

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2 The Role of Preposition Semantics in Argument Realization

Predicting Argument Realization from Preposition Semantics

1 Introduction

- This paper discusses the role of adposition semantics in determining argument realization cross-linguistically, focusing primarily on adpositions that mark arguments of verbs:

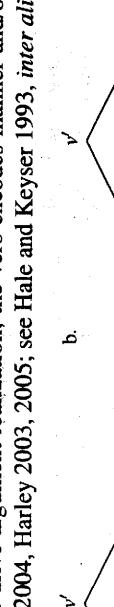
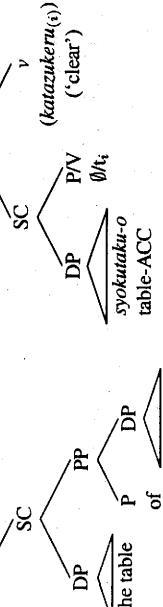
- a. The waiter cleared the **dishes from the table**.
- b. The waiter cleared **the table of the dishes**.
- a. *Ueetaa-wa syokutaku-kara syoki-o katazuketa.*
waiter-TOP table-from dishes-ACC cleared.
- b. *Ueetaa-wa syokutaku-o (*syokki-de/karahi) katazuketa.*
waiter-TOP table-ACC (*dishes-INSTR/from/DAT) cleared.

'The waiter cleared the dishes from the table.'

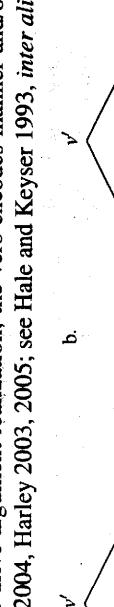
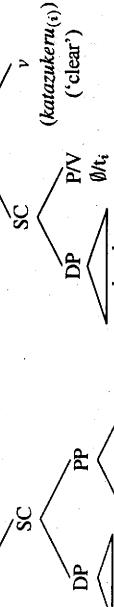
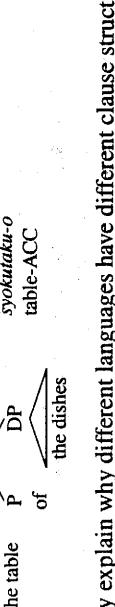
- a. Sandy loaded the wagon **with the hay**. *mouset*
- b. Sandy sprayed the wall **with the paint**. *hov-e*
- c. John cut the bread **with the knife**.
- d. John chipped the rock **with the chisel**.

- How are oblique arguments licensed and why do English and Japanese differ?
- V-centric: We could assume that each V is/ isn't subcategorized for an appropriate PP, though this misses generalizations about which PPs show up where and why languages differ.

- P-centric: Prepositions drive argument realization; the verb encodes manner and/or result state (Folli and Harley 2004, Harley 2003, 2005; see Hale and Keyser 1993, *inter alia*):

- a. 
(clearing)
- b. 
the table of the dishes

- Since the "same" oblique arguments have different roles depending on the verb, since the verb's semantic role determines the adposition used.
- First, certain aspects of role of the oblique argument are determined primarily by the verb, since the agent and patient Croft (1991:178) (cf. instruments), yielding a single semantics for *with*:

- a. Sandy loaded the wagon **with the hay**. *mouset*
- b. Sandy sprayed the wall **with the paint**. *hov-e*
- c. John cut the bread **with the knife**.
- d. John chipped the rock **with the chisel**.
- Yet there is commonality across the obliques: they are all "causally intermediate" between the agent and patient Dowty 1989, 1991, Ackerman and Moore 2001).
- John ate the grits **with a fork**.
- a. 
John
- b. 
John
- c. 
John
- Instrument adjunct

- Crucially, the link between the verb-dependent and preposition semantics is not arbitrary: the verb-dependent semantics are more specific versions of causal intermediacy:

- a. John loaded the wagon with the hay. → John acts on the hay and then the wagon.
- b. John cut the bread with the knife. → John acts on the knife and then the bread.
- The preposition's meaning is implied by the verb's meaning (see Beavers 2006 for an explicit treatment following Dowty 1989, 1991, Ackerman and Moore 2001).
- OBLIQUE SELECTION PRINCIPLE: The role assigned to an oblique argument *x* by a verb V must imply the role assigned to *x* by the oblique marker *P*, i.e.: $\forall x, y_1, \dots, y_n \Box [V'(y_1, \dots, x, \dots, y_n) \rightarrow P'(x)]$, for $[V] = V'$, $[P] = P'$

- This predicts that the compatibility of the verb and preposition is a necessary (but not sufficient) condition on oblique realization.
- A less oft-discussed prediction is that certain argument realization patterns may *not be* available in some languages due to the absence of certain adpositions more generally.
 - Consider again the English/Japanese contrast in (1b) vs. (2b).
 - Off is historically an erstwhile ablative (< Old English *off*, related to *off*). The use in (1b) is what Hook (1983) calls the "abstrumment": an instrument used in an ablative context.
 - Off is actually more general, especially in comparison with *from*. *From* describes sources, of can mark both sources and abstractions, i.e. it marks either side of a separation relation:

Off - off - from
ablative

give a report
realization
properties

- (9) a. Source (place theme is removed from):

- i. Little (be)came of/from it.
- ii. We desired it of/from him.
- iii. He partook of/*from the salad.

b. “Abstrument” (theme that is removed from somewhere):

- i. He cleared the table of/*from dishes.
- ii. We robbed them of/*from their jobs.
- iii. The doctor cured him of/*from his nail biting.
- iv. The government deprived him of/*from his welfare check.

Japanese more generally seems to lack an abstrument marker: *-de* marks instruments, *-kara* marks sources, but neither marks a separated item in any context I am aware of.

• Thus these data reflect a general correspondence of the shape of a language’s lexical inventory and the possibility of alternations.

• I turn next to several case studies of systematic variation across languages, and show that in each case this can be reduced to independent variation in adpositional inventories.

3 Encoding of Goals - Possibilities and Impossibilities

• A classic case study is the motion typology of Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000), based on how path and manner are encoded in a single clause describing a directed motion event.

- (10) Context: John moved into the house limping.

a. S(atellite)-framed (English, Russian, German, Mandarin):

Manner is encoded as a *main verb*; path must be a satellite.

John limped into the house. (English)

b. V(erb)-framed (Spanish, French, Turkish, Japanese, Hebrew):

Path is encoded as a *main verb*; manner must be a subordinate adjunct.

Je suis entré dans la maison (en boitant).

I am entered in the house in limping

‘I entered (into) the house (limping).’ (French)
(cf. #*J’ai boité dans la maison*)

• This is often thought of in terms of verbs: verbs encode manner or path (Talmy 1975, 1985).

• However, these patterns also systematically correlate with motion-independent properties of (among other things) adpositional inventories across language (Talmy 2000, Folli and Ramchand 2002, Beavers et al. 2006, Son 2007 (yesterday, in fact)).

• In S-framed languages, the markers used to realize paths/goals (e.g. *(in)to*) often have very general use marking goals/results, even with verbs that do not inherently select for them.

- (11) a. John walked/run/promenaded to the store. (V implies motion but no goal).
- b. Ted scrubbed/polished/rubbed/caressed his shoes to a healthy shine.

• These prepositions are more like general allative/translative markers.

• In V-framed languages goals are marked by dative/locative adpositions (cf. *dans ‘in’* in (10b)), but only when the verb selects for a goal/result, as illustrated here for Japanese *-ni*:

- (12) (Goal; Beavers 2004:1(a))

a. *John-wa eki-ni itta/modotta/orita.*

John-TOP station-to went/went-up/went-down

‘John went/went down to the station.’

- (13) (Goal; Beavers 2004:1(b))

b. *Mary-ga doresu-o pinku-ni some-ta*

Mary-NOM dress-ACC pink-DAT dye-PAST

‘Mary dyed the dress pink.’

- (14) (Entailed result; Washio 1997:5, (13b))

a. **John-wa kishi-ni oyoida/tadayotta/hattta.*

John-TOP shore-to swam/drifted/crawled

‘John swam/drifted/crawled to the shore.’

- b. **John-ga kinzoku-o petyanko-ni tatai-ta.*

John-NOM metal-ACC flat-DAT pounded-PAST

‘John pounded the metal flat.’

- (15) a. *Mary-ga boku-ni kono hon-o kureta*

Mary-NOM I-DAT this book-ACC gave

‘Mary gave me this book.’

- b. *John-wa Mary-ni hon-o yom-ase-ru*

John-TOP Mary-DAT book-ACC read-CAUSE-NON PAST

‘John will make Mary read a book.’

- c. *E-ga doroboo-ni nusum-are-ta.*

painting-NOM thief-by steal-PASS-PAST

‘The painting was stolen by the thief.’

• Thus *-ni* is not comparable to *to* (i.e. as an allative), and similarly for Romance *a* (Talmy 2000, Beavers et al. 2006). These goal markers are more akin to datives (see Levin 2006).

• The lack of a general allative in V-framed languages derives from a more general property of these languages: the lack of secondary predication (e.g. result AdjPs, PP_s; Aske 1989; though see Son 2007).

The differences in S- and V-framed languages can be reduced to the presence/absence of adpositions of the appropriate sort (e.g. the existence of allative/translative adpositions).

- However, it is seldom-noted that such languages often *do* have adpositions that can realize goals with manner verbs, namely adpositions meaning “until” (Beavers 2003, 2004).

(15) a. *John-wa kishi-made,*ni oyoida/tadayotta/hattia.*

John-TOP shore-until/to swam/drifted/crawled

‘John swam/drifted/crawled to the shore.’ (Japanese; Beavers 2003)

b. *La cire coule jusqu’au/*au bord de la table.*

The wax flowed until/to/to edge of the table

‘The wax flowed to the edge of the table.’ (French; Cummins 1996)

c. *La botella flotó hasta/?za la cueva.*

The bottle floated until/to the cave

‘The bottle floated to the cave.’ (Spanish; Aske 1989)

d. *Kayadan kayaya atlayarak uca kadar geldi.* (O. Kemal)

‘Jumping from rock to rock he came all the way to the front.’

(Turkish; Özçelşkan and Slobin 2003)

- Such markers have other uses marking boundaries, e.g. temporal endpoints of events (e.g. *They talked until the meeting/midnight/they fell asleep*) and sometimes spatial boundaries.
- Since motion events may be delimited by a spatial regions, the *until*-PPs in (15) are interpreted as goal expressions (see Beavers 2004).

The (independent) presence of compatible adpositions yields realization options for goals that are otherwise uncharacteristic of these languages.

4 Dative Alternations

- Following on this goal-marking use of *to*, English allows a dative alternation in which a recipient may be realized either as the first object of a ditransitive verb or as a *to*-oblique:

(16) a. Kim gave/sent/tossed the ball *to Sandy*.

b. Kim gave/sent/tossed the ball *by Sandy*.

- There are information structural differences in the alternation: the element that is first in the VP tends to be more topical and the element that is latter is less topical (a focused item, perhaps) (Erteschik-Shir 1979, Givón 1984, Arnold et al. 2000, Wasow 2002).

(17) a. Q: What did John give Tom?

A: John gave Tom a book.

b. Q: Who did John give a book to? A: John gave a book to Tom.

- There is also an interesting semantic contrast between the two variants (Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Beavers 2006). The first object must be a “prospective possessor” in some way:

(18) a. #John sent London a letter. (Ok on “London Office” reading)

b. John sent a letter to London. (Ok on “London Office” or goal reading)

- Other languages have similar alternations, with similar contrasts:

(19) a. *Ich schicke ihm/#Berlin ein Buch.*
I.NOM sent him.DAT/Berlin a book
'I sent him/#Berlin a book.'

b. *Ich schicke ein Buch zu ihm /nach Berlin.*
I.NOM sent a book to him.DAT / to Berlin
'I sent a book to him/Berlin.'

(20) a. #*I Anastasia estile ena vivlio tis Neas Lorcis*
The.NOM Anastasia.NOM sent a.ACC book.ACC to-the.ACC New.GEN York.ACC
'Anastasia sent New York a book.'

b. *I Anastasia estile ena vivlio sti Nea*
The.NOM Anastasia.NOM sent a.ACC book.ACC to-the.ACC New.GEN York.ACC
'Anastasia sent a book to New York.'

- The alternation is thus between a structural case/position vs. a semantic case.
- Finnish and Japanese exemplify two alternatives: having only the semantic case variant and only the direct argument variant:

(21) a. *Minä annoin miehelle kirjan.*
I.NOM gave man.ALL book.ACC
'I gave the man a book.' (Finnish; Kaiser 2002:(4b))

b. *Masao-ga Akira-ni syasin-o okutta.*
Masao-NOM Akira-DAT picture-ACC send
'Masao sent a picture to Tokyo.'

(Japanese; Beavers 2006:189, (11))

- This reflects the general lack of a dative case or a double object construction in Finnish and the general lack of an allative in Japanese (discussed above).
- In both languages word order encodes the relative topicality, rather than a morphological alternation. But what about the semantic contrasts?

• Each language actually has an alternation, but of a different form than in English/Greek. In Finnish a goal can also be realized in the illative ‘into’ case (Karlsson 1999:112-119):

(22) *Minä lähein kirjan Suomen.*
I-NOM sent book.ACC Finland.ILLAT
'I sent a/the book to Finland.'

- (Finnish; Kaiser 2002:(a), fn.2)
- The allative/illative contrast (between two semantic cases) has something of the flavor of the semantic contrast in dative alternations (albeit with an additional set of locative constraints).
 - In Japanese a similar effect is achieved, but here through the relative obliqueness of the dative marker in different contexts.

- We can probe for this through topic-marking by -wa. When a non-oblique argument is -wa marked, the corresponding case is dropped, but not for a -wa marked oblique (Beavers 2006):

- (23) a. *John ga kaijan-de oyoida*
John-NOM shore-at swam
'John swam at the shore/beach.'

- b. *John-wa kaijan-de oyoida*
John-TOP shore-at swam
'As for John, he swam at the shore/beach.'

- c. *Kaijan-de-wa? kaijan-wa John-ga oyoida*
beach-at-TOP/? beach-TOP John-NOM swam
'As for the beach, John swam at it.'

- If we apply -wa marking to goals of ditransitives in Japanese, we see that the "London Office" effect obtains for inanimates only if -ni is dropped:

- (24) a. *Masao-ga Akira/Tokyo-ni syasin-o okutta.*
Masao-NOM Akira/Tokyo-DAT picture-ACC send

'Masao sent a picture to Akira/Tokyo.'

- b. *Akira/#Tokyo-wa Masao-ga syasin-o okutta.*
Akira/Tokyo-TOP Masao-NOM picture-ACC send

'As for Akira/#Tokyo, Masao sent her/#it a picture.'

- c. *Tokyo-ni-wa Masao-ga syasin-o okutta.*
Tokyo-DAT-TOP Masao-NOM picture-ACC send

'As for Tokyo, Masao sent a picture to it.'

- This suggests that there is an alternation in Japanese, between a direct argument -ni and an oblique -ni phrase (see also Sadakane and Koizumi 1995 and Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004).

- Whether this corresponds to two different -ni morphemes is a murkier question.

- Similarly, in Spanish, clitic doubling has an effect similar to the English dative alternation, though whether this corresponds to a difference in obliqueness of a I do not know:

- (25) a. *Yo envié un libro a Nueva York.*
I sent a book to New York
'I sent a book to New York.'

- b. #*Yo le envíe un libro a Nueva York.*
I 3SG.CL sent the book to New York
#'I sent New York a book.'

- (Bteam 2003:235, (6))

The lack of morphological alternations is correlated with the lack of certain types of adpositions, though other properties of these languages encode the same functionality.

5 Conclusion - The Case of Default Prepositions

- One potential problem for this analysis, however, involves so-called "default" prepositions that mark arguments when the governing head is unable to assign case (Chomsky 1981).
 - Such adpositions are meaningless and trivially implied by any verb, thus any argument of any verb could be realized by this according to the OBLIQUE SELECTION PRINCIPLE.
 - Clearly this is not the case, so how is this possibility ruled out?
 - Here again I appeal to a lexical solution by suggesting that "default" prepositions do not exist, at least not in the verbal domain.

- If we apply -wa marking to goals of ditransitives in Japanese, we see that the "London Office" effect obtains for inanimates only if -ni is dropped:

*Ob[ject]
of
Some postposition
Some postposition*

- (26) a. the destruction of the city/the Romans
b. fond of Mary
c. off of the rock
d. I spoke highly of him

- Similar adpositions occur in other languages, e.g. Japanese genitive -no (Martin 1975).

- However, most uses of *of* in the verbal domain correspond to a limited set of roles, including separation (source and abstrumnt) and also "material" and comparison:

- (27) a. Separation: *He partook of it, We cleared the table of dishes*

- b. Material: *I wrote of/about him, I was notified of/about his plans*

- c. Comparison: *This soup tastes of/like mutton, He reminds me of a peacock*

- Thus while *of* is a few ways polysemous, it is not clear that it is semantically vacuous.

- As much as it is a default preposition in non-verbal domains it is essentially a direct argument marker (non-verbal objective case), and thus should not be treated as an oblique marker.

- A second candidate for "default" status is English *by*, which can mark a passive agent for virtually any active subject (Fillmore 1968), i.e. it is a proto-agent marker.

- (28) a. The book was bought by Sandy.
b. The deal was brokered by Kim.

- Thus we might expect to see nominative/by alternations in the active voice:

- (29) a. John saw Mary.
b. *By John saw Mary.

- This I suggest is ruled out by independent constraints that require an NP subject for each finite clause (i.e. the EPP, with exceptions such as dative subjects licensed systematically)

- Thus there does not appear to be any evidence of a truly default preposition in English for verbal argument marking, and I am not aware of any such evidence in any other languages.

not very many adpositions
down with marks a common pattern

6 Conclusion

- Both the verb and preposition assign thematic roles to oblique arguments, but they are constrained by the OBLIQUE SELECTION PRINCIPLE:

- (30) OBLIQUE SELECTION PRINCIPLE: The role assigned to an oblique argument x by a verb V must imply the role assigned to x by the oblique marker P, i.e.:
 $\forall x, y_1, \dots, y_n. \exists V' (y_1, \dots, x, \dots, y_n) \rightarrow P'(x)]$, for $[V] = V'$, $[P] = P'$
- This helps explain the distribution of a given adposition with a range of verbs in terms of shared semantics.
 - It also predicts that the presence of adpositions of a certain sort are a necessary (though not sufficient) condition on oblique realization.
 - The evidence presented here for this correlation is sketchy at best; future work will involve a more systematic view of a range of oblique realization option/inventories across languages.

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² *Huruuy al-jar* also include the Classical Arabic terms *mudh*, *since, ago*; *ruba*, *many a*; *la allâa*, *perhaps*; *adâa*, *except*; and, according only to Ibn Malik: *kay*, *in order to*; *la allâa*, *perhaps*; and *malâa*, *when*. Note that Sibawayh does not consider *alâa* an authentic *Harj jar*. Note also that *maâ*, *with*, is not technically a *Harj jar* according to traditional grammarians. For more on this see Rydming 2005: 393-394.

¹ The monolithic *Huruuy al-jar* also include the Classical Arabic oath-markers *wa-*, *by*, and *ia-*.

Examples:

Arabic adverbs of place and time/locative adverbs

Zurruuq makkaan and Zurruuq makkâan

He stretches out on the sofa.

ya-mittadd-u alâa l-mây âdat-i

since the sixties

7. *âlla*, *on*

until dawn yesterday

6. *muñðhu*, *since, for, ago*

She might be at the hospital.

5. *Hañaa*, *up to, until*

exiled from his country

4. *qâd ta-kunnu-ni l-mustashâa*

to the right

3. *an*, *from, away from*

from their neighbors

2. *âlla*, *to, towards*

like the lion

1. *miñ*, *from, of*

for his sister

Bi-er triliterals:

by hand

3. *ka-*, *like, as*

1. *bi-*, *in, at, by, with*

2. *li-*, *for, to, in order to*

Arabic "true" prepositions (*Huruuy al-jar*):

3. Where preposition deletion occurs, accusative case is used to mark time locatives.

at 5 o'clock

fi l-saa'at-i l-xamisat-i

found with time expressions.

The preposition *fi* is used in all instances.³ No instances of the locative preposition *bi-* were

1. Point-in-time location:

A. Location in time
Temporal expressions in Arabic:

<i>bahith-a fi</i>	to discuss, sth.
<i>bahith-a an</i>	to search for, sth.
<i>athithar-a alaa</i>	to influence, sth.
<i>iththaja 'ilaa</i>	to need, sth.

Examples:
Hurruf al-jarr as verb adjuncts

His appointment has not yet been set.

Iam yu-Haddad maw'id-u-hu bad-u

He left him/his company.

dhabhab-a min ma'ihi

The eighth-century grammarian Sibawayh even gives:

It came from above you.

jaa'a min sawy-i-ka

He left the teacher's (place).

dhabhab-a min 'ind-i l-mu'allim-i

Zuruf following a Hars jarra:

5. *bayn-a-l-balad-ayni*

'ind-a-l-Taqribi

4. *'ind-a-at, with, and*

sawy-a-l-'arD-i

3. *sawy-a, above*

2. *ba'd-a sab'at-i qurunn-in*

1. *qabla-l-sibaHati 'ilaa l-baHri*

between the two countries

at the doctor

above the earth

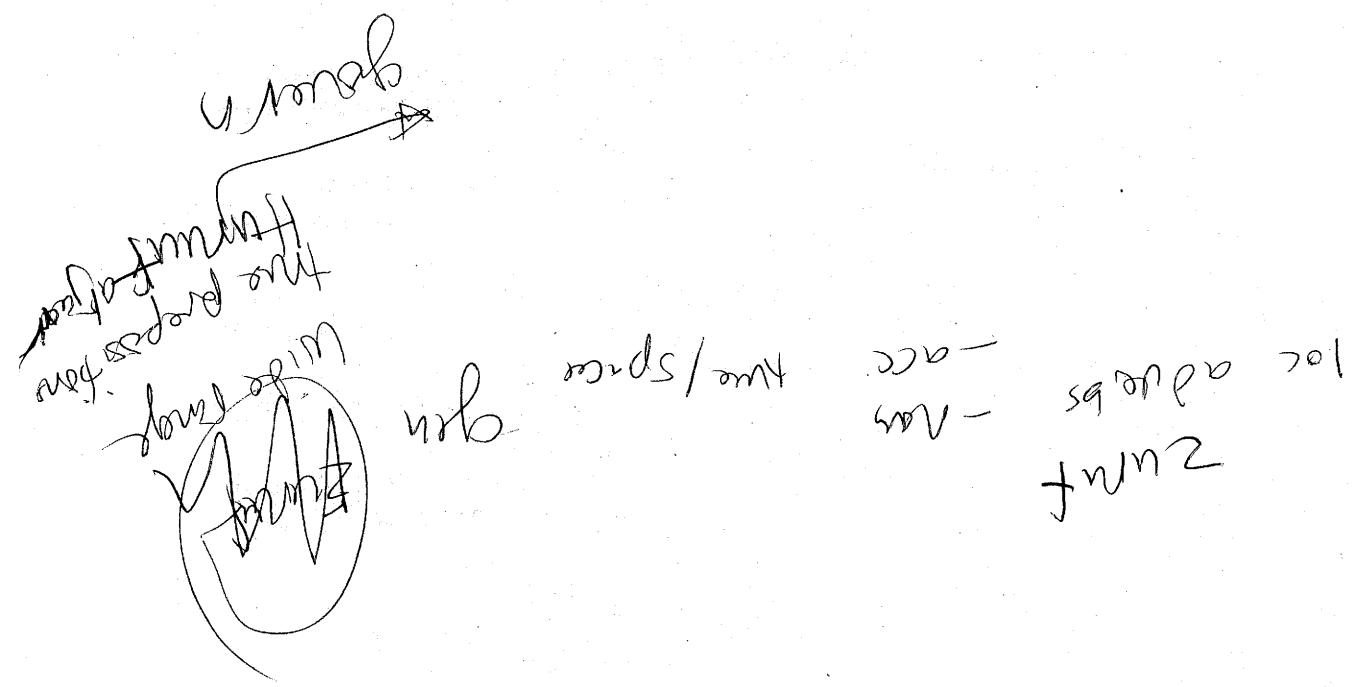
after seven centuries

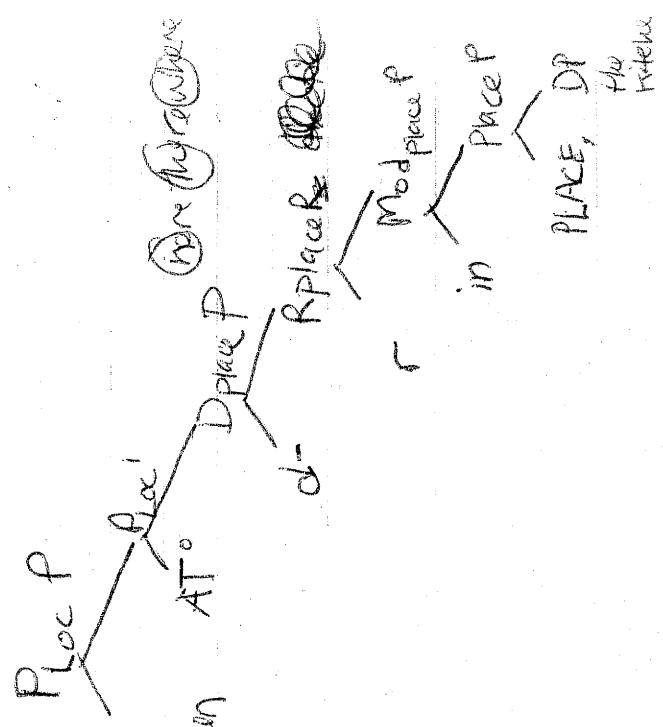
before swimming to the sea

- 2. Sequential location in time:**
- in 1953
- fi'l-Sabah-i fi'l-yawm al-jum'a-i on Friday*
ba'd-a-l-Harb-i before the war
ba'd-a-l-wajhati after the meal
- To denote a sequential place along a time line, locative adverbs are used.
- 3. Sequential-durative:**
- Hattaa l-saadat-i until four o'clock*
- Two specialized prepositions, *Hattaa* for direction toward, and *muundhu* for direction from, are used for these types of time-expressions:

- 4. Temporal distance:**
- sa-ta-rji'u-ba d-a thalathat-i ayam-in. She will return in three days.*
- For denoting specific directional distance, locative adverbs are used.
- Distance-future**
- Distance-past**
- wasad-tu qabil-a yawm-ayni. I arrived two days ago.*
- B. Temporal extent**
- I. Telic extent (all the way to an end-point, "within the space of")
- katab-tu l-risadalat-a jif'i saa'at-ayni. I wrote the letter in two hours.*
- II. Atelic extent (along a time-line)
- daraas-naa li-xamsat-i asabbi'a. We studied for five weeks.*

- C. Cancellaces of *min* instead of *muundhu* in the corpus:**
1. *laa yara-haa min sihat-i ash'hur-in.* He hasn't seen her for six months.
2. *min zamana-in lam nu-waahiyi xatar-an kabir-an.* We haven't faced great danger for a long time.





Place P

in the kitchen

take path PP
need adjunct for manner
(adj directional verb
no end for path for location & time)
so need 2 kinds of path adjain
time's generality for path with

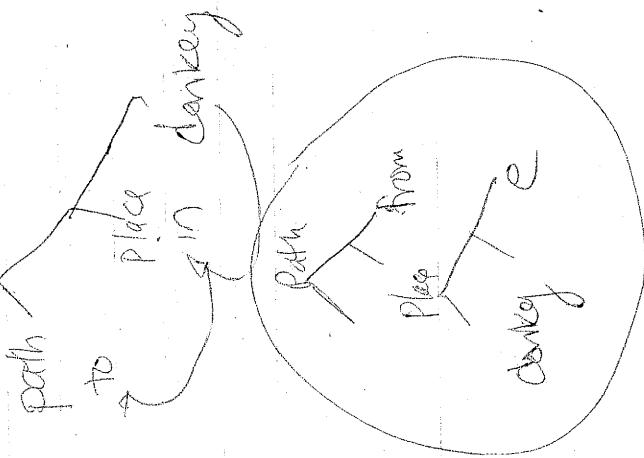
day name / the preposition "to"



Can get participles
be cut the meat will cut

gad're - se from
 gad're - par ~~on~~
 gad're - ~~par~~
 gad're - ~~par~~
 gad're - ~~par~~
 gad're - ~~par~~
 gad're - ~~par~~

Some
 place
 taraf
~~stuff~~ bird
 bina
 upper



far indicitive
 far subjunctive
 quote produces
 She could compare
 "say" or "go"
 And he ~~says~~ "The
 not coming
 to your
 Quotative? Party!"
 and he was like "U"
 Multimodality comes
 'and' feature
 Kikongo - bantua - +

Clare left her full paper bag
 Archipel Agulhas can
 organize for more some day for
 multilingual items.
 "sell a tree"

Outline

- ① → description of shape in
skukela morphology
- ② goagle → could be called male for
complex out
Morph → could be analysed as a
place head

Picke	side	to	ne	ke	tail
taraf	tip	to	middle	ke	tail
Sonne	top	to	bottom	se	tail
Nicke	back	to	without	me	tail
lige	back	to	without	me	tail

- allowing it to be used
w/out a directional like
from, by,
- ~~top~~ is it place on the
hat end in -e?
shape/pitch/bits/that's/
up/pot
- why does
it show
multiple marking? no
multiple marking?
- list 3 types of prep

- ② urban
urban
w/ail(?)

UC Irvine Saturday 10/15

Verb quo^{ative} Complementizer

restricting
verb

Shu of the same / no pl

tree	CL	tree	- concept
word			
from numeral			
	- individual		
	- classification		
3		plant	tree
Korean	myeon	human	
Classifiers	whi.	taskmate - human	
	carwo	long hair	
		flat	
		gang	vehicle
	fog		
	kwir	book	
			of
		deafui	
			berry

English has Measure words
Chierchia 1978
Classification must to count
Mass nouns like furniture
→ Count mass nouns
Chung 1999 Chinese nouns like contrast noun

Greenberg p72 classes are
concepts

ensemble nouns - functional grammar
Sortal classifiers like fast.

not measure

Set ensemble meas
classifiers can't be modified by
adjective

Red cl book
✓ Red bag Singer
numerals, demonstratives, adjectives

K & J

Chinese

Then

+ SG + can feature predication, strict cyclicity
each phrase box
+ SG + cont recursive rules get to [ff]
Lexicon or Syntax
- how use ex plan the distinction

do they say she wills
studying possible angles?

- this letter deserves a response but before
you do.

Should we invite Mr Jeong
to dinner?
her flight is tomorrow, and the
not sure if she has anyone
to hang out w/ YES

Should we stay or
Should we go?
if we stay there will
be trouble if we go.
it will be double

Plan Generalization - Representation Structure

- Mapping
- DP
- PP
- (NP)
- Hand book of Syntax
- Process
- Stress
- focus assignment
- Based on Syntax
- Interaction
- Hand book
- Morphology
- Syntax
- Sift

