Modifying the Syntax of Spatial P in English

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Abstract

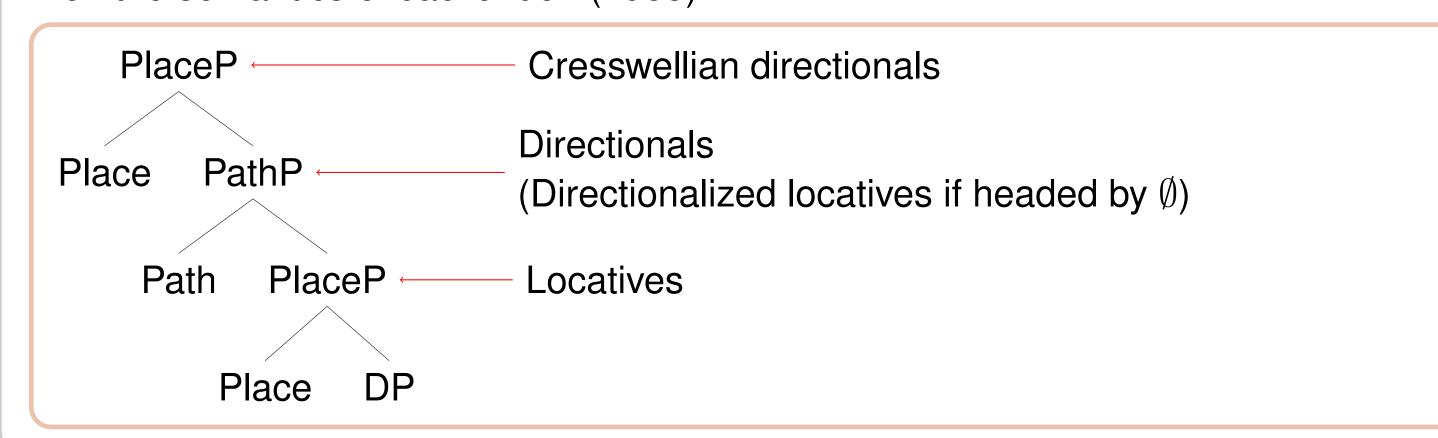
Evidence from modification shows that the descriptive notions of directional and locative PPs do not constitute syntactic categories as Svenonius (2010) claims. The same type of evidence suggests that the categories Svenonius proposes do not combine as he proposes they do.

Background

- Two descriptive labels for spatial P's/PP's:
- Locative
- Directional
- Spatial prepositions can be classified using these labels.
- -Locative P's: *inside*, *between*, *beside*, *above*, *etc*.
- —Directional P's: *into, towards, from, across, through, etc.*
- Interpretations of PPs in context can also be classified this way.
- The descriptive label of a PP \neq the descriptive label of its head.
- (1) **Directionalized locatives** (directional PP, locative P) The bottle floated under the bridge. (\approx passed under the bridge floating)
- (2) **Cresswellian directionals** (locative PP, directional P)(Cresswell 1978) Across the meadow, a band is playing *The H.M.S. Pinafore*. (\approx at the end of a journey across the meadow)

The Standard Analysis

- Svenonius (2010) proposes that the locative and directional labels correspond to syntactic categories.
- -Locative PP \leftrightarrow PLACEP
- Directional PP \leftrightarrow PATHP
- PATHPs embed PLACEPs.
- Directionalized locatives are PATHPs with null heads that embed PLACEPs.
- Cresswellian locatives are PLACEPs with null heads that embed PATHPs.
- cf. the semantics of Jackendoff (1983).



The Modifiers

Halfway

- Modifies path-denoting PPs.
 halfway through the forest
- Imposes idiosyncratic path interpretation on place-denoting PPs. halfway between the posts vs halfway inside the house.
- cf Bochnak (2013).

Well

- Modifies some place-denoting PPs.
 well behind the house
- Does not modify path-denoting PPs.
 *well to the store
- cf Yang (to appear).

Modification Tests

Directionalized locatives

[halfway Path[well Place DP]]

- Prediction: √ halfway,√ well
- 3) a. The dog ran halfway behind the house. (not as predicted) \neq halfway TO behind the house
 - b. The dog ran well behind the house. (as predicted)

into/onto

 $[halfway [\{in-/on-\}_{Place} -to_{Path}][well t_{Place} DP]]$

- Prediction: √ halfway,?well
- (4) a. The dog ran halfway into the house. (not as predicted) \neq halfway TO in the house
 - b. The dog ran well into the house. (no clear prediction)

Cresswellian directionals

 $[well_1 \text{ Place}[halfway \text{ Path}[well_2 \text{ Place DP}]]]$

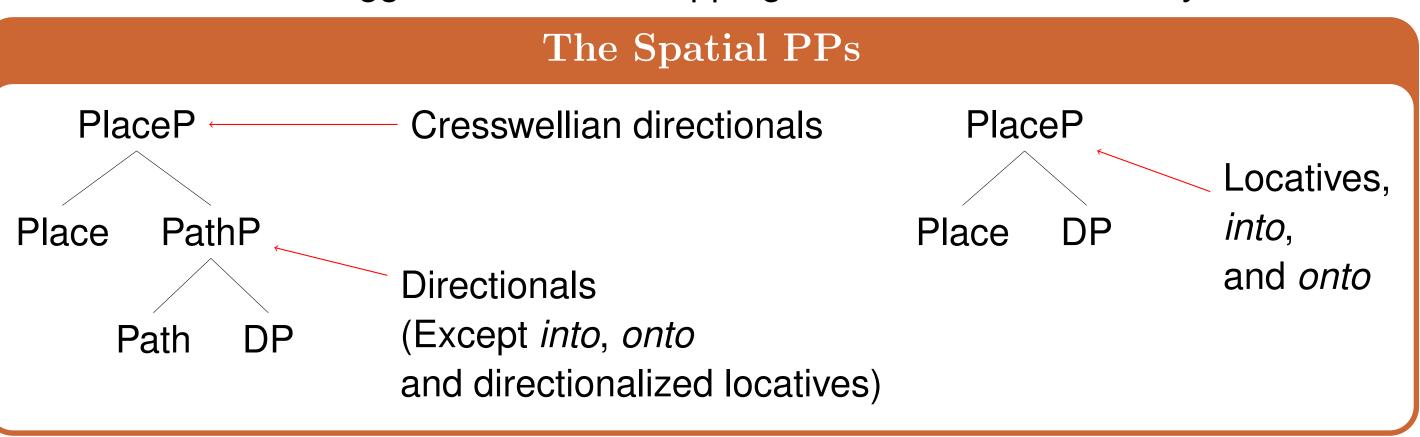
- Prediction: $\sqrt{well_1}$, $\sqrt{halfway}$, $?well_2$
- (5) a. Halfway across the meadow, a band is playing... (as predicted) \approx At the end of a journey halfway across the meadow
 - b. Well across the meadow, a band is playing... ($\sqrt{well_1}$,* $well_2$) \approx Well at the end of a journey across the meadow \neq At the end of a journey VIA *well ON the meadow

Summary

- There is no evidence for Path heads dominating Place heads.
- into, onto, and directionalized locatives pattern with PlacePs.
- There is evidence for Cresswellian Place heads.

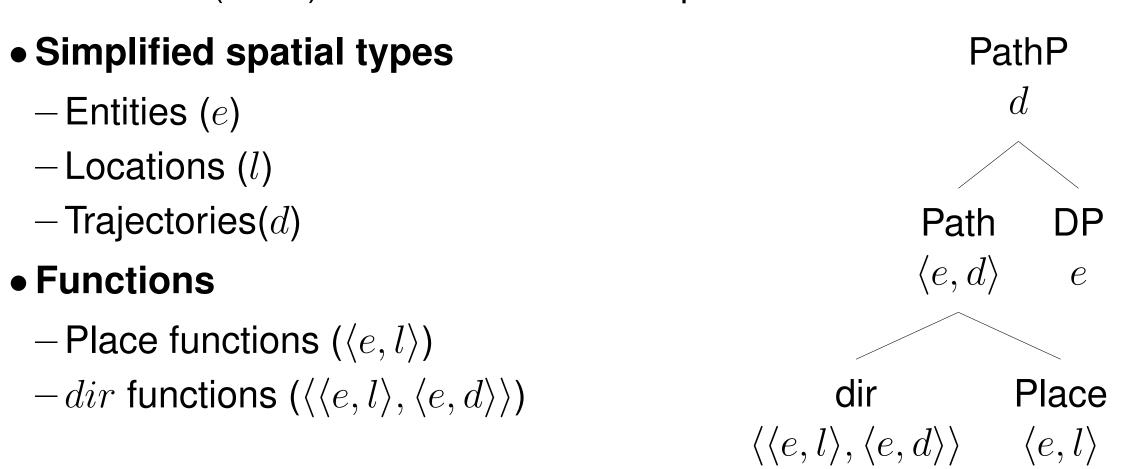
Proposal

Modification tests suggest a different mapping from surface labels to syntax.



Further Arguments

• Svenonius (2010) assumes the vector space semantics of Zwarts and Winter (2000).



- No Path words built from complex Places.
 through=Via(Inside),across=Via(On),*xyz=Via(Between)
- Requires fewer null heads and head movement operations.
- I'm into it. The boss is onto us. vs. We're {at/*to} the store.

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