Directionalized Locatives[1]
The limits of Contrast
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- When locative PPs are used with motion verbs in English they are often ambiguous between:

    - Located motion

    - Directed motion

(1)   a.   Anna ran between the pylons . . .
	(i)	for an hour.
	(ii)	on her way to the endzone.

(Located Motion)
(Directionalized)

        b.   Jakub walked behind the shed . . .
            (i)   for an hour.   (Located Motion)
            (ii)   which hid him from our view for a moment.   (Directionalized)

        c.   Berit swerved in front of cyclists . . .
            (i)   for a kilometer.   (Located Motion)
            (ii)   causing them to brake suddenly.   (Directionalized)

        d.   Rick ran under the awning . . .
            (i)   for his warm-up.   (Located Motion)
   (ii)   as soon as he saw lightning.   (Directionalized)

- The directed motion interpretation of locatives are called directionalized locatives (Dir-Locs)

- Other languages, such as Standard French, do not show this ambiguity.

(2)   *La bouteille flottait sous le pont.*
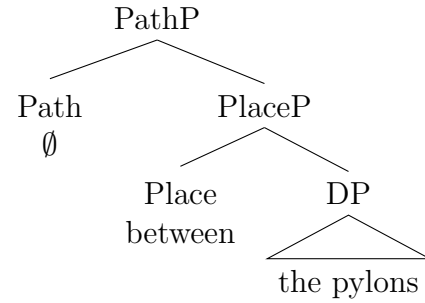   The bottle floated under the bridge. (located motion/*directionalized)

- Svenonius (2010) analyses the ambiguity as an lexical ambiguity between a PlaceP (=Located Motion) and a PathP (=Directionalized Locative).

- Under this analysis, the locative prepositons inherently project PlacePs.

- Directional prepositions (*e.g.*, into, through, across) project PathPs, which embed PlacePs.

- Dir-Locs are PlacePs in a null-headed PathP.

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[1]Based on a generals paper written under the supervision of Elizabeth Cowper

(3)　　a.　[_{PlaceP}Between the pylons]

PlaceP
```
        PlaceP
        /    \
    Place     DP
   between    /\
          the pylons
```

b.　[_{PathP}Between the pylons]
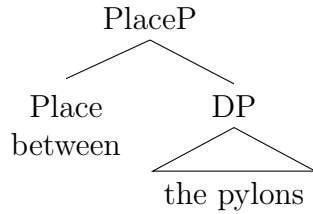
PathP
```
        PathP
        /    \
     Path    PlaceP
      ∅      /    \
          Place    DP
         between   /\
               the pylons
```

- This syntactic analysis is adapted from a semantic analysis of the phenomenon by Zwarts and Winter (2000) who, in turn, credit Jackendoff (1983).

- It also makes the crosslinguistic variation easy to account for:

  – English bundles Path with P.

  – French bundles Path with V.

  – *[Manner Path] (see Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2013, for one such account)

1　One argument against the Contrastive analysis: *halfway*-modification

- *halfway* modifies gradable predicates and *prefers* a Path interpretation of the predicate it modifies. (Bochnak 2013)

- Consider the interpretation of unambiguous directional and locative PPs under modification by *halfway*

(4)　　**Directionals**
　　　a.　Alma jogged halfway to the store.
　　　　　"There is a path **p** that extends from some start-point and to *the store*. Alma traversed half of **p** in a jogging manner."
　　　b.　Henk drove halfway through the woods.
　　　　　"There is a path **p** that extends from one edge of *the forest* to the opposite end of *the forest*. Henk traversed half of **p** in a driving manner."
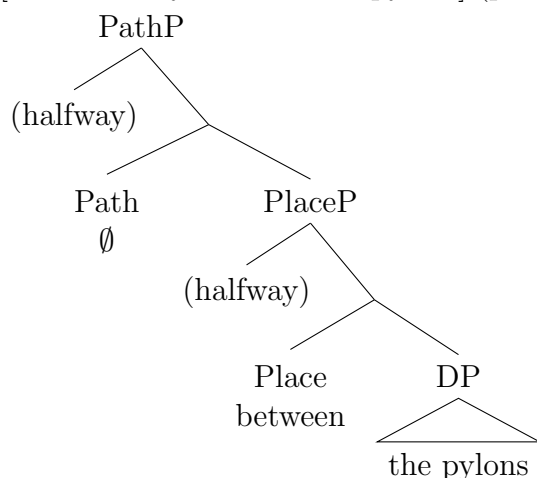
(5)　　**Locatives**
　　　a.　The goalie stood halfway between the posts.
　　　　　"The goalie stood in a spot, such that each of the posts was equidistant to her."
　　　b.　The dog was halfway inside the house.
　　　　　"Half of the dog is inside the house, while the other half is not."

- If Dir-Locs have a structure like the one in (3-b), we expect two possible structural positions for *halfway*:

– Spec-PathP, giving an interpretation like those in (4).

– Spec-PlaceP, giving an interpretation like those in (5).

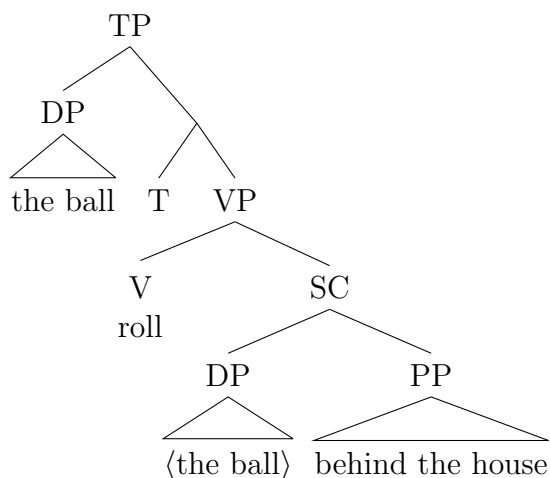(6) a. [PathP halfway between the pylons] (predicted by Svenonius' (2010) analysis)

```
                PathP
               /    \
      (halfway)      \
            /         \
         Path          PlaceP
          ∅            /    \
               (halfway)     \
                     /         \
                  Place         DP
                  between      /  \
                          the pylons
```

b. ⟦PathP halfway between the pylons⟧ =
(i)   "halfway TO between the pylons" (Spec-PathP)
(ii) "TO halfway between the pylons" (Spec-PlaceP)

• We systematically do not get the Spec-PathP interpretation with *halfway*-modified Dir-Locs.
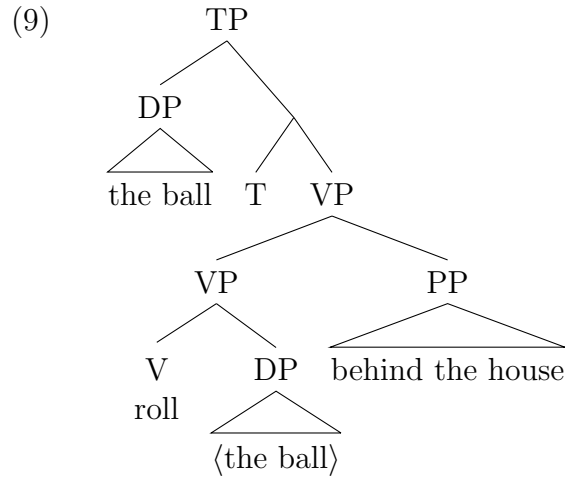
(7) a. Brigid ran halfway between the pylons.
        ≈"TO halfway between the pylons" (Spec-PlaceP, cf. (5-a))
        ≠ "halfway TO between the pylons" (Spec-PathP)
    b. The ball rolled halfway behind the shed.
        ≈"TO halfway behind the shed" (Spec-PlaceP, cf. (5-b))
        ≠ "halfway TO behind the shed" (Spec-PathP)

• The analysis that fits the facts of Dir-Locs better is a Resultative Small Clause Analysis (cf. Kratzer 2004, for adjecival resultatives).

(8) **Directionalized Locatives as Resultative Small Clauses**

```
              TP
             /  \
          DP     \
         /  \     \
    the ball  T    VP
                  /  \
                 V    SC
               roll  /  \
                   DP     PP
                  /  \    /  \
          ⟨the ball⟩  behind the house
```

3

- The located motion interpretation arises when the PP adjoins to the VP.

(9)

```
                    TP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        DP                    │
       /──\              ┌─────┴─────┐
   the ball    T        VP
                   ┌─────┴─────┐
                 VP            PP
              ┌───┴───┐      /────\
             V       DP   behind the house
            roll    /──\
                  ⟨the ball⟩
```

- An account of Directionalized locatives that depends on a lexical contrast is untenable.

- Instead we have a structural account.

- There is still a place for contrast in further accounts of this phenomenon:

  - Features to motivate raising from the resultative small clause.
  - AdjP Resultatives vs PP resultatives
  - English vs. Std French.

References

Acedo-Matellán, Víctor and Jaume Mateu (2013). "Satellite-framed Latin vs. verb-framed Romance: A syntactic approach". In: *International Journal of Latin and Romance Linguistics* 25.2, pp. 227–265.

Bochnak, M Ryan (2013). "Two sources of scalarity within the verb phrase". In: *Studies in the composition and decomposition of event predicates.* Springer, pp. 99–123.

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Svenonius, Peter (2010). "Spatial P in English". In: *Cartography of Syntactic Structures.* Ed. by Guglielmo Cinque and Luigi Rizzi. Vol. 6. Oxford University Press.

Zwarts, Joost and Yoad Winter (2000). "Vector Space Semantics: A Model-Theoretic Analysis of Locative Prepositions". In: *Journal of Logic, Language, and Information* 9, 169211.
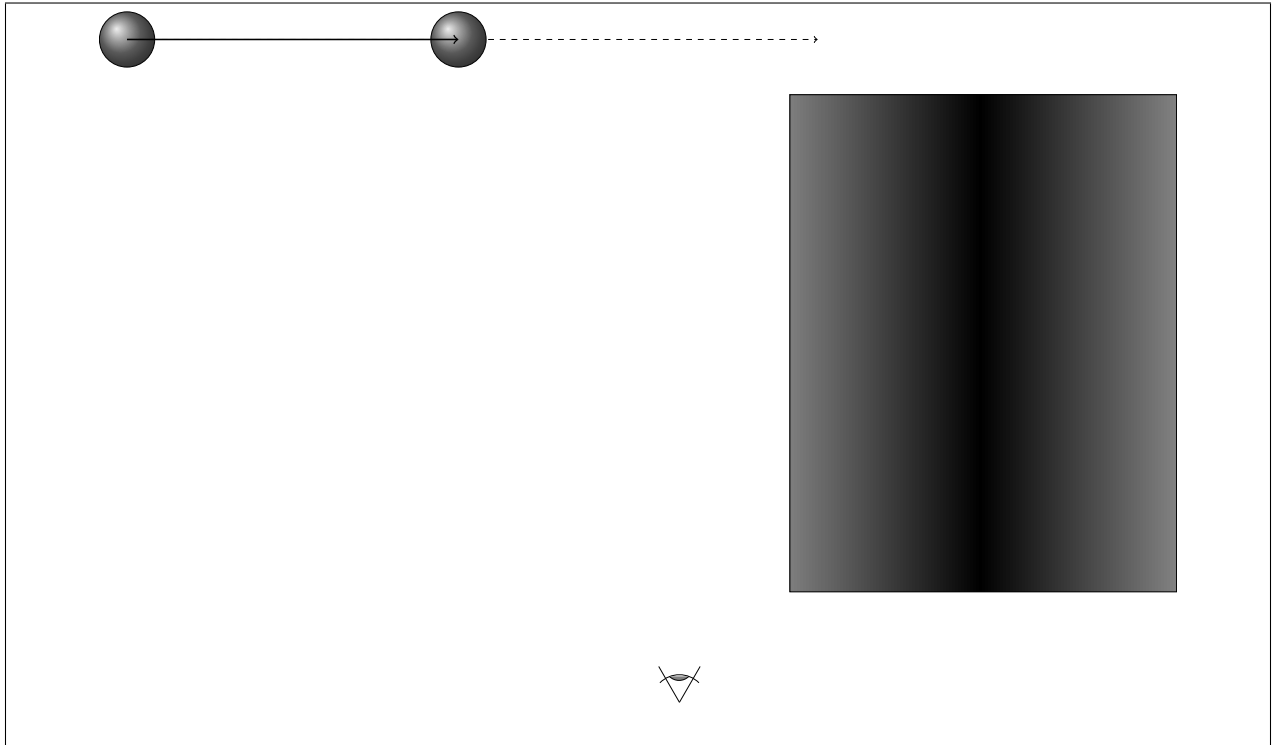
Figure 1: The ball rolled halfway TO behind the shed. The interpretation we do not get from (7-b)
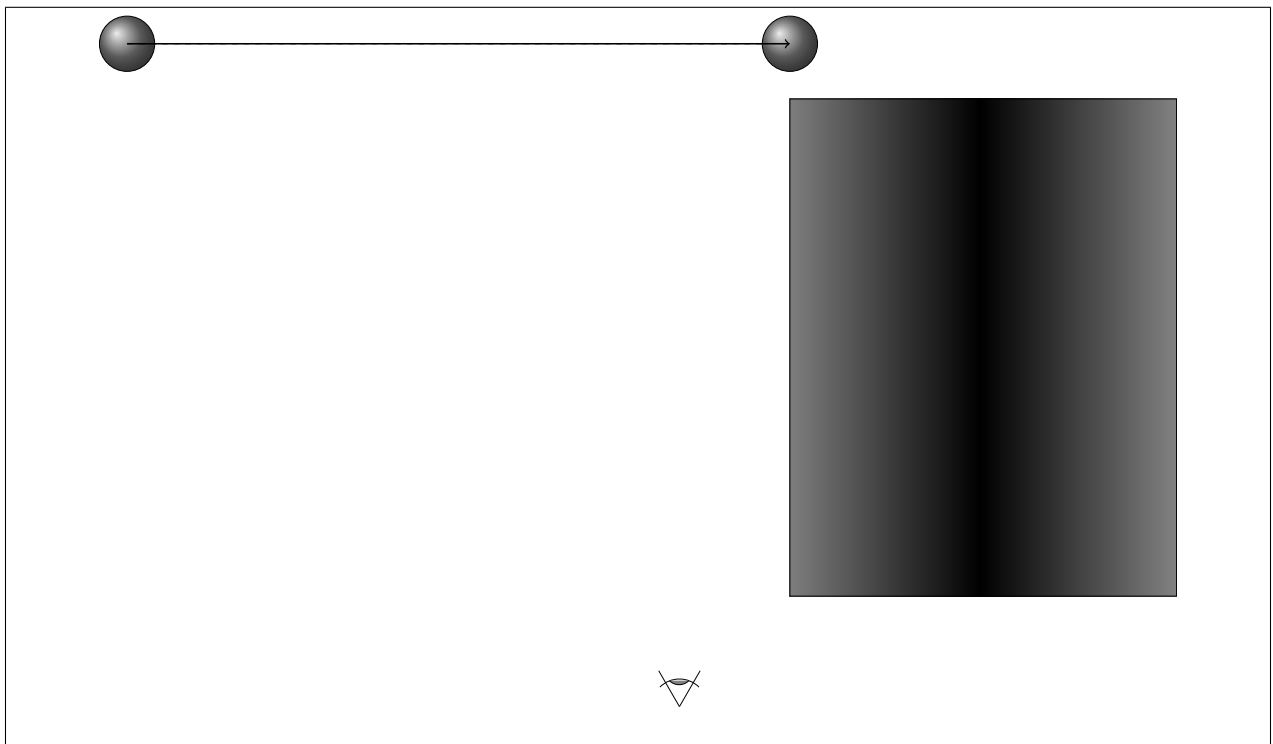

Figure 2: The ball rolled TO halfway behind the shed. The interpretation we do get from (7-b)