

Adpositions

Pragmatic, semantic
and syntactic perspectives

edited by Dennis Kurzon
and Silvia Adler

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Adpositions

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Adpositions. Pragmatic, semantic and syntactic perspectives
Edited by Dennis Kurzon and Silvia Adler

Adpositions

Pragmatic, semantic and syntactic perspectives

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To the memory of Susanne Feigenbaum (1945–2004)

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Introduction

Dennis Kurzon and Silvia Adler

1. In June 2000, an international conference on prepositions was held at the University of Haifa. Speakers came from France, Britain, the United States, as well as from Israel. One of the results of this conference was the book *Prepositions in their Syntactic, Semantic and Pragmatic Context*, edited by Dennis Kurzon and the late Susanne Feigenbaum, of the English Department and the French Department, respectively, of Haifa University, and published by John Benjamins of Amsterdam (Feigenbaum and Kurzon 2002). Some of the papers addressed theoretical problems concerning prepositions, while others dealt with issues with regard to specific problems of prepositions in various languages (especially English, French and Hebrew). Judging from the immediate response of the original contributors – as well as the response from other scholars – as to the possibility of further exploring this word-class, we may say that, four years later, nobody has yet said his or her last word on the subject.

We have, therefore, decided that it is time to continue the research into this small but central word class in many of the world's languages. In order to broaden the perspectives, in this book we refer to the word-class not as prepositions, which seems to show a somewhat Eurocentric and Semitic perspective, but adpositions, a term which covers prepositions, postpositions (e.g. Turkic and Indian languages), and other phenomena such as circumpositions (e.g. Amharic). We turned to the contributors of the first volume and to others who have shown interest in adpositions in recent years. The net result is the following book, a collection of articles that deal again with adpositions in a variety of languages, and from different perspectives. Apart from English, French and Hebrew, we have papers dealing with adpositions in Russian, Korean, Turkic languages and Armenian. The scholars who have contributed to this project come from around the world, just as in the first volume: as well as Israel and France, Australia, Korea, Switzerland and the USA are all represented.

2. Since the treatment of adpositions, as a broader class, raises so many questions and debates, one need not wonder why this category keeps interesting researchers:

- questions of definition and categorization;
- questions concerning the relation of the adposition with the left-side or the right-side context;
- questions concerning its morphology, syntax or semantics;
- questions regarding the choice of adpositions;
- questions dealing with the integration of adpositions within a larger category of functors;
- questions concerning the status of adpositions in cases of anaphorization of their complement by a null pronoun;
- questions of grammaticalization.

There are so many open questions, and that in addition to the different approaches, as to the best way to describe this word-class: see, for instance the psycho-mechanic model (Guillaume 1964; Picoche 1986; Pottier 1962, 1997), the dynamic and interactive framework (gestalt perspectives) (Culioli 1990; Cadiot 1999; Cadiot and Visetti 2001; Flageul 1997; Victorri and Fuchs 1996; Visetti and Cadiot 2000), or the cognitive theories (Groussier 1997; Langacker 1987, 1999; Talmy 2000; Traugott 1980) dealing with the semantics of adpositions, especially attempts at resolving the problem of polysemy.

In recent years, many books and articles have been written on the subject, thus adding cement and bricks to the corner stones: not only do we have Feigenbaum and Kurzon (2002), mentioned in 1. above, but also Coventry and Garrod (2004), Hoffmann (2005), Ilinski (2003), Kupferman (2004), Melis (2003), Tiivel (2001), Tyler and Evans (2003), to mention just a few. We hope the present contribution will help towards the understanding of additional perspectives relating to this intriguing subject and reveal new data from many languages.

Adpositions are usually defined as invariable elements, preceding or following a complement of a nominal nature and relating it to another element of the sentence. But an elementary definition such as this one, which purposively leaves out the semantic component, may not present a full account of the picture. According to Hagège (1997:6–7), for instance, the French signifier *de* may assume two different functions: that of “relateur” (element of relation) and that of “joncteur” (element of junction). The first subordinates a nominal element to a predicate (as in *mourir de froid*), and the second is internal to the NP (*le jardin de mon père*). But what can we say about *de* in *la ville de Paris* (“the city of Paris”) in which *de* is denied any content and lacks a subordinating role? Thus, in order

to encompass the variety of contexts in which adpositions may appear, several authors propose to avoid the problem of function by describing adpositions as “indicateurs d’argument” (Gaston Gross 1996: 123–125), or “marqueurs de fonction” (Riegel et al. 1994: 106).

Adpositions are said to be transitive by nature (Allerton 1975; Blinkenberg 1960; Brunot 1965; Cadiot 1997; Gaatone 1976; Le Querler 1994; Pottier 1962; Ruwet 1982; Sechehayé 1950), but by a slight manipulation the adposition may be deprived of its complement, for example, in the case of pronominalization by ellipsis, or in the case of English prepositional verbs in certain structures. This immediately raises the question of the status of the adposition and its possible adverbialization (Cervoni 1991; Cressot 1950; Dubois 1965; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; Le Goffic 1993; Piot 1988; Tallerman 1998).

Those who include in their definition of “adposition” the issue of the relation between a left-side context and a right-side context (a relation that has to be materialized by the adposition itself) face a new kind of problem: is the adposition attached to these two contexts to the same extent or does it establish a more intimate relation with one of the contexts? According to Cervoni (1991) and Riegel et al. (1994), the adposition has a more intimate relation with the complement, i.e. in the case of prepositions with the right-side context. This is also the opinion of Cadiot (1997: 19), for whom the description of the relation should not be [(A – PREP – B)], but rather [A – (PREP B)]. One of the reasons motivating this description is the fact that a preposition may not have a left-side context at all (Cadiot 1997: 30), e.g. *Pour moi, il n’a rien compris* (“As for myself / according to me / he didn’t understand a thing”).

As has been pointed out above, numerous definitions of adpositions usually mention the fact that these items are invariable (Marouzeau 1969; Dubois et al. 1994; Mounin 1974). This is not the case in Semitic languages, in which prepositions morphologically vary when the complement is a personal pronoun, e.g. Arabic *li* “to” → *lahu* “to him/it”, *lanā* “to us”. Even in Indo-European languages this elementary feature of invariability may be problematic: the form of certain adpositions may change according to the complement (see, for instance, the case of the French preposition *étant donné* “considering, given”). Moreover, the class of simple adpositions is usually said to be a closed one in the sense that there is no innovation, contrary to other word-classes (except for conjunctions, determiners and pronouns) and contrary to the subclass of compound adpositions. But even this is subject to discussion, for in French, for instance, there are “modern prepositions” derived from nouns (*côté, question, niveau, genre*).

As for the complement of an adposition, it is said to be of a non-propositional nature. One recognizes that the difference between subordinating conjunctions

and adpositions relies on the nature of the complement. Only the first can subordinate a content clause with a finite verb. But what about the following English, French and Hebrew equivalents in which the complement of the preposition (in italics) is a subordinate clause (in bold)?

- Eng: souvenirs *from* **when we were young**
Fr: les souvenirs *de* **quand on était petits**
Heb: zixronot *mi-matai* **še hainu ktanim**
- Eng: we are attracted *by* **who tells us the truth**
Fr: nous sommes attirés *par* **qui nous dit la vérité**
Heb: anaxnu nimšaxim *al jedei* **mi še omer lanu et haemet**

To further account for the problematic nature of this word-class, let us, as a final example, raise the question of its semantics. On the one hand, we have authors who categorize this word-class among grammatical elements, to distinguish it from lexical ones (Martinet 1960; Piot 1988), thus suggesting the basic nature of the meaning of adpositions, or even the fact that in some contexts they are empty of meaning (Kurzon 2002). On the other hand, we face the problem of the highly polysemic nature of adpositions (Cadiot 1997; Cervoni 1991; Leeman 1997), which means that this word-class has meaning after all. We may also relate to the discourse-oriented studies which maintain that the frame for the analysis of adpositions and PPs (AdPs) goes beyond the narrow unit of the sentence. Finally, another issue closely related to the semantics of adpositions would be the question of their grammaticalization, i.e. the process in which the lexical power of an item gradually becomes reduced until it finally becomes a grammatical form. Some of these aspects will be developed in the present volume.

3. The articles in this collection cover syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and socio-linguistic aspects of adpositions. They may be grouped in a number of ways. In this introduction, we have adopted a conceptually based order which, we hope, will help the reader to find his or her way. Another division could be on the basis of the language investigated – French, Hebrew, etc., but this would not make clear the overlapping concerns of many of the articles despite the different languages being addressed. As to the order of appearance of each of the articles in this collection, we have decided to publish them in alphabetical order.

Pierre Cadiot and **Franck Lebas** deal with the pragmatics of French prepositions, arguing that the study of prepositions would remain partial if only grammatical and semantic issues were examined. A full description of prepositions should also expose their pragmatic potential, a theory which they apply to two connective set locutions: *du coup* and *pour le coup*. More precisely, the authors claim that the French complex connective *pour le coup* – translated as a blend

of “at the time” and “as a result” – can be analyzed into a complex structure of *pour*, *le* and *coup*, which does not allow a too specialized view of prepositions, articles and nouns, respectively. When compared to *du coup* – made up of the preposition *de*, and translated as “and so” – the contribution of *pour* to the complex preposition appears to be mainly pragmatic. Their study endorses a gestaltist compositionality principle, according to which the noun *coup* can never be identified with its psychologically prototypical value and will be taken as a “scheme”, a “motive”, or some kind of anticipation. The function of the preposition *pour* in *pour le coup* is associated, in this respect, with pure discourse management, and will thus become a sort of index (an instruction to go to the next line or to the next paragraph). Cadiot and Lebas conclude that *pour le coup* focuses exclusively on discursive strategy and is a type of perlocutionary act, while the pragmatic mechanism established by *du coup* is illocutionary.

Inspired by the theories of Cervoni (1991), Cadiot (1997) and Lebas (1999), **Lidia Fraczak** also formulates a pragmatic hypothesis concerning two other French prepositions: *à* and *de*. As opposed to current theories claiming that these two prepositions are devoid of any meaning when they are lexically selected by the predicate, such as in *hésiter à faire* and *envisager de faire*, Fraczak claims that the use of these prepositions reflect, to a certain extent, the communicative intention of the speaker or, in other words, these prepositions fill a pragmatic function. Fraczak attributes to the preposition *à* a “marked” status: this preposition appears when the speaker’s intention is to introduce a “not taking for granted” presentation of the event, or a point of view according to which the event is somehow “problematic”. The value of the preposition *de*, on the contrary, implies an “unproblematic” view of the fact, without, however, meaning that the fact is necessarily “taken for granted” or presupposed.

Further data on French prepositions is provided by **Silvia Adler**’s article, which looks at sequences sharing the morphosyntactic pattern [PREP – DEF ART – N – PREP] and the possible activation of the absolute use, i.e. a prepositional sequence without complement. Her paper has a twofold purpose: first, it establishes a categorization method allowing a clear-cut border to be drawn among the different prepositional expressions (compound prepositions, prepositional locutions, prepositional phrases), which enables the absolute use of each kind of category to be correlated to another strategy of economy (such as ellipsis or the associative anaphora). The second stage examines why, regardless of their lexical status, mainly temporal and spatial prepositional expressions naturally accept the absolute use, in contrast to prepositional expressions denoting cause, consequence, goal, comparison, opposition, concession, etc. This leads to a discussion of the inherent properties of the definite article included within this matrix, and its influence on the possible activation of the absolute use.

Irena Botwinik-Rotem also raises the question of the absolute use, the preposition without complement, this time of Hebrew prepositions. She argues that only prepositions prefixed with *mi-* can appear without a phonetically realized complement because Hebrew locatives enter two syntactic frames: (i) preposition DP and (ii) preposition *le*-DP. According to Botwinik-Rotem, Hebrew prepositions, by and large, are construct heads, and therefore frame (i) is an instance of the prepositional construct state. In contrast, frame (ii) is argued to be an instance of the free state PP which is much less pervasive than frame (i), because it can arise only with prepositions prefixed with *mi-*, rendering these prepositions complex, phonologically heavy, heads, precluding their construct nature.

Similar to Fraczak's article on French *à* and *de*, **Yishai Tobin** also deals with two Hebrew elementary prepositions: *l-* and *b-* and, again, similar to Fraczak, Tobin holds that the smaller a form, the more frequently it will be used, and the more meanings and functions will be attributed to it. After examining popular Hebrew-English dictionaries, which indicate that these Hebrew prepositions are highly polysemic in that they have at least fifteen glosses each, and after showing that some of these dictionary meanings overlap, Tobin proposes to view both prepositions as linguistic signs (in the Saussurean sense) presenting a monosemic analysis, i.e. a single invariant or core meaning for each, which will account for all of its messages and uses as well as explain the differences between them.

The work of two more scholars on Hebrew prepositions appears in the present book. **Tamar Sovran**'s contribution deals with changes in the use of the preposition *im* ("with") in written Modern Hebrew. Unlike previous theories, which claimed that most of these changes reflect the multilingual situation in Israel, Sovran argues that there are additional motivations which are rooted in cognitive processes and in the logic of adding and connecting. Sovran's position is that this phenomenon is not just a mere change in meaning and use, but rather implies directions of syntactical reorganization of sentence patterns, and tracing these changes is a step towards portraying the typological uniqueness of Modern Israeli Hebrew.

Esther Borochofsky Bar-Aba's article compares two parallel syntactic structures in Modern Hebrew: one with a preposition "mediating" between the verb and its complement and the other without a preposition, or with the direct object marker *'et*, and explores whether, in cases where the addresser uses the structure without the preposition, there exists, too, a structure with a preposition, or whether s/he creates a structure without a preposition. Borochofsky Bar-Aba focuses on the various semantic and pragmatic motivations for preferring the structure without the preposition – a structure which has become popular in Modern Hebrew, especially in the spoken language and in advertisements – such as the possibility of offering a holistic view instead of a partitive one, which would be expressed by the structure with the mediating preposition.

Two of the chapters in the present book deal with the issue of case marking. **Alan Libert**, who places his study in a cross-linguistic context, explores the complex case-marking behavior of adpositions in several Turkic languages, the vast majority of which are postpositions governing objects in the nominative, genitive, dative, or ablative case, and a small number assign either nominative or genitive, depending on particular properties of the object. According to his thesis, the history of the individual postposition plays a major role in the determination of the case(s) it assigns.

Christopher Wilhelm traces the development in the history of the Armenian language of the proclitic preposition *z-* (“concerning”, “around”), which may also function as a semantically empty marker of a definite direct object in the accusative case, and which is found marking agreement of a noun and its modifying adjective as well, thus serving an additional function of a case-marking morpheme. Wilhelm further shows that this phenomenon is not limited to one item, for a prefixed locative *y-* also occurs. Like Libert’s, Wilhelm’s study is cross-linguistic, and his broader overall pattern includes evidence from other Indo-European languages, and from some Northern Australian languages which also have prefixes carrying out a case-marking function.

Similar to Tamar Sovran and Esther Borochofsky Bar-Aba, **Julia Krivoruchko** is concerned with matters of parallel constructions in contemporary language, but this time in Russian. Through the analysis of Russian constructions such as *na ukraine* vs. *v ukraine*, both meaning “in Ukraine”, and *iz ukrainy* vs. *s ukrainy* “from Ukraine”, as well of their Ukrainian counterparts, Krivoruchko portrays the Russian-Ukrainian prepositional conflict: while the pre-perestroika Russian favored the normative construction with the preposition *na*, the supporters of Ukrainian independence promoted the alternative use with *v*. In Ukraine, the new construction became standard in the official state language (Ukrainian) and in a short time extended to the Russian-language mass media of the country. In Russia, fierce discussions about the newly-emerged “politically correct” usage followed, and they still continue, but meanwhile, important “victories” were achieved including the penetration of the innovation (*v Ukraine*) into Russian state documents of primary importance.

Complex postpositions in Korean are examined by **Injoo Choi Jonin**. A large number of Korean postpositions have developed from verbs of motion and nouns, through variable degrees of grammaticalization. Choi Jonin questions previous theories claiming that the degree of grammaticalization may be established by the omissibility of the particle, i.e. if a complex postposition formed with a grammaticalized verb or noun and a particle can be used without the particle, it is considered more grammaticalized than one which cannot. Furthermore, the omissibility of the particle in the structure of complex postposition relies on its

morphosyntactic status (suffix-like or postposition-like) rather than on the degree of grammaticalization of complex postpositions. Besides revaluing the correlation between the omissibility of particles and the degree of grammaticalization of complex postpositions and proposing an alternative hypothesis concerning their grammaticalization, Choi Jonin defines the categorial status of Korean particles in order to isolate postposition-like particles, concluding that these are clitics which possess properties of both suffixes and of independent words capable of functioning as syntactic heads or as modifiers.

Finally, there are two contributions on spatio-temporal adpositions. **David Allerton** investigates the structure of English and German phrases like “far away over the hills” and “am Ufer entlang”, apparently including both a (modified) adverb and a preposition phrase, and raises the question of the appropriate analysis of such complex adverbial/adpositional phrases with a spatio-temporal adverbial function. In other words, Allerton proposes to find out whether phrases of this and similar kinds in English and German exhibit a dual-headed PP.

Dennis Kurzon analyses the syntax of the English temporal deictic expression *ago*, presenting two arguments, one in favour of classifying *ago* as the only postposition in English (or at least one of a very small number), and the second in which *ago* is considered an intransitive preposition. He then examines the classification of the equivalent item in a number of languages from around the world. Most of the languages investigated select an adposition, the other dominant word class being an adverb. Although languages in the Pacific region tend to use adverbial expressions, there are Indo-European languages that also select adverbials. Kurzon also relates to the overt and covert cases of temporal NPs that function as the complement of the relevant adposition.

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French compound prepositions, prepositional locutions and prepositional phrases in the scope of the absolute use

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In respect of their absolute use, without complement, French sequences sharing the pattern [*Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition*] have to be subcategorized by lexical and by semantic parameters. These sequences are frequently classified as “prepositional locutions” in the French linguistic literature, but it seems that this label is wrongly attached to many of them. Our goal is, first, to establish a categorization method whose purpose is to draw a border between the different prepositional expressions. This will allow us to dissociate their absolute use from their lexical status. However, once it is made clear that many of these alleged prepositional locutions are nothing more than regular prepositional phrases, the absolute use can no longer be unconditionally attributed to ellipsis. Second, we will examine why mainly temporal and spatial expressions accept the absolute use contrary to expressions denoting cause, goal, opposition, concession, etc. Consequently, the part of what is usually considered as ‘arbitrary behavior’ in this field will be significantly reduced.

1. Introduction

Some French sequences sharing the morphosyntactic pattern [*Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition – Noun Phrase*] have a corresponding “absolute” use without the final preposition and its complementary noun phrase. Examples are *au-dessus de – au-dessus* (“above”), *à la fin de – à la fin* (“at the end of”), *au début de – au début* (“at the beginning of”), *au sujet de – *au sujet* (“about”), *à l’égard de – *à l’égard* (“with regard to”), *à l’exception de – *à l’exception* (“except for”). Such patterns need to be subcategorized according to lexical and semantic parameters.

These sequences are frequently classified as “prepositional locutions” in the French linguistic literature (Borillo 1988–2001; Camprubi 1997; Gaatone 1976; Gross, G. 1996; Marque-Pucheu 2001).¹ Nevertheless, it seems that this label is wrongly attached to many of them and that only a few should actually be encompassed within this category, if we recognize that the process of lexicalization that such expressions undergo does not imply in any case a creation of a complex expression that doesn’t tolerate any modification. In fact, a situation like this would better characterize compound prepositions rather than locutions.

The difficulty of determining accurately what a locution is may be due to the fact that many such expressions are at an intermediate stage between compound prepositions, which are, on the one hand, syntactically assimilated to single prepositions, and prepositional phrases (PP), which obey general rules of syntax and semantics. This situation is reflected, among other things, in their reaction to morphosyntactic tests: two similar prepositional locutions sharing the same morphological features can react differently and unpredictably to the same test (for instance, the possibility of modification of the nominal nucleus by an adjective). However, while these tests reflect the lexicalization process, they cannot set up a precise classification of the different categories mentioned above.

The present study will proceed in two stages: first (see Sections 2 and 3), we will establish a categorization method that needs to be applied prior to other tests, and whose purpose is to draw a clear border between the different prepositional expressions (following Adler 2001). This will allow us to show that the absolute use is not correlated to lexical status. Both lexicalized and free expressions can accept or reject the absolute use. However, once it is made clear that many of these alleged prepositional locutions are nothing more than regular prepositional phrases, the absolute use can no longer be unconditionally attributed to ellipsis, as this has been the case up to the present moment (Borillo 1988–2001), if we understand that this process affects essential constituents of the sentence (Lyons 1974; Thomas 1979; Zribi-Hertz 1985). Only the deletion of complements of compound prepositions and prepositional locutions can be said to be attributed to ellipsis. Omission of *de X* within the prepositional phrase will, on the other hand, be attributed to other anaphoric processes like the associative anaphora (Charolles 1990 & 1994; Choi-Jonin 1998; Fradin 1984; Kleiber 1997 & 2001; Le Pesant 1996; Reichler-Béguelin 1989).

1. More general information on idiomaticity in French, in Danlos (ed.) 1988; Giermak-Zielinska 2000; Gross, M. 1982 & 1988; Lamiroy 2003; Martins-Baltar (ed.) 1997; Tollis 2001. More general information on the phraseological perspectives and related aspects, in Cowie 1998.

The second stage (see Sections 4 and 5) will examine why, regardless of their lexical status, mainly temporal and spatial prepositional expressions naturally accept the absolute use (following Adler 2006b & 2007a) in contrast with prepositional expressions denoting cause, consequence, goal, comparison, opposition, concession, etc.,² thus leading to a discussion on the inherent properties of the definite article included in this matrix. In fact, it is possible to demonstrate that the absolute use of temporal and spatial prepositional expressions, as well as the general absence of such use in the case of the other expressions, depends on the possibility of the definite article to denote uniqueness (Corblin 1987). Consequently, the part of what is usually considered as “arbitrary behavior” in the field of locutions and compound prepositions may be drastically reduced.

2. Compound prepositions, prepositional locutions, prepositional phrases: A categorization method

One of the most current ways to distinguish prepositional locutions from prepositional phrases and to examine the non-predictable nature of the former is to submit these sequences to a variety of morphosyntactic tests. These may consist, for instance, of the possibility of replacement of the definite article by another anaphoric determiner, such as a possessive (in case of an animate complement) or a demonstrative (for non-animate entities) referring to the absent complement with a *de* head [*à l'égard de X* (“with regard to”) – *à son égard*, *à cet égard*]; the introduction of an adjectival modifier applied to the nominal nucleus [*à l'attention de X* (“to the attention of”) – *à l'aimable attention de X*]; the repetition of *de*, exclusively, i.e. without the other components of the prepositional locution in coordinating structures [*à l'égard de Paul et de sa femme* (“with regard to Paul and to his wife”)]; finally, the suppression of *de* consequently to the omission of the complement³ in case of its replacement by a null pronoun, i.e. ellipsis [*au-dessus de la table* (“above the table”): *au-dessus 0*].

The major weakness of this method is that tests are often applied in a schematic way and tend in many cases not to be relevant for a specific sequence.⁴

2. For some of these semantic categories see Adler (2007b).

3. Unlike French prepositions such as *avant*, *devant*, *pour*, etc. *de* does not tolerate the suppression of its complement.

4. For instance, in respect of the possibility of replacement of the definite article by a possessive determiner, *à l'insu de* (“without the knowledge of”) will be marked by a positive sign (+),

Moreover, how would one determine exactly which would be the discriminating test in case of doubt?⁵ Finally, we will have to add the fact that these tests do not always fulfill their original goal: all the tests isolating the default preposition *de* from the rest of the components do not expose the unpredictable character of the sequence, as they claim. They rather prove that this preposition has to be taken as a functional component, as opposed to the other – preceding – components.

This problematic situation had led to the setting up of new criteria for categorizing the different types of such prepositional sequences (Adler 2001). Instead of relying on tests in order to reveal its so-called true status, the prepositional expression [*Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition*] has to be contrasted with the same expression without the introductory preposition [*Definite article – Noun – Preposition*]. If both combinations remain semantically equivalent, the prepositional sequence does not enter into the category of lexicalization or idiomatization, and is treated as a regular prepositional phrase, i.e. a free prepositional composition syntactically and semantically predictable. Thus, *à la fin de X – la fin de X* (“at the end of”), *sur le côté de X – le côté de X* (“on the side of”), *à l’attention de – l’attention de X* (“to the attention of”), *sur le modèle de X – le modèle de X* (“on the model of”) are prepositional phrases, for the relation between the nominal nucleus and the argument *X* remains unmodified. This stage is prior to the application of tests, which can of course confirm or consolidate data, but which lack the power of conclusive determination.

As we can see, this method has the advantage of establishing a clear-cut border between free prepositional expressions and lexicalized ones, but in order to provide a better outline of the situation, it is necessary to go on distinguishing two subcategories in the field of lexicalized expressions: that of compound prepositions and that of prepositional locutions. The first consists of syntactic blocs that do not tolerate any modification; the second consists of an intermediate stage between the compound prepositions and the prepositional phrases. Let us illustrate this point with *au mépris de* (“despite”) and *à l’instar de* (“like”): both

whereas a negative sign (–) will appear in the column checking the possible alternation of the definite article with a demonstrative adjective. But this reaction is completely natural, since the complement of this sequence can be solely animate. We have to recognize that many of these reactions are motivated, as they are in the field of free expressions: *sur le côté gauche de* (“on the left side of”) is more natural – considering the restrictive function of the adjective and the necessary nature of the information it conveys – than, for example, *sur le côté formidable de* (“on the great side of”).

5. Thus, *à l’égard de* accepts several transformations (*à son égard*, *à cet égard*), similarly to *au sujet de* (*à son sujet*, *à ce sujet*) but only the second one authorizes the modification by *seul*: *au seul sujet de* / **au seul égard de*.

are opaque combinations, semantically speaking, which means that a comparison with the same sequence without the introductory preposition would not be relevant in this case. Yet, only *à l'instar de* tolerates some modifications (*à son instar* “like him/ her”) as opposed to *au mépris de*, which is completely frozen. This will lead us to classify *au mépris de* as a compound preposition, and *à l'instar de* as a locution.

Another situation that may motivate locutional treatment is that of a transparent meaning of the nominal nucleus, but a non-equivalent relation between [Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition] and [Definite article – Noun – Preposition]: *à l'imitation de* is thus a locution or, at least, is on the point of becoming one because *l'imitation de X* allows two different readings: subjective (X imitates someone) and objective (someone imitates X), while *à l'imitation de X* neutralizes the subjective reading, and denotes exclusively a situation in which X serves as a basis for imitation.

The same goes for the spatio-temporal sequence *au milieu de* (= in the middle of):

<i>au milieu des gens (parmi)</i>	(“among people”)
<i>du danger</i>	(“surrounded by danger”)
<i>des rires (dans)</i>	(“amid the laughter”)
<i>de notre réunion (pendant)</i>	(“in the middle of our meeting”)
<i>de la table</i>	(“in the middle of the table”)

None of the combinations above may alternate with the same sequence without the introductory preposition, i.e. in a NP: *au milieu des gens* – **le milieu des gens*/ *au milieu des rires* – **le milieu des rires*. Moreover, even with regular spatio-temporal readings, idiomaticity is involved: *le milieu de la nuit*, for instance, means “the middle of the night” or, in other terms, *minuit* (“midnight”), describing an equal distance, a halfway, between extremes of a temporal nature. *Au milieu de la nuit* (“in the middle of the night”) is, on the other hand, more flexible, in a sense that it can easily apply to a situation where there is no equidistance from extremes in time: when someone claims that he couldn’t sleep because *in the middle of the night* his neighbor made a lot of noise, the specific *in the middle of the night* can refer to “four o’clock in the morning”.

3. The precise nature of the absolute use

If we restrict ellipsis to an intentional omission of parts of speech – essential both structurally and semantically – that can be easily and immediately reconstructed

from context (Bally 1950; Lyons 1974; Thomas 1979; Zribi-Hertz 1985),⁶ then unfinished sentences, silence, laconic versions, deletion of grammatical components void of lexical information (*I thought **that** you were gone – I thought you were gone*), non-realization of traces and other components assumed necessary for the management of syntactic positions below the surface level, and even non-mention of circumstantial or determinative complements, that is to say, non-structurally essential parts, should all be described by parameters other than elliptical ones.

Thus, regarding the last case mentioned above, example (1) below illustrates ellipsis, unlike example (2) where the non-essential temporal complement *demain soir* is presumably missing from the second utterance. *On fête l'anniversaire de Paul* is an independent, well-formed unit even if, pragmatically speaking, one is entitled to infer that the time of the celebration in question is identical to that mentioned in the preceding utterance. If we explain the absence of the temporal adverbial in terms of ellipsis, this could simply imply that most utterances are actually elliptic, due to the fact that their predication is necessarily connected to a specific place and time that are not always mentioned. The strongly dependent character of the elliptical utterance has to be solely verified within the unit containing the null pronoun, i.e. within the micro-system. In other words, the need to fill up the gap created by ellipsis is a grammatical requirement, not a stylistic choice of the speaker. Ellipsis is not just an omission; it is an anaphoric process consisting of activating an absent noun phrase:

- (1) *J'ai cherché **mon sac**, partout, mais j'ai complètement oublié que j'étais venu sans **0_i**.*
'I've looked for my bag everywhere but I completely forgot that I came without 0 (= without it).'
- (2) *Viens chez nous demain soir. On fête l'anniversaire de Paul.*
'Come over tomorrow night. We're celebrating Paul's birthday.'

The absence of *de X* in all of the prepositional sequences described in this paper is usually regarded as a particular case of ellipsis (Borillo 1988–2001). The motivation of such strategy is clear, for these expressions without *de X* cannot be decoded without context (as in example (5)):

6. More on ellipsis in Allerton 1975; Chao 1990; Cherchi 1978; Chuquet & Deschamps 1997; Cornish 1986 & 1990; Fillmore 1986; Fuchs (éd.) 1983; Hankamer & Sag 1976; Hornstein 1994; Huang & James 1984; Kato 1986; Lappin & Benmamoun (eds.) 1999; Lasnik & Hendrick 2003; Lobeck 1995; Merchant 2001; Roberge 1990; Rooryck 1985; Shopen 1973.

- (3) *Va voir ce film. A la fin 0 il y a quelque chose que tu aimeras (0 = du film).*
 ‘Go see that movie. **At the end 0** there is something you’ll like (0 = of the movie).’
- (4) *A la fin du film il y a quelque chose que tu aimeras.*
 ‘**At the end of the movie** there is something you’ll like.’
- (5) **A la fin 0 il y a quelque chose que tu aimeras.*
 ‘* **At the end 0** there is something you’ll like.’⁷

However, once the category of lexicalized expressions (compound prepositions and prepositional locutions) ceases to be overburdened by the excessive weight of what appears to be mere prepositional phrases, one has to reconsider also the real nature of the anaphoric process involved in the case of the absolute use. More precisely, *de X* will have a different status according to whether [Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition (*de*)] is an idiomatic expression or a free combination:

Au-dessus de X (= above): idiomatic expression

[_{PP} [_{prep} *à* – *le* – *dessus* – *de*] [_{NP} *X*]]

Sur le dessus de X (=on the upper side of, on the top of): free combination

[_{PP} [_{prep} *sur*] [_{NP} [_{det} *le*] [_N *dessus*] [_{PP} [_{prep} *de*] [_{NP} *X*]]]]

This suggests that only in the case of the lexicalized sequence, is *de X* structurally obligatory, which leads to the inevitable conclusion that ellipsis, at least as defined at the beginning of this section, applies exclusively to this category of prepositional expressions. In other words, the potentially absent complement with a *de* head corresponds here to a semantically open but structurally closed category. The relation between the preposition and its complement is established syntactically.

If that is the case, how do we explain the absence of *de X* in the prepositional phrases? The answer here is not one-dimensional. We will deal first with the associative anaphora, which is applied mainly to spatio-temporal prepositional phrases. Unlike ellipsis, this strategy of economy involves stereotypic knowledge in the deciphering of the antecedent – anaphora relation (Azoulay 1978; Charolles 1990 & 1994; Choi-Jonin 1998; Fradin 1984; Kleiber 1997 & 2001; Minsky 1977;

7. This last sentence can be decoded only by reference to the situational context, e.g. when the speaker passes reading material to the addressee.

Reichler-Béguelin 1989; Schank & Abelson 1977, among many others). More precisely, the absence here corresponds to an ontologically closed category, lexically required by the nominal head.

Let us examine examples (6) and (7):

- (6) *Tu connais ce magasin? Je t'attends à l'entrée* (= à l'entrée du magasin).
 'Do you know that store? I'll wait for you at the entrance (= at the entrance of the store).'
- (7) *Alors, t'as vu ce film ? Ils montrent le restaurant de Paul tout au début*
 (= au début du film).
 'So, have you seen that movie? They show Paul's restaurant at the very beginning (= at the beginning of the movie).'

Between the nominal head *entrée* or *début*, denoting a spatial or a temporal part, and *magasin* or *film* denoting the spatial whole or the containing interval, there exists a pre-established ontological relation, and the inference of the containing element, in the case of the absolute use, is imposed by the lexicon or by our encyclopedic knowledge. Nouns like *entrance* or *beginning* denote an inherent partitivity. We cannot make a claim here for ellipsis of the noun representing the whole, since the relation existing between the part and the containing element goes beyond the contextual constraints by implying pragmatic parameters. Even if one is not acquainted with the store or the movie in question, he can infer that a place has – conventionally – an entrance, and that an event has – conventionally – a beginning, hence the use of the definite article.⁸

Another possible situation for the absence of *de* X within the prepositional phrase may be illustrated by sequences like *sous la domination de* ("under the domination of"), *sous l'oppression de* ("under the oppression of"), *sous la tyrannie de* ("under the tyranny of") for which the absolute use is non anaphoric.⁹ The absolute use allows one to focus on the specific state of the subordinated subject. The definite article denotes the uniqueness of the subordination. *Sous le choc de* ("under the shock of") is another PP:

8. See Section 5.

9. These are free expressions: *sous la domination de* – *la domination de*/ *sous le choc de* – *le choc de*. Several tests confirm this status: *vivre sous la domination française* (adjectival complement)/ *vivre sous une domination étrangère* (indefinite article)/ *sous la domination despotique, injuste, tyrannique de X* (adjectival modification). In addition, the preposition *sous* is semantically motivated: the person undergoing oppression is in a metaphorically inferior position.

- (8) *On lui a annoncé la nouvelle et il s'est évanoui sous le choc.*
 'They told him the news and he fainted under the shock.'

Sous le choc in example (8) denotes the state of the subject, a thing that can stand on its own, and not the reason that relies on this particular state. Anaphora could be activated only by pragmatic inference: according to our encyclopedic knowledge, something must have caused this state of shock. In other words, a shock is a violent reaction to some kind of stimulus (in our case, the news). Nonetheless, with the absolute use, one chooses deliberately to focus on the current state of the subject, the reaction, and not on the stimulus. The definite article is used here, again, to denote the uniqueness of the reaction.

Finally, to close this section on the relation between the different types of readings of [Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition (*de*)] and the different types of the absolute use [Preposition – Definite article – Noun], it is essential to emphasize once more that idiomaticity itself cannot prevent the absolute use, as shown clearly in the absolute use of the spatial compound preposition *au-dessus de* ('above'), and that of the temporal compound preposition *au fur et à mesure de* ('progressively with').

4. Prepositional sequences in the scope of the absolute use: A semantic mapping

We have focused, up to this point, on lexical categorization and its influence on the treatment of the absolute use. This section will deal with semantic considerations. In respect of the absolute use, two subclasses have to be distinguished: that of spatio-temporal expressions, on the one hand, and that of non-spatio-temporal expressions, i.e. expressions denoting cause, consequence, goal, concession, contrast, etc., on the other. Generally speaking, it is the first class that naturally allows the omission of its complement.

Tables (1) and (2) present a synoptic view of this particular situation.

Table 1 shows the general acceptance of the absolute use by spatial and temporal, free and lexicalized prepositional sequences. Whenever the absolute use is possible, it may correspond to ellipsis or to associative anaphora, depending on the lexical status of the expression (see Section 3).

As for temporal expressions like *à l'entrée de*, *au bout de*, *aux environs de* not allowing the absolute use, this reaction is only to be expected, since they were originally spatial. More precisely, even if we are faced here with a potential environment for the activation of the associative anaphora, in the sense that the noun is ontologically related to another entity ('the entrance, the edge and the

Table 1. Spatial and temporal [*Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition*] sequences

Prepositional sequence	Semantic category	Lexical status	Absolute use
sur le dessus de	space	PP	+
au-dessus de	space	PREP	+
sur le côté de	space	PP	+
à côté de	space	PREP	+
à l'entrée de	space	PP	+
dans le coin de	space	PP	+
à/ dans les environs de	space	PP	+
à l'extérieur de ¹⁰	space	Lexicalization in process	+
au bord de ¹¹	space	Lexicalization in process	+/-
au milieu de	space	Lexicalization in process	+
au début de	time	PP	+
au commencement de	time	PP	+
à la fin de	time	PP	+
à l'entrée de	time	PP	–
au bout de	time	PREP	–
aux environs de	time	PP	–
à l'ouverture de	time	PP	+
au milieu de	time	Lexicalization in process	+
à l'époque de	time	PP	(?) +
au moment de ¹²	time	PP	–
au fur et à mesure de ¹³	time	PREP	+

10. The lexicalization here is recognized by the fact that the nominal nucleus itself denotes an internal localization (Borillo 1988–2001), that which can be verified in the sequence *L'extérieur de ce coffret est peint en rouge* (“the outside of this box is painted in red”), whereas the example *Scènes filmées à l'extérieur du studio* (“scenes filmed outside the studio”) denotes a situation of disjunction between site and target.

11. In *au bord de l'eau/ de la mer* (“at the edge of water/ sea” = at the seaside), the localization is external, since the border is external to the water. In *au bord de la table* (“at the edge of the table”), the localization is internal. Unlike the free expression of internal localization, the lexicalized expression denoting an external localization does not authorize the absolute use.

12. *Moment* and *époque* do not enter in a partitive relation and have to be concretized in order to permit the identification of the moment or the time in question. Surprisingly, *époque* authorizes the absolute use in *Quand j'étais petite ma mère était tout le temps à la cuisine. A l'époque, il n'y avait pas de fast food* (“when I was young, my mother spent a lot of time in the kitchen. At the time, there was no fast food”) because discourse allows here to reconstruct the missing part of the contrast (by comparison with the actual time).

13. Spatial sequences: *sur le dessus de* (“on the top of”), *au-dessus de* (“above”), *sur le côté de* (“on the side of”), *à côté de* (“beside”), *à l'entrée de* (“at the entrance of”), *dans le coin de* (“in the

surroundings of something”), we have a still stronger constraint concerning the ungrammaticality of the absolute use whenever the expression does not denote its prototypical meaning (Adler 2006a). This restriction is in fact of a general nature and applies to other domains in grammar. Simple prepositions are thus affected by this limitation:

- (9) Des vêtements **dans** le sac (‘cloths in the bag’):
*Prends le sac bleu ! – Je ne peux pas, il y a déjà des vêtements dedans 0.*¹⁴
 (‘Take the blue bag! – I can’t, there are already clothes inside 0’)¹⁵
- (9’) Terminer **dans** cinq jours (‘finish in/ within five days’):
*Il vous faut attendre cinq jours, ce n’est pas beaucoup. *J’aurai tout terminé dedans 0.*
 (‘You’ll have to wait five days; it’s not long. *I will be done inside 0’)
- (10) Des pommiers **devant** la maison (‘apple trees before/ in front of the house’):
J’aime cette maison avec les pommiers devant 0.
 (‘I love this house with the apple trees before/ in front 0’)
- (10’) Etre égaux **devant** la loi (‘to be equal before the law’):
*La loi est absolue. *Tous sont égaux devant 0.*
 (‘The law is absolute. *Everybody is equal before 0’)
- (11) La lettre est **sous** le bouquin (‘the letter is under the book’):
Cherche ce bouquin, j’ai caché la lettre dessous 0.
 (‘Search for this book. I hid the letter underneath 0’)
- (11’) Perdre son contrôle sous la colère (‘to lose self-control in anger’):
*Il n’arrivait pas à retenir sa colère; *dessous 0, il a perdu son contrôle.*
 (‘He couldn’t stop his anger; *underneath 0, he lost control’)

corner of”), à/ *dans les environs de* (‘around, in the surroundings of’), à *l’extérieur de* (‘outside, on the outside of’), *au bord de* (‘at the edge of’), *au milieu de* (‘in the middle of’). Temporal sequences: *au début de* (‘at the beginning of’), *au commencement de* (‘at the beginning of’), *à la fin de* (‘at the end of’), *à l’entrée de* (‘at the entrance of’), *au bout de* (‘at the end of’), *aux environs de* (‘around’), *à l’ouverture de* (‘at the opening of’), *au milieu de* (‘in the middle of’), *à l’époque de* (‘at the time of’), *au moment de* (‘at the moment of’), *au fur et à mesure de* (‘progressively with’).

14. Before a null complement, *dans* becomes *dedans*, and *sous* of (11) becomes *dessous*. This does not suggest that the simple preposition undergoes a categorical specification, i.e. becomes an adverb. First, other prepositions do not change form in this environment (*pour*, *pendant*, *avant*, *devant*, etc.), second, these items are not decipherable without context, third, the position of the null complement may be filled up by lexical material.

15. We do not suggest that the English translations here are all acceptable.

Table 2. Non-spatial and non-temporal [*Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition*] sequences

Prepositional sequence	Semantic category	Lexical status	Absolute use
dans-avec le but de	Goal	PP	–
dans la crainte de	Goal	PP	–
du fait de	Cause	PP/ Prepositional locution	–
au contact de	Cause	PP	–
sous l'influence de	Cause	PP	–
sous le choc de	Cause	PP	+
sous la contrainte/ la domination/ l'oppression/ la tyrannie de	Cause	PP	+
au mépris de	Concession	PREP	–
au contraire/ à l'inverse/ à l'opposé de	Comparison, opposition	Lexicalization in process	+
à l'exception/à l'exclusion de	Opposition	Lexicalization in process	–
à la différence de	Comparison, opposition	Lexicalization in process	–
à l'instar de	Comparison, opposition	Prepositional locution	–
à l'imitation de	Comparison	Lexicalization in process	–
à la manière de	Comparison	Lexicalization in process	–
sur le modèle de	Comparison	PP	(+)
à l'adresse/ à l'endroit de	Destination	Prepositional locution	–
au sujet de	Destination	Prepositional locution	–
à l'égard de	Destination	Prepositional locution	–
à l'insu de	Destination	Prepositional locution	–
à l'instigation de	Destination	PP	–
à l'attention de	Destination	PP	–
à l'intention de	Destination	Prepositional locution	–
à la disposition de ¹⁶	Destination	Prepositional locution	–

Examples (9)–(11) which have a prototypical spatial reading of the preposition are all natural, as opposed to examples (9')–(11') which have a non-spatial reading and, consequently, whose preposition functions only in the canonic version of the sentence.

16. *Dans-avec le but de* (“with the aim of”, “in order to”), *dans la crainte de* (“in fear of”), *du fait de* (“because of”), *au contact de* (“in contact with”), *sous l'influence de* (“under the influence of”), *sous le choc de* (“under the shock of”), *sous la contrainte/ la domination / l'oppression/ la*

As stated previously, this principle covers a wide range of structures. Lamiroy (1987) has already shown that many classes of verbs used metaphorically do not tolerate the absolute use:

- (12) *Luc sourit (à Marie)/ *Le destin sourit (à Marie)* (Lamiroy 1987:53).
'Luc smiles (at Mary)/ *Destiny smiles (at Mary).'

Further on, Lamiroy shows (1993) that the agent complement in passive constructions becomes indispensable when the passive verb is used metaphorically:

- (13) *Plusieurs personnes ont été blessées* (Lamiroy 1993:63).
'Many people have been injured.'

Example (13), says Lamiroy, is acceptable if the action is caused by someone, for instance, but not by his words.

In Table 2 we can see sequences which are generally incompatible with the absolute use. It would be possible to argue for all the cases with the positive sign in the right hand column, but these realizations are not in fact anaphoric. We have already brought up the case of *sous le choc* and *sous la domination* in Section 3. Let us now explain that of *au contraire* / *à l'inverse* / *à l'opposé de* and *sur le modèle de*:

- (14) *Au contraire de ses frères, il est resté aux Etats Unis.*
'Unlike his brothers, he stayed in the States.'
(15) *Il ne pense jamais à lui; au contraire, il est très dévoué.*
'He never thinks of himself; on the contrary, he is very devoted.'

In (14), *he* and the brothers in question are in an antonymic relation as to the situation of being in the States: if *he* is [+ in the States], the brothers are [– in the States], whereas in (15), one can build pragmatically the oppositional relation between the elements preceding and following the inherently relational expression. This analysis depends on the fact that the contrast in (15) is discursive, in a sense that it relies on the totality of the preceding proposition (the fact for someone to be egocentric) and not on a specific NP, as in (14). Nevertheless, even a sentence like (14), in which the antecedent is an NP, but slightly manipulated so

tyrannie de ("under the constraint, domination, oppression, tyranny of"), *au mépris de* ("despite"), *au contraire* / *à l'inverse* / *à l'opposé de* ("contrary to"), *à l'exception/ à l'exclusion de* ("except for, other than"), *à la différence de* ("differently from"), *à l'instar de* ("like"), *à l'imitation de* ("like"), *à la manière de* ("like"), *sur le modèle de* ("on the model of"), *à l'adresse/ à l'endroit de* ("towards"), *au sujet de* ("about"), *à l'égard de* ("with regard to"), *à l'insu de* ("without the knowledge of"), *à l'instigation de* ("at the instigation of"), *à l'attention de* ("to the attention of"), *à l'intention de* ("for"), *à la disposition de* ("at the disposal of").

as to include an absolute use of *au contraire*, can supply an additional hint of the genuine adverbial status (that is to say a non-anaphoric use) of the expression:

(14') *Paul est resté aux Etats Unis; ses frères, au contraire, sont tous revenus en Espagne.*

'Paul has stayed in the States. His brothers, on the contrary, they all returned to Spain.'

Au contraire in (14') cannot alternate with **au contraire de lui* or with **à son contraire* ("*on the contrary of him/ *on his contrary") which contain explicit anaphoric elements. This ungrammaticality could indicate that behind *contraire* there is no pronominal position after all. Thus, the opposition is established here not directly between Paul and his brothers (two NPs), but between two situations: that of remaining in the States and that of leaving the States. This goes for *à l'inverse de* and *à l'opposé de*, as well.

Sur le modèle de, when it is used without *de X*, is another non-anaphoric expression, this time focusing on the situation for something to serve as a model for imitation, rather than on that which serves as a model.

5. Absolute use and uniqueness: What's the connection?

The previous sections point to a dichotomy concerning the acceptance of the absolute use. Since all the expressions studied in the present paper share the same scheme, it is obvious that neither morphology nor syntax can be responsible for a situation opposing spatio-temporal sequences to all others. We have seen, on the other hand, that salvation could not come from lexical parameters either.

In order to explain this particular state of things, we will draw attention to an element within the [*Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition*] matrix and neglected up till now: the definite article. In fact, the success as well as the failure of the absolute use can be both attributed to the ability of the definite article to denote uniqueness (Corblin 1987) when the matrix is deprived of its complement and, as a result, of the functional / default preposition *de*.

Let us first illustrate this point with some spatial sequences: in *sur le dessus de* ("on the top of"), *à l'entrée de* ("at the entrance of"), *dans le coin de* ("in the corner of"), *à/ dans les environs de* ("around", "in the surroundings of"), *au milieu de* ("in the middle of"), uniqueness results from the kind of relation existing between the part and the whole. There is, in other words, one part which corresponds to the top, the entrance, the corner, the surroundings, the middle (etc.) of the site in question. In the case of "in the corner of" and that of "in the surroundings of", in which there may be more than one interior or exterior part pertaining to a whole

(several corners or several targets that may be considered as “surroundings” of a specific site), the relation of part – whole is still preserved. Without further specification as in, for instance, *dans le coin gauche de* (“in the left corner of”) or *dans les environs immédiats de* (“in the immediate surroundings of”), one understands that what matters in that case is not to supply the exact localization, but to mention that the localization itself pertains to a greater whole.

This is the case of temporal expressions like *au début de* (“at the beginning of”), *à la fin de* (“at the end of”), *à l’ouverture de* (“at the opening of”), *au milieu de* (“in the middle of”) as well, but instead of having parts and wholes of a spatial nature, we deal here with intervals and events. In “the beginning/ middle/ end of the party”, we recognize one specific interval of a specific event which can be referred to that way.

As a matter of fact, uniqueness could also explain the cases of these other sequences which do not enter into the spatio-temporal category and which accept, nonetheless, the absolute use (*sous le choc*, *sous la domination*, *au contraire*). There is one element that causes the shock, or one actual disadvantageous/ submissive condition or way of living or, for the last item, for one specific situation, there is another that is complementary (i.e. contrary).

This is far from being the case of almost all the expressions mentioned in Table (2).¹⁷ It is impossible to calculate in advance a situation of uniqueness for sequences like **dans le but*, **à la différence*, **à l’égard*, **à l’insu*, **à l’attention*, **à l’exception* ou **au sujet*. How exactly should we isolate one goal, one difference, one attention (?!), etc., among others?

Corblin (1987: 105) talks of the designative function of the definite article and of its capacity for isolating one item to which applies a certain predication. That is precisely what is lacking here: without the explicit presence of the goal, the difference, etc. in question, the gap left by the absolute use cannot be filled by a stable, invariable, unique, value. The referential content of these nouns depends on that of the complement. When the complement following *de* disappears, the definite article introducing the noun is no longer justified because the noun itself applies to numerous instances. In other words, the process of retrieval of the missing part is not automatically granted.

One could activate the principle of “pragmatic calculation” as well (Azoulay 1978; Galmiche 1989; Kleiber 1983) or even that of “default reasoning” (Kleiber 1988), in order to give an account of the failure of the definite article when the prepositional expressions of Table 2 lose their complement: cognitively, the speaker is entitled to use [definite article – Noun] only when s/he presumes that

17. Of course, except for those motivated in the previous paragraph.

the hearer is able to isolate the unit the speaker her-/himself was thinking. This would be the case of *au contraire* opening the way to the complementary option of a given situation, but not that of **dans le but* in which there may exist many goals very different from each other.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to reduce considerably the contribution of what is taken as unpredictable behavior in the field of French prepositional locutions. This has been made possible by, firstly, showing that not every prepositional sequence sharing the matrix [*Preposition – Definite article – Noun – Preposition*] is actually a prepositional locution: we have thus established a more precise division between, on the one hand, idiomatic prepositional expressions (compound prepositions and prepositional locutions) and, on the other, free prepositional phrases.

The second stage established that the possibility of omission of the complement and, therefore, of the default prepositional element *de*, should not be lined up beside other tests which do nothing more than demonstrate that expressions of that sort behave unpredictably (in a sense that some expressions accept the absolute use and others reject it without any apparent reason, just like the way they react to other possible tests) but, instead, has to be correlated to a functional component of the sequence. Not only have we shown that the absolute use actually corresponds to different strategies of economy (ellipsis, associative anaphora, adverbialisation), but we have also shown that the absolute use does depend, to a great extent, on the capacity of the definite article to go on denoting uniqueness in the new environment created following the exclusion of the complement.

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Dictionaries

Le Petit Robert (1987)

Trésor de la langue française informatisé

“Over the hills and far away” or “far away over the hills”

English place adverb phrases and place prepositional phrases in tandem?

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Spatio-temporal adpositions (whether prepositions or postpositions) and spatio-temporal adverbs have a close relationship; indeed many modern grammarians regard such prepositions as “into” or “in” together with such spatial adverbs as “overhead” or “over” as subclasses of a single class. The question therefore arises what sort of structure English phrases like “far away over the hills” or German “am Ufer entlang” have, because they apparently include both a (modified) adverb and a preposition phrase. Can it be that, without involving the most common type of coordination, they exhibit a double-headed structure? Phrases of this and similar kinds in English and German will be scrutinized to ascertain the basic structure of such complex adverbial/adpositional phrases with a spatio-temporal adverbial function.

1. The basic issues

Two fundamental issues¹ are addressed here: firstly, we ask whether in English there is a category called “place adjuncts” or, to use the term preferred here because of its neutrality, “(free modifier) place indicator”;² then, given this category, whether it has two alternative realizations, viz. adpositional (normally prepositional)

1. I am indebted to Nadja Nesselhauf (University of Heidelberg) for very helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this article. Thanks are also due to Christian Mair (University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau) for his views on some of the German examples.

2. A more accurate term would be “place specification phrase”; but this would be more cumbersome. The terms “adverbial” and “adjunct” both have their disadvantages: “adverbial” is too closely associated with adverbs, suggesting a phrase that either contains or is equivalent to an

phrases and adverb phrases. If the latter hypothesis is also valid, then the further question arises what the relationship is between adpositional phrases and adverb phrases of this type. Spatial adpositions (whether prepositions or postpositions) and spatial adverbs certainly have a close relationship; they seem to play a similar part in spatiotemporal specification phrases. Indeed many modern grammarians, such as advocates of X-bar theory³ take the view that prepositions (such as *into*) and spatial adverbs (such as *nearby*) are subclasses of a single class; they thus regard the similarities between prepositions and adverbs as more important than their differences. If there is at least an equivalence between adpositional phrases of place (e.g. *into the hills*) and adverb phrases of place (e.g. *quite nearby*), then we should expect them to be combined in a coordinate construction, as in the first phrase cited in the title (*over the hills and far away*). This phrase is, however, a somewhat archaic idiom, found for instance in the well-known nursery rhyme.⁴ The second phrase in the title (*far away over the hills*), with its serially ordered sequence of adverb phrase and prepositional phrase, is in fact a more natural way of expressing this meaning in current standard British and American English. It would therefore appear that this pattern is a rather better indicator of the true structure of place indicators in the English of the 21st century.

To understand what is going on here we need to consider what the basic possibilities are for the clause elements that specify place. This will involve considering the external relations or function of the said elements as well as their internal structure, and assessing the extent to which these correlate. As there are many parallels between place indicators and time indicators, it makes sense to consider them partly together.

Since we are asking whether adpositional phrases and adverb phrases of place (or of time) are equivalent, we cannot give them a joint label like “place indicator” (or “place/space adjunct/adverbial”) until this has been demonstrated through an examination of their contexts or functions. There is a danger here of presupposing our results.

adverb, while “adjunct” implicitly refers to a particular syntactic analysis which contrasts them with other types of adverbial (conjuncts, disjuncts and subjuncts, cf. Quirk et al. 1972, 1986).

3. For instance: Jackendoff 1973, 1977; Radford 1988; Haegeman 1994; Jaworska 1995.

4. For those whose memories of childhood are distant or dimmed or did not involve English language culture, one version of the rhyme goes as follows:

Tom, Tom, the piper's son
He learned to play when he was young.
But all the tune that he could play
Was “Over the hills and far away”.

where the reference is to a song popular among soldiers in the 18th century and earlier.

2. The identification of “place indicators”

Traditionally adverbials (alias adjuncts, alias free modifiers) are defined as elements that play a relatively peripheral role within clause structure, in the sense that they do not belong to the valency (Tesnière 1959; Allerton 1982, 2006a, 2006b) of individual lexical verbs, although this definition fails to account for the fact that some verbs in their most common use (e.g. *live*, *last*, *behave*) normally require an adverbial of some kind. A further complication is that some verbs have a valency requirement of a prepositional phrase that is optional but not adverbial.

Consider the following examples:

- (1) Chris listened to the big waves.
- (2) Chris concentrated on the big waves.
- (3) Chris swam to the big waves.
- (4) Chris drifted on the big waves.
- (5) Chris seemed on the right wavelength.

The prepositional phrase in (1), just like the one in (2), is, although omissible, not adverbial, and thus not a place indicator: its preposition is not freely chosen for its semantic value but selected by the verb which requires it as a prepositional object, in these cases an omissible one. This means that in these cases there is a strong collocational link between the preposition and the verb, and indeed the combination can be thought of as a compound lexeme, normally referred to as a “prepositional verb”.

In (3) and (4), on the other hand, the prepositional phrase does have an adverbial function, i.e. is a place indicator, as evidenced by the fact that the preposition can be replaced with a range of other prepositions to give a series of regular semantic contrasts (*to* → *into*, *towards*, *under*, etc.; *on* → *over*, *near*, *behind*, etc.); the prepositional phrase in these cases also demonstrates its place-adverbial nature through its capacity for being preceded by particles like *right* or *back*, and through being typically elicited with the *Where (...to)?* question typical of place indicators of location and destination respectively.

The prepositional phrase in (5) is different again, but is certainly not adverbial. It can be described as a “prepositional predicative” (Allerton 2002; Allerton and Koya 2003) because like a nominal predicative (e.g. (*seem*) *well-informed*) or an adjectival predicative (e.g. (*seem*) *a bright student*) it fulfils the valency requirements of a copular verb. The preposition of a prepositional predicative is not chosen on a semantic basis either: it is again lexically determined, in this case by the noun of the noun phrase following the preposition.

Free modifier adverbials (of place, in particular) therefore need to be kept apart from prepositional objects and prepositional predicatives on the basis of having a freely chosen semantically contrastive preposition. The preposition is vital in giving a spatial specification, indicating direction and/or distance from a given point. But not all such adverbials are actually free modifiers, despite their optionality of occurrence. Indeed, the sentences (3) and (4) do not contain ideal examples, because although the sentence-kernels that remain when the adverbials are omitted do constitute possible sentences (*Chris swam/drifted*), these only occur in restricted circumstances, for instance when the verb is used with contrastive emphasis. We can appreciate the optionality issue better with the aid of the following examples:

(6) Chris resided in Manchester.

(7) Chris thrived in Manchester.

Whereas in (6) the omission of the place adverbial *in Manchester* leaves an ungrammatical sequence (*Chris resided*), the remainder produced in (7) (*Chris thrived*) is a perfectly natural sentence. This is because, while the verb *thrive* is self-sufficient, apart from having a subject (a general requirement for all verbs in English), the intransitive verb *reside* has a non-omissible place adverbial as part of its valency. Returning to the examples (3) and (4), we can say that they, for their part, have a valency potential for a place indicator, which is omissible under contextually specified conditions. The place indicator *to the big waves* of (3) differs from all the other adverbials, i.e. (4), (6) and (7), in that it belongs to the subcategory of destination indicators, and these always belong to the valency of a verb and in fact are restricted to verbs of motion.

This latter point gives us the vital clue to the special status of free modifier adverbials or adjuncts. It is not that they are omissible: we have seen that this requirement is neither necessary nor sufficient. It is rather that they are universally insertable in any sentence, regardless of the lexical verb and its valency; we could say metaphorically that they are totally promiscuous.

If we now exclude prepositional objects and prepositional predicatives, we can concentrate on those prepositional phrases that genuinely contribute a spatial specification. As well as the place adverbials we have seen as promiscuous free modifiers and as part of a verb's valency, we must allow for the possibilities illustrated by the following examples:

(8) The book was on the shelf.

(9) Chris placed the book on the shelf.

(10) Chris described the book on the shelf.

In (8) and (9) we again find a place indicator as part of verb valency, in (8) with a copular verb, and in (9) with a transitive verb. (In sentences (4) and (6) above it belonged to the valency of an intransitive verb.) In (10), on the other hand, the prepositional phrase *on the shelf*, though clearly a specification of place, is not an autonomous clause constituent, but simply a postmodifier within the noun phrase object.

We are now in a position to list the range of syntactic functions that can be fulfilled by spatiotemporal specification phrases in general:

- a. spatiotemporal free modifier
work in a garage; relax in the evening;
- b. spatiotemporal verb elaborator⁵ after a transitive verb⁶
house the equipment in a garage;
- c. spatiotemporal verb elaborator after an intransitive verb
reside in a garage; live in the 19th century;
- d. spatiotemporal verb elaborator after a copular verb
be in a garage; be last week;
- e. spatiotemporal postmodifier in noun phrase
(prefer) the equipment in the garage; (preferred) the roses last year (= (preferred) last year's roses).

Each of the prepositional phrases in (a) through to (e) has the status of a place or time indicator. This may be thought of as a purely semantic characteristic. On the other hand, it is a remarkable fact that despite its apparently wide range of different syntactic functions, the place/time indicator retains a more or less constant internal syntactic potential. As an alternative to the prepositional phrase, a preposition-derived adverb phrase (e.g. *close nearby* or *soon afterwards*) or a pro-form adverb (i.e. *there* or *then*) can apparently be substituted in all cases.

If, however, we attempt to replace either type of spatiotemporal phrase with a spatiotemporal clause like *where/when things are/were better*, we find that this is only possible in structures (a) through to (d). This suggests that these four spatiotemporal phrase types constitute a class of non-nominal spatiotemporal indicators (i.e. those that exclude nominal postmodifiers, which might be

5. The neutral term “verb elaborator” is preferred to the more theory-specific term “verb argument”.

6. In this case only a spatial specification phrase seems possible, unless we include a duration adverbial of the type *for six months*.

regarded as a special case of adjectivals). We thus seem to have identified a cluster of structural positions (free modifier, elaborator after transitive verb, elaborator after intransitive verb, elaborator after copular verb⁷) in which spatiotemporal specification phrases share the same internal structural syntactic potential, and it seems reasonable to give them the common label “(free modifier) place/time indicators”.

3. The role of adpositions in place/time indicators

Having identified place/time indicators independently of their internal structure, we are now in a position to ask in a non-circular way what their internal structure is like. It is already clear that whereas some have an adjective-based lexical adverb (e.g. *far*, *locally*; *recently*) or particle (e.g. *back*) at their heart, in others an adposition plays a leading role. It will be helpful to begin by asking what exactly this role is.

In the X-bar analysis a prepositional phrase (PP) is regarded as a phrase “projected” by a preposition, which thus forms its “head”. What these theory-internal notions seem to mean in practice is that the preposition has the effect of shaping the behaviour of the phrase it “projects”. When we consider the prepositional objects of (1) and (2) above, we can appreciate that the preposition is vital in determining the compatibility of the prepositional phrase with a lexical verb. But the case of place/time indicators, and even of adverbials generally, is rather different.⁸ Consider the following sentence:

- (11) Chris put the book on the desk on Monday on purpose.

The preposition *on* occurs three times in (11), and yet each time the phrase it occurs in has a different value: *on the desk* is a place indicator; *on Monday* is a time indicator; and *on purpose* is a volition indicator. To make matters worse, place indicators, as we have seen, allow a semantic contrast between different prepositions, so that, for instance, *in the desk*, *behind the desk* and *under the desk* would have different meanings in this same context. With time indicators and volitional

7. Interestingly, the adjective-derived place adverb *locally* (‘in this locality’) can also replace the place indicator *in a/the garage* in the structures of (a), (b) and (c), but not (d); this seems to show that a place adverbial as an elaborator of the verb *be* has a slightly different status from one after a standard intransitive or transitive verb, although the word *locally* seems to be unique in this respect.

8. The case of prepositional predicatives is also different, since (as we saw earlier) the choice of preposition is unequivocally selected by the core noun of the noun phrase.

indicators the situation is different, in that the noun determines the choice of preposition (cf. *on Monday*, *in the morning*, *at midday*; *on purpose*, *by chance*, *at random*); but again the choice of preposition has apparently no effect on the syntactic value of the whole prepositional phrase. Indeed the only way to save this hypothesis of X-bar theory would seem to be if each preposition were somehow marked for the syntactic function of the phrase it appears in; and this method would be at the very least circular.

An alternative approach to the role of adpositions in the adpositional phrase is that of Tesnière (1959). In his view they have the function of converting a noun phrase (= category O, in his system) into an “adverbial” (= category E, in his system);⁹ a preposition is thus for him a “convertor” (or “translatif”). Thus, to take (11) again as an example, *desk*, *Monday* and *purpose* would all be nouns or noun phrases, but *on the desk*, *on Monday* and *on purpose* would all be “adverbials” (of different subclasses). As a general statement about the role of adpositions in adverbial phrases (though not in prepositional objects and predicatives) Tesnière’s approach seems reasonable. But it fails to take account of the different values prepositions can have. Whereas in adposition phrases of time and volition the preposition does little more than mark the conversion to adverbial function, in place adverbial phrases it has a clear contrastive function. In other words, while fully grammaticalized (sometimes termed “delexical”) adpositions are simply convertors (of the type NP→AdvI), lexical adpositions additionally mark a particular (often spatiotemporal) relationship, which needs to be considered in detail.

The important semantic function of lexical adpositions is presumably the reason why X-bar theorists make them the “head” of their phrase. As we have already noted, this brings with it the implication that some words traditionally classed as adverbs have to be reinterpreted as intransitive adpositions. At least two arguments can be made for this analysis, which, as it applies to English, can be termed the “hyper-preposition analysis”,¹⁰ because it assumes a larger class of adpositions, taking in the relevant adverbs:

- a. the contexts in which spatiotemporal adpositions and spatiotemporal adverbs occur only differ in the same way that the contexts for transitive and intransitive verbs differ, i.e. in the presence or the absence of a following noun phrase.

9. In fact, Tesnière does not make a consistent distinction between noun and noun phrase or between adverb and adverbial phrase.

10. More generally, it could be called the “hyper-adposition analysis”.

- b. there is a considerable overlap in the inventory of items that occur as spatiotemporal adpositions and adverbs, in the same way that many verbs have transitive as well as intransitive uses.

The latter aspect of the hyper-preposition hypothesis needs to be examined in some detail.

4. Overlap of the categories “preposition” and “adverb”

We can begin by considering four semantically close prepositions or adverbs, *by* with the meaning ‘near’, *near* itself, and the compounds *near to* and *nearby*.

- i. The traditional preposition *by* is reinterpreted as an obligatorily transitive hyper-preposition, i.e. a transitive one that does not permit object-dropping.
- ii. The word *near*, which in traditional terms operates sometimes as a preposition and sometimes as a place adverb, is reinterpreted as an optionally transitive hyper-preposition, i.e. as a transitive hyper-preposition that allows object-dropping.
- iii. The compound preposition *near to* is reinterpreted (like *by*) as a transitive complex hyper-preposition that does not permit object-dropping. In other words, the addition of the particle *to* has the effect of cancelling the possibility of object-dropping.
- iv. The compound place adverb *nearby* is reinterpreted as an intransitive hyper-preposition, i.e. one that does not license an object. Thus, although both *by* and *near* individually license an object, the compound formed by combining them does not.

It may seem strange that compounding, as in the cases of *near to* and *nearby*, produces apparently arbitrary results. Somewhat similar to *near to* is the compound hyper-preposition *out of*, in which a combination of a clearly intransitive hyper-preposition and a clearly transitive one produces a transitive one; but we shall find that a number of other hyper-prepositions behave similarly, requiring the addition of *of* before they can take a noun phrase complement. Such grammatical arbitrarinesses and idiosyncrasies should not worry us unduly; they are the normal fabric of morphosyntax. Rather more troublesome is the relationship between different uses of the same item, as in the case of *near*.

Assuming we accepted the hyper-preposition hypothesis, could we set up any grammatical rules for explaining the links between different uses of the same hyper-preposition, or would we be left with a series of cases of polysemy, or even

homonymy? The grammatical rule would have to be of the form: “Omit the object under the following semantic conditions ...” (e.g. when it can be reconstructed from the context, cf. Allerton 1975). If this is impossible, and arbitrary connections between transitive and intransitive hyper-prepositions were the norm, we are left with something that looks more like a derivational rule of word-formation, which rather suggests a difference of syntactic class. We need to examine some particular instances.

Consider first some cases in which the omitted noun phrase can be construed from the context:

- (12) Luckily Chris lives quite near.

This sentence makes no sense unless *near* is interpreted to mean ‘near the person or place just mentioned’. The following sentences need to be interpreted in a similar way:

- (13) When I came to the cinema, I saw Chris waiting opposite.

- (14) [Chris stood on the cliff-top.] Below there was a huge drop.

- (15) Chris will see you after.

- (16) I’d never seen it before.

For instance: (13) means ‘... opposite the cinema I have just referred to’; (15) means ‘... after the point in time we have just referred to’. This dropping of a contextually recoverable noun phrase is the typical pattern for a whole range of hyper-prepositions, including at least the following:

*above, below, (in) between, in, inside, out (of), outside, near, behind, opposite, over*² ‘across’, *across, through, round*¹ ‘following a circular path’.

The following compound prepositions are similar, except that, like *out of*, they lose their *of* along with the following noun phrase:

in front of, to the left of, to the right of, in the middle of, at the edge of.

Other hyper-prepositions behave differently, in that either they do not allow dropping of their complementing noun phrase, or that they only occur alone with a substantially different meaning. Consider the following examples:

- (17) *As Chris walked up to the grave, he/she noticed some flowers beside.

[→ ... beside it.]

- (18) *When I saw Chris, there was a tall woman standing next (to).

[→ ... next to him/her.]

Apart from *beside* and *next to*, the prepositions *to*, *into*, *on to*, *next to* and *at*¹¹ always require a complementing noun phrase to be present.

Turning now to hyper-prepositions which do occur both with a complement noun phrase (i.e. as traditional prepositions) and without (i.e. as traditional adverbs) but only with a substantially different meaning, we find that *in*, *on*, *off* and *behind* fall into this category. Let us consider some examples.

The preposition *in*, for instance, can occur with a spatial meaning with a very wide range of nouns, e.g. *eye*, *mouth*, *blood*, *envelope*, *book*, *box*, *cupboard*, *room*, *building*, *village*, *town*, *region*, *country*, *planetary system*, *galaxy*. But if we ask what the questions of (19) can mean,

- (19) a. Is he/she in?
b. Is it in?

we find that the reference is restricted in (19a) to the house, office, factory, etc. and in (19b) to the screw-hole (when *it* refers to a screw) or the socket (when *it* refers to an electric plug) or other apertures; in both of these cases *in* contrasts with *out*. The particle *in* in another version of (19b) could also have a meaning something like ‘arrived, in stock’, but this is an idiomatic meaning, which does not contrast with *out*.

The hyper-preposition *on* in its “adverbial” usage can have fairly literal meanings such as ‘on someone’s head’ (in respect of a hat), ‘on a receptacle’ (in respect of lids). It also occurs with more idiomatic meanings like ‘switched to an operating position’ (of equipment) or ‘still due to take place’ (of arranged events), when it is impossible to reconstruct an appropriate complementing noun phrase. Yet in both sets of cases there is a regular contrast between *on* and *off*. This is not the case for the preposition *behind*, which only occurs without a prepositional phrase when it has a figurative meaning like ‘with work outstanding’ or (especially in the collocation *well behind*) ‘having little prospect of catching up’.

To sum up, the particles *out* (*of*), *on*, *off* and *behind* seem to be slightly schizophrenic. They behave quite naturally as normal prepositions (= transitive hyper-prepositions). On the other hand, they have a “noun phrase-free” use that is difficult to relate in a simple way to the standard prepositional use. In their case, at least, the hyper-preposition hypothesis has to be counted as “not proven”.

In the case of some other hyper-prepositions (*up*, *down*, *over*) there is a clear semantic difference between transitive and intransitive uses, but this difference is

11. For some reason *at* in its spatial use (as opposed to its use in prepositional verbs and idioms) is not just non-occurrent alone but even rare with a following pronoun, cf. [*Of course I was at the club.*] ?*I talked to Chris at it.* In such cases it seems preferable to replace the whole prepositional phrase with *there*.

less sharp and is made more complex through polysemy. Consider the following examples,

- (20) a. Chris climbed up/down the ladder.
b. Chris climbed up/down.
- (21) a. Chris walked up/down the street.
b. Chris walked up/down.
- (22) a. Chris came over the field.
b. Chris came over.
- (23) a. The helicopter hovered over the field.
b. The helicopter hovered *over/overhead.

In (20) *up* and *down* have a totally literal meaning, referring to vertical direction, and the “bare particle” sentence (20b) can be regarded as a reduced form of the full noun phrase version (20a); in other words, it is reasonable for the hearer/reader of (20b) to deduce that it is a ladder, a staircase or a slope that is being climbed up or down.¹² In (21), on the other hand, there is a more complex relationship between the “preposition-based” (a) sentence and the “adverb-based” (b) sentence: whereas the *up/down* of the (a) sentence means something like ‘along’ (possibly, but not necessarily, involving a slight gradient), the *up/down* of the (b) sentence must either be interpreted as a reduction of something like *up/down the hill* or, in the case of the *up* version, be construed idiomatically, in which case *walk up* means ‘approach’.

In the sentences of (22) we find the clearest semantic distance between the versions with and without the noun phrase: in the (a) sentence *over* has the purely spatial-directional sense of ‘across’, while in the (b) sentence the combination *came over* usually has the idiomatic meaning ‘visited’. In (23a) we see a spatial-locational meaning of *over*, but if we wish to preserve this meaning in the noun-phrase-free context of (23b), we are forced to use *overhead* rather than *over*.

When the words *up*, *down* and *over* are used without a following noun phrase, as in the (b) sentences of (20) through to (23), they can be treated in accordance with the hyper-preposition analysis hypothesis as the same words as in (20a) to (23a), but this interpretation seems less justified when there is a semantic gulf between the “prepositional” and “adverbial” uses. It is true that some of the verbs that have a transitive and an intransitive use involve a substantial difference of meaning between the two uses, but these are a minority; most of them simply drop their object in certain semantic contexts (Allerton 1982: 68–72).

12. It is of course also possible for *Chris climbed down* to have the idiomatic meaning ‘Chris apologetically withdrew his/her point’.

Even assuming these problems of the membership of subclasses could be solved, there are other problems with the hyper-preposition analysis. Perhaps the most important of these is the question of what to do with spatiotemporal adverbs that do not look at all like prepositions. A particularly striking example¹³ is the word *locally*, as used in contexts such as (24):

(24) Chris played golf locally.

(25) Chris played golf nearby.

(26) Chris played golf there.

The difficulty is that the upholder of the hyper-preposition analysis probably wants to say that *locally*, *nearby* and *there* all belong to different categories: *locally* should be a deadjectival (and therefore lexical) adverb; *nearby* should be an intransitive preposition; *there* (as well as similar words like *here*, *somewhere*, etc.) could be regarded as a special kind of noun phrase (NP) or alternatively (since Abney 1987) of determiner phrase (DP). Yet the three sentences (24), (25) and (26) all seem semantically comparable, suggesting that *locally*, *nearby* and *there* should be assigned to the same word class.

A further problem attached to the hyper-preposition analysis is the required complexity of analyses of sequences involving verbs with one or more hyper-prepositions, each of which can be transitive or intransitive. Consider these examples, each supplied with a putative string analysis (where: S = subject; V = verb; O = object; P = hyper-preposition; L = locative nominal; intr. = intransitive; tr. = transitive):

(27) Chris moved.

S + V_{intr.}

(28) Chris moved nearer.

S + V_{intr.} + P_{intr.}

(29) Chris moved nearer (to) the net. (= 'Chris moved to be nearer (to) the net.')

S + V_{intr.} + P_{tr.} + L

(30) Chris moved nearer the net¹⁴. (= 'Chris moved the net so that it was nearer')

S + V_{tr.} + P_{intr.} + L

13. As we saw above (Note 7) *locally* is a somewhat exceptional word. It usually has a deictic meaning 'in this locality', whereas *regionally* more often means 'in one or more regions' and is more indefinite in sense.

14. This sentence is stylistically unlikely in its present form, but if the verb *move* is replaced with *pull* and the object *the net* is expanded to something like *the net from the old tennis court*, then the acceptability of the sentence increases.

(31) Chris moved the net nearer.
 S + V_{tr} + L + P_{intr}.

(32) Chris moved the net.
 S + V_{tr} + O

Sentences (27) and (32) are simple intransitive and transitive sentences, which are unproblematic, but provide the basis for the more difficult sentences (28) through to (31). The intransitive verb sentence (28) is an expansion of (27) with a hyper-preposition (“P”); and the same relationship is to be observed between the transitive verb sentences (31) and (32). Sentence (29) can be regarded as one possible fuller version of (28), in the sense that it has an explicit location for its hyper-preposition. In fact, the “intr.” hyper-preposition is not really intransitive, because it always can have an “object” added: in (28) this could in fact be *the net* (giving (29), and in (31) it would be *(to) himself*. (A comparable expansion would probably be ungrammatical in (30).) Finally, sentence (30) can be seen as a transposed version of (31).

In assessing how adequate such a string analysis is, we need to bear in mind that it needs to be supplemented, for instance with a constituent analysis. This would, for example, make it clear that whereas in (29) *nearer the net* is a constituent (a PP), in (30) it is not. Nevertheless it is necessary to explain why *nearer* in (30) cannot be expanded with a complement noun phrase, and why this *nearer* comes close to forming a constituent with *move*, with the meaning ‘pull closer, make approach’. In short, the relation between prepositional and adverbial particles (or hyper-prepositions) is more complex than appears on the surface. On the basis of the evidence considered so far then, the case for hyper-prepositions is not proven.

5. The placement of adpositions in place and time indicators

It is evident that the adpositions of English are predominantly prepositions, a long quoted exception being *ago* (see Kurzon, this volume). An important question to consider is what distinguishes this postposition not only from standard prepositions but also from similar-looking adverbs. In the examples (33) through to (37) we shall consider whether the temporal particles *in*, *ago*, *before*, *earlier* occur in each of these contexts:

- a. followed by a durational noun phrase (e.g. *three weeks*),
- b. preceded by a durational noun phrase (e.g. *three weeks*),

- c. followed by an eventive noun phrase (e.g. *the concert*) and optionally preceded by a durational noun phrase (e.g. *three weeks*),
- d. in isolation but optionally preceded by an intensifier (e.g. *a little*).

Beginning with the standard temporal preposition *in* 'after ... from now' (which we could also describe as a compulsorily transitive hyper-preposition) we find that its distribution is relatively straightforward: it is only possible in context (a):

- (33) a. in three weeks
b. *three weeks in
c. *(three weeks) in the concert
d. *(a little) in

In other words, temporal *in* is prepositional not postpositional, and it rejects both duration premodifiers and degree intensifiers. Similar to *in* are *for* and *during*. The postposition *ago* differs only in that it rejects environment (a) but accepts environment (b):

- (34) a. *ago three weeks
b. three weeks ago
c. *(three weeks) ago the concert
d. *(a little) ago

The postposition *ago* thus rejects eventive complements (such as *the concert*) but accepts a preceding durational complement (such as *three weeks*); it also rejects degree intensifiers (such as *a little*). Although *ago* is (as already indicated) usually said to be the only independent postposition of English, the formal use of *hence* with the meaning 'from now' (as in *three weeks hence*) seems to be used identically¹⁵. Traces of postpositional constructions are found in expressions like *the whole week through* and *all the year round*.

Like *in*, the word *before* is used as a temporal preposition, but the (a) context is excluded for it, because it requires complementation with an eventive noun phrase, as in (c); this noun phrase can, however, be dropped.¹⁶ *Before* is compatible with a durational noun phrase, but only if this precedes it, as in (b) and (c). It also allows a preceding degree intensifier as an alternative to the durational phrase, cf. (35d):

15. I am indebted to R. F. Allerton (personal communication) for this point.

16. The word *before* can also be expanded to *beforehand*, although this word has an additional semantic feature with the value 'in preparation, in advance' as in *cook the fruit beforehand*.

- (35) a. *before three weeks
 b. three weeks before
 c. (three weeks) before the concert
 d. (a little) before.

The preposition (= transitive hyper-preposition) *before* needs to be contrasted with the adverb (= intransitive hyper-preposition) *earlier*, which occurs as follows:

- (36) a. *earlier three weeks
 b. three weeks earlier
 c. *(three weeks) earlier the concert
 d. (a little) earlier.

As we shall see, *earlier* occurs in precisely the same contexts as *afterwards*, so that both will have to be assigned to the same word class, i.e. intransitive hyper-preposition, or adverb.

A rather curious case is the word *after*, which not unexpectedly behaves like *before*,¹⁷ except that it also occurs in context (a), with a rather special meaning something like ‘at a point during a process which is ... from the beginning’, cf.:

- (37) a. after three weeks
 b. three weeks after(wards)
 c. (three weeks) after the concert
 d. (just) after(wards).

It is finally worth considering the rather interesting case of *within*, which behaves in a fashion that is broadly similar to that of its fellow preposition *in*. But it also permits a further construction, given under (38e), in which an eventive noun phrase introduced by *of* is tagged on to the noun phrase of duration:

- (38) a. within three weeks
 b. *three weeks within
 c. *three weeks within the concert
 d. *(just) within
 e. within three weeks of the concert.

The construction that appears in (e) is difficult to analyse. Semantically it corresponds to the (c) constructions of (35) and (37). But whereas in the case of these patterns with *before* and *after* we can regard the durational and eventive noun phrases as specifier and complement respectively of the preposition, the

17. There is also a rough grammatical correspondence between *afterwards* and *beforehand*.

discontinuous sequence *within ... of* in (38e) does not allow such a simple interpretation. It seems rather that (38e) is an expansion of (38a), so that *three weeks* is the primary complement of *within (... of)*, while the secondary complement (*of*) *the concert* gives the appearance of a noun phrase downgraded to the level of complement of the noun *weeks*.

We can sum up our findings for all of these temporal particles as follows:

ago is an almost unique POSTPOSITION, which is complemented by a preceding duration noun phrase;

earlier is an ADVERB (or compulsorily intransitive hyper-preposition), which is premodified by either a durational noun phrase or an intensifier (e.g. *a little, much, somewhat*), cf. also *later, previously* (each of which is subject to collocational restrictions for its intensifier);

before is a PREPOSITION, premodified by a duration phrase and complemented by a following event phrase;

after is also a PREPOSITION, but it has two kinds of complementation, one with a (following) durational noun phrase, the other with a preceding durational specifier plus a following eventive noun phrase complement;

within (... of) is a COMPLEX OR DISCONTINUOUS PREPOSITION taking twin complements (non-omissible durational and contextually omissible eventive).

The lesson of all of this is that care must be taken to sort out preposition, postposition and adverb in English, and that if we reclassify them all as different kinds of adposition, the description becomes necessarily less transparent.

As regards postpositions, then, English only has *ago* and *hence*. Other apparent examples turn out to be something else, such as the place adverb *apart* in a phrase like *two metres apart*. Having just analysed *after*, we can now appreciate that *two metres apart* is comparable with the phrase *two hours after*, in which *after* can be seen as a preposition whose complement noun phrase has been ellipted. In a similar way, *two metres apart* should be understood as a reduced form of *two metres apart from each other*, and *apart from* (in contrast to *after*) is a complex preposition (made up of adverb and preposition) that can be premodified with a distancial (rather than durational) noun phrase.

Even its fellow-Germanic language, German, which has rather more postpositions (e.g. *entlang* 'along', *gegenüber* 'opposite') often permits these to be used prepositionally. It is not so surprising that languages strongly favour either prepositions or postpositions, because this gives the adposition clearer signalling power.

According to Teufel and Stöckert (1996), German has not only postpositions but also circumpositions. They cite as examples *von ... an* (as in *von dieser Zeit an*) and *um ... willen* (as in *um Gottes willen*). English has corresponding items like *from ... on(wards)* and *for ...’s sake*. It also has patterns like *all (the) day long*; but it is worth asking whether such items are not best dealt with under phraseology rather than morphosyntax.

5. The internal structure of complex adpositions

The internal structure of complex adpositions and the ways in which this structure can vary may well give a clue as to how all adpositions operate.¹⁸ Regardless of word class, a word may simply be a member of a class by definition, such as the adjective *young*, but equally it may have morphemic constituents that mark the class, as in words like *child-ish*, *child-like* or *im-mature*.

Many English prepositions are morphemically simple, e.g. *in*, *on*, *with*; but many are complex. Of the latter, some are one word but morphemically complex, others are made up of a word sequence. However, orthographic word boundaries are rather unpredictable and variable in English, as demonstrated by the only partly successful trend towards spelling *on to* as *onto* by analogy with *into*. It will therefore make sense to treat sequences like *into*, which consist of two potential words, as word sequences. Sequences involving bound morphemes will, however, be regarded as morpheme sequences.

Examples of this latter type include *aboard*, *across*, *beside*, *behind*, *beyond*, *towards*, *underneath* (now virtually a variant of *under*). It is worth noting that these mainly consist of sequences of a prefix or preposition followed by a more nominal-looking element (*side*, *hind*, *yond*, *ward(s)*), which gives an indication of a locational part or direction. Words of this kind thus have a nominal element at their heart,¹⁹ but this has become submerged through the process of grammaticalization (Heine et al. 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993).

Turning now to complex prepositions that have a more transparent nominal element, we can start with those that have the fullest kind of phrase:

preposition 1 + NP [Det + N] + preposition 2

e.g. *at* *the side* *of*

18. For a general discussion of the issues involved, see Hoffman (2000), Klegr (2002). Seppänen et al. (1994) take a more sceptical view.

19. One exception is the word *underneath*, which seems to be a combination of two elements of similar value (*under* + (*be*-)*neath*).

Further examples are *to the right/left of, in the middle of, at the bottom of, at the end of* (cf. also the non-spatiotemporal examples *in the light of, as a result of*). The core lexical element in this word sequence is the noun, which supplies a specific orientational meaning in the form of a word that names an orientationally defined part of a whole (*side, right, left, middle, top, bottom, end*, etc.); it is normally accompanied by the definite article on the basis that the whole has only one such part. The first preposition in the construction is a basic preposition of place (*at, to, in*), which seems to be collocationally selected by the noun. The second preposition, on the other hand, is *of*, which is lexically empty and has the primarily grammatical function of signalling the end of the complex preposition and introducing the following noun phrase complement. It is worth noting that, despite the presence of the noun with the meaning 'orientationally defined part of a whole', the complete complex preposition does not indicate a place within that whole, but one adjacent to it. Thus we can observe a contrast between, for instance, *at the side of the statue* (which corresponds roughly to *beside the statue*) and *in the side of the statue* (which refers to something that is or has become part of the statue).

This basic pattern for complex prepositions also appears in a number of reduced forms which drop one of the grammatical components, i.e. the article or one of the prepositions. For instance, in the complex prepositions *in front of, on top of* (as well as the non-spatiotemporal examples *by means of, in excess of, in view of, by/in comparison with*) the pattern involves simply dropping the article determiner:

	preposition 1 +	NP [N] +	preposition 2
e.g.	<i>in</i>	<i>front</i>	<i>of</i>

A further reduction is seen in the pattern:

	NP [N] +	preposition 2
e.g.	<i>north</i>	<i>of</i>

as used in sentences like *Manchester lies north of Birmingham*. The word *north* is obviously a noun (as shown by *I love the north*, etc.), but *north of* is clearly a complex preposition, and can be seen as a reduced form of *to the north of*. In American English *outside of* is often used in a similar way, while British English traditionally prefers the simpler form *outside*. This takes us on to our final reduction of this pattern, in which the determiner and both prepositions are dropped:

NP [N]
<i>inside</i>

Further examples are *opposite* and (in traditional British English) *outside*.

The progressive reductions in this pattern for complex prepositions can be presented in the form of a table:

preposition 1 +	NP [Det + N] +	preposition 2
reduced to preposition 1 +	NP [N] +	preposition 2 reduced to
	NP [N] +	preposition 2 reduced to
	NP [N]	

giving the priority scale $N > \text{preposition 2} > \text{preposition 1} > \text{Det}$. This progression can be observed in the way the original expression *by courtesy of* has developed in Modern English through *by courtesy of* and *courtesy of* to the simple form *courtesy* (at least in the English of the media). It represents a gradual reduction to the core element, the noun²⁰. It has to be admitted, however, that at least one complex preposition, *on board*, represents an exception to this trend in that it drops the second preposition (*of*) while retaining the first (*on*).

The main rival pattern has no noun and is formed with a non-noun word (adjective, adverb, preposition or conjunction) followed by a lexically empty preposition, which we can again label as “preposition 2”. Examples of the four subvarieties are:

adjective +	preposition 2
<i>exterior</i>	<i>to</i>
adverb +	preposition 2
<i>away</i>	<i>from</i>
preposition 1 +	preposition 2
<i>along</i>	<i>with</i>
conjunction +	preposition 2
<i>as</i> ²¹	<i>to</i>

20. Much discussion has centred around the X-bar analysis of complex prepositions of this type. (See the contributions by P. Farrell and R. Kuzar to the Cognitive Linguistics on-line notice-board on *LinguistList*. 31 August and 1 September, 2005.) It can be argued that they form a morphological rather than a syntactic structure, but if a syntactic analysis is required a more plausible structure than the one offered by the X-bar analysis for *by the courtesy of* would be $_{P}[_{Adv}[_{P_1}[_{NP}[_{Det} N]] P_2]$ corresponding to $[[by[the courtesy]] of]$, which shows that, when the complex preposition is simplified in form, the innermost grammatical function words are peeled off first, in the sequence $\text{Det} > P_1 > P_2$.

21. The component *as* is classified here as a conjunction rather than a preposition, because traditionally in English it is predominantly a conjunction, being used to introduce clauses (e.g. *as I was passing by the stair ...*; *as I have always maintained...*), including non-finite clauses (e.g. *regard someone as being a liability*), and prepositional phrases (e.g. *as at the last meeting*). In some cases a copular verb may be omitted, with the effect that *as* comes to appear in prepositional

Other examples of the adjective type are *near to*, *far from* (cf. also *due to*, *contrary to*, *regardless of*); the adjective may also be a participle, as in *owing to*, *according to*. With an adverb core we also find *apart from*, *out of*, *on to*, *up to*, *along with* (cf. also *instead of*). Combinations of two prepositions are rare; a further non-spatio-temporal example is *except for*. A non-spatiotemporal example had to be given above for the type with a conjunction as the first element; further examples are *as for* and *because of*.

We have thus observed two principal internal structures for complex prepositions. In the first we saw the underlying structure **preposition 1 + NP [Det + N] + preposition 2**, which was prone to reduction in stages to **NP [N]**. The first preposition had a general locative meaning, while the noun carried the meaning 'orientationally defined part of a whole'. The whole complex preposition then seems to supply a spatial-orientational meaning equivalent to that of simple locational prepositions. This equivalence is achieved slightly differently in the case of the second type of spatiotemporal complex preposition, **adjective /adverb/preposition 1 + preposition 2**, in which the first component alone expresses an orientational meaning. In both general types of complex preposition the final element is simply a contextually appropriate way of marking grammatical conversion to prepositional status. The complex preposition as a whole, just like its simple counterpart, then links up with the complement noun phrase to give a locational specification based on orientation relative to a fixed point.

6. The overall structure of place/time indicators

In distinguishing prepositions, postpositions and adverbs in Section 5, we came to see the kinds of complementation prepositions may have. It will be recalled from the examples of (37) that the preposition *after* can be premodified by a duration phrase or a degree intensifier and complemented by a following event phrase, or alternatively simply complemented by a following duration phrase. The postposition *ago*, on the other hand, has only the possibility of a preceding duration phrase.

In spatial (as opposed to temporal) phrases distance is the correlate of duration, and punctual places correspond to events in time. The overall structure of spatiotemporal prepositional phrases could therefore be represented thus:²²

contexts (e.g. *regard someone as a liability*). Idiomatic uses such as *as a change* (cf. *for a change*) seem to be more prepositional than conjunctive.

22. where "P" stands for preposition or postposition, i.e. adposition.

- e.g.
- a. (i) NP_{duration/distance} + P + NP_{eventive/punctual}
three weeks after the war
three miles after the village
 - (ii) Intensifier + P + NP_{eventive/punctual}
shortly after the war
just past the village
 - b. P + NP_{duration/distance}
after three weeks
after three miles
 - c. NP_{duration} + P
three weeks ago

Since *ago* and *hence* are the only postpositions, no examples of pattern (c) can be found for place indicators. But plenty of examples of patterns (a) and (b) can be found for them, as demonstrated by (39) and (40). It should be noted that every distance noun phrase can in turn be premodified by an estimator, such as *just*, *roughly*, *precisely*.

(39) *(roughly) 100 metres past the traffic lights, well beyond the farm, (precisely) one foot behind the chair, 150,000 kilometres (away) from the sun, right in front of the teacher*

(40) *after (just) 500 metres, for (about) three miles*

Semantically the distance premodifier combines with the meaning of the preposition for its interpretation, in a way that is comparable in dynamics to magnitude combining with direction to give a “vector” (see further, Zwarts and Winter 2000). This then has to be applied to the punctual noun phrase complement of the preposition, which provides the starting point for the calculation. A phrase like *three miles (to the) north of the cottage*, for instance, suggests starting from the cottage and heading north for three miles.

If the distance noun phrase first combines with its following preposition, does the same happen with a degree modifier like *slightly* in *slightly (to the) north of the cottage* or *right* in *right next to the fence*? This seems plausible. On the other hand, the fact that in a combination like *right here* the degree modifier modifies an adverb might seem to suggest that *right* modifies a prepositional phrase, which often seems to be substitutable for an adverb. The view being articulated here, however, is that an adverb like *here* occurs side-by-side with a prepositional phrase, not in place of one.

Intensifiers in such structures can therefore be said to modify the immediately following preposition or adverb, and in doing so they are subject to collocational restrictions. In fact some prepositions, such as *toward(s)* seem to forbid

intensifiers altogether. A larger number, including *aboard*, *in*, *opposite*, *to*, do not allow distance premodifiers. Individual collocational restrictions for degree intensifiers can be illustrated by the following examples: *slightly inside*, *?slightly in*; *right away from*, *well away from*, *?slightly away from*; *close behind*, *close in front of*; *directly opposite*, *?directly next to*.

Everything we have been considering can be regarded as part of an adpositional phrase, whether it be preposition (or postposition) itself, complementing noun phrase, premodifying noun phrase or premodifying intensifier. We shall shortly examine the question of how these combine with adverbial structures, but before we do, we need to make clear under what conditions a sequence of two adpositional phrases is possible. Broadly, such combinations are of two types, coordinated and hierarchical.

Like noun phrases and verb phrases, prepositional phrases allow standard coordination of the *and*-type and the *or*-type, as illustrated by:

- (41) Chris is quite relaxed on the bus and at home.
- (42) Chris has never worked in the evening or at the weekend.

But as Quirk et al. point out, we also find two prepositional phrases of place in a hierarchical relationship, as in an adaptation of their example:

- (43) Chris eats in restaurants in London.

Here the two prepositional phrases are in a thematic relationship, in the sense that *in London* is a postposed theme (usually pronounced with a separate rising intonation, cf. Allerton and Cruttenden 1978), whereas *in restaurants* is rhematic and part of the normal predicate. This view can be justified on the basis of the equivalence with

- (44) In London Chris eats mainly in restaurants.

which has a fronted theme.

We can compare the thematic relationship between prepositional phrases found in (43) and (44) with that found in (45a) and (b), in which the two phrases are both rhematic, the first being part of the normal rheme, the second being an afterthought, in the shape of a secondary rheme:

- (45) a. I met Chris in a restaurant(,) in London.
b. I met Chris in London(,) in a restaurant.

We can think of such cases as involving duplicated place indicators, which can even arise as a result of language performance factors, which in a way is also true of thematic prepositional phrases that can sit outside the normal grammatical structure.

A final way in which sequences of spatial prepositional phrases can arise is when direction phrases are used to chart a pathway. A sentence like (46) has a sequence of origin, path and destination adjuncts:

- (46) Chris walked from the office along the riverbank to the café.

But these pathway adjuncts combine to give a single place indicator (of the direction subvariety). Of the three adjuncts, the origin adjunct alone can be fronted to initial position in the sentence.

We only find a sequence of two place indicators in the four kinds of pattern just discussed: in coordinative structures, in theme-rheme constellations; in cases of a secondary rheme; and in pathway constellations of direction adjuncts. Otherwise, an expansion of the prepositional phrase will need to involve an adverb, as in a phrase such as (*up*)(*here*) *in London*. Let us now turn to such cases.

As we noted earlier, some adverbs that occur in spatiotemporal specification phrases cannot easily be related to adpositional phrases. Consider examples like:

- (47) [Chris is standing ...] over there just by the cash-desk

in which a standard prepositional phrase with premodification (*just by the cash-desk*) is preceded by an adverbial element (*over there*). We saw in Section 4 that some adverbs such as *over* are semantically dissociated from the homonymous preposition, so that they cannot be regarded as a reduced prepositional phrase. Equally the stressed demonstrative adverb *there* cannot be interpreted as a replacement for a prepositional phrase, unlike its unstressed anaphoric look-alike (and sound-alike). These two words occur alongside (not in place of) a prepositional phrase, and their order relative to each other is fixed.

Let us consider some further examples of this higher level twin-headed place indicator phrase, consisting of an adverbial element followed by a prepositional phrase. In each case the first part is basically adverbial and gives a more subjective impressionistic deixis-based description, while the second part is basically prepositional and gives a more objective description in terms of position relative to other entities.

TWIN HEADED PLACE INDICATOR PHRASES

DEIXIS-BASED ADVERBIAL

(far away (from here))
 quite close to here
 right here
 over here
 miles away (from here)
 round the back
 back there
 across (there)
 out (there)
 over (there)
 up (here)
 down
 round
 way ahead (of us)
 way down yonder

POSITION-BASED PREPOSITIONAL

over the hills
 just over the river
 by me
 away from the pond
 the other side of Birmingham
 a few yards past the lamppost
 opposite the bank
 in the fields
 on the roof
 in the corner
 in London
 at the pub
 at the Smiths'
 near the bus stop
 in New Orleans

It is evident from the above examples that the first (deictic adverbial) element expresses place in terms of the present location of the speaker, indicating distance from it (as in *far away*, *quite close*), orientation from it (as in *out*, *over*, *up*, *down*, *round*, *across*, *ahead*) or pure deixis (*here*, *there*). The prepositional phrase (as in *over the hills*, *just over the river*, *by me*, *away from the pond*, *the other side of Birmingham*, *a few yards past the lamppost*, etc.) then adds localization relative to some other entity of which the location is known or can be surmised. The sequential order of these two elements seems to be fixed. A sequence in the reverse order (e.g. *opposite the bank back there* as opposed to *back there opposite the bank*) may arise in one of two ways: firstly, it may involve a different grammatical pattern in which the adverbial element has lost its independent status and has become a postmodifier of the noun in the prepositional phrase (e.g. *opposite the bank back there* meaning 'opposite the bank that is back there'); alternatively, the deixis-based adverbial may be placed last for performance reasons, i.e. because it occurs as an afterthought.

Theoretically both elements of the place indicator are optional: the adverbial can occur alone, just as well as the prepositional phrase can. This means, for instance, that in answer to a question like *Where are they?*, the adverbial expression *out there* is just as likely to occur alone as is the prepositional expression *in the fields*. But things are a little more complex in the case of examples like *down at the pub*, which is more likely than *down there at the pub*, because *down* (as opposed to *down there*) would not occur in this context without a following prepositional

phrase. It is perhaps best to regard this *down* as a special reduction of *down there*; certainly the sequence *down there at the pub* would be uncommon in this sense.

In some kinds of English, for instance popular London speech, this kind of expression is subject to a fusion of the two parts of the spatial specification. Thus a sequence of adverbial plus prepositional phrase like *down + at the pub* is reduced to *down the pub*. In a similar way *up + at the club* becomes *up the club*; and *over + at Anne's* becomes *over Anne's*. Superficially, at least, this means that in this kind of English, *up*, *down*, *over*, etc. have acquired a new prepositional use, cf.

(48) Chris has gone down the road.

(49) Chris has gone down the pub. [LONDON ENGLISH]

The result is that in a sentence like (48) the preposition *down* has to be interpreted quite differently compared with its use in (49). A related phenomenon must at one time have affected American English: for instance, *through to* is regularly reduced to *through* (as in *pages 1 through 11*²³); also it is plausible that the contemporary noun and adverb *downtown* derives from a prepositional sequence *down the town*.

Given that in standard British and American English the full form of this construction is the norm, with the more subjective adverbial preceding the more objective prepositional phrase, the question arises whether it is a universal tendency for the personal deictic element to come first. A general investigation of this question will have to await further research, but as a first step it is worth looking again at German.

German certainly has structures like:

(50) [Chris ist ...] dort drüben im Hof
 ‘[Chris is ...] over there in the courtyard’

(51) [Der Wein ist ...] unten im Keller
 ‘[The wine is ...] down in the cellar’

As in English, the reverse order (e.g. *im Hof dort drüben*) is also possible, again with the two possible interpretations of the deictic adverbial as either postmodifier or as afterthought. German place specification structures thus seem in this respect to be entirely comparable to the English ones. This is slightly surprising, because the ordering of different adverbial elements relative to each other is different in the two languages. A frequently heard flight announcement will make this point clear:

23. British English prefers *pages 1 through to 11* or, more simply, *pages 1 to 11* (although the latter may be pronounced homophonously with *page 1–2–11*).

(52) Wir freuen uns, Sie bald wieder an Bord begrüßen zu dürfen.

(53) We look forward to seeing you on board again soon.

Whereas in German the order of adverbials is TIME + FREQUENCY + PLACE (*bald + wieder + an Bord*), in English the reverse order operates. But the ordering of basic clause constituents is independent of the ordering with a constituent.²⁴

There is, however, one way in which German goes slightly beyond what is possible in English, and that concerns the meaning of the individual adverb and preposition. Consider the following place specification in German:

- (54) i. drinnen in der Kirche
ii. in der Kirche drinnen

In this case, interestingly, both orderings seem possible. In English, on the other hand, both possibilities seem to be unlikely:

- (55) i. ??inside in the church
ii. ??in the church inside

The field of directional place specification phrases seems to be similar in this respect. An interesting pair of German examples to compare are those of (56) and (57). Whereas the first can be translated directly into English, the second is untranslatable:

- (56) i. hinaus/heraus ins Freie
[MORE INFORMALLY: raus ins Freie]
ii. ins Freie hinaus/heraus
(57) i. hinaus/heraus aus dem Haus
[MORE INFORMALLY: raus aus dem Haus]
ii. aus dem Haus hinaus/heraus

In other words, while in English (*go/get*) *out into the open air* is normal, the sequence (*go/get*) *out(side) out of the house* is highly problematic and would have to be simplified to (*go/get*) *out of the house*.

Metaphorical uses of place expressions seem to exhibit the same phenomenon. Corresponding to the English phrase *in the middle of this crowd*, German has the possibilities of (58), using the expression *mitten in ...* for English *in the middle of*:

24. This phenomenon is part of the wider question of the ordering of clause constituents in the two languages: in English the basic constituent order is V + O + Adverbial, while in German the underlying order (best manifested in subordinate clauses) is Adverbial + O + V, once again the reverse of English, cf. Lenerz (1977), Hawkins (1988: 14–15).

- (58) i. mitten in dieser Menschenmenge
 ii. mitten drin in dieser Menschenmenge
 iii. mitten in dieser Menschenmenge drin.

In English the equivalents of (58ii) and (iii) (i.e. *in the middle of it in this crowd*, *in the middle of this crowd in it*) would not be possible in this sense. The conclusions we can draw about the two languages are that despite differences in inter-adverbial sequence in the clause, German place indicators are broadly similar to English ones, the only differences being that German has rather more possible postpositions, greater freedom to reorder the sequence of prepositional and adverb components, and finally greater freedom to use adverb and preposition phrases with similar meaning.²⁵

English itself has (ignoring troublesome words like *ago* and *hence*) a relatively simple structure for its place and time indicators. In their simple form these consist of a deictic adverbial element followed by an object-related prepositional element. Earlier we divided the adverbial element for place indicators into three types, according to whether it indicates distance from the speaker (as in *far away*, *quite close*) or orientation from the speaker (as in *out*, *over*, *up*, *down*, *round*, *across*, *ahead*) or pure deixis (*here*, *there*). The sequence of this list replicates the order in which they occur when there is more than one of them (potentially before a prepositional phrase), as in *far away over there (in the village)*. Of the three subvarieties the distancial type and the pure deictic type may occur alone, whereas the orientational type requires the presence of one of its fellows or of a prepositional phrase. As is well known, prepositional phrases of place subdivide into location (e.g. *in Zurich*) and direction, with the latter subdividing into origin (e.g. *from Basle*), path (e.g. *via Berne*) and destination (e.g. *to Geneva*), origin and path being optional supplements to destination. For time indicators (which we cannot cover here in detail) there is a similar, if slightly simpler structure, the general pattern of which can be illustrated with an example like *way back then in the 19th century*.

A summary of the structure of English space specification phrases can now be attempted in Figure 1. It can account for a phrase that goes slightly beyond our original brief: *(They live) far away up there in the hills*, or in the case of direction indicators *(They travelled) far away up there from the mill along the river to the port*. It demonstrates that place adverbs and prepositional phrases of place, since each is an optional element, can give the appearance of being in the same paradigm. Indeed, the place indicator question word *Where?* can elicit either the

25. This latter point is probably part of a more general tendency in German to use a more redundant mode of expression, as exemplified by expressions like *alle beide* ‘(*all) both’, or *auch* ‘also’ in combination with *ander-* ‘other’, e.g. *wie auch andere* ‘like others (??too)’.

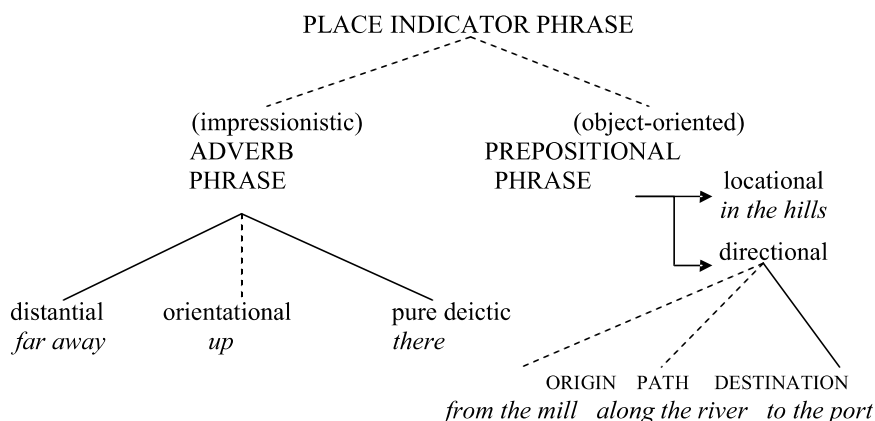


Figure 1. The structure of place specification phrases

Notes

1. Horizontal arrows represent options; (slanting) vertical lines represent constituents.
2. Continuous lines indicate obligatory constituents; broken lines indicate optional constituents.
3. Minor modifiers such as *right (up)*, *just (there)*, *straight (along)*, have been excluded.

adverb part or the prepositional part of the construction, or both. Equally the adverb proform *there* (a grammatical homonym of the deictic adverb *there*) can stand for either part of the construction, or both. But although they belong to the same general category, place adverb phrases and prepositional phrases are not so much mutually substitutable as combinable within the larger construction of place indicator. They are actors on the same stage, who sometimes appear in the same scene, but they have to know their roles and order of appearance.

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Structures with omitted prepositions

Semantic and pragmatic motivations*

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In Hebrew syntax, the verb may be linked to its complement by mediation of various prepositions such as *be-* “in”, *'im* “with”, or without mediation of prepositions (\emptyset , which in certain conditions, may be substituted by the direct object marker *'et*). The article discusses instances in which the addresser chooses to use a structure without a preposition, whether such structure exists alongside a structure with a preposition, or whether the addresser innovatively creates a structure without a preposition. The preference of the structure without a preposition is due to various semantic and pragmatic motivations, such as expressing a more complete action or an action with the addition of adverbial meaning of intensity, and elevating the entity that is indicated by the complement to a higher level of importance.

1. Introduction

In Hebrew syntax, the verb may be joined by both its obligatory and optional complements in two ways:

- (1) With a mediating preposition (such as: *'im* “with”, *be-* “in”), for example: *david nifgaš 'im rut* “David met with Ruth” – the preposition *'im* “with” mediates between the verb and its obligatory complement (indirect object); *david halax 'im rut* “David walked with Ruth” – the preposition “with” mediates between the verb and its optional complement (adverbial).
- (2) Without a mediating preposition, for example: *david kara sefer* “David read a book” – obligatory complement (direct object) without a mediating

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preposition; *david xayav lišon ševa ša'ot* “David must sleep seven hours” – optional complement (duration adverbial) without a mediating preposition. [In Hebrew syntax there is a rule that when the verb complement type (2) is definite, *'et* (the direct object marker [=DObjM]) mediates between the verb and its complement. For example, *david kara 'et ha-sefer* “David read (*'et*) the book”, *david xayav lišon 'et ha-ševa ša'ot šelo* “David must sleep (*'et*) his seven hours”.]

There are instances in which both ways of complementation may occur with the same verb, with no change of meaning. For instance, sentences (a) do not differ in meaning from sentences (b):¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(a) <i>david hitxil ba-'avoda</i>.²
David began in.the-work
“David began the work.”</p> | <p>(b) <i>david hitxil 'et ha-'avoda</i>.
David began DObjM the-work
“David began the work.”</p> |
| <p>(a) <i>david baxar be-yosi</i>.
David chose in-Yosi.
“David chose Yosi.”</p> | <p>(b) <i>david baxar 'et yosi</i>.
David chose DObjM Yosi.
“David chose Yosi.”</p> |

However, there are often cases with substantial semantic or pragmatic differences between a structure that includes a mediating preposition, and a structure without one, and choosing one or the other indicates certain considerations made by the addresser.³

This article analyses and explains cases in which the addresser prefers to use a structure without a preposition. In most of these cases, the language allows both ways of expression for the complement of the verb – the indirect complement (with a mediating preposition) and the direct complement (without a preposition) – and the addresser uses the direct complement. In other cases, the verb

1. See Rosén 1977: 121. In my opinion, there is a difference between the two uses. Sentences (a) represent a higher register than sentences (b).

2. The examples in this article are examples from contemporary Hebrew. Some are taken from live speech, some are from the media and some are spoken or written advertising texts, as well as poems. In the few cases that a source is not mentioned for a discussed example, the example is invented, but nonetheless, the structures are familiar structures, accepted by Hebrew speakers.

3. For criticism of the artificial distinction in Hebrew between an obligatory complement without a preposition – direct object – and with a preposition – indirect object, see for example Ornan 1979: 100; Rosén 1977: 107; Rubinstein 1971: 42; and Agmon-Fruchtman 1980: 35, 38. In contrast to these, others, for instance Sadka 1981: 133, keep that distinction. Actually, all stress the absence of a semantic difference between the two (there is no mention of a pragmatic difference). See Borochofsky 1998 on the distinction between direct and indirect complement. Some of the examples in this article also appear there.

normally licenses only an indirect complement, and the addresser innovates, creating a new structure without a preposition. One way or the other, the use of a direct complement serves a semantic or pragmatic need.

This latter phenomenon – creating a structure without the preposition – has become increasingly common in recent years, both in spoken Hebrew, and Hebrew used in advertising. The phrases created this way are shorter, unusual, and interesting; for instance, *medabrim šalom* “Talking Peace”, *toda še-tidlaktem paz!* “Thanks for fuelling Paz” (see discussion below). Nir (1990: 238–239) calls similar expressions “linguistic dissonance”, and specifies its advantages. For example, it produces a psychological effect of surprise, or a humorous effect, pleasurable to the recipient, and it enhances the memorability of the message. The present common use of such structures without a preposition in contemporary Hebrew is also influenced by English, in which such structures are quite acceptable, and are not unique or deviant.⁴

We will now present the various motivations for using a structure without a preposition, while at the same time we will clarify the differences between the two uses (semantic differences in Section 2, and pragmatic differences in Section 3). We would like to point out that the motivation behind a certain use is not always unambivalent and clear, as will be illustrated in some of the sentences below.

It should be mentioned that the addresser produces some constructions that lack prepositions with reference to other familiar expressions resembling the new one in structure or in sound. The creator of the new construction wishes to exploit this similarity in order to evoke the recipient’s association with the familiar expression. This matter will be clarified later in the article.

2. Semantic motivations

2.1 Expressing completeness in contrast to partiality⁵

Locative verbs (such as *leha’amis* “to load”) describe an event in which two participants are obligatory: a “patient” and a “place”. The usual and expected structure of sentences that include active locative verbs in Hebrew, as well as other languages,

4. For instance: “We fly El Al”, “I slept my vacation”. Talmy (1975) points out that the difference between the two forms is that the inversion of an element to a direct object creates a focus on that element.

5. Concerning the completeness/partiality effect see for instance Fillmore 1968:48, 1971; Party 1971:20–21; Anderson 1971; Levin 1993:2, 3 (ibid., many more), and in Hebrew, for example: Ornan 1979:102; Sadka 1978:191–194; Borochofsky 1998:17–19, 2001:236–241.

is a structure with the patient expressed as a direct complement, and the location expressed as an indirect complement (see sentences (1b) and (2b)).⁶ However, there is also a structure in which the location is expressed as a direct object (see sentences (1a) and (2a)). This structure is marked, and it is used by the addresser to express a more holistic action, carried out on a wider spatial area (while the other structure, the unmarked, may indicate whole or partial action):

- (1) a. *he'emasnu masa'it be-mekarerim.*
we.loaded truck with-refrigerators
"We loaded a truck with refrigerators."
b. *he'emasnu mekarerim 'al masa'it.*
we.loaded refrigerators on truck
"We loaded refrigerators on a truck."
- (2) a. *hem pinu 'et ha-xeder me-xafacim.*
they cleared DObjM the-room of-objects
"They cleared the room of objects."
b. *hem pinu xafacim me-ha-xeder.*
they cleared objects from-the-room
"They cleared objects from the room."

Non-locative verbs can also be linked to their object with or without a preposition, and here again, a structure without a preposition is chosen by an addresser to mark a more complete action, for example:

- (3) a. *david kara 'et ha-sefer.*
David read DObjM the-book
"David read the book."
b. *david kara ba-sefer.*
David read in.the-book
"David was reading in the book."⁷

Sentence (3a) designates a situation in which David finished reading the whole book, and sentence (3b) designates a situation in which David looked in the book, read part of it, but did not read it from beginning to end.

Concerning "objectification of the place" in Hebrew, see Sadka 1978, Chap. 4; Rubinstein 1982; and Borochofsky 1988, Chap. 3, 1998, 2001: 226–236.

6. On the expected syntactical roles see, for example, Borochofsky 2001: 82–87 and *ibid.*, referrals to other sources.

7. In order to get the partitive meaning in English we had to change the verb's tense into past progressive.

2.2 Indicating a content as opposed to indicating the theme of a content

Let us look at these sentences:

- (4) a. *siparti lo 'et ha-seret.*
I.told him DObjM the-movie
“I told him the movie.”
b. *siparti lo 'al ha-kibuc.*
I.told him about the-Kibbutz
“I told him about the Kibbutz.”
- (5) a. *david katav šir xadaš.* b. *david katav 'al ha-tiyul.*
David wrote poem new David wrote about the-trip
“David wrote a new poem.” “David wrote about the trip.”
- (6) *hu kol ha-zman medaber 'al ha-dvarim ve-lo 'et ha-dvarim.*
He all the-time talks about the-matters and-not DObjM the-matters
“He all the time talks about the matters and not the matters [themselves].”

The verbs in the sentences under discussion signify creating content, and transferring it. A content is expected to be realized in a content clause, as in the sentence “I told him **that once upon a time there was a king...**”. However, sometimes the content is realized by a noun phrase which is a general content word, for instance: “I told him a **story**”. The same applies to examples (4a) and (5a): the content words *seret* “movie” and *šir* “poem” summarize the entire content for the purpose of abridging, coherence, and so on.⁸ Such noun phrases, which replace a content clause, appear as direct complements of the verbs. However, when the addresser does not want to fully specify the content, but only a detail from it – the theme of the content, he raises this detail to a position of an indirect complement, by using a structure including a preposition (generally *'al* – “about”) between the verb and its complement,⁹ as in examples (4b) and (5b). This serves the addresser’s need to place part of the content in focus, for whatever reason. The full content might not be linguistically realized at all (“He wrote about the trip.”) or may appear next to the raised complement (“He wrote about the trip, that it is recommended for good walkers.”).

The female addresser who produced utterance (6) was speaking about a man she was introduced to. She later explained what she said by adding that the man “is not open, and does not express his real feelings, but speaks from his lips outwards, without personal, emotional involvement”. Hence, it is possible to see how

8. See for example Rubinstein 1968: 105, 1971: 83; Borochofsky 2001: 244–250.

9. See for example Rubinstein 1971, Chapter 4; Borochofsky 1980.

the direct object complement in this example is understood as expressing the things themselves, and the structure with the indirect complement is understood as expressing partial and indirect information.

The phenomenon exemplified in this section is similar to that mentioned in the previous section; the complement without a preposition refers to the whole content, even though it is in summarized form, in contrast to the complement with the preposition “about”, which refers only to part of the content.

In contemporary Hebrew, the examples of structures in which the addresser is innovative, using structures with a raised complement without a preposition, are increasing. In such structures, which we will discuss in the following section, the action is characterized by the addition of an adverbial meaning of intensity.

2.3 The addition of an adverbial meaning of intensity

In this section, too, we will discuss examples with a verb signifying an event in which one of the participants is a content. As said above, the expected syntactical completion for these verbs is a clause containing the content. However, the completion may be in the form of a noun phrase, whether a content word that refers to the whole content, in which case there is no preposition between that verb and the content word, or a noun phrase referring to part of the content to be emphasized (“raised complement”), in which case it is normally joined to the verb with the preposition *‘al* “about”.

Here we wish to show that in spoken language, and in the colorful language of poetry or advertising, the addresser may use the raised complement without the mediating preposition *‘al* “about”, and thus express intensity of the action signified by the verb. In fact, this can be viewed as a continuation of the ideas expressed by the direct complements in the previous sections, starting with the idea of the completeness of the location, expressed by a locative direct complement, followed by the idea of full content expressed by a content word which takes the direct object position, as opposed to the partitive nature of the place and content expressed by indirect complements. Here the addresser replaces the indirect raised complement by a direct raised complement, producing a deviant structure that expresses a stronger and more intensive action than the regular structure (seen in the b sentences):

- (7) a. *‘ani xoševet ‘et ha-šen.*
I think DObjM the-tooth
“I am thinking the tooth.”

- b. *'ani xoševet 'al ha-šen.*
 I think about the-tooth
 "I am thinking about the tooth."
- (8) a. *laxlom 'otax mul šamayix* b. *laxlom 'alayix*
 to.dream you against your.sky to.dream about.you
 "to dream you against your sky" "to dream about you"
- (9) a. *švu'on še-xošev 'eylat* b. *švu'on še-xošev 'al 'eylat*
 weekly that-thinks Eilat weekly that-thinks about Eilat
 "A weekly that thinks Eilat" "A weekly that thinks about Eilat"

Utterance (7a) was pronounced by a woman explaining why she does not need an anesthesia injection, even when having a tooth extracted. She explained: "I **think** the tooth, I identify with it, concentrate on it entirely, and so I am able to bear the pain without an injection". The recipient understands this is a case of exceptionally intense thought, and the meaning of the verb is similar to "concentrate on" or "identify with". Therefore, the verb in the given context undergoes an ad hoc semantic shift.

The verb "to dream" in example (8a) taken from a poem by Ehud Manor called *lalexet ševi 'axarayix* "To follow you, captivated", is a verb of mental perception. The expected structure for the verb "dream" is NP + *dream* + clause, as in the sentence "The boy dreamt they bought him a real plane". As above-mentioned, instead of a clause, a content noun may appear as the direct object, as in the example: "The boy dreamt a dream". If the addresser wishes to realize the main part only, the theme of the content, he may realize it as a raised complement with "about", as in "I dreamt about you last night". Therefore, normally there is no direct complementation of a concrete noun (or a pronoun, as in the discussed example) after the verb. The expression "to dream you" in the poem attracts our attention by its deviance, and assumes a slightly different meaning: the man dreams about the woman with such intensity that she consumes the entire dream. This usage is consistent with the semantic idea of completeness (Section 2.1 above) marked by the absence of a preposition between the verb and its locative complement.¹⁰

Example (9a) was taken from a billboard advertising a new magazine to be published in Eilat. According to the advert, it will be an "open, interesting magazine, making room for various ideas that may interest potential readers from Eilat. Its purpose is to deliver light reading material on subjects behind the news to the

10. Sometimes it is hard to decide which of the functions is relevant in a certain case. In example (8a) it is probable that the special use emphasizes the complement, the woman whom he dreams about (see the examples in Section 3.1) and not only expresses greater intensity of action.

residents of Eilat.” It seems that the language of advertising here uses the deviant structure – the raised complement without a preposition, instead of a complement with “about” (like example (9b)) – to draw the attention of the recipients, as well as give the verb “to think” an additional intensified meaning. The weekly concentrates on Eilat, on things of interest to the people of Eilat, it identifies with their needs etc.

The semantic addition expressed in the examples under discussion in this section resembles the pragmatic motivation – “emphasizing the complement”, and “intensifying the whole expression” – to be discussed in the next section, but it seems that here we are faced with the influence of the structure on the meaning of the verb in the sentence. That is, by changing the syntactical structure, the verb gets an adverbial addition [+intensity] that changes its specific meaning ad hoc. However, the entire expression is emphasized and attracts attention because of the deviation. In the following sections, the special syntactic structure produces prominence and emphasis only, and thus we see pragmatic motivation in its use.

3. Pragmatic motivation

In previous sections, we claimed that placing the complement after the verb, and not after a preposition, alters the meaning of the expression so that the action is understood as more complete and/or intensive. In this section, we will claim that using a structure without a preposition is also very common for pragmatic needs, such as to highlight a component or an entire expression. One may suppose that this use is connected to the semantic process previously discussed. In Section 3.1 there are sentences in which various optional adverbials of the verb (such as location, reason, and means) are placed as direct complements of the verb without a preposition, as opposed to their regular realization as indirect complements, i.e. as adverbial prepositional phrases. Placing the adverbial component in the position of a direct object elevates it to such a degree of importance, that it is understood as one of the obligatory participants, as one of the semantic arguments. In most cases, in this manner the rhematic role of the complement is made prominent. Clearly, the deviant nature of the structure contributes to attracting the recipient’s attention to the entire expression. In light of this, it is natural that this usage characterizes colorful spoken language, poetry, and advertising language.

In Section 3.2 there are cases in which we do not feel any special emphasis on the object represented by the verb complement, but the deviant structure highlights the event signified by the verb, or increases the power, intensity, and uniqueness of the whole expression.

3.1 Emphasizing the complement

In this section we will discuss examples in which adverbial complement of the verb is realized in the form of a direct object, that is to say, the preposition that normally comes before such an adverbial is not lexically realized. The deviant structure makes it possible for the addresser to draw the attention of the recipient to what is signified by the direct complement, and thus it is common in cases where the addresser wishes to promote a commodity or product, and to make it stand out. Indeed, in many examples, the verb complement is a proper noun, and then the intention is clearly to use the expression to advertise the brand or the commodity referred to by it.

Diverse prepositions are elided in the cases mentioned above: the locative preposition *be-* “in”/“on”/“at” (examples (10)–(11)),¹¹ the instrumental preposition *’im* “with”¹² (examples (14)–(15)), and more.¹³

Locative adverbials

In recent years, it is customary for the staff in Paz gas stations to complete service with the sentence:

- (10) *toda še-tidlaktem paz!*
 thanks that-you.fuelled Paz
 “Thanks for fuelling Paz!”

This is a farewell formula aimed at advertising Paz, the supplier whose gasoline the driver has just purchased.¹⁴

11. See Levin 1993: 1.4.1. “locative preposition drop alteration”.

12. See Levin 1993: 1.4.2. “with preposition drop alteration”.

13. Some adverbials do not occur with a preposition. Take for instance an adverbial of duration of time: *hu xayav lišon ševa ša’ot*, *’axeret kaše lo letafked* “He must sleep seven hours, otherwise it is hard for him to function” *hu xayav lišon ’et ha-ševa ša’ot šelo* “He must sleep his seven hours” (Rosén 1977: 120; Borochofsky 1998: 23). Also a causal adverbial after some verbs of emotion, signifying the causer of the emotion, may either appear with a preposition or without one, thus it is possible to say *hu ko’ev biglal ha-mikre* “he aches because of the incident” and *hu ko’ev ’et ha-mikre* “he aches the incident”; *hu yare me-ha-’atid* “He is afraid of the future” and *hu yare ’et ha-’atid* “He is afraid [of] the future” (On this Sadka 1978: 63–64; Borochofsky 1998: 23). Here we will give examples with adverbials whose usual realization is with a preposition, and the elision creates a special structure, which highlights the adverbial.

14. Other companies also use this formula, for example *toda še-tidlaktem sonol!* “Thanks for fuelling Sonol!”, as said by the service assistant at Sonol-owned gas stations, or *toda še-tidlaktem dor* “Thanks for fuelling Dor” – the sign at the exit of a Dor gas station.

An advertisement for Kapulsky Café (a chain of restaurants in Israel) uses the special structure discussed here, to draw attention to the place that the advertiser wishes to highlight. The preposition is omitted and the adverbial takes the form of the direct object:

- (11) *ba li le'exol kapulski.*
comes to.me to.eat kapulsky
“I feel like eating Kapulsky.”

Instead of:

- (11) *ba li le'exol be-kapulski.*
comes to.me to.eat at-kapulsky
“I feel like eating at Kapulsky.”

A causal adverbial

Example (12) is taken from the poem *lalexet ševi 'axarayix* “To follow you, captivated” by Ehud Manor:

- (12) *lix'ov 'otax ve-šuv lehit'ahev*
to.ache you and-again to.fall.in.love
“to ache you and to fall in love again”¹⁵

The poet indicates the reason for pain in a different way from the accepted form; instead of using a prepositional phrase: *lix'ov biglalex* “to ache because of you”, he creates a structure with a direct complement. The deviant form stresses what is signified by the complement and creates a feeling that the woman is not only an indirect external cause of the emotion, but is part of the pain itself. Namely, it seems to be difficult to separate the pain from the entity that causes it.

An instrumental adverbial

The next three examples are taken from advertising that aims at encouraging the consumer public to make use of services, or to acquire products of the companies whose names appear as noun phrases connected directly to the verb. Instead of saying “Celebrating with Pikanti / with Pikanti salads”, “Thank you for flying with El Al Company / in a plane belonging to El Al Company”, and “Sleep with/on a Paradise mattress”, prepositions do not appear, and the complement that follows the verb directly is perceived as unique and outstanding:

15. This is one of the intermediate cases mentioned in Section 1 above. It seems that one may find in this utterance an expression of strong emotion, or an emphasis on the whole utterance.

- (13) *xogegim pikanti*
celebrating Pikanti
“Celebrating Pikanti”
- (14) *lišon paradayz*
to.sleep Paradise
“To sleep Paradise.”
- (15) *toda še-tastem el 'al*
thanks that-you.flew El Al
“Thank you for flying El-Al”¹⁶

It should be added that many deviant phrases use an existing structure in the language as a basis, and thus exploit the recipients’ familiarity with that structure to achieve the rapid absorption of the new phrase, to create a kind of amusing association, integrating the form and the meaning, and to influence recipients subconsciously by evoking the original phrase. Thus, for example, “Celebrating Pikanti” seems to be built on the construction of “Celebrating Independence”, and so in addition to rapid absorption, a kind of game is transmitted to the recipient, a feeling that “Pikanti” is a kind of festival. It seems that “To sleep Paradise” is built on the construction of “to sleep well”. The addresser therefore achieves a rapid absorption of the phrase, a kind of game, and even manages to convey the impression that “Paradise” = well.

In the following example, the raised complement (and not the adverbial, as in other examples in this section) appears without the preposition *'al* “about” and in this manner emphasis is placed on the brand name in the core of the advertisement. The example is taken from a recent television advertisement. The entire advertisement is devoted to emphasizing and promoting the El Al Airline Company, and the technique used to reach this goal, is to place the company name El Al directly after the verb “think”. Before the final sentence, which contains the punch line of the advertisement, there are some sentences in which the verb appears in the expected structure, with a raised complement (verb + *'al* “about” + NP). Therefore, the change from a regular structure to one without a preposition adds an element of surprise. It should be noted that the nearer one gets to the punch line, the sentences become shorter, with the last sentence particularly short, with its brevity contributing to its uniqueness:

16. “Paradise” could be understood as a place (“to sleep on a Paradise mattress”) or as an instrument (“to sleep well with the help of a Paradise mattress”); El Al could also be the instrument (“Thank you for flying with the El Al airplane”) or a place (“Thank you for flying in an El Al airplane”).

- (16) *taxševu 'al xufša ba-mekomot haxi yafim ba-olam.*
taxševu 'al xufša ba-mekomot haxi romantiyim ba-olam.
taxševu 'al ha-mekomot haxi ksumim ba-olam.
ve-axšav taxševu 'el 'al.
 “Think of a vacation in the most beautiful places in the world.
 Think of a vacation in the most romantic places in the world.
 Think of the most enchanting places in the world.
 And now think El Al.”

This example is an intermediate case between the motivation “highlighting the complement” discussed in this section, and an additional adverbial predicate of intensity, as previously mentioned in Section 2.3. As in Section 2.3 the raised complement appears without a preposition; but here the highlighting of the product/service is achieved, and not the intensity of the thought. It seems that when the complement is a proper noun – the name of a company or brand – attention is shifted to it and thus its name is highlighted. Here, intensity of thought seems secondary.

3.2 Emphasizing the activity or increasing the intensity of the entire phrase

Contrary to the emphasized complements in the previous section, which were optional complements, here there are optional and obligatory complements. The addresser designates an important argument without its usual preposition, transforming it into a direct complement. The whole phrase becomes a kind of slogan. As in the examples of the previous section, the whole phrase stands out because it is deviant, concise and slogan-like. Nonetheless, it was decided to separate the two types of phrases, because it seems that the addresser here has no wish to advertise or stress an entity, but rather to produce a unique phrase that makes the whole event prominent.

Example (17) is extensively discussed by Trommer 1995:

- (17) *makabi tel 'aviv nicxa 'et ha-misxak.*
 Maccabi Tel Aviv beat DObjM the-game
 “Maccabi Tel Aviv won the game.”

Trommer (ibid.: 100) claims that whoever says

- kvuca X nicxa 'et ha-misxak*
 team X beat DObjM the-game
 “Team X won the game.”

instead of saying

kvuca X nicxa (et kvuca Y) ba-misxak
 team X beat (DObjM team Y) in.the-game
 “Team X beat (team Y) in the game”,

raises the level of the circumstance of the event (a competitive game) to the status of direct object. The focus is turned to the circumstance, highlighting it to the level of almost a “patient”. It gives the impression that the activity is performed to the game, and not against the rival team that took part in it, as though the winning team controlled the game completely. We chose to discuss this example in this section and not in the previous one, because it seems that this construction emphasizes the event of total victory, and not only the game. Such use of the verb “to win”, has been completely grammaticalized in written and spoken Hebrew, and it is already hard to discern its original pragmatic function.

- (18) *medabrim šalom*¹⁷
 Talking peace

The expression “Talking peace” was used by the Israeli media as a title of a corner in the daily news, instead of the usual construction: “Talking about peace”. This was used in the year 1993, during the talks prior to the Oslo accords. As presented above in Sections 2.2–2.3, here too the verb receives a raised complement, and it is a direct object and not a prepositional phrase with *‘al* “about”. The deviant structure creates an expression with a rhetoric force that imparts the uniqueness and festiveness of the event of the peace talks. Once again, as mentioned in Section 3.1, it seems there is an intentional link with the expression *‘osim šalom* “Making peace”, creating a feeling in the recipients that the talks about peace are not just all words.¹⁸

For some years, in the days before the Israel Independence Day, notices such as the following have appeared all over the country:

- (19) *šarim ‘acma’ut / šatim ‘acma’ut / rokdīm ‘acma’ut*
 “Singing Independence” / “Sailing Independence” / “Dancing Independence”

17. A further issue that may be discussed is the definiteness of the phrases discussed in this article, “Talking Peace”, for instance. In such phrases, there is no possibility of adding an article (in Hebrew), and therefore the complement does not seem to be the usual direct object.

18. On Biblical expressions similar in form but different in function, see Borochofsky 1998: 22.

These notices invite the public to events that will take place on Independence Day: Sing-alongs, sailing, and dancing. Instead of using an adverbial prepositional phrase: “Singing, sailing, and dancing **on Independence Day**”, the advertiser creates an expression without a preposition which is deviant and unique, concise and intensive. Here too, it seems there is a play on the more customary expression *xogegim 'et yom ha-’acma’ut* “Celebrating the Independence Day”. The verbs in example (19) indicate the suggested manner in which to celebrate the Holiday (by singing, sailing, and dancing). Apparently, the advertiser is playing on the more customary expression: *xogegim 'acma’ut* “Celebrating Independence”, which itself is an abbreviated form of the expression: *xogegim 'et yom ha-’acma’ut* “Celebrating the Independence Day”. The verbs appearing in example (19) indicate the manner in which the advertiser suggests celebrating the Holiday (by singing, sailing, dancing). Placing the verb indicating the manner of celebration instead of the verb “celebrate” – as the expression in the background is “Celebrating Independence” – subconsciously conveys to the recipients that these activities are a kind of celebration.

In example (20), the addresser is also relying on an idiomatic phrase:

- (20) *pica 'al levenim, le-’anašim še-mevinim pica*
 pizza on bricks, for-people that-understand pizza
 “Pizza on bricks, for people who understand pizza.”

Using the verb *mevinim* “understand” in the sense of “being familiar with the subject”, “being a specialist on the subject”, usually receives a complement of the preposition *be-* “in” in Hebrew, and thus the regular sentence is likely to be:

[...] *le-’anašim še-mevinim be-pica*
 [...] for-people that-understand in-pizza

Using the structure discussed (without a preposition) is supported by the Hebrew idiomatic phrase

lehavin 'inyan
 to.understand matter
 “to understand matters”

of similar meaning to “being smart”. Hence, in addition to the fact that the direct complementation increases the intensity of the entire phrase, the recipient’s association is that the person buying this pizza is considered as a person that “understands matters”, meaning “smart”.

The obligatory complement of the verb “feel” in its new usage in Hebrew – apparently a translation from its similar use in English – is usually an adjective: “It feels right/wonderful”.¹⁹

In example (21) the coach training the class wants to simulate the feeling aroused when putting a ball under the nape of the neck, and says:

- (21) *simu 'et ha-kadur mitaxat ha-'oref. ze margiš karit.*
 put DOBJM the-ball under the-nape it feels pillow
 “Put the ball under the nape. It feels [like] a pillow.”

A few seconds later she says: *nu, naxon še-ze margiš kmo karit?* “Well, isn’t it true that it feels **like** a pillow?” Thus it is confirmed that the omitted preposition is “like”. By omitting the comparison word, the resulting expression is short, deviant, and attracts attention. The appearance of the complement without the preposition “like” highlights the expression presenting the comparison as more intensive. It is not only “like”, but more than that, it is almost the thing itself: not only similarity, but almost identity.

A similar case is utterance (22). The phrase was said to a man who wanted to buy a gift for the woman he loves. A friend of his suggests that he go into a shop and think like a woman, and the phrase she produces in the end is:

- (22) *taxšov 'iša!*
 think woman
 “Think [like] a woman!”

4. Conclusion

Many verbs in Hebrew present a difference of meaning when licensing direct and indirect complementations. The direct complement indicates a more intense, complete and direct connection, between the entity signified by the direct complement and the activity signified by the verb; it turns the focus to the complement and gives the whole expression a concise character, assertive and interesting.

Contemporary Hebrew and mainly the spoken language and advertising language exploit the potential of this alternation. Thus, we increasingly find more

19. Sometimes this verb has (in Hebrew) two complements (a prepositional phrase and an adjective or a noun):

ze margiš li ta'ut
this feels to.me mistake
 “This feels to me [like] a mistake”.

expressions that create an innovative structure, with a direct complementation. The structure is accepted as modern and creative, engendering interest and surprise by its deviant form.

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A closer look at the Hebrew construct and free locative PPs

The analysis of *mi*-locatives

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Most Hebrew locative P(reposition)s are directly followed by their complement. However, the complement of Hebrew locatives prefixed by *mi*, referred to here as *mi*-locatives (e.g. *mixuc* “outside”) often, but not always, is introduced by the light P *le*. Taking direct complementation to be an instance of a prepositional Construct State, with the occurrence of *le* indicating its free counterpart, the paper defines the roles of the prefix *mi* in the formation of *mi*-locatives, and accounts for the distribution of *le* with them. Furthermore, based on the unique ability of *mi*-locatives to license implied complements, and assuming that locative phrases are instantiated in a nominal (extended) projection headed by the null noun *Place*, the prefix *mi* is argued to be a D(eterminer)-prefix, realizing the formal feature of this head in the (extended) projection of (Hebrew) locative PPs.

1. Introduction

Most Hebrew locative P(reposition)s, similarly to their counterparts across languages, are directly followed by their nominal complement (1).¹

- (1) *leyad ha-bayit*
near the-house
'near the house'

However, as observed in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear), a particular subset of Hebrew locatives, namely those prefixed by *mi* (pronounced as *me* when

1. This is true not only of locative prepositions, but of Hebrew prepositions in general.

preceding certain vowels), is often followed by the light P *le* which introduces their complement (2):²

- (2) *mitaxat* *le ecim*
 miunder *le trees*
 ‘under trees’

Hebrew locatives, thus, may be assumed to enter two syntactic frames, represented schematically in (3) (DP is the Determiner Phrase, namely an argumental nominal phrase):

- (3) The two frames of Hebrew locatives
 i. P DP
 ii. P *le* DP

The group of locatives prefixed by *mi* (henceforth, *mi*-locatives) may be further divided into two groups. One group includes *mi*-locatives that have a distinct counterpart without the prefix *mi*: (*mi*)*taxat*, “under”, (*mi*)*mul*, “opposite”, *me’al/al*, “above”/“on”. Based on the behavior of this group, it appears that the occurrence of *le* is closely related to the occurrence of the prefix *mi*; *le* is grammatical with the locative forms prefixed by *mi* (4a), but not with their counterparts lacking *mi* (4b). (Unlike the asterisk within the parentheses, as in (4b), which indicates ungrammaticality, an asterisk outside the parentheses, as in (5a) for instance, indicates that the optionality of the element in the parentheses is ungrammatical, that is to say the element is obligatory.)

- (4) a. *mitaxat/mimul* *le ecim*
 miunder/miopposite *le trees*
 b. *taxat/mul* (**le*) *ecim*
 under/opposite *le* trees
 ‘under/opposite trees’

2. The prefix *mi*, although homophonous with the directional preposition *mi*- ‘from’, is semantically vacuous. This is particularly clear below, where both the directional *el* ‘to’ and the prefix *mi* occur, and the sentence is not contradictory in any sense; it is completely natural and fully grammatical.

hu hitgalgel el mitaxat le ecim
 he rolled to *miunder* *le trees*
 ‘It/he rolled under the trees.’

Interestingly, the occurrence of *le* with *mi*-locatives of this group is obligatory for *mimul*, “opposite”, but for *mitaxat*, “under”, and *me’al*, “above” it is highly preferred, but not fully obligatory (5):³

- (5) a. *mimul* *(*le*) *batim gvohim ve-atikim*
 opposite (*le*) houses tall and old
 b. *me’al/mitaxat* (*le*) *batim gvohim ve-atikim*
 above/under (*le*) houses tall and old
 ‘above/under tall and old houses’

The other group includes *mi*-locatives that do not have a distinct counterpart, namely either only the locative form with *mi* exists (e.g. *me’axorey*, “behind”, *mi-yamin*, “to the right”, *mixuc*, “outside”, *mi’ever*, “across”), or there are two distinct forms, both of which can bear the prefix *mi* (e.g. (*mi*)*saviv*/*(mi)**sviv*, “around”).⁴ In this group *le* occurs obligatorily with some locatives (6a), but not with all of them (6b):

- (6) a. *mixuc/miyamin/mi’ever* *(*le*) *ecim*
 outside/to the right/across *le* trees
 ‘outside/to the right of/across trees’
 b. *meaxorey/sviv* *(*le*) *ecim*
 behind /around *le* trees
 ‘behind/around trees’

Further, following the observation in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear), it appears that the occurrence of the prefix *mi* is related not only to the light P *le*, but also to the ability of the locative to occur without an overtly realized nominal complement; only locatives prefixed by *mi* can occur with a null complement (7), but, crucially, not all of them (8):⁵

- (7) *hu sam et ha-tikim miyamin/misaviv/mitaxat/me’al* // **sviv* // **taxat* // **al* // **leyad*
 he put ACC the-bags to the right/around/under/above // around/under/on/near

3. An additional preposition which occurs obligatorily with *le* is *miba’ad*, ‘through’, formed from a non-locative preposition *ba’ad*, ‘for’. It is beyond the present discussion, denoting exclusively path, rather than location.

4. To be more precise, the addition of *mi* to *saviv* is indeed fully acceptable, but its addition to *sviv* is less so, subject to variation across speakers.

5. I assume that when the complement of the discussed locatives is not pronounced, it is nevertheless implied, namely present in the semantics of the locative PP (for a more detailed discussion, see Section 4.2).

- (8) **hu sam et ha-tikim misviv/mixuc/me'axorey*
 he put ACC the-bags around/outside/behind

Finally, in contrast to the aforementioned *mi*-locatives from both groups, which can occur with a null complement (7), as well as with an overt one ((5a), (6a)), there are locative forms, sometimes referred to as adverbial locatives, that cannot possibly take a complement, regardless of the occurrence of *le* (9):

- (9) **hu sam et ha-tikim baxuc/bifnim (le) bayit*
 he put ACC the-bags outside/inside (*le*) house

Based on the above, the following questions arise:

- What is the connection between the occurrence of *le* and the prefix *mi*?
- Why for some *mi*-locatives is the occurrence of *le* obligatory but for others it is optional?
- Why *mi* is necessary for the locatives to be able to occur without an overt complement?
- In what way do the adverbial locative elements, occurring obligatorily without a complement, differ from the other locatives?

The goal of this study is to address all these questions, providing a uniform account for all of them. The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2 I present the background assumptions of the study, which include the nominal structure of locative phrases to be adopted here, as well as the analysis of Hebrew locatives developed in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear). Based on this, Section 3 shows that the occurrence of *le* in Hebrew locative PPs, rather than the prefixation by *mi*, is the diagnostics for a free (*mi*)-locative, unable to check the Case of the DP complement by itself. In Section 4 the role(s) of *mi* in the formation of *mi*-locatives are discussed, and its morpho-syntactic status defined; it is shown that the interaction between the roles of *mi*- in the formation of *mi*-locatives and its hypothesized status as a D-morpheme underlies the ability of (some) *mi*-locatives to occur with a null complement. Finally, the fact that adverbial locatives never occur with any kind of complement is attributed to their argument structure as the lexicalizations of the nominal head within the structure of locative PPs. The discussion is summarized in Section 5.

2. Background assumptions

Following the analyses of Hebrew locative PPs in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear) and Botwinik-Rotem (to appear), there are two major assumptions to be adopted here.⁶

First, the two frames in which Hebrew locatives participate (3) correspond to the (prepositional) Construct State (CS) and Free State (FS), respectively.

Second, locative PPs are instantiated in a nominal extended projection, headed by an abstract noun, marked here as *Place*.

In what follows I will mention the empirical and theoretical considerations which lead to these assumptions and which are relevant for the present discussion.

2.1 The (nominal) structure of locative PPs

Ascribing the locative relation directly to a locative P, it is commonly assumed that locative prepositions take the following DP as their complement (10).

- (10) The commonly assumed structure of locative PPs

$[_{PP} [_P \textit{leyad}]]$	$[_{DP} \textit{ha-yam}]$
near	the-sea

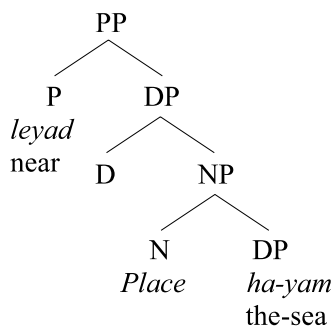
However, based on the observation that Greek locatives behave similarly to adjectival modifiers, Terzi 2005 argues that (Greek) locative phrases are, in fact, instantiated in the extended nominal structure, headed by a null N *Place* (with an empty determiner) (cf. Kayne 2004 for English *here* and *there*, Noonan 2005; Terzi 2005, 2006; Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi to appear; Botwinik-Rotem to appear). Thus, the DP referred to as the complement of P is merged not with P, but with N-*Place*, as in (11) below.⁷

6. Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear) is a comparative study of Hebrew and Greek locatives. For the present discussion, I will focus on the aspects of this analysis which are relevant for Hebrew locatives.

7. For some preliminary evidence supporting the nominal structure across languages, see Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear).

(11) The structure of locative PPs to be adopted here (simplified)

[_{PP} P [_{DP} D [_{NP} *Place* DP]]]



Botwinik-Rotem (to appear) provides the semantic underpinning for the presence of the nominal head in the structure of locatives. She observes that (Hebrew) locative PPs, unlike other PPs, behave as independent predicates, namely as constituents with an external semantic role. On the assumption that P is a functional category (cf. Grimshaw 2000; Baker 2003; Botwinik-Rotem 2004), and hence is not involved in theta-role assignment (Chomsky 1981), Botwinik-Rotem (to appear) argues that this external semantic role originates in the denotation of N-*Place*. Specifically, it is assumed that the noun *Place* heading the (extended) projection of the locative PP (see (11)) defines three semantic slots: a Possessor slot (satisfied by “the sea” in “near the sea”), a spatial relation slot (satisfied by the locative expression, “near” in “near the sea”) and an external referential slot (referred to as *R* in the works of Williams 1981; Higginbotham 1985; di Sciullo and Williams 1987). Roughly speaking, the locative expressions like *leyad* “near”, *me’axorey* “behind”, *mitaxat* “under”, etc. are taken to satisfy the spatial relation slot in the denotation of *Place*, and generate the set of individuals (or events) standing in the particular spatial relation (“near”, in our case) to the location of an individual (for details, see Botwinik-Rotem to appear).

Let us turn now to the two syntactic frames in which Hebrew locatives enter, clarifying what underlies their availability.

2.2 Hebrew construct state and free state locatives:

Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear)

As mentioned above, most Hebrew locatives combine directly with their nominal complement (frame (i)), but some of them, namely *mi*-locatives, use the

prepositional morpheme *le*, which introduces their nominal complement (frame (ii), repeated in (12)).

- (12) The two frames of Hebrew locatives
- | | | |
|-----|----------------|--------------------|
| i. | P DP | (prepositional CS) |
| ii. | P <i>le</i> DP | (prepositional FS) |

The main claim of the analysis in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear), that the two structures correspond to the Construct State (CS) and Free State (FS), respectively is inspired by Neeleman and Reinhart (1997)'s suggestion that Case domains can be defined either in the syntax, or by the prosodic structure of the PF component, and by Siloni 2002b, who argues that the domain of the Prosodic Word (PWD) is the phonological domain for genitive Case checking in Hebrew.⁸

Specifically, frame (i) (DP-complementation) is argued to give rise to Case-licensing at PF, because the locative and the following nominal form a CS, which constitutes a single PWD (Siloni 2002b), namely the relevant genitive Case checking domain at PF, whereas in frame (ii) the light preposition *le* is considered a formal syntactic element that checks or marks the Case of its nominal complement. A few words regarding this division, as pertaining to Hebrew locatives are in order.

The characterizing property of constructs is that their head is a stressless weak form, phonologically dependent on the nonhead member. Under common assumptions regarding prosodic domains, the head of the construct does not constitute a PWd in itself, as it lacks main stress. Rather, it is part of the subsequent word, forming a prosodic word (PWd) with the genitive member of the construct as shown in (13).⁹

- (13) a. [_{DP} *beyt ha-mora*]_{PWD} nominal CS
house the-teacher
'the teacher's house'

8. The choice between the syntactic or the prosodic domain may be parametric depending on the morphological inventory of the language. The phonological representation includes a prosodic structure consisting of prosodic categories such as syllable, foot, prosodic word, phonological phrase, intonational phrase, utterance. The mapping between syntactic structure and prosodic structure above the foot and below the intonational phrase refers to edges of syntactic constituents. Prosodic words are aligned with syntactic words and phonological phrases with maximal projections (Selkirk 1995). Alignment can be either at the left or at the right edge of the relevant syntactic domain, depending on the language (it is at the right edge in Hebrew).

9. The Construct State is well known in association with nominals (see Siloni 2002b for a full list of references). However, Siloni (2002a) throws light on the crosscategorical nature of the phenomenon in Hebrew, arguing that any head that does not bear tense specification can be a construct head (i.e., N, A, P and participial V).

- b. [pp *lifney* *ha-šulxan*]_{PWD}] prepositional CS
in front the-table
‘in front of the table’
- c. *yeladim*_{PWD} [VP *nos’eý* *dgalim*]_{PWD}] verbal CS
children carrying flags
‘children carrying flags’
- d. *yeladim*_{PWD} [AP *kxuleý* *eynaim*]_{PWD}] adjectival CS
children blue eyes
‘children with blue eyes’

On the assumption that prepositions are members of a functional category (Selkirk 1995; Botwinik-Rotem 2004), they are phonologically weak, hence appropriate CS heads (some of them even occur with the typical construct ending *-ey*: e.g. *lifney*, ‘in front’ (13b), *me’axorey*, ‘behind’).

Importantly, unlike nouns, which can have a free or a construct form (14a), most prepositions are invariantly construct heads (14b).¹⁰ Thus, they are usually followed directly by a DP, as in frame (i), and give rise to a CS, defining a PWd, namely a phonological domain in which genitive Case is licensed.

- (14) a. *pney ha-yalda/(ha-) panim šel ha-yalda*
face (CS) the-girl/the-face (FS) of the-girl
'the face of the girl'
b. *lifney ha-šulxan/*lepanim (šel/le) ha-šulxan*¹¹
in front (CS) the-table/in front (FS) (of/le) the-table
'in front of the table'

The (nominal) FS (15a), unlike the CS (15b), is not a single PWD, because the free head-noun (*bayit* ‘house’) has its own main stress, and therefore constitutes a PWD of its own (while the following DP is part of another PWD). Consequently, the genitive Case of the DP *ha-mora* ‘the teacher’ in (15a) below cannot be licensed at PF in a PWD, and is accommodated in the syntax via the preposition *šel* ‘of’.¹²

10. In nominal constructs, the loss of stress may trigger further phonological changes. For instance, the CS masculine plural ending is *-ey*, while the free form ends with *-im* (*pkidey* vs. *pkidim*, 'clerks'). CS masculine singular and feminine plural have no typical construct state endings, but might involve vowel reduction (fem.pl: *banot* vs. *bnot*, 'girls'; masc.sg.: *sefer* 'book' remains the same in both forms). If any, Ps exhibit only the *-ey* ending (modulo the preposition *saviv* 'around', that exhibits vowel reduction, see the later discussion).

11. The *p-f* alternation is due to the Hebrew spirantization (not strictly obeyed in Modern Hebrew). Thus, /p/ is the underlying phoneme and [f] its allomorph.

12. Whether the preposition *šel* 'of' is a structural Case-checker, or rather the marker of genitive Case is debatable (see Borer 1984 and Siloni 1997, 2002a, for different views).

- (15) a. *bayit*_{PWD} *šel ha-mora*_{PWD}
 house (FS) of the-teacher
 b. *beyt ha-mora*_{PWD}
 house (CS) the-teacher
 ‘(the) house of the teacher’

It is well known that the CS does not allow any elements to intervene between the head of the construct and its genitive member (cf. Siloni 2002b and references cited therein). Therefore, viewing frame (ii), which includes the intervening element *le* (16), not as a CS, but rather as an instance of its free counterpart (the FS), is only natural.

- (16) *hu af me'al le batim*
 he flew above *le* houses
 ‘He flew above houses.’

The parallelism between the nominal free and construct states and the two prepositional frames ((i) and (ii)) is further supported by the locative preposition (*mi*)*saviv* ‘around’. This particular preposition is instrumental to making the relevant point transparent, as it has distinct free and construct forms; *saviv* is the free form, whereas *sviv* is its construct counterpart.¹³ As shown in (17a), *saviv* is construed with *le*, but *sviv* is not (17b). Given that *sviv* has to form a CS with its complement, the impossibility to use *le* in (17b) indicates that the occurrence of *le* disrupts the construct. In other words, the incompatibility of *le* with a construct P-head (17b) is on a par with the incompatibility of *šel* with a construct head in the nominal domain (17d), while the grammaticality of *le* in (17a) parallels the FS with *šel* in the nominal domain (17c).

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| (17) a. | <i>hu tiyel saviv *(le) batim</i> | Frame (ii) |
| | he walked around <i>le</i> houses | |
| b. | <i>hu tiyel sviv *(le) batim</i> | Frame (i) |
| | he walked around <i>le</i> houses | |
| | ‘He walked around houses.’ | |
| c. | <i>sfarim *(šel) yeladim</i> | FS |
| | books (FS) of children | |
| d. | <i>sifrey *(šel) yeladim</i> | CS |
| | books (CS) of children | |
| | ‘books of children’ | |

13. As mentioned, the prefix *mi* is optional with both forms.

Based on the above, *mi*-locatives participating in frame (ii) are concluded to be on a par with free nouns. Consequently, the (genitive) Case of the DP following these locatives cannot be licensed at PF, as free elements, by definition, do not form a CS. Moreover, on the assumption that free nouns and locatives participating in frame (ii) do not carry Case-features, a distinct syntactic element is required to check the Case of the DP complement: this element is the light preposition *šel* in the nominal domain and *le* in the domain of locatives.¹⁴

The free status of these locatives is attributed in the discussed analysis to their being complex, bi-morphemic elements, consisting of a locative head and the prefix *mi*. As such, these locatives are hypothesized to be phonologically heavy, constituting a PWd on their own:

- (18) *mitaxat*]_{PWd} *le ec*]_{PWd}
 under *le tree*

Apart from clarifying the availability of frame (ii), the analysis derives the fact previously unaccounted for that only these particular locatives can occur without a phonetically realized complement (19). Specifically, most Hebrew prepositions cannot occur without an overt complement because they are construct heads, hence phonologically dependent on the non-head member of the construct, exactly like the nominal construct heads (e.g. in the nominal domain: **sifrey*, “books-CS”). The ability of the complex *mi*-locatives to occur without a phonetically realized complement, thus, follows by virtue of their free status.

- (19) *hu sam et ha-tikim misaviv/mitaxat/me'al* // **sviv* // **taxat* // **al* // **leyad*
 he put ACC the-bags around/under/above// around/under/on/near

To summarize, while the majority of Hebrew locatives are assumed to be invariably construct P-heads, taking a DP complement (frame (i)), a particular group of locatives are argued to be complex and hence free P-heads, due to the prefix *mi*, forming a FS (frame (ii)), which necessarily includes the Case-marker *le*. The free status of these locatives, namely their phonological independence, is what enables them to occur with a phonetically null complement.

Taking the analysis in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi to appear as our point of departure, in the following sections we will take a closer look at *mi*-locatives and clarify the issues raised in Section 1, and which are left either untouched or unaccounted for by this analysis.

14. The assumption that Hebrew free Ns are not associated with the structural Case feature [gen] is not controversial (see, for instance, Siloni 1997). If the parallelism between the prepositional frames and nominal free and construct states is on the right track, extending this assumption to the prepositional domain, specifically to those locatives that occur in frame (ii), is only natural.

3. *mi*-locatives and *le*: The nature of the connection

If, as assumed in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear), *mi*-locatives are free elements forming a Free State with their nominal complement, one would expect *le* to occur obligatorily with every *mi*-locative, and only with them. This, however, is not exactly the case. Let us then make the distribution of *le* more precise.

3.1 *le* as a diagnostics for free state locatives

For some *mi*-locatives, the occurrence of *le* is obligatory (20a), but crucially, not for all of them (20b). Moreover, there are *mi*-locatives which completely disallow *le* (20c), behaving like the other Hebrew locatives, including some complex ones, but which are not associated with the prefix *mi* (20d).¹⁵ The distribution of *le* is summarized in (21).

- (20) a. *hu haya mixuc la-bayit/*ha-bayit*
 he was outside *le*+the-house/the-house
 ‘He was outside the house.’
 b. *hu haya mitaxat la-bayit/ha-bayit*
 he was under *le*+the-house/the-house
 ‘He was under the house.’
 c. *hu haya me’axorey *la-bayit/ha-bayit*
 he was behind *le*+the-house/the-house
 ‘He was behind the house.’
 d. *hem hitpazru al pney *la-šulxan/ha-šulxan*
 they scattered on surface *le*+the-table/the-table
 ‘They scattered on the table.’
- (21) The occurrence of *le*¹⁶
- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| obligatory | <i>mixuc</i> , “outside”, <i>miyamin</i> , “to the right”, <i>mismol</i> , “to the left”,
(<i>mi</i>) <i>saviv</i> , “around”, <i>mi’ever</i> , “across”, <i>mimul</i> , “opposite” |
| optional | <i>mitaxat</i> , “under”, <i>me’al</i> , “above” |
| ungrammatical | <i>me’axorey</i> , “behind”, (<i>mi</i>) <i>sviv</i> , “around”, <i>mul</i> , “opposite”
locatives not belonging to the group of <i>mi</i> -locatives |

15. Botwinik-Rotem (to appear) argues that complex locatives, not associated with *mi* (e.g. *be-tox*, ‘inside’), differ from complex *mi*-locatives; the former result from syntactic amalgamation of two distinct heads, whereas the latter constitute a single complex head (for details, see Botwinik-Rotem to appear).

16. The list of locatives is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather to provide a fuller picture regarding the occurrence of *le*.

Following Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear), I take most Hebrew locatives to be construct heads. The Case of their nominal complement is licensed by virtue of the fact that the locative and its complement form a CS, namely a PWd, which is the relevant domain for genitive Case checking at PF. If *le* is a syntactic Case-marker, and if, as proposed in Neeleman and Reinhart (1997), PF Case checking is, in fact, the preferred option in the grammar (i.e. syntactic Case checking is used only when the PF option is unavailable), *le* should be limited to those locatives that cannot form a CS. Put differently, *le* should occur only with free locatives.

In Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear), the free status of the locatives is largely attributed to their complexity, induced by the addition of *mi*. This is somewhat imprecise, as shown in (21). Specifically, being free does not fully coincide with either being a *mi*-locative, or with being a complex locative. For instance, *me'axorey*, “behind” is a *mi*-locative not occurring with *le*, and *saviv*, “around” has to occur with *le*, regardless of its association with *mi*. Note, however, that *mi*-locatives which do not admit *le* are exactly those that are clearly marked by construct morphology; *me'axorey* “behind” has the typical construct suffix *-ey*, and *(mi)sviv* “around” is the reduced form of *(mi)saviv*. Note that *(mi)saviv*, which occurs obligatorily with *le*, is the unreduced counterpart of *sviv*, namely, by itself, regardless of its association with *mi*, it is clearly marked as a free locative.

Based on the above, a more precise description of the distribution of *le* is that it largely coincides with the occurrence of *mi*, but the determining factor regulating the occurrence of *le* is the free status of the locative. The occurrence of *le*, thus, rather than complexity induced by *mi*, should be taken as a diagnostics for a free locative, namely a locative which cannot form a CS with its nominal complement.

The idea that the free status of (some) *mi*-locatives does not necessarily derive from the occurrence of *mi* is supported by the optionality of *le* with *mitaxat* “under” and *me'al* “above”, to which we turn next. The role of *mi* in the formation of *mi*-locatives will be discussed in Section 4.

3.2 The optionality of *le*: The dual behavior of (some) *mi*-locatives

The locatives *mitaxat*, “under” and *me'al*, “above”, for which the occurrence of *le* is optional, belong to the group of *mi*-locatives, including also *mimul*, “opposite”, whose members have an alternate locative without the prefix *mi*: *taxat*, “under”, *al*, “on”, *mul*, “opposite”. As already mentioned, the alternates lacking the prefix *mi* disallow *le*, apparently supporting the claim that *mi* is what makes the locatives free, giving rise to the occurrence of *le*. This is indeed true for *mimul*, “opposite”

(22), but inaccurate for *mitaxat*, “under”, and *me’al*, “above”, especially if the nominal complement of the latter is syntactically definite (23) or long (24):¹⁷

- (22) a. **mimul bayit/ha-bayit/batim gvohim ve-yešanim*
 opposite house/the-house/houses tall and-old
 b. *mimul le bayit/la bayit/ le batim gvohim ve-yešanim*
 opposite le house/ le+the house/ le houses tall and-old
 ‘opposite a house/the house/tall and old houses’
- (23) a. *me’al/mitaxat ??bayit/ le bayit* indefinite short complement
 above/under house/le house
 b. *me’al/mitaxat ha-bayit / la bayit* definite short complement
 above/under the-house/ le+the house
 ‘above under a house/the house’
- (24) long complement
 me’al/mitaxat batim gvohim ve-yešanim/le batim gvohim ve-yešanim
 above/under houses tall and-old/ le-houses tall and-old
 ‘above/under tall and old houses’

In what way does *mimul* differ from *mitaxat/me’al*? Put differently, what underlies the attested optionality of *le* with the latter?

Developing the idea raised in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear) (following a suggestion made by Tali Siloni p.c.), *mitaxat/me’al* are currently undergoing transition from being analyzed by Hebrew speakers as construct heads to being taken as free locatives. The free status of these locatives is witnessed by the fact that the occurrence of *le* is always grammatical (but see below for a refinement). As to their status as construct forms, consider the following:

Note first, that we have evidence that the addition of the prefix *mi* does not automatically render the locative free; both *me’axorey*, “behind”, and *misviv*, “around” are associated with *mi*, but are nevertheless construct heads, disallowing *le* ((20c) repeated as (25)):

- (25) *hu haya me’axorey *la-bayit/ha-bayit*
 he was behind le+the house/the-house
 ‘He was behind the house.’

If so, the assumption that *mitaxat/me’al* are construct locatives (as well as free locatives) is plausible.

Furthermore, the fact that these forms do not bear explicit construct morphology is not alarming, because construct morphology is not always phonologically

17. We will return to the definiteness and length issues below.

expressed in the regular nominal domain as well. This is the case, for instance, in the so-called *segolate* template, characterized by penultimate stress, or for monosyllabic nominals (26):

- (26) a. *mélex/kol šel ha-medina* FS
king/voice of the-country
b. *mélex/kol ha-medina* CS
king/voice the-country
'(the) king/voice of the country'

In this respect, note that (*mi*)*táxat* indeed carries penultimate stress, and *al* is monosyllabic. Hence, phonological manifestation of construct morphology is not expected.

Finally, consider the realization of a pronominal complement with respect to *mitaxat/me'al* as compared to *mimul*. Hebrew pronouns in the nominal and prepositional domains occur as (genitive) clitics, referred to as pronominal suffixes. In the nominal domain, two options are manifested:

- (27) Realization of the pronominal complement in the nominal domain
a. in the CS the pronoun is realized as a nominal suffix (*sifr-o* "book-his", *yaldat-o* "girl-his");
b. in the FS the pronoun is cliticized on the preposition *šel* (*sefer šel-o* "book of-his", *yalda šel-o* "girl of-his").

Now, if a locative is genuinely free (specified as such in the lexicon), we expect its pronominal complement to be realized as the clitic of *le*, which is indeed the case for *mimul* (28a). Crucially, though, this is not the case for *mitaxat/me'al*; for these locatives cliticization on *le* is very marginal, at best (28b), as opposed to cliticization on the locative itself, which is fully grammatical (28c), namely it is on a par with realization of the pronominal complement in the nominal CS (27a).¹⁸

- (28) a. *mimul lo*
opposite *le*+him
b. ??*mitaxat lo/ ??me'al lo*
under *le*+him/above *le*+him
c. *mitaxat-av/me'al-av*
under-him/above-him

18. For me, (28b) is completely ungrammatical, but it was accepted by several speakers, especially from the younger generation, suggesting that this form makes its entrance into Modern Hebrew, supporting the view that the status of *mitaxat* and *me'al* as construct heads is changing. It is also worth noting that although *mimul lo* in (28a) is indeed grammatical, most speakers prefer the construct locative in this case, namely *mulo*.

Based on the above, *mitaxat/me'al*, unlike *mimul*, are at a transitional stage in which they are loosing their construct status and are on their way to be analyzed as free locatives (evidenced by the fact that the addition of *le* is always grammatical), but they are not yet specified as such in the Modern Hebrew lexicon (evidenced by the cliticization pattern).¹⁹ Consequently, these locatives can still form a CS with their complement (frame (i)), defining a PWD as the Case checking domain, namely occur without *le*.

The optionality regarding the occurrence of *le* with these two locatives is, thus, expected. But why is it limited in the particular way, mentioned in passing earlier? Namely, why is the occurrence of *le* not optional, when the complement of these locatives is an indefinite short nominal (the relevant contrast is repeated in (29))?

- (29) a. *me'al/mitaxat* ^{??}*bayit/ le bayit* indefinite short complement
 above/under house/ le house
 b. *me'al/mitaxat* *ha-bayit / la bayit* definite short complement
 above/under the-house/ le+the house
 'above under a house/the house'
 c. long complement
me'al/mitaxat batim gvohim ve-yešanim/le batim gvohim ve-yešanim
 above/under houses tall and-old/ le houses tall and-old
 'above/under tall and old houses'

In this respect, it is worth noting that the occurrence of *le* with a short nominal lacking the definiteness marker *ha-* (the) is only "quite obligatory", rather than "fully obligatory". Namely, the optionality of *le* is, in fact, attested with these nominals as well, as shown in (30), supporting the claim that the discussed locatives are either free or construct forms. Note, however, the subtle, but undeniable contrast between (30a) and (30b) (this observation is due to Galit Adam p.c.). In both sentences the complement of the locative (*me'al*, "above") is an indefinite short nominal (*gšarim*, "bridges"). In (30a), which lacks *le*, this nominal complement of the construct locative is interpreted as a non-referential, property-denoting nominal, which is the typical interpretation of such nominals (see Danon to appear, and references cited therein), but in (30b) the complement introduced by the Case-marker *le* is interpreted as a specific, referential nominal (compare the English glosses):

- (30) a. *ha-iriya pizra te'ura me'al gšarim*
 the-municipality spread lights above bridges
 'The municipality installed lights above bridges.'

19. P-pronominal suffix combinations in Hebrew are lexicalized, rather than being formed in the syntax (Outi Bat-El p.c.).

- b. *ha-iriya pizra te'ura me'al le gšarim*
 the-municipality spread lights above *le* bridges
 'The municipality installed lights above the bridges/several bridges.'

Based on the contrast in (30), the occurrence of *le* renders the complement of *me'al*, "above" referential, namely an argument (30b). This is not surprising, if as claimed here, *le* is a Case-marker, occurring with free locatives. Following Chomsky (1986), Reinhart and Siloni (2005) (among others), Case is the formal marking of the nominal arguments in the syntactic structure, enabling their association with the thematic roles of the predicate. On the assumption that in general, out of context, the complement of a locative is interpreted as an argument, rather than a property, *le* of the free locative will be strongly preferred with indefinite short nominals, which by themselves do not denote arguments.²⁰ The construct form of the discussed locatives which does not include *le* will be used only when the non-referential generic interpretation of the indefinites is licensed by the sentential context (30a). As a result, with short indefinites *le* is expected to appear quite obligatorily.

In contrast, Hebrew nominals syntactically marked for definiteness (by the prefix *ha-*, "the"), as well as long nominals, tend to be interpreted as referential.²¹ Hence, when such nominals complement the discussed locatives, the optionality of *le* is much more robust, deriving from the claim that the discussed locatives are at a transitional stage, behaving both as free and as construct heads.

4. The role(s) of *mi* with *mi*-locatives

One of the important claims in the above discussion is that the addition of *mi* is not what automatically renders the locative free, witnessed by the dual behavior of *mitaxat/me'al* as construct and free locatives. Locatives like *me'axorey*, "behind" and *misviv*, "around", which are exclusively construct disallowing *le*, reinforce this claim. As we will see immediately below, the role of *mi* as rendering the locative free is indeed quite limited, attested mainly with *mimul*, "opposite". If so, what role(s) does it have in the formation of (other) *mi*-locatives?

20. Recall that according to the semantics of locative PPs assumed here, what is referred to as the complement of a locative is, in fact, the Possessor argument of the null noun *Place* (see Section 2.1).

21. Following Danon to appear (who follows Fodor and Sag 1982 on that matter), heaviness is known to affect referentiality and specificity; the heavier a noun phrase the easier it is to assign a referential interpretation to it.

4.1 *mi* in the formation of *mi*-locatives

Recall that the group of *mi*-locatives consists of locatives which have a locative alternate without *mi* (I), and a group of locatives which do not (II) (leaving aside those for which the addition of *mi* is optional, namely *misaviv/misviv*, for the time being). Using the occurrence of *le* as the diagnostics for free locatives, we can also specify which of them are free locatives (F) and which are not (C). This is summarized in (31) (F/C stands for being either free or construct):

- (31) The two groups of *mi*-locatives
- I. *mitaxat* (F/C) (*taxat* (C)), *me'al* (F/C) (*al* (C)), *mimul* (F) (*mul* (C))
 “under” “above” “on” “opposite”
 - II. *mixuc* (F), *miyamin* (F), *mismol* (F), *mi'ever* (F), *mi'axorey* (C)
 “outside” “to the right” “to the left”, “across”, “behind”

Let us examine each group, focusing on the following two properties of the base: the category of the base for *mi*- prefixation, namely whether it is a (locative) P or some other element (e.g. a nominal), and whether the base has a Case feature (I assume that a construct element, e.g. a construct noun and most Hebrew prepositions, has a Case feature, but a free one does not, see Note 14).

Taking this perspective, consider group I. Note first that indeed the only locative which is rendered free by the addition of *mi* is *mimul*, “opposite”. The result of the addition of *mi* differs from the base to which it is attached only in its free status; both the category and the meaning of the base remain the same ([_P *mul*] “opposite”). We have already seen that the addition of *mi* to *taxat/al* does not render these locatives necessarily free. Rather, the addition of *mi* to *al*, creating *me'al*, changes the meaning of the base from “on” to “above”. The contribution of *mi* to the locative preposition *taxat*, forming *mitaxat* is not self evident (and we will return to it later).

In group II almost all *mi*-locatives are free, except *me'axorey*, “behind”. Importantly, in contrast to the locatives in group I, the locatives in group II are formed by the addition of *mi* to a nominal (or adjectival) base (e.g. *xuc*, “exterior”_N, *yamin*, “right”_{N/A}, *smol*, “left”_{N/A}, *ever*, “side”_N, *axorey*, “backside”_{Construct N}). It seems reasonable, then, to suggest that in this group the role of *mi* is to form a locative preposition from a nominal/adjectival base, rather than to render it free.

Moreover, it seems to be the case that the free/construct status of the locatives in group II is identical to the status of their base. This is most transparent regarding *me'axorey*, “behind”; the base of this locative is the construct noun *axorey*, “backside”, whose combination with the prefix *mi* gives rise to the construct *mi*-locative *me'axorey*. In contrast, the nominal (or adjectival) bases of the other locatives in this group are probably free forms. Hence, the addition of *mi* to them

gives rise to free *mi*-locatives. In this respect it should be noted that the base of some of these locatives (e.g. *xuc*, *ever*) is either monosyllabic or belonging to the segolate template, and therefore it is not phonologically distinguishable from the construct form. Nevertheless, the assumption that their free form is the one serving as the base for *mi*-affixation is reasonable, judging by the form of *miyamin*, “to the right”. The construct form of *yamin*, “right” is the reduced *ymin*. This, however, is not the form of the corresponding locative, which is *miyamin*, rather than *miymin*.

To conclude, the role of *mi* in group II is to form a locative preposition from a nominal base, rather than to render it free. The free/construct status of the locatives in this group, namely the Case feature or the lack of it, is transferred from the base.

Based on the above, the different roles played by *mi* in the formation of *mi*-locatives are clearly defined:

- i. it can form a locative with a different meaning from the base locative P ($[_p \text{ al}]$ “on” \rightarrow $[_p \text{ me'al}]$ “above”);
- ii. it can render the locative free (*mul* \rightarrow *mimul*);
- iii. it can form an element of the category P from a nominal/adjectival base ($[_N \text{ ever}] \rightarrow$ $[_p \text{ mi'ever}]$; $[_N \text{ axorey}] \rightarrow$ $[_p \text{ me'axorey}]$).

The immediate benefit of the above investigation and its conclusions is that it enables us to explain why the addition of this prefix is optional for both the free *saviv* and its construct counterpart *sviv*, “around”.

Both forms of this locative are of the category P, hence, *mi* is not necessary for the formation of a locative preposition. It is also unnecessary in order to specify one of the forms as free, because there exists a clearly specified (by vowel reduction) construct prepositional form (*sviv*). Finally, *mi* does not change the meaning of either form. The addition of *mi*, thus, seems quite obsolete, contributing nothing to the formation of these locatives.²²

With this being said, consider (32).

- (32) *hu pizer et ha-praxim misaviv/??saviv*
 he spread ACC the-flowers miaround-FS/around-FS
 ‘He spread the flowers around.’

22. As mentioned in Note 3, there is a notable preference for *mi* with the free form of Hebrew ‘around’. This is probably related to the fact that *mi*-locatives are typically free.

Recall that in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear) the ability to occur with a null complement derives from the status of *mi*-locatives as free elements. Now, *saviv*, with or without *mi*, is undeniably free, as evidenced by its participation in frame (ii) which includes *le* (33). Why then *mi* is indispensable in (32)?²³

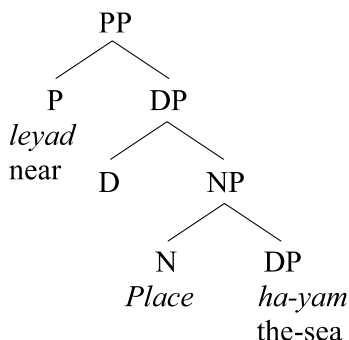
- (33) *hu pizer et ha-praxim misaviv/saviv *(le) ecim*
 he spread ACC the-flowers *mi*around-FS/around-FS *le* trees
 ‘He spread the flowers around trees.’

If, as suggested above, *mi* plays no role in the formation of this locative, there must be some other role played by *mi* which is related to the ability of the discussed locatives to occur with a null complement. In what follows I will argue that this is indeed the case, namely in addition to its role (or the lack of it) in the formation of free (*mi*)-locatives, the prefix *mi* realizes the functional feature [locative], associated with D of *Place*. As a result, the possessor argument of *Place* (the DP following the locative), which is the phrasal constituent that checks this feature, does not have to be realized.

4.2 *mi*-locatives and null complements

Recall that locative PPs are assumed here to be instantiated in an extended nominal structure, headed by a phonetically null noun *Place* (34). The locative expression (“near” in (34)) and the following DP (“the sea”) are taken to be the arguments of *Place*; the former satisfies the spatial relation slot in the denotation of *Place*, and the latter fulfills the role of Possessor in the argument structure of *Place* (see Section 2).

- (34) The nominal structure of locative PPs



23. This observation is due to Idan Landau p.c.

Typically, the complement of *Place*, namely the Possessor argument, is overtly realized (35). However, in many languages, including Hebrew, a variety of locatives (e.g. in Hebrew: *mi*-locatives) allow the complement of *Place* to be null, namely unpronounced, but implied. For instance in (36), we understand that Dan put the books under something, rather than in some place referred to as “under”.

- (35) *leyad/al/lifney/mitaxat ha-bayit*
 near/on/in/under front the-house
 ‘near/on/in front of/under the house’
- (36) *dan sam et ha-sfarim mitaxat*
 Dan put ACC. the-books under
 ‘Dan put the books under something.’

In this respect, compare (36) with (37), where an adverbial locative (*lemata*, “downstairs”) is used. In (37), unlike in (36), there is no implication, apart from what is expressed by the adverbial. Note that this is fully consistent with the fact that adverbial locatives never occur with an overt complement (we will return to this issue in more detail in Section 4.3).

- (37) *dan sam et ha-sfarim lemata*
 Dan put ACC. the-books downstairs
 ‘Dan put the books downstairs.’

Following Chierchia (1995) and Reinhart (2002) I assume that the implied Possessor of *N-Place*, like the implied Agent of the regular nominals, is saturated via existential closure. Specifically, this argument is not realized in syntax but rather it is assigned to a variable bound by an existential operator. In the regular nominal domain, saturation of the Agent may occur freely. This, however, is not the case regarding the proposed saturation of the Possessor of *Place*; the latter is limited to *mi*-locatives. The free locative *saviv*, “around”, whose free form is independent of *mi*-affixation, shows clearly that the occurrence of *mi* is what enables *Place* to occur with an implied, lexically saturated Possessor, rather than with an overt syntactically realized complement ((32) repeated as (38)).

- (38) *hu pizer et ha-praxim misaviv/?saviv*
 he spread ACC the-flowers miaround-FS/around-FS
 ‘He spread the flowers around.’

Why should this be the case? Why has the presence of *mi* this particular effect?

Note first that, unlike the realization of the Agent of a regular, lexicalized noun, which is completely optional, the realization of the Possessor of *Place*, in principle, is obligatory. This is probably due to the fact that the discussed predicate,

namely the noun *Place*, is phonetically null. Null elements have to be identified in order to be interpretable (Rizzi 1986), which, I suggest, is done by the Possessor argument. Intuitively speaking, the Possessor specifies the particular location to which the locative expression applies.

Given that the presence of *mi* on the locative is crucially related to the realization of the Possessor, it is reasonable to conjecture that *mi* contributes in some way to the (formal) identification of *Place*, enabling the Possessor to be implied, namely syntactically absent. In what follows I will make this idea more concrete. In order to do so, a brief digression is in order.

4.2.1 *Feature-driven derivation: The minimalist approach in a nutshell*

In the current syntactic framework, referred to as the Minimalist Program (starting with Chomsky 1995), feature-checking replaces the previously assumed assignment of some feature (e.g. Case) to the relevant phrase. Roughly speaking, the functional heads are assumed to be associated with formal (abstract) features such as [Case], [tense], [definiteness], etc. Being formal, these features are uninterpretable at the semantic interface, and therefore have to be eliminated from the structure in the course of the derivation. (If they are not, the derivation crashes.) Their elimination is achieved via checking against an appropriate phrase, i.e. a phrase with the morpho-syntactic marking matching the feature, or via head-movement of the relevant lexical head to the functional one (e.g. V to T(ense) movement).²⁴

Depending on the language, a feature can have an overt realization, which needs no checking. For instance, in Hebrew definiteness is assumed to be an abstract feature of the functional nominal head D in need of checking, triggering N to D movement (Ritter 1988; Siloni 1997; Danon 2002).²⁵ In contrast, English is argued to lack N to D movement, as its definiteness feature is realized by the definite article *the*, merged in D (Longobardi 1994).

This should suffice for the following discussion.

4.2.2 *mi as realization of [loc]*

The functional head D expresses the denotation of its nominal complement (Grimshaw 1990; following Higginbotham 1985). Nominals denote individuals (or events), which can be definite or indefinite, hence the assumption that D is associated with the feature [def] (or realized by an appropriate lexical element).

24. Checking can involve movement of the phrase into the specifier of the relevant functional head, but it can also be done without movement, via Agree (Chomsky 2000).

25. The Hebrew definite prefix *ha-* is assumed to be part of the nominal, rather than a D-morpheme.

N-*Place* does not denote an individual, but rather an entity interpreted as location. I propose, therefore, that D of *Place*, unlike D of a regular noun, is associated with the abstract feature [loc] (locative).

I propose further that this feature has to be checked against the Possessor argument, the DP complement of *Place*, in order for the null noun *Place* to be formally identified as the place of the Possessor. The existence of the possessor argument in the syntactic structure of a locative PP, thus, is crucial, because without it, the formal feature [loc] of D enclosing NP-*Place* will remain unchecked (crushing the derivation). With this in mind, I propose the following regarding the contribution of *mi* to the phenomenon at hand.

Inspired by the insight of Arad (2003) regarding the Hebrew nominal prefix *m-*, I believe that *mi* of Hebrew locatives is a D-prefix, realizing the feature [loc].²⁶ The occurrence of *mi* in D does not require checking, because *mi* is not an abstract feature, but rather the lexical realization of it. Consequently, the syntactic realization of the Possessor argument of *Place* is no longer obligatory, and it can be implied, namely be existentially bound and not projected.

The claim that *mi* is a nominal D-prefix raises the question as to its association with the relevant base-morphemes. Does it happen in the syntax via movement of *mi* from D to P and subsequent adjunction to the base, or rather is a *mi*-locative formed in the lexicon, merged in D and moves to P, driven by its categorial P-feature?

In what follows I will argue for the lexical formation of *mi*-locatives.

4.2.3 *mi*-locatives as lexical formations

Based on the discussion in Section 4.1, the formation of *mi*-locatives involves numerous idiosyncratic aspects. This in itself strongly suggests that *mi*-locatives are formed in the lexicon, rather than in syntax.²⁷ Idiosyncrasies are the landmark of the lexical component, but they are unexpected if the process takes place in the syntax. The latter is an automatic system, whose operation is driven by a variety of formal features. In light of this, consider the attachment of *mi*.

It is difficult to imagine a common formal feature, triggering the movement of *mi* from D to the base in P, which would be shared by all the relevant bases (and only by them). It cannot be a categorial feature, because *mi* can attach to

26. This connection between Arad's work and the issue at hand was suggested to me by Marcel den Dikken p.c.

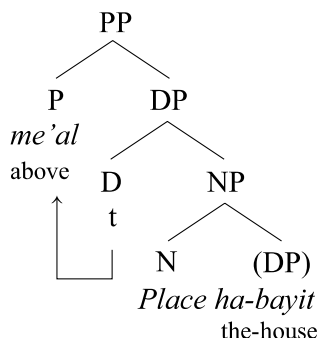
27. Following Siloni (2002c), and Reinhart and Siloni (2005), I assume that the lexicon is an active component of grammar (referred to as Active Lexicon in Siloni 2002c). Under this view the lexicon is not merely the component where words (or morphemes) are stored (cf. Marantz 1997, 2000). Rather, it is a component where operations that form lexical entries take place.

prepositional bases (e.g. [_P *al*] (“on”) → [_P *me’al*] (“above”)), as well as to the nominal ones (e.g. [_N *ever*] (“side”) → [_P *mi’ever*] (“across”)). It cannot be a Case feature, because some bases undergoing *mi*-prefixation have this feature (e.g. [_{construct N} *axorey*] (“backside”) → [_P *me’axorey*] (“behind”)), whereas others do not (e.g. [_{free N} *yamin*] (“right”) → [_P *miyamin*] (“to the right”)). It cannot even be some interpretive feature (i.e. a feature licensing a certain interpretive aspect of an element), because the addition of *mi* to some bases has no effect on the meaning of the base (e.g. [_P *mul*] (“opposite”) → [_P *mimul*] (“opposite”); [_P *taxat*] (“under”) → [_P *mitaxat*] (“under”)).

Given the above, there is no reason to believe that the combination of *mi* with the relevant bases takes place in the syntax. On the contrary, the lack of a possible common feature associated with the bases to which *mi* attaches strongly suggests that the process takes place in the lexicon.

Due to the hypothesized status of *mi* as a D-morpheme (see 4.2.2), a *mi*-locative formed in the lexicon is merged in D enclosing NP headed by *Place*, reaching P via head-movement (39) (*t* = trace, marks the original position of the locative):

(39)



The proposed analysis of *mi* as a D-morpheme realizing [loc], whose combination with the relevant bases takes place in the lexicon, gains support from the apparently “ill-behaved” *mi*-locatives, *me’axorey*, “behind” and *mixuc*, “outside”, which do not license an implied Possessor. Let us consider them in turn.

4.2.3.1 *me’axorey*: A *mi*-locative with a Case feature: The ability to occur with an implied Possessor is clearly a property of *mi*-locatives, but judging by the behavior of *me’axorey*, “behind”, being prefixed by *mi* is necessary, but not sufficient to license an implied Possessor, as shown in (40). On the analysis developed here this can be accounted for straightforwardly. The occurrence of *mi*, by hypothesis, realizes the feature [loc] of D, hence the DP complement of *Place* (the Possessor argument) does not have to check this feature. However, the locative itself, due to

its construct form, has its own formal feature which has to be checked against an appropriate DP, namely the Case feature. Hence, despite the realization of [loc] by *mi* of *me'axorey*, the Possessor still has to be syntactically realized as the DP complement of Place, in order to check the Case feature of the construct locative.

- (40) *dan sam et ha-tikim me'axorey *(ha-kise)*
 Dan put ACC the-bags behind (the-chair)
 'Dan put the bags behind the chair.'

In this connection, let me turn briefly to the locative *mitaxat*, "under", which, unlike *me'axorey*, does license an implied Possessor. The relevance of this discussion in the present context will become clear as we proceed.

As mentioned in Section 4.1, the addition of *mi* in the formation of *mitaxat* ("under") does not seem to play any role. It does not change the category of the base, which is prepositional; it does not change the meaning of the base (*taxat*, "under"); and it does not seem to render the locative necessarily free, judging by its ability to take a direct complement, without *le* (as well as a complement introduced by *le*) (see Section 3.2). *mitaxat*, thus, seems to be on a par with *misaviv*, "around", in the sense that the addition of *mi* enables it to occur with an implied Possessor, contributing nothing to its formation. However, if indeed *mi* does not render *mitaxat* free, *mitaxat* should behave on a par with *me'axorey*, "behind" (40), contrary to facts. To reconcile this contradictory state of affairs, I propose the following. Based on the discussion in Section 3.2, *mitaxat*, alongside *me'al*, is at the transitional stage of becoming a full-fledged free locative. In some respect, this transition is already complete, witnessed by the fact that the occurrence of *le*, indicating a free locative, is always grammatical (unless a generic non-referential interpretation of the Possessor argument is forced). If so, I propose that even if diachronically the addition of *mi* played no role in rendering *mitaxat* free, synchronically, it is consistent with this role of *mi*, rendering *mitaxat* neutral, not specified with respect to the free/construct dimension. Consequently, since *mitaxat* is not specified as construct, it can occur with an implied Possessor, and at the same time, since it is not specified as free it can take a DP complement without *le*.

4.2.3.2 *mixuc*: An apparent *mi*-locative: At first glance, the behavior of *mixuc*, "outside" is surprising. *mixuc* is clearly a free locative, as witnessed by the obligatory occurrence of *le* (41a). Nevertheless, it does not license an implied Possessor, despite its association with *mi* (41b).

- (41) a. *dan sam et ha-tik mixuc *(le) xeder*
 Dan put ACC the-bag outside (le) room
 'Dan put the bag outside the room.'

- b. *dan sam et ha-tik mixuc *(le xeder)*
 Dan put ACC the-bag outside (le room)

I believe that the noted discrepancy is only apparent, and should be attributed to a widely recognized aspect of the derivational morphology. Specifically, there is no one-to-one relation between the form and meaning of the derivational affixes. For instance, the English suffix *-er* is used to form nouns like *singer*, *dancer*, *worker*, etc. from the corresponding verbs, and it also forms adjectival comparative forms like *smaller*, *bigger*, *wiser*, etc. If so, given the lexical formation of *mi*-locatives argued for here, it would not be very surprising to encounter an apparent *mi*-locative, namely a locative preposition including the prefix *mi* which is not quite the same *mi*, as discussed above. This, I believe, is the case of *mixuc*, “outside”; *mi* of *mixuc* is homophonous with the prefix *mi* discussed above, but crucially it is not the same prefix, namely it is not a D-morpheme. From this the inability of this locative to occur with an implied Possessor follows; the locative *mixuc* is merged directly in P, rather than in D of *Place*, which leaves the feature [loc] of D unrealized and in need of checking by a syntactically realized Possessor.

To summarize this section, only *mi*-locatives can occur with an implied, namely syntactically unrealized Possessor of the null noun *Place*, because the prefix *mi* is a D-morpheme, realizing the abstract feature [loc], which is regularly associated with D of *Place*, and is checked by the DP complement of *Place*. Once the abstract feature of D is realized, checking is unnecessary and the syntactic realization of the Possessor becomes optional, unless a *mi*-locative has its own formal feature (i.e. Case), whose checking renders the syntactic realization of the Possessor obligatory. Ascribing the formation of *mi*-locatives to the lexical component is consistent with the idiosyncrasies involved in this process, including the possibility that not every instance of *mi* associated with a locative preposition is the one that realizes [loc] by virtue of being a D-morpheme.

To complete the picture, in the following section I will focus on the adverbial locatives, which cannot possibly occur with a complement, implicit or explicit.

4.3 Adverbial locatives: Lexicalization of place

Locative expressions such as *baxuc*, “outside”, *bifnim*, “inside”, *me’axor*, “at the back”, *milfanim/mikadima*, both mean “in the front”, *lemala*, “upstairs”, and *le-mata*, “downstairs” are referred to as adverbial locatives. This may be so, since, unlike locative prepositions, which typically occur with an overtly realized Possessor, these locatives never do (42):

- (42) **dan sam et ha-tik me'axor/lemala (le) kise*
 Dan put ACC the-bag at the back/upstairs le chair

Clearly, adverbial locatives are not a sub-case of *mi*-locatives. For one, they are not necessarily prefixed by *mi* (e.g. *baxuc*, “outside”, *bifnim*, “inside”). Furthermore, as mentioned in passing in the previous section, the obligatorily unrealized Possessor is not even implied in their phrases, suggesting that it is missing altogether from the argument structure of these locatives.

If so, and given the semantics of locative phrases assumed here, a question arises as to the identification of the null noun *Place*, which is attributed to the Possessor argument (see Section 4.2). Moreover, if the possessor DP is absent, how is the feature [loc] associated with D enclosing NP-*Place*, checked?

I suggest that these questions are interrelated, having essentially the same answer; both the checking of [loc], as well as the identification of *Place* are done by the adverbial locative itself.

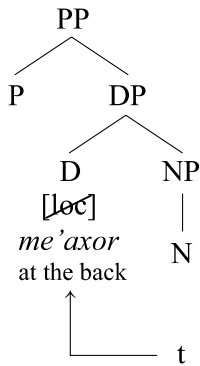
Specifically, I propose that adverbial locatives are the lexicalizations of *Place*, rather than being its argument (i.e. rather than being the Possessor or a spatial relation argument). This is plausible, given that these expressions by themselves denote a place, rather than, say, an individual. This is witnessed by the fact that it is possible to refer back to them, using a locative pronoun (e.g. *šam*, “there”) (43). Note that referring back to the possessor DP (“the house” in (44a)) is, of course, possible as well, but in order to do so, a personal pronoun should be used (44a), using a locative pronoun results in referring back to the whole locative PP (“near the house”) (44b):

- (43) *dan yašav me'axor. šam haya xašux ve-šaket.*
 Dan sat in the back. There was dark and quiet.
- (44) a. *dan yašav leyad ha-bayit. hu haya xašux.*
 Dan sat near the house. It was dark.
 b. *dan yašav leyad ha-bayit. šam haya xašux.*
 Dan sat near the house. There was dark.

If so, both raised questions, namely the licensing of the null noun *Place*, as well as the checking of [loc] can be easily answered. No licensing is necessary, because there is no null noun in the structure of adverbial locatives. Rather, the noun heading their projection is lexicalized by these locatives, namely it is on a par with any other lexical noun. As any other Hebrew lexical noun it can raise to D,

checking the feature [loc].²⁸ The structure of adverbial locatives is illustrated in (45) (the checked feature is marked as wiped out):

(45) The structure of adverbial locatives



The observation that adverbial locatives do not imply a Possessor immediately follows; there is no Possessor in their argument structure. The role played by this argument in the argument structure of *Place* is obsolete here, because the noun is lexicalized, and hence needs no further identification.

5. Summary

The goal of this study was to examine a particular group of Hebrew locatives, referred to here as *mi*-locatives, which were recognized and initially analyzed in Botwinik-Rotem and Terzi (to appear). Taking the previous analysis as the point of departure, this group was shown to still present a challenge. This is at least partially the case, because the claim made in the previous analysis that the free status of these locatives derives from the addition of the prefix *mi*, is inaccurate, leaving unaccounted for the existence of *mi*-locatives which occur both in frame (ii) (the FS), including the Case-marker *le*, but also in frame (i) (the CS), as well as *mi*-locatives occurring only in frame (i).

28. The similarity of adverbial phrases to regular NPs is further attested in colloquial Hebrew by the possibility to add to them a 'regular' possessor introduced by *šel* (of), a definite article, or a universal quantifier:

kol ha-lemata šel ha-oto haya harus.
All the-downstairs of the-car was destroyed
'The whole bottom of the car was destroyed.'

I argued instead that the Case-marker *le*, rather than the prefix *mi*, is a better diagnostics for a free (*mi*)-locative. Taking this approach, the dual behavior of the couple of *mi*-locatives, and especially the peculiar aspects bearing on the participation of these locatives in frame (i) (the CS), like the length and/or the definiteness marking of their complement, were shown to follow from the interpretive properties of Hebrew bare nominals and the function of *le* as a Case-marker.

Furthermore, I proposed a novel classification of members of this group, distinguishing between *mi*-locatives having a *mi*-less alternate and those which do not. Focusing on the properties of the base to which *mi* attaches, namely the category of the base and whether or not it has a Case feature, I defined the three roles played by *mi* in the formation of *mi*-locatives, depending on the base to which it is attached. The latter, rather than the prefix *mi*, was argued to determine the free/construct status of most *mi*-locatives, diminishing substantially the previously assumed role of *mi* as rendering the locative free. Consequently, the behavior of *mi*-locatives clearly marked by construct morphology, namely having a construct base, as entering exclusively frame (i) (the CS) was shown to follow naturally.

The observation that *mi* is optional with the free form of “around” (*saviv*) only when the locative is followed by an overt DP argument (the Possessor of *Place*), but becomes obligatory when this argument is implied, led to the identification of the morpho-syntactic status of the prefix *mi* as a D-morpheme, realizing the formal feature [loc] of the functional head D enclosing the NP of *Place*. From this, the ability of *mi*-locatives to occur with an implied, syntactically unrealized Possessor DP was argued to follow; on a reasonable assumption that this DP is what checks the feature [loc] in locative PPs, the Possessor DP will be obligatory, unless the derivation does not include this formal feature, but rather an overt morpheme realizing it, namely the prefix *mi* on the locative.

Finally, locative expressions not admitting any kind of Possessor, referred to descriptively as adverbial locatives, were argued to differ from all other locatives in being the lexicalization of the noun *Place*, namely on a par with the regular lexicalized nouns. Hence, there is no Possessor argument, the identifier of the null *Place*, in their argument structure, and the checking of [loc] in the (locative) DP they project is hypothesized to be executed via head movement from N to D, as is assumed to be the case in the regular nominal domain in Hebrew.

In the analysis of *mi*-locatives developed in this study both the unique properties of *mi*-locatives, but also the attested discrepancies, are accounted for in a uniform fashion, as deriving from the interaction between the morpho-syntactic status of the prefix *mi*, and the roles of *mi* in the lexical formation of the discussed locatives. Viewed this way, the grouping of *mi*-locatives as distinct from all other locatives is not only maintained, but more importantly, its nature is revealed.

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Pragmatics of prepositions

A study of the French connectives *pour le coup* and *du coup*

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Prepositions are rarely described in terms of their pragmatic potential. Yet, some prepositions help build connective locutions, and we show that their general value may then contribute directly to the pragmatics of these locutions. The French complex connective *pour le coup* – translated as a blend of “at the time” and “as a result” – can be analysed into a complex expression maintaining the core meanings of *pour*, *le* and *coup*, which does not allow too specialized a view of, respectively, prepositions, articles and nouns. When compared to *du coup* (“and so”) the contribution of *pour* is mainly pragmatic. That observation is to be added to the many arguments in favour of theories that allow for such plasticity in linguistic meaning.

1. Introduction

The semantics of prepositions is currently dealt with (Brugman 1988; Cervoni 1991; Cresswell 1978; Herskovits 1985; Pottier 1962; Rauh 1991; Spang-Hanssen 1963; Vandeloise 1986) within a unique framework, namely the prepositional phrase, where the preposition is the “head” and the nominal phrase serves as an argument of this head. The meaning of the head-preposition is supposed to interact “freely” with its nominal argument, thus generating new acts of reference. But it is well-known that there are many so-called idioms, or idiomatic expressions, based on prepositions, where preposition and nominal argument are more or less constrained in the way their parts are combined. Preposition and nominal argument are tied to one another in such a way that there seems to be no clear composition of the meaning of both parts. Let’s recall the work of Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994) distinguishing between IDIOMATICALLY COMBINING EXPRESSIONS (e.g. *take advantage*), and IDIOMATIC PHRASES (e.g. *kick the bucket*). While

studying two French “connectives” of the form [(prep) + _{NP}(le) *coup*]_{NP}], we will show they are IDIOMATICALLY COMBINING EXPRESSIONS. But making this point clear depends a great deal on a rather new way of conceiving the lexical meaning of both parts (preposition and *coup*).

2. Syntactic profiles

Many French idioms are based on the simple word *coup*, which is highly polysemic. It can be roughly translated into English as “attempt, blow, deed, hit, knock, move, rap, shot, stroke, thrust, trick, try” and probably some other words as well. But of course, as will be illustrated throughout this paper, idiomatic phrases and idiomatic sentences rarely make use of such simple words. Some of these expressions are adverbial phrases (*à tout coup*, *du coup*, *pour le coup*, *sous le coup*, *sur le coup*), while others are prepositional (*au coup de*, *sous le coup de*). They have gone far in the process of lexicalization, as shown in these distributions:

- (1) (**pour* / **sous*) *le premier coup*
 *‘as a first result / *under the first blow’

The same insertion, when possible, corresponds to a neat semantic difference and to the loss of lexicalization:

- (2) *au premier coup* / **au coup*
 ‘at the first attempt / *at the shot’
du premier coup ≠ *du coup*
 ‘at the first blow ≠ and so’
 ?*sur le premier coup* ≠ *sur le coup*
 ‘at the first shot ≠ at the time’

In the same way, expressions such as the following are either impossible, or analysed as “free” prepositional groups:

- (3) ??(*au* / *pour* / *sous* / *sur*) (le) *même coup*
 ??‘at the same shot’
 ??‘as a same result’
 ??‘under the same blow of’
 ??‘at the very time’ (≠ ‘at the same time’)

The expression *du même coup* seems to oscillate between two linguistic analyses: a prepositional group functioning as an adverb (it would then translate into “at the same time”) or an extension of the lexicalized connective phrase *du coup* (“and so”) (*du même coup* would then be translatable as “thereby” or “by the same

token”).¹ The first value is responsible for an anaphoric role of the noun *coup*, whereas the second value allows for a connection between arguments.

Besides, these expressions behave differently depending on their syntactic incidence or syntactic scope:

Au coup de and *sur le coup de* introduce rather “temporal” adverbial groups. *Sous le coup* admits three different statuses, from the more internal syntactic incidence to the more external:

- (4) *Il a agi sous le coup de la colère.*
 ‘He acted out of anger.’
Je suis encore sous le coup.
 ‘I am still shocked.’
Sous le coup, il est resté groggy.
 ‘Under the blow, he remained groggy.’

More relevantly for us, the distribution of these expressions may switch between sentence adverbials (mainly *sur le coup* and *sous le coup*) and performative adverbials (*du coup* and *pour le coup*). This intuitive and well-known difference appears as follows:

- (5) *Paul a eu un petit accident...*
 ‘Paul had a small accident...’
 ...*Sur le coup, il était très choqué.*
 ‘...At the time, he was very shocked.’
 ...*Sous le coup, il était très choqué.*
 ‘...Under the blow, he was very shocked.’
 ...*Du coup, il était très choqué.*
 ‘...And so, he was very shocked.’
 ...*Pour le coup, il était très choqué.*
 ‘...As a result, he was very shocked.’

These adverbials are equally mobile:

- (6) *Paul a eu un petit accident...*
 ...*Il était sur le coup très choqué.*
 ...*Il était sous le coup très choqué.*
 ...*Il était du coup très choqué.*
 ...*Il était pour le coup très choqué.*

1. In addition, and though there are no exact matching set phrases, the two values of *du même coup* seem to correspond to the two possible translations of *même*: *same* or *very*.

But a cleft structure shows differences:²

- (7) *Paul a eu un petit accident...*
 ‘Paul had a small accident.’
...C’est sur le coup qu’il fut très choqué.
 ‘It was at the time that he was very shocked.’
...C’est sous le coup qu’il fut très choqué.
 ‘It was under the blow that he was very shocked.’
*... * C’est du coup qu’il fut très choqué.*
 *‘It was and so that he was very shocked.’
... ? C’est pour le coup qu’il fut très choqué.
 ‘It was as a result that he was very shocked.’

The tests may be only about relative acceptability; nonetheless they indicate different incidences: *sur le coup* and *sous le coup* qualify the second sentence “from the inside”, whereas *du coup* and *pour le coup* connect utterances. The first are complements, the second are connectives, hence more pragmatic than semantic (Hölker 1988).³

The following test confirms this difference in syntactic behaviour:

- (8) *Paul a eu un petit accident. Il fut très choqué, ...*
 ‘Paul had a small accident. He was very shocked, ...’

2. Another example: *ce coup-ci*, *sur ce coup-ci*, ?*sous ce coup-ci*, where *coup* is truly anaphoric. Conversely, **de ce coup-ci*, **pour ce coup-ci* are impossible if considered as connectives. This indicates that the definite article in *du coup* and *pour le coup* does not function as a plain anaphora (rather an “associative” or indirect anaphora).

3. It is well-known (cf., among others, the work of O. Ducrot, A. Cadiot and al., F. Nemo) that this criterion (semantic information vs. pragmatic indication) reveals the different values of *enfin* or *toujours*:

A cette réunion sont venus Max, Paul et enfin Jean.
 ‘Max, Paul and **last** Jean, came to this meeting.’
Mais enfin, qu’est-ce qu’il fabrique ?
 ‘What **the hell** is he doing?’
Pierre est toujours là.
 ‘Pierre is **still** here.’
Cause toujours ; Mange toujours ta soupe
 ‘Talk **anyway**; **at least** eat your soup.’

But we have to insist that the semantic/pragmatic division only indicates differences in linguistic behaviour, dependent on contexts and collocations, which do not call into question the instructions “laid down” by morphemes for the readers in their interpretation of the discourse. This division could not be the result of a conventional priority (Nemo 2001: 210, 216).

...*mais heureusement pas sur le coup* !
 ‘...but fortunately not at the time!’
 ... *mais pas tellement sous le coup* !
 ‘...but not that much under the blow!’
 ... * *mais pas du coup*.
 ‘...* but not and so.’
 ... * *mais pas pour le coup*.
 ‘...* but not as a result.’

3. Pragma-semantic values

In this section we will concentrate on *pour le coup* and *du coup*. The other expressions will be considered again in the last part of the section, concerning the polysemy of *coup*.

Du coup and *pour le coup* are (at least with regard to their most significant uses) classified as discursive – or pragmatic – connectives. The values of connectives, which have been recently intensively studied (Cadiot et al. 1985; Ferrari and Rossari 1994; Jayez and Rossari 1996, 2000; Leroy 2004; Mokni 2004; Nemo 1998), vary considerably:

“rephrasing” (*en fait, simplement, autrement dit, de toute façon, d’ailleurs, en tout cas, pour autant* – “as a matter of fact, simply, in other words, anyhow, besides, anyway, for all that”);

“conclusion” (*en somme, somme toute, bref, au total, finalement, en fin de compte, tout compte fait, au bout du compte, au final* – “all things considered, altogether, in short, on the whole, finally, in the final analysis, in the last analysis”);

“opposition/restriction” (*mais, pourtant, et pourtant, cependant, toutefois, et encore* – “but, however, and yet, however, and still”), regulation of “engagement” or “resumption” (*tu sais, au fait, à propos* – “you know, by the way, incidentally”);

“uttering” regulation (*bon, euh, voilà* – “well, there”);

“transfer” or “shifting” (*en outre, par ailleurs, certes, au fond, d’un autre côté* – “moreover, in addition, indeed, basically, on the other hand”);

“listening regulation” (*hum, ouais, d’accord, soit, sans doute, assurément, justement*⁴, *bof* – “hum, yeah, ok, all right, undoubtedly, sure, I don’t know”);

4. Serça (1996) shows that *justement* marks a “retaking” of the addressee’s utterance.

“sequence, connection, revaluation” (*donc, alors, enfin, finalement, du coup, pour le coup* – “therefore, then, finally, eventually, and so, as a result/this time”).

Besides, the categories of “causation” (*puisque, parce que*⁵ – “since, because”), “concession” (*même si, bien que* – “even though, although”), “opposition” (*au contraire, par contre* – “on the contrary, on the other hand”), etc., waver between a semantic and a pragmatic status. Of course, the historic perspective reveals reanalyses of many kinds, which have appeared recently.⁶

A. Donc, du coup, pour le coup

The three connectives *donc*, *du coup* and *pour le coup* establish different kinds of connections:

- (9) a. $(\text{Paul est malade})_p \text{ donc } (\text{il ne va pas travailler})_q$
 ‘(Paul is sick)_p, so (he will not go to work)_q’
 b. $(\text{Paul est malade})_p \text{ du coup } (\text{il ne va pas travailler})_q$
 ‘(Paul is sick)_p and so (he will not go to work)_q’
 c. $(\text{Paul est malade})_p \text{ pour le coup } (\text{il ne va pas travailler})_q$
 ‘(Paul is sick)_p as a result (he will not go to work)_q’
- (10) a. $(\text{Paul est malade})_p \text{ pourtant } (\text{il va à l'école})_q$
 ‘(Paul is sick)_p, yet (he will go to school)_q’
 b. $?(\text{Paul est malade})_p \text{ pourtant } (\text{il ne va pas à l'école})_q$
 ?‘(Paul is sick)_p, yet (he will not go to school)_q’
- (11) a. $?(\text{Paul est malade})_p \text{ donc/alors } (\text{il va à l'école})_q$
 ?‘(Paul is sick)_p, so/then (he will go to school)_q’
 b. $?(\text{Paul est malade})_p \text{ du coup } (\text{il va à l'école})_q$
 ?‘(Paul is sick)_p, and so (he will go to school)_q’
 c. $?(\text{Paul est malade})_p \text{ pour le coup } (\text{il va à l'école})_q$
 ?‘(Paul is sick)_p, as a result (he will go to school)_q’

Typically, examples in (9) are not controversial and so illustrate the notion of “normative connection” (Carel 2001; Ducrot 2001). Examples in (10) illustrate the notion of “transgressive connection”. The pragma-semantic mechanisms that

5. Cf. De Fornel 1989; Debaisieux 2004.

6. Cf., as regard to grammaticalisation, (Sweetser 1990), and the work of Mokni (2004) on *or*.

validate those regularities are “topoi”⁷ or argumentative supports, i.e. sociological principles that themselves are normative. They are not, as one would expect, logical rules, but cultural stereotypes that connect premise and consequent through utterances that are internal to language and lexicon. Examples in (11) are relatively difficult to accept⁸ only because they have trouble finding support in these rules of usage that language incorporates. Only non-normative connections seem to correspond to the link between *p* and *q* in (11), so these examples are easily interpreted as paradoxes.

We may observe that the very notion of “consequence”, highly appropriate here, presupposes the notion of “argument”: all the connectives that we study are interpreted as a certain content, e.g. action, event, situation, state, relation, expressed by *q* “follows”, “comes from” or “is a sequel to” another content expressed by *p*, through a certain argument and not through coincidence. The nature of this argument depends on the expression that is used:

- *donc* (“so”): the connection is a simple “unfolding” or “development” along certain dimensions of the premise *p*, supported by a cognitive (referential/perceptual/informational) or logical⁹ coherence. The particularity of *donc* is that *p* itself supports multiple indications, one of them being unfolded by *q*. By “*p* itself”, we mean all the things that can follow considering language-based knowledge, hence knowledge that is generic enough to be considered

7. “Topics”, in the sense defined by Ducrot 1980.

8. It is of course only a matter of minimal imagination to consider natural an example such as *Paul est malade, donc il va à l'école* (“Paul is sick, so he will go to school”). It is even easier to accept *Paul est malade, pour le coup il va à l'école* (“Paul is sick, as a result/this time he will go to school”).

9. Let's recall (cf. the work, among others, of Jayez and Rossari (1996, 2000)) that *donc* has many other values:

deduction: *Il faisait chaud donc je me suis habillé légèrement.*

‘It was hot so I dressed up lightly.’

resumption: *C'est donc à ce moment que je lui ai répondu...*

‘So it is at this moment that I answered...’

discourse: *Qu'elle est donc jolie!*

‘Well how pretty she is!’

argumentation: *Il ne l'a pas lu donc il ne peut rien dire*

‘He didn't read it therefore he can't say anything.’

metadiscourse: *C'est votre point de vue donc que vous présentez*

‘So, it is your opinion that you are exposing.’

recapitulation: *Tout individu a donc le droit à la dignité*

‘Then every man has a right for dignity.’

by language users as pertaining to language. *Donc* directs interpretation only towards arguments that do not involve a specific work on token-situations, so it can be considered “intra-propositional”.¹⁰ That is coherent with the ability of *donc* to be “reduced” to a simple coordinator, as in (12a),

- *du coup* (“and so”): the connection realized by *du coup* is not intra- but inter-propositional, and is difficult to reduce it to a simple coordination (example (12b)). Proposition *p* doesn’t “unfold” but rather “rebounds” to reach proposition *q*. The nominal anaphora plays a role in this indirect connection, though in a weakened way, as we will see below,
- *pour le coup* (“as a result/this time”): the connection implies a “discursive break” in which the noun *coup* (“hit, shot, thrust,...”) plays an active role (impact, punctual event). It is clearly inter-propositional and impossible to paraphrase with coordination (example (12c)).

- (12) a. *Paul est malade, donc alité.*
 ‘Paul is sick, hence confined to bed.’
 b. **Paul est malade, du coup alité.*
 *‘Paul is sick, and so confined to bed.’
 c. **Paul est malade, pour le coup alité.*
 *‘Paul is sick, as a result confined to bed.’

Another characteristic, the ability to invert the order of *p* and *q* (without any “transgression”), distinguishes *donc* from *du coup* and *pour le coup*:

- (13) a. *Paul est alité, donc il est malade*
 ‘Paul is confined to bed, so he is sick.’
 b. *Paul est alité, donc malade*
 ‘Paul is confined to bed, hence sick.’

In this case, the connection mechanism is not deductive but abductive. In other words, the locator relies on perceptual data (*Paul is confined to bed*), and considers as a sequel information that is in fact, from the argumentative perspective, a starting point. The very possibility of this construction depends upon a strong explicitness of the possible arguments, hence the reference to language-based knowledge: the consequence in the “normal” direction (sickness → confined to bed) has to be already “inside language” so as to appear altogether as a “sequel” of the mere observation that someone is confined to bed.¹¹ Interestingly, this construction,

10. Cf. Leroy 2004.

11. The possibility if inversion of *donc* is analogous to that of *puisque* (*since*), as opposed to *parce que* (*because*):

made possible by *donc*, is not accessible through a participial reduction, which is clearly far too “hierarchical”:

- (14) a. *Etant malade, Paul est alité*
 ‘Being sick, Paul is confined to bed.’
 b. **Etant alité, Paul est malade*
 *‘Being confined to bed, Paul is sick.’

Du coup and *pour le coup*, on the other hand, appeal to a discursive solution of continuity (Cadiot 1991) and so are easier to use in relation to utterer-centered mechanisms (reflexive trends, modalisation).¹² For this reason, neither direct inversion (15) nor coordination reduction (16) are allowed with *du coup* and *pour le coup*:

- (15) a. ??*Paul est alité, du coup il est malade.*
 ??‘Paul is confined to bed, and so he is sick.’
 b. **Paul est alité, pour le coup il est malade.*
 *‘Paul is confined to bed, as a result he is sick.’
 (16) a. **Paul est malade, du coup alité.*
 *‘Paul is sick, and so confined to bed.’
 b. **Paul est malade, pour le coup alité.*
 *‘Paul is sick, as a result confined to bed.’

Paul est alité, puisqu’il est malade.

‘Paul is confined to bed, since he is sick.’

Paul est malade, puisqu’il est alité.

‘Paul is sick, since he is confined to bed.’

Paul est alité parce qu’il est malade.

‘Paul is confined to bed, since he is sick.’

**Paul est malade parce qu’il est alité.*

*‘Paul is sick, because he is confined to bed.’

The particularity of *puisque* (*since*) is to presuppose that the proposition it introduces is already known or accepted by the addressee. It follows that the proposition can easily be positioned as a starting point for an argument.

12. As Jayez and Rossari (2000) point out, the absence of “actualisation” that is inherent to *donc* is responsible for the following contrast:

Il est Italien, donc il est européen.

‘He is Italian, so he is European.’

? *Il est Italien, du coup il est européen.*

‘He is Italian, and so he is European.’

An easy way of transforming (15) into acceptable sentences is to make explicit the notion of point of view, as in (17):

- (17) a. *Paul est alité, du coup on peut penser qu'il est malade*
 'Paul is confined to bed, and so one can think that he is sick.'
 b. *Paul est alité, pour le coup on peut penser qu'il est malade*
 'Paul is confined to bed, as a result one can think that he is sick.'

It follows that *du coup* and *pour le coup* are closer to simple paratactic connections than to *donc*:

- (18) a. ??*Tiens, il fait beau, donc on devrait sortir.*
 ??'Hey, it's sunny, so we should go out.'
 b. *Tiens, il fait beau, on devrait sortir.*
 'Hey, it's sunny, we should go out.'
 c. *Tiens, il fait beau, du coup on devrait sortir.*
 ??'Hey, it's sunny, and so we should go out.'
 d. *Tiens, il fait beau, pour le coup on devrait sortir.*
 'Hey, it's sunny, this time we should go out.'

Du coup and *pour le coup* are then adapted when the support for the connection is not already incorporated in the language, when it is more indirect and contextual.

Besides, the ontological status (event, state, quality) of proposition *p* is irrelevant:¹³

- (19) a. *Paul s'est cassé la jambe...*
 'Paul broke his leg.'
 b. *Paul est malade...*
 'Paul is sick.'
 c. *Paul est vieux...(Du coup / Pour le coup) il ne va pas à l'école*
 'Paul is old ...(And so / As a result) he doesn't go to school.'

Then we have to admit that the established connection is sensitive not only to content but also to acts. These expressions function not as connections between static objects (whether they are themselves acts, attitudes or contents) but as "transactions" between dynamic objects (Jayeze and Rossari 2000). *Du coup* filters the quasi-mechanical dimension of the transition from *p* to *q* – insisting on the immediate accessibility of the consequence – and makes the transition a punctual

13. As long as it is compatible with the status of proposition *q*. The following example is of course more difficult to justify:

?*Paul est vieux. (Du coup / Pour le coup) il ne va pas à l'école aujourd'hui.*

?'Paul is old. (And so / As a result / This time) he is not going to school today.'

one. The first constraint is weaker than that of *donc*, and the second is due to the semantics of *coup*.

Being sensitive to acts, *du coup* differs from *donc* also in a pragmatic dimension: *du coup* depends on *assertions*, i.e. illocutionary acts. Therefore, connections based on exclamations or imperatives, such as the following, are difficult:

- (20) a. ??*Aïe, je me suis pété la jambe ; du coup je ne vais pas à l'école.*
 ??‘Ouch, I’ve smashed my leg; and so I don’t go to school.’
 b. ??*Ouvre la fenêtre ; du coup il fera moins chaud.*¹⁴
 ??‘Open the window; and so it will be cooler.’

Finally, we can state that a simple deductive procedure (referring to a mere “unfolding” semiotic movement) treating *p* and *q* as propositional contents, not as illocutionary events, is sufficient for *donc* but cannot hold as a description of *du coup* and *pour le coup*. As far as pragmatic acts are concerned, we can add that the semantics of *coup* intervenes through its “active” dimension.

B. Du coup / Pour le coup

1. Abductive inversion. We will now concentrate on the difference between *du coup* and *pour le coup* in the light of new examples. When *p* and *q* are in a favourable scenario, abductive inversion is much better with *pour le coup*:

- (21) a. *Paul a bien travaillé, du coup il a eu son examen.*
 ‘Paul worked well, and so he passed.’
 b. **Paul a eu son examen, du coup il a bien travaillé.*
 *‘Paul passed, and so he worked well.’
 c. *Paul a bien travaillé, pour le coup il a eu son examen.*
 ‘Paul worked well, this time he passed.’
 d. *Paul a eu son examen, pour le coup il a bien travaillé.*
 ‘Paul passed, this time he worked well.’

It is easy to understand why (21b) is difficult: it would need a shift of perspective, an anticipation level different from that of *p*. An easy way to make this happen, as we have already seen in (17), is to add an explicit metadiscursive point of view: *Paul a eu son examen, du coup on peut penser/dire qu’il a bien travaillé* (“Paul passed, and so **one could think/say** that he worked well”). This point of view automatically presupposes a debate about how much *q* is true, allowing *p* to be portrayed as intermediate. What is crucial with *du coup* is that this debate is

14. For obvious reasons, these examples are even worse with *donc*.

presented as a new discursive event. If not, then *donc* is more suitable. We may also notice that the whole construction builds a deductive connection from a pre-supposed content leading to *q*, despite the abductive branch from *p* to *q*.

A consequence is that it is particularly difficult to construct an example where $p \rightarrow q$ is abductive and where *du coup* only is possible. We can propose the following attempt:

- (22) *Tu vois, tu te demandais ce que Paul pouvait avoir fait de bien récemment. Il a réussi son examen, (du coup / * donc) il a bien travaillé.*

‘You see, you wondered what Paul could possibly have done well recently. He passed his exam, (and so / * so) he worked well.’

In (22) the abductive connection $p \rightarrow q$ happens to be completely irrelevant, hence the impossibility of using *donc*, whereas *p* can be considered an intermediate support coming from an expectation of something Paul didn’t mess up, and leading to *q*: “having worked well” now means that Paul didn’t mess up (this time).¹⁵

Turning now to examples (21c) and (21d), we observe that abductive inversion poses no problem for *pour le coup*. Apparently, *pour le coup* builds up an even stronger anticipation level, picturing *q* as a surprising event. In these examples, Paul is portrayed as someone having difficulties passing exams (in (21c)) or having trouble with work (in (21d)). This time the possible connection between *p* and *q* is only a pretext. The real connection is between what is implied (Paul having trouble with exams or work) and *q*. Proposition *p* is then only a support for that implicit content. The necessary pause in the utterance is certainly linked to that implicit reference.

15. Conversely, it is possible to construct a context where only *donc* is possible, to the detriment of *du coup*:

- *Pensez ce que vous voulez des capacités de Paul, moi je ne juge que par le résultat. Paul a réussi son examen (donc / * du coup) il a bien travaillé.*
‘You may think what you want about Paul’s abilities, I judge only by results. Paul passed his exam, (* and) so he worked well.’
- *On peut débattre des heures sur ce que veut dire « bien travailler ». Pour moi, dans ce cas c’est simple. Paul a réussi son examen (donc / * du coup) il a bien travaillé.*
‘We can debate for hours about what “to work well” means. For me, in this case it is simple. Paul passed his exam, (* and) so he worked well.’

This time, what is relevant is either (first example) the strength of a stereotype (‘success is impossible without work’), or (second example) the definition of good work. In either case, making *p* a mere intermediate leads to discursive incoherence.

2. Actualisation. Actualisation can be considered as a somewhat semantic dimension of the pragmatic work that characterises, each in its own way, *du coup* and *pour le coup*. Let's analyse these examples:

- (23) a. *Paul est malade, du coup il reste au lit.*
 'Paul is sick, and so he is confined to bed.'
 b. **Paul a une otite, du coup il est malade.*
 *'Paul has an otitis, and so he is sick.'

Properties such as being sick have to be actualized in some ways and discourse can project a property as actualizing a change in the course of events. That's what *du coup* is particularly adapted to. In (23a) being sick is considered a legitimate source for an *actual* event that changes the course of previous events. Such a thing is impossible in (23b), since actualisation cannot intervene in the mere "unfolding process" going from *otitis* to *sickness*. Lack of actualisation here prevents any attempt to see *p* as a pragmatic intermediate.

Clearly, *pour le coup* works perfectly in the same contexts but not without modifying the conditions of the connection:

- (24) a. *Paul est malade, pour le coup il reste au lit.*
 'Paul is sick, (this time/as a result) he is confined to bed.'
 b. *Paul a une otite, pour le coup il est malade.*
 'Paul has otitis, (this time/* as a result) he is sick.'

In (24a) Paul is seen as having trouble staying in bed even when he is sick, and in (24b) we imagine him not being sick very often. Interestingly, the English translation of *pour le coup* is different in the two examples. The translation "as a result" seems to be possible in (24a) but in fact would be a translation of *et donc* rather than *pour le coup*. On the other hand, only "this time" can be a near equivalent to *pour le coup* in (24b). The English translation reveals clearly that any direct, logical connection between *p* and *q* is completely irrelevant as far as *pour le coup* is concerned. *Pour le coup* indicates much more a debate about the connection than a connection per se.

3. Pragmatic model. The general pragmatic mechanisms of *du coup* and *pour le coup* are very different from that of *donc* but the two phrases are not the same, either. *Du coup* gives an instruction to conceive *p* as a mere intermediate in a reasoning process, and so requires from the speakers a contextual interaction. Nonetheless, *du coup* remains essentially deductive and based on logics that speakers are not supposed to discuss; the pragmatic mechanism of *du coup* is typical of that of "presupposition" (French: *présupposé*). The pragmatics of *du coup* is then illocutionary. On the other hand, *pour le coup* focuses exclusively on discursive

strategy, involving a significant break and, as a consequence, reference to specific knowledge. To a certain extent, *pour le coup* deals with “implicatures” (French: *sous-entendus*) rather than “presuppositions”, and so is of the perlocutionary type.

However suggestive these qualifications may be, we could extend them to the case of *donc*, which is supported by language knowledge, and so it is of the locutionary type.

We can sum up the characteristics as follows:

	<i>donc</i>	<i>du coup</i>	<i>pour le coup</i>
pragma-semantic characteristics	deduction/ “unfolding”	actualisation/ “rebound”	debate/discursive break
support	language / public stereotypes	situation / personal experience	interlocution / discursive strategy
pragmatic model	locutionary	illocutionary	perlocutionary

C. Pour le coup

We observed earlier that there is no straightforward English translation of *pour le coup*, and that a mixture of “this time” and “as a result” is the best approximation. Now we can add that “this time” is closer to translating *pour le coup*, and that when “as a result” is a possible equivalent, it misses what is really specific of *pour le coup*. For instance, example (24a) could be translated into “Paul is sick, as a result he is confined to bed”, but the translation then lacks the reference to the pragmatic support, such as ‘Paul is known to hate being confined to bed’. *Harrap’s Shorter Dictionary* gives “as a result” as a possible translation when the ‘consequence’ dimension is involved, but that occurs only when a direct connection is grammatically possible, leaving aside the reasons why specifically *pour le coup* was used in the French utterance. As a result (!), we can state that “as a result” is in general a bad translation of *pour le coup*, and that any translation that gives rise to a discursive break is better. For instance, the *Collins Robert Dictionary* (2002) proposes the following translation for *là, pour le coup, il m’a étonné*: “he really surprised me there”. The specifics of *pour le coup* are distributed on “really” and “there”,¹⁶ referring to previous knowledge and to the “breaking aspect” of the situation.

Here is one last example showing the specifics of *pour le coup* in light of the translation issue:

16. We could think that *there* translates *là*; but *là* is actually unnecessary in the French sentence.

(...) *un passant follement imprudent entreprend de slalomer entre les projectiles, et vous fabrique une bavure en moins de deux. Oh ! pas bonnard du tout, la bavure ! Le ministre, **pour le coup**, convoque la presse et fait des excuses à l'opinion.*¹⁷

‘(...) an incredibly careless passer-by begins to slalom between the projectiles, and makes a blunder in next to no time. Oh! a very bad one, this blunder! The minister, **this time/for once**, calls a press conference and makes apologies to the public.’

The English translation in this example lacks two dimensions of *pour le coup*. First, because of the position of *pour le coup* just after *Le ministre*, we understand that the ministerial intervention qualifies the intensity of the situation, at the same time as we understand that it is exceptional for a minister to make apologies. Hence the possible translation to *for once*. Second, the connection between premise and consequence is made explicitly through the anaphora *le coup*.

This last dimension is very important, as we will see in the next section.

D. Coup

We encounter in the noun *coup* itself the main values observed in the connectives derived from *coup*. ‘Discursive break’ and ‘rebound’, in particular, can be considered as extensions of ‘impact’, ‘punctual aspect’ and ‘outbreak’:¹⁸

- when *coup* is non-anaphoric, it depicts an initiatory act programmed in continuation of a gesture. The notion of ‘impact’ presupposes a gesture, canonically physical but sometimes used in a metaphorical way as in *coup dur* (“hard blow”), *coup tordu* (“dirty trick”), *fomenteur un coup* (“to be up to something”). *Coup* is then resultative, from an agent or patient point of view: *donner un coup* (“to hit, to knock”, etc.), *prendre un coup* (“to have a knock, a bump”, etc.). If we consider the possible pragmatic extensions, we may notice that the notion of ‘impact’ provides a pattern for kinds of connections where the notion of “consequence” is put forward.
- when *coup* works as a qualitative resumption, it expresses suddenness, punctual aspect: *à coup* (“shock”), *coup de blues* (“the blues”), *coup de genie* (“stroke of genius”), *coup de pot* (“stroke of luck”), *boire un coup* (“to have a drink”).
- ‘outbreak’, leaving marks: *valoir le coup* (“to be worth”), *réussir/rater son coup* (“to pull it off/to blow it”), *être dans le coup* (“to be in on it/to be with it/to

17. A. Vergne, *L'innocence du boucher*, 1984.

18. The verb *couper* shares the same characteristics.

know all about it/to know what's what"), *donner un coup de main* ("to give a hand"). Here the instruction spreads over a time period, the outbreak is portrayed with 'shock waves' downstream. Outbreak means a new turn and consequently promises that these uses particularly highlight. This complex rephrasing of the very meaning of "coup" makes our term for the connectives *idiomatically combining expressions* coherent (in the sense of Nunberg et al. 1994).

4. Conclusion

The compositionality issue is vigorously discussed among semanticists. Many insist on what they think is non-compositionality: there would be no ("bottom-up") composition in idiomatic or set expressions, in so-called metaphorical uses of nouns, adjectives and verbs, in 'auxiliary' or 'control' uses of verbs, in prepositions when used as tools of government, in adverbs when used as performatives or connectives, etc.

We, among others, have promoted, on the contrary, a gestaltist compositionality principle (Cadiot 1997). Within this framework, the noun *coup*, for instance, can never be, at whatever level, identified with its psychologically prototypical value. In particular, the meaning of *coup* is not the first of the three values given above but is a "scheme", a "motive", some kind of anticipation. The referential intuition that there is some kind of trope in *coup de génie* ("stroke of genius") is secondary to syntagmatic construction and only appears after the syntagm has been plunged into a world of objects and experience.¹⁹ The value of an occurrence remains suspended before it is linked necessarily to what follows.²⁰ To sum up, we think it essential to insist on the fact that any semantic or ontological typing is a secondary or "discursive" phenomenon.

Such a reasoning is even more obvious for the preposition *pour* in *pour le coup*: its value here deals with pure discourse management, the equivalent of a mere index, as in many of its uses: *pour une fois* ("for once"), *pour cette fois* ("for

19. The hierarchical structure of *coup de génie* does not imply any semantic conversion of the noun *coup*. Instead, interpretation grasps the whole motive of *coup* and adjusts it to syntagmatic typing.

20. As Recanati (2005) points out, a possible transfer process (for instance from *lion* to *stone lion*, or from *door key* to *key to mystery*) would intervene only *before* the construction of the compound. Since it is hard to imagine what could initiate such a mechanism, the principle of a morphemic motive is the only coherent explanation. Fundamentally, it implies not to treat referential prototypes as entry points to transfer processes (Cadiot 1999; Cadiot and Visetti 2001).

this time”), *pour le cas où* (“in case”), *pour aujourd’hui* (“for today”), and also *pour cette affaire je m’en charge, pour cette autre, c’est à toi* (“for this matter, I deal with it, for this other one, it’s on you”), etc. *Pour* is no more than a simple mark, a kind of punctuation mark (a point, with instruction to go to the next line or to the next paragraph). But we also understand that the notion of discursive break that we proposed for describing *pour le coup* as a connective follows directly from this discursive “scansion”. If we add the fact that the definite article *le* is implicated here in discursive anaphora (with a tendency towards “associative” – or “notoriety” – anaphora), the connective *pour le coup* can be granted a perfectly compositional status.

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Particles and postpositions in Korean

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In Korean, certain postpositions which may be used on their own may be also combined with another postposition, while others are necessarily complex. This latter case is considered by some scholars as peripheral or secondary postpositions and weakly grammaticalized. I propose, then, to examine the hypothesis of the degree of grammaticalization based on particle-omissibility of complex postpositions, on the one hand, and the categorial status of particles, on the other.

1. Introduction

As in many other languages, a large number of Korean grammatical words have developed from lexical words or from free phrases by the process of grammaticalization, i.e. semantic bleaching, decategorization, reanalysis and morphological / phonological fusion (cf. Heine & Traugott 1991; Hopper & Traugott 1993). In line with grammaticalization theory, Rhee (2002) has investigated postpositional functions of six Korean verbs of motion, and assumed that they are not grammaticalized to the same degree. He establishes the varying degrees of grammaticalization on the basis of the omissibility of the so-called *particle*, among other criteria: if a complex postposition, formed with a grammaticalized verb and a particle, can be used without a particle, it is considered more grammaticalized than one which cannot. In other words, if a postposition requires a particle, it is due, according to the author, to its verbal status, which is not completely lost. In his work concerning the grammaticalization of spatio-temporal postpositions in Korean, Rhee (2004) has examined “postpositional constructions” containing six relational nouns and has argued again for their lesser degree of grammaticalization on the basis of the omissibility of genitive or locative particles.

However, this hypothesis of degrees of grammaticalization based on particle-omissibility of complex postpositions should be questioned. First of all, the Korean language exhibits a phenomenon called multiple case marking (cf. Schweiger 2000, for Australian languages). It is indeed possible in Korean for nominal

constituents to have a choice of more than one particle attached to them, for example a genitive marker may be preceded by a dative marker or by a comitative marker. Moreover, some completely fossilized compound particles are formed by a particle and an archaic nominal or verbal form. A particle can then be preserved at the highest degree of grammaticalization.

On the other hand, the author does not make clear the category status of what he calls *postposition*, *particle* or *postpositional particle*. In fact, the term *particle* is commonly used, in the literature on Korean linguistics written in European languages, for designating various bound morphemes. It generally corresponds to Korean traditional *cosa* (“auxiliary word”) which “attaches to a nominal to indicate the preceding noun’s relation with other words in the sentence or to limit its meaning” (Lee 1992: 147). Even though in many Korean grammars *cosa* is considered a particular word category, the question whether all bound morphemes grouped in this category are independent words or not is rather controversial. As for the term *particle*, it is of no help in language descriptions, as already pointed out by Zwicky (1985: 284): “‘particle,’ in its customary broad usage, is a pretheoretical notion that has no translation into a theoretical construct of linguistics, and must be eliminated in favour of such constructs”. As shown by Zwicky for other languages, the controversial question about various Korean *particles* concerns whether they are to be classified as independent words, as clitics or as inflectional or derivational suffixes.

The term *postposition* seems to have been introduced into Korean grammar by way of comparison with European prepositions. Indeed, Ramstedt (1939: 283) uses it in this way: “The words which are here called postpositions correspond to the prepositions in English or other European languages”. Apart from this kind of lexical correspondence, he doesn’t give any theoretical criteria on which to base a Korean postpositional category. In the 1950s, Lee S.-N (1956) and Lee S.-W. (1957) included under postpositions certain particles such as *pwuthe* (“from”), *cocha* (“even”) which they do not consider flexional suffixes or derivational suffixes. Later, in the 1980s, certain particles (i.e. so-called *adverbial particles*, cf. §2.1) were analyzed as postpositions, within the framework of generative grammar.¹ In this approach, postpositions, just as prepositions, function as syntactic heads governing their complement. However, the question which particles are analyzed as heads is not yet at all obvious.²

1. According to Yang J.-S. (2004: 380, Note 14), Hong S.-S. (1985) is probably the first to propose this type of analysis in generative research.

2. Choi D.-J. (1997), surveying the so-called *special particles*, analyzes some of them as postpositions. He also mentions that Yim D.-H. (1991), Park J.-H. (1994) and Choi K.-S. (1994)

The aim of this chapter is, then, (i) to define precisely the categorial status of particles in order to identify postposition-like particles, (ii) to revalue Rhee's assumption concerning the correlation between particle omissibility and the degree of grammaticalization of so-called complex postpositions, and (iii) to propose an alternative hypothesis concerning the grammaticalization of (complex) postpositions. In Section 2, after a brief account of Korean particles (2.1), we will examine the categorial status of Korean particles from morpho-phonological accounts (2.2) and from (semantico-syntactico-pragmatic) functional accounts (2.3), concluding they are clitics which possess properties both of suffixes and of independent words (2.4). In Section 3, we will reevaluate the criteria used by Rhee for determining the degrees of grammaticalization, and propose other criteria which should be taken into account when discussing the grammaticalization of postpositions, especially the grammaticalization of postpositions from verbs (3.1) and from nouns (3.2). It will be shown that the omissibility of the particle in the structure of complex postpositions relies on its morphosyntactic status (suffix-like or postposition-like) rather than on the degree of grammaticalization of complex postposition. On the other hand, verbs or nouns grammaticalized to a lesser degree or not at all manifest other morphosyntactic behaviours, i.e. a morphological variability, typical of verbs, or a syntactic functional variability, typical of nouns.

2. Categorial status of Korean particles

Particles correspond in general, as we noted above, to the traditional Korean word category *cosa* ('auxiliary word'). They are, according to Sohn (1999: 213), *postpositional function words* because they 'follow a nominal (noun, pronoun, or numeral), a nominal phrase or nominalized clause, an adverb or adverbialized clause, or a sentence'. Particles are not syntactically autonomous and function as bound grammatical morphemes without lexical meaning. However, Sohn's definition of *postpositional function word* appears to be too broad. Indeed, if some particles can attach to any categorial phrase, others can follow only a nominal phrase. On the other hand, Sohn (1999: 213) recognizes himself that 'there are some phonological grounds for particles to be equated with suffixes'. Once more, this remark is relevant for certain particles but not for all particles. We propose then to examine morphophonological and semantico-syntactico-pragmatic properties of Korean particles. Before getting to the heart of the matter, a brief account on particles will come in useful.

assume that the nominative and the accusative case markers function as heads, while Yim H.-P. (1987) and Choi D.-J. himself don't consider them as such (204, Note 5).

Table 1. Korean Particles (cf. Lee 1992; Sohn 1999)³

Case particles		Special particles (or Delimiters)	
Nominative	<i>ka</i> / <i>i</i> , <i>kkeyse</i> (AN, Hon.)	Theme	<i>nun</i> / <i>un</i> “as for”
Accusative	<i>lul</i> / <i>ul</i>	Inclusion	<i>to</i> “also, too, indeed”
Genitive	<i>uy</i>	Limitation	<i>man</i> “only, solely”
Adverbial Dative cases	<i>eykey</i> (AN)	Toleration	<i>ya</i> / <i>iya</i> (<i>malo</i>) “only if it be, as only for, finally”
	<i>hanthey</i> (AN)	Concession	<i>lato</i> / <i>ilato</i> “even, for lack of anything better”
	<i>kkey</i> (AN, Hon.)		
	<i>tele</i> (AN), <i>poko</i> (AN)		
	Locative / Goal	Inception	<i>pwuthe</i> “starting from, beginning with”
	Ablative / Inessive	Boundary	<i>kkaci</i> “as far as, even, up to”
	Source	Comprehensiveness	<i>mata</i> “each, every”
	Directional / Instrument / Essive-Modal	Addition	<i>cocha</i> “even, as well”
		Exhaustion	<i>mace</i> “so far as, even”
		Dissatisfaction	<i>nama</i> / <i>inama</i> “in spite of”
Comitative	<i>wa</i> / <i>kwa</i> , <i>hako</i> , <i>lang</i> / <i>ilang</i> “with”	Alternative	<i>na</i> / <i>ina</i> “rather, or something” <i>tunci...tunci</i>
		Contrariness	<i>khenyeng</i> “far from, on the contrary”
Comparative	<i>pota</i> “then”	Exclusiveness	<i>pakkey</i> “(not) except for, other than”
Equative	<i>chelem</i> “as, like” <i>kathi</i> “like” <i>mankhum</i> “as much as”	etc.	
etc.			
Connective	<i>ey(ta(ka))</i> “in addition to” <i>mye</i> / <i>imye</i> , <i>hamye</i> , <i>hako</i> , <i>lang</i> / <i>ilang</i> , <i>wa</i> / <i>kwa</i> “and” <i>na</i> / <i>ina</i> “or”		

2.1 A brief account of Korean particles

The particle word category traditionally comprises two sub-types, namely *kyek cosa* (“case auxiliary word”) and *thukswu cosa* (“special auxiliary word”). The former, generally attached to a nominal phrase, indicates the syntactic, semantic or pragmatic function of their host constituent, and the latter, attached to a nominal or other phrase, delimits the meanings of the constituent to which it attaches (cf. Lee 1992: 148, 154). They are called by Sohn (1999) *case particles* and *delimiters*, respectively. Table 1 summarizes various kinds of particles mentioned by Lee (1992: 147–159) and by Sohn (1999: 213–215).

It should be noted that Sohn classifies *pwuthe* “starting from” as a case particle (*ablative case*) and *pwuthe* “beginning with”, as a delimiter (Inception), while Lee considers it, regardless of its meaning, as a special particle. Sohn mentions *tul* (plural marker) among delimiters, while for Lee, it is a nominal inflectional suffix. *Pakkey* (exclusiveness) appears, in Sohn’s classification, among delimiters, while Lee analyzes *pakk* as a “dependent noun” followed by locative case particle *ey*. However, neither of them put forward any argument for their classification. Si (1997) distinguishes two types of *pakke* from the morpho-syntactic point of view: *pakk* (dependent noun) + *ey* (locative case particle); *pakkey* (suffix). The suffix *pakkey* seems to correspond to Sohn’s delimiter *pakkey*. We will return to this point later, but what we may already say at this point is that the boundary between adverbial cases, inflectional suffixes, dependent nouns and delimiters appears problematic. It is also interesting that in most Korean grammars, the list of adverbial cases and the list of delimiters are not presented exhaustively, as shown by the presence of “etc.” at the end of the list of adverbial cases as well as at the end of the list of delimiters in Table 1.⁴ This seems to be due to the ongoing grammaticalization of certain lexical terms, which will be discussed in 3.

2.2 Morphophonological accounts

Certain particles manifest phonological properties proper to suffixes. Indeed, as noted by Sohn (1999: 213), an affixal boundary is found preceding a nominative

3. We consider here neither the predicative particle (*ita*), which follows a nominal predicate, nor the vocative particle, even though they appear in the list of case particles provided by Lee. The sentence final particles such as *yo* (politeness), *kulye* (confirmation) mentioned by Sohn and the quotative particles (*la*)*ko* mentioned by Lee are not considered either.

4. For example, *twu-ko* (put_{VR} + CS), is mentioned as dative case particle in Kim (1995: 191–192), and Hong Y.-P. (1984) analyzes *kaci-ko* (possess_{VR} + CS) as postposition in certain contexts.

case particle and not a word boundary. For example, before a word boundary, the consonant *s* changes to *t* if it is followed by a vowel (1a). This sound change does not occur before an affixal boundary (1b), nor before a nominative case particle (1c):

- (1) a. *os.an*⁵ (clothes + inside ‘inside of the clothes’): /ot/⁶ + /an/ → [o.dan]
- b. *wus.um* (laugh-_{VR} + nominalizer suffix ‘laugh_N’): /ut/ + /um/ → [u.sum]
- c. *os.i* (clothes + NOM): /ot/ + /i/ → [o.si].

The same phonological evidence occurs with other particles realized by a vowel or beginning with a vowel:

- (2) a. *os.ul* (clothes + ACC): /ot/ + /il/ → [o.sil]
- b. *os.uy* (clothes + GEN): /ot/ + /i (i)/ → [o.sɨ (i)]
- c. *os.ey* (clothes + LOC): /ot/ + /e/ → [o.se]
- d. *os.eyse* (clothes + ABL): /ot/ + /e.sə / → [o.se.sə]
- e. *os.ulo* (clothes + INST): /ot/ + /i.lo/ → [o.si.lo]

Another piece of evidence for suffixes is based on morphophonological fusion. According to Zwicky and Pullum (1983:505), morphophonological idiosyncrasies are very common in inflectional formations, and some of the Korean particles may indeed be phonologically fused with their host, especially when the latter is realized by a personal pronoun or by an interrogative. Cho and Sells (1995) regard this phenomenon as an argument for their analysis of nominative and accusative particles as inflectional suffixes. However, the same phenomenon is observable also for genitive, locative, ablative, instrumental and thematic markers:

- (3) a. *ku-kes-i* (demonstrative-thing-NOM) [ki.gə.si] → *ku-key* [ki.ge]
 **nwukwu-ka* (who-NOM) [nu.gu.ga] → *nwuka* [nu.ga]⁷

5. We use the Yale romanization system for the transcription of Korean (written in italics). The phonemic and phonetic transcriptions are given, only if necessary, in slashes and in square brackets. The syllabification (marked by a period) may differ between phonemic and phonetic transcriptions, due to the Korean phonological rule of “resyllabification”: “When a syllable-final (coda) consonant is followed, without pause, by a vowel, a glide + a vowel, or h + a vowel in the following syllable, that consonant is carried over to the following syllable as its onset” (Sohn 1999: 164).

6. The Korean implosive consonants are affected, before a consonant or a word boundary, by the phonological rule of “coda neutralization”: “the bilabial stops *p* and *ph* are neutralized to [p]”; “alveo-dental and palatal stops and fricatives, *t*, *th*, *s*, *s’*, *c*, *ch* and *h* are all neutralized to [t]”; “velar stops *k*, *kh*, and *k’* are neutralized to [k]” (Sohn 1999: 165).

7. The phonological reduction is obligatory for the interrogative pronoun *nwukwu* (‘who’) co-occurring with the nominative marker *ka*.

- b. *ku-kes-ul* (demonstrative-thing-ACC) [ki.gə.sil] → *ku-kel* [ki.gəl]
nwukwu-rul (who-ACC) [nu.gu.ril] → *nwu-kwul* [nu.gul]
na-rul (I-ACC) [na.ril] → *nal* [nal]
ne-rul (You-ACC) [nə.ril] → *nel* [nəl]
- c. *na-uy* (I-GEN) [na. i] → *nay* [nɛ]
ne-uy (You-GEN) [nə.i] → *ney* [ne]
- d. *eti-ey* (where-LOC) [ə.di.ɛ] → *etey* [ə.de]
- e. *eti-eyse* (where-ABL) [ə.di.ɛ.sə] → *eteyse* [ə.de.sə] → *ese* [ə.sə]⁸
- f. *mwues-ulo* (what-INST) [mwə.sɪ.ro] → *mwelo* [mwə.ro]
- g. *nwukwu-nun* (who-TOP) [nu.gu.nin] → *nwukwun* [nu.gun]

As for the honorific dative case particle *kkey*, it etymologically derives from the phonological fusion of the archaic genitive *s* and of the archaic noun *kuy* ('place') (cf. Sohn 1999: 262). The contracted dative non-honorific form for personal pronouns can thus be analyzed as the historical trace of the dative formed by the genitive and the archaic noun *kuy* (cf. Kim 1995: 196). Indeed, it is the contracted genitive forms *nay* and *ney* (3c) which appear in the following contracted dative forms:

- (3) h. *na-eykey* (I-DAT) [na.e.ge] → *naykey* [nɛ.ge]
ne-eykey (You-DAT) [nə.e.ge] → *neykey* [ne.ge]

Furthermore, some particles have two allomorphic forms depending on the phonological context. This is the case not only for nominative, accusative and thematic markers, as pointed out by Cho and Sells (1995), but also for instrumental and comitative markers:

- (4) a. Nominative: *i* (after consonant) / *ka* (after vowel)
- b. Accusative: *ul* (after consonant) / *rul* (after vowel)
- c. Thematic: *un* (after consonant) / *nun* (after vowel)
- d. Instrumental: *ulo* (after consonant) / *lo* (after vowel)
- e. Comitative: *kwa* (after consonant) / *wa* (after vowel)

The selection of one of these allomorphs according to the nature of the preceding sound is obligatory, while the short ablative form *se*, which can appear after a vowel, is a free variation of the long form *eyse*, because the latter can also occur in the same context:

8. In the contracted ablative form *ese* of *etieyse*, the phonological contraction affects only the interrogative form *eti* and the first syllable of the ablative form *eyse*. As we will see below, the ablative form results from the combination of the locative *ey* and the archaic verb *se* ('exist').

- (5) a. *sangca-se* / *sangca-eyse*: box-ABL
 b. **pang-se* / *pang-eyse*: room-ABL

Moreover, the two forms can equally accompany an interrogative form or a proper noun of location without taking phonological contexts into account:

- (5) c. *eti-se* / *eti-eyse*: where-ABL
 d. *khanata-se* / *khanata-eyse*: Canada-ABL
 e. *ilpon-se* / *ilpon-eyse*: Japan-ABL
 f. *uiseng-se* / *uiseng-eyse*: Uiseng-ABL

It is worth noting that the Korean particles which manifest these phonological properties are mostly monosyllabic (the short form for the case of two allomorphs). According to Kabak (2006: 28) and Creissels (2006: 262), Turkish and Hungarian case affixes are predominantly monosyllabic, while most postpositions are at least bisyllabic in these languages. From the phonological accounts reviewed above, most Korean case particles presented in Table 1 are suffix-like ones. However, some case particles do not exhibit the phonological properties for a suffix. Indeed, the dative form *eykey* has some phonological behaviour as a suffix, being able to be contracted with personal pronoun (cf. ex. (3h)), while the other dative forms *hanthey*, *tele* and *poko* do not behave phonologically as a suffix: (/na/ (“I”) + /hanthe/, /tələ/, /pogo/ → [na.han.the], [na.də.rə], [na.bo.go]. Similarly, the source marker *eykeyse* can be contracted with the personal pronoun (/na/ (“I”) + /egesə/ → [nɛ.ge.sə]), while the other source marker *hantheyse* cannot (/na/ (“I”) + /hanthesə/ → [na.han.the.sə]); the comitatives *wa* / *kwa* are two allomorphic forms, while the other comitative form *hako* is not allomorphic. As for the comparative marker *pota* and the equative marker *chelem*, *kathi*, *mankhum*, they do not exhibit any phonological properties for suffixes. These particles are all bi- or trisyllabic.

In order to complete the morphophonological analysis, we will now explore the functional properties of particles, i.e. their semantic, syntactic and pragmatic functions.

2.3 Functional accounts

The case particles grouped into *Adverbial cases* receive a special treatment especially in research on generative grammar and, as mentioned above (cf. Note 1), they are termed *postpositions*. This is also the case in Seo’s classification (2006: 865–931). He claims that case particles have to be subdivided into five types, based on the syntactic function of the constituents to which they are attached, i.e. (i) function markers, (ii) postpositions, (iii) determinative, (iv) vocative, (v) connective. Function markers group the traditional nominative and accusative markers as

Table 2. Subcategorization of case particles (following Seo 2006: 867–878)

	Case particles
Function markers	nominative, accusative
Postpositions	dative, locative / goal, ablative / inessive, source, directional / instrument / essive-modal, comitative, comparative, equative
Determinative	genitive
Vocative	vocative
Connective	connective

postpositions corresponding to the adverbial case particles mentioned in Table 1 (dative, locative/goal, ablative/inessive, source, directional/instrument/essive-modal, comitative, comparative, equative) and the determinative function (nominal modifier), to the genitive (cf. Table 2).

According to Seo (2006), postpositions cause a noun phrase to function as an adverbial constituent describing or modifying a verb or verbal phrase, a proposition or a sentence. On this view, they behave as *translatives* in the sense of Tesnière (1959).⁹ The genitive marker may also be considered translatable, but in contrast to postpositions, it causes a noun phrase to function as a nominal modifier and not as a verbal or propositional modifier. Other types of case particles such as nominative, accusative, vocative, connective don't change the grammatical function of the constituent to which they are attached.

Indeed, subject and object functions that can be explicitly indicated by nominative and accusative markers can also be stated without these function markers:

- (6) a. *Inswu-ka wa-yo*
 Insoo-NOM com-TS
 'Insoo is coming'
- b. *Inswu wa-yo*
 Insoo com-TS
 'Insoo is coming'
- (7) *na-ttaymune yak mek-ess-eyo*
 I-because of poison eat-PFT-TS
 '(He) took poison because of me'
- yak-ul mek-ess-taku-yo*
 poison-ACC eat-PFT-QuotS-TS
 'I told you that he took poison'

9. Tesnière (1959: 82) defines *translatives* as semantically “empty words” which change the category of “full words” (substantives, verbs, adjectives or adverbs) to another; for example, in *le livre de Pierre* (‘the book of Pierre’), the role of the preposition *de* is to change the substantival category of *Pierre* to the adjectival category.

The issue, then, regarding these markers when they appear, is whether they just confirm the case already assigned by a predicator, or whether they accomplish a function other than case marking. For Seo (2006:867), the two case markers are only formal *etiquettes* which attach to the subject and object constituents. However, Park (1995) and Han (1999) defend the approach that Korean nominative and accusative markers express not only a syntactic function but also a pragmatic function, namely focalization. It is also the assumption of Lee and Thompson (1989), who, in their study of the Korean accusative marker, notice that “the greater the amount of “sharedness”, i.e. shared experience, shared context, and shared cultural background, the less necessary it is to specify grammatical relations” (121).¹⁰ Choi-Jonin (2001) agrees with this analysis, and confirms, through a corpus-based study, that their presence is not neutral in a pragmatic account, presenting the constituent to which they attach as unexpected information or surprise. Indeed, in the cases where the subject or the object constituent is focalized, the absence of a nominative or accusative marker is not possible:

- (8) a. *ku il-un nay-ka ha-keyss-ta*
 that work-TH I-NOM do-FUT-TS
 ‘I will do that work’
 b. **ku il-un na ha-keyss-ta*
 that work-TH I do-FUT-TS
- (9) a. *wuli-nun Inswu-rul hoycang-ulo ppob-ass-ta*
 we-TH Insoo-ACC chairman-ESS elect-PFT-TS
 ‘We elected Insoo chairman’
 b. **wuli-nun Inswu hoycang-ulo ppob-ass-ta*
 we-TH Insoo chairman-ESS elect-PFT-TS

Furthermore, the accusative marker can be attached to an adverbial constituent as shown in the following example:

- (10) *tan cektanghi-rul ppwuli-myen cengmal kwaynchanh-ul-tus*
 only moderately-ACC put on (perfume)-CS really be nice-AdnS-DN
 ‘Only if applied moderately, (this perfume) may be really nice’ (www.cherrya.com)

In this example, the adverb *cektanghi* (“moderately”) combined with the accusative marker *rul* denotes a contrastive effect (“moderately but not too much”), and thus is focalized. In this case, only a pragmatic function is at work with the

10. Prost (1981) proposes a similar analysis for the Japanese accusative marker: if the object represents predictable information for the addressee, the accusative marker may be deleted.

accusative marker, and not a syntactic function.¹¹ In sum, the nominative and accusative markers function not only as syntactic function markers (subject and object) but also as pragmatic function markers (focalizer). In both cases, as argued by Han (2003), they don't constitute a syntactic head, because in the former case, the semantic and syntactic functions are assigned by verbal predicate and not by the nominative and the accusative markers, and in the latter case, their role is to modify or limit the informational domain of the constituent to which they attach.

The genitive marker can be analyzed in a similar way. Its presence for a nominal complement is sometimes obligatory and sometimes not:

- (11) a. *Inswu-ui cha Inswu-ui hoyngpho Inswu-ui kippwum*
 Insoo-G car Insoo-G violence Insoo-G joy
 'Insoo's car' 'Insoo's violence' 'Insoo's joy'
- b. *Inswu cha ?? Inswu hoyngpho *Inswu kippwum*
 Insoo car Insoo violence Insoo joy

The conditions for the absence of the genitive marker are not yet clearly drawn, but these are beyond the scope of this paper.¹² Nevertheless, what is important to note is that the role of the genitive is limited to complement function. It thus needs a nominal head in order to function as a propositional or sentential constituent.

With regard to Seo's postpositions, defined as words that function as adverbials, they can function as arguments as well as adjuncts. Indeed, verbs like *cwu-ta* ('give') require a dative argument, and the latter can be realized by a bare nominal constituent or by a dative marker. Similarly, verbs like *ka-ta* ('go') and *naka-ta* ('go out') require respectively a goal argument and an ablative argument, which can be expressed by a bare nominal constituent, or by an adverbial case marker:

- (12) a. *ku panic swunhi-eykey cwu-ess-e*
 that ring Sunhi-DAT give-PFT-TS
- b. *ku panci swunhi cwu-ess-e*
 that ring Sunhi give-PFT-TS
 'I gave the ring to Sunhi'
- (13) a. *emeni sicang-ey ka-si-ess-e*
 mother market-LOC go-HON-PFT-TS

11. Chae (1999) analyses the accusative marker in this use as delimiter and not as case marker.

12. We refer to Lee (1998), who provides an interesting analysis especially of the genitival structures of psychological nouns.

- b. *emeni sicang ka-si-ess-e*
 mother market go-HON-PFT-TS
 ‘Mother has gone to the market’
- (14) a. *makney-ka cip-eyse naka-ss-ta*
 youngest brother-NOM home-ABL go out-PFT-TS
 b. *makney-ka cip naka-ss-ta*¹³
 youngest brother-NOM home go out-PFT-TS
 ‘My youngest brother ran away from home’

However, an adverbial function constituent corresponding to a verbal argument cannot always be presented by a bare nominal constituent. Indeed, the dative argument of the verb *mwut-ta* (“ask”), the goal argument of the verb *tuleka-ta* (“go in”) and the ablative argument of the verb *o-ta* (“come”) should be accompanied by an adverbial case marker:

- (12) c. *Swunhi-eykey mwule-poa*
 Sunhi-DAT ask-AUX-TS
 ‘Ask Sunhi’ (dative argument)
 d. **Swunhi mwule-poa*
- (13) c. *Swunhi-ka pang-ey tuleka-n-ta*
 Sunhi-NOM room-Goal go in-PST-TS
 ‘Sunhi goes into the room’ (goal argument)
 d. **Swunhi-ka pang tuleka-n-ta*
 Sunhi-NOM room go in-PST-TS
- (14) c. *eti-eyse o-si-ess-eyo?*
 where-ABL come-HON-PFT-TS(HON)
 ‘Where do you come from?’ (ablative argument)
 d. **eti o-si-ess-eyo?*¹⁴

13. This example is from Han (2003: 155), who considers that the ablative argument of the verb *naka-ta* (“go out”) can be represented by the bare noun *cip* (“home”) because this constituent is case-governed by the verb. When it is followed by the ablative marker *eyse*, the latter is, according to him, an additional case marker. However, it should be noted that the verb *naka-ta* (“go out”), when it co-occurs with the bare noun *cip* (“home”), does not denote a movement but an event. Similarly, in the example (13b), the verb *ka-ta* (“go”) accompanied by the bare noun *sicang* (“market”) denotes an activity rather than a movement; indeed, when people go to the market, it is normally for buying or for selling something. When verbs requiring a goal or an ablative argument denote a movement, the presence of the goal or the ablative maker is obligatory (cf. ex. (13c), (14c)).

14. The bare constituent *eti* (“where”) in this example is interpreted obligatorily as goal argument and not as ablative argument

On the other hand, the dative maker, the locative / goal marker and the ablative / inessive marker are necessary for adjunct marking:

- (12) e. *totwuk-i kyengchal-eykey cap-hi-ess-ta*
 robber-N police-DAT capture-PAS-PFT-TS
 'The robber is captured by the police' (dative adjunct)
 f. **totwuk-i kyengchal cap-hi-ess-ta*
 robber-N police capture-PAS-PFT-TS
- (13) e. *seklywunamwu-ey kkachi-ka anc-a iss-ta*
 pomegranate tree-LOC magpie-NOM sit-PST-TS
 'A magpie is sitting on the pomegranate tree' (locative adjunct)
 f. **seklywunamwu kkachi-ka anc-a iss-ta*
 pomegranate tree magpie-NOM sit-PST-TS
- (14) e. *Swunhi-nun phali-eyse kongpwu-ha-n-ta*
 Sunhi-TH Paris-LocIness study-do-PST-TS
 'Sunhi studies in Paris' (locative-inessive adjunct)
 f. **Swunhi-nun phali kongpwu-ha-n-ta*
 Sunhi-TH Paris study-do-PST-TS

As for the directional / instrumental / essive-modal marker as well as the comitative, equative and comparative markers, they are required to be attached to an argument as well as to an adjunct:

- (15) a. *wuli-nun Inswu-rul hoycang-ulo ppop-ass-ta*
 we-TH Insoo-ACC chairman-ESS elect-PFT-TS
 'We elected Insoo chairman' (essive-modal argument)
 b. **wuli-nun Inswu-rul hoycang ppop-ass-ta*
 we-TH Insoo chairman elect-PFT-TS
 c. *Inswu-ka yenphil-lo pay-lul kuli-ess-ta*
 Insoo-NOM pencil-INST boat-ACC draw-PFT-TS
 'Insoo drew a boat with a pencil' (instrument adjunct)
 d. **Inswu-ka yenphil pay-lul kuli-ess-ta*
 Insoo-NOM pencil boat-ACC make-PFT-TS
- (16) a. *Inswu-ka Mina-wa ssawu-n-ta*
 Insoo-NOM Mina-COM quarrel-PST-TS
 'Insoo quarrels with Mina' (comitative argument)
 b. **Inswu-ka Mina ssawu-n-ta*
 Insoo-NOM Mina quarrel-PST-TS
 c. *Inswu-ka Mina-wa no-n-ta*
 Insoo-NOM Mina-COM play-PST-TS
 'Insoo plays with Mina' (comitative adjunct)

- d. **Inswu-ka* *Mina* *no-n-ta*
 Insoo-NOM Mina play-PST-TS
- (17) a. *ce* *salam-un* *ligen-chelem* *sayngki-ess-ta*
 that person-TH Reagan-EQ (like) be formed-PFT-TS
 ‘He looks like Reagan’ (equative argument)
- b. **ce* *salam-un* *ligen* *sayngki-ess-ta*
 that person-TH Reagan be formed-PFT-TS
- c. *na-chelem* *us-e* *po-a*
 I-EQ (like) smile-CS AUX-TS
 ‘Smile like me’ (equative adjunct)
- d. **na* *us-e* *po-a*
 I smile-CS AUX-TS
- (18) a. *ne-ka* *na-pota* *nas-ta*
 You-NOM I-COMP is better-TS
 ‘You are better than me’ (comparative argument)
- b. **ne-ka* *na* *nas-ta*
 You-NOM I is better-TS
- c. *ne-ka* *na-pota* *ttokttokha-ta*
 You-NOM I-COMP be intelligent-TS
 ‘You are more intelligent than me’ (comparative adjunct)
- d. **ne-ka* *na* *ttokttokha-ta*
 You-NOM I be intelligent-TS

From Seo’s point of view, *adverbial case particles* are postpositions, regardless of argument or adjunct status of the constituent to which they attach.

Han’s analysis (2003) is different. For him, *adverbial case particles* can constitute syntactic heads only when the constituents they co-occur with are not verbal arguments. Only in this case are they able to case-govern their preceding constituents, and thus can be considered postpositions. When they follow verbal arguments, which are case-governed by verbal predicates, they cannot be syntactic heads, and thus cannot be considered postpositions but “additional case markers,” like the nominative, accusative and genitive case markers. It should be noted that the author works in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar. Therefore, the arguments of verbal predicates are dealt with in lexical conceptual structures (LCS). For him, the adverbial case particles which can be argument-marking as well as adjunct-marking are semantically predicates which include their argument, but they can constitute syntactic heads if only their argument is not selected as verbal argument in LCS. Even though we globally agree with his analysis, the disadvantage of this approach is that the same morpheme must be

classified sometimes as a case marker, and sometimes as a postposition, according to the verbal predicate with which it co-occurs.¹⁵

Choi (1997), exploring the syntactic status of *special particles*, seems to be positioned between the analysis of the two preceding types. Like Seo, he considers adverbial case particles, regardless of their syntactic status (argument- or adjunct-marking), as postpositions. However, dealing with special particles, he proceeds like Han, taking account of their syntactic status. For example, *pwuthe* (“from”) is analysed as a special particle when the preceding constituents function, without it, as subject (19a), object (19b) or ablative constituent (19c), while it is analysed as a postposition when the ablative function of the preceding constituent cannot be stated without it (19d–e):

- (19) a. *ne(-pwuthe) mence hay-poa-la*
 You(-from) first do-try-TS
 ‘You try to do (it) first’
- b. *i mwuncey(-pwuthe) mence haykyelha-ca*
 this problem(-from) first resolve-TS
 ‘Let’s resolve this problem first’
- c. *pwusan-eyse(-pwuthe) cwulkot twi-rul ccocha-wa-ss-ta*
 Pusan-ABL(-from) continually behind-ACC chase-come-PFT-TS
 ‘(I) chased (him) from Pusan’
- d. *achim-pwuthe kitali-koiss-ess-ta*
 morning-from wait-PROG-PFT-TS
 ‘(I) was waiting from morning’
- e. **achim kitali-koiss-ess-ta*¹⁶
 morning wait-PROG-PFT-TS

In conclusion, nominative and accusative, when they mark arguments only, can be absent. In addition to argument-marking, they also mark pragmatic focal function. The genitive marker does not always occur for a nominal complement either. These particles, which only serve to indicate the syntactic or pragmatic function of their preceding constituent, do not themselves select a particular type of noun, such as animate, inanimate, place, time etc., unlike *adverbial case particles*.

Indeed, the locative / goal and the ablative / inessive markers combine only with inanimate nouns, and dative and source markers only with animate nouns.

15. Besides, Han (2003:151) seems to consider postpositions to have word status, contrary to case markers which do have not, when he writes: “Do particles have a syntactic node? This question is directly connected to the question of whether particles are words.”

16. In this example, *achim* (‘morning’) is interpretable as object of the verb *kitarita* (‘wait’) (‘I was waiting for breakfast’) but not as ablative constituent.

The two former case markers can attribute to their preceding noun a dynamic locative meaning (goal and ablative, cf. ex. (13c), (14c)) or a static locative meaning (locative and inessive, cf. ex. (13e), (14e)), but this difference of meaning depends on the preceding noun's semantic nature as well as the verb with which they occur:¹⁷ accompanying a locational noun, if they occur with a verb of motion, they express a dynamic local case, and if they occur with a static verb, they express a static local case. When the locative marker follows a temporal noun, it triggers a static meaning whatever the nature of verb with which it occurs:

- (20) a. *Swunhi-nun saypyek-ey ttena-ss-ta*
 Sunhi-TH dawn-LOC leave-PFT-TS
 'Sunhi left at dawn'
 b. *kwail-un yelum-ey manh-ta*
 fruit-TH summer-LOC be abundant-TS
 'Fruits are abundant in summer'

When it follows a noun expressing a "force" such as *palam* ("wind"), *cencayng* ("war"), *kamwum* ("dryness"), it is interpreted as a cause:

- (21) *kamwum-ey namwu-tul-i manhi cwuk-ess-ta*
 dryness-LOC tree-PL-NOM many die-PFT-TS
 'Many trees died of dryness'

As for the ablative marker, it can follow a temporal noun only accompanied by the particle *kkaci* ("until"), listed in Table 1 among special particles:

- (22) a. *10si-eyse 12si-kkaci kongpwu-ha-ca*
 10 o'clock-ABL 12 o'clock-until study-do-TS
 'Let's study from 10 o'clock to 12 o'clock'

In this case, the ablative marker *eyse* can be combined with *pwuthe* ("from"), classified also, in Table 1, as special particles. Besides, this latter can denote, without the ablative marker, the starting point:

- (22) b. *10si-eyse-pwuthe 12si-kkaci kongpwu-ha-ca*
 10 o'clock-ABL-from 12 o'clock-until study-do-TS
 'Let's study from 10 o'clock to 12 o'clock'
 c. *10si-pwuthe 12si-kkaci kongpwu-ha-ca*
 10 o'clock-from 12 o'clock-until study-do-TS

17. See Choi-Jonin & Sarda (2007) for the lexical selection of the case markers occurring with orientation motion verbs.

This possibility of marking the starting point by the ablative, by *pwuthe* or by the combination of the two particles is observed also with a locational noun. In the example (19c), cited by Choi (1997), the ablative marker following a locational noun *Pusan* can combine with *pwuthe*, and the latter can have the same function without the ablative marker:

- (19) f. *pwusan-pwuthe cwulkot twi-lul ccocha-wa-ss-ta*
 Pusan-from continually behind-ACC chase-come-PST-TS
 ‘(I) chased (him) from Pusan’

However, in (19d) where *pwuthe* follows a temporal noun and it is not accompanied by the particle *kkaci* (“until”), the ablative *eyse* can not combine with *pwuthe* (19g), nor can it have an ablative function in place of *pwuthe* (19h):

- (19) g. **achim-eyse-pwuthe kitali-koiss-ess-ta*
 morning-ABL-from wait-PROG-PFT-TS
 h. **achim-eyse kitali-koiss-ess-ta*
 morning-ABL wait-PROG-PFT-TS

For the case particle (*u*)*lo*, when it is combined with a locational noun, it is considered a directional marker; when it is combined with a noun denoting an object entity, it is considered an instrumental marker; and when it is combined with a noun referring to a social status, it is considered an essive-modal marker:

- (23) a. *Inswu-nun sewul-lo ttena-ss-ta*
 Insoo-TH Seoul-DIR leave-PFT-TS
 ‘Insoo left for Seoul’
 b. *ssal-lo mantu-n kwaca*
 rice-INST make-AdnS cake
 ‘cake made of rice’
 c. *wuli-nun Inswu-lul hoychang-ulo ppop-ass-ta*
 we-TH Insoo-ACC chairman-ESS elect-PST-TS
 ‘We elected Insoo chairman’

As for the comitative,¹⁸ it has to share the same semantic feature with the constituent with which it collocates. For instance, the comitative constituent, occurring with the verb *sanchaykhata* (“go for a walk”) which requires a human entity as argument-subject, has to refer to a human entity, too. An entity referring to an

18. We don’t agree with the analysis of the comitative construction as syntactically derived from the coordinator, even though they are homonymous. See for this subject, Choi-Jonin (2002) and Yang (2004). For the semantic condition of the comitative constituent, see Choi-Jonin (2002).

animal is not accepted in this case in Korean, because it cannot stand for an argument-subject of the verb in question:

- (24) a. *Swunhi-ka Inswu-wa sanchaykha-n-ta*
 Sunhi-NOM Insoo-COM go for a walk-PST-TS
 ‘Sunhi goes for a walk with Insoo’
 b. *??Swunhi-ka kay-wa sanchaykha-n-ta*
 Sunhi-NOM dog-COM go for a walk-PST-TS
 ‘Sunhi goes for a walk with a dog’
 c. *??kay-ka Swunhi-wa sanchaykha-n-ta*
 dog-NOM Sunhi-COM go for a walk-PST-TS
 ‘A dog goes for a walk with Sunhi’

The comparative and the equative markers function just like the comitative marker: the type of noun to which they attach has to be able to function as the argument of the verb with which it is compared:

- (25) a. *Inswu-nun Swunhi-chelem us-nun-ta*
 Insoo-TH Sunhi-EQ (like) smile-PST-TS
 ‘Insoo smiles like Sunhi’
 b. *Swunhi-nun Inswu-chelem us-nun-ta*
 Sunhi-TH Insoo-EQ (like) smile-PST-TS
 ‘Sunhi smiles like Insoo’
 (26) a. *Inswu-ka na-pota khu-ta*
 Insoo-NOM I-COMP be tall-TS
 ‘You are taller than me’
 b. *nay-ka Inswu-pota khu-ta*
 I-NOM Insoo-COMP be tall-TS
 ‘I am taller than Insoo’

Following Leeman (1998), French prepositions are linguistic operators specifying the semantic properties of their argument. In a similar vein, Lemaréchal (1998:202–203) assumes that a preposition is not only “a relational element” but also “a classifier element”; the French preposition *dans*, for instance, classifies its complement approximately as “place”, and then sub-classifies as “inside”. In line with this semantic definition of prepositions, we assume that Korean adverbial case particles function as postpositions, because they determine the semantic feature of their arguments. The result of this analysis is the same as Seo’s, even though the criteria used are different. In comparison to Han’s analysis, we agree that Korean adverbial case particles are predicates that include their proper arguments. The difference comes, however, from the definition of postpositions: for Han, postpositions are syntactically defined, because they have to function as

syntactic heads, while for us, they are semantically defined, because their function is to control the semantic feature of their arguments. Conceived as semantic predicates, they can thus be described from morpho-lexical accounts, as well as from syntactic accounts. Indeed, the question of whether they can or cannot constitute syntactic heads could be treated by taking account of their syntactic distribution: if they appear in syntactic positions governed by another predicate, they do not function as syntactic heads, and if they do not so appear, they function as syntactic heads.

2.4 Clitics and particles

Chae (1995, 1996) and Chae and No (1998) analyse Korean particles as clitics or *phrasal affixes*. According to Zwicky (1994:xii), clitics are words which act like independent words as well as like inflectional affixes: “[they] act like single-word syntactic constituents in that they function as heads, arguments, or modifiers within phrases, but like affixes in that they are “dependent”, in some way or another, on adjacent words”. Zwicky (1985:287–288) notices, furthermore, that clitics resemble inflectional affixes both having the following characteristics:

- i. they cannot occur in complete isolation;
- ii. like inflectional affixes which “close off” words to further affixation, they close off combination to cliticization;
- iii. they are strictly ordered with respect to adjacent morphemes;
- iv. they have distributions describable by single principles like “combines with the head verb of a clause”, “combines with the first constituent of a clause”, “combines with the first word of a clause”, or “combines with a NP”;
- v. they rarely are morphologically complex.

Korean particles are bound morphemes, so they cannot occur in complete isolation. Their distribution is limited, but their combinatorial principles are not the same for all particles. Indeed, the *adverbial case particles* attach mostly to a noun. They can thus be analyzed, as assumed by Chae, as postposition clitics, because, unlike inflectional suffixes, they assign semantic features to their preceding noun, functioning as semantic predicates (cf. 2.3). With regard to the so-called *special particles* (or *delimiters*) such as *man* (“only”), *mace*, *cocha* (“even”) and *mata* (“each”), Chae analyses this type of particle as modifier clitics. Indeed, without modifying the grammatical status of their preceding constituent, they can attach to an adverb (27a), to a head noun (which might be followed by inflectional plural suffix *tul*) (27b), to an inflected verb (27c) and to a postposition clitic (27d):

- (27) a. *cal-man ha-myen*
 well-only do_{VR}-CS,
 'if (you) really do well'
- b. *honin-ha-n anakney-tul-mace*
 marriage-do_{VR}-AdnS woman-PL-even
 'even married women'
- c. *ca-myense-cocha*
 sleep_{VR}-CS-even
 'even sleeping'
- d. *po-nun salam-eykey-mata*
 see_{VR}-AdnS person-DAT-each
 'to every person (you) see'

As for the nominative and the accusative, as noticed above, they can indicate, in addition to the syntactic function of verbal arguments, the pragmatic focal function of their host constituents. In the first case, their presence is optional, but in the latter case, the focal function cannot be activated without them. They can attach not only to a noun but also to other kinds of words, i.e. adverb (cf. ex. 10), inflected verb (28a, 28b), postposition clitic (28c, 28d), and modifier clitic (28e, 28f). In the latter case, the focal function is at work rather than the syntactic subject or object function:

- (28) a. *wun-i coha-se-ka ani-la yelsimhi hay-se*
 luck-NOM be good-CS-NOM be not-CS hard do-CS
hapkyek-hay-ss-ta
 admission-do-PFT-TS
 '(He) is admitted, not because he had good luck but because he worked hard'
- b. *keki ka-se-rul po-nikka cengmal coh-te-la*
 there go-CS-ACC see-CS really good-MS-TS
 'I can say that that place is really nice, because I went and saw it'
- c. *tonglyo-lo(se)-ka ani-la chinkwu-lo(se)*
 colleague-ESS-NOM be not-CS friend-ESS
 'As for a friend not as for a colleague'
- d. *cip-ey-lul tuleoa-yaci*
 home-LOC-ACC come in-TS
 'You have to come back home'
- e. *toksinca-man-i sal-swu iss-nun aphyathu*
 bachelor-only-NOM live-DN be-AdnS apartment
 'apartment for bachelors only'

- f. *toksinca-man-ul wiha-n kkaphey*
 bachelor-only-ACC do for-AdnS coffee shop
 ‘coffee shop for bachelors only’

The genitive marker can also be preceded by a postposition clitic or by a modifier clitic as well as by a noun:

- (29) [*Inswu-hako(-man)-uy*] *mannam*
 Insoo-COM-(only)-G meeting
 ‘The meeting with Insoo only’

Moreover, the nominative, accusative and genitive close off the preceding constituent to further cliticisation, similar to the thematic marker and the special particles *to* (‘also’) and *(i)ya* (‘as only for’).

Chae and No (1998) call these particles *phrasal affixes*,¹⁹ arguing that “even though all the nominal elements have some syntactic properties (such as phrasal scope and distribution), the Nom/Acc case markers and the topic marker have more lexical properties than postpositions (and delimiters)”. They thus postulate that the feature of phrasal affixes as Nom(inative) propagates to the last syntactic formative of the phrase they close off. This would allow, according to the authors, the analysis of the honorific subject marker *kkeyse* as a postposition which nevertheless functions as subject in the following example:

- (30) *sensayng-nim-tul-kkeyse-man-i o-si-ess-ta*
 teacher-HON-PL-HONNOM-only-NOM come-HON-PFT-TS
 ‘Only the teachers came’

Indeed, this honorific subject marker is a derivational use of the source marker *eykeyse* formed by the combination of the dative *eykey* and the archaic noun *se* (‘exist’). The dative marker *eykey* has an honorific variation *kkey*. The combination of this honorific dative *kkey* with the archaic noun *se* yields the honorific subject marker *kkeyse*. The problem in (30) is that the nominative case seems to be marked twice, by the honorific form *kkeyse* and by the non-honorific form *i*.²⁰ Chae and No (1998) resolve this problem by analyzing *kkeyse* as a postposition. In this way, the nominative case is marked only by *i*, occurring at the end of the subject constituent. This is also Yoon (2005)’s analysis. We do not contest the

19. Yoon (2005), following Lapointe (1996), also points out that phrasal affixes (also called edge affixes or lexical clitics) possess properties of both lexical affixes and simple clitics, but for him, all nominal particles in Korean behave as phrasal affixes.

20. This case supports Sells (1995) and Cho & Sells (1995) in their defence of their lexical approach of Korean particles. For a further discussion, see Yoon (2005).

analysis of *kkeyse* as a postposition, given that in Korean a postpositional phrase can function as subject (cf. Yoon 2004, 2005). However, in (30), the nominative *i* functions as focal marker rather than as subject marker. Likewise, in the main clause of the following example (in square brackets) in which occur two accusative markers, the one following the verbal form *wa-se* (“come-CS”) marks the focal function, while the another one following *coen* (“advice”) marks the object function:

- (31) *mwusun chayk-ul poa-ya ha-l ci molu-l*
 which book-ACC read-SC do-AdnS DN ignore-AdnS
ttay-n [kakkum i kos-ey wa-se-lul coen-ul
 moment-TH sometimes here-LOC come-CS-ACC advice-ACC
et-ko-n ha-pnita]
 receive-CS-TH do-TS
 ‘When I don’t know which book I could read, I sometimes come here to ask
 for advice.’
 (<http://badagirin.net>)

Therefore, we distinguish between the nominative and the accusative as syntactic function marking and the same cases as pragmatic function marking. Even though the morphemes used are the same for the function markings of these two types, their distribution is different. As syntactic function marking, they attach to a noun as inflectional suffixes, and in this case, their presence is optional. As focal function marking, they attach to the end of the host-constituent, and their absence cancels this pragmatic function. In this paradigm may be listed the thematic marker (*n*)*un*, another focal marker *to* (“also”) and the “tolerative” (*i*)*ya* (“only if it be”) which also functions as thematic marker. These pragmatic function markers can be considered phrasal affixes.

The order in which various particles appear is fairly strict.²¹ The inflectional suffixes attach to a noun, or to the plural suffix, if the host-noun is followed by it. The postposition clitics are followed by modifier clitics, which can be followed by phrasal affixes. The scheme in Table 3 shows the order of particles as well as the elements belonging to each paradigm.

We put the genitive in the paradigm of inflectional suffixes as well as in that of phrasal affixes, just as the nominative and the accusative, even though we are not yet sure of its pragmatic function when it appears at the boundary of its

21. As noted by Chae & No (1998:9, Note 12), the modifier clitic *man* can precede the postposition clitics *ulo* or *ey*: *ton-man-ulo* (money-only-Inst, “with money only”) vs *ton-ulo-man*; *sam-nyen-man-ey* (three-year-only-Loc, “in three years”) vs **san-nyen-ey-man*. However, these cases seem to be quite rare.

Table 3. Pattern of the order of particles

[N-Infl] –	Postp Cl.				Modifier Cl.	Phrasal affixes
	P1 ²²	P2	P3	P4		
N-Pl-Nom	Loc / Goal	<i>pwuthe</i> ('from')	Eq	Comp	<i>man</i> ('only')	Nom
Acc	Dat	<i>kkaci</i> ('until')			<i>mace</i> ('even')	Acc
G	Abl / Iness				<i>cocha</i> ('even')	#G
	Source				<i>nama</i>	Th
	Dir / Inst / Ess				('in spite of')	<i>to</i> ('also')
	Com				<i>mata</i> ('each')	<i>ya</i> ('as only for')

host-constituent, preceded by other clitics. On the other hand, in this clitic-phrasal affix ordering scheme, we distinguish four types of postposition clitics because of their combinatory possibilities. Indeed, the postposition clitics classified in P1 cannot occur together, while the equative and the comparative markers can be preceded by another postposition clitic and followed by a modifier clitic

- (32) a. *Swunhi-eykey-chelem Inswu-eykey-to cal hay-cwu-ela*
 Sunhi-DAT-EQ Insoo-DAT-also well do-AUX-TS
 'Be kind with Insoo as well as with Sunhi'
- b. *Swunhi-chelem-man chakhay-la*
 Sunhi-EQ-only be kind-TS
 'Be only kind like Sunhi'
- (33) a. *Swunhi-eykey-pota Inswu-eykey te cal hay-cwu-ela*
 Sunhi-DAT-COMP Insoo-DAT more well do-AUX-TS
 'Be kind with Insoo more than with Sunhi'
- b. *Swunhi-pota-man cal hay-la*
 Sunhi-COMP-only well do-TS
 'Do only better than Sunhi'

The equative marker can be followed by the comparative:

- (33) c. *Swunhi-chelem-pota Inswu-chelem sal-ko sip-ta*
 Sunhi-EQ-COMP Insoo-EQ live-CS AUX-TS
 'I would like to live like Insoo rather than like Sunhi'

The morphemes *pwuthe* ("from") and *kkaci* ("until") may also be preceded by a postposition clitic and followed by a modifier clitic:

22. By P1, P2, etc., we mean position 1, position 2, etc.

- (34) *keki-eyse-pwuthe-man-un* *coyonghi* *hay-la*
 there-ABL-from-only-TH quiet do-TS
 'Be quiet at least from there'
- (35) *ne-eykey-kkaci-man-un* *pwuthakha-ci* *anh-keyss-ta*
 You-DAT-until-only-TH ask-CS do not-FUT-TS
 'At least I will not ask you'

Besides, they can be followed by the equative or by the comparative marker:

- (36) a. *cheum-pwuthe-chelem* *ssepisu-ka* *coh-ta*
 beginning-from-EQ service-NOM be good-TS
 'Services are good like at the beginning'
- b. *10si-pwuthe-pota* *11si-pwuthe-ka* *nas-keyss-ta*
 10 o'clock-from-comp 11 o'clock-from-NOM be better-FUT-TS
 'It will be better from 10 o'clock than from 11 o'clock'
- (37) a. *cikum-kkaci-chelem* *yelsimhi* *hay-la*
 now-until-EQ hard do-TS
 'Work hard as you did until now'
- b. *10si-kkaci-pota* *11si-kkaci-ka* *nas-keyss-ta*
 10 o'clock-until-comp 11 o'clock-until-NOM be better-FUT-TS
 'It will be better until 10 o'clock than until 11 o'clock'

As clitics can attach to material already containing clitics (cf. Zwicky & Pullum 1983:504), it is possible to have a sequence formed by several types of clitics. On the other hand, with the definition of the postposition we adopted, the co-occurrence of postposition clitics would not be problematic. Indeed, we defined postpositions as semantic predicates which can function as syntactic heads if they are not governed by another predicate. We assume that in the case of a cluster of postposition clitics, it is the first one which functions as syntactic head, governing the others, if it is not governed itself by a verbal predicate. It is interesting to notice that the postposition clitics occurring in P1 which attach to a noun and not to another clitic are phonological suffix-like ones, just like the phrasal affixes which close off the clitic cluster.

3. Grammaticalization of postpositions

We will now discuss Rhee's hypothesis concerning the grammaticalization of Korean postpositions from lexical words, especially from verbs of motion on the one hand, and from relational nouns on the other.

3.1 From verb to postposition

Rhee (2002), investigating the grammaticalization of postpositions from six verbs of motion, assumes that morphosyntactic changes from verb to postposition would lead to the omission of particles required for verbs. The six verbs investigated in his work are *nemta* ("go over"), *cochta* ("chase") requiring an accusative object, *tayta* ("touch"), *pwuthta* ("adhere"), *takuta* ("draw near") requiring a locative object, and *ttalu-ta* ("follow") requiring an accusative or a locative object:

- (38) *san-ul* *nem-ta*
 mountain-ACC go over-TS
 'go over the mountain'
- (39) *totwuk-ul* *coch-ta*
 thief-ACC chase-TS
 'chase a thief'
- (40) *meli-lul* *nay ekkey-ey* *tay-ta*
 head-ACC my shoulder-LOC touch-TS
 '(she) put her head on my shoulder'
- (41) *sacin-i* *pyek-e* *pwuth-e iss-ta*
 photo-NOM wall-LOC adhere-PST-TS
 'There are photos on the wall'
- (42) a. *pay-ka* *pwutwu-ey* *taka-o-n-ta*
 boat-NOM port-LOC approach-come-PST-TS
 'A/The boat is approaching the port'
- b. *khulisumasu-ka* *taka-o-n-ta*
 Christmas-NOM approach-come-PST-TS
 'Christmas is coming'
- (43) a. *na-rul/*ey* *ttala-la*
 I-ACC/*LOC follow-TS
 'Follow me'
- b. *kang-ul/*ey* *ttala-ka-la*
 river-ACC/*LOC follow-go-TS
 'Follow the river'
- c. *nay myenglyeng-ul/ey* *ttala-la*
 my order-ACC/LOC follow-TS
 'Follow my order'

For Rhee, when these verbs are used as postpositions, and must co-occur with the accusative or the locative markers, they do not completely lose their verbal

properties, hence are not completely grammaticalized. His analysis is however problematic for several reasons. First of all, he does not define a postposition and seems to consider any Korean particle to be a postposition. Indeed, the grammaticalized form *cocha* (“even”) which is classified as a modifier clitic in this paper (cf. §2.4) is treated, in his work, as a postposition. However, unlike postpositions, it does not classify the semantic feature of the preceding noun. The grammaticalization from a verb would not lead only to a postposition but also to other grammatical elements.

The analysis of the bound form *neme* derived from the verb *nemta* (“go over”) as a postposition is also problematic. This form must be preceded by a noun that it classifies approximately as an entity to go (or step) over, and thus, it seems to function at first glance as a postposition. Nevertheless, it can be followed by variable clitics, including the locative:

- (44) a. *san-neme maul*
 mountain-over village
 ‘The village over the mountain’
 b. *ce kang-neme-ka pwukhan-i-ya*
 that river-over-NOM North Korea-be-TS
 ‘Over that river is North Korea’
 c. *cipyengsen-neme-rul po-ko iss-nun saram-tul*
 horizon-over-ACC see-PROG-AdnS people-PL
 ‘People who are looking over the horizon’
 d. *cwukum-neme-uy seykey*
 death-over-G world
 ‘World beyond death’
 e. *san-neme-ey maul-i iss-ess-ta*
 mountain-over-LOC village-NOM be-PFT-TS
 ‘There was a village over the mountain’

In our clitic ordering scheme in Table 3, the nominative, accusative and genitive cases are phrasal affixes which can attach to a postposition clitic, while the locative *ey* is one of the postposition clitics which attach directly to a noun. If the bound form *neme* followed by the locative as in (44e) is analysed as a postposition clitic, our clitic order scheme must be modified. However, in our scheme, the postposition clitics occurring in P1 are those which classify their argument, roughly speaking, as animate, inanimate, place, time, co-agent, and more specified semantic features such as starting point, end point, are expressed by those occurring in P2. Actually, the postposition clitic *pwuthe* (“from”) derived from the verb *pwuthta* (“adhere”) occurs in this position. The bound form *neme*, if it functions as a postposition clitic, should logically occur after the locative but not

before. On the other hand, its distribution is similar to relational nouns such as *wi* (“top”), *mith* (“bottom”), *aph* (“front”), *twi* (“behind”). Indeed, these relational nouns can be followed by any kind of clitic, including the locative as shown in the following examples:

- (45) a. *san-wi-ey* *tal-i* *tte-ss-ta*
 mountain-upper-LOC moon-NOM rise-PFT-TS
 ‘The moon rose above the mountain’
 b. *san-mith-ey* *maul-i* *iss-ta*
 mountain-under-LOC village-NOM be-TS
 ‘There is a village under the mountain’
 c. *cip-aph-ey* *cengwen-i* *iss-ta*
 house-front-LOC garden-NOM be-TS
 ‘There is a garden in front of the house’
 d. *cip-twi-ey* *cengwen-i* *iss-ta*
 house-behind-LOC garden-NOM be-TS
 ‘There is a garden behind the house’

Moreover, they can be used without a preceding noun in a deictic or anaphoric use. The bound form *neme* (“over”), even though it does not have this deictic or anaphoric use, should be analyzed as a noun rather than as a postposition, because of its syntactic distribution. Korean dictionaries classify the bound form *neme* as a dependent noun which has to be determined or modified in order to function as a syntactic constituent; we agree with this classification. Another piece of evidence for analyzing it as a noun is that epenthetic *s* may be attached to the noun preceding *neme*:

- (46) *kokay-s-neme* *mengtol* *path*
 pass-s-over Mengtol field
 ‘Mengtol field over the mountain pass’
 (<http://life.ohmynews.com>)

The epenthetic *s* is an archaic genitive and marks word boundary. It appears frequently in compound nouns formed by two independent nouns (cf. Labrune 1999).

Now, with regard to the degree of grammaticalization based on particle omissibility, it appears untenable if we consider the ablative *eyse*, formed by the locative *ey* and the archaic verb *se* (“exist”). This postposition clitic, completely grammaticalized from a verb, nevertheless, keeps the locative marker. As for the bound form *pwuthe* (“from”), it can combine with an ablative marker or with a directional marker, but while the former can be deleted (cf. ex. (22b–c), (19c, f)), the latter cannot:

- (47) a. *Inswu-lo-pwuthe o-n pyenci*
 Insoo-DIR-from come-AdnS letter
 'letter from Insoo'
- b. **Inswu-pwuthe o-n pyenci*
 Insoo-from come-AdnS letter

Let us remember that the postposition clitic *pwuthe* can combine with the ablative marker if it is preceded by a locational noun, but if it is preceded by a temporal noun, it cannot combine with this marker, unless it is accompanied by *kkaci* ("until") (cf. 2.3). When it follows a noun referring to a person as in (47), it must combine with the directional marker. Is the latter case less grammaticalized than other cases? Besides, the postposition clitic with which the bound form *pwuthe* combines is not the one required by the verb *pwuthta* ("adhere"). This verb needs a locative, while its bound form can combine with ablative, directional or source. The postposition clitic *pwuthe* can be viewed rather as a grammaticalized form derived from a verb for the following reasons. Firstly, it completely loses verbal inflection. Secondly, it takes as its argument not only a locational noun, but also other noun types such as a temporal noun or a noun referring to a person. Its semantic change from "adhere" to "from" can, of course, also be taken into account.

We may now examine the remaining three cases. As we can see in (43a)–(43c), the verb *ttaluta* ("follow") allows a locative object as well as an accusative object if the preceding noun denotes an instruction, but with a noun referring to a mobile entity or a long shaped entity, it allows an accusative object only, and not a locative object. The accusative marker, as discussed above, can be absent when it marks a verbal argument. As for the locative marker, it can also be absent, especially when the combination of the verb with its object expresses an event rather than a movement (cf. Note 13). The accusative object of the verb *ttaluta* ("follow") can thus be represented by a bare noun. Consequently, in the possible grammaticalization of this verb to a postposition, if the accusative or the locative is absent, it should be due to general principles of the omissibility of their particles and not to the loss of the verbal properties.

Let us consider the following examples where *ttala* seems to function as a postposition:

- (48) a. *pep-(ey)/(ul)-ttala cheliha-psita*
 law-(LOC)/(ACC)-following settle-TS
 'Let's settle (it) following the law'
- b. *kyeykok-(ul)-ttala na-n suph-kil*
 valley-(ACC)-following be out-AdnS woods-path
 'path along the valley'

- c. *chel-ttala* *itongha-nun kileki*
 season-following move-AdnS wild goose
 'wild geese migrating seasonally'
- d. *onul-ttala* *pi-ka* *o-n-ta*
 today-following rain-NOM come-PST-TS
 'It's raining a day like today / today of all days!'

In (48a), *ttala* can be morphologically variable according to the function of its host-constituent. Indeed, in (48e), it has an adnominalizer form for modifying the following noun, and in (48f), it has a hypothetical conjunctive form so that it forms a subordinate proposition:

- (48) e. *pep-ey-ttalu-n* *cheli*
 law-LOC-follow-AdnS settlement
 'the settlement following the law'
- f. *pep-ey-ttalu-myen*
 law-LOC-follow-CS
 'if (we) follow the law'

In this case, the verb *ttalu-ta* ("follow") does not lose its inflectional properties. It thus should not be considered grammaticalized to a postposition.

In (48b), we have a serial verbal construction, formed by two verbs *ttala* ("follow") and *na* ("(be) out"). The verb *ttala* ("follow") may be used as a verb of motion in combination with a deictic verb of motion: *ttala-kata* (follow-go, "follow"), *ttala-ota* (follow-come, "follow"), and expresses the semantic component "manner" in these compound verbs of motion.²³ When it is followed by *na* ("be out") as in (48b), it is used as a static verb, and also expresses a manner in which the subject constituent appears. On the other hand, used in a serial verbal construction, it has a non-finite form suffixed by *a(se)* and cannot be suffixed by other inflectional elements. Nevertheless, it can be modified by an adverb (*cwuk* in the following example), which can occur between it and its complement constituent:

- (48) g. *illyel-lo* *changmwun-ul* *cwuk* *ttala*
 row-INST window-ACC one after another follow
na iss-nun *uyca*
 be out-AdnS chair
 'chairs which are in a row one after another along the window'
 (<http://life.ohmynews.com>)

23. In Korean verbs of motion, the semantic component "manner" is followed by *path*, which is followed by *deictic motion*: *ttala-tule-ota* (follow-enter-come, "come in following (someone)"). See on this subject Choi & Bowerman 1991, Rhee 1996, Choi-Jonin & Sarda 2007.

Hence, the non-finite verbal form *ttala* (“follow”) does not lose its verbal properties when it is preceded by a noun referring to a long shaped entity or to an instruction.²⁴

In (48c) and (48d), the same form follows a temporal noun, which cannot occur as a complement in its verbal use. In this case, it cannot be suffixed by another inflectional element and cannot be separated from its complement by an adverb, either. It thus seems to function as a postposition, but temporal nouns which can combine with it are, to my knowledge, very rare. It would thus be more economic to treat these nouns combined with *ttala* as lexical units, and Korean dictionaries actually relate to them as adverbs.

As for the verb *taku-ta* (“approach”), as exemplified in (42), when it is used as a dynamic verb, it needs a locative complement. Combined with the locative postposition clitic *ey*, its non-finite form *taka* can be used as reinforced locative postposition²⁵:

- (49) a. *eti-ey-taka* *twu-ess-ci?*
 where-LOC-“approach” put-PFT-TS
 ‘Where did I put it, then?’

In this postpositional use, *taka* is not morphologically variable and does not allow an adverb between it and its host-constituent. Moreover, it can be used without the locative postposition clitic, but in this case, the interrogative form *eti* (“where”) can phonologically be fused with the postpositional use *taka*:

- (49) b. *eti-taka* *twu-ess-ci?*
 where-“approach” put-PFT-TS
 ‘Where did I put it, then?’
 c. *ettaka* *twu-ess-ci?*
 where + “approach” put-PFT-TS
 ‘Where did I put it, then?’
 d. *etta* *twu-ess-ci?*
 where + “approach” put-PFT-TS
 ‘Where did I put it, then?’

This phonological fusion of *taka* with its host-constituent proves its high degree of grammaticalization.

24. It should be noted that *ttalase* (*ttala*_{VR} + *se*, “follow” + SC), without a preceding noun, is grammaticalized to a discourse connective, meaning “therefore”.

25. The contracted form *keytaka* [*keki* (“there”) + *ey-taka* (Loc-“draw near”)] is used as a discourse connective, meaning “besides”.

The verb *tayta* (“touch”) requires a locative complement, as shown in (40). However, in the following examples cited by Rhee (2002), its non-finite form can be preceded not only by the locative but also by the dative:

- (50) a. *sensayngnim-i pakk-ey tayko khun soli-lo*
 teacher-NOM outside-LOC “touch” big sound-INST
malssumha-si-ess-ta
 speak-HON-PFT-TS
 ‘The teacher shouted in an outside direction’
 b. *John-i nay hyeng-hanthey tayko yok-ul hay-ss-ta*
 John-NOM my brother-DAT “touch” insult-ACC do-PFT-TS
 ‘John insulted my brother’

In its verbal use, *tayta* (“touch”) selects, as its locative complement, concrete entities one can touch, but in (50a), *pakk* (“outside”) is not of this type. The non-finite form *tayko* combined with this type of locational noun suffixed by the locative is not morphologically variable and does not allow an adverb between it and its locative complement. Combined with the locative clitic *ey*, it functions as a directional postposition, and its lexical meaning “touch” is completely lost. Therefore, it can be considered a grammaticalized postposition. The same phenomena are observed when the non-finite form *tayko* is preceded, as in (50b), by the dative *hanthey/eykey*, which follows an animate noun. In this case, it functions as a reinforced dative postposition. It should be noted that in two cases, the main verb is one of the *say*-verbs, and when *tayko* functions as a reinforced dative postposition, it has a derogatory meaning. Moreover, *tayko*, in its postpositional use (50d, e) as well as in its verbal use (50c), can be preceded by *taka* (“approach”) used as a reinforced locative postposition we analyzed above:

- (50) c. *ima-lul patak-ey-taka tay-ko wumciki-ci*
 forehead-ACC ground-LOC-“approach” touch-SC move-DN
ma-la
 do not-TS
 ‘Touch the ground with your forehead and don’t move’
 d. *Inswu-ka pakk-ey-taka tayko solichi-n-ta*
 Insoo-NOM outside-LOC-“approach” “touch” shout-PST-TS
 ‘Insoo shouts towards/in the direction of the outside’
 e. *John-i Inswu-hanthey-taka tayko yok-ul hay-ss-ta*
 John-NOM Insoo-DAT-“approach” “touch” insult-ACC do-PFT-TS
 ‘John insulted Insoo’

In this case too, combined with the interrogative *eti* (“where”), *taka* can be fused with the latter, while *tay-ko* does not manifest any suffix-like properties:

- (50) c. *eti-ey-taka* *tay-ko?*
 where-LOC-“approach” touch-CS
 > *eti-taka tay-ko* > *ettaka tay-ko* > *etta tay-ko*
 ‘Touch where?’
- d. *eti-ey-taka* *tayko?*
 where-LOC-“approach” “touch”
 > *eti-taka tay-ko* > *ettaka tay-ko* > *etta tay-ko*
 ‘Towards where?’

The interrogative form *eti-(ey)-taka* (where-(Loc)-“approach”) as well as its contracted form *etta(ka)* can be used also for an animate dative complement, which occurs in (50e) as a rhetoric question:

- (50) e. *etta(ka)* *tayko yok-ul hae?*
 where+LOC+“approach” touch insult-ACC do
 ‘Who are you insulting? (How dare you?)’

We can thus assume that *taka* (“approach”) is more grammaticalized than *tayko* (“touch”), because of the possibility of its phonological fusion with its host-constituent and because of its lesser degree of selection of verb types with which it occurs (assuming that *tayko*, in its postpositional use, occurs mostly with *say*-verbs).

If we now summarize our analysis of the six verbs of motion investigated by Rhee,

- *cochta* (“chase”) is not grammaticalized to a postposition but to a modifier clitic;
- *nemta* (“go over”) is not grammaticalized to a postposition but to a dependent noun;
- *ttaluta* (“follow”) keeps its verbal status;
- *pwuththa* (“adhere”) and *tayta* (“touch”) are grammaticalized to postposition clitics, in P2;
- *takuta* (“approach”) is maximally grammaticalized to a postposition clitic, in P1.

The results of our analysis are quite different from Rhee’s, which is based on particle omissibility for determining the degree of grammaticalization from verb to postposition.

3.2 From noun to postposition

Let us examine now the grammaticalization of postpositions from nouns. The postposition clitic *kkaci* (“until”) illustrates this case, insofar as it comes from the archaic noun meaning “edge”. Another example is *pakkey*, used in association with a negative verb; formed by the noun *pakk* (“outside”) followed by the locative postposition *ey*, it means “apart from”, but used with a negative verb, it triggers the meaning of exclusivity:

- (51) a. *ne-pakkey* *eps-ta*
 you-apart from not be-TS
 ‘I have only you’

In this meaning of exclusive, *pakkey* functions as modifier clitic, and can be preceded by a postpositional clitic:

- (51) b. *yeki-kkaci-pakkey* *mos* *ilk-ess-ta*
 here-until-apart from NEG read-PFT-TS
 ‘I read only until here’

Dealing with the grammaticalization of Korean spatio-temporal postpositions from nouns, Rhee (2004) considers that relational nouns such as *aph* (“front”), *twi* (“back”), *wi* (“top”), *alay* (“lower region”), *mith* (“bottom”) exhibit ongoing grammaticalization, because they can be used without the locative postposition *ey*, and without the genitive *uy*. Once more, his analysis is based on the omissibility of particles, and we will show that this criterion is not reliable.

First of all, as we can see in the completely grammaticalized elements from nouns *kkaci* (“until”) and *pakkey* (“apart from”), the locative postposition *ey* is absent in the former while present in the latter. Secondly, the honorific dative postposition clitic *kkey*, which is constituted by the archaic noun *kuy* (“place”) preceded by the epenthetic *s*, corresponding to the archaic genitive, shows that the genitive is not always omitted in the process of grammaticalization. Thirdly, as shown above (2.3.), the genitive is not always present for marking the relation between two nominal constituents.

As for the relational nouns investigated by Rhee, they can be used without a preceding noun in their deictic or anaphoric uses:

- (52) a. *wi-lul* *poa-la*
 top-ACC look-TS
 ‘Look in an upside direction’

- b. *alay-ui* *kul*
 lower region-G writing
 ‘the writing below’
- c. *aph-i* *khamkhamha-ta*
 front-NOM be obscure-TS
 ‘It is obscure in front’
 or ‘The front is obscure’
- d. *twi-eyse* *nwuka* *pwulu-n-ta*
 back-ABL somebody call-PST-TS
 ‘Somebody calls (me) behind’
- e. *mith-ey* *salam-tul-i* *moye-iss-ta*
 bottom-LOC people-PL-NOM gather-be-TS
 ‘People are gathered below’

As we can see in these examples, the relational nouns in question can be followed by any clitic, not only by the locative. The fact that they can be used without a preceding noun, and can be followed by any type of clitic shows clearly their nominal nature. Indeed, in the case of *ppakey* (“apart from”), grammaticalized to a modifier clitic, *pakk* (“outside”) can be followed only by the locative *ey*, and not by other clitics. Moreover, the relational nouns examined here exhibit a preceding phonological word boundary. Indeed, as in 2.2, before a word boundary, the consonant *s*, for instance, changes to *t* if it is followed by a vowel, and this is what we observe before our relational nouns:

- (53) a. *os.wi* (clothes + top): /ot/ + /qi/ → [o.dqi]
 b. *peses.alay* (mushroom + lower region): /pəsət/ + /arɛ/ → [pə.sə.da.rɛ]
 c. *sos.aph* (cooking pot + front): /sot/ + /ap/ → [so.da p̃]

In addition, they can be followed by the epenthetic *s*, corresponding to the archaic genitive, when they function as nominal complement:

- (54) a. *wi-s cip* (top-*s* house) ‘the house above’
 b. *alay-s maul* (lower region-*s* village) ‘the village below (ours)’
 c. *twi-s kil* (back-*s* road) ‘road behind (the house or the village)’

These arguments would be sufficient for considering Korean relational nouns as nouns, not as postpositions.

4. Conclusion

In the description of grammaticalization of Korean postpositions from verbs or from nouns, Rhee defends the hypothesis that particles mark verbal or nominal complements, and thus are omissible in the decategorization of verbs or nouns as postpositions. To revalue this hypothesis, we at first have to clarify the categorial status of particles and conclude, for morphophonological and for functional reasons, that they are clitics, manifesting properties both of suffixes and of independent words capable of functioning as syntactic heads or as modifiers. We then distinguish postposition clitics, defining them as semantic predicates which control the semantic features of their arguments, from modifier clitics and phrasal affixes. As for the grammaticalization from verbs or from nouns, it can yield not only postpositions but also other bound morphemes, such as modifier clitics or dependent nouns. The grammaticalization of postpositions from verbs operates, not by eliminating particles, but by the lost of inflectional possibilities, by the cohesion between the fixed non-finite verbal form and its complement (disallowing the insertion of an adverb between them) and by the more extensive lexical selection of complement for postpositional uses than for verbal uses. The possibility of the phonological fusion of postpositions with their host-constituent may be considered a factor leading to a high degree of grammaticalization. As for the grammaticalization of postpositions from nouns, it operates by the restriction of postposition clitics which can follow them, rather than by their omission.

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative	DN	Dependent Noun
ACC	Accusative	EQ	Equative
AdnS	Adnominal Suffix	ESS	Essive-modal
Adv	Adverb	FUT	Future
AN	Animate	HON.	Honorific
AUX	Auxiliary	IN	Inanimate
CL	Clitic	Iness	Inessive
COM	Comitative	INST	Instrumental
COMP	Comparative	LOC	Locative
Conn	Connective	MOD.	Modifier
CS	Conjunctive Suffix	MS	Modal Suffix
DAT	Dative	NEG	Negation
DIR	Directional	NOM	Nominative

NP	Noun Phrase	QuotS	Quotative Suffix
PAS	Passive Suffix	SUBJ	Subject
PFT	Perfect Suffix	TH	Thematic
Ph Affix	Phrasal Affix	TS	Terminal Suffix
PL	Plural	PST	Present Suffix
Postp	Postposition	VP	Verbal Phrase
PP	Postpositional Phrase	VR	Verbal Root
PROG	Progressive		

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French prepositions *à* and *de* in infinitival complements

A pragma-semantic analysis

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We uphold the position that the French prepositions *à* and *de* are not “empty” and do not fulfill only a syntactic function. After showing that the criterion of presupposition, used in some previous work, is not sufficient to differentiate these prepositions, we put forward a pragma-semantic description according to which expressions with *à*, followed by an infinitival complement, are used when the speaker’s intention is to present a fact in an “ambivalent” way, whereas expressions with *de* indicate a “monovalent” vision of a fact. We also try to show that the “ambivalent vision” related to the preposition *à* makes it possible to introduce a particular argumentative value to the statement, indicating a real or a potential opposition of points of view.

o. Introduction

The French prepositions *à* and *de* have been called “empty” or “colourless”, as they apparently lack meaning and fulfill only a syntactic function.¹ This function consists in connecting words into phrases: introducing the complement of a verb, of an adjective or of a noun, for example in the form of an infinitive (e.g. *songer à / envisager de faire; apte à / capable de faire; capacité à / capacité de faire* – “to consider doing”; “capable to do/of doing”; “capacity to do”). As both prepositions have the same syntactic distribution, and can even appear with an identical main element (e.g. *continuer à/de; capacité à/de* – “to continue to do/doing”; “capacity to do”), the question arises of the specificity of each of them, unless we consider

1. For a presentation of such analyses see (Cervoni 1991) and (Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot 1995).

that the presence of *à* or of *de* is due to random distribution, which is somewhat unlikely from the linguistic point of view.

Pottier (1962) rejected the concept of “empty word” as applied to the prepositions *à* and *de*. He also objected to the assimilation of “empty” and “abstract”, since a morpheme may have a meaning which is “abstract”, i.e. it contains only a small number of distinctive features, but which may nevertheless be well defined. Cervoni (1991) adopted the same point of view, claiming that any preposition, being a sign, has a meaning. He recommended placing the study of French prepositions within “intentional pragmatics”, and he looked for pragmatic considerations in some of the earlier descriptions of French prepositions. An analysis which can be considered “pragmatic”, based as it is on the notion of presupposition, was put forward by Adamczewski (1991) for the expressions of the type “V1 *de/à* V2” (where V stands for “verb”), claiming that the preposition *de* marks “mental anteriority” of V2 (e.g. in *cesser de fumer*, *refuser de signer* – “to stop smoking”, “to refuse to sign”). Cadiot (1997) formulated a comparable description of the opposition between *à* and *de* in terms of “established image” (“image d’acquis”) for *de* and of “image to establish” (“image à acquérir”) for *à*, pointing out the parallel between these features and, respectively, the notions of “retrospective” and “prospective viewing”, used by Pottier (1980).

Even though the “retrospective/presupposed” feature may appear plausible with respect to the preposition *de* in quite a number of cases, it does not seem to be valid for all expressions containing this preposition. Likewise, the opposition “prospective/non-presupposed” feature is not reliable with respect to the preposition *à*, as the use of some expressions containing this preposition may require a presupposition concerning the fact described by the complement. Thus, the criterion of presupposition for opposing these linguistic forms does not have a general scope.

Our description of the difference between French prepositions *à* and *de* in infinitival complements is an extension of the hypothesis presented in Fraczak (2003). Instead of focusing on the preposition *de*, as it is often the case, and characterizing the preposition *à* by the absence of the value allotted to *de*, we proceed in the opposite way, considering that the preposition *à* in infinitival complements carries a pragma-semantic value which is “marked” in comparison to *de*.² This value, as we will try to show, involves “ambivalent vision” of the fact expressed by the infinitival complement, which means that, with the use of the

2. Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot also allot a marked (or “more specific”) value to the preposition *à* as compared to *de*: “*De*, in contrast to *à*, has a much more abstract or semantically “bare-bones” meaning” (1995: 367–368).

preposition *à*, two opposite versions of the fact are taken into consideration, one positive and one negative. This value is additionally characterized by a “transfer” from one version to the other (which may be related to the spatial meaning of *à* – “towards”), and can thus generate the meaning of effort, hesitation, difficulty, exploit, resistance, or opposition (of interests, intentions, expectations). Ambivalent presentation of a fact brings about, in many cases, a polemic dimension, consisting in expressing a judgment or a point of view in opposition to another.

Our study is based on the list of expressions containing *à* and *de* established by Lasserre (1995), and it takes into account their semantic and syntactic characteristics as well as the contexts in which they occur or may occur.

1. Previous pragmatic analyses of the prepositions *à* and *de*

Cervoni (1991) postulated that the prepositions should be studied within a pragmatic approach or, more precisely, within what he calls “intentional pragmatics” (“pragmatique de l’intentionnel”). This means taking into account the speaker’s intentions, which can be more or less conscious, thus involving the speaker’s subjectivity and affecting the addressee in one way or another. In a context where the alternation between the two prepositions is possible, Cervoni formulates an interesting analysis of the following examples (1991: 257):

- (1) *Ce sont là les idées de Pierre.*
‘These/Those are Peter’s ideas.’
- (2) *Ce sont là des idées à Pierre.*
‘They are some ideas of Peter’s.’

The author points out that the second sentence is more likely to express the speaker’s subjectivity, by marking distance from the “ideas” in question, and that its “argumentative orientation” is thus different. The way a fact is considered, in relation to a particular communicative intention, and is presented accordingly, will be a basic consideration in our analysis in order to differentiate the prepositions *à* and *de*.

The same year that Cervoni’s work was published, Adamczewski (1991) produced a contrastive analysis of the prepositions *à* and *de* that can be considered “pragmatic”. At one stage of his analysis, the author points out that the choice of one or the other preposition may reveal a different point of view on some aspects of reality. However, another pragmatic factor is given prominence in Adamczewski’s study: the (linguistic and extra-linguistic) knowledge shared by

the speakers.³ According to his thesis, *de* indicates the thematic (or presupposed) nature of the segment that follows it or, in other words, its “mental anteriority”, while *à* introduces a rhematic (not presupposed) segment. Some verbs taking the preposition *de*, such as *cesser*, *finir*, *éviter*, *empêcher* (“to cease”, “to finish”, “to avoid”, “to prevent”), presuppose the second verb contained in the complement (V2), whereas the verbs *continuer* and *commencer* (“to continue” and “to start”), which can be used either with *de* or *à*, take *de* in presupposing contexts, as it can be illustrated, for *continuer de*, by the following example:

- (3) *Pas de changement dans les jours à venir. Il va continuer de faire beau jusqu'à la fin de la semaine.* (Adamczewski 1991: 69)

‘No changes for the next few days. The weather will continue to be nice till the end of the week.’

The presupposing context consists here in the fact, assumed to be known to the listeners, that the weather was nice previously. The “not new” character of the information “for the weather to be nice” is moreover made explicit by the content of the preceding sentence (‘no changes...’).

In the same way the author explains the difference between *obliger à faire* and *être obligé de faire* (“to oblige / to be obliged to do”): in the second expression, *de* indicates the anaphoric character of what is expressed by the verb complement.

A similar description was formulated by Trubert-Ouvrard (1994), associating the presupposing feature with the preposition *de* and the non-presupposing feature with the preposition *à*. The author considers, for example, that by saying *Il commence de pleuvoir* (“The rain is starting”) the speaker does not intend to inform the addressee of the existence of the rain (as it would be the case with *Il commence à pleuvoir* – “It is starting to rain”), which is supposed to be already known, but to draw the addressee’s attention to the starting itself. He explains in similar terms the impossibility to combine *finir* (“to finish”) with *à*: to finish a process implies the existence of the process to a much higher degree than in the case of *continuer* (“to continue”), which may be used with both *à* and *de*.

An explanation using the factor of presupposition was also proposed by Cadiot (1997). The author formulates, in the conclusion of his book, a general principle according to which *de* corresponds to the construction of an image viewed as established, whereas *à* corresponds to the construction of an image to establish. The event described by the infinitival complement introduced by *de* is thus supposed to be considered by the speaker as factual or taken for granted, unlike in the case of *à*.

3. This factor is also mentioned by Cervoni among the three types of pragmatic factors that he enumerates (1991: 215).

Even though it may be possible to allocate the presupposed nature to a fact or event introduced by the preposition *de* in many expressions, this characteristic does not hold for all the cases, as we will try to show in the following section. Cadot (1997) points this out as well and uses oppositions other than “established / to establish”; for example, the feature of “dynamic” viewing for *à* against the feature of “static” viewing for *de*. He explains the difference between *songer à* and *rêver de* (“to think of” and “to dream of”) by “active concern” for the former and “vague” or “passive thought” for the latter. We find a similar idea in (Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot 1995), associating the preposition *à* with a “more intensive mental activity”.

2. Insufficiency of the presupposition criterion

Concerning the verbs considered as “presupposing” by Adamczewski (1991), it may be observed that what is presupposed by V1 is not always V2 itself but some stage preceding the one represented by V1. Thus, the verb *commencer* (“to start”) presupposes the stage “to envisage”, “to plan”; the verb *continuer* (“to continue”) presupposes the stage “to start”; the verb *finir* (“to finish”) presupposes the stages “to start” and “to continue”; and the verb *oublier* (“to forget”) presupposes the stage “to think of”. This kind of presupposition can be called “lexical” and it may be distinguished from “situational” presupposition, where the use of some V1 requires that the fact expressed by V2 be presupposed. Some verbs seem to be related to both types of presupposition: for example, *oublier* in “*oublier de* + V2” (“to forget to + V2”), on one hand, presupposes the stage “to think of” and, on the other hand, it will be used in a context where the fact expressed by V2 is presupposed as well. Other verbs, however, while containing “lexical” presupposition, do not require “situational” presupposition. It is the case, for example, with the verb *essayer* (“to try”) (considered as “presupposing” by Adamczewski), which does presuppose some previous step or stage (“to think of” or “to plan”) but whose use is not necessarily determined by a presupposition about the fact expressed by V2. Statements like the one below:

- (4) *Un prisonnier a essayé de s'évader cette nuit de la prison X.*
 ‘A prisoner tried to escape from prison X last night.’

do not allow us to consider that the piece of information related to V2 (“to escape...” in this case) is necessarily presupposed.

The analysis of our corpus of relevant examples⁴ leads us to conclude that “lexical” presupposition is present in a large majority of verbs, independently of the preposition used. Apart from the verbs taking *de*, quite a number of verbs with *à* share this characteristic: for example, *chercher à* (“to seek”, “to try”), like *essayer de* (“to try”), presupposes the stage “to think of”, “to plan” or “to want”; *arriver à* and *réussir à* (“to succeed” and “to manage”) presuppose the stage “to undertake” or “to try”; *consentir à* (“to consent”), like *accepter de* (“to accept”), presupposes a “request” or a “proposition”; *se décider à* (“to make up one’s mind”) presupposes “hesitation”, etc. Some rare verbs, however, among those in our corpus, do not seem to contain such a presupposition of a previous stage (regardless of the preposition again), for example: *envisager de* (“to consider doing”), *rêver de* (“to dream of doing”), *songer / penser à* (“to think of doing”), *se mettre à* (“to start”). In view of these observations, “lexical” presupposition can be dismissed as a factor determining the use of the preposition *à* as against *de*.

There remains “situational” presupposition, the one that involves some minimal knowledge that the addressee is supposed to share with the speaker in order to easily interpret the message. We will then try to check if it is related to the use of the preposition *de*.

It may be considered, for example, that the use of “*accepter de* + V2” (“to accept to + V2”) requires the presupposition of the request or proposal expressed by V2. Thus, the statement *Paul a accepté de venir* (“Paul accepted to come”) presupposes that a proposition or request for Paul to come had been addressed to him and that this can be accepted as a “not new” piece of information by the addressee of the message. In the same way, a statement with *choisir de* (“to choose”) implies, using Adamczewski’s terms, “mental anteriority” of what was chosen. Verbs which indicate some degree of progress of a process: *continuer*, *cesser/finir/terminer* (“to continue”, “to cease/to finish/to end”) are also “presupposing” since they imply that the process expressed by the complement was started and that this is presupposed in the communication at hand. However, the verb *continuer* (“to continue”) can also be used with the preposition *à*, as it is the case with the verb *commencer* (“to start”). We will reconsider these two verbs later.

Among the “presupposing” expressions with *de* are verbs with a “negative” meaning, such as *oublier* (“to forget”), *refuser* (“to refuse”) or *regretter* (“to regret”), which also require some presupposition concerning the fact expressed by the complement. We will analyze these expressions later in order to explain the reason why they do not combine with the preposition *à*, as we think that this reason is not directly related to the presupposition.

4. Expressions of the type V1 *à/de* V2 contained in (Lasserre 1995).

We mentioned above the verb *essayer* (“to try”), which, although accompanied by the preposition *de*, cannot be regarded as requiring a presupposition relating to the process expressed by V2. This may be, on the contrary, the case with the verb *réussir* (“to succeed”, “to manage”), which combines with the preposition *à*, as in the following sentence:

- (5) *J’ai réussi à réparer la chaise.*
 ‘I managed to repair the chair.’

This kind of utterance can lead to a reaction such as “Oh, I didn’t know that you were going to try” on the part of the addressee, which shows that, in order to use the expression *réussir à*, a situational presupposition may be required.

The use of *envisager de* (“to consider”) does not seem, as with *essayer de* (“to try”), to be conditioned by a situational presupposition either, in spite of the presence of the preposition *de*. In the following sentence:

- (6) *Paul envisage de déménager.*
 ‘Paul is considering moving out.’

the speaker informs the addressee about Paul’s (possible) plan, without calling on any presupposed information about it, whereas such a presupposition might be necessary with the use of *hésiter à* (“to hesitate”):

- (7) *Paul hésite à déménager.*
 ‘Paul is hesitating about moving out.’

Indeed, the interlocutors would probably not be talking about Paul’s hesitation if the addressee did not know anything about Paul’s possible intention to move out.

An explanation in terms of “presupposed / not presupposed” would not work either in order to differentiate the expressions *décider de* (“to decide”) and *se décider à* (“to make up one’s mind”). For example, in the following utterance:⁵

- (8) *Nous avons décidé de partir (sur-le-champ).*
 ‘We decided to leave (right away).’

the fact expressed by *partir* (“to leave”), or *partir sur-le-champ* (“to leave right away”), does not have to correspond to a presupposed piece of information; it may, on the contrary, easily correspond to an entirely new, even surprising, piece of information from the addressee’s point of view. This differs from the use of *se décider à*:

5. This example, as well as the following one, is borrowed from Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1995: 369).

- (9) *Nous nous sommes (enfin) décidés à partir.*
 ‘We (finally) made up our mind to leave.’

where the presupposed nature of V2 (*partir* – “to leave”) is additionally emphasized by the “presupposing” adverb *enfin* (“finally”, “at last”). In general, when one says that one “made up one’s mind to do something” (*s’est décidé à...*), one implies having hesitated about the fact in question.⁶ The main information provided by the statement is that, among the two versions having been considered (for example, to “leave” and “not to leave”), it is the positive one that was finally chosen. This “duality” or “ambivalent vision” of the fact, as well as the transfer from its negative to its positive version (or the opposite), is the feature that should be taken into account in order to explain the use of the preposition *à*, rather than the non-presupposed character of the fact in question.

We will finish our critique of the presupposition criterion and of its relevance to a contrastive analysis of the prepositions *à* and *de* by reconsidering the verb *commencer* (“to start”), which can combine with either one or the other preposition (even though *à* is more frequent). Following the ideas of Adamczewski (1991) and of Trubert-Ouvrard (1997), it should be considered that *commencer* is “presupposing” when accompanied by *de* and “non presupposing” when accompanied by *à*. Trubert-Ouvrard uses, among others, the following example, containing *commencer à*, to show that the preposition *à* is responsible for the “rhematic status” of V2 or, in other words, its status as “a new element in the utterance”:

- (10) *Jean avait décidé d’aller admirer la ville depuis les hauteurs de la campagne avoisinante; il choisit la Côte de Saint Germain pour sa première sortie et le dimanche suivant, à l’aube, il commença à escalader la colline à partir de la source.*

‘Jean had decided to go and admire the town from the heights of the nearby countryside; he chose the Hill of Saint Germain for his first outing, and the following Sunday, at dawn, he began to climb the hill starting from the source.’

It seems, on the contrary, that in spite of the presence of the preposition *à*, a presupposition exists concerning the content of the complement (*escalader la colline* – “to climb the hill”), due to the preceding context in which the narrator mentions *les hauteurs* (“the heights”) and *la Côte* (“the Hill”) as well as the intention of the protagonist to go there. The verb *commencer* (“to start”) carries this

6. Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot say about this example that “the decision was arrived at after a long process of deliberation” (1995: 369).

presupposition. Thus, the verb *commencer* has a presupposing nature, which is independent of the preposition that accompanies it, as it is also the case for the verbs *continuer* (“to continue”) and *finir* (“to finish”): we refer with these verbs to the beginning, to the continuation or to the end of a process where the process is presupposed.⁷

We can conclude from this part of the analysis that the use of the preposition *de*, as opposed to *à*, cannot be systematically associated with the factor of situational presupposition.

3. New pragma-semantic description of the opposition between *à* and *de*

We will develop, in this section, our description of the opposition between the prepositions *à* and *de* in verbal expressions with an infinitival complement, which is meant to be more robust than the presupposition theory. We will evoke other contributions in order to show that the meanings that some authors associate with the expressions containing the preposition *à* are connected to the more general feature that we call “ambivalent vision”.

Thus, we allot to the preposition *à* the ability to mark “ambivalent vision” of the fact expressed by the infinitival complement, which means that both its positive and its negative versions are called upon, with a “transfer” (or “oscillation”) between them. The idea of “transfer” can be related to the meaning of “passage from one state to another”, mentioned by the dictionary *Le Petit Robert* in the description of the morpheme “a-”, which has the same origin as the preposition *à*: Latin word *ad*.⁸ The ambivalent way of presenting a fact makes it possible to obtain, depending on the verb used as V1 and on the context, the meaning of effort, of hesitation, of non-obviousness, of difficulty, of exploit, of resistance, of difference between points of view (interests, intentions, expectations).

A comparison of the expressions *continuer à* and *continuer de* (“to continue”) can illustrate the compatibility of the preposition *de* with “monovalent vision” and the compatibility of the preposition *à* with “ambivalent vision” of a fact. Thus, the preposition *de* should be preferred with *continuer* when the positive

7. Adamczewski considers the verbs *cesser* (‘to cease’) and *finir* (‘to finish’) as presupposing the verb which follows them (V2) but he claims that “this is certainly not the case with *commencer*”.

8. Kemmer et Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot also make a “spatial” analogy with respect to the preposition *à* in expressions of the type “V1 *à* V2”, in terms of “mental traversal of a path to a goal” (1995:371).

(presupposed) version of the process expressed by the complement is strongly privileged. This is the case in the example used by Adamczewski which we quoted in Section 1 and which we use again here:

- (11) *Pas de changement dans les jours à venir. Il va continuer de faire beau jusqu'à la fin de la semaine.*
'No change for the next few days. The weather will continue to be nice till the end of the week.'

There is no reason in this case, from the speaker's point of view, to question the presupposed characteristics of the weather, or to envisage a different evolution. We can imagine another way of viewing the same kind of information:

- (12) *Bonne nouvelle ! Il va continuer à faire beau jusqu'à la fin de la semaine.*
'Good news! The weather will continue to be nice till the end of the week.'

In example (12), "ambivalent vision" is adopted: the speaker communicates having considered both the continuation of the nice weather and the contrary possibility, even though the positive version only is asserted.

Presenting a fact in an ambivalent way can help to build up an argumentative/polemic value of an utterance. According to the definition given by Adam (2002), an argumentative discourse is always placed in relation to a "counter-discourse".⁹ We noticed, while analyzing examples from the Internet, an interesting correlation between the use of *continuer à* and the structures carrying a polemic attitude, where the speaker expresses an opinion against some situation or point of view. Thus, we observed, for example, that *continuer à* is clearly preferred to *continuer de* after negative expressions such as *ne doit pas* or *ne devrait pas* ("must not" or "should not") as well as in interrogative sentences starting with *pourquoi* ("why"),¹⁰ like in the examples below:

- (13) *Le chercheur ne doit pas continuer à mendier pour faire son travail.*
'The researcher must not continue to beg for money in order to do his/her job.'
- (14) *L'Europe ne devrait pas continuer à se tenir en retrait du processus.*
'Europe should not continue to stand back from the process.'

9. It is also relevant to refer to the theory of the polyphony of Ducrot (1984), as well as to the texts on language argumentation by Anscombe and Ducrot (1997).

10. Negative and interrogative utterances represent a favourable context to look for polemic intentions.

- (15) *Pourquoi continuer à utiliser des bois exotiques dont l'exploitation détruit les forêts tropicales et notre planète alors qu'il existe des solutions adaptées près de chez nous ?*

'Why continue to use exotic wood whose exploitation destroys tropical forests and our planet while there exist convenient solutions close at hand?'

A kind of polemic value is also present in utterances with *se refuser à* ("to refuse"), in opposition to *refuser de* ("to refuse"). We borrow the following example from Adamczewski (1991:70), who analyzes this form on the basis of non-pre-supposition:

- (16) *Le gouvernement se refuse à négocier sous la pression de la rue.*

'The government is refusing to negotiate (is not conceding) under the pressure of the demonstrators.'

The author points out that it is not a formal refusal that is reported here, or an act fully assumed by the government (where a proposition to negotiate would be presupposed), but a journalist's comment, which could be paraphrased by "the government is turning a deaf ear". Such a comment is of an argumentative/polemic nature, with an implicit introduction of the contrary version of the fact, meaning that one could expect the government to start negotiations under the pressure of the demonstrators. The "ambivalent vision" of the fact comes thus into play, with the opposition between "to negotiate" and "not to negotiate", whereas with the use of the simple form of the same verb accompanied by the preposition *de* (*refuser de négocier*), the decision "not to negotiate" would simply be reported.

Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1995) are particularly interested in semantic contrast between reflexive verb forms accompanied by the preposition *à* (e.g. *se risquer à* – "to risk", "to dare") and corresponding simple verb forms accompanied by *de* (e.g. *risquer de* – "to risk"), as in the examples below:

- (17) *Je risque de tout perdre.*

'I risk losing everything.'

- (18) *Je ne me risque pas à sortir seule le soir.*

'I don't dare to go out alone at night.'

The authors describe the difference by saying that the example with *se risquer à* (18) "involves a goal-directed mental orientation of the subject towards the event designated by the infinitive clause", a property that is absent with *risquer de* (1995:368). They also allot the feature of "more intensive and prolonged mental activity" to expressions with *à*, which is close, as they point out, to the analysis of Gougenheim (1959), who talks about "active attitude" and "engagement of the subject in the action". For our part, we explain this difference by the presence of

a polemic value with *se risquer à*, or rather *ne pas se risquer à*: the speaker's intention is to present his/her personal point of view (according to which it is risky to go out alone at night), considered as possibly controversial or opposed to another point of view. Thus, an "ambivalent vision" of the fact expressed by the complement acquires a particular argumentative dimension in this case again.

It is relevant to quote the interpretation given by Réquédât (1980) of some expressions depending on whether the verb is or not reflexive-marked (e.g. *refuser de / se refuser à* – "to refuse"; *décider de / se décider à* – "to decide" / "to make up one's mind"; *résoudre de / se résoudre à* – "to resolve"), since the author notes the existence of some kind of dilemma in case of reflexive forms. He considers that, for the above three verbs, the simple form does not indicate anything else than a refusal or a decision, whereas the reflexive form implies that this refusal or decision was preceded by a time of hesitation. The reflexive form seems also to indicate, according to the author, the importance of the interest or of the role of the subject in the action. As for this second remark, one may consider indeed that whenever there occurs a dilemma or a hesitation concerning an action, as in the case of *se décider à* ("to make up one's mind"), this involves the "interest" or the "role of the subject in the action", or "active concern" that is mentioned by Cadiot (1997), or "intensive mental activity", as Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1995) put it.

Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot also analyze what they call "verbs of trying", observing that some of them combine with the preposition *à* (e.g. *s'appliquer à* – "to apply oneself", *chercher à* – "to seek"), whereas others combine with *de* (e.g. *essayer de* – "to try", *tenter de* – "to try", *s'efforcer de* – "to try hard", *tâcher de* – "to endeavour"). The authors formulate the semantic difference between them in the following way: "Many of the verbs in the first class have a meaning of extended effort and planning toward a goal, for example the verbs *chercher* 'try to, seek to' and *s'appliquer* 'apply one's efforts to'" (1995: 371–372). According to our point of view, the meaning of "effort" in the expressions in question goes through what we call "ambivalent vision" of a fact (which can also result in other meanings than "effort"). As for "planning toward a goal", we postulate the idea of "transfer" instead: the passage from one version of a fact to another. Thus, with *chercher à faire* (unlike with *essayer de faire*, for example) the speaker takes into consideration at the same time the existence of a situation where the fact (expressed by the complement) is not yet valid and the existence of a situation where this fact is already valid, as well as the transfer from one situation to the other. This "ambivalence" may be related to an argumentative/polemic intention, consisting in opposing contrary interests: the interests corresponding to the situation aimed at and the interests corresponding to the current situation, as in the following

example (taken from the Internet), where the speaker opposes the interests of the managers to those of the employees:

- (19) *Les dirigeants ne comprennent qu'une chose : le rapport de force. En individualisant nos cas ils cherchent à nous diviser ; ils savent très bien qu'en nous y mettant tous ensemble, nous pouvons les faire céder !*
 'The managers understand only one thing: balance of power. By individualizing our cases, they are trying to divide us; they know very well that if we get all together, we can make them give in!'

It may also be noted that the use of *chercher à* makes it possible, in this example, to express a judgment on the intentions of the managers, or an interpretation of their acts. This argumentative effect would not be observed if *essayer de* was used instead.

Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot analyze the difference between the expressions *songer à faire* ('to think of doing') and *rêver de faire* ('to dream of doing', 'to long to do'), as in the examples below, by ascribing the meaning of 'actively considering a future purchase' to the former, and the meaning of 'wishing for something unattainable' to the latter (1995: 374).

- (20) *Je rêve d'acheter une automobile.*
 'I dream of buying a car.'
 (21) *Je songe à acheter une automobile.*
 'I'm considering buying a car.'

In terms of our thesis, with *songer à*, unlike with *rêver de*, two possibilities are considered: in this case, 'to buy' and 'not to buy', which constitutes 'ambivalent vision' of the fact in question.

We observe that the semantic features ascribed by Kemmer and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot to expressions with the preposition *à*, i.e. 'goal-orientedness' and 'mental participation' ('extended effort', 'active attitude'), are not systematically present, as illustrated by the following examples, containing either an impersonal subject or a passive form:

- (22) *La musique en ligne commence à trouver le bon tempo.* (Internet)
 'Music on line is beginning to find a good tempo.'
 (23) *S'il continue à faire aussi doux qu'aujourd'hui, les magnifiques fleurs de cette jolie maison familiale seront peut-être encore fleuries quand vous viendrez la visiter.* (Internet)
 'If it continues to be as warm as today, the splendid flowers of this pretty family house may still be in blossom when you come to visit it.'

- (24) *Tsunami : un flot de dons qui tarde à s'écouler*. (Internet)
 'Tsunami: a flood of donations which is taking a long time to flow out.'
- (25) *Vous êtes autorisé à vous en servir à votre domicile ou sur votre lieu de travail*. (Internet)
 'You are allowed to use it at home or at your place of work.'
- (26) *J'en suis réduit à économiser sur la nourriture*. (*Le Petit Robert*)
 'I am reduced to saving on food because of it.'

Even if we only consider examples with a personal subject and active form, we observe that "goal-orientedness" and "mental participation" are not always present together in expressions with the preposition *à*: in case of *hésiter à* ("to hesitate") or *renoncer à* ("to give up"), for example, we can talk about "mental participation" but not really about "goal-orientedness"; in case of *demander à faire* ("to ask") or *inciter (quelqu'un) à faire* ("to incite"); on the contrary, "goal-orientedness" seems more salient than "mental participation". Besides, one of these meanings or both can be assigned to several expressions with the preposition *de*, for example: *projeter de* ("to plan"), *s'efforcer de* ("to try hard"), *persuader (quelqu'un) de* ("to persuade").

We can thus conclude that, just as in the case of presupposition, these semantic features are not general enough, whereas the pragma-semantic feature of "ambivalent vision" embraces these meanings as well as other ones.

We have pointed out the incompatibility of the preposition *à* with "negative" expressions, like *oublier* ("to forget"), *manquer* ("to fail"), *éviter* ("to avoid"), *refuser* ("to refuse"), which share the meaning of "not doing" or "not wanting to do". We explain the use of the preposition *de* with these verbs by the existence of a different operation than that involved in "ambivalent vision": the presupposed, positive version of a given fact is "dismissed" in favour of the negative one, thus resulting in "monovalent vision". We observe, however, that the verb *renoncer* ("to give up"), unlike other "negative" verbs, combines with the preposition *à* and not with *de*. In this case, it may be considered that both versions (the positive and the negative one) remain "activated", in order to express the transfer from one version to the other implying "cost" or "regret", and thus "ambivalent vision" is in effect. With this verb, an argumentative/polemic value may be brought to light by the context, as may be illustrated by the following examples, taken from the Internet:

- (27) *Ce numéro de Poésie 1 / Vagabondages donnera la parole à une trentaine de poètes femmes (nous renonçons à utiliser le mot "poétresse" qui commence bien mais se termine mal)*.
 'This issue of Poésie 1 / Vagabondages will feature about thirty woman poets (we refrain from using the word "poetess", which starts well but ends badly).'

- (28) *Avec l'irruption de la télé-réalité, nous renonçons à distinguer le vrai du faux, la vie publique et la vie privée.*

'With the invasion of reality TV, we are giving up distinguishing between the true and the fake, between public life and private life.'

In example (27), it is a deliberate decision that is described, its reason being justified in the second part of the sentence. The announced choice (not to use the word *poétesse*) is implicitly opposed to the previous, contrary choice, with the idea of regret relating to the passage from one to the other. In example (28), the sentence containing the verb *renoncer* constitutes a comment which indicates that the emergence of reality TV leads to the transfer, judged negatively, from some previous situation to a situation of confusion.

4. More in-depth analysis of the corpus of expressions

The present study concentrates on the expressions containing an infinitival complement with a verb as its main element. These expressions can be classified with respect to the transitivity of the main verb, i.e. whether there are only one or two complements, as well as to the nature of the complements used. These criteria result in four classes:

1. expressions with one "prepositional complement" (prepositional infinitive clause), e.g. *songer à faire* ("to think of doing"), *envisager de faire* ("to consider doing");
2. expressions with a "pronominal complement" and a "prepositional complement" (reflexive verbs with a prepositional infinitive clause), e.g. *se plaire à faire* ("to enjoy doing"), *se réjouir de faire* ("to delight in doing");
3. expressions with a "nominal complement" (direct object) and a "prepositional complement" (prepositional infinitive clause), e.g. *inviter qq à faire* ("to invite sb to do"), *prier qq de faire* ("to ask sb to do");
4. expressions with two "prepositional complements" (prepositional object with prepositional infinitive clause), e.g. *demander à qq de faire* ("to ask sb to do").

The expressions of type 4, with two prepositional complements, have a regular distribution of the prepositions: the first complement is introduced by *à* and the second one by *de* (*conseiller / déconseiller / demander / dire / interdire / ordonner / permettre / prescrire / promettre / proposer / recommander / suggérer à quelqu'un de faire* – "to advise", "to advise against", "to ask", "to tell", "to forbid", "to order", "to

allow”, “to command”, “to promise”, “to propose”, “to recommend”, “to suggest”). The preposition *à* relates the subject of the main verb and the person, symbolized by *quelqu’un* (“someone”), to whom the advice, the request, the order or the promise is addressed. The preposition *de* introduces the verb expressing the object of the advice, of the request, etc. The question arises why the preposition *à* may not occur before V2 in expressions with two indirect objects (e.g. *demander à quelqu’un de faire* – “to ask sb to do”), while it may occur in that position if the first complement is a direct object (e.g. *inviter quelqu’un à faire* – “to invite sb to do”). We can propose the following explanation (which does not take into account the reason why the first complement is indirect in some expressions and direct in others): if the first (“personal”) complement is “indirect”, i.e. introduced by the preposition *à*, the use of the same preposition in front of the second (verbal) complement is blocked so as to avoid a pragma-semantic redundancy. Indeed, it may be considered that it is within the first complement that “ambivalent vision” of a fact is indicated, allowing the expression of the opposition (which may be only potential) between the points of view (interests, wishes, expectations) of the subject of V1 and of the person expressed by the first complement. It would be redundant to indicate this opposition once again in front of the second complement. It is interesting to note that if the verb *demander* (“to ask”) is accompanied only by the infinitival complement (indirect object), as in *L’accusé demande à être entendu* (“The defendant asks to be heard”), the infinitival complement is introduced by the preposition *à*, whereas when another (indirect) complement is present, and introduced by *à*, the infinitival complement is introduced by the preposition *de* (e.g. *L’accusé demande au juge d’être entendu* – “The defendant asks the judge to be heard”), as it is the case for all of the type 4 expressions.

The feature of “ambivalent vision”, with the idea of “opposition”, is quite transparent in the expressions (type 4) in which the subject of V2 is different from the subject of V1. In expressions with the verbs *demander* (“to ask”), *recommander* (“to recommend”), *ordonner* (“to order”), *prescrire* (“to order”), *suggérer* (“to suggest”), the subject transmits his/her intention, wish or expectation, which involves the recipient and which is likely to meet with the recipient’s resistance. This kind of opposition is obvious with the verb *interdire* (“to forbid”), since it is “lexically” presupposed: if one forbids a recipient to do something, it is because one is opposed to some (real or potential) intention of the recipient. The opposition of intentions or wishes is also presupposed with the verb *permettre* (“to allow”): if one allows something, it means that one could be opposed to it. The idea of opposition is perhaps less obvious in the expressions where the subject of V2 is (or can be) the same as the subject of V1, namely with the verbs *promettre* (“to promise”) and *proposer* (“to propose”). However, if one promises something, one considers a contrary expectation on behalf of the recipient. This kind of attitude

is also compatible with the verb *proposer*: when saying *je propose* (“I propose”, “I suggest”), one takes into consideration a possible contrary will on the part of the recipient of the proposition.

Thus, the type 4 expressions make use of “ambivalent vision” of a fact due to the use of the preposition *à*, even though this preposition is “shifted away” from V2. This way of considering a fact is pragmatically motivated by interpersonal tension, i.e. by opposition between points of view, intentions, wishes, or expectations.

Among the other syntactic types of expressions (1, 2, and 3 above), we recall the presence of verbs with a “negative” meaning, which we will now reconsider:

1. *éviter / manquer / omettre / oublier / refuser / regretter de faire* (“to avoid / fail / omit / forget / refuse / regret to do / doing”);
2. *se garder / se réserver / se retenir / se laisser de faire* (“to be careful not to do”, “to keep from doing”, “to refrain from doing”, “to grow tired of doing”);
3. *empêcher / retenir / dissuader / défier / décourager / dispenser qq de faire* (“to prevent / retain / dissuade someone from doing”, “to challenge someone to do”, “to discourage someone from doing”, “to spare someone the necessity of doing”).

The fact that these verbs take the preposition *de* could be explained in terms of presupposition: indeed, they are, for some of them (and would probably be, for others), considered by Adamczewski as “presupposing”. However, the presence of the presupposition relates here, in a more general way, to the negation (or “negativity”): denying or repudiating a fact consists in replacing its presupposed positive version by its negative version. The use of the preposition *de* in these expressions is not due to the presupposition itself but to the absence of “ambivalent vision”, as the positive version of a fact is eliminated to be replaced by the negative one.

The remaining verbal expressions with the preposition *de* (belonging to the syntactic types 1, 2 and 3 above) share the same “monovalent vision” by considering one version of a fact.

Concerning the verbs which combine with the preposition *à* (within the same types 1, 2, 3), we can try to group them according to their semantic features, which, in spite of the differences, come under the general value that we call “ambivalent vision”, consisting in simultaneous taking into consideration the expressed version of a fact and its contrary version:

- double possibility (*hésiter à, songer à, se décider à* – “to hesitate”, “to consider”, “to make up one’s mind”);

- non-obviousness (*aspirer à, commencer à, continuer à, persévérer à, persister à, tendre à, viser à* – “to long”, “to start”, “to continue”, “to persevere”, “to persist”, “to strive”, “to aim”);
- cost: effort, difficulty, exploit or sacrifice (*chercher à, réussir à, arriver à, parvenir à, contribuer à, travailler à, renoncer à, s'exercer à, se préparer à, se fatiguer à, se tuer à, s'engager à* – “to attempt”, “to succeed”, “to manage”, “to contribute”, “to endeavour”, “to give up”, “to train oneself”, “to prepare oneself”, “to tire oneself”, “to wear oneself”, “to undertake”);
- opposition of interests, intentions or expectations (*demander à, autoriser à, consentir à, contraindre à, encourager à, inviter à, inciter à, forcer à, obliger à, pousser à, provoquer à, réduire à* – “to ask”, “to allow”, “to consent”, “to compel”, “to encourage”, “to invite”, “to force”, “to oblige”, “to urge”, “to provoke”, “to reduce”);
- personal position or judgment (*chercher à, tenir à, persévérer à, persister à, (ne pas) se risquer à, (ne pas) tarder à, s'entêter à, s'obstiner à, se refuser à* – “to try”, “to insist”, “to persevere”, “to persist”, “(not) to dare”, “to take long/not to be long”, “to persist”, “to keep (doing)”, “to refuse”).

It is a preliminary analysis, and it should be refined by a deeper and context-based study, in order to show the diversity of the meanings that can result from “ambivalent vision”. Besides, it should be noted that a given verb may combine several features, and “choose” one of them depending on the context. We have included, for example, the verbs *persévérer* and *persister* in two semantic groups: “non-obviousness” and “personal position or judgment”. In the two examples below, containing the verb *persévérer*, one of these meanings, respectively, is salient:

- (29) *Sa première exposition ayant été un échec total, il ne s'est pas découragé et a persévéré à vouloir se faire connaître de tous.*
 ‘His first exhibition having been a complete failure did not discourage him and he persevered in trying to make a name for himself.’

In this example, the expression with *persévérer à* reinforces the idea of the non-obvious character of the continuation of the subject’s artistic activities given the unsuccessful first experience, implying that someone else in his position might not have persevered.

- (30) *Je persévère à penser qu'il s'est trompé.*
 ‘I persist in believing that he made a mistake.’

In this context, the verb *persévérer* is used to insist on the speaker’s personal opinion and on his/her choice to keep it, in opposition to the (possible) contrary opinion of someone else.

It is interesting, within a contrastive analysis of the prepositions *à* and *de*, to compare expressions which have a similar lexical meaning and combine with a different preposition. We have already differentiated *chercher à* (“to attempt”) and *essayer de* (“to try”) in Section 3; we will now consider two other pairs of this type: *consentir à* / *accepter de* (“to consent”, “to accept”) and *inviter à* / *prier de* (“to invite to do”, “to ask to do”). In order to do this, we refer to the definitions/paraphrases provided by *Le Petit Robert* dictionary with respect to the cases where the expression is followed by an infinitival complement.

consentir à : “accepter qu’une chose se fasse, ne pas l’empêcher”
 (“to accept that something be done, not to prevent it”)
accepter de : “bien vouloir” (“to agree”, “to be willing”)

With the negative paraphrase of *consentir* (“to consent”), “ambivalent vision” may be observed: the definition uses the antonyms *accepter* (“to accept”) and *empêcher* (“to prevent”), thus opposing the positive and the negative version of a fact.

inviter à : “inciter, engager en employant la persuasion, la douceur”
 (“to incite, to encourage by using persuasion, gentleness”)
prier de : “demander” (“to ask”)

For this second pair, as for the first one, we note a more elaborate definition of the verb with the preposition *à*: the definition of *inviter à* evokes the term of “persuasion”, which implies interpersonal tension. It is in this way that “ambivalent vision” occurs here.

5. Conclusion and perspectives

We hope to have shown that the “abstract” prepositions should not be excluded from the analysis of linguistic signs as they convey differential pragma-semantic values. The use of the preposition *à* in expressions containing an infinitival complement is related to “ambivalent vision” of the fact described by the complement, which implies simultaneous consideration of two contrary versions of the fact, with a “transfer” from one to the other. The preposition *de* is compatible, in such expressions, with “monovalent vision” of a fact. This pragma-semantic description, apart from having a purely linguistic interest, may be of use for foreign students learning French, by helping them to improve their skills concerning the correlations between the preposition *à* or *de* and different lexical elements.

Our study does not end here, as it is necessary to include not only verbal expressions but also those whose main element is an adjective (e.g. *prêt à faire*,

impatient de faire – “ready to do”, “impatient to do”) or a noun (e.g. *capacité à faire*, *capacité de faire* – “capacity of doing”). Our first analysis of such expressions allows us to consider that the opposition in terms of “ambivalent vision” / “mon-ovalent vision” is probably valid there as well.

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Prepositional wars

When ideology defines preposition

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The paper examines the changes in the distribution and connotations of Russian prepositional phrases *na Ukraine* vs. *v Ukraine* triggered by the acquisition of independence by Ukraine. Background information about the distribution of constructions in 19–20th century Russian and Ukrainian is provided. The importance of the prepositional construction in the context of the language policy of Ukrainian state is stressed, and the changing norms of contemporary Russian exemplified. It is argued that while retaining its dominance in oral speech, the constructions *na Ukraine* (Russ.) and *na Ukraïni* (Ukr.) ceased to be stylistically unmarked, and both *na Ukraine* and *v Ukraine* became indexical of socio-cultural identities and value-conferring.

The following article will discuss the Russian prepositional phrases *na Ukraine* vs. *v Ukraine*, both meaning “in (the) Ukraine”, their competition, status in modern standard and colloquial Russian, and the sociolinguistic background of the described situation.

1. Pre-1990 status-quo: Russian

A few words of introduction are due to familiarize the reader with the synchrony and diachrony of the constructions in question. East Slavic languages, including Russian, have a variety of expressions to denote location, the most important being the combinations of nouns in prepositional case with the prepositions *v* “in”, “inside” or *na* “on”, “in”. Etymologically, Russ. *na* is related to Gr. ἀνά, ἄνω and Goth. *ana* and is therefore a distant relative of Engl. *on*. The origin of *v* can be traced to *ън < *вън, which is related to Lat. *in*, Gr. ἐν, Goth. *in* and Eng. *in*.

In general, *v* implies the idea of limited three-dimensional space, while *na* does not infer such semantics. Other Indo-European languages also mark similar

semantic oppositions, e.g. Engl. *on* is described as referring to the location on the surface: *the players are practicing on the field*, while *in* as referring to a closed area or space: *the cows are grazing in the field*. In the course of historical development, generalizations of meaning of the prepositions and reinterpretation of nouns appearing with them are quite frequent, so the standard usage often appears difficult to foresee on the basis of the above-mentioned rule: Russians say *в pereulke* “on the lane”, but *на ulitse* “on the street”; *в derevne* “in the village”, but *на khutore* “in the farm(stead)”; *в ucherezhdanii* “in the office”, but *на predpriyatii* “in the factory”; *в komnate* “in the room”, but *на kukhne* “in the kitchen”; *в otechestve* “in fatherland”, but *на rodine* “in the motherland” and even *в Rossii* “in Russia”, but *на Rusi* “in ancient Russia”. The introduction of an adjectival complement may also result in the change of preposition.

According to the current norm, in certain constructions both prepositions are deemed acceptable, e.g. *на kukhne/в kukhne* “in the kitchen”. Using a non-normative preposition does not normally cause misunderstanding. Dialects and professional argots frequently favour constructions that are different from the standard, e.g. a theatre professional would say of his colleague that s/he *rabotajet na teatre* “works in the theatre” rather than the conventional *rabotajet в teatre*.

As already hinted by the difference of constructions of *Rossia* and *Rus'*, the use of prepositions with geographical terms is also highly idiosyncratic. Administrative units (states, provinces, cities, towns, etc.) and continents are used with *в*: *в Shvejtsarii* “in Switzerland”, *в Parizhe* “in Paris”, *в Orle* “in Orel”, *в Azii* “in Asia”, while regions that do not constitute administrative entities receive *на*: *на Dal'nem Vostoke* “in Far East”. There are exceptions, however, such as *в Sibiri* “in Siberia”. *Na* is used with islands: *на Kube* “in Cuba”, *на Kipre* “in Cyprus”, except those perceived predominantly as countries, e.g. *в Irlandii* “in Ireland”, *в Islandii* “in Iceland”. Peninsulas are preceded by *на*: *на Tajmyre* “in Taimyr”, but “in the Crimea” is *в Krymu*. The names of mountain chains are used with *на* if singular: *на Urale* “in Ural”, *на Pamire* “on Pamir”, but with *в* if plural: *в Karpatakh* “in Carpathian mountains”, *в Al'pakh* “in the Alps”. The construction *на Ukraine*, on which we will focus, has been unanimously treated by normative grammars and reference books of 20th century Russian as an exception to the rule regarding administrative units (e.g. Rozental' 1994; Ageenko 2001).

The association of these prepositions with their respective nouns is preserved in directional constructions with the accusative: *в otechestvo* “to the fatherland”, but *на rodinu* “to the motherland”; *на Ural* “to Ural”, but *в Karpaty* “to the Carpathian mountains”. Predictably, locative *на Ukraine* corresponds to directional *на Ukrainu* “to Ukraine”.

Given a certain degree of haphazardness in the above rules when viewed synchronically, foreigners are usually recommended to learn prepositional phrases

by heart alongside other idiomatic expressions (e.g., Wade 1983:9–28, 44–53; Shelijakin 1993:200). Native speakers, on the other hand, are supposed to have firm and indeed automatic knowledge of the correct construction, inasmuch as grammarians advise them to refer to the locative construction in order to check the correctness of the still more problematic separative. The rule in question states that the nouns governed by *na* in locative construction should take *s* to form a separative, while those governed by *v* should take *iz*. For example, when in doubt whether to use *vernulsja iz Kryma* or *vernulsja s Kryma* “returned from the Crimea”, the speaker should retrieve the form *v Krymu* and apply the rule.

The multiplicity of options for the locative construction and their uneven sociolinguistic and dialectal distribution witness to diachronic changes in a given segment of Russian grammar, some of them very recent. Standard nineteenth-century usages may today sound obsolete, e. g. the opening sentence of I. Goncharov’s classical novel, *Oblomov*:

V Gorokhovoju ulitse, v odnom iz bol’shikh domov, narodonaselenija kotorogo stalo by na tselyi ujezdnyj gorod, lezhal utrom v posteli, na svojej kvartire, Il’ja Il’ych Oblomov...

‘Ilya Ilyitch Oblomov was lying in bed one morning **in** his flat **on** Gorokhovaja street in one of the big houses that had almost as many inhabitants as a whole country town...’

would nowadays be formulated with *na ulitse* and *v kvartire*, although *na kvartire* still functions as a phraseological unit. Researchers of spoken language varieties have already noticed that in modern colloquial Russian *na* functions differently than in the literary language (Zemskaja and Kitajgorodskaja 1984:89). The statistical analysis by L. K. Graudina and co-authors (1976:51–52) shows that the constructions with *na* are twice as frequent than those with *v* (68.02 % against 31.98%). Unfortunately, the revised edition of their work (2001:68–71) includes only descriptive materials and no statistical data.

In order to check the validity of their conclusions and trace more recent developments in the distribution of prepositions, we examined the archives of websites dealing with the problems of normative Russian. The chosen sites function under the supervision of official bodies, such as the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, the Russian Association of Teachers of Russian Language and Literature, the Ministry of Education, etc. Staffed with linguists and philologists, they are expected – and trusted – to give professional recommendations about correct Russian usage to native speakers.

Questions about locative and directional prepositions appeared on all the reviewed web-portals. It was indicative that while a small proportion of speakers addressed standard and well-established expressions, the majority requested

advice as to the use of prepositions with terms for previously unknown products and the latest technologies. For example, on the site “Culture of Written Russian” (Kul’tura 2006) specialists were consulted about the following alternatives: *programma v/na komp’utere* “program in computer” (question No. 435), *vkhod v/na chat* “entry to the chat(room)” (No. 643), *ustanovka ... v/na sotovye telefony* “installation (of pictures, ring tones, etc.) in cellular phones” (No. 1624), *prochital v/na internete* “read on internet” (No. 3076), etc.

Undoubtedly, the alternatives like *vyekhat’ v/na firmu* “go/drive to the firm/company” (No. 449) and *v/na bel’etazhe* “in the mezzanine” (No. 4141) essentially belong to the same group of “unknown” and “unmarked”: during the Soviet period *firma* was an exotic realia of the Western world that belonged to fiction rather than reality. Similarly, the need for real estate terminology was boosted only recently by the developing property market. Hence *firma* and *bel’etazh*, being historically old loanwords, behave like recent neologisms in as much as they are not linked to any time-honoured tradition of prepositional usage.

Apart from neologisms, difficulties also arise with abbreviations, e.g. *poshel v/na TS.P.K.* “went to the TS.P.K.” (No. 2763), since the speakers either forget what the initials stand for or are altogether unfamiliar with the underlying expressions. Therefore, they are unable to apply a standard rule “use the same preposition as you would use with the head of the noun phrase”. For the purposes of choosing a syntagm with *v* or *na*, non-transparent abbreviations are equal to neologisms lacking important grammatical information.

Notably, in the case of abbreviations, speakers were advised “to chose the preposition in accordance with the sense of the statement” (“*Esli opornoe slovo neizvestno, sleduet vybrat’ predlog, soglasujas’ so smyslom vyskazyvaniya*” (Russkij jazyk 2006)). The wording of the suggestion is hardly precise, since “the sense of the statement” might require a locative or a directional adverbial complement, but not a specific preposition. The latter is conditioned by the (historical) semantics of the noun and not by the sentence-governing predication. At the same time this suggestion is highly indicative of the common practice of deducing from “sense”, i.e. through semantic analogy: a preposition is used with a word because it is used with its hyperonym, synonym or quasi-synonym. As it will be shown further, semantic associations of that kind may have far reaching consequences.

Theoretically, the introduction of new lexical items or the reintroduction of old ones should activate a default locative construction if there is one. *Na* poses fewer requirements on the semantics of the dependent noun and thus seems a better candidate for this position. Normativist educators from the language instruction sites censure this “easy solution” even in very common informal expressions as *hodit’ na shakhmaty* “to attend a chess class” (lit. “go in chess”), while recognizing that “this is the way our children and teenagers speak” (ibid.). Yet, the Russian

internet abounds in much more extreme violations of the norm like *poshel na baniyu* “went to the bathhouse”, *pojti na magazin* “to go to the shop”, *tusovat’sja na filarmonii* “to hang around the auditorium”, etc. Undoubtedly, the modern distribution of constructions shows an expansion of *na* at the expense of *v*.

2. Pre-1990 status quo: Ukrainian

Viewed as a system, Ukrainian locative and directional prepositional constructions exhibit close similarity to the Russian ones, although specific prepositions used with given nouns may differ, e.g. Ukr. *na horodi* vs. Russ. *v ogorode* “in the vegetable garden”. Ukr. *na seli* “in the countryside (as opposed to town)” would be translated as Russ. *v derevne*, although preposition *na*, found in the Russian phrase *pervyj rabotnik na sele* “best worker in the village”, might correspond to Ukr. *v seli*, etc. Neutralization of the opposition “location in open (bi-dimensional) vs. closed (three-dimensional) space” is equally possible, so that some Ukr. nouns can combine with both prepositions: *na/v kukhni* “in the kitchen”, *na/u dvori* “in the yard”.¹ Specialized sociolects and dialects exhibit allocation rules that differ from the mainstream, e.g. professional *vona* (sc. *p’jesa*) *pide u nas na teatri* “it (sc. the play) will run in our theatre” (I.K. Karpenko-Karyj) vs. common *v teatri*.

The link between a proper name and its locative preposition is conditioned by the (historical) understanding of the object as either bi- or three-dimensional, as happens in Russian. Thus, Siberia may be conceptualized as an open space: *na Sybiri*, but also as a limited territory: *v Sybiru/i*, the modern norm being *v*. It is not uncommon for linguists to offer a range of interpretations for a single usage, e.g. the expression *v Krymu* is explained as reminding one about a no longer existent state – the Crimean khanate, or as referring to the territory secluded by mountains (Ivanenko 1981: 55). However, tradition plays a pivotal role in the choice of construction: modern speakers for whom Crimea is mostly a holiday destination will use *v* although they may be unaware of its history or even the existence of the mountains if they reach it by airplane.

The expression *na Ukraïni* was widely used in the nineteenth-century Ukrainian classics both by Eastern and Western Ukrainian writers and poets. A text of immense symbolic significance, “The Testament” by Ukraine’s national poet Taras Shevchenko, known by heart by each and every Ukrainian, includes this construction:

1. Before consonant cluster [dv] the preposition *v* appears as *u*.

Jak umru, to pokhovajte
Mene v domovyni
Sered stepu shyrokoho
*Na Ukraïni mylij...*²

(‘When I die, bury me in a grave amid the wide steppes in dear Ukraine...’).

In twentieth-century Ukraine, *na Ukraïni* was as common as its Russian equivalent *na Ukraine* was in Russia. The interpretation of the phenomenon by Ukrainian linguists was also quite similar, e.g.:

Constructions with *v(u)* are used with the proper names of states, since the clear semantics of these ... words as signs of territories with precise borders suggests precisely this preposition. The expression *na Ukraïni* constitutes an exception, being a lexical combinatorial variant of constructions like *v Rossiï* (‘in Russia’), *v Angliï* (‘in England’). (Ivanenko 1981:54; cf. Vykhoanets’ 1980:91)

3. Post-1990 development

The collapse of the Soviet Union brought to life new nation states, among them Ukraine, which proclaimed its independence in 1991. The Constitution of 1996 enshrined Ukrainian as the only state language of the country, and the Ukrainisation of all levels of education has been gaining momentum ever since then. The burst of nationalist ideology and the subsequent rise to power of nationalist politicians had a profound impact on the language policy of the nascent state. Long panegyrics to ‘our nightingales’ tongue’ (*nasha solov’ina mova*) inundated the press and media. Public statements ‘lament[ing] “centuries of bloodthirsty Russification” and call[ing] to “overcome truly destructive consequences of the prolonged unmerciful, violent, brutal suppression and annihilation of the Ukrainian people’s culture” became commonplace (Molchanov 2002:210). The Ukrainian language was supposed not only to regain its status, but to become a safeguard of national independence and a major landmark of nationalist ideology.

Regrettably, ‘inventing the language’ (in the sense of Anderson 1983) included not only serious attempts to delve into its history, but also a large number of pseudo-scientific publications dwelling on the ‘antiquity’ and ‘uniqueness’ of Ukrainian. Some of them went as far as to assert that ‘the Ancient Ukrainian language Sanskrit’ (sic) was the ancestor of all modern Indo-European languages (Kanygin 1997). Others, not satisfied with its being ‘original Indo-Aryan’, believed it to be a proto-language in itself, to which Semito-Hamitic and Caucasian

2. In Ukr., word-initial [u] may be replaced with [v] for sandhi reasons.

languages also should be traced (Bratko-Kutyns'kyj 1996). More religiously oriented nationalists proclaimed Ukrainian to be the language of Jesus and early Christianity (Plachynda 1993; Kanygin 1999: 156–179).

Strong emotional overtones of victimization pass as a red thread through these and many other similar publications, since the abovementioned “truths” were supposedly concealed from Ukrainians by Russian scientists and their (Russian-influenced) European colleagues. Ukrainian nationalist mythology “places the blame squarely on the former metropolitan centre, which presumably was motivated by a unique hatred to all things Ukrainian” (Molchanov 2002: 210). In the pro-autonomy circles, Russian was – and still is – perceived as a constant threat to Ukrainian, making bilingualism undesirable and in fact suspicious (Kosiv 1998; Masenko 2004: 9–19).

Not surprisingly, nationalist ideology of the late eighties and early nineties brought about extensive linguistic engineering worthy of the name “linguistic retaliation”. Its major instruments were the artificial recreation and cultivation of norms remote from Russian in order to underline the distinctiveness of Ukrainian (Sidorenko 2005: 121; Molchanov 2002: 212–220). An orthographical reform was pursued that included the reintroduction of the letter *r*, lacking in the Russian alphabet, to differentiate between fricative and plosive voiced velar, a distinction without real phonological load. “Correct Ukrainian” came to mean as little likeness to Russian as possible, often at the cost of good taste, feeling of proportion and plain comprehensibility (e.g., Masenko et al. 2005: 354–399).

The way to express the notion “in Ukraine” became another obvious target of change, since *Ukraïna* – and not “Republic” or “State of Ukraine” – came to be the official name of the state. Regained sovereignty was to be expressed through the construction similar to that used for autarchic political entities. And since prototypical (i.e. Western) states are preceded by *v*: *u Frantsii* “in France”, *v Nimechchyni* “in Germany”, etc., so should be Ukraine. In the words of a Ukrainian linguist,

Now when Ukraine is already a sovereign and independent state, there is absolutely no reason to use the ungrounded and deeply insulting construction with the preposition *na*. Thus, the only (sic) correct form is *v Ukraïni*. But one should not correct folklore or literary compositions that use the expression *na Ukraïni*.
(Pivtorak 2001: 122)

Needless to say, a prepositional construction itself cannot be insulting, but rather the connotations, real or imaginable, of the phrase(s) in which it is used. Ukrainian independence has also triggered changes in English usage: instead of *the Ukraine* it becomes increasingly normal to speak about simply *Ukraine*. However, nobody to our knowledge referred to the use of *the* as “deeply insulting”, although

the usage of English-speaking state and media institutions is closely monitored in the nationalist circles.³

To understand what made *na* detested to such an extent that even its retention in the masterpieces of Ukrainian literature was questioned, one needs to have a closer look at the phrase as a whole. Obviously, on the scale of values of pro-autonomists, being a “surface”, a mere territory without borders and precise limits, was already dire enough. But there is much more in their non-acceptance of *na Ukraïni*. As we have already seen, the obscure rules of the placement of prepositions in East Slavic make recourse to semantic associations almost inevitable. Speakers explain the placement of preposition through parallels, and an analogy of double strength (both semantic and phonetic) was readily available in case of *Ukraina*. *Na Ukraine* is closely associated with Russ. *na okraine* “on the outskirts” and Ukr. *na okraïni* “the same”, the common noun serving as a folk etymology of the toponymic.⁴ A minority of Russians is also familiar with the obsolete and dialectal common noun *ukraina* “borderland” and its derivatives *ukrajnyj*, *ukrainnyj* “peripheral” (Dal’ 1994). The same semantic link also existed in Ukrainian:

As a name of an open space, the noun *okraïna* was linked to the preposition *na* (*na okraïni*, and not *v okraïni*). Having transformed into the name of the country, it preserved this syntactic feature. Hence the major propensity of the word *Ukraïna* to the preposition *na*. But inasmuch as there was a general tendency to use the names of countries with the preposition *v(u)*, there emerged also a construction *v Ukraïni*, which *lost the competition* with the former in the course of subsequent historical development. (Slyn’ko 1968: 50–51; my emphasis)

If in the centralized Russian empire, being on the fringe of the country has never been a desirable status, it is still less so in post-colonial times. An image of their motherland as a marginal province of the hated oppressor and, by implication, a periphery of civilization was not the one Ukrainian separatists would easily

3. The practice occasioned only some mild criticism, e.g. (Gregorovich 1994). Disproportionate attention to Russian is conditioned by geopolitical realities: English usage, whatever it may be, is by far less important for Ukrainians, given the location, manifold economic and cultural links, and high degree of mutual linguistic transparency between the languages. On the other hand, Ukrainian nationalism relies heavily on American support, so potential disapproval is bound to be more restrained.

4. In modern standard Russian these forms are stressed differently: the toponymic is paroxytonic, while the common noun is proparoxytonon. However, in classical literature the form *Ukrájna* and its similarly stressed derivatives were common; cf. also modern colloquial *ukráinskij* ‘Ukrainian (adj.)’ and *ukráínets* ‘a Ukrainian (masc.)’. Reduction of pre-tonic vowels minimizes the difference still further.

tolerate (see, e.g., Pivtorak 2001:117–122; Lyzanchuk 1995). It was therefore vital for the preservation of national dignity to break this semantic connection by various means.

First, the Russian folk etymology of *Ukraina* was to be substituted by a Ukrainian.⁵ A mechanism of Russian folk etymology might be roughly described as follows: (1) *-kraj-*, the supposed root morpheme of *Ukraina*, is interpreted on the base of modern Russ. noun *kraj* “edge”; (2) an unproductive prefix *u-* is interpreted on the base of the homonymic preposition *u* “close to, near to”. Hence, *Ukraina* = “(a land) near the border”. A suggested rethinking implied: (1) identification of root morpheme with the root of Ukr. verb *krajaty* “to cut (imperf. aspect)”, (2) identification of the prefix *u/v* with the prefix of the verb *vkrajaty* “cut off, set aside (perf. aspect)”. In this case, *Ukraina* = “(a territory) cut off”, the latter being variously interpreted as “(the territory) that the Ukrainian people cut off/chose for itself”, “feudal principality”, etc. (Skljarenko 1991; Pivtorak 2001).⁶ Shapeless borderland was thus replaced by well-defined territory, to which *v* could be legitimately applied.

Folk-etymological reconstructions were presented as scientific and backed by quotations from chronographers and other historical sources, frequently misquoted and misinterpreted. For the unconvinced, another tactic was chosen: the question of the etymology of *Ukraina* was declared secondary and largely irrelevant in comparison with the major issue: the usurpation by Russians of the “true” and “original” name of Ukraine – *Rus'* (cf. Plokhly 2006). In the mouths of victims “deprived of their original motherland”, a minor request to change a preposition looked but a natural compensation. In a supportive move, other authors hurried to express their admiration for classical 19th century literature that used the “proper” and “correct” *v* – and to blame modern Russians purportedly ignorant of their own heritage. It has been even declared that the existence of two prepositional constructions exhibits the “abnormality” of Russian as “bastardized” by the

5. The origin and use of *ukraina* as both a common and proper noun has accumulated a large bibliography, but is far from being universally agreed upon due to the complexity of the subject and political animosities surrounding it. We will not deal with it here, inasmuch as the major impact on language consciousness and behavior was produced not by bona fide research, but by popular publications and folk etymologizing.

6. The above associations were, unfortunately for their inventors, not at all obvious for an average Russian speaker, since the parallel Russ. verb *kroit'* exhibits the change of root vocalism and its suffixed variation **-kraivat'* does not exist with the given prefix. However, they were sufficiently transparent for Ukrainians and bilinguals.

Finno-Ugric adstrate and substrate languages (Pivtorak: 71–2; Lieven 1999: 63).⁷ Uniform usage, on the contrary, was characterized as “genuinely Slavonic”.

Due to the nationalistic ideology the construction *v Ukraïni* became standard in the official state language. The polysemy of *Ukraïna* as both “Ukrainian state” and “Ukrainian territory” easily justified the change of preposition in all contexts, however non-political. A new Ukrainian general norm came into being. Watch-dog institutions, created to oversee language use, proceeded to impose the change also on the Russian-language mass media of the country. Official requests were generated asking the Russian government to adopt the new norm in its state documentation (Kostomarov 1999).⁸ The requests were agreed to, and soon from the diplomatic parlours and Russophone press of Ukraine the preposition *v* found its way to the television and newspapers of the Russian Federation.

The appearance of *v Ukraine* in the national Russian media prompted extensive debate about the newly-emerged phenomenon, particularly fierce in the electronic press:

The issue, being discussed since the early nineties, emerges on different forums with a regularity that provokes in a habitué a groan of exhaustion: “Oh goodness, again!!!” Discussion, usually accompanied by wild outburst of emotions, is hardly ever restrained by decency, censure requirements or common sense, so that sooner or later the moderators, if there are any, declare it off-topic to be punished by shooting on the spot. (Naumovets 2005)

Notably, *v/na Ukraine* appears first in a drop-down menu of topics *not* to be discussed in the community “*Pishu pravil’no*” (“I Write Correctly”) and has been regularly banned from other internet forums. Hundreds of questions in this regard have been asked on language instruction sites.⁹ The “endless” – or rather, fifteen years long – discussion helped, however, to refine the political and ideological positions, as well as attitudes towards the language, prevalent in different strata of Russian society.

In terms of agreement or disagreement with the innovation, the gamut of positions extends from staunch “conservatism” to consistent “reform” with all the intermediate tones represented, while each position may in fact result from very different ideological premises. The “conservative” position has been formulated

7. E.g., in Finnish two markers, *-lla* and *-ssa*, roughly parallel to ‘on’ and ‘in’ are used with toponyms to denote locative. As in Russian, their distribution is dependent on historical semantics and the morphology of the relevant nouns.

8. We were not able to find any official proof of the above.

9. The precise number is difficult to establish, since having answered a dozen questions, educators adopted the practice of referring the users to previously given answers.

with characteristic terseness and straightforwardness by that cult figure of the last decade, Muscovite Artemii Lebedev:

In Russian it is correct to write *Tallin* (and not *Tallinn*), *Alma-Ata* (and not *Almaty*), *Belorussija* (*Belaruss* is a tractor brand), *poekhat' na Ukrainu* ["to go to Ukraine"] (and not *v Ukrainu*), whatever the inhabitants of the abovementioned places think about it. (2007: §121)

Presuppositions of the above statement include:

1. the language norm is extra-diachronic and undeviating. Adopted as a matter of course by naïve speakers, this belief appears to be cultivated by the presentation of relevant rules in descriptive grammars: as we have seen, the latter use "objective" criteria to explain and classify prepositional usage. And since mountains, islands, etc. are facts of nature, so – by extension – should be the prepositions. Naturally, the notion of a closed list of rules can most easily be applied to the written form of a language with its standardized orthography: note that the author states "it is correct to write" rather than "it is correct to say".
2. Russian norms are not subject to regional variation. Under the communist government, Russian was the major language of the Soviet Union and its international supporters. It has been acknowledged that the Russian spoken in different parts of the Soviet Union was not indeed the same language, but this recognition never ended in separating, let alone standardizing, specific versions of Russian as happened to world Englishes.

Nowadays Russian functions as a *lingua franca* of the post-Soviet realm and is still widely understood in the remaining Slavic world. Yet on the ideological level it is not clear whether its speakers are ready to imagine the future of their own language being actively influenced by foreigners. Symbolically, it is still exclusively "owned" by Russians as sole legislators of the imperial realm. Denying to "the inhabitants of the abovementioned places" a right to establish (their) norms opens the door to a defensive linguistic nationalism – and to other forms of nationalism as well.

Lebedev's stance is close to that taken by many professional linguists, whose main driving force seems to be linguistic purism and sincere distress about the declining level of Russian literacy (Safonova and Lejichik 2006). Indeed, introduction of the new construction triggers other changes (e.g. of the separative construction described above) and, in a sense, complicates normative grammar descriptions.

Remarkably different was the reaction of those politically engaged and unsatisfied with the separatist developments in Ukraine. Suppression of the Russian

language, particularly in Eastern Ukraine, which is still considered to be part of the Russian domain (Zemskova 2004: 70), caused suspicion and fear:

One may imagine how wide geopolitical claims are open to Ukrainisers that would not mind including in their boundaries any part of Russian land that has ever constituted its borderland, including Primor'e (Pacific Ocean shore – J. K.) with Zolotoj Rog Bay and the port of Vladivostok. (Sidorenko 2005: 56)

In traditionalist discourse, the unwelcome innovation has been variously blamed on (1) the Ukrainian government, which issued an official request; (2) mass media, which were influenced by it; (3) unprofessional translators from Ukrainian, for whom supposedly the construction with *v* is a norm. All these agents were perceived as external to Russian linguistic consciousness and the introduction of the new preposition became tantamount to interference in Russia's internal affairs. Therefore, it was deemed essential "to protect Russian" and not to succumb to the pressure of an external group (Ukrainians) or even to the fifth column inside their own group (Russian speakers in Ukraine that may adopt the "wrong" construction) (Pugachenko 2006).

Last but not least, some speakers whom one may classify as "conservative" opted for the construction *na Ukraine* because "it is nicer" and "sounds better". This stance has been rejected as "subjective" and therefore not serious enough to be taken into consideration in matters of language policy (Guseinov 2006). Undoubtedly, aesthetic and other characteristics that speakers associate with the speech sounds are subjective, in so far as they are expressed by individuals, but they are also real and objective, inasmuch as they reflect attitudes of the speakers' community towards the options available in the phonetics of their language. Whatever is perceived as euphony is an expression of the norms and tendencies of phonetic development. Psycholinguistic reckoning of such associations – phonosemantics – is still not sufficiently developed, but should not be altogether disregarded.

We tested the constructions *v Ukraine* and *na Ukraine* as single phonetic words stressed on [i] (since both prepositions are enclitics) with the help of the phonosemantic software package VAAL in its online version.¹⁰ The results show

10. VAAL is based on the research of A.P. Zhuravlev (1974), whose methodology was similar to that of Charles Osgood: he conducted experiments, in which the speakers evaluated each sound on twenty-five different scales: good-bad, beautiful-ugly, happy-sad, bright-dark, light-heavy, safe-frightening, good-evil, simple-complex, big-small, fast-slow, active-passive, etc. Further on, he suggested formulae for the perceived qualities of the combinations of sounds and tried to assess the word-stress impact.

The package VAAL has been subject to criticism for imprecisely applying Zhuravlev's formulas (Zaitseva 2006).

that while *na Ukraine* gives significant results on the scales “simple” (2.3), “good” (2.31) and “beautiful” (2.45), all the other parameters being not significant, *v Ukraine* appears only as “simple” (2.3) and “good” (2.49) without any significant results on the scale of “beautiful”. Thus, the intuitive impressions of naïve speakers seem to correlate with the data achieved through modelling: the change of *na* to *v* should be felt as acoustic deterioration.

An active pro-reform position was taken by those ready to recognize that since the political reality has changed, so should the preposition placement. The identity projected by the “modernizers” boasts intercultural competence and sensitivity, as opposed to the assumed self-centredness and residual imperial chauvinism of the “traditionalists”. They appear ready to cede to the wishes of Ukrainians and to compromise, having taken “the *political* decision of the acceptability of both variants” (Guseinov 2006; my emphasis).

Professional language legislators working in this paradigm deny any symbolic value to language tradition or established usage: “there are considerations that supersede the untouchable purity of the canon of literary language” (“*jest' veshchi vyshe neprikosnovennoj chistoty literaturno-jazykovogo kanona*”) (Kostomarov 1999: 21). The use of *v* is advised by them in order to avoid hurting the feelings of others (e.g., Kostomarov 1999: 20; Rozental' 2003; Graudina et al. 2001).

It should be noted that for the average Russian speaker who is not directly involved in Ukrainian political affairs, it may be difficult to understand how an apparently contentless grammatical feature, deemed acceptable for generations, could hurt somebody's feelings. It is therefore unavoidable that the new construction was perceived as a discourse convention, a kind of exaggerated “political correctness”, often considered to be Western-originated and externally imposed (A. Makarov in Guseinov 2004: 70). In English, however, political correctness is expressed almost exclusively through lexical replacements of a euphemistic nature, and never touches deeper levels of language, to which the prepositions are intuitively felt to belong. Hence, occasionally *na*-usage is interpreted not only as commonsensical and traditional, but also as anti-Western or even anti-American (Pugachenko 2006).

The entire array of ideological attitudes that we might venture to describe is reflected in the language behaviour of Russian speakers. Nevertheless, the correlation is far from being direct: even the authors directly proclaiming the traditionalist stance occasionally use *v Ukraine*, and the “progressives” *na Ukraine*.¹¹ Unfortunately, no reliable statistics seems to be attainable, since the National Corpus of Russian Language is heavily slanted towards the written speech. In general,

11. Even in Ukrainian, one finds nationalist writers, e.g. O. Zabuzhko, I. Samijlenko, etc., sporadically using *na Ukraïni*.

there is little doubt that the language of the official documents adopts *v* and is followed by journalese, while the colloquial remains faithful to *na*.

Especially instructive are the genres that stand on the intersection of oral and written, such as public speeches on political topics, interviews of high state officials, etc., where the speakers are faced with conflicting requirements. In such cases it is not infrequent to find both prepositional variants in the same large discourse unit:

My ne khotim, chtoby Rossija ogranichivalas' postavkami na vneshnij rynek tol'ko gaza i nefti, i dumaju, chto i v Ukraine nikto ne khochet, chtoby ona tol'ko burjakom torgovala ...

'We do not want Russia to limit itself to supplying only gas and petrol to the international market, and we think that neither in Ukraine does anybody want that it will exclusively trade beetroot...'

cf.

Ja rasschityvaju na zdavyj smysl i dobrozhelatel'noe otnoshenie k tem na Ukraine, kto shchitajet russkij jazyk rodnym, kto dumaet na nem i kto khotel by, chtoby i deti jeho smogli pol'zovat'sja etim jazykom.

'I rely on common sense and on the benign attitude to those in Ukraine, who consider Russian their mother tongue, who think in it and who wish that their children would also be able to use this language.'

Both examples are taken from a speech of the President V. Putin on the Russian-Ukrainian Conference of the Representatives of Highest Legislative Bodies (National Corpus of Russian Language, *Diplomatic Courier* 2004). In the first context, Ukraine, as a state in the global market, is preceded by *v*, while the second context addresses the Ukrainian citizens of Russian descent or cultural affiliation, presumably belonging to the same realm of "Rusianness" and therefore sharing the same (i.e. old, traditional) language standard. This occurrence hints that it is not improbable that Russian speakers in Ukraine may in future retain the *na* construction as indexical of their in-group identity.

The contradiction between the informal discourse framework and official content is exhibited in oral speech through self-correcting, e.g.

Ona nachinaet primery privodit' / Ponimaesh' / v Ukraine / na Ukraine / kogda otkljuchali elektrichestvo / u nikh rozhdaemosť povysilas' / on govorit / pochemu
 'She starts giving examples / You understand / in Ukraine / in Ukraine / when they were cutting off electricity / the birth rate grew / he says / why'.
 (transcription of conversation on international relations, Materials of Saratov University 1990–1999; Natsional'nyj Korpus 2006)

In the adduced example, the speaker is retelling a dialogue in which one of the participants relates information belonging to the realm of official statistics, but since

the level of conversation is clearly informal and its topic somewhat spicy, the “officialness” is denounced by replacing the preposition with the oral informal one.

More rare – and difficult to trace – are such sophisticated forms of language behaviour as avoidance of both constructions through extensive paraphrasing and the use of circumlocutions of the kind *v ukrainskom gosudarstve* “in the Ukrainian state”, *na nezavisimoy Ukraine* “in the independent Ukraine” (both correct from the viewpoint of the old norm and considerate to the Ukrainian side). It obviously aims at shielding the speaker from any potential ideological interpretation.

In written language, one may also use both prepositions, either written in one word or separated by a slash, e.g. in the website title *Ukraina vna linhvistichnyh dzerkalakh*, lit. “Ukraine in linguistic mirrors” (Ukr.). This option has been widely used in satirical texts mocking political hypercorrectness, e.g.

In connection with the victory of democratic powers in/in Ukraine (*na/v Ukraine*) new rules of Russian language and literature are introduced. From now on, one should read/write/speak/hear: not *na Ukraine*, but *v Ukraine*, ..., not *napadenie* (“attack”), but *vpadenie* (“falling into”), not *Natasha*, but *Vtasha* [non-existent name], not *nado* (“one should”), but *vdo* [meaningless letter combination], not *nashi* (“our [people]”), but *vshi* (“lice”), not *Nabokov*, but *Vbokov*, not *Na-Na* [Russian pop group], but *V.V.* [abbreviation for “Vopli Vidopliasova”, Ukrainian hardcore rock band] ... (Beseder 2006)

This passage, shortened because of untranslatable wordplays, presents the language reform as meaningless (producing gibberish), intrusive (demeaning Russian classics and tradition, symbolized by *Nabokov* and *Natasha*) and futile (trying to bridge intrinsically different meanings and styles).

4. Summary

The evolution of *na/v Ukraine* provides a linguist with a good opportunity to observe language change *in situ*, all its mechanisms being datable and the interactions of different agents visible.

In 1990, the construction with *na* was an absolute norm of Russian literary and colloquial usage. It was consistent with the general tendency of extended use of this preposition in locative constructions, and was phonetically appealing. No ideological identities were associated with this main norm. Its synonymic alternative *v Ukraine* was marginal and functioned as archaism, poetism or regionalism.

Political alterations, filtered through the sieves of multiple ideologies (aggressive and defensive nationalism, modernism, traditionalism and linguistic purism), resulted in radical changes in this segment of language structure. First,

na ceded its position of universal norm. While retaining its dominance in oral speech, it became only one of the options in written discourse and thus ceased to be stylistically unmarked. The use of both prepositional constructions became indexical of socio-cultural identities and value-conferring. *Na* became variously associated with traditional, purist and nationalist discourse, while *v* with official bureaucratic newspeak, an anti-nationalist stance and “political correctness”.

The fifteen years that passed after Ukrainian independence proved sufficient to destabilize the linguistic norm also in Ukrainian. While the initial situation in 1990 has been similar to that in Russian, current usage looks substantially different. Due to the increased pressure of the nationalist state dogma and mass-media, *na* has been successfully superseded by its rival construction.

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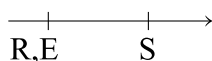
“Ago” and its grammatical status in English and other languages

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The paper focuses firstly on English *ago* followed by the temporal NP, which seems to function as a postposition, although English is a SVO language, with prepositions. A comparison is then carried out with similar deictic expressions in other languages, including European, Semitic, Caucasian, Oceanic languages. From the results of this limited typology of languages based on the parameter of the equivalent forms of *ago*, it may be seen that while many languages use an adposition (e.g. German, Turkish, Arabic), including languages that have a verb-derived adposition (e.g. Romance languages and English), others use an adverbial expression (e.g. Russian, Tagalog, Basque).

1. Introduction

It may be assumed that all languages have a temporal deictic expression referring to the gap of time (or ‘elapsed time’) between the moment of speaking or writing and a previous point or period in time. This may be visually expressed in terms of Reichenbach’s scheme (1947):



where the arrow indicates the direction of time from the past to the future, and S is the moment of speaking, preceded by E, the time of the event (in this case in the past), which occurs at R, the reference time. The type of expression used to relate to this gap of time seems to vary among languages of the world between an adpositional phrase (AdP), on the one hand – either a prepositional phrase (PP) or postpositional phrase (PostP) – and an adverbial phrase (AdvP), on the other, functioning in most cases as an VP-adverbial (or adjunct); other structures are also possible. In English, the gap of time is expressed, of course, by the word

ago. In this chapter, I will firstly discuss the status of *ago* in English and the various approaches to its syntactic status (Section 2), and then analyze the equivalent expression in a number of world languages covering many of the major language families – Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic, Uralic, Altaic, Caucasian, East Asian, Austronesian, Oceanic, one unique language (Basque), and two English-lexified pidgins (Sections 3–4). I will return to English *ago* in Section 5 in light of the analysis of the equivalent expressions in the various languages discussed in the two previous sections. The typographical analysis of the relevant deictic expressions – referred to here as “ago” expressions – is not quantitatively based; rather, it illustrates the range of syntactic possibilities for this temporal expression.

2. *ago* in English

The first question to be discussed is the syntactic status of *ago* in English. There are three possible answers to this question. Firstly, *ago* may be analyzed as an adverb, which is modified by a preceding temporal expression, usually in the form of an NP (see further 5 below). Secondly, it may be considered to be a postposition, preceded by its complement (again in the form of a temporal NP). This is the generally accepted position (e.g. Fillmore’s comment cited by Williams 1994, and Huddleston and Pullum 2002). The third possibility is that *ago* is a preposition. This has been adopted by Williams (1994), among others, who argues that *ago* is an intransitive preposition, that is a preposition that does not license a complement. In this approach, the temporal expression which precedes the preposition is a specifier, as in Williams’ example:

- (1) *long ago*

with the specifier in italics. In support of this contention, Williams shows that other prepositions may also have specifiers, as in

- (2) *5 minutes* in the past
(3) *a few days* before the party

In these cases, unlike that of *ago*, the prepositions (*in* and *before*) are transitive, i.e. they are followed by complements. Overall, such an approach ensures that English – an SVO language – has prepositions only, as predicted by language universals (as in Greenberg 1963; see below).

But Williams’ insistence on consistency on word order in the grammar of a language does not cover the notion of intransitive prepositions, since the occurrence of such prepositions is fairly restricted in English. There are a number of

contexts in which we may find intransitive prepositions, apart from *ago*, in Williams’ scheme of things. The most common may be the phenomenon of the verb-preposition collocation forming what has traditionally been known as a phrasal verb, as in

- (4) a. They brought the chairs **in**

or

- b. They brought **in** the chairs.

However, while many linguists working on the English language would distinguish between prepositional verbs where the preposition has a complement, as in

- (5) They were looking **for the chairs**

and sentence (4) above, in which the verb is a transitive phrasal verb, others would regard both instances as prepositional verbs, in which the preposition is either transitive (as in (5)) or intransitive (as in (4)) (see, for example, Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Another example of an intransitive preposition occurs when a *wh*-phrase is fronted leaving the preposition stranded, as in the interrogative

- (6) Which building did she go **into**?

or in the relative

- (7) That’s the building she went **into**.

However, in these cases, it may be argued that the preposition does have a following complement in the form of a trace (*t*).

Williams’ arguments, on the other hand, in favour of *ago* as an intransitive preposition with a preceding specifier are not necessitated by Greenberg’s language universals (1963). His fourth universal states

With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional.

While SOV languages tend to have postpositions, there is no corresponding universal relating to SVO languages, of which English is an example. English (among many other languages) presents less dominant phenomena; it is, for example, an SVO language with prepositions, as expected, but its adjectives precede the noun head in an NP, not follow it. As Greenberg argues, an SVO language “is more strongly correlated with Pr-N than with Po-A”, i.e. SVO languages tend to be prepositional and with the noun preceding its adjectival modifiers in the NP (e.g.

Romance languages). Of the thirty languages in the sample analyzed in Greenberg (1963: 76–80), six SVO languages (and all the six VSO languages in the sample) have prepositions and the noun preceding adjectives in an NP, compared to four SVO languages with prepositions and adjectives preceding the noun. However, the prepositional/postpositional contrast is far more salient in language typology than the relative position of the adjective and the noun in an NP.

But it may also be argued that *ago* is not the sole postposition in English. It may be shown that *notwithstanding* functions in the same way as *ago*, as in

- (8) *Her objections notwithstanding*, we will postpone tomorrow's meeting.

We could posit that the possessive suffix *-s* may be analyzed as a postposition, too. In

- (9) the boy's clothes

it may be argued that the NP *the boy* is the complement of the postposition *-s* which together forms a Possessive Phrase (PossP) functioning as determiner in the NP “the boy's clothes”. This is of course not universally accepted. Croft (1990), for example, argues that the genitive *-s* is a clitic that should be analyzed as a linker – “a normal invariant marker used for modifiers in noun phrases”. He adds that it “does not occur in the same syntactic position as English prepositions” (p. 32), which seems to beg the question. After all, we may be dealing with another postposition. Allerton (this volume) has suggested that *hence* as in “three days hence” may be classified as an adposition, although unlike *ago*, it may also function as an adjunct (VP adverbial), meaning “therefore”, as in “painted by van Gogh and hence very expensive”.

Let us go back to *ago*. Its etymology shows that it derived from the verb *go*, prefixed with *a* meaning “from, away”. That is to say, if we return to Reichenbach's scheme above, the speaker – at S – refers to an E in the past and steps away from it to S. Historically, the form *agone* appeared as an adverb, made up of the prefix *a-* and the past participle of *go* – *gone*. But already in 1314, according to a quotation in the *Oxford English Dictionary*:

- (10) For it was ago fif yer That he was last ther

ago seems to function as a preposition in “ago fif yer” (“five years ago”). Its grammatical status had not stabilized. Later that same century, we find in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale* (1386):

- (11) I speke of mony a hundred 3ere a-go

where *a-go* could be an adverb, replaceable by *previously*, as in “many hundred years previously”, or could have already become a postposition. Neither is the issue clear in this early seventeenth century example, from Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* (1601):

(12) O, he’s drunke, Sir Toby, an houre agone” (5.1.204)

in which the deictic expression, referring to the time when the speaker – the Clown – saw the drunk surgeon “an hour ago”, shows the verbal origins of the item under discussion in the form of a past participle.

However, diachronic considerations should preferably not be allowed to determine synchronic classification. Hence, the origin of English *ago* does not clarify the issue whether it should be considered to be an adposition or an adverb. In languages in which there is overt case-marking, e.g. German, Slavonic languages, the classification of a word as adposition or adverb would be quite clear, since the adposition would license a complement in a specific case, as in German *vor* + NP_{dative}; this is not the case with an adverb. The classification in English, with its lack of overt case except for several personal pronouns, cannot rely on this approach.

Before I reach a solution concerning *ago* in English in 5 below, I shall analyze words and expressions meaning “ago” in a number of languages around the world. Because of the small number of languages from which data are presented (smaller than Greenberg’s original database (1963)), I cannot set up a typology on the basis of the word class of the particular expression. I can offer only a taste of the ways this temporal expression is expressed in several languages. There emerges, nevertheless, a tendency to the effect that a language uses either an adposition or an adverb (or adverbial expression). In the following two sections, I discuss those languages that use an adposition (3), and those that use an adverb or some type of adverbial (4). I return to English *ago* in the final concluding section (5).

For this analysis, I have selected a variety of languages from across the world. The language families from which examples have been selected are set out in the following table:

language-family	language(s)
Indo-European	
Germanic	German, Afrikaans
Slavonic	Russian, Czech, Polish, Ukrainian
Romance	French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian
Indo-Iranian	Persian, Bengali
Afro-Asian	Arabic, Amharic, Hebrew
Uralic	Finnish

Altaic	Turkish, Mongolian
Caucasian	Georgian
Austronesian	Tagalog
Polynesian	Maori
East Asian	Korean
other	Basque
pidgin	Jamaican creole, Bislama

There are twenty-six languages in all. Reference may also be made to several other languages belonging to the same set of language families. Though we cannot come to a conclusion concerning the word class of *ago* in English on the basis of the word classes of the equivalent word in other languages, most of the languages, interestingly, select an adposition. Over a third of the languages, however, do not use an adposition, but use an adverb or an adverbial expression, or some other structure, to express “ago”.

3. Adpositional languages

Let us begin with those languages that have an adposition, and since there are basically two types,¹ Section 3.1 will deal with languages that are prepositional; this section is further divided into two subsections, the first dealing with prepositions that occur in languages with overt case, and the second with prepositions in languages where there is no overt case. Section 3.2 deals with postpositional languages; all the languages related to in this section have an overt case system.

3.1 Prepositional languages

As noted above, one of the problems in deciding whether a given word or expression is an adposition or not occurs when the language involved does not have an overt case system; hence there may be a difficulty in deciding whether the relevant NP is a complement of an adposition or whether it is a modifier or specifier of an adverb.

1. Other forms have also been recognized: the ambiposition, an adposition that may occur either before or after its complement, and the circumposition, which has two parts – one preceding the complement and the second following (Libert 2006). It could be argued that the Amharic instance, discussed in 3.1.2 below, is one of circumposition.

3.1.1 Overt case

In those languages with an overt case system, we may identify those expressions meaning “ago” which are adpositions. As far as Indo-European languages are concerned, we may examine German, and several Slavonic languages. In German, the preposition *vor* is used to indicate “ago”. This is a preposition which licenses a NP complement in the dative case, as in

- (13) *Sie ist vor fünf Jahren hier gewesen.*
 she is before five years here been
 “She was here five years ago.”

The dative suffix *-n* in the noun *Jahr* “year” (*Jahre* is the plural of *Jahr*) is in bold. The preposition *vor* is, like most adpositions, polysemic; it may also mean “of”, “with”, “for”, “before”, etc.

A similar case occurs in Western Slavonic languages such as Polish and Czech. In both these cases, the preposition for “ago” (Czech *před*, Polish *przed*) is followed by an NP complement in the instrumental case, indicated by bold:

- (14) Czech: *viděl jsem ho před rok**em***
 “I saw him a year ago”
 (15) Polish: *Przeprowadziliśmy się tu przed rok**iem**.*
 We moved here a year ago.

While Czech and Polish are West-Slavonic languages, Russian is an East Slavonic language in which an adverb is used to express “ago” (see 4.1 below). Interestingly enough, Ukrainian, a close relative of Russian, uses both an adverb *тому* and, more frequently a preposition *pered*, which governs the instrumental case as in West Slavonic languages, e.g.

- (16) *перед годи**ною***
*pered hodi**noyu***
 “an hour ago”

with the case ending in bold.

3.1.2 Covert case

Unlike the rich noun morphology of Latin, most of the languages that derive from it no longer indicate case except for pronouns (subject and oblique cases, e.g. French *je/me*). Romanian seems to be the exception in having cases for nouns. The expressions for “ago” in the Romance languages for the most part derive from verbs (cf. English *ago* from *a+go*). In Spanish the expression is *hace* which seems to function like a preposition, as in

- (17) *hace cinco años*
 “five years ago”

This word is said to derive from the verb *hacer* “to make” (which is also the case with Italian *fa* – from Latin *facere* “to make”; see below). However, it has been argued (Elrick 1989) that the Spanish *hace* is in fact a reconstructed form of Latin *abhinc* “ago”, as in *abhinc quattuordecim annos* “fourteen years ago” in which *abhinc* is an adverb meaning “from here”, with a following modifier.

In Portuguese, the word for “ago” is also derived from a verb, this time from the verb *haver* meaning “to have”, giving *há* “ago”, as in

- (18) *há cinco anos*
 “five years ago”

The choice of *haver* is similar to that of French in which the verb *avoir* “to have” is used in combination with the adverb *y* “there” (see below).

As mentioned above, Italian also seems to have a verb-derived preposition for “ago” – *fa*. But Elrick (1989) postulates an adverbial origin for *fa*, too. He argues that it may be “a hypercorrective reflex of Latin *ab*”, the same preposition as in *abhinc*, i.e. *a(b) → ha → fa*. Since this study is a synchronic study of a limited typology of ways of expressing “ago”, any argument based on diachronic development should be strictly limited (see 2 above). On that basis, although the form for “ago” in these four Romance languages may have derived from verbs or from adverbs, in the modern languages the item precedes the temporal NP, in the same way as prepositions precede the NP complement. Moreover, they are invariable in form – these expressions have become fossilized.

If we accept that the Spanish and Italian words (*hace* and *fa* respectively) did derive from Latin adverbs, we are left with the overt fossilized verbal form of the French *il y a* “ago”. The verb *a* is the 3rd person singular present tense of *avoir* “to have” (cf. Portuguese *haver*), though, of course, the time reference of “ago” is invariably to the past. In the thirteenth edition of Grevisse’s *Le Bon Usage* (1993), the author does not explicitly state that the expression is a preposition, but the definition given of *il y a* is that it has “un rôle assez proche de celui d’une préposition” (“a function rather close to that of a preposition”; p. 573). We may therefore be dealing with a preposition in French just as in the other Romance languages discussed here. Romanian, the eastern member of the Romance family of languages, however, has an adverbial in the form of a PP *in urmă* following the temporal NP, e.g.

- (19) *cu două zile în urmă*
 “two days ago”

We can now move to Semitic languages, part of the large Afro-Asiatic family of languages. We will look at three languages in this family – Arabic, Hebrew and Amharic. In all three there is no overt case system except for the following instances: in Hebrew and Amharic the definite direct object is marked syntactically (in Hebrew by *et*, and in Amharic by (ə)n), while in classical Arabic (but not in the modern vernaculars) there were three cases indicated by vowels. In these languages the “ago” expression is a preposition, although, strictly speaking, in Amharic we have our one instance of a circumposition. I will classify it as a preposition, since it obviously has a unit preceding the NP complement as well as following it.

In Arabic the word for “ago” is *‘abil* (literary standard Arabic: *qabil* قبل), and it is clearly a preposition, as in

- (20) *kunit hunak ‘abil juma‘*
 I was there ago week
 “I was there a week ago”

- (21) *‘abil sini*
 ago year
 “a year ago”

The same may be said with regard to Hebrew. The preposition used is *lifnei* (לפני), as in

- (22) *Hu haya šam lifnei hameš šanim*
 He was there ago five years
 “He was there five years ago”.

In both Arabic and Hebrew the preposition – as with all adpositions – is polysemic. In Arabic *‘abil* means “before” or “prior to” with a temporal meaning, while in Hebrew *lifnei* means “before” spatially as well as temporally, as in

- (23) *Hi ‘omedet lifnei ha-adam ha-aḥaron*
 she stands.FEM before the person the last
 “She is standing one before the last.”

As for Amharic, we are dealing with the circumposition *kə...bəfit*:

- (24) *kə and səat bəfit izzih nəbbərə*
 ago one hour ago here was.he
 “He was here an hour ago”

in which the temporal NP *and səat* “one hour” is preceded by the preposition *kə* (which in other contexts means “from”), and is followed by the postposition *bəfit*. This latter form is itself a combination of the preposition *bə* and postposition

fit. Again, in common with the probably universal tendency of adpositions to be polysemic, both these adpositions have a host of other meanings. *bə* may mean, among other things, “with”, “by”, “on”, while *fit* has meanings equivalent to the English “face”, “front” (Leslau 1995:658–659).

Further examples of “ago” in Amharic are (from Leslau 1995)

- (25) *kə amɨst dək'ikə bəfit mət'ra -čč*
 ago five minute ago came- she
 “She came five minutes ago”
- (26) *kə hullət amət bəfit i beti h mət'i tən nəbbər*
 ago two year ago house.your.MASC come.IMP had
 “We had come to your house two years ago”

3.2 Postpositional languages

To look for postpositional languages we move eastward on the Eurasian continent (with one exception – Finnish; see below). The languages of the eastern branch of the Indo-European language family, including Persian and north Indian languages such as Hindi and Bengali, tend to be SOV languages, and therefore these languages have postpositions, as Greenberg postulated. But apart from Indo-European languages, we have to deal with other language families, too. Furthermore, all the languages discussed in this subsection which have a postposition meaning “ago” have an overt case system.

Let us examine the following Persian example (from Lambton 1976):

- (27) *yak hafteye piš be šahr raft*
 one week ago to town he went
 “he went to town a week ago.”

in which the postposition *piš* (پیش) “ago” has a case-marked NP, in bold, as complement. The overt case marking is called *ezafe*, which is in the form of *ی* /je/ (<ye> in the transliteration above).

Leaving the Indo-European family of languages, we now will look at languages belonging to the Uralic and Altaic families. The languages discussed here tend to be SOV languages, as in the case with Persian, so we do expect postpositions, and not prepositions. The first language is Turkish, an Altaic language. As in Slavic languages, and in German in which there are overt case markers, Turkish also marks its nouns morphologically according to number and case, but agglutinatively, not fusionally (as in many Indo-European languages). So, the ablative

case of Turkish *yıl* “year” is marked by the suffix *dan* “from”, appearing in bold in the example.

- (28) *bir yıldan önce*
 one year.ABL ago
 “a year ago”

Önce may also function as an adverb with the meaning “first, before”, as in

- (29) *dün önce işe gittim, sonar sinemaya.*
 Yesterday first work.DAT go.PAST.1SG later cinema.DAT
 “Yesterday I first went to work then to the cinema.”

(example from Kornfilt 1997)

I will now deal with two other languages, one distantly related to Turkish – Mongolian, and the second belonging to the Uralic family – Finnish. As with Turkish, both have an overt case system, and both have postpositions (although Finnish is one of those languages that have both postpositions and prepositions). In Mongolian, the postposition *ömnö*, written *өмнө* in Cyrillic, which is still the prevalent writing system used in Mongolia, governs the genitive case, e.g.

- (30) *гурван өдрийн өмнө*
gurvan өdriin өmnө
 three days ago (Poppe 1970)

In Finnish, we find the postposition *sitten* “ago” which governs the partitive case of the NP when the noun in the temporal NP is in the plural, e.g.

- (31) *kaksikymmentä vuotta sitten*
 twenty years.PART ago
 (32) *kaksi päivää sitten*
 two days.PART ago

with the case suffix in bold, while in cases when the singular is referred to, the nominative is used, as in

- (33) *vuosi sitten*
 one year ago

The word *sitten* also functions as a preposition, followed by an NP complement in the genitive case. But, then, it means “since” and not “ago”, as in

- (34) *sitten viime syksyn en ole käynyt ulkomailla.*
 “Since last autumn I have not been abroad”

The last example in this section on adpositions is Georgian, a Caucasian language, in which there are postpositions which govern case. So, the postposition *c'in* “before, ago” governs the genitive case (in bold) of the preceding NP, e.g.

- (35) *xut-i c'l-**is** c'in-a-t*
 five year.GEN before
 “five years ago” (Hewitt 1995: 69)

4. Adverbs

As I have stated in the introduction (1 above), the other major alternative form of the word for “ago” is an adverb or some adverbial expression. But here we have to be careful and distinguish the word class ‘adverb’ from the function term ‘adverbial’ (or ‘adjunct’). The analysis that I am presenting in this chapter distinguishes between word classes – adpositions and adverbs. The major problem with attributing the status of adverb to an item is that adverbs may often be considered a ‘dustbin’ word class (Haser and Kortman 2005) or “a miscellaneous or residual category” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 563), i.e. an adverb is often considered to be the default word class when a word is not a verb, noun, adjective, adposition, or conjunction. As for the term ‘adverbial’, the “ago” expression functions for the most part as a VP-adverbial or adjunct. I will not, and I do not need to, enter the discussion concerning the syntactic status of adverbials, whether they are modifiers, as in the traditional analysis, or specifiers (see, e.g. Cinque 2004), that is whether adverbials should be seen as semantic constituents in the clause or as functional categories (Alexiadou 2004).

4.1 Indo-European languages

Firstly, let us deal with Indo-European languages. We have placed the expression in various Romance languages (Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese), except Romanian, within the class of prepositions (see 3.1.2), although, diachronically, at least some of them are derived from verbs. There are several Indo-European languages, even those with case markings, that use an adverb for “ago”. Firstly, Russian, which may be contrasted with the clear prepositional usage in Czech and Polish (see 3.1.1 above); the adverbial expression is *tomu nazad* or just *nazad*, e.g..

- (36) Три года (тому) назад
 tri goda (tomu) nazad
 “three years ago”

The temporal nominal preceding the adverb is in the accusative case, but this is not governed by *tomu nazad*, but is the case in which time expressions often occur. So, “one minute ago” would be

(37) *odnu minutu tomu nazad*

and “she was there for a minute” is

(38) *ona byla tam odnu minutu*

in both of which the temporal expression in the accusative case is in bold. Before we discuss the situation in other language families, let us take two further examples of adverbs in Indo-European languages. The first is Afrikaans, and the second is the north Indian language, Bengali. Afrikaans, one of the languages spoken in South Africa, derives from Dutch with English, Malay and Bantu influences.² The Afrikaans adverb for “ago” is *gelede*, which derives from the Dutch verb *geleden* which meant historically “to go, pass”, but today it means “to endure”. So we have:

(39) *triljoene jare gelede*
“trillions of years ago”

Just as in the case of Russian, Bengali, one of the major Indian languages belonging to the eastern branch of the Indo-European language family, is a case-marked language, but the word for “ago” is an adverb, *age*, as in

(40) *okhane se ek bochor age chilo*
there he one year ago was
“He was there a year ago.”

4.2 Other languages

For other languages with “ago” in the form of an adverb, we have to go further afield. In Tagalog, the principal language of the Philippines and belonging to the Austronesian family of languages, we find the distal adverb *noong*, which derives from *ng*, a form of the deictic *iyon*, with a distal (as opposed to proximal) meaning

2. Afrikaaner nationalists would argue that it is an African language since it was born and bred on African soil. Afrikaans, as it is written in a pamphlet issued at the Afrikaans Language Monument in Paarl, Cape Province, South Africa:

is the language that links western Europe and Africa...it forms a bridge between the enlightened west and magical Africa.

of “yonder, away from speaker and hearer”, and in temporal terms “relatively remote past”, as in

- (41) *noong isang linggo*
 DISTAL one.DISTAL week
 “one week ago”

In the same part of the world (the Pacific), Maori – the language of the Polynesian population of New Zealand – also uses an adverbial phrase with an explicit deictic expression. Here, we have to talk of the expression that means “ago” as an adverbial not an adverb (see above), since it consists of three words, not one. The expression used in Maori for “ago” is *noa atu raa* (Bauer 1993), which is glossed “punctual past”. This expression is composed of two items with the following meaning: *noa atu* = “extend away”, and *raa* is a distal deictic word “out of reach of speaker and hearer”. Moreover, the past may be indicated by one of the time-marked prepositions *i*.³ We may illustrate this expression in

- (42) *e rua haora noa atu raa i konei ahau.*
 NUM.two hour extend away DISTAL at(PAST) here 1.sing
 “I was here two hours ago”

and likewise

- (43) *rua haora noa atu raa te hui*
 two hour extend away DISTAL the meeting
 “the meeting was two hours ago”

In Basque, a language that has not only an overt case system but also postpositions, the expression for “ago” is either the adverb *duela*, placed before the time expression, as in

- (44) *duela bi ordu sekulako istripua izan da S.M. kalean*
 ago two hours huge accident been is S.M. street-in
 “There has been a huge accident in S.M. street two hours ago.”

or the adverbial *orain dela*, also placed before the time expression, as in

3. The others are *kei* for the present, and *hei*, *kei* and *ko* for the future (Bauer 1993:489–490). The use of *i* as past-tense marker may be illustrated by:

i te kura ia
 at (PAST) the school was
 “she was at school”.

- (45) *orain dela bost urte*
 ago five years
 “five years ago” (examples from King 1994)

4.3 Creoles and pidgins

I would like to end this section on adverbs by comparing two pidgin languages – Jamaican Creole and Bislama, the Melanesian pidgin spoken in the South Pacific state of Vanuatu. Much of the vocabulary of these pidgins is from English, hence they are termed English-lexified languages. In Jamaican Creole, the English *ago* is used as a postposition, as it seems to be used in English itself, so we have

- (46) *ten touzn yirz ago dem did penichriet aal dem ting*
 ten thousand year.PL ago 3P PAST penetrate all DEM thing
 “10,000 years ago they had [already] understood all those things.”
 (Patrick 2005)

However, in Bislama, we find an adverbial expression (or even verbal expression) to express “ago” – *i pas finis*. Although it seems to be used as an adverbial following the temporal NP in most cases, its internal structure is verbal, since *i* is the predicate marker in Bislama, and *pas* is a verb meaning “pass”. The word *finis*, from English *finish*, is used to express a complete action (i.e. perfective aspect). This adverbial is illustrated in the following:

- (47) *ol i statem skul ia moa long wan handred yia i*
 all PRED start school the more than one hundred year PRED
pas finis
 past PERF
 “The school there was started over a hundred years ago”

The temporal phrase does not necessarily have to be an NP; as in English we find *long* as the complement of *ago*, in Bislama we find the equivalent expression: *long-taem finis* “a long time ago”. Terry Crowley’s Bislama-English dictionary (1995) gives the preposition *bifo* with the meaning of “ago”, but I have not found any examples of the use of this word with that meaning.

5. Conclusion

5.1 What kind of generalization may we make? Firstly, let us take a look at the following table setting out the analysis presented in Sections 3 and 4.

ADPOSITIONS	prepositions	overt case	Czech, German, Polish, Ukranian	4
		covert case	Amharic, Arabic, French, Hebrew, Italian, Jamaican Creole, Portuguese, Spanish	8
	postpositions		Finnish, Georgian, Mongolian, Persian Turkish	5
<hr/>				
ADVERBS			Afrikaans, Basque, Bengali, Bislama, Maori, Romanian, Russian, Tagalog	8
Total				25

Where do we place English *ago*? We, of course, cannot suggest that *ago* in English must be an adposition because that is the class of most of the examples I have given above. Decisions as to class membership must be language-specific. Williams (1994)’s contention that we are dealing with a preposition that has to have a specifier, but has no complement, cannot be rejected out-of-hand. Some gradable prepositions, after all, may be modified (or specified), with the intensifiers *right* as in “right on time”, “right on top”, or with *straight* in “she walked straight into the room”. Prepositions may occur without complements, i.e. prepositions may function intransitively, as we have seen among a class of prepositional verbs (or “phrasal verbs”), as in example (4), repeated here:

(4) They brought the chairs **in**.

But languages are not necessarily symmetric as far as the relative position of head and complement (as well as the relative position of head and modifier) is concerned, viz. languages cannot be classified into two exclusive sets – AdpNP languages and NPAdp languages. *Ago* may be considered a postposition, although that would make it exceptional as far as English is concerned, or almost an exception if we accept the postpositional status of *notwithstanding* and of the possessive ‘s, as in *boy’s* (see 2 above). We find postpositions used in Finnish and German – both AdpNP languages – in certain contexts, e.g. Finnish *sitten* as we have discussed in 3.2 above, and German *nach*, which functions as a postposition

with an NP complement, when the head of the NP is the noun *Meinung* ‘opinion’, as in *meiner Meinung nach* – ‘in my opinion’.

We could say that *ago* cannot be classified as an adverb in English, primarily because *ago* may only occur with a complement (or in Williams’ approach – a specifier). That is to say,

(48) *She came ago

is ungrammatical. But that conclusion seems to be based on a generalization concerning adverbs that they may function as modifiers, including modifiers of verbs. If that were the case, then it is obvious that the sentence above is ungrammatical, but there is a highly frequent adverb which does not modify a verb – *very*. One cannot say:

(49) *I like it very.

either. *Very* does, however, modify adjectives and adverbs, as in ‘very nice’ and ‘very slowly’. *Ago* does not do that, either. *Ago* that forms a constituent with a preceding noun phrase can modify a verb only.⁴ Moreover, the complement of *ago* tends to be an NP, so we cannot say, e.g. *‘brief ago’, *‘recently ago’, but we can say ‘a short time ago’, ‘five minutes ago’. The sole exception seems to be the phrase ‘long ago’, where *long* is an adjective. There is no *‘short ago’.

A problem concerning the classification of *ago* as an adposition is that the preceding NP cannot be replaced by a pronoun. While we have *five minutes ago*, we cannot have – instead of the NP *five minutes* – **them ago* or **these ago*. One possible reason for this is that these pronouns function as pro-forms of definite expressions; since the time lapse is mentioned for the first time only in the *ago* expression, the temporal NP is by definition indefinite, so we do not find *‘the five minutes ago’, either. As for the exceptional occurrence of *long* as complement of *ago*, we may postulate that *long* functions in this case as a pro-form. But the question may be asked what it replaces. *Long ago* could mean ‘five million years ago’ in one context, and ‘two hours ago’ in another (e.g. ‘She went long ago’).

5.2. We have presented two possibilities for the ‘ago’ expression in a number of languages; the first is an adposition, and the second an adverb. On the basis of the limited number of languages, we could set up an implicational universal (Croft 1996; Hammond et al. 1998):

4. There are exceptions, such as an *ago* phrase which functions possibly as complement of the preposition *of*; as in ‘the events of five years ago’, in which the PostP ‘five years ago’ is complement of the preposition *of*.

If “ago” is not an adposition, it is an adverb.

However, the number of languages in this study is small. There may be languages in which an NP is used for the “ago” expression. In English we do have temporal NPs that function as adjuncts as in

(50) Jane came home *last night*.

so that possibility cannot be ruled out. One such language is Korean, in which “ago” is expressed by a relational noun with a locative case ending, e.g.

(51) *i nyen cen ey*
 two year before.LOC
 “two years ago”⁵

Although *ago* seems to be one of the few, if not unique, postpositions in English, the analysis of *ago* as well as the equivalent in many languages is not so clear. Where an item has an adjacent NP complement which is case-governed by that item, then we seem to be dealing with an adposition – a member of a closed set of function words. Such a situation may be considered prototypical. But what of languages in which the NP is not case-marked? May we say that such languages are less prototypical? This would include English and most of the Romance languages. A further question that may arise is whether the transitive adposition is prototypical of adpositions. That would imply that the intransitive preposition in English is less prototypical. If that were the case, then the most prototypical prepositions in English would be *during*, *among*, *despite*, among others. But such an analysis seems to contradict how native speakers would react if asked to name prototypical prepositions. Surely, prototypical prepositions would include *in*, *from*, *of*, *at*, but not *during*, etc. That is, while the prototypical context of adpositions is its adjacency to its NP complement, this does not seem to be the case in languages with intransitive adpositions, or adpositions that can function transitively or intransitively.

We may ask the same question concerning prototypical adverbs, since *ago* in English has been posited as an adverb, and “ago” in many languages is an adverb. Adverbs prototypically modify verbs, adjectives and adverbs, so adverbs such as *very* (see ex. (49) above) are less prototypical. It does not modify verbs; hence this adverb cannot function as a VP-adverbial (or adjunct). If so, we could also analyze *ago* as a less prototypical adverb, functioning to some extent like *very*. However, since (i) there are transitive adpositions in English, (ii) postpositions do

5. My thanks to Injoo Choi Jonin for explaining to me the precise structure of this expression.

exist in world languages, and (iii) *ago* is head of a phrase with a complement, we may accept the original analysis of *ago* as one of the few postpositions of English, if not the only one.

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Case marking of Turkic adpositional objects

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Adpositional objects in Turkic languages can bear a variety of different cases, and the same adposition can often assign more than one case. For example, Turkish postpositions take objects in the nominative (or absolute), genitive, dative, or ablative case, and some assign either nominative or genitive, depending on certain properties of the object. This paper presents the main facts about the complex case-marking behavior of Turkic postpositions and places them in a cross-linguistic context. We shall see that, on the one hand, Turkic languages resemble many other languages in some relevant respects, while on the other hand, they are unusual in some ways, for example in having nominative postpositional objects.

1. Introduction¹

Adpositions in Turkic languages show a wide variety of case marking behaviors, some of which are among the most complex for adpositions in human languages. In this paper I shall give a survey of the relevant facts, and place them in a

1. I thank Cholpon Sidikova, Deniz Zeyrek, Gregory D. S. Anderson, and Cem Bozşahin for data, grammaticality judgements, and/or discussion of some points brought up in this paper. I also thank various informants for their judgments. Sources on Turkic languages sometimes differ in whether, and in how, they transliterate or transcribe examples from languages which use or used the Cyrillic alphabet. My general practice has been as follows. I have transcribed words and examples which were in Cyrillic in the source, following the systems and transcriptions in Öztopçu et al. (1996). However, I have not made changes to words or examples which were only in a transliterated or transcribed version in the source, meaning that there will be some minor inconsistencies. Likewise I have not modified the forms in which Chagatay and Old Turkic words and examples are cited in a source, and again there will be some slight inconsistencies, which should not, however, cause any difficulty in understanding the points at issue. A source of possible confusion when dealing with Turkic languages is the fact that the names of some of them have been spelled more than one way in English (e.g. *Xakas* and *Khakas*), and I have been consistent in the way that I have referred to particular languages.

cross-linguistic perspective. This includes dealing with questions such as how typical Turkic adpositions are among adpositions more generally. There are relatively few prepositions in Turkic languages, and all the adpositions which I shall discuss are postpositions.

I shall classify the postpositions according to which case(s) they take, and the first distinction will be between those which take a single case and those which can take more than one case.²

An important point is that a case going under one name in one language may be rather different from a case bearing the same name in another language, meaning that we may not be dealing with the same case; what we consider the same or different cases cross-linguistically is a difficult issue. The issue is particularly relevant for us with respect to the case in Turkic languages which is often referred to as the nominative. From an Indo-European perspective it may be surprising that some Turkic adpositional objects are in the nominative case (although this does happen in Albanian). However, this case is significantly different from the nominative of, for example, Latin since it is the case not only of subjects but also of indefinite (or non-specific) objects. For this reason, some researchers on Turkic languages do not label it nominative but *absolute* or *indefinite* (e.g. Eckmann (1966) for the latter), and the fact that it is borne by some adpositional objects is not as intriguing as one might have thought.

Another problem that we face is determining what counts as an adposition. For one thing, in Turkic languages, the boundary between affix and postposition is not always clear, since some postpositions can also be attached to (the last word of) their complements (and are sometimes seen as case suffixes). This is true of Turkish *için* 'for' "as an archaism" (Lewis 2000: 85; in this situation it partly changes its form) and *ile* 'with' (which then becomes *-(y)le/a*). For our present purposes I will consider such variation to be of minor significance and will treat the components in question as postpositions, regardless of their morphological status.

While this problem could have implications for the question of what we treat as an adposition, it sometimes also affects statements about the case assignment of adpositions (although if they are not seen as governing a case, they may not be considered adpositions). For example, Krippes (1993) gives a list of four Kazakh

2. I shall use the terms *to take a case*, *to govern a case*, and *to assign a case* as synonyms, that is, when I speak of an adposition assigning a case, I am not making any theoretical claim about how case marking occurs in such instances. The goal of the present paper is primarily descriptive. For an attempt at an explanatory account for the case marking behavior of a single Turkic adposition (Turkish *için* and its cognates) within a Principles and Parameters approach, see Libert (2007). Much of that account could be applied to the facts presented here as well.

postpositions which take objects in the instrumental case, including *birge* ‘together, with’. However, Cirtautas (1992: 7) makes the following remark:

Some Kazakh grammarians add to these six cases an instrumentalis, formed with the postpositions *бен/мен/пен* [*ben/men/pen*] ‘with’. Although the postposition is written together with the preceding noun, it cannot yet be considered a case suffix because it does not follow rules of the Palatal-Velar Vowel Harmony.

If we agree with her reasoning, then we would not state that there are any postpositions in Kazakh which assign instrumental case, because there is no instrumental case, and further we might deny postpositional status to *birge* and the other words of its type.

The distinction between postpositions and adjectives is also not always clear: Lewis (2000: 86) brings up the fact that some adjectives have dative complements, including *mukabil* ‘in return (for)’ and *aykırı* ‘contrary (to)’ (both from Arabic), in his chapter on postpositions “because in some contexts they may be parsed as postpositions” (ibid.).

Further, the distinction between postpositions and nouns is not easy to define, since “secondary postpositions” bear certain case suffixes. Lewis (2000: 87) says of some (but this presumably applies to all) secondary postpositions:

The words in the following list are all nouns and may be used in any case and with any personal suffix ... It is only when they are used in *izafet* [see note 3] with another noun and in the dative, locative, or ablative case that they correspond in function to English prepositions and are called postpositions.

Some researchers would assert that adpositions cannot be inflected, and so if a supposed adposition bears case marking it is not an adposition.

The same sort of problem comes up with the distinction between adpositions and converbs (“adverbial forms of the verb signalling various semantic relations to the content of the superordinate clause” (Johanson 1998: 47)): Erdal (2004: 399) disputes von Gabain’s (1974: 137) classification of Old Turkic *käčä* ‘(in) crossing’, which assigns accusative case, as a postposition, taking it to be a converb. There may also be difficulties in deciding whether some words are adpositions or adverbs. For present purposes I am inclined to take a liberal view on all such questions and include in the following discussion some items whose adpositional status is not certain: whatever word class they belong to, they have case marking behavior which can be examined and classified (unless the putative cases that they assign are not in fact cases).

Another difficult issue is what we should treat as the same postposition in some instances when we state that a postposition can assign more than one case. The Turkic languages are generally close to one another and there are some

postpositions which have cognate forms in many of them, and sometimes their case marking behavior is different in different languages. This is an interesting fact, and it would be worthwhile to investigate why the “same” postposition behaves differently in different languages. However, since it does occur in different languages we should probably not regard it as the same lexeme, just as we would not regard English *to help* and German *helfen* as the same lexeme, and we would not say that *to help/helfen* can assign either accusative (i.e. in English) or dative (i.e. in German). However, since the Turkic languages often do not differ that much and sometimes are treated as dialects rather than separate languages (often for political reasons, but, for example, Azerbaijani and Turkish should probably be regarded as dialects of the same language on linguistic grounds), it is not always obvious when we should speak of the same language, and thus of the same lexeme. Indeed, one might argue that even when only different dialects (or other varieties) are involved, we should not treat the adpositions which vary in case marking in them as being able to assign different cases, but again that different lexemes are involved. This question comes up in particular with regard to Old Turkic: Erdal treats varieties from a wide range of places and from a span of several centuries (including Orkhon Turkic, Old Uyghur, and Qarakhanid) under the same heading, namely as Old Turkic, and there are some differences in postpositional case assignment in different varieties of it. There is no definitive answer to this issue, but it should be borne in mind when considering variable behavior of the “same” adposition.

This is not a comprehensive treatment (which would take far more space than that available) – not all adpositions, and indeed not all Turkic languages, are included here. To my knowledge even such a short survey of Turkic adpositional case marking has never been carried out (but see Hacıeminoğlu 1992 for much relevant information arranged by postposition). The examples which are presented will, it is hoped, suffice to give an idea of what occurs in this family, as well as what very rarely or never occurs.

2. Postpositions taking only a single case

We begin with postpositions whose objects are always in the same case, that is, postpositions which have a simple case marking behavior. Turkic languages generally have at least the following six cases: nominative/absolute, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, and locative, and all of these are borne by some postpositional objects.

As already noted, some postpositions have nominative objects, and for a few of these this is the only possibility. Below are two Turkish examples containing such adpositions.

- (1) a. *yol* *üzere*
road(NOM) on
‘on the road’ (Lewis 2000: 83)
- b. *cihan* *içre*
world(NOM) in
‘in the world’ (ibid.)

It is perhaps worthy of note that in contemporary Turkish the primary³ adpositions which always take nominative objects may be limited in use: according to Lewis (1998: 85), “*üzere* is mostly used with the infinitive in *-mek* but may occasionally be found with other substantives” while “*içre* is obsolete except in archaizing poetry”.⁴

Arguably some Turkish secondary postpositions also always take (or took, v. infra) nominative complements: *hakkında* ‘concerning’, *tarafından* ‘by, through the agency of’, *yüzünden* ‘because of’, *bakımından* ‘from the point of view of’, and *namına* ‘in the way of’. This is because they appear exclusively in the indefinite type of *izafet*, e.g.:

- (2) a. *o* *adam* *yüzünden*
that man(NOM) because.of
‘because of that man’ (Lewis 2000: 90)
- b. *protokol* *bakımından*
protocol(NOM) from.the.point.of.view.of
‘from the point of view of protocol’ (ibid.)

3. As defined by Lewis (2000: 83) a *secondary postposition* is a noun bearing dative, ablative, or locative case marking, as well as *izafet* or possession marking linking it to its complement. (*Izafet* marking indicates modification of one noun by another. This marking is a suffix on the modified noun, *-i* and phonologically conditioned variants, which is in fact the 3rd person singular “personal suffix” (as these suffixes are called by Lewis 2000; they are used to indicate the person and number of possessors of the referents of NPs). The modifying noun is in the nominative or genitive; if it is the former the construction is referred to as *indefinite izafet*, if it is the latter it is known as *definite izafet*. In definite *izafet* the modifying noun basically plays the role of a possessor.) Other postpositions are primary. Lewis (ibid.) says, “An English analogy would be to call ‘in’ and ‘before’ primary, and ‘on the inside of’ and ‘in front of’ secondary prepositions.”

4. Note that *üzer-* ‘top’ i.e. its dative, locative, and ablative forms, *üzerine*, *üzerinde*, *üzerinden* respectively, is etymologically related to *üzere* and is one of the secondary postpositions which can take genitive or nominative complements; if *üzere* and *üzerine*, etc. are considered to belong to the same lexeme, then *üzere* is not to be classified as an adposition which always takes nominative objects. This is another type of problem in determining what should be treated as the same adposition, and there are other instances of it.

If a pronoun, rather than a noun phrase headed by a noun, precedes the postposition, it will be in the genitive case, as in *o-nun hakkında* ‘concerning him-GEN’ (ibid.), and so it might appear that these postpositions do not always take nominative complements. However, Lewis (ibid.) states that “the pronoun in the genitive is not in izafet with the following *hakk-*, but merely reinforces its personal suffix”, as in the following phrase:

- (3) *ben-im hakk-im-da*
 I-GEN truth-1SG-LOC
 ‘concerning me’ (ibid.)

In this example the modifier (i.e. “possessor”) is denoted by the suffix *-im*, i.e. it is the true postpositional object, while *benim* again simply “reinforces it” without being in izafet with it, i.e. it is not the object. Following this line of argument, *onun* would likewise not be the object, so the rule for case assignment with these postpositions would be; if their object is a noun phrase headed by a noun, it is in the nominative, while if it is pronominal, it is realized as a suffix (and has no case marking). Thus, when these postpositions assign case, it is always nominative. However, one could counter this argument by asking why pronominal complements behave differently from nominal ones – it could also be claimed that in, for example, (2b) the complement is not *protokol*, but the *-ı* following *bakım*, with *protokol* merely “reinforcing” it, perhaps to be seen as being in apposition. (One might compare the question of the status of overt subjects in pro-drop languages.) This would then lead one to ask why the reinforcing or appositional NP is genitive if it is pronominal but nominative otherwise. (We find similar behavior with some primary postpositions, as we shall see below.) Of course this does not mean that these NPs are in fact complements of the postpositions, but the situation may be somewhat complicated and these postpositions are not entirely clearly members of the set of postpositions which always assign nominative. For example one might say that their complement is always a personal suffix, which does not take (overt) case marking.

In fact, there seems to be a move away from nominative case assignment to nouns by such words: Kornfilt (1997: 436) states that “some of these ... postpositions are heard more and more often as occurring with fully lexical objects that are marked with the genitive case suffix; *hakkından* and *yüzünden* are typical in this respect.”

Although most Chagatay postpositions which assign nominative to nouns show the nominative/genitive case marking split common to many Turkic languages (see Section 3), there is one which (in attested examples) is always found with nominative objects, *yangliğ/yangliq* ‘like, similar to’: Bodrogligeti (2001: 80)

states, “The pronoun base (only demonstratives occur) is in the nominative case when followed by *yangliǵ*”. One of his examples is in (4a); in (4b) we see a NP object headed by a noun in the nominative.

- (4) a. *bu yangliǵ söz-ni*
 this(NOM) like word-ACC
 ‘such words’ (Bodrogligeti 2001: 80)
 b. *māh yangliǵ*
 moon(NOM) like
 ‘like the moon’ (ibid.: 79)

Kazakh has some postpositions which assign nominative, including to pronominal objects, e.g. *tuwralı* ‘about’ and *üşin* ‘for’, as shown below:

- (5) *Sen tuwralı söyle-di*
 you(NOM) about talk-PST
 ‘he/she talked about you’ (Kirchner 1998a: 327)

Üşin (in the contemporary language) is thus unlike its Turkish cognate, *için*, to be discussed in Section 3, but like contemporary Uzbek *uchun*, as we shall see presently, and contemporary Kyrgyz *üchiün*, which will come up in Section 3. According to Schönig (1998: 269), in Turkmen *kibi*, *kimin*, *dey*, and *dek*, all of which mean ‘like’, “govern the nominative of both nouns and pronouns”, i.e. they always assign this case.

Although the genitive is not infrequently found on postpositional objects in Turkic languages, there are very few Turkic postpositions which exclusively assign this case. As we shall see, there are some Turkic postpositions which assign genitive to some pronouns, but nominative to NPs headed by nouns (and to other pronouns). One such postposition is Xakas *üčün* ‘because of, for the sake of’, as shown below:

- (6) a. *mir üčün*
 peace(NOM) for.the.sake.of
 ‘for the sake of peace’ (Anderson 1998: 8)
 b. *mın-ıñ üčün*
 I-GEN because.of
 ‘because of me’ (Anderson 1998: 8)

However, in Abakan Xakas *üčün* always assigns genitive, e.g.:

- (7) *xar-nıñ üčün*
 snow-GEN because.of
 ‘because of the snow’ (Anderson 2005: 178)

This is presumably due to Russian influence: as Anderson (ibid.) points out, the Russian preposition *iz-za*, which is used to convey the same meaning, always has its object in the genitive. One might compare the Uzbek cognate *uchun*, which for some speakers only or preferably takes nominative objects (whatever their category), while several decades ago the genitive was the preferred (or only) case for some pronominal objects.

Postpositions assigning only the accusative are also rare in Turkic languages. With respect to Turkish, Lewis (2000: 83) says, “What may be termed a postposition taking the accusative is the obsolescent *müteakip* [A] [= from Arabic] ‘following’, as in *Paşanın vefatını müteakip* ‘subsequent to the Pasha’s demise.’” The wording in the previous edition (1988: 85) is different (with a different spelling of the word): “The only more-or-less current postposition governing the accusative is the obsolescent *mütaakip* (A) ‘following, after’: *zayafet-i mütaakip* ‘after the banquet.’” Erdal (2004: 399) says of Old Turkic that “Few postpositions govern the accusative of nouns”; these would presumably also take only accusative pronominal objects, as opposed to various postpositions which, as we shall see, assign nominative to NPs headed by nouns which do not bear 2nd or 3rd person possession markers but accusative to some pronouns (and to the type of nominal NPs just mentioned). (Modern) Uygur does have two postpositions which take accusative objects, *bojlap* and *jaqılap*; both mean ‘along’ and both are derived from verbs. Below is an example containing the former:

- (8) *U dārja-ni bojlap kät-ti*
 he river.bank-ACC along go-PSR
 ‘He went away long the river bank’ (Nadzhip 1971: 85)

There are a fair number of postpositions in Turkic languages which take only dative objects, including the following: Turkish: *göre* ‘according to, in view of, in comparison with’, *doğru* ‘towards’, *dek/değın* ‘as far as’, *karşın* ‘in spite of’;⁵ and Turkish borrowed from Arabic: *nazaran* ‘according to, in view of, in comparison with’ *dair* ‘concerning’, *rağmen* ‘in spite of’, *inat* ‘in despite of’, *nispeten* ‘in proportion to’; Kyrgyz *cheyin* and *deyre* ‘until, up to’; Tatar *taba* ‘towards, in the direction of’, *kürä* ‘in consequence of, in view of, in accordance with’. Some examples are given below:

- Turkish
 (9) a. *bu durum-a göre*
 this situation-DAT in.view.of
 ‘in view of this situation’ (Lewis 2000: 85)

5. *Karşın* is clearly etymologically related to another postposition *karşı*, which has a rather complex case marking behavior and will be discussed in the next section.

- b. *köy-e doğru yürü-dü-k*
village-DAT towards walk-PST-1PL
'we walked towards the village' (ibid.)
- c. *sabah-a doğru uyan-dı-m*
morning-DAT towards awake-PST-1SG
'towards morning I awoke' (ibid.)
- d. *atom bomba-sı-na dair bir konferans*
atom bomb-3SG-DAT about a lecture
'a lecture on the atomic bomb' (ibid.)

Kyrgyz

- (10) a. *bul ubak-ka cheyin*
this time-DAT up.to
'up to this time' (Hebert and Poppe 1964: 41)
- b. *oktyabr-ga deyre*
october-DAT until
'until October' (ibid.)

Tatar

- (11) *avıl-ga taba*
village-DAT in.the.direction.of
'in the direction of the village' (Poppe 1968: 52)

Concerning Chagatay Bodrogligeti (2001: 39) says, "Quite a few postpositions govern the dative case. Most of them are Arabic participles or Persian adjectives that take their complements with the preposition *ba* or *tā*, or with the dative suffix *-rā* or in an Izāfat structure." The example that he presents there involves *qarši/qaršu* 'opposite to, facing; toward'.

According to Tekin (1968: 166) Orkhon Turkic had a single postposition which assigned what he calls the dative-locative case, but which Erdal (2004) simply labels the dative,⁶ *tägi* 'up to', as shown in the following example:

- (12) *täzik-kä tägi*
Täzik-DAT/LOC up.to
'up to the Taziks' (Tekin 1968: 167)

Another Old Turkic postposition which requires objects to be in this case is *tägilig* 'worthy of' (Erdal 2004: 399). It is intriguing that some Turkic languages have so many exclusively dative-assigning postpositions, while Old Turkic has so few (if we hold that the Old Turkic case in question is indeed the dative).

6. This case can mark location in time or space.

Chuvash marks both definite direct objects and indirect objects with the same case, the dative-accusative. Clark (1998:447) gives the following list of postpositions which assign this case: *kura* ‘considering’, *may* ‘in the direction of’, *păχmasăraχ* ‘in spite of’, *pula* ‘due to, because of’, *šiti* (~ *šite*) ‘up to, as far as’, *χirěs* ‘against, opposite’.

There are also postpositions which are restricted to having ablative objects. Among these are the following: Turkish: *önce* ‘before’, *sonra* ‘after’, *beri* ‘since, this side of’, *içeri* ‘inside’, *dolayı* and *ötürü* ‘because of’, *başka* ‘besides, apart from’; and Turkish from Arabic: *evvel* ‘before’ and *itibaren* ‘with effect from’; Chagatay *burna* and *burun* ‘before’, *cudā* ‘separated from’, *öngin* ‘other than, except’, *özgä* ‘other than’, *songra* ‘after’, *taš* ‘outside of’; Kyrgyz *kiyin* ‘after’, *beri* ‘since, for’, and *bashka* ‘instead of’; Tatar *birle* ‘from, since’. Examples are below:

Turkish

- (13) a. *bugün-den önce/evvel*
today-ABL before
‘before today’ (Lewis 2000: 86)
- b. *toplantı-dan sonra*
meeting-ABL after
‘after the meeting’ (ibid.)
- c. *ağustos-tan beri*
August-ABL since
‘since August’ (ibid.)

Kyrgyz

- (14) a. *beş kün-dön kiyin*
five day-ABL after
‘after five days’ (Hebert and Poppe 1964: 41)
- b. *adam-dan bashka*
man-ABL instead.of
‘instead of the man’ (ibid.)

There are a few Old Turkic postpositions which appear to be limited to assigning the locative case, e.g. *kesrä* ‘after’:⁷

- (15) *an-ta kisrä*
that-LOC after
‘after that’ (Tekin 1968: 167)

7. This case has ablative functions and in fact is referred to as the locative-ablative case by Tekin (1968). Therefore it is somewhat different from the locative case of for example Turkish, and this kind of difference may explain why it can be borne by postpositional objects, while in general locative postpositional objects are very rare in Turkic languages.

However, for at least one or two of these, the restriction to this case may not be an inherent property, Erdal (2004:401), for example, says:

Normally, postpositions which govern the locative in ablative or separative meaning are also (at least occasionally) attested with the ablative. The reason that this does not happen with the three postpositions mentioned last is that *kesrā* appears only in texts where the ablative is exceedingly rare ...

Another Old Turkic word, *ašnu* ‘previous(ly)’, which Erdal (ibid.) calls a “(petrified converb) and adverb”, “governs the locative when used as [a] postposition” (ibid.):

- (16) *üküş* *ažun-ta* *ašnu*
 many existence-LOC earlier
 many existences earlier (ibid.)

However, given two examples in Hacıeminoğlu (1992:10), it apparently could also take the ablative in Qarakhanid. Xakas has an allative case (distinct from the dative). There are postpositions whose objects appear in this case; while some of these postpositions can also have dative objects, Anderson (1998:13) gives the impression that this is not true of all of them, i.e. that one or more can only have allative objects.

Yılmaz (2002:69) lists two Chuvash postpositions which take instrumental objects, *pırle* ‘together with’ and *yunaşar* ‘side by side’. Among her examples are the following:

- (17) a. *man-pa* *pırle*
 me-INST together with
 ‘together with me’ (ibid.)
 b. *şın-pa* *yunaşar*
 person-INST side.by.side
 ‘side by side with the person’ (ibid.)

According to Erdal (2004:404) the equative case is assigned by the Old Turkic postposition *tānlig* ‘as much as’, e.g.:

- (18) *mu-nça* *tānlig*
 this-EQUAT as much as
 ‘this much’ (Erdal 2004: 404)

3. Postpositions taking more than one case

We turn now to postpositions which can assign more than one case. The factors responsible for the choice of case vary, as do the number of cases involved, and the particular cases.

Turkish has several primary postpositions, *gibi* 'like', *ile* 'with', and *için* 'for',⁸ whose objects bear either nominative or genitive, depending on their head: if the head is a noun, it is nominative, but if the head (and hence the whole NP) is one of certain pronouns, it is genitive. These pronouns are *ben* 'I', *sen* 'you (SG)', *biz* 'we', *siz* 'you (PL/POL)', *o* 'he, she, it, that', *bu* 'this', *şu* 'that', and *kim?* 'who?'. Most of these pronouns, including *biz* and *siz*, can have the plural marker *-lar/-ler* attached to them, in which case they will be nominative in this context. The following examples illustrate these points.

- (19) a. *bülbül* *gibi*
 nightingale(NOM) like
 'like a nightingale' (Lewis 2000: 84)
- b. *biz-im* *gibi*
 we-GEN like
 'like us' (ibid.)
- c. *biz-ler* *gibi*
 we-PL like
 'like us' (ibid.)

However, the situation is more complex. Lewis (2000: 83) states:

Colloquially ... even the pronouns listed above [*ben*, *sen*, etc.] are used in the absolute case before these prepositions. This is particularly frequent with *kim*; instead of *kiminle*, *kimin için*, and *kimin gibi* 'with whom?', 'for whom?', 'like whom?', one hears *kimle*, *kim için*, and *kim gibi*, the last being a more respectable solecism than the first two.

What is more, in Old Anatolian Turkish and Ottoman Turkish one can find genitive pronouns with the plural suffix as objects of at least some of these postpositions. For example, Németh (1962: 60) gives the following possibilities:

- (20) a. *on-lar* *ile*
 he-PL(NOM) with
 'with him'

8. *Kadar* 'as much as' (from Arabic) is also placed in this group by Lewis (2000: 83), but the behavior of this postposition is more complex, as it can also assign dative case with the meaning 'as far as'.

- b. *on-lar-in ile*
he-PL-GEN with

Many other Turkic languages have postpositions which exhibit roughly the same case marking split as Modern Turkish, but the facts are often not clear. For example, according to Hebert and Poppe (1964: 39–40), the following Kyrgyz postpositions assign nominative generally, but genitive to pronouns: *menen* ‘with, by, until, before, despite, and’, *üchün* ‘for, on account of’, and *tuuraluu* ‘about, concerning’. Among their examples are the following:

- (21) a. *bichak menen*
knife(NOM) with
‘with the knife’ (Hebert and Poppe 1964: 39)
b. *men-in menen*
I-GEN with
‘with me’ (ibid.)

However, Kirchner (1998b: 352) says, “Among the simple postpositions, *menen* ‘with’ governs the nominative, and the accusative of certain pronouns”, and gives the example below:

- (22) *men-i menen*
I-ACC with
‘with me’ (Kirchner 1998b: 352)

In fact, for at least some contemporary speakers, *menen* apparently assigns nominative to pronouns: Cirtautas (1993: 64) lists it among the postpositions taking nominative objects and gives two examples of it with a nominative pronominal object, including *biz menen* ‘with us(NOM)’. Also in this list is *üchün* ‘for, on account of’, along with the example *men üchün* ‘for me(NOM)’. However, she then gives the example *a-mn üchün* ‘for it-GEN’, indicating that a shift to nominative assignment across the board with these postpositions may not yet have been completed.

Among the Tatar postpositions with roughly the same case marking behavior as Turkish *ile*, etc. are *belän* ‘together with, by means of’, *öchen* ‘for, for the sake of, for the reason of, because of’, *kebek*, *shikelle*, and *kük* ‘like, similar to’, and *kadär* ‘till, to’. Poppe (1968: 52) says of these postpositions that they:

are added to the stem (the basic form, the ‘nominative’) of nouns. The personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns /bu/ ‘this’, /şul/ ‘that’, /şuşı/ ‘this’, and /tege/ ‘that’, when taking [these postpositions], must also take [the genitive suffix]. An exception is the pronoun /alar/ ‘they’ which does not take [the genitive], the postposition being mechanically added to /alar/ in the same manner as to any substantive.

One of his examples of this is *alar belän* ‘together with them’ (ibid.).

Chagatay postpositions of this sort include *dek* ‘exactly like’, *ilä* ‘with’, and *üčün* ‘for, for the sake of’; concerning each of these, Bodrogligeti (2001:74, 75, 78) says, “A pronoun base must be in the genitive case”. He says (p. 76) the same thing of *sari* ‘toward’, but then (ibid.) states, “Rarely, the pronoun base stays in the nominative case”. Further, Eckmann (1966:122) has an example in which *dek* has a nominative pronominal object: *siz dek parizād* ‘a fairy child like you’. Pronominal complements of *kibi* ‘like’ can also appear in the nominative, as shown by the first two of the following examples:

- (23) a. *men kibi*
I(NOM) like
‘like me’ (Eckmann 1966:123)
- b. *siz kibi*
you.PL(NOM) like
‘like you(PL)’ (ibid.)
- c. *sen-ing kibi*
you.SG-GEN like
‘like you(SG)’ (ibid.)

Some Turkish secondary postpositions can also have nominative or genitive objects (i.e. they can be part of either definite or indefinite *izafet* constructions, unlike the secondary postpositions discussed above which only appear in the indefinite version of the construction). These include (here given without *izafet* and case suffixes) *alt* ‘underside’, *ara* ‘interval, space between’, *arka* and *art* ‘back’, *baş* ‘immediate vicinity’, *dış* ‘exterior’, *çevre* ‘surroundings’, *iç* ‘interior’, *orta* ‘middle’, *ön* ‘front’ *üst* ‘top’; and Turkish from Arabic: *hariç* ‘exterior’, *etraf* ‘surroundings’, *dahil* ‘interior’, and *fevk* ‘top’, and Turkish from Persian *peş* ‘space behind’. The choice of case of the complement with these postpositions has to do with the meaning to be conveyed; according to Lewis (2000:88), the following sentences “well illustrate the difference between the definite and indefinite *izafets*”:

- (24) a. *okul-un dış-ın-da bir taksi*
school-GEN exterior-3SG-LOC a taxi
bul-un-mak-ta-dır
find-PASS-INFIN-LOC-3SGCOP
‘there is a taxi outside the school’ (Lewis 2000:88)
- b. *bir milyon okul dış-ın-da*
a million school(NOM) exterior-3SG-LOC

bul-un-mak-ta-đır

find-PASS-INFIN-LOC-3SGCOP

'a million children are outside school' (i.e. not attending any school)
(ibid.)

Consider also the following pair of sentences:

- (25) a. *Dođu ile Batı ara-sın-da*
East(NOM)with West(NOM) interval-3SG-LOC
'between East and West' (Lewis 2000: 87)
- b. *dağ ile ırmağ-ın ara-sın-da*
mountain(NOM) with river-GEN interval-3SG-LOC
'between the mountain and the river' (ibid.)

Lewis (2000: 87) comments, "in the first example, where 'East' and 'West' are broad general terms, the *izafet* is indefinite, while in the second, where a specific river is intended, the *izafet* is definite, with *ırmak* 'river' in the genitive." These postpositions, like those of the type of *hakkında* 'concerning' discussed in Section 2, may seem to assign genitive to pronominal objects, as in the second of the following examples:

- (26) a. *ara-mız-da*
interval-1PL-LOC
'in between us' (lit. 'in our interval') (Lewis 2000: 87)
- b. *biz-im ara-mız-da*
we-GEN interval-1PL-LOC
(same truth-conditional meaning)

Therefore it might appear that they are like *gibi*, etc. However, the same argument can be used as was used with respect to *hakkında*, that, for example, *bizim* is not an object in (26b) and thus the only case split with these postpositions is a nominative/genitive one related to meaning. That is, there is no split based on the category of the object.

There are other Turkish secondary postpositions which can have nominative or genitive objects, but which seem to prefer the former: according to Lewis (2000: 90), "they are mostly found in indefinite *izafet*, even when they follow a defined noun." This set consists of the postpositions *boyunca* 'along, throughout' (from *boy* 'length'), *sırasında* 'in the course of' (from *sıra* 'row'), *uğruna/uğrunda* 'for the sake of' (from *uğur* 'luck'), *yerine* 'instead of' (from *yer* 'place'), *esnasında* 'in the course of' (from the Arabic *esna* 'duration'), *zarfında* 'during' (from the Arabic *zarf* 'envelope'), and *sayesinde* 'thanks to' (from the Persian *saye* 'shadow'). Below are examples of the use of one of these postpositions:

- (27) a. *Kızıl Irmak/Iрмаğ-ın boyunca*
 Red River(NOM)/River-GEN along
 ‘along the Red River’ (Lewis 2000: 91)
- b. *Türk tarih-i/tarih-i-nin boyunca*
 Turk history-3SG(NOM)/history-3SG-GEN along
 ‘throughout Turkish history’ (ibid.)⁹

Here there does not seem to be a semantic difference between the cases on the object, so it would appear to be free variation. Note that these postpositions can also have simply a pronominal affix (as what we might consider a complement), e.g. *sayenizde* ‘thanks to you (PL/POL)’ (Lewis 2000: 91).

The Turkish postposition *karşı* can be a primary or secondary postposition: when it is the latter it can take nominative or genitive objects, like the postpositions just discussed, with the meaning ‘to/on/from the opposite side of’, depending on the case marker it bears (dative, locative, and ablative respectively). It also can have a literal or figurative sense, which may be connected with the choice of genitive or nominative marking on its object, as with some of the postpositions discussed above. When *karşı* is a primary postposition it assigns dative and has the meaning ‘against’.

We find what appears to be a free choice between nominative and genitive with some Karakalpak postpositions: in his section “Postpositions governing the genitive” Wurm (1951: 564) says of them that “Very often the genitive suffix of the preceding noun is dropped, so that they seem to govern the nominative.”

Some Old Turkic postpositions, e.g. *birlä* ‘with’, *täg* ‘like’, and *üçün* ‘for, because of, on account of, by virtue of, for the sake of’, have a case marking split somewhat like Turkish *ile*, etc. but with some differences: one of the cases involved is different (accusative rather than genitive), and it is not only some pronouns which receive this case, but NPs bearing a 2nd or 3rd possessed marker, as shown in the following examples:¹⁰

- (28) a. *böri täg*
 wolf(NOM) like
 ‘like wolves’ (Tekin 1968: 164)

9. However, two native speakers whom I consulted did not find *Türk tarihinin boyunca* grammatical.

10. Frequently *täg* and its complement merge to produce a single word (at least orthographically). When this happens with at least two of the pronouns it is the stem for the oblique case forms to which it is attached (i.e. the accusative ending is dropped), e.g. *antäg/γ* ‘as follows’ from *anı täg* ‘like that’ (Tekin 1968: 165).

- b. *türük bodun* *üčün*
 Turk people(NOM) for.the.sake.of
 'for the sake of the Turkish people' (ibid.: 165)
- c. *anı* *üčün*
 that.ACC for
 'for that reason' (ibid.)
- d. *kürägü-ŋ-in* *üčün*
 unruliness-2SG-ACC because.of
 'because of your unruliness' (ibid.)

On the other hand, if the complement bears a 1st person possessed marker, it is in the nominative:

- (29) *yüz-ümüz* *utru*
 face-1PL(NOM) face
 'before our face' (Erdal 2004: 398)

However, this particular split does not always happen: sometimes, as in Turkish, the genitive rather than the accusative is assigned to the pronouns involved. Further, Erdal (2004: 398) states that "In [Old] Uygur it often happens that nominals with [the] 2nd or 3rd person possessive suffix are in the nominative and not the accusative form when governed by postpositions, but in Manichean texts these instances are a tiny minority".

Another way in which Old Turkic postpositions of this type may differ from contemporary Turkish postpositions such as *ile* is that at least some of them can assign accusative to plural pronouns, e.g. *olar-nı birlä* 'with them-ACC' (Erdal 2004: 396); recall that this can happen in Old Anatolian and Ottoman Turkish. The accusative is not always assigned in this context: *olar ara* 'among them(NOM)' (ibid.).

Some other Old Turkic postpositions exhibit similar, but more complicated, case marking behavior. For example, *üzä* 'over, through, by,' like the postpositions just discussed, assigns accusative to pronouns and noun phrases bearing 2nd or 3rd person possessed markers:¹¹

- (30) a. *kim-ni* *üzä*
 who-ACC over
 'over whom?' (Erdal 2004: 396)

However, it can assign either nominative or locative to other objects:

11. Erdal (2004: 396) also cites an example in which *üzä* assigns accusative to a pronoun bearing plural marking: *olar-nı üzä* 'over them-ACC'.

- (31) a. *altun yis üzä qabisalim*
 Altun wooded.mountain(NOM) over let.us.come.together
 ‘at the Altun (‘Gold’) Mountains’ (Tekin 1968: 166)
- b. *[näŋ y]ılsıy bodun-ta üzä olurmadım*
 any wealthy people-LOC over I.did.not.become
 ‘I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people’
 (ibid.: 167)
- c. *ol törü-dä üzä*
 that rule in.accordance.with
 ‘in accordance with that rule’ (ibid.)

In addition, von Gabain (1959:33) states that it “seldom” is found with instrumental objects.

Like Old Turkic, Xakas has a nominative/accusative split: Anderson (1998: 10) states:

some postpositions generally govern the ACC case in Xakas. Note that most of these show variation, alternatively governing the ACC case or the unmarked form [i.e. the nominative]; in some of these instances, pronouns are obligatorily in the ACC, but nouns can be in either the uninflected form or the ACC. The patterning of ACC case governed by these postpositions is non-random: when the governed noun is possessed, it requires the ACC case, but when unpossessed, it appears in the unmarked form.

Note that Anderson does not say anything about a limitation to 2nd and 3rd person possessed objects (as occurs in Old Turkic); further, unlike in Modern Turkish, the presence of a plural marker on a pronoun may not have any effect:

- (32) *o-lar-nı tobıra*
 he/she/it-PL-ACC through
 ‘through them’ (Anderson 1998: 11)

Certain other Xakas postpositions have a choice of case assignment to their objects, and with them the choice seems free rather than being determined by properties of the object: Anderson (1998: 13) says, “some postpositions govern the ALL case; various of these also show alternative forms with the DAT”. Below we see an example of this:

- (33) a. *olar-zar udur*
 they-ALL towards
 ‘towards them’ (Anderson 1998: 13)

- b. *ayaa udur*
 her.DAT towards
 'towards her' (ibid.)

According to Eckmann (1966: 124–125) the Chagatay postposition *baqa* (derived from the verb *baq-* 'to look') assigns nominative with the meaning 'toward' and dative with the meaning 'according to', as shown below:

- (34) a. *su yoqqari baqa köçti*
 water upward toward he.went
 'he went upstream' (Eckmann 1966: 125)¹²
 b. *nisbat-i-ğa baqa*
 relation-3SG-DAT according.to
 'in proportion to its degree' (ibid.: 124–125)

This, then, is a meaning-based choice of case assignment.

The Old Turkic postposition *eyin* 'as a result of, according to' shows the same choice of cases, but there is "no apparent difference in meaning" (Erdal 2004: 395).

According to Bodrogligeti (2001: 81, 82, 84) the Chagatay postpositions *öng* 'before' and *song* 'after' can take ablative or locative objects, as shown below:

- (35) a. *Barča-din öng*
 all-ABL before
 'Before all else' (Bodrogligeti 2001: 81)
 b. *munda öng*
 this.LOC before
 'before this' (ibid.: 84, my translation (his translation is not literal))

I do not know of any semantic or other factor determining which case is assigned, and I therefore assume that it is free.

I have already quoted the remark by Erdal (2004: 401) that most Old Turkic locative-assigning postpositions (when the locative has an "ablative or separative meaning") also assign ablative case. He says on the next page, "Most postpositions which (at least in part determined by dialect and historical development) can govern either the locative or the ablative have temporal meaning." There are then a fair number of Old Turkic postpositions which have this choice of case, which, as far as I can determine, does not have any semantic consequences. Some examples are below:

12. This example, the only relevant one provided by Eckmann, is not a particularly good one since *yoqqari* is an adverb.

- (36) a. *övkä-läri-tä ötgürü*
 anger-3PL-LOC because.of
 ‘because of their anger’ (Erdal 2004: 401)
- b. *küçlüg tärin kertgünč köñül-läri-ndin ötgürü*
 strong deep faith attitude-3PL-ABL because.of
 ‘because of their strong and deep faith’ (ibid.: 402)
- (37) a. *a-nta ken*
 that-LOC after
 ‘thereafter’ (ibid.)¹³
- b. *a-ndin ken*
 that-ABL after
 ‘thereupon’ (ibid.)

Bärü ‘since, from ... on’, like the postpositions just discussed, occurs with locative or ablative objects, but also, according to von Gabain (1959: 33) it “seldom” takes an accusative object. In addition, it apparently can follow nominative objects. Another postposition with similar behavior is *öñi* ‘distinct, different from, except’; in addition to assigning locative and ablative, it takes the nominative of numerals.

Finally, the Old Turkic postposition *ulatı* ‘others in addition to, etc., including’ has a subtle meaning-based choice of cases. Consider the following examples:

- (38) a. *tilkü böri-tä ulatı yavız tınlig-lar*
 fox wolf-LOC others.in.addition.to bad animal-PL
 ‘fox, wolf, and other evil creatures’ (Erdal 2004: 403)
- b. *bars irpiş böri ulatı yavlak tınlig-lar*
 tiger panther wolf(NOM)including evil animal
 ‘evil creatures such as tiger, panther, and wolf’ (ibid.)

The nominative indicates that the complement of *ulatı* names part of the set denoted by the NP following it, whereas the locative is used when the complement is seen as naming entities additional to those meant to be designated by the following NP (which altogether would make up a set). Erdal’s (ibid.: 402–403) explanation of the difference may not be very easy to understand, but it does contain a useful example:

The head for postpositional phrases formed with this element [*ulatı*] is the name of a set; what it governs are one or more members of this set. When the governed phrase(s) is/are in the locative, they are members of the phrase as it is conceived but not named; here an example to clarify what I mean: *bir kişi ölüt ölmäktä*

13. Erdal (ibid.) states that *ken* “is practically always (and very often) attested with the locative”, but he cites four examples of it, including this one, assigning ablative.

ulatı tokuz karmaputlarıg ... ärtsär ... ‘If a person commits murder and the other nine sins’; if the phrase had been in the nominative we would have found the number ten and not the number nine, as the first one would have been presented as being included in the referent of the head: In Buddhism there are ten sins.

Most of the types of postposition presented above are summarized in the following table:

Table 1. Types of adpositional case marking in Turkic languages

Case Assigned	Basis for Choice	Example of Postpositions Assigning It
nom. only	–	Kazakh <i>tuwralı</i> ‘about’
gen. only	–	Abakan Khakas <i>üčün</i> ‘because of, for the sake of’
acc. only	–	Turkish <i>müteakip</i> ‘following’ (“obsolescent”)
dat. only	–	Turkish <i>göre</i> ‘according to’
dat.-acc. only	–	Chuvash <i>kura</i> ‘considering’
abl. only	–	Turkish <i>sonra</i> ‘after’
instr. only	–	Chuvash <i>pırle</i> ‘together with’
equat. only	–	Old Turkic <i>tänlig</i> ‘as much as’
nom. or gen.	morphological properties of complement	Turkish <i>gibi</i> ‘like’
” ” ”	semantic	Turkish <i>dış-</i> ‘outside’
” ” ”	free	Turkish <i>boyunca</i> ‘along, throughout’
nom. or dat.	semantic	Chagatay <i>baqa</i> ‘toward, according to’
” ” ”	free	Old Turkic <i>eyin</i> ‘as a result of, according to’
nom. or acc.	morphological properties of complement	Old Turkic <i>täg</i> ‘like’
nom. or loc.	semantic	Old Turkic <i>ulatı</i> ‘others in addition to, etc., including’
dat. or all.	free	Xakas <i>udur</i> ‘towards’
loc. or abl.	free	Old Turkic <i>ötgürü</i> ‘because of’

4. Discussion

Looking at the Turkic group of languages overall we find that there are patterns which are fairly widespread in the family, such as the case marking split between nouns and (some) pronouns, often involving the nominative and genitive cases. This is not surprising, since the Turkic languages are considered to be quite similar to one another. However, we do also see variation, for example, the already mentioned point that some languages (e.g. Turkish) have several postpositions assigning only dative case, while Old Turkic has very few. One might think that such

differences are due to differences of the functions/meanings of the cases involved in the differing languages.

Many Turkic postpositions have a more complex case marking behavior than those in, for example, Indo-European languages. To some extent this is easy to explain – Turkic languages have at least one or two more cases than some of the most familiar Indo-European case languages such as German or Classical Greek, allowing for more possibilities. So, to determine whether Turkic adpositional case marking behavior is truly complex we should compare it to adpositional case marking in languages with at least the same number of cases, such as the Baltic languages, or some of the Uralic languages.

One might note that there are many languages in the world with only one adpositional case (i.e. a very simple adpositional case marking behavior), and these include some languages with large arrays of cases (i.e. the reason that their adpositions only assign one case is not because there are only one or two oblique cases), e.g. the Uralic language Udmurt. However, there are also some languages outside of Turkic with quite complex adpositional case patterns, including several of the Uralic family (e.g. Estonian). Something lacking in all Turkic languages is a case which is only assigned by adpositions and has no other function (e.g. the Russian preposition case – other cases can be assigned by Russian prepositions, but the prepositional case never appears anywhere but on prepositional objects).

One way that we could compare complexity of case assigning behavior across different languages is to determine what proportion of a language's cases are used as adpositional cases. There are very few cases of Turkic languages which are not used as an adpositional case in at least one of them, that is, they have a high proportion of adpositional cases. The differences between the number of adpositional cases among languages and the differences in whether a particular case can be assigned by adpositions (differences that exist both within Turkic and when comparing Turkic to other groups) may lead one to ask what makes a case in a particular language able to be borne by an adpositional object.

Often the case which is assigned by an adposition is due to its etymology, e.g. many adpositions which assign genitive are derived from nouns. If all of a language's adpositions have the same type of history, i.e. all are derived from words of the same word class, that could account for their uniform case assigning behavior. On the other hand, if there are various types of source words for adpositions in a language, this could explain why there are several adpositional cases in the language (though it would not account for adpositions which assign more than one case). Turkic adpositions are of more than one type from a derivational point of view; thus, for example, von Gabain (1974) has sections on Old Turkic adpositions "of verbal origin" (pp. 135–143) and those "of nominal origin" (pp. 142–143). This could perhaps be connected with the fact that there is not a sole adpositional case

in any Turkic language, as far as I know. However, since so many Turkic adpositions can assign more than one case, more factors must come into play.

The non-assignment of some cases by adpositions in a language could also be connected to their derivational history; if they all were derived from nouns, one might not be too surprised if none of them assigned accusative. The accusative is rare as an adpositional case in some languages, such as Turkish, but given that Turkic postpositions had various types of origins, this fact will have to be explained in a different way. Also, there are some Turkic languages, such as Old Turkic, which do have postpositions assigning accusative case. What are rare in such languages, and overall in the Turkic group, are adpositions which *exclusively* assign this case.

One might compare the situation of the genitive: although there are many Turkic postpositions which can assign this case, it is also rare for it to be the *only* case assigned by a postposition. Thus we must distinguish between cases which are rarely assigned by postpositions in a language (e.g. the Turkish accusative) and cases which rarely play the role of sole case assignable by a postposition (e.g. the Old Turkic accusative and the Turkish genitive).

Let us focus on the situation exemplified by the Turkish accusative. One might guess that its rarity on adpositional objects in this language (compared with for example Latin, German, or Classical Greek) might be connected with the fact noted in Section 1 that indefinite direct objects in Turkish bear nominative rather than accusative case, meaning that not only is the Turkish nominative rather different than the nominative of Latin, but the Turkish accusative also differs significantly from its namesake in this and other familiar languages. While one could argue that the accusative is the default case for complements (of both verbs and adpositions) in Latin, this may not hold for Turkish since the nominative appears on many complements, both of verbs (when they are indefinite) and of some postpositions. (One might have trouble arguing that any particular case was the default case for postpositional objects in Turkic languages.) It is not clear to me whether this is the correct direction to take; some insight could be gained by comparing Turkish with unrelated languages in which the accusative is not an adpositional case and where this fact cannot be explained by the origin of their adpositions. Indeed in Udmurt, in which the accusative is not a postpositional case, because all postpositions assign nominative, these two cases show the same difference from Indo-European as do those of Turkish, namely that only definite direct objects are marked accusative, indefinite ones being nominative.

Udmurt has an accusative case, but in this respect it is unlike many Uralic languages. In the Uralic family nominative marking of adpositional objects is not rare, although they often have a wealth of other cases, which might make one wonder about a link between the absence of the accusative and the possibility

of nominative assignment to adpositional objects. If we try to put forth a more general hypothesis, we might say that the possibility to assign nominative case to adpositional objects (on a reasonably large scale) might depend on the absence of an accusative, or a restricted range (compared to for example familiar Indo-European languages) of use for it, i.e. where it does not mark all direct objects. Consider for example the following remark by Harrington (1945:27) about the Peruvian language Yunka, in which postpositions can also take nominative objects: “Objective case is expressed by the same unmodified noun as is the subjective, and there is not even an optional way of expressing or emphasizing the objective”. Of course this hypothesis may not cover all languages with nominative marking of adpositional objects; in Albanian it has been explained (by Buchholz and Fiedler 1987: 125) by the derivation of the adpositions (which came from conjunctions). Obviously the hypothesis is only interesting for languages which have an overt case system; if there were no case forms (other than the nominative) then all adpositions would have to take the nominative.

If this line of thought is correct, one might expect those Turkic languages in which accusative marking on postpositional objects is not rare to have an accusative case more like the Indo-European accusative, i.e. which was borne (or at least could be borne) by indefinite direct objects. This is not so, however, in one variety of Old Turkic: Erdal (2004:366) says, “it seems that – in Orkhon Turkic – the accusative form does not appear when the object is non-specific.”¹⁴ There is a difference between Old Turkic and, for example, Turkish nominative/accusative case marking which could be relevant: although the accusative is not assigned to indefinite direct objects, it also does not need to be marked (overtly) even on definite direct objects. Erdal (2004: 362) states that “The absence of the accusative suffix is not related to non-specificity”. An example of this with a pronoun is:

- (39) *bo* *biti-dök-tä*
 this(NOM) write-VNOUN-LOC
 ‘when I wrote this’ (Erdal 2004: 363)

14. Possibly it was the case in Old Uyghur; Erdal (ibid.) cites and discusses an example of an apparently indefinite direct object with accusative marking:

... *alti kızlarig bunun alip* ‘taking six girls as prisoners’ ... is what the senseless King Virüdhaka does when conquering the city of Kapilavastu in Buddhist mythology. The girls were obviously not mentioned earlier in the story and should not have the accusative suffix if that were a mark of definiteness. Since, however, these girls were so beautiful that they resembled divine girls, they may possibly have been specific.

Thus, the nominative and accusative of Old Turkic behave differently from those of Turkish in a major respect in addition to the marking of adpositional objects, and these two differences may be connected.

Xakas may present a problem for this hypothesis, since it is also like Turkish in terms of marking definite and indefinite direct objects (that is, definite direct objects must bear accusative case), but like Old Turkic it has the accusative case on some postpositional objects. Therefore, at least with respect to this language, much work is required before an account of its postpositional case marking can be put forth.

Let us now look at Turkic postpositions which can assign more than one case from a cross-linguistic perspective. As we have seen, there are some Turkic postpositions which assign different cases depending on their meaning. This general situation also holds in some other languages, including Latin, Classical Greek, Mongolian, and the Caucasian language Lezgian. In fact, to my knowledge, among the languages of the world when there is a non-free choice of cases assigned by an adposition, the determining factor is usually semantic.

This means that it is fairly rare cross-linguistically for a choice of adpositional case to be determined by a non-semantic factor, something which, as we have seen, happens fairly often among Turkic languages. However, the Uralic language Mari has a quite similar split to that of Turkish *ile*, etc: Kangasmaa-Minn states that in this language adpositional objects “normally stand in the nominative, even if they refer to animates; pronouns are in the genitive” (1998:237). It would be worth comparing properties of these languages to see whether they share any properties that could be linked with this case assignment split.¹⁵

We have also seen some Turkic postpositions which have apparent free choice between two cases to assign to their complements. This does happen in some other languages also, e.g. some Finnic languages.

5. Conclusion

To briefly summarize some of the facts and tendencies presented above, we may make the following statements:

15. One non-semantic factor which sometimes determines case assignment choice will not be relevant for at least the vast majority of Turkic adpositions: position relative to the object. In some languages, including German and Estonian, some adpositions can either precede or follow their object, and their case assignment possibilities are affected by this. Since Turkic languages are overwhelmingly postpositional, this situation will very rarely come up in them.

1. Adpositional case marking in Turkic languages is complex, more complex than that of most languages, even some with fairly large case systems.
2. This complexity is due in part to the relatively large number of cases assigned to adpositional objects, a large proportion of the cases existing in the languages.
3. The nominative is frequently marked on adpositional objects, which is not common among the world's languages (particularly familiar ones such as Latin), but this could be attributed at least in part to a major difference between the Turkic nominative and the typical nominative of many languages.
4. On the other hand, the accusative is rarely used as an adpositional case in many Turkic languages, which could perhaps also be attributed to a major difference between this case in Turkic languages and the typical accusative.
5. Turkic languages have some adpositions which can assign more than one case, which is not unusual among the world's languages.
6. The case choice with such adpositions in Turkic languages is sometimes based on the meaning to be conveyed, which again is not unusual cross-linguistically.
7. Sometimes the case choice is based on some property of the object, e.g. whether the head is a certain kind of pronoun or a noun, and this does appear to be rarer cross-linguistically.

Thus we can see that in some ways adpositional case assignment in Turkic languages is somewhat like that in most of the world's languages, but it has some less common, and interesting, properties as well.

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The logic of addition

Changes in the meaning of the Hebrew preposition *'im* ("with")

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The paper discusses recent changes in the meaning and use of *'im* (with) in written Israeli Hebrew. It traces such changes mostly in less formal written registers, and argues that they reflect some aspects of the multilingual situation in Israel and the fragile equilibrium between the spoken and written modes. Additional motivations for such changes are shown to be rooted in cognitive processes and in the logic of adding and connecting. Such changes require sometimes syntactical reorganization of sentence patterns. Prepositions, collocations etc. are 'identity markers' of languages, registers and styles, hence tracing such changes is a step towards a typological description of various styles in Israeli Hebrew.

Preface

Languages change. Meanings change. Uses vary. One of the great mysteries in the life of languages is the invisible equilibrium between stability and change. One sign of a living language is its openness to a constant process of change. Dialects are born, sociolects and fashions come and go. Yet in every given period of time a fixed stable core can be recognized, a set of features which reveals the language's identity and justifies its name as English, Welsh, Wu, Polish, Lithuanian, Arabic, Mandarin, French, Amharic, Thai, Urdu, Italian, etc. Some of these changes testify to inner developments; others are due to political and ethnic contacts and influences. This paper analyzes the ongoing processes of rapid change in meaning and use of the preposition עִם *'im* ("with") in Modern Hebrew that have occurred in the last few years. This could be perceived as merely a descriptive or statistical feature. I argue here however that sorting and analyzing such new usages of *'im* sheds light on several interesting theoretical linguistic issues: (1) The nature of

internal and external causes of change; (2) languages in contact – the impact of foreign substrates, historical situations and current contacts in the path taken by a language; (3) the role and effect of regulation and standardization in a language; (4) the fragile equilibrium between speech and writing and the existence of sub-registers both in the vernacular and in written texts. One interesting question has to do with the unique status of Modern Hebrew, which survived for centuries only in written texts, recited prayers and ceremonies. In almost a hundred years Hebrew has undergone a return to full life where native speakers, among other factors, have impacted on the orientations of its growth. This facet places even more emphasis on (5) the relations between the ever-changing native vernacular and the ‘standard model’ paradigm or the norm of a language. This paper looks specifically at the effects of a combination of communicative needs, cognitive limits and cultural influences on the emergence of new uses of prepositions. It shows how these changes fit in as new characteristics of Israeli Hebrew – the youthful branch of revived Modern Hebrew.

Prepositions

For many years prepositions were considered to be a set of small connecting words believed to be marginal to the main focus of linguistic research. Recently prepositions have become a center of linguistic attention. Cognitive linguists have discovered the relevance of propositions for understanding the structure of the conceptual system. In particular, they have explored the polysemous nature of prepositions and the relations between their multiple meanings, as well as their connection to the study of metaphor. Most of these studies have dealt with prototypical spatial prepositions such as *up*, *over*, *in*, *out*, *on*, *under* (cf. Lindner 1983 on *up*; Lakoff 1987 on *over*; Morgan 1997 on *out*). These studies have contributed to the growing field of cognitive semantics and especially to the study of metaphor (Lakoff 1987) and spatial cognition (Herskovitz 1986; Tyler and Evans 2003).¹ Other researchers have examined the typological aspects of prepositions and their

1. *Up*, *out*, and *over* function in several languages as verb particles and in others as prepositions. Attention has been paid to both positions in the process of metaphorical mapping from the spatio-temporal dimension to the more abstract realms of logic, discourse, emotions, economics, ethics etc. Such studies have been supported by comparative studies in acquisition. See for example the comparison between English and Korean children acquiring spatio-temporal knowledge, where Korean represents the verb-framed languages in which prepositions play an important role of organizing syntactic and semantic relations. By contrast, English is a satellite-language in which verb particles have a parallel semantic role. (Bowerman and Choi 2001).

status in various languages as well (cf. Rauch 1991; Feigenbaum and Kurzon 2002; Cadiot 1997; Croft 2000; Zifonun 1997; Sovran 1999).

Prepositions share some characteristics with collocations in their arbitrariness. This fact accounts for their status as identity markers of languages as well as the difficulties they raise in translation. It also points to their vulnerability to change via translations. In the last several decades there have been constant efforts to probe the meanings and uses of prepositions to find their prototypical, sometimes metaphorical, meanings. In this paper I focus on two unique aspects: the preposition *'im* (with), which is not a typical spatially-based preposition, and the unique status of changes in Modern spoken and written Israeli Hebrew – an ancient written language awakening to its new status as a native language. This unique status of Hebrew demonstrates more acutely the tensions between preservative and innovative powers in a language as well as the tension between written and “higher” normative styles vs. the automatic, unconscious spoken vernaculars. It reflects the well-known tension between the stable preservative elements of the *langue* vs. the ever-changing elements of *parole*.

Hebrew prepositions

The emergence of written Hebrew in non-religious Hebrew texts in the mid 18th century precedes that of Modern Hebrew speech by roughly a hundred years (cf. Felman 1973; Rosen 1977; Alter 1988; Harshav 1993). Prior to 1910 there were no native speakers of Modern Hebrew. The new revived language had strong ties with the written canonical sources, namely the Bible and the Mishnah, the religious oral law collected and written in Israel in the 2nd century C.E. The lexicon of Modern Hebrew draws on all layers and sources of Historical Hebrew, both canonical and non canonical, including borrowed words and constructions from foreign languages. The issues of morphology and syntax are more complicated, since Modern Hebrew's formative style is the outcome of a deliberate effort on the part of Modern Hebrew writers and thinkers from the Warsaw and Odessa Jewish literary elite, who consciously preferred the late morphology and syntax of Mishnah – the second, more secular, and less poetic layer of canonical Hebrew. They deliberately detached themselves from the “Biblical style” of their earlier Enlightenment predecessors. Prepositions play a role among other features as syntactic and stylistic markers of each layer. Being educated in the traditional way, possessing a rich literary background, and an intimate knowledge of all sorts of old texts, these formative Modern Hebrew writers adopted a “purist” attitude towards changes in the core syntax and collocations. Modes of speech borrowed from foreign languages were incorporated into their novels and essays only after being sifted through the

syntactic and idiomatic filter of Mishnaic Hebrew. For example, Israeli adult speakers are acquainted with the idiom “to handle with silk gloves” meaning “handle carefully, delicately”. The Yiddish original, as well as its English translation, uses the preposition *with*: *mit* *zeidene hentschkes*. However, the automatic utterance of the Hebrew parallel by Hebrew speakers is *be-kfafot šel meši* – where the preposition *be* (in) precedes the verb as it should in the normative traditional use of instrumental manner adverbs. There are many examples of such borrowed filtered idioms which entered Modern Hebrew during its revival at the turn of the 19th century. In the following sections I will show that such filters are almost non-existent in Israeli Hebrew or at best they are much less powerful.²

A living language has its own paths of development and is exposed to internal automatic changes by speakers as well as to external influences such as the impact of the global communicative world of the media. I will first specify the prototypical traditional use and meaning of the preposition ‘*im* (*with*), and then discuss the range of variation in its use, which has accelerated sharply in the last two decades. I then discuss the reasons for these changes, and examine the issues from broader linguistic, cognitive and cultural perspectives. In particular I discuss identity and continuity in a language, and the question of standard formal style versus vernacular informal speech.

Innovations in nominal constructions

The core prototypical meanings and usages of ‘*im* (“with”) in traditional Hebrew are that of “along with”, “together”, as in Genesis 29, 6:

- (1) *Ve-hine Raxel bito ba’a ‘im ha-con*
And behold, Rachel, his daughter, cometh **with** the sheep.

The “togetherness” which is typical of the core meaning of ‘*im* is specified in the next quotation from Isaiah (11, 6):

- (2) *Ve-gar ze’ev ‘im keves*
shall dwell the wolf **with** the lamb;
Venamer ‘im gdi yirbaz
And the leopard **with** the kid shall lie down

2. Austin’s well known 1962 book *How to do Things with Words* was translated into Hebrew in 2005. The title in Hebrew is a mirror translation that uses the preposition ‘*im*. However, since words are considered in this book to be instruments, a more traditional translation would have used the Hebrew *be*, *be’ezrat* or *be’emza’ut* which mean “by” or “with the help of”. This example illustrates that the old filters no longer operate in higher registers.

Ve-egel kefir u-meri yaxdav
and the calf and the young lion and the fatling **together;**

This canonical use exists in all styles and registers of written and spoken Modern Hebrew. Another common usage that has been preserved in Modern Hebrew is the occurrence of *'im* after reciprocal verbs such as *fight*, *correspond*, *fall in love*, *confront*, etc.³ This is at odds with its core commutative meaning of “togetherness”, “being next to”, “involved with”, or “alongside” someone. Several more poetic and specific Biblical usages of juxtapositions with *'im* have been abandoned, as in the following description of young David (Samuel 1 16, 12):

- (3) *Admoni im yefe inayim*
was ruddy, and **withal** of beautiful eyes
was ruddy, and with beautiful eyes

In the absence of online corpora of Modern Hebrew, data can at present only be collected manually. The following data concerning new usages of *'im* were collected over a period of three years from two daily newspapers (*Ha'arev* and *Yediot Axronot*) and from 20 hours of radio programs where listeners talk freely about subjects of their choice (*Galei Zahal*, *yeš 'im mi ledaber* – Army Radio, “There’s someone to talk with (to)”). The main finding is the significant and constantly growing number of new usages of *'im* both in written and mainly in oral contexts, especially in oral non-formal free speech. When asked, native speakers often say that they have no alternatives for these new non-traditional usages in speech. Such occurrences are still rare in literary and formal styles, but their number is increasing constantly. The following are typical examples of new usages in the written corpus:

- (4) *ha'yeled 'im ha-einayim ha-kxulot*
The child **with** the eyes (pl.) the-blue (pl.)
‘The child with the blue eyes’
- (5) *Ha'isha im ha-simla ha-sgula*
The woman **with** the-dress the-purple
‘The woman with the purple dress’

3. It will be shown later in the paper that this list is now much longer, especially in the speech and writings of people who show a lesser degree of mastering traditional and standard Hebrew. They will annex *'im* to verbs such as *begin*, *end*, *fill*, *advance* etc. These are probably translated forms from foreign languages. Such constructions are normal in English, German, Yiddish and other Germanic and Slavic languages, but are not found in traditional or in current higher-standard Hebrew styles.

- (6) *Pkida 'im nisayon*
A clerk **with** experience⁴
- (7) *Makom 'im noxiyut ve-'im cevet še-noten*
A place **with** comfort **and with** staff that makes (you)
'A comfortable place where the staff makes you
hargašat bayit
feel (at) home
feel at home'
- (8) *Mimšal 'im sidrey-adifuyot xadašim*
A government **with** order of priorities (pl.) new (pl.)
'A government with a new order of priorities'
- (9) *Kita 'im 40 talmidim⁵*
A class **with** 40 pupils
- (10) *Mivca muclax 'im toca'ot tragiyyot*
Operation successful **with** consequences tragic
'A successful operation with tragic consequences'

Two key features can be drawn from this comparison of the classical *'im* and modern usages: First, Modern Hebrew uses *'im* in nominal phrases whereas the classical use has to do with an action of a reciprocal nature, or of doing something together: coming, living, walking. Hence the second point: *'im* has acquired a wider range of meanings and functions: it juxtaposes humans with their inalienable body parts (in example (4)) where Classical Hebrew uses the 'have' construction; it juxtaposes a person with his or her clothing (in example (5)) and with characteristics and traits (*experience* in example number (6)). But *'im* is not restricted to nominal phrases with animated heads, it juxtaposes places with their characteristics (7) especially in advertising, and it brings together abstract nouns such as *governments* with its *plans*, *agendas*, or anything else that governments do or have.

Classical Hebrew specifies the number of pupils in a class with a verbal construction that uses the Hebrew parallel of *there are*: *yeš*. However, if a nominal

4. This form is common in advertisements. Both English and Hebrew have higher standard forms for expressing the same idea with an adjectival instead of a prepositional phrase: *an experienced clerk* (*pkida menuša*). However, Modern spoken Hebrew as well as semi-formal written texts seem to prefer the prepositional phrase to the adjectival construction.

5. The English translation sounds correct, but edited more formal Hebrew texts prefer the possessive construction: *Kita šeyeš ba* (in which there are). The better form in Hebrew becomes bad English when translated literally. This hints at modern-day contact between English and Hebrew, and the influence and prestige of the former. I return to this later in the paper.

form is used starting with *class* as the head, the following number of pupils will be added with an explicit possessive verbal complement: *that has in it* (as in (12) below) or by the *bat* nominal construction, which also conveys a possessive meaning (13) below:

- (11) *Yeš* 40 *talmidim* *ba-kita*
 There are 40 pupils **in** the-class
- (12) *Kita* *šeyeš ba* 40 *talmidim*
 A class **that-there are-in-it** 40 pupils
 'A class of 40 pupils'
- (13) *Kita* *bat* 40 *talmidim*
 A class 'daughter' (metaphorically) 40 pupils
 'A class of 40 pupils'

The last example is particularly crucial since classical and standard Hebrew parallel the English *of* with the bleached metaphor *bat*, which literally means *the daughter of*, and agrees with the feminine form of the head noun *kita* (class). When the head noun is masculine as in *bayit* (house) for example, the construct form demands another bleached metaphor from this same semantic field of family relations: *ben* (a son) or *ba'al* (a husband). For Modern Hebrew speakers these three particles are completely bleached and grammatical. Speakers are seldom aware of their metaphorical origin or semantic relations, but will acknowledge this fact when it is pointed out to them. However, cognitive semantics makes a point of highlighting such relations: the family relations of being a daughter, a son or a husband provide a prototypical model for juxtaposition, for "togetherness". Hence they fit in contexts where possession or characteristics are expressed. This use has an interesting modal origin in Biblical Hebrew: *Ben mavet* (Samuel I 20, 31) literally: *the son of death* meaning one who should (has to) die. In the same Biblical book we find a non-modal use of *ben* assigning traits to a person: *ben xayil* (Samuel I 14, 52). The phrase means literally *the son of the army* and is said of a courageous person.⁶ *Bney-avla* (Samuel I 3, 34) means literally *the sons of evil*, and is said about wicked, sinful people. *Ben* (lit. son), *bat* (lit. daughter), *ba'al* (lit. husband) became regular prefixes in Mishnaic Hebrew and in literary present Hebrew style, as in *ben bayit* (lit. son of house) for one who feels at home, or feels related; *ba'al basar* (lit. husband – owner of – flesh) for a fat man.⁷ From that time

6. In Modern Hebrew this compound is rare but can be found in higher registers meaning a quick and skillful person.

7. The relations between the two meanings of *ba'al*: 1) husband, 2) owner, possessor, shed light on the social order and ideals of an ancient patriarchal society.

on, *ben*, *bat* and *ba'al* have become regular prefixes when a certain characteristic is assigned to a person: *ben levayia* – a companion.

Axad Ha'am coined the compound *ben al-mavet* (lit. the son of-no-death) meaning immortal.⁸ There are many more similar constructions in Modern literary Hebrew: *ba'al maxašvot* – one who “possesses” thoughts, a contemplative thinking person; *ba'al dimyon* – one who “possesses imagination” – an imaginative person. Modern geometric terms and other expressions were coined in this manner: *mešulaš ba'al cla'ot šavot* – a triangle which has (possesses) equal sides – an equilateral triangle. We also find *ben-tipuxim* – protégé, and the everyday coinage of *dura bat 3 xadarey šena* (lit. an apartment [a daughter] 3 bedrooms).⁹

Adverbial and verbal constructions

Modern Hebrew, especially in its written more formal higher registers, is closer to traditional Hebrew, whereas speech and less formal registers are more open to change. As we saw in the previous section, the appearance of *'im* in nominal constructions is a new direction in Modern Hebrew.¹⁰ However changes can be seen in verbal constructions as well and their impact sometimes goes beyond the scope of the sentence.

- (14) *Hi be-herayon 'im te'omim*
 She is pregnant **with** twins
 ‘She is going to have twins.’

8. Axad-ha'am (the common person) was the pen name of the influential editor, essayist, and leader Asher Ginzburg. He was born in 1856 in the Ukraine, lived in Odessa and died in Israel in 1927. He led a literary movement that believed in a pure Modern written Hebrew based on the model of Mishnah, the model of secular Hebrew style. As an admired leader and influential writer and as the editor of a leading periodical “*Hašiloaḥ*”, his ideas found their way into the major currents of Modern Hebrew literature, and can still be felt today.

9. Once again it should be noted that an easy and direct English translation of this phrase is “An apartment with 3 bedrooms”, whereas higher standard English may prefer “A three-bedroom apartment”. The influence of English on Modern Hebrew is felt here again. The story of *ben*, *bat* and *ba'al* deserves special attention in its own right, and is only mentioned here as the more stylistic alternative to the new usage of *'im* for possession or attachment.

10. A few very poetic quotations can be found in the Old Testament where nouns are juxtaposed to nouns as for example in the Psalms (81, 3): *kinor na'im im nevel* – the sweet harp **with** the psalter; or in Song of Songs (4, 13) *šlaxayix pardes rimonim im pri megadim* – thy shoots are an orchard of pomegranates, **with** precious fruits. But these poetic forms were not revived at the turn of the 19th century.

- (15) *Nitkanu 'im sxora šelo yaxolnu limkor*
 We were stuck **with** merchandise that-not could-we sell
 'We were stuck with merchandise that we could not sell.'

Examples (14) and (15) state a general situation where the *'im* (with)-clauses specify information: how many children will be born, what kind of goods cannot be sold, etc.

The story of the instrumental *'im* is quite old and is supported as well by the European substratum of Modern Hebrew. Note that the European mother tongue of the first writers and speakers of Modern Hebrew in the first half of the 20th century was Yiddish. The English *with* and its German and Yiddish parallel *mit* are the standard prepositions used in adverbial phrases when an instrument is mentioned or when the adverb modifies the manner of action, as for example in: "She broke the stone with a heavy hammer", "He told us the news with great enthusiasm". Traditional Hebrew, however, demands another preposition, *be*, for these tasks. This normative use is currently being rejected by speakers and translators. Many new books are translated to Hebrew from English, Italian, French, German and Russian. Young translators have lesser exposure to traditional Hebrew texts such as the Mishnah, and even less still to the more recent Odessa style. They find it easier to borrow the exact *with*-construction and use it in Hebrew despite the normative collocated use of *be*. Examples (16) and (17) are illustrative of this:

- (16) *kisa'ot meycarim 'im harbe regeš*
 Chairs made **with** much care
 (17) *Oxel 'im sakin ve-mazleg*
 Eats (3rd person sing). **with** knife and fork

This manifestation of *'im* is almost never found in high register formal Hebrew, but is growing in advertising, in the less serious sections of newspapers, in entertainment periodicals, and in free speech. However the form continues to penetrate to new Hebrew novels and many translated books, and is quite common in texts written by students. Several factors can help explain the penetration of *'im* into a wider range of contexts and styles. One main factor is the ongoing influence of European languages on speech patterns. Israel is a country of immigration, and even native Israeli Hebrew speakers are exposed from early childhood to the influence of the European mother tongues of parents, neighbors and teachers.¹¹

11. Such languages are the Yiddish of the East European and American Jews (*Ashkenazim*), and the Ladino of the Jews of Spanish origin (*Sfaradim*). The same socio-linguistic situation is true for Jews from Arabic-speaking languages coming from the Islamic world; however we are

Another factor is the current day influence of English idioms and literary translations. This influence can be seen in academic writing as well. A third factor is the gradual detachment from the traditional Mishnah and Odessa *nusax* (“style”) due to the educational system that does not emphasize such exposure and commitment compared to the situation forty years ago. Written styles are now less “immunized” against the impact of speech and foreign languages. Thus lower forms born in the vernacular gradually become common in more formal written styles. However numbers (18) and (19) below would be difficult to accept even by very permissive speakers and writers, let alone editors. Educated Israelis judge examples (18) and (19) as substandard:

- (18) *Lixtov od sefer ‘im ota mida šel haclaxa*
 To write more a book **with** the same measure of success
 ‘To write another book with the same amount of success.’
- (19) *šoetet kadima be-merec šel as’isya*
 Running (3p. fem.) forward in-an- energy of doing
‘im paxot yexolet lehita’ukev al hatmuna
with less ability to pay attention to the-picture
hakolelet
 the-general
 ‘She is running forward energetically but without being able to pay attention to the general picture.’

Number (18) juxtaposes ‘writing a book’ with ‘the same measure of success’. There is a logical false assumption in this juxtaposition: the assumption that the author’s writing can directly influence the “measure of success”. The prototypical ‘*im* juxtaposes elements that can be connected together in some way. This is not the case with “writing a book” and the “same measure of success”.¹² Hence, even permissive speakers and writers who would allow deviations from the traditional ‘*im* paradigm feel uneasy with such utterances. It comes as no surprise that number (18) was found in an interview with a young novelist, where his words were quoted indirectly. Number (19) is taken from a human resource report. Notes are taken there by interviewers. They are told to be short and direct. Thus,

concerned here mainly with the influence of the Germanic *mit* and the Latin *con* as triggering factors widening the scope of the Hebrew ‘*im*.

12. ‘The measure of success’ could be understood as a complement of the nominal kernel *books* rather than the verbal kernel *write*. Such a reading makes more sense: the author hopes that future books will be as successful as the first one. However, the ambiguity of the utterance persists, and is due to the choice of an improper use of the vague relation of addition conveyed by the preposition ‘*im* rather than a more transparent construction.

instead of juxtaposing full sentences with the traditional and usual connective *ve* (and), such sentences lamely juxtapose two separate nominal characteristics of the person looking for a job: her energy and her lack of ability to generalize. This results in a long chain of nominal phrases connected by '*im*. Comparing the nominal environment with the verbal contexts shows a substantial trend towards the new '*im*-constructions in nominal environments. The verbal system with its traditional prepositions tends to be more conservative and thus may show a lesser tendency to change. This has to do with the semi-idiomatic nature of post-verbal Hebrew prepositions. Together with idioms and collocations they preserve some of the language's idiosyncratic features of style.

The range of variation and the logic of addition

We are now ready to summarize and analyze the range of variation of the Hebrew '*im*, and to formulate hypotheses concerning the causes and motivations for such variations, some of which were hinted at above. The prototypical commutative uses of accompanying, being together and reciprocal acts are the core locus of change and the expansion of the scope of usage of '*im*. In a way, getting dressed is an act of "juxtaposing" a person with pieces of clothing. Characteristics, qualities and traits are "connected" or attached to a person in some way. It is more peculiar to annex body parts to a person using '*im*, since these body parts belong to the individual and do not 'accompany' him/her. Speakers and some writers prefer the easiest and shortest way to express their thoughts. Higher standard and literary styles are more elaborate. They tend to be more committed to the repertory of alternatives that their language and its tradition offer. In speech, instruments and possessions are better candidates for external juxtaposition. Communicative and cognitive motivations account for the widening scope of '*im*-constructions especially in non-formal speech. The penetration of such forms into the higher standard styles calls for further explanation. Some new usages have no alternatives: '*im* suggests itself as a perfect operator for adding labels, as for example in names of recipes:

- (20) *'ugat tapuxim 'im škedim*
 Tart apple **with** almonds
 "Apple tart with almonds"

It sounds perfect in the weather forecast:

- (21) *yom na'e 'im sikuyim klušim le-gešem*
 Day- pleasant **with** chances little for rain.
 'A pleasant day with little chance of raining'

It also works well in short questions where information is sought:

- (22) *Ma 'im aba šelxa? hu od xole?*
 What **about** father- your? He still-sick?
 'How is your father? Is he still sick?'

The external historical reasons for the ever growing changes in the use of *'im* were discussed above. However communicative and cognitive factors such as the need to be brief and the search for the easiest and the most available construction at hand have accelerated these developments. Certain other usages seem to be the result of social and psychological sensitivity: for instance, many people who treat certain populations prefer the following:

- (23) *yeled 'im mugbaluyot/otism*
 a- child **with** limitations/ autism

They would deliberately avoid the 'higher' adjectival form:

- (24) *yeled mugbal – autist*
 A child limited – autistic
 'A limited/autistic child'

Using *'im* in (23) and (24) above emphasizes the fact that the handicap is not a characteristic of a person, but rather a contingent external situation attached to him/her. This nuance agrees with the core function of *'im* as a juxtaposition functor. This preference is just the opposite pole of the reason to avoid *'im* when body parts or characteristics are concerned. Autism and limitations should be treated as situational and temporary, and not as intimate labels which define or characterize a child or a person. On the other hand, a child does have blue eyes – they are not attached to him, and an apartment does have three rooms – they are not attached to it. Hence *'im* is the reasonable choice in the case of autism and the wrong choice when eyes or rooms are concerned. The last point highlights the difference between conscious and unconscious uses of the language repertory.

Conclusions

We started by observing the empirical, almost statistical fact: the proliferation of the Hebrew preposition *'im* from its fairly limited scope in the past. We specified the various types of new uses, and looked for a common denominator for the extension of its meaning and use. We now need to look more deeply into the rationale for changes in a language. Communicative, social, cultural and other factors

influence the paths of development of a language. Hebrew's peculiar situation as an old literary language which has become a living native language provides artificial laboratory conditions, where accelerated processes can be observed. Hence the simple empirical facts can be placed in a wider perspective that highlights tensions and directions operating within a language at a given period of time.

We saw that speakers tend to choose the easiest and shortest way for expressing their thoughts. Informal free speech hence shows a tendency to neglect traditional modes and to prefer those that are cognitively and communicatively less costly.

Several written tasks such as interviewing new employees also dictate shortcuts, as in number (19) above. The core meaning of *'im* is that of juxtaposing, putting together, or adding. The logic of addition apparently guides its extended scope whenever two elements are associated, irrespective of whether these are nouns, verbs, clauses or sentences. Another reason for these changes is the issue of languages in contact. Revived nineteenth-century written Hebrew had a strong Yiddish substrate which it fought, resisted, and rejected by a conscious preference for the traditional purist Mishnaic model that is quite distant from the Germanic nature of Yiddish. Spoken Israeli Hebrew has been less stubborn about resisting this influence; a trend that has been abetted by the growing influence of English on the media and academic styles.¹³ A third line observed here is that of the constant penetration of spoken Hebrew patterns into the written registers. This creates a tension between the higher, more formal and literate styles defending their attachment to the model of revived literary Hebrew against waves of change.

It has been argued that most of these changes reflect the multilingual situation in Israel, mainly the influence of Yiddish and English. I hope to have shown that there are additional motivations for this change, which are rooted in cognitive processes, in the logic of adding and connecting and in general cultural processes. As such this phenomenon is not just a mere change in meaning and use, but rather implies directions of syntactic reorganization of sentence patterns. Since prepositions, collocations and other syntagmatic elements function as 'identity markers' of languages, registers and styles, tracing these changes is a step towards portraying the typological uniqueness of modern Israeli Hebrew.

Linguists very often adopt an extreme uninvolved descriptive attitude towards their research subjects. Descriptive linguists tend to reduce their involvement in language processes. They believe their duty is to display and analyze linguistic situations as accurately and as objectively as possible. I believe that by doing so they ignore their role as players in an intellectual elite to whom people normally

13. P. Wexler (1991) took this as a symptom of a significant gap between Modern Hebrew and its Semitic origin.

turn for guidance. I also think that linguists as perceptive literate people have a duty to judge their findings in a wider cultural perspective. Thus, although there are good reasons for change, the fact the language abandons some of the markers of its identity, such as the instrumental *be* and the more formal uses of possessive constructions such as *ben*, *ba'al* and *bat* as a result of the ongoing influence of the vernacular on the higher literary registers, is culturally alarming.

Finding motivations for changes should be a step toward rejecting careless illogical expressions, and toward protecting a language from losing some of its identity marks. Hence I believe that one should not remain indifferent when body parts and traits are externally assigned to a person, or when clothing is *juxtaposed with* an individual. On the other hand, as linguists and as members of society we should endorse the use of *'im* and *with* when limitations and handicaps are concerned, because these are indeed external and not characteristic. By doing so, linguists may fulfill their duty as part of a cultural elite, whose role besides studying the language, is to guide people and to expose them to richer and finer modes of expression. Such a mission initiated by linguists should be carried on by educators, writers, and editors.

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A monosemic view of polysemic prepositions

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Prepositions are notorious for being “polysemic”. One of Zipf’s laws is that the smaller a form, the more frequently it will be used, and the more meanings and functions it will have attributed to it. The Hebrew preposition *l-* ‘to’ has at least seventeen dictionary entries and the Hebrew preposition *b-* ‘in’ has at least fifteen and some of these dictionary meanings overlap. In this paper, I will view both of these prepositions as linguistic signs (in the Saussurean sense) and present a *signifié* or a single invariant or core meaning for each that will account for all of its messages and uses as well as explain the differences between them.

The meaning of a sentence is something in the outside world at a given time and in relation to given persons, qualities and objects. The meaning of a linguistic *sign* is potential, like that of a dollar bill before it is involved in a transaction. (Adapted from Bolinger 1968:219.)

1. Introduction

Prepositions are notorious for being “polysemic”. One of Zipf’s (1949) (and others’) famous laws related to the concept of exploiting “least effort” advantageously to achieve maximum results – linguistically – is that the smaller a form, the more frequently it will be used, and the more meanings and functions it will have attributed to it – (also referred to as language synergy by Tobin 1990a: Ch. 3). Indeed, if one examines the entries of prepositions in mono- and bilingual dictionaries one is usually confronted with a plethora of potential meanings and uses. For example, an examination of two Hebrew-English dictionaries (Alcalay 1963; Wittenberg 1977) reveals that the Hebrew preposition *l-* has at least seventeen glosses: “to, unto, towards, during, for, about, according to, at, by, of, with, in, within, each, every, as, belonging to”. Similarly, the Hebrew preposition *b-* has at least the following fifteen glosses: “in, at, on, among, within, into, with, by; of, through; when,

while; because of, as". An even closer comparison of these dictionary entries further shows that approximately half of these glosses or dictionary meanings overlap and are shared by both *l*- and *b*-: "in, at, within, with, to, by, of, into/unto". It is no wonder then that prepositions are used so frequently and that the mastery of prepositions in general, and the correct collocations of certain verbs with specific prepositions in particular, are considered to be especially difficult and have often been called the bane of second and foreign language learners.

2. The analysis of the prepositions *b*- and *l*-

In this paper, I will view both of these prepositions as linguistic signs (in the Saussurean sense) using Cohen (1972) as the basis for the analysis for the preposition *b*-. I will present a *signifié* or a single invariant or core meaning for each of these preposition that will account for all of its various messages, dictionary glosses, functions and uses as well as explain the differences between them based on sign-oriented linguistic theory (e.g. Andrews and Tobin 1996; Bolinger 1977; Tobin 1982, 1986/1988, 1988b–d, 1989a–c, 1990a–c, 1993, 1994/1995, 2002a, b, 2004; Waugh and Rudy 1991).

For the preposition *b*- I will postulate the single invariant meaning CIRCUMSTANCE/ CONDITION and for the preposition *l*- I will postulate the single invariant meaning ORIENTATION. Therefore for the purpose of this paper each preposition is a paired signal-meaning linguistic sign:

b-CIRCUMSTANCE versus *l*-ORIENTATION.

By CIRCUMSTANCE we mean that the object of the preposition constitutes part or all of the scene. By ORIENTATION we mean that the object of the preposition constitutes an entity to which the topic or subject of the scene is focused and directed. In all cases the scene itself can be interpreted physically, temporally, or existentially in any way that makes sense.

The theoretical and methodological framework of this analysis was developed by William Diver and his students of the Columbia School (CS) who define language as a symbolic tool whose structure is shaped both by its communicative function and by the characteristics of its users (e.g. Contini-Morava 1989; Contini-Morava & Sussman Goldberg 1995; Contini-Morava & Tobin 2000; Contini-Morava et al. 2005; Davis et al. 2006; Diver 1969; García 1975; Gorup 1987; Huffman 1996, 2001; Kirsner 1979; Klein-Andreu 1983; Reid 1991; Reid et al. 2002; Tobin 1990a–c, 1991b–e, 1997b, 1999a, b, 2002). In the CS framework, grammatical analyses account for the distribution of linguistic forms as an

interaction between hypothesized linguistic meanings and contextual, pragmatic and functional factors such as inference, ease of processing, and iconicity. Phonological analyses explain the syntagmatic and paradigmatic distribution of phonological units within signals, also drawing on both communicative function and human physiological and psychological characteristics (Diver 1979; Tobin 1997a).

The CS approach may be viewed as part of the historical development of a larger twentieth-century structural, functional and cognitive linguistics and phonology beginning with Ferdinand de Saussure (1916/1959) followed by the teleological, functional, communication-oriented Prague School (PS) (Tobin 1988a, 2001, 2005). The “communication factor” inherent in the PS was then supplemented by the “human factor” embodied in the concepts of “asymmetry” and “economy of effort in phonological change” developed by André Martinet (1955), the founder of the French School of Functional Linguistics.

It was Diver (1979, 1995), however, who has shown that a more complete theory of language including both grammar and phonology has to take both the communication factor and the human factor into account together. Diver maintains that there is a constant struggle between our need to achieve maximum communication and our desire to invest minimum effort. The communication factor (requiring a large number of phonemes, morphemes, words, constructions, etc., demanding a great deal of effort) will be in conflict with the human factor (striving for minimal effort) resulting in a trade-off between the two. According to the CS: Language can be seen as a synergetic mini-max struggle: the desire to create maximum communication with minimal effort.

2.1 The theoretical implications of the linguistic sign

The semiotic or sign-oriented definition of language revolves around the linguistic sign as its unit of analysis. The sign itself is represented as a dyad: a Janus-like duality inseparably composed of a signal and an invariant meaning. This dual relationship between signal and invariant meaning and the role each plays in the communicative act may also be viewed synergetically, i.e. there may be a cooperative interface or interrelationship between both parts of the linguistic sign as they function together in the communicative act of creating messages.

There is a fundamental synergetic principle which may be stated in the following way: The smaller and less distinct the signal is in a sign, the vaguer its invariant meaning, and therefore the greater its “polysemic potential”: i.e. the vaguer the invariant meaning, the more potential discourse messages and possible syntactic and pragmatic functions the sign may have. This synergetic principle

may be briefly illustrated in the semantic development of highly polysemous words.

“Small words” (such as the “preposition” *in*) may often begin as “locatives” (*in the room*), are extended metaphorically from concrete spatial messages to the more abstract realm of “temporal messages” (*in the morning*), to the even more abstract realm of “existential” messages (*in trouble*), (*in pieces*), to the point at which they may even be “nominalized” (*to be ‘in’*) or made into adjectives (*the ‘in-group’*). Yet, it is possible to account for all the spatio-temporal-existential messages, both literal and metaphoric, and to the various syntactic and pragmatic functions such a word may obtain by discovering its invariant meaning (e.g. *in* = LIMITED BY BOUNDARIES) as it is exploited in different linguistic and situational contexts.

Indeed, there very well may be a universal semantic development of words on a spatio-temporal-existential cline going from the most concrete spatial messages to the more abstract to the most abstract existential kinds of messages: (a) existence in space or in a place, (b) existence in time, (c) abstract existence.

This spatio-temporal-existential cline might even be considered a cognitive universal (Givón 1979; Traugott 1978, 1985; Wierzbicka 1973, 1980). It has been studied in the historical development of language in general, and in pidgins and creoles in particular (Traugott 1974, 1975, 1978); with relation to the various “smaller” parts of speech, particularly copular verbs, prepositions and particles (Aphék and Tobin 1988; García, van Putte and Tobin 1987; Tobin 1982, 1988b; Traugott 1975, 1978); and in the ordered acquisition of spatio-temporal terms and concepts in first language acquisition (Clark 1973). It is most interesting to note, however, that in all cases, the words which have been extended to the maximal potential metaphorical polysemic extension along the spatio-temporal-existential cline are small in size (particles and prepositions) as well as mostly monosyllabic copular or copular-like verbs and their substantive derivatives.

3. Traditional analyses of the prepositions *b-* and *l-* revisited and revised

Both the prepositions *b-* and *l-* (as well as others) have been studied over the years and their diverse distribution, uses and functions have been documented and discussed in all the major grammars of Modern Hebrew written in English be they descriptive, structural, or generative (e.g. Berman 1978; Glinert 1989; Rosén 1977; reviewed in Tobin 1991a). I will now briefly summarize these analyses which I have called traditional and neo-traditional because they are based on the widely accepted grammatical and syntactic categories such as case, part of speech and

other familiar linguistic concepts such as gerunds, infinitives, enclitic prefixes, etc., related to sentence grammar. I will then revise these analyses by applying and validating the single invariant meaning I postulated for each of these two prepositions and thus account for their uses and contextual meanings in discourse.

3.1 *b-* and *l-* as enclitic prefixes

The prepositions *b-* and *l-* (as well as others) have been classified as: “enclitic prefixes... traditionally labeled by the acronym *baxlam* standing for the consonants *b*, *k*, *l*, and *m*. The first three of these – meaning something like the prepositions “in, at, like, as”, and “to, for”, (cf. Tobin 1994/1995, 2002) [YT], respectively – are simply preposed to the word which follows” (Berman 1978: 111, fn. 9). When these consonantal prepositions are preposed to other words beginning with consonants, a *schwa* is added to the preposition to avoid an initial consonant cluster giving us the base forms *bə-* and *lə-*. In addition, when these prepositions prepose the definite article *ha-* “the”, they assimilate phonologically and become *bə + ha = ba* and *lə + ha = la*. Furthermore, these prepositions can also be inflected for person, number and gender: e.g. *bi/li* “with, in/to me”, *banu/lanu* “with, in /to us”, *bexa/bax/lexa/lax* “with, in /to you” (masc./fem. sg.), *baxem/baxen /laxem/laxen* “with, in /to you” (masc./fem. pl.), *bo/ba/lo/la* “with, in /to him/her”, *bahem/bahen/ lahem/lahen* “with, in /to them” (masc./fem/ pl.).

3.2 *b-* and *l-* as case markers

In addition to being enclitic prefixes and being inflected for person, number and gender, the prepositions *b-* and *l-* are also used to mark case relations: “...case relations in Hebrew are typically expressed in Hebrew – as in English and French – by **prepositionals**” (Berman 1978: 120).

- (1) *hi natna lə-avraham sefer*
 she gave to-Abraham book
 ‘She gave Abraham (Indirect Object-Dative) a book’/She gave a book to Abraham.’
- (2) *hi xatxa basar bə-sakin*
 she cut meat with-knife
 ‘She cut meat with a knife (Instrumental).’

Moreover, the prepositions *l-* and *b-* not only typically mark the so-called dative and instrumental cases, respectively, but these are not their exclusive case uses and they can be multifunctional regarding case roles: “... the same prepositions

typically serve more than one function” (Berman 1978: 121) and can be associated with a variety of thematic roles such as: *l*- GOAL, DIRECTION, PURPOSE and *b*- PLACE, INSTRUMENTAL, MANNER to name but a few.

If we examine the thematic roles Berman (and others) assign to the preposition *l*- GOAL, DIRECTION, PURPOSE, etc., their common denominator is some kind of spatio-temporal-existential telic or other end-point or entity towards which the encoder is ORIENTATING the decoder. If the point of ORIENTATION, however, is generally more physical, spatial, or fixed – be it conceptual and/or concrete – more like a “locative” marker, Hebrew has a more specific preposition *el* - “to, unto, at, by” which can oftentimes replace *l*-:

- (3) *hu halax le-/el beit ha-sefer*
 he went to school
 ‘He went to school.’

An analysis of the differences between *l*- and *el*- will not be further discussed here but is certainly a topic worthy of further research. A study comparing the semantic differences between *el* and *l*- and the phonological reduction of *el* to *l*- based on the compromise between the communication and the human factor can be found in Neuman (2000).

By the same token, if we discuss the thematic roles assigned to *b*- PLACE, INSTRUMENTAL, MANNER, etc. we observe that they all are providing us with information related to the CIRCUMSTANCE related to how the object of the preposition constitutes part or all of the scene, namely the place WHERE, the instrument and/or the manner BY WHICH an action, state, or event occurred.

Glinert (1989: Ch. 15) follows the same basic neo-traditional sentence approach regarding the case functions of these prepositions, but instead of referring to their meanings or functions as “thematic roles”, he claims that the case assignments of these prepositions is not relevant to the meanings of the verbs or adjectives to which they are assigned: Glinert thus refers to *l*- and *b*- as “case prepositions” governing (indirect) objects and being “governed by verbs and adjectives which have no obvious relevance to their meaning”.

3.3 *b*- and *l*- and case government

In addition, this lack of connection between the meanings of verbs and their governed preposition proposed by Glinert is further claimed by Berman as well: certain verbs “govern” the use of specific prepositions for what is claimed to be no apparent motivated reason: “... with respect to prepositions marking Government: the choice of a given preposition is independent of a specific semantic-relation

obtaining between the verb and its concomitant NP's; rather, it is quite idiosyncratic, being dictated by the verb itself. Moreover, in most cases there seems no clear semantic basis for a particular verb happening to govern one preposition rather than another (Berman 1978:124). This is followed by a list indicating the "varied range of verbs which by chance govern a particular preposition...":

- (4) a. *bə-* "in, at": *hištameš bə-* "use"
 tipel bə- "treat"
 nitkal bə- "encounter"
 dan bə- "discuss"
 b. *lə-* "to" - *azar lə-* "help"
 daag lə- "worry about"
 sagad lə- "worship"
 siyea lə- "assist"

Once again, all the uses of *bə-* in (4)(a) indicate a potential instrument, or subject, or object which are the CIRCUMSTANCE related to, or associated with, or by which the object constitutes part or all of the scene. By the same token, all the uses of *l-* in (4)(b) appear with verbs that are ORIENTATED, i.e. focused or directed to a specific goal, person, purpose, object, or destination.

However, despite her claim that there is no semantic motivation between the assignment of a certain preposition to a specific verb, Berman (1978:126) also includes (perhaps paradoxically?) a list of verbs "where the choice of one preposition rather than another has an effect on how the verb is interpreted" such as:

- (5) a. *kine lə-* "to be jealous of, fanatic about" versus *kine bə-* "be envious of"
 b. *he'emīn lə-* "believe, give credit to (a story)" versus *he'emīn bə-* "believe in, have faith in" to which we can add based on examples unwittingly provided by Glinert (1989:160)
 c. *naga bə-* "touch" versus *naga lə-* "pertain to"

Here, too, however, where a semantic distinction based on the choice of preposition is recognized, it is still considered to be "essentially idiosyncratic and not semantically motivated" (Berman 1978:126). This particular semantic distinction is directly related to the invariant meanings we have postulated for these prepositions as well. The messages of the verbs in (5a-c) which collocate with the preposition *b-* denote a CIRCUMSTANTIAL kind of relationship or feeling towards an object or a patient or an oblique participant of some kind that constitutes part or all of the scene. By the same token, those verbs collocating with the preposition *l-* denote a more direct and ORIENTATED connection or outcome between the potential association of relationship: i.e., a point or goal of some kind to which

the entities of a scene are focused and directed: i.e., being “fanatic ABOUT X” as opposed to being envious OF X, “giving credit TO X” as opposed to “believing IN X” and merely “touching X” as opposed to “pertaining TO X”.

Glinert (1989: 159–161) basically adheres to the same “non-semantically motivated” point of view of case assignment by prepositions but he also lists the following semantic and syntactic properties for *bə-* and *lə-* regarding the verbs (or adjectives) that are governed by:

With *bə-*:

Miscellaneous: *ge'e* “proud”, *hitga'a* “take pride in”, *he'ešim* “accuse of”, *baxar* “choose”, *dan* “discuss”, *tamax* “support”, *zika* “award”, etc.

Many verbs of visual/physical contact: *hivxin* “notice”, *iyen* “study”, *hibit* “look at”, *histakel* “look at”, *hetsits* “peep at”, *tsafa* “view”, *naga* “touch”, *axaz* “seize”, *mašax* “pull”, *ba'at* “kick” etc.

He also adds a further *bə-* of specification, eg. *mile bə-* “fill with”

In all of the above *b-* verbs various CIRCUMSTANCES are being described and alluded to where the object is functioning as a part or all of the scene. By the same token, there is a stronger sense of ORIENTATION or focus and/or direction in the connection that can be found in the next set of verbs that govern the preposition *l-*:

With *lə-*:

Miscellaneous: *axarai* “responsible for”, *muda* “aware of”, *šayax* “belong to”, *hirbits* “hit”, *naga* “pertain to”, *xika* “wait for”, *dama* “resemble”, etc.

For certain adjectives the ‘experiencer’ is an *object* with *lə-* rather than a subject: *kaše li* “it’s hard for me”, *kar li* “I’m cold” (lit. “cold to-me” [YT]), *noax li* “I’m comfortable”, *mešaamem li* “I’m bored”, *tov li* “I’m good/OK” [YT], *atsuv li* “I’m sad”...

Similarly: *nir'a lə-* “seem right to”, *hitxašek lə-* “fancy”, *muvaṇ lə-* “make sense to”, and others.

Like Berman above, Glinert also provides (what may be viewed as semantic) reasons or descriptions of when the prepositions *bə-* and *lə-* versus the direct object marker *et* (or other prepositions) may be assigned to different verbs: “There are no recognized semantic criteria as to which verbs take direct objects – except negative ones, e.g. ‘recipients’ normally have *lə-* rather than *et*; ‘topics of discussion’ normally have *al* (“on”) [YT] etc.” Glinert (ibid.), like Berman, also illustrates where the choice of the preposition *bə-* rather than the direct object marker *et* may either be synonymous or alternatively change the meaning or the sense or the interpretation of a the same verb either partially or totally: “Several verbs allow

et and *bə-* with same meaning, e.g. *baxar* – ‘choose’, *xakar* ‘research’, *ba’at* ‘kick’, *hexzik* ‘hold.’” However, *bə-* with some verbs of damage denotes “part of”: *hišmid et/ bə-* “destroy”, *kirsem* “gnaw”, *kitsets* “cut”. On the other hand, the sense may differ totally: *patax et* “open” vs. *patax bə-* “begin”.

3.4 Syntactic differences between *b-* and *l-*

Glinert (ibid.) also presents certain “syntactic” differences between these prepositions: objects with *lə-* when denoting a ‘recipient’ are more likely to precede a direct object (which may be viewed as being triggered by the meaning of the preposition *l-* – ORIENTATION) (YT) than are objects with *bə-* ... (which merely trigger additional information about the CIRCUMSTANCES more loosely surrounding them either as part or all of the scene) (YT); and objects with *bə-* and *lə-* ... are the only ones to have a corresponding passive (and even then not for all verbs): *bagad bə-* ~ *nivgad* “betrayed ~ was betrayed”.

In addition to case assignment, the following functions have also been assigned to the preposition *b-*:

(a) an “Attendant Circumstance’ Adverbial: ... a sentence-modifying adverbial which can be interpreted as ‘attendant circumstances,’ descriptive of the situation expressed by the main verb” as found in the following examples (5) and (6) where the “adverbial *b-* is introduced by a *benoni* (present) participle or a gerund respectively” (Berman 1978: 154–155):

- (6) *hem rátsu likraténu, xotsim bimhera et ha-kviš...*
 they ran towards-us cross (MASC./PL) with-speed OM the-road...
hu amad šam ba-pina boxe bə-šeket
 he stood there in+the-corner cry(MASC./SG.) in-quiet
 ‘They ran towards us **rapidly** crossing the road ... he stood there **in the corner** crying **silently**.’

In example (6) above the ORIENTATION (the destination) of the running appears with the preposition *l-* while the CIRCUMSTANCES under which the running took place ‘quickly, quietly, in the corner’ appear with the preposition *b-*:

- (7) ... *bexotsam bimhera et ha-kviš*
 on-crossing-their with-speed OM the-road
 ‘... **on** their crossing the road **rapidly**’
 ... *bivxoto bə-šeket*
 in-cry-his in-quiet
 ‘... (while he was/**in his**) weeping **silently**.’

In example (7) above the activity of ‘crossing the road’ and its attendant CIRCUMSTANCES/ CONDITIONS are described using the preposition *b-* while there is no ORIENTATION as to the direct destination or goal of ‘crossing the road’ so, not unsurprisingly, the preposition *l-* does not appear in this example.

(b) an “Adverbial Gerundive” ... as adverbial modifiers expressing the notion of ‘attendant circumstances’ with respect to the activity described in the ‘nuclear’ part of the sentence – i.e. in the Main Clause (Berman 1978:296):

- (8) *hu tarak et ha-délet bə-hikanso la-xeder*
 he slammed OM the-door on-entering-his to+the-room
 ‘He slammed the door on his entering/when he entered the room.’
- (9) *bə-saymo et ha -tafkid hu yatsa le-xufša*
 on-completing-his OM the-job he left to-vacation
 ‘On completing/when he finished his job he went on leave.’

In examples (8) and (9) when the CIRCUMSTANCES of the actions, states, or events are the topic and focus of attention (‘slamming the door when entering’, ‘completing the job’) the preposition *b-* is used; but when the ORIENTATION or the goal or destination of the action, state, or event is revealed (‘entering the room’, ‘leaving for vacation’) the appropriate preposition *l-* is the one that is chosen.

Berman (ibid.) further points out that “the type of prepositions typically used with these adverbial gerunds are generally identical to sentence-subordinating conjunctions when combined with *še-* “that” ... Where the preposition expresses concurrence or simultaneity, in more informal usage the normal enclitic form *kše-*= *kaašer* “when” is used thus the form **bše-* is not found at all.” Berman (1978:297–298) credits this special constraint as being one of several factors which distinguishes *b-* from the rest of the prepositions used with gerunds.

This very special constraint on the preposition *bə-* is only one of a number of factors which set it apart from all other prepositions used with the gerund in the following sense: it is quite clearly the most typical or “unmarked” context in which gerunds are used in Hebrew today. Thus, when asking native-speaking college students to give the name of *šem hapoal* (verbal noun) [YT] other than the case with *lə-* (the infinitive), they will almost invariably cite instances of the gerund with *bə-*. Moreover, of about 100 or so sentences examined of the occurrence of adverbial-type gerunds in written texts – from the daily press as well as post-1948 Hebrew fiction – some 85% used the prepositional *bə-*. Another point which makes *bə-* slightly different as a context for gerundive adverbials is its twofold interpretation: it generally has the temporal meaning of *co-occurrence* or *simultaneity* [as in examples (7) and (8) above] [*italics mine*] [YT] ..., but it

can also have an *instrumental or agentive sense* ... [as can be seen in example (9) below] [*italics mine*] [YT]:

- (10) *bexax/al yedy kax še hu magdir bimduyak et ...*
 in (it)/by (means of) (it) that it/he defines with-precision OM...
 ‘in that it defines precisely ...’

Berman (ibid.) further states: “The inherent ambiguous nature of *bə-* as between a temporal interpretation ... and an instrumental one ... is thus retained when it is used with gerundives. Yet, ... all other prepositionals used with gerundives in Contemporary Hebrew invariably have a temporal interpretation – whether of co-occurrence or not.” This does not mean, however, that only *b-* has a temporal message and other prepositions including *l-* do not (cf. the universal cognitive spatio-temporal-existential cline discussed above) but their different invariant meanings allow us to explain the following minimal pair:

- (11) a. *ani nosea bə-od švuayim*
 I travel in-more two-weeks
 ‘I’m traveling in another two weeks.’
 b. *ani nosea la-od švuayim*
 I travel for-more two-weeks
 ‘I’m traveling for two more weeks.’

In (11a) with the preposition *b-* the encoder expresses the CIRCUMSTANCES of my trip – that “in another two weeks time I will be traveling” to the decoder while in (11b) with the preposition *l-* ORIENTATION the encoder is informing or orienting the decoder as to the specific additional length of time of his specific trip – “I am traveling for two additional weeks”.

It is not by chance, I claim, that the preposition *b-* meaning CIRCUMSTANCE is used by these so-called adverbial gerunds which describe the way or manner in which an activity occurs while the preposition *l-* meaning ORIENTATION is the INFINITIVE-marker in Hebrew. The infinitive orients us to a verb form in general which is then conjugated for person, number, gender and tense which gives us the more specific syntactic and semantic information needed to enlarge upon the general and fundamental orientation of the verb in question in different linguistic and situational contexts.

3.5 *b-* and *l-* opposed in minimal and near minimal pairs

I will now juxtapose both forms in minimally paired (or near minimally paired) sentences to further point out their differences in meaning as the motivation for

their use. In each case the preposition *b-* = CIRCUMSTANCE constitutes part or all of the scene while the preposition *l-* = ORIENTATION focuses on the object as a goal or the destination within the universal cognitive spatio-temporal-existential cline.

- (12) *hu halax ba-xeder*
 he walked in-the room
 'He walked in the room.' (inside the room)
- (13) *hu halax la-xeder*
 he walked to-the room
 'He went to the room' (destination)
- (14) *hu higia bə- -sof ha-šura*
 he arrived in-end the-line/queue
 'He arrived at the end of the line/queue.' (as the last person there)
- (15) *hu higia lə- -sof ha-šura*
 he arrived to-end the-line/queue
 'He arrived to the end of the line/queue.'
 (reached the very end of the queue)
- (16) *hu yavo bə- -šaloš*
 he will-come at-three
 'He'll come at three o'clock.'
 (will arrive at three; time is the circumstance inferred)
- (17) *hu yavo lə- -šaloš šaot*
 he will-come for-three hours
 'He will come for three hours.'
 (where the purpose is inferred (a therapy session/visit/class))
- (18) *hu kara et ha-sefer bə- -šaloš šaot.*
 He read OM the book in-three hours.
 'He read the book in three hours.'
 (the specific duration of time must be mentioned)
- (19) *hu kara et ha-sefer lešaloš matarot*
 he read OM the-book for-three purposes
 'He read the book for three reasons.' (the purposes must be mentioned)
- (20) *hu paras et ha-naknik bə- -sakin / simxa*
 he sliced OM the salami with-knife / joy
 'He sliced the salami with a knife/with joy (joyfully).' (instrument/manner)
- (21) *hu paras et ha-naknik la- -kahal*
 he sliced OM the salami for-the audience/crowd
 'He sliced the salami for the guests' (the purpose/goal/recipients)

- (22) *hu paras et ha-naknik bə-atsmo*
 he sliced OM the salami by-himself
 'He sliced the salami by himself.' (manner)
- (23) *hu paras et ha-naknik la-atsmo*
 he sliced OM the salami for-himself
 'He sliced the salami for himself.' (purpose/goal/destination)
- (24) *hi raata bo gibor*
 she saw in-him hero
 'She saw him as a hero.' (CIRCUMSTANCE/CONDITION-manner/essence)
- (25) *hi raata lo et ha-taxtonim*
 she saw to/on-him OM the-underpants/knickers
 'She peeked at his underpants/knickers.' (ORIENTATION – she got one over on him)
- (26) *hu nilxam ba-tsava*
 he fought in/against-the army
 'He fought in the/against the army' (AMBIGUOUS manner)
- (27) *hu nilxam la-tsava*
 he fought for the-army
 'He fought for the army' (to help the army/for the good of the army)

4. Conclusions

In this chapter we replaced the idea of polysemous prepositions based on the various meanings and functions the prepositions *bə-* and *la-* have in sentences as evidenced by dictionary entries and traditional and neo-traditional grammatical analyses with a sign-oriented approach. In its stead, we postulated an invariant meaning for each preposition based on how it views its objects either as CIRCUMSTANCE/CONDITION of part or all of a scene (*bə-*) or as an ORIENTATION to/towards an entity as a focus, goal, purpose, destination, etc. (*la-*). We also explained the so-called polysemy of these prepositions in that they function in a cognitive universal spatio-temporal-cline where the decoder and encoder share the invariant meaning of the prepositions (*bə-*) and (*la-*) and conclude which specific message makes the most sense in the particular context. We then summarized the major functions of these prepositions discussed in grammar books and presented minimal pairs to support our analysis.

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The development of classical Armenian prepositions and its implications for universals of language change^{*}

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It is common to find examples of case morphology derived from grammaticalized postpositions. However, the grammaticalization of independent prepositions into prefixed case markers is documented far less frequently. Classical Armenian is one language where such phenomena do appear; as such, it offers some intriguing implications regarding patterns of language change and typology. In particular, the proclitic preposition *z-* ‘concerning, around’ takes on some characteristics of a case-marking morpheme, and prefixed *z-* continues to exhibit some case-marking functions in Modern Western Armenian. Comparisons with some northern Australian languages with prefixes carrying out case-marking functions are also drawn. This effort will thus demonstrate that case-marking systems with preposed morphemes, while not common, are a viable outcome of the mechanisms of language change.

Many languages offer evidence for a cyclical pattern of morphosyntactic development, in which a morphological system, eroded by phonological attrition, is replenished by the grammaticalization of formerly independent words. The overwhelming majority of such examples, however, are found in languages with a synthetic, verb-final, postpositional syntax. In languages with a prepositional, verb-medial or -initial word order, the grammaticalization of independent adpositions into case markers is documented far less frequently.

^{*} This effort continues to consider questions examined in my 1994 Master’s thesis on the development of case morphology and my 2001 Ph.D. dissertation on adpositions in the Indo-European languages (see under works cited). I am grateful to Dean of Faculty Joan Sinclair, Assistant Head of School Mary Mansell, and Head of School Rita Curasi McBride for encouraging me to continue to pursue a broad range of research.

Classical Armenian is one language where such phenomena do appear; as such, it offers some intriguing implications regarding universal patterns of language change and language typology. In particular, one finds the proclitic preposition *z-* ‘concerning, around’ also functioning as a semantically empty marker of a definite direct object in the accusative case, or marking agreement of a noun and its modifying adjective, thus serving an additional function of a case-marking morpheme. This phenomenon is not limited to the one particle; a prefixed locative *y-* also occurs.

The purpose of the present effort is to examine the development of these particles over the history of the Armenian language, to the use of prefixed *z-* with some case-marking functions in Modern West Armenian. Comparisons with other Indo-European languages, where such developments more often take place postpositionally, will be cited as part of a broader overall pattern. A similar structure outside the Indo-European language family will also draw some attention, where some Northern Australian languages likewise have prefixes carrying out case-marking functions. This effort will thus be able to demonstrate that case-marking systems with preposed morphemes, while not common, are a viable outcome of the mechanisms of language change, both in Armenian among the Indo-European languages as well as universally.

The modern linguistic tradition of work considering language universals and the morphologization of new case markers dates from the discovery of relations among the Indo-European family. Its conclusions postulate a path, or “cline” (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 105), along which a word gradually comes to express one or more grammatical relations based on its original semantic meaning. As the more grammatical usages become increasingly preeminent due to their frequency, the word becomes bleached of its earlier semantic sense. At this point such a word may be reanalyzed as an adposition (see, for example, Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991: 125–126).

Such an adposition may at first convey primarily certain directional senses, such as locative, ablative, allative, and so forth. With still further frequency of use, however, such a segment may proceed along this same cline and pick up more abstract and more grammatical functions, such as marking a possessor or originator, thence an indirect object or genitive marker, and possibly an indicator of a subject-object relationship (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991: 188–189). At the same time, due to its necessarily close proximity to a noun phrase, such an adposition may become a clitic to and then finally bound to its “host” (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 131–132).

The result of such a process is a case affix, but at the same time the order of these newly-minted morphemes will reflect the word order that prevailed previously;

as Givón declares, “Today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax” (1971:413). As such, the case suffixes ubiquitous among the Indo-European languages are widely regarded as having arisen from morphologized postpositions (see, for example, Lehmann 1982: 149–153; Haudry 1982: 13). Indeed, this process is attested among the historical Indo-European languages; in the Italic branch, one finds the postposition *-en* taking on the appearances and functions of a case suffix. It occurs as a postposed clitic rather than as an independent segment, and often in noun-adjective pairs it is suffixed to both members of the phrase, as in the Umbrian Iguvine Tables:

- (1) **vapefem** : **aveiklufe**¹ ‘toward the augural seats’ (Ib.14)
 (2) *ocrem* . *Fisim* ‘on the Fisian mount’ (VIa.46)

Such a formation is also found in Oscan:

- (3) **húrtín** ./ **kerriín** ‘in the grove of Ceres’
 (Vetter 1953: 147 A.1–2)

And it occurs in South Picene as well:

- (4) *ombrien* : *akren* ‘in the Umbrian land’
 (Marinetti 1985: Ch. 2)

Among the Baltic languages, where the Lithuanian locative case forms end in an *-e* etymologically cognate with the Sabellian *-en* (Stang 1966: 186; Endzelins 1971: 135, 137), one finds in Old Lithuanian texts the postpositions *-na* ‘into’ and *-pi* ‘to; by, near, at’. These too show the characteristics of case endings:

- (5) *Sugrėszkime Iónop szwėtóp*
 ‘Let us turn back to St. John.’ (from Leskien 1919: 113)
 (6) *Tassai maxlas roda tikra kiely dewa sunausp*
 This doctrine shows true way of god to-son
musu ischganitaiap Iesausp Christausp.
 of us to-savior to-Jesus to-Christ
 ‘This doctrine shows the true way to the son of God, to our savior, Jesus Christ.’ (from Leskien 1919: 104; translation after Schmalstieg 1987: 143)

1. These marks reflect similar marks made in the inscriptions quoted here to indicate a word boundary; the convention for transcribing these texts is to include these marks, as in Buck’s Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian, or Poultney’s work on the Iguvine Tables. As for the slash in (3), it indicates a line boundary.

- (7) *Teypo nuejo ana anon kulamon alson.*
 so went she to-that to-threshing to-floor
 'So she went to the same threshing floor' (Ruth 3:6)

Endzelins on the basis of such examples concludes of these usages of *-pi* and *-na*, that they are in fact regarded "as true cases" (1971: 166). While the constructions have not survived into the modern language, at the stage in which they are attested they thus reflect the morphologization of postpositions into case endings.

From the standpoint of a postulated set of universals of language change, however, a substantial asymmetry leaps at the observer. The grammaticalization of postpositions into case suffixes is easy to find. Should one not also expect to find prepositions similarly transformed into case prefixes? An example of just such a phenomenon presents itself in the history of Armenian, where the preposition *z-* 'concerning, around, about' and, to a lesser extent, *i/y-* 'in, into' take on many of the characteristics of prefixed case markers.

The fullest treatment of Classical Armenian prepositions from a synchronic standpoint comes from Minassian. Meillet on the other hand is the unchallenged giant in the field of comparative studies involving Armenian, in addition to his great contributions elsewhere in comparative and historical linguistics; he is indeed credited with the invention of the term "grammaticalization" (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991: 8–9; Hopper and Traugott 1993: 20). While his corpus of work includes no efforts focused specifically on the classical language's prepositions, one nevertheless finds a very substantial amount of material on the topic over the course of his many studies on Armenian. However, an examination of these items with a view towards language typology has apparently yet to be undertaken; the present effort proposes a first attempt at such an approach.

Classical Armenian *z-* is one of six lexemes in the languages generally accepted as prepositions (Minassian 1981; see also Thomson 1989: 42–43). Three of these prepositions always occur as independent words, and one other *i/y-*, which will be discussed at greater length below, may be either independent or proclitic depending on whether the following word begins with a vowel. However, *z-* never occurs as an independent word but rather must be proclitic to the first word in the phrase it governs. It may govern complements in the ablative and instrumental cases, as well as the dative with certain verbs (Minassian 1981: 26), but it is the use of *z-* with the accusative that is of greatest interest for the question under consideration here. This preposition, which Meillet connects with Old Slavic *za* and Gothic *ga-* (1936: 37), can serve as a semantically empty marker of a definite accusative direct object:

- (8) *zhreštakn tesanein* 'They saw the angel'

- (9) *hreštak tesanein* 'They saw an angel' (Thomson 1989:32)

As Minassian summarizes, "En effet l'accusatif peut être déterminé ou indéterminé. Ainsi celui des pronoms, sauf le pronom indéfini..., des noms propres, d'un substantif déterminé par un article [as *zhreštakn* above], un démonstratif, un possessif, est précédé de la préposition *z-*" (1981: 25). This function of *z-* calls to mind a similar construction in Spanish, 'personal *a*', which also features a proposition that is obligatory with certain direct objects, animate ones in the Spanish case. For Classical Armenian, *z-* may well have developed to identify the sense [+definite] for direct objects, but the fact that it thus occurs with direct objects in the accusative case necessarily leads it to convey [+accusative] as well. This is all the more useful for Classical Armenian as, apart from personal pronouns, there is no morphological distinction between the nominative and accusative, the result, as Meillet proposes, of sound changes widely erasing the ends of polysyllabic words (1977: 99).

Whatever impelled the formation to arise, however, the result is a preposed segment occurring before accusatives not otherwise overtly marked as such:

- (10) *Gnac'èk' aysuhetew asakertec'èk' zamenayn het'anoss.*
'Going forth teach all peoples.' (Matthew 28:19)

In the preceding example, *z-* appears at the beginning of the adjective-noun phrase serving as the direct object. However, *z-* can take on even more of the appearance of a case prefix by affixing to both a noun and its modifying adjective:

- (11) *Gitem zi zYisus zxač'elealn xndrek'*
'I know that Jesus crucified you (pl.) seek'
= 'I know that you seek the crucified Jesus.' (Matthew 28:5)
- (12) *anc'o zbažaks zays yinēn.*
'transfer cup this from-me'
= 'transfer this cup from me' (Mark 14:36)

In (12) one also sees preposed *y-*, which will be considered at greater length below. In both examples, *z-* helps underscore, as a case marker would in an inflecting language, the agreement between the adjective and its noun. Nevertheless, as seen in (10), this doubling of the preposition is not obligatory, and according to Minassian it occurs "plus facilement si le déterminant antéposé est séparé de son déterminé", as in:

- (13) *znoyn usoc' noc'a zhambrerut'iwn*
'he signaled to them the same thing, patience'
(Ag. 356.11; Minassian 1980a: 33)

It is easy to imagine that such doubling arose from clauses such as (13), where the repetition of *z-* is helpful in reinforcing the agreement of an adjective at some distance from the noun it modifies; the construction would then have readily spread to less exceptional noun phrases. Another contributing factor may well have been its being featured with parallel accusatives, as in:

- (14) *ew zerkins ew zerkir arnicē*
 'And that the heavens and the earth he made'
 = 'and that he made the heavens and the earth'²
 ("Refutation of Zurvanism" II, 3, from Thomson 1989: 133)

In any event, Meillet calls this preposing of *z-* to indicate specifically determined accusatives “L’innovation la plus remarquable de l’arménien” (1962: 78; see also 1936: 94). Certainly apart from the Spanish personal *a*, such a highly grammaticalized use of a preposition is very rare among the Indo-European languages,³ especially at such an early period in the history of the language family as that of Classical Armenian.

Nevertheless, with regard to its long-term effects, the most significant aspect of this innovation is its extension to most pronouns, as mentioned above. Apart from most personal pronouns, here too the morphological distinction between nominative and accusative has been lost in Classical Armenian, so that *z-* is useful in restoring some clarity to the point. This may be observed for the singular demonstrative *na*, serving also as a third-person pronoun:

- (15) *Ew na sksaw nzovel* 'And **he** began to curse' (Mark 14:71)
 (16) *zi matnesce'z na nok'a* 'That he would betray **him** to them' (Mark 14:10)

Likewise for another demonstrative, *ayd*:

- (17) **ayd** ē *marmin* im ‘This is body-my’ = ‘This is my body’ (Mark 14:22)
- (18) *Mart’ ēr zayd ewt vačarēl*
 ‘Possible it was this oil to sell’
 = ‘It was possible to sell this oil’ (Mark 14:5)

The distinction is also present for the relative pronoun *or*:

2. This phrase *erkins ew erkir* ‘the heavens and the earth’ is very common in Classical Armenian literature and of course is often found with *y-* as well: *yerkins ew yerkir* ‘in heaven and on earth’ (Matthew 28:18). The significance of this parallelism and its frequency is discussed by Meillet (1977: 294–295).

3. One other such example is found among the Romance languages, where Romanian *pe*, derived from Latin *per*, has a similar function.

- (19) *ekn kin mi or unēr sis iwthyoy nardean aznowi mecgnoy*
 came woman one **who** had bottle oil nard fine very-precious
 ‘There came one woman who had a very precious, fine bottle of nard-oil’
 (Mark 14:3)
- (20) *da zor unēr arar* ‘That **which** she had, she carried out’ (Mark 14:8)

It is unusual among the classical Indo-European languages to see the degree of effacement in the morphological nominative-accusative distinction even among pronouns that prevails in Armenian. However, the same *z-* already indicating one rather abstract connotation, definiteness, now comes to be pressed into service to denote another, more purely grammatical one, the accusative. As will be discussed at greater length below, it is this step that continues to make its presence known in the modern language.

Classical Armenian has two other prepositions found prefixed to their complements. One, *c’-* ‘to, up to’, takes only the accusative case, as in *asen c’Petros* ‘he said to Peter’ (Mark 14:70), but its range is relatively limited and it is not found carrying grammatical functions like *z-* does. The other, *i* ‘in, into, away from’ is cognate with Gothic *in*, Greek *en*, and the postposition discussed above in Old Lithuanian and the Italic languages (Meillet 1936:95). It appears as an independent segment when the following word begins with a consonant, but before a vowel it becomes a prefixed *y-*. This preposition may govern the accusative, ablative, or locative case, and, like *z-*, it may be doubled on a noun and modifying adjective:

- (21) *ew apa pahescèn yawurn yaynmik*
 ‘and then they will fast on-day that’ =
 ‘and then they will fast on that day’ (Mark 2:20)

Most significant in this connection is the use of *i* with the locative case; as Meillet observes, ‘Le locatif ne se rencontre jamais sans préposition, et la préposition qui le précède est le plus souvent *i*’ (1962:72). Given that this case may only appear with a preposition, and moreover that at least in the singular the locative is identical with another case form, the dative, one may postulate that here too a preposition is perhaps beginning to taken on some case-marking functions.

To be sure, it must be pointed out that the locative may appear with other prepositions as well, specifically the remaining three Classical Armenian prepositions that are never prefixed, *ar*, *and* and *ast*. Moreover, just as these three prepositions do not undergo the occasional doubling found for *z-*, *i* is not found in such constructions as an independent word, but only when it is prefixed as *y-*. As such, one must be careful not to overstate the case-marking properties of *i/y-*, and even for *z-*, it is important to remember that prefixation on both noun and

modifying adjective is permissible but not necessary. Neither Meillet nor Minassian argue that *z-* in such environments is anything other than a preposition. Even so, however, the similarities to a case morpheme are quite striking. Furthermore, while these prepositions are for the most part lost after the classical language, *z-* in modern Western Armenian survives in a form that, while limited, continues these similarities.

In contrast with the strictly limited complement of prepositions in Classical Armenian, the modern Armenian languages have a great many adpositions, most but not all postposed. Many of these postpositions are more or less transparently products of relatively recent grammaticalization; as Feydit observes, “Les postpositions qui régissent le génitif sont en réalité des substantifs mis soit à l’accusatif, soit au locatif de forme accusative, soit à l’ablatif, soit à l’instrumental sous une forme archaïque qui n’est plus sentie comme instrumental” (1969: 258). In other words, these are to varying degrees recognizable as declined forms of nouns, still governing nouns in the genitive. As for the classical prepositions, their use is limited; according to Minassian, “les prépositions proprement dites de l’arménien ancien ne sont utilisées que très peu” (1980b: 249).

Of particular interest to the present effort, however, is a reflex of Classical Armenian *z-* not even identified in contemporary grammars as a prepositional usage. In Western Armenian, many pronouns have an initial *z-* in the accusative case and only in that case. Many, although not all, of these are distinguishable in form from the nominative only by this initial *z-*. This initial consonant does not occur in all Western Armenian pronouns, and those in which it is found tend to be recognizable from the classical language. Among such pronouns are:

personal pronoun, first person, singular:	Nom.: <i>es</i>	Acc.: <i>zes</i>
personal pronoun, first person, plural:	Nom.: <i>menp</i>	Acc.: <i>zmez</i>
personal pronoun, second person, singular:	Nom.: <i>tum</i>	Acc.: <i>zpez</i>
personal pronoun, second person, plural:	Nom.: <i>tup</i>	Acc.: <i>zcez</i>
personal pronoun, third person, singular:	Nom.: <i>impə/impm</i>	Acc.: <i>zimpə</i>
personal pronoun, third person, plural:	Nom.: <i>iremp</i>	Acc.: <i>ziremp</i>
relative pronoun, singular	Nom.: <i>or</i>	Acc.: <i>or, zor</i>
relative pronoun, plural	Nom.: <i>oromp</i>	Acc.: <i>oromp, zoromp, zors</i>
reciprocal pronoun, singular:		Acc.: <i>irar, zirar</i>

There is some disagreement among the grammars consulted about the presentation of these forms. In particular, for the relative pronoun, Feydit offers both *or* and *zor* for the accusative singular, but only *zors* for the plural (1969: 111). Gulian lists only *zor* for the singular and *zors* and *zoromp* for the plural (1990: 66). Movesian for the singular has both forms, with *zor* in parentheses, and only *oromp* for

the plural, with the observation, “im Akk. sagt mann besser *zor* (Sing.), *zoromp* (Pl.)” (1959: 83).⁴ On the whole then, these grammars report a situation where an initial *z*- marking the accusative case is rather well established for pronouns in Western Armenian.

To be sure, this word-initial *z*- does not extend to Western Armenian nouns, where, as in the classical language, there is no morphological distinction between the nominative and accusative. In Eastern Armenian, moreover, the development of the pronominal declension follows a different path, and the accusative has come to be identical to the dative (Minassian 1981b: 137–138). It must also be mentioned that, the grammars consulted notwithstanding, assessing the contemporary situation for Western Armenian is severely complicated by the dispersal of the language community to scattered pockets across the globe after the first two decades of the previous century (Minassian 1980b: 5). All the same, it remains possible to draw conclusions from a historical perspective about the development and ongoing grammaticalization of *z*- in Armenian. Over the course of the attested history of Armenian, *z*- has evolved from a proclitic preposition with some characteristics of a case marker into an accusative case prefix whose application is limited but nonetheless distinctive. It remains then only to demonstrate that such a case prefix, while far less common than its suffixed counterparts, is by no means unique to Armenian.

Dixon reports that of the approximately 250 languages indigenous to Australia at the time of first contact with Europeans, a small number – “about nine” (2002: 508) – feature prefixes conveying case-marking functions. These prefixes are primarily indicators for noun class or, less often, possession, but they do contain information regarding the case of the nouns as well (2002: 469); they are, in Merlan’s words, “case-linked prefixal alternate forms” (2003: 356). These occur in conjunction with case suffixes as well, but central grammatical distinctions in these languages, such as accusative versus nominative, or ergative versus absolutive as in Marra and Alawa, are distinguished by a prefix; for such languages,

we find that all cases implemented with non-zero suffix on the noun require the form which otherwise occurs in transitive subject function. That is, the Ergative prefix is, in Kurylowicz’s terms, the *forme de fondation*, or paradigmatic basis, for all non-zero case categories. Thus, alternation in the prefixal system is fundamental to the system of case marking as a whole. (Merlan 2003: 357)

She lists some “Singular case/noun class portmanteau prefix forms” as follows:

4. A similar situation obtains throughout the system of demonstratives in Western Armenian, not reproduced here in the interest of brevity, but see Movessian 1959: 82–83 and Feydit 1969: 181–182.

	Marra		Mangarrayi		Alawa	
	ABS.	OBL.	ACC.	NOM.	ABS.	OBL.
MASC. SG.	Ø-	na-	Ø-	na-	na-	a-
FEM. SG.	n-	ya-	ngan-	ngarla-	an-	arr-
				<i>ngaya</i> (OBL.)	an-ga-	arr-ga-
					an-g-	arr-g-
NEUT. SG.	n-	nya-	Ø (ABS.)	<i>na-</i> (OBL.)	Ø-	Ø-

(Merlan 2003: 356)

Even given the portmanteau nature of the great majority of these prefixes, however, Dixon does mention a very small number of prefixed morphemes with no noun-class content but with marking for cases such as locative or comitative in Nakkara, Mayali, Laraakiya, and Ngalakan (2002: 469). One may thus observe, then, both the possibility and the exceptional rarity of case-marking prefixes, especially when they are employed purely to distinguish cases.

All of the languages where such prefixes are found originate from the north-western part of Australia and are part of the so-called non-Pama-Nyungan group of languages. Dixon argues powerfully that this term and its positive counterpart are at best severely inadequate for the study of Australian linguistics (2002: 44–54). While this group represents “perhaps 90% of Australia’s linguo-genetic diversity in an eighth of its land area” (Evans 2003: 3), many of its striking linguistic features are likely areal rather than genetic in origin, and Dixon identifies the proclivity to prefixation in the languages where these case-marking morphemes arise as one example of “an areal phenomenon” (2003: 48). Indeed, the same may be said for the presence of adpositions, which are quite rare over Australia as a whole but are more common in “the prefixing area” (Dixon 2002: 131, 143). Such adpositions as are present tend to convey various spatial senses and thus reflect an earlier stage of the grammaticalization cline outlined by Hopper and Traugott and Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer, before taking on a more abstract, grammatical function. It was after all the search for an expected correlation between prepositions and prefixed case morphemes that was a starting point for the present effort, and so this correlation is found in northwestern Australia as well as in Armenian.

While one may speculate with some confidence that these prefixes with case-marking in Australia are reflexes of grammaticalized prepositions, it is in the history of Armenian that such a process is documented. In the classical language, the preposition *z-* governs the ablative and instrumental cases, but also the accusative with an especially abstract semantic and grammatical connotation, identifying definite direct objects. This *z-* thereupon comes to function more like a case affix, showing coordination between nouns in parallel construction and, more significantly, prefixing upon both members of some noun-adjective pairs. By the time of Modern West Armenian, the classical prepositions, including *z-*, have for the

most part receded from common use, except that *z-* frequently occurs to mark the accusative case in pronouns. One thus finds in Armenian a statistically rare feature, but one logically to be expected on typological grounds, a case prefix, otherwise best attested in northwestern Australia.

Some productive avenues for further research include examining the evolution of the Armenian adpositional system as a whole, from the preposing Classical alignment to the modern postpositions, as well as the precise steps in the development of *z-* as well as *y-* specifically. In addition, the influence on Armenian of such neighboring languages as Georgian and other members of the Kartvelian family, where a number of clitics similar to *z-* and *y-* are to be found, would also be valuable to assess.

As for the Australian languages, these are dying out at an alarming rate, and this tragedy is all the more compounded to the extent that its treasure trove of typologically remarkable features in no way limited to the case prefixes discussed here pass away inadequately documented. At the same time, the study of contemporary West Armenian also addresses a language under difficult circumstances. It is in such distressed languages that such typologically striking features as the preposition *z-* grammaticalized into a case prefix may be observed.

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