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CUNY – Syntax Supper

A fine-grained structure for spatial elements

Juan Romeu (CCHS-CSIC)[1]
juanromeux@hotmail.com

0. Preliminary questions and goals

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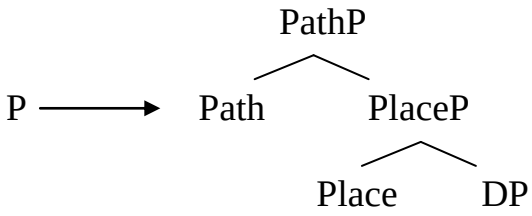

Jackendoff (1983)

→ What about complex cases?

(1) The boat drifted from back behind the hill
(Svenonius 2010)

→ But also minimal contrasts between apparent simple elements:

(2) John went {to/towards} the supermarket

(3) a. Juan fue {hasta/a} la pared
Juan went {HASTA/A} the wall
b. Juan bailó {hasta/*a} la pared
Juan danced {HASTA/A} the wall

(4) a. El vaso está {en/*a} la mesa
The glass is {EN/A} the table
b. El vaso está {en/a} el borde de la mesa
The glass is {EN/A} the edge of the table

→ **Goal:** To give a universal fine-grained structure of spatial elements and give some examples of how it can be applied.

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- What is the best way to approach minimal differences between lexical items?

- What is the relationship between lexical items and the structure? What is encoded in the structure and in which order?

- What is the relationship between different languages?

→ Differences between lexical items are due to the different projections of the structure that they lexicalize. It is necessary to find a fine structure to accommodate minimal differences.

→ Each projection of the syntactic structure corresponds to a semantic component.

→Differences between languages must be explained analyzing the features that the lexical items available in a language can lexicalize.

Outline

1. Introduction: Cartography and Lexicalization
2. The structure: *Ground-AxPart-Place-Terminal-p-Set-Map-proc*
3. *AxPart* and *Terminal*: *a/en*; *abajo/debajo*
4. *Set* and *Map*: *a*/*hasta;* Movement/Extension

1. Introduction

1.1. Cartography

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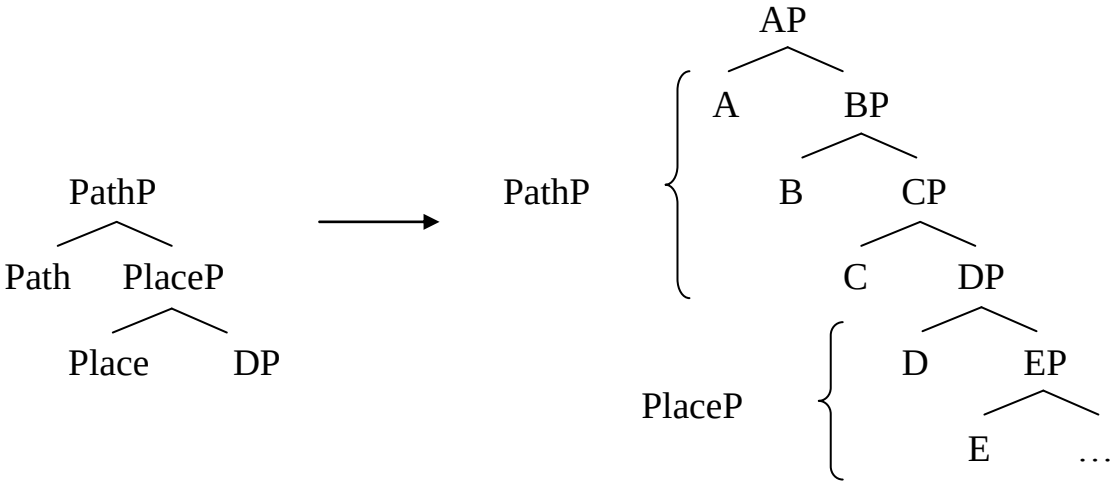

Koopman (2000), Svenonius (2010),
Den Dikken (2010), Pantcheva (2011)

1.2. Lexicalization

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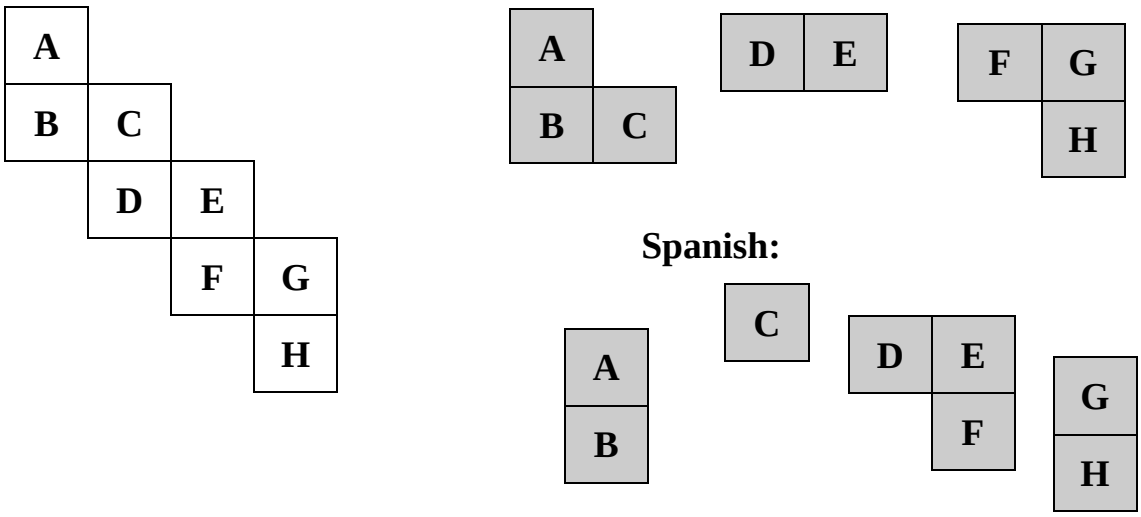

1.3. Assumptions:

- The same structure for all languages
  → **Universality** (Chomsky's 2001 Uniformity Principle, Cinque 1999)

- "Each component of the semantic decomposition corresponds to a syntactic projection"
  → **Syntax-semantics isomorphism** (Svenonius 2010)

- Not all the projections of the structure have to be always present in the structure but they have to appear in the same order.
  → ***Laissez-faire*** approach (Starke 2004)

- Lexical items can lexicalize chunks of the structure and lexicalization is postsyntactic
  → **Phrasal spell-out** (McCawley 1968, Starke 2001, Fábregas 2007, Svenonius 2010, Pantcheva 2011) and **late insertion** (Halle and Marantz 1993, Starke 2011)

- Every projection needs to be lexicalized
  → **Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle** (Fábregas 2007)

1.4. (Some) Advantages:

- There are two ways to approach the universal structure: semantically and syntactically, so it is easier to find it.
- There are not configurational restrictions without a semantic reason. The structure will be built independently of the lexical items available.
- Although it is more complicated to arrive to it, the result is more accurate.

1.5. Things to be careful with:

- Is it possible to obtain the semantic interpretation just from the syntactic configuration?
- Are the semantic components derived from the insertion of different lexical items?
  → Modification
- Is there morphological evidence?

2. The structure

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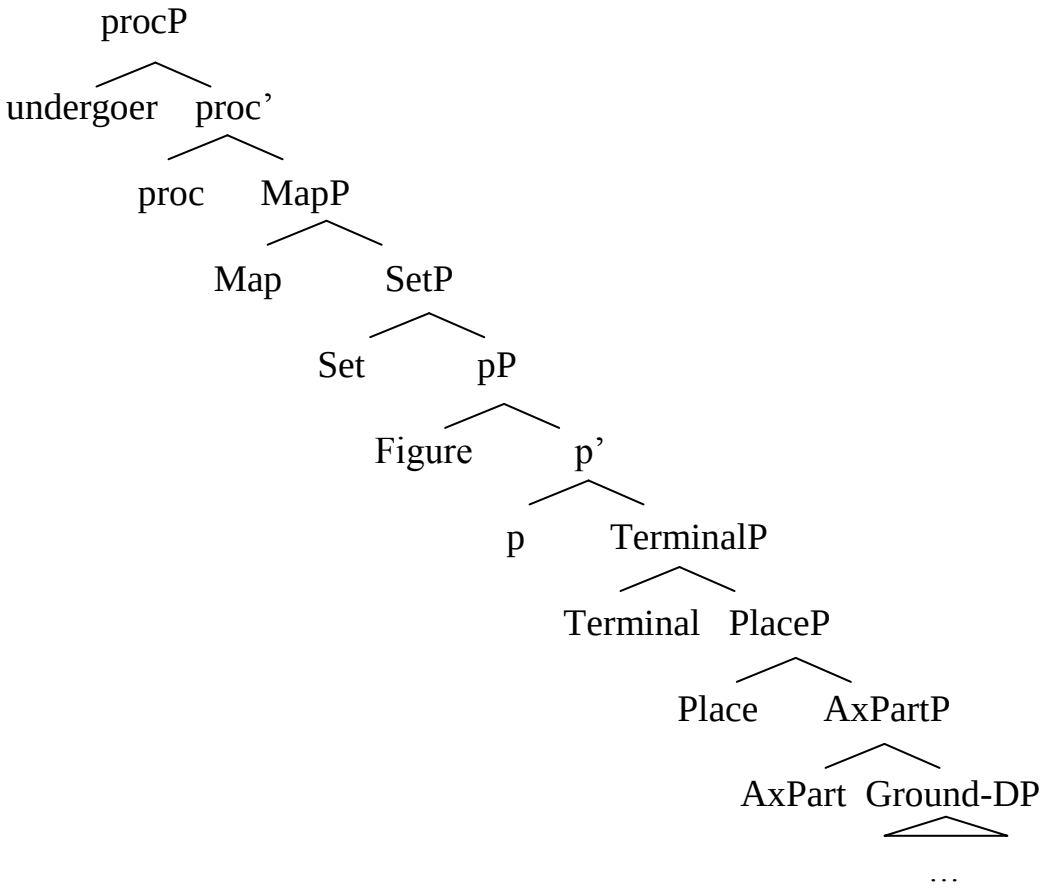

Ground: it gives the possibility to an entity of establishing a spatial relationship with a Figure (eigenplace in Wunderlich 1991)
Ax(ial)Part: it gives a location related to other one from which vectors are projected
Place: it gives the location of a Figure
Terminal: it makes a location be connected to another in one event.
p: it creates a subevent where a Figure is related to a location
Set: it gives a set of points with minimal transitions between them from a point
Map: it maps a concrete set of points onto at least two points
proc(ess): "it specifies the nature of the change or process and licenses the entity undergoing change or process" (Ramchand 2008:40)

Possible combinations between lexical items and features:

- The lexical item always lexicalizes the feature [X]
- The lexical item can lexicalize the feature if another element requires it [x]
- The lexical item can never lexicalize the feature [0]
- The lexical item can combine with the feature in the structure [ ]
- The lexical item needs the presence of the feature in the structure.

→ Variation between languages and between speakers of a same language

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3. *Axpart* and *Terminal*

Axial Part: it gives a location related to other one from which vectors are projected

→ *Axial Part* (Svenonius 2006, based on Jackendoff's 1996 and Marr's 1982)

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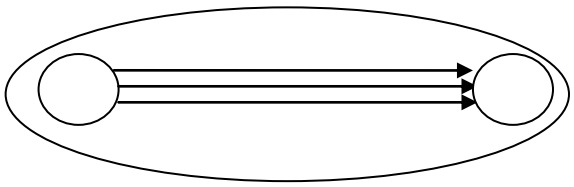

Terminal: it makes a location be connected to another in one event.

→ From Central vs. Terminal coincidence (Hale 1986, Hale & Keyser 2002)

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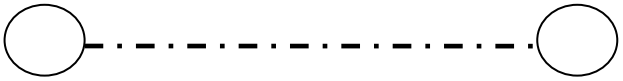

3.1. *a/en* in locative constructions

- Locative cases with *a* in Spanish

(10) a. El lápiz está {en/*a} la mesa
The pencil is {EN/A} the table

b. El lápiz está {en/a} el borde de la mesa
The pencil is {EN/A} the edge of the table

(11) Others: lado 'side', límite 'limit', margen 'margin', fondo 'end, bottom', término 'terminal', vera 'side of a river', entrada 'entrance', salida 'exit', frente 'front', norte 'north', derecha 'right'…

(Fábregas 2007)

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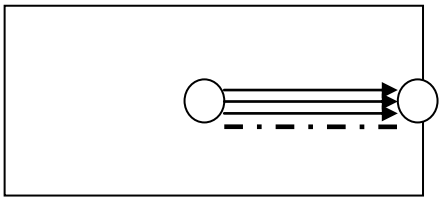


→ *AxPart* creates two locations and *Terminal* needs two locations → *Terminal* can be present in the structure when there is an *AxPart* in locative constructions

(13) a. Asturias está más {a/*en} el norte
Asturias is more {A/EN} the north
b. Asturias está {en/*a} el maravilloso norte de España
Asturias is {EN/A} the marvelous north of Spain

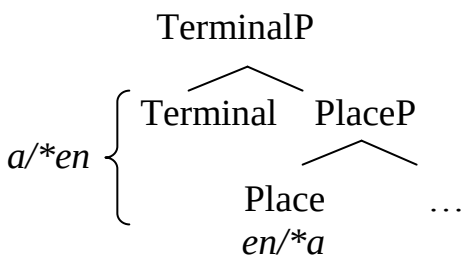
(10b) El lápiz está en el borde de la mesa
The pencil is EN the edge of the table

(14)

→ There is no relationship in the event between the subpart and the whole Ground. In these cases the Ground is the subpart

(15) Asturias está {en/*a} la parte norte de España
Asturias is {EN/A} the part north of Spain

(16)



→ *a* (obligatorily) lexicalizes *Terminal* in Spanish

→ *en* can't lexicalize *Terminal* in Spanish.

3.2. **The opposition *abajo/debajo, atrás/detrás, aquí/acá…***

1. *debajo/abajo ≈ under, below…*

- Complement?

(17) a. La caja está debajo (de la mesa)
The box is DEBAJO (of the table)
b. La caja está abajo (*de la mesa)
The box is ABAJO (of the table)

- Quantification and Measure:

(18) a. La caja está más {abajo/*debajo}
The box is more {ABAJO/DEBAJO}
b. La caja está justo {debajo/*abajo}
The box is just {DEBAJO/ABAJO}

- In directional contexts:

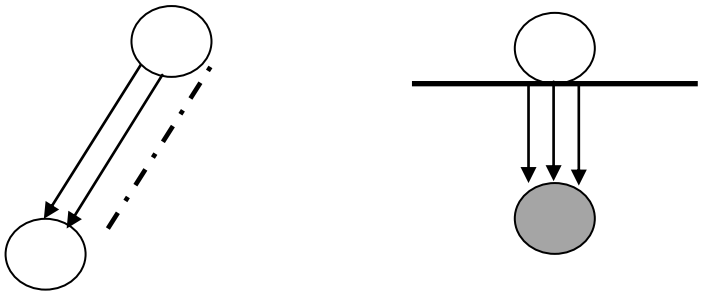
(19) Los niños han ido {abajo/#debajo}
The kids have gone {ABAJO/DEBAJO}

(20) a. Los niños corrieron hasta {abajo/#debajo}
The kids ran HASTA {ABAJO/DEBAJO}
b. Los niños corrieron montaña {abajo/*debajo}
The kids ran mountain {ABAJO/DEBAJO}

(21) Juan se metió {debajo/*abajo}
Juan SE introduced {DEBAJO/ABAJO}

(22) Juan miró {abajo/debajo}
Juan looked {ABAJO/DEBAJO}

(23) *abajo:* *debajo:*



abajo → AxPart + obligatory Terminal
debajo → just AxPart

2. *aquí/allí; acá/allá ≈ here/there*

(24) La casa está {allí / # allá}
The house is {ALLÍ/ALLÁ}
'The house is there'

(25) a. La casa está más {allá/*allí}
The house is more {ALLÁ/ALLÍ}
b. La casa está justo {allí/*allá}
The house is just {ALLÍ/ALLÁ}

(26) a. Juan fue hacia {allá/allí}
Juan went HACIA {allá/allí}
b. Juan fue para {allá/#allí}
Juan went PARA {ALLÁ/ALLÍ}
'Juan went towards there'

(27) Juan vino {aquí/#acá}
Juan came {AQUÍ/ACÁ}

aquí/allí → just *AxPart*
allá/acá → *Terminal + AxPart*

	AxPart	***Place***	***Terminal***
en	**0**	**X**	**0**
debajo	**X**	**X**	**x**
abajo	**X**	**X**	**X**
aquí/allí	**X**	**X**	**x**
acá/allá	**X**	**X**	**X**
a	**0**	**X**	**X**

3.3. *a/en* in directional constructions

→ *a* (obligatorily) lexicalizes *Terminal* in Spanish

→ *en* can't lexicalize *Terminal* in Spanish.

- If directionality implies that a Figure moves from one place to another and *Terminal* encodes that there are two points in the event, then directionality needs *Terminal*:

(28) a. Juan fue {a/*en/*Ø} su casa → just directional with *a*, not locative
Juan went {A/EN}a his house
b. Juan corrió {a/en} su casa → directional with *a*, locative with *en*
Juan ran {A/EN} his house
c. Juan bailó {en/*a} su casa → just locative, with *en*
Juan danced {EN/A} his house
d. Juan se sentó {en/*a} su casa → just locative, with *en*
Juan SE sit-down {EN/A} his house

→ as *a* lexicalizes *Terminal* it combines perfectly with directional Vs; *en* can't even be coerced.

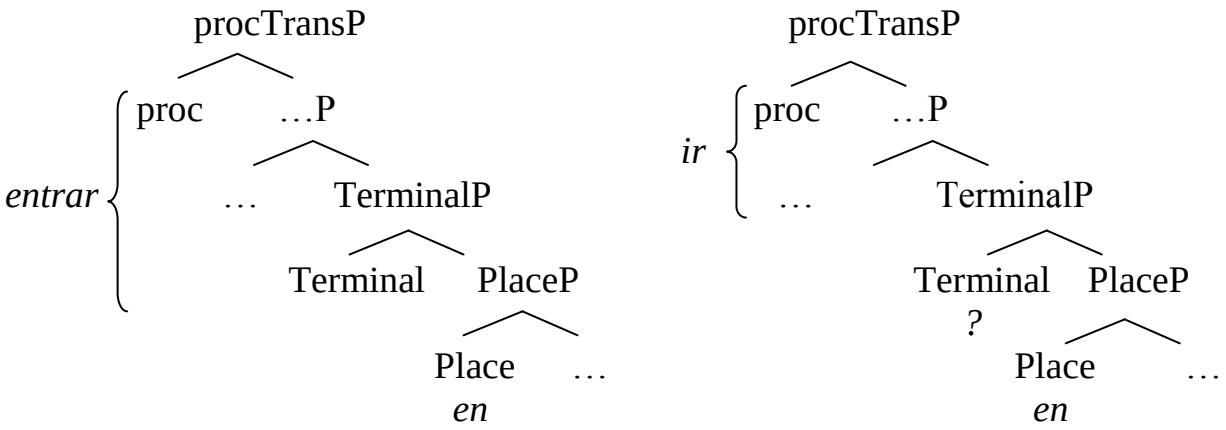
Directional Vs: verbs which lexicalize *procTrans* and obligatorily need two locations in the event → *Terminal*

- *entrar en/entrar a*

(29) Juan entró {a/en} la biblioteca
Juan went-in {A/EN} the library

→ *entrar* can lexicalize a lower part of the structure than other verbs

(30) *entrar*: *ir*



4. *Set* and *Map*:

4.1. *Set*: *a/hasta*

Set: it gives a set of points with minimal transitions between them from a point

(31) a. Juan fue {hasta/a} su casa
Juan went {HASTA/A} his house
b. Juan corrió {hasta/a} su casa
Juan ran {HASTA/A} his house
c. Juan bailó {hasta/*a} su casa
Juan danced {HASTA/A} his house
d. Juan se sentó {#hasta/*a} su casa
Juan SE sit-down {HASTA/A} his house

(32) a. Juan no fue a su casa
Juan not went A his house

→ He didn't start
→ *He started but didn't arrive

b. Juan no fue hasta su casa
Juan not went HASTA his house

→ He didn't start
→ He started but didn't arrive

- The same with *casi* ('almost'):

(33) a. Juan casi fue al cine (just counterfactual)
Juan almost went to-the cinema
b. Juan casi fue hasta el cine (both interpretations)
Juan almost went up-to the cinema

→ *hasta* gives the meaning that there is a set of points, like a complex Path in the sense of Beavers (2008)

- *a* → can't lexicalize *Set*
- *hasta* → lexicalizes *Set*

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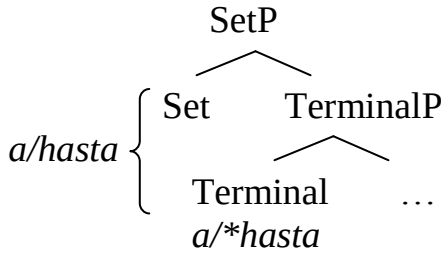


4.2. *Map*: Movement and extension

Map: it maps a concrete set of points onto at least two points

- Different ways of "mapping":

(35) a. The fog extended from London toward Paris (Jackendoff 1990)
b. Water filled the glass (Gawron 2006)

Gawron (2006) → Two readings:

Event reading → Movement
Extent reading → Extension

(36) a. **Extension** (GOExt in Jackendoff 1983):
the points are covered by a whole extended figure

b. **Movement** (as in Nam 1995 TRAV, or Jackendoff 1983 GO):
the figure covers the path moving → time is obligatory

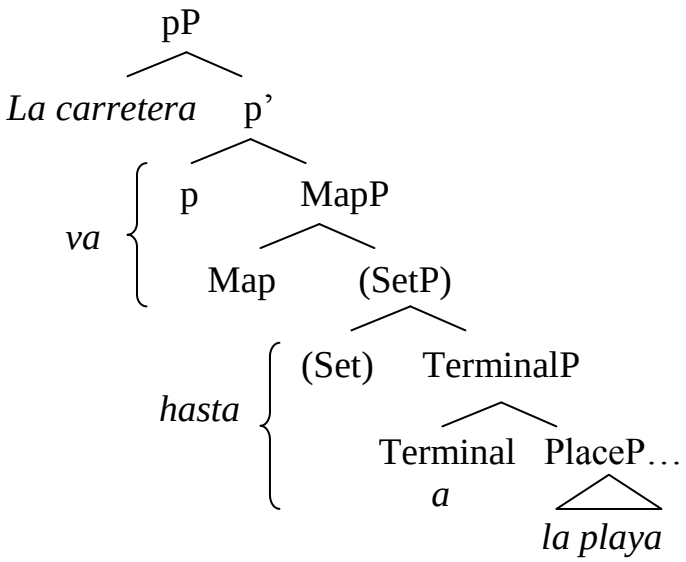
Extension → No *proc*:

(37) La carretera va {a/hasta} la playa
The road goes {A/HASTA} the beach

- no Transition → just *Map*

(38) #La carretera fue {a/hasta} la playa
The road went {A/HASTA} the beach

(39)



6. Conclusions

→ Minimal differences between spatial constructions must be explained depending on the features that are encoded in the structure.

→ Lexical items differ depending on the features that they can lexicalize from the structure.

→ It is important to have very fine tests to determine which features are being lexicalized.

→ A fine-grained structure where syntactic projections correspond to semantic components is the best way to arrive to an accurate analysis.

Appendix

	AxPart	*Place*	*Terminal*	*p*	*Set*	*Map*	*proc*
en	**0**	**X**	**0**		**0**		
debajo	**X**	**X**	**x**		**0**		
abajo	**X**	**X**	**X**		**0**		
a		**X**	**X**		**0**		
hasta		**X**	**X**		**X**		
entrar		**X**	**0**			**X**	**(t)**
ir						**X**	**(t)**
correr						**X**	**p/t**
bailar						**X**	**p**
	AxPart	*Place*	*Terminal*	*p*	*Set*	*Map*	*proc*

[X] = the lexical item always lexicalizes it
[x] = the lexical item could lexicalize it
[0] = the lexical item doesn't lexicalize it and it can't be in the structure
[ ] = the lexical item doesn't lexicalize it but other element can be lexicalizing it
t = procTrans → obligatory change of State
p = proc

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