

Towards a unified syntax of P:¹

A syncretism-driven approach to analysing Afrikaans adpositions and V-particles

CGSW 30, May 2015, Chicago
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1. Introduction

Some Context

The larger study: my PhD dissertation entitled *Spelling out P: A unified syntax of Afrikaans adpositions and V-particles*.

Dissertation aim: taking cues from the syncretism (= shared morphological identity) of Afrikaans *P elements*, to provide an analysis that reflects the close structural relationship between the various functions that these *P elements* express.

Focus of this talk: the syntactic relationship between spatial adpositions and V-particles.²

1.1 Motivating Observation

The most highly syncretic *P elements* in Afrikaans (e.g. *aan*) can express all of the following functions:³

- (1) (a) Jan sal die brief aan Marie gee.
Jan will the letter to Marie give
“Jan will give the letter to Marie”
(thematic relation: recipient)
- (b) Sal daar altyd klein wolletjies aan hierdie jas vassit?
will there always little wool.DIM on this jacket fast-sit
“Will there always be fluff sticking to this jacket?”
(spatial relation: locative)
- (c) Die polisie is agter die motordief aan
the police are behind the car-thief on
“The police are after the car thief”
(spatial relation: directional)
- (d) Ek hoop Jan sal die pakkie aanstuur
I hope Jan will the parcel.DIM on -send
“I hope Jan will pass on the parcel”
(V-particle; result)

¹ This research is supported by the South African National Research Foundation and EUROSA in association with Erasmus Mundus. Many thanks to Johan Oosthuizen, Norbert Corver, Marjo van Koppen, Theresa Biberauer, and Kate Huddleston for their ongoing valuable support and input.

² Because of time I will not be focusing on the structural relationship between *P elements* expressing spatial and thematic relations. In this, I follow work by Caha (2011; 2014) and Pantcheva & Caha (2011).

³ This type of syncretism is crosslinguistically common. Cf. Appendix A for examples.

1.2 Syncretism and the functional hierarchy

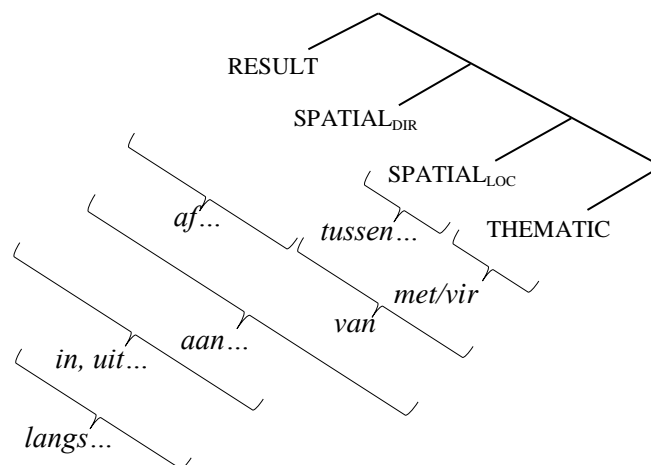
(2) Graphic representation of Afrikaans P syncretisms

	Function			
	thematic	spatial _{loc}	spatial _{dir}	result
vir				
met				
van				
agter				
binne				
bo				
buite				
onder				
tussen				
voor				
langs				
rond				
tot				
via				
af				
na				
uit				
verby				
by			4	
in				
om				
op				
teen				
aan				
deur				
oor				

→ *ABA principle: given the correct ordering of nodes in a syntactic hierarchy (where the organisation of the paradigm reflects the hierarchy) no “gaps” will occur in the paradigm.

The pattern of syncretism in (2) establishes strong grounds for a syntactic hierarchy that is organised as follows (note that this structure is simplified):

(3)

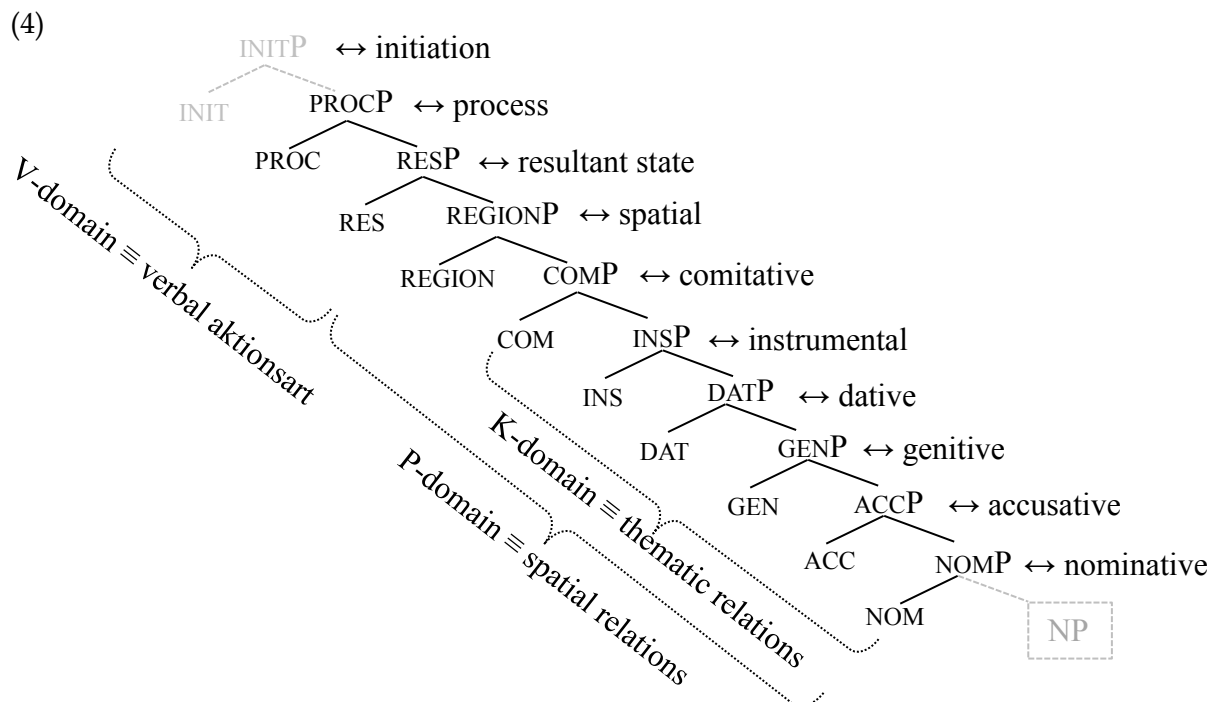


⁴ This apparent *ABA pattern is inconsequential for establishing the functional hierarchy because, under the proposed analysis for the structural relation between spatial adpositions and V-particles, it remains possible for a P element that is only specified for a locative spatial function to act as a V-particle.

1.3 Theoretical assumptions

- *Syncretism principle* (Müller 2004:197):
Identity of form implies identity of function (in a domain Σ and unless there is evidence to the contrary)
- Phrasal nodes are subject to spellout ⁵
- Devices regulating lexical insertion are (i) the superset principle in combination with (ii) the elsewhere condition:
 - (i) *The superset principle* (Adapted from Caha 2007)
A lexical item qualifies for insertion iff it is specified for a superset of the features to be spelled out.
 - (ii) *The elsewhere condition* (Adapted from Kiparsky 1973)
Let E1 and E2 be competing elements that have D1 and D2 as their respective domains of application. If D1 is a proper subset of D2, E1 blocks the application of E2 in D1.

(Full) base-generated hierarchy:



→ Functions are “cumulative”.

→ For the V-domain I adopt Ramchand's (2008) system for verbal aktionsart.

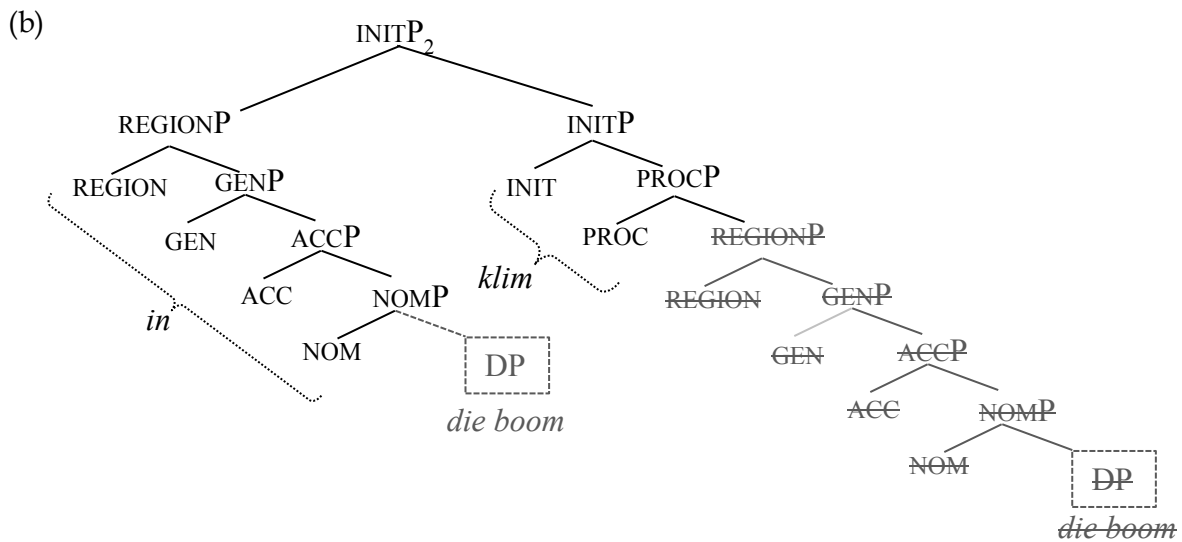
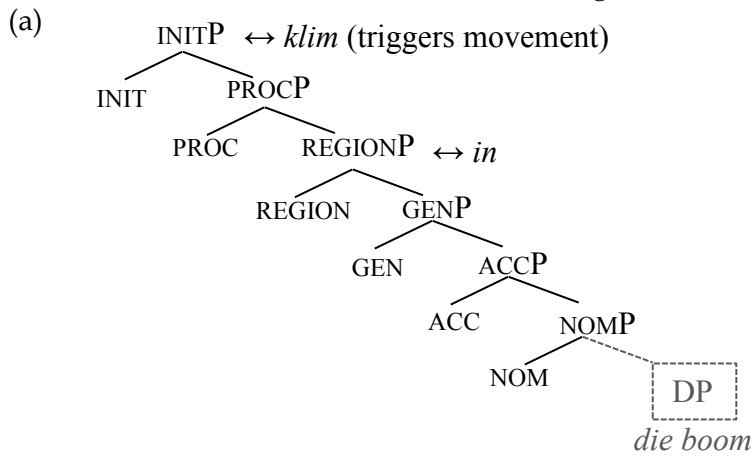
→ For the structure underlying thematic and spatial relations, I follow Caha (2009) and subsequent work (Pantcheva & Caha 2011; Caha 2011,2014), in which the presence of REGION converts the thematic hierarchy into a spatial hierarchy.

REGION can take GENP, DATP, or INSP as its complement. REGION + GENP = locative; REGION + DATP = goal/allative; REGION + INSP = source/ablative. ⁶

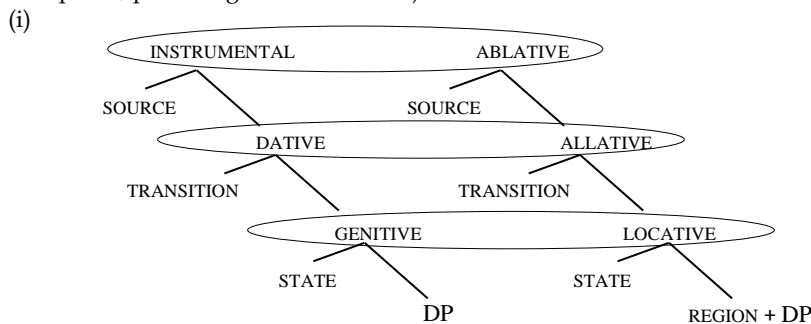
⁵ In accordance with i.a. Abels & Muriungi (2008), Caha (2009), Starke (2009), Pantcheva (2009; 2010) a late-insertion model of derivation is assumed where each lexical entry incorporates an ordered set of functional heads which qualify it for insertion into a given syntactic context.

⁶ Arguments in Caha (2011,2014) are based on crosslinguistic syncretisms between genitive and locative, between dative and allative, and between instrumental and ablative case morphology, as shown in (i) below.

- (5) *Locative preposition*
 (Ek weet dat Jan) in die boom klim
 I know that Jan in the tree climbs
 Intended: "I know that Jan is climbing in the tree"



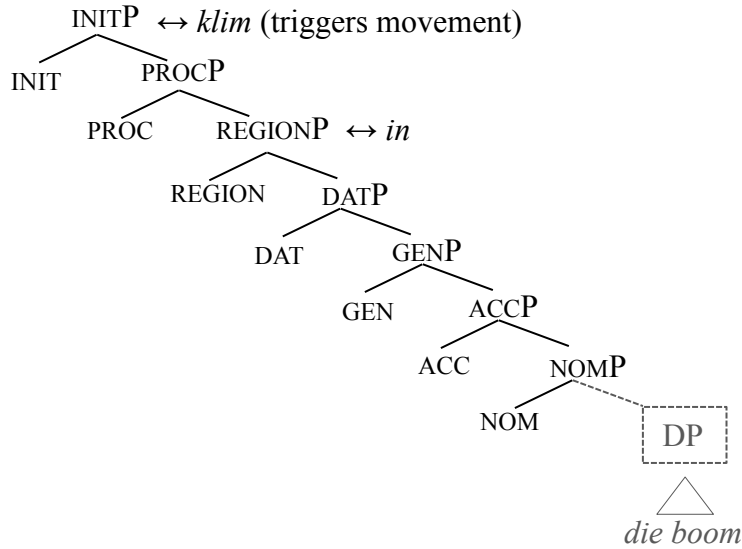
In Caha's system, the thematic hierarchy (K) is over REGION (P). This is argued for on the basis of the surface orders of elements corresponding with K, P, and DP in various languages: Caha argues that a base-generated order P-K-DP cannot turn out all surface word orders using Cinque's (2005) method for deriving Greenberg's Universal 20; that is, (a) movement is only to the left and (b) only constituents containing the head noun may move. Here, however, I take P to be base generated over K because no Afrikaans P element expresses a thematic relation as well as the properties of a V-particle to the exclusion of a spatial relation (in fact, it is argued here that this would constitute a *ABA pattern), and there are many P elements expressing a spatial relation and the properties of a V-particle, to the exclusion of a thematic relation, which Caha's ordering would not permit. I therefore separate issues pertaining to linearisation from this early stage of the derivation (that is, arguably a first-phase, preceding lexical insertion)



(Adapted from Caha 2014)

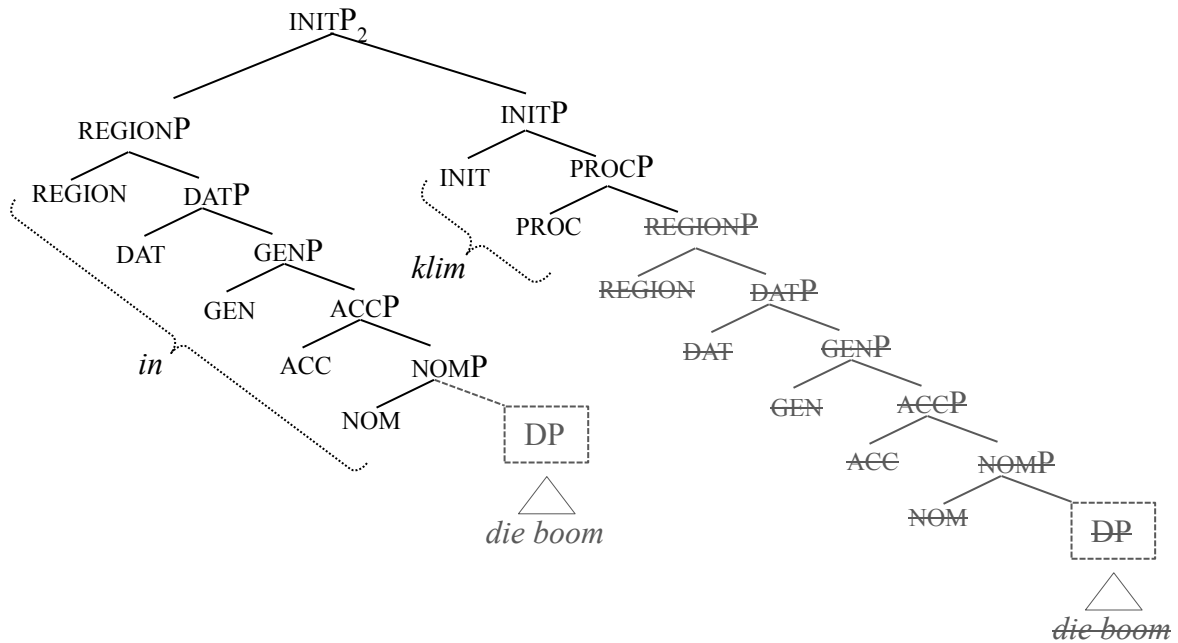
- (6) *Directional preposition*
 (Ek weet dat Jan) in die boom klim
 I know that Jan in the tree climbs
 Intended: "I know that Jan is climbing into the tree"

(a)

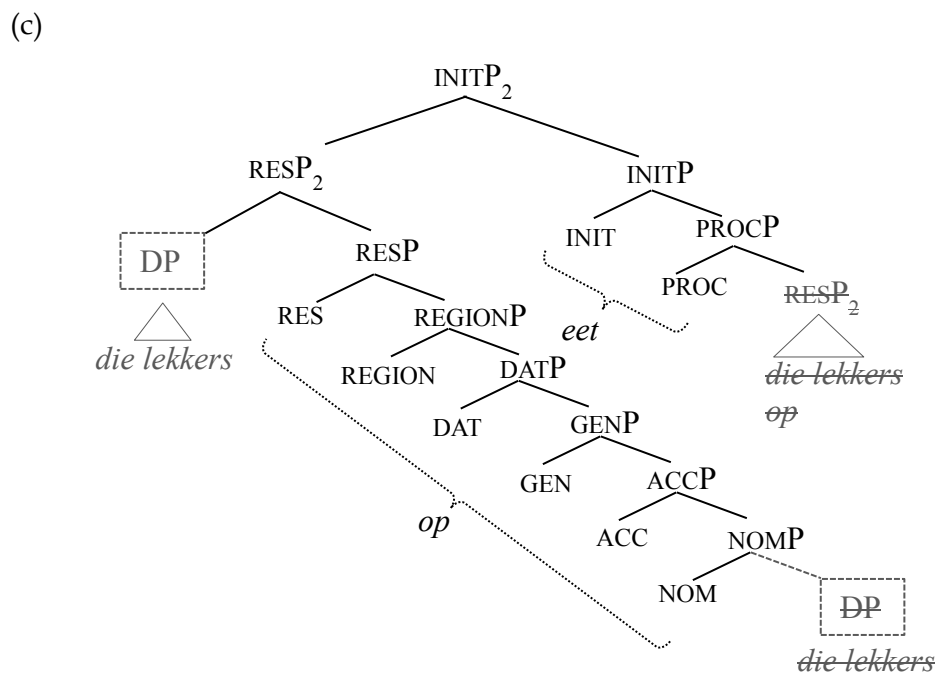
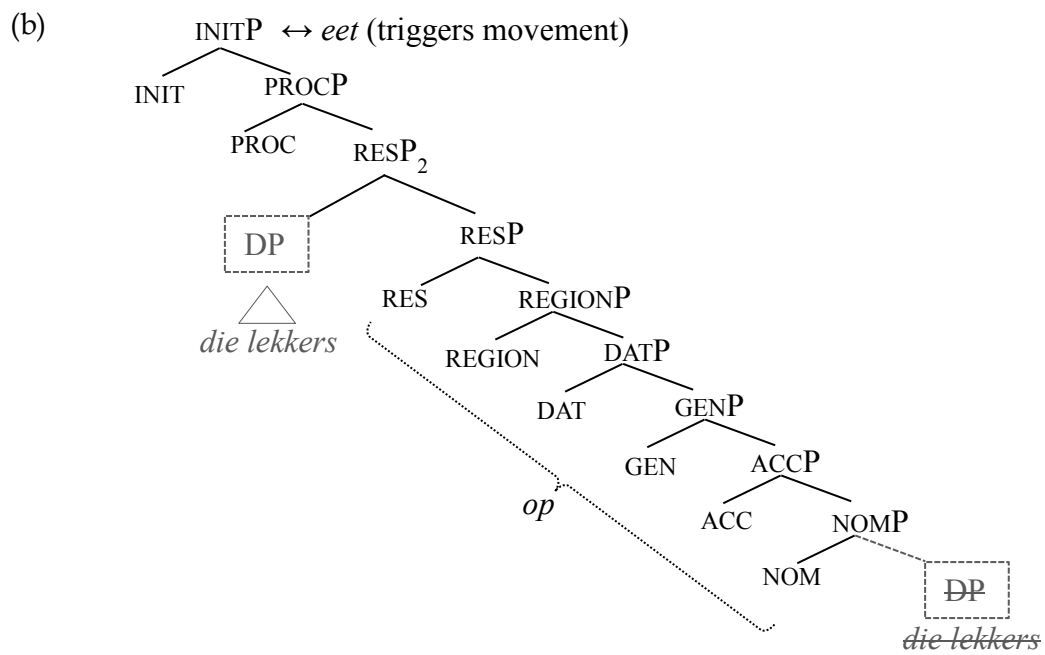
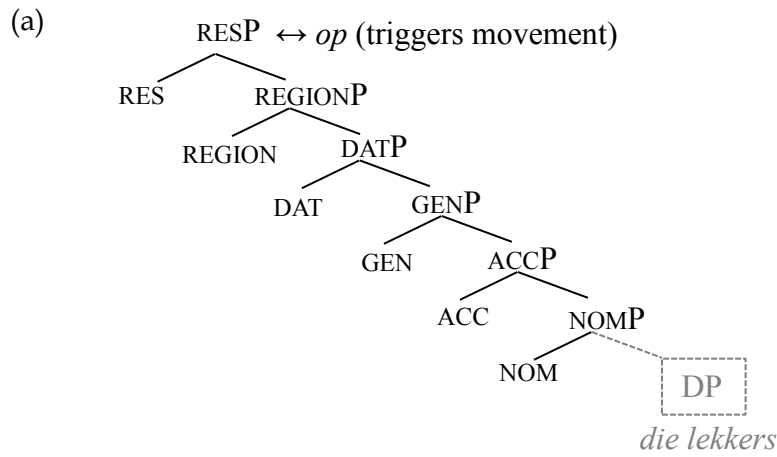


→ The insertion of any verbal material (that is, any lexical element spelling out structural nodes associated with the verbal domain) triggers movement.

(b)



- (7) *Particle verb*
 (Ek weet dat die kinders) die lekkers opeet
 I know that the kids the sweets up-eat
 "I know that the kids will eat up the sweets"



1.4 Main Data

- (8) *True circumpositions (adposition₁ DP adposition₂)*
 Die bottel dryf onder die brug deur
 the bottle floats under the bridge through
 "The bottle floats under the bridge (through)"
- (9) *False circumpositions (adposition DP V-particle)*
 Die man klim by die venster in
 the man climbs at the window in
 "The man climbs in through the window"

Main Claims

Functions expressed in (1a-d) are structurally related by a subset-superset relation

V-particles spell out all the structural nodes expressed by spatial adpositions in addition to the RES(ult) node from the verbal domain

One surface word order - P-element₁ DP P-element₂ - corresponds to two underlying structures, where

→ P-element₂ is an adposition = true circumposition

→ P-element₂ is a V-particle = false circumposition

False circumposition (i.e. *adposition DP V-particle*) = template for identical doubling in Std Afrikaans circumpositions

Generally: Categorial distinctions between adpositions and V-particles should not be considered theoretical primitives. "Category effects" result from the nature of the nodes a P element spells out in a given expression.

2. Distribution of P: Afrikaans vs. Dutch

Den Dikken's (2010:76) generalisations for Dutch:

- (10) (a) Dutch locative PPs are always prepositional
 (b) Dutch postpositional PPs are always directional
 (c) Dutch prepositional PPs are not always locative
 (d) Dutch directional PPs are not always postpositional

Do these generalisations hold for Afrikaans?

(11)

Dutch (Den Dikken 2010:75-76)	Afrikaans	Hold?
(a) Locative PPs are prepositional		
Jan liep in de kamer Jan walked in the room (locative only)	Jan loop in die kamer Jan walks in the room (locative only)	Yes
(b) Postpositional PPs are directional		
Jan krom de heuvel op Jan climbed the hill up (directional only)	Jan klim die berg op Jan climbs the mountain up	Yes

Jan liep de kamer in Jan walked the room in (directional only)	?Jan loop die kamer in ⁷ Jan walks the room in(to)	?
Jan klom de boom in Jan climbed the tree in (directional only)	?Jan klim die boom in Jan climbs the tree in(to)	?
Hij loopt de brug onderdoor he walks the bridge under-through (directional only)	*Hy loop die brug onderdeur he walks the bridge under-through	No
Hij klimt de stoel in he climbs the chair in(to) (directional only)	*Hy klim die stoel in he climbs the chair in	No
Hij springt de bank op he jumps the couch on(to) (directional only)	#Hy spring die bank op ⁸ he jumps the couch up	No
(c) Prepositional PPs are not always locative		
Jan klom in de boom Jan climbed in the tree (ambiguous)	Jan klim in die boom ⁹ Jan climbs in the tree (ambiguous)	Yes
Jan klom op de heuvel Jan climbed up the hill (ambiguous)	Jan klim op die berg Jan climbs on the mountain (ambiguous)	Yes
(d) Directional PPs are not always postpositional		
Jan liep /rende naar het bos Jan walked/ran to the forest (directional only)	Jan gaan na sy ouma ?(toe) Jan goes to his grandma to (directional only)	Yes
	Jan loop verby ons huis Jan walks past our house (directional only)	Yes

→ Postpositional expressions in Afrikaans are less productive than in Dutch; speakers produce them spontaneously only in certain contexts (e.g. formal register). Postpositions, however, appear common in circumpositional expressions, which are prolific

⁷ The equivalent past tense expression, given in (i) below, is more acceptable. Here, the P-element must incorporate with the verbal complex. The same holds for the past tense equivalent of *Jan klim die boom in* in (ii). This suggests they are V-particles and not adpositions.

(i) Jan het die kamer ingeloop
Jan has the room in-walked
"Jan walked into the room"

(ii) Jan het die boom ingeklim
Jan has the tree in-climbed
"Jan climbed into the tree"

⁸ This expression has a resultative interpretation, i.e. that the couch was jumped on until it was ragged/threadbare/broken.

⁹ This expression was selected to complement Den Dikken's example of ambiguous locative/directional Dutch expressions. It should be noted, however, that an expression such as (iii) below is more clearly ambiguous locative/directional because the verb *spring* itself incorporates a directional component. Cf. in this regard Biberauer & Folli (2004:22) on the structure underlying expressions of goal directed motion in Afrikaans.

(iii) Hy spring in die water
he jumps in(to) the water
Locative: "He is jumping in the water" (up and down)
Directional "He is jumping into the water"

(12)	Dutch (Den Dikken 2010:75-76)	Afrikaans (elicited from speakers; ranked in order of frequency) ¹⁰
(a)	Hij klimt de stoel in he climbs the chair in(to)	Hy klim in die stoel in he climbs in the chair in Hy klim in die stoel he climbs in the chair Hy klim binne in die stoel He climbs inside in the chair Hy klim binne in die stoel in he climbs inside in the chair in
(b)	Hij springt de bank op he jumps the couch on(to)	Hy spring op die bank he jumps on the couch Hy spring op die bank op he jumps on the couch on Hy spring by die bank op he jumps at the couch up
(c)	De auto rijdt de molen voor-bij ¹¹ the car drives the mill before-by (past)	Die kar ry verby die windmeul the car drives past the windmill Die kar ry by die windmeul verby the car drives at the windmill past
(d)	Hij loopt de brug onder-door he walks the bridge under-through	Hy loop onder die brug deur he walks under the bridge through Hy loop onderdeur die brug he walks under-through the bridge
(e)	Jan liep de kamer in Jan walked the room in	Jan loop in die kamer in Jan walks in the room in Jan kom /stap die kamer binne Jan comes/walks the room in(side) Jan loop by die kamer in Jan walks at the room in Jan loop binne die kamer in Jan walks inside the room in
(f)	Jan krom de boom in Jan climbed the tree in	Jan klim in die boom in Jan climbs in the tree in Jan klim by/in die boom op Jan climbs by/in the tree up Jan klim in die boom Jan climbs in the tree
(g)	Jan krom de heuvel op Jan climbed the hill up	Jan klim by/teen die berg op/uit Jan climbs against the mountain up/out Jan klim die berg op/uit Jan climbs the mountain up Jan klim op die berg Jan climbs up the mountain

¹⁰ A total of 18 Afrikaans/English bilingual speakers, ranging in age from 22 to 61, were asked in English to produce the target directional expressions in Afrikaans.

¹¹ In Afrikaans *Hy ry die windmeul verby* is possible in a specific context: speakers who rated it acceptable remarked that the postpositional construction means he intended to stop at the windmill but missed it.

→ Why are (postposition containing) circumpositional expressions prolific if postpositional expressions are marked?

3. Scrutinising the postposition: true vs. false circumpositions

One surface word order – P-element₁ DP P-element₂ – corresponds to two underlying structures, where

→ P-element₂ is an adposition = true circumposition (i.e. *adposition*₁ DP *adposition*₂)

→ P-element₂ is a V-particle = false circumposition (i.e. *adposition* DP *V-particle*)

3.1 Diagnostics for distinguishing V-particles from postpositional adpositions:¹²

(13) V-particles can incorporate in the verbal complex in embedded clauses whereas adpositions cannot¹³

(a) Die man klim by die venster in
the man climbs at the window in
“The climbs in through the window”

(a) Almal weet dat die man by die venster (in) sal (in)klim
everyone knows that the man at the window in will in-climb
“Everyone knows that the man will climb in through the window”

= PARTICLE (thus, a false circumposition)

(b) Die kinders kom nou van die plaas af
the kids come now of the farm off
“The kids are coming from the farm now”

(b) Ek weet dat die kinders nou van die plaas (af) sal (#?af)kom¹⁴
I know that the kids now of the farm off will off-come
“I know that the kids will come from the farm now”

= ADPOSITION (thus, a true circumposition)

(14) Adpositions can form complex prepositions whereas V-particles cannot

(a) Die man klim by die venster in
the man climbs at the window in
“The man climbs in through the window”

¹² Cf. Broekhuis (2013:44-45) for further diagnostics distinguishing Dutch V-particles from postpositions.

¹³ This diagnostic seems to fail in situations where a particle verb, consisting of the same verb and P-element, exists and has more or less the same meaning as the verb + (postpositional) PP combination. An example of such a case is given in (i) below. Whereas the diagnostic in (14) suggests *onder die brug deur* is a true circumposition (i.e. that *deur* is an adposition and not a V-particle), the fact that *deur* incorporates with the verb in (i) suggests otherwise. I argue that such conflicting results arise due to the fact that *deurdryf* is an acceptable particle verb that does not differ significantly in meaning from the verb + PP combination, as is the case in (13b).

(i) Die bottel dryf onder die brug deur
the bottle floats under the bridge through
“The bottle floats under the bridge (through)”

(i') Ek sien dat die bottel onder die brug (deur) sal (deur)dryf
I see that the bottle under the bridge through will through-float
“Everyone knows that the bottle will float under the bridge (through)”

¹⁴ Where the P-element has incorporated with verb to form *afkom* the expression no longer means that the children are coming from the farm; the resulting meaning can only be, rather comically, that the children were somehow on top of the farm and are coming down off of the farm, as one might come down from a roof.

- (a) *Die man klim by in die venster
the man climbs at in the window
= PARTICLE (thus, a false circumposition)
- (b) Die bottel dryf onder die brug deur
the bottle floats under the bridge through
“The bottle floats under the bridge (through)”
- (b') Die bottel dryf onderdeur die brug
the bottle floats under-through the bridge
“The bottle floats under the bridge (through)”
= ADPOSITION (thus, a true circumposition)

Observation: After applying the diagnostics to the 12 circumpositional expressions in (12),

- 2, *onder die brug deur* and *binne die huis in* are true circumpositions (*adposition₁ DP adposition₂*, where the adpositions can form a complex preposition)
- 10, that is all *by DP P-element* and identical doubling expressions, are false circumpositions (*adposition DP V-particle*, where the particle cannot form a complex preposition with the adposition, and the particle can incorporate with the verbal complex)

In addition, 5 target directional expressions are prepositional (of which 4, given in (15) below, are ambiguous locative/directional).

3.2 What disambiguating strategies reveal

Four of the target directional expressions in (12) are ambiguous locative/directional:

- (15) (a) Hy klim in die stoel
he climbs in the chair
“He climbs in/into the chair” (Target: “He climbs into the chair”)
- (b) Hy spring op die bank
he jumps on the couch
“He jumps on/onto the couch” (Target: “He jumps onto the couch”)
- (c) Jan klim in die boom
Jan climbs in the tree
“Jan climbs in/into the tree” (Target: “Jan climbs into the tree”)
- (d) Jan klim op die berg
Jan climbs up the mountain
“Jan climbs on/up the couch” (Target: “Jan climbs up the mountain”)

With particular reference to the ambiguous expressions in (15), informants suggested one of three disambiguating strategies to yield the expressions unambiguously directional:

1. Modifying phrases
E.g., for (12b): *Hy spring (van die vloer af) op die bank (van die grond af)*
he jumps (from the floor) on the couch (from the ground)
2. The addition of a particle that shares the morphological identity of the preposition
E.g., for (12b): *Hy spring op die bank op*
he jumps on the couch on

Diagnostics:

Must incorporate:

Ek weet dat hy op die bank (*op) wil (op)spring
I know that he on the couch up wants up-jump
“I know that he wants to jump onto the couch”

= PARTICLE

*No complex preposition formation*¹⁵¹⁶

*Hy spring op op die bank
he jumps on up the couch

= PARTICLE

→ See Appendix B for other Afrikaans spatial expressions with identical doubling, which all behave the same with regards to the diagnostics, suggesting that spatial directional expressions with identical doubling in (Std) Afrikaans are false circumpositions (i.e. *adposition DP V-particle*).¹⁷

3. Employing the *by DP V-particle* expression where the preposition is substituted with *by* (“at”) and the particle takes the morphological identity of the (ambiguous) adposition of the prepositional expression

E.g., for (12b) *Hy spring by die bank op*
he jumps at the couch up

Diagnostics:

Better with incorporation:

Ek sien dat hy by die bank (?op) wil (op)spring¹⁸
I see that he at the couch up wants up-jump
“I see that he wants to jump onto the couch”

= PARTICLE

No complex preposition formation

*Hy spring by op die bank
he jumps at up the couch

= PARTICLE

3.3 The *BY DP V-particle* false circumposition

The construction *by DP P-element* is a productive false circumposition in Afrikaans. In all the expressions from (12) with this surface order, in addition to *Hy spring by die bank op* which was considered above, the postpositional P-element consistently is a V-particle.

¹⁵ This diagnostic may fail with regards to the identical doubling expressions because of the OCP/haplology effect where adjacent elements with identical form are subject to deletion or modification. Cf. Biberauer (2008) where this is argued to be the case in many Afrikaans directional spatial and negation structures.

¹⁶ Cf. De Vos (2013) on mixed adposition orders in Afrikaans as a PF-linearisation effect.

¹⁷ In certain non-standard varieties adposition doubling is found with locative spatial expressions, as shown in (i), and also with non-spatial expressions, as shown in (ii), where the adpositions express a thematic role such as instrument. Cf. in this regard Oosthuizen (2000) and Oosthuizen (2009).

- (i) Hulle woon in Bellville in
they live in Bellville in
“They live in Bellville” (locative)
- (ii) Hy sny die brood met ‘n mes mee
he cuts the bread with a knife with
“He cuts the bread with a knife”

¹⁸ Note that speaker judgements on the acceptability of separating the particle from the verb vary: this is possible for some speakers whereas it is impossible for others. Importantly, however, incorporation is possible (usually best) for all speakers, diagnosing this P-element as a particle.

- (16) (a) Die kar ry by die windmeul verby
the car drives at the windmill past
"The car is driving past the windmill"
- (a') *Incorporation allowed*
Ek sien dat hulle by die windmeul (verby) gaan (verby)ry
I see that they at the wind-mill past go.FUTUTRE past-drive
"I see that they are going to drive past (miss) the windmill"
= PARTICLE
- (a'') *No complex preposition formation*
*Die kar ry by verby die windmeul
the car drives at past the wind-mill
= PARTICLE
- (b) Jan loop by die kamer in
Jan walks at the room in
"Jan walks into the room"
- (b') *Incorporation preferred*
Ek sien dat Jan by die kamer (?in) gaan (in)loop
I see that Jan at the room in go.FUTURE in-walk
"I see that Jan is walking into the room"
= PARTICLE
- (b'') *No complex preposition formation*
*Jan loop by-in die kamer
Jan walks at-in the room
= PARTICLE
- (c) Jan klim by/in die boom op
Jan climbs by/in the tree up
"Jan is climbing up the tree"
- (c') *Incorporation preferred*
Ek weet dat Jan by/in die boom (?op) sal (op)klim
I know that Jan at/in the tree up will up-climb
"I know that Jan will climb up the tree"
= PARTICLE
- (c'') *No complex preposition formation*
* Jan klim by-op/in-op die boom
Jan climbs at-up/in-up the tree
= PARTICLE
- (d) Jan klim b die berg op
Jan climbs at the mountain up
"Jan is climbing up the mountain"
- (d') *Incorporation preferred*
Ek weet dat Jan by/teen die berg (?op) wil (op)klim
I know that Jan at/ against the mountain up wants up-climb
"I know that Jan wants to climb up the mountain"
= PARTICLE
- (d'') *No complex preposition formation*
*Jan klim by-op/teen-op die berg
Jan climbs at-up/against-up the mountain
= PARTICLE

Observation: The productive circumpositional expression *BY DP P-element* is always a false circumposition, i.e. *BY DP V-particle*

→ Could the *BY DP V-particle* be the “template” for false circumpositions with identical doubling?

The *BY DP V-particle* expression is unavailable in Dutch:

(17) Dutch

(a) Jan klimt (*bij) de berg op
Jan climbs at the mountain up
“Jan is climbing up the mountain”

(d) Jan loopt (*bij) de kamer in
Jan walks at the room in
“Jan walks into the room”

(Van Koppen 2015, PC)

The Afrikaans equivalents, *Jan klim by die berg op* and *Jan loop by die kamer in* are perfect.

→ Given that

- (i) *by* (“at”) is the most neutral (underspecified) spatial adposition in Afrikaans, and
- (ii) Afrikaans circumpositional expressions with identical doubling are false circumpositions

I argue that

- (i) *BY DP V-particle* is the “template” for Std Afrikaans circumpositional expressions with identical doubling, and
- (ii) the reason circumpositions with identical doubling are not found in Dutch is that the *BY DP V-particle* construction is unavailable in Dutch (whatever the reason is for that; possibly the same reason postpositional expressions are marked in Afrikaans)

3.4 Generalisations for Afrikaans:

- (18) (a) Afrikaans postpositional expressions are unproductive/marked
- (b) Afrikaans prepositions are locative and directional
- (c) Afrikaans “circumpositions” should be divided into two categories:
- (i) true circumpositions (i.e. $\text{adposition}_1 + \text{DP} + \text{adposition}_2$) where adposition_1 is locative and adposition_2 is directional
 - adposition_2 cannot incorporate with verb complex
 - adposition_1 and adposition_2 can form a complex preposition
 - (ii) false circumpositions (i.e. $\text{adposition} + \text{DP} + \text{V-particle}$) where the adposition can be locative/directional and the particle is directional
 - particle can incorporate with verb complex
 - adposition and particle cannot form a complex preposition

4. Insight from false circumpositions: doubling in other languages

(19) *Slovenian*

*V-prefix*¹⁹

- (a) Pre -skocil je mizo
over-jumped aux.3sg table.acc
"He jumped over the table."

V-prefix + adposition

- (b) Iz -vlekel je zajca iz klobuka
out-pulled aux rabbit from hat
"He pulled a rabbit out of a hat." (Identical)
- (c) V -stopili so skozi okno
in-stepped aux.3pl through window
"They entered through the window." (Non-identical)

(Hladnik 2015, PC)

(20) *Russian*

V-prefix + adposition

- (a) On v -lez v okno
he in-climbed in window
"He climbed in the window" (Identical)²⁰
- (b) On vy -prygnul iz okna
he out-jumped from window
"He jumped out of the window" (Non-identical)
- (c) Brevno pro -plylo pod mostom
log through-floated under bridge
"The log floated under the bridge"

(Svenonius 2004:225)

(22) *Hungarian*

Adposition

- (a) az üzlet körül
the shop round
"round the shop"

V-prefix + adposition

- (b) János rá -lépett a láb -am -ra.
J' anos SUB-stepped the foot-1sg-SUB
"János stepped on my foot" (Identical)
- (c) Körül -néztünk az üzlet -ben.
round -looked the shop -INESS
"We looked around in the shop" (Non-identical)

(Gehrke 2008:26)

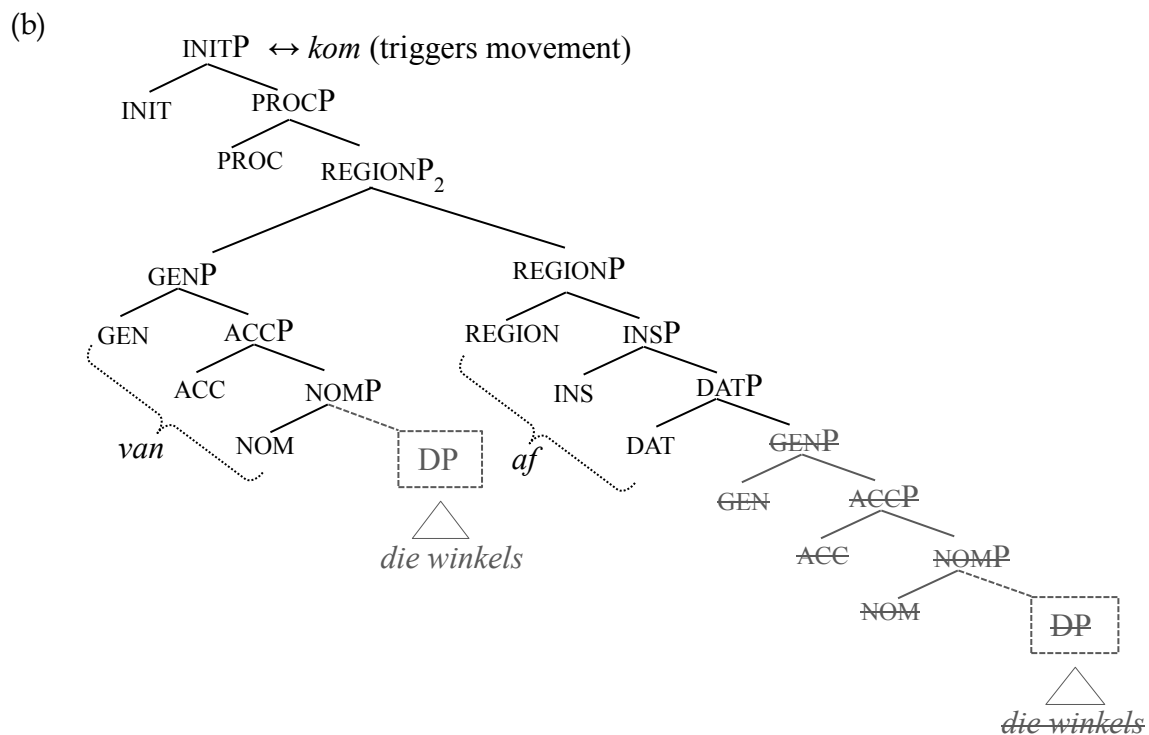
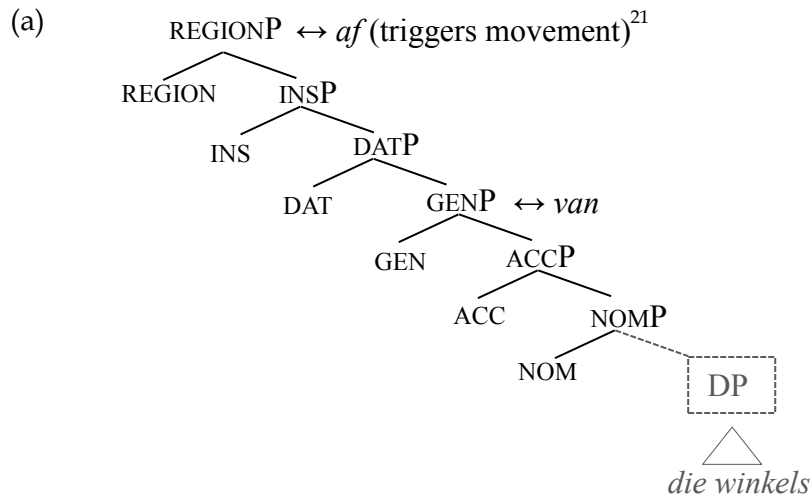
Once the Afrikaans expressions with identical doubling are recognised as false circumpositions (i.e. *adposition DP V-particle*), it becomes a strong possibility that will receive an analysis analogous to these expressions in other languages where the prefix cannot be mistaken for an adposition.

¹⁹ Here the Slavic V-prefix ≈ Germanic V-particle (cf. Svenonius 2004 for a distinction between lexical and superlexical V-prefixes in Slavic, of which the lexical type are at issue here).

²⁰ For more examples where the prefix and the adposition are syncretic, cf. Rojina (2004:74) and Matushansky (2002:217).

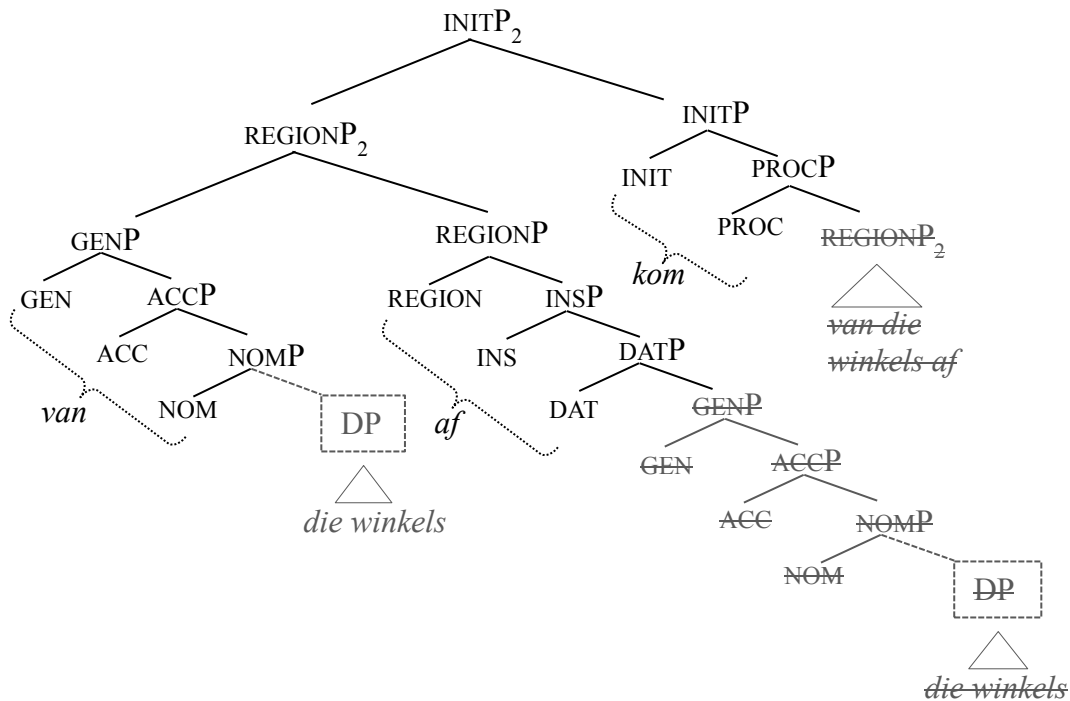
5. Analysis

- (23) *True circumposition* (i.e. adposition₁ DP adposition₂) in a division of labour scenario
 (Ek weet dat die kinders) van die winkels af kom
 I know that the kids from the shops down come
 “I know that the kids are coming from the shops”

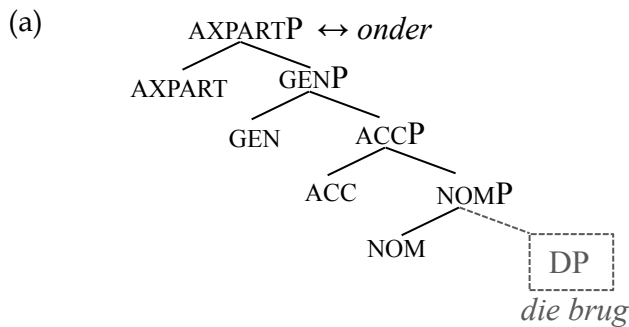


²¹ At this point it is still unclear why the insertion of *af* (and other postpositional adpositions) trigger movement. It could be argued that insertion of lexical material into the spatial directional nodes trigger the same type of movement as the insertion of any verbal material (i.e. verbs and V-particles), and that the information denoted by these nodes is very closely related to the information canonically expressed by a certain type of verb (e.g. verbs of directed motion). Analyses of the type argued for in this talk, where categories are not syntactic primitives but rather epiphenomena of syntactic “domains” make this line of argument possible: since the boundaries between “category domains” are not discrete, the properties typically associated with the nodes of a certain syntactic domain (e.g. that they trigger movement upon insertion) could also be associated with the nodes of a neighbouring domain.

(c)



- (24) *True circumposition* (i.e. adposition₁ DP adposition₂) in an AxPart modification scenario²²
 (Ek sien dat die bottel onder die brug deur dryf
 I see that the bottle under the bridge through floats
 “I see that the bottle is floating under the bridge (through)”

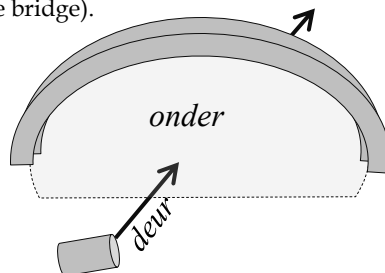


²² Jackendoff (1996:14; from Svenonius 2006:50):

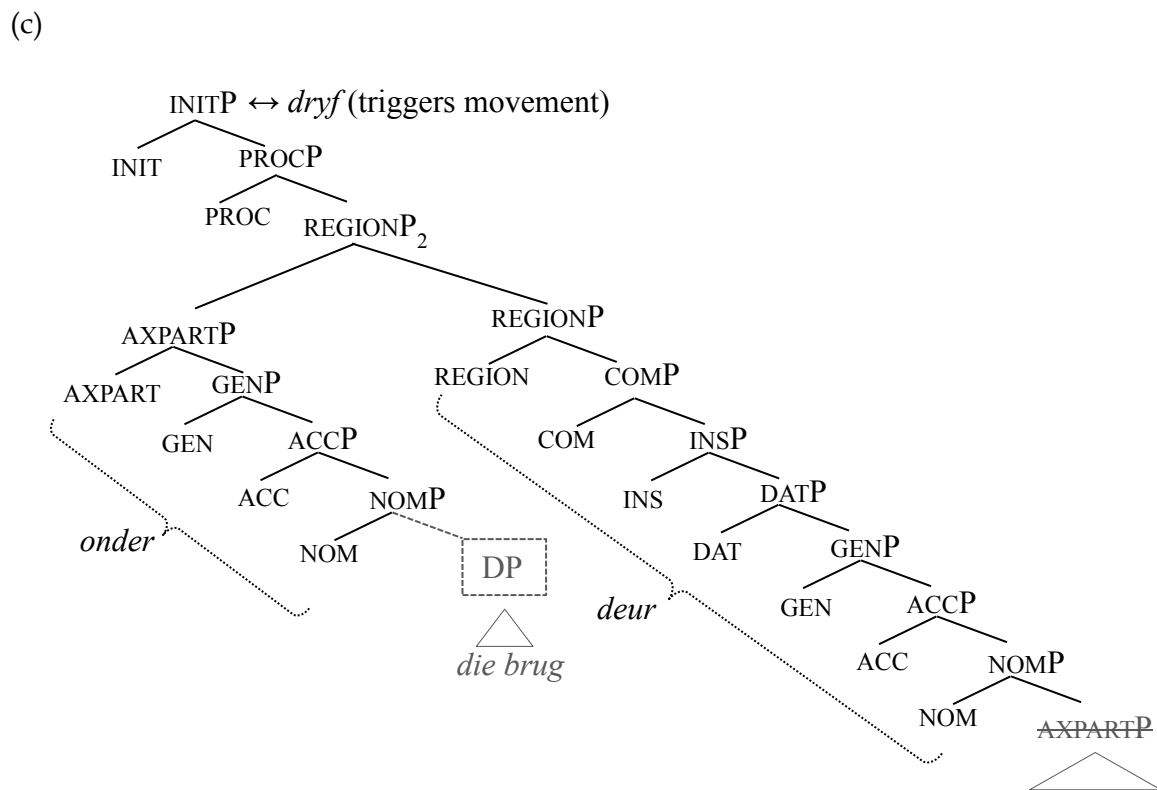
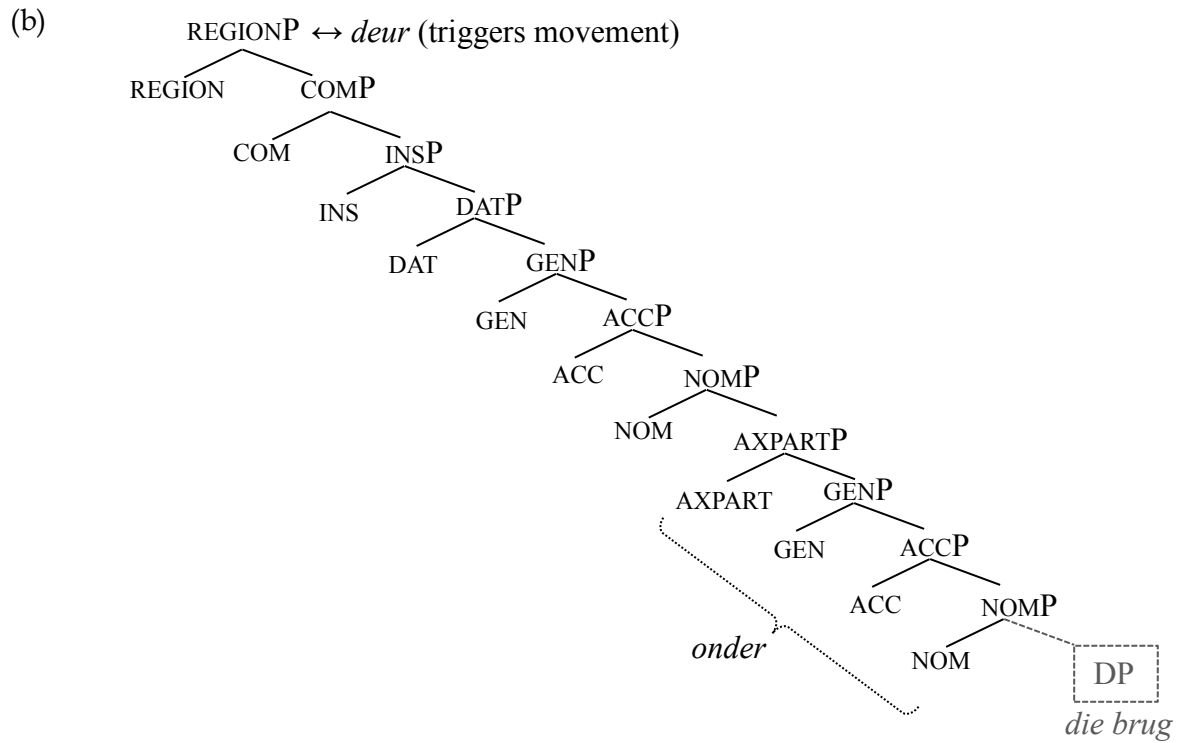
The “axial parts” of an object – its top, bottom, front, back, sides, and ends – behave grammatically like parts of the object, but, unlike standard parts such as a handle or a leg, they have no distinctive shape. Rather, they are regions of the object (or its boundary) determined by their relation to the object’s axes.

Svenonius (2006): the axial part is a functional projection AXPART which is lexicalised by these axial elements.

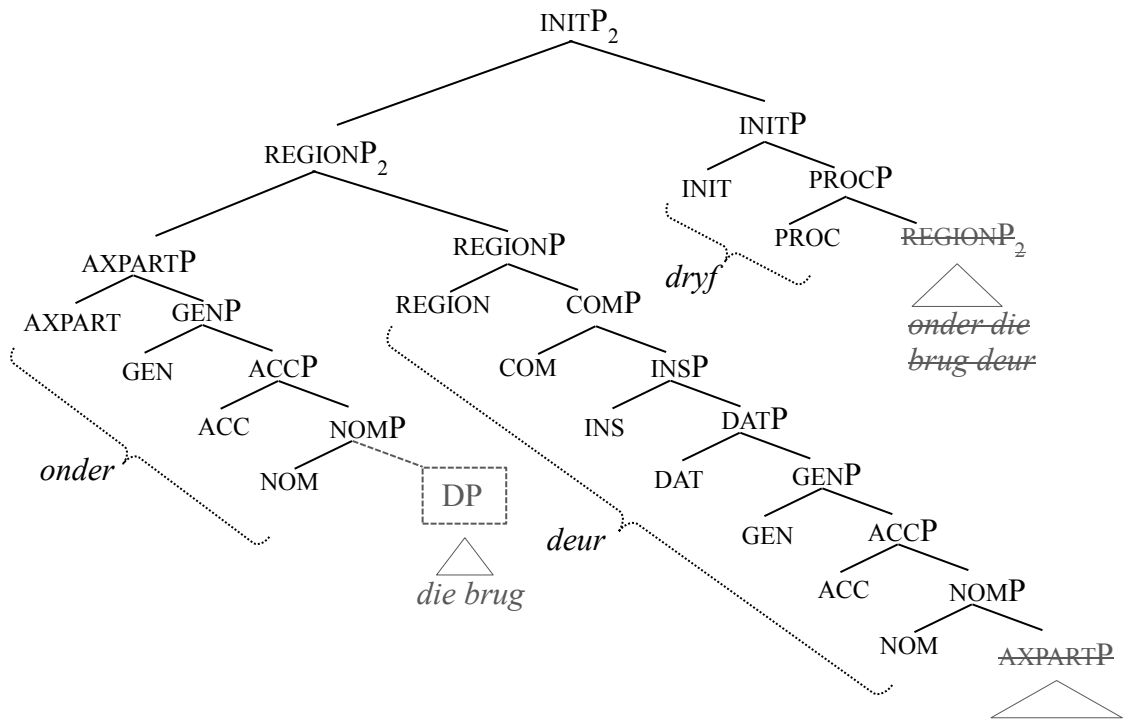
In (24) above *onder* is an axial part because (i) it delimits the relevant geometric space defined by the ground (the bridge) to a region (the space under the bridge).



When AXPART is present, it must take GENP as a complement and AXPARTP must form the complement of NOM. The result is that the AXPART node “restarts” the case hierarchy thus introducing another P element to the expression

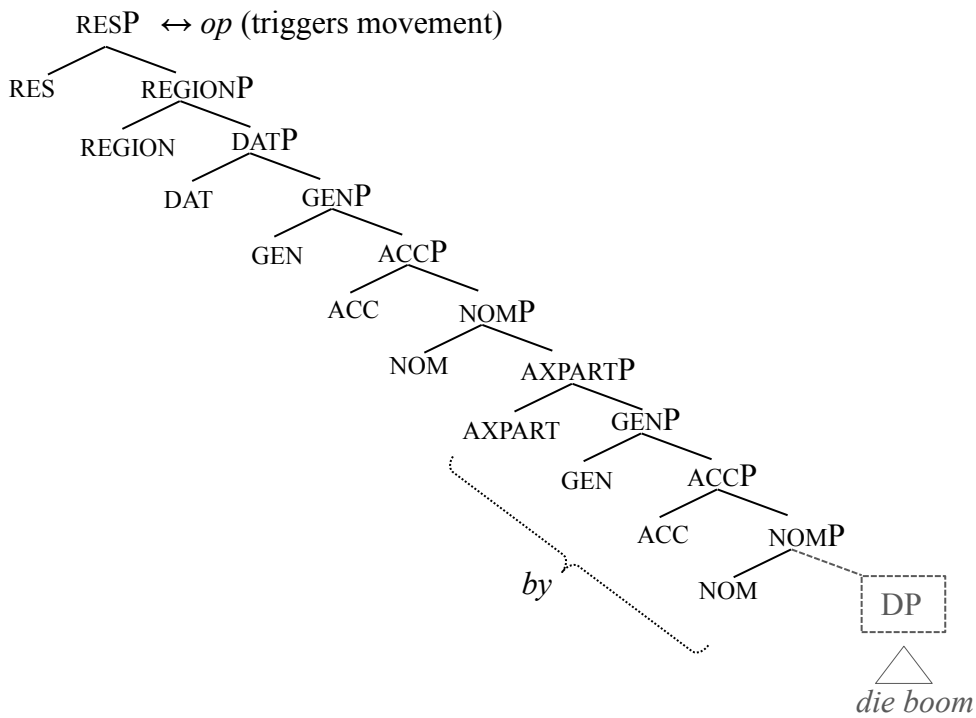


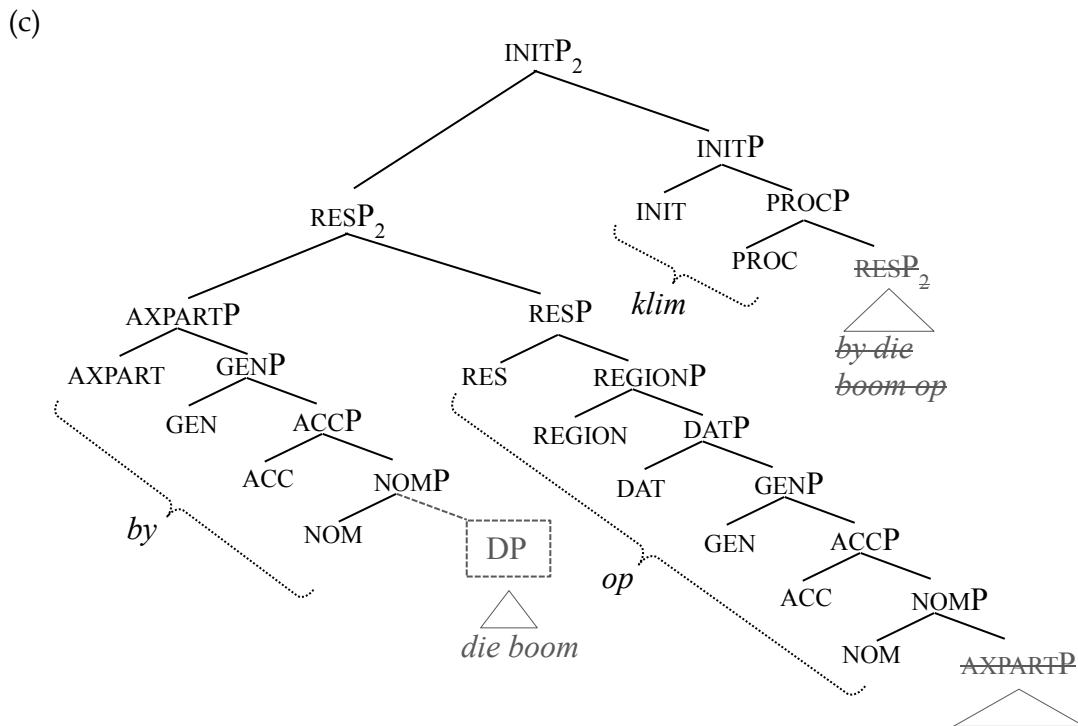
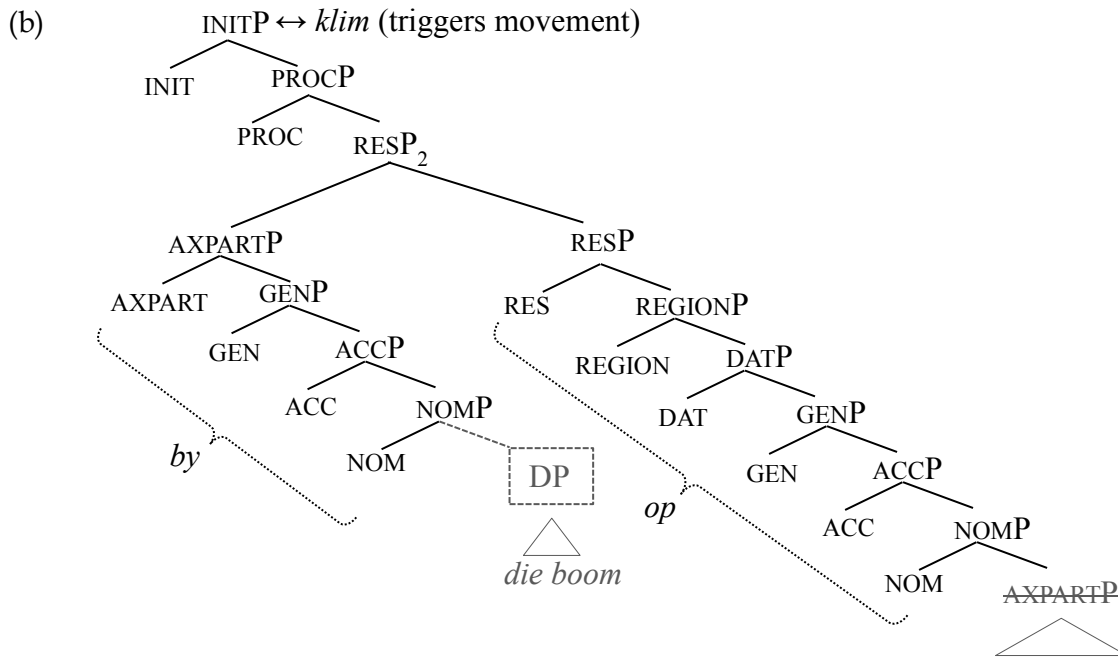
(d)



- (25) *False circumposition* (i.e. adposition DP V-particle)
 (Ek sien dat Jan) by die boom opklim
 I see that Jan at the tree up-climbs
 "I see that Jan is climbing up the tree"

(a)





The analysis of V-particles as spelling out the RES node of the verbal domain is analogous to varying degrees with those of Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), Svenonius (2004) and Ramchand (2008).

Ramchand (2008:133) argues that such an analysis

Resolves the debate between the small clause approach [cf. e.g. Hoekstra (1988); Den Dikken (1995)] and the complex predicate approach [cf. e.g. Booij (1990); Neeleman (1994)] by representing the essential correctness of both positions. The small clause approach is correct because the particle is associated with additional predicational structure... On the other hand, the first-phase decomposition is in effect a complex (decomposed) predicate, where the subevents involved combine to create a singular (albeit internally articulated) event.

6. Conclusions

→ Postpositional expressions and true circumpositions (i.e. *adposition₁ DP adposition₂*) are not productive in Afrikaans. By contrast, false circumpositions (i.e. *adposition DP V-particle*) are prolific the *BY DP V-particle*-type false circumposition serves as a “template” for circumpositional expressions in Std Afrikaans with identical doubling

→ Both true circumpositions (i.e. *adposition₁ DP adposition₂*) and false circumpositions (i.e. *adposition DP V-particle*) are derived from the same basic structure

→ V-particles are distinguished from adpositions by expressing the RES(ult) node from the verbal domain. This provides a mid-way between analysing V-particles as part of a small clause and analysing them as part of a complex predicate.

A general conclusion: Categorical distinctions between adpositions and V-particles should not be considered theoretical primitives. “Category effects” result from the nature of the nodes a P element spells out in a given expression.

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Appendix A: Crosslinguistic syncretism in the P domain

(A) *Swedish*

- (i) Jag gav brevet till honom.
I gave the.letter to him
“I gave the letter to him”
(adposition: recipient role)
- (ii) Vi åkte till Stockholm.
we went to Stockholm
“We went to Stockholm”
(adposition: directional; Andrason: 2015, PC)
- (iii) De bor i en liten lägenhet.
they live in a small apartment
“They live in a small apartment”
(adposition: locative)
- (iv) Vi hoppade i vattnet.
we jumped in the-water
“We jumped into the water”
(adposition: directional)
- (v) Vi hällde i lite mera mjölk.²³
we poured in a-little more milk
“We poured in a little more milk”
(V-particle; Svenonius 2003:344-345)

(B) *Russian*

- (a) Kniga byla v sumke.
book.NOM was in bag.PREP
“The book was in the bag”
(adposition: locative; Asbury et al. 2006:3-5)
- (b) Ona položila knigu v sumku.
she put.PST book.ACC in bag.ACC
“She put the book into the bag”
(adposition: directional; Asbury et al. 2006:3-5)
- (c) On v-lez v okno.
he in-climbed in window
“He climbed in the window”
(V-prefix; Svenonius 2004:214)²⁴

²³ According to Svenonius (2003), the locative preposition is systematically distinguished from the directional preposition by stress on the directional; the particle can be distinguished from the (locative) preposition by constituency tests, as shown in (i-ii) below; the particle can be distinguished from the (directional) preposition by incorporation under the passive, as shown in (iii-iv):

- (i) I en liten lägenhet bor de nuförtiden.
in a small apartment live they nowadays PREPOSITION
- (ii) *I lite mera mjölk hällde vi då.
in a.little more milk poured we then PARTICLE
- (iii) Mjölken blev ihälld.
the.milk was in.poured PARTICLE
- (iv) *Vattnet blev ihoppat.
the.water was in.jumped PREPOSITION

²⁴ Following the arguments of e.g. Svenonius (2004), Asbury et al. (2006), and Gehrke (2008), I assume that (a subcategory of) the Slavic V-prefixes are analogous to the Germanic V-particles.

Hungarian

- (C) (a) Csillá-nak adtam egy könyv-et.
Csilla-DAT gave.1SG a book-ACC
“I gave Csilla a book”
(case suffix: recipient role)²⁵
- (b) Nek-i -mentem a fal -nak.
DAT-3SG-went the wall-DAT
“I bumped into the wall”
(case suffix: directional; Gehrke 2008:39)
- (D) (a) Az asztal-ra ugrott -ál.
the table -onto jumped-2SG
“You jumped onto the table.”
(case suffix: directional)
- (b) Rá- ugrott -ál az asztal-ra.
onto.3SG jumped-2SG the table -onto
“You jumped onto the table”
(V-particle; Rákosi & Laczkó 2011:299-301)

Appendix B: More Afrikaans spatial expressions with identical doubling

Expressions such as (A-B) are the most common in Standard Afrikaans; (C) is colloquial and highly marked.

- (A) (a) Jan klim in die boom in
Jan climbs in the tree in
“Jan climbs into the trees”
- (b) Ek weet dat Jan in die boom (in) sal (in)klim
I know that Jan in the tree in will in-climb
“I know that Jan will climb into the tree”
PARTICLE
- (B) (a) Ons skop die honde uit die huis uit
we kick the dogs out the house out
“We are kicking the dogs out of the house”
- (b) Ek hoop dat hulle die honde uit die huis (uit) sal (uit)skop
I hope that they the dogs out the house out will out-kick
“I hope that they will kick the dogs out of the house”
PARTICLE
- (C) (a) Sê vir die kinders om af die bank af te klim
tell to the children OM down the couch down to climb
“Tell the children to climb off of the couch”
- (b) Ek hoop dat die kinders af die bank (?af) sal (af)klim
I hope that the children down the couch down will down-climb
“I hope the children will climb off of the couch”
PARTICLE

²⁵ In accordance with e.g. Asbury et al. (2006), Asbury (2008), Gehrke (2008), and Caha (2009), I assume that case affixes and adpositions expressing the same functions derive from the same underlying structure.