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Particles and prepositions

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Sumari

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Articles

- 7-21 **Bosque, Ignacio** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Departamento de Lengua Española)
 On disjunctive dependencies. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2010 vol. 9, pp. 7-21.

This paper argues that Spanish syntactic structures contain lexically selected null *wh*- disjunctive operators, and that a number of apparent subordinate declarative clauses turn out to be hidden indirect questions. It also argues that these operators appear in sentential adjuncts as well, giving rise to a variety of so-called *unconditional structures*. It is shown that disjunctive phrases in structures with selected and unselected null *wh*- operators are subject to similar locality conditions. In the final section, new arguments are presented in favour of analyzing disjunctive expressions as a variant of free-choice phrases in certain contexts.

Key words: disjunction, *wh*- operators, free-choice, unconditional structures, syntactic dependencies.

- 23-53 **Dikken, Marcel den** (CUNY Graduate Center)
 Directions from the GET-GO. On the syntax of manner-of-motion verbs in directional constructions. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2010 vol. 9, pp. 23-53.

Directional resultatives show puzzling syntactic restrictions. In Romance, broadly speaking, they do not occur at all with manner-of-motion verbs. In Dutch, directional resultatives with manner-of-motion verbs usually force postpositional order in the directional PP — but prepositional order is grammatical under circumstances that have so far defied a unified and insightful account. Focusing primarily on Dutch, this paper presents an analysis of directional resultative constructions and the syntactic representation of manner of motion which is centred around the following main claims: (a) directional resultative constructions with manner-of-motion verbs can in principle be built on either of two structures, one featuring the light verb GO and the other the light verb GET; (b) while both light verbs take a small-clausal complement, GET takes one that is headed by a particle; (c) the particle in GET-constructions can license a null directional P in the structure of directional PPs built on a non-inherently directional adposition, and deliver prepositional order; (d) the absence of a particle in GO-

constructions forces the null directional P in directional PPs built on non-inherently directional adpositions to either incorporate into GO or have the locative P embedded in its complement to raise up to it; (e) manner-of-motion verbs have a MANNER component adjoined to GO/GET; (f) P-incorporation into MANNER-modified GO/GET is inadmissible (due to a ban on multiple adjunction to the same head); (g) in GO+MANNER structures, a null directional P can hence be licensed only by having a locative P raise up to it; (h) raising of a locative P up to a directional P results in *postpositional* word order in Dutch, whereas the absence of raising of P_{Loc} up to P_{Dir} delivers *prepositional* surface order.

Key words: directional resultatives, manner-of-motion verbs, postpositions, Dutch.

- 55-77 **Fábregas, Antonio** (IS-Universitetet i Tromsø)
On Spanish Prepositional Prefixes and the Cartography of Prepositions.
Catalan Journal of Linguistics, 2010 vol. 9, pp. 55-77.

Despite its potential appeal, the possibility of analyzing prefixes as prepositions (and thus as syntactic objects) faces several problems related with selection, headedness and semantic isomorphism. In this article, I try to understand and solve these problems. I focus on prefixed nouns, and more specifically on the fact that some of them have their bases interpreted as grounds (*pre-coma*, 'something before a coma'), while others have them interpreted as figures (*pre-cognition*, 'cognition before something'). I will propose that in the structures where the base can be interpreted as figure or ground the prefix is a very low prepositional modifier of the noun and the two readings depend on the interpretation of a pronominal category introduced by the preposition. This configuration is forced by the absence of a functional category from the preposition's structure; when independent conditions force this functional category to be present, the figure reading is impossible and the prefix behaves as a preposition.

Key words: Prefix, preposition, figure and ground, selection, syntactic analysis of words.

- 79-102 **Gallego, Ángel J.** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Centre de Lingüística Teòrica)
On the prepositional nature of non-finite verbs. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2010 vol. 9, pp. 79-102.

This paper investigates the prepositional nature of non-finite verbal forms. Assuming well-known observations that relate the categories P and V on the one hand (see Chomsky 1970, 1981, Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000, Hale & Keyser 2002, and Svenonius 2003, 2007, 2008, among others), and P and C on the other (see den Besten 1983, Emonds 1985, Kayne 2000, and van Riemsdijk 1978) I argue that some non-finite verbs—in particular, past participles and gerunds—incorporate a preposition as a result of the interaction between the categories C and T, which can manifest itself as a species of P in non-finite contexts (see Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000, and Pesetsky &

Torrego 2004). This approach not only explains different syntactic facts concerning non-finite clauses, but also sheds some light on their interpretive intricacies.

Key words: category, infinitive, gerund, participle, preposition, Aux/T-to-C movement, verb.

103-123 **Pavón Lucero, María Victoria** (Universidad Carlos III. Departamento de Humanidades: Filosofía, Lenguaje y Literatura)

Why Are There No Locative Conjunctions in Spanish? *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2010 vol. 9, pp. 103-123.

The main purpose of this paper is to explore why there are no locative subordinating conjunctions in Spanish. As we will see, the absence of this type of conjunctions is due, on the one hand, to its lexical-grammatical properties and, on the other hand, to the semantic structure of locative expressions. Adverbial subordinating conjunctions share properties with both lexical and functional heads. They share with complementizers the requirement that they take an extended projection of the verb as their complement. At the same time, just like lexical categories such as prepositions, they have lexical content and are associated with an argument structure. In this sense, adverbial subordinating conjunctions can be seen like semantic functions which can express several types of relations and take events or states as their internal argument. However, the semantic structure of spatial expressions must contain a place function that takes as argument a conceptual constituent corresponding to the semantic category Thing. The reason for the non-existence of locative subordinating conjunctions is, then, the incompatibility between categorial and semantic requirements in their complement.

Key words: subordinating conjunctions, prepositions, complementizers, relative adverbs.

125-150 **Real Puigdollers, Cristina** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Centre de Lingüística Teòrica)

A microparametric approach on goal of motion constructions: properties of adpositional systems in Romance and Germanic. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2010 vol. 9, pp. 125-150.

This paper explores the idea that the properties of adpositional systems can suffice to explain Talmian distinction between satellite and verb framed languages. Following the insight that morphological simple prepositions in Romance languages are only locative, I propose that the functional domain of the directional/path preposition is defective and, hence, has to be licensed via incorporation to the (motion) verb. Prepositional incorporation, understood as head movement, prevents manner incorporation, as a particular case of Kayne's (1994) condition on adjunction. The paper offers an account for Talmian lexicalization patterns from a non lexicalist perspective, reducing typological differences

between languages to specific properties within the functional domain of lexical heads.

Key words: prepositions, satellite framed, verb framed, Romance languages, Germanic languages, lexicon

- 151-165 **Rigau, Gemma** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Centre de Lingüística Teòrica); **Suñs, Jordi** (Universitat de Lleida. Departament de Filologia Catalana i Comunicació)

Microvariation in Catalan and Occitan complementizers: the so-called expletive *se*. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2010 vol. 9, pp. 151-165.

The present paper offers further independent evidence for the functional projection INT(errogative) in the left periphery of the sentence (Rizzi 2001) that is needed for an adequate analysis of interrogative clauses in Catalan and Occitan Pyrenees dialects. Since they show a particle *se* preceding a *wh* phrase as an instance of the so called “doubly filled complementizer”, according to the central hypothesis of this paper, the INT head is required in order to properly accommodate this element.

Key words: complementizer, interrogative clauses, left periphery, Catalan, Occitan.

- 167-187 **Terzi, Arhonto** (Technological Educational Institute of Patras)

On null spatial PS and their arguments. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2010 vol. 9, pp. 167-187.

This paper investigates the phenomenon of null spatial Ps, focusing primarily on Greek where these are most widely attested. It is demonstrated that only locatives (of the type that do not denote containment), as well as directional goal Ps, are able to surface without phonetic content when their nominal arguments are determinerless.

It is suggested that the presence of null spatial Ps is contingent on nominals of special status, namely, on elements which, although similar in phonetic content to common nouns, are in fact closer to adverbials. In particular, it is suggested that the arguments of silent spatial Ps either instantiate or modify the silent noun PLACE. The latter raises to the specifier position the associated spatial P, with the consequence that P may appear without phonetic content – by virtue of the fact that its lexicalization requirements may (also) be satisfied in this manner.

Key words: null spatial Ps, place nouns, PLACE.

- 189-192 Resums