Going Romance XXXIV
Special session *Preposition-determiner interactions in Romance*

Special nouns or prepositional intruders?
Article-drop in Fodom locative PPs

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- Article-drop is only observed in PPs:

- One additional twist
  → complementary distribution
  between *n* "in" and definite articles:

(1) a. l   rucsòch   l   é   **davò   porta**
        the backpack =3Msg be.3 **behind door**
        "The backpack is behind the door"
     b. **nte almièrch** de mia ciauna è   bele   cialé
         in closet   of my room have.1sg already watch.PTCP
        "I have already checked in my bedroom closet"

(2)   ten   ju   *(la) testa
        keep.IMP.2sg down *(the) head
        Keep your head down!

(3) a. l   é   su **n (*l)**   tët
        =3p.sg. be.3p. on **in (*the)** roof.M.sg.
        "He/It is on the roof"
     b. l   é   su **(*n) l**   ultimo tët
        =3p.sg. be.3p. on **(*in) the** last   roof
        "He is on the last roof"

Q1   Is Fodom article-drop a productive (morphosyntactic) phenomenon?

Q2   How is the noun interpreted in article-drop contexts?

Q3   What licenses absence of an overt determiner? Is it properties of P, D, N, or a combination thereof?

Q4   How does the complementary distribution between *n* "in" and definite articles fit in the landscape of P-D interactions ?

- Presentation of the data

- Summary of the explananda / analytical issues

- Analysis of article-drop

- Issues in the analysis of n

- Open questions

- Fodom is part of the Ladin area

- Data from three written questionnaires

Three arguments:

1   Article-drop is attested with all kinds of PP constructions

2   Multiple P-N combinations

3   Article-drop is possible with virtually all Ps, but only with a specific set of nouns

- Simple prepositional PPs:

(4) a. l rucsòch l é **davò porta**
         the backpack =3Msg be.3 **behind door**
         "The backpack is behind the door"
     b. nos son bele chilò **nte boteiga**
        we be.1pl already here **in shop**
        "We're already here in/at the shop"

- Circumpositional PP:

(5) l cián l dormiva **sot taula ite**
     the dog =3Msg sleep.IMPF.3 **under table inside**
     "The dog was sleeping under the table"

- Complex prepositions ('particle' + *n* "in"):

(6) daideme a destrè la tovaia **sun taula**
     help.IMP.2sg=1sg. to spread the tablecloth **on.in table**
     "Help me spread the tablecloth on the table"

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- Same noun, multiple Ps:

  ex. 1 *pòrta* "door"→   *davò pòrta* "behind the door", *prò pòrta* "near/at the door", *davánt pòrta* "in front of the door", etc.

  ex. 2 *taula* "table"→   *sun taula* "on the table", *ntourn taula* "around the table", *soura taula* "over the table", etc.

- Same P, multiple nouns:

  ex 1 *davò* "behind"→   *davò ciampanìl* "behind the belltower", *davò usc* "behind the door", *davò pòrta* "behind the door", etc.

  ex 2 *davánt* "before"→ *davánt viere de ciesadafuoch* "in front of the kitchen window", *davánt gliejia* "in front of the church", *davánt pòrta* "in front of the door", etc.

- *nte* "in", *davánt* "before/in front of", *davò* "behind", *ntourn* "around", *prò* "close to", *sot* "under", *soura* "over", *sot...ite* "under", *soura...via* "over/across", *sun* "on", etc.

- Shared (pragmatic) property → the referent is a prototypical part of a place/location:

- domestic space: e.g. *porta/usc* "door", *tët* "roof", *let* "bed", *almièrch* "wardrobe", *taula* "table", *fuoch/fornèl* "stove", *vière* "window", etc.
- outdoor space: e.g. *plaza* "square", *cèsa* "house", *gliejia* "church", *scòla* "school", *boteiga* "shop", *strada* "road", *bòsch* "wood", etc.

- Impossible with animate referents:
  - (7) a. l s a ndormenzé **soura *(l) cián**
       =3Msg =3.REFL have.3 get.asleep.PTCP **over *(the) dog**
       "Last night he fell asleep over the dog"
  - b. l Luca l é chël **davánt a *(l) preve**
       the Luca =3Msg be.3 that **before to *(the) priest**
       "Luca is that one in front of the priest"
  - c. l é **davò *(l) Marco**
       =3Msg be.3 **behind *(the) Marco**
       "He/it is behind Marco"

- BUT impossible also with e.g. *bar* "bar", *altalena* "swing"
  → what is relevant is the morphosyntactic properties these nouns share

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- Definite reading
(uniqueness/inclusiveness, cf. e.g. Lyons 1999)

- Possible pronominal resumption:

  (8)   chi élo   che l   a   metù   i   ciauzèi **sun let**? **L**   é   dut paz!
          who be.3=3sg that =3sg have.3 put.PTCP the shoe.pl **on.in bed =3sg** be.3 all dirty
          "Who put the shoes on the bed? It's all dirty!"

- PPs with article-drop are accepted/produced by informants as translations of Italian expressions that are only felicitous under a definite reading, e.g.:

  (9)   l   é   senté   **davánt viere   de cesadafuoch**
          =3Msg be.3 sit.PTCP **before window of kitchen**
          "He's sitting in front of the kitchen window"

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- ▪ 'Generic' reading

- Possible sloppy identification under ellipsis (cf. also Carlson & Sussmann 2005) e.g.:

    (10)   l Carlo   l   a   desmentié l   rucsòch   **davò   porta de ciauna**, e   la Martina ence
            the Carlo =3sg have.3 forgotten   the backpack **behind door of room**   and the Martina too
            "Carlo forgot his backpack behind the bedroom door, and Martina did too" → OK as different doors

- Possible number neutrality:

    (11)   co   l   a   scomencé l   temporal sonva   duc **nte let**
            when =3Msg have.3 begun   the storm   be.IMPF.1pl all.pl **in bed**
            "When the storm began we were all in bed"

- Cf. Longobardi's (2005, 2008) generalization for Romance:

  Gen.)   D ↔ 'denotation' ('reference' or 'quantification')
  → Interpretive properties above are not expected under a 'bare NP' analysis

- Hypothesis: a D-layer is active even in absence of an overt determiner

  ▫ Definite reading → uniqueness-based/inclusive definiteness at the D-level
  ▫ 'Generic' reading → weak definiteness (Carlson & Sussmann 2005, Aguilar-Guevara et al. 2014)
                              → kind-reference (?) (cf. Carlson 1977, Krifka et al. 1995, Aguilar-Guevara & Zwarts 2011)

- Schwarz (2014): languages encode inclusive definites and weak definites with the same morphological means

Is it properties of P, D, N, or a combination thereof?

Two observations:

1   Article-drop is possible with virtually all Ps, but only with a specific set of nouns (cf. above)

2   Article-drop is only possible with singular nouns, either non-modified or with a PP argument

→   impossible with plural nouns OR with noun modified by Numerals, pre-/post-nominal Adjs, RCs, non argumental PPs

Either
- Non-modified:
(12) a. l   rucksëck l   é **davò   porta**
   the backpack =3Msg be.3 **behind door**
   "The backpack is behind the door"
   b. l   é   na sié   **ntourn   cèsa**
    =3Fsg be.3 a   hedge **around home**
   "There's a hedge around (our/the) house"

Or
- With a PP argument:
(13) a. è   ciapé   chëst **sun   taula de cujina**
   have.1sg found.PTCP this   **on.in table of kitchen**
   "I found THIS on the kitchen table"
   b. **nte almìerch   de mia ciauna** è   bele   cialé
    in wardrobe of my   room   have.1sg already watch.PTCP
   "I've already checked in my bedroom closet"

- Plural nouns

(14) l é meio no se senté **davò *(le) porte**
=3Msg be.3 better not =3REFL sit.INF **behind *(the) doors**
"It's better not to sit behind (the) doors"

- Noun + Numeral

(15) l é tropa mufa **davò *(le) doi almierch**
=3Msg be.3 much mold **behind *(the) two wardrobes**
"There's a lot of mold behind the two wardrobes"

- Noun + pre-/post-nominal Adjs

(16) a. l é na cariega **davánt *(l) ultima porta**
=3Msg be.3 a chair **before *(the) last door**
"There's a chair in front of the last door [e.g. in a corridor]"
b. l rucsòch l é **davò *(la) porta rossa**
the backpack =3Msg be.3 **behind *(the) door red**
"The backpack is behind the red door"

- Noun + RCs

  (17) l   cián l   dorm   dagnëra **sot   *(la)   taula** che n   ei   scinché
        the dog =3Msg sleep.3 always   under *(the) table that =1pl have.2pl given
        "The dog always sleeps under the table you gave us"

- Noun + non argumental PPs (18) i   piac   i   é   **su *(la)   taola** coi   piesc de fiern
        the dishes =3Mpl be.3 **on *(the) table** with.the feet of iron
        "The dishes are on the table with iron legs"

To sum up:

1   Bare nouns in Fodom PPs are ambiguous between a definite and a 'generic' reading
→   Active D layer even in absence of an overt determiner
→   Q3) What licenses absence of an overt determiner? Is it properties of P, D, N, or a combination thereof?

2   Article-drop in Fodom PPs is productive, but only possible with a specific set of nouns
→   Morphosyntactic regularity tied to lexical properties of the relevant nouns

3   Article-drop is blocked by plural Number and nominal modifiers, except PP arguments
→   Why?
→   How does this connect to Q3?

Hypotheses:

- Article-drop contexts in Fodom involve DPs, not bare NPs
→ This naturally accommodates the interpretive properties within a fairly standard view of Romance DP
 (cf. e.g. Lyons 1999, Longobardi 1996, 2005, 2008)

- Absence of an overt determiner is licensed by the noun via phrasal Spell-out
→ The lexical restrictions individuated (cf. above) are straightforwardly captured
  (cf. Starke 2009, Caha 2009, Pantcheva 2011, Baunaz et al. 2018, etc.)

- Due to the Spell-out properties of the relevant nouns, this option is structurally restricted
→ Bare complements are 'slim' DPs, i.e. lack marked values for Number/active functional projections hosting modifiers

A possible answer:

- Kayne (2005), Cinque (2006): even languages without overt classifiers have nouns that show classifier-like properties
  e.g. nouns indicating measures of time:

  (19)   Tre (*bellissimi) anni fa ero a Londra
           three (beautiful) years ago I.was in London

- The structure of (locative) PPs requires an element performing the shift to the 'sort of objects' to the 'sort of locations' (cf. Svenonius 2012)

- In the construction at hand, this might be identified with PLACE acting as a sortal classifier/ontological category (the other available option being K(P), cf. e.g. Svenonius 2012)
  (cf. Cinque 2010; Svenonius 2007, Baunaz & Lander 2018)

- Structure for *davò pòrta* "behind the door":
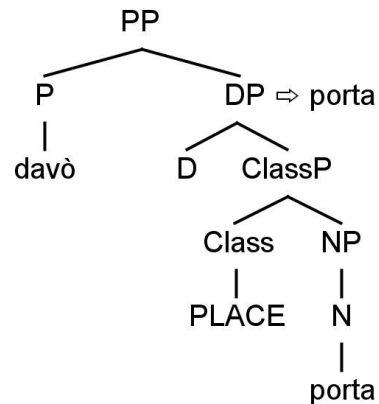
Potential support:

- (if *a* "to" is interpreted as realization of K):

(20)   l   é   senté   **davánt**^{??/*}**(a) viere**   de cesadafuoch
       =3Msg be.3 sit.PTCP **before   to window** of kitchen
       "He's sitting in front of the kitchen window"

- Temporal PPs with prototypical moments of the day:

(21)   davánt marëna / scòla   / mëssa
       before meal   / school / Mass

```
                PP
              /     \
           P          DP ⇨ porta
           |         /    \
         davò       D    ClassP
                        /     \
                    Class      NP
                      |         |
                    PLACE       N
                                |
                              porta
```

- Modification within DP is mediated by functional structure
  (cf. e.g. Cinque 1994, 2005, 2010, Alexiadou et al. 2008, Svenonius 2007, etc.)
→ If argumental PPs are merged within NP, then they do not require such additional structure
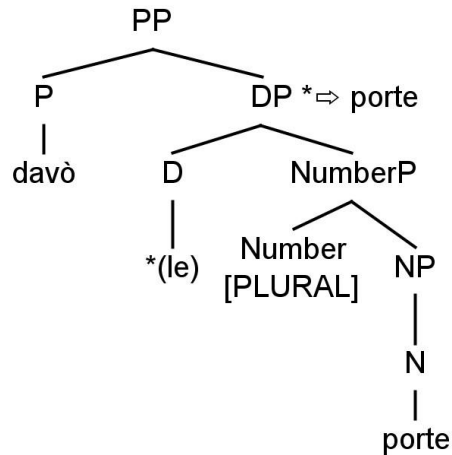
- General distinction between 'default' and 'marked' values for each morphosyntactic category
  (cf. e.g. Cinque 1999)
→ More or less marked values → more or less articulated structural representations (bundles, hierarchies, etc.)

- Singular is the default value for Number + lack of modification is the default option
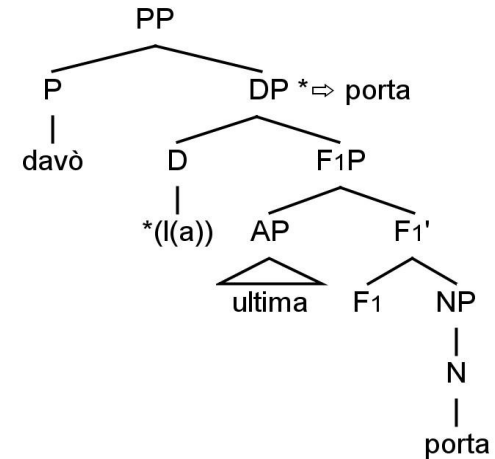→ A singular non-modified noun heads a 'slim DP'

Intervening nodes block Spell-out of D on the part of the N
→ article-drop is impossible

ex.1)   Plural Number:

```
            PP
          /    \
         P      DP *⇨ porte
         |     /    \
       davò   D      NumberP
              |      /    \
            *(le)  Number   NP
                  [PLURAL]   |
                            N
                            |
                          porte
```

ex.2)   Prenominal(/direct-modification) adjective:

```
            PP
          /    \
         P      DP *⇨ porta
         |     /    \
       davò   D      F₁P
              |     /    \
            *(l(a)) AP    F₁'
                   / \    /  \
                 ultima F₁   NP
                             |
                             N
                             |
                           porta
```
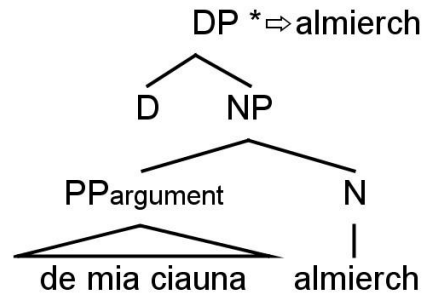
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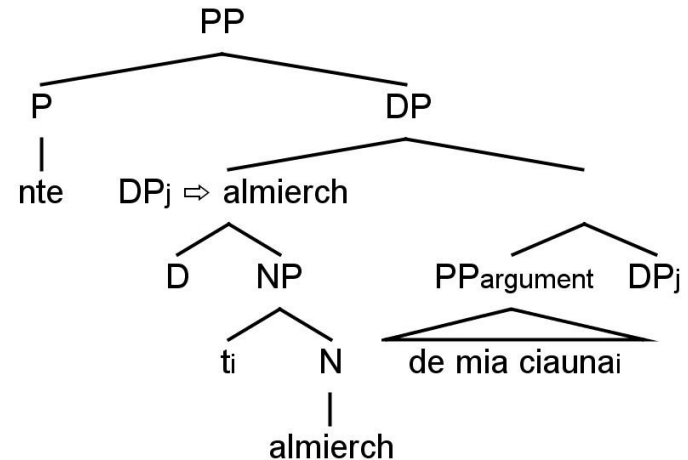PP arguments do not require additional functional structure + extraposition of the arguments
(cf. e.g. Cinque 2005, Caha 2018)
→ article-drop is possible, e.g. *nte almièrch de mia ciauna* "in my bedroom closet"

- Base stucture:

- Derived structure (extraposition + roll-up):

- Why not an empty D°e licensed by P?
→ What would distinguish our case from regular bare mass/plurals? (cf. e.g. Longobardi 2005, 2008)
→ Why is article-drop only observed with some nouns, and not others?
→ Why would the presence or absence of certain nominal modifiers be relevant?

- Why not N-to-D /NP-to-SpecDP?
→ Why do plural Number and almost all modifiers have a blocking effect?
→ No such systematic interaction is found in other proposed instances:
  (cf. e.g. Longobardi 1994 and ff., and Cinque 2004, respectively)

(22) a. **la**   mia vecchia **casa** è lì
          the my old   home is there
      b. **casa** mia vecchia è lì
          home my old   is there
      "My old house is there"

- Incompatibility between *n* "in" and definite articles:

(23)   a. l   é   **su n (*l)   tët**
           =3p.sg. be.3p. **on in (*the) roof.M.sg.**
           "He/It is on the roof"
       b. l   é   **su (*n) l   ultimo tët**
           =3p.sg. be.3p. **on (*in) the last   roof**
           "He is on the last roof"

- Incompatibility is specific
→ *n* is fine with all other determiners:
(indefinite article, demonstratives, quantifiers (24a,b,c),
possessives, etc.))

(24)   a. l   ucel l   é   jù   **sun en ram**
           the bird =3sg be.3 gone **on.in a   branch**
           "The bird flew on a branch"
       b. l   ciapa tres fonc   **sun sto teriol**
           =3Msg get.3 always mushrooms on.in this path
           "He always finds mushrooms on this path"
       c. **sun troc   tëc**   l   é   ncora la nei
           on.in many.pl roof.pl =3sg be.3 still   the snow
           "There's still snow on many rooves"

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Morphophonology may not be enough

- *n* cannot be analyzed as an 'inflected preposition' (25a) (cf. Cabredo Hofherr 2012 on French)

- article-drop is an independent phenomenon

- *n l* is not an illicit phonological sequence (25b)

- *n* is dropped regardless of the form of the article (25c)

- *n* is not otherwise incompatible with clitic elements (cf. 25 d,e)

(23) a. l   é   **su n (*l)   tët**
         =3p.sg. be.3p. **on in (*the) roof.M.sg.**
         "He/It is on the roof"
      b. l   é   **su (*n) l   ultimo tët**
         =3p.sg. be.3p. **on (*in) the last   roof**
         "He is on the last roof"

(25) a. l   rua   **su (*n) l   ram**
         =3p.sg. arrive.3 **on (*in) the branch**
         "It arrives on the branch"
      b. l   é   **sun let**
         =3Msg be.3 **on.in bed**
         "It's on the bed"
      c. i   è   metus **su(*n) i doi lec**
         =3Mpl have.1sg put.pl **on(*in) the two beds**
         "I left them on the two beds"
      d. l   ciapa tres   fonc   **sun sto teriol**
         =3Msg get.3 always mushrooms **on.in this path**
         "He always finds mushrooms on this path"
      e. l   ucel l   é   jù   **sun en ram**
         the bird =3sg be.3 gone **on.in a   branch**
         "The bird flew on a branch"

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BUT a structural account is far from trivial

- What accounts for radical semantic bleaching of *n*?
  → (26a,b) encode the same locative meaning, regardless of(*n*)

(26) a. l   é   **su n (*l)   tët**
         =3p.sg. be.3p. **on in (*the) roof.M.sg**.
         "He/It is on the roof"
      b. l   é   **su (*n) l   ultimo tët**
         =3p.sg. be.3p. **on (*in) the last   roof**
         "He is on the last roof"

- Sensitivity to fine properties of the complement of *n* + semantic bleaching are difficult to capture in terms of selectional restrictions

- Hyp.: *n* can also spell out high nodes of the nominal domain
  different structural status/featural specification → no interaction with other determiners
- BUT What would be the specific features at play?

- Bare nouns in Fodom PPs are ambiguous between a definite and a 'generic' reading
  → Article-drop contexts in Fodom involve DPs, not bare NPs

- Article-drop in Fodom PPs is productive, but only possible with a specific set of nouns
  → The absence of an overt determiner is licensed by the head noun via phrasal Spell-out
  → Nouns licensing article-drop spell out a PLACE element as well

- Article-drop is blocked by plural Number and nominal modifiers, except PP arguments
  → Spell-out properties of the N + general characteristics of the structure of Romance DPs

- Internal properties of the nominal complement are central for this case of P-D interaction

- The idiosyncratic distribution of *n* remains a problematic case and is a potential addition to the typology of P-D interactions

- How does the derivation of Fodom article-drop relate to architectural properties of the PP(cf. above)?

- Can the Fodom case be connected to phenomena like 'bare PPs', article-drop in Eastern Romance , P-drop (e.g. NIDs, Greek)?

- Does the distribution of n in Fodom have potential counterparts within or outside Romance?

Thank you!

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