

## Locative Prepositions as modifiers of an empty noun

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In this work I provide an analysis of Locative P(reposition)s, at least for languages such as Greek and Spanish, according to which they are the modifiers of a non-phonologically realized noun, similar in distribution to adjectives. Taking into account theories of lexical categories which consider adjectives to be essentially like adverbs, my analysis has the surprising consequence of agreeing with traditional grammar, which considers locatives to be adverbs when without a complement. I show that this coincidence is misleading, and demonstrate that locatives always have a syntactic object.

**The Locative Ps** Locative Ps pose problems for a unified theory of prepositions across the lexical vs. functional dimension and are primarily those which prevent considering all Ps as functional (van Riemsdijk 1990, 1998, den Dikken 2003, a.o.). They have also been considered nominals, with the details of their nominal nature often left unclear or questioned. An overt nominal trait of Greek locatives is the genitive Case of their complement (possible only as a clitic), (1), genitive being the Case of complements of nouns in the language (by contrast to the accusative complements of other Ps).

- (1) a. Piso tis. b. Epano tu.  
behind she-cl-gen 'Behind her.' on he-cl-gen 'On him.'

Careful study of the above Ps reveals more properties reminiscent of the DP domain, albeit not of nouns, but of adjectives: a) in both, locatives, (2a), and nouns modified by adjectives, (2b), a (genitive) clitic complement is possible, but not the corresponding full DP:

- (2) a. Piso tis/\*tis Marias. b. To megalo tu/\*tu Petru vivlio.  
'Behind her/Mary.' 'His/Peter's big book.'

b) genitive full DPs were possible in earlier stages of Greek but ceased to exist at similar times (between 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries) in both domains, c) the genitive clitic that follows the adjective in the DP, (2b), is associated with animacy restrictions (Alexiadou & Stavrou 2000), and the same holds for clitic complements of locatives (Terzi 2005).

**The proposal** The above properties of Greek locatives are captured by proposing that they are the modifiers of a non-phonologically realized noun, *Place*, whose possessor is the complement of P. I represent the possession relationship via a small clause below (den Dikken 1998) and consider the DP that contains *Place* to be embedded in a locative P head, thus, accounting for the modification of locatives by both, adverbs and degree expressions (such as 'right').

- (4) ... [PPLoc [PLoc  $\emptyset$  [SC [DP  $\emptyset$  [XP piso [ti<sub>i</sub> [X [NP *Place*]]]] [PP  $\emptyset$  [DP e<sub>i</sub> ]]]]

The Spanish counterpart elements have been studied in detail by Plann (1985) and Campos (1991), who call them *substantives* and conclude that they manifest behavior of nouns and adjectives simultaneously, hence, they are [+N] *neutralized categories*. Reexamining their arguments, I demonstrate that they are not convincing with respect to the noun status of substantives, while the adjectival properties ascribed to them remain valid. Therefore, Spanish elements, such as *detrás*, *lejos*, *encima*, etc. can also be accounted for by the structure in (4) (leaving aside the reverse order of noun/adjective in Spanish). By considering Spanish substantives the modifiers of an (empty) noun *Place* we can dispense with the categorial feature, [+N], in the spirit of Chomsky 2001, and the obscure notion of neutralized categories as well.

**The 'adverbs'** Greek and Spanish locatives may also be encountered without a complement:

- (5) a. Vive cerca de la Universidad?/Meni konda sto Panepistimio? 'Does she live near the Univers.?'  
b. Sí, vive cerca./Ne, meni konda? 'Yes, she lives near.'

Traditional grammarians consider such locatives to be adverbs (Tzartanos 1945 for Greek, Bello 1847, Ramsey 1956 for Spanish), an intuition that gains plausibility if we consider locatives to be like adjectives (current proposal) and adjectives to be like adverbs (Radford 1988, Baker 2003). Such an idea, even if drawing on properties of circumstantial adverbs in particular (Parsons 1990) is not viable however. This is because locatives without a complement turn out to have a (silent) syntactic object, as I demonstrate by looking at contexts of ellipsis:

- (6) I Maria stathike brosta stin karekla tis ke o Petros piso.  
the Mary stood in-front of her chair and the Peter behind (his/her chair).

The second conjunct in (6) can have a sloppy reading, an indication that there is a copy (with internal structure) in the object position, just like with VP-ellipsis.