Pronominal Adverbs in English

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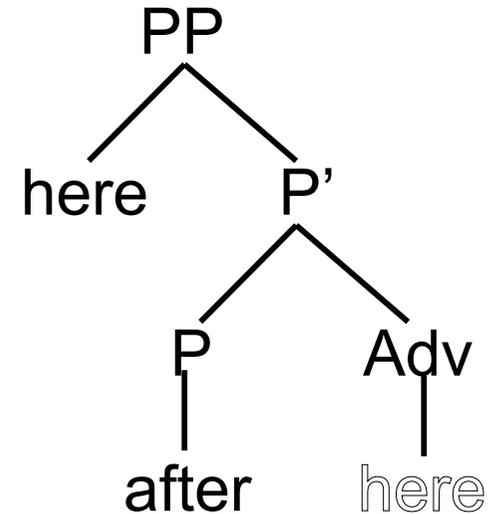toki@sapporo-u.ac.jp
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Abstract

◆ Aspects of pronominal adverbs in English such as *hereafter, therein* and *whereby*

◆ Morpho-syntax

◆ Phonology

◆ History

◆ Typology

◆ Pronominal adverbs are derived from prepositional phrases by movement of adverbs to the specifier position of the head preposition.

◆ Complement-movement is triggered by Compact PF on the condition that the derived compound has the unmarked stress pattern in the language.

◆ Theoretical implications for the head parameter

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           PP
          /  \
      here    P'
             /  \
            P    Adv
            |     |
          after  here
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1. Aspects of Pronominal Adverbs
1.1 Morpho-syntax: compounding and order

◆ Pronominal adverbs: compound words consisting of two morphemes (*here* + *after*),

◆ whose order are the reverse of the corresponding prepositional phrase.

(1) a. [$_{PP}$ after here] → hereafter

b. [$_{PP}$ in there] → therein

c. [$_{PP}$ by where] → whereby

1.2 Phonology: Stress on preposition

- Most pronominal adverbs have the main stress on the preposition:
  penultimate (2a) or
  ultimate stress (2b) and (2c).

(2) a. after hére → hereáfter
     b. in thére → thereín (cf. for thére → thérefore)
     c. by whére → wherebý

- These stress patterns match the unmarked stress location in English, i.e. <u>right-oriented stress</u>:
  antepenult, penult or ultimate
            (cf. Goedemans and van der Hulst 2005)

1.3 History

- *here-/there-* forms first appeared before the 12th century.
  heræfter (c900), *ðærin* (a1000)
- *where-* forms first appeared in the 13th century.
  walbi (c1200)
- They often appeared in poetry.
- Words were sometimes separated by a space/hypen
  her after (a1225), *þare in* (a 1300), *where-by* (1377)
- *here-/there-/where-*: adverb or pronoun?
- Parts of speech in OE and ME were not as clear-cut as those in present-day English.

1.4 Typology

- Pronominal adverbs are common in Germanic languages such as German and Dutch, but not in Romance languages.

(3) a. *damit* ← *mit da-* 'with it' [German]

b. *daarmee* ← *met daar-* 'with that' [Dutch]

(4) a. *ci-après* 'below' ← *après ci-* 'after here' [French]

ci-dessous 'above' ← *dessous ci-* 'over here'
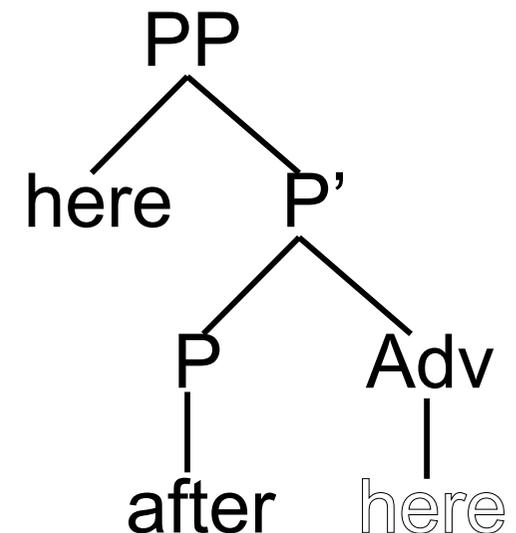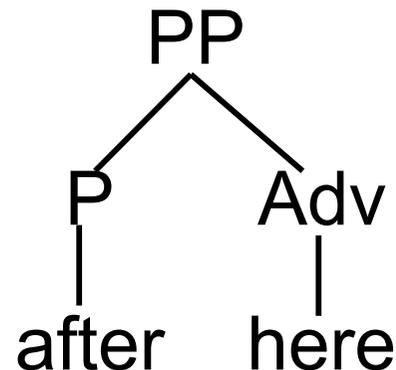
b. *qua sopra* ← *sopra qua* 'over here' [Italian]

2. Deriving Pronominal Adverbs from PP
2.1 Movement of complement

- Pronominal adverbs are derived from prepositional phrases by movement of adverbs to the specifier position of the head preposition.
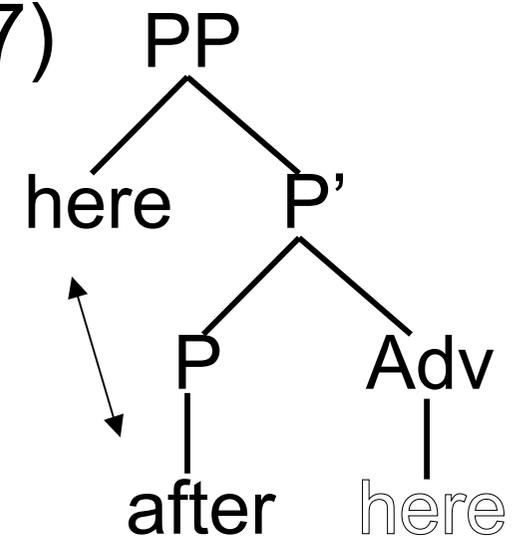
(5) a. [$_{PP}$ after here]

  b. [$_{PP}$ here [$_{P'}$ after *here*]]

2.2 Why do complements move to Spec?

- Checking of c-selectional features (c-checking):
A selectional feature of a head Y selecting a complement XP may be checked by
a. movement of the X feature to Y^0
b. head movement of X^0 to Y^0
c. movement of XP to the Spec of YP
(Julien 2002, cf. Holmberg 2000: 137)

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          PP
         /  \
      here    P'
             /  \
            P    Adv
            |     |
         after  here
```

2.3 Why is the movement overt?

- <u>Compact PF</u>:
  PF representation should have compounds rather than phrases.
- Complements overtly move to the spec in order to make compounds.

(6) a. [$_{PP}$ after here]

b. [$_{PP}$ here [$_{P'}$ after here]] Spell-Out: PF compact

c. [$_{PP}$ here [$_{P'}$ after here]] LF

(7) a. [$_{PP}$ after here]

b. [$_{PP}$ [$_{P'}$ after here]]   Spell-Out: PF non-compact

c. [$_{PP}$ here [$_{P'}$ after here]] LF

2.4 How is the movement constrained?

- <u>Stress Constraint</u>: overt complement-movement is possible only if the derived compound observes the unmarked word-stress location in the language.
- English: right-oriented stress (antepen, pen or ult)

(8) a. after hére → hereáfter

    b. in thére → thereín (cf. for thére → thérefore)

    c. by whére → wherebý

(9) a. [$_{PP}$ after [$_{DP}$ the párty]]

    b. *[$_{PP}$ [$_{DP}$ the párty] [$_{P'}$ after [$_{DP}$ the party]]

    c. * the-párty-after (*right-oriented stress)

- The main stress falls on the most deeply embedded element (cf. Cinque 1993).

2.5 Why do pronouns stay in the base position?

(10) a. áfter it (→ *it áfter)

    b. ín it (→ *it ín)

    c. bý it (→ *it by)

(11) a. áfter it → áfter-it

    b. ín it → ín-it

    c. bý it → bý-it

- Pronouns stay in the base position
  and encliticize to the preposition to make
  phonological compounds (Compact PF),
  which observe the right-oriented stress in English.

2.6 How are adverbs different from pronouns?

(12) a. áfter it → áfter-it [enclitic]

b. áfter it → *it áfter [*movement]

(13) a. after hére → *after-hére [*enclitic]

b. after hére → hereáfter [movement]

- Cliticization is possible only if the word to be cliticized has no stress (e.g. wé ʼd → wéʼd).

- Adverbs have stress: /híə/

- Pronouns may have no stress: /ɪt, ít/

2.7 Why does the movement make compounds?

(14) [$_{PP}$ here [$_{P'}$ after here]] -> [$_{PP}$ here after]
    The silent copy of *here* and P' are invisible at PF.

(15) [$_{PP}$ [$_{DP}$ the party] [$_{P'}$ after [$_{DP}$ the party]]] ->
  *[$_{PP}$ [$_{DP}$ the party] after]

- The PP in (10) and (11) are (potentially) left-branching at PF.
- Constituents in left-branching structure are more closely connected to each other than constituents in right-branching structure (cf. Wagner 2005, Booij 2009, Tokizaki and Kuwana 2009).
- Complement-movement works as compounding.
- Word-stress Constraint applies to compounds.

2.8 Junctual asymmetry: [$_{XP}$ X YP]/[$_X$ YP-X]

- Sequential Voicing in Japanese (Tokizaki 2008)
  [*nise* [*t̲anuki jiru*]] vs. [[*nise danuki*] *j̲iru*]
  mock-badger soup   mock-badger soup
- Similar blocking in Korean *n*-Insertion (Han 1994)
- Interfixation in Dutch three-word compounds (Krott et al. 2004)
- Suffixes attach to stems more closely than prefixes (Hyman 2008)
- Phrasing in German VP: (V)(O)/(OV) (Wagner 2005)
- Quasi-Incorporation in Dutch OV (Booij 2009)
- OV languages tend to be agglutinative (Lehmann 1973, Plank 1998, cf. Kayne 1994)

3. Consequences: Pronoun-V/V-Pronoun

- Pronominal Clitic in Bantu and Romance

(16) Prn-V-DP: Swahili

   a. *nili-ki-tafuta* (Prn-V)

   I-Past-it-look 'I looked for it.'

   b. *nilitafuta   kis*u (V-DP)

   I-Past-look knife 'I looked for a knife.'

(17) a. *Je le regarde* 'I watch it.'

   b*. Je l'ai regardé* 'I watched it.'

- Pronominals may appear in pre-P/V position in head initial languages. (cf. Righthand Head Rule)

- Reconsidering the head-parameter

4. Conclusion

- The nature of pronominal adverbs in English is naturally explained by

- complement-movement,

- Compact PF and

- word-stress location.

- This study sheds light on the relation between morpho-syntax and phonology.

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