

The Structure of Multiple Complements to V

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1. Introduction

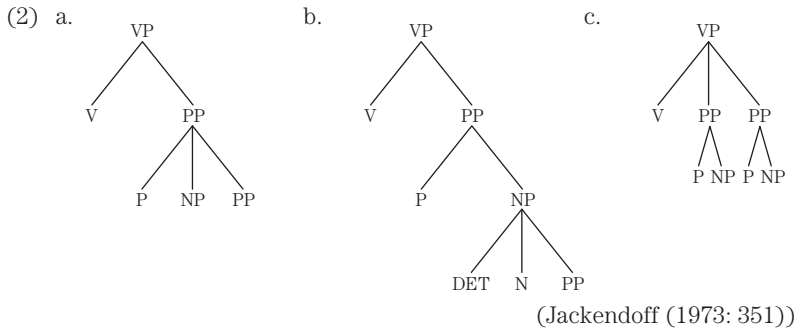
I have recently been concerned with the syntactic and semantic behavior of two PPs in English. In this paper, I will examine the structure of multiple complements to V with reference to so called stylistic inversion (SI) constructions discussed in Rochemont and Culicover (1990) (henceforth, R&C (1990)).¹ Based on the analysis below, I will propose that the acceptability of SI constructions depends on the interpretation in conceptual structure.

2. Two PPs in English: Previous Analyses

2.1. Jackendoff (1973)

Jackendoff (1973), citing the sentences in (1), argues that there are three possible structures which correspond to them, as illustrated in (2).

- (1) a. A Martian grzch lumbered down the street toward the frightened garbage collector.
b. They went to the house in the woods.
c. Harpo paraded down the aisle with Margaret Dumont.



Jackendoff presents the following examples to show that (1a) and (1c) correspond to (2a) and (2c), respectively.

- (3) a. Down the street toward the frightened garbage collector lumbered a Martian grzch.
 b. Down the aisle paraded Harpo with Margaret Dumont.
 c. ?*Down the aisle with Margaret Dumont paraded Harpo.

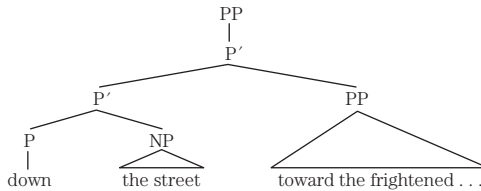
(*ibid.*; 351-352)

Sentence (3a) indicates that both of the two PPs *down the street* and *toward the frightened garbage collector* behave as a single constituent. On the other hand, (3c) indicates that the two PPs in (1c) do not form a constituent. Based on this observation, Jackendoff (1973: 353) claims that “there are single PPs of the form P-NP-PP.”

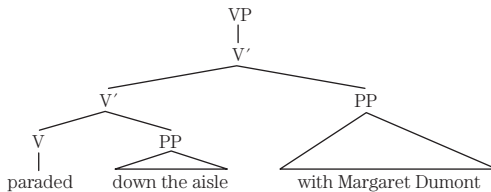
2.2. Maruta (2001)

As to the sentences in (1), Maruta (2001) argues that (1a) and (1b) are assigned structures (4a) and (4b) respectively within the framework of X' theory.

- (4) a.



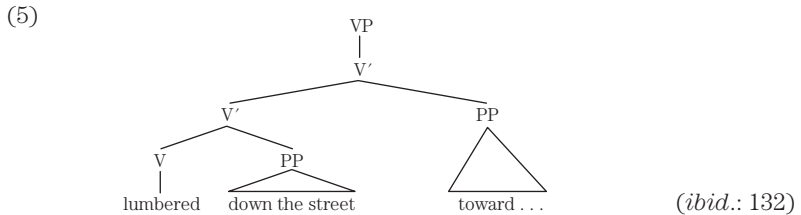
- b.



(Maruta (2001: 130-131))

He observes that (4a) demonstrates that in the case of locative inversion, it is necessary to move the uppermost PP, but that (4b) indicates that the second PP is a concomitance and the two PPs do not form a constituent.

Maruta, following Jackendoff (1973), says that (1a) has another structure in which the second PP behaves as an adjunct, as shown in (5).



The acceptability of the sentences in (6) reflects the appropriateness of structure (5).

- (6) a. Down the street lumbered a Martian grzch toward the frightened garbage collector.
 b. A fearsome grzch lumbered down the street noisily(,) toward the frightened garbage collector. (Jackendoff (1973: 352))

(6b) indicates that a manner adverb can be interposed between the two PPs because, as (5) shows, they do not form a constituent. It may be possible to say that there is no continuity between the two PPs in (5). It seems that the difference in structure between (4a) and (5) derives from the different spatial representations. I assume that spatial representations are interpreted in conceptual structure. For relevant discussion, see Yoneyama (2001).

2.3. Rochemont and Culicover (1990)

R&C (1990) discuss Directional and Locative (D/L) Inversion constructions like that in (7).² They claim that the multiple constituents in VP behave like a single constituent.

- (7) Down the stairs into the kitchen walked Mary. (R&C (1990: 82))

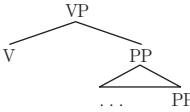
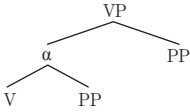
The following examples indicate that the two PPs in (7) are the constituents of VP.

- (8) a. Walking down the stairs into the kitchen was Mary.
 b. ... and walk down the stairs into the kitchen she did. (*ibid.*)

They also examine sentence (9). They assume that (9) is ambiguous and that the two readings can be represented as in (10).

- (9) Several guards ran into the room behind her.
 (10) a. Several guards ran into the room that was behind her.
 b. Several guards ran into the room following her. (*ibid.*)

(10a) and (10b) are assigned structures (11a) and (11b), respectively.

- (11) a.  b.  (*ibid.*)

R & C (1990) observe that the topicalized example (12) is also ambiguous between the two readings of (10).

- (12) Into the room behind her ran several guards. (*ibid.*: 83)

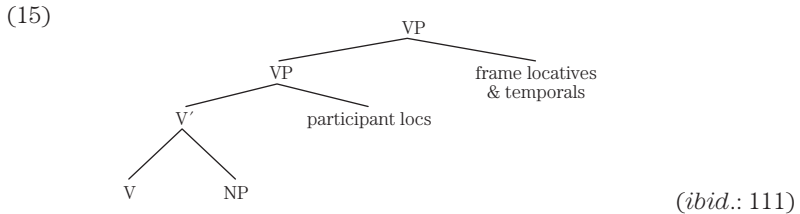
This shows that the multiple constituents in VP under the reading of (10b) behave as a single constituent.

2.4. Klipple (1991)

Klipple divides PPs into two types: participant locatives (internal elements) and frame locatives (external elements). Consider the following examples.

- (13) a. *John went to school and Bill did so to work.
 b. John ate along the river and Bill did so along the canal.
- (14) a. *What Tom did to the store was walk.
 b. ?What Bill did along the river was walk. (Klipple (1990: 50-53))

Klipple claims that (13) and (14) indicate that either *to school* or *to the store* is considered part of thematic structure. Within her framework, only event-internal elements are VP-internal elements, as shown in (15).



It is plausible to assume that participant locatives and frame locatives correspond to so called bounded and unbounded paths, respectively.

2.5. Jackendoff (1985)

Jackendoff (1985), in his analysis of the verb *climb*, presents the following examples.

- (16) a. Bill ran through the field into the woods.
 b. Bill ran into the woods through the field.
- (17) a. Through the field into the woods ran Bill.
 b. *Into the woods through the field ran Bill.
 (Jackendoff (1985: 291-292))

Jackendoff assumes that the ill-formedness of (17b) indicates that *into the woods through the field* is not regarded as a constituent. For some discussion, see Yoneyama (2014).

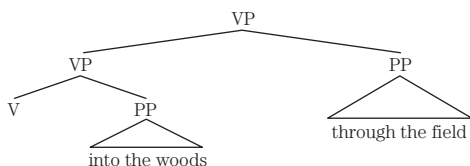
2.6. A problem

The analyses above indicate that the two PPs in VP may behave as a single constituent in some cases and that in D/L inversion constructions, there should be continuity between the two PPs. Look again at the sentences in (16), repeated here as (18).

- (18) a. Bill ran through the field into the woods.
 b. Bill ran into the woods through the field.

According to Klipple (1991), *into the woods* is an internal element of VP and it should follow the verb directly. This suggests that (18b) may be represented as in (19).

(19)

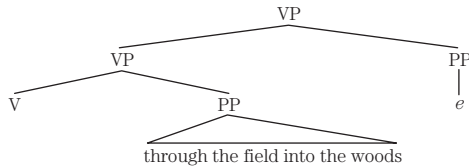


It is interesting to note that (19) is similar to (5). In (19), the two PPs may not form a constituent. This seems to be a reason why (17b) is unacceptable. On the other hand, (17a) will be derived even if *into the woods* were an external element. How should we solve this problem?

3. A Possible Solution

It seems plausible to assume that (18a) is represented as in (20). (20) is similar to (2a) in that the PP consists of two PPs.

(20)



It is helpful here to look at Jackendoff (1985). He argues that (18a) can be paraphrased as (21).

(21) Bill ran through the field and into the woods.

(Jackendoff (1985: 293))

(21) supports our analysis of (18a). The two PPs in (18a) behave as a single constituent. On the other hand, (18b) should be assigned structure (19).

I will try to solve the problem in question by assuming that whether the two PPs form a single constituent or not is judged in conceptual structure. As I mentioned above, (1a) is ambiguous in that it has two structures (2a) and (5). It may be possible to say that in the case of (5), *toward the frightened garbage collector* is an additional path. On the other hand, in (2a) *down the street toward the frightened garbage collector* is considered a continuous path. When we talk about the acceptability of the construction containing two PPs as path, it may be necessary for the two PPs to form a continuous path. Look again at the following examples.

(22) a. Down the street toward the frightened garbage collector lumbereda Martian grzch. (=3a)

b. Down the stairs into the kitchen walked Mary. (=7)

c. Into the room behind her ran several guards. (=12)

d. Through the field into the woods ran Bill (=17a)

(23) *Into the woods through the field ran Bill. (=17b)

It is possible to say that each of the sentences in (22) has a continuous path.

In the case of (22c), even though *into the room* precedes *behind her*, it may not be so difficult to recognize continuity between the two PPs, because *behind her* is not a locational PP. On the other hand, it is difficult to recognize the relation between *into the woods* and *through the field* in (23), because *through the field* in (23) is regarded as an additional path.

4. Concluding Remarks

In this paper I have examined the structure of multiple complements to V. This study shows that the acceptability of the directional inversion construction containing two PPs as path depends on whether the two PPs form a continuous path or not. There seems to be a difference in continuity between *through the field into the woods* and *into the woods through the field*. In the latter case, *through the field* will be interpreted as an additional path and it may be difficult to recognize the relation between the two PPs. On the other hand, *through the field into the woods* is regarded as a single continuous path and this is why its directional inversion construction can be acceptable. I assume that these judgments are provided in conceptual structure based on their spatial representations.

NOTES

1 R & C (1990: 71) argue that since D/L requires that the sentence final phrase be focused, (i) must be judged in a discourse such as (ii).

- (i) Into the room nude walked John.
- (ii) They said someone might walk into the room nude, and into the room nude walked John. (R&C (1990:71))

This analysis is similar to that of Kawakami (1973) in which he adopts the concept of “coming into view” in Longue-Higgins (1976). For some discussion, see Yoneyama (2014).

2 As to D/L constructions, R&C (1990: 69) say that “although we will ultimately maintain that SI constructions form a unified class, our discussion focuses mainly on D/L.”

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