CHAPTER FIVE
Cross-linguistic Methods for Marking NPs

1. Introduction: Seeking Non-English Data
Because speakers of different languages have different sets of language-specific syntactic options available to them, we would expect there to also be language-specific constraints on the mapping of discourse function to syntactic constructions. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that similar syntactic forms may be used for different pragmatic purposes in different languages or dialects (cf. Prince 1981, 1986; Epstein 1994; Ward to appear). In order to explore the ways that other languages might express the functions served in English by bare forms in PPs, I examined similar types of locative contrasts from other languages. Through queries on the LINGUIST listserv and discussions with native speakers, I collected locative PP uses that paralleled the functions of my English examples. I chose as a starting point the contrasts in which the lack of an article before certain singular count nouns inside of PPs created an Activity meaning that was not present when an article was there, as seen in (1)-(3).
(1) a. to be at church = to be taking part in the service there 
   b. to be at the church = to merely be in or near the building, 
                            for any purpose

(2) a. to be in school = to be attending or teaching a class 
   b. to be in a school = to be located in a school—could apply to 
                         any person (visitor, parent, janitor, voter) 
                         or object physically inside the building

(3) a. to be in prison = to be held in a prison for committing a crime 
   b. to be in the prison = to be in the prison building for any reason 
                           (e.g., as visitor, cook, weapon, etc.)

The (a) examples, which lack articles in the NPs, are used to convey a 
sense of the locatum’s activity at the location. Since I showed in chapter 
4 that these meanings are created by Activity Implicature, these (a) 
examples can be said to convey the Activity sense. In contrast, the 
meanings in the (b) examples, which contain articles in the NP, are used 
to convey the more straightforward locative meaning of placing or posi-
tioning the locatum; thus these articulated forms can be said to convey 
the Location sense.

2. Five Methods of Marking Location NPs for Contrasting 
   Information

In looking at data from other languages I was hoping to find similar 
examples of the Activity vs. Location variations in PPs, involving the use 
of articles or perhaps using some other morphosyntactic ways of 
marking the NPs for different semantic/pragmatic functions. And
indeed I found numerous types of examples that showed either marked locative syntax (similar to the anarthrous English constructions) or dual meanings for locative forms with the same syntactic structures. Collecting those examples for which I found a correlation between the syntactic forms and the meanings, I began to track the ways in which the meaning contrast between the Activity and Location sense of PPs is expressed.

Five patterns were found. First, in languages that require articles to be used with common nouns, the presence or lack of an article is a widely used method to show locative and non-locative senses with location nouns. Second, some languages use constructions in which the article is not entirely eliminated; instead, one of the senses is represented through a contraction of the article with the preposition, while in the other sense the full forms of the article and preposition appear. As a third method, contrasting selections of synonymous spatial prepositions revealed a similar sense shift (sometimes occurring along with the article contrast, sometimes alone). The fourth method was found in languages that don’t use articles; here the use of locative case marker as opposed to some other case marker on the same location nouns shows the contrast in question. Finally, whether the sentence contains a verb expressing position or direction, rather than a verb with a non-spatial
sense, can also influence the number of senses of the locative PPs. Sections 2.1 through 2.5 detail the data from the languages for which semantic contrasts were found, arranged according to the type of syntactic contrast. Section 2.6 summarizes my findings. (See Appendix B for a summary of the methods of contrast with representative examples.)

2.1 Lack of Articles with Count Nouns

In a number of Romance languages, as in English, singular count nouns normally require determiners; and just as we have seen in English, these languages include a set of exceptions, bare location NPs that occur inside of PPs. For example, Graziana (1987) notes that in Italian, “the preposition alone is used in common expressions referring to places and rooms of a house” (p. 53). Examples of such forms are shown in (4).

(4) a. *in campagna* ‘in, to the country’
   b. *in montagna* ‘in, to the mountains’
   c. *in città* ‘in, to the city/town, downtown’
   d. *in paese* ‘in, to the village’
   e. *in camera* ‘in, to the bedroom’
   f. *in salotto* ‘in, to the living room’
   g. *in biblioteca* ‘in, at, to the library’
   h. *in giardino* ‘in, to the garden’
   i. *in chiesa* ‘in, to the church’
   j. *a teatro* ‘at, to the theater’

(examples from Graziana 1987, p. 53)

To see whether these anarthrous forms were representative of either the
Activity or the Location sense, I queried a native speaker of Italian. He reported that with location NPs one does not usually use an article, “unless one wants to specify a particular location” (Lucio Chiappetti, p.c.). My informant felt that the choice of when to use an article is quite similar to the situation in English. Pairs of Italian examples with and without articles are listed in (5) - (10).

(5) a. È in prigione.
    3rd-sing-BE in/at prison
    ‘He is in prison.’

b. È nella prigione.
    3rd-sing-BE in/at+the prison
    ‘He is in the prison.’

(5a), without an article, is used to convey that the locatum is condemned to prison—it does not matter where the prison is; while (5b) is appropriate when, for example, the locatum is in a castle and within that particular building he is in the prison and not in the kitchen, the court, the cellar or anywhere else. So here speakers’ judgments of (5) match up with the meanings shown for similar sentences in English: (5a), using the PP without an article conveys the Activity sense, while (5b), which uses an article, conveys the Location sense. In addition, the articulated form in Italian is used for a kind of specification which is slightly different than the Familiarity use seen in English. (5b) may be used to indi-
cate that, of the other places in which the locatum could be, it is the prison in which he will be found.

The examples in (6) show a similar contrast, but with different types of locatums:

(6) a. È in chiesa.
    3rd-sing-BE in/at church
    'He is at church.'

b. È nella chiesa.
    3rd-sing-BE in/at+the church
    'It is in the church.'

(6a), which lacks an article, is used to indicate that the locatum went to a church for a mass or ceremony—the Activity sense. For (6b), my native speaker informant found it difficult to create an example using he as a subject, but found it more felicitous to say "It is in the church," when, for example, talking of a painting which is in the church proper and not on the porch, or on the outer walls, etc.

My speculation on speakers’ difficulty in using he as the subject for (6b) relates to the discourse requirements for Activity implicature; when a person is the locatum he or she is typically in the church for the purpose of a religious service, while a non-human object such as a painting need
not be construed as participating in the church “activity.” To investigate this possibility, I asked my Italian informant which form would be used in a context where a group of people are taking an architectural tour of a church. In such cases, I wanted to know whether a speaker who was referring to a tour guide (a person in the church for a non-typical activity) by saying, “He is in church right now,” would do so by using an NP with or without an article in Italian.

Speakers felt they would use *e' in chiesa* for visiting a church for any reason. “The other form will not be "wrong," but will sound unusual” (Lucio Chiapetti p.c.). In some cases, however, it may sound less unusual: if talking of a tourist group, one could say "*il gruppo e' nella chiesa (e non nel palazzo)*”—‘the group is in the church, and not in the palace,’ if, for example, they are visiting a monumental complex comprising a church and other buildings, that is, if the church was one of several possible co-hyponym locations.

In Italian, then, the presence of an article in a PP not only functions to indicate an actual location (the Location sense), but also shows a contrast with other possible locations. So, here the use of the article is more like the Familiarity sense created by the bare form in English in
that it specifies the particular instance of a location that is relevant to a given utterance, although it differs in that it is not necessarily tied to the discourse participants, but instead contrasts the place with other types of locations. All three of these contrast possibilities are shown in the Italian examples in (7).

(7) a. Andava a scuola.
    3rd sing. go (imp.) to school
    ‘She went to school.’ Activity sense

b. Andó a scuola
    3rd sing. go (pret.) to school
    ‘She went to school.’ Familiarity sense

c. Andava/andó alla scuola.
    3rd sing. go to+the school
    ‘She went to the school.’ Specified Co-hyponym sense

In (7a) the imperfect form is used to indicate that the locatum used to go to school every day, i.e., that she was a schoolgirl, while in (7b), with the preterite form, the utterance is used to indicate that on a particular day she went to her usual school.¹ Thus depending on the verb tense, one of two senses can be conveyed by the bare singular NP’s form—the Activity sense and the Familiarity sense. The form in (7c), on the other hand, is

¹ The three possible interpretations show that in Italian, as in English, certain location words, such as scuola/school, allow both Activity and Familiarity readings (cf. Ch. 4, Table 11 on p. 177). In this case, both the going-to-school activity and the particular known school of the locatum can be indicated by the bare form.
used to indicate that the locatum went to that particular building, and not to another building type; this holds true for either past tense form.

So in Italian, we see that two kinds of locations are distinguished formally, in addition to indicating the Activity sense. There is a contrast between a deictic, familiar form where the school is one out of a set of the same location types—the one connected to the locatum; for example, it might be used to indicate “her school, as opposed to my school, your school, or someone else’s school”; this use is also seen in English. In addition, Italian uses a form that picks one from a set of co-hyponym place types, for example, that chooses the kitchen from among the porch, the bathroom, the bedroom, etc. This co-hyponym selection is shown again in (8).

(8)  a.  *in cucina*
     in kitchen
     ‘in the kitchen’

     b.  *nella cucina*
     in/at+the kitchen
     ‘in the kitchen’

The example in (8a) is the usual way to say something is in the (only) kitchen of the house. The example in (8b) would be used more often to indicate that, for example, a particular appliance is in the kitchen and
not in the bathroom, though *in cucina* will also work for both meanings. Likewise, (9a) is the usual way to use the word for *garden*, while (9b) is used to mean ‘in that particular garden’ or ‘in the garden and not elsewhere.’

(9)  a. *in giardino*
in/at garden
‘in the garden’

b. *nel giardino*
in/at+the garden
‘in the garden’

Not only English and Italian show a meaning difference involving a lack of article. The following French construction from Dutra and Ross (n.d.) shows a correlation between implicated meaning and lack of article use:

(10)  a. *Roger est à table*
Roger is at table
‘Roger is eating’  [=Dutra & Ross (26a)]

b. *Roger est à la table*
Roger is at the table
‘Roger is [located] at the table’  [=Dutra & Ross (26a)]

c. *Roger lave table*
Roger washes table
‘Roger washes the table’  [=Dutra & Ross (26b)]

d. *Roger lave la table*
Roger washes the table
‘Roger washes the table’  [=Dutra & Ross (26b)]
Here again the (a) example, which lacks an article in the PP, is used to convey the Activity sense, while (10b), in which the PP contains an article, conveys only the Location sense. Dutra and Ross attribute the difference in article use in the (a) and (b) examples of (10) to whether or not the activity being portrayed is the one most commonly associated with the location. Thus (10a) contrasts with (10c) in that a count noun like \textit{table} cannot normally appear without the article unless it is in a circumstance where the prototypical activity is involved; eating at a table can be conveyed without an article, but the act of washing a table cannot. While I agree that only certain prototypical actions can be referred to through Activity Implicature, it is important to note that using the noun in a PP also appears to be necessary to generate this sense. Thus (10c), where the NP is the direct object, differs in more than prototypicality with the example in (10a).

\textit{At/to table} also appears in British English with this same Activity sense, (as illustrated in (11a) and (11b) below), and is found, less often, in American dialects as well, as shown in (11c):
(11) a. Now he sits at table with his friends Alix and Brian Bowen, and their friend Liz Headland, rolling himself a thin cigarette with thin fingers, over the remains of an apple crumble, his head tilted quizzically to one side as he listens to Liz's apprehensions about her autumn trip to Japan. 

b. The accidents of conversation; the simple habits which regulated even such a little thing as the position of our places at table... every one of these trifles, and many more, combined to fold us together in the same domestic atmosphere, and to lead us both insensibly to the same hopeless end. 
(Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White*, 1860)

c. Constantine joined them all at table. Mushroom quiche was the opener, already there. 

A number of Germanic languages also exhibit contrasting constructions involving the presence or lack of an article with count nouns in PPs. Dutch and West Frisian, both spoken in regions of the Netherlands, show a parallel contrast to the English contrast in (2) (repeated here as 12). The Dutch and Frisian examples are shown in (13) and (14).

(12) a. to be in school = to be attending or teaching a class

b. to be in a school = to be located in a school—could apply to any person (visitor, parent, janitor, voter) or object physically inside the building
In Dutch and West Frisian, the Activity sense is again reflected separately from the Location sense in PPs, and again, it is shown by the lack of article, as was seen in the (a) examples of (13) and (14).

2.2. Contraction

The second construction type involving location NP senses for which a contrast shows up is the full form of the article and preposition combination as opposed to a reduced or contracted combination. Contraction is found in many languages; it is sometimes obligatory (e.g., a and de with the definite articles in French) or may only show up in certain phonological circumstances (Italian, Yiddish); it is, however, those cases
where contraction is an optional use determined by meaning that are of interest here.

A Portuguese example from Dutra and Ross (n.d.) demonstrates one form of this contrast:

(15) a. Antônio está trabalhando em casa
    Antonio is working in house
    ‘Antonio is working at [his] home’    [=Dutra & Ross (25a)]

b. Antônio está trabalhando na casa
    ‘Antônio is working in+the house’
    ‘Antonio is working in the house’    [=Dutra & Ross (25a)]

In (15a) the implicated Familiarity sense is conveyed by the anarthrous form, while the Location sense is conveyed by the contracted form in (15b).²

In German, too, there is a morphophonemic reduction of preposition and article (e.g., zum from zu ‘to’ + dem ‘the’ [dative masculine singular] and

². An area for further investigation would be to check the range of nouns which this marking can accompany. Not just in Portuguese, but in many languages the word for home seems to occur in bare form with exceptional meanings (cf. Fillmore 1991, as well as the very small selection of Familiarity-only NPs in Chapter 4). Judith Levi (p.c.) notes that in Hebrew also there is a directional inflection (a-, similar to -ward in English) that occurs on just a few nouns, including ‘house’ and ‘town,’ which is always used in a Familiarity sense.
zur from zu ‘to’ + der ‘the’ [dative feminine singular] respectively) which in speech tends to happen automatically, leaving only one form. Hence, there is usually no contrast, but it does sometimes appear in both full and reduced variations. In the case where there are two forms, for some speakers the reduced one has the Activity sense just as the anarthrous form does in English.\(^3\) For example, in locative phrases used to refer to a type of scenario rather than to concrete referents of the NP contained, the definite article can be cliticized to a preceding preposition. The cliticization is restricted by morpho-phonological constraints, but “if it is possible, it is a clear surface marking of de-referentialization (or something in the direction of incorporation). The semantic and pragmatic effects are the same as in the case of articleless definite NPs in English” (Sebastian Löbner p.c.). German examples of full and cliticized forms are shown in (16)-(19).

\[(16)\]
\[\text{a. zur Kirche gehen}
\text{to+the church go}
\text{‘to go to church’ (Activity Sense)}
\]
\[\text{b. zu der Kirche gehen}
\text{to the church go}
\text{‘to go to the church’ (Location Sense)}
\]

\(^3\) Löbner (1985:304-311) indicates that the phenomenon is not restricted to locational expressions, but covers all sorts of abstract “scenario expressions” in which the NP is not referential.
For most speakers the meaning difference shown in (16)-(19) is an option, but when it is so, the Activity and Location senses are not in complementary distribution. Rather, the contracted forms are ambiguous: they can have both the activity sense (which is the preferred sense) and the location sense, while the stylistically marked uncontracted form cannot have the activity sense. Thus, the pairs in (16)-(19) demonstrate the interplay of opposing inferential strategies captured by the Q and R Principles of Horn (1984). Use of the unmarked contracted form
becomes associated with the stereotypical activity scenario, while use of
the marked uncontracted form can only convey the literal location sense.

2.3 Contrasting Locative Prepositions

The third device is seen in the way a locative contrast shows up in a
range of prepositions that translate to the same word in English. In
French, for example, there are many PP alternations that show locative
contrasts similar to that shown in English, such as the one in (20).

(20) a.  en prison = ‘in prison’
    b.  dans la prison = ‘in the prison’

Here, not only is there a difference in whether or not a determiner
occurs, but the presence or absence of a determiner is accompanied by
different prepositions. While both dans and en can be translated into
English by in, they are rarely interchangeable in these contexts: as
illustrated in (20), en almost always occurs without a determiner, and
dans almost always occurs with a determiner. In addition, with dans,
the meaning is usually concrete and specific, while with en, the meaning
is more abstract and general (e.g., the prison as a societal institution,
not as a specific building). Richard Epstein (p.c.) notes that you do not
find either *en la prison or *dans prison.
A similar example of meaning contrast by means of the choice of prepositions is shown in (21).

\[(21)\]  
\[\textbf{a. } \textit{Il est entré dans l'école.} \]
\[\text{he entered in the school} \]
\[\text{‘He entered the school [building].’} \] \hspace{1cm} \text{(Location Sense)}

\[\textbf{b. } \textit{Il est entré à l'école septembre dernier.} \]
\[\text{He entered in the school September last} \]
\[\text{‘He began school last September.’} \] \hspace{1cm} \text{(Activity sense)}

Here both examples in the pair contain articles, leaving just the preposition \textit{dans} ‘in’ to convey the more specific location sense, while \textit{à ‘in/to/at}’ is used to convey the Activity sense.

Having different uses for synonymous prepositions is not unique to the Location/Activity contrast; many Romance languages contrast synonymous prepositions of place when they occur with different types of locations, so that words naming cities and states, for instance, may require different prepositions. In French, for example, the appropriate preposition translating to \textit{in} or \textit{to} with geographical names depends on the noun’s gender and its beginning sounds. Thus, \textit{au [= à ‘to/in’ + le ‘the, masculine sg.’]} is used for masculine countries and states, except those starting with a vowel sound; \textit{en} is used for feminine countries and states, and for masculine countries and states starting with a vowel
sound; while à is used for city names (Muyskens et al. 1982:268-9).

Similarly, Italian prepositions that are translated by in in English vary depending on the type of location objects: a is used for town names and in for countries and regions, as shown in (22).

(22) a. a Milano
   ‘in Milan’

   b. in Italia
   ‘in Italy’

Some prepositional contrasts, however, reflect the Activity versus Location contrast:

(23) a. a teatro al cinema
   to theater at/to cinema
   ‘at/to the theater’ ‘at/to the cinema’ Activity Sense

   b. nel teatro nel cinema
   ‘at/in the theater’ ‘at/in the cinema’ Location Sense

The Italian phrase a teatro, shown in (23a), can be used to indicate going to or being at a theater for a show (and likewise al cinema for movies). But a different preposition is used (nel teatro, nel cinema) to indicate something which is located inside the theatre building.

James Kirchner (p.c.) points out that Slavic languages will also “some-
times make a prepositional distinction between simply being in (v) a place and being in (na, literally ‘on’) one in which some special function is performed. For example, in Czech a locatum would be v parku (‘in/at the park’) but na poste (‘in/at the post office’).

Danish has a double pair of PPs involving school with different prepositions:

(24) a.  i skole
    in school
    ‘in school’ [for the day’s lessons]

b.  i en skole
    in a school
    ‘in a school building’

c.  på skole
    at school
    ‘away at school for some time’

d.  på en skole
    at a school
    ‘on a school’s grounds’ (indoors or outdoors)
    (examples from Lars Mathiesen (p.c.))

Danish speakers note that when these PPs are used with "to be," the contrast involves the article also, so that (24a) and (24c), which lack articles, display the Activity sense, while (24b) and (24d), where articles are present, exhibit the Location sense.
German displays a similar distinction involving some uses of the prepositions *in* ‘in’ and *auf* ‘on’. When used with the verb *go*, the *auf* forms often show the Location sense, as shown in (25).

(25)  a. *auf sein Zimmer gehen*
      to one’s room go
      ‘to go to one’s room’

   b. *auf die Post gehen*
      to the post office go
      ‘to go to the post office’

   c. *auf die Polizei gehen*
      to the police station go
      ‘to go to the police station’

The German preposition *in* ‘in, into, to,’ on the other hand, is used with many nouns in a way that matches the Activity sense, as demonstrated in (26) and (27):

(26)  a. *in die Schule gehen*
      ‘to go to school’

   b. *in die Kirche gehen*
      ‘to go to church’

(27)  a. *er ist in der Schule*
      he is in the school
      ‘he’s at school/in school’

   b. *er ist in der Kirche*
      he is in the church
      ‘he’s at church/in church’

An additional point regarding German prepositions and the Activity
sense concerns the use of the locational preposition *an* to indicate the location at which someone works, e.g., *an der Universität = (working) at the university.* English also has this sense conveyed by *at* before proper nouns: “He’s at Northwestern this year.” This construction might best be considered a “use type” when it involves proper noun locations that can name an employing institution, as shown in (28).

(28) a. She’s at Microsoft now. = employed by Microsoft Corporation.
    b. He’s at Notre Dame. = employed by Notre Dame University
    c. *They’re at garage. ≠ employed by a mechanics garage
    d. *We’re at Illinois.≠ employed by the state of Illinois

Dutch also shows examples where different synonymous locative prepositions are used to convey contrastive meanings:

(29) a. op toneel zitten Activity sense
    on/in/at theater sit ‘take part in a theater class or a performance’
    b. in het theater zitten Location sense
    in the theater sit ‘sit in the theater’

While the Dutch examples in (29) differ in preposition selection as well as in whether they use an article, those in (30) both have articles, but differ in the choice of preposition:

4. Except where the state name refers, for example, to the University of Illinois—a potential employer.
As mentioned in Chapter 3, British English has some preposition contrast with *in school* and *at school*, as shown again in (31), while speakers of American English use *in school* to convey both the Activity sense and the Location sense.\(^5\)

(31) a. He’s at school (Brit) = He attends/is attending school
    b. He’s in school (Brit) = He’s actually inside the building
      —not, e.g., on the playing fields

Quirk et al. (1979:310) note that this is part of a more general contrast involving *at/in* in which *at* refers to a more functional aspect of the location and *in* refers to a three dimensional structure. The British usage reflects the split of using *at* for a function of a location and *in* for the physical building. In addition to the British example in (31), both American and British speakers contrast in expressions where the location NP names a university:

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5. Some of this contrast with American usage may be due to British children traditionally being sent away for school more often than students in the U.S.
(32)  
  a. He’s at Oxford. (attending the university)  
  b. He’s in Oxford. (the town)  

This can be seen as a variation on the employment use type of at shown in (28) above, where attending a school is a variation of being employed by a company.

Italian, likewise, connects one preposition to the activity sense when used with the word for university:

(33)  
  a. andare all'università  
      to go + to the university  
      ‘to attend a university; to being a university student’  
  b. andare in università  
      to go + to university  
      ‘going to the university’ [building, campus, etc.]

Notice that in the cases where a contrast is shown in English usage for at and in (as in 28, 31, 32), the word at is the one used to convey the Activity sense; that is, the less literal, more pragmatically created sense. This is in keeping with Dirven’s observations, discussed in Chapter 3, that at is the most neutral of the spatial prepositions. Since it is the one conveying the least spatial information about the referents’ positions, it is the one most able to be filled in with pragmatic details; that is, the least marked form is the one chosen to express the stereotypical activity.
Further evidence of the difference in the kinds of objects found with *at* and *in* seen in (34).

(34)  
a. They are at home.  
    b. They are in the house.

In (34a) we know that the Familiarity use emphasizes whose house it is rather than whether they the locatum is inside the house.  (34b), on the other hand, is used to locate the locata inside a building.

As a final example of this preposition contrast type, recall that in Danish a contrast showed up concerning articles with the noun *skole*, ‘school’:

(35)  
a. *i skole*  
in school  
    ‘in school’ [for the day’s lessons] [=(24)]

b. *i en skole*  
in a school  
    ‘in a school building’

c. *på skole*  
at school  
    ‘away at school for some time’

d. *på en skole*  
at a school  
    ‘on a school’s grounds’ [indoors or outdoors]
The contrast repeated above occurs when the PPs are used with the verb ‘to be.’ With some other verbs, however, such as ‘go,’ the preposition choice is based on the level of the school: *i skole* ‘in school’ means primary school while *på skole* ‘at school’ is vocational school or higher (Mathiesen p.c.). In these examples, the contrast of preposition type co-occurs with the next type, which is determined by the verb type.

2.4 BE/STAY Verbs vs. Nonpositional Verbs

Lars Mathiesen (p.c.) notes that in Danish a meaning contrast exists for *i kirke*, ‘in church,’ depending on whether an article is used. He explains that the contrast only holds, however, when the PP is used with verbs of location and direction, e.g., ‘be in church’, ‘come to church’, etc. “When used with other verbs, the form without the article is less usable, and the distinction tends to be neutralized” e.g., *Jeg så hende i kirken i dag* (lit. "I saw her in the church today"). Thus, where the verb is not a BE or GO form, the absence of an article gives no hint as to whether or not the action of seeing her happened during a religious service. Danish, then, shows an interaction of three of the contrast types, preposition choice,

6. Of course, there are many other subtleties involved in the choice of preposition. For example, for "i en skole" Mathiesen added: “I strongly prefer "på" even for a single-building school, in all non-abstract senses—but I have a feeling that this may not be true for older speakers (I'm 35). Up until the sixties, country schools were very often single buildings.”
verb type, and lack of article.

Does this verb difference hold in English also? In other words, is there a difference that is based on the type of verb for the implicated meaning of the NPs used in *be at school* versus *go to school*? Or is the meaning in these English expressions only due to the lack of article? Certainly the meaning is not determined by the verb for English, since non-typical school actions, such as burying or dancing—illustrated in (36)—evoke the implicated senses just as much as the sentences in (37) which contain *be* or *go*, or those in (38) which contain verbs naming more explicit, prototypical school-related activities:

(36) a. He buried them at school.
     (= a designated school—Familiarity sense)
     b. They danced together at school.
        (= a designated school—Familiarity sense)
        (= while attending school—Activity sense)

(37) a. Joe was at school.
     (= a designated school—Familiarity sense)
     b. Karl goes to school.
        (= a designated school—Familiarity sense)
        (= while attending school—Activity sense)

(38) a. to learn geometry at school
     (= a designated school—Familiarity sense)
     (= while attending school—Activity sense)
b. to teach at school
   (= a designated school—Familiarity sense)
   (= while attending school—Activity sense)

In Danish, then, the choice of a verb of direction versus a verb of location sometimes can influence whether an activity sense is created.7

2.5 Case Marking

The final construction type involves languages that don’t use articles, yet still convey locative NP contrasts. Here the contrast is achieved not by means of article placement, but through case marking. In (39)-(42), Jee-hong Kim (p.c.) presents Korean sentences in which the same NP can be marked with either an objective or a locative marker:

(39) a. $\text{ch'a-lul}$ $t'$-$\text{ta}$ (' marks aspiration)
       vehicle-OBJ ride-END  (ENDing of declarative)
       ‘to ride (in a) car’ as a vocation, like a chauffeur

   b. $\text{ch'a-e}$ $t'$-$\text{ta}$
      vehicle-LOC ride-END
      ‘to ride in a car’ as an action

(40) a. $\text{hakkyo-lul}$ $\text{ka-ta}$
       school-OBJ  go-END
       ‘to go (to) school’ as a vocation, like a student or a teacher

   b. $\text{hakkyo-e}$ $\text{ka-ta}$
      school-LOC  go-END
      ‘to go to a school’ as an action

7. In Korean, as we’ll see in 2.5 below, the verb choice also can affect the implicated meaning. In English, however, this does not come into play.
Kim notes that bare or zero case marking is also possible, as in (41), but with an ambiguity between the Activity and Location readings which the discourse context serves to disambiguate. “As a native speaker, I feel intuitively that a sentence with the LOCative marker refers to an action,” while sentences with the OBJective marker convey a habitual action, interpreted as a vocation reading, as in (39a) and (40a).

In (42b), Kim suggests that the LOCative marker indicates a point in time, while the OBJective marker in (42a) suggests an action occurring over longer duration:

(42) a.  *hyundai-lul*  *sal-ta*
    contemporariness-OBJ live-END
    ‘to live by (or with) contemporary style’

    b.  *hyundai-e*  *sal-ta*
    contemporariness-LOC live-END
    ‘to live in modern or contemporary time’

Note that the case marker contrast is not found with the copula, which selects only nouns with the LOCative marker. If a motion- or action-oriented verb is used, however, the contrast is observable, as in (39) and (40). Kim adds, “I am inclined to summarize the pair of contrasts as an
action instance vs. a habitual action or a time-point action vs. a time-
durational action.”

Other Korean speakers (Ho-Bae Lee p.c.) note that there is not always
such a meaning difference indicated between locative (-e) and direct
object (-lul), so that for (39) and (40), either the (a) or (b) translations
could receive either interpretation, though constructions with abstract or
mass nouns, as in (42), reveal more of a difference.

3. Conclusion to Chapter 5

This chapter adds a new range of data to the current study, one which
began by examining certain count nouns occurring without articles, but
which, I suggest, should be viewed as an examination of several con-
trasting semantic/pragmatic functions of locative PPs and the ways
these functions are marked. The cross-linguistic data reported here
demonstrates that locative PP expressions can typically be used in two
ways. One use (the default or unmarked form) is to make a statement
about where some entity is located—the Location sense. To express this
sense, languages may use locative case, an article, the more concrete
choice from a range of locative prepositions, or two separate words
instead of a contraction. The alternative use for locative PPs is a marked
sense which, through conventionalized implicature, relates additional information about the entities involved besides stating their spatial relationship to each other. We have seen forms such as the Activity sense, the Familiarity sense, and the Specified Co-hyponym sense that illustrate this. This range of marked uses I collectively label the Non-Locative Reading.

The cross-linguistic data show that a Non-Locative Reading can encompass several different kinds of information about the locatum or the location referents. The kinds of other information conveyed about the locatum include the following: (1) the activity of the locatum (e.g., *in prison* means to serve time), or (2) that the locatum is at the place for a set duration (e.g., *when I was in school* can be interpreted temporally to indicate the time during which I was a student’). Information conveyed about the location may include (1) specifying, for example, the size of the school or the level of education provided there (as in the Danish examples); (2) the fact that a location is the one associated with either the speaker, hearer or locatum (e.g., *at school* means the one that a discourse participant attends; *in town* means the town of one of the discourse participants); or (3) contrasting that place with other possible places (as in Italian).
This brief sample of cross-linguistic data reinforces the fact that conveying prototypical acts connected to a location or marking locations as connected to discourse participants are aspects of meaning that speakers find ways to encode in language. Looking at other languages has highlighted the range of meaning contrasts that can be conveyed using marked NP forms in locative expressions. As this chapter shows, in a number of languages, both non-referential and referential uses show up in contrasts created by using bare locative forms. On the one hand, Italian shows specification of co-hyponyms, and English shows specification through deictic connection to the discourse participant. On the other hand, the Activity sense is shown in Italian and English when the location itself is not highlighted but is assumed to be background information to some highlighted activity occurring there. As we saw in Chapter 2, Behrens (1995) and Gil (1987) both found that relying on English examples alone gives one a skewed view of the mass/count scenario, because different factors interact in each language. Likewise, examination of the data in this chapter starts from an observation about the forms in one language (e.g., the unexpected anarthrous forms in English), but concludes by suggesting broader implications about the meanings that such marked forms represent.