CHAPTER ONE

Identifying Bare Singular Nominals

1. Introduction

This work investigates the properties of a set of English common nouns which are distinguished by their atypical use in forms that reveal neither definiteness nor number. I will show that this marked syntactic form of the nouns, in phrases such as *at camp*, *on campus*, and *in school*, is an indicator of their use in implicating additional information relating to locations, typically that the located person is involved in the prototypical activity of the location, or that the location is one to be deictically interpreted as affiliated with the current speaker, hearer, or located person.

1.1 Organization of the Thesis

In this dissertation I use findings from naturally occurring data to strengthen our understanding of the syntactic/semantic correlations of NP types, and to demonstrate that the use of bare singular nominals in PPs assists a hearer in finding the correct information about a referent.

Understanding the bare singular form, a rarely discussed NP type, helps to pinpoint the grammatical units involved in the mass/count dichotomy, a topic discussed in Chapter 2. The semantics of the location nouns found as bare singular nominals is discussed in Chapter 3. The pragmatic dimensions involved in using the NPs for reference are discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 looks at the ways other languages represent the same contrast that the bare versus articulated form captures in English. Chapter 6 discusses applications of this information and presents the conclusions of this study.

Within Chapter 1, the first section illustrates the constructions, pointing out their marked syntax and meaning, and discusses how the corpus of examples was collected. Section 2 gives a first sketch of some of the qualities that these nominals share with mass nouns, as well as with full NPs. Section 3 then discusses the distribution of bare singular nominals, showing that they can be found in subject and direct object position, as well as their most frequent use as the object of a preposition. Finally, Section 4 lays out the terminology that I will be using to discuss the bare nouns, other nouns they are used with, and the referents of the NPs of both these groups.

1.2 Examples of the Constructions

The nouns under consideration, such as *camp, church, school,* and *home,* name locations, and in the bare singular form are most frequently found as objects in locative PPs, as shown in (1).

(1) a. While tape recordings to uncover, say, infidelity aren't admissible **in court**, they can mean leverage in a settlement.
(Jill Abramson, "Mind What You Say; They're Listening," *Wall Street Journal,* Oct. 25, 1989)

b. During their first year **at school**, children become Octobrists and wear the badge of Baby Lenin.
(Peter Gumbel, "Soviet Youth Organization Is in Crisis," *Wall Street Journal,* Sept. 15, 1989)

c. The shrubs bounced against the ground again and again, and **upslope** the trees howled.
(Kim Stanley Robinson, *The Wild Shore*, New York: Ace Science Fiction, 1984. p. 156)

d. "Did you notice Mr. Boldwood's doings **in church** this morning, miss?" Liddy continued, adumbrating by the remark the track her thoughts had taken.
(Thomas Hardy, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 1874, Gutenberg etext)

e. Up **on deck**, thinking of spending five days on the Dolphin, I began to be seized by feelings of panic and pain I couldn't explain.
(Diane Johnson, "Great Barrier Reef," *The New Yorker*, Sept. 7, 1992)

f. "My mother died because the hospital needed a bigger bottom line," says Ross. "The medication was there, **on site**, to prevent her death."
(Nina Schuyler, "Reining in HMOs," *In These Times,* Sept. 2-15, 1996, p. 29)

What makes these nouns so intriguing is that they contrast with most other count nouns that are not found in the bare singular form. Those location nouns that are found without articles can be divided into four categories according to the type of item they denote: Social/Geographical Spaces (a category used here to encompass municipalities, religious settings, educational settings, nautical settings, and natural features), Media (recording expressions and framing expressions), Temporal Interruption Events, and Untethered Metaphors. Examples from each of these categories are shown in Table 1 below (see Chapter 3 for discussion).

Table 1
Samples of Bare Location Noun Categories

Social/ Geographical Spaces	**Municipalities:**	She and her husband moved in **district.**
	Religious settings:	Being at the polls was just like being at **church**.
	Educational settings:	She was still sobbing when I got home from **school.**
	Nautical settings:	He scrubbed the decks of ships in **port.**
	Natural features:	I stayed on **shore** with the equipment.
Media	**Framing expressions:**	The Marionette's head loomed close behind her for an instant, then disappeared out of **frame.**
	Recording expressions:	Janine shouldn't be confused with the disaffected American kids popularized on **film** in recent years.
Temporal Interruption Events		On **break**, I opened the window to let out people's cigarette smoke.
Untethered Metaphors		We think we're on **target** in looking for renewed economic deterioration.

When used in PPs, the bare nominals occur most often with the spatial prepositions *in, at,* and *on,* but can also be found with other prepositions, including *across, around, down, from, into, near, off, out of, to, through,* and *toward.* The characteristics of the prepositions used with these nouns are detailed in Chapter 3.

1.3 The Markedness of the Constructions

Two central aspects of the bare singular noun forms are unusual: their syntax and their meaning. First I will discuss their unusual syntactic form and the terms that have been used to discuss it. Then I will briefly describe the marked senses conveyed by the use of the bare forms.

1.3.1 Marked Syntax

Depending on whether the focus of the study has been on the determiner, the noun, or the maximal projection containing that noun, the terms *unarticulated, anarthrous, zero form,* and *bare* have all been used to indicate a nominal construction which lacks an article. Greenberg (1978 passim), for example, discusses the "the unarticulated form of the noun"; Hall and Hall (1969) refer to PPs that contain such forms as "anarthrous" locative PPs; and Christophersen (1939 passim) refers to the same construction as a noun with the "zero form of the article." The term "zero form" is widespread as a way to refer to the lack of an article before a noun.[1] Unlike morphology, however, where a zero morpheme's presence may be inferred from changes to other words with which it is in concord (e.g., *the sheep is/the sheep [+pl] are*), there is no reason to assume that some covert article is always present, that is, that the

1. Pretheoretically, of course, as Parrish (1987:382) observes, "ø is not an article but a pre-noun context."

absence of an overt article implies the presence of a silent one, like a trace in syntax, for example. Palmer (1939), Yotsukura (1970), and Chesterman (1991; 1993) present versions of a schema for English containing a five-article paradigm which includes two types of silent articles, according to which the first type occurs with mass and plural nouns to name an entire set, often generically (e.g., *cheese, biscuits*), whereas the second type occurs with proper nouns and singular count nouns to name a known, one-member set (e.g., *John, hand-in-hand, in prison*). Here, however, they seem to be conflating uses of the NPs which lack articles with syntactic instantiations of the articles themselves. While this subdividing of the zero category captures a useful range of referential uses—similar to those I detail in Chapter 4—throughout this dissertation I will use *zero form* to refer to any non-overt article form, having as alternates (in English) only the definite and indefinite forms.

Bare is seen as a more general term to indicate a missing element. Larson (1985) discusses "bare-NP adverbs," by which he means NPs such as *that day*, or *every way imaginable*, which function as adverbial modifiers, but lack an expected preposition to indicate their adjunct function. Although the data Larson focuses on is different than that examined in this dissertation—since this work looks at PPs with overt

prepositions—the common idea is that a bare form lacks an expected element.

The term *bare noun phrase* is generally used for an NP containing no determiner. This should, in theory, encompass both bare plural forms (*cats*) and bare singular forms (*church* and *water*). Most work examining bare NPs, however (see especially Pelletier 1974, 1975, and Pelletier and Schubert 1989), has looked only at bare plurals, or, when discussing particular sentence positions, such as the subject of a generic sentence, has considered mass nouns to count as bare NPs as well. No discussion of bare NPs, however, includes bare singular count nouns. In part, this is because bare plurals show many of the same distribution patterns as indefinite singular noun phrases and mass nouns (see, e.g., Carlson 1977, Chierchia 1982, Gillon 1992, and Carlson and Pelletier 1995) and partly because bare plurals simply occur more frequently. In fact, some writers (e.g., Werth 1980:251, Behrens 1995:48) claim that English bare singular forms do not occur at all in certain syntactic positions.[2] How-

2. In particular, both Werth and Behrens cite the word *man* as the only possible count noun token to serve as a subject, as in (i).

(i) Some day, *man* will walk on the surface of Mars.

It seems, however, that this use of *man* is used more as a mass noun/natural kind sense, synonymous with *mankind*. Krifka et al. (1995:6) therefore call this idiosyncratic use of *man* an NP, not a common noun, noting that this use can only be interpreted as

ever, as I will illustrate in Section 3, bare NPs containing singular count nouns occur in the full range of NP positions. A better understanding of their distribution patterns, as well as of the noun subsets that show up in this form, helps shed light on the semantic underpinnings of the mass/count distinction.

Since a bare NP is commonly taken to be a bare plural form lacking an article, in Stvan (1993) I introduced the term "Bare Singular NP" to indicate any count noun use of an NP which is lacking an article, plural marker, and modifier, as a way to separate these unusual count noun forms from a range of other nominals, such as plurals, mass nouns, and modified forms. Indeed, bare forms are common with plural (and hence count) nouns, and mass nouns are, by definition, unmarked for number, although they may have a definite article; but a bare, ostensibly count noun, unmarked for number, is unexpected in English. This unexpectedness is observed by Ross (1995) who includes "articlelessness in the objects of prepositions" among the criteria for his "Defective NP" types. Soja (1994), after showing that bare noun constructions pattern more like full NPs than nouns, calls the bare singular count noun form an "NP-type noun." This term transparently reveals one of the characteristics of the nouns, but it actually detracts attention from their

kind-referring.

status as NPs, treating them instead as a type of lexical noun. By calling them bare singular NPs in the title of this work, I hope to point out the parallel to studies of bare plural NPs and to underline the fact that the bare use of the nouns represents a maximal projection. But for the remainder of this chapter I will continue to refer to these bare singular nominals by using the terms *nouns* and *nominals* in a pretheoretical sense, saving the presentation of evidence for their precise syntactic status (as N, N-bar, or NP) until Chapter 2.

1.3.2 Marked Meaning

Besides the syntactic markedness of the bare singular form, the meaning of a PP without an article in its object NP differs from the meaning conveyed when an article is present. In Chapter 4, I detail how a speaker may use the bare singular form to trigger one of three types of pragmatic inferences. As I first illustrated in Stvan (1993), a bare singular form may be used to create an Activity sense or Familiarity sense; in addition, it can be used in a kind-referring Generic sense. Examples of each of these senses, in contrast to the meanings conveyed by articulated forms of the nouns, are provided in turn below.

The example in (2a) illustrates the Activity sense.

(2) a. Her alternative was 90 days **in jail**.
(Gary Putka, "Classroom Scandal: Cheaters in Schools May Not Be Students, But Their Teachers," *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 2, 1989)

Activity sense = being held as a prisoner

b. My cousin is **in the jail**.

This sense is created by asserting information about the activity of the located person at the named location, an activity that is one typically associated with the type of place named. The location itself is treated as backgrounded information, that is, the fact that some actual jail is involved in the jailing activity is assumed, but this aspect is not the one highlighted by the use of *in jail*; hence, many people have referred to bare singular forms in general as institutional or generic uses of the noun since they do not pick out a particular referent. In (2a), *in jail* is a predicate used to convey that the located person is actually a prisoner there. This Activity sense is not present in the articulated form in (2b); with the articulated construction, the located person could be visiting the jail, cleaning the jail, etc.

Example (3a) illustrates the Familiarity sense—a deictic use anchoring the nominal either to one of the discourse participants (here defined as

either the speaker, hearer, or locatum) or to the place of the utterance.

(3) a. I work **at home**, and I have found that this arrangement has a tremendous potential for personal growth, because nobody will notice if you eat as many as 20 lunches per day. (Dave Barry, May 9, 1992, usenet group "clari.feature.dave_bar)

Familiarity sense = in my home

b. I work **at a home**.

In (3a), where an article is lacking, the home in question must be a discourse participant's home. In (3b), on the other hand, the articulated form of *home* does not serve to connect the referent to a discourse participant, so no Familiarity sense is conveyed.

Some words allow both types of inferences, as shown in (4). Here, both Activity and Familiarity paraphrases are possible:

(4) During their first year **at school**, children become Octobrists and wear the badge of Baby Lenin. [=(1b)]

Activity sense = attending school
Familiarity sense = at their school/at this school

A kind-referring generic use is also possible with bare singular nominals. Although more typical NP forms for generic uses are singular count forms with a definite article, plural count forms, and mass

nouns—as shown in (5a-c)—when used in a PP, the bare singular form can also be used generically, as seen in (5d).

(5) a. **The restaurant** is a sit-down eating establishment.
b. **Restaurants** are sit-down eating establishments.
c. **Gold** is one of the first metals to attract human attention.
d. Religious conversion is a slippery concept **in prison.** ("Prison Preaching," *All Things Considered*, broadcast April 30, 1996)

Given these three possible uses for bare singular nominal forms within a PP, I will show how a speaker's selection of the bare form from among the other available syntactic options reflects an 'information-packaging' function (Chafe 1976, Vallduví 1990, Lambrecht 1994, inter alia). Thus, I follow an 'information structure' analysis which assumes a component in the grammar in which the following holds:

> [P]ropositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information. (Lambrecht 1994:5)

Since a speaker's choice to use a syntactic construction with a particular discourse function can license the hearer to infer that the relationship between the information represented by the utterance and other relevant information in the discourse is appropriate to this discourse function (Birner 1992:2), this dissertation will look at the semantic and pragmatic constraints that allow a hearer to infer the function intended

by the speaker's use of a bare form. In short, it will show the matching of form and meaning—the discourse pragmatics—of the bare singular forms of location nouns.

1.4 Corpus Collection

In looking for examples of the bare singular location nouns, I searched both printed texts (books, magazines, newspapers, electronic newsgroups, email correspondence, and web sites) and spoken sources (radio and TV broadcasts, overheard conversations). The focus here is on American English, with spoken tokens by both black and white speakers representing the standard dialect. Regional variation in the data was not a consideration, except for a few noted exceptions when American English differs from British/Canadian/New Zealand English varieties (most notably the use of *in hospital* and *at university*), and one case of a specifically rural American term (*down cellar*). In predicting which bare singular forms could be felicitously used in other syntactic positions, I checked my own intuitions against other native speakers of American English.

My corpus contains 922 PP tokens containing bare singular nominals

(consisting of 94 different bare location noun types) and 72 examples of the bare forms used not in PPs but in subject or direct object position (consisting of 24 different bare noun types. (See Appendix A.) The bulk of the data come from electronic corpora, mainly 19th and 20th century novels and non-fiction works from the Project Gutenberg Etexts (1992), and half a year's worth of the *Wall Street Journal* (June to December 1989). Use of online texts allowed me to search more thoroughly for all occurrences of a given PP, though I also included isolated instances of naturally occurring tokens (those that I encountered or which colleagues relayed to me from conversations, ads, magazines, novels, movies, radio broadcasts, and newspapers). For unique cases of a noun type, I used the AltaVista search engine to check for additional examples of the usage on the Internet. The opportunistic additions are included in the corpus because they gave a useful broadening of range to the register and discourse types examined and helped me identify new occurrences for which to search. It should be noted, however, that donated examples sometimes provide less opportunity for a thorough examination of the works from which each example was taken.

In collecting tokens of bare singular nominals, I omitted data from news-paper headlines, captions, or email subject lines. Even though such

examples may appear to illustrate the phenomenon I was seeking, in fact, such formats routinely use a telegraphic style in which articles and other non-lexical categories are omitted. Thus, for examples like those in (6), it would not be clear if articles were lacking in the highlighted NPs for pragmatic reasons meant to help the reader identify information about the referent, or because the newspaper's copy editor needed to save space.

(6) a. As IBM Goes Astray, **Market** Pines for **Leader**
(*Wall Street Journal,* Oct. 5, 1989)

b. **House** Wants **Smoking Ban** Permanent on Some Flights
(*Wall Street Journal,* Aug. 3, 1989)

c. Topic: Christians on **Campus**
(http://www.valpo.edu/cgi-bin/netforum/vu/a/15--11.1)

d. B&W waist-up in **white blouse** and **dark skirt,** smiling at someone cropped out of **shot**, publicity still
(Caption to a Rita Hayworth photo--
http://shill.simplenet.com/actress/haywortr.htm)

2. Identifying Bare Singular Nominals

2.1 Some Similarities to Mass Nouns and to NPs

To illustrate uses of the bare form that are not merely the stylistic short-hand used in headlines, I will first provide a preliminary diagnostic for recognizing bare singular forms, based on the observation that bare singular location nominals act more like mass nouns or full NPs than like

normal count nouns. The template shown in (7), for example, selects for either mass nouns or NPs, but, except for metalinguistic uses, regular count nouns cannot occupy the empty slot.

(7) Speaking of _____, ...

As expected, the count nouns in (8) are ill-formed in this slot without the addition of an article or plural morpheme to qualify them as full NPs.[3]

(8) Regular Count Nouns

a. Speaking of *table/a table/tables
b. Speaking of *park/the park/parks
c. Speaking of *store/a store/stores
d. Speaking of *bakery/the bakery/bakeries
e. Speaking of *cemetery/a cemetery/cemeteries
f. Speaking of *auditorium/the auditorium/auditoriums

The mass nouns in (9), however, are just fine in this slot:

(9) Abstract or Mass Nouns

a. Speaking of grass
b. Speaking of motivation
c. Speaking of tofu

3. These count noun forms are even excluded when the nouns seem to come from the same semantic categories as other bare singular forms, such as social institutions: cf. (8c-f) with the examples in (10a).

Likewise, the apparent count nouns in (10) are fine in this slot:

(10) Bare Singular Nominals[4]

a. Speaking of school/church/college/home
b. Speaking of breakfast/sabbatical/vacation/break
c. Speaking of videotape/film/tape

Thus a nominal shares distributional qualities with a full NP if it is either a mass noun or a member of the special bare singular nominal group, but not other bare count nouns. (As I will show in Section 2.2, there is also syntactic evidence to show that the bare singular nominals are not mass nouns—or plural forms—but should be considered to be a separate non-lexical constituent.)

Compounds, since they are lexical items and not NPs (see Levi 1978), behave the same way as other nouns regarding the distribution shown in (8)-(10). Some compound nouns, typically those with mass heads (e.g., *fire water, table linen*), can readily serve as full NPs; others, having ostensive count noun heads, have the NP distribution only if headed by a bare singular nominal. This is shown in the contrast among the compound count nouns in (11) and (12).

4. Not all bare singular nominals that appear in PPs are felicitous in the template in (7), however: see Chapter 3.2 for a discussion of the characteristics of bare form subtypes.

(11) a. Speaking of *picnic table/the picnic table/picnic tables

b. Speaking of *throw rug/the throw rug/throw rugs

(12) a. Speaking of high school/the high school/high schools

b. Speaking of summer vacation/the summer vacation/ summer vacations

The compounds in (11), which have true count nouns as the head, are ruled out in the template from (7) unless they have an article or plural marker. In contrast, those in (12), in which the head of the compound is from the special set of bare singular nouns, are fine in the bare form.

With some NN compounds, the head noun is dropped, but still plays a part in determining whether the entire compound is mass or count. In (13), for example, *daycare* is the clipping of *daycare center*, involving an ellipsis of a compound's head. Accordingly, *daycare* retains the full compound's attribute of countability. Other such clipped compounds are shown in (14), with the elided head noun shown in square brackets:

(13) a. The teacher at my daycare said that ....
(11 year old, ABC News, Jan. 23, 1997)

b. What's the name of the daycare that you work at?
(Overheard on a bus, Oct. 15, 1996)

(14) a. In group [therapy] today we talked about expressing anger.
b. She prepared for the math test in history [class].[5]
c. My sister is in junior high [school].

2.2 NPs vs. Lexical Count Nouns and Mass Nouns

Soja (1994) observes that some of the apparently marked behavior of bare singular location nouns comes from having the syntactic distribution of full NPs, rather than count or mass nouns. She calls these bare nominal forms 'NP-type Nouns', and, in experiments on children's acquisition of these forms (Soja 1994; Burns and Soja 1995a, 1995b, 1996), shows that children treat them as a separate part of the nominal system from regular mass or count nouns. While I disagree with her conclusion that bare nominals are lexical nouns, I follow up on Soja's evidence that such nouns act like full NPs. In my investigation, which traces adult native speakers' use of these NPs via an analysis of naturally occurring data, I show the range of nouns that can be used as bare singular nominals and the distinct types of meaning a speaker can convey by using this form. Because one of the issues yet to be satisfactorily explained regarding English nominals is the level at which the mass/count distinction applies, I provide a more precise syntactic terminology for these nominals in Chapter 2, where I use bare singular nominals to help

5. The names of numerous classes are clipped following this pattern; it is in this use that *in gym* is felicitous—as a clipping of *in gym class*. *In gym* is infelicitous, however, when used to locate a person as being in an actual gymnasium.

decide the node level (N, N-bar, or NP) at which the mass/count distinction is made.

3. Syntactic Distribution of the Bare Singular Nominals

3.1. Introduction

This section looks briefly at the syntactic distribution of bare singular nominals. In Stvan (1993) I discussed two of the types of implicated meanings that could be conveyed by these forms when used in PPs. Most other work on these forms has also focussed on their use in PPs, since it is as the objects of spatial or temporal prepositions that they most frequently occur (see, for example, Christophersen 1939:183; Quirk et al. 1985:277). Some investigations (such as Werth 1980) have even denied the possibility of bare singular count nouns occurring in subject position. This conclusion, however, appears to be due to the author's reliance on constructed examples. To check such assumptions about distribution, I collected and analyzed naturally occurring examples of bare nominals occurring in subject or direct object positions. My aim in this section is to demonstrate that bare singular noun forms do occur in subject and direct object positions. In the chapter on pragmatic aspects of bare singular nominals, I discuss whether the same two implicated meanings conveyed in PPs are conveyed by these NPs in sub-

ject or direct object position as well. If so, this would indicate that the marked meanings are tied to the bare form in general. If not, the implicated meaning might be more influenced by factors such as the preposition heading the PP, or by the linear position of the NP in the sentence (cf. information status constraints on sentence position, Prince 1981, 1992; Birner 1992).

3.2 Bare Singular Nominals as Subjects

My initial searches for bare singular nominals targeted location nouns that occurred directly after spatial prepositions. To check whether these NP forms were limited to this position, I searched again for these same bare singular nominals in either sentence-initial position or following a transitive verb. Before collecting the corpus, I had found that native speakers were willing to use only some of these NPs in subject and direct object positions; the subsets they predicted were reinforced by the data collected from searching online corpora.

First, I tried using a subset of the nouns that are found in bare singular nominals, what I will call 'institution expressions,' as sentence subjects. I did this in two ways: I asked a group of native speakers of American English which of the 39 nouns they would use as the subject of the tem-

plate sentence shown in (15).

(15) $\overline{\text{NP}}$ was where I spent most of my time.

Next, I searched online text sources for the institution nouns in sentence-initial position.[6] The results of the speaker judgments and online searches are shown in (16). Highlighted forms show nouns which are attested in subject position in my corpus.

(16) a. Acceptable: **bed, camp,** campus, **church**, class, **college, court (legal)**, court (royal), daycare, **home, jail**, kindergarten, **prison, school,** seminary, **town**

b. Questionable: market, port, synagogue, temple, university

c. Unacceptable: country, deck, hall, harbor, hospital, island, kitchen, line, meeting, office, property, river, sea, site, stage, stream, studio, theater

Attested examples from the corpus represented a proper subset of the nouns selected by speakers' intuitions; that is, while only 10 examples of the bare nouns as subjects have so far been culled (from 33 occur-

6. Looking for sentence-initial occurrences should capture both generic-type characterizing sentences and predications about particular events, should the bare singular nominals occur in both these types of sentences. Whether or not bare singular nominals can occur as kind-referring generic NPs is a point discussed in Chapter 4.

rences in texts or conversations), all were from the set that speakers found acceptable, while searches for the nouns marked unacceptable or questionable turned up no tokens in subject position.[7]

Examples of sentences containing these bare nouns in subject position are shown in (17).

(17) a. **Church** is a comfort, all right, but your water and your sewer, those are necessities.
(Garrison Keillor, *Lake Wobegon Days*, New York: Viking, 1985, p. 209)

b. He didn't want to give the impression that "**prison** was only for those not socially advantaged."
(Arthur S. Hayes, "Ex-Fed Official Gets Jail Term For Data Leak," *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 14, 1989)

c. For many of us, **school** doesn't summon up happy memories.
(Roy Harvey, "Chicago Books Reviewed," *Chicago Books in Review* vol. 1, no. 4 Fall 96, p. 13)

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7. Since I was searching texts untagged for grammatical function, for my online searches I was relying on sentence position. Thus, I found a much smaller number of subject uses than PP uses since the majority of searches for these words in sentence-initial position found nouns that were modifiers in compounds—as those in (i)—rather than nouns serving as the sole component of the NP.

(i) Town officials pass out pamphlets—partly paid for by the federal government—with perky cartoon characters dismissing the risks of asbestos.
(Jonathan Dahl, "Perilous Policy: Canada Encourages Mining of Asbestos, Sells to Third World," *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 12, 1989)

d. They range from legal "fee-shifting" (to discourage needless litigation), to educational day care for children three to 12 when **school** is not in session, to a tuition voucher system that places the burden of financing upon students rather than parents.
(Craig Lerner, "College Chat: Picking One, Running One," *Wall Street Journal,* Sept. 25, 1989)

e. Farmers still do this in the field, although most of them know that **town** is a different situation, but not Mr. Berge and his friends, the Norwegian bachelor farmers.
(Garrison Keillor, *Lake Wobegon Days*, New York: Viking, 1985, p. 151)

The attested examples clearly support the speakers' intuitions that bare singular nominals can serve as subjects. Furthermore, subjects can consist of nouns which, when used in PPs, create both Familiarity as well as Activity senses. However, what is notable about the forms as subjects is that they do not maintain the specific deictic sense associated with Familiarity readings when nouns are used in subject position (for further discussion see Chapter 4).

3.3 Bare Singular Nominals as Direct Objects

To test for the bare singular nominals as direct objects, I looked for the same institution nouns directly following a verb. I again did this in two ways: native speakers were asked to mark which nouns they would use as the object in the template sentence shown in (18).

(18) He planned to finish it before leaving $\overline{\text{NP}}$.

I then searched online text sources for the nouns following the words *leave* or *left*. I chose this verb for two reasons. First of all, in my template I wanted a motion verb that subcategorizes for a location NP object. Secondly, because I was not using a syntactically tagged corpus, I chose to search using the verb that had occurred most often with the direct object tokens I had already encountered. The two sets of results are presented below. Again, highlighted forms indicate nouns which are attested in the online texts in direct object position.

(19) a. Acceptable: **camp, campus, church,** class, court (royal), college, daycare, harbor, **home, hospital, jail**, **kindergarten**, port, **prison, school, seminary**, synagogue, temple, **town,** university

b. Questionable: bed, court (legal), deck, line, stage

c. Unacceptable: country, hall, island, kitchen, market, meeting, river, property, sea, site, stream, studio, table

Although the verb I used when searching the online sources for NP objects was *leave*, many of the direct object tokens I found by other means followed other verbs, as shown in (20).

(20) a. break/pitch/set up **camp**
b. attend/cut short/skip **church**
c. break/leave **jail**
d. enter **kindergarten**
e. enter/face/flee/mention **prison**
f. enter **seminary**
g. attend/hate/invent/like/miss/start/teach **school**
h. visit **town**

Bare nouns in direct object position are shown in (21).

(21) a. The author deserves thanks for insuring that Manson will undoubtedly never leave **jail,** but the book that maintains his infamy also maintains his fame.
(Alex Ross, "The Shock of the True," *The New Yorker*, Aug. 19, 1996, p. 71)

b. Before government regulations... children ruined their health in ghastly sweatshops, instead of attending **school**.
(Steve Frederick, "Good Old Days," *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 18, 1996, sect. 1, p. 18)

c. He was known to visit **town** on occasion and even hoist a beer at Barney's, howbeit in silence.
(Garrison Keillor, *Lake Wobegon Days*, New York: Viking, 1985, p. 82)

d. Please plan to bring all payments up to date by June 13 or before you leave **campus.**
(T. White, Northwestern University memo, June 4, 1997)

The acceptable bare forms in (19) make up a slightly different set than the nouns used in subject position, but again, the electronic text searches correspond to the intuitions of speakers. Eleven bare singular

nominal types were found to be used as direct objects out of a total of 36 tokens showing these NPs in direct object position; all of these were from the set speakers found to be acceptable in this position.[8]

It is worth noting that speakers qualified many of the nouns in (16) and (19) that they marked as questionable by noting that they do not normally talk about this particular place, so the bare form might be felicitous, but they didn't feel they could provide adequate acceptability judgments. This relates to a factor detailed in Chapter 4, which concerns bare nouns as markers of community membership. For example, a number of rarely found PP forms, such as *in studio*, *on property*, *in kitche*n (referring to a professional chef), and *out of office* (here meaning a secretary's workplace, not a political office)—as well as the bare forms of *church*, *synagogue*, *temple*, and *court*—were most acceptable for speakers who were participants in the subcommunities that attend these places regularly.

What the data in this section reveal, then, is that bare singular nominals can occur as subjects and direct objects. In Chapter 4, I show that each of these syntactic positions is associated with some meaning dif-

8. After my initial electronic search, I found an additional three direct object types, including two that were not on the original survey: *downtown*, *work*, and *court* (legal).

ferences. Specifically, I demonstrate that bare singular nominal direct objects can be used to convey any one of the three pragmatic senses: Familiarity, Activity, and Generic uses. However, in subject position, bare singular nominals are not used to convey the Familiarity sense; instead, they are used to convey information about the kind of place the noun designates. So, while there is no syntactic restriction on bare form use, there is a pragmatic one.

While we have seen that bare singular nominals occur as both subjects and direct objects of sentences, in the rest of this chapter I will focus on these nominals in their primary position, within locative PPs.

3.4 Bare Singular Nominals as Objects in PPs

PPs of the form [prep + bare singular nominal] are used in the full range of syntactic positions for locative PPs: as predicates, as NP modifiers, as adverbials, and as nominals.

3.4.1 PPs As Predicates

Predicative PPs may appear in one of two positions. First, they are commonly found following a verb is a copula or a verb of becoming, in which case they predicate something of the subject NP, as shown in (22).

(22) a. There are twenty-nine students in Brian's homeroom. Two are currently in foster care—one girl because her father is **in prison** for murdering her mother; another girl spent last year in foster care.
(Susan Sheehan, "Kid, Twelve," *The New Yorker*, Aug. 19, 1996, p. 54)

b. Shaffer moved to New York from Canada in the summer of 1975 to become a band member on "Saturday Night Live," and ended up **on stage** there frequently as a comedy performer as well.
(*Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 6, 1996, Tempo section, p. 5)

c. Our people're already **upriver**, so, tonight, you'll be the guest of a bunch of centipede enthusiasts.
(Steven Utley, "The Wind over the World," *Asimov's Science Fiction*, Oct./Nov. 1996, p. 117)

d. When Alexandra was **in bed**, wrapped in hot blankets, Ivar came in with his tea and saw that she drank it.
(Willa Cather, *O Pioneers!*, 1913, Gutenberg etext)

The PPs can also function as predicates that follow direct objects; here they are not attributive post-nominal modifiers, but constituents of an [NP PP] small clause or its notational equivalent (cf. Stowell 1981, 1983; Chomsky 1981) with a resultative-like sense, as illustrated in (23):

(23) a. There are computers to get kids **on-line**, a television studio donated by WBBM-Channel 2, a news bureau developed in conjunction with Children's Express news service and telephones that will allow visitors to give their opinions as part of a survey.
(Susy Schultz, "Newest Exhibit Puts Kids Online, on TV," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Oct. 7, 1996, p. 29)

b. Matsushita chose to keep a handful of Japanese technicians **on site** while most foreigners were evacuated, and the Chinese media made some embarrassing propaganda of that decision.
(Jeremy Mark, "Foreign Businesses Operating in China Avoid Spotlight They Once Welcomed," *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 1, 1989)

3.4.2 PPs as Modifiers of Nouns

The second functional role of PPs is as modifiers of a noun, either post-nominal,[9] as shown in (24), or prenominal, as in (25).

(24) a. Towns **down river** use the Elbe as the source of water for drinking and bathing.
(Thomas F. O'Boyle, "East Germany Pollution Has No Borders," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 6, 1989)

b. It remarkably characterised the incomplete morality of the age, rigid as we call it, that a licence was allowed the seafaring class, not merely for their freaks **on shore,** but for far more desperate deeds on their proper element.
(Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 1850, Gutenberg etext)

c. Why don't you meet me at the Parasol on top of the Sunbelt Plaza on Peachtree? Food's not all that hot, but the view is spectacular, and there's really not any place **downtown** that doesn't cater to tourists.
(Anne River Siddons, *Homeplace*, New York: Ballantine Books, 1987, p. 239)

d. I did not awaken him, for sleep **in prison** is such a priceless boon that I have seen men transformed into raging brutes when robbed by one of their fellow-prisoners of a few precious moments of it.
(Edgar Rice Burroughs, *The Gods of Mars*, 1913, Gutenberg etext)

9. Many of these have the feel of reduced relative clauses.

e. My interest was first aroused when a friend of mine **at school** proudly showed me something he had just made.
(Norman F. Joly, *The Dawn of Amateur Radio in the U.K. and Greece: A Personal View*, 1990, Gutenberg etext)

(25) a. The industry also saw the provision as a means to highlight evidence that tankers pose more of an environmental risk than **offshore** rigs.
(David Rogers, "Senate Requires Disclosure of Lobbyists In Vote to Clear Natural Resources Bill," *Wall Street Journal*, July 27, 1989)

b. Planned offerings include listings for the names and locations of **online** library catalog programs, the names of publicly accessible electronic mailing lists, compilations of Frequently Asked Questions lists, and archive sites for the most popular Usenet newsgroups.
(Brendan P. Kehoe, *Zen and the Art of the Internet*, 1992, Gutenberg etext)

c. Hong Kong officials announced last week that the base will be relocated to a small island to allow **downtown** redevelopment.
(William Mathewson, "World Wire," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 19, 1989)

d. "Advertisers are beginning to discover what's going on out here—a style of advertising that's different than the rest of the country," says Geoffrey S. Thompson, senior vice president of ad agency Foote, Cone & Belding's San Francisco office. "We've had a real nice resurgence . . . and it's all **out-of-town** business."[10]
(Joanne Lipman, "Small West Coast Shops Strive For Coast-to-Coast Reputations," *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 11, 1989)

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10. Style books often recommend that prenominal modifiers of three words or more be hyphenated, and also certain subsets of two-word combinations, but this style varies. Also, while articles are often left out of compound modifiers, there are many exceptions to this as well: *on-the-job-training, off-the-shelf clothing, over-the-top performance*, and *under-the-table dealings*. Hence it is not only the role in a modifier that accounts for the lack of articles in the examples in (25).

3.4.3 PPs as Adverbials

A third role for PPs containing bare nominals is as a verbal modifier. (See Chapter 3 for a division of adverbial locative PPs into those denoting a point to which the locatum travels and those denoting a location along which or across which the locatum travels.)

(26) a. I couldn't find the words to name all that, and I walked beside Kathryn without saying a thing, all the way **downriver** to her family's home.
(Kim Stanley Robinson, *The Wild Shore*, New York: Ace Science Fiction, 1984, p. 262)

b. Many Japanese companies are now producing **off shore.**
(Ron Yates, *World View* radio broadcast, WBEZ, Chicago, March 14, 1997)

c. At the height of his influence, Mr. Granville was a glitzy showman. Chimpanzees romped **on stage** with him; laser lights blazed to entertain the crowds at his investment seminars.
(John R. Dorfman, "One Fallen Guru Is Rising Again," *Wall Street Journal,* July 28, 1989)

d. Beginning, like a book, with a catalog of all the previous works by the same author, it proceeds with a lengthy account of an impassioned theoretical debate following a Paris cineclub screening, then with a love story of sorts, but the film's narrative and dialogue are recounted almost entirely **offscreen**, in voice-overs.
(Jonathan Rosenbaum, review of *Venom and Eternity*, *Chicago Reader,* June 13, 1997, Section Two, p. 13)

e. The global list can also be searched **online.**
(Jean Armour Poll, *Surfing the Internet,* 1992, Gutenberg etext)

f. In 1988 they confiscated only half as many stimulants, which Japanese traditionally have used to stay awake **at school** or work, as in 1987, but five times as many "recreational" drugs such as marijuana and hashish.
(Damon Darlin, "Japanese Fear New Juvenile Violence Is Sign of Spreading 'American Disease'," *Wall Street Journal,* Aug. 2, 1989)

g. The beauty of Burnett's story (the novel, which was published in 1905, is an expanded version of an 1888 novella) is that it presents the battle of youthful fancy against adult "realism" as a kind of epic struggle, fought where it is usually fought—**in school**.
(Terrence Rafferty, "The Current Cinema," *The New Yorker,* May 29, 1995, pp. 92-3)

h. For in Venezuela, if a company is charged with doing wrong with the nation's money, that company's top executives can sit **in prison**—denied bail—while the case lumbers through an unwieldy legal system.
(Jose de Cordoba, "Wanted in Caracas: Many Executives Flee Venezuela in Scandal Over Dollar Reserves," *Wall Street Journal,* Aug. 24, 1989)

i. In an invention that drives Verdi purists bananas, Violetta lies dying **in bed** during the prelude, rising deliriously when then she remembers the great parties she used to throw.
(Manuela Hoelterhoff, "Mr. Z.'s Cast-Proof `Traviata' ," *Wall Street Journal,* Oct. 25, 1989)

j. At the same time, tens of thousands supposedly are moving **out of state** to escape the hubbub.
(Tim W. Ferguson, "Trip Down Memory Freeway," Wall Street Journal, Sept. 7, 1989)

3.4.4 PPs as Locative Subjects and Objects

In the fourth functional role, the PP itself is used to name a particular place, so that the PP functions as an argument rather than a modifier.

While the existence of 'locative subjects,' such as the example in (27a) is well known (Lyons 1977, Stowell 1981, Jaworska 1986, Bresnan 1990, Jones 1998, inter alia), PPs with bare nominals can be used in other nominal positions too, as the examples in (28) illustrate.

(27) a. **Under the bed** is dusty.
b. The area under the bed is dusty. [=Jones 1998, (5)]

(28) a. Instead of his usual monologue, Mr. Hall just shouts "I'm back!" from **offstage** and introduces Ms. Abdul.
(Leon E. Wynter, "Ghetto and Suburb Go to a House Party," *Wall Street Journal,* Sept. 29, 1989)

b. Although most of the apartment complexes on the auction block were built by Texans, most of the buyers are from **out of state.**
(Christi Harlan, "Apartment Complex Sales Brighten a Dark Market," *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 5, 1989)

c. It's an hour forty-five now from O'Hare to **downtown.**
(Bill Lindy, Shadow Traffic, WBEZ, Nov. 26, 1997)

While there is some debate as to whether the highlighted expressions illustrated in (27a) and (28) should be considered NPs or PPs (cf. Jackendoff 1983, Williams 1984, Chametzky 1985, Jaworska 1986), these expressions are all composite units of a preposition and NP, and certainly have many qualities of nominals, e.g., the whole PP is used to name a place and is found in positions usually filled by an NP. In (27) that is the subject position, while in (28) the object of a preposition is

the position filled by the PPs. Though bare nouns in PPs can name a specific point or space, when used in this way they are less likely to be found as subjects than as objects of prepositions. PPs can fill these object positions if the referent fills the thematic role of source, goal, or path.

3.4.5 Lexicalized PPs and Orthography

Two issues arise concerning the orthographic conventions of PPs containing bare singular nominals. Note first that the same PP will often vary among publication styles between a solid word, a hyphenated one, or a two-word form, as illustrated in (29) and (30).

(29) a. The next day a heavy wall of clouds moved **onshore**.
(Kim Stanley Robinson, *The Wild Shore*, New York: Ace Science Fiction, 1984, p. 127)

b. Gilbert obligingly rowed to the landing and Anne, disdaining assistance, sprang nimbly **on shore**.
(Lucy Maud Montgomery, *Anne of Green Gables*, 1908, Gutenberg etext)

(30) a. The full text of publications can be searched **online** and copied from the system, which can accommodate up to ten users at one time.
(Brendan P. Kehoe, *Zen and the Art of the Internet*, 1992, Gutenberg etext)

b. Children can get **on-line**, on television, on the phone and in the news in this new exhibit.
(Susy Schultz, "Newest Exhibit Puts Kids Online, on TV," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Oct. 7, 1996, p. 29)

c. Given the constraints of time, WEIBEL omitted a large number of ancillary items in order to say a few words concerning storage requirements and what will be required to put a lot of things **on line**.
(*LOC Workshop on Electronic Texts*, 1992, Gutenberg etext)

Since choice of orthographic form is often arbitrary for uses that are not prenominal, perhaps reflecting a not yet complete diachronic move towards solid forms (Pyles and Algeo 1982, Peters 1994), I have treated all such forms as PPs. However, note that some of the PPs containing bare nominals have true lexicalized equivalents that can serve as synonymous predicates:

(31) a.

abed	in bed
asea	at sea
ashore	on shore
aboard	on board

b.

imprisoned	in prison
encamped	at camp

Those in (31a) are true synonyms, while those in (31b) are not symmetrical. For the pairs in (31b), the phrases on the right entail the meaning of the word on the left, while the adjectives on the left have broader metaphorical uses than the meanings of the phrases.

This similarity of PPs to lexical forms is not unusual. As a part of her

evidence that there is a kind of word-formation process that occurs on a phrasal basis, Rauh (1993:131) lists a number of expressions in Modern English now classified as adverbs or prepositions, which have developed out of [P + NP] constructions:

(32)

aboard	aground	apart
abreast	aloud	ashore
again	apace	atop

For most lexical/phrasal pairs where both are still in use, the lexicalized form is more formal, and even archaic. Of these, the members of only one pair (*on board/aboard)* appear to be interchangeably used in current English. An additional unusual quality of the word *board*—with its semantically opaque and metonymically derived sense of *ship*—is that it is not used in any other count noun situations, e.g., one does not speak of *a beautiful board* or *several boards* in that same sense. In addition, both *on board* and *aboard*, unlike the other PPs in the corpus, serve syntactically as transitive prepositions, as seen in (33).

(33) a. Unlike an aircraft's black box, however, the voyage-data recorder doesn't capture the conversations of crew members because the wide distances **on board** a ship would make that impractical.
(Daniel Machalaba, "Lloyd's Register 'Black Box' for Ships Meets Resistance From Shipping Lines," *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 4, 1989)

b. Leveritt and Brinkman stepped **aboard** the boat that was to carry them upriver.
(Steven Utley, "The Wind over the World," *Asimov's Science Fiction*, Sept./Oct. 1996, p. 122)

In contrast to the uses in (33a), other PPs having bare singular location objects cannot take an NP object:

(34) a. * The global list can also be searched **online** the database.
b. * I waded **on shore** the land.
c. * Alexandra was **in bed** a couch.

Although *on board* is exceptional in sometimes serving as a preposition, nonetheless this particular PP is found serving in the other traditional PP functions, such as the adnominal and adverbial uses in (35).

(35) a. Hours later, the explosive destroyed the Boeing 707 over the Indian Ocean, killing every one of the 115 people **on board.**
(William M. Carley, "Study in Terror: How Asian Schoolgirl, Tutored in Espionage, Became Bomber of Jet," *Wall Street Journal,* Oct. 12, 1989)

b. Pretty soon we'd have a laundry list of things you could and couldn't bring **on board,** and that could be difficult for our airport screeners to handle.
(William M. Carley, "Keeping Terrorists' Bombs Off Airplanes," *Wall Street Journal,* July 28, 1989)

4. Terminology for the Two Referents in Locative Expressions

Since bare singular nominals most often occur in locative PPs, a discussion of the terms for the referents involved in spatial expressions is called for. Following the distinction introduced in Karttunen (1969), I assume the referents of NPs to be not actual objects but discourse entities, that is, mental constructs of the objects denoted; these are taken to exist in the speaker's and hearer's minds—in their discourse model—and may or may not reflect an entity in the real world.

A number of terms have been used to identify the referents of the two positioned entities in a locative expression, designated as A and B in the examples below:

(36) The cat (A) is in the house. (B)

(37) Take the book (A) from under the table. (B)

The referent of the A expression, the entity actually being located somewhere, is called the "locatum" in Clark and Clark (1979), and this term is frequently used in lexical semantics. In their works contrasting English, Polish, and Russian prepositions, Weinsberg (1973) and Cienki

(1989) call this referent the "spatial entity being localized" (or the SpE), while they call the referent of the B expression, the actual place or location, the "localizer" (or L-r). In Langacker (1987), the A expression is referred to as the "trajector" (or tr), while the B expression is the "landmark" (or lm).[11] Talmy (1972, 1978), in his studies of motion and location, calls the A expression the "figure" and the B expression the "ground," based on the use of these terms in Gestalt psychology. Gruber (1965), defining the relations in lexical semantics, refers to the A expression as the "theme" and the B expression as the "reference object."

This last term is frequently found in discussions of spatial expressions to refer to the entity against which some object is oriented. Herskovits (1985), for example, discusses the traits of the most prototypical reference objects,[12] which include their being large, immobile, and easy to see or contextually salient. However, while the NPs under discussion are found as objects of locative prepositions, the category of reference

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11. While Langacker's terms are widely adopted by writers using the framework of Cognitive Grammar, I have avoided them here because *trajector* may have unintended connotations of movement or flight and *landmark* may seem to imply an edifice, or at least, an artifact.

12. Herskovits (1986) also uses *located entity* for the A expression and *reference entity* for the B expression.

object is a more inclusive category than would be useful for this study. Reference object covers all sorts of objects that could be named in a PP, such as the smaller referents of the NPs shown in the left-hand column of (38), whereas in the PPs I am discussing, the located object mainly appears as a type of social institution or community location, as shown in the PPs in the right-hand column:

(38) Reference object is	**an artifact**	**a community location**
	next to the bicycle	at school
	against the wall	in church
	near the pencil	at camp

For the B term, therefore, I use the term *location* with the understanding that a location is a subtype of reference object, so what holds true for locations may not hold true for all reference objects. For the A term, I use Clark and Clark's term *locatum*. A summary of the terms that have been used for these two referents is shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Terms for the Two Referents in Locative Expressions

Work	Term for A	Term for B
Clark and Clark 1979	Locatum	
Weinsberg 1973 and Cienki 1989	Spatial entity being localized (SpE)	Localizer (L-r)
Langacker 1991	Trajector (tr)	Landmark (lm)
Talmy 1978	Figure	Ground
Gruber 1965	Theme	Reference object
Herskovits 1986	Located entity	Reference entity
Herskovits 1985	Located object	Reference object

All the terms from previous works listed above tell us something about the referents' relation to each other. However, in aiming for the most neutral and basic term that applies to those referents specifically involved in bare singular nominal situations, I use *locatum* and *location* for the referents of the two NPs, except when I am directly quoting another writer.

5. Conclusion to Chapter 1

We saw in this chapter that the set of location nouns that shows up in the bare form is unusual not only in being syntactically marked, but also in being used to convey particular kinds of information about the

location or the locatum. Though superficially resembling count nouns, we see that since only mass nouns can normally occur with neither a deteminer nor a plural marker, the forms have some of the distributional traits of both mass nouns and NPs. They are found in subject and object position, but occur most often in PPs. While it is not unusual for count nouns to shift into mass noun uses in certain contexts, the constructions under examination are not used in such contexts. What it means to be a mass or a count form is an area I will explore in Chapter 2.