

The Phrasal Basis of Grammatical Categories

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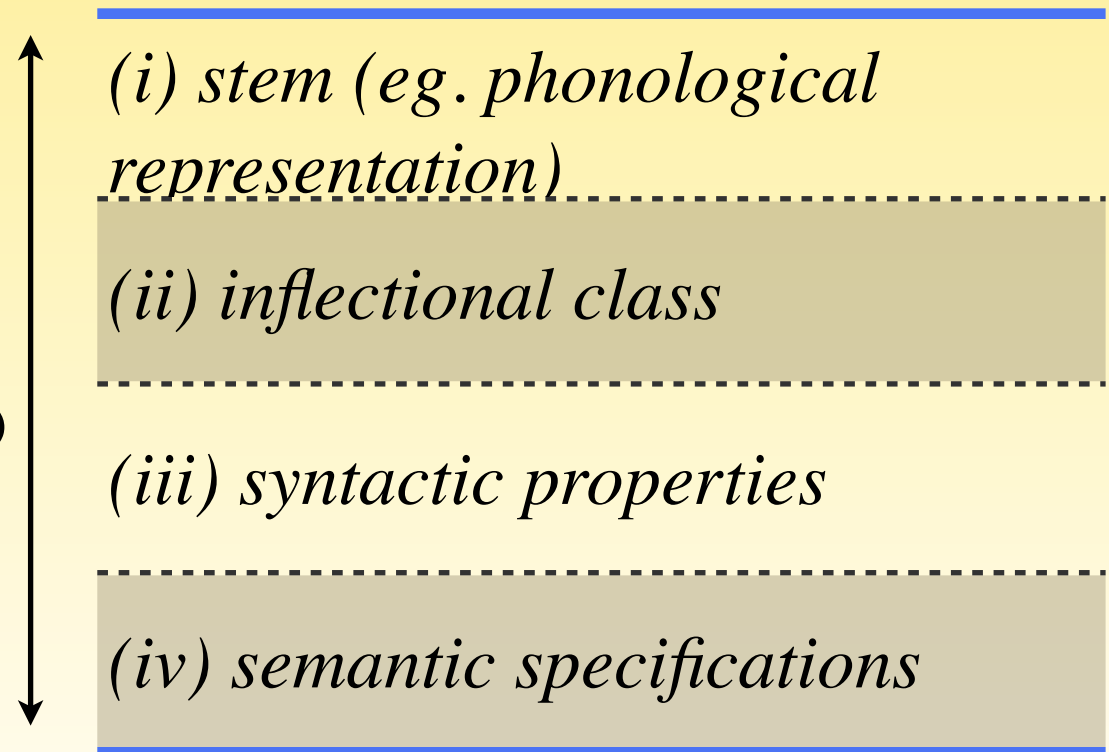
Max Plank Institute for Psycholinguistics



COOL8, 8th January 2010

Formal Representation

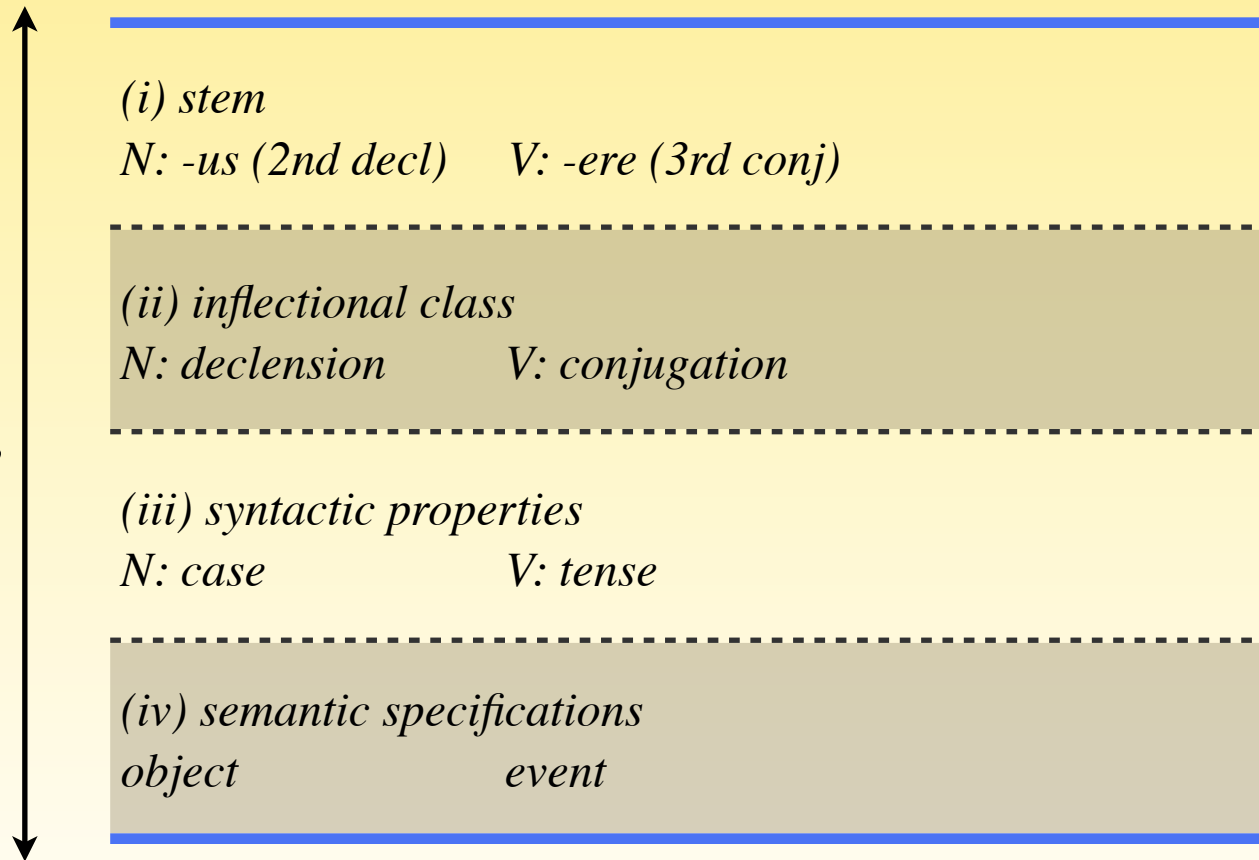
- *Lexeme* (Lyons 1977)



Formal Representation

- *Classical Languages (Latin, Ancient Greek)*

- *Lexeme*



Formal Representation

- *Oceanic Languages*
 - *Isolating/analytical languages: inflectional grammatical categories are not often realized at the word level, but at the phrasal level*

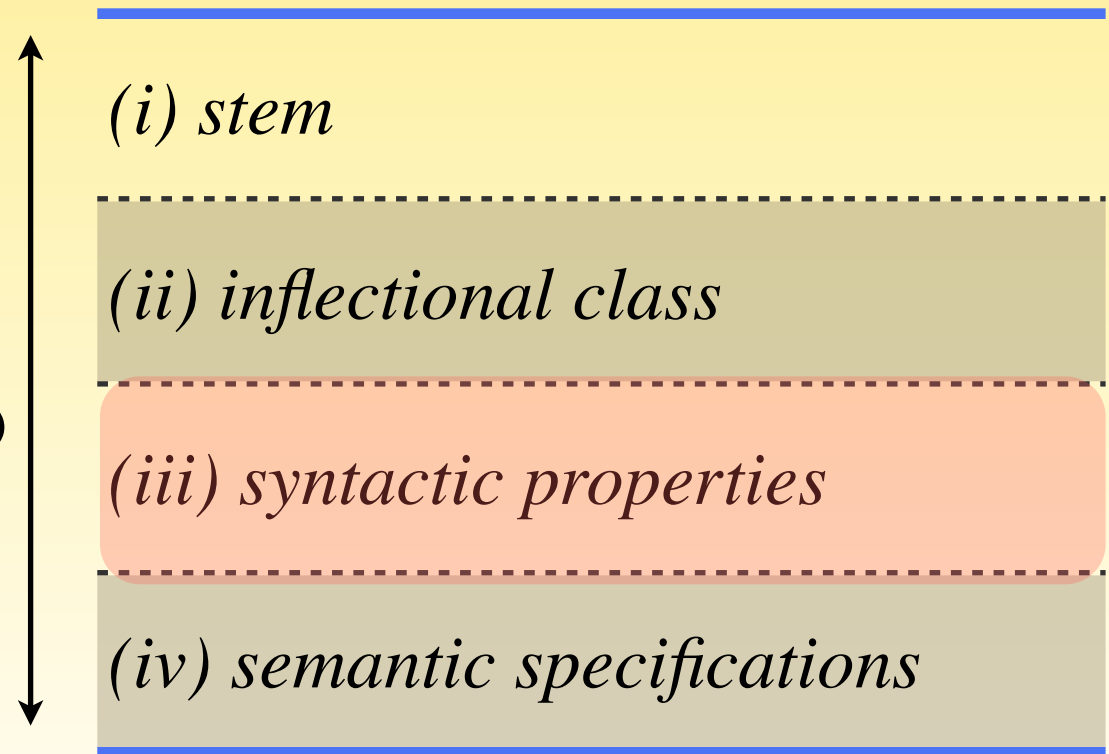
Formal Representation



- *Construction Grammar* (Fillmore and Kay 1993; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Fried and Östen 2004)
 - Meaning-bearing construction schemas (signs, simple or complex) are the basis of grammatical description
 - Constructions are a pre-associated bundle of form-meaning, ranging from individual words to complex sentences, so that the composite meaning of a syntactic complex is not merely the result of rules of combination acting on the meanings of the morphemes of the construction but actually inheres in the abstract structure of the construction itself

Formal Representation

- *Lexeme* (Lyons 1977)



Languages

Tolai

Whitesands



DP

- *Tolai*

1(a) *a tutana i kita ra bul*
D man 3SG hit D child

‘the man hit the child’

(b) *iau a vavina*
1SG D woman

‘I’m a/the woman’

DP

- *Tolai*

2(a) *pa u ngo ra va-bilak diat*
NEG 2SG cease D CAUS-bad 3PL.ACC

‘you didn’t stop injuring them’

(b) *u va-par iga kau-gu uma ma ra ian ia*
2SG CAUS-ready now POSS-1SG.GEN garden with D eat 3SG.

‘you prepare my garden by eating it’

DP

- *Whitesands - no DP*

3(a) *petan t-an-ol rakis nahwel*

woman 3SG-PRF-make already laplap

‘The/a woman has made (a) laplap’

(b) *kahaw t-am-avəir jow*

rat 3SG-PST-defecate turtle

‘The rat shat on the turtle’

IP

- *Tolai* - ‘normal’ predication

4(a) *ina* *vana,* *ina* *ga* *vut-mulai*
1SG.FUT go 1SG.FUT REM come-return

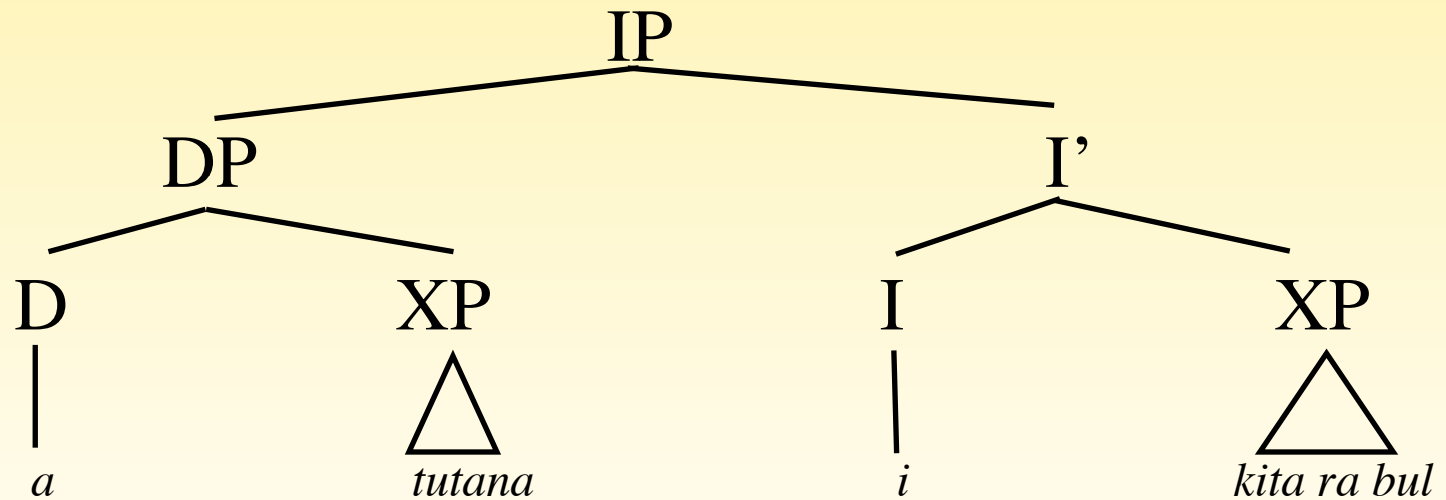
‘I’ll go, I’ll come back later’

IP

- *Tolai* - 'normal' predication

4(b) *a tutana i kita ra bul*
D man 3SG hit D child

'the man hit the child'



IP

- *Tolai* - 'object-denoting' predication

5(a) *a kaliku i ga boroi lua*

D python 3SG REM pig before

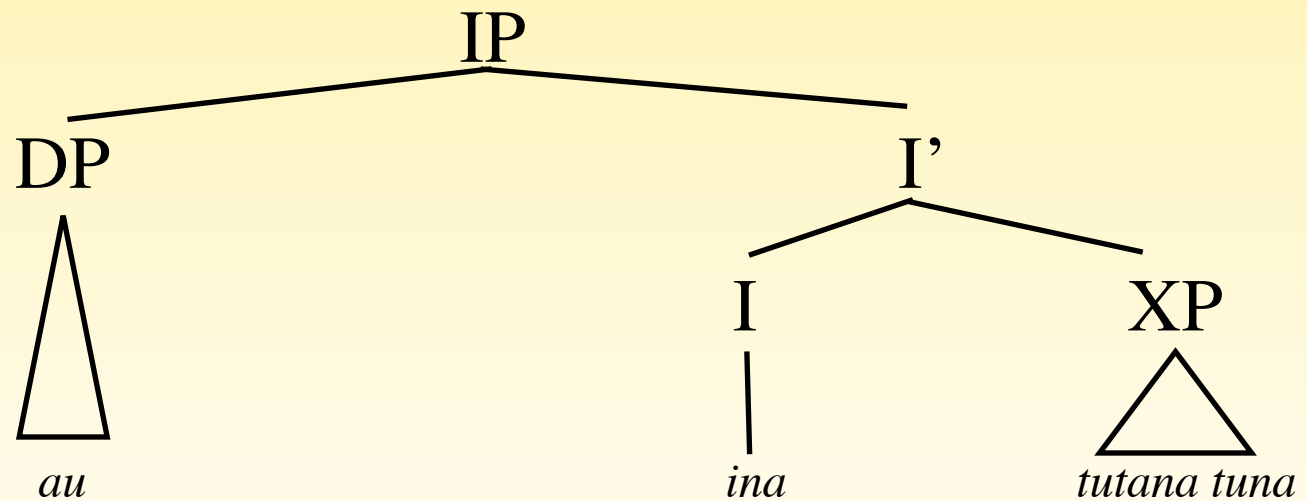
'the python has been a big before'

IP

- *Tolai* - 'object-denoting' predication

5(b) *au* *ina* *tutana* *tuna*
1SG 1SG.FUT man real

'I'll be a real man'



IP

- *Whitesands* - ‘normal’ predication

6(a) *in* *t-at-etei* *nawəwə*

3SG 3SG-CONT-write book.ACC

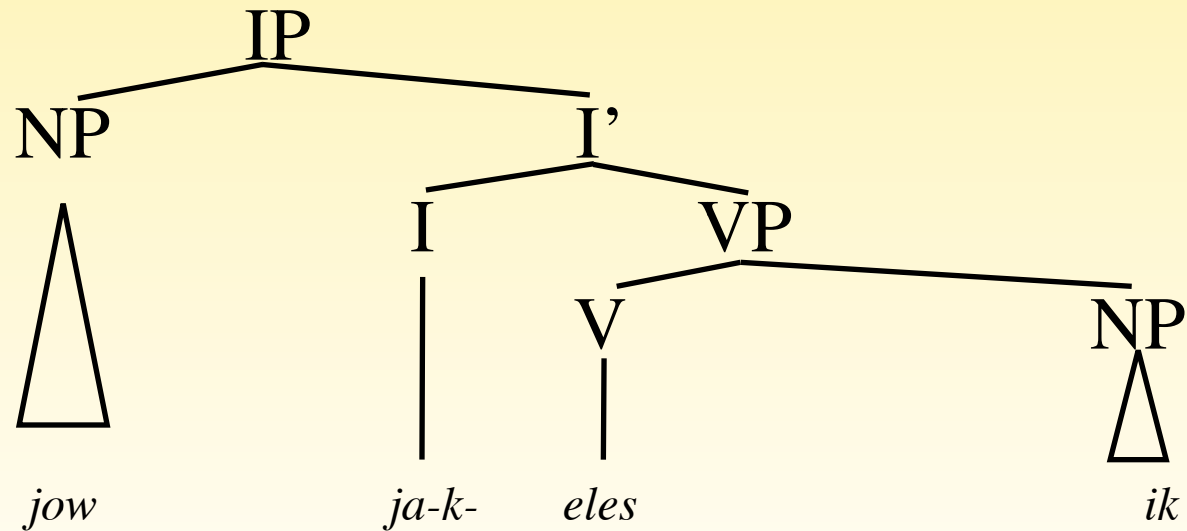
‘He is writing a book’

IP

- Whitesands - 'normal' predication

6(b) *jow* *ja-k-eles* *ik*
1SG 1SG-NPST-carry 2SG

'I'll carry you'



IP

- *Whitesands* - *‘object-denoting’ predication

7(a) **jow* *ja-k-tem*

1SG 1SG-NPST-man

*‘I am a man’

(b) *ik* *petan!*

2SG woman

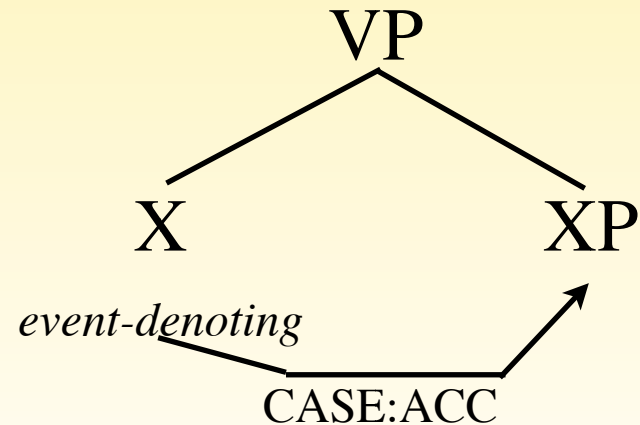
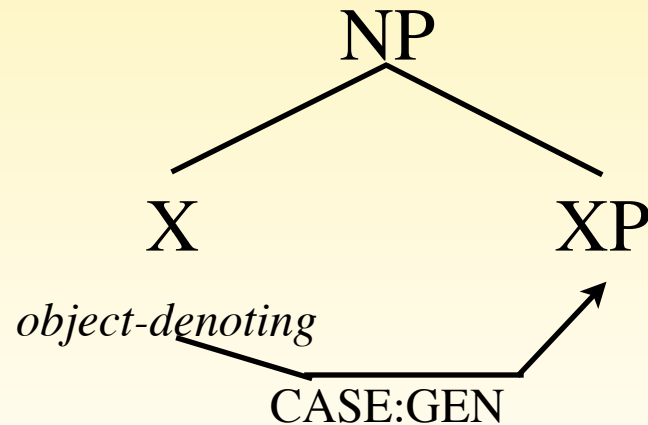
‘you are a woman!’

Constituent Categories

- *Oceanic Languages*
 - *IP is established for Tolai and Whitesands*
 - Tolai IP can take any complement to I (object or event-denoting words)
 - Whitesands IP cannot take NP complement
 - *DP is established for Tolai*
 - this can take any complement to D (object or event-denoting words)
 - *No evidence for DP in Whitesands*
- *Is there further evidence for NP or VP?*

Constituent Categories

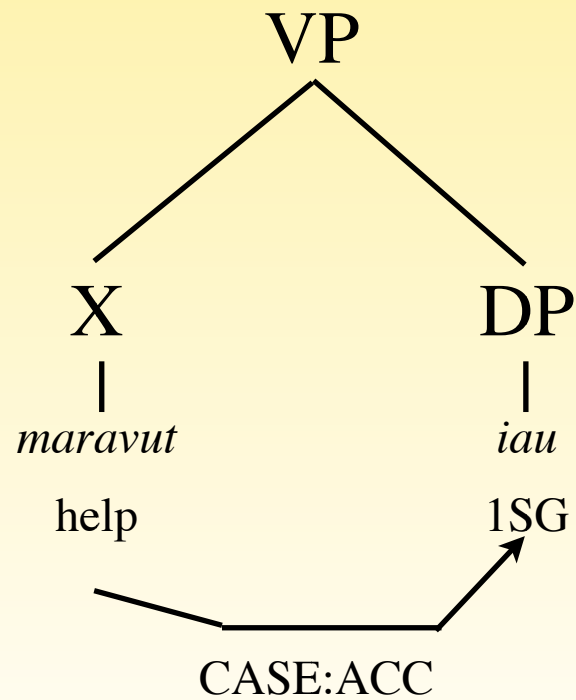
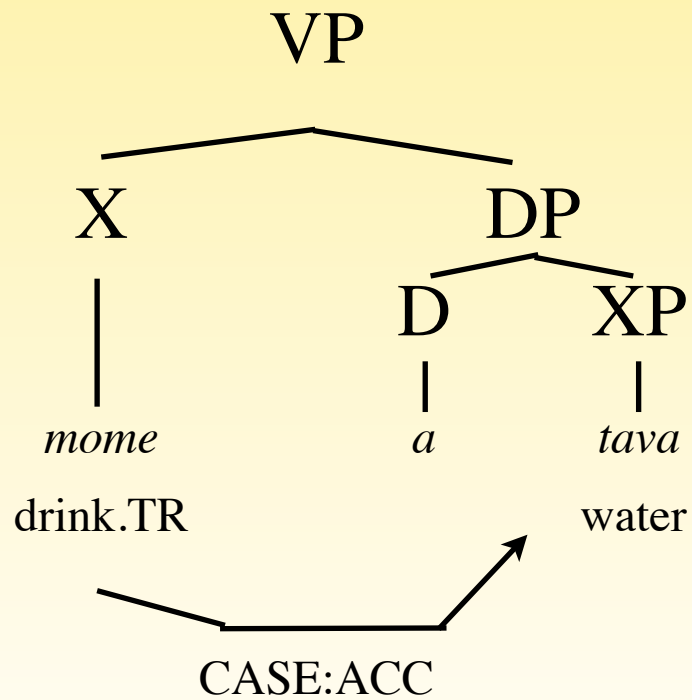
- *Is there evidence for NP or VP?*
- *This distinction is made by the assignment of case:*
8(a) and (b)



Constituent Categories

- *Tolai* - Accusative assignment is a property of VP

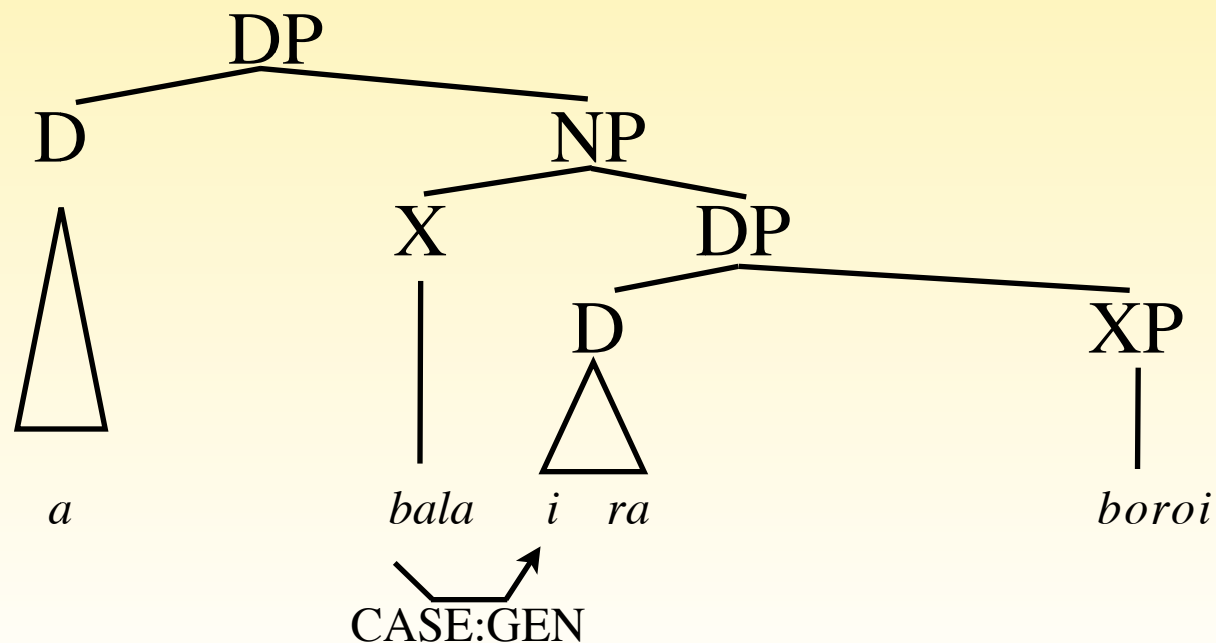
9(a) and (b)



Constituent Categories

- *Tolai* - “inalienable possession” - transitive object-denoting, genitive assignment

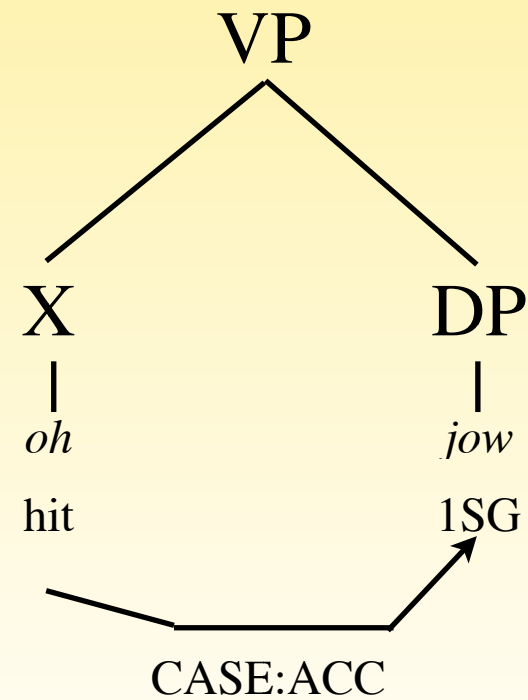
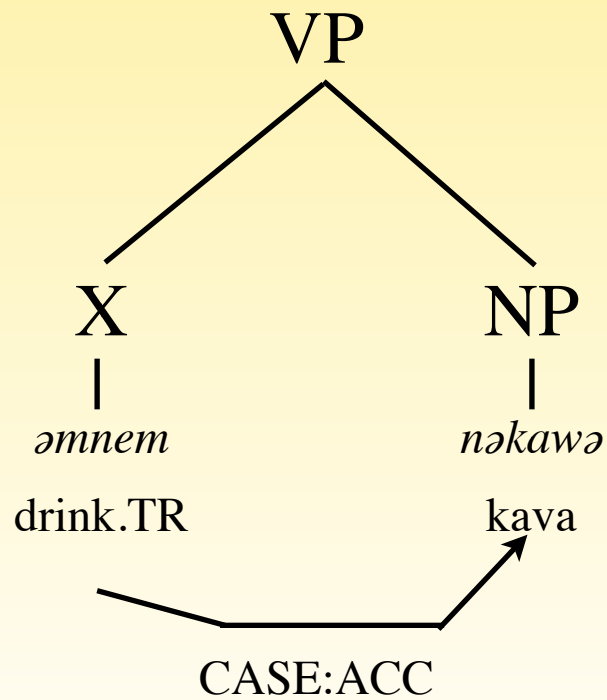
11(a) *a* *bala* *i* *ra* *boroi*
 D belly GEN D pig
 ‘The pig’s belly’



Constituent Categories

- *Whitesands - Accusative assignment*

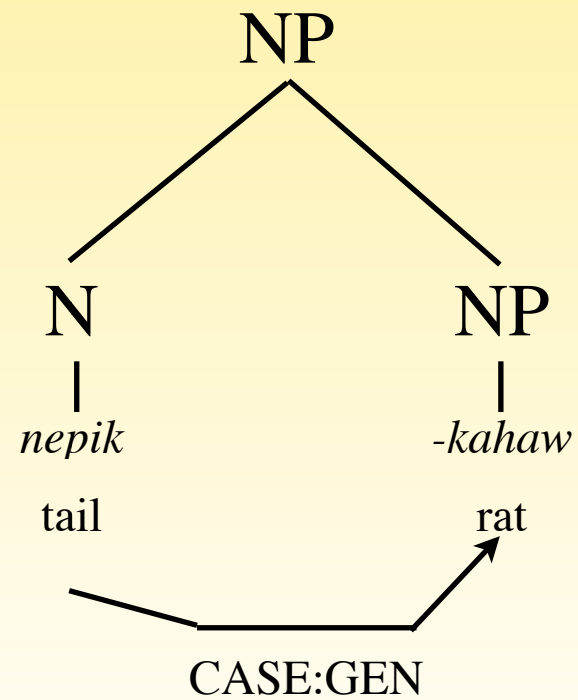
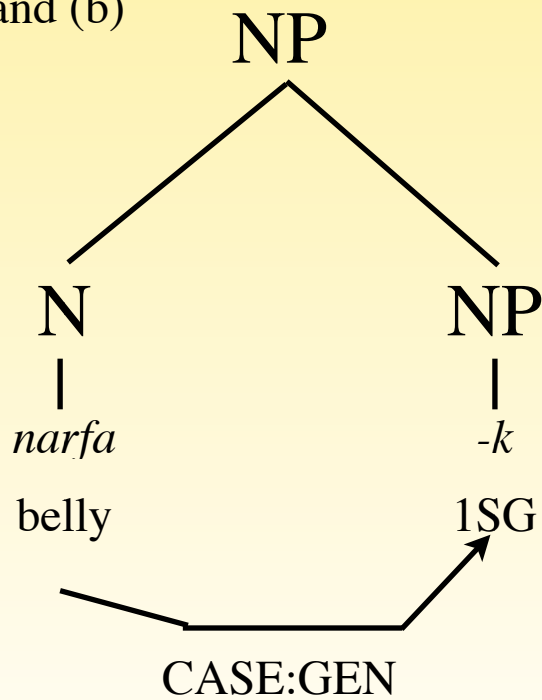
12(a) and (b)



Constituent Categories

- *Whitesands* - “inalienable possession” - transitive object-denoting, genitive assignment

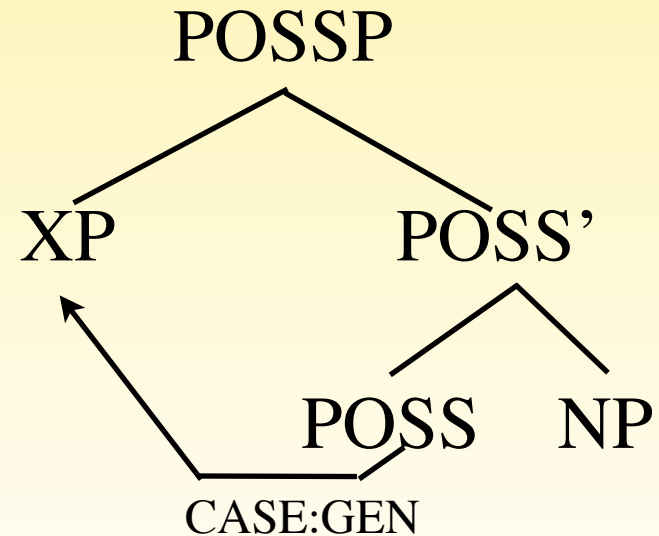
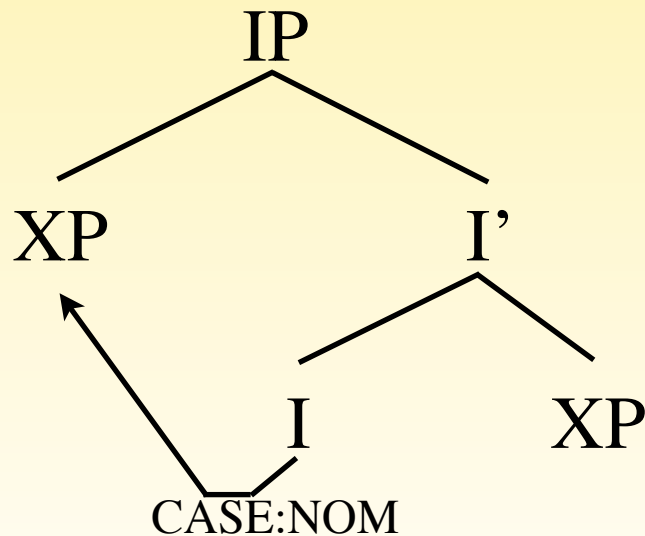
13(a) and (b)



Constituent Categories

- *What do other functional heads do? e.g. POSS*
 - *Different assignment of case:*

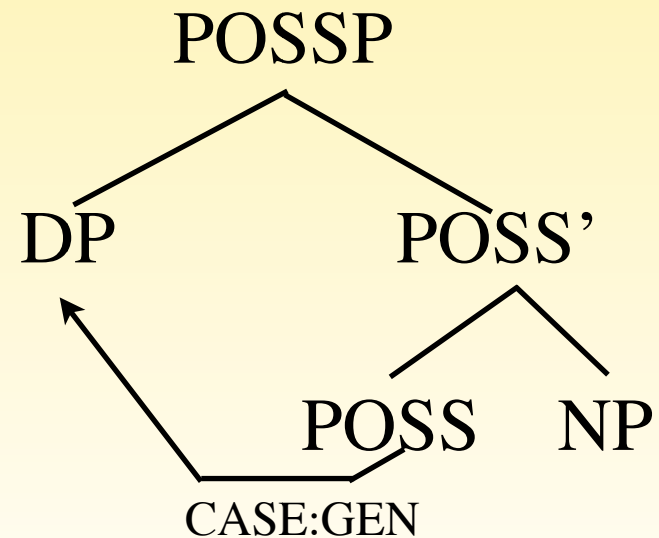
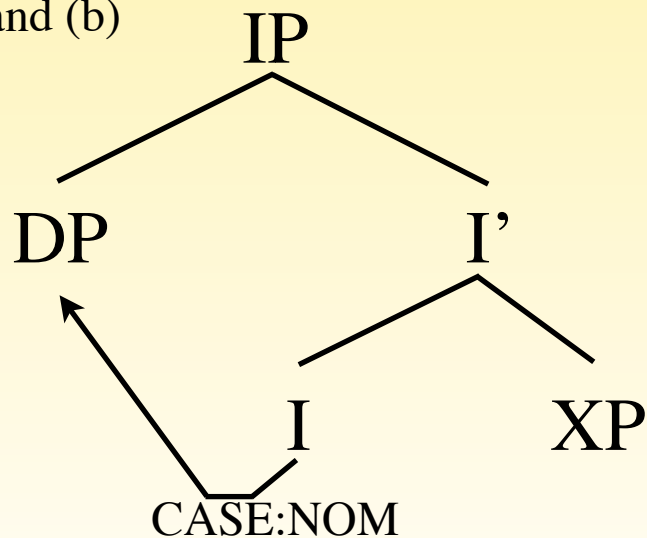
14(a) and (b)



Constituent Categories

- *What do the functional heads do?*
 - *Different assignment of case:*
 - *Tolai*

15(a) and (b)

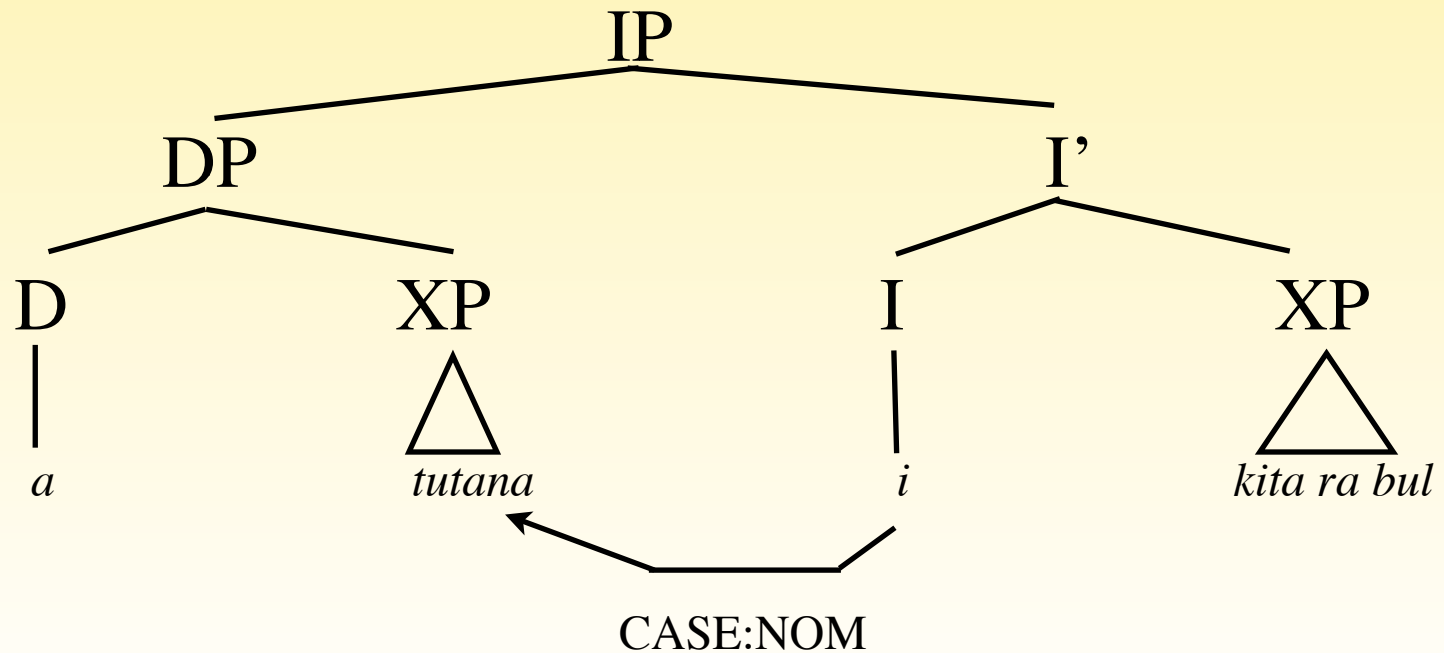


Constituent Categories

- *Tolai* - 'normal' predication

17(a) *a* *tutana* *i* *kita* *ra* *bul*
 D man 3SG hit D child

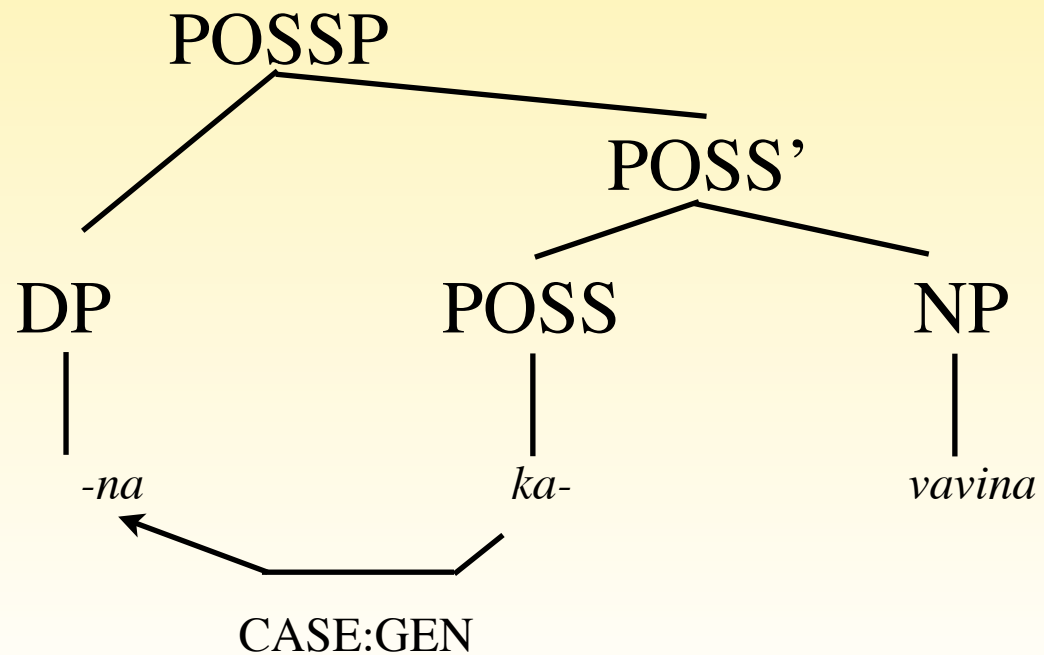
'the man hit the child'



Constituent Categories

- *Tolai* - “Alienable” Possession

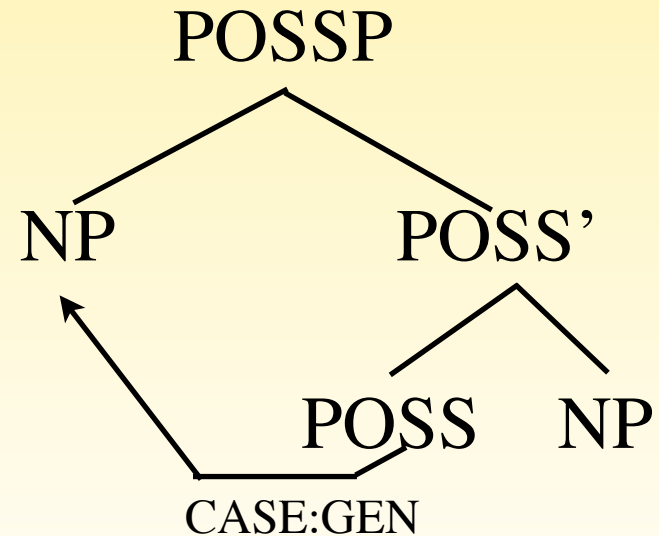
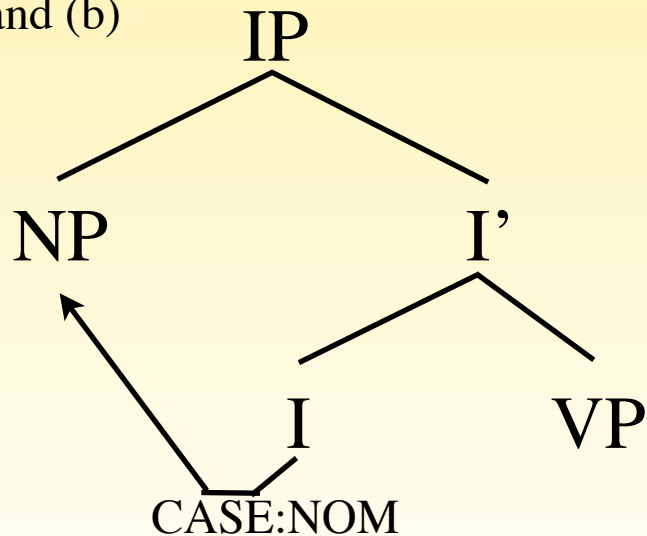
18(a) *ka-na* *vavina*
 POSS-3SG.GEN woman
 ‘His wife’



Constituent Categories

- *What do the functional heads do?*
 - *Different assignment of case:*
 - *Whitesands*

16(a) and (b)

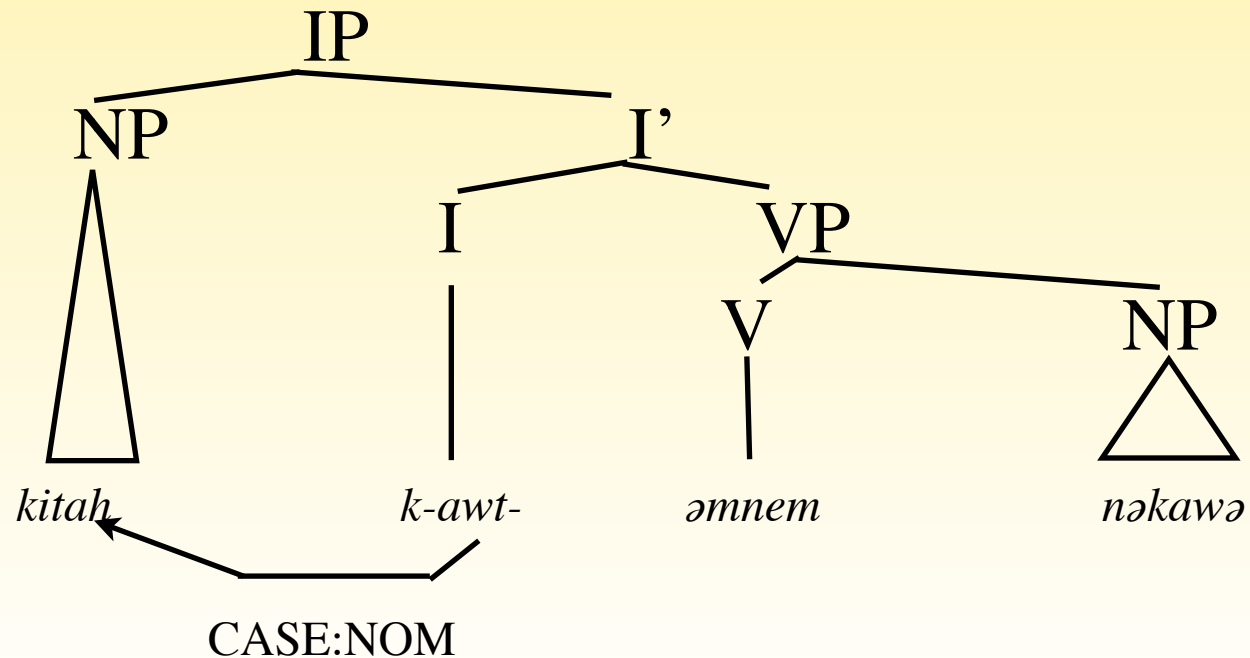


Constituent Categories

- WS - 'normal' predication

19(a) *kitah* *k-awt-ənnem* *nəkawə*
 3PL 3-HAB.PL-drink kava

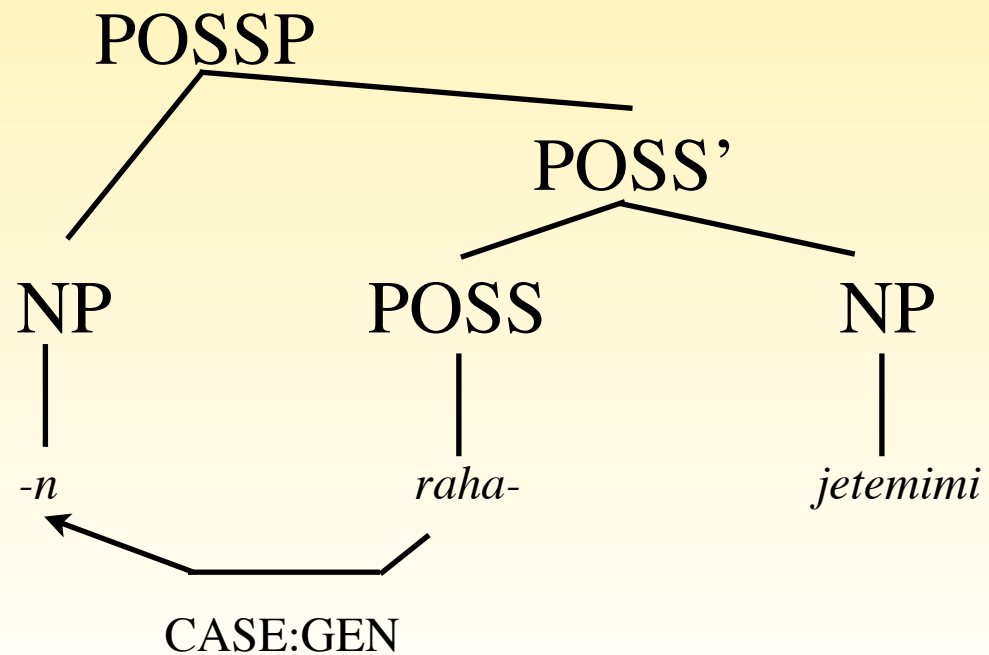
'We drink kava'



Constituent Categories

- Whitesands: “Alienable” Possession

20(a) *raha-k* *jetemimi*
 POSS-3SG.GEN human
 ‘His wife’



Constituent Categories

- *Whitesands* - POSS and transitive object-denoting together

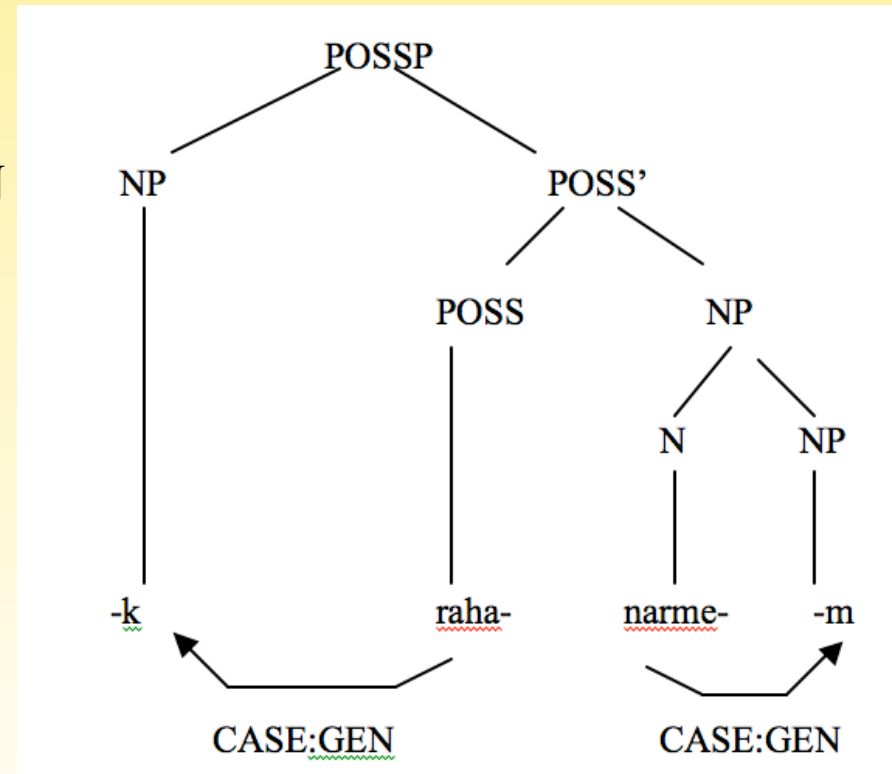
23(h) *raha-k*

POSS-1SG.GEN

‘My photo of you’

narme-n

photo-3SG.GEN



Nominalization

- *Can the proposed grammar account for nominalization in WS and T?*
 - *Tolai - intransitivization plus incorporation, NO case assignment*
 - *Whitesands - case assignment*

Nominalization

○ *Tolai* - ‘event-denoting’ words in DPs with incorporation

21 (a) *dia mome ra tava*
3PL drink.TR D water
‘they drank the water’

(b) *dia momo-na-tava*
3PL drink.ITR-C-water
‘they drank water’, ‘they water-drank’

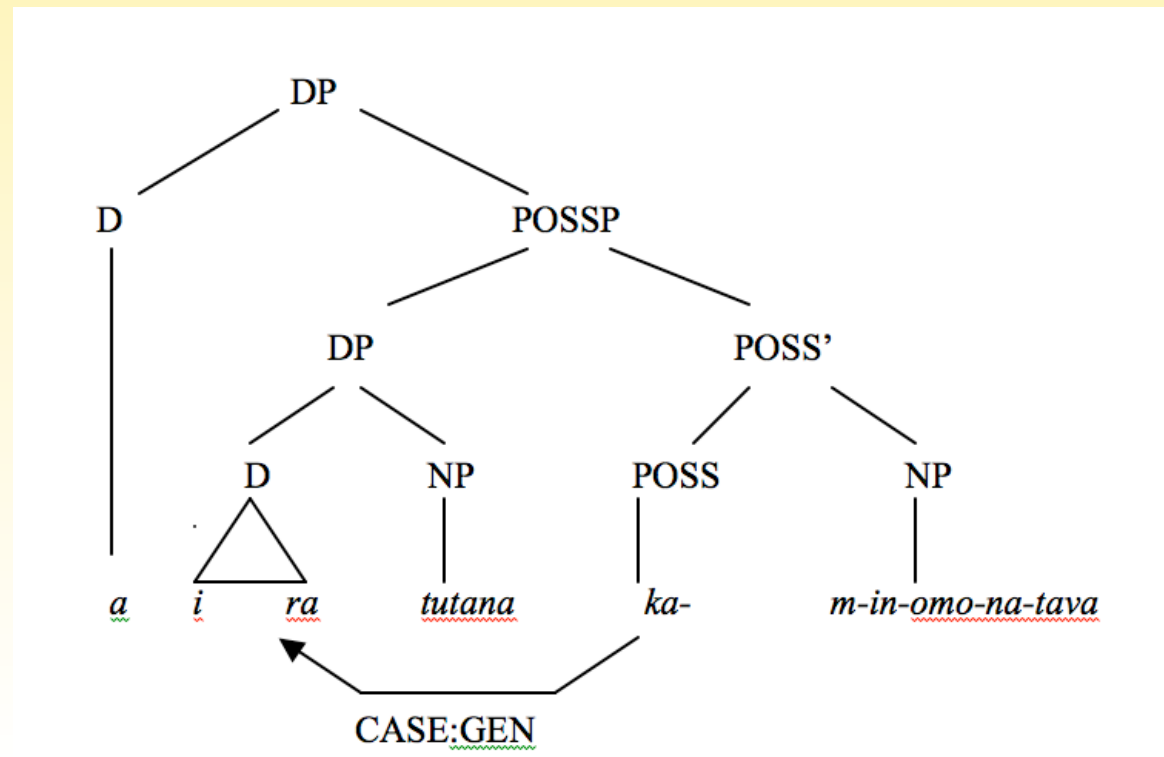
(c) *a m-in-omo-na-tava*
D [NMLZ].drink.ITR.C-water
‘the drinking of water’

(d) **a m-in-ome ra tava*
D [NMLZ].drink.TR D water

Nominalization

- *Tolai* - 'event-denoting' words in DPs with incorporation

22(e) *a* *m-in-omo-na-tava* *ka* *i* *ra* *tutana*
D [NMLZ].drink.ITR-C-water POSS GEN D man
'the man's drinking of water'



Nominalization

- *Whitesands - NMLZ case assignment* (Hammond 2009)
 - *n-ROOT-ien*

23(a) *jow* *ja-k-eles* *ik*
 1SG 1SG-NPST-carry.SG 2SG.ACC
 ‘I’ll carry you’

(b) *ja-k-arun* *n-eles-ien* *ik,*
 1SG-NPST-know NMLZ-carry.SG-NMLZ 2SG.ACC
 m-u-ari
 ES-DU-landwards
 ‘I am able to carry you, we’ll go landwards’

Nominalization

- *Whitesands - NMLZ case assignment*

23(c) *na-at-aniekiek* *e* *n-etei-ien* *nawəwə*
 2-CONT.SG-too.much OBL NMLZ-write-NMLZ book.ACC
 ‘You write books too much’

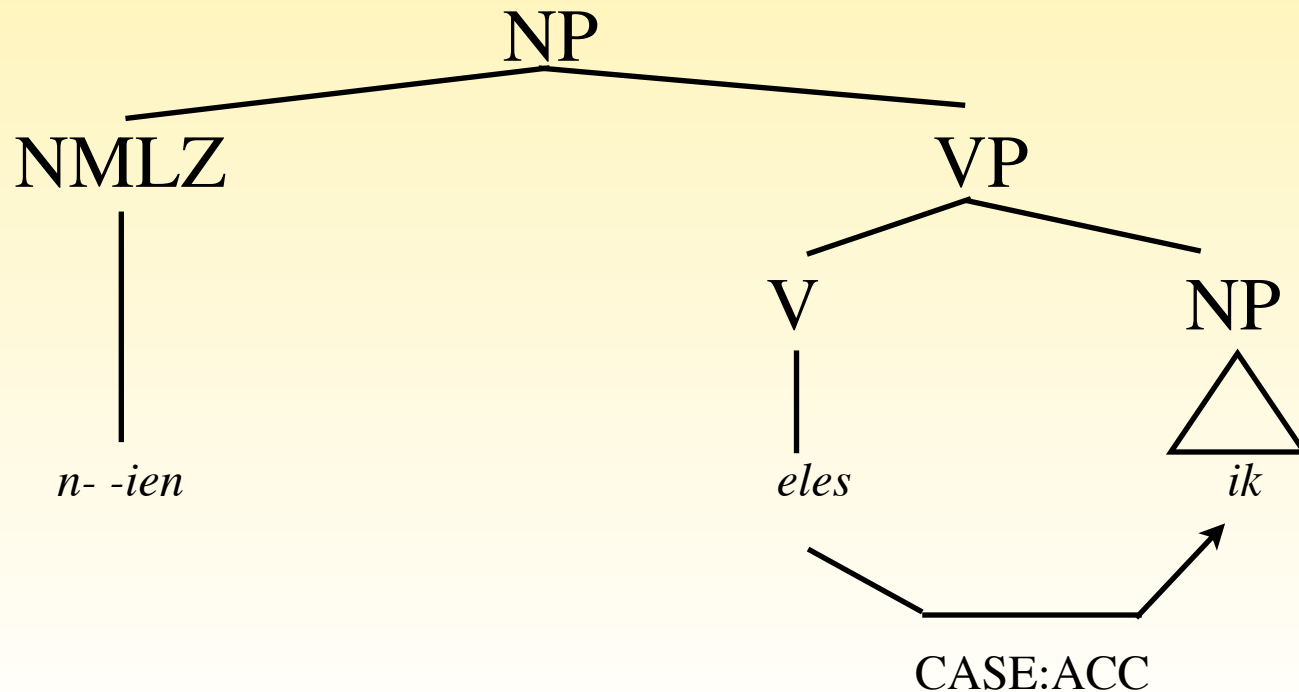
(d) *t-am-asiru* *la-k*
 3SG-PST-help ALL-1SG
 ‘He helped me’

(e) *raha-n* *n-asiru-ien* *la-k* *t-evur*
 POSS-3SG.GEN NMLZ-help-NMLZ ALL-1SG 3SG.NPST-good
 ‘His helping me was nice’

Nominalization

- Whitesands - NMLZ case assignment

23(f) *ja-k-arun* *n-eles-ien* *ik,*
1SG-NPST-know NMLZ-carry.SG-NMLZ 2SG.ACC
'I am able to carry you'



Nominalization

- *Whitesands* - NMLZ, NP selection

23(g)

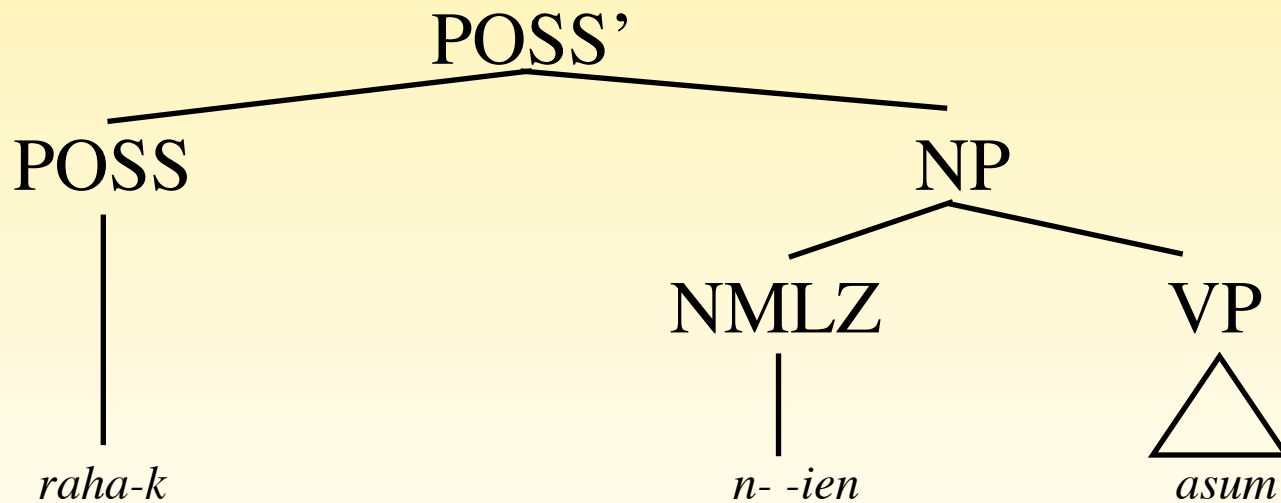
raha-k

POSS-1SG.GEN

‘My garden’

n-asum-ien

NMLZ-make.garden-NMLZ



Summary

- *Oceanic languages have a preference for phrasal grammatical categories.*
- *Constituents are defined through complement selection and case assignment.*
 - *Tolai - functional categories D and I with complements XP. NP and VP internally defined by structural properties of case assignment. No coherent syntactic categories of N and V.*
 - *Whitesands - loss of D has created a distinct N category. NP and VP internally defined by structural properties of case assignment (transitive). VP is also externally defined as the only potential complement of I so a distinct V category is defined by being the head of VP.*
 - *Both languages - NP is externally defined as the only potential complement of POSS*