

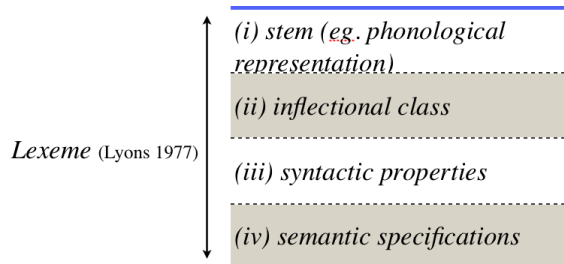
# The Phrasal Basis of Grammatical Category Distinction<sup>1</sup>

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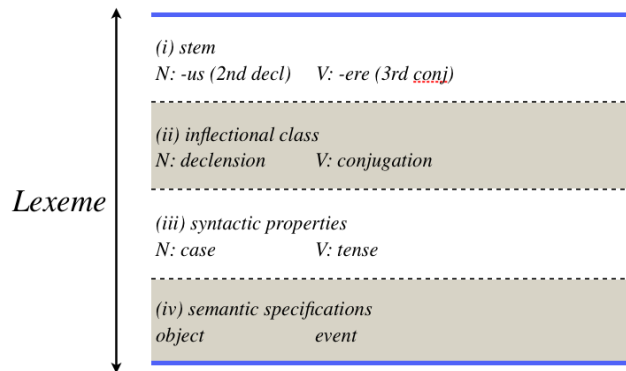
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## Classical Languages (e.g. Latin)



TOLAI (all data here and following from Mosel (1984) and Rinderknecht (1987))

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'

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'

<sup>1</sup> ABS 'absolute', ACC 'accusative', CAUS 'causative', C 'complimentizer', CONT 'continuous', DU 'dual', FUT 'future', GEN 'genitive', HAB 'habitual', ITR 'intransitive', N- 'non', NEG 'negative', NMLZ 'nominalizer', NOM 'nominative', PRF 'perfect/ive', POSS 'possessive', PL 'plural', PST 'past', REM 'remote', SG 'singular', TR 'transitive'

WHITESANDS

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-avair jow*  
 rat 3SG-PST-defecate turtle

'The rat shat on the turtle'

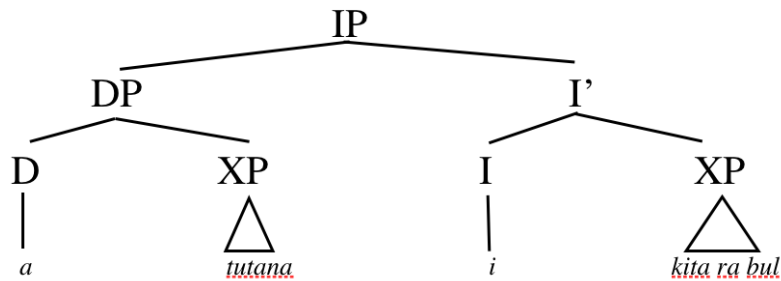
TOLAI

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

'I'll go, I'll come back later'

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

'the man hit the child'

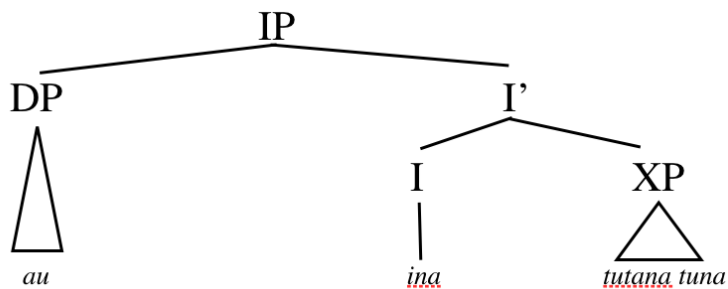


5(a) *a kaliku i ga boro i lua*  
 D python 3SG REM pig before

'the python has been a pig before'

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

'I'll be a real man'



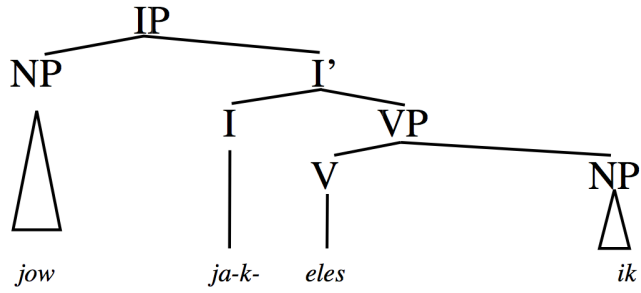
WHITESANDS

6(a) *in t-at-etei nawawə*  
 3SG 3SG-CONT-write book.ACC

'He is writing a book'

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

'I'll carry you'



7(a) \*jow ja-k-tem  
 1SG 1SG-NPST-man

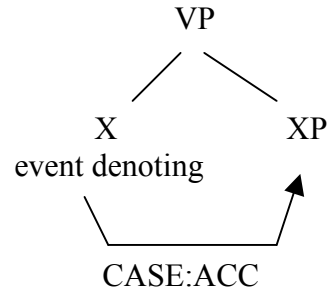
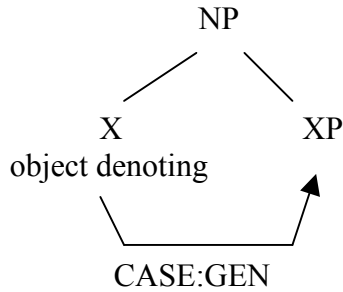
\*'I am a man'

(b) ik petan!

2SG woman

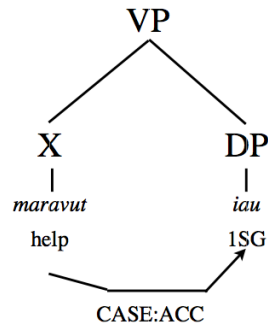
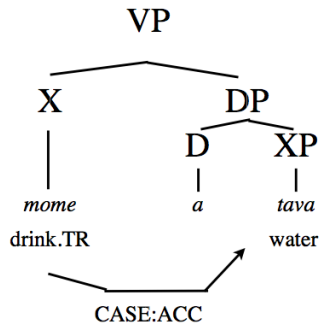
'you are a woman!'

8 (a) and (b)



TOLAI

9 (a) and (b)

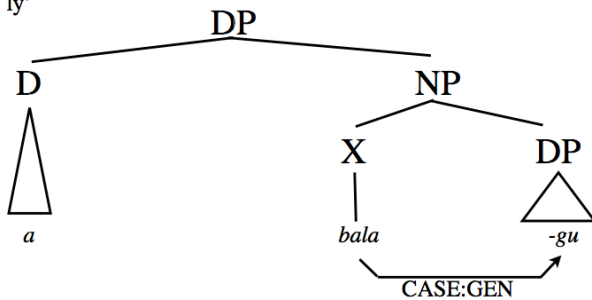


10 (a) bala-gu \*bala

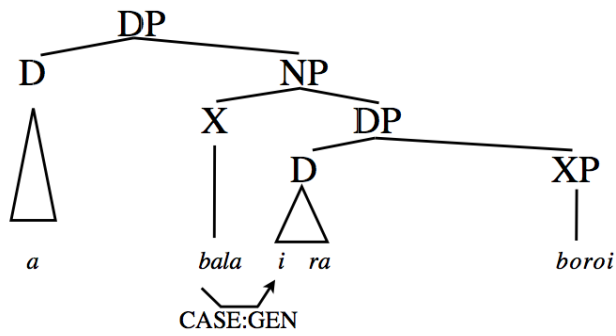
belly-1SG.GEN belly

'my belly'

1y'



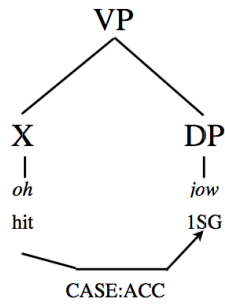
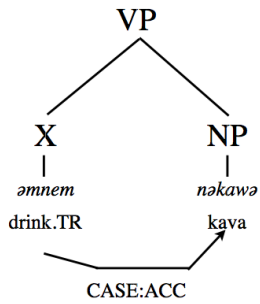
11 (a) *a bala i ra boroi*  
 D belly GEN D pig  
 'The pig's belly'



WHITESANDS

12 (a) *əmnem nəkawə*  
 drink kava  
 'drink kava'

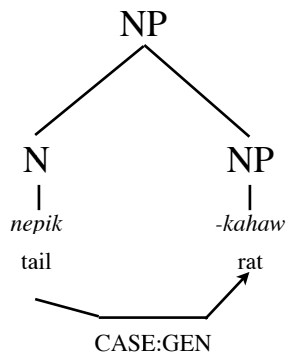
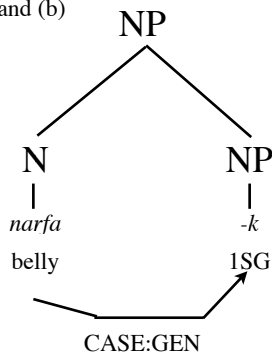
(b) *oh jow*  
 hit 1SG  
 'hit me'



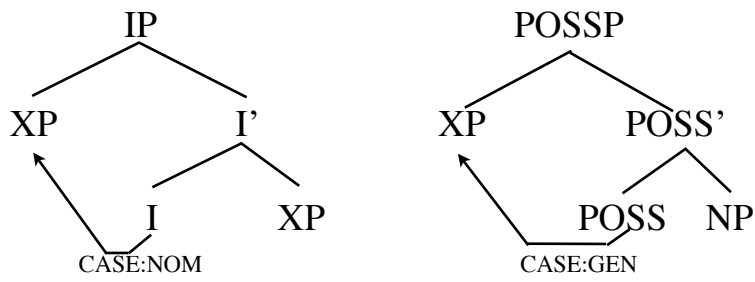
13 (a) *narfa-k*  
 belly-1SG  
 'my belly' (Whitesands)

(b) *nepik-kahaw*  
 tail-rat  
 'the rat's tail' (Whitesands)

13(a) and (b)

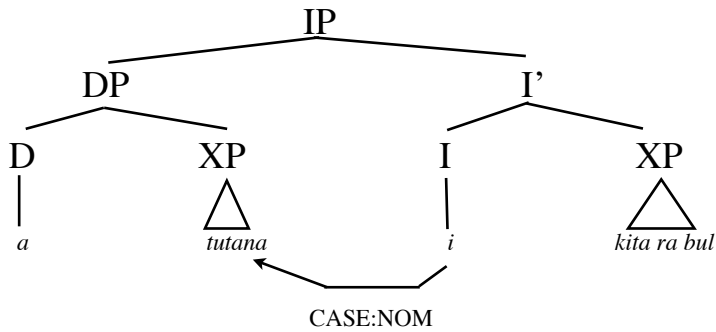


14(a) and (b)

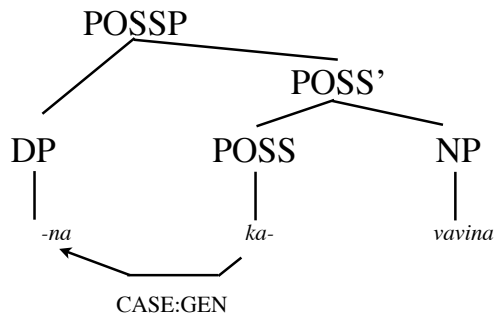


TOLAI

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

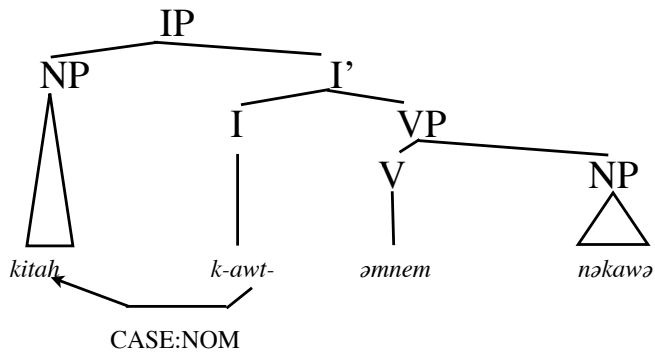


18 (a) *ka-na vavina*  
 POSS-3SG.GEN woman  
 'His wife'

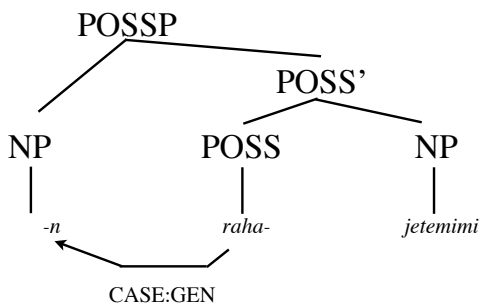


WHITESANDS

19 (a) *kitah k-awt-əmnem nəkawə*  
 3PL 3-HAB.PL-drink kava  
 'We drink kava' (Whitesands)

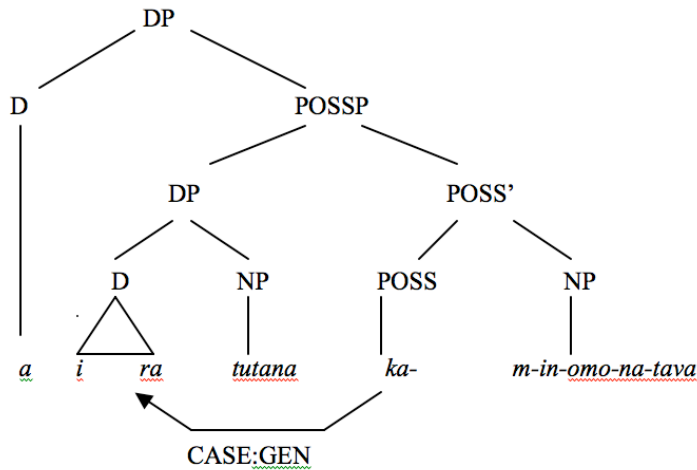


- 20(a) *raha-k jetemimi*  
 POSS-3SG.GEN human  
 'His wife' (Whitesands)



TOLAI

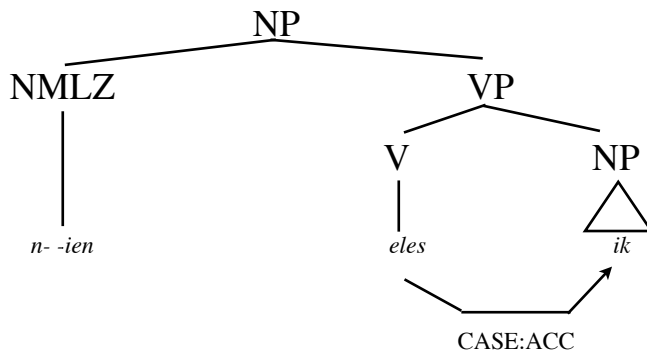
- 21(a) *dia mome ra tava*  
 3PL drink.TR D water  
 'they drank the water'
- (b) *dia momo-na-tava*  
 3PL drink.ITR-C-water  
 'they drank water', 'they water-drank'
- (c) *a m-in-omo-na-tava*  
 D [NMLZ].drink.ITR.C-water  
 'the drinking of water'
- (d) *\*a m-in-ome ra tava*  
 D [NMLZ].drink.TR D water
- (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'



WHITESANDS

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'

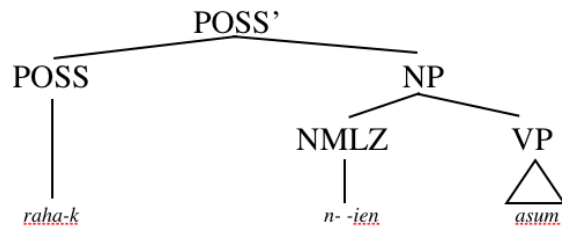


(c) *na-at-aniekiek e n-etei-ien nawəwə*  
 2-CONT.SG-too.much OBL NMLZ-write-NMLZ book.ACC  
 'You write books too much'

(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'

(g) *raha-k n-asum-ien*  
 POSS-1SG.GEN NMLZ-make.garden-NMLZ  
 'My garden'



## Summary

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

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