

The place of morphology in grammar: introduction

1 Basic questions

- How similar/different are morphology and syntax?
- Are morphological operations part of a separate component/module or are complex morphological objects derived in syntax?
- Is there a distinction between derivational and inflectional morphology?
- Do words exist? (which seems to be presupposed if morphology and syntax are different modules)
- Is morphology pre-syntactic or post-syntactic (= late-insertion)?

2 The traditional view

- morphology (as part of the lexicon) regulates the structure of words (operates below the word level)
 - syntax is concerned with the distribution of words and phrases (operates only above the word level)
- morphology constructs the objects which are then manipulated by syntax: sequential ordering
- syntax has no access to the internal structure of words (referential opacity, words as anaphoric islands, words as syntactic atoms):

Lexical Integrity Hypothesis

- (1) derived verb *bottle* – *one* = NP-anaphor
 - a. Tom *bottled* the beer in green ones. (\neq in green bottles)
 - b. Dick put the beer in brown *bottles* and Tom put it in green ones. (= green bottles)
- (2) *bottle* as part of a compound – *one* = NP-anaphor
 - a. Tom used milk*bottles* and Dick used brown ones. (\neq brown bottles)
 - b. Tom used *bottles* which had milk in them and Dick used brown ones.
- (3) *Sie nahm die *Tee*₁-kanne und goss *ihn*₁ ein

One does not expect words to contain expressions constructed by rules of syntax:

- (4)
 - a. [[computer] [manufacturer]]
 - b. manufacturer [of [the kind [of computer [you can put in a small suitcase]]]]
- (5) *[[kind of computer you can put in a small suitcase] [manufactuer]]

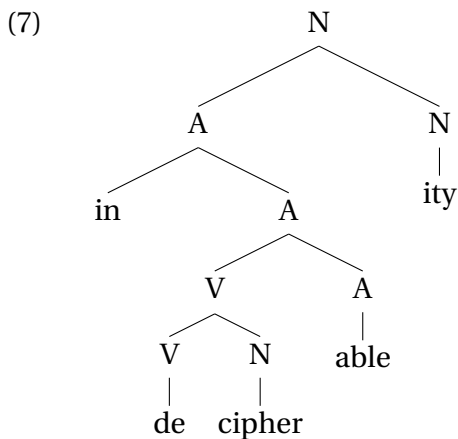
- words have a privileged status, not just for syntax but also for meaning: they are idiomatic atoms, i.e. the largest unit with non-compositional meaning (and therefore have to be part of the lexicon)

3 Why the traditional view is not sufficient

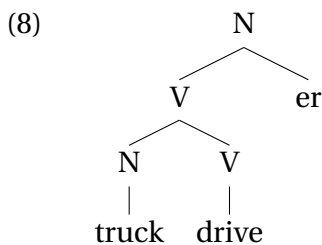
- idiomaticity/idiosyncratic meanings exist at all levels, not just at the word level:

(6) kick the bucket

- considerable overlap in features manipulated by the two systems: categorial features, case features, tense features, phi-features
- both systems involve merger, which combines items into hierarchical structures with heads and binary branching, cf. e.g.



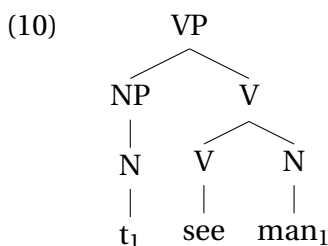
- both systems allow thematic relations:



- noun-incorporation:

- (9) a. Seuan-ide ti-mũ-ban.
man-SUF 1.SG-AOR-see-PST
'I saw the/a man.'
- b. Ti-seuan-mũ-ban.
1.SG.AOR-man-see-PST

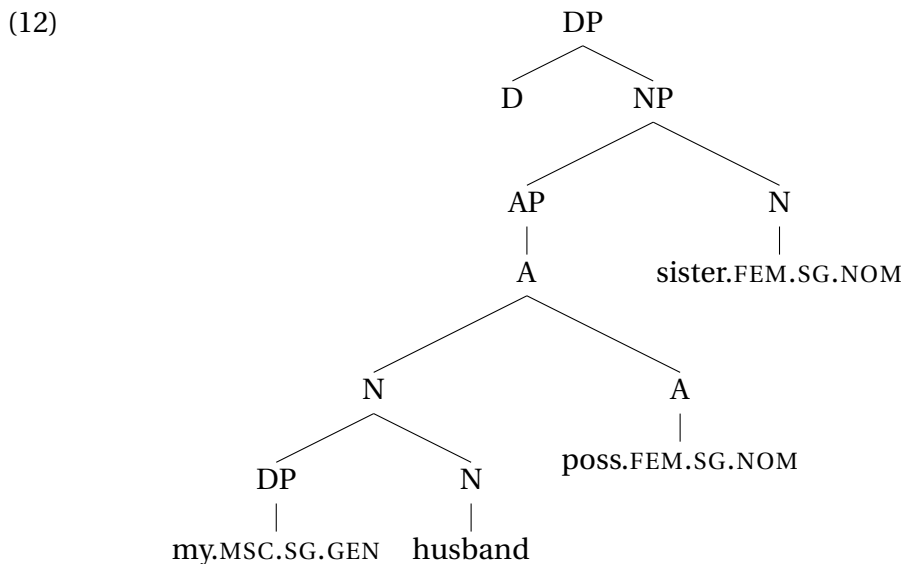
Southern Tiwa, cf. Baker (1988: 77)



- semantics are transparent under a syntactic derivational account (UTAH)
- verbs with incorporated nouns are de-transitivized, can no longer take a direct object
- noun incorporation (and incorporation of verbs and prepositions as in causatives and applicatives) is restricted by syntactic locality constraints (ECP)

- relational adjectives (\approx *-ial* in English) in Upper Sorbian; phrasal structure inside a word: the stem behaves like an independent syntactic element:

- (11) a. *moj-eho muž-ow-a sotr-a*
 my-MSC.SG.GEN husband-POSS-FEM.SG.NOM sister.FEM-FEM.SG.NOM
 'My husband's sister'
- b. *moj-eje sotr-in-y nawoženja*
 my-FEM.SG.GEN sister-POSS-MSC.SG.NOM fiancé:MSC.SG.NOM
 'my sister's fiancé'
- c. *w naš-eho nan-ow-ej chěž-i*
 in our-MSC.SG.GEN father-POSS-FEM.SG.LOC house.FEM-SG.LOC
 'in our father's house' *Upper Sorbian, cf. Corbett (1987: 303f.)*



- in Japanese causative constructions, the causative suffix has scope over two coordinated VPs (coordination is certainly part of syntax):

- (13) *Hanako-ga Masao-ni [[uti-o soozisuru]-ka [heya-dai-o haraw]]-aseru koto ni sita*
 Hanako-NOM Masao-DAT [[house-ACC clean]-or [room-rent-ACC pay]]-CAUS that D do
 'Hanako decided to make Masao clean the house or pay room rent.' Reading: the causative scopes over OR; Masao has a choice. *Japanese, cf. Kuroda (2003: 455)*

- Further cases with (apparent) syntactic structure within words (note that the verb in the Italian compounds seems to be inflected), cf. also the Navaho data in Spencer (2000: 316f.)

- (14) a. *porta-lettere*
 carry.3SG-letter
 'postman'
- b. *[[car of the month] competition]*

Italian

- The French partitive article appears to be a single morpheme which at the same time is syntactically complex:

- (15) a. Jean a bu du lait.
 John has drunk of.the milk
 'John drank some milk.'
 b. Jean a bu de l' alcool.
 John has drunk of the alcohol
 'John drank some alcohol.'

French

- words can involve binding, suggesting more syntactic structure

- (16) PRO₁ self₁-denial is fun

- systematic correspondence between word syntactic and phrasal syntactic structures: Mirror Principle, cf. Baker (1988) → morphological structure reflects the syntactic derivation:

- (17) a. Mbidzi zi-na-perek-a mpiringidzo kwa mtsikana.
 zebras AGR-PST-hand-ASP crowbar to girl
 'The zebras handed the crowbar to the girl.'
 b. Mbidzi zi-na-perk-er-a mtsikana mpiringidzo.
 zebras AGR-PST-hand-APPL-ASP girl crowbar
 'The zebras handed the girl the crowbar.'
 c. Mpiringidzo u-na-perk-edw-a kwa mtsikana ndi mbidzi.
 crowbar AGR-PST-hand-PASS-ASP to girl by zebras
 'The crowbar was handed to the girl by the zebras.'
 d. Mtsikana a-na-perek-er-edw-a mpiringidzu ndi mbidzi.
 girl AGR-PST-hand-APPL-PASS-ASP crowbar by zebras
 'The girl was handed the crowbar by the zebras.' *Chichewa*, cf. Baker (1988: 14)
- (18) a. Maria-ta=ne uka uusi-ta bwik-tua-sae.
 Maria-ACC=1SG.NOM the.ACC child-ACC sing-CAUS-DIR
 'I am telling Maria to make the child sing.'
 b. Maria-ta=ne uka uusi-ta bwik-sae-tua
 Maria-ACC=1SG.NOM the.ACC child-ACC sing-DIR-CAUS
 'I am making Maria tell the child to sing.' *Hiaki(Uto-Aztecan)*

References

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