

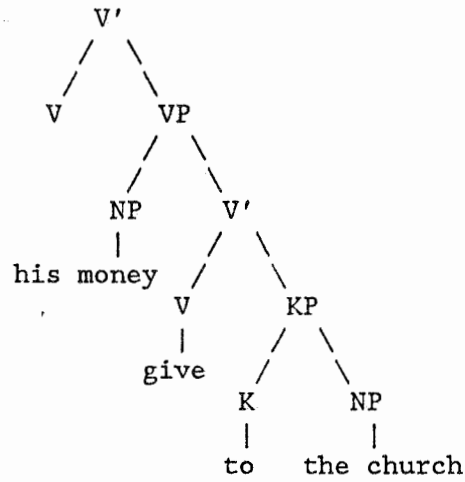
ON SOME SYNTACTIC RULES IN THE LEXICON

Ken Hale and Jay Keyser

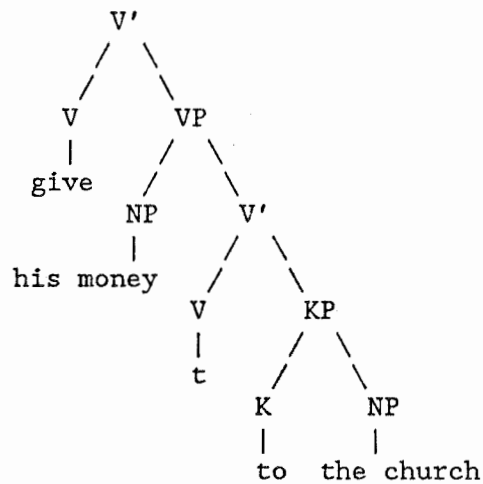
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

- (1) (a) John put his books on the shelf.
 (b) *John put the shelf his books.
 (c) John shelved his books.
- (2) (a) John gave his money to the church.
 (b) John gave the church his money.
 (c) *John churched his money.

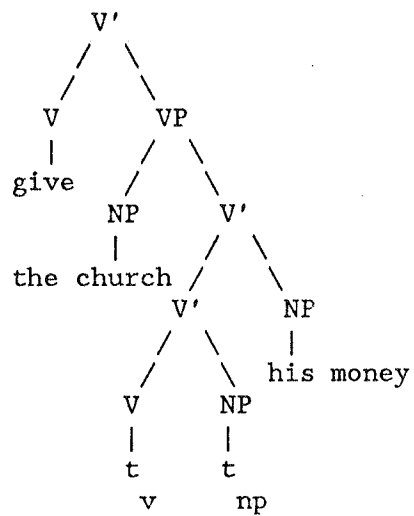
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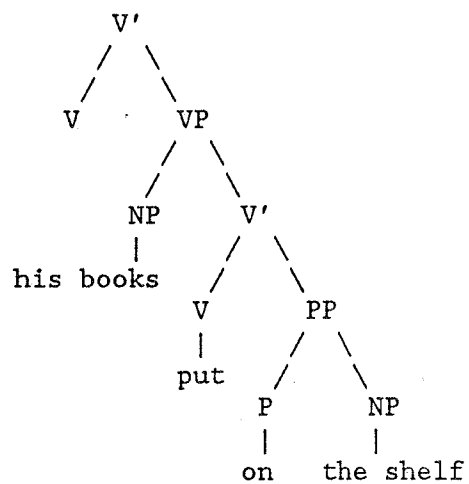
(5)



(6) I gave to John everything that he demanded.

(7) I put on the first shelf all of the books I bought in Nicaragua.

(8)



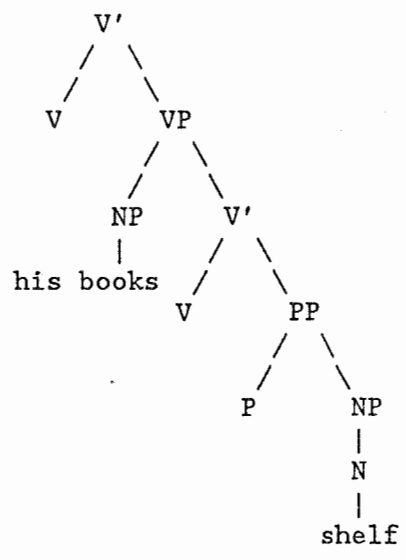
(9) (a) *Horse-kicked the cowboy.
'A horse kicked the cowboy.'

(b) *They child-gave the candy.
'They gave the candy to a child/to children.'

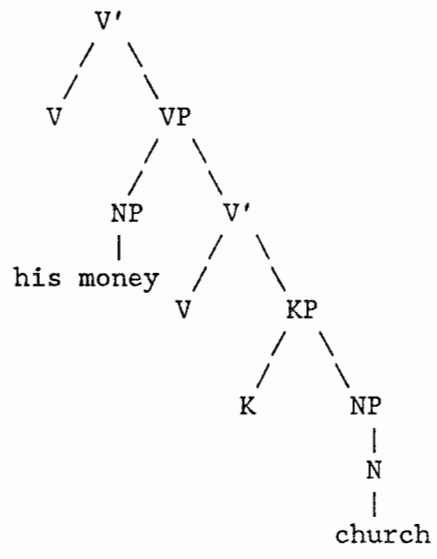
- (10) (a) *It horsed the cowboy.
 'A horse did something to the cowboy.'
 (Cf. manner: They foxed me.)
- (b) *It butchered the sheep.'
 'A butcher did (the characteristic thing) to the sheep.'
 (Cf. manner: They butchered the sheep.)
- (c) *It sunned him.
 'The sun did something to him.'

(11) It rained in through the window.
 (Cf. Rain fell in through the window.)

(12)

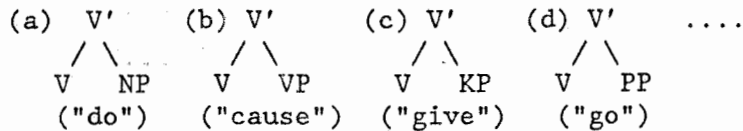


(13)



- (14) Conflation (Talmy, 1985; McCawley, 1971):
- (a) Motion + Manner/Cause: stand, lean, slide, roll, twist.
 - (b) Motion + Path: entrar, salir, pasar, subir, bajar, meter, sacar.
 - (c) Motion + Figure: rain, spit.
- (15) "When nouns surface as verbs" (Clark and Clark, 1979):
- (a) Locatum Verbs: carpet the floor, wax the table.
 - (b) Location Verbs: ground the planes, bank the money.
 - (c) Duration Verbs: summer in Paris.
 - (d) Agent Verbs: butcher the cow, jockey the horse, boss the employee, quarterback for the giants.
 - (e) Experiencer Verbs (rare): witness the accident.
 - (f) Goal Verbs: fool the man, baby the student, group the actors, heap the dirt, cash the check.
 - (g) Source Verbs (rare): piece the quilt together, word the sentence.
 - (h) Instrument Verbs: ski, motor, nail, clamp, mop, hammer, knife, bomb, trap, shield, spoon.
 - (i) Misc: lunch, breakfast; log, clam, fish; rain, snow, hail.

(16) 1. "Abstract" Vs:



2. Head Movement Constraint (Chomsky, 1986; Travis, 1984):

Movement of a zero-level category *B* is restricted to the position of a head *A* that governs the maximal projection *G* of *B*, where *A* theta-governs or L-marks *G* (if *A* not = *C*).

3. Constancy:

If a category *C* moves from a position of type *P* to a position of type *P'*, *P'* distinct from *P*, then *P'* is the head of the chain defined by the movement of *C*. (Thus, the chain "stops" when the type changes. The "type" of a syntactic position is *A* or *A*-bar for *XP*, *L*(exical) or *F*(unctional) for *X*-zero -- *A* distinct from *A*-bar, and so on.)

(17) Navajo Classificatory Verb Stems, Theme:

- (a) Tsé si'á. 'The stone is (in position).'
- Tsé haash'aah. 'I extract the stone.'
- Tsé naashne'. 'I drop the stone.'
- (b) Tl'óół silá. 'The rope is (in position).'
- Tl'óół haashlé. 'I extract the rope.'
- Tl'óół naashdeek. 'I drop the rope.'
- (c) Naaltsoos siltsooz. 'The paper is (in position).'
- Naaltsoos haastsóós. 'I extract the paper.'
- Naaltsoos naash'áád. 'I drop the paper.'

...

(17) Navajo Classificatory Verb Stems, Instrument:

- (a) Náshidííłts'in. 'He hit me (with fist).'
- (b) Náshidííłhaal. 'He hit me (with stick, club).'
- (c) Náshidííłtsxas. 'He hit me (with whip).'
- (d) Náshidííkaad. 'He hit me (with open hand).'

(18) Navajo Season, Time, and Weather Verbs:

- (a) Yíhai. 'Winter has passed.'
- (b) Yíshí. 'Summer has passed.'
- (c) Ch'éénídaan. 'It has become spring again.'
- (d) Nídeezid. 'A month has passed.'
- (e) Yidzaaz. 'It has snowed.'
- (f) Nikihoníłtá. 'It started to rain.'
- (g) Níló naatín. 'It is hailing.'

(19) Navajo "Coyote-ing" (Cf. ma'ii 'coyote'):

- (a) Neeshma'ii. 'I am going along like a coyote.'
- (b) Hanishma'ii. 'I am looking for it like a coyote.'
- (Cf. hanishta 'I seek it')
- (c) Naneeshma'ii. 'I am returning like a coyote.'

(20) The "Ergative" Pattern of Suppletive Verbs (Hopi):

- (a) paki/yungya (enter), mooki/so'a (die), yama/noenga (exit),
pitu/'oeki (arrive), qatu/yeese (sit), wunu/hoongva (stand),
wuuvi/yayva (climb), tayati/cuyti (laugh).
- (b) tavi/'oya (put), tuuva/maspa (throw), kwusu/'oema'ta (get),
wiiki/caama (take along), kwapta/cokya (shelve).
(But: tuumoyta/noonova (eat imperf.); cf. perf. noesa/noenoesa,
caus. nopna/noonopna).

(21) The "Lexical" Nature of Verb Stem Suppletion (Navajo):

- (a) (Shí) ashkii bi-ł yi-sh-'ash.
(I) boy him-COM PROG-1sg-walk:DUAL
'I am walking along with the boy.'
- (b) (Nihí) ła' d-iid-áál.
((we) one FUT-1nsg-walk:SG)
'One of us will go.'

(22) Navajo Path Prefixes (Y&M, 1980):

- (a) Naash'na'. 'I crawl about.'
(b) Ninish'nééh. 'I crawl up to a point.'
(c) (Yah) 'iish'nééh. 'I crawl in.'
(d) Haash'nééh. 'I crawl (up and) out.'
(e) Ch'iníish'nééh. 'I crawl out (horizontally).'

"Incorporated" Locatives and Directionals:

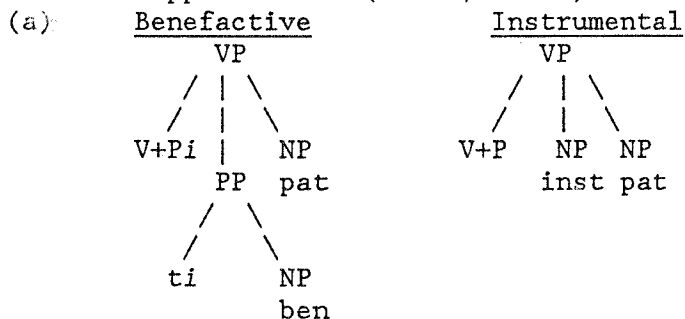
- (f) Dzídzááya. 'He walked into the fire.'
(g) Dziłts'anish'aah. 'I take it out of the fire.'
(h) Dziłts'adineez'éél. 'It (boat) ran aground.'
(i) Taah yíltí. 'I put it (e.g., baby) in the water.'
(j) Taah yiyá. 'I got into the water.' (to b-iih)
(k) Łeeh yishníł. 'I bury them.' (leezh b-iih)
(l) Kíih yiyá. 'I went into town.' (kin b-iih)
(m) Kééh nást'eez. 'I put my shoes back on.' (ke b-iih)
(n) Nooh yi'á. 'I put it into a cache.' (*noh b-iih)
(o) Kéé' sé'eez. 'I have my shoes on.' (ke b-ii')
(p) Taa' si'á. 'It is in the water.' (to b-ii')
(q) Bizák'idiinii'. 'I throttled him (reach onto his neck).'

- (r) Bílák'ééłtsooz. 'I put it (paper) into his hand.'

(23) Warlpiri Part-Whole Relations and Instrumentals:

- (a) Rdaka ka-rna-rla ngirnti-ki yarnka-mi.
(hand PRES-1sg-DAT tail-DAT start-NONPAST)
'I grab it by the tail with my hand.'
- (b) Wawirri kapi-rna karli-ngki luwa-rni.
(kangaroo FUT-1sg boomerang-ERG hit-NONPAST)
'I'll hit the kangaroo with a boomerang.'

(24) Chichewa Applicatives (Baker, 1988b):



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