TYPOLOGY AND MINIMALISM

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Minimalism

- (1) All we have is Merge and relations created by Merge
- (2) The derivational approach is inherently asymmetric (existing + newly added structure)
- (3) 'Unary Merge': Merge adds an element from a resource (Numeration) to a work space (Derivation) Merge α to β yielding $\langle \alpha, \beta \rangle$
- (4) Asymmetry in natural language is omnipresent, but: is it structural or a function of the linearization requirement (spell-out) ? (cf. Chomsky 2005)
- (5) Present suspicion: if we have asymmetry in the output and in the derivational procedure, one is a function of the other.
- (6) Generalized Linear Correspondence Axiom:

$$\langle \alpha, \beta \rangle \equiv / \alpha \beta /$$

Dependency

(7) Central hypothesis:

For any current derivation β , Merge α to β turns β into a dependent of α

- (8) Indicators of dependency:
 - a. prosody
 - b. morphology
 - c. interpretation
- (9) Caveat: phonology may interfere (cliticization, cf. Klavans 1985, Zwart to app.)
- (10) Prosody: nuclear stress rule (nuclear stress on most deeply embedded complement)
- (11) Generalized nuclear stress rule: nuclear stress on dependent element in ordered pair
- (12) Simplex (family) names vs. phrases/complex names/some place names
- (13) VROEG in de wei (simplex family name) vroeg in de WEI (corresponding phrase) jeroen van de WEIJer (complex name) hoogerHEIde (place name)
- (14) Same prosodic pattern in juxtapositions/lists:

enumerations abbreviations/acronyms
phone numbers time/amount indications
sports results reduplications
construct state/dvandva composita asyndetic coordinations

- (15) Morphology/interpretation: agreement, predication, reflexivity
- (16) schema: dependency established by merging α to β , realized on a term of β

Conjunction: symmetry?

- (17) Kayne/Munn analysis: [*P A [& B]]
- (18) I saw John today and Mary
- (19) Hmar, Sino-Tibetan
- a. bimol-in fà:k á tùm thù á hrìl Bimol-ERG eat 3SG intend COMP 3SG tell 'Bimol says that he intends to eat.'
- hùη b. thú-cù hrìl à húη à cún á 3sg come 3sg and message-DEF 3sg come tell 'He came and told the message.'
- (20) * [he told the message-and] he came
- (21) cf. Carstens on serialization in verb-final languages: V₁-V₂, *V₂-V₁
- (22) If this is the general pattern, then:
 - a) the second member is a dependent of the first member
 - b) conjunction is marked on the second member
 - c) marking takes place through a left edge element (linker, head)
- (23) These are the kind of things one can test in a sample

Sampling

- (24) Purpose: assess linguistic variation (variety sample)
- (25) Universe: human language (faculty of language)
 Frame: extant languages
 Stratification: partitioning of the frame in language families
- (26) Language families:
 - a. lumping (Ruhlen 1991) b. splitting (Gordon 2005 = Ethnologue)
- (27) Variety sample requires splitting strategy: close to 100 families
- (28) Quality assessment:
 - a. representation
 - b. weighting for homogeneity/diversity
 - c. coverage
- (29) Representation: proportional to size, but: systematic over/underrepresentation
- (30) Diversity: function of a) number of branchings, and b) size of terminal groups
- (31) Coverage: function of representation of subgroupings, weighted for domination
- (32) Practice: a) balance of curiosity and economy
 - b) convenience of available excellent descriptions

(33) Size: 214 languages, may grow to 250.

Head position

(34) A language is head-final/initial if V and P (or one of them if the other is missing) are final/initial

INITIAL FI				FINAL			SPLIT			
95 89					13					
V/P	V	Р	V/P	V	Р	V/P		V	Р	
79	14	2	64	18	7	10		0	3	
						V-in	P-in		V-in	V-fin
						8	2		2	1

Conjunction position (noun phrase conjunction)

INITIAL			FINAL			MIXED				OTHER		
135			12		26				39			
h-in	split	h-fin	h-in	split	h-fin	in fin	in poly	poly fin	3 way	poly	no data	tbd
85	3	47	0	2	10	11	10	2	3	16	18	5

Conjunction types

(35) a. juxtaposition > list + summary element (pronoun, also, them being, all, etc.)

b. comitative (with)

c. true conjunction (and)

Final conjunctions

LANGUAGE	SUMMARY	COMITATIVE	TRUE	
35:3 Slave	Х	Х		
56:2 Yaqui	(X?)	Х		
58:1 lka		X		
64:1 N Junín Quechua		X		
65:1 Jaqaru		Х		
71:1 Yagua	X			
72:1 Bora	X	X		
75:1 Sanumá	X			
76:1 Barasano	X			
76:2 Retuarã	X			
82:1 Paumarí	X			
86:1 Trío	X	inal conjunction only		

12 languages using final conjunction only

(36) Bora, Witotoan (Thiesen 1996:75)

a. Péédoro-o, Jóáa-á, Perípe-é, éhdume péé téhullévu Pedro-RED Juan-RED Felipe-RED this quantity go away 'Pedro, Juan, and Felipe went away.'

b. Péédoró-mútsi-kye Jóáá-ma ájtyúmíibe Pedro-DU-ACC Juan-with see:1sg 'I see Pedro and Juan.'

b. ètóo

hare

p`i

and

mù di

go then

a'ú-ã

fowl-DIM

bε

with

(Crazzolara 1960:101)

LANGUAGE	SUMMARY	COMITATIVE	TRUE
3:1 Logbara	Х	Х	(X?)
7:6 Kalasha-ala	Х		X*
10:1 Kolyma Yukaghir		Х	
12:1 Ket		Х	
15:2 Kham	Х		
19:21 Baram Kayan	Х		
33:4 W Desert Lg	Х	Х	
33:5 Kayardild	Х		
35:2 Navaho		Х	
46:1 Hualapai	Х	(X)	
56:1 Shoshone		Х	
64:2 Imbabura Quichua	Х		
73:1 Pirahã	Х		
83:1 Tariano		Х	
85:1 Wari'	Х		
94:1 Kwaza			X*

^ also used as initial conjunction						
final conjunctions used by 16 languages with mixed conjunction types						
(37) Kwaza, Unaffiliated a. zjwãu ho'Beto-tja mani'ni 'ja-wa-ki João Roberto-cso fish eat-INDEFSU-DEC 'João and Roberto eat fish.' (CSO = cosubordinator)	(Van der Voort 2004:706)					
b. si xyi-a-'ta oja-'nã-a-ki Ba'hozo-nã I you-1PL-CSO go-FUT-1PL-DEC Barroso-LOC 'I and you we are going to Barroso.' [lit: me, you, we being, we go to Barroso]	(Van der Voort 2004:707)					
(38) Kalasha-ala, Nuristani, Indo-European a. e meši ye e muša a woman and a man 'a woman and a man'	(Degener 1998:166)					
b. meši moša ye (meši-moša-y) women men and 'man and woman'	(Degener 1998:166)					
(39) Logbara, C Sudanic, Nilo-Saharan a. à mu èri pie àkú-a we go he and home-to 'I and he go home.' (cf. pi 'to complete')	(Crazzolara 1960:100)					

'the hare and a small fowl went together.' (cf. X-pi = X c.s.)

(40) True conjunctions are initial conjunctions

Development

(41) Shoshone, Uto-Aztecan

a. Nüü tangummü ma'e wasüwükkikwant'ih (Dayley 1989:338)

I man with hunt-going to

'The man and I are going to hunt.' I am going to hunt with the man.'

b. Nüü müattsia punikkappühantü tatsiumpim ma'e (Dayley 1989:338)

I moon-ob saw star with

'I could see the moon and stars.'

c. Nümmü sapettü namiangkütaippühantü wahattü niam püanümü we:EXC there were sent two my cousins

ma'e nü namiangküppühantü sapettü natiingwakkatu (Dayley 1989:339)

with I were sent there school-to

'We were sent there, my two cousins and I were sent there to school.'

d. Antsi n Tepi taona ka mi'akwa (Dayley 1989:339)

Angle and Debbie town to went 'Angle and Debbie went to town.' (n < and)

e. Antsi n Tepi ma'i miakoppühantü (Dayley 1989:339)

Angie and Debbie with went around

'Angie and Debbie went around.'

f. Apüttü tünga Noitü tünga Tseekki sutümmü wainniha hipimminna

Albert and Lloyd and Jake those wine-OB drink-HAB

'Albert and Lloyd and Jake, they always drink wine.' (Dayley 1989:341)

g. Nüü müattsia punikkappühantü tünga tatsiumpim ma'e (Dayley 1989:342)

moon-ob saw and star with

'I could see the moon and the stars.'

(42) Common pattern (20 languages): comitative postposition turned into initial conjunction (Zwart

2005a).

(43) Kinnauri, Sino-Tibetan

a. ən rən do: chan due (Sharma 1988:91)

1SG:GEN with 3SG:GEN son be:3PAST

'His son was with me.'

b. gə rən ki bi-tič (Sharma 1988:182)

1sg:dir and you:hon go-fut:1du.incl.hon

'I and you will go.'

What does it mean?

(44) a. Even 'parallel' coordinations are asymmetric

- b. The asymmetry is marked on the second member
- c. The marker is a left edge element

- (45) *Latin*
- a. arma virum-que cano
- arms:ACC man-ACC-and sing-1sg 'I sing of a man and his struggle.'
- b. ingeni-a fecund-a [totius-que naturae capacia] mind_{NTR}-PL prolific-NTR.PL entire:GEN-and nature:GEN grasping:NTR.PL 'minds that are prolific and able to grasp the entire universe'
- (46) If linker = head, the Kayne/Munn structure is correct (although the labeling may not be)
- (48) All languages have head-initial structure

Possible other case studies: functional prepositions

(49) Zay, South-Semitic, Afro-Asiatic

(Meyer 2005:274f).

a. bε-...dεr 'on'

- b. *bε-...?afāf* 'beside'
- c. *bε-...?anči* '(temporal) after'
- d. $b\varepsilon$ -... $y\varepsilon$ n ε q ε 'based on', etc.
- (50) A functional adposition is a generic, all purpose dependency marker (Zwart 2005b).
- (51) Including minor uses, ca. 20 languages have both pre- and postpositions.
- (52) Possible questions: a. are functional adpositions always initial?
 - b. do functional adpositions invariably precede lexical ones?

'fist'

Possible other case studies: direct modifying adjectives

- (53) French, Indo-European
- a. un grand homme
 - a great man 'a man of great merit'

b. un homme grand a man great 'a tall, heavy set man'

- (54) Gooniyandi, Australian
- a. doomoo marla clenched hand

(55)

- '(permanently) clenched hand (from leprosy)'
- b. marla doomoo (McGregor 1990:272) hand clenched
- Similarly: Arabic (Afro-Asiatic), Degema (Niger-Congo), Meithei (Sino-Tibetan), SE Tepehuan
- (55) Direct modification adjectives show:
 - a. reduced morphology
 - b. fixed order

(Uto-Aztecan)

- c. no syntactic freedom (no discontinuity)
- d. no premodification
- (56) achterlijke gladiool stomme zak cher mon-sieur retarded gladiolus stupid scrotum dear my-sir 'stupid person' 'stupid person' 'dear male person'

Selected references

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