

Deverbal nouns as phonological head “movement”?

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Introduction

- ▶ Arabic deverbal nouns (*masdars*).
- ▶ Discuss their syntactic and morphological/phonological structure.
- ▶ Argue for a structural (and against a lexical) approach, by assuming that word formation is phonological.

Theoretical background

- ▶ Bare phrase structure.
- ▶ *Merge* as the only structure-building operation.
- ▶ X° : minimal (non-projecting) head.
- ▶ XP: maximal projection of X.

Parallel structure building

- ▶ A linguistic sign is composed of semantic, syntactic and phonological features (Chomsky 1965: 214, fn. 15).
- ▶ Each type of features is subject to its own compositional rules and principles.
- ▶ Parallel construction of semantic, syntactic and phonological structures.

Arabic deverbal nouns

- (1) a. *ʔaqlaqa-nī -ntiqād-u -l-rajul-i -l-mašrūf-a*
annoyed-me criticising-NOM the-man-GEN the-project-ACC
'The man's criticising the project annoyed me.'
- b. *ʔaqlaqa-nī -ntiqād-u -l-rajul-i li -l-mašrūf-i*
annoyed-me criticising-NOM the-man-GEN to the-project-GEN
'The man's criticising of the project annoyed me.'

Properties (cf. Fassi Fehri 1993):

- ▶ Regular form (in most verb stems).
- ▶ Event structure.
- ▶ Subject takes genitive case.
- ▶ Object takes genitive case when no subject is present, otherwise accusative or PP.
- ▶ In other words: *Possing* or *Ing-oi* (Abney 1987).

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Root: KTB

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McCarthy & Prince's (1990) account:

Form: ⁱntiqād

Root:	/nqɖ/	Nominalizer:	/i.a/
Stem VIII:	(σ)σ _μ t	Non-finite:	-σ _{μμ}

Syllabic tier

Segmental tier

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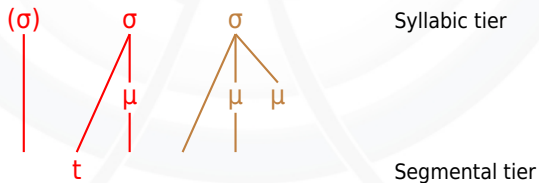
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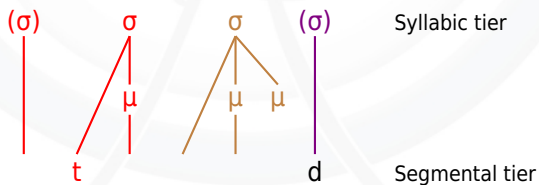


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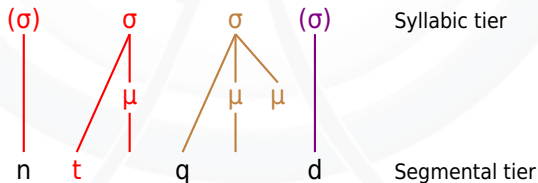


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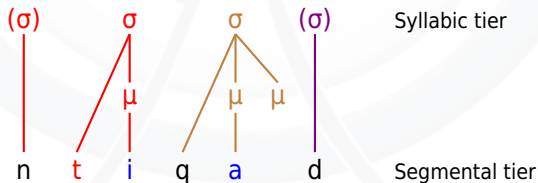


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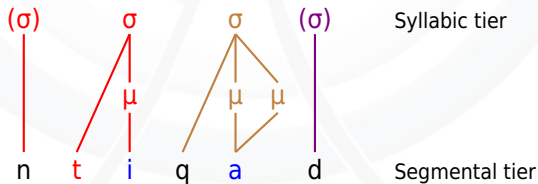


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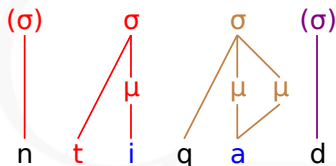
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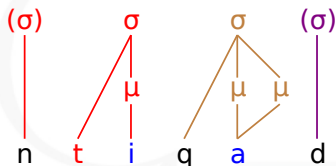


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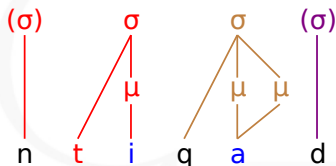
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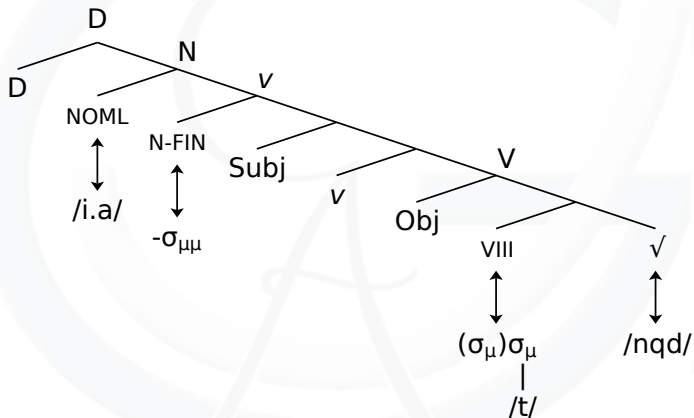
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Syntactic structure



Syntax/phonology mapping

- ▶ The four morphemes in the word form *intiqād* need to be combined.
- ▶ A syntactician's standard tool: head movement.
- ▶ Phonology needs to “know” that the four morphemes need to be combined; syntax does not.
- ▶ Syntax/phonology correspondence principle:

(2) *Input Correspondence*:

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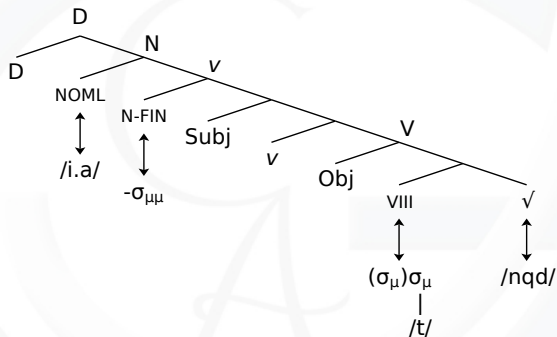
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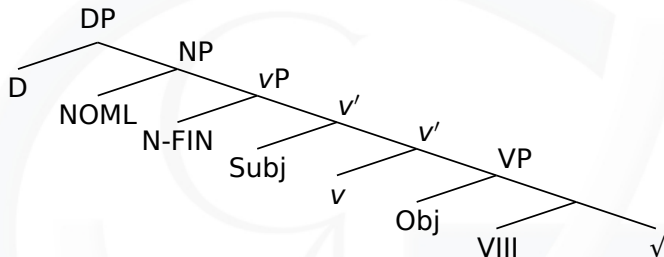
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Syntax/phonology mapping



- ▶ VIII selects \checkmark , N-FIN selects V, and NOML selects N-FIN.
- ▶ By IC, all four morphemes must be realised in a single form.
- ▶ There is no need for a distinct subtree containing these four heads.

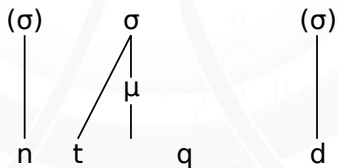
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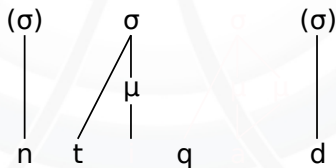
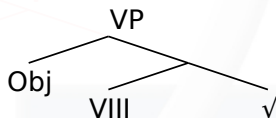
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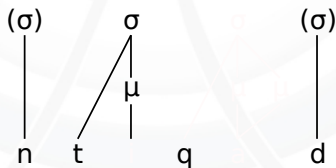
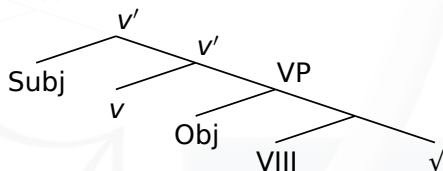
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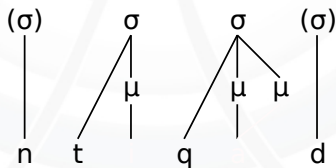
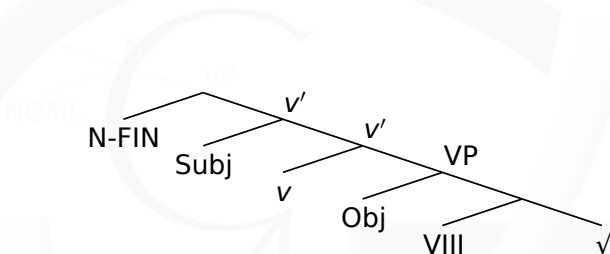
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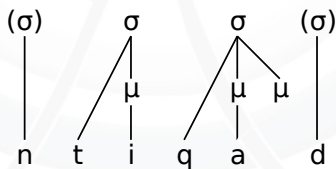
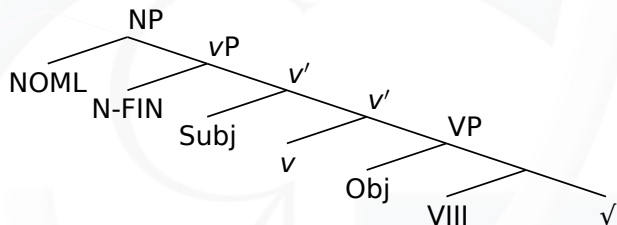
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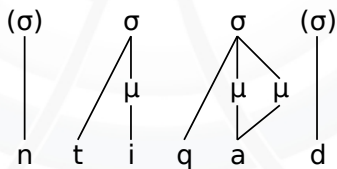
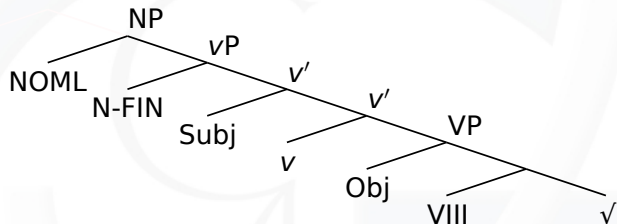
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▶ Stems V and VI have idiosyncratic NOML and N-FIN morphemes:

- (4) a. NOML: /a.u/
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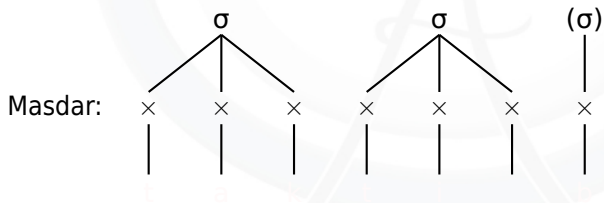
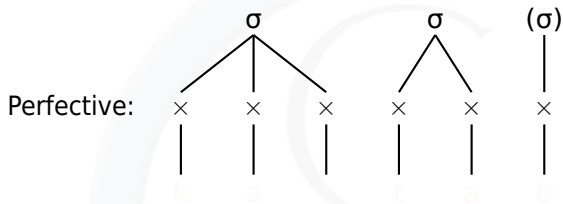
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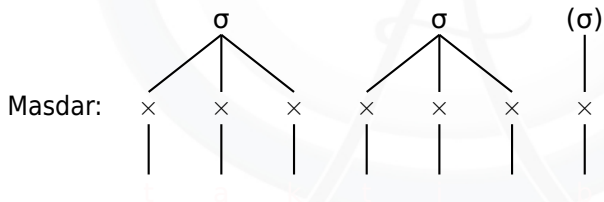
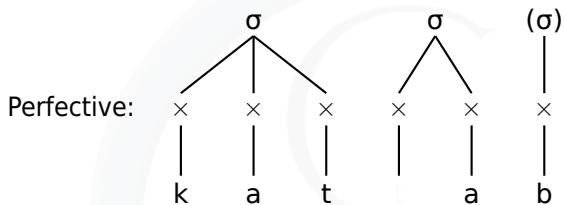
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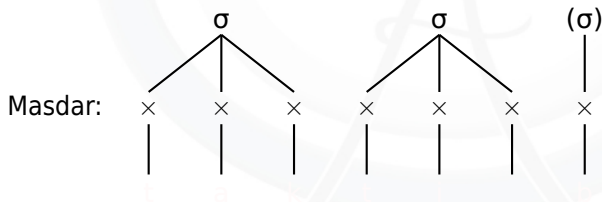
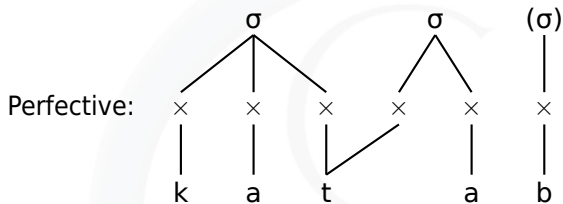
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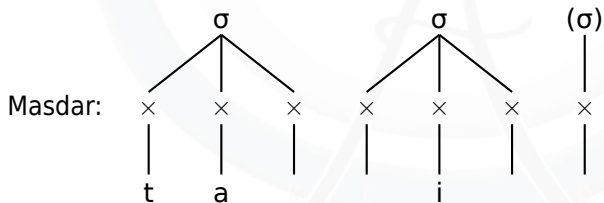
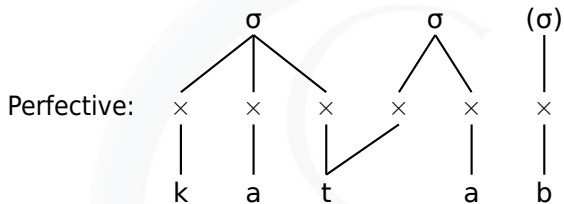
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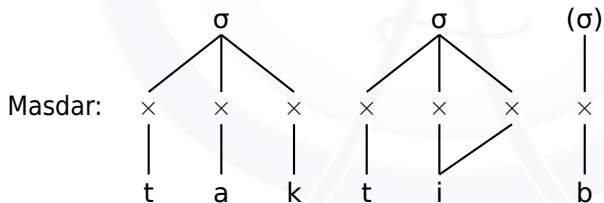
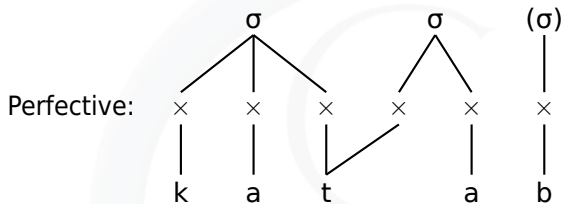
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Word order issues

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- ▶ Possibly: linearisation of the complete form in the position of its highest morpheme.
- ▶ This requires that D is included in the masdar form:

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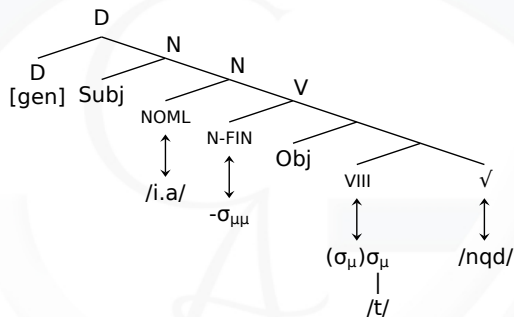
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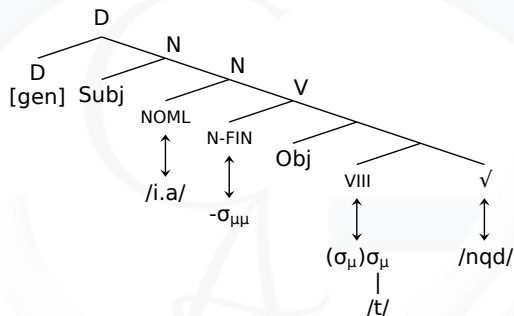
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'the objection against the judgment'

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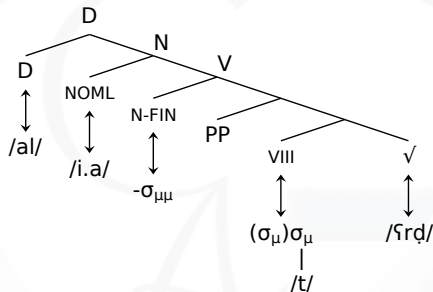
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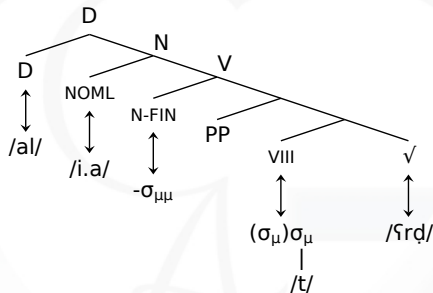
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Summary and conclusions

- ▶ The morphemes making up a masdar are assembled by phonology.
- ▶ Therefore, there is no need for a morphological word formation process and a structural analysis becomes possible.
- ▶ However, there is no word formation in syntax, either.
- ▶ A masdar such as *intiḳāḍ* is not a complex head in syntax, no head movement takes place.
- ▶ In general, the approach allows us to account for morphological processes through the interaction of syntax and phonology, obviating the need for a separate morphology module.

References

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