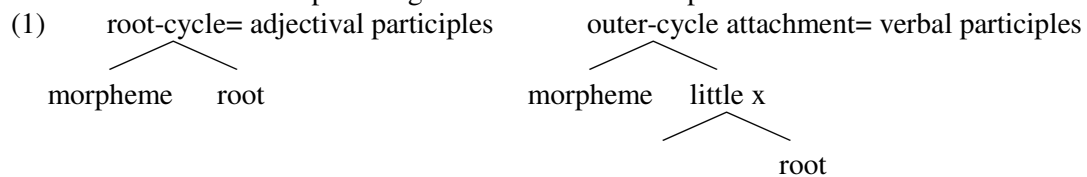


Domains for idioms

1. In the literature it has been observed (Chomsky 1970, Wasow 1977) that there are two classes of morphemes, corresponding roughly to derivational (category changing) and inflectional (non-category changing) morphology, which display different behavior with respect to productivity, phonological and semantic idiosyncrasy, as well as interaction with other syntactic rules. Within Lexicalist models, this distinction has been treated in terms of two types of word formation: lexical and syntactic. Since words in the lexicon have special listed properties, lexical word formation can show idiosyncratic forms and meanings, unlike syntactic word formation which is fully productive, resulting in transparent forms and compositional meaning. For syntactic approaches to morphology, properties traditionally attributed to lexical listing (e.g. categorization, argument structure) are reduced to mechanisms of the computational system. In such models, there can be no well-defined distinction between lexical and syntactic word formation. In this paper, we focus on the question of how (non)-compositional meanings of complex words are assigned in syntactic models. We investigate Marantz's (2001) hypothesis that idiosyncratic meaning derives from locality constraints on the interpretation of roots. This is based on the following generalization: *When affixes attach directly to the root, idiosyncratic meanings may arise. When they attach outside category defining heads, the result is a meaning predictable from the meaning of the stem.* We present evidence from participles that category heads do not define domains for idiomatic meaning. What matters is functional structure licensing arguments (see Borer 2003, 2008a,b).

2. One difference between adjectival and verbal participles in English is that only the former are associated with idiosyncratic forms and meanings (the *hung* jury vs. *the jury was being *hung*; the *shaven* man vs. John was *shaved*). Marantz (2001, to appear) proposes that this difference reduces to root affixation vs. attachment above a little v head. He hypothesizes that category defining heads (little v's, n's, a's) determine edges of cyclic domains (phases) which are sent to LF and PF for phonological and semantic interpretation.



Since the meaning of the root in the context of little x is negotiated using Encyclopedic knowledge, morpheme attachment to the root below x may result in idiosyncratic meanings. On the other hand, morphemes outside little x take as a complement a structure in which the root meaning has already been determined, explaining predictability. On the assumption that the verbal passive affix attaches above little v and the stative one (in English adjectival but in Chichewa not, Dubinsky & Simango 1996) attaches to the root, the difference between the two participles can be explained without appealing to category change (Wasow 1977).

3. An empirical domain for testing this hypothesis is provided by Greek which has a rich set of stative/adjectival participial constructions showing systematic correlations between meaning, structure and morphology. As discussed in Anagnostopoulou (2003), Greek has two participles that can be used as adjectives (verbal passives are synthetic formed by affixation of non-active morphology to the verb stem). The participle in *-menos* and the one in *-tos*:

- (2) a. vraz-o vras-**men**-os vras-**t**-os “boiled”
 b. psin-o psi-men-os psi-t-os “grilled”

Like adjectives, they appear in attributive and predicative positions. However, semantic and syntactic differences between the two can be observed. (i) The participles in *-menos* refer to a state as a result of a previous action, while the participles in *-tos* simply denote states. The *menos*-participle in the first conjunct of (3) signals that the boat is in a state resulting from a pumping event. Negating this event in the second conjunct results in a contradiction. The *-tos* participle in (3) does not entail the existence of a prior event and the negation of the event in the second conjunct does not lead to a contradiction:

- (3) Afti i varka ine fusko-**meni**/ #fusko-**ti** alla den tin exi fuskosi kanis akoma
This the boat is pumped up/ pumped up but not it has pumped noone yet
'This boat is pumped up but noone has pumped it up yet'
- (ii) The *-menos* participle can be modified by manner adverbs, the *-tos* participle cannot:
- (4) To kotopoulo ine kala/prosektika vras-**meno** /*kala/proesktika vras-**to**
The chicken is well/carefully boiled well/ carefully boiled
- (iii) Only *-menos* participles license instrumental PPs:
- (5) To bukali ine anig-**meno** me anixtiri /*anix-**to** me anixtiri
The bottle is opened with a bottle opener / open with a bottle opener
- (iv) *-menos* participles can license *by*-phrases, *-tos* fail to do so:
- (6) Ta lastixa ine fousko-**mena** apo tin Maria /*fousko-**ta** apo tin Maria
The tires are inflated by Mary / of the type that can be inflated by Mary

Closer inspection reveals that *-menos* participles fall into two classes, labelled 'target states' and 'resultant states' by Kratzer (2001). Target state *-menos* participles do not license agent and instrument PPs (7) and agentive adverbials (8) (they do license manner adverbs when these modify the visible result of the event, as shown in (8)):

- (7) Ta lastixa ine (*akoma) fuskomena apo tin Maria /me tin tromba
The tires are (still) inflated by the Mary /with the pump
- (8) Ine akoma kala/*prosektika fuskomena 'They are still well/*carefully inflated'

The typology is thus as follows: (I) *-tos* participles involve no implication of an event and no agentivity (no agent-oriented modification, no *by*-phrases and instruments); (II) *-menos* target state participles involve implication of an event (result oriented manner modification) and lack agentivity; (III) *-menos* resultant state participles involve an implication of an event and agentivity. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2008) propose to treat the distinctions between the three types of participles in terms of different heights of attachment. A layer Asp (stativizer) is present with all three types (*-t-* and *-men-* are exponents of Asp while *-os* is the adjectival inflectional ending). Since *-tos* participles lack agentivity and event implications, they involve root attachment of Asp. *-men-* is an exponent of Asp that in target states attaches to vP explaining why they contain event implications (v is a verbalizer yielding event interpretation). Finally, resultant states with event implications and agentivity have Voice in addition to v. Voice licenses agent- and instrument-PPs and agent-oriented adverbs.

- (9) [Asp [XP]] where XP = root, vP or VoiceP

It is crucial for present purposes that *-tos* attaches at the root cycle, while *-menos* attaches above little v. Morphology provides independent support for this analysis. As argued in Alexiadou (2001, 2007), affixes like *-iz-* and *-o(n)-* are overt reflexes of v, turning roots denoting states, entities, instruments into verbs. *-menos* productively attaches to such forms, *-tos* generally does not (exceptions will be discussed and explained in the talk):

- (10) aspr-**is-menos** *aspr-**is-tos** 'whitened', xalar-**o-menos** *kathar-**o-tos** 'loosened',
Are idiosyncratic meanings limited to *-tos* participles, as the root-attachment hypothesis leads to expect? The answer is negative. Even though *-tos* participles often have idiosyncratic meanings, as predicted, *-menos* participles can be non-compositional as well:
- (11) a. stri-**menos** jeros lit. twisted man 'crotchety man' / *i zoi ton estripse 'life twisted him'
b. ftas-**menos** epistimonas lit. reached scientist 'successful scientist' /*i dulia eftase ton epistimona 'work reached the scientist'

What blocks idiomatic readings is the presence of manner adverbs, agents, instruments:

- (12) a. kala/ prosektika stri-**menos** only lit. 'well/carefully twisted'
b. stri-**menos** apo kapion/ me kati only lit. 'twisted by someone / with something'

We conclude that little v does not define a domain for non-compositional meanings but the presence of Argument Structure (AS) material is the source of predictability in meaning. This suggests that AS should be dissociated from the presence of verbalizing morphology (Borer 2003, Alexiadou 2007) and that the functional structure licensing AS blocks assignment of non-compositional meanings, as proposed by Borer (2008a, b). We present further evidence for Borer's proposal based on *-menos* and *-tos* synthetic compounds in Greek.

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