

The English “Group Genitive” is a Special Clitic, not an Inflection



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Morpho-syntactic categories and the expression of possession

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English “Group Genitive”

- (a) [Fred]’s taste in wallpaper is appalling.
- (b) [The man in the hall]’s taste in wallpaper is appalling.
- (c) [Every man I know]’s taste in wallpaper is appalling.
- (d) [That brother-in-law of mine that I was telling you about]’s taste in wallpaper is appalling.
- (e) Even [that attractive young man who is trying to flirt with you]’s taste in wallpaper is appalling.

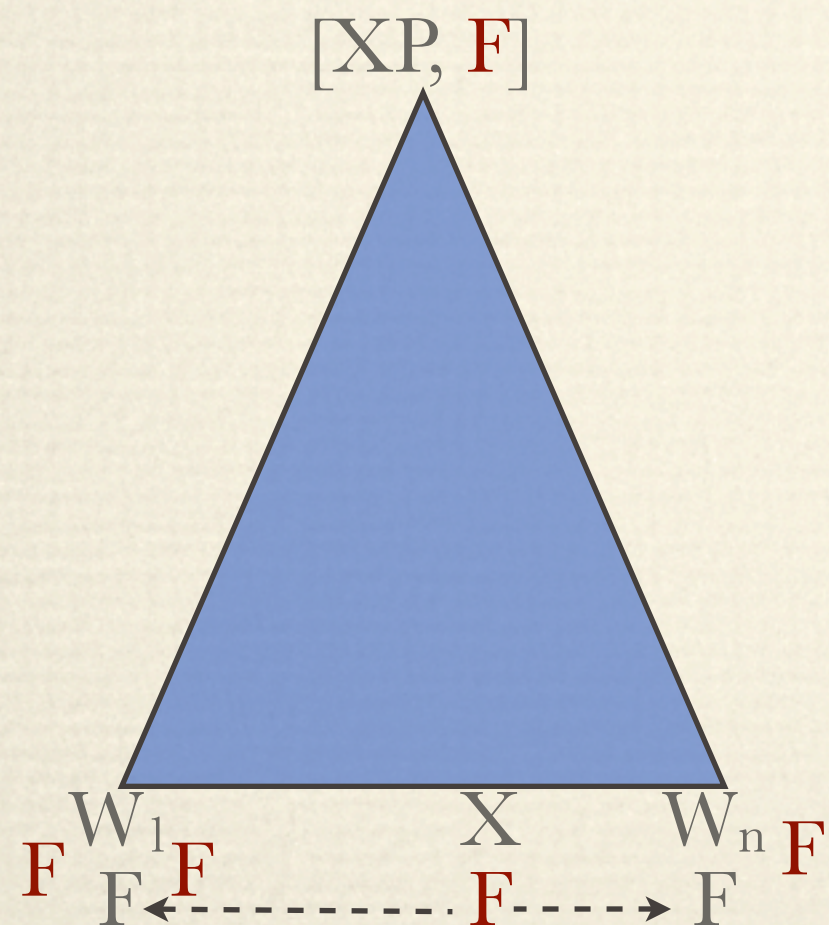
Swedish (etc.) “Group Genitive”

- (a) [[Professorn i tyska]_{DPS} fru]_{DP} är berusad
professor.DEF in German.GEN wife is drunk
‘The wife of the professor of German is drunk.’
- (b) i [[nån som jag tycker om]_{DPS} hem]_{DP}
in someone that I care about.GEN home
‘in the home of someone I like’
- (c) [[en vän till mig]_{DPS} företag]_{DP}
a friend of me.GEN company
‘a friend of mine’s company’

(See Norde, Muriel [1997], *The History of the Genitive in Swedish*, Ph.D. Thesis, Amsterdam and Börjars, Kersti [2003], “Morphological Status and (De)Grammaticalization: The Swedish Possessive, *NJL* 26.2, and references there, for discussion)

Phrasal Properties

Morphosyntactic features associated with a phrase, but realized on some specific word(s) at designated positions within the phrase (Anderson 1985, 1988).

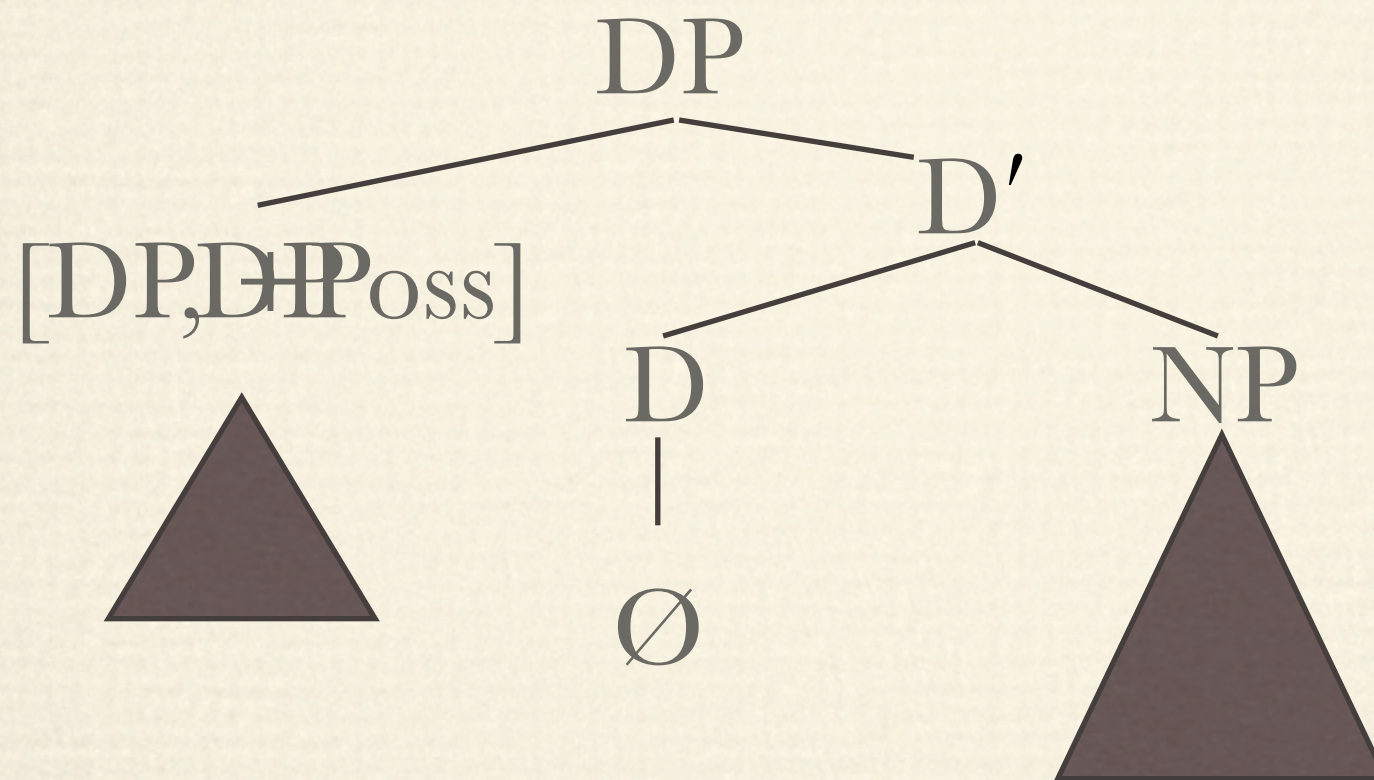


Typology

- ❖ Marked on Head
 - ❖ Everywhere (by agreement)
- ❖ Phrase-initial
 - ❖ Second position
- ❖ Phrase-final

Morphosyntax

$DP \rightarrow [+Poss] / [{}_{DP} [\text{—}] D X]$

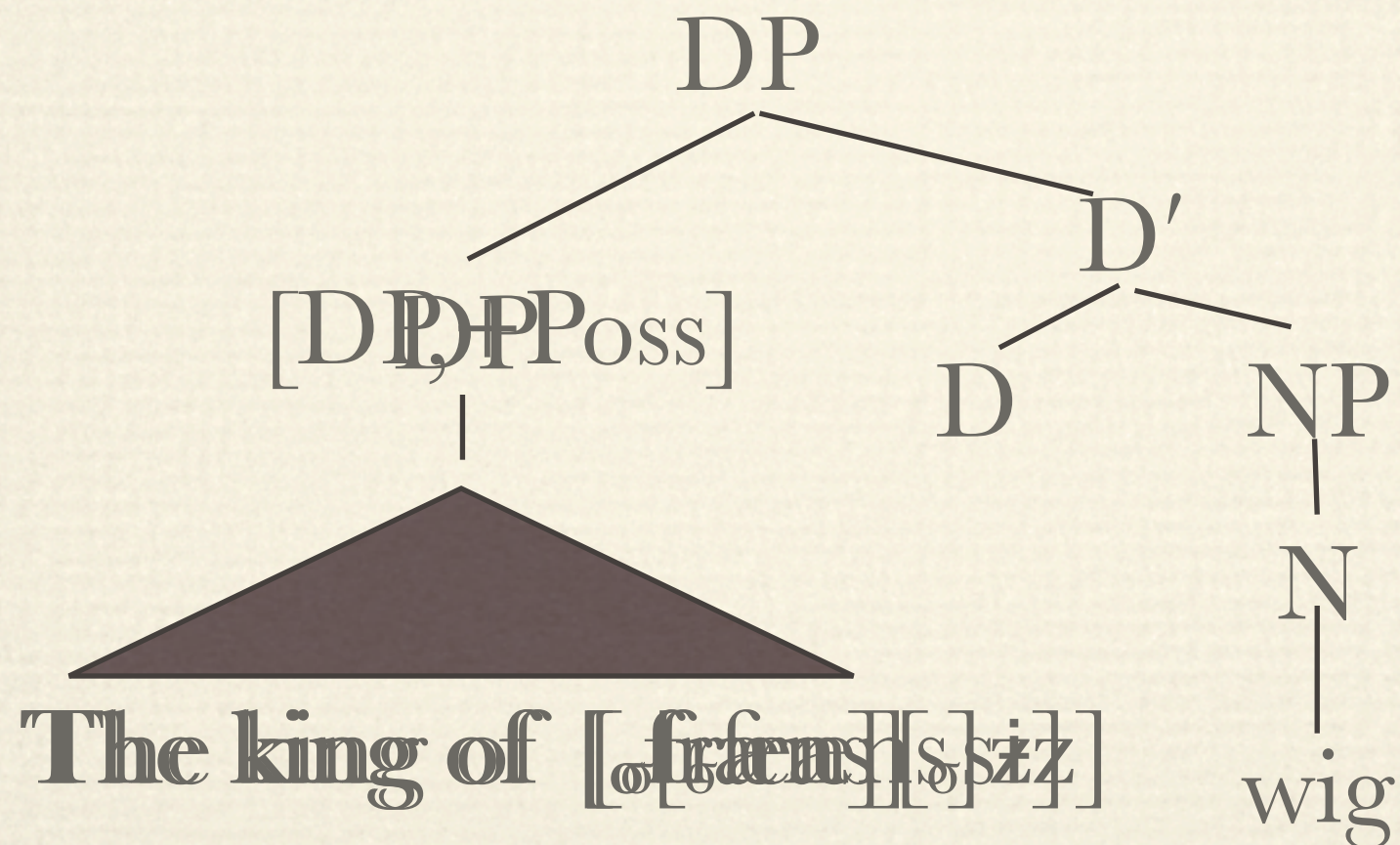


Special Clitics

Phonological modification of the PF form of a phrase (e.g., the introduction of a clitic) as a reflection of the Morphosyntactic properties of that phrase (Anderson 2005). Special clitics are the phrasal analogs of morphology introduced by a Word Formation Rule, and the two theories are parallels at the levels of the word and the phrase..

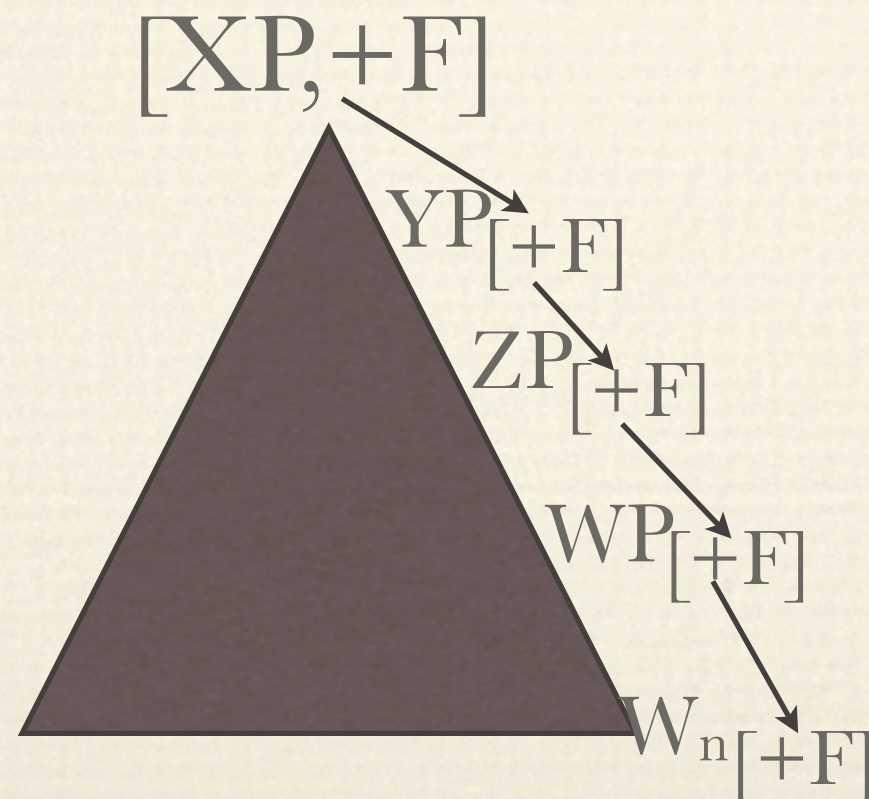
The Group Genitive as a Special Clitic

Rule: Adjoin /z/ to the final syllable of a DP bearing the feature [+Poss].



Edge Inflection

Phrasal properties are realized as word-level inflection of the Left/Right-most word of the phrase, to which the phrasal property is transmitted (Nevis 1986; Zwicky 1987; Lapointe 1990, 1992; Miller 1991).



The Group Genitive as Edge Inflection

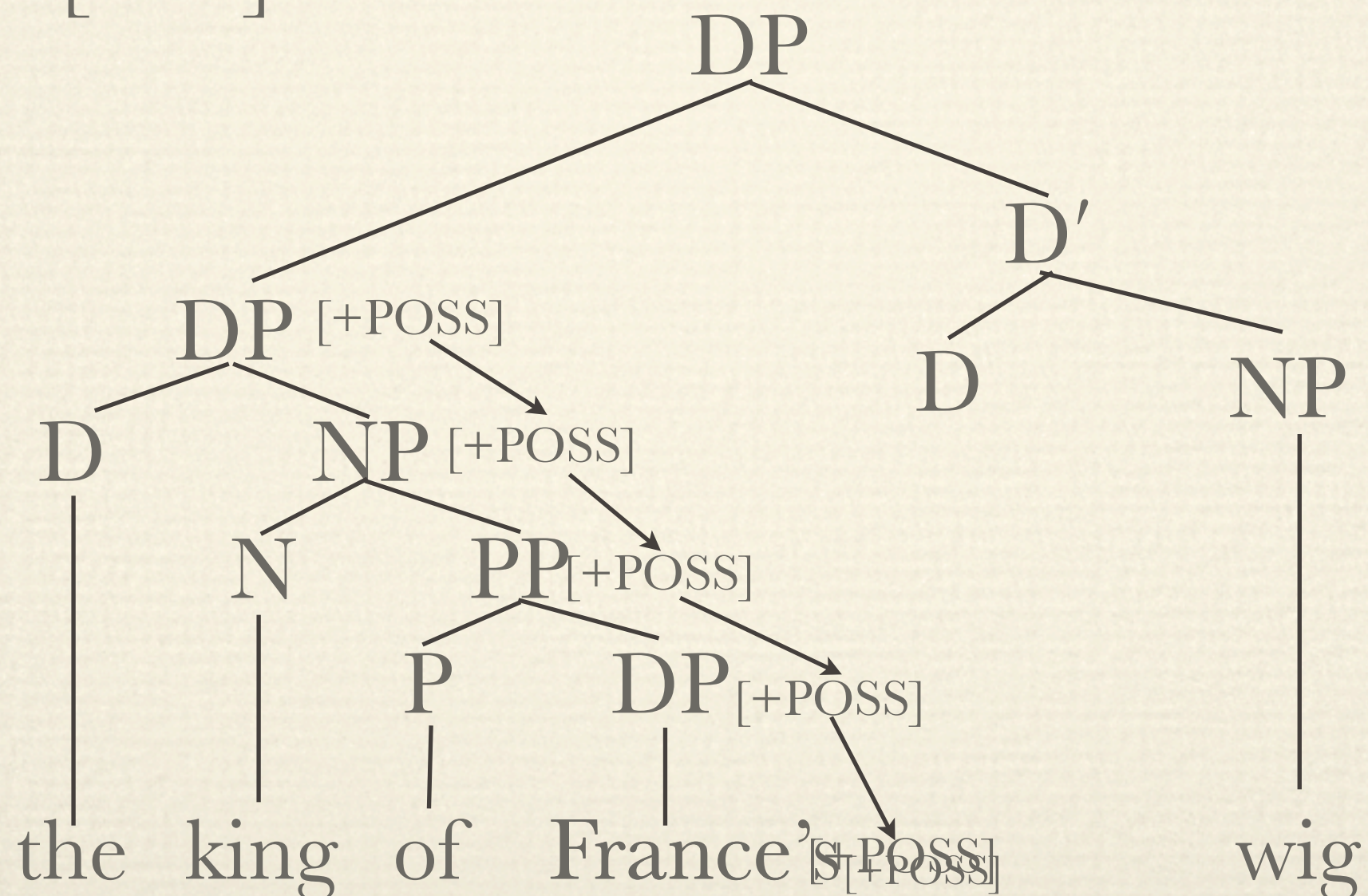
English Possessive:

Type: [EDGE:LAST]

Value: [POSS]

Word-level Morphology:

$/X_{[+POSS]} / \rightarrow /X+z/$



Clitics *vs.* Affixes

- (a) Clitics have a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts; affixes a high degree of selection.
- (b) Affixed words are more likely to have accidental or paradigmatic gaps than host+clitic combinations.
- (c) Affixed words are more likely to have idiosyncratic shapes than host+clitic combinations.

(Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Anderson 2005)

Special Clitics

Second Position in DP

Heiltsuk (Bella Bella; cf. Rath 1981): $\text{Align}(\text{DP}, \text{L}, \text{LexWd}, \text{L}) \gg \text{Align}(\text{ya}, \text{L}, \text{DP}_{[+\text{Def}]}, \text{L})$

- (a) p'ála wísm=**á**=**xi** la ux^wλiás=**a**=**xi**
 work man-DET_I-DET₂ on roof-DET_I-DET₂
 The man worked on the roof
- (b) p'ála p'ác'uá=**ya**=**s** wísem=**xi** la ux^wλiás=**a**=**xi**
 work diligent-DET_I-CONN man-DET₂ on roof-DET_I-DET₂
 The diligent man worked on the roof
- (c) p'ála 'wála=**ya**=**s** p'ác'uá=**s** wísem=**xi** la ux^wλiás=**a**=**xi**
 work really-DET_I-CONN diligent-CONN man-DET₂ on roof-DET_I-DET₂
 The really diligent man worked on the roof

Edge Inflection

Kuuk Thaayorre (Australian) Ergative Marking

	Nominative	Ergative		Nominative	Ergative
‘meat’	minh	minh-al	‘good’	min	min-thurr
‘dog’	kuta	kuta-ku	‘woman’	paanth	paanth-u
‘eye’	meer	meer-e	‘cat’	thok	thok-un
‘crocodile’	pinj	pinj-i	‘child’	parr_r	parr-an
‘boomerang’	werngr	werng-arr			

(cf. Gaby in preparation; Anderson, Brown, Gaby & Lecarme 2006)

Edge Inflection

Kuuk Thaayorre (Australian) Ergative Marking

- (a) [minh kothon-thurr]_{DP} pam nhaanham
MEAT wallaby-ERG man.ACC see.REDUP.NPAST

The wallaby is looking at the man

- (b) [wa'ar pam.thaawarr-an]_{DP} nhul kar paath-thurr thaathi-rr
jellyfish dangerous-ERG 3SG like fire-ERG sting-PST.PFCTV
nganh yangkar
1SG.ACC leg.ACC

The venomous jellyfish stung me like fire on the leg

- (c) [ngan pumun ngathan-thurr]_{DP} kuta theernga-rr
RELATIVE younger.brother my-ERG dog.ACC hit-PST.PFCTV

My younger brother hit a dog

Edge Inflection

Kuuk Thaayorre (Australian) Ergative Marking

(a) pam-al ith nhul may carrots yak-ake-rr
man-ERG DEM.DIST he.3SG VEG carrots.ACC cut-REDUP-PST.PFCTV
The man(, he) cut up the carrots

(b) parr_r paanth-u ith may mular washm
child female-ERG DEM.DIST VEG yam.ACC wash.VERBALIZE
rirk ngok-el
do.NPAST water-LOC
The girl washes the yam

An OT Analysis of Kuuk Thaayore

❖ Constraints:

1. ***D_[+Erg]**: “Nouns and Adjectives, but not Demonstratives or Pronouns, can bear [+ERG]”
2. **Align(DP_[+Erg], R, W_[+Erg], R)**: “The Right edge of a phrase bearing [+Erg] should be aligned with the Right edge of a Word bearing [+Erg].”
3. ***W_[+Erg]**: Do not inflect words for the feature [+Erg]”

❖ Ranking: 1 >> 2 >> 3

Special Clitics *vs.* Edge Inflection

	Heiltsuk Determiners	Kuuk Thaayorre Ergative	English Possessive
Selection:	none	Nouns & Adjectives	none
Gaps:	none	Demonstratives (& Pronouns?)	none
Idiosyncratic Shapes:	none	several	pronouns

The Problem of Pronouns

❖ For the Special Clitic Story:

- ❖ my lunch, your lunch, his lunch
 - ❖ *I/me's lunch, *you's lunch, *she/her's lunch
 - ❖ That's mine/yours/his
 - ❖ That's *me's/*you's/*he's
- ❖ The shape of possessive pronouns is lexically determined.



❖ For Edge Inflection:

- ❖ My bad habit
 - ❖ The woman who loves me's bad habit
 - ❖ A bad habit of mine
 - ❖ A friend of mine's bad habit
- ❖ On the Edge Inflection account, all of these are [*me*+POSS]

The Analysis of Pronouns

- ❖ Pronoun: $[_{DP} [_D \pm ME, \pm YOU, \pm PL, \pm MALE]]$
(following Postal, 1966, and much subsequent work)
- ❖ mine: $[_{DP} [_{DP, +POSS} [_D +ME, -YOU, -PL]] [_{D'} [_D \emptyset] [_{NP} \emptyset]]]$
- ❖ my: $[_{DP, +POSS} [_D [+ME, -YOU, -PL]]]$
- ❖ I/me: $[_{DP} [_D [+ME, -YOU, -PL]]]$
- ❖ These lexicalizations of pronominal DPs are disjunctively related (“Elsewhere” condition)

Other Bare Determiner DPs

-  Most bare (non-pronoun) determiners can't be possessive:
 - (a) *These's illustrations are more competently drawn than those's.
 - (b) *Of the books I lent you, two's/some's/many's covers were soiled when you brought them back.
 - (c) ... one's cover was soiled.
-  But possessive-DP-final bare determiners are OK:
 - (a) The man who brought you these's car is still in the driveway.
 - (b) We look at their records for failing grades, and a student who has two's/some's/many's chances of admission are poor.

Some Phonology

- ❖ Possessive /z/ is not added to words already inflected with the regular plural /z/
 - a. the three boys' [bojz] caps
 - b. *the three boys's [bojzɹz] caps
- ❖ This is a fact about /+zɹz/, not about [+Pl]/+z/
 - c. The three children's/women's/deer's/mice's
etc. feet.

Some Phonology

- ❖ Possessive /z/ is not added to phrases whose last word is already inflected with /z/ (Zwicky 1987)
 - a. anyone who likes kids' (*kids's) ideas
 - b. people attacked by cats' (*cats's) reactions
 - c. anyone who hurries (*hurries's) ideas
 - d. everyone at Harry's (*Harry's's) ideas
 - e. a friend of my two kids' (*kids's, *kids's's) ideas

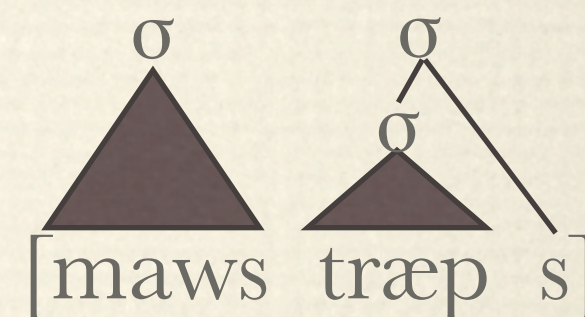
Some Phonology

- ❖ Possessive /z/ is added to words that end in a sequence homophonous with the plural ending (including /z/, /s/ and /tʃ/):
 - (a) the fuzz's old cars; at Buzz's
 - (b) the bus's doors; at Cass's
 - (c) the terrace's tiling; at Thomas's

Some Phonology

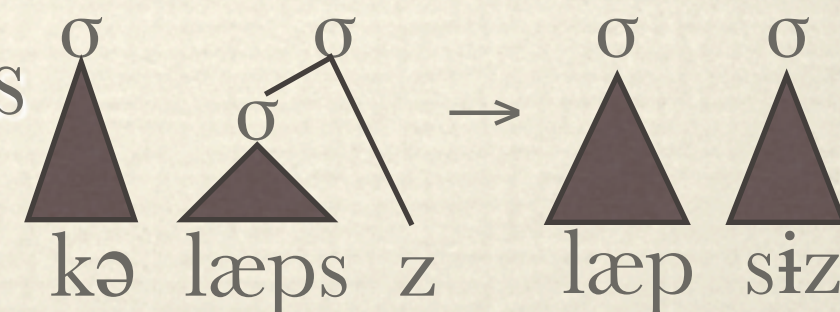
- ❖ “Regular” endings (/z/, d/) are adjoined to the final syllable, not concatenated (Selkirk, 1982)

- ❖ my three
mousetraps’ (*mousetraps’s) only
contents



- ❖ /z/ is not adjoined to a syllable that is already affixed.

- ❖ the recent stock market collapse’s
only consequence



Some Phonology

- ❖ “POSS is occasionally suppressed in speech (as regularly is in writing, according to at least some style sheets) after proper names ending in /s z/: Jones’, Nevis’, Jeeves’.” (Zwicky 1987, p. 140, fn. 6)
- ❖ $[[\text{ɔʃijv}]_{\sigma} \text{z}]_{\sigma}$ vs. $[\text{ɔʃijvz}]_{\sigma}$
- ❖ Syllable-affix incorporation: $[[X]_{\sigma} C]_{\sigma} \rightarrow [XC]_{\sigma}$
- ❖ Zwicky: post-lexical.
- ❖ Carstairs-McCarthy: (optionally?) lexical.

Another Possible Analysis

- ❖ Possessive as a simple clitic in D?
- ❖ [DP[DP Fred][D 's] [NP hat]]
- ❖ Mechanical problem of collapsing me's→my
- ❖ Not all genitives precede D

“Descriptive” Genitives

- ❖ Elk Lake has one children's playground and two beaches
- ❖ How many old man's faces can you see? [about an optical illusion illustration]
- ❖ It costs close to \$100 per person for a family at Disney world, do you honestly think that Disney gives two mouse's asses for 'affordable for families'?

“Descriptive” Genitives

- ❖ Follow, rather than precede, the determiner
- ❖ Necessarily non-referential
- ❖ Not mutually exclusive with another possessor
 - ❖ Oxford’s two women’s colleges
- ❖ Structure limited to that of NP (not DP)
- ❖ $[[_{\text{DP}} \text{Oxford}]'s \text{ } [_{\text{D}} \text{two}] \text{ } [_{\text{NP}}[_{\text{NP}} \text{women}]'s \text{ } [_{\text{N}} \text{colleges}]]$
- ❖ $\text{NP} \rightarrow [+_{\text{Poss}}] / [_{\text{NP}}[-] \text{N X}]$

Some Morals

- ❖ Both Phrasal Morphology (Special Clitics) and Word-level Edge Inflection exist as the expression of Phrasal properties.
- ❖ Productive Phrase-level morphology (Special Clitics), like productive Word-level morphology, can be preempted by lexically listed forms.
- ❖ Functional content (e.g., Case) can be assigned and expressed without hierarchical organization.

Thank you.