

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



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# English “Group Genitive”

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- (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.

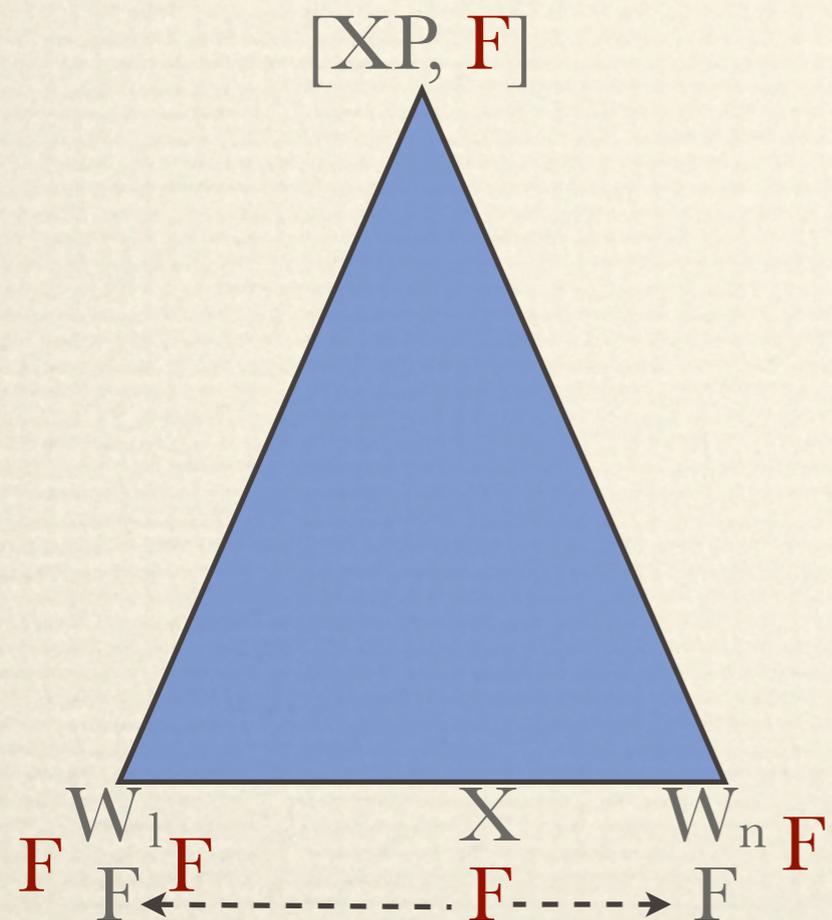
# Swedish (etc.) “Group Genitive”

- (a) [[Professorn i tyska]<sub>DPS</sub> fru]<sub>DP</sub> 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]<sub>DPS</sub> hem]<sub>DP</sub>  
in someone that I care about.GEN home  
‘in the home of someone I like’
- (c) [[ en vän till mig]<sub>DPS</sub> företag]<sub>DP</sub>  
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).

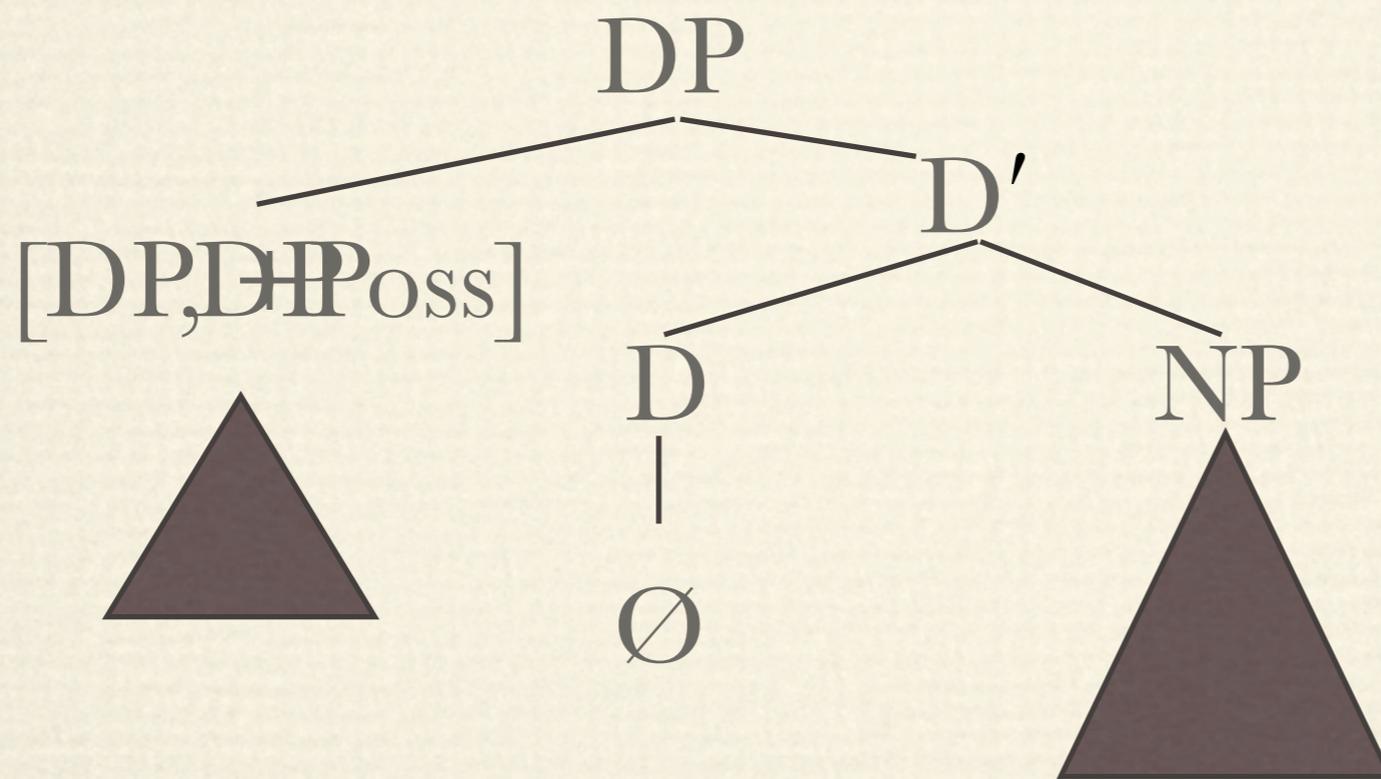


## Typology

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

# Morphosyntax

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



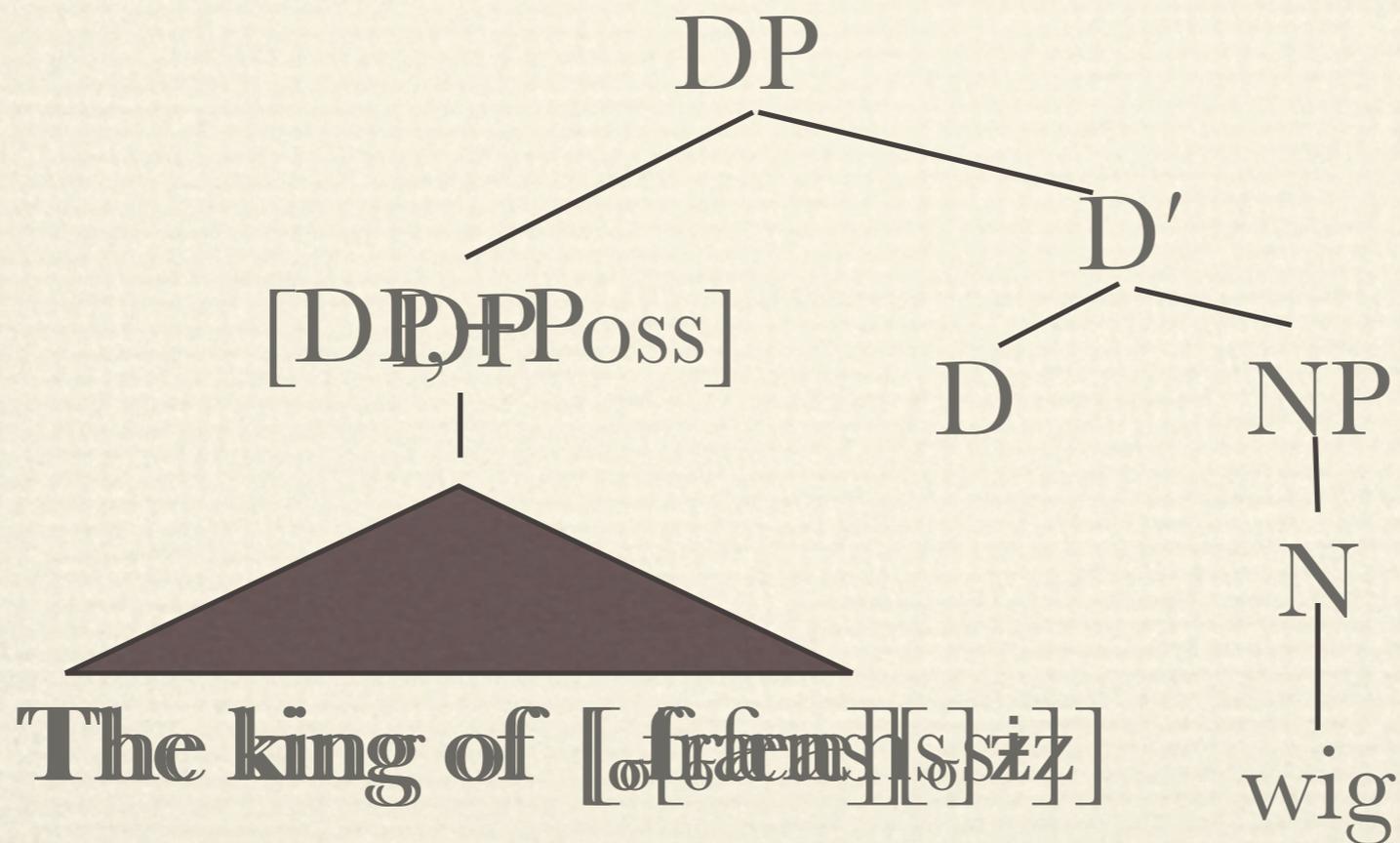
# Special Clitics

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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

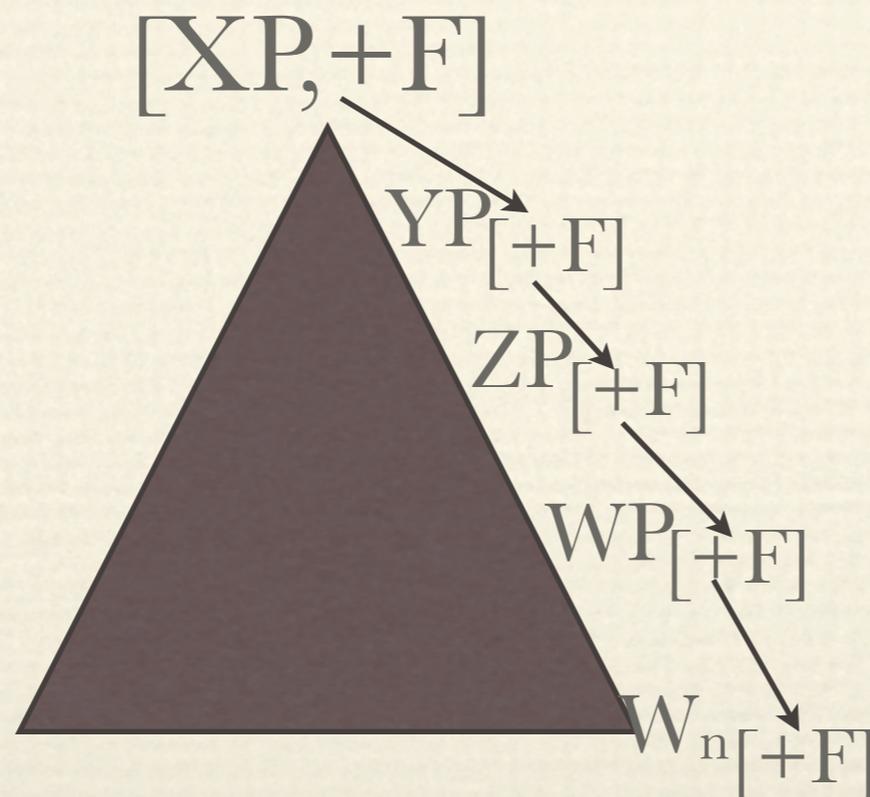
Rule: Adjoin /z/ to the final syllable of a DP bearing the feature [+Poss].



# Edge Inflection

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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).





# Clitics *vs.* Affixes

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- (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**=**x̣i** la ux<sup>w</sup>λiás=**a**=**x̣i**  
 work man-DET<sub>1</sub>-DET<sub>2</sub> on roof-DET<sub>1</sub>-DET<sub>2</sub>  
 The man worked on the roof
- (b) p'ála p'ác'uá=**ya**=**s** wísem=**x̣i** la ux<sup>w</sup>λiás=**a**=**x̣i**  
 work diligent-DET<sub>1</sub>-CONN man-DET<sub>2</sub> on roof-DET<sub>1</sub>-DET<sub>2</sub>  
 The diligent man worked on the roof
- (c) p'ála 'wála=**ya**=**s** p'ác'uá=**s** wísem=**x̣i** la ux<sup>w</sup>λiás=**a**=**x̣i**  
 work really-DET<sub>1</sub>-CONN diligent-CONN man-DET<sub>2</sub> on roof-DET<sub>1</sub>-DET<sub>2</sub>  
 The really diligent man worked on the roof

$\text{Align}(\text{x̣i}, \text{R}, \text{DP}_{[+\text{Def}]}, \text{L})$

DP-Final

# Edge Inflection

## Kuuk Thaayorre (Australian) Ergative Marking

|             | <b>Nominative</b> | <b>Ergative</b> |         | <b>Nominative</b> | <b>Ergative</b> |
|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------|-------------------|-----------------|
| '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]<sub>DP</sub> pam nhaanham  
MEAT wallaby-ERG man.ACC see.REDUP.NPAST

The wallaby is looking at the man

- (b) [wa'ar pam.thaawarr-an]<sub>DP</sub> 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]<sub>DP</sub> 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-eln  
do.NPAST water-LOC  
The girl washes the yam

# An OT Analysis of Kuuk Thaayore

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## ❖ Constraints:

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

## ❖ Ranking: 1 >> 2 >> 3

# Special Clitics *vs.* Edge Inflection

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

# The Problem of Pronouns

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## ❖ 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

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- ❖ 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 [bojzɪz] caps
- ❖ This is a fact about /+z+z/, not about [+Pl]/+z/
  - c. The three children's/women's/deer's/mice's etc. feet.

# Some Phonology

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- ❖ 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

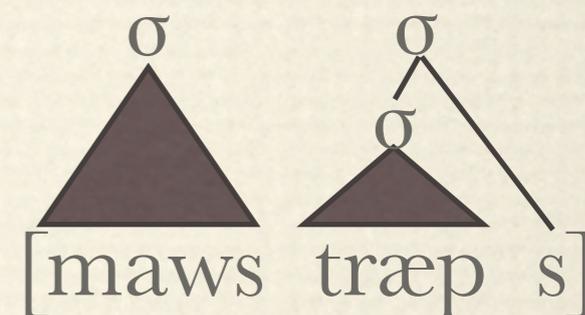
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- ❖ Possessive /z/ is added to words that end in a sequence homophonous with the plural ending (including /z/, /s/ and /tʃ/):
  - (a) the fuzz's old cars; at Buzz's
  - (b) the bus's doors; at Cass's
  - (c) the terrace's tiling; at Thomas's

# Some Phonology

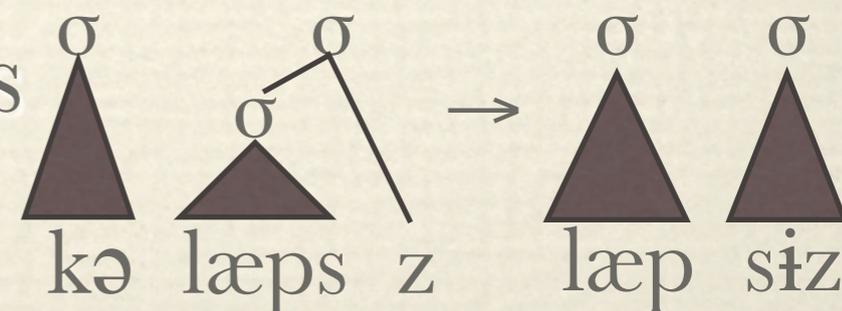
❖ “Regular” endings (/z/, d/) are adjoined to the final syllable, not concatenated (Selkirk, 1982)

❖ 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)
- ❖  $[[\text{dʒijv}]_{\sigma} \text{z}]_{\sigma}$  vs.  $[\text{dʒijvz}]_{\sigma}$
- ❖ Syllable-affix incorporation:  $[[X]_{\sigma} C]_{\sigma} \rightarrow [XC]_{\sigma}$
- ❖ Zwicky: post-lexical.
- ❖ Carstairs-McCarthy: (optionally?) lexical.

# Another Possible Analysis

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- ❖ 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

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- ❖ 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

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- ❖ 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)
- ❖ [[<sub>DP</sub> Oxford]’s [<sub>D</sub> two] [<sub>NP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub> women]’s [<sub>N</sub> colleges]]
- ❖ NP → [+Poss] / [<sub>NP</sub>[-] N X]

# Some Morals

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- ❖ 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.