

WS 6: Categorizers in diachrony

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Description:

Although the form, meaning, and ontological status of “categorizing” (“stem-forming”) morphology have received some attention in the typological and theoretical literature on word classes (e.g., Vogel & Comrie 2000, Baker 2003, Knobloch & Schaefer 2005, Panagiotidis 2011), its diachrony remains understudied: It is unclear how and why new categorizers arise historically and what “mechanisms” of change are responsible for the rise of new categorization devices. Do new categorizers arise due to semantic bleaching/grammaticalization (e.g., nominal diminutives > nominalizers), reanalysis of functional heads in the context of decategorial (“secondary”) derivation (nominalizers > verbalizers, e.g., Grestenberger forthcoming), the need for “compensation of phonological reduction” (Haspelmath 1995), or is there no uniform diachronic path that gives rise to these grammatical categories?

The goal of this workshop is to discuss the diachrony of categorizing morphology with the aim of establishing cross-linguistic regularities and generalizations concerning the rise, function, and development of nominal, verbal, and adjectival stem-forming morphology. Examples include the reanalysis of nominalizers as verbalizers, (1), of adjectivizers as verbalizers, (2), or of adjectivizers as participial affixes, (3), but also a variety of phenomena usually classified as “grammaticalization” (e.g., the reanalysis of nominal second compound members as nominal or adjectival suffixes).

1. $n \rightarrow v$: Ancient Greek [*basil-eú*]_{n-s} ‘king’: [[**basil-eú*]_{n-j}]_{v-ō} ‘am/act as king’ → Modern Greek *stóx-os* ‘target’ [[*stox*]_{n-év}]_{v-o} ‘to aim at’; Pre-Proto-Algonquian [**api*]_{v-hm}]_n ‘sitting place, seat’, [**net*-[[*api*]_{v-hm}]_{n-ena-n} ‘where we sit; our sitting place’ → Proto-Algonquian [**net*-[[*api*]_{v-hm}]_{v?}-*ena-n* (*ma-hi*) ‘we sit over there’ (Oxford 2014: 14-15)
2. $a \rightarrow v$: Gm. *Kraft* ‘strength’: [[*kräft*]_{n-ig}]_a ‘with strength, strong’; [[[*kräft*]_{n-ig}]_{a-en}]_{v/T[-fin]} ‘to strengthen’ → *Pein* ‘pain’: [[[*pein*]_{n-ig}]_{v-en}]_{T[-fin]} ‘to torture’ (**pein-ig* ‘painful’)
3. $a \rightarrow v/ptcp$: Sanskrit *ásva-* ‘horse’: [[*asv*]_{n-ín}]_{a-} ‘possessing horses’ → √*yaj* ‘sacrifice’: [*yāj-ín*]_{ptcp-} ‘sacrificing’

The papers in this workshop bring specific predictions from different theoretical approaches to bear on these issues and adduce novel empirical arguments from a variety of different language families to the debate. The contributions will address (and go beyond) the following issues:

- What role do morphological reanalysis and resegmentation, especially mechanisms such as “**affix telescoping**” (Haspelmath 1995) play in the establishment of new categorizers, and what is the role of “phonological erosion” or loss of phonological material in these processes?
- How does categorization interact with morphosyntactic features such as number or classifier morphology and gender (on *n*) or Aktionsart on *v*? Which diachronic generalizations as to these interactions are possible? For example, in Distributed Morphology, roots only receive their categorization in the course of the syntactic derivation by combining with the categorizing heads *v* (verbalizers), *n* (nominalizers), and *a* (adjectivizers or “stativizers”). Categorization is thus fundamentally syntactic, and the extent to which categorizers are also associated with syntactico-semantic “content” such as definiteness (in the nominal domain) or Aktionsart (in the verbal domain) is debated (Panagiotidis et al. 2017). In (broadly) lexicalist approaches, on

the other hand, “stem classes” or “conjugational classes” are treated as properties of words and hence, the lexicon. These approaches also differ in how conjugational class elements such as “theme vowels” are treated both from a synchronic and from a diachronic perspective (cf., e.g., Calabrese 2019, Bertocci & Pinzin 2020), and with respect to the analysis of change in classifier systems and their connection to (noun class) categorization (e.g., Craig 1986).

- Are there unambiguous diagnostics for distinguishing between categorizing morphology and derivational morphology in the more technical sense, that is, category-changing morphology with specific (argument- and event-structure changing) functions, e.g., agent noun- and verbal abstract-forming morphology in the nominal domain or causativizing and applicativizing morphology in the verbal domain? Empirical and conceptual arguments in favor of separating “low” categorizing morphology from “higher” functional, category-changing projections (e.g., Himmelmann 2005, Marantz 1997, Borer 2015; Panagiotidis et al. 2017) have not yet been connected to the diachrony of these entities in a systematic way.
- What role does language acquisition play in the diachronic development of categorizing morphology? For example, syntactic change has been argued to proceed via “**upwards reanalysis**” (Roberts & Roussou 2003) of lexical projections as higher functional projections, and this is compatible with L1 acquisition evidence of how children acquire, for example, epistemic modal verbs by overextending their functional domain “upwards” (Cournane 2014). Does this overextension parallel the changes we see in the historical record? That is, is categorizer change inherently directional?

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Contributions

1. Inflectional vocalic pieces in Latin verbal morphology: a synchronic and diachronic analysis

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This paper will look at the historical development of reconstructed VP-shell and actional/aspectual formatives from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) into Latin. Thus, on the one hand, it will look at the outcomes of formatives such as **-eye-* characteristic of causatives, the **-ye* of denominatives, the **-eh₁-* characteristic of statives, and, on the other, at the outcomes of actional/aspectual formatives like **-e*, and **-ye-*. These formatives developed into the Latin root-adjacent vocalic pieces *-ā-*, *-ē-*, *-ě-*, *-ĩ-*, *-ī-*. The pieces *ā-*, *ē-*, *ī-*, developed from VP-shell elements. Thus, the *-ā-* conjugation developed mostly from denominatives in **-ye-* whose bases were the nominal stems of the *-ā-* (<**-eh₂-*) declension: */-ā-/* < **-eh₂-ye* (with loss of the intervocalic glide, subsequent merging of the vowel sequence and eventual reanalysis of the resulting piece as a *v⁰-derivative*): e.g., *curāmus* ‘cure’ (cf. *curā* ‘cure’). The *-ē-* conjugation developed mostly from the stative suffix *-ē-* (<**-eh₁-*) and from causatives in **-eye-* (with *o*-grade of root): */-ē-/* < **-eh₁-*; e.g., *sedēmus* ‘we sit’ (<**sed-eh₁-*; cf. *sīdo*, **si-sd-* ‘I sit down’), */-ē-/* < **-eyē-*, e.g., *monēmus* ‘we warn’ (<**mon-eye-*). The *-ī-* conjugation developed mostly from denominatives in **-ye-*, */-ī-/* < **-denominative *-yē-*, e.g., *fīnīmus* ‘limit’ (cf. *fīnis* ‘end’), but also from original stems in **-ye-*: *venīmus* ‘come’ (<**g^wen-ye-*). *ě-*, *-ī-*. The pieces */-ě-/* and */-ĩ-/* developed from actional/aspectual **-e*, **-ye* (*legimus* < **leg^y-e* ‘collect’; *capio* < **kap-ye-ti* ‘takes’).

I will argue against recent proposals by Bertocci and Pinzin (2020, 2021), who hypothesize that all these elements preserved their functional status in their development from PIE to Latin so that */-ā-/* and */-ī-/* are functional elements in the VP shell whereas */-ě-/* and */-ĩ-/* (as well as */-ē-/* in Bertocci and Pinzin’s analysis) are actional/aspectual markers. In contrast, I will support Aronoff’s (1994) original hypothesis that all root-adjacent vocalic pieces in Latin are simply ornamental elements. I will show how Latin root-adjacent vocalic pieces lost semantic specificity and were bleached in meaning due to their disparate etymological sources; for example, */-ā-/* did not develop only from the denominative sequence **-eh₂-ye* but also from de-adjectival factitive with the suffix **-h₂: novare* ‘to renew’ from *novus, nova, novum* ‘new’, and even possibly from a root-final laryngeal as in the case of primary verbs in */-ā-/*, which do not have a clear etymology: *amāre* ‘to (make) love’, *arāre* ‘to plow’, *volāre* ‘to fly’, *cubāre* ‘lie down’, *flagrāre* ‘to glow’ (note the semantic inhomogeneity of these verbs, which can be transitive, intransitive and also unaccusative). I will propose that this bleaching finally led to a major reanalysis of Latin morphophonology. Inflectional consonantal pieces were reinterpreted as exponents of functional nodes and inflectional vocalic pieces as exponents of ornamental nodes. This will lead to a radical theoretical simplification of Latin verbal morphology. The analysis of the development of the PIE formatives into Latin will require a detailed investigation of the morphosyntactic structure of the PIE verbal forms and specifically of the PIE VP-shell. The original status and the development of the *v⁰-formatives* will be of crucial importance in the analysis. It will be shown that they don’t need to be phonologically overt. The consequences of this fact will be explored.

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2. On adjectivalizers in Rig-Vedic Sanskrit

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This talk focuses on “adjectivalizers” in Rig-Vedic Sanskrit. The basic idea is that any study on “categorizers” cannot but set up from a clear definition of the lexical categories of the described language (noun, verb, adjective, etc.). Still, the definition of these categories in RV Sanskrit is far from trivial, especially when it comes to the adjective.

It is well-known that many languages lack adjectives (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2004). However, it is also well-known that the criteria whereby a language is said to “have” or “lack” adjectives are problematic, if not inconsistent (Dryer 1997, Croft 2001: 67ff., Haspelmath 2012). The best proof for the inconsistency comes from the paradox of *inconsistent category assignment* that is, the situation in which a same language is classified as “without” or “with” adjectives by different scholars on the basis of almost the same empirical data. The definition of the adjectival class in Sanskrit perfectly exemplifies the paradox. Indian native grammar ignores the adjective class (Pontillo & Candotti 2011). Traditional European grammars of Sanskrit usually teach that Sanskrit indeed “has” adjectives, but these adjectives are not as sharply distinguished from nouns as Latin adjectives. Speyer (1896), followed by Joshi (1967) and Bhat (1994), claimed that Sanskrit is a language “without” adjectives or “with noun-like adjectives” that is, with adjectives totally merged with nouns. Alfieri claimed that in RV Sanskrit can better be seen as a language “with verb-like adjectives” or with quality concepts merged with verbal roots in the lexicon, since the most typical Quality Predicate is a verbal form (e.g. *módate* ‘is delighted’) or, at least, a derived adjective built on a verbal root and added to an optional copula (e.g. *tapús (asti)* ‘is hot’ < *tap-* ‘heat, become hot’, see Alfieri 2020); and since the most typical Quality Modifier is not a simple adjective, as in Latin; it rather is a derived adjective built on a verbal root of quality or nearly quality meaning (e.g. *śub^hrā-* ‘beautiful’ < *śub^h-* ‘beautify’, see Alfieri 2016, 2021).

The methodology whereby the last conclusion was reached is relevant for our topic. In Alfieri (2016, 2021) a sample of 51 hymns of RV was gathered and all the Quality Modifiers in the sample were collected: on 1003 “adjectives” therein found, 42.6% are deverbal adjectives such as *tapú-* and *śub^hrā-* (see above), 24.8% are compound adjectives (that is, the *bahuvrīhi* type termed by Indian grammarians) such as *híraṇya-pāṇi-* ‘having gold hands’, 13.7% are prefixed adjectives such as *su-vīra-* ‘heroic’ < *vīrá-* ‘hero’, 9.8% are denominative adjectives such as *pítṛiya-* ‘paternal’ < *pítṛ-* ‘father’, 7.8% are simple adjectives such as *kṛṣṇá-* ‘black’, and 2.1% are prepositional adjectives such as *paramá-* ‘most distant’ < *párā-* ‘away’. In the talk the corpus in Alfieri (2016, 2020, 2021) is taken up and further elaborated upon, by discussing all the affixes that convert nouns, verbal roots and preposition into adjectives. The aim of the research is: a) to provide a corpus-based description of the different adjectivalizers in RV Sanskrit; b) to show that a typologically informed definition of the adjective class can contribute to our understanding of adjectival-forming morphology in RV Sanskrit and its PIE origin.

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3. One or All: The Development of Singulatives to Collectives in Semitic

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Semitic languages generally have two genders, masculine and feminine. Masculine nouns are unmarked (as in Classical Arabic *'ibn-* ‘son’) while feminine nouns are marked by either *-t* or its allomorph *-at* (as in Classical Arabic *bint-* ‘daughter’ and *madīnat-* ‘city’). This distinction of gender and gender marking is found in all major branches of Semitic and can be reconstructed to the proto language without difficulty. There is evidence, however, that the feminine marker *-(a)t* did not originate as gender marker in the nominal system of Semitic. As argued in Hasselbach (2014ab), the morpheme *-(a)t* has various other functions in Semitic languages, such as marking abstracts, singulatives, and collectives, to name the most frequent functions (Hasselbach 2014b: 331). In the same article it was suggested based on comparison with other, less frequent Semitic feminine markers, that the original function of the morpheme might have been the marking of singulatives (Hasselbach 2014b: 342) – although the function to mark abstracts must have developed early on in the history of the language family since it is attested in all major branches.

The third function of *-(a)t*, the marking of collectives, seemingly contradicts the proposed reconstruction of the morpheme as originally marking singulatives. In the articles from 2014, it was hypothetically proposed that the use of *-(a)t* with collectives might have arisen through the use of the morpheme with numerals, but at that point there was no satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon. In this talk I would like to reconsider the semantic and syntactic constructions that might have caused the development of a morpheme that marked singulatives into one that can also mark collectives. The marking of collectives clearly seems to be secondary since this function only occurs in West Semitic languages (Semitic has two major branches, East Semitic, which includes Akkadian and Eblaite, and West Semitic, which includes all other Semitic languages). We can also trace a similar development with a less common Semitic feminine marker, *-ay*, which also has the function to mark collectives besides marking feminine gender and abstracts (Hasselbach 2014b: 335).

The methodology used for this investigation will be based on Typology and Historical Linguistics in order to explore the diachronic processes that led to the seemingly contradictory functions of *-(a)t* in Semitic, and to find potential cross-linguistic parallels. The same morpheme also developed into the marker of the 3rd feminine singular on perfect verbs. The investigation of sources for third person verbal markers and use of these forms might shed additional light on the question.

There is surprisingly little literature on this topic and no detailed explanatory framework that could account for the developments in Semitic. This talk intends to fill this gap in our understanding of the diachronic processes involved in the functional developments of feminine markers, both from a Semitic and cross-linguistic perspective (Corbett 1991), and to provide such an explanatory framework.

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4. ‘Inalienable’ nominalisers across Meto

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1. Overview The Meto dialect continuum (Austronesian: West Timor) displays several characteristics typical of Central/Eastern Indonesian languages (Klamer 2002; Blust 2009), including subject marking, possessor suffixes, and a distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns. This paper investigates an understudied morphosyntactic property of these languages in the form of the idiosyncratically distributed nominal suffixes *-k*, *-ʔ*, and *-n*, which obligatorily occur on certain bound roots to create alienable nouns.

(1) Bound nominal forms across Meto (from Edwards 2021)

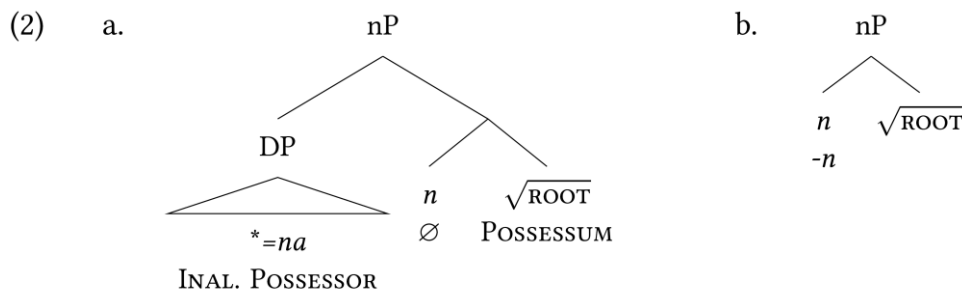
PMP **haRəzan* ‘ladder’ > *era-ʔ*, *era-k* [Amarasi] ‘stairs’, *ela-k* [Molo] ‘ladder’

PMP **rəbaq* ‘collapse’ > *refe-k* [Ro’is Amarasi], *kefa-n* [Kotos Amarasi] ‘ravine, cliff, gap’

PMP **letay* ‘above’ > *k-nete-ʔ* ‘hill’ [Kotos Amarasi], *nete-n* ‘mountain range’ [Molo]

This paper proposes that i) these suffixes originated from the diachronic Spec-Head reanalysis of inalienable possessors into *n* head categorisers; and ii) their innovation facilitated the aggressive resegmentation of etymologically **C#* nouns as the combination of a *V#* root and *-C* nominaliser, which has given rise to the illusion of synchronic subtractive morphology across a number of contexts in the Meto languages.

2. From possessor to *n* Meto inalienable possessor morphology descends from the PMP genitive enclitics (1sg **=ku* > *-k*, 2sg **=mu* > *-m*, 3sg **=na* > *-n*), which originally instantiated pronominal arguments that co-indexed both inalienable and alienable possessors. Following Alexiadou (2003); Ritter & Rosen (2010), I assume inalienable nouns allow the merger of a possessor DP into Spec, nP without needing a mediating PossP, and propose that this specifier was where these enclitics were originally merged as pronominal DPs (2a). Synchronically, several Meto nouns admit both inalienable or alienable possession as determined by semantic context; e.g. *au sisi* ‘my meat (from animals; to eat)’ vs. *au sisi-k* ‘my (own) flesh’ (cf. den Dikken 2015 on Hungarian). Given this variability in usage (and as certain nouns would have obligated 3sg/pl possessors e.g. edges, slopes), I posit that these arguments were grammaticalised into *n* head categorisers (2b) via Spec-Head reanalysis (Simpson & Wu 2002; cf. van Gelderen’s 2004 Head Preference Principle). This change was accompanied by vowel syncope and sporadic consonant reduction (1sg **=ku* > *-k/-ʔ*).



3. ‘Subtractive’ Morphology Edwards (2017, 2020) claims that Meto languages synchronically exhibit *C#* subtraction as a process which i) derives verbs from nouns (3a) and ii) is obligatory on the first element of nominal compounds (3b). I propose that these phenomena actually involve lexical items which have been reanalysed as roots + an overt *n* head (*-n/k/ʔ*), even where the final consonant is etymological (3a).

- (3) a. PMP **quzan* ‘rain’ > *uran* ‘rain’ → *na-ura* ‘(it) rains’ [Amarasi]
 b. PMP **muntay* ‘citrus tree’ > *muke-ʔ* ‘citrus’ → *muke kase-l* ‘foreign citrus’ [Amfo’an]

This resegmentation predicts the absence of these nominalisers in verbs (i.e. $\sqrt{\text{ura}} + v$ ‘to rain’). Further, independent prosodic evidence from metathesis and stress assignment (Mooney 2021; Tan 2021b) and the absence of C# deletion in verbal compounds supports analysing constructions like (3b) as $\sqrt{\text{root}} + \sqrt{\text{root}}$ compounds sharing a single categorising head (Harðarson 2017; Fenger & Harðarson 2019; Tan 2021a) whose allomorphy (here *-l*) is controlled by the final root. That these C# are synchronically segmentable is supported by the presence of *-ʔ* in several nominalising circumfixes in Amarasi (*m(a)- ... -ʔ* and *ʔ- ... -ʔ*), and the productivity of the deverbal nominaliser *-k/ʔ* in the closely-related Rote languages (Tamelan 2021).

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5. When verbal complexes become nouns via infinitive nominalization: A parallel to the verbal domain or category-individual?

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Nominalized infinitives (NIs, such as *(das) Gehen* ‘walking’, *(das) Abschneiden* ‘cutting off’) are the most frequent deverbal nominalization patterns for abstract nouns in present-day German (PDG; cf. Blume 2004, Werner 2020), the NIs are involved in different constructions in PDG, e.g. in light-verb constructions (such as *ins Rollen kommen* ‘to get going’) or in the progressive (such as *Sie ist am Arbeiten* ‘she is working’). In PDG, the stems of infinitive nominalization come from simplex, prefix, and particle verbs and the NI does not have any morphological restrictions (1a). This is not the case for other nominalization patterns such as *-ung*-nominals (1a’), which originally only accepted only simplex verbs as bases but now also combine with prefix and particle verbs (for the diachronic details, see Demske 2000, Iordăchioaia/Werner 2019).

(1a) *(das) (An-)chatten* ‘(the) chatting’

(1a’) **Chattung*

(1b) *(das) Freunde-Anchatten* ‘(the) chatting with friends’

(1b’) ?*Freunde-Anchattung*

(1c) *(das) ständig-die-Freunde-Anchatten* ‘(the) constantly-chatting-with friends’

(1c’) **Ständig-die-Freunde_{AKK}-Anchattung*

(1d) *(das) Chatten der Freunde_{GEN}* ‘(the) chatting of friends’

(1d’) **Chattung der Freunde*

While NIs can be formed from phrases containing a verb and arguments or modifiers (cf. 1b-d), this is not the case for *-ung*-nouns (cf. 1b’-c’) although both patterns form abstract nouns in PDG. In addition, only the NI, but no *-ung*-nouns can nominalize verbal complexes which is shown in (2-5).

(2a) *(das) Gegessen-Haben* lit. ‘(the) having eaten’, i.e., ‘the fact that one has eaten’

(2a’) **Gegessen-Habung/-Haberei*

(3a) *(das) Akzeptiert-Sein* ‘(the) being accepted’

(3a’) **Akzeptiert-Seiung/-Seierei*

(4a) *(das) Akzeptiert-Worden-Sein* lit. ‘(the) having been accepted’

(4a’) **Akzeptiert-Worden-Seiung/Seierei*

(5a) *(das) Schlafen-Müssen* lit. ‘the having-[to]-sleep’

(5a’) **Schlafen-Müssung/Müsserei*

Here we see that converted NIs contain perfect, passive and modal auxiliaries while *-ung*-nouns are restricted in PDG (more details in Iordăchioaia/Werner 2019). But also other derivational affixes like *-erei* do also not allow for auxiliary nominalization despite formally non-restricted productivity (cf. **Gegessen-Haberei*, **Akzeptiert-Seierei*).

NIs in Old and Middle High German were typically conversions from simplex verbs, while prefix and particle verbs followed later (Werner 2020). In this light, the talk aims to answer the question of how the NIs developed the ability to nominalize verbal complexes or, in other words, to what extent inflectional verbal categories can be integrated into nominals (or, vice versa, Grestenberger 2022). It will be asked if a certain logic can be identified as to whether some verbal categories (e.g., tense) are nominalized before others (e.g., modality or mood). This is of special interest because research on grammaticalization has identified sequences in which verbal categories develop, e.g. that aspect develops before tense (see e.g. Leiss 1992) and that verbal periphrases encoding tense developed from predicative constructions containing adjectives (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994: 61ff). However, in such a view, potential restrictions of such a conceivable development, i.e., whether some categories do not

participate in integration into nominals, are not automatically excluded. Questions regarding the degree to which there is a logic behind the nominalization of verbal categories provide important answers regarding the architecture of verbal categories, of the potential and the limits of nominalizability, and of a better derivation-inflection divide, since verbal categories are only allowed within the pattern of NIs, but not within that of derivation (see 2–5).

By taking a look at the sequence of category changes involved, the data-based talk (corpora: DTA/DWDS, Austrian Media Corpus) shows infinitive nominalization exactly follows the well-known principle of grammaticalization research, namely that aspectual or temporal forms develop first, while modal forms come last. In other words, the development of verbal categories in the nominal domain directly seems to reflect or follow the logic of grammaticalization of the verbal categories in the verbal domain. Despite these parallels however, there are also some differences between the infinitives of the nominal and verbal domain, especially w.r.t. modal verbs. In the light of different kinds of modality (deontic, reportative, epistemic), the talk identifies category-specific restrictions of infinitive nominalization, which have not been described in the literature so far. Furthermore, it aims to explain why the detected restrictions of nominal category change are inherently of stable nature by pointing to results from syntax, semantics, and language philosophy.

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