

Participial morphosyntax revisited



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Summary



- Introduction
- Intersective gradience
- ‘Intersective labels’
- Revisiting
- Case study: the present participle in Classical Latin
- Conclusions

Introduction



- Finiteness and category membership:

- **Finite verbs:**

(1) *She draws sheep.*

- **Non-finite verbs:**

(2) *She likes to draw/drawing sheep.*

N

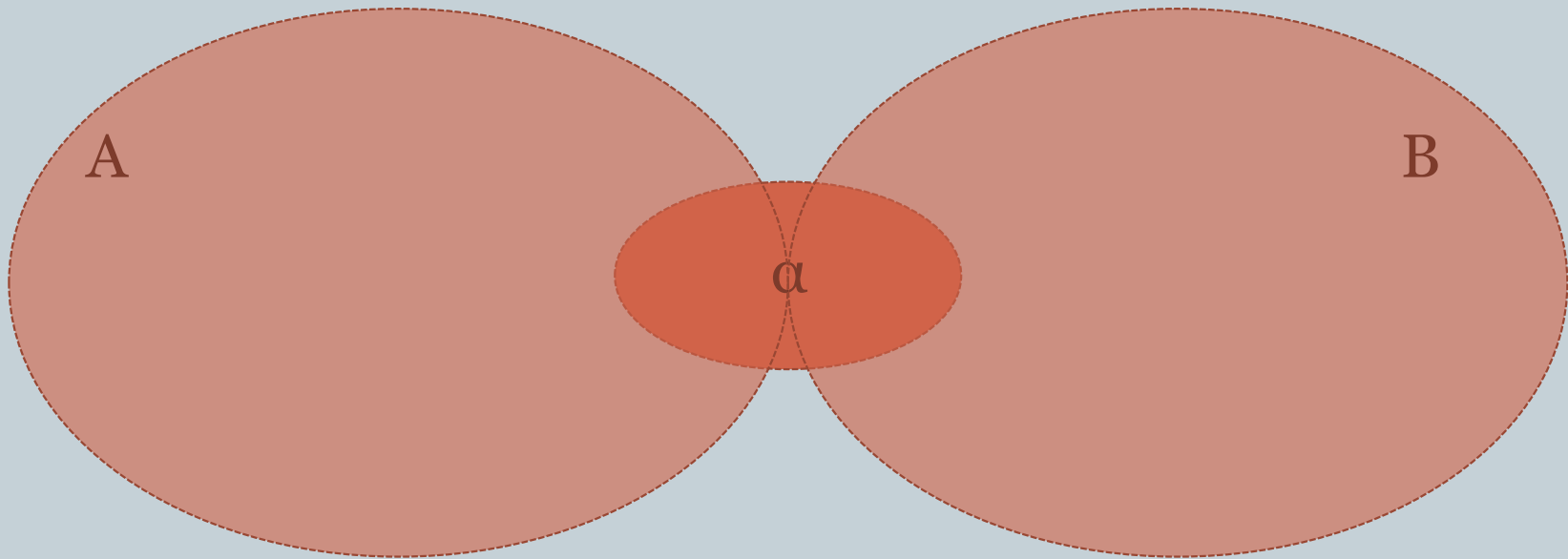
(3) *The girl drawing sheep is my sister.*

Adj

(4) *She always smiles while drawing sheep.*

Adv

Intersective gradience



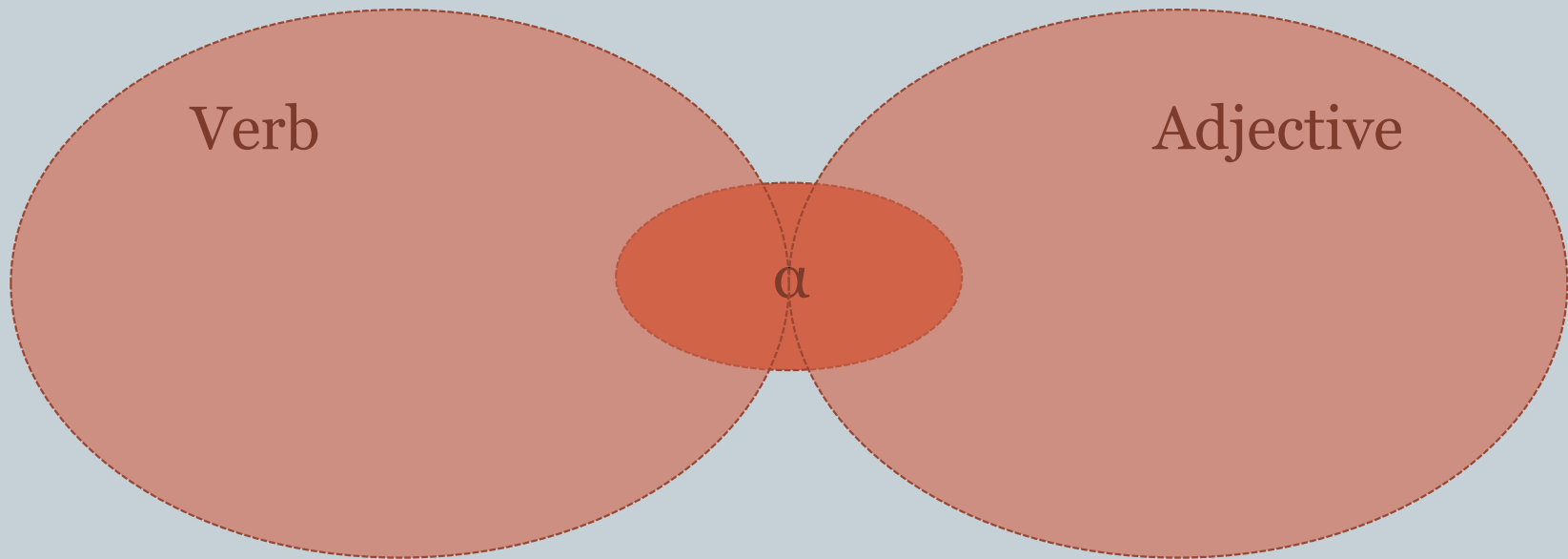
α = a subset of A-like properties + a subset of B-like properties

(Aarts 2007)

Intersective gradience



- Example:



α = a subset of verbal properties + a subset of adjectival properties

Intersective gradience



- By which paradigm(s) is the morphosyntactic domain α instantiated?
 - In many languages: the participle
 - In Latin: 2 candidates:

Participle	<i>voltus</i> face.NOM	<i>hominum</i> man.GEN.M.PL	<i>te</i> you.ACC	<i><u>admirantium</u></i> admire.PART.PR.GEN.M.PL
	‘the expression of the men that gazed upon you’			
Gerundive	<i>libris</i> book.ABL.M.PL	<i><u>legendis</u></i> read.GVUM.ABL.M.PL	<i>discimus</i> learn.IND.PR.PL	
	‘we learn by reading books’ (lit. by books being read)			

Intersective gradience

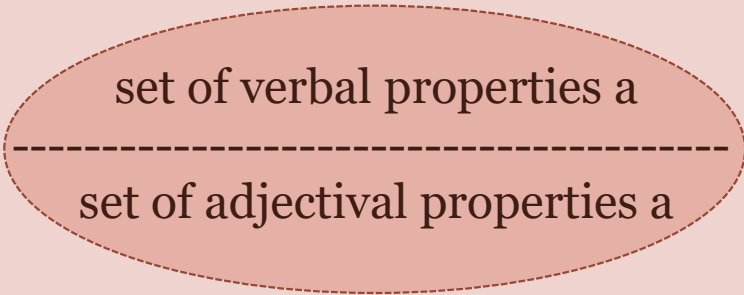
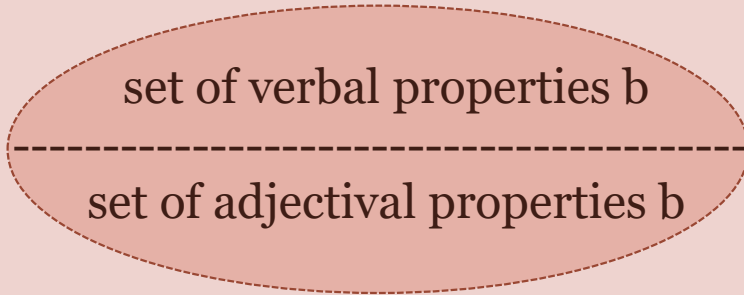


- What does this tell us?




α is a morphosyntactic domain with a unique set of morphosyntactic properties intersecting between the categories of the verb and the adjective, and to which corresponds a unique paradigm of non-finite verbs

- E.g. Latin:

$\alpha 1$	$\alpha 2$
	

Intersective gradience



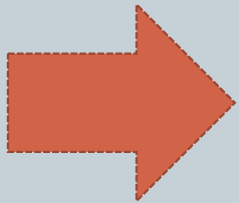
- Question: how are the paradigms instantiating α labelled?
 1. A 'paradigm label', e.g. participle , gerundive
 2. An 'intersective label', e.g. 'verbal adjective'
-  Form-function distinction
- Problem: potential ambivalence of intersective labels

(Haspelmath 1995, Nedjalkov 1995)

‘Intersective labels’



- Terminological questions:
 - What does ‘verbal’ mean? And ‘adjectival’?
 - How many [+verbal, +adjectival]-combinations are there?
 - How to decide on morphosyntactic priority?



Generality and vagueness

‘Intersective labels’



- Theoretical questions:
 - Are paradigms always linked to 2 categories?
 - Are paradigms always linked to the same 2 categories?
- ➡ Do intersective labels cover the entire morphosyntactic potential of non-finite verbs?

‘Intersective labels’



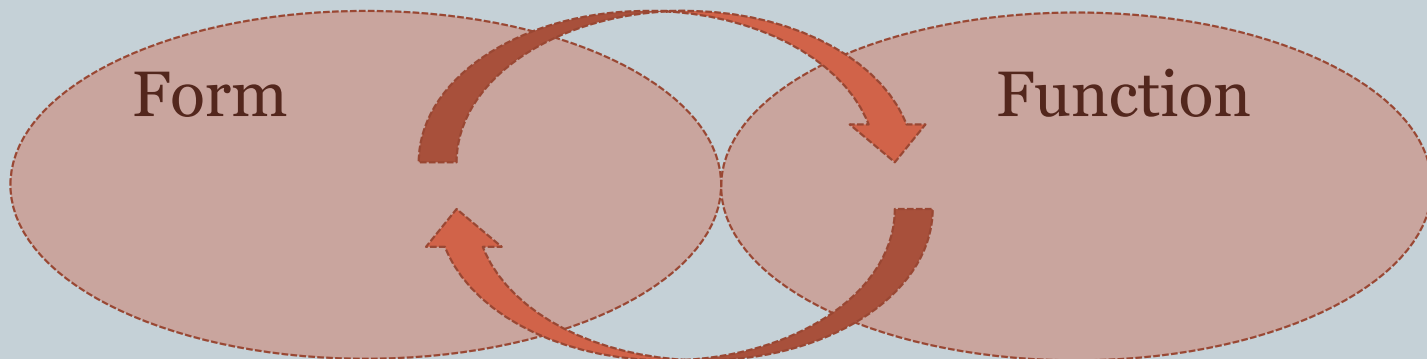
- Theoretical questions:
 - Is the [+verbal, +adjectival]-combination fixed and context-independent?
- ➡ Are there no morphosyntactic differences between paradigms and specific uses?
- Overall question: what is the reliability of intersective labels? Can we do without them?

Yes, we can!

Revisiting



- Goal: to check the relevance of intersective labels
- Method: to determine the morphosyntactic domain of a given non-finite paradigm A
- Procedure: semasiological and onomasiological approach:



Revisiting



- Two-step semasiological approach:

Step 1. What is the functional profile of a given paradigm A?

Step 2. What is the morphosyntactic profile of A?

- Onomasiological approach:

- How is the paradigm instantiating α (i.e. A) is traditionally called and described?

- Does this description reflect the morphosyntactic profile of A, i.e. α ?

- How should A be called?

Case study



THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE IN CLASSICAL LATIN

Semasiological approach



Step 1. The functional profile of the PP



- 5 syntactic functions:

1. Modifier at NP-level:

(5) *voltus hominum [te admirantium]*
face.NOM man.GEN.M.PL you.ACC admire.PART.PR.GEN.M.PL

‘The expression of the men that gazed upon you’

2. Subject complement:

(6) *Erant [madentes] cincinnorum fimbriae*
be.IMPV.3PL be wet.PART.PR.NOM.F.PL curl.GEN.M.PL fringe.NOM.F.PL

‘His fringe was well-oiled and curled’

Step 1. The functional profile of the PP



- 5 syntactic functions:

3. Object complement:

(7) *illud quod animos [humana contemnentes] facit*
that which spirit.ACC.M.PL human.N.ACC.PL despise.PART.PR.ACC.M.PL makes
‘the element that makes souls indifferent to worldly fortune’

4. Adjunct:

(8) *Stolo, [subridens], dicam, inquit (...).*
Stolo.NOM smile.PART.PR.NOM.M.SG say.IND.FUT.1SG say.IND.PR.3SG
“I will tell you,” said Stolo, smiling (...)”

Step 1. The functional profile of the PP



- 5 syntactic functions:

5. Part of a verbal periphrasis:

(9) (rivus) [currens erat ad dextrum].
(river.NOM.M.SG) run.PART.PR.NOM.M.SG be.IMPV.3SG to right.ACC.N.SG
‘the river was running to the right’

Step 2. The morphosyntactic profile of the PP



Syntactic function	Morphosyntactic category
Modifier	Adjective
Subject complement	
Object complement	
Adjunct	Adverb
Part of a verbal periphrasis	Grammaticalization from adverb

(Vangaeve subm.; based on Ylikoski 2003)

Step 2. The morphosyntactic profile of the PP



- In addition: verbal properties:

(5) *voltus hominum [te admirantium]*

face.NOM man.GEN.M.PL you.ACC admire.PART.PR.GEN.M.PL

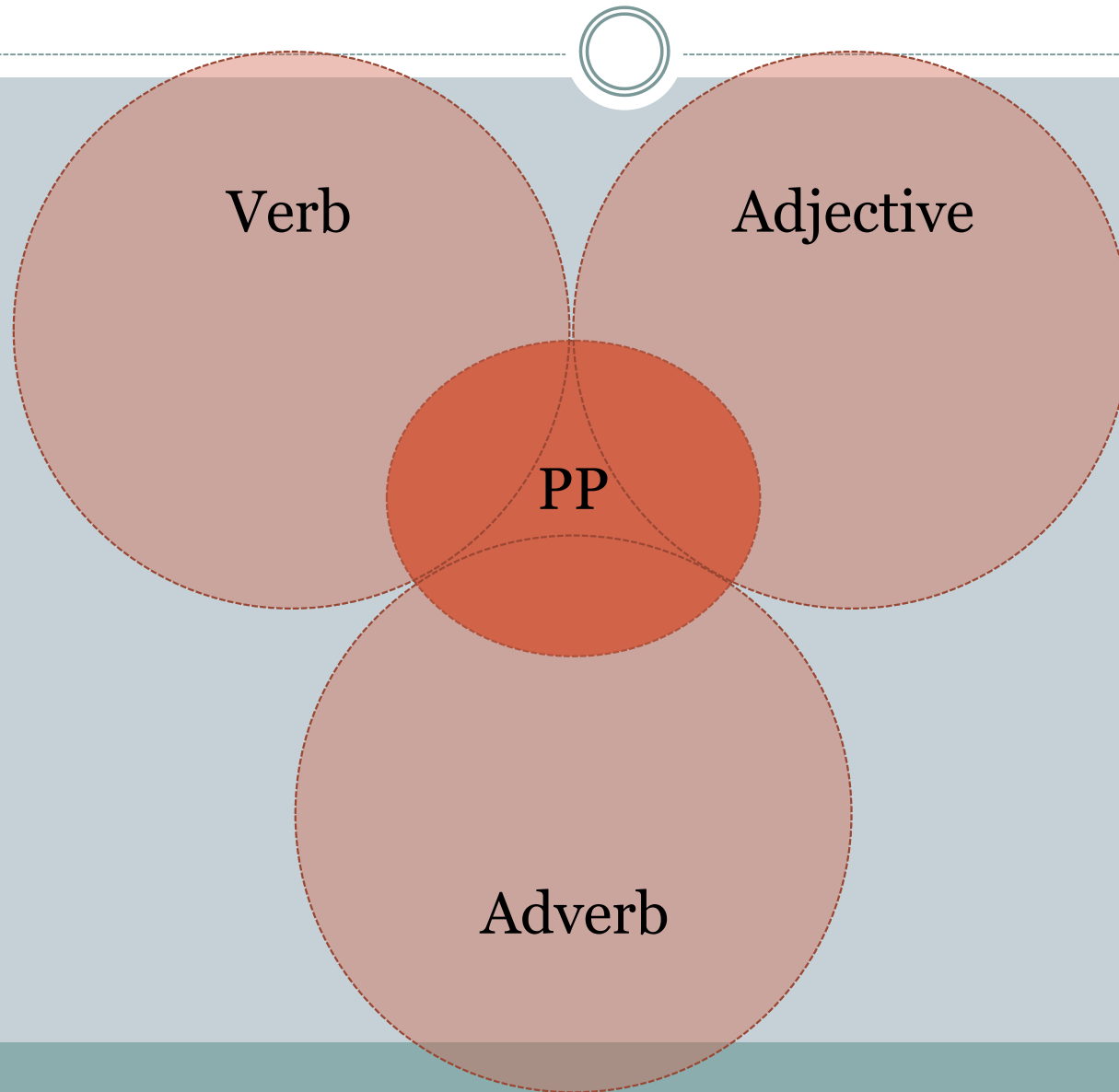
‘The expression of the men that gazed upon you’

(7) *illud quod animos [humana contemnentes] facit*

that which spirit.ACC.M.PL human.N.ACC.PL despise.PART.PR.ACC.M.PL makes

‘the element that makes souls indifferent to worldly fortune’

Step 2. The morphosyntactic profile of the PP



Onomasiological approach



Labelling A



- How is the paradigm instantiating α (i.e. A) traditionally called and described?
 1. Paradigm label: the ‘present participle’
 2. Intersective label: ‘verbal adjective’

(Ernout & Thomas 1951, Kühner & Stegmann 1914, Hofmann & Szantyr 1965, Menge *et al.* 2000, Pinkster 2015)

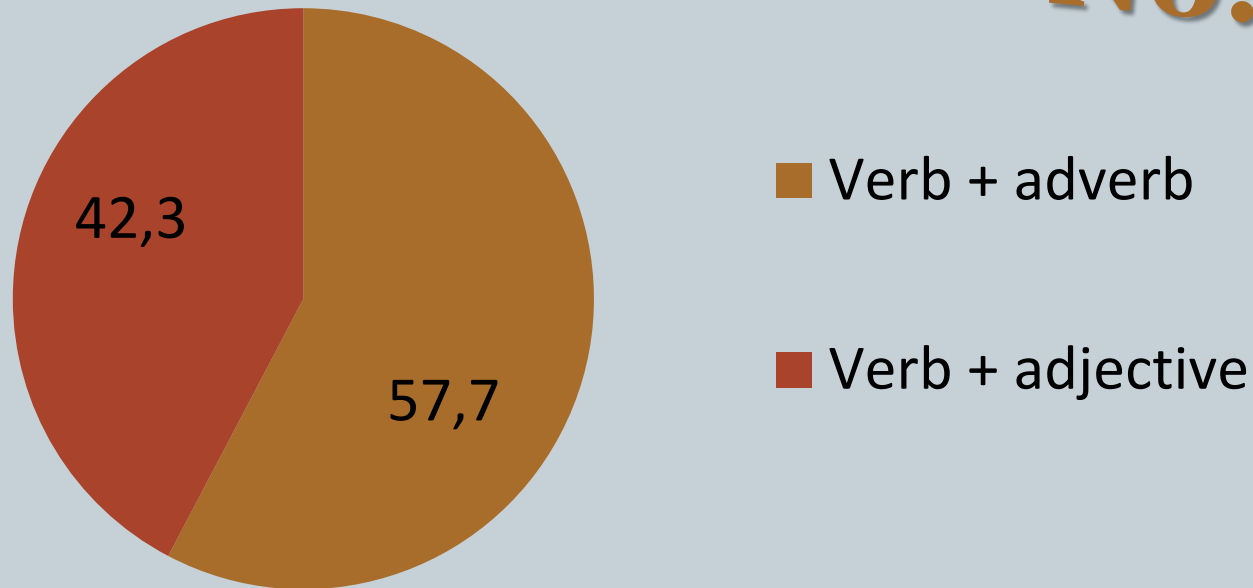
Labelling A



- Does this description reflect the morphosyntactic profile of A, i.e. α ?

n=2013

No!



(Vangaever subm.)

Labelling A




- How should A be called?
 - A ‘verbal adjective-adverb’?
 - A ‘verbal adverb-adjective’?
 - An ‘adjectival adverb-verb’?
 - An ‘adjectival verb-adverb’?
 - An ‘adverbial adjective-verb’?
 - An ‘adverbial verb-adjective’?



Terminological and theoretical problems

Labelling A



- Proposal: combination of form and function:
 1. Use the paradigm label: the ‘present participle’
 2. Specify the morphosyntactic profile of A
 3. Specify the functional profile of A
-  Clear form-function distinction without intersective labels

Conclusions



- On the level of non-finite morphosyntax:
 - Non-finites are intersective forms *par excellence*
 - Intersective labels do not (always) account for the complete morphosyntactic potential of non-finites, and are therefore problematic, incomplete and misleading
 - Non-finites are best defined by means of a paradigm label and a specification of their morphosyntactic and functional profiles

Conclusions



- On a methodological/theoretical level:
 - The need for a clear form-function distinction
 - The need for reassessing traditional terminology
 - The strength of a combined semasiological and onomasiological approach
 - The interest of a usage-based approach to non-finite morphosyntax
 - Evidence for the particularist approach to linguistic categories (Croft 1991, 2000; Haspelmath 2007, 2010, 2012)

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Thank you for your attention!

