

DGFS-CNRS Summer School on Linguistic Typology

## ***LEXICAL TYPOLOGY***

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Leipzig, August 15 – September 3, 2010

## 10. Syntagmatic problems: Overview

(i) **categorial moulds** for conceptual material:

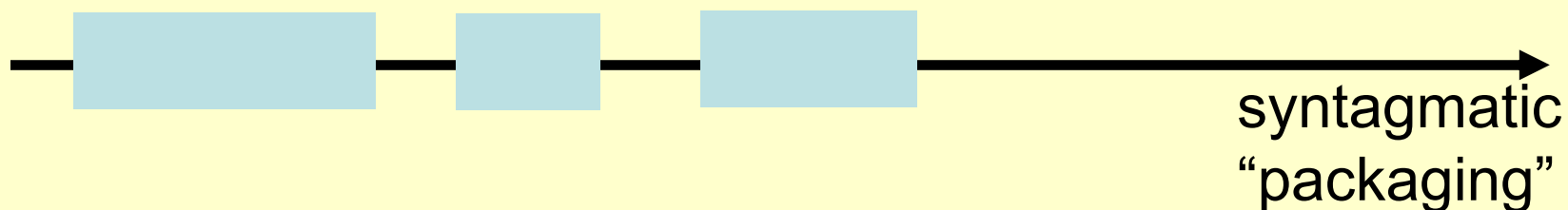
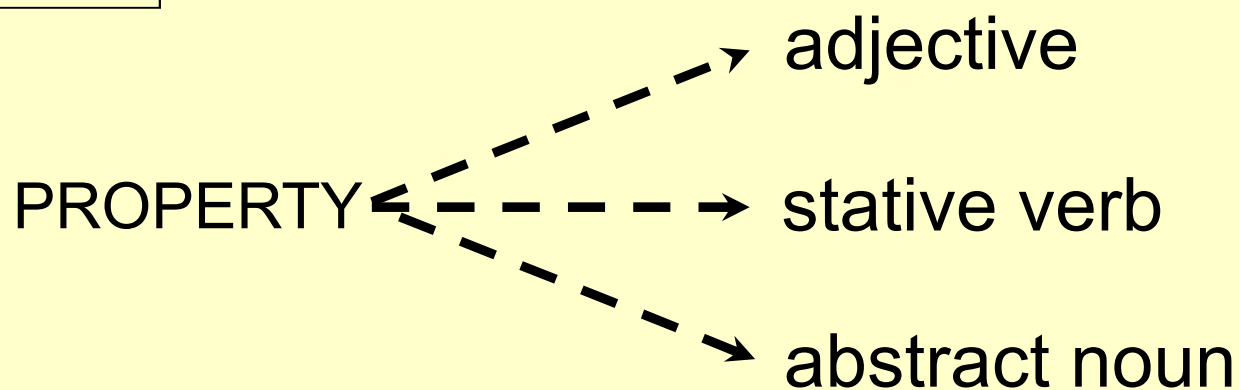


Fig. 76



(cf. Dixon 1977; Dixon/Aikhenvald 2004; Lehmann 1990; Rijkhoff 2000; Koch 2001: 1169f.; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2008: 38)

## 10. Syntagmatic problems: Overview

(i) **categorial moulds** for conceptual material:

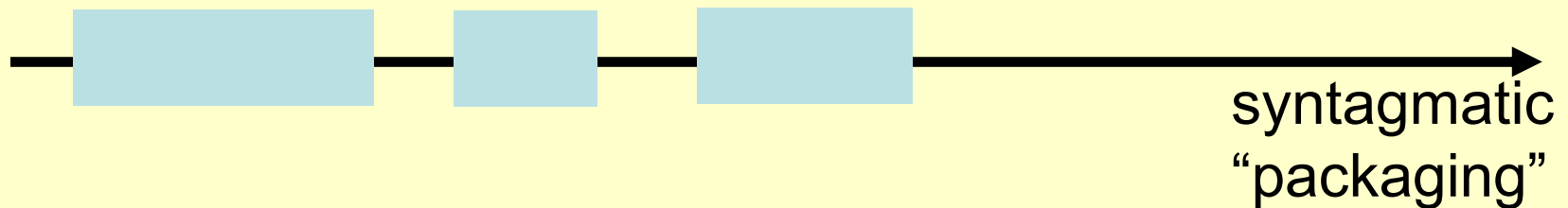
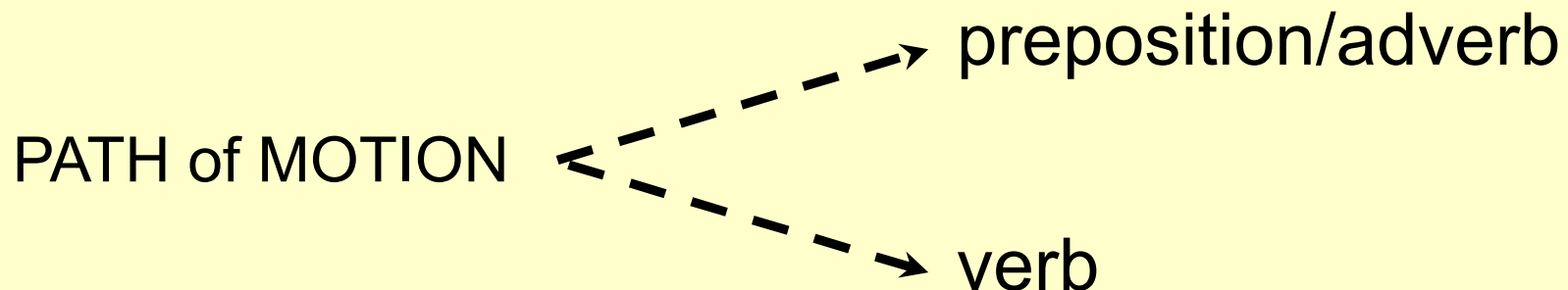


Fig. 76



(cf. Talmy 1991; 2000; Lehmann 1990; Slobin 2000; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2008: 16f.)

## 10. Syntagmatic problems: Overview

(ii) **combination** of conceptual material:

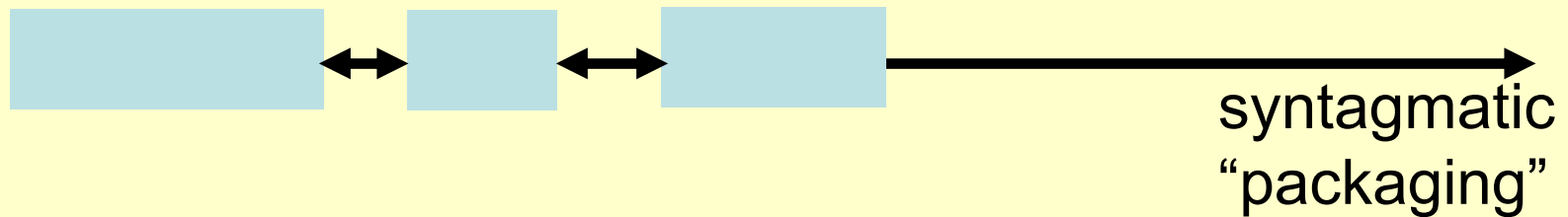


Fig. 77

- selectional restrictions:

e.g. AQUILINE ↔ NOSE

(cf. Plank 1984; Müller-Gotama 1992; Lang 1996; Koch 2001: 1168f.)



## 4.2. Case study II: LOCATIVE predicates

(4a) E.  
*The book is on the table.*

Fig. 35a

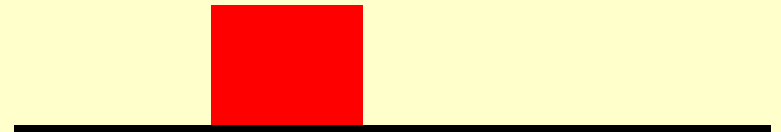
(4b) Germ.  
*Das Buch liegt auf dem Tisch.*



(5a) E.  
*The cup is on the table.*

Fig. 35b

(5b) Germ.  
*Die Tasse steht auf dem Tisch.*



(6a) E.  
*The picture is on the wall.*

etc.

(6b) Germ.  
*Das Bild hängt an der Wand.*

Fig. 35c



(cf. Ameka/Levinson 2007;  
also Newman 2002)

## 4.2. Case study II: LOCATIVE predicates

verbless construction:

Saliba

single verb:

- copula: English, Tamil,  
Gnukchi, Tirivó

locative/existential

verb: Japanese, Ewe,  
Tukatek, Lavukaleve

3-7 verbs:

- postural verbs: Arrern-  
te, Dutch, Goemais

- ground-space verbs:  
Tidore

9-100 postural verbs:

Tzeltal, Zapotec,  
German, Laz, Likpe


(cf. Ameka/Levinson 2007)

Fig. 36

## Lexical +causative/–causative alternation

(9) Fr. *Le parlement a changé les lois.*

S =

(PROTO-)AGENT

DO =

(PROTO-)PATIENT

‘Parliament has changed the laws.’

(10) Fr. *Les lois ont changé.*

S =

(PROTO-)PATIENT

‘The laws have changed.’



7.2. From meaning to form (case study V): RENT/LET (cf. Koch: 2001: 1166f.)

## Formal relations for marking ‘converses’ in the domain RENT/LET

Turk.	<i>kiralamak</i>	polysemy (“auto- conversion”)	cf. Fr., Sp., It., Port., Rom., Mod.Gr.
Anc.Gr.	<i>misthûsthai</i> – <i>misthûn</i>	voice alternation	
Arab.	<i>'ista' ḡbara</i> (X) – <i>'a ḡ ḡbara</i> (II) / <i>'ā ḡ- ḡbara</i> (IV)	“stem” alternation	
Germ.	<i>mieten</i> – <i>vermieten</i>	prefixation	
Swahili	<i>-panga</i> / <i>-kodi</i> – <i>-pangisha</i> / <i>-kodisha</i>	suffixation	
Swed.	<i>hyra</i> – <i>hyra ut</i>	phrasal verb	cf. Amer.E.
Chin.	<i>chū</i> – <i>chūzū</i>	serial verb	
Hung.	<i>bérbe venni</i> – <i>bérbe adni</i>	Idiom	

The “classical” view:

### **lexical units**

single words

signs (form + meaning)

individual elements

### **constructions**

sequences

purely formal objects

abstract patterns, e.g. V+NP

## lexical units

single words or sequences

signs (form + meaning)

individual elements

## constructions

sequences

purely formal objects

abstract patterns

Idioms:

(14a) E. *lend a helping hand* ‘assist, help’

### lexical units

single words or sequences

signs (form + meaning)

individual elements

### constructions

sequences

signs (form + meaning)

abstract patterns

Functional aspects of constructions:

(15a) E. *Liza sent a book to storage.* LOCOMOTION

(15b) E. *Liza sent Stan a book.* LOCOMOTION  
+ TRANSFER

### lexical units

single words or sequences

signs (form + meaning)

individual elements and  
abstract patterns

### constructions

sequences

signs (form + meaning)

abstract patterns

Valency as lexical information:

(13a) E. *Manuel likes oranges.*

EXPERIENCER

EXPERIENCED

→ NP+V+NP

### lexical units

single words or sequences

signs (form + meaning)

individual elements and  
abstract patterns

### constructions

sequences

signs (form + meaning)

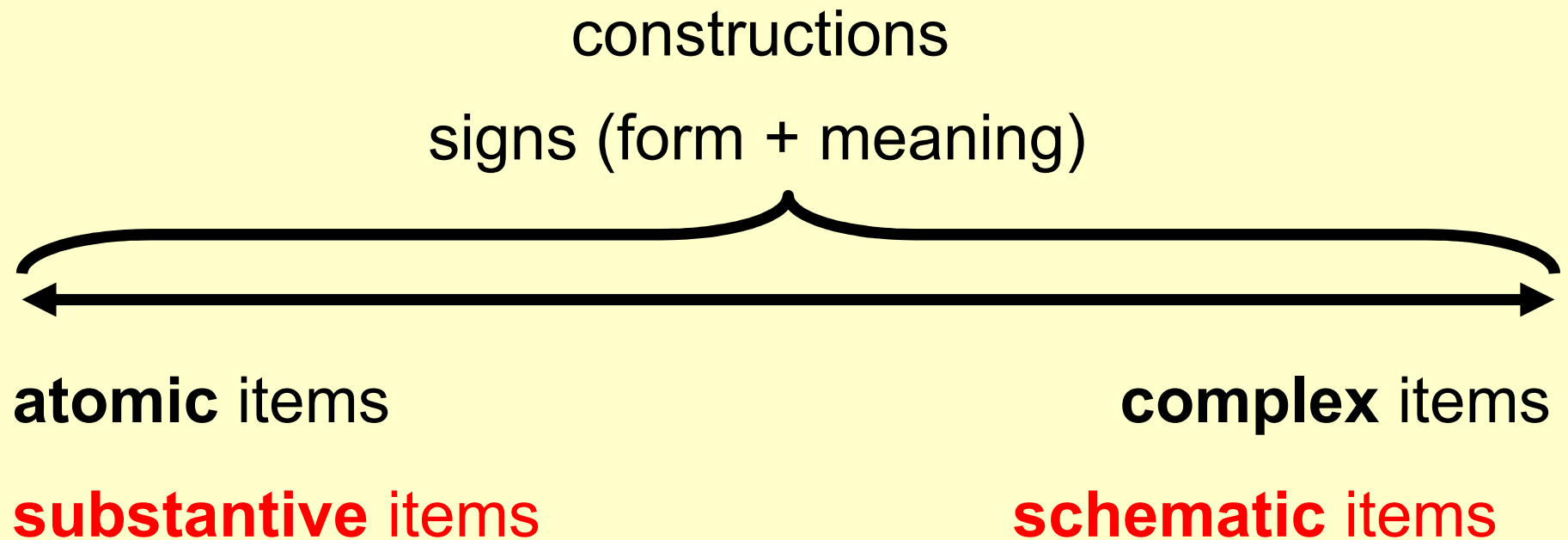
abstract patterns and  
individual elements

Individual elements as part of constructions:

(16) E. *It's John who opened the door.*

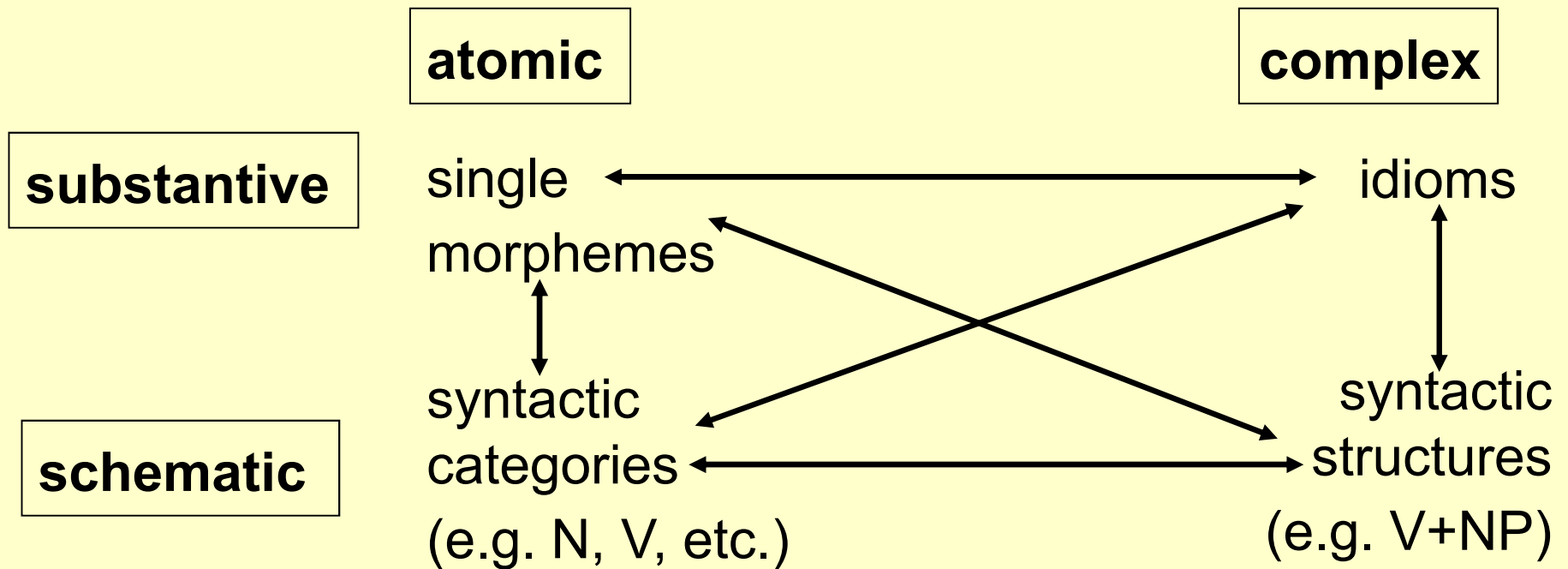
*it's* NP *who* + V ...

## Syntax-lexicon continuum in Construction grammar



(cf. Fillmore 1988; Goldberg 1995; 2003; Croft/Cruse 2004: 223-290; Fried/Östman 2004; Evans/Green 2007: 641-706)

## Construction “formates”



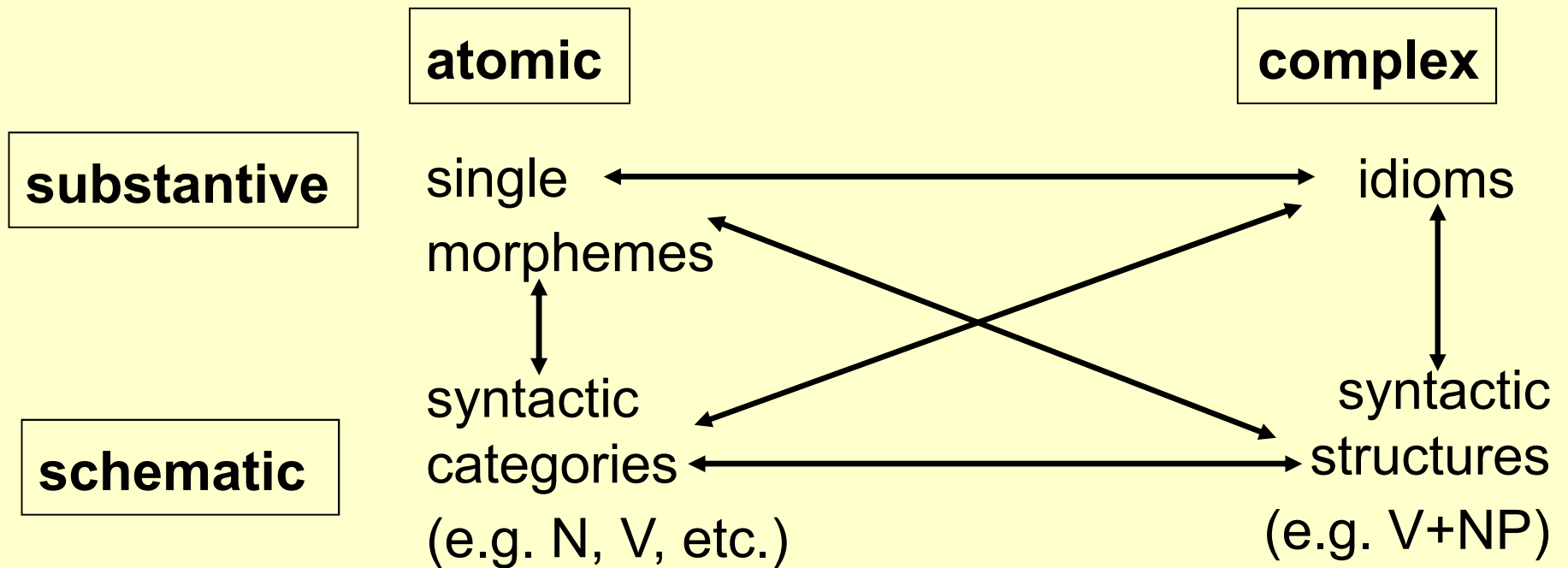
(17) Meaning: RESIGNATION TO AN UNPLEASANT FACT

Form: E. *There it is!*

relatively complex + completely substantive



## Construction “formates”

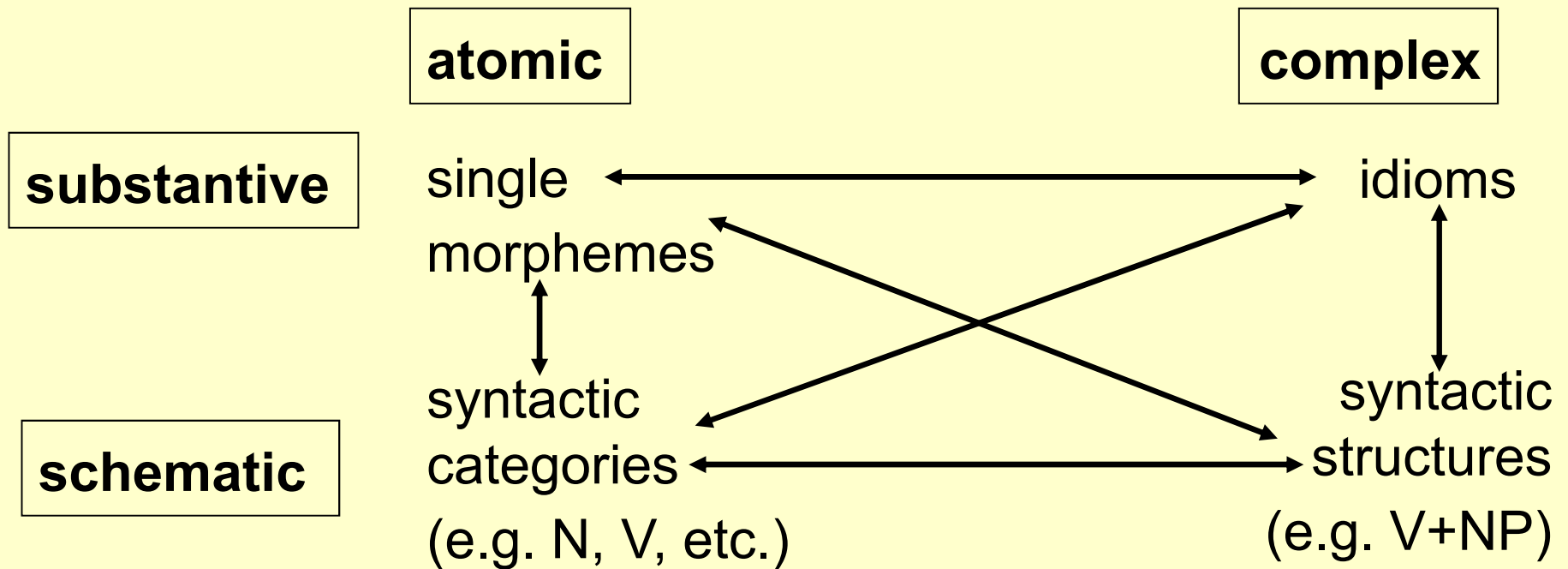


(18a) Meaning: X CAUSES Y TO RECEIVE Z

Form: E. Subj V Obj Obj 2 (ditrans.)

**very complex + completely schematic**

## Construction “formates”



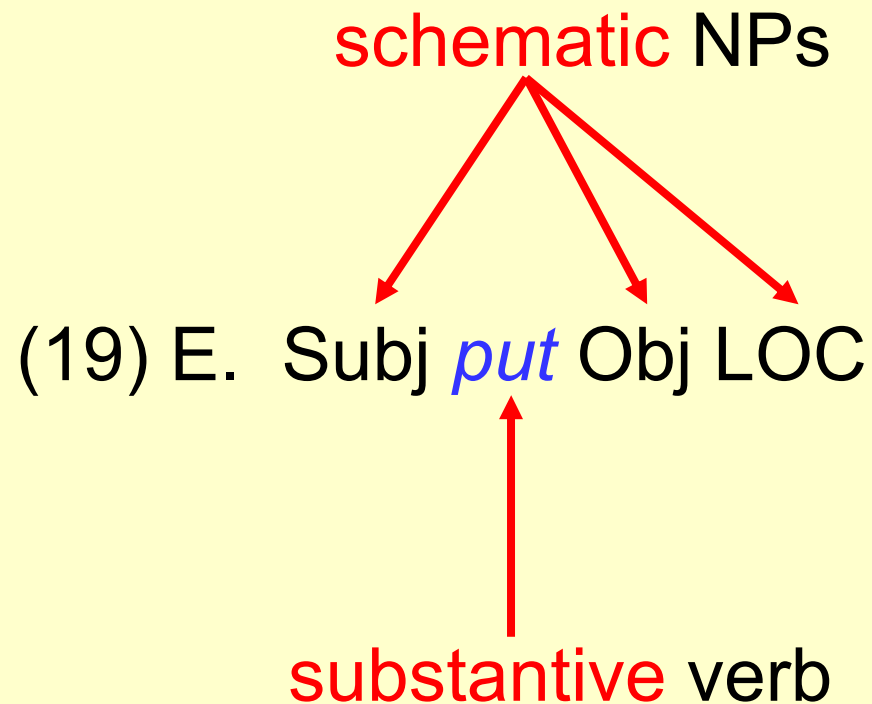
(14b) Meaning: X ASSISTS Y

Form: E. Subj *lend a helping hand to* Obj

**very complex**

**+ partly schematic, partly substantive**

## Constructionist way of rethinking verbal 'valency':



Constructions = signs → polysemy:

**inheritance links** (Goldberg 1995)



(18c)

Meaning: X WARRANTS THAT Y WILL RECEIVE Z

e.g. *Chris guaranteed Zach a book.*

polysemy link

(18b)

Meaning: X CAUSES Y TO RECEIVE Z

Form: E. **Subj V Obj Obj 2** (ditrans.),e.g. *Chris gave Pat a ball.*

polysemy link

polysemy link

(18d)

Meaning: X CAUSES Y NOT TO RECEIVE Z

e.g. *Chris refused Pat a book.*

(18e)

Meaning: X CAUSES Y TO LOSE Z

e.g. *Chris cost Pat his job.*

(20a)

Meaning: X CAUSES Y TO DO/UNDERGO s.th.

Form: E. **Subj<sub>X</sub> V Obj<sub>Y</sub>** (+causative),

e.g. *Parliament changed the laws.*



subpart link

(20b)

Meaning: Y TO DOES/UNDERGOES s.th.

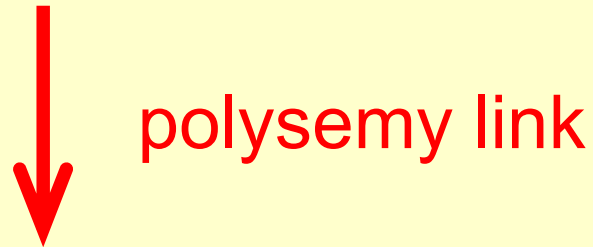
Form: E. **Subj<sub>Y</sub> V** (–causative),

e.g. *The laws changed.*

## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

The typological relevance of lexical-constructional inheritance patterns vs. distinctions:

(21a) Est. *laua-l*                      *on*                      *raamat*                      LOCATION  
table-**ADESS** **be**.PRS.3SG book  
'There is a book on the table.'



(21b) Est. *poisi-l*                      *on*                      *raamat*                      POSSESSION  
boy-**ADESS** **be**.PRS.3SG book  
'The boy has a book.'

## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

The typological relevance of lexical-constructional inheritance patterns vs. distinctions:

(22a) LOCATION  
Sp. *hay* *un libr-o* *sobre la* *mesa*  
**exist**.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG. book-M on DEF.F.SG table-F  
V DO LOC  
'There is a book on the table.'

**no inheritance link**

(22b) POSSESSION  
Sp. *el* *chic-o tien-e* *un libr-o*  
DEF.M.SG boy-M **have**.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG. book-M  
S V DO  
'The boy has a book.'



## LOCATION and EXISTENCE

- Lyons 1967
- Clark 1978
- Hengeveld 1992
- Feuillet 1998b
- Koch 1999c
- Stassen 2005 a and b

## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

### LOCATION and EXISTENCE

(23)

LOCATION

Sp. *hab-í-a*                      *un*                      *libr-o*                      *sobre la*                      *mes-a*  
**exist**-IMPF-3SG INDEF.M.SG. book-M on DEF.F.SG table-F  
**V**                                      **DO**                                      **LOC**

‘There was a book on the table.’

---

(24)

LOCATION

Sp. *el*                      *libr-o*                      *est-ab-a*                      *sobre la*                      *mesa*  
DEF.M.SG. book-M **be**-IMPF-3SG on DEF.F.SG table-F  
**S**                                      **V**                                      **LOC**

‘The book was on the table.’

## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

### LOCATION and EXISTENCE

(23) RHEMATIC LOCATION  
Sp. *hab-í-a*                    *un*                    *libr-o*                    *sobre la*                    *mes-a*  
**exist**-IMPF-3SG INDEF.M.SG. book-M on DEF.F.SG table-F  
**V**                                    **DO**                                    **LOC**  
'There was a book on the table.'

---

(24) THEMATIC LOCATION  
Sp. *el*                    *libr-o*                    *est-ab-a*                    *sobre la*                    *mesa*  
DEF.M.SG. book-M **be**-IMPF-3SG on DEF.F.SG table-F  
**S**                                    **V**                                    **LOC**  
'The book was on the table.'

## LOCATION and EXISTENCE

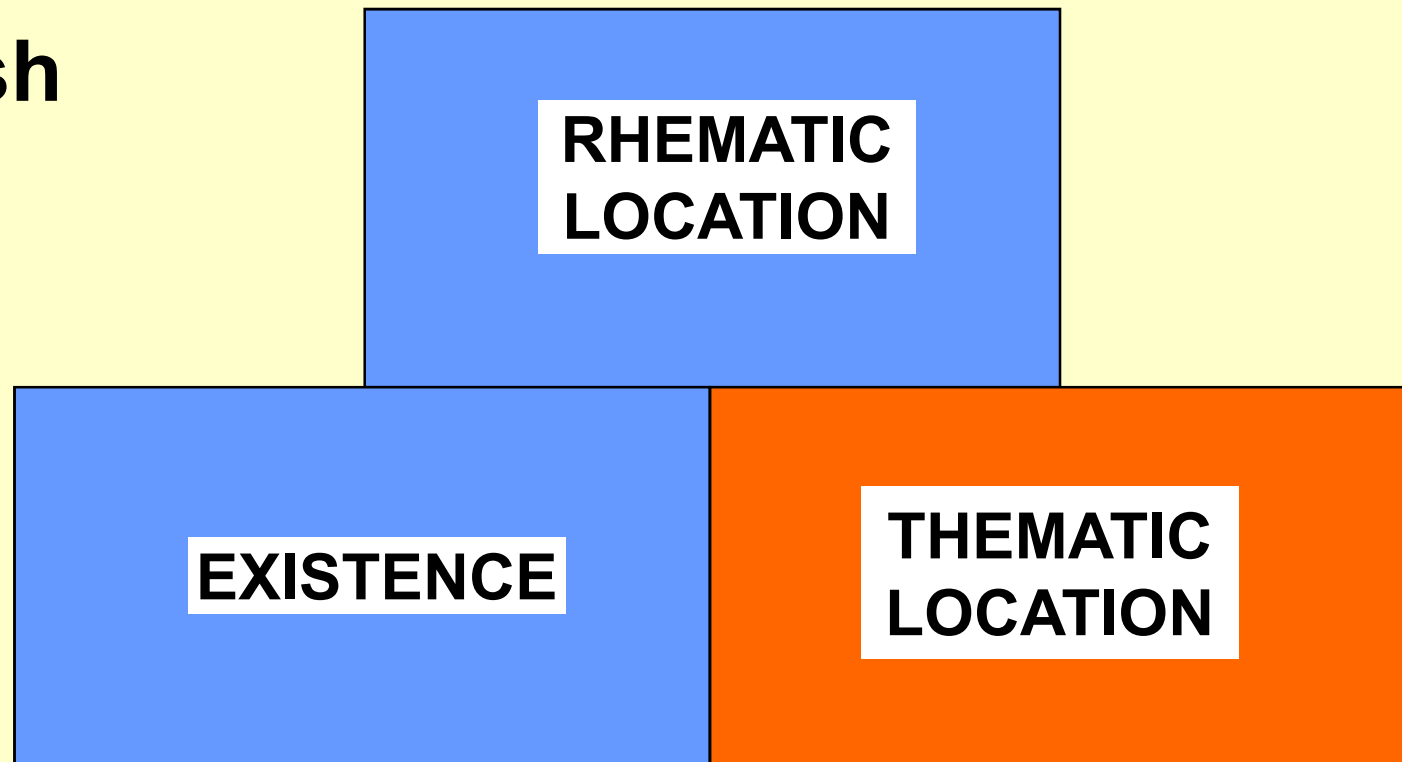
(23) RHEMATIC LOCATION  
Sp. *hab-í-a*                      *un*                      *libr-o*                      *sobre la*                      *mes-a*  
**exist-IMPf-3SG** INDEF.M.SG. book-M on DEF.F.SG table-F  
**V**                      **DO**                      **LOC**  
'There was a book on table.'



inheritance link

(25) (RHEMATIC) EXISTENCE  
Sp. *hay*                      *much-o-s*                      *leon-es en Áfric-a*  
**exist.PRS.3SG** many-M.PL. lion-PL in Africa-F  
**V**                      **DO**                      **LOC**  
'There are many lions in Africa.'

# Spanish



## LOCATION and EXISTENCE

(26)

Somali *miis-ka* *dujiisa* *buug baa*  
 table-DEF.M.SG top.DEF.M.NOM.POSS.3SG book FOC

*yaal-ey*

**be\_upon**-PST.3SG.M

**RHEMATIC LOCATION**

**LOC**

**S**

**V**

‘There was a book on the table.’

**lexical-constructional identity**

(27)

Somali *buug-ii* *miis-ka* *dujiisa*  
 book-DEF.M.SG table-DEF.M.SG top.DEF.M.NOM.POSS.3SG

*buu*

*yaal-ey*

FOC.3SG.M **be\_upon**-PST.3SG.M

**THEMATIC LOCATION**

**S**

**LOC**

**V**

‘The book was on the table.’

## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

### LOCATION and EXISTENCE

(26)

Somali *miis-ka*

*dujiisa*

RHEMATIC LOCATION

*buug baa*

table-DEF.M.SG top.DEF.M.NOM.POSS.3SG book FOC

*yaal-ey*

**be\_upon**-PST.3SG.M

**LOC**

**S**

**V**

‘There was a book on the table.’

---

(28)

Somali *libaax-yo badan baa jira*’

(RHEMATIC) EXISTENCE

*afrika*

lion-PL many FOC **exist**.PRS.HAB Africa

**S**

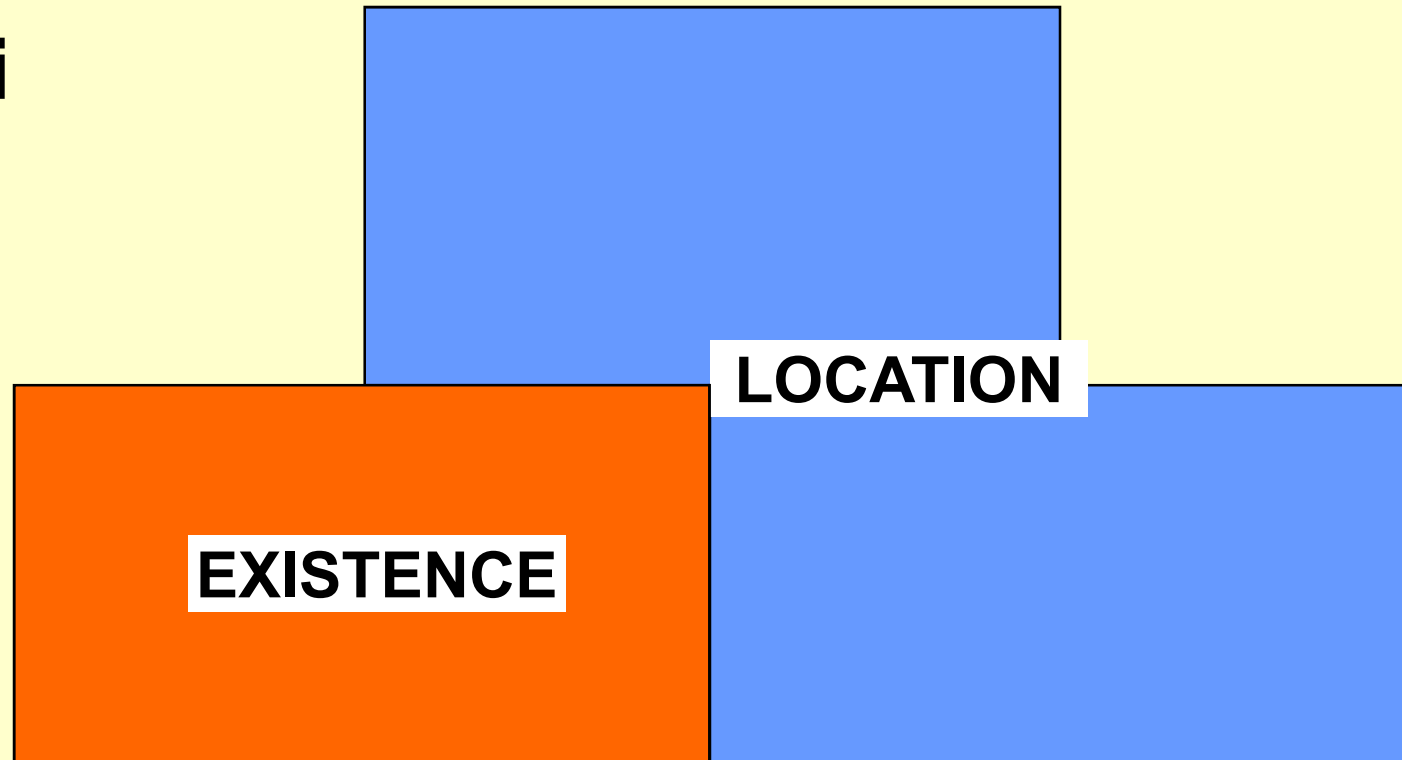
**V**

**LOC**

‘There are many lions in Africa.’

## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

**Somali**

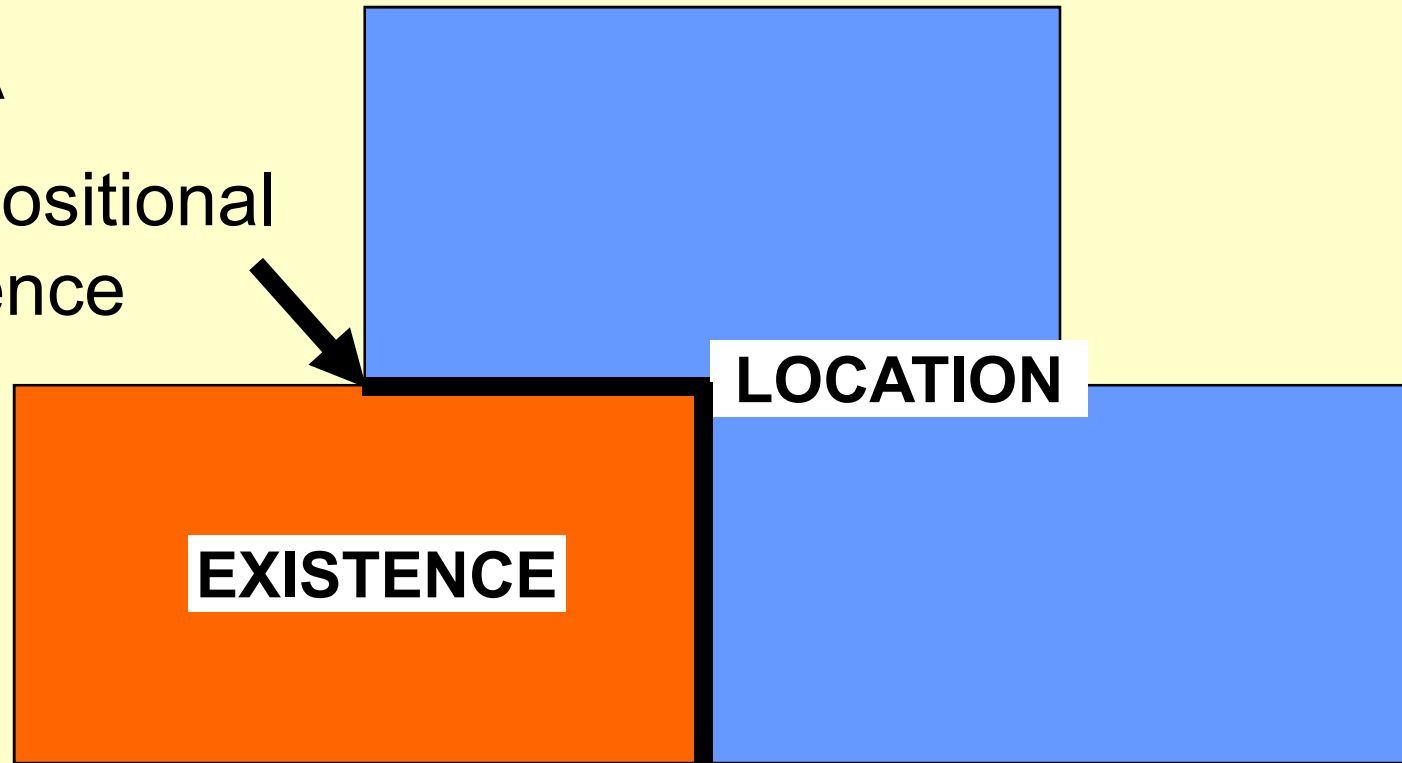




## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

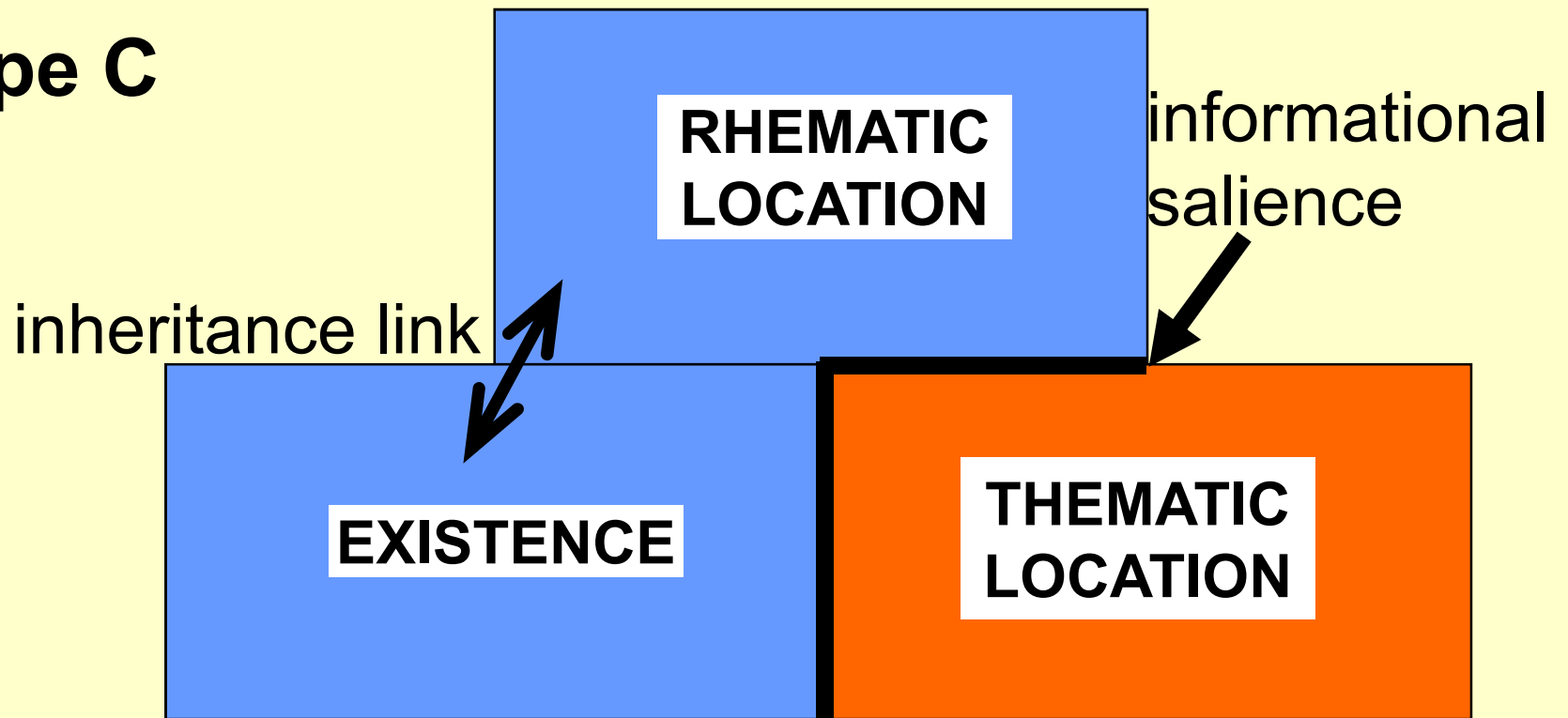
### Type A

propositional  
saliency



☞ Danish, German, **Somali**

## Type C

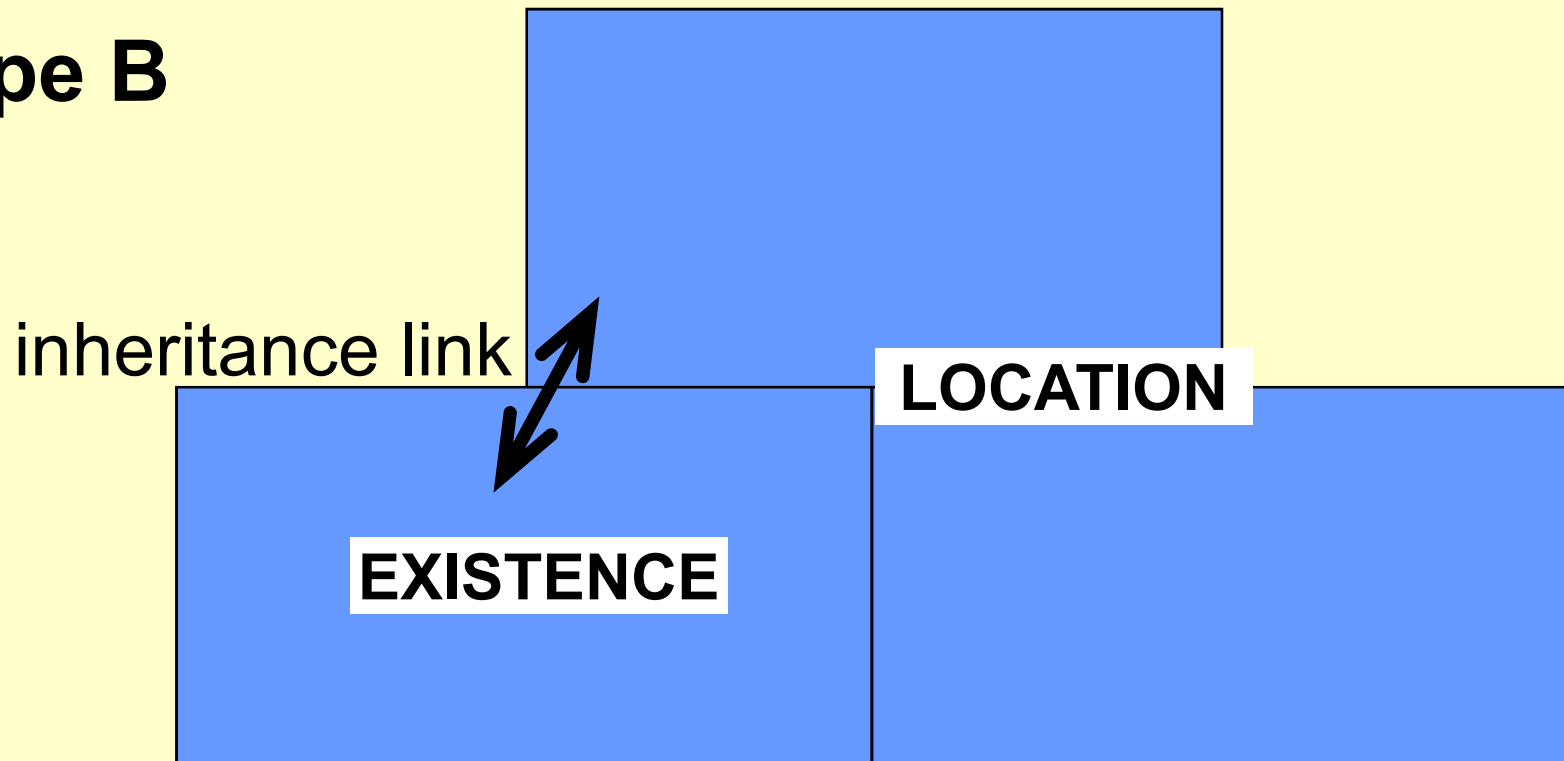


- ☞ Brazilian Portuguese, English, French, Italian, Maltese, Mandarin, **Spanish**, Wolof, Zulu

## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

disregarding salience effects  
→ no split

**Type B**

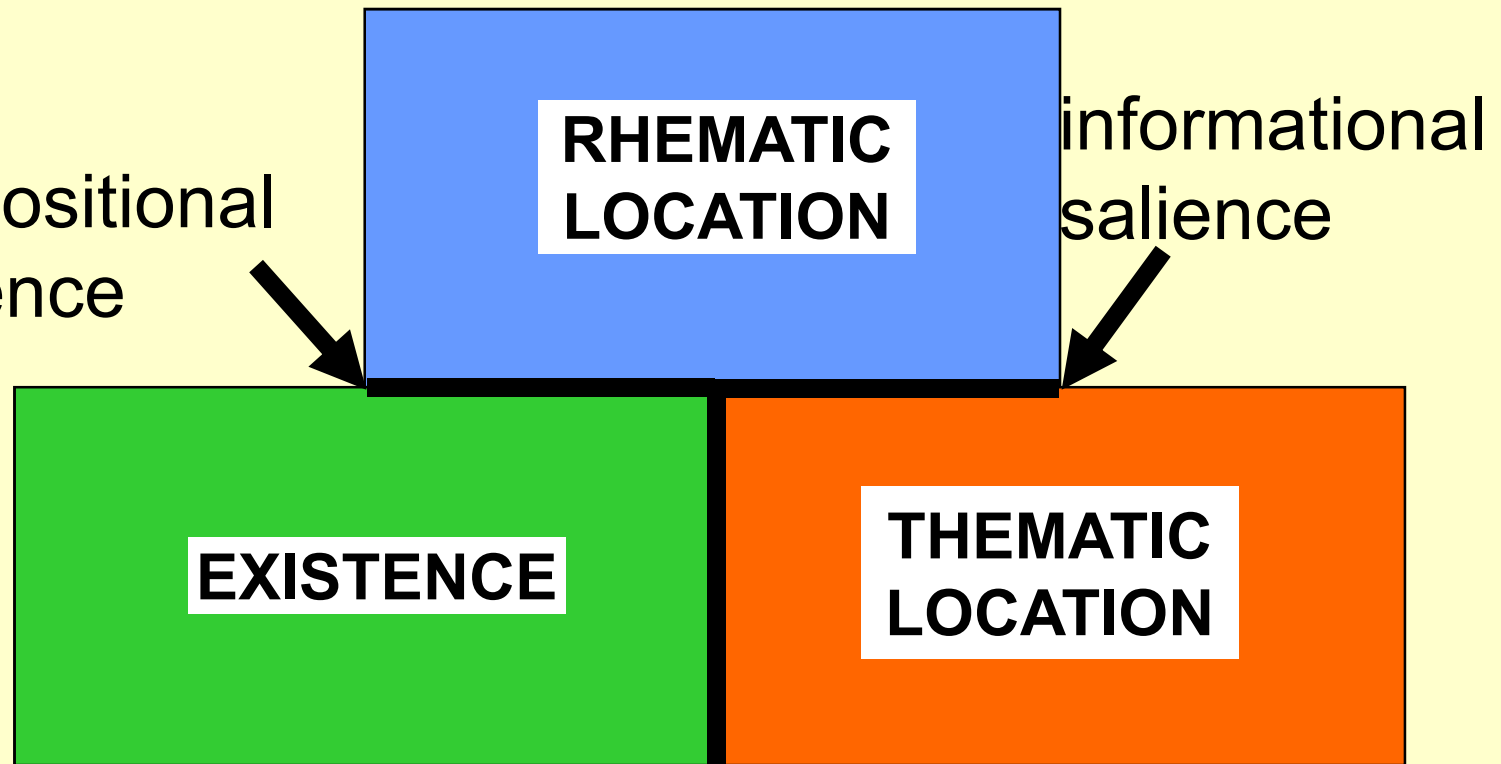


☞ Beja, Estonian, Gbaya, Latin, Russian, Sängö,  
Tchamba-daka

## 11.2. Case study VIII: LOCATION and EXISTENCE

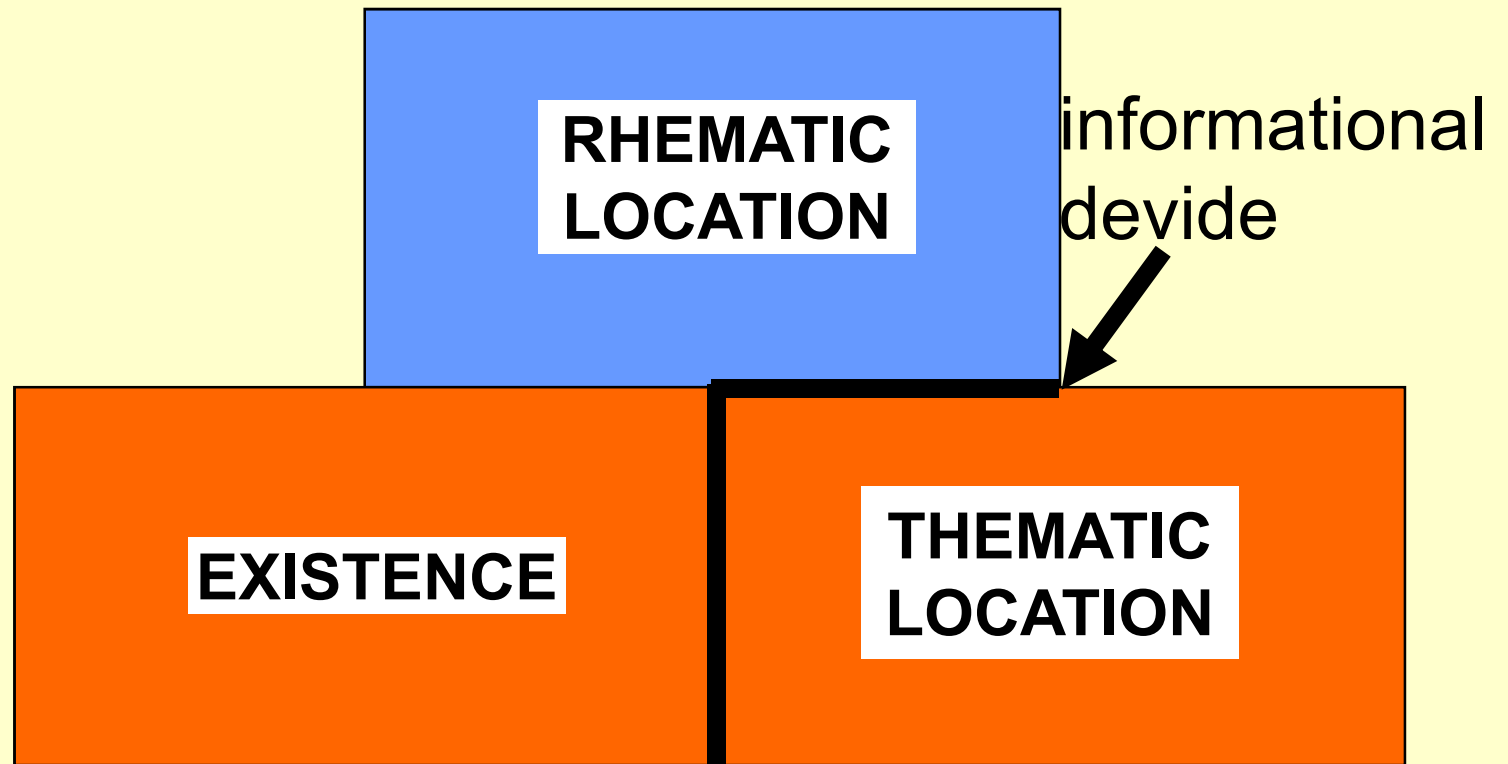
hypothetical  
Type D

propositional  
salience



**Too uneconomical?**

hypothetical  
Type E

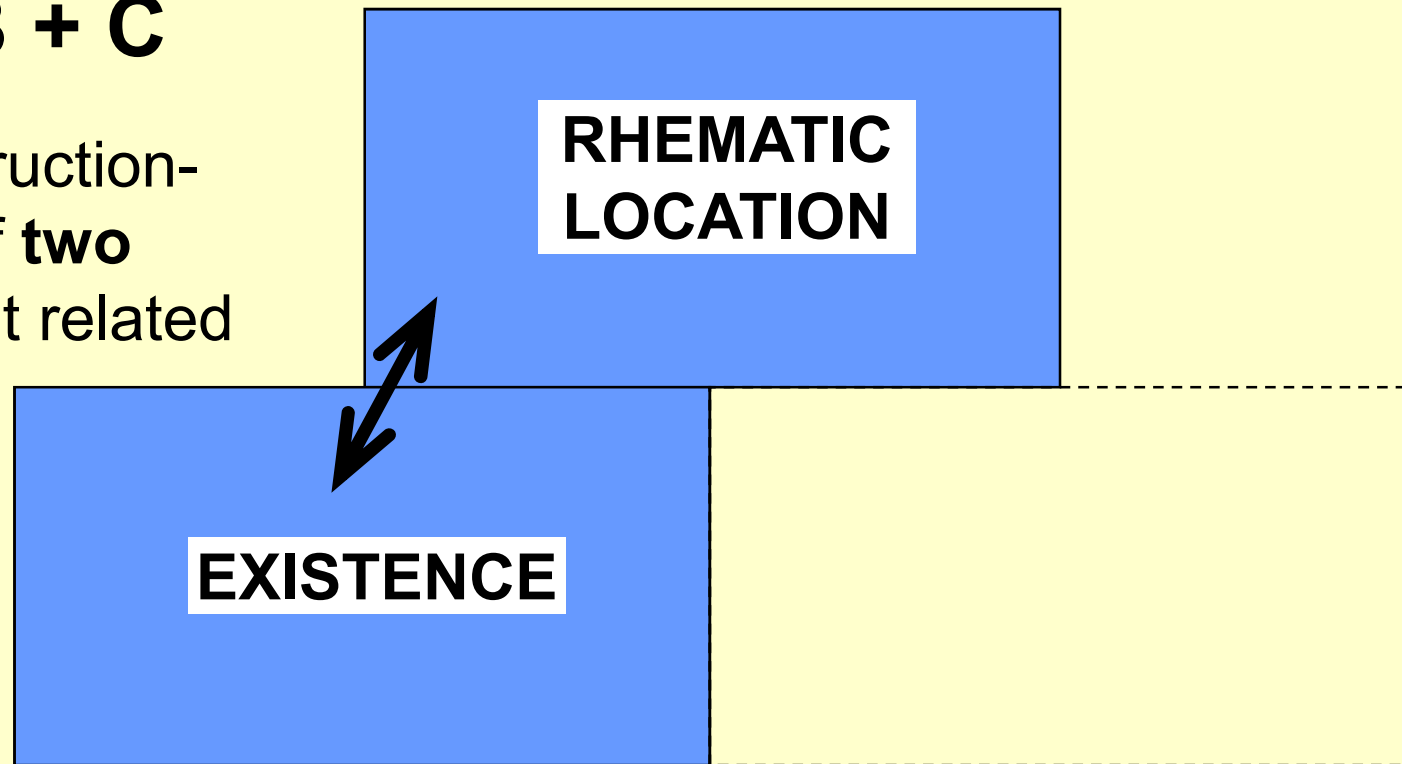


**Contradictory!**

## Problem of the conceptual grid:

### Type B + C

joint construction-  
alization of **two**  
distinct, but related  
concepts?

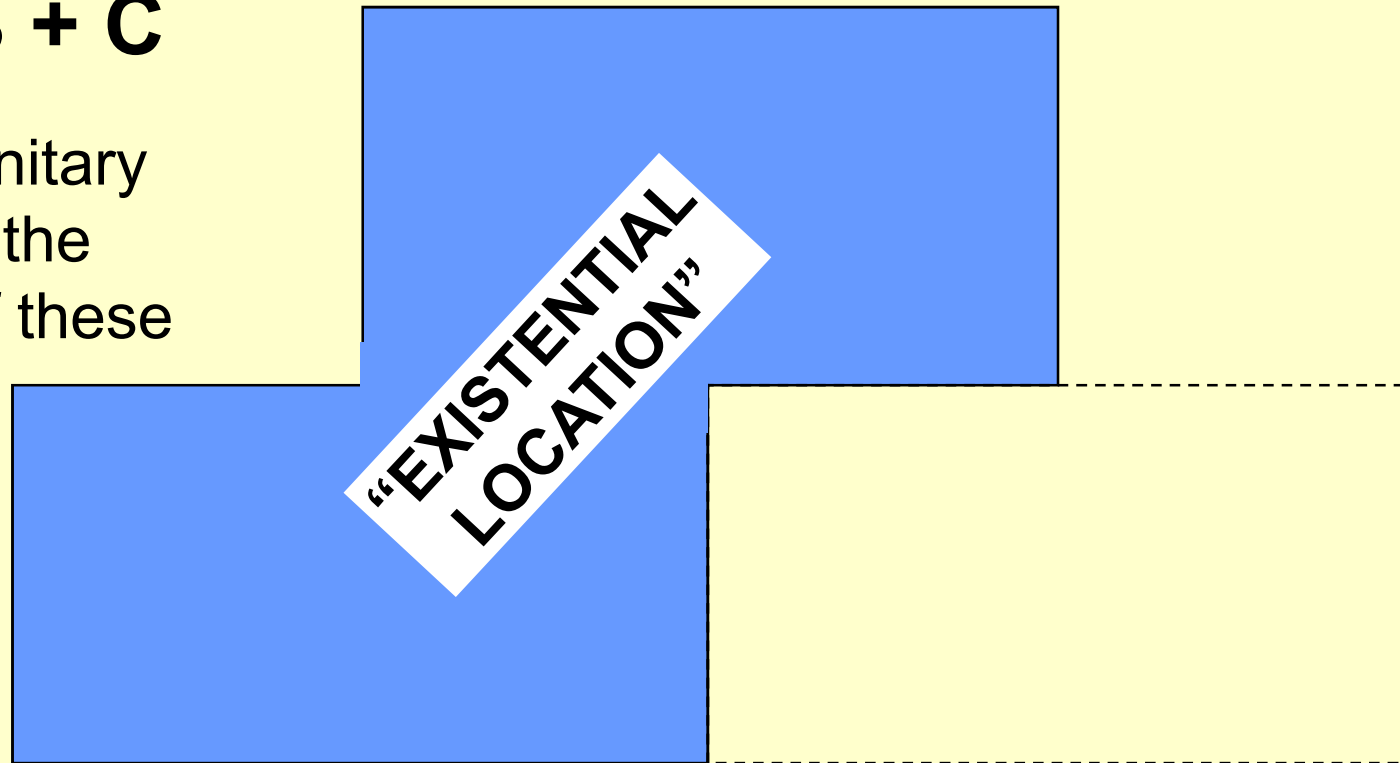


16 of the 19 sample languages!

## Problem of the conceptual grid:

### Type B + C

... or **one** unitary concept for the speakers of these languages?



16 of the 19 sample languages!

## Task ③ for students

# LOCATION and EXISTENCE



 Questions with respect to LOCATION and EXISTENCE:

1. To which lexical-constructional type (A, B, C, etc.) belong(s)
  - your mother tongue?
  - the language(s) of your speciality?
2. Is there an example of type D?
3. Is there any evidence for a universal distinction between EXISTENCE and (RHEMATIC) LOCATION?

Koch, Lexical typology, 2010-8-27

**A. General introduction**

**B. Lexical hierarchies**

**C. Lexical motivation**

**D. Syntagmatic axis**

**E. Outlook**

## E. Outlook

- Establishing more representative samples.
- Further reflections on the conceptual grid for onomasiological typology (cf. 11.2.: “EXISTENTIAL LOCATION”)
- Respecting the difference between taxonomic and enygonomic hierarchies → study of their interaction (cf. HAIR)
- Searching for cognitive relations in lexical motivation
- Searching for cases of iconicity/diagrammaticity in lexical motivation
- Collaboration between lexical typology and Construction Grammar