What explains lexical impenetrability?

Pavel Caha

Masaryk University (Brno)

Linguistic Flashmob 18 February 2021

The lexicalist hypothesis

The lexicalist hypothesis

Bruening (2018): Lexicalist hypothesis: both wrong and superfluous

RSG as a potential case of lexical impentrability

ls a more substantive theory possible?

Conclusions

(1) The Root Suppletion Generalization (RSG)
Root suppletion is limited to synthetic (i.e., morphological)
comparatives.

- (1) The Root Suppletion Generalization (RSG)
 Root suppletion is limited to synthetic (i.e., morphological)
 comparatives.
- (2) a. good bett-er b. *good — more bett

- (1) The Root Suppletion Generalization (RSG)
 Root suppletion is limited to synthetic (i.e., morphological)
 comparatives.
- (2) a. good bett-erb. *good more bett
- (3) a. GOOD ⇔ *good* b. GOOD ⇔ *bett-* / _] CMPR

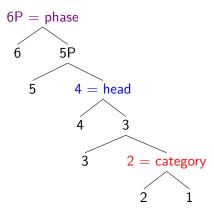
- (1) The Root Suppletion Generalization (RSG)
 Root suppletion is limited to synthetic (i.e., morphological)
 comparatives.
- (2) a. good bett-er b. *good — more bett
- (3) a. GOOD ⇔ *good* b. GOOD ⇔ *bett-* / _] CMPR
- (4) a. $\alpha \dots]X^0 \dots \beta$ b. $*\alpha \dots]XP \dots \beta$

Moskal (2013)

(5) With respect to nouns, languages can display suppletion for number (#). [...] Curiously, though, root suppletion of nouns in the context of case (K) seems to be largely unattested.

Moskal (2013)

- (5) With respect to nouns, languages can display suppletion for number (#). [...] Curiously, though, root suppletion of nouns in the context of case (K) seems to be largely unattested.
- (6) [C]ertain nodes in the structure function as domain delimiters and morphological processes are confined to operate within domains. In syntax, cyclic domains are implemented as phases [...] In morphology, domain delimiters are category heads [i.e., little n]



RSG as a potential case of lexical impentrability

Is a more substantive theory possible?

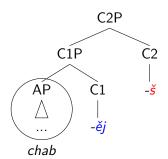
Conclusions

(7) Czech

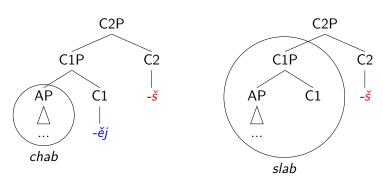
a. slab-ý — slab -š -í weak-AGR weak -CMPR -AGR

- (7) Czech
 - a. slab-ý slab -š -í weak-AGR weak -CMPR -AGR
 - b. chab-ý chab -ěj-š -í faint-AGR – fain -CMPR -AGR

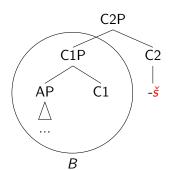
- (7) Czech
 - a. slab-ý slab -š -í weak-AGR weak -CMPR -AGR
 - b. chab-ý chab -ěj-š -í faint-AGR – fain -CMPR -AGR

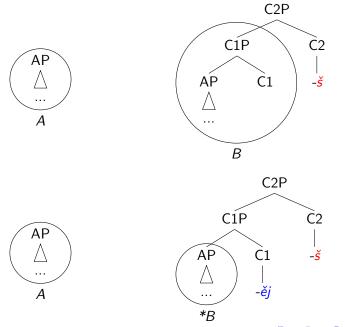


- (7) Czech
 - a. slab-ý slab -š -í weak-AGR weak -CMPR -AGR
 - b. chab-ý chab -ěj-š -í faint-AGR – fain -CMPR -AGR









POS	CMPR	
dobr-ý	lep- <mark>š</mark> -í	'good'
špatn-ý	hor- š -í	'bad'
mal-ý	men- <mark>š</mark> -í	'small'
velk-ý	vět- <mark>š</mark> -í	'big'
dlouh-ý	del- <mark>š</mark> -í	'long'

POS	CMPR	
dobr-ý	i lep- <mark>š</mark> -í	'good'
špatn-	·ý hor- <mark>š</mark> -í	'bad'
mal-ý	men- <mark>š</mark> -í	'small'
velk-ý	vět- <mark>š</mark> -í	'big'
dlouh-	-ý del- <mark>š</mark> -í	'long'

- (8) a. dobr -ý good -AGR
 - b. *lep -ěj-š -í bett -CMPR -AGR

(9) a. good — bett-er

- (9) a. good bett-er
 - b. intelligent mo-re intelligent

- (9) a. good bett-er
 - b. intelligent mo-re intelligent
 - c. *good mo-re bett

- (9) a. good bett-er
 - b. intelligent mo-re intelligent
 - c. *good mo-re bett
 - ► One can capture the lack of suppletion in (9c) without smuggling 'words' via back door.

RSG as a potential case of lexical impentrability

Is a more substantive theory possible?

Conclusions

What explains lexical impenetrability?

What explains lexical impenetrability?

... ideally something that does not amount to drawing a red circle around a particular constituent.

References I

- Bobaljik, Jonathan. 2012. *Universals in comparative morphology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bruening, Benjamin. 2018. The lexicalist hypothesis: both wrong and superfluous. *Language* 94(1). 1–42.
- Caha, Pavel, Karen De Clercq & Guido Vanden Wyngaerd. 2019. The fine structure of the comparative. *Studia Linguistica* 73(3). 470–521. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/stul.12107.
- Moskal, Beata. 2013. A case study in nominal suppletion. Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut dissertation.
- Williams, Edwin. 2007. Dumping lexicalism. In Gillian Ramchand & Charles Reiss (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic interfaces*. 353–382. Oxford: Oxford University Press.