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The Syntax of Idioms

LIN 205



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THE PURPOSE OF SYNTAX?

 Since there's no upper bound on the number of potential sentences, we can't be simply listing them in our brains

► We have no problem interpreting sentences that we have never been encountered before

► This is straightforwardly explained if we assume that English is compositional, i.e. it obeys *the principle of compositionality*

PRINCIPLE OF COMPOSITIONALITY

► Definition: The meaning of a complex expression depends on the meanings of the parts, and how the parts combine

$$(6/2) + 1 = 4$$

 $6/(2+1) = 2$

I shot (an elephant) in my pajamas. I shot (an elephant in my pajamas).

So the lexicon provides you with "ingredients", syntax gives you
a "recipe" for arriving at the meaning of complex expressions
by specifying how smaller elements are allowed to combine

LEXICON

► Assumed to consist of *lexemes*: any irreducibly meaningful unit, such as the word dog, or the suffix -ness

► If an association between form and meaning is unpredictable, it has to be stored in the lexicon

There is nothing doglike about the sequence [dɔg] There is nothing catlike about the sequence [kæt]

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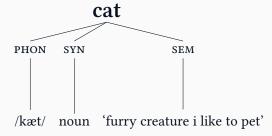
RECAP

► We have to distinguish between what speakers *know*, and what they are able to figure out on the basis of what they know

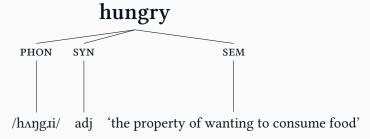
► If you know what hungry means, and you know what cat means, then you can figure out hungry cat means

▶ i.e. you *do not* have to store the meaning of hungry cat in your lexicon. You can build these sorts of meanings on the fly.

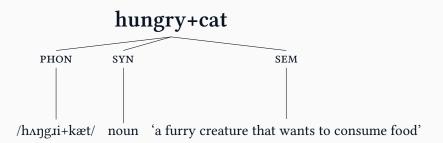
LEXICAL ENTRIES



LEXICAL ENTRIES



COMBINATION



Our grammar allows us to compute phon, syn, and sem

Syntactic rule: $N \rightarrow Adj N$

Semantic correlate: A noun that has the property denoted by Adj

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Moving on to Idioms

So what's the problem with idioms?

- ► It's raining cats and dogs.
- Stop beating a dead horse.
- Break a leg!
- ► Stop throwing him under the bus.
- ► Don't get so bent out of shape.

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IDIOMS

► A tentative definition of IDIOM: a multi-word expression whose meaning is unpredictable given the meanings of its parts

- Idioms appear to be phrases composed of multiple words, but somehow they don't seem to obey the principle of compositionality
- Maybe they're just listed in the lexicon we could call them "words-with-spaces"

Prediction: since they're rigid like words, you can't manipulate them syntactically

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Phrases are flexible, words are 'frozen'

Given a standard English sentence, it's possible to shuffle the units around and manipulate the structure without changing its meaning

- 1. A dog bit John.
- 2. John was bitten by a dog.

The same holds true for phrases, e.g. NP

- 3. the angry guy you saw yesterday
- 4. the guy you saw yesterday who was angry

But not for words:

- 5. un-break-able
- 6. #able-break-un
- 7. im-patient
- 8. #un-patient

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FROZENNESS / RIGIDITY

Consider **kick the bucket**. What happens when we substitute a different determiner?

- 1. John kicked the bucket.
- 2. John kicked a bucket.
- 3. John kicked that bucket.
- 4. John kicked some bucket.
- 5. John kicked many buckets.

John is dead 🙁

 Δ det, John is alive $\stackrel{\bigcirc}{\mathbf{e}}$

 Δ det, John is alive $\stackrel{f \odot}{f \odot}$

 Δ det, John is alive \odot

 Δ det, John is alive $\stackrel{f \odot}{f \odot}$

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FROZENNESS / RIGIDITY

What happens when we substitute a different noun or verb?

1. John kicked the bucket.	+idiomatic
2. John kicked the pail.	Δ noun, -idiomatic
3. John kicked the can.	Δ noun, -idiomatic
4. John kicked the tub.	Δ noun, -idiomatic
5. John punted the bucket.	$\Delta ext{verb}$, -idiomatic
6. John booted the bucket.	$\Delta { m verb},$ -idiomatic
7. John drop-kicked the bucket.	$\Delta ext{verb}$, -idiomatic

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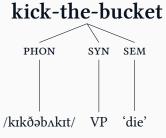
SYNTACTIC MANIPULATIONS

What happens when we passivize or topicalize?

- 1. ACTIVE: John kicked the bucket.
- 2. Passive: The bucket was kicked by John. -idiomatic
- 3. Topicalized: The bucket, John kicked. -idiomatic

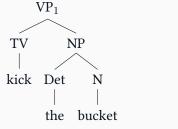
If we substitute any of the parts or shuffle them around, we lose the idiomatic meaning. Seems to be frozen, just like an ordinary word.

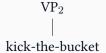
LEXICAL ENTRY



Trees for both readings

- 1. kick the bucket (literal)
- 2. kick-the-bucket (idiomatic)





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SUBSTITUTION

But let's try another idiom: **spill the beans**.

- 1. Eric spilled the beans. +idiomatic
- 2. #Eric dropped the beans. Δ verb, -idiomatic
- 3. #Eric spilled the legumes. Δ noun, -idiomatic

But it seems that choice of determiner is variable:

- 4. The call rests with Johnson, who is not about to spill any beans.
- 5. We're going to try to give him a chance to spill some beans.
- 6. Don't look at me, I didn't spill a single bean.

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SYNTACTIC MANIPULATIONS

We can even passivize or topicalize:

- 1. ACTIVE: Eric spilled the beans. +idiomatic
- 2. Passive: The beans got spilled yesterday. +idiomatic
- 3. Topicalized: Those beans, Eric would never spill. +idiomatic

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TO PULL STRINGS

What about **to pull strings**?

- 1. Eric pulled the strings for us.
- 2. #Eric tugged the strings for us.
- 3. #Eric pulled the cords for us.
- 4. Eric pulled some strings for us.

+idiomatic

 Δ verb, -idiomatic

 Δ noun, -idiomatic

Adat idiamatia

 Δ det, +idiomatic

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DETERMINER VARIATION

Determiner variation appears to be pretty robust here:

1. Eric could pull a few strings for us.	Δ det, +idiomatic
2. Eric pulled some strings on our behalf.	$\Delta { m det}$, +idiomatic
3. Eric managed to pull those strings for us.	$\Delta { m det}$, +idiomatic
4. Eric pulled all of the strings he could.	Δ det, +idiomatic
I'm not sure Eric could pull enough strings to get the job done.	Δ det, +idiomatic
6. Maybe Eric could pull	Ødet, +idiomatic

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SYNTACTIC MANIPULATIONS

Once again, idiomatic meaning is retained when passivizing or topicalizing

- 1. ACTIVE: Eric pulled some strings for us. +idiomatic
- 2. Passive: Some strings were pulled for us. +idiomatic
- 3. TOPICALIZED: Those strings, Eric pulled for us. +idiomatic

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OPEN SLOTS

Notice that the most flexible idioms seem to have open slots for their determiners:

- 1. spill X beans
- 2. pull X strings
- 3. yank X's chain
- 4. pull X's leg

(requires possessive determiner)

(requires possessive determiner)

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IDIOMS

We have to conclude that some idioms do have internal syntactic structure, and thus cannot be fixed lexical entries.

QUESTION: how can we account for the fact that some idioms are more syntactically flexible than others?

POTENTIAL ANSWER: Maybe we were wrong when we said that *all* idioms disobey the principle of compositionality

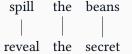
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A RETURN TO COMPOSITIONALITY

Consider the literal paraphrase of spill the beans

spill the beans \longrightarrow reveal the secret

We can metaphorically map each of the elements of the idiom onto the elements of its literal paraphrase



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A RETURN TO COMPOSITIONALITY

Consider the literal paraphrase of **pull the strings**

pull the strings \longrightarrow influence the situation

Again, a portion of the literal meaning is distributed to each token of the idiom

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ONE MORE EXAMPLE

Consider the literal paraphrase of turn the tables

turn the tables → reverse the outcome

Again, since the structure of the idiom mirrors the stucture of the paraphrase, we should expect syntactic variability, e.g.

- 1. How early did they decide to turn the tables on Littlefinger?
- 2. They can't understand how the tables have been turned on them so swiftly.
- 3. Well, this morning, the tables are being turned and it is the credit card companies themselves on the hot seat in front of Congress.

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A RETURN TO COMPOSITIONALITY

What's the problem with kick the bucket?

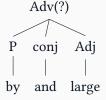
kick the bucket \longrightarrow die

We can't make a similar mapping. It's not clear how the literal meaning could be distributed over the parts of the idiom, so there is a *mismatch* between the structure of the idiom and the structure of the paraphrase.

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By and large

Consider by and large: an idiom consisting of a preposition, a, conjunction, and an adjective, but it functions as an adverb, and means 'generally'



► This clearly doesn't mesh with our $X \rightarrow X$ conj X rule.

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COMPLETELY FIXED PHRASES

We could address this by adding a (somewhat ridiculous) new rule to our mini-grammar:

$Adv \rightarrow P conj Adj$

But this will massively overgenerate:

- 1. #from and yellow
- 2. #on but strong
- 3. #in or tasty
- ► It is very unlikely that there is some general syntactic rule which could assemble 'by and large.' It is completely idiosyncratic, and completely fixed.

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THREE-WAY CATEGORIZATION OF IDIOMS

We can lump idioms into three distinct groups:

- 1. FIXED IDIOMS:
 - by and large
 - ► all of a sudden
- 2. Semi-fixed idioms:
 - kick the bucket
 - ► shoot the breeze
- 3. Flexible idioms:
 - pull X strings
 - ► spill X beans

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THREE-WAY CATEGORIZATION OF IDIOMS

Idioms	Morphologically Alternating	Compositional Semantics	Syntactic Flexibility
Fixed	_	_	_
Semi-fixed	+	_	_
Flexible	+	+	+

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THREE-WAY CATEGORIZATION OF IDIOMS

1. Fixed idioms:

- can disobey ordinary syntactic rules, and are not semantically compositional
- ► in all likelihood, they are listed in the lexicon

2. Semi-fixed idioms:

- are constructed according to ordinary syntax rules, but are not semantically compositional
- hybrid creatures that are partially word-like and partially phrase-like

3. Flexible idioms:

- obey ordinary syntactic rules, are semantically compositional, and thus syntactically variable
- basically ordinary phrases: the only catch is that the components are assigned non-literal meanings