

# Lexical integrity is the norm

or, “violating lexical integrity in a  
specific and limited way”

Jamie Y. Findlay  
University of Oslo  
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## Lexical integrity hypothesis: **empirical claim** vs. **design choice**

LIH ✓

- Integrity is unmarked
- Apparent exceptions require explanation

LIH ✗

- Violations are unmarked
- Apparent preference for integrity requires explanation

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# Outline

- Review of the data for and against LI
- Three more general arguments for LI
- Case study: coordination of prefixes

# Evidence of LI

1. **Ellipsis in coordination** (Simpson 1991: 51)
  - a. John liked the play, and Mary ~~liked~~ the movie.
  - b. \*John liked the play, and Mary ~~disliked~~ it.
2. **Modification** (Williams 2007: 384)
  - a. [How complete] are your results?
  - b. \*[How complete]-ness do you admire?
3. **Splitting a constituent** (Cappelle 2022: 188)
  - a. A masochist is [someone], I believe, [who likes pain].
  - b. \*Someone who likes pain is a [masoch], I believe, [-ist].
4. **Preposing an element** (Cappelle 2022: 188)
  - a. Down<sub>i</sub> went the weapons \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> on the ground.
  - b. \*de<sub>i</sub>-conflict \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> escalation

## Morphology



## Syntax

5. **Compounding** (Capelle 2022: 189)
  - a.  $[[\text{over the fence}]_{\text{PP}} \text{gossip}]_{\text{N}}$
  - b. She sniffed and gave Dot a  $[[\text{why-do-you-do-this-to-me}]_{\text{CP}} \text{look}]_{\text{N}}$ .
6. **Inflection** (Carnie 2000: 91; [www](http://www))
  - a. He  $[[\text{I-don't-care}]_{\text{IP}}\text{-d}]_{\text{V}}$  his way out of the room.
  - b. If you are  $[\text{Thelma and Louis}]_{\text{NP}}\text{-ing}]_{\text{V}}$  please keep away from the cliffs.
7. **Derivation** (Bruening 2018: 6; Spencer 2005b: 83)
  - a. His general  $[[\text{ok-with-less-than-we-should-aim-for}]_{\text{AdjP}}\text{-ness}]_{\text{N}}$  makes him an undesirable candidate.
  - b. a  $[\text{why-does-it-have-to-be-me}]_{\text{CP}}\text{-ish}]_{\text{Adj}}$  expression

Syntax



Morphology

8. **Coordination of prefixes** (Siegel 1974: 147; Spencer 2005b: 82)
  - a. [mono- and tri]-syllabic
  - b. [pro- and en]-clitics
  - c. [socio- and politico]-economic
  - d. [pre- and even to some extent post]-war (economics)
  - e. [pro- as opposed to anti]-war
  - f. [hypo- but not hyper]-glycaemic

# Choosing a side

(1–4)

*\*John liked the play, and Mary dis- it.*

*\*How completeness do you admire?*

*\*Someone who likes pain is a masoch-, I believe, -ist.*

*\*de-conflict escalation*

- Impressionistically more fundamental.
- ‘Core’ rather than ‘periphery’?

(5–8)

*Over the fence gossip*

*He I-don't-care-d his way out of the room.  
a why-does-it-have-to-be-me-ish expression*

*pro- as opposed to anti-war*

- Impressionistically more playful.
- ‘Periphery’ rather than ‘core’?

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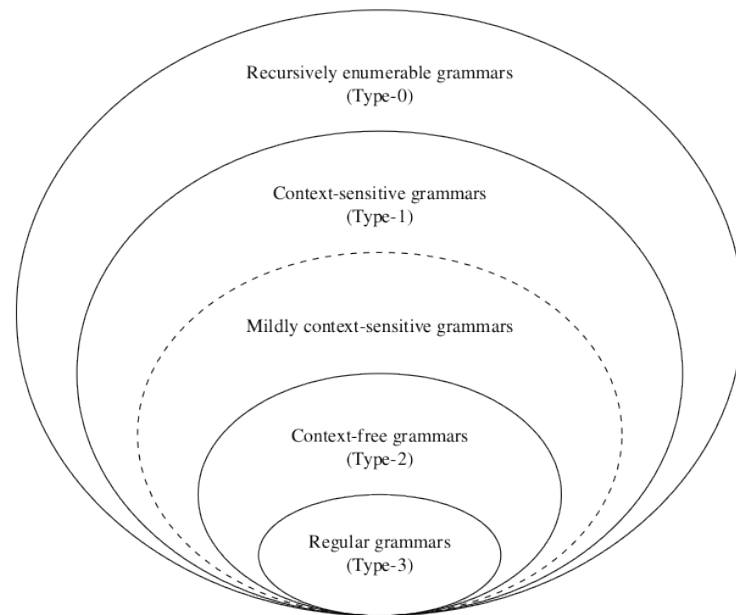
# Three more general arguments for LI



# Formal language theory

If morphology has the full power of syntax, why are there no clear morphological equivalents of unbounded or nested dependencies? [...] Similarly, why do we fail to find reduplication in the syntax, if there is no important formal distinction between morphology and syntax?  
(Asudeh et al. 2013: 5)

- Morphology almost entirely finite-state
- Syntax almost entirely context-free



# Free word order ≠ free morpheme order

mil-es      coqu-um laud-at.  
*soldier-NOM cook-ACC praise-3SG.PRES.INDIC*  
'The soldier praises the cook.'

miles laudat coquum.  
miles coquum laudat.  
laudat miles coquum.  
laudat coquum miles.  
coquum miles laudat.  
coquum laudat miles.

mil-es coqu-um laud-at.  
\*es-mil coqu-um laud-at  
\*mil-es um-coqu laud-at.  
\*mil-es coqu-um at-laud.  
etc.

coquum laudat miles bonum  
\*coqu- laudat miles -um

# LI is the norm

Any randomly selected stretch of discourse is likely to prove that morphologically complex words stay together as undivided units and that they tend not to include any above-word-level components.

(Cappelle 2022: 204)

LI violations as % of morphologically complex words



4%

LI violations as % of all words

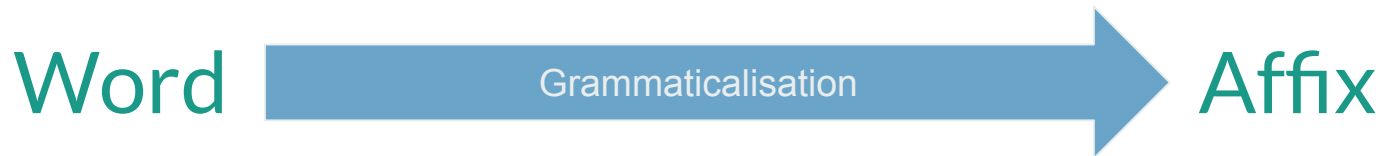


1%



So how do we explain the apparent exceptions?

# Non-projecting categories



$X^0$

$\widehat{X}$

—

$X^0 \sqsubset X^0, \widehat{Y}$

(Toivonen 2003)

$\widehat{X} \sqsubset \widehat{X}, \widehat{Y}$

(Arnold & Sadler 2013)

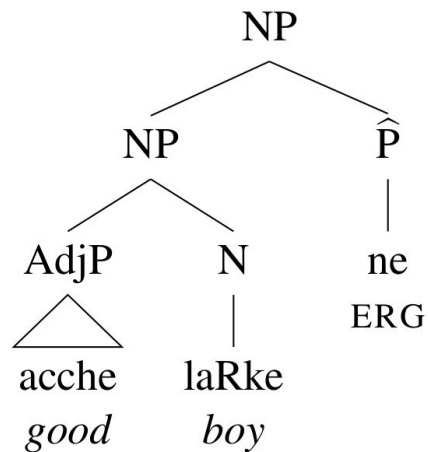
$XP \sqsubset XP, \widehat{Y}$

(Spencer 2005a)

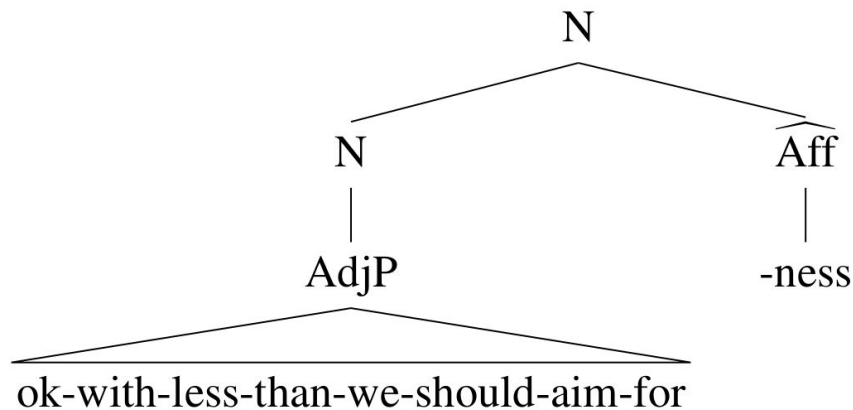
Explaining apparent LI violations:

- **Compounds** (Lowe 2015)
- **'Phrasal affixes'** (Spencer 2005a)

# Phrasal affixes



(Spencer 2005b)



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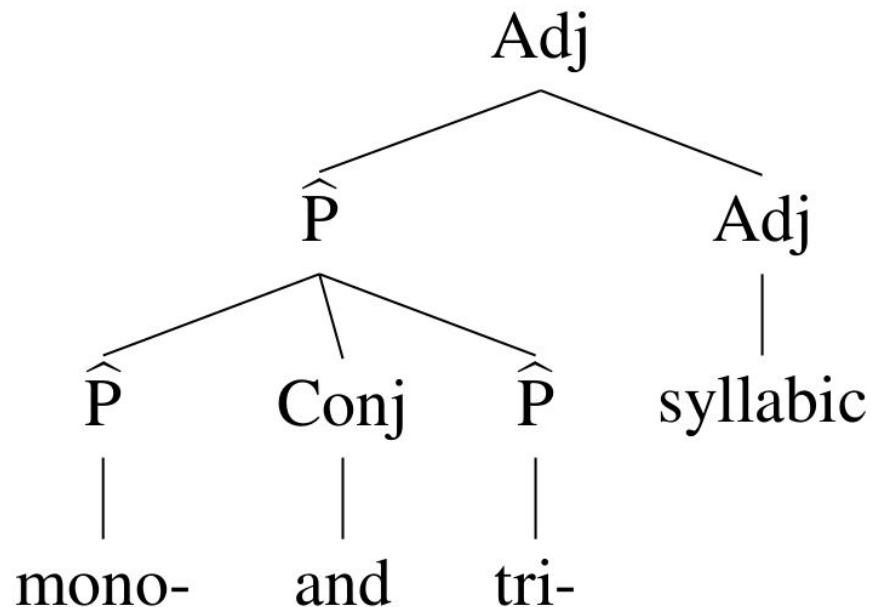
# Coordination of prefixes in English

# Simple cases

## 9. Coordination of prefixes

- a. [mono- and tri]-syllabic
- b. [pro- and en]-clitics
- c. [socio- and politico]-economic
- d. [pre- and post]-war (economics)
- e. [pro- as opposed to anti]-war
- f. [hypo- but not hyper]-glycaemic

Spencer (2005b): “prefixoids”



# #NotAllAffixes

## 10. Not all prefixes

- a. \*[un- or re]-tie
- b. \*[im- or ex]-port
- c. \*[ex- and se]-cretions

## 11. No suffixes (Strauss 1982: 43)

- a. \*fear-[some and -less]
- b. \*thought-[ful and -less]
- c. \*interest-[ed and -ing]

Genuine affixes, not  $\widehat{X}$ s.

- need not attach to lexical roots

Class I vs. Class II prefixes (Siegel 1974: 115ff.)

- Class I = more affix-like
- Class II = more word-like
- compounds?

## 12. Cf. **-ish** (Norde 2010)

- a. It's easy-ish.
- b. A: Is everyone excited? B: Ish.
- c. Tomorrow's an easy day (ish):  
graduation audit, voice lesson, CS  
lab ...



# Cross-linguistic variation

## 13. German

- a. ✓[Im- und Ex]-port

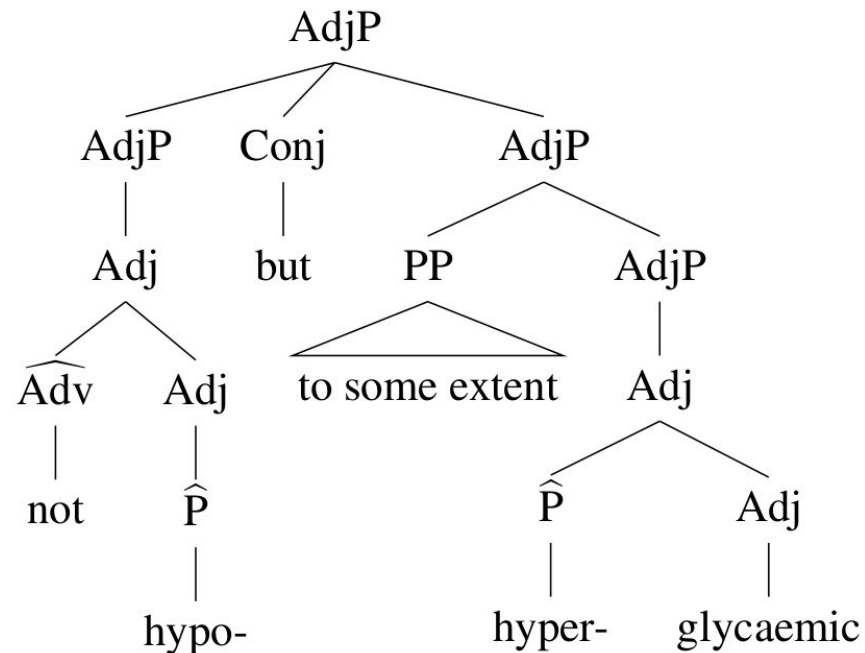
## 14. French

- a. ?\*[mono- et tri]-syllabe

# More complex examples

## 15. Complex cases

- a. totally pro- rather than simply not anti-Corbyn
- b. pre- as opposed to merely post-war
- c. not hypo- but to some extent hyper-glycaemic



# Full lexicalisation

For some speakers, some prefixes (esp. *pre-/post-* and *pro-/anti-*) have become fully lexicalised

## 16. Coordination with full P

- a. Rival protests held in Croatia for and anti-abortion. ([www](#))
- b. The main storyline is there's an opportunity for a new gas line but there's a lot of local division between those who are pro and against it. ([www](#))
- c. Conservative MP Fiona Bruce asked the prime minister to give reassurance that the party supports the "highest standards of animal welfare" before and post-Brexit. ([www](#))
- d. a light but effective dual purpose oil which can be used as both a pre and after wax treatment ([www](#))

## 17. Standalone uses

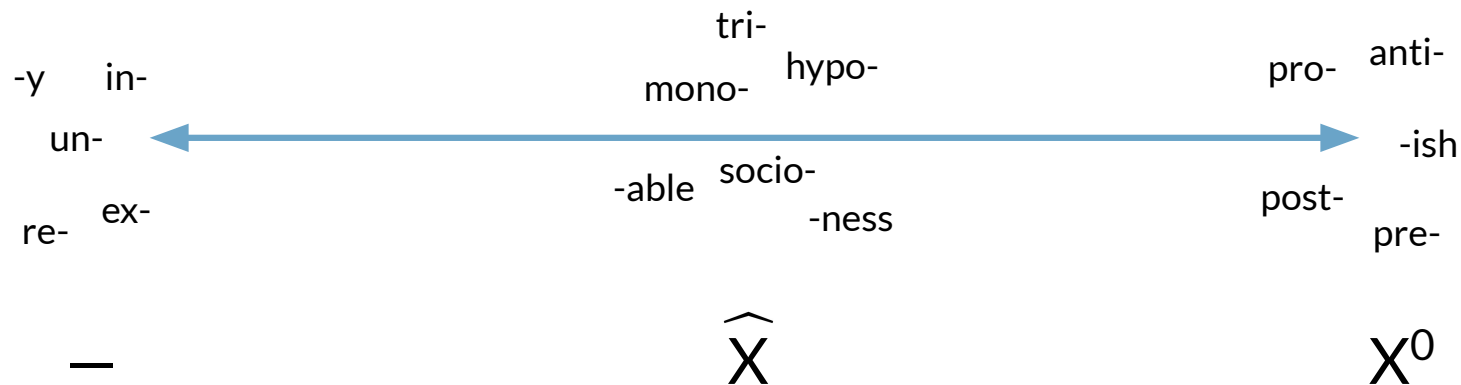
What's your stance on fox hunting?

- a. Oh, I'm totally anti! Barbaric sport!
- b. These days I'm rather pro, actually.

## 18. Attachment to phrases

- a. pre-[founding of Rome]
- b. post-[Alex's graduation]
- c. I'm anti-[Heather getting with Josh].

# A spectrum of (de)grammaticalisation



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# Conclusion

# Conclusion

- Good reasons to maintain LIH.
- But if we do, then we need an account of the apparent exceptions.
  - Compounds (Lowe 2015)
  - Coordination of prefixes
  - Derivational affixes on phrases (modification of Spencer 2005a)
  - Inflectional affixes on phrases ...?
- In this view, there *are* no exceptions to LI: apparent exceptions are “analysed away”.
- Is this question begging?
  - If it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck ...
- Given the formal and statistical arguments, the burden of proof is with the opponents of LIH.

# Conclusion

- This is not to say that LIH-less approaches must be wrong!
- Rather, they must find ways to ensure the relevant facts are captured in the other direction (e.g. by resisting “aggressive decomposition”).
- But this does make them less perspicuous.
  - LI is the norm – exceptions should be explained exceptionally.
- The intermediary status of non-projecting words does this, by describing a syntactic atom which is nonetheless syntactically deficient.

# Questions?

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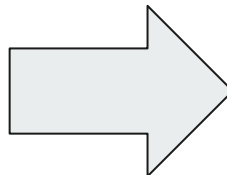
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# More data

9. **Coordination of stems** (cf. Spencer 2005b: 82)

- a. [write- or print]-able
- b. \*[irrepair- or irreplace]-able



Only words are good hosts

# More elliptical examples

1. Paradigm shift [from anti-] [to pro-establishment] shocks Bitcoin community. ([www](#))
2. Many critically ill patients [...] will undergo transition from [early pro-] to [later anti-inflammatory] phenotypes. ([www](#))