

Defining the Word

Daniel Zeman, Kilian Evang, Petya Osenova (and Martin Haspelmath)

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Charles University
Faculty of Mathematics and Physics
Institute of Formal and Applied Linguistics



unless otherwise stated

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- Difficult to define cross-linguistically
 - Especially for spoken data, unwritten languages, or some writing systems (Chinese)
 - Linguists have been arguing since (at least) 1930's, no satisfactory outcome
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- **BUT:**
 - **Guidance for new languages** that do not have a strong (or any) tradition
 - Or for tricky phenomena within a language
 - Or at least a principled method of **documenting the deviations**

Martin Haspelmath (2023). Defining the word. In *Word*, 69:3, pp. 283–297, Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.2023.2237272>






- A recent proposal
- Claims to have overcome some shortcomings of previous definitions
- We decided to test it on UD languages




- We organized a survey in summer – fall 2023
- Identified **difficult points** that are not addressed in the paper
- Going to do a second survey, better instructions

Haspelmath's definition of *word* relies on a number of other concepts. Some of them he defines in a possibly surprising way.

- Free form
- Morph
 - Delimiting morphs
 - Recognizing “same” morphs
- Root
 - Recognizing roots
 - Classifying roots (object, property, action)
- Affix
- Clitic
- Compound




A form (=non-empty sequence of phonemes) that can occur alone (at least as a response to a question).



-  *He is going home.*
-  *he*
-  *he is*
-  *he is going*
-  *home*

-  *pes* 'dog'
-  *the dog* (while *dog* itself is not a free form)
-  *ouch!*

Smallest meaningful (lexical or grammatical) segment. Non-empty!




MH **avoids** the term **morpheme**.



-  *dog-s* (lit. *dog-Plur*)
-  *ps-ů* (lit. *dog-Plur.Gen*)
-  *köpek-ler-in* (lit. *dog-Plur-Gen*)





-  *en-large-ment-s*
-  *ob-děl-at* (lit. *PREF-do-Inf*) 'cultivate'

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-  *zu-m* (lit. *to-Def.Masc,Neut.Sing.Dat*) (= *zu dem* 'to the')
-  *zu-r* (lit. *to-Def.Fem.Sing.Dat*) (= *zu der* 'to the')
-  ? *au* (= *à le* 'to the')
-  ? *à* (= *a a* 'to the')

“Same” Morph





- Same or compatible meaning
 - Not the same:  *I can swim* vs. *This can is empty*
 - Not the same:  *I have two book-s* (plural) vs. *She book-s the flights* (third person singular present)

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- Same form or just phonological changes
 -  -ed [d] or [t] or [əd] (past tense)
 -  *Träne-n* (lit. *teardrop-Plur*) and *Burg-en* (lit. *castle-Plur*) ... phonological variants
 -  *Mutter* (lit. *mother.Sing*) and *Mütter* (lit. *mother.Plur*) ... not the same meaning
 -  *Sohn* (lit. *son.Sing*) and *Söhn-e* (lit. *son-Plur*) ... phonological variants?
 -  *pes* (lit. *dog.Sing.Nom*) and *ps-a* (lit. *dog-Sing.Acc*) ... phonological variants
 -  *matk-a* (lit. *mother-Sing.Nom*) and *matc-e* (lit. *mother-Sing.Dat*)
 -  *ev-ler* (lit. *house-Plur*) and *araba-lar* (lit. *car-Plur*)





Free Morph vs. Bound Morph

- Free morph

- A morph that is a free form, i.e., it can occur alone.
-  *nice*
-  *ouch!*
-  *ev* 'house' ... may have affixes (*ev-ler, ev-ler-de*) but they are not required
-  *dum* 'house' ... may have affixes (*dom-y, dom-ech*) but they are not required






- Bound morph

- A morph that always occurs in company of other morphs.
-  *house* ... needs article (*a house, the house*) or plural suffix (*house-s*)
 - The articles and plural suffix are bound morphs as well
- Adpositions
 - Although in some languages debatable (answer to a question about the preposition?)
-  *My se to-ho ne-boj-ime* 'We are not afraid of this'






- **Contentful** morph (denoting object, property, or action)
- Can occur in a **free form without another** contentful morph
 - This does not mean that the root itself is free
- Root categories matter (to distinguish affixes from clitics)
 - **object / property / action**
- Avoid POS categories such as NOUN / ADJ / VERB
 -  Property root *large* as ADJ, but also in VERB (*enlarge*) or NOUN (*enlargement*)
- BUT:
 - Sometimes a root is not itself clearly in one category
 -  *plyn* 'gas' vs. *plyn-out* 'flow'
 - Abstract nouns are not objects – are they properties?
 - But they behave the same way.
 -  *matk-a, matk-y, matc-e* 'mother'
 -  *lásk-a, lás-k-y, lás-c-e* 'love'

- **Pronouns** – do they count as object roots?
 - Probably yes
- **Numerals** – do they count as property roots?
 - Probably yes






- Bound morph that accompanies roots of **one category**
- Not necessarily adjacent to the root – there can be other affixes (but not roots or clitics) in between
- Inflectional affixes, derivational/lexical affixes

-  *ev-ler-de* (lit. *house-Plur-Loc*) ‘in houses’
-  *re-place-ment*
-  *Josef-ov-ými* (lit. *Josef-Poss-Plur.Ins*) ‘Josef’s’
-  *geo-grafía* ‘geography’
-  *Він см-іяв-ся* (*Vin sm-ijav-sja*) (lit. *He laugh-Past-Refl*) ‘He laughed’

- Bound morph that accompanies roots of **different categories**
- (This definition is different from what people may think a clitic is.)
- **Unclear:** What does it mean that a clitic accompanies a root? What if there are multiple roots in the free form where the clitic occurs?

-  *b-át se* (lit. *fear-Inf Reflex*)
-  *My se medvěd-a ne-boj-íme* 'We are not **afraid** of a bear'
-  *reanimar-se* 'to revive oneself'
-  *se ha pod-ido observ-ar* 'it could have been observed'
-  *se hab-ía comenz-ado a investig-ar* 'one had begun to investigate'

Compound

- Two or more roots immediately adjacent (**without linking material**, i.e., no non-root morphs in between)
- The non-head root cannot be modified separately by a nominal or an adjective.
-  *Auto-bahn* (lit. *car-way*) 'highway'
-  *γεω-γραφ-ία* (*geô-graf-ía*) 'geography'
-  *credit card*
- **Not compounds:**
-  *Liebe-s-brief* (lit. *love-Gen-letter*) 'love letter'
-  *ruk-o-pis* (lit. *hand-o-write*) 'manuscript'

- Free form (may or may not be root)
- Root with all required affixes (and possibly with other affixes)
- Compound with all required affixes (and possibly with other affixes)
- Clitic

Martin Haspelmath (p.c.): *“My take at the moment is that dependencies should ultimately be notated at the morph level, and that the lexicon vs. syntax distinction is illusory (along the lines of Jackendoff).”*