From Roots to Categories:
Deriving Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives in Santali

BISWANATH DASH

DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY DELHI

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by

Biswanath Dash

DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Research Committee Members

Supervisor:	Prof. Pritha Chandra, Indian Institute of Technology Delhi
Internal Expert:	Prof. Samar Husain, Indian Institute of Technology Delhi
External Expert:	Prof. Usha Udaar, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur
Chairperson:	Prof. Purnima Singh, Indian Institute of Technology Delhi

External Reviewers:	Prof. Gianina Iordăchioaia, University of Graz
	Prof. Artemis Alexiadou, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

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Pritha Chandra
Professor
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Indian Institute of Technology Delhi,
New Delhi, India
Date:

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Abstract

Formation of lexical categories in the syntactic workspace has been a part of generative investigation since last few decades. This dissertation investigates the syntactic formation of lexical categories like nouns, verbs, and adjectives in Santali, an understudied Austroasiatic Language spoken in India. The central concern of the current research is the extent to which Syntax affects the internal structure of words/categories. This study employs Distributed Morphology as the theoretical framework to analyze the formation of nouns, verbs and adjectives in Santali because it provides an ideal empirical domain due to its fluid categorial system.

This dissertation addresses three specific questions, each forming the focus of a dedicated chapter. The first question examines the structural position of Santali nominalization. It specifically asks how morphologically zero nominals, traditionally analyzed as root-derived in the literature, can exhibit complex internal structure by showing stem-derivation. By using diagnostics like the presence of argument structure, adverbial modification, aspectual modification, and productivity, this dissertation shows that Santali zero nominals possess verbal characteristics and lack root-level idiosyncrasies. By using these tests, the dissertation also presents that Santali zero nominals are formed at higher derivational points, like *v*P, VoiceP, and AspectP levels. Connecting it to the nouniness squish (Ross, 1973), this dissertation shows that Santali nominalization happens at different structural heights: prototypical and affixal nominals are root-derived, while zero nominals, despite being morphologically simplex, exhibit syntactic complexity and access extended verbal functional structures.

The second research question addresses how verbalization, widely claimed to be an idiosyncratic operation cross-linguistically, demonstrates systematic syntactic compositionality yielding productive change-of-state semantics in Santali. Santali exhibits both root-derived verbs and stem-derived verbs formed from already categorized nouns or adjectives. In the case

of stem-derivation, Santali verbalizes any categorial or phrasal stem productively by assigning a change-of-state meaning. This dissertation proposes a feature-based account to analyze this phenomenon where the verbalizer carries a [FIENT] feature that encodes the transition event assigning the change-of-state interpretation to its complement and yielding inchoative and causative interpretation.

The third question addresses the internal structure of adjectives, a category whose presence has been reported to be uncertain in the typological literature. Using specific diagnostics the dissertation first establishes that Santali possesses adjectives as a composite category formed through adjectivization of both roots and stems. Root-derived adjectives are idiosyncratic, lack overt morphological adjectivizers, and are formed low in the derivation. Stem-derived adjectives, in contrast, are regular and compositional, marked by the overt adjectivizer *-ih(aa)*. This chapter also demonstrates the structural asymmetry in the stem-derived adjectivization by showing how Santali adjectivizers can merge with extended functional projections like NumP and DP in the nominals domain, while it is restricted to the *v*P-level in the verbal domain. This asymmetry shows how categorization is input sensitive and the selectional restriction of categorizers to merge at different structural points may depend on input categories.

The findings of this dissertation unveils several theoretical implications. Firstly, morphologically simplex units can also carry derivational complexity as categories can contain complex internal structures to be formed at various derivational heights. Secondly, regular semantics on productive categorization can be a result of the feature present on the categorizer head. Thirdly, categorization is also input sensitive selecting different structural heights as the complement depending on the input category, as we learn from Santali adjectivization. This also means that even when the categorization system of a language shows extreme fluidity, it maintains certain constraints in the derivational operation. Since words are uniformly formed using the merge of specific categorizers, merge can be taken as the single fundamental operation sufficient for category formation in syntax cross-linguistically.

सारांश

पिछले कुछ दशकों से सिंटैक्टिक वर्कस्पेस में लेक्सिकल कैटेगरी बनाना जेनरेटिव इन्वेस्टिगेशन का हिस्सा रहा है। यह डिसर्टेशन भारत में बोली जानेवाली एक कम रिसर्च की गई ऑस्ट्रोएशियाई भाषा संताली में नाउन, वर्ब और एडजेक्टिव जैसी लेक्सिकल कैटेगरी के सिंटैक्टिक बनाने की जांच करती है। इस रिसर्च का मुख्य उद्देश्य यह है कि सिंटैक्स शब्दों/कैटेगरी के इंटरनल स्ट्रक्चर को किस हद तक प्रभावित करता है। यह स्टडी संताली में नाउन, वर्ब और एडजेक्टिव के बनने का एनालिसिस करने के लिए डिस्ट्रिब्यूटेड मॉर्फोलॉजी को थ्योरेटिकल फ़्रेमवर्क के तौर पर इस्तेमाल करती है क्योंकि यह अपने फ्लूइड कैटेगरी सिस्टम के कारण एक आइडियल एंपिरिकल डोमेन देता है।

यह डिसर्टेशन तीन महत्वपूर्ण सवालों पर बात करता है, जिनमें से हर एक, एक डेडिकेटेड चैप्टर का फोकस है। पहला सवाल संताली नॉमिनलाइजेशन की स्ट्रक्चरल पोजीशन की जांच करता है। यह ख़ास तौर पर पूछता है कि मॉर्फोलॉजिकली ज़ीरो नॉमिनल, जिन्हें ट्रेडिशनली लिटरेचर में रूट-डेरिव्ड के रूप में एनालाइज किया जाता है, स्टेम-डेरिवेशन दिखाकर कॉम्प्लेक्स इंटरनल स्ट्रक्चर कैसे दिखा सकते हैं। आर्गुमेंट स्ट्रक्चर की मौजूदगी, एडवर्बियल मॉडिफिकेशन, एस्पेक्टुअल मॉडिफिकेशन, और प्रोडक्टिविटी जैसे डायग्नोस्टिक्स का इस्तेमाल करके, यह डिसर्टेशन दिखाता है कि संताली ज़ीरो नॉमिनल्स में वर्बल ख़ासियतें होती हैं और उनमें रूट-लेवल की ख़ासियतें नहीं होती हैं। इन टेस्ट का इस्तेमाल करके, यह डिसर्टेशन यह भी दिखाता है कि संताली ज़ीरो नॉमिनल्स हायर डेरिवेशनल पॉइंट्स, जैसे vP, VoiceP, और AspectP लेवल पर बनते हैं। इसे नाउननेस स्क्विश (रॉस, 1973) से जोड़ते हुए, यह डिसर्टेशन दिखाता है कि संताली नॉमिनलाइज़ेशन अलग-अलग स्ट्रक्चरल हाइट्स पर होता है: प्रोटोटाइपिकल और एफिक्सल नॉमिनल्स रूट-डेरिव्ड होते हैं, जबकि ज़ीरो नॉमिनल्स, मॉर्फोलॉजिकली सिंप्लेक्स होने के बावजूद, सिंटैक्टिक कॉम्प्लेक्सिटी दिखाते हैं और एक्सटेंडेड वर्बल फंक्शनल स्ट्रक्चर तक पहुँचते हैं।

दूसरा रिसर्च सवाल यह बताता है कि वर्बलाइज़ेशन, जिसे आमतौर पर क्रॉस-लिंग्विस्टिकली एक ख़ास ऑपरेशन माना जाता है, कैसे सिस्टमैटिक सिंटैक्टिक कंपोज़िशनैलिटी दिखाता है, जिससे संताली में प्रोडक्टिव चेंज-ऑफ़-स्टेट सिमेंटिक्स मिलता है। संताली में रूट-डेरिव्ड वर्ब और स्टेम-डेरिव्ड वर्ब दोनों होते हैं, जो पहले से कैटेगराइज़ किए गए नाउन या एडजेक्टिव से बने होते हैं। स्टेम-डेरिवेशन के मामले में, संताली किसी भी कैटेगराइज़ या फ्रेज़ल स्टेम को प्रोडक्टिव तरीके से वर्बलाइज़ करता है, जिसमें चेंज-ऑफ़-स्टेट का मतलब बताया जाता है। यह डिसर्टेशन इस फेनोमेना का एनालिसिस करने के लिए एक फ़ीचर-बेस्ड अकाउंट प्रपोज़ करती है, जहाँ वर्बलाइज़र में एक [FIENT] फ़ीचर होता है जो ट्रांज़िशन इवेंट को एनकोड करता है, चेंज-ऑफ़-स्टेट इंटरप्रिटेशन को उसके कॉम्प्लिमेंट को असाइन करता है और इनकोहेटिव और कॉज़ेटिव इंटरप्रिटेशन देता है।

तीसरा सवाल एडजेक्टिव के इंटरनल स्ट्रक्चर के बारे में है, एक ऐसी कैटेगरी जिसकी मौजूदगी टाइपोलॉजिकल लिटरेचर में अनिश्चित बताई गई है। ख़ास डायग्नोस्टिक्स का इस्तेमाल करके, डिसर्टेशन सबसे पहले यह बताती है कि संताली में एडजेक्टिव एक कम्पोज़िट कैटेगरी के रूप में होते हैं जो रूट और स्टेम दोनों के एडजेक्टिवाइज़ेशन से बनते हैं। रूट-डेरिव्ड एडजेक्टिव इडियोसिंक्रेटिक होते हैं, उनमें साफ़ मॉर्फोलॉजिकल एडजेक्टिव नहीं होते हैं, और वे डेरिवेशन में नीचे बनते हैं। इसके विपरीत, स्टेम से निकले एडजेक्टिव रेगुलर और कम्पोज़िशनल होते हैं, जिन्हें ओवरट एडजेक्टिवाइज़र *-ih(aa)* से पहचाना जाता है। यह चैप्टर स्टेम-डेरिव्ड एडजेक्टिवाइज़ेशन में स्ट्रक्चरल एसिमेट्री को भी दिखाता है, यह दिखाकर कि कैसे संताली एडजेक्टिवाइज़र नॉमिनल्स डोमेन में NumP और DP जैसे एक्सटेंडेड फ़ंक्शनल प्रोजेक्शन के साथ मर्ज हो सकते हैं, जबकि यह वर्बल डोमेन में vP-लेवल तक ही सीमित है। यह एसिमेट्री दिखाती है कि कैसे कैटेगराइज़ेशन इनपुट सेंसिटिव होता है और अलग-अलग स्ट्रक्चरल पॉइंट पर मर्ज करने के लिए कैटेगराइज़र का सिलेक्शनल रिस्ट्रिक्शन इनपुट कैटेगरीज़ पर निर्भर हो सकता है।

इस डिसर्टेशन के निष्कर्ष से कई थ्योरेटिकल निहितार्थ सामने आते हैं। सबसे पहले, मॉर्फोलॉजिकली सिंप्लेक्स यूनिट्स में डेरिवेशनल कॉम्प्लेक्सिटी भी हो सकती है क्योंकि कैटेगरीज़ में अलग-अलग डेरिवेशनल हाइट्स पर बनने वाले कॉम्प्लेक्स इंटरनल स्ट्रक्चर हो सकते हैं। दूसरा, प्रोडक्टिव कैटेगराइज़ेशन पर रेगुलर सिमेंटिक्स, कैटेगराइज़र हेड पर मौजूद फीचर का नतीजा हो सकता है। तीसरा, कैटेगराइज़ेशन भी इनपुट सेंसिटिव होता है, जो इनपुट कैटेगरी के आधार पर कॉम्प्लिमेंट के तौर पर अलग-अलग स्ट्रक्चरल हाइट्स चुनता है, जैसा कि हम संताली एडजेक्टिवाइज़ेशन से सीखते हैं। इसका यह भी मतलब है कि जब किसी भाषा का कैटेगराइज़ेशन सिस्टम बहुत ज़्यादा फ़्लूइडिटी दिखाता है, तब भी यह डेरिवेशनल ऑपरेशन में कुछ रुकावटें बनाए रखता है। क्योंकि शब्द ख़ास कैटेगराइज़र के मर्ज का इस्तेमाल करके एक जैसे बनते हैं, इसलिए मर्ज को सिंटैक्स में क्रॉस-लिंग्विस्टिकली कैटेगरी बनाने के लिए पर्याप्त एकमात्र फ़ंडामेंटल ऑपरेशन माना जा सकता है।

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List of Abbreviations

1	1st Person
2	2nd Person
3	3rd Person
A	Adjective
AA	Austro-Asiatic
ACC	Accusative
ACT	Active Voice
ADJZ	Adjectivizer
ANIM	Animate
AP	Adjective Phrase
C	Complementizer
CID	Closed Interpretation Domain
COP	Copula
CUC	Canonical Use Constraint
D	Determiner
DM	Distributed Morphology
DP	Determiner Phrase
FC	Functional Category
FIN	Finite
GEN	Genitive
HON	Honorificity
IA	Indo Aryan
IE	Indo European
LC	Lexical Category
LCIR	Locality Constraint on the Interpretation of Roots
LF	Logical Form
MID	Middle Voice
MS	Morphological Structure
N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
OBJ	Object marker
P	Preposition
PF	Phonetic Form
Phi	Person-Number-Gender
PL	Plural

POS	Part(s) of Speech	T	Tense
PP	Preposition Phrase	TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood
PST	Past Tense	TP	Tense Phrase
SC	Small Clause	V	Verb
SG	Singular	VI	Vocabulary Item
SUBJ	Subject marker	VP	Verb Phrase