

Morphosyntax

Pavel Caha

- ▶ traditional view (lexicalism)
 - ▶ morphology = build words out of morphemes

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 - ▶ morphology = build words out of morphemes
 - ▶ syntax = build sentences out of words
- ▶ non-lexicalist approaches (syntax all the way down)
 - ▶ build sentences out of morphemes
 - ▶ or maybe out of something even smaller...?

Repetitive vs. restitutive

- (1) Petr tu televizi znovu z-tiř-i-l
petr the TV set again silenced
'Petr silenced the TV again.'

The Lexical Hypothesis is about the organization of the grammar into modules. It suggests that the system of words in a language is independent of the system of phrases in a language in a particular way. [...]

The essence of the hypothesis is the separation of the two systems and the asymmetric relation between them. Perhaps most of the information about the structure of a word as determined by the word system is “hidden” from the phrasal system, so we have information encapsulation. [...]

The encapsulation prevents analyses. It narrows the scope of word/phrase interaction. For example, the parts of a word are not accessible in the phrasal system, nor even whether the word has parts. From this flows many mundane but important facts, such as the following: although how can modify complete, as in (a), it cannot do so when complete is a part of completeness, as in (b):

- (2) a. How complete are your results?
- b. *How completeness do you admire?
- c. [how complete]-ness do you admire?

the building blocks of the word system

Syncretism

▶ incremental theories

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 - ▶ the units that we build words out of are Saussurean signs (<PLURAL, s>)

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- ▶ incremental theories
 - ▶ the units that we build words out of are Saussurean signs (<PLURAL, s>)
- ▶ realizational
 - ▶ the building blocks are abstract ([+pl])

(3) suppletion

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- a. bad – worse

- (3) suppletion
- a. bad – worse
 - b. man – men

- (3) suppletion
- a. bad – worse
 - b. man – men
 - c. go – went

- (3) suppletion
- a. bad – worse
 - b. man – men
 - c. go – went

- (4)
- a. Aapo vuite.
3SG run.SG
'S/he is running.'
 - b. Vempo tenne
3PL run.PL
'They are running.'

- (4) a. Aapo vuite.
 3SG run.SG
 'S/he is running.'
- b. Vempo tenne
 3PL run.PL
 'They are running.'
- (5) a. Aapo/Vempo uka koowi-ta me'a-k
 3SG/3PL the.SG pig-ACC.SG kill.SG-PRF
 'He/They killed the pig.'
- b. Aapo/Vempo ume kowi-m sua-k
 3SG/3PL the.PL pig-PL kill.PL-PRF
 'He/They killed the pigs.'

- (6) Realisational theories are of two kinds
- a. Features don't have structure (lexicalist, A-morphous morphology)
 - b. Features have structure (usually non-lexicalist)

Korean short negation (Chung 2007)

(7) Regular NEG

- a. ca-n-ta
sleep-pres-decl
'is sleeping'
- b. mos/ani ca-n-ta
neg sleep-prs-dcl
'is not sleeping'

(8) Suppletive NEG

- a. al-n-ta
know-pres-decl
'knows'
- b. *mos/ani al-n-ta
neg √-prs-dcl
'does not know'
- c. molu-n-ta
neg+ √-prs-dcl
'does not know'

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Korean negation again

- (9) a. al-li-
know-caus
'let know, inform'

Korean negation again

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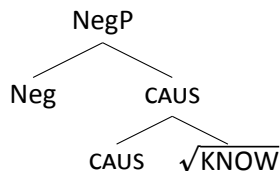
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(10)



Korean negation again

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- c. *molu-li
neg+know-cause

- (10)
-
- A syntax tree for the Korean form 'al-li-'. The root node is NegP, which branches into Neg and CAUS. CAUS further branches into CAUS and $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$.
- ```
graph TD
 NegP --> Neg
 NegP --> CAUS1[CAUS]
 CAUS1 --> CAUS2[CAUS]
 CAUS1 --> Know["√KNOW"]
```
- (11) molu ↔ NegP
- 
- A syntax tree for the Korean form 'molu'. The root node is NegP, which branches into Neg and  $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$ .
- ```
graph TD
    NegP --> Neg
    NegP --> Know["√KNOW"]
```

Korean negation again

- (9) a. al-li-
know-caus
'let know, inform'
- b. ani/mos al-li-
neg $\sqrt{-}$ -caus
'did not inform'
- c. *molu-li
neg+know-cause

- (10) NegP $*\Rightarrow$ *molu*
-
- A syntax tree for (10) showing the structure of the Korean form *molu*. The root node is NegP, which branches into Neg and CAUS. CAUS further branches into CAUS and $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$.
- (11) *molu* \leftrightarrow NegP
-
- A syntax tree for (11) showing the structure of the Korean form *molu*. The root node is NegP, which branches into Neg and $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$.

the building blocks of the word system

Syncretism

Syncretism

(12) Personal pronouns in English

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	I	we
2 nd	you	you
3 rd	he / she / it	they

Syncretism

(12) Personal pronouns in English

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	I	we
2 nd	you	you
3 rd	he / she / it	they

- (13) a. *you* (SG) = ADDRESSEE
b. *you* (PL) = ADDRESSEE + OTHERS

Conjecture: syncretism reflects similarity in meaning

- (14)
- a. The soup is **cool**.
 - b. The soup **cool**-ed.
 - c. Mary **cool**-ed the soup.

Conjecture: syncretism reflects similarity in meaning

- (14) a. The soup is **cool**.
b. The soup **cool**-ed.
c. Mary **cool**-ed the soup.
- (15) a. COOL
b. BECOME+COOL
c. CAUSE+BECOME+COOL

Case syncretism

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

1.	NOM	dv-a
2.	GEN	dv-ou
3.	DAT	dv-ěma
4.	ACC	dv-a
5.	VOC	dv-a
6.	LOC	dv-ou
7.	INS	dv-ěma

Case syncretism

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1.	NOM	dv-a
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7.	INS	dv-ěma

Case syncretism

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

1.	NOM	dv-a	1.	NOM	dv-a
2.	GEN	dv-ou	5.	VOC	dv-a
3.	DAT	dv-ěma	4.	ACC	dv-a
4.	ACC	dv-a	2.	GEN	dv-ou
5.	VOC	dv-a	7.	LOC	dv-ou
6.	LOC	dv-ou	3.	DAT	dv-ěma
7.	INS	dv-ěma	7.	INS	dv-ěma

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NOM	dv-a
ACC	dv-a
GEN	dv-ou
LOC	dv-ou
DAT	dv-ěma
INS	dv-ěma

NOM	dům (house)
ACC	dům
GEN	dom-u
LOC	dom-u
DAT	dom-u
INS	dom-em

Case syncretism

- the numeral 'two,' masc.

1.	NOM	dv-a
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5.	VOC	dv-a
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7.	LOC	dv-ou
3.	DAT	dv-ěma
7.	INS	dv-ěma

NOM	dv-a
ACC	dv-a
GEN	dv-ou
LOC	dv-ou
DAT	dv-ěma
INS	dv-ěma

NOM	dům (house)
ACC	dům
GEN	dom-u
LOC	dom-u
DAT	dom-u
INS	dom-em

NOM	my (we)
ACC	nás
GEN	nás
LOC	nás
DAT	nám
INS	námi

Case syncretism

- the numeral 'two,' masc.

1.	NOM	dv-a
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5.	VOC	dv-a
4.	ACC	dv-a
2.	GEN	dv-ou
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7.	INS	dv-ěma

NOM	dv-a
ACC	dv-a
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LOC	dv-ou
DAT	dv-ěma
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NOM	dům (house)
ACC	dům
GEN	dom-u
LOC	dom-u
DAT	dom-u
INS	dom-em

NOM	my (we)
ACC	nás
GEN	nás
LOC	nás
DAT	nám
INS	námi

NOM	kluk (boy)
ACC	kluk-a
GEN	kluk-a
LOC	kluk-ovi
DAT	kluk-ovi
INS	kluk-em

Jakobson's decomposition

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

NOM	ACC	GEN
dv-a	dv-a	dv-ou
INS	DAT	LOC
dv-ěma	dv-ěma	dv-ou

Jakobson's decomposition

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

NOM	ACC	GEN	$-\beta$
dv-a	dv-a	dv-ou	
INS	DAT	LOC	$+\beta$
dv-ěma	dv-ěma	dv-ou	
$-\gamma$	$-\gamma$	$+\gamma$	

Jakobson's decomposition

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

$- \alpha$	$+ \alpha$	$- \alpha$	
NOM dv-a	ACC dv-a	GEN dv-ou	$-\beta$
INS dv-ěma	DAT dv-ěma	LOC dv-ou	$+\beta$
$-\gamma$	$-\gamma$	$+\gamma$	

Jakobson's decomposition

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM dv-a	ACC dv-a	GEN dv-ou	$-\beta$
INS dv-ěma	DAT dv-ěma	LOC dv-ou	$+\beta$
$-\gamma$	$-\gamma$	$+\gamma$	

Jakobson's decomposition

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM dv-a	ACC dv-a	GEN dv-ou	- peripheral
INS dv-ěma	DAT dv-ěma	LOC dv-ou	+ peripheral
- γ	- γ	+ γ	

Jakobson's decomposition

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM dv-a	ACC dv-a	GEN dv-ou	- peripheral
INS dv-ěma	DAT dv-ěma	LOC dv-ou	+ peripheral
- quantificational	- quantificational	+ quantificational	

Jakobson's decomposition

- ▶ the numeral 'two,' masc.

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM dv-a	ACC dv-a	GEN dv-ou	- peripheral
INS dv-ěma	DAT dv-ěma	LOC dv-ou	+ peripheral
- quantificational	- quantificational	+ quantificational	

- ▶ *-a* ↔ [-peripheral, -quantificational, (-fem)]
- ▶ *-ou* ↔ [+quantificational, -directional]
- ▶ *-ěma* ↔ [-quantificational, +peripheral]
- ▶ *-ěma* ↔ [-quantificational, +peripheral]

Marker competition

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM žen-a	ACC žen-u	GEN žen-y	-peripheral
INS žen-ou	DAT žen-ě	LOC žen-ě	+peripheral
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

Marker competition

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM žen-a	ACC žen-u	GEN žen-y	-peripheral
INS žen-ou	DAT žen-ě	LOC žen-ě	+peripheral
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

- (16) a. -ě ↔ [+peripheral] (INS, DAT, LOC)
b. -ou ↔ [+peripheral, -quantificational, -directional] (INS)

Marker competition

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM kluk	ACC kluk-a	GEN kluk-a	-peripheral
INS kluk-em	DAT kluk-ovi	LOC kluk-ovi	+peripheral
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

Marker competition

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM kluk	ACC kluk-a	GEN kluk-a	-peripheral
INS kluk-em	DAT kluk-ovi	LOC kluk-ovi	+peripheral
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

- (17) a. -ovi \leftrightarrow [+peripheral] (INS, DAT, LOC)
b. -em \leftrightarrow [+peripheral, -quantificational, -directional] (INS)
- (18) a. -a \leftrightarrow [-peripheral] (NOM, ACC, GEN)
b. \emptyset \leftrightarrow [-peripheral, -quantificational, -directional] (NOM)

Marker competition

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM místnost	ACC místnost	GEN místnost-i	-peripheral
INS místnost-í	DAT místnosti-i	LOC místnost-i	+peripheral
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

Marker competition

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM místnost	ACC místnost	GEN místnost-i	-peripheral
INS místnost-í	DAT místnosti-i	LOC místnost-i	+peripheral
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

- (19)
- $-i \leftrightarrow [\emptyset]$ (NOM, ACC, GEN, INS, DAT, LOC)
 - $-\acute{i} \leftrightarrow [+peripheral, -quantificational, -directional]$ (INS)
 - $-\emptyset \leftrightarrow [-peripheral, -quantificational]$ (NOM, ACC)

A system gone wild

- (20) a. -ě ↔ [+peripheral] (INS, DAT, LOC)
b. -ou ↔ [+peripheral, -quantificational, -directional] (INS)

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM	ACC	GEN	-peripheral
žen-a	žen-u	žen-y	
INS	DAT	LOC	+peripheral
žen-ou	žen-ě	žen-ě	
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

A system gone wild

- (20) a. -ě ↔ [+peripheral] (INS, DAT, LOC)
b. -ou ↔ [+peripheral, -quantificational, +directional]
(DAT)

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM	ACC	GEN	-peripheral
žen-a	žen-u	žen-y	
INS	DAT	LOC	+peripheral
žen-ou	žen-ě	žen-ě	
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

A system gone wild

- (20) a. -ě ↔ [+peripheral] (INS, DAT, LOC)
b. -ou ↔ [+peripheral, -quantificational, +directional] (DAT)

- directional	+ directional	- directional	
NOM žen-a	ACC žen-u	GEN žen-y	-peripheral
INS žen-ě	DAT žen-ou	LOC žen-ě	+peripheral
-quantificational	-quantificational	+quantificational	

A linear constraint on syncretism

(21) Russian, plural inanimates of the declensions I-III

	place, PL	horse	red, PL	lip	one, FEM.
NOM	mest-a	kon-ъ	krasn-yje	gub-a	odn-a
ACC	mest-a	kon-ja	krasn-yje	gub-u	odn-u
GEN	mest	kon-ja	krasn-yx	gub-y	odn-oj
LOC	mest-ax	kon-e	krasn-yx	gub-e	odn-oj
DAT	mest-am	kon-ju	krasn-ym	gub-e	odn-oj
INS	mest-ami	kon-ëm	krasn-ymi	gub-oj	odn-oj

“syntactic features are inappropriate to the modeling of paradigms; and that geometric representations [...] can provide more insight, particularly in the description of syncretism.”

horn-í (upper,m.sg)

NOM	horn-í
ACC	horn-ího
GEN	horn-ího
LOC	horn-ím
DAT	horn-ímu
INS	horn-ím

horn-í (upper,m.sg)

NOM	horn-í
ACC	horn-í-ho
GEN	horn-í-ho
LOC	horn-í-m
DAT	horn-í-mu
INS	horn-í-m

	horn-í (upper,m.sg)	he, strong
NOM	horn-í	
ACC	horn-í- ho	je- ho
GEN	horn-í- ho	je- ho
LOC	horn-í- m	ně- m
DAT	horn-í- mu	je- mu
INS	horn-í- m	jí- m

	horn-í (upper,m.sg)		he, strong
NOM	horn-í		
ACC	horn-í- ho		je- ho
GEN	horn-í- ho		je- ho
LOC	horn-í- m	(n)	je- m
DAT	horn-í- mu		je- mu
INS	horn-í- m		jí- m

	horn- <i>í</i> (upper,m.sg)	he, strong
NOM	horn- <i>í</i>	
ACC	horn- <i>í</i> - ho	je- ho
GEN	horn- <i>í</i> - ho	je- ho
LOC	horn- <i>í</i> - m	(n) je- m
DAT	horn- <i>í</i> - mu	je- mu
INS	horn- <i>í</i> - m	jí - m

- (22) Historically, the adjectival declension developed by suffixing a pronoun to the adjective, leading to the lengthening of the initial syllable of the pronoun.

	horn- <i>í</i> (upper,m.sg)	he, strong
NOM	horn- <i>í</i>	
ACC	horn- <i>í</i> - ho	<i>je</i>-ho
GEN	horn- <i>í</i> - ho	<i>je</i>-ho
LOC	horn- <i>í</i> - m	(n) <i>je</i>-m
DAT	horn- <i>í</i> - mu	<i>je</i>-mu
INS	horn- <i>í</i> - m	<i>jí</i>-m

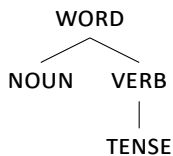
- (22) Historically, the adjectival declension developed by suffixing a pronoun to the adjective, leading to the lengthening of the initial syllable of the pronoun.
- (23) a. *měl* — *mít* ‘have, past—inf’
 b. *zněl* — *znít* ‘sound, past—inf’

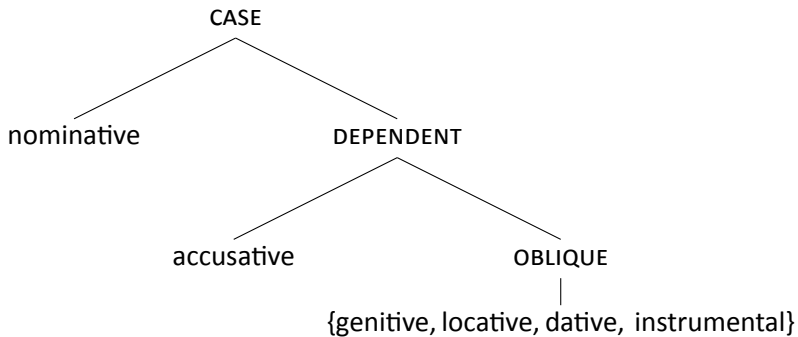
	horn- <i>í</i> (upper,m.sg)	he, strong
NOM	horn- <i>í</i>	
ACC	horn- <i>í</i> - ho	<i>je</i> - ho
GEN	horn- <i>í</i> - ho	<i>je</i> - ho
LOC	horn- <i>í</i> - m	(n) <i>je</i> - m
DAT	horn- <i>í</i> - mu	<i>je</i> - mu
INS	horn- <i>í</i> - m	<i>jí</i> - m

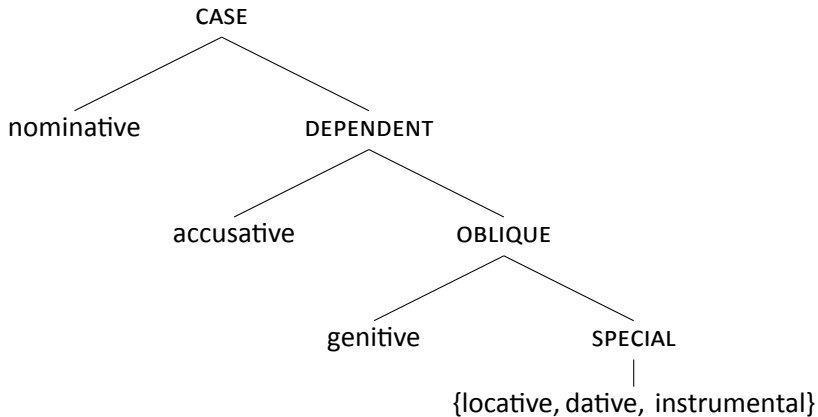
- (22) Historically, the adjectival declension developed by suffixing a pronoun to the adjective, leading to the lengthening of the initial syllable of the pronoun.
- (23) a. *měl* — *mít* ‘have, past—inf’
 b. *zněl* — *znít* ‘sound, past—inf’
- (24) a. ADJ-LENGTH-*je*-m (LOC)
 b. ADJ-LENGTH-*jí*-m (INS)

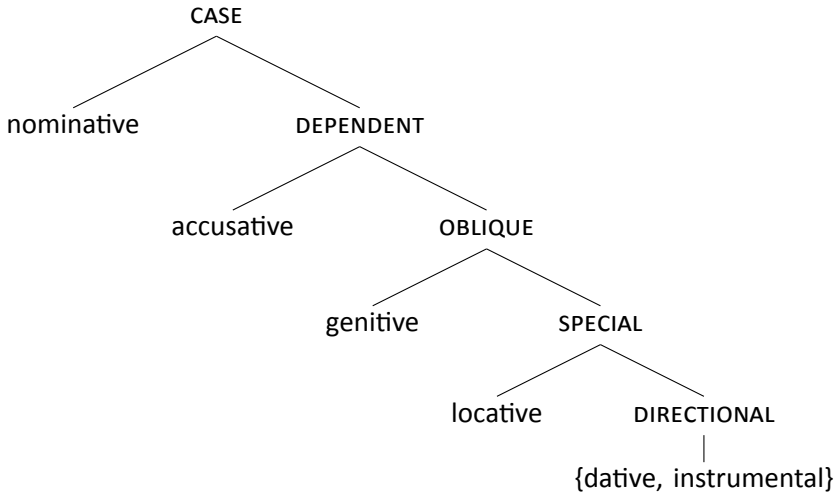
binary vs. privative, cross-classification vs. sub-classification

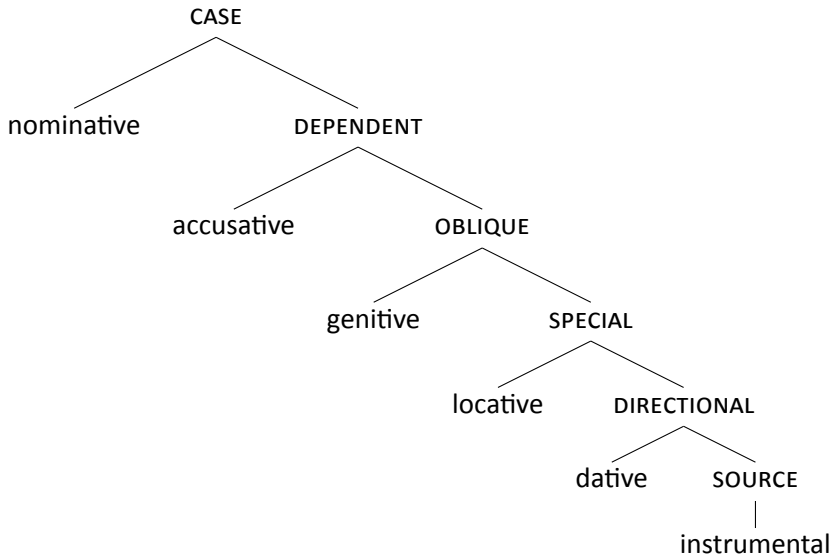
(25)











- a. nom = [case]
- b. acc = [case, dependent]
- c. gen = [case, dependent, oblique]
- d. loc = [case, dependent, oblique, special]
- e. dat = [case, dependent, oblique, special, directional]
- f. ins = [case, dependent, oblique, special, directional, source]

- a. nom = [case]
 - b. acc = [case, dependent]
 - c. gen = [case, dependent, oblique]
 - d. loc = [case, dependent, oblique, special]
 - e. dat = [case, dependent, oblique, special, directional]
 - f. ins = [case, dependent, oblique, special, directional, source]
-
- a. [source] characterises INS
 - b. [directional] characterises INS, DAT
 - c. [special] characterises INS, DAT, LOC
 - d. [oblique] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN
 - e. [dependent] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC
 - f. [case] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC, NOM

- a. [source] characterises INS
- b. [directional] characterises INS, DAT
- c. [special] characterises INS, DAT, LOC
- d. [oblique] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN
- e. [dependent] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC
- f. [case] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC, NOM

(26) a. $\alpha \leftrightarrow [\text{CASE}] (\text{NOM}, \text{ACC}, \text{GEN}, \text{LOC}, \text{DAT}, \text{INS})$

- a. [source] characterises INS
- b. [directional] characterises INS, DAT
- c. [special] characterises INS, DAT, LOC
- d. [oblique] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN
- e. [dependent] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC
- f. [case] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC, NOM

- (26)
- a. $\alpha \leftrightarrow [\text{CASE}] (\text{NOM, ACC, GEN, LOC, DAT, INS})$
 - b. $\beta \leftrightarrow [\text{OBLIQUE}] (\text{GEN, LOC, DAT, INS})$

- a. [source] characterises INS
- b. [directional] characterises INS, DAT
- c. [special] characterises INS, DAT, LOC
- d. [oblique] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN
- e. [dependent] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC
- f. [case] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC, NOM

- (26) a. $\alpha \leftrightarrow [\text{CASE}] (\text{NOM, ACC, GEN, LOC, DAT, INS})$
 b. $\beta \leftrightarrow [\text{OBLIQUE}] (\text{GEN, LOC, DAT, INS})$

NOM	α	pět
ACC	α	pět
GEN	β	pět-i
LOC	β	pět-i
DAT	β	pět-i
INS	β	pět-i

- a. [source] characterises INS
- b. [directional] characterises INS, DAT
- c. [special] characterises INS, DAT, LOC
- d. [oblique] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN
- e. [dependent] characterises INS, DAT, LOC, GEN, ACC
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(27) NOM α
 ACC β
 GEN α

- a. [source] characterises INS
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(27) NOM α
 ACC β
 GEN α

(28) a. $\alpha \leftrightarrow [\text{CASE}] (\text{NOM}, \text{ACC}, \text{GEN})$

- a. [source] characterises INS
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(27) NOM α
 ACC β
 GEN α

- (28) a. $\alpha \leftrightarrow$ [CASE] (NOM, ACC, GEN)
 b. $\beta \leftrightarrow$ [DEPENDENT] (ACC, GEN)

- a. [source] characterises INS
- b. [directional] characterises INS, DAT
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 GEN α

- (28) a. $\alpha \leftrightarrow [\text{CASE}] (\text{NOM}, \text{ACC}, \text{GEN})$
 b. $\beta \leftrightarrow [\text{DEPENDENT}] (\text{ACC}, \text{GEN})$

(29) NOM α
 ACC $\beta \ \alpha$
 GEN $\beta \ \alpha$

(30) nom—acc—gen—loc—dat—ins

(30) nom—acc—gen—loc—dat—ins

(31) higher numerals

- a. pět studentů
five.NOM/ACC students.GEN
'five students' (numeral requires genitive)
- b. pět-i student-ům
five-DAT students-DAT
'to five students' (but not always)

(30) nom—acc—gen—loc—dat—ins

(31) higher numerals

a. pět studentů
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(32) nom—acc | gen | loc—dat—ins

(33) nom—acc—gen—loc—dat—ins

(33) nom—acc—gen—loc—dat—ins

(34) nominalisations

- a. Stavěl dům
He.was.building house-ACC
'He was building a house.'
- b. stavba dom-u
building house-GEN
'the building of the house'

(33) nom—acc—gen—loc—dat—ins

(34) nominalisations

a. Stavěl dům
He.was.building house-ACC
'He was building a house.'

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'the building of the house'

(35) a. pomáhá babičc-e
he.is.helping grandma-DAR
'He helps his grandma.'

b. pomáhání babičc-e
helping grandma-DAT
'helping grandma'

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- ▶ the meaning contribution of individual features is still very tentative

Chung, Inkie. 2007. Suppletive negation in Korean and distributed morphology. *Lingua* 117. 95–148.