Jolijn Sonnaert
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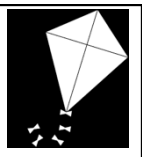


The Atoms of Person

Limitations on Concept Formation

The atoms of person (English):

	sg		
1	*I*	speaker	*i*
2	*you*	hearer	*u*
3	*he, she, it*	non-participant	*o*

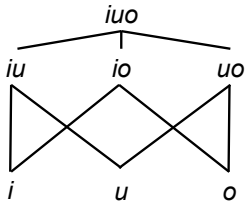
	pl		
1	*we*	speaker + associates	*ia*
2	*you*	hearer + associates	*ua*
3	*they*	non-participant + associates	*oa*

Problem: inclusive

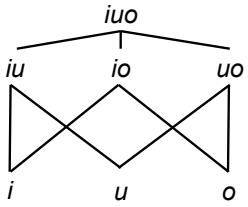
E.g. Tümpisa Shoshone (Dayley 1989)

	sg		pl	
INCL			ta-mmü	*iu(a)*
1	nü	*i*	nü-mmü	*ia*
2	ü	*u*	mü-mmü	*ua*
3	(demonstr)	*o*	(demonstr)	*oa*

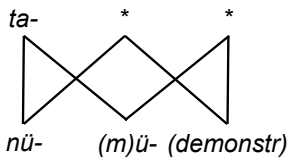
Question:



Claim:



E.g. Tümpisa Shoshone



	sg	pl
iu		ta-mmü
i	nü	nü-mmü
u	ü	mü-mmü
o	(Demonstratives)	

Claim

- Combinations of person atoms:
  - *i + u*
  - *i + o*
  - *u + o* = UNLEXICALISABLE
- Predicted by the Concept Formation Constraint in the kite framework

Outline

1. The Concept Formation Constraint
2. Mereologies
3. The Person Kite
4. The Unlexicalised Combinations
5. Conclusion
6. Questions

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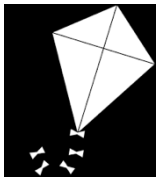
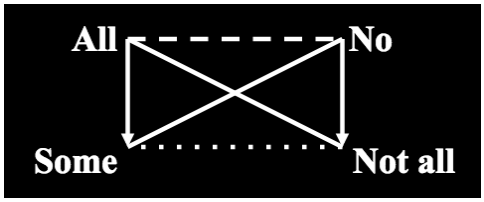


The Kite Framework

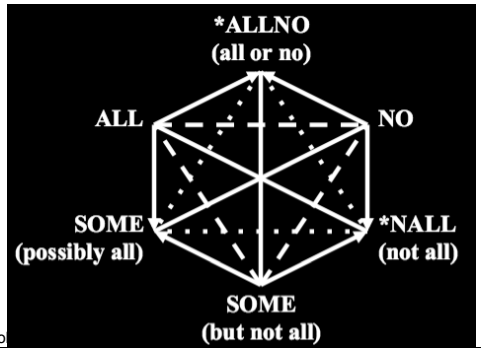


Ambiguity of "some"

Jacoby, Sesmat, Blanché 1952

- **Some, possibly all:**
  "If some students pass the test, I'll throw a party"
  → If all students pass the test, I'll throw a party"
- **Some but not all:**
  "Some people are allergic to chocolate"
  ≠
  "All people are allergic to chocolate"

The Kite Framework

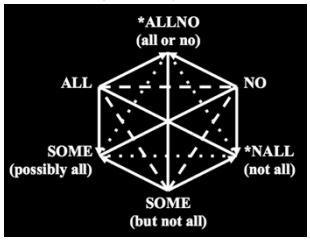


Jaco

The Kite Framework

Lexicalisation in certain closed lexical fields is restricted by a concept formation constraint (Jaspers 2012, Seuren & Jaspers 2014):

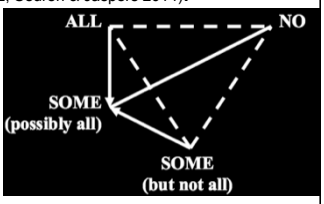
- Logical hexagon: two corners are never lexicalised



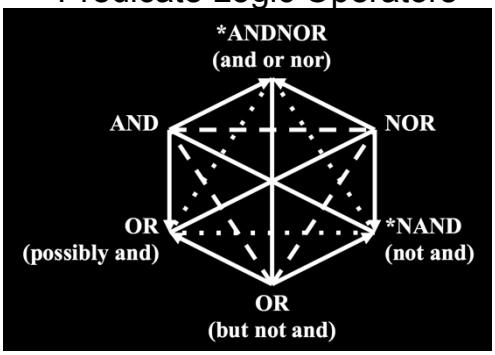
The Kite Framework

Lexicalisation in certain closed lexical fields is restricted by a concept formation constraint (Jaspers 2012, Seuren & Jaspers 2014):

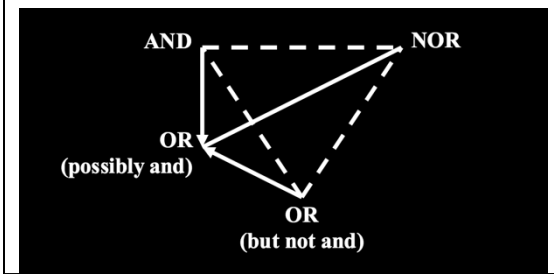
- Logical hexagon: two corners are never lexicalised
- Result: kite structure



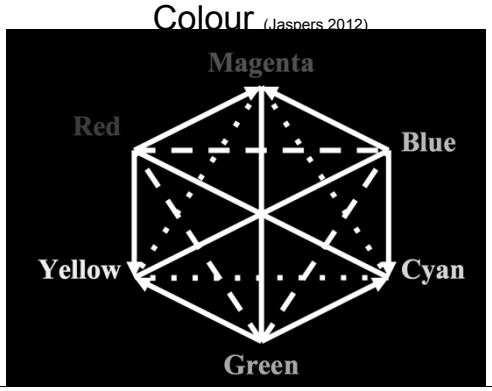
Predicate Logic Operators



Predicate Logic Operators



Colour (Jaspers 2012)



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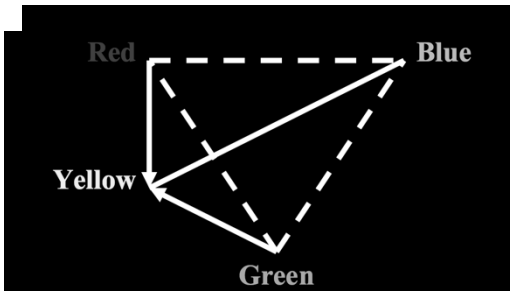
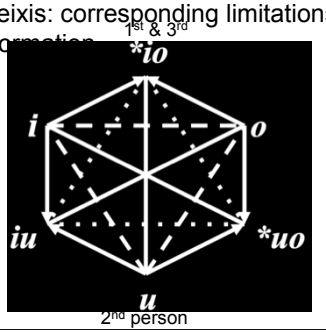
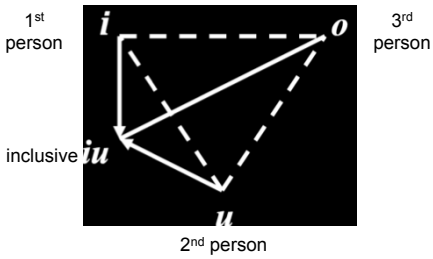


Claim: Person

Person deixis: corresponding limitations on concept formation



Person deixis: corresponding limitations on concept formation



Outline

1. The Concept Formation Constraint
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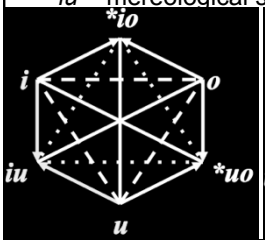
2. Mereology

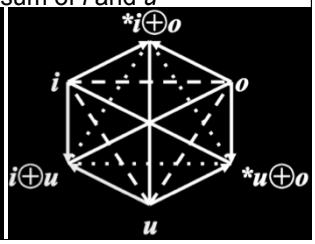
Mereology = theory of parthood relations

2. Mereology

Mereology = theory of parthood relations
(Jaspers 2012, Varzi 2016)

- *i* and *u* are proper parts of *iu*
- *iu* = mereological sum of *i* and *u*



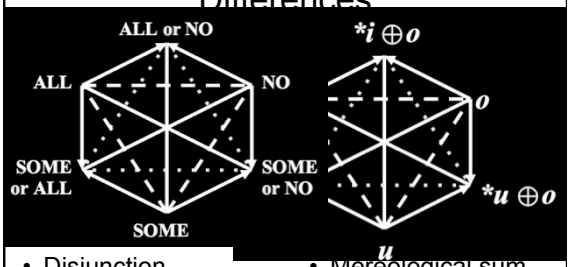


Differences

Logical systems
- Quantifiers
- Relations:
  - Entailment
  - Contradiction
  - Contrariety
- Disjunction

Mereologies
- Person
- Relations:
  - Proper parthood
  - Exhaustive complementarity
  - Non-exhaustive complementarity
- Mereological sum

Differences



- Disjunction
- Mereological sum

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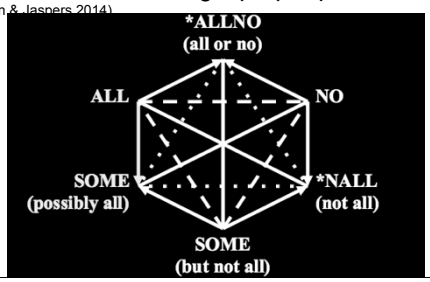
3. Deriving the Person Kite

Mereology:
Kite follows from a single proper parthood rel
(Seuren & Jaspers 2014)



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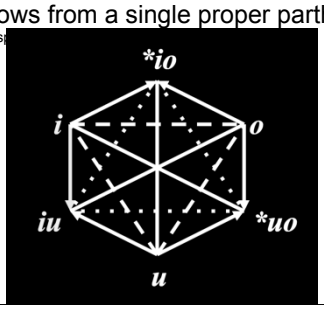
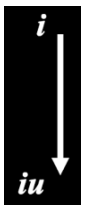
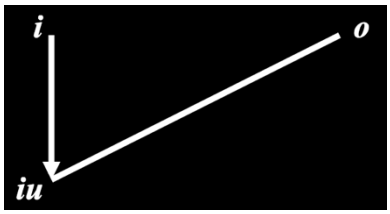


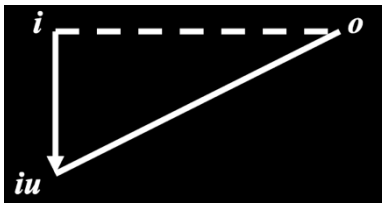
Proper parthood

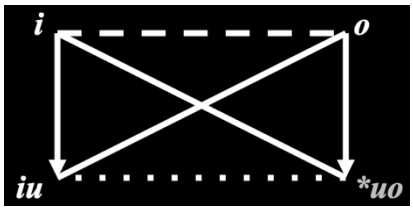


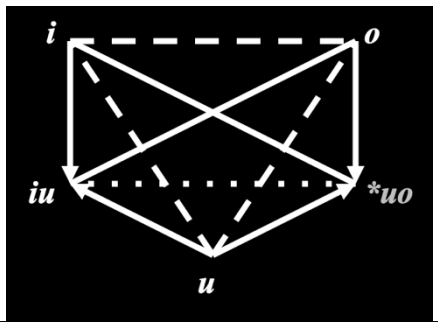
Complementarity

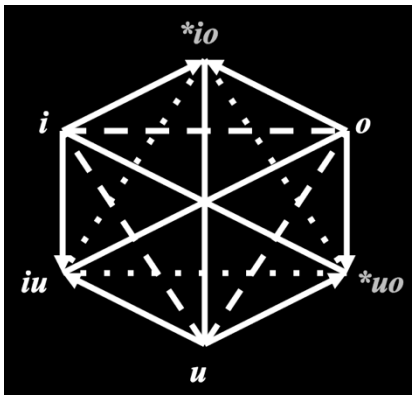


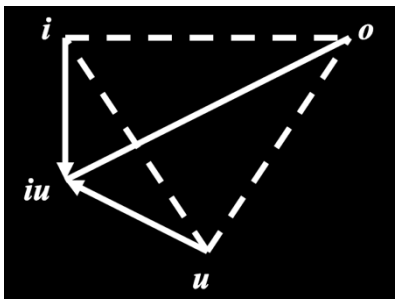
Non-exhaustive complementarity





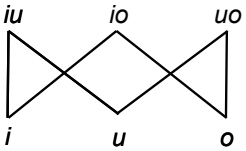






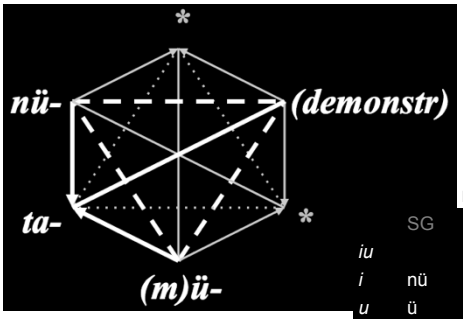
Summary

The kite: INCLUSIVE as only complex person:



Other combinations: predicted by kite to be unlexicalised

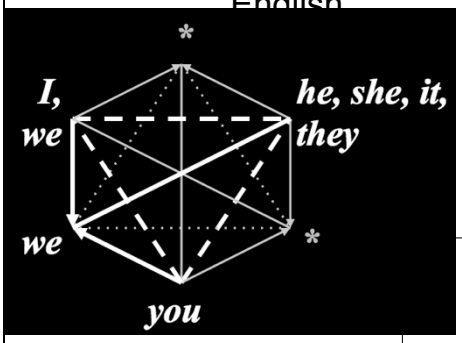
Tümpisa Shoshone



Dayley 1989

	SG	PL
iu		ta-mmü
i	nü	nü-mmü
u	ü	mü-mmü
o	(Demonstratives)	

English



		pl
		we
		we
		you
o	he, she, it	they

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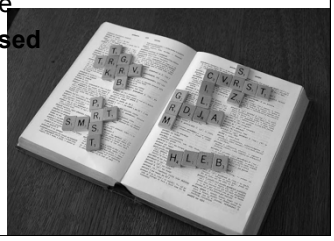
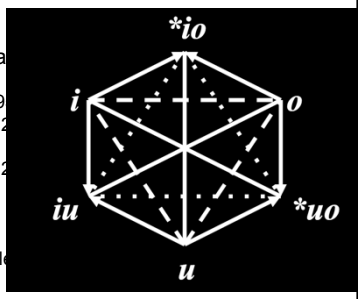


4. The Unlexicalised Combinations: **io* & **uo*

- Sample (39 lgs)
- Typological litera
  a.o.: (330 lgs)
  - Forchheimer 19
  - Harley & Ritter 2
  - Daniel 2005
  - Baerman et al. 2
  - Bobaljik 2008
  - Cysouw 2009
  - Harbour 2016
  - Ackema & Neel 2016
- Side note: Number



Number

The kite assumes: (see also Bobaljik 2008, Ackema & Neeleman to appear)

- 3 person = *o* (other)
  ≠
- plural = *a* (+ associates)

	SG		PL	
1	*I*	*i*	*we*	*ia*
2	*you*	*u*	*you*	*ua*
3	*he, she, it*	*o*	*they*	*oa*

Number

Unlike many other analyses (e.g. Cysouw 2009, Harbour 2016)

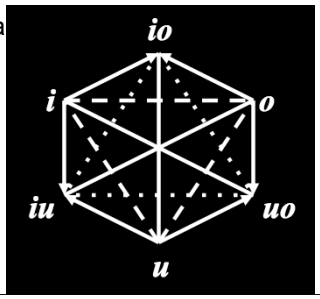
- 3 person = *o* (other)
  =
- plural = *o* (+ others)

	SG	Cysouw 2009	Harbour 2016	PL	Cysouw 2009	Harbour 2016
1	*I*	1	*i*	*we*	1+3	i_o
2	*you*	2	*u*	*you*	2+3	u_o
3	*he, she, it*	3	*o*	*they*	3+3	o_o

Number

IF pl = 3 :

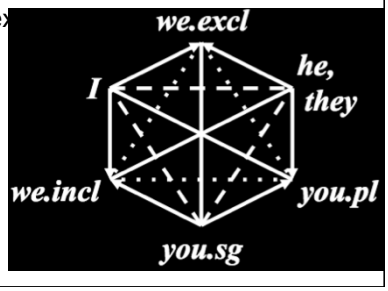
io & *uo* are lexica



Number

IF pl = 3 :

io & *uo* are lex



Number

- 3 person = *o*
- plural = *a*

DIFFERENT morphologically and semantically

Semantic differences

Reference: (Ackema & Neeleman to appear, pp. 70-73)

"[A]n *o* cannot be included in the reference of a … plural pronoun without first being turned into an associate in some way."

1. (Peter:) Do you know whether George Clooney likes good coffee?
   a) (Ad:) #Yes, we both drink Illy.
   b) (Ad:) Yes, he drinks Illy, just like me.
2. (Ad:) We both know good coffee when we see it.

Morphological differences

IF 3rd = pl THEN expectation:

Languages that share one morpheme for 3 & plural number affix

	sg	pl
iu		α-δ
i	β	β-δ
u	γ	γ-δ
o	δ	δ

Tümpisa Shoshone

iu		ta-mmü
i	nü	nü-mmü
u	ü	mü-mmü
o	(Demonstratives)	

Summary

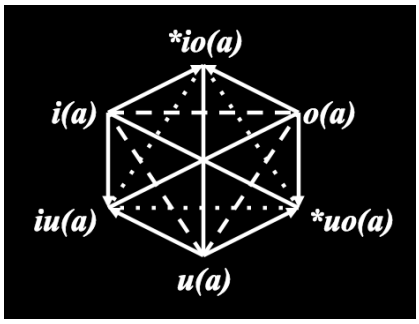
- Semantics: Reference
- Morphology: Different morphemes for 3rd person and plural

⇩

3rd person: *o*

≠

Plural: *a*



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Conclusion

- applied to person.
- Inclusive is the only complex person ➔ Mereological sum *iu*.
- Other combinations of person atoms are unlexicalisable
  - elements

For further research

- Other combinations:
  - *iuo*: generic pronouns
  - lack of atoms: expletive pronouns
- Number in the kite: Ackema & Neeleman to appear: *a* is person, not number ➔ extension to a 4-atom universe (Roelandt 2016)

Tha