

Ad hoc categories and syntactic juxtaposition

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In this paper I show that the creation of ad hoc categories based on proper names can involve a construction that I call syntactic juxtaposition. Moreover, I show that ad hoc categories are not only evoked by reference to a superordinate category but can also involve reference to a central member or exemplar.

INTRODUCTION: A lexeme is a conventionalized association between a form and a meaning and within cognitive approaches to language the meaning of a lexeme is a category (Taylor 2003). Lexemes that are names for stable categories are stored in the lexicon, however, recent work has turned to the strategies available for the linguistic expression of ad hoc categories (Mauri to appear). Ad hoc categories are novel categories that are created spontaneously to achieve goals relevant in the current situation (Barsalou 2010:86). Take, for example, a speaker describing a store as selling *candles and placemats and stuff*. As Mauri shows with reference to similar examples, the speaker's explicit mention of two exemplars (*candles, placemats*), and the implication that there are additional implicit members, together evokes a superordinate category like HOME ACCESSORIES which includes both the explicit exemplars and implicit members. In terms of its form, this example illustrates the general extender construction (Overstreet 1999) in which a connective followed by a proform (e.g. *and whatnot, and stuff*) is appended to a list. Other strategies identified by Mauri across languages involve greater "morphological intergration" with the named exemplar(s) such as echo-word formation (e.g. Persian *kitab-metab* 'books and stuff'), compounding, dedicated derivation markers (e.g. Japanese non-exhaustive connective *ya*), and inflection (e.g. plural marking).

PROBLEM: Mauri includes associative plurals as examples of ad hoc categories in that they create a category of people who all have a close relationship with named person in common. Associative plurals (APLs) typically target proper names and the addition of an affix, clitic, or word to the name yields the meaning '[name] and family/close friends'. In Persian, APLs are formed by the addition of the pronoun *ina* 'these' to a proper name. Of importance is the fact that this pronoun can follow not just one word, but names that are phrasal:

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|---|---|---|
| 1. [færhad] ina
Farhad 3PL
'Farhad and his
family/close friends' | 2. [pari xanom] ina
Pari lady 3PL
'Pari (formal) and her
family/close friends' | 3. [aqa-ye mohændes] ina
sir-EZ engineer 3PL
'Mr. Engineer (honorific)
and his family/close friends' |
|---|---|---|

This construction has several key differences from the general extender construction in Persian, which also involves *ina*, such as the fact that the clitic conjunction *-o* 'and' cannot appear. This raises the question of what the *syntax* of this construction is.

PROPOSAL: The proposal in this paper is that the associative construction in Persian is formed by juxtaposition of a determiner phrase (DP), the category of definite nominals, and the pronoun *ina*: $[[\]_{DP} ina]_{DPAFL}$. Juxtaposition is essentially compounding but where one or both members are phrases rather than heads. This analysis is extended to emphatic reflexives in English (*Trump himself, the President himself*). What so-called emphatic reflexives have in common with the APL construction is that they evoke an ad hoc category of people who are associated with the named person. How they differ is in referring to the named person only. This puts syntactic juxtaposition in line with compounding in general, which can serve to expand (e.g. echo-reduplication, see (4) below) or narrow (e.g. contrastive focus reduplication, see (5) below) the denotation of the words that make up the compound.

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| 4. a. <i>pustaka</i> 'book' | b. <i>pustaka-gistaka</i> 'books and related stuff' | Lidz (2001) |
| 5. a. <i>book</i> | b. <i>BOOK-book</i> (prototypical book) | Ghomeshi et al. (2004) |

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