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NOUN, VERB, and PARTICIPATION

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Vorbemerkungen zur sprachlichen Dimension der PARTIZIPATION

Hansjakob Seiler

Den "Beiträgen zur sprachlichen Dimension der PARTIZIPATION" liegt als Hypothese ein Modell zugrunde, das zur Zeit noch weiter ausgearbeitet wird und hier nur soweit in seinen Grundzügen vorgestellt werden soll, als zum Verständnis der vorliegenden Beiträge erforderlich ist.

Unter PARTIZIPATION verstehen wir die Relation eines PARTIZIPATUM zu seinen PARTIZIPANTEN. Diese Termini und Begriffe sind funktionell zu verstehen, d.h. sie umfassen und transzendieren herkömmliche Termini, die teils semantisch, teils morphosyntaktisch verstanden werden. So umfaßt PARTIZIPATION Kasusgrammatik, Aktantenstruktur, Valenz, Diathese, Kasus; PARTIZIPATUM ("das, woran teilgenommen wird") umfaßt Handlung, Vorgang, Zustand, Prädikat, Verb; PARTIZIPANTEN umfaßt Kasusrollen, Mitspieler, Argumente, Aktanten, Zirkumstanten. Die funktionellen Termini sollen also nicht die herkömmlichen ersetzen, sondern zum Ausdruck bringen, daß es jeweils etwas Übergeordnetes gibt, das sie in ihrer Disparatheit zusammenhält.

Wir gehen davon aus, daß ein Gedanke, ein "Sachverhalt", zunächst etwas Ganzheitliches ist, das konzipiert wird als Relation zwischen PARTIZIPATUM und PARTIZIPANTEN. Das Problem, das wir uns stellten - und das sich zugleich in jedem Sprachprozeß immer wieder von neuem stellt - lautet: Wie wird diese Relation sprachlich dargestellt?

Unsere Hypothese lautet, daß es sowohl innerhalb einer Einzelsprache als auch in der Sicht des Sprachvergleichs eine ganze Reihe von Optionen gibt, die zwar semantisch und morphosyntaktisch voneinander verschieden sind aber alle die Funktion haben, die genannte Relation sprachlich darzustellen. Des weiteren gehört zu unserer Hypothese, daß es bei dieser sprachlichen Darstellung zwei gegenläufige dynamische Zugkräfte gibt, die wir Indikativität und Prädikativität nennen. Indikativität bedeutet Verweis, Hinweis; Prädikativität bedeutet Aussage (ist also als Terminus weiter gefaßt als das syntaktische Prädikat). Die Relation der PARTIZIPATION wird also sprachlich erfaßt, indem sie entweder als gegeben dargestellt wird, so, daß darauf verwiesen werden kann; oder indem sie nicht als gegeben dargestellt, sondern vielmehr aufgebaut, etabliert wird. Den sprachlichen Daten entnehmen wir, daß es Strukturen gibt, in denen das Prinzip der Indikativität und andere Strukturen, in denen das Prinzip der Prädikativität dominiert. Wenn Indikativität dominiert, wird auf die Relation verwiesen als auf eine im PARTIZIPATUM selbst angelegte, welches dann eindeutig das Zentrum der

Relation ist; deshalb in unserem Schema (S.iii) die erläuternden Termini "Inhärenz, zentralisierend". Wenn Prädikativität dominiert, wird durch sukzessives Einführen von mehr Ausdrucksmitteln die Relation etabliert, und diese Mittel verlagern sich sukzessive vom PARTIZIPATUM hin zu den PARTIZIPANTEN: "dezentralisierend". Bei dominierender Inhärenz ist die Beziehung zwischen PARTIZIPATUM und PARTIZIPANTEN besonders eng und kann hier mit der Rektion verglichen werden; bei dominierender Etablierung ist sie loser, vergleichbar der Modifikation. Wir sprechen deshalb auch von der (geringeren oder größeren) Distanz der PARTIZIPANTEN zum PARTIZIPATUM.

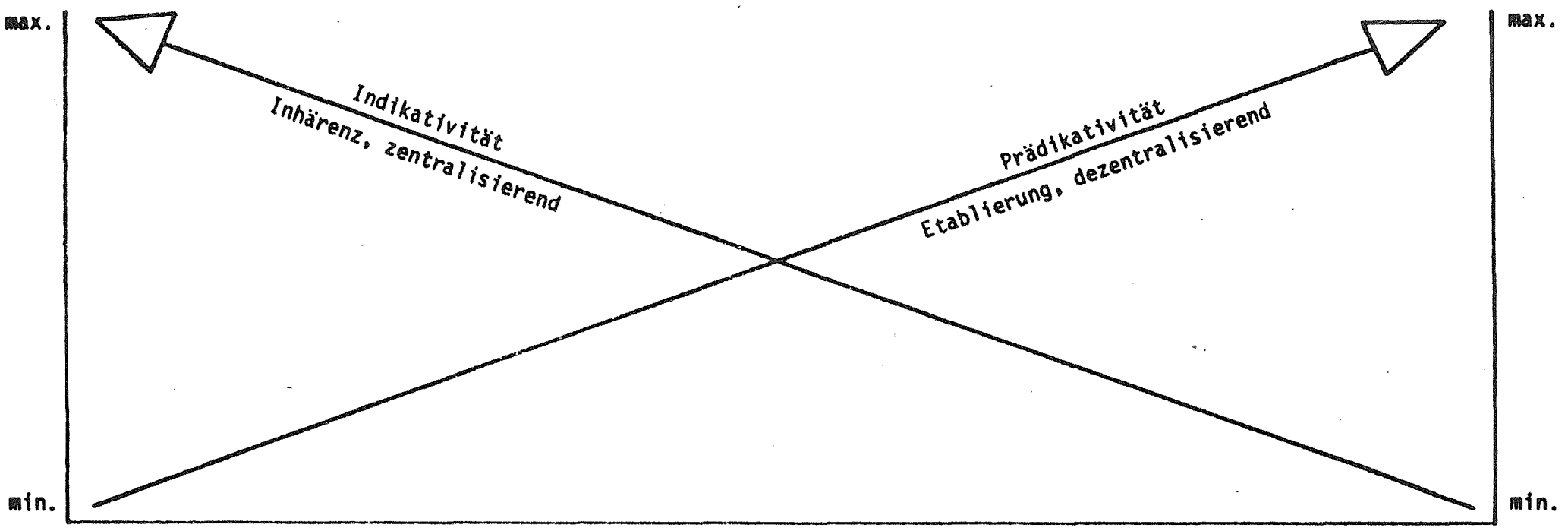
Zu unserer Hypothese gehört schließlich, daß alle in diesen Zusammenhang gehörigen Strukturen an beiden Prinzipien teilhaben, aber mit wechselnden Proportionen; und daß sich der gesamte Bereich in eine Ordnung bringen läßt durch zwei gegenläufige Gradienten: Abnahme von Indikativität korreliert mit Zunahme von Prädikativität und umgekehrt. Diese Vorstellung ist in dem zweidimensionalen Schema (S.iii) "geometrisiert". Wir nennen dies die Dimension der PARTIZIPATION. Es ist, wenn man so will, ein Programm, das einsehbar machen soll, wie "man" (der Linguist, der Sprecher) von einer Position zur nächst-benachbarten gelangt. Diese Positionen ihrerseits sind nicht als "Dinge" oder "Aggregate" zu denken, sondern als Vollzüge, als Programme, also Unterprogramme, die wiederum eine Reihe von Optionen umfassen. Techniken haben wir sie bisher genannt; vielleicht wird der Terminus entbehrlich und kann durch Sub-Dimensionen ersetzt werden. Die Abfolge der Techniken von links nach rechts ist grosso modo so zu verstehen, daß zunehmende Prädikativität zunehmende Komplexität (semantisch und/oder morphosyntaktisch) beinhaltet und dadurch, daß die vorangehende Technik durch die folgende impliziert wird, eine graduelle "Exfoliation" der Relation erfolgt. Zunahme der Indikativität hingegen beinhaltet zunehmende Abhängigkeit von bzw. Zusammenhänge mit pragmatischen Faktoren.

Dieses hypothetische Modell, das nun laufend der Überprüfung unterworfen wird - durch Untersuchungen über die Techniken und ihre Abfolge in Einzelsprachen und im Sprachvergleich - wurde von H. Seiler in der UNITYP-Projekt-sitzung vom 22.4.1983 erstmals vorgestellt. Im Wintersemester 1983/84 hielt er an der Universität Köln eine Vorlesung über "Valenz, Diathese, Transitivität, Kasus", von der ein Skript ausgearbeitet wurde. In dessen dritten Kapitel wurde die Dimension als Ganzes und der Zusammenhang der Techniken erstmals in einer gewissen Azuführlichkeit dargelegt. Ein auf der Jahrestagung der Schweizerischen Sprachwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Bern am 5.5.1984 gehaltenen Vortrag brachte einige Weiterentwicklungen, insbesondere das hier reproduzierte Schema. In den hier vorliegenden Beiträgen wird auf diese Stadien der Explizit-machung Bezug genommen

Die Dimension der PARTIZIPATION

Hansjakob Seiler. SSG, Bern, 5.5.1984

LOG. PRÄDIKATE N/V UNTERSCHEIDUNG VERB KLASSEN VALENZ ORIEN- TIERUNG TRANSI- TIVIERUNG KASUS- MARKIERUNG VERB- SERIALIS. KAUSATI- VIERUNG KOMPLEXE SÄTZE



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J. Broschart

NOUN, VERB, and PARTICIPATION

0. Introduction

The present article¹ is a crosslinguistic discussion of the distinction between a word class of nouns and a word class of verbs in the UNITYP framework of the dimension of PARTICIPATION (for a first overall sketch of PARTICIPATION see Seiler 1984). According to this framework the noun/verb-distinction (henceforth N/V-D) must be regarded as a gradable, continuous phenomenon ranging

¹I owe thanks to a great many people who have contributed to this article. I am most grateful to W. Drossard and Y. Ono for advice on Russian, to P.-O. Samuelsdorff and W. Premper for information on Hebrew, and to S. Schlögel and S. Çetin for checking the data on Turkish.

I profited very much from my correspondence with Professor Kuipers on Salish. I am particularly indebted to him for making it possible for me to contact L. Miranda as a native informant on Squamish. As for Tongan, I am extremely grateful to 'O. Helu and S. Puloka, who were my principal informants during my fieldwork in Tonga, and to the director of 'Atenisi Institute, Mr Futa Helu, for his support. My gratitude is also owing to P. Schösser and 'E. Said for their information on Tongan. Though my Tongan research was primarily concerned with syntactic relations - rather than lexical categories -, my work inevitably touched on matters regarding the interplay of syntax and the lexicon.

My fieldwork in Tonga was made possible by a grant from the Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst, and I owe thanks to Professor Seiler and Professor Groenke for their support of my application.

from the stage of a clear-cut distinction with no overlap to almost a non-distinction. Although there is no question that most, if not all, languages do differentiate between nouns and verbs, it is also quite apparent that the languages do so to a different degree and by different means, and that it only makes sense to use the terms "noun" and "verb" in different languages when one actually has a common functional denominator in mind (see below).

After a general introduction to the notion of a noun/verb-continuum (chapter 1) the reader will be presented with a survey of languages as diverse as German, English, Russian, Hebrew, Turkish, Salish, and Tongan (see chapter 2) in support of the continuum hypothesis. In chapter 3 the facts are coordinated in an overall pattern of regularities underlying the increase or decrease of categorical restrictions between the respective word classes. Also, chapter 3 raises the issue to what degree a N/V-D can be considered a matter of certain lexemes or a matter of the morphosyntactic environment of certain lexical units. Lastly, we shall seek for an answer to the question why it is not a necessary requirement for languages to draw a sharp distinction between a word class of nouns and a word class of verbs.

Though throughout this article it is emphasized, on the one hand, that no noun or verb of language A is the same as a noun or verb of language B and that there is no such thing as a universal N/V-D as a *structural* phenomenon, it is assumed, on the other hand, that there must be a universal basis of comparison for the different types of N/V-Ds, as it would be wrong to say that the intuitive use of the terms "noun" and "verb" by linguists is totally arbitrary. The common basis of comparison cannot be sought on the level of linguistic structures alone. In order to be able to call quite different linguistic forms "nouns" and "verbs", respectively, one must have an idea of what a prototypical noun or

a prototypical verb is used for, i.e. one must seek for a functional definition of noun and verb. According to UNITYP any distinction between units that may be called nouns and verbs can be regarded as a reflex of a conceptual distinction between a *PARTICIPANT* (P'ANT) and a *PARTICIPATUM* (P'ATUM).

A P'ANT can be defined as

- a human being, a concrete object, or at least a timestable phenomenon ("object" in short)
- which is involved in an action where it plays a certain role ("involved term" in short)
- and which is perceived as an entity which is given even before a particular action comes into being ("given term" in short)

A P'ATUM can be defined as

- an action, or at least a dynamic state ("action" in short)
- which as such is central to an event and involves participants ("involving term" in short)
- and which is perceived as something coming into being "on top of" the entities that are to be participants ("added term" in short)

Accordingly, from the point of view of linguistic expression, a prototype *N* is a basic lexeme which, when employed in the sen-

tence, *is easily compatible* with a morphosyntactic specification to the effect that it

- denotes an "object"
- which (i.e. the object) is involved in an action (an "involved term")
- and which is perceived as a "given term", existing prior to an action.

Simultaneously, such a *prototype N* is characterized by being *highly restricted* with regard to any morphological or syntactic specification characteristic of a V. and thus typically requires an increase of formal means (derivational or periphrastic) in order to be compatible with certain elements and functions normally associated with a verb.

A *prototype verb*, on the other hand, *is a basic lexeme which*, when employed in the sentence, *is easily compatible* with a morphosyntactic specification to the effect that it

- denotes an "action"
- which (i.e. the action) as such is central to the event and involves participants (an "involving term")
- and which is perceived as a phenomenon existing "on top of" the entities that are to function as participants in the action ("added term").

Simultaneously, such a *prototype V* will be characterized by being *highly restricted* with regard to any morphological or syntac-

tic specification characteristic of a N, and thus typically requires derivational or periphrastic means to be compatible with elements and functions normally associated with nouns.

Put in more specifically linguistic terms, N and V must be different from the point of view of the

- basic meaning of the lexemes (prototypically "object" vs "action")

and they must be opposite terms in two aspects of a sentential relation obtaining between the representatives of the lexemes, i.e. N and V must be different from the point of view of the

- semantics of the sentential relation ("involved term" vs "involving term" (consider, for instance, the binding of nominal "arguments" by relational verbal "predicates", as a structural correlate of the sentential semantics (see p. 24)))

and from the point of view of the

- pragmatics of the sentential relation ("given term" vs "added term" (consider the topic / comment structure of sentences)).

Thus there is a specific linguistic content conveyed by linguistic structures which is ultimately in an intimate relationship with a conceptual content.

In all languages where classes of words differ in at least some of the respective parameters we find a tendency to distinguish between Ns and Vs, and it will be the "Ns" which can be best employed in a P'ANT-expression, and it will be the "Vs" which can

be best employed in a P'ATUM-expression. The highest degree of "iconicity" (see Hopper/Thompson in Haiman (ed) 1985) between P'ANT/P'ATUM and N/V is reached where the conceptualization of an event as a relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM corresponds to a sentential representation of the event as essentially a relation between a noun and a verb. At such a prototype stage the sentence either consists of nothing but a N and a V, or the phrasal and sentential environment can be predicted on the basis of the N and V. Otherwise much of the information about the P'ANT- or P'ATUM-status of the content word must be inferred from the non-automatic phrasal and sentential context. In some languages the differences between the language-specific "Ns" and "Vs" may be so few and the "Ns" and "Vs" so much removed from a prototype N or V described above that it will be more adequate for the language concerned to consider the "Ns" and "Vs" slightly differentiated members of one word class rather than members of two separate word classes.

As for the three aspects discussed above, it is important to note that neither the problem of N/V, nor the problem of P'ANT/P'ATUM can be reduced to any one of the three aspects, although the aspects are closely intertwined. Consider, for instance, that the most basic meaning of the lexemes ("object"/"action") does not introduce the notion of involvedness and role carrier with regard to the noun, and thus does not account for some very important features of a noun in a sentence (preposition phrases, for instance, contain and define a noun which then is often associated with a P'ANT-role). Conversely, the reduction of a N to an involved term neglects the fact that a noun such as boy in the lexicon does not automatically denote an involved term; in addition to that no language will completely prohibit the use of nouns in predicative constructions, where a noun can hardly be considered an involved term equivalent to a P'ANT-expression:

cf is a boy. Apart from that, involving terms are not limited to a VP: cf the man's beating of the dog (here beating is an involving term inside a NP). In addition to that, words which semantically involve participants do not even have to have a verbal counterpart: cf event (here involvedness must be established: the event involving A,B, and C). Finally, the reduction of N and V to something like topic/comment ("given term" / "added term") leaves most phenomena concerning involvedness/involvingness (e.g. verbal valency) unexplained.

Therefore, P'ANT and P'ATUM as well as N and V pertain to all three aspects : of all phenomena it will be at least objects which can take part (be P'ANTs) in actions, P'ANTs are involved in P'ATA, and the objects that are to be P'ANTs in a particular P'ATUM exist prior to the P'ATUM; it will be Ns which correspond most closely to P'ANT expressions, and it will be Vs which correspond most closely to P'ATUM expressions in these respects.

As a basis of comparison for the different degrees of noun/verb-distinctions in the languages under discussion we shall keep the prototype definition of Ns and Vs in mind (esp. p. 5) and search for morphosyntactic evidence in support of a distinction according to the prototype parameters, which are ultimately related to the conceptual distinction between P'ANT and P'ATUM. That in fact the prototype definition along with its conceptual counterpart turns out to be a useful tool in the search and the explanation for certain morphosyntactic restrictions is regarded as proof for the validity of the underlying assumption that any degree of a N/V-D relates to the conceptual distinction between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM. (In other words, the validity of the P'ANT/P'ATUM-hypothesis does not depend on there being a universal kind of a N/V-D (UNITYP does not even presuppose that every language *must* have a

N/V-D (see Seiler 1984:86f)), but what must be true is that every kind of a N/V-D can be successfully explained and accommodated by the functional parameters).

At a stage where N and V are at the verge of collapse they are most removed from the prototype definition, and their interpretation as "N" or "V", respectively, depends almost entirely on the sentential context, which adds information to the lexemes employed. In the latter case we can no longer speak of a lexically inherent word class distinction between Ns and Vs, but at best of a syntagmatically established N/V-distinction inside certain types of phrases. The notions of inherence and establishing are all-pervasive on the dimension of PARTICIPATION. What is inherent does not necessarily require any overt marking, and if overt marking is present, it is fixed and automatic. What is not inherent must be established (either morphologically or syntactically), and in this case overt marking is necessary and non-automatic (see ch. 3). The ultimate stage of an established N/V-D is reached where hardly any information about N or V is stored in the lexemes and it is syntax which determines the status of the words in question. Generally speaking, the entire dimension of PARTICIPATION can be regarded as a scale of an increase in syntactic information: to what is given (in the lexical units) we add more and more of what has to be constructed (ultimately by complex sentences). Complex sentences represent the highest degree of explicitness (and at the same time established information), inasmuch as the hearer knows from the structural evidence that the relation of PARTICIPATION is conceived of as a complex one, and it is complex sentences which even allow us to make predications about PARTICIPATION (e.g. X caused Y to die represents a complex event, and X is explicitly attributed the P'ANT-role of a CAUSOR; X killed Y, on the other hand, with a simple construction, does not explicitly tell us that we are dealing with a complex event:

any complexity of which the hearer may be aware is due to inherent, i.e. implicit features of the word kill).

While complex sentences are always a matter of syntax, the N/V-D is - at least in a great many languages - a matter of the lexicon. Because of the comparatively restricted amount of information contained in a lexeme as opposed to the possibilities open to sentential constructions, the distinction between nouns and verbs conveys relatively little information about PARTICIPATION. All we know from N vs V (even in a language with a prototype N/V-D) is that the category V, for instance, represents a P'ATUM; we do not yet know what kind of P'ATUM we are dealing with (e.g. wait and kill are both verbs). The kinds of P'ATA will be specified by the subsequent techniques such as verb classes and valency distinctions, followed by yet more specific techniques giving overt expression to particular aspects of the relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM: consider the techniques of transitivization and role-ascription by case marking etc.

The only technique on the left of the N/V-D, so-called "logical predication" (see Seiler 1984: 83ff), is the least explicit technique: it does not signal anything with regard to PARTICIPATION, though it is not excluded that a certain event is represented by such a construction (usually N-N-constructions).

In all, with the exception of "logical predication", the N/V-D can be called the first and least explicit of all techniques on the dimension of PARTICIPATION, and of all techniques it typically requires the least formal effort to achieve its function; nevertheless, in a crosslinguistic perspective we still observe a good deal of variation between the conflicting principles of the lexical inherence of a N/V-D and the principles of establishing an N/V-D in the sentence.

1. The noun/verb-distinction and the noun/verb-continuum

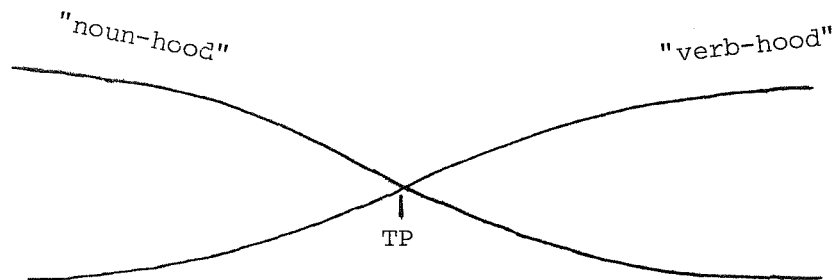
At first sight the notion of a N/V-continuum seems to contradict the notion of a N/V-distinction. Yet any kind of a distinction implies that many features of the items distinguished are the same (e.g. both Ns and Vs are content words descriptive of something). On the other hand, distinctions must sometimes be overcome, as for instance, when a speaker wants to talk about an action rather than an object (e.g. the leaving). This desire to overcome a distinction will in many languages result in a number of intermediate word forms between N and V (e.g. participles, infinitives, gerunds, etc), while other languages will allow underived "Ns" and "Vs" to cross functional boundaries more freely than in languages with a strict N/V-D. Finally, the formal criteria differentiating between Ns and Vs may be many in some languages, and few in others.

In his monograph on the N/V-D H. Walter (1981:161) emphasizes three points which are relevant to our concept of a N/V-continuum:

- a) A N/V-D has to be treated as a multifactor phenomenon. There is not just one criterion which enables us to determine what is a noun and what is a verb in a particular language, and the number of criteria may vary from language to language.
- b) "Noun-hood" and "verb-hood" are not properties tied to two categories. Rather, what we find are converse principles, so that a decrease in "verb-hood" will automatically be accompanied by an increase in "noun-hood" and vice versa on a scale

between N- and V-prototypes. This is represented in the diagram below:

(1)



(Participles, for instance, may be said to *share* both verbal and nominal characteristics, hence their linguistic name. They would have to be placed somewhere close to the "turning point" (TP), where nominal and verbal characteristics are about equally distributed. Apart from an intralinguistic interpretation of this diagram we can presume, too, that languages with a weak N/V-D will possess Ns and Vs whose behaviour will be somewhat (but never completely) reminiscent of adjectives or participles or gerunds, respectively, in languages with a stricter N/V-D).

- c) If a language were to exhibit a non-distinction between N and V, the resulting unified wordclass could not be just nouns or just verbs as has often been claimed, for instance, with respect to Eskimo or Altaic languages². Rather, a total indistinction would make *both* terms, i.e. "noun" and "verb", meaningless (at least as far as lexical categories associated with a particular behaviour are concerned).

²For a thorough discussion see Walter (1981:5ff).

From the above follows, on the one hand, that Ns and Vs are not the same in every language, and a language which only weakly differentiates between the respective word classes is bound to have a different idea of nouns and verbs than a language which sharply distinguishes between the word classes. Further, we cannot expect to find the same morphosyntactic environment for Ns and Vs in all languages; even if it was possible to assume a priori that person agreement affixes are a good test frame for verbs, not all languages have person agreement on their verbs, and if they have, the person affixation may serve a slightly different purpose than in other languages. Therefore, to a certain degree the question of what is a noun and what is a verb in a particular language is a matter of language-specific criteria. On the other hand, though, we intuitively feel that the "nouns" and the "verbs" in the languages of the world do have something in common. This common denominator is necessary for any successful crosslinguistic comparison. As we suggested in the introduction to this article, the common basis of comparison will be the three aspects of the prototype definition of N and V as linguistic reflexes of a conceptual P'ANT/P'ATUM-distinction (see esp. page 5, but also what has been said on page 1ff). Where the N/V-D is strict, there must be a great number of formal criteria which differentiate between N and V, and all of them must relate to P'ANT vs P'ATUM; where the N/V-D is weak, the "Ns" and "Vs" will have little to do with P'ANT and P'ATUM, but regardless of how little they have to do with P'ANT and P'ATUM, the few criteria differentiating between "N" and "V" will still be connected with P'ANT and P'ATUM.

The following chapters contain a survey of the N/V-D in the languages of German, English, Russian, Hebrew, Turkish, Salish, and Tongan, and for each language we shall show how the morphological and syntactic criteria distinguishing N from V ultimately relate to P'ANT and P'ATUM.

2. Degrees of the noun/verb-distinction

2.1. The noun/verb-distinction in German

German Ns and Vs are close approximations of the established prototypes. They are clearly differentiated in all three aspects of the P'ANT/P'ATUM-distinction: the lexemes mean different entities (basic semantics of the lexemes: "object" vs "action"), they are opposite terms with regard to involvement in a relation of PARTICIPATION (semantics in the sentential relation: "involved term" vs "involving term"), and they are subject to a different pragmatic perspective (pragmatics of the sentential relation: "given term" vs "added term").

Let us first consider the parameter "object" vs "action":

This essential differentiation is supported, for one thing, by the fact that basic lexemes undergo

- derivations -

when the prototype N=object / V=action is not fulfilled.

(The passages set off by "- -" contain keywords which reoccur in the surveys (22), (35), and (40) as test parameters for the existence of a N/V-D).

In German we can distinguish between two types of derivation:

- lexical derivation -

and

- grammatical derivation -

of which the latter is more regular and even more indicative of a N/V-D than the former.

As far as lexical derivation is concerned, most words which grammatically behave like Ns but do not mean objects are internally more complex than ordinary nouns. Consider that a typical noun such as

(2) Mann
GER man(NOM.SG.M)
'man'

consists of a nominal stem and a nominal ending, while an abstract noun such as

(3) Zerstör-ung
GER destroy-NL(NOM.SG.F)
'destruction'

consists of a verbal stem + nominalizer + nominal ending.

Only a handful of non-prototype nouns such as

(4) Ruf
GER call(NOM.SG.M)
'(a) call'

consisting of a verbal stem 'call-' and a nominal paradigm 'NOM.SG.M' are grammatically not more marked than either prototype Ns such as Mann (s. (2)) or Vs such as

(5) ruf-en
GER call-INF
'(to) call'

consisting of a V-stem 'call-' and a V-paradigm 'INF'. (Markedness is based on the grammatical analysis regardless of whether a particular ending is overt or covert: hence Ruf (stem 'call-' + nominal paradigm (covert) NOM.SG.M) is equally marked as ruf-en (stem 'call' + verbal paradigm (overt) INF)).

Although Ruf and rufen are grammatically equally complex and they contain the same stem. Ns and Vs are still differentiated as lexemes by strictly opposite, ever-present

- paradigms -

which cannot be detached from the lexemes. In German it would be wrong to assign lexemic status to the stem ruf- 'call-' and treat the opposite paradigms as alternative inflections of the same word, since undifferentiated stems are far too infrequent to counterbalance the regularity of the paradigmatic differentiation, which extends to cases where N and V are additionally differentiated by their stems.

It is also at least the paradigm which distinguishes an ordinary, apparently underived object-expression such as

(6) Nagel
GER nail(NOM.SG.M)
'(a) nail'

from its verbal counterpart

(7) nagel-n
GER nail-INF

'(to) nail'. but frequently we find additional differentiations such as in

(8) Hammer
 hammer (NOM. SG. M)
 '(a) hammer'

vs (9) h/ä/mmer-n
 GER hammer/UMLAUT (VL) /-INF
 '(to) hammer'

(Only in the latter case is it absolutely certain that the verb is less basic than the noun in the pair tool:activity).

Similarly, many underived action expressions such as back-en

(10) back-en
 GER bake-INF
 '(to) bake'

require a stem-derivation apart from a change of paradigm when they are used as object expressions: cf

(11) B/ä/ck-er
 GER bake/UMLAUT (NL) -NL. N. AG (NOM. SG. M)
 'baker'

Yet sometimes the difference in equivalent pairs such as

(12) Koch
 GER cook (NOM. SG. M)
 '(a) cook'

vs (13) koch-en
 GER cook-INF
 '(to) cook'

is merely a matter of a change of paradigm.

The tendencies of lexical derivation are far more regularly observed in grammatical derivation, though these processes are only open to the verbs of German:

one such completely regular process with which any V can be turned into an object expression is constituted by

such as

(14) (der) Back-end-e
 GER (DET) bake-PART/NL-NOM.SG.M
 lit. 'the baking(-one)'.

The difference to der Bäcker 'the baker' is the fact that der Backende refers to someone who is only momentarily, not habitually, involved in an activity. That is, the stem back- does not denote a *defining* property of a thing, but merely qualifies as a momentary property.

The participial deverbal actant expressions are always more marked than ordinary Ns and Vs.

There is hardly any semantic difference between the above participial nouns and periphrastic constructions such as the

- relative clause construction -

(15) der, der backt
 GER DEM REL.PR bakes
 'the (one) who bakes'.

The periphrastic construction, too, is highly regular and always more marked than an ordinary N(P). The relative clause construction, however, leaves the meaning of the V intact (unlike the participial derivation), and but embeds the V in a phrase of untypical meaning. Note, incidentally, that there is no equivalent periphrastic construction for the noun to the effect that the entire construction represents an action: a periphrastic nominal predicate such as ist ein Hammer ('is a hammer') still does not carry the meaning 'action', unlike hämmert ('hammers'(V)). That a German noun is essentially an "object word" is reflected in the categories of

- number -

(it is concrete objects which are individualized and countable)
and

- inherent gender -

(gender is related to classes of independent phenomena: since actions always cooccur with things, the ordinary V does not possess inherent gender: even if a verb is made to look like an independent phenomenon (e.g. by an action nominalization such as

(16) (das) Back-en
GER (DET) bake-INF/NL(NOM.SG.N)
'(the (act of)) baking')

gender is not as differentiated as in connection with things: action nouns are always neuter, except when the concept is made even more concrete by lexical, rather than grammatical nominalization: cf

(17) (die) Zerstör-ung (lexical nominalization)
GER (DET.F) destroy-NL(NOM.SG.F)
'(the) destruction'

vs (18) (das) Zerstör-en (gramm. nominaliz.)
GER (DET.N) destroy-NL/INF(NOM.SG.N)
'(the (act of)) destroying').

Since Ns represent phenomena which can be pointed out, they can be combined with

- determiners -

while actions are less likely to be pointed out and therefore have to be derived to become an action noun.

By way of contrast, the notion of an action, which refers to

phenomena existing in a limited period of time, leads to compatibility of Vs - not Ns - with

- tense -

and, for similar reasons, with

- mood -.

In addition to that, verbs allow

- imperatives -

far more readily than nouns, since actions can be controlled by participants (e.g. geh! ('go!')); nominal imperatives are at best possible with the help of a copula: sei ein Mann! ('be a man!').

Further, Vs as action words tend to imply a participant. This characteristic is apparent in

- verbal valency -

and

- verbal person agreement -

(since the latter two features figure most prominently under the second aspect "involved term" vs "involving term", see below for details).

Note that certain "odd" nouns which are synchronically underived but do not mean "objects" in the strict sense of the word (e.g. Katastrophe ('catastrophe')) semantically imply participants, but being nouns they require a great deal of effort to be combined

with P'ANT-expressions: cf. die A,B,C betreffende Katastrophe
('the catastrophe involving/hitting A,B,C).

zu die There are also a number of semantically odd verbs such as schlafen '(to) sleep' which denote a state rather than an action, but which must be regarded as verbs on the basis of their grammatical behaviour.

There is one last indicator of a semantic difference between Ns and Vs:

From Vs we can create

- verbal nouns -

meaning actions such as

(19) (das) Geh-en (von X)
GER (DET.N) go-NL/INF(NOM.SG.N) (of X)
'(the) going (of X)'

Why should it? The most similar process leading to a denominal noun does not lead to an action expression, though it is comparable to the verbal noun inasmuch as a denominal abstract noun just like the verbal noun denotes a concept of a property in the widest sense of the word:

(20) (die) M/ä/nn-lich-keit (von X)
GER (DET.F) man/UML(DERIV)/-ADVZ-ABSTR.NL (of X)
(NOM.SG.F)
'(the) manliness (of X)'

or (21) (quite odd) ?(die) Mann-heit (von X)
GER (DET.F) man-ABSTR.NL (of X)
(NOM.SG.F)
'(the) manhood (of X)'

Now compare (20) and (21) with (19): in all cases von X ('of X') marks a kind of possessive relation between a possessor and a

possessed item, i.e. a property. Only the deverbal noun, though, denotes a property of participation or involvement in an action; the denominal noun denotes a property of essence (something characteristic and essential of any object 'Mann' ('man')). There are many other differences between deverbal action nouns such as Gehen (s. (19)) and denominal abstract nouns such as Männ-lich-keit (s. (20)) 'manliness' or Mann-heit (see (21)) 'manhood'. First, the denominal derivation usually involves an intermediate adjectivization (see Männ-lich-keit), while the immediate derivation of a property expression such as Mannheit from a nominal stem Mann- is just on the borderline of grammaticality in German, though it is possible. Third, the stem geh- does not convey a very different meaning from the verbo-nominal Geh-en. Even geh- can be regarded as a characterizing feature or "property" of someone who goes, since any action automatically "belongs" to the general sphere of an object. With the nominalization this action-feature merely becomes a referential concept. In contrast to this it is the abstract suffix -heit in Mann-heit which is largely responsible for the meaning 'property', so that Mannheit tends to be analyzed as a property concept represented by -heit of a general concept of an object 'man' represented by the stem Mann-. Only very remotely is it possible to conceive of Mannheit as a property +man represented by the stem Mann- made referential by the suffix -heit (the reading 'property +N' for nominal stems is more natural in constructions such as Holz-kugel (wood-ball(NOM.SG.F)) 'wood(en) ball' denoting a ball characterized by the feature or property + wood).

Generally speaking, German denominal abstract nouns such as Mann-heit have very little in common with deverbal action nouns such as Gehen: there are languages, however, where the respective derivational processes are formally identical (e.g. Salish), and this is why I discussed this borderline phenomenon at some length.

For our parameter object vs action the above is only relevant inasmuch as the incompatibility of the noun with the meaning 'action' leads to the derivation of action nouns from verbs.

In all, the morphosyntactic reflexes pertaining to the parameter "different entities: object (P'ANT) vs action (P'ATUM)" can be summarized as follows:

(22)	"object" N	"action" V	
underived N immediately compatible with:			underived V immediately compatible with:
number	+	-	
gender	+	-	
determiners	+	-	
	-	+	tense
	-	+	mood
	-	+	imperative
	-	+	valency
	-	+	person agreement
incompatibility with the meaning "action" leads to:	change		incompatibility with the meaning "object" leads to:
change to V-parad.	+	-	
	-	+	change to N-paradigm
lexical V-deriv.	+	-	
	-	+	lexical and grammatical actant noun derivation (e.g. part. noun deriv.)
	-	+	
	-	+	periphrastic constr. (e.g. embedding of Vs in relative clauses)
nouns meaning "action" are deverbal	most		

The second requirement that N and V as representatives of P'ANTs and P'ATA be different terms in a sentential relation containing an "involved term" and an "involving term" leads to the immediate compatibility of Ns with

- case -

and

- prepositions -

as both case and prepositions may contain information about the linking of an N to a V and specify the role of the N-P'ANT. Vs would have to be derived to be compatible with case and prepositions: cf

(23) zum Back-en
 GER to:the(N) bake-NL/INF(NOM.SG.N)
 lit.'to the baking'

Again we have a syntactic option in addition to the morphological derivation, namely a

- complement clause construction -

when we want to subject a V to another V. Instead of saying

(24) das Geh-en von Hans betrübt mich
 GER DET.N go-NL/INF of Hans saddens me
 lit.'the going/leaving of Hans saddens me'

we can say

(25) es betrübt mich. daß Hans geht
 GER it saddens me that Hans goes

In contrast to the above, the V-element is underived and not embedded in a larger syntactic construction when it fulfils the role of an "involving term", i.e. when it relates nominal P'ANT-phrases to itself. The V is able to do so because of its

- valency -

or "relationality" which opens slots that must be filled by NPs (schlagen '(to) beat' must normally occur with two arguments/ P'ANT-phrases, the Agent-phrase and the Patient-phrase). Even when the valency is grammatically saturated, and the NPs must be related to the verb by relators such as prepositions, the V still preselects the NPs which may potentially be attached to it: e.g. schlagen '(to) beat' allows, but does not require, an INSTR-phrase together with a preposition:

(26) A schägt P mit I
 GER A beats P with I.

We can enhance relationality by making remote NPs more central to the action by using

- transitivity -

on the V. Consider, for instance,

(27) X fährt auf der Straße
 GER X(NOM) drives on the(DAT.SG.F) road(DAT.SG.F)
 'X is driving on the road'

vs (28) X be-fährt die Straße
 GER X(NOM) TR-drives the(ACC.SG.F) road(ACC.SG.F)
 lit. 'X on-drives the road'

Note, incidentally, that the combination of a nominal stem with a transitivity always yields a V: cf.

(29) be-mann-en
 GER TR-man-INF
 '(to) man (a boat)'

Another overt sign of Vs implying P'ANTs is

- person/number agreement -

with the prime participant; cf

(30) ich geh-e
 GER I go-1.SG
 'I go'

Nouns do not occur with the verbal characteristics mentioned. Even if a semantically odd N such as Katastrophe (catastrophe (NOM.SG.F)) 'catastrophe' or the derived noun Ereignis (happen-NL(NOM.SG.N) 'event' semantically imply P'ANTs, there is no sign of grammaticalized relationality on these nouns: one would have to establish involvement by saying das Ereignis, an dem X und Y beteiligt waren ('the event X and Y took part in').

There are other "odd" nouns such as derived action nouns (rather than event nouns), which allow a P'ANT in a genitival phrase: cf

(31) die Zerstör-ung der Stadt
 GER DET.NOM.SG.F destroy-NL(NOM.SG.F) DET.GEN.SG.F town(GEN.SG.F)
 'the destruction of the town'

but such constructions do not complete a sentence. The P'ANT-encoding in action noun phrases is reminiscent of a possessor encoding:

cf (32) der Kopf des Mann-es
 GER DET.NOM.SG.M head(NOM.SG.M) DET.GEN.SG.M man-GEN.SG.M
 'the man's head'

but possession is different from the actant noun constructions inasmuch as only the latter have an immediate verbal counterpart:

(33) X zerstörte die Stadt/ die Stadt wurde zerstört
 GER X destroyed the town / the town was(became) destroyed

Still, there is a certain trait of relationality in possessed nouns, too, though it is not as developed as verbal valency. Thus, a word such as Kopf 'head' typically involves a POSSESSOR-

NP. However, in order to make a noun valent to the effect that it completes a sentence together with another NP one would have to embed the N in a (verbal)

- copula construction -

such as

(34) ist ein Mann
 GER is a(NOM.SG.M) man(NOM.SG.M)
 'is a man'

It is the (verbal) copula, not the noun, which is responsible for the relationality of the predicate phrase.

In all, the morphosyntactic reflexes pertaining to the parameter "different entities in a relation containing an involved term and an involving term" can be summarized as follows:

(35)	"involved term" N	"involving term" V	
underived N immediately compatible with:			underived V immediately compatible with:
case	+	-	
prepositions	+	-	
	(-)	+	valency
	-	+	person/number agreem.
	-	+	transitivizers
incompatibility with the function "involving term" leads to:			incompatibility of V with the function "involved term" leads to:
embedding of N in copula constructions	+	-	
	-	+	action nominalization

The third requirement that N as a P'ANT expression be a "given term", whereas V as a P'ATUM expression be considered an "added term" on the basis of a natural perspective regarding the observation of events is fulfilled by German Ns and Vs inasmuch as Ns typically occur in the pragmatic function of a

- subject/topic -

and thereby trigger

- subject agreement -

on the verb; the verb thus becomes the natural

- comment -.

Processes such as

- coreferential deletion -

and

- pronominal anaphora -

relate to NPs or at best sentences, hardly to verbs. As we can refer to N(P)s, Ns are also compatible with

- determiners -

of all kinds (articles, possessives, adjectives, relative clauses, etc).

Also

- gender -

has a pragmatic component, since it contributes to the reidentification of a noun by the anaphoric elements er/sie/es (3.SG M/F/N) suited to agree with the respective gender of the noun given.

Verbs, on the other hand, are inherently

- predicative comments -

which means that they

- carry agreement -

and thus are "about" a subject:

e.g. (36) er send-et
 GER he send-s

Otherwise they must be "nominalized" in order not to be about a subject. A case in point is the

- infinitive form -

(e.g. (37) geh-en
 GER go-INF
 '(to) go')

for the quotation of a verb, where the V is not supposed to predicate. Fully referential is the V-element as an

- action nominalization -

which requires an increase of derivational means (see (16-18)).

In order for the N-construction to be a comment, i.e. an "added term", the N must be embedded in a

- copula construction -

wherein it is the (verbal) copula which is responsible for the predicative function (s. (34)).

The fact that a V is generally an "added term" is also borne out by the observation that a V can easily be

- negated -

(e.g. (38) X geht nicht
 GER X goes NEG
 'X does not go')

as it is far more common to negate new information than old in-

formation. Consequently, negation hardly occurs together with nouns, and if so the negation has a special form and an idiosyncratic meaning: cf

(39) *Un-mensch*
 GER NEG-man(NOM.SG.M)
 lit. 'non-man', 'human monster'

In all, the morphosyntactic reflexes pertaining to the parameter "different entities underlying a pragmatic perspective with regard to a "given term" vs an "added term" can be summarized as follows:

(40)	"given term" N	"added term" V	
underived N compatible with:			underived V compatible with:
subject/topic function (thereby triggers agreement, co-referential deletion, anaphora, etc)	+	-	
determiners	-	+	predicate/comment function
capacity to trigger gender agreement	+	-	
	+	-	agreement with subject
	-	+	
	(-)	+	negation
incompatibility of N with the function "added term" leads to:	↙ change ↘		incompatibility of V with the function "giv.term" leads to:
copula constructions	+	-	
	-	+	action nominalization
	-	+	infinitive as non-predicate

The following discussions of other languages will on the whole not be as detailed; rather, the discussion will focus on interesting differences from the German type of a N/V-D.

2.2. Aspects of the noun/verb-distinction in English

For words like boy and send the situation is essentially the same as in German, inasmuch as these basic lexemes preselect their function as P'ANT or P'ATUM in a least complex sentence. Thus, boy will function as a N-P'ANT, and send will function as a V-P'ATUM in a sentence such as every Christmas, the boy sends his friend a parcel where no lexeme has been derived or embedded in a periphrastic construction. Here the only difference with German is that English lacks gender and morphological adverbial case on the Ns, but possesses a grammaticalized category of aspect in connection with the V (aspect has to do with a V/P'ATUM inasmuch as it provides time frames for a series of P'ATA and conveys information about the continuity of P'ATA, etc).

There are, however, a great many problematic words in English. The words man, cook, and move can all be placed in nominal slots (the man, the cook, the move) as well as in verbal slots (he manned (a boat), he cooked, he moved) without them causing ungrammaticality.

Does that mean that for those words there is no distinction between Ns and Vs?

For English I would reject this assumption. There would only be a non-distinction between N and V if the word which entered the respective opposite slot was in fact the same lexeme in a different reading. In order to consider X1 and X2 members of the same lexeme we would have to find conclusive evidence from the

rest of the grammar in support of such an idea. This would involve the criteria of semantic plausibility and grammatical/paradigmatic regularity. Of the words man, cook, and move it is least possible to see a semantic relationship between manN and manV(a boat). Even if we tried to find a common semantic denominator such as "anything related to something which is a man" (i.e. either the object called 'man' or the action a man habitually takes part in), such a highly abstract semantic concept would contradict the sharp grammatical differentiation achieved by completely different paradigms and the different behaviour in predicative use: is a man has definitely nothing to do with mans a boat. As for cook, to be a cook is as a whole quite similar to to cook, yet not by virtue of the N, but by virtue of the entire copula construction. Apart from that there are equivalent pairs such as baker-bake which contain overt signs of stem derivation apart from a change of paradigm. So also for cook we have to assume that we are dealing with two different lexemes cookN and cookV, and not with one lexeme cook compatible with alternative paradigms. It is only the stem which is not yet differentiated, the lexemes are. Again a highly abstract common semantic denominator such as "anything defined by the property +cook" (the action which in a way is a property, or the person habitually involved in the action) would at best account for the identity of the stem and the homophony of the quotation form, but it does not allow us to treat the words as alternatives of one lexeme.

The only case where one lexeme seems to be plausible on a semantic basis is the pair moveN and moveV, but at the same time we have left the domain of prototype nouns. Both moveN and moveV denote actions, not objects. Such pairs are extremely frequent, but still not completely regular: we cannot say *the send, though we can say the move; we must say the sending, and we can also - though with a slightly different meaning - say the moving. Since

the latter process is completely regular and requires additional morphological effort compared to an ordinary V, this shows that there is still a restriction of Vs with regard to their use as "involved terms" (arguments of predicates) and "given terms" (topics/referential terms). However, as long as the basic meaning "action" is preserved, English has a large class of "action words" which tend to cut across major categorical boundaries of Ns and Vs.

2.3. Aspects of the noun/verb-distinction in Russian

Though Russian Ns and Vs are generally well differentiated by different paradigms (e.g. mal'čik (boy(NOM.SG.M)) 'boy' vs vstretil (meet:3.SG.M.IND.PAST.PERFCT) '(he) met') Russian exhibits a completely regular overlap of Ns and Vs in one linguistic aspect of the P'ANT/P'ATUM-distinction, namely the aspect of pragmatic perspective: Ns can occur both as "given term"/point of reference or as "added term"/predicative comment without the need for a verbal copula as long as tense/mood etc are of no concern (cf. (41) vs (43) vs (44)):

(41) on mal'čik
 RUSS he boy(NOM.SG.M)
 'he is a boy'

So much for the general function. As far as prototypicality is concerned, however, the verb is a far more typical "added term" than the noun. The underived verbal element must occur as a comment, whereas the N need not. This implies that the V cannot denote a referential concept and thus is not compatible with determiners. Apart from that the V carries typical signs of comment function which the N does not: only the V carries affixes of person/number/gender-agreement with the subject (see (44)).

Unlike the purely pragmatic parameter "given"/"added" the parameter "involved term"/"involving term" neatly differentiates between Ns and Vs. Only the V is inherently relational and possesses grammatical valency (i.e. it is the involving/relating term in an expression of PARTICIPATION). Consider, for instance, a transitive clause such as

nominal abstract nouns never mean an action, and they typically involve an intermediate adjectivization:

(46) muš-estvenn-ost
RUSS man-ADJVZ- NLZ (NOM.SG.F)
'manliness'

There are languages, however, where the respective denominal and deverbal derivations are identical (see Salish) and this is why I mentioned this fact at all.

cial form loved-. As the participle denotes an action which is inherently treated as a property of an object it may also be employed for the identification of the object carrying the property, as long as this interpretation can be inferred from the context (e.g. from word order or an article, etc).

Though a participle has much in common with Ns as well as with Vs, there are certain differences:

Unlike "true" nouns such as liša (woman:F.SG) participles do not carry inherent gender; rather, the participle tends to agree with a nominal nucleus in a referential phrase.

Unlike Vs, the participles are not restricted to predicate function, they lack person agreement affixes, and gender agreement is different. Compare the following verbal forms with (47):

- (49) (ani) ^lavad-ti
 HEBR I work:PAST-1.SG
 'I worked'
- (50) (at) ^lavad-t
 HEBR you(F.SG) work:PAST-2.SG.F
 'you worked'

This means that the participle is less prototypical as an "involving term" at the centre of a sentence than the V. Since a participle does not automatically imply a P'ANT it comes as no surprise that the P'ANT must be overtly marked in (47), but not in the verbal constructions (49) and (50), where a P'ANT is automatically implied by the exclusively predicative verbal agreement.

As for Ns, Hebrew shows the same kind of overlap of functions with Vs as Russian: as long as tense etc is not important, we do

not need a copula for the N in comment function.

There is one feature of Hebrew which is special. The most basic units of the lexicon are roots such as $\sqrt{\text{ʿvd}}$ (the root of all forms related to 'work'). Quite frequently a root such as $\sqrt{\text{ʿvd}}$ can be turned with comparable into either a participial, i.e. a rather nominal, stem, or a truly verbal stem: cf. ʿoved- (P-stem) vs ʿavad- (V-stem). This means that the most basic units of the lexicon are hardly differentiated for N or V. As far as the lexemes based on certain stems are concerned, N and V are differentiated. Hence the morphological process of filling the roots leads to differentiated stems, on the basis of which Ns and Vs are further differentiated by inflection.

2.5. Aspects of the noun/verb-distinction in Turkish

Turkish has by some writers been attributed a particularly weak N/V-D (for a critical discussion see Walter (1981)). We shall show that the N/V-D is indeed much weaker than in German, but that there is no substantial reason to say that Turkish is anywhere near to a N/V-indistinction.

According to Walter (1981:73ff) the claim that there is a weak N/V-D in Turkish has been based on the following observations:

- the N can be used predicatively without a copula
(i.e. in our words that a N can be used as an "added term" on top of a nominal referent).
- the N in predicative function may be combined with person/number agreement in much the same way as Vs
(in our words Ns and Vs both qualify as "involving terms")
- the N in predicative function may carry TM-affixes
(this partly affects the prototype semantic differentiation "object"/"action").
- there is similarity between person agreement and possessive affixes
- number on the noun is similar to number agreement on the verb

The above can be illustrated with the following examples:

the predicative use of the noun with person-/number-agreement and TM-inflection is exemplified in (51)-(53):

- (51) asker - di
TUR soldier-PAST(3.SG) (Swift 1963:146)
'he was a soldier'
- (52) şair - di -m
TUR poet-PAST-1.SG
'I was a poet'
- (53) adam-sa
TUR man-COND(3.SG)
'if he was a man'

The verbal forms are accordingly:

- (54) sev-di
TUR love-PAST(3.SG)
'he loved'
- (55) sev -di- m
TUR love-PAST-1.SG
'I loved'
- (56) gel - iyor -sa- m
TUR come-CONT-COND-1.SG (Lewis 1967:131)
'if I am coming'

Note, however, the difference in terms of aspect in (56) and (53). There are further differences in the present tense ((57) vs (58)) and with respect to the possibility of using a kind of dummy, copulative verb (see (59) vs (60)); note also the N in a case form in (59):

- (57) şair-im
TUR poet-1.SG (Lewis 1967:32)
'I am a poet'
- (58) sev -er -im
TUR love-INDF.PRES-1.SG
'I love'
- (59) adam i-se
TUR man(ABSL*) COP-COND.3.SG
'if he was a man'

*What is called the "absolute case" in Turkish must not be confounded with the "absolutus" in ergative languages.

(60) *gel- i-se
TUR come- COP-COND.3.SG

The following examples illustrate the similarity between person agreement and possessive affixes ((61) and (62)), and the correlation of number agreement and nominal number ((63) and (64)):

(61)	sev-di-m	'I loved'	(62)	baba-m	'my father'
TUR	sev-di-n	etc	TUR	baba-n	etc
	sev-di			baba-s1	
	sev-di-k			baba-m1z	
	sev-di-n1z			baba-n1z	
	sev-di-ler			baba-lar-1	
	V -T- P			N - POSS	

(63)	sev-er-ler	(64)	ev-ler
TUR	love-PRES-3.PL	TUR	house-PL (ABSL)
	'they love'		'houses'

Note, however, that *despite* the formal overlap in the affixes we always know that the affixes mean 'person agreement' or 'number agreement' as long as they combine with a verb, since a verb cannot be used as a point of reference without derivation. Consider, for instance, that a V cannot occur with a demonstrative (and by analogy it cannot occur with an element functioning as a possessive determiner); nor does the V carry case:

(65)	*bu	sev-	vs	(66)	bu	adam
TUR	DEM	love-		TUR	DEM	man (ABSL)
						'this man'

This means that because of intrinsic properties of the V we must interpret -m in (61) as person agreement, regardless of the similarity of the sign with a possessive marking. On the whole the situation is quite similar to English where we interpret -s on the V as person agreement, not as a plural sign. The only difference between Turkish and English is that the formal overlap of person agreement and possession is motivated (in both cases

it involves a relation with regard to a particular person), whereas the homophony of the different interpretation of the English -s is not motivated.

As a consequence, it should be emphasized that a formal overlap of the N/V-inflection or the general N/V-environment does not necessarily imply an overlap of the Ns and Vs in terms of P'ANT/P'ATUM functions. Only if the environment is undifferentiated and there is no particular restriction of a certain lexeme to a particular function will this leads to certain ambiguities. For instance, -lar/-ler could be an instance of number agreement on the predicative noun or of number on the referential noun, since the Turkish "nouns", i.e. words which are best suited for the expression of a P'ANT, are relatively mobile inasmuch as they are compatible with either P'ANT-functions or functions more normally associated with Vs. The Turkish "verbs", however, i.e. words which are best suited for the expression of a P'ATUM, are quite close to a V-prototype.

Though the Turkish "nouns" are fairly flexible they are still restricted with regard to a number of typical V-processes. Thus, only V-stems allow participial and infinitival derivations or the derivation of actant nouns, none of which - to my knowledge - can be done with a N-stem: e.g. the V-stem bul- (find-) may reoccur in a participle, e.g. bul-us ('found' (occasionally also 'what has been found'; cf. Hebrew)), or in an infinitive (bul-mak '(to) find'), or in an action noun (bul-ma 'act of finding'; a secondary meaning of bul-ma can be 'the find'/'what has been found': such correspondences of action noun and actant noun are very common: cf. Engl. the painting (act or product). The common denominator is apparently the notion of a phenomenon which can be pointed out, i.e. either a rather concrete concept of an activity or event, or an object characterized by the action).

In all, the Turkish N/V-D is far weaker than the German N/V-D, but it would be an exaggeration to say that it is close to an indistinction.

For truly weak N/V-Ds we shall now turn to Salish and Tongan.

2.6. Weak noun/verb-distinctions: Salish and Tongan

2.6.1. Aspects of the noun/verb-distinction in Salish

The data from the Salish languages (British Columbia) are intriguing, but unfortunately the analysis is not always straightforward and only very few of the languages are well described⁴. As there is a good deal of variation within the language group it is not even possible to extrapolate from one language to the other with relative ease. So what I write here must be taken with some caution, though I have tried to countercheck the relevant claims wherever possible.

As was true of Russian, Hebrew, and Turkish, Salish "Ns" can be "added terms" (i.e. comment information) without the help of a verbal copula:

⁴The most recent treatment of N/V in Salish I know of is contained in Van Eijk/Hess 1986. Their paper came too late to my attention to be incorporated here. The facts described there are in line with my data, yet while Van Eijk/Hess stress that N and V are still distinct classes, I would say that due to overwhelming similarities between the respective classes the Salish "Ns" and "Vs" are distinct only as subclasses of one grammatical word class. However, as any N/V-D is a matter of degree anyway, it will be hard to come to an ultimate decision whether we should still speak of a N/V-D in Salish or not.

- (67) č- n sui'ʔqa
 SQ PREF³-1SG[^] man
 'I am a man' (Kuipers 1967:89)
- (68) č- n λ'i'q
 SQ PREF-1SG come
 'I come' (l.c.)

This is already familiar to us, but what is truly interesting is the behaviour of the underived "verbs". These "Vs" may regularly occur as an "involved term" (an argument of a predicate) in a referential context without being derived, and, what is more, they will then regularly identify an object rather than an action:

- (69) hoi es-ácex səmxéičən
 KAL ADV CONT-look at/watch(3) Grizzly

ti'é če - n - ecsu.š - étk"
 DEIC at(LOC.CASE)- in - stand - water

'the grizzly-bear was watching this man standing in the water' (Vogt 1940:111(3)). More literally: 'Then Grizzly was looking at (the one) stand(ing) in the water' (ecsu.š is historically probably ec-su.š (STATIC-X), but this is not a synchronic process in Kalispel and does not affect the N/V-D).

- cf (70) n-ecsu.š-étk"
 KAL in-stand-water(COMPL.3)
 'he stood in the water'

²²This prefix can historically be traced back to /ča(?)/ 'do', 'act', 'make' (see Kuipers 1967:156). Thus it has some similarity with a copula, but note that it occurs on "verbs", too, and therefore does not serve as a differentiating parameter. It may, however, be an indicator of the fact that even the "verbs" in Salish are not limited to predicative use (see below and also p. 93). Synchronically there is no good reason why we should call the prefix a copulative element, especially in neighbouring languages where the prefix cannot be as neatly segmented as in Squamish.

It is also most interesting to note that "Ns" as well as "Vs" may be used almost identically to fulfil the function of introducing an "object" into the discourse. We have not yet discussed this particular N-criterion in other languages, but it is well in line with the pragmatic function of Ns to serve as something which can become the point of reference for a subsequent discourse, i.e. a "given term". Just like a German "subject" this "NP" precedes one predication or more, the difference being, of course, that a German subject is part of the sentence. In Salish the "NPs" in a sentence usually follow the "V". Usually the introduction of the prospective P'ANTS into the discourse is achieved in combination with epř, which is roughly equivalent to 'there is', and which is sometimes used in possessive constructions, too (something in the way of 'there is X to Y').

"Vs" probably have to combine with epř while "Ns" can do without:

- (71) epř - citx^a
 KAL "be there"-house
 'there is/was a house' (Vogt 1940:50(146))
- (72) xui yé ča'é u epř - č - acsu.š - álq^a
 KAL go(COMPL.3) DEIC LOC and "be there"-by - stand - log
 'he went there and there was a (man) stand(ing) by a log'
 (cf. Vogt 1940:112(8))
- (73) hoi npí'lš ,tá'qq.
 (KAL) ADV in:go:DISTR(COMPL.3) sit down:DISTR(COMPL.3).
 'Then they went in and sat down.
 sqaltə-mix^a u ř - še - šú'tam
 ? -person and DIM-RED- girl
man
 (There were) (a) man and (a) little girl' (cf. Vogt 1940:120(56)).

Vogt does not give any grammatical analysis of his texts, and it is rather tedious to work through his grammar, which seems to be inaccurate or unsatisfactory in many crucial matters of the N/V-D when confronted with the text material. I had to include the Kalispel examples here because of the relevance of the examples, which are taken from original texts, inasmuch as they resolve cer-

In yet other examples taken from Squamish it is not clear whether the deictic is an article or the prominal head of a kind of relative clause construction lacking a relative pronoun:

- (78) ...k^{wa}λi na na'nam?
SQ DEIC(F) T go
 '... her that was going about' (Kuipers 1967:231)
- (79) ...k^{wa}ci s?na'm
SQ DEIC(NON-F)^z spear
 '... a spear' (Kuipers 1967:229)
 (? ' that which is a spear')

(The tense marking, incidentally, in (78) is not a strict indicator of N-hood or V-hood, though it is more common, of course, in connection with "Vs" (see Kuipers 1967:88)).

For Kalispel the above problems of analysis do not arise since the case particle in (69) immediately governs the content word and not the DEICTIC+CONTENT WORD-construction as is the case in other Salish languages. On the basis of the Kalispel evidence the analysis of Bella Coola ti-λikm-tx (DEIC-run-DEIC) should at least also be the run(ning-one), and not just (the one) who (is) run(-ning).

^zFrom these examples it is also not clear whether the sign of gender on the deictic actually agrees with the content word, or whether the deictics are quite independent pronouns followed by a kind of relative clause. For (78) I tend to prefer the latter interpretation, especially since there is an intermediate tense sign suggesting a relative clause.

my experience with other data.

Yet why is it not possible to combine all "Vs" with possessives, then? In fact, the answer has little to do with the question of N vs V: there are also a number of "Ns" which do not allow this kind of possessive affix: e.g. you have to say in Squamish ten swa⁷ enxachw, i.e. 'my possession lake' (L. Miranda, pers. comm.) Anything which is not commonly a possessed item cannot be combined with affixes of inalienable possession. Since the language does not even permit a construction such as my lake with the help of the inalienable possessives it is hardly surprising that one cannot say my going-one or the like, with certain exceptions such as in-xaménč 'my love(d-one)'/ 'what I love'. What one can always say is, of course, my (act of) going or my (feeling of) love (= i(n)-s-xaménč), and for the required change of meaning we need s-; only in connection with s- can we treat an action as a fairly independent phenomenon which can be pointed out. Since the "gerundial" concept of an action can be conceived of as a property of an object, the "verbal noun" always accepts a possessive. Quite frequently, as is the case in (45), the gerundial reading is not the only possibility of interpretation for the s-"verbal nouns". Very commonly they refer to objects as well: therefore s-taq^w is usually interpreted as 'water' besides 'act of drinking'

Not only the "article" and the "possessives" are difficult test frames for Ns and Vs in Salish. Apart from frequent overlap between person affixation and possessive affixation (see Vogt 1940:36 etc) pure distributionalism based on Indoeuropean categories leads to a number of dead ends: there is no grammaticalized nominal number except occasional N-reduplications, while in Kalispel a distributive aspect - signalled by V-reduplication - is quite frequent (see (73) and Vogt 1940:76)).

Frequently tense is expressed with the help of the article preceding the "N" (Kuipers 1974:57), and sometimes the same deictic may fulfil a "subordinating" tense function in front of a "V" as opposed to an article function in front of a "N". In

- (83) sé'i ʔu' - xʷtip ʔu' - sqʷáqʷci'
 KAL (be)then DEIC-run(3) DEIC - rabbit
 "when" "the"
 'it was then when/that the rabbit ran away' (cf. Vogt 1940:
 89 VI (1))

only word order tells us what is the "V" and what is the "N". Finally, preposition-like elements in Salish do not always precede "NPs":

- (84) ... ʔ saxcin
 SH to river
 '... to (the) river' (Gibson 1973:69)
 (ʔ only cooccurs with indefinite articles, not with
 definite articles (l.c. 107))
- (85) néwulx kə ʔ xʷent
 SH run I LNK fast
 'I run fast' (l.c.70)

In (49) ʔ links an "adverbial" to the "V", in (48) it precedes a nominal argument; in other words, N(P)s and ADV(P)s are treated alike. This originates in the fact that they both are adpredicative units.

Let us now turn back again to (69) and (72). We have seen that the Kalispel "V" may be used in a referential function ("given term"), argument function ("involved term"), and at the centre of an "object"-expression in practically the same way as a "N". There is merely a slight difference: the "V" used as an "object"/P'ANT-expression only momentarily identifies an object by reference to a certain alienable property such as ec.su.s 'stand' (see (69)). If there is a habitual timestable association of a thing with a "verbal" property we have to derive a lexical

"agent noun" even in Salish:

(86) sx^h-(ə)minəm
KAL NOM.AG-paint
 'painter' (Vogt 1940:48)

(ʔie minəm would probably mean 'the (one) paint(ing)', but I was not able to test this).

Though it is true that even in Kalispel a "V" is not exactly a prototype word to enter a nominal slot in order to identify a thing, it is still rather strange from the point of view of Indoeuropean languages that such a function is possible at all. What could be the reason for this?

We can aim at an answer by reference to a phenomenon which we observed in connection with Hebrew (or Turkish) participles. The participles, when placed in a referential context, never identified an action, but rather the object performing or enduring the action. Note, too, that the participial nouns could always identify an object only momentarily involved in an action, yet only sometimes could the Hebrew participles also denote someone habitually associated with an activity. Hence, though the Salish "Vs" are not grammatically identical to participles, there is a certain comparability of semantics and behaviour. We claimed that participles were unable to denote the action on its own: the action will always be perceived as a non-referential property in connection with an object. Gerunds, by way of contrast, treat an action as a far more independent phenomenon than participles or even verbs of the commonly known languages do. Nevertheless, gerunds, too, may be said to treat an action, broadly speaking, as a property of someone (e.g. the going of X with going being "possessed" by X (note the construction of X)). Compare the similar difference between an English adjective like great and the

without any overt sign. Unlike cum, s-cum does no longer denote the one who cries when used in a referential context, but the action of crying.

I have just introduced the terms "verbal properties" and "(verbo)-nominal properties" instead of "verb", "verbal noun" and "noun", respectively. This is because I tend to think that there is nothing such as two word classes of Ns and Vs in Salish: rather, I feel that we should treat the "Ns" and "Vs" of Salish as members of just one class of "general property words" or "basic descriptives", and not as words denoting exclusively "things" or "actions" respectively. I call them "general property words" because they contribute nothing but a property or feature such as +mosquito or +cry to the identification of a phenomenon they stand for (with "general" I mean that the properties - unlike number or definiteness - do not contain information about individuation and particularity, etc). Due to the absence of individualizing information, the words in Salish are more "basic" descriptives than the relative complex lexemes in German (see below).

Thus they may represent any concept characterized by the property +X. On the one hand, this includes a thing concept (e.g. (a) mosquito, (a person) cry(ing)) and it is the "noun" which tends to be used and interpreted in this way, whereas for the "verb" this meaning is fairly rare, though it is possible. We *must* interpret the content word as a thing concept when it follows an article, because the article adds information as regards the "pointability" of the concept represented by the content word. Note that the "nouns", too, generally follow an article when they mean an object (for some apparent

counterexamples see footnote 8). On the other hand, when the article is absent, i.e. in predicative use, the content word may represent the concept of the "basic property" itself (e.g. +cry ('what is characteristic of someone who cries'), +mosquito ('what makes a mosquito a mosquito')). This contextual meaning is definitely preferred by the "verbs", but it is possible for the "nouns", too. Otherwise it would not be possible to derive an abstract "noun" with the meaning 'mosquitohood' or 'being a mosquito' from a "noun" (see (89)) by precisely the same procedure as the derivation of an "action noun" with the meaning 'act of crying' (see (87)) from a "verb":

- (89) tá? k s - qʷəníməqλ - s
 SH "be not"(3) HYP.ART "NL"-mosquito-3.SG.POSS
 'its being a mosquito/its mosquitohood is not'; 'it is
 not a mosquito' (cf. Kuipers 1974:97)
- vs (90) tá? k qʷəníməqλ
 SH "be not"(3) HYP.ART mosquito
 'there is no/are no mosquito(es)' (l.c.)

Note the difference of meaning between (89) and (90). In (90) the underived "noun" means a true object, while in (89) the s- "noun" represents a property concept treated as if it was a rather concrete phenomenon. Also s-ćum-s 'his crying' (see (87)) can be called a concrete concept of a "property" in the widest sense of the word (note the possessive s). Granted that a "deverbal" s- derivation such as (87) does not change much with respect to the

⁶⁹Proper names and nouns treated as such (see (69)) do not take an article. Further exceptions are contained in (84) (see there) and (73). (73) is a presentative construction where the "N" has much in common with a predicate (cf 'there/it is (a) N'), where the article may be undesirable because it tends to signal referentiality. Similar presentative constructions as (68) are found in connection with "verbal nouns": cf. s-λap-s, lit. '(it/there is) his going'; 'he's going. eh?', which alternates with λap '(he) goes' (see Davis/Saunders 1984:222 for the pragmatic parameters involved).

meaning of the "verb" (in fact the action-property is simply made to appear more concrete), there is no reason why we should assume that the formally identical "denominal" derivation in (89) should be based on the meaning 'object' of the "noun", even if in this case the meaning 'object' were to be a non-particularized, non-individualized concept. Rather, I tend to think that also the "nouns" of Salish are compatible with the meaning 'property +X', and it is this meaning the s-"nominalization" operates on. German nouns, by way of contrast, are not compatible with the latter meaning. Though a German noun such as Mann (man(NOM.SG.M)) also contains an element comparable to the basic information in Salish, namely the stem Mann-, the German noun carries additional information about countability (e.g. number) etc, so that a German noun as a whole can never be employed to denote the basic property contained in the stem (in German the morphology accompanying the stem is far more part of the idea of the lexeme than in Salish (see ch.3)). The combination of a basic property and countability etc limits the scope of the phenomena a German N may stand for to thing concepts. Note that due to the respective contexts it occurs in even a German nominal stem is rarely interpreted as 'property +X'. Still, as far as just the information about a particular concept is concerned, German and Salish N-stems or "Ns" respectively, are comparable inasmuch as they indicate that the concept they stand for is characterized by the property +X^N; but as I said above there are far fewer contexts for the German N-stem than for the Salish "N" where the respective unit will be interpreted as the property +X^N itself (for an exceptional example see Holz in Holz-kugel (wood-ball(NOM.SG.F)); see p. 21).

We have argued that all words in Salish, including "nouns", are at least *compatible* with the meaning 'property +X'. We can tentatively subdivide these properties into inherent, timestable properties

of "essence" (= "nominal properties") and non-inherent, non-time-stable, dynamic properties of activity ("verbal properties"). Properties are non-inherent if they are only momentarily associated with an object, and if they are applicable to a number of different notional classes of objects rather than to just one (consider that +run may be associated with people as well as with animals, whereas the "nominal" property +dog has only one basic notional class of objects as its referent). "Adjectival properties", according to this notional framework, would be relatively time-stable, though again non-inherent/non-essential properties: there are far more notionally different objects able to carry the property +old, for instance, than objects carrying the property +dog, etc. (Only under certain conditions do we treat adjectival properties as essential properties: cf. the old (people) ; but in this case the speaker deliberately establishes a notionally non-basic class of objects).

The respective general properties (they are called "general" because they have not yet combined with particularizing properties such as number or definiteness etc) are always associated with true objects, and so close is the connection that after an article (which adds the notion of "pointability" to the phenomenon) they will represent the object carrying the property. Sometimes, however, the speaker may want to construct an expression for a relatively concrete, almost thing-like, concept of a property. For this purpose the speaker must revert to a set of words which do not automatically refer to real objects, but rather to abstract phenomena. The respective set of words is characterized by the prefixed "nominalizer" s-. For one thing the "nominalizer" tells us that the construction may represent an abstract phenomenon treated as a rather concrete phenomenon (see (89)). Quite frequently, though, the same word may refer to real things, too: cf. Sq. s-taq^w: '(act of) drinking' or 'water', with

water being inherently associated with the act of drinking, of course. The second task of s-, especially in connection with "verbs", is to turn an originally non-inherent, non-timestable property of an object (e.g. +cry) into a timestable, essential property (e.g. +cry(timestable)) of a phenomenon which is (often) not by nature thing-like, although it is treated as such. This newly created essential property +cry(timestable) can now - and typically will be - used to represent the abstract phenomenon '(act of) crying' (=s-cum). However, since even here we are dealing with a general property word +V(timestable) and not with a word limited to the interpretation 'action-property treated like a thing', it comes as no surprise that s-constructions are often at the same time action expressions (e.g. 'act of drinking') and actant expressions (e.g. 'object of drinking'/'water'), since both phenomena are defined by a timestable property +drink, etc.

Words like Kalispel sx^a-minam 'painter', to my knowledge, are used exclusively as "nominal" descriptives of actants (see (86)).

Sometimes s- is even prefixed to basic "nominal properties" in order to refer to essentially the same referent: thus, Shuswap s-qal-mx^o ("NL"-?-person) 'Indian' generally refers to a man, hardly to Indian manhood, just like the basic ql-mux^o 'Indian'^o. The latter, however, may also be conceived of as an "adjectival property" associated not merely with a particular class of people but with all kinds of things that are of Indian origin.

At any rate, s-"nominalizations" do not produce real nouns as the term "nominalization" might suggest. They are most typically employed like abstract nouns, it is true, but purely theoretically they are no less free in their interpretation as any other Salish

^oKuipers 1974:236

"noun". The s-"nouns" are just a separate set of "general property words" which - unlike underived "general property words" - may have abstract phenomena treated almost thing-like as their referents. According to context, all content words may either denote a (referential) phenomenon or a (non-referential) property. It is the (underived or derived) "nouns" which tend to mean a phenomenon (concrete or abstract) one can refer to, and it is the "verbs" which tend to mean a (non-referential) property of a phenomenon, but there is no absolute restriction either way. This is due to the fact that the "atoms of meaning" represented by the "nouns" as well as the "verbs" in Salish contribute nothing to the identification of whatever concept they stand for but the feature or property +X. The rest is a matter of the context. For instance, in combination with an article any underived content word must mean an object, since the article adds 'pointability' to the phenomenon. Therefore the article serves a far more important function in Salish than in German, since it helps to disambiguate certain meanings. Consequently, the category of articles is very much developed in Salish (compare also Tongan).

We have seen that s- is basically a sign for a timestable connection between a certain property and the phenomenon it refers to. This analysis is corroborated by the fact that in Kalispel the continuous aspect es- has partly merged¹⁰ with the nominalizer. The timestable connection between property and referent is one of the most significant differences between "nominal properties" and "verbal properties". The "V" needs a continuous aspect affix to specify relative duration at the moment of speech:

¹⁰Kalispel has a hybrid transitive continuative paradigm which apparently contains a nominalized V-form reinterpreted as a V-form (Vogt calls this paradigm a "dependent continuative paradigm" (Vogt 1940:29)).

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|----|------|----------------|
| (91) | č̣in- es - xui | | (92) | č̣in-xui |
| KAL | I -CONT-go(3) | vs | KAL | I -go(COMPL.3) |
| | 'I am going' | | | 'I go/went' |

(Only "verbs" allow this opposition. Consequently, a "noun" with a continuous aspect affix will be considered "verbalized" with a "verbal" meaning: cf. KAL č̣in-es-ṣanc̣alép-i (1SG-CONT-coyote-DYN. ITR) 'I am behaving like coyote, i.e. as a fool' (Vogt 1940:163), lit. 'I am coyoting').

Another striking difference between "N"-properties and "V"-properties is the notion of dynamicity and manipulability by participants. Most apparent is this difference in connection with so-called "transitive verbs" in Salish. These "Vs" are (at least historically) derived from a simplex form, a radical, to which a transitivizer or a causative affix has been added. Only then are the words compatible with an agent-"NP". As for the general meaning of the radicals inside the words I can but speculate. If they contain a causative affix the basic form (if it can still occur on its own) probably always denotes an "intransitive" state incompatible with either a controlled patient or a true agent facing a patient:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------|--|
| (93) | č̣-n | nam? | - s | |
| SQ | PREF-1SG | go | - CAUS | |
| | lit. 'I make/made (it) go' / 'I took it' (cf. Kuipers 1967: 73) | | | |
| | | | | |
| (94) | č̣in-λil | | | |
| KAL | I - ? | | | |
| | 'I am dead' (from a text where Rabbit pretends to be dead: Vogt 1940:88 VI (1)) | | | |
| | | | | |
| (95) | i - č̣in - λil | | | |
| KAL | unexpectedly - I - ? | | | |
| | momentarily
'I don't move' (l.c. 151) | | | |
| | | | | |
| (96) | č̣in- λl - íp | | | |
| KAL | I - ? - resultative | | | |
| | 'I stop' | | | |
| | | | | |
| (97) | λl - ip - s - t - é̃n | | | |
| KAL | ?-RESULT-CAUS-ACCOMPL-1.SG.AG | | | |
| | 'I stop (him)' | | | |

In other forms with the transitivizer -n(t) the situation is not clear. Though we have

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (98) | i - λáq̃
KAL MOMENT-wärm
'it is warm' | (99) | λaq̃ -(^h i ^m t*(ə)nt)-ən
KAL warm - TRANS - 1.SG.AG(Tr.parad.)
'I heat (it)' |
| | | | (Vogt : l.c. 151) |

which contains an "adjectival" property, we also very often find translations for the radicals in the form of a past participle:

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| (100) | č̣ - n ~ cə'x̣ ^o
SQ PREF-1.SG X | 'I am/have been hit' |
| | | (Kuipers 1967 : 69) |
| (101) | č̣ - n ~ cə'x̣ ^o -n
SQ PREF-1.SG X - TR | 'I hit him' |

Though we said earlier that there are certain affinities between participles and the Salish "Vs" we have to be aware that they differ from participles inasmuch as they are not derived and can be subjected to immediate action nominalization. In this respect they are more comparable to English V-stems than to participles. Rather than giving a "passive" translation 'be hit', I tend to think that cə'x̣^o can be likened to English hit- as the property +hit, with the addition that it will be closely associated with an inactive participant when there are no signs of activity (e.g. -n in (101)) to the contrary.

A true correlate of be hit is only encountered when we add a "passive" suffix to an active, transitivized form:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (102) | č̣ - n cə'x̣ - n -t - m
SQ PREF-1SG X - TRANS-TRANS/PASS-"PASS" | (cf. Kuipers l.c. 69) |
| | ' I was hit (by s.o.) ' | |

The transitives even have a special paradigm so that sometimes the word form as a whole must be used as a V. On the other hand, it appears that we only have to change the person affixes to construct a "nominal" form, i.e. we do not need to derive the stem. For example, SQ. na ~ č̣'a'u - at - c - as (T help-TR-1PAT-3AG

must mean 'he helps me', but na č'a'u - at - c (T help-TR-1PAT) of the "nominal paradigm" (Kuipers 1967:93) is translated as 'who helps me'. I am not absolutely sure whether this form (exempting the tense sign) can only be used as a relative clause or also as the equivalent of a kind of "participial noun" such as GERM. der mir Helfende (lit. 'the me helping(-one)', 'the one who helps me') but it is likely that the latter alternative is also possible: consider the form č-x č'a'u - at - c (PREF-2SG help-TR-1PAT) 'you help me' with a pronominal element č-x (PREF-2SG), which is also used in intransitive constructions including nominal predicates. If we translate the above sentence tentatively as you (are) help(ing) me, it is feasible that a combination of č'a'u-at-c with an article leads to the translation der mir Helfende or the (one) help(ing) me.

I have tried to point out that in Salish the basic elements of the lexicon are freely compatible with all kinds of affixes and that in contrast to German the morphological environment is not an inalienable part of the word as is true of a German paradigm. As a consequence, the meaning of the basic units in Salish is at best comparable to German word stems such as Mann- ('man-') or geh- ('go-'), which contribute nothing to the identification of whatever phenomenon they stand for but the presence of a certain property or feature +man ('what is characteristic of anyone who is a man') and +go ('what is (momentarily) characteristic of someone who is going'). This makes it possible for "Ns" not only to represent a thing concept characterized by the property +man, but under certain circumstances also to represent the concept of an essential, timestable property +man as a non-referential counterpart to 'manhood' or the like.

The "Vs" go beyond a German V-stem inasmuch as they can be employed to represent an object momentarily characterized by the "verbal" (=non-essential, manipulable, non-timestable) property

without having to undergo a participial derivation.

The flexibility of use pertaining to the "Vs" in Salish (i.e. identification of objects (e.g. the (one) run(ning)) or representation of active properties (((is) run(ning))) is somehow reminiscent of participles in languages such as Turkish etc, despite the fact that true participles are different inasmuch as they are derived and cannot undergo an immediate process of action "nominalization" as the Salish "verbs".

2.6.2. Aspects of the noun/verb-distinction in Tongan

Another language where the N/V-D is particularly weak is Tongan (Polynesia) (for brief discussions see Tchekhoff and Lazard (1984)).

Consider the predicative use of "Vs" and "Ns" after a TAM-sign:

(103) na'e lele 'a Sione
TONG PAST run- ABS Sione
'Sione ran'

(104) na'e tu'i 'a Sione
TONG PAST king- ABS Sione
'Sione was king'

This is true of "title"- "nouns" ("substantiva abjecta") such as tu'i 'king-'; it would be more difficult with "essence"- "nouns" ("nomina absoluta") such as tamasi'i 'boy-' or me'a 'thing-'.

It is possible to say

(105) 'oku tamasi'i ?
 TONG PRES boy-
 'is it a boy?'

if one wants to refer to a birth, or one may say

(106) 'oku kei tamasi'i
 TONG PRES still- boy-

if one wants to express 'he is still a boy', but for (106) 'oku kei talavou (talavou = 'young'/'youth') is more natural, and most natural for a "nominal" predication about an object is

(107) ko e tamasi'i
 TONG INTROD.CASE SPEC.ART boy-
 'this/he/it is a boy'

For me'a 'thing' (or 'person') I only know of constructions such as (107), unless we are dealing with the "V" me'a, which is regal style ("Royal Tongan") for 'move'/'go', and which by its stylistic distribution is removed from the "N", so that at least synchronically we are dealing with two separate lexemes.¹¹

At any rate it must be emphasized that we can at best speak of certain preferences of construction for "Ns" and "Vs"; there is no grammaticalized "must/must not"-restriction obtaining for certain word classes, but rather a lack of situations where a particular construction is appropriate. Again, as was true of Salish, I shall show that words of all kinds are potentially compatible with the meaning 'property +X'. Although there are certain differences between Salish and Tongan I shall point out once again that even "nouns" such as tu'i and tangata contribute nothing to the identification of a concept but the feature or

¹¹Historically, though, there appears to be a connection. The "kau me'a" (PL.(+human) go-) were the adherents of a chief, who were sometimes also called the "kau nofo" (PL stay-), i.e. the ones which dwelt with him (see Martin 1817/1981:369). Today, kaume'a means 'friend(s)'.
 Today,

property +king or +man, respectively. Accordingly, they can also represent the notion of a property concept apart from a thing concept. Differences of interpretation are inferred from the syntactic context. Thus

(108) CASE ART tu'i / tangatá
TONG king-DEF.ACC man-DEF.ACC

means in most pragmatic contexts the king or the man. Together with a certain possessive pronoun we may interpret the construction quite differently:

(109) CASE 'ene tu'í / CASE hono tangatá
TONG 3.SG.AL. king- 3.SG.INAL. man-
POSS DEF.ACC POSS DEF.ACC

means 'his functioning as king' and 'his manliness/manhood', respectively¹². (Note, incidentally, that the non-active concept 'manhood' is combined with an inalienable possessive element indicating non-activity as opposed to the more active, and hence more "verbal" concept 'functioning as king'). In order to understand the underlying system, we must take a brief look at the Tongan "Vs":

Every Tongan "V" can be placed in a nominal slot (CASE ART ...) without the need for derivation (for occasional not grammaticalized derivations on -'anga see p. 71). Thus from

(110) 'oku ne lele
TONG PRES 3.SG.AGENT run-
'he is running'

we obtain, for instance,

(111) 'oku vave ('a) 'ene lelé
TONG PRES fast ABS 3.SG.AL.POSS run-DEF.ACC
'his running is fast'/'he runs fast'

¹²see Churchward 1953:86/1959:454

Since, on the other hand, we find "Ns" in "verbal" slots (T ...), too, such as

(112) 'oku ne tu'i / 'oku tangata
 TONG PRES 3.SG.AG king- / PRES man-
 'he functions as king' / 'he is male'

we also find "nominalizations" of these "nouns" such as 'his functioning as king' and 'his manliness', respectively.

We can account for this enormous flexibility of meaning of an undervived lexeme only by reference to the fact that the "nouns" contain nothing but an "atom of meaning" comparable to a nominal stem man- etc. So contextually these words may denote anything defined by this atom of meaning. This may be, for instance, '(a) man', the property '+man' or an independent concept of the property +man namely 'manhood', etc. As was true of Salish, the (obligatory) article in (107) serves a more important task than meets the eye of someone who has been brought up in an Indoeuropean tradition. The article contributes the feature "can be referred to", and therefore the respective constructions are typically thing-expressions (e.g. (107)) beside expressions of abstract phenomena treated as if they were things (e.g. (109)). Note, incidentally, that a construction such as CASE ART "N" does still not necessarily denote an individualized concept, which is countable: e.g. CASE ART pia means 'beer' (as a certain mass), not 'a/the beer'; the latter meaning is conveyed by CASE ART fo'i pia (... INDIVL/NUM.CLASS("round obj.") beer-). Also plural is generally marked outside the "noun" and separate from the article: cf. CASE e kau tangata (...SPEC.ART PLUR("human") man-) 'the men'. (In plural phrases it is sometimes difficult to decide which word should be considered head of the phrase: kau, for instance, means 'bunch' on its own (apart from a "verbal" meaning 'take part in'), and after kau we can place any descriptive word, be it "V" or "N",

to denote a plurality of human beings: cf. CASE ART kau hiva (.... sing-) 'the singers', while hiva on its own can only mean 'sing(ing)' or 'song', respectively. There is a just a small group of words which convey the notion of plurality and/or individuality on their own: thus kakai 'people', tamaiki 'children', fafine 'women (in general, as a body (vs the unmarked fefine 'woman-'))' do not accept (and do not need) kau; a word which seems to be inherently singular and individualized is siana '(one individual) man' (vs. the unspecified tangata), and it is this word which is probably most nominal of all Tongan "nouns". So we find degrees of nominality even in languages with a very weak N/V-D).

The only case where the facts relating to the Tongan article in connection with "nouns" are somewhat similar to the facts of English is the treatment of "status"- "nouns" such as king in English. We can say he is a king, and we can say he is king. Only in the former example is it absolutely certain that king denotes an object; this object is at the same time made particular by the article. In the construction he is king king may still be considered a concept of an object, though this concept has not been particularized; on the other hand, however, king can also be regarded as the notion of the status 'king', which can be conceived of as a property of someone who is king.

Let us now turn to a more detailed discussion of Tongan "verbs", that is words which can be most easily employed for the expression of a P'ATUM/action.

Like the "Ns", the "Vs", too, are generally very flexible with regard to different interpretations of basically the same word. However, since they are descriptives that normally do not contain inalienable, defining information about things, they are less like

ly to denote a thing than "Ns" in a particular context, notably after an article:

(113) CASE ART lele
TONG run-

will, for instance, always be interpreted as 'the (action of) running', not 'the one running'¹³. The same is true of words such as 'alu 'go', which even has a special plural (or rather distributive) form o. Though we can put o quite as well in a nominal slot as any other "verbal" element, it will always be semantically "verbal". So for a number of "Vs" there is a tendency for a distinction from "Ns". However, it is also very frequent that if a person is habitually involved in a certain activity that we shall see the "V" employed in the context of an object-expression: e.g. CASE ART pule (pule = rule-/control-) can be interpreted as 'the one who is in control/the controller' apart from 'the action of ruling/controlling. In both cases we are dealing with the notion of a concrete manifestation of the descriptive property +rule /control. "Adjectival" words having to do with texture and flavour will quite often be used more nominally than the "nouns" with which they cooccur in certain constructions; thus 'ota ika (raw- fish-) would best be translated as 'fishy raw stuff', i.e. 'fish salad', not 'raw fish'.

In order to specify quite clearly that we are talking about an object and not about an action (pule, for instance, allows both interpretations), Tongan quite frequently reverts to concatenations which are sometimes on the verge of composition: instead of using just lele ('run-/drive') for the expression of an object which habitually runs, Tongan creates the construction CASE ART me'a lele (...thing- run-), i.e. 'a vehicle'. This technique is sometimes also employed in connection with "Ns": CASE

¹³This would be achieved with a relative clause construction

ART tama tu'i (here tama = 'individual'/'person') always means 'the king'.

Though "Vs" do not have to be derived to function "nominally", there are idiosyncratic de"verbal" derivations on -('a)nga such as pule'anga (govern-'ANGA) 'government-' and mohenga (sleep-NGA) 'place of sleeping', i.e. 'bed', which in most cases denote concrete locations where actions take place. Just like Salish s- -'anga does not create a category of nouns out of nothing, but it clearly limits the scope of the underived words to the idea of a "nominal property" (unlike the underived pule, for instance, pule'anga can no longer mean an action), and just like any other "nominal property word" such as tangata the -'anga-words will in practice almost always function as nouns in a sentence. It may be that some day the suffix will be more generally employed, so that the class of "nominal property words" will be rather strictly differentiated from the "verbal property words". So far, the -('a)nga seems to add the meaning '+place(d) where an action takes place'; cf mohenga 'place of sleeping'/'bed'.

On the whole, just like in Salish it is more appropriate to conceive of the "Ns" and "Vs" as slightly different members of one word class of "general property words" or "atoms of meaning" rather than as members of two opposite grammatical word classes. The information contained in these "atoms of meaning" is reminiscent of the information contained in the word-stems of languages such as German. Already at this stage we observe a tendency for prototypical use, but this is not tantamount to a grammaticalized noun/verb-distinction. Despite occasional differences in the grammatical behaviour of "Ns" and "Vs", the emphasis is on similarity, not on dissimilarity in Tongan. Though it is true that my Tongan informants tended to give the most prototype translation for "Ns" and "Vs", they were still aware of the fact that e.g.

"Ns" were not by nature "thing"-words, but also compatible with the reading 'property +N':

For example, when he was forced by the context, my informant 'O. Helu did in fact volunteer the translation: "Is there boyhood?" for the tense-marked (and hence usually "verbal") construction 'oku tamasi'i? (PRES boy-) 'is it a boy?', containing the "N" tamasi'i (boy-) (see (105)). This clearly shows that the "Ns" can be conceived of as a kind of property associated with things rather than as (exclusively) a thing expression. On the other hand, of course, we must not underestimate the role of typical use in certain contexts, which accounts for the translation of "Ns" as object words and of "Vs" as action words. This contextually determined translation may eventually give rise to language change.

The above-mentioned translation of 'oku tamasi'i? as 'Is there boyhood?' leads on to another peculiarity of Tongan:

In a paper on Tongan syntax (Broschart 1986) I have put forward the claim that there is not a great difference between an ordinary sentence and the presentation of a "nominalized" predicate in Tongan. (114) is said when the fact can be immediately observed, (115) elsewhere:

(114) ko e 'alu 'a Sione ki kolo¹⁴
TONG INTROD.CASE SPEC.ART go- GEN.AL.POSS S. DIR town-
'(it is) the/a going of Sione to town'/'Sione is going to t.'

(115) 'oku 'alu 'a Sione ki kolo
TONG PRES go- "ABS" S. DIR town-
'Sione is going/on his way to town' (he is not here)

¹⁴kolo must be interpreted here as a non-particularized object concept. Non-particularized it is because of the - rather infrequent - lack of an article, and a thing concept it must be because of the preposition, which cannot be followed by the non-referential concept 'property +town'. So ki kolo is quite the same as the English to town.

We can observe that the so-called "Absolutus" in (115) looks the same as the possessive case in (114), and in fact it is my claim that their function is very similar. They relate a participant to a property of a thing by means of a "possessive" relator.

The 'oku (PRES) and the ko (INTRODUCTIVE CASE), too, have similar functions: they introduce a content word to the discourse by reference to a particular location (in time and space, respectively) that is, the construction may be likened to something in the way of here 'X'. The only difference between the 'oku-construction and the ko-construction is that ko introduces a concept of a phenomenon which can be pointed out, while the phenomenon after 'oku cannot be pointed out (visibility vs non-visibility; note in this context the presence vs the absence of the article). Therefore (114) presents the action as a more concrete, visible phenomenon than (115). Generally speaking, the structure of a Tongan sentence is quite like a so-called 'thetic' construction (see Kuroda 1972 and Sasse (to app.)) such as there is 'X' of Y, and quite distinct from a 'categoric' construction such as Y is 'X' with a true subject. The former translation makes the Tongan "verb" appear somewhat like a gerund, whereas for Salish we said that the "verb" resembled a participle in its behaviour. Yet again, as was the case in Salish, the likeness is not complete. In certain constructions such as CASE ART me'a lele (...thing- run-) 'the vehicle' and CASE ART pule (... command-) 'the commander'/'man in charge' the "V" cannot be likened to a gerund but rather behaves like a word stem in our languages; at any rate it must be pointed out that a gerund is defined as a derived category, and the Tongan "V" is not derived. What is more, the only form Tongan "nouns" can be compared to are word stems, not gerunds, though language-internally the Tongan "Ns" behave very much like the "Vs". Nevertheless, grossly speaking, we can locate the Tongan "Vs" between English V-stems and gerunds as far as their structural en-

vironment and their interpretation goes: the Salish "Vs", on the other hand, could be placed in between the V-stems and the participles of certain languages. I cannot say at present whether this intuition can be put to any scientific use as regards the cross-linguistic comparability of languages on a continuum of meaning and form; what I am able to deduce from these facts is that there is indeed a great deal of crosslinguistic variation obtaining on the basic content words entering the expression of P'ANT and P'ATUM in the respective languages. There is no such thing as a universal word class distinction between nouns and verbs, there are only words which are more or less nominal or verbal with regard to the features of N- and V-prototypes serving the function of expressing P'ANTS and P'ATA in sentences.

3. General observations regarding the noun/verb-distinction

3.1. Regularities in the decrease and increase of a noun/verb-distinction

We agreed with Walter (1981) that a N/V-D is a matter of degree, and that a language may choose any point on a scale between a clear-cut N/V-D and a non-distinction. In this respect we would argue for a dynamic, operative notion of a N/V-D. A N/V-D is not given, but a matter of choice on a scale of increasing or decreasing differentiation. In an attempt to measure the degree of a N/V-D Walter lists up the number of criteria differentiating between or common to the nouns and verbs of the languages under discussion. We shall go beyond this merely quantitative analysis and try to formulate certain regularities underlying the decrease or increase of a N/V-D, and point out the interrelatedness of the criteria:

- Are there certain types of overlap or distinction which can only occur after another kind of overlap or distinction has come about?

The data tend to confirm such an assumption. Some aspects relating to the N- or V-prototypes appear to be less immune to the forces of (in)distinction than others. Consider the following:

3.1.1. Decrease and increase of categorical restrictions for nouns

As far as "nouns" are concerned (i.e. words which are most easily compatible with a P'ANT-expression ("object", "involved term", "given term"), the pragmatic restriction always to occur minimally marked as a "given/referential term" only holds for German and English in our sample: only German and English nouns (vs verbs) require a verbal copula in order to function as predicative, "added" information; all the other languages do not necessarily require a verbal copula when the N (as opposed to the verb) is supposed to function as an "added term" or comment, respectively.

(116)		G	E	R	H	Tu	To	Sa
N-restriction: -"added term"/comment		+	+	-	-	-	-	-
+ verbal copula								

Yet, even where the N does not need a special copula as a comment, typical signs of V-relationality (see "involving term") as well as other elements and processes associated with the V as an "action"-word are far rarer on the noun. Of the languages which possess person reflexes on their verbs (all except Tongan), all but Turkish and Salish nouns are restricted with regard to person affixation:

(117)		G	E	R	H	Tu	To	Sa
N-restriction: -"involved term"		+	+	+	+	-	o	-
-person affixation								

Similarly, all languages but Turkish, Tongan and Salish must not combine nouns with tense, and even the remaining languages are partly restricted, since nouns imply timestability:

(118) G E R H Tu To Sa
 N-restriction: +timestable phen./prot."obj."
 -tense + + + + (-) (-) (-)

Also for semantic reasons all languages except for Salish and Tongan do not allow the "nominalization" of a nominal predicate in the same way as the nominalization of a verbal predicate to the effect that boyhood or being a boy is grammatically alike to (the) going (Tongan does not even involve a derivational process here (see p. 67), but on the other hand the respective option seems to be less freely available than the Salish s-process). This implies that the "Ns" do not exclusively denote objects, but basically the general properties of the objects by which the objects can be characterized:

(119) G E R H Tu To Sa
 N-restriction: -property/+object
 -predicate "nominaliza-
 tion identical to V + + + + + (-) -

Further regular semantic and formal overlap with the verb has not been observed; nouns cannot be used to denote actions as well as things. As a slight exception to this we could mention a small group of Tongan "nouns" such as tu'i 'king-' which may also be interpreted as 'to function as king' according to context (see (109) vs (108)), and in Tongan it is at least conceivable that we are dealing with different readings of the same lexeme, while in English sporadic instances of homophony such as nail(N) and nail(V) would rather have to be considered two separate, though related, lexemes according to the logic of the system (see the discussion on p. 32ff).

3.1.2. Decrease and increase of categorical restrictions for verbs

Provided it is helped by the context, a verb (i.e. a word most easily compatible with a P'ATUM-expression ("action", "involving term", "added term")) can change its pragmatic function to "given/referential term" in Tongan and Salish without derivation or more syntactic effort than is needed for nouns. In all the other languages of our sample the pragmatic restriction holds, though English is rather weak in this respect in a large part of its lexicon: cf. words such as move(N) and move(V) which might be treated as alternatives of the same lexeme allowing a choice of paradigms resulting in only a slight change of meaning. Where the pragmatic restriction does hold, the underived V is not compatible with determiners:

(120)

V-restriction: -"given term"/-point of reference	G	R	H	Tu	E	To	Sa
-determiners	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	-

Similarly, the only languages where a V can be an "involved term" subjected to another V to function like a P'ANT expression in this respect are Tongan, Salish, and again to a certain extent English. Only in these languages can Vs occur inside adposition phrases.

(121)

V-restriction: -"involved term"	G	R	H	Tu	E	To	Sa
-adpositions	+	+	+	+	(+)	-	-

That a V loses its typical relationality altogether in a referential context and in this context regularly and exclusively denotes an object rather than an action can only be observed in Salish:

(122)

		G	R	H	Tu	E	To	Sa
V-restriction: -"object"								
-"object" in		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	-
referential context								

That a V regularly and without the help of a syntactic context (e.g. an article marking the phrase as an expression for a phenomenon which can be referred to) means an object or at least a defining timestable property of an object has not been observed. Even Salish derives habitual agent "nouns" from "verbs".

3.1.3. Summary

The following diagram shows that the decrease or increase of a N/V-D can be conceived of as a crosslinguistically valid continuum. The languages which have plusses in the upper part of the diagram ('+' means presence of a restriction) are most likely to have plusses in the lower part, and languages which have minusses in the lower part ('-' means absence of a restriction) are most likely to have minusses in the upper part. Apparently, a regular overlap relating to the pragmatics of "given term" vs "added term" is most likely (therefore a distinction is least likely in this respect), less common is an overlap in terms of overt signs of relationality (e.g. person affixation) characteristic of an "involving term", while a regular semantic overlap relating to "object" vs "action" is least likely. At best "Ns" and "Vs" may both be basically property expressions, but even here they are differentiated in terms of timestability, dynamicity, and alienability. Generally speaking, though "nouns" need not necessarily mean "object" under all circumstances and "verbs" need not be re-

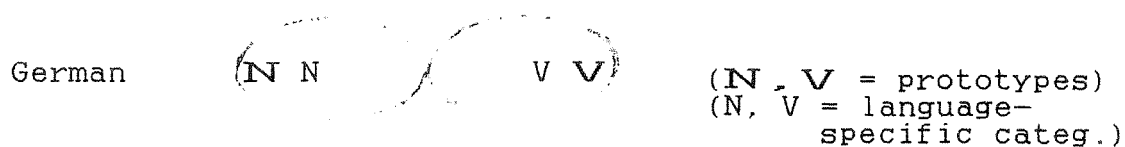
stricted to the meaning "action", it will still be the "nouns" which are best suited for the contextual meaning "object" and the "verbs" which will be best suited for the contextual meaning "action":

123)

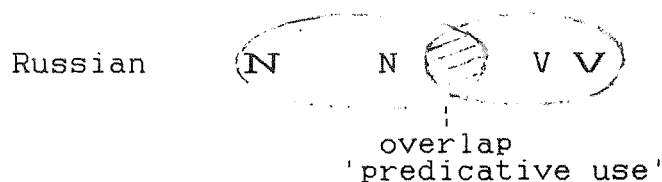
	G	E	R	H	Tu	To	Sa	Sa	To	E	Tu	H	R	G		
- "added term"/-comment															- "given term" (-reference)	V
+copula	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-(+)	+	+	+	+	+	-determiners	
- "involving"/relational term															- "involved t." (-argument)	V
-person affixation	+	+	+	+	-	o	-	-	-(+)	+	+	+	+	+	-adpositions	
+timestable phen.																
-tense	+	+	+	+	(-)	(-)	(-)									
-property															- "object"	V
-predicate-"nominal-ization"	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	-	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	- "object" in refer. context	

It appears from the data that in some languages the words which can most easily be employed for P'ANT expressions ("Ns") are more removed from the prototype N than the language-specific "Vs" are removed from the prototype V (e.g. Russian), whereas other languages (e.g. English) possess "Vs" which are rather removed from the prototype V, while the "Ns" are comparatively close to the prototype, as far as the restrictions are concerned (see (124-126)); in other words, "Ns" may penetrate areas normally associated with the category V (e.g. predicative use), or "Vs" may penetrate areas normally associated with the category N (e.g. referential use), but there is no need for simultaneous overlap from both sides. Nevertheless, it will never be the case that a language possesses only nouns or only verbs. At the stage of a hypothetical non-distinction we end up with basically one class of general property words which class-internally may show certain preferences of contextual use, but only a handful of absolute restrictions:

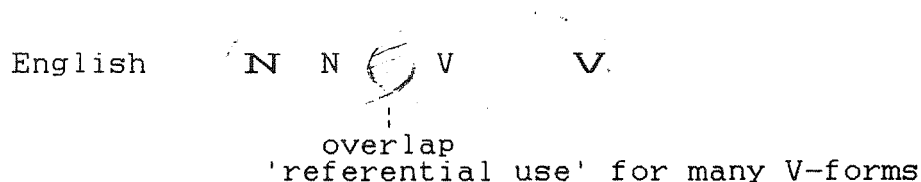
(124)



(125)



(126)



(127) major collapse of grammat. restrictions for "N" and "V". One word class with partly differentiated members



Any degree of a N/V-D based on restrictions of occurrence as depicted in diagram (123) can be further enhanced by the morphological incorporation of typical environments. When a maximum of P'ANT/P'ATUM-information has become morphologically incorporated in the Ns and Vs, the conceptualization of an event as a relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM will have an immediate reflex in the construction of a sentence containing nothing but an N-form and a V-form rather than an NP or a VP. It seems that the incorporation of functions follows a pattern which is quite similar to the pattern of restrictions in (123): signs of "object"-semantics will be relatively early components of nouns, while signs relating to pragmatics are relatively late additions, and indicators of the

syntactic function "involved term" or "argument", respectively, cannot be clearly allocated to either side. Thus, signs of "objecthood" such as number and inherent gender are fairly common on the nouns of respective languages; also frequent is the incorporation of case signs, making a noun a typical "involved term" (argument), yet I do not know of a language which incorporates case, but never incorporates signs of number and gender if such signs exist. Fairly rare is the incorporation of pragmatic information: a case in point is Icelandic, which incorporates a definite article in the noun: cf ICEL. strák-ur-in-n (boy-NOM.SG.M-DEF-NOM.SG.M) 'the boy'. Though Bella Coola, too, morphologically incorporates articles (see (74)ff), the article in Bella Coola is not just a pragmatic element, since it supports the interpretation 'object'. Apart from that the Salish 'article' is not as closely associated with the lexeme as is true in Icelandic.

Admittedly, there are certain problems with regard to the relative position of pragmatic elements and elements signalling the function 'argument' or 'involved term', respectively: consider that in the development of Norwegian (with Icelandic preserving the old stage) the article has moved to the centre of the word while the remainder of case inflection is nowadays only signalled word-finally: NORW. gutt-en-s (boy-DEF-GEN) 'of the boy'; the indeterminacy regarding the relative position is probably due to the interplay of various criteria pertaining to different levels of analysis. - As far as the verb is concerned, TAM-marking is frequent (as TAM is associated with the verbal meaning "action"); also frequent is person affixation, as this is in line with the relationality of the V, which is an "involving term", but whether the person affixation actually points to a real subject or topic is sometimes a matter of doubt, especially in so-called "role-dominant languages" (see Van Valin 1980:326).

To sum up, a maximum of "iconicity" between N/V and P'ANT/P'ATUM is reached in a language such as Icelandic, where all the P'ANT/P'ATUM-related aspects have entered the N- and V-forms in a sentence referring to an event involving a P'ANT and a P'ATUM. Consider the sentence strák-ur-in-n kemur (boy-NOM.SG.M-DEF-NOM.SG.M come:3.SG.PRES.IND) 'the boy comes', which carries signs differentiating N from V in terms of "object"/"action" (e.g. gender and number vs tense and mood), "involved term"/"involving term" (e.g. case paradigm vs person agreement), and "given term"/"added term" (e.g. DEF vs subject agreement). Here the formula P'ANT + P'ATUM corresponds essentially to N + V, while in other languages we also have to consider the notion of a noun phrase and a verb phrase.

3.2. Reasons for a weak noun/verb-distinction

So far we have only been dealing with reasons why Ns and Vs are differentiated in the languages of the world. But there must also be reasons why "Ns" and "Vs" are sometimes almost undifferentiated. We said earlier that any distinction implies that the terms distinguished have something in common. A N/V-indistinction originates in the fact that both Ns and Vs are essentially descriptive labels which are somehow related and applicable to things, but which do not necessarily mean things out of context. In Salish or Tongan, for instance, it appears that the "nouns" contain nothing

but what could be called a general property or feature, e.g. +boy, of a thing-like phenomenon; it is left to the context whether we want to represent the concept of the object characterized by the property, or whether we want to represent the property itself (+boy could then be paraphrased as 'what is characteristic of anyone who is a boy', i.e. the essence of anyone who is a boy' or a non-referential instance of 'boyhood', etc). Tongan is a particularly good example in order to show *why* its "nouns" are so "vague" as compared to the nouns of German, etc: Tongan is a highly isolating language and is therefore predestined to reduce the amount of information contained in its words to the finest "bits" or "atoms of meaning"; these bits are at best comparable to the word stems of German: the Tongan word tangata 'man-' is no more a noun than the German stem Mann-. What makes it justifiable to speak of nouns in German is the fact that there are higher-level units than the stem determining the grammar: for instance, the copula construction ist ein Mann (is INDEF(NOM.SG.M) man(NOM.SG.M) 'is a man' operates on the noun Mann(NOM.SG.M), not on the stem Mann- (see also the discussion on page 87).

As far as the above-mentioned "property-words" are concerned, there are "nominal" properties, which can be called inherent/essential/timestable properties of things (e.g. +boy is limited to a relatively small class of notional objects with which it stands in a timestable defining relationship). "Verbal" general properties, on the other hand, can be called non-inherent/dynamic/non-timestable/manipulable properties of things, and these are typically not limited to a particular notional class of basic objects (e.g. +run in Salish may identify anyone who runs: this relatively artificial class of "momentaneous runners" is far more vague and heterogeneous than the class of boys). "Adjectival properties", incidentally, would accordingly be timestable, static, but usually non-essential properties of condition such as +old

etc. (For a recent discussion of the difference between nouns and adjectives see Wierzbicka 1986). It is quite clear that the "general property words" representing the respective properties will have certain preferences of function in a sentence: it is the nominal general property words which tend to represent things (by means of their essential characteristic), it will be the adjectival general property words which tend to be regarded as additional information about things, and which will either figure as attributes or predicates, and it will be the verbal general property words that tend to be used as a prototype predicate. Yet, prototypicality of use is different from a grammaticalized restriction of use. Only in the latter case can we employ the terms "N", "A", and "V" as *grammatical* categories. Only then can they be defined with relative precision. As merely *notional* categories they are rather vague subclassifications on a continuum of meaning, and there is in principle nothing to stop us from introducing additional notional subclassifications. These subclassifications are of course only relevant in combination with the description of particular formal phenomena.

It is noteworthy that even if we do find grammatical categories in a language there is a continuum of meaning and form, so that the categories of content words are never wholly separated: consider that a true "essence noun" or "nomen absolutum" such as boy in English is highly restricted to a referential context, and that even after a copula (i.e. inside a predicate phrase) it must combine with a determiner, and thus always denotes a thing concept. "Status nouns" or "substantiva abjecta" such as king, however, are somewhat more predicative, since one can either say is a king or is king. The latter construction may either be conceived of as the ascription of a generalized (non-particularized) thing concept 'king' or as the ascription of the status 'king' to a person. Since 'king' in the second reading does not represent a

thing concept, but a status or a quality in the widest sense of the word, it is feasible why is king is similar to an adjectival construction such as is old. Adjectives (e.g. old) usually support referentiality in phrases such as the old man, but they cannot normally be employed as a thing expression on their own (except, for instance, the old in the sense of 'the old people' (never singular)). Adjectives are quite easily compatible with predicative function, but in English they still need a copula: is old. Next are participles, e.g. (is)going, leading on to verbs such as goes. Interestingly enough, this is not the final stage. We can continue with formal changes and create verbal nouns (e.g. (the) going (of)). Here the concept of a verbal property has become quite concrete, and we can refer to it. Now we have completed a structural circle leading from referentiality to predicativity and back to referentiality, yet with a change of meaning from 'concrete phenomenon' via 'property as a concept which one cannot point at' to 'property treated as if it was a rather concrete phenomenon'; that the verbal action of going, for instance, can be conceived of as a property concept in the widest sense of the word is borne out by the "possessive" of-construction combining with the gerund. In order to extract a nominal property of "essence" in English we may create words such as manhood, etc, though generally speaking, nominal properties are less likely to be made referential than their verbal counterparts, and consequently require greater structural effort for this function than the latter units do.

3.3. Inherent and established noun/verb-distinctions

We can speak of a N/V-D proper when the differentiation between a P'ANT expression and a P'ATUM expression is rooted in or inherently determined by the lexemes employed. This is the case when the Ns of language A are always less marked than the Vs in a P'ANT-function ("object", "involved term", "given term") and the Vs are less marked than the Ns in a P'ATUM-function ("action", "involving term", "added term" adding information about a P'ANT). If this holds for every member of the respective word classes, the morphosyntactic environment of the lexemes in a sentence only *confirms* what is inherently given. For instance, we know that come is a V/P'ATUM, and that boy fits best in a N/P'ANT-slot.

The establishing forces come into play when we want to *create new members from non-members*. If the stems must be derived with considerable effort, the N/V-D is still *confirmed*, it is true, but at any rate the creation of new members requires an elaborate morphological apparatus (bake → baker).

The task of morphology gains importance when the stems of the lexemes are the same as in cook(V) and cook(N): we do not know other than by reference to the paradigm that cook(N) is a noun, and that cook(V) is a verb (for boy and come we know what they are even without reference to their paradigms). So here the paradigm creates Ns and Vs as separate word classes.

English cook(N) and cook(V) are even homophonous in their quotation form. Therefore the paradigm has the additional task of *disambiguating the N-lexemes and the V-lexemes in the sentence*, where syntax, too, helps to disambiguate the lexemes.

Still more established is the N/V-D when we have to interpret one lexeme as either N or V according to its (non-automatic) morpho-syntactic characterization. A "lexeme" is either represented by a basic lexical unit on its own (e.g. Tongan) or a basic unit plus morphological inflection (Salish and German). The difference between German and Salish is that in German an N- or V-paradigm is so much part of the word/lexeme that a change to the opposite paradigm not only results in the word's being considered a different lexeme altogether (this case is often even accompanied by a stem-internal derivation such as umlaut), but also in a quite different kind of predicative syntax, etc. for Ns and Vs: e.g. kocht ('cooks' (V); simple predicate) vs ist ein Koch ('is a cook'; periphrastic predicate). In Salish, on the other hand, we are often dealing with the same lexeme combining with alternative paradigms, and there is not any syntactic split as the one described for German, when N and V fulfil similar - e.g. predicative - functions. We can illustrate the above by the following diagrams:

(128) German

$$\frac{\text{basic lex. unit+N-Paradigm}}{\text{basic lex. unit+V-Paradigm}} = \frac{L1}{L2}$$

(129) Salish

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{basic lex. unit} \\ \text{+"N"-Morphology} \\ \text{+"V"-Morphology} \end{array} \right\} = L1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Interpr. N} \\ \text{Interpr. V} \end{array} \right.$$

In Tongan the lexeme is identical with the basic lexical unit, and N/V-categorization (to the extent this expression is appropriate) is due to (word-external) syntax:

(130) Tongan

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{basic lex. unit} \\ \text{+"N"-Syntax} \\ \text{+"V"-Syntax} \end{array} \right\} = L1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Interpr. N} \\ \text{Interpr. V} \end{array} \right.$$

So from German via Salish to Tongan the basic lexical unit gains importance as regards the general representation of the meaning of the lexeme. The N/V-function of the lexeme, however, must then be largely specified by non-automatic morphology (if present) and syntax. The interpretation of one lexeme as either N or V is particularly important in the case of Tongan lexemes such as tu'i: in all readings this lexeme conceivably remains the same (something in the way of 'anything characterizing someone who is king') but the construction CASE hono tu'i (... 3.SG.INAL.POSS king-) means 'his king', TENSE tu'i means roughly 'is king', TENSE ne tu'i (... 3.SG.AGENT king-) can roughly be translated as 'functions as king', and CASE 'ene tu'i (... 3.SG.AL.POSS king-) as 'his functioning as king'. Whatever is said about PARTICIPATION comes in through the syntactic context (notably by the agentive pronoun and a contrast between non-active inalienable possession and an active alienable possession). The syntactic environment interprets the content word as either "N"/P'ANT or "V"/P'ATUM, though, strictly speaking, there is no inherent N/V-D. What is a P'ANT and what is a P'ATUM must be inferred from the phrasal and sentential environment. In addition to that certain ambiguities of interpretation can be avoided by employing means of composition or syntactic concatenation: CASE ART tama tu'i (tama: here 'individual'/'person') can be used unambiguously with the meaning 'the king' in Tongan. There are also certain derivations which overtly transfer a "verbal" property word into a "nominal" property word (see Salish s-derivations and Tongan -'anga-derivations); the derivatives set the stage for a grammaticalized distinction between word classes, yet rather for a class distinction between the equivalent of N-stems and V-stems than for true nouns and verbs.

Let us summarize the steps leading from an inherent N/V-D to an established N/V-D, whereby the role of morphology and syntax becomes increasingly important:

a) The basic units of the lexicon are reserved for N- or V-slots (e.g. boy vs come):

- morphology (if present) and syntax *confirm* the distinction

b) There is a need to create new members from non-members (e.g. bake+r):

- derivational morphology essentially *confirms* the distinction, but *creates derived members*

c) The most basic units of the lexicon (stems or roots) are not yet reserved for N- or V-function (e.g. GERM. koch- ('cook-') in Koch (N) or kochen (V)):

- morphology *creates N- and V-lexemes*

d) The lexemes are of the same phonetic shape in their quotation form (e.g. cook (N) / cook (V)):

- morphology and syntax *disambiguate the lexemes in a sentence*

e) The basic lexemes (or some of the basic lexemes) form one word class which is neither N or V (e.g. Tongan tu'i ('anything

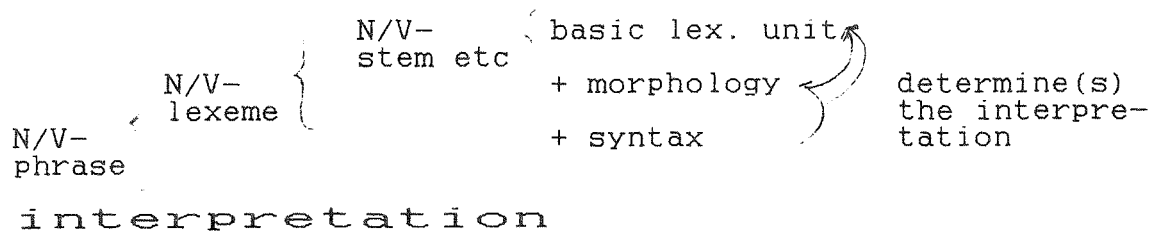
characteristic of someone who is king'; i.e. the thing concept 'king' or the property +king or the activity of functioning as king, etc):

- grammatical morphology (if present) and syntax *add meaning and interpret one and the same lexeme as N or V according to the context*

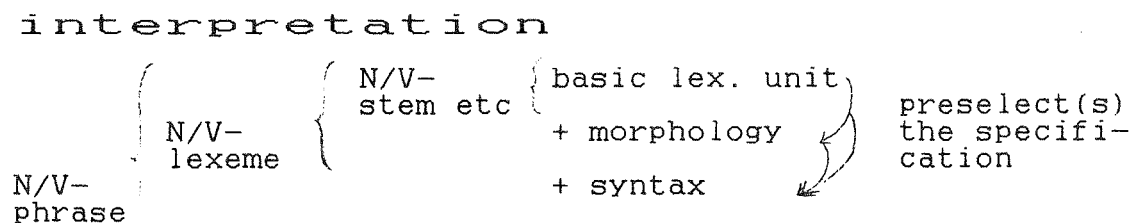
- composition or syntactic concatenation *avoids ambiguities* (e.g. CASE ART tama tu'i (tama : here 'individual'/'person') 'the king'). Even before a true N/V-D comes about there may be derivations comparable to a process of changing a V-stem to a N-stem (cf. Salish s- and Tongan -'anga-derivations). These *word class distinctions below N/V-level* may set the stage for a future N/V-D.

The forces of inherence and the forces of establishing a N/V-D are at play in every language, yet with different degrees of dominance:

Even in Tongan and Salish the most basic lexical units will prototypically tend towards either V-hood or N-hood, respectively, and it is always true that we cannot use a unit which tends towards N-hood to express activity. Still, in a great number of cases we depend on the context in order to know whether the respective word functions nominally or verbally. Dominantly, therefore, syntactic and morphological specification will add information to the basic lexical unit and thus determine the role of the lexeme represented either by the basic lexical unit on its own or by the basic lexical unit plus non-lexicalized morphology:

(131) established N/V-D

With dominant inherence, on the other hand, the basic linguistic unit preselects the morphological specification and together with it preselects the syntactic specification. In English boy and come inherently preselect N- and V-specification, respectively:

(132) inherent N/V-D

Yet even in languages with a dominantly inherent N/V-D there are cases where we rely on syntax and morphology in order to know which lexeme we are talking about (e.g. English cook(V) vs cook(N)).

With the basic lexical units and their morphosyntactic specification taken together, we are able to determine Ns and Vs in any language where the syntactic separation of V and N makes sense at all. However, the amount of variation with respect to language specific Ns and Vs is tremendous; this applies even to syntax: in Tongan the prime participant is added to the "V" by an element cognate to the genitive in nominalizations. Together with the fact that Tongan "Vs" remain underived even as syntactic action nomin-

alizations, the "V" is somehow (though not completely) reminiscent of a gerund. In Salish, on the other hand, the "Vs" are somewhat "participle-like" inasmuch as they can be placed behind a determiner and will then regularly denote an object rather than an action. What is more, there is an additional similarity I hinted at in footnote 5: historically, the "Vs, which are not necessarily predicates, may have been preceded by a copulative element stressing the predicative use. Despite there being a number of differences between Tongan or Salish "Vs" and gerunds or participles, respectively, we may ask ourselves:

"Can it be that there is an analogy between intralinguistic N-V-continua (N-ADJ-PART-V-GER) and interlinguistic continua?"

I leave this question to further research¹⁵.

To conclude, there is nothing such as a universal kind or degree of a linguistic distinction between a word class of nouns and a word class of verbs. Rather, the categorizations of certain lexemes as "Ns" and "Vs", respectively, exhibit a great range of crosslin-

¹⁵Research on the noun/verb-distinction has furnished a number of recent publications. The latest fairly elaborate treatment of the phenomenon is Langacker's article in Language 63 (1987:53-94). For a discussion of Polynesian languages see Vonen (to app.)

There is so far no shortage of "exotic" languages which still await careful analysis with regard to their "nouns" and "verbs", and it would be interesting to find out about the scope of possibilities open to languages in contexts where one would usually expect languages to employ Ns and Vs. A most intriguing language type that I would recommend for further study is no doubt Iroquoian: one often finds predicatively inflected words where one would normally expect NPs or Ns, namely in referential position (see Mithun/Henry 1982 and Lounsbury 1953).

guistic variation. There is, however, a universal basis of comparison for any categorization ranging from a clear-cut distinction to almost a non-distinction. This common denominator is a prototype N or V as a linguistic representation of the concept of a PARTICIPANT (see p.3ff) and a PARTICIPATUM (see p.3ff). Any degree of a noun/verb-distinction will be such that there are words which share most features with a prototype N/P'ANT or a prototype V/P'ATUM, respectively.

It may well be that the criteria differentiating between the language-internal "Ns" and "Vs" are so few, and the "Ns" and "Vs" in question have so much in common, that it is best to consider the respective "Ns" and "Vs" slightly differentiated members of the same word class rather than members of two separate word classes (cf. Salish and Tongan). In such a case the "Ns" and "Vs" are most removed from the prototypes of Ns and Vs as representatives of P'ANTs and P'ATA, and anything which is said about PARTICIPATION in a sentence must be inferred from the morphosyntactic environment, which, in this case, is not inherently demanded by the lexemes.

Apart from a positive trend towards the differentiation of N and V according to the P'ANT/P'ATUM-distinction there also appears to be a positive trend towards the non-distinction of "Ns" and "Vs": in the latter case we obtain a class of freely available general property words, a kind of "atoms" of information which occur in any language in the most rudimentary units of the lexicon, such as roots or stems, etc. If these rudimentary units are coextensive with the lexemes of a language they may be interpreted as "N"/P'ANT or "V"/P'ATUM solely on the basis of their non-obligatory sentential context. At this stage crosscategorical derivation is kept at a minimum, while a strict N/V-D must provide for a number of means to cross categorical boundaries.

4. Abbreviations

A - Aspect	P - person
ABS - absolutus (Tongan)	PART - participle
ABSL - absolute case (Turkish)	PASS - passive
ACC - accusative or accent	PAT - patient
ACCOMPL - accomplished (aspect)	PERFCT - perfective aspect
ADV - adverb(ial)	PL(UR) - plural
ADJVZ - adjectivizer	POSS - possessive
AG - agent	PRED - predicate
AL - alienable	PREF - prefix
ART - article	PRES - present
B.C. - Bella Coola	P'ANT - PARTICIPANT (def.p.3)
CAUS - causative	P'ATUM - PARTICIPATUM (" " 3)
CLASS - classifier	R(USS) - Russian
COMPL - completive (aspect)	RED - reduplication
COND - conditional (mood)	REF - referential
CONT - continuous (aspect)	RES - resultative
COP - copula	SA - Salish
DEF - definite (article or accent)	SG - singular
DEIC - deictic	SH - Shuswap
DEM - demonstrative	SPEC - specific (article)
DERIV - derivation	SQ - Squamish
DET - determiner	SUF - suffix
DIM - diminutive	T - tense or term
DISTR - distributive	TAM - tense/aspect/mood
DYN - dynamic	TM - tense/mood
E(NGL) - English	TO(NG) - Tongan
F - feminine	TR(ANS) - transitive/-izer
G(ER(M)) - German	T(U)R - Turkish
GEN - genitive	V - verb
H(EBR) - Hebrew	VP - verb phrase
HYP - hypothetical (article)	VL(Z) - verbalizer
IMPF - imperfective aspect	
INAL - inalienable	
IND - indicative (mood)	
INDF - indefinite (article or tense)	
INDIVL - individualizer	
INF - infinitive	
INTROD - introductory (case)	
ITR - intransitive	
KAL - Kalispel	
L - lexeme	
LEX - lexical	
LNK - linker	
LOC - locative	
M - masculine or mood	
N - noun or neuter	
NEG - negation	
NL(Z) - nominalizer	
NOM - nominative	
NP - noun phrase	
NUM - numeral (classifier)	
N/V-D - noun/verb-distinction	
OBJ - object	

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¹ Not all of the books and articles listed here have been explicitly referred to in the text, but all of them contain useful information with respect to either forms, behaviour, or functions which are commonly associated with Ns or Vs.

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