S6

Typological Perspectives on Compounds in LIS and LSF

Mirko SANTORO
(Institut Jean Nicod (EHESS-ENS-CNRS), France)

ABSTRACT
Background: Sequential compounds like *swordfish*, are attested both in spoken and sign languages. However, sign languages offer the possibility of having simultaneous compounds, where one member is realized with one hand, and the other member is realized with the other hand [6]. In addition to that, the complexity of SL lexicon offers a variety of combinations: core lexical signs, classifier and initialized forms [5]. Current typological classifications do not include simultaneous compounds [1] and formal analyses have never been proposed for this kind of compound [2].

Goals: We investigate compounds in Italian and French SL. We offer a classification based on the lexical properties of signs (core lexicon, classifier, etc.) [5]. We propose a formal analysis of compounds based on Distributed Morphology (DM) [2].

Data: Field-work has been conducted with native LIS and LSF informants. Some examples are offered below:

	Type	LIS	LSF
(1)	Sequential *core^core*	HEART^EXPLODE 'heart attack'	MOTHER^FATHER 'parents'
(2)	Simultaneous *core^core*	unattested	SIGN^TEACH 'sign language teacher'
(3)	Simultaneous *cl^cl*	ENTITY-CL^ENTITY-CL 'heart attack'	HANDLING-CL^SHAPE-CL 'heart attack'
(4)	Sequential *fingerspelling^core*	C^POSSESSIVE 'culture'	H^SPORT 'Handisport'

Analysis. i) The distribution of LIS and LSF compounds show typological variation. Simultaneous *core^core* compounds are productive in LSF but not allowed in LIS, where only *classifier^classifier* (*cl^cl*) are attested in the simultaneous option. We propose that this difference is due to language specific constraints on the lexical categories of the members of the compound. From a syntactic and semantic point of view, sequential attributive endocentric compounds are not found in LIS, while they are attested in LSF. To account for the existence of simultaneous compounds, we propose to add a new (sequential vs. simultaneous) layer to the current typological description proposed by [1].

iii) At the formal level, we propose that sequential compounds originate from asymmetric derivations (see [3]). Simultaneous compounds are derived by allowing root-root merge before category assignment [4].

REFERENCES

[1] Bisetto & Scalise. 2005. The Classification of Compounds. *Lingue e linguaggio* 4(2): 319-320.

[2] Embick & Noyer. 2007. Distributed Morphology and the Syntax/Morphology Interface. *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Interfaces*, pp. 289-324.

[3] Harley, Lieber & Štekauer. 2009. *The Oxford Handbook of Compounding.*

[4] Snyder. 2001. On the Nature of Syntactic Variation: Evidence from Complex Predicates and Complex Word-formation. *Language* 77(2): 324-342.

[5] Brentari & Padden. 2001. Native and Foreign Vocabulary in American Sign Language: A Lexicon with Multiple Origins. *Foreign Vocabulary in Sign Languages*, pp. 87-120.

[6] Meir, Aronoff, Sandler & Padden. 2010. *Sign Languages and Compounding. Compounding.* pp. 573-595, John Benjamins.