

Verbal Number Suppletion

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Introduction

- What even *is* suppletion?
- Is it common? Does it happen in languages you know?

Introduction

- What even *is* suppletion?

Suppletion, Smith et al. (2019)

Suppletion refers to the phenomenon in which a single lexical item (lexeme) or root morpheme is associated with two phonologically unrelated realisations (exponents).

Introduction

- Is it common? Does it happen in languages you know?

(1) Suppletion in English - *Or is it?*

- be (Infinitive) - am, is, are, was, were (dependent on person, number and tense)
- Go (present tense) - went (past tense)
- person (singular) - people (plural)
- kill (single action) - massacre (plurality of actions)*

Introduction - Potential Research Questions

- What is suppletion?
- How do we test suppletion?
- Why is it interesting? What does it tell us?
- What makes things supplete?
- What things can actually be suppletive?
- Why do we need suppletion?
- How can we prove relatedness of two forms?
- ... and many questions more!

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- What is suppletion?
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Verbal Number Suppletion

- What is verbal number?
- What languages exhibit that phenomenon?
- Are there different types (and if so, what are these)?
- Do all languages show the same types?

Verbal Number Suppletion

- What is verbal number?
- “Two” kinds of verbal number:
 1. Participant Number
 2. Pluractionality

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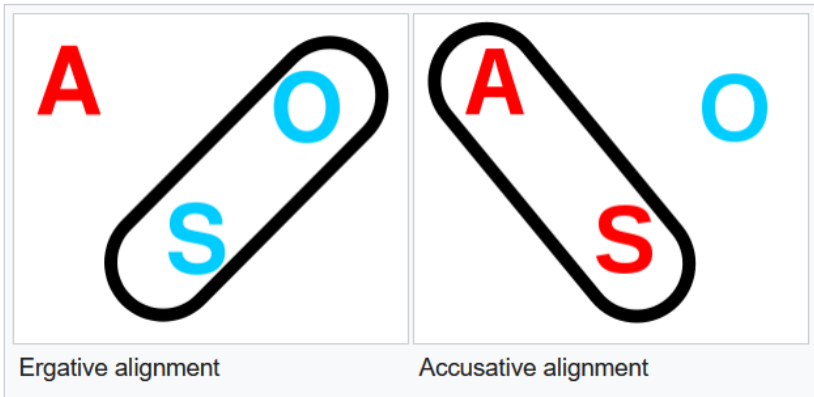
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Participant Number

- indicates the number of participants (*but not* the number of arguments/voice)
- It has been investigated in the combination with suppletion because of *theoretical implications* on the study of *Allomorphy and Suppletion* (most notably perhaps, Locality Conditions)
- E.g. there seems to be a preference for an “Ergative”-like Pattern in Participant Number Suppletion (PNS)
- Important example: PNS in Hiaki (Uto-Aztecan)

Participant Number

(2) Ergative vs. Accusative alignment



Participant Number

(3) Hiaki Number suppletion (subject) (Bobaljik and Harley 2017, 143)

a. Aapo vuite

3SG run.SG

'S/he is running'

b. Venpo tenne

3PL run.PL

'They are running'

Participant Number

(4) Hiaki number suppletion (object) (Bobaljik and Harley 2017, 144)

- a. Aapo/Vempo uka koowi-ta me'a-k
 3SG/3PL the.SG pig-ACC.SG kill.SG-PRF
 'He/They killed the pig.'
- b. Aapo/Vempo ume kowi-m sua-k
 3SG/3PL the.PL pig-PL kill.PL-PRF
 'He/They killed the pigs.'

Participant Number

(5) Suppletional Verbs, Mithun (1988, 213)

(3)	'sit/dwell'		'(one to) sit'	'(group to) sit'
	Shuswap	(Gibson, 1973, p. 52)	<i>?ém</i>	<i>téq</i>
	Southern Paiute	(Sapir, 1930, p. 242)	<i>qari-</i>	<i>yuwwi-</i>
	Haida	(Swanton, 1911, p. 276)	<i>q!ao</i>	<i>L!ū</i>
	Zuni	(Newman, 1965, p. 55)	<i>?imo</i>	<i>tina</i>
	Upper Chehalis	(Kinkaid, 1975, p. 48)	<i>tawilš</i>	<i>lákʷt</i>
(4)	'kill'		'kill (one)'	'kill (several)'
	Shuswap	(Gibson, 1973, p. 52)	<i>púl</i>	<i>íkʷ</i>
	Southern Paiute	(Sapir, 1930, p. 242)	<i>paq-a</i>	<i>qoʼi-</i>
	Haida	(Swanton, 1911, p. 276)	<i>tia</i>	<i>L!da</i>
	Zuni	(Newman, 1965, p. 55)	<i>?ayna</i>	<i>tata</i>
	Upper Chehalis	(Kinkaid, 1975, p. 263)	<i>šálq̣</i>	<i>-ášʷ</i>

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Pluractionality

- Newman (1980) introduced the term for Hausa
- The term then migrated to the literature of other African languages and later to other languages across the globe (most notably perhaps Northern American languages)
- But what *is* Pluractionality?
- In Short: Morphological marking of plurality or intensity of *events*
- e.g. the difference between “to hit once” and “to hit several times” would be encoded morphologically on the verb

Pluractionality

(6) Pluractionality in Hausa, Newman (2012, 192)

Hausa²

a. *basic*: wáatsáa ‘scatter, disperse’

pluractional --- verb grade 7

wàRwàatsáa --- wàRwàatsú ‘be widely scattered, dispersed’³

b. *basic*: nèemí ‘seek’

pluractional: --- verbal noun

nànnèemí --- nànnéemáa ‘seeking all over, seeking a lot’

c. *basic*: míikàa ‘stretch out’

pluractional --- adverb of state

mímmiikáa --- mímimiiké ‘sprawled out’ (e.g., on a bed)

Pluractionality

- A variety of languages and language families display Pluractional marking
- most common pattern of marking: Reduplication
- however, some languages also display suppletion in the context of Pluractional

Pluractionality

(7) Suppletional Pluractional Verbs, Newman (2012, 194)

(3) a. Shoshone (Houser et al. 2006)

<i>basic</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>pluractional</i>
to'eh	'emerge'	küa
pahi	'fall off'	sawü'i

b. Ingush (Bruhn 2007)

<i>basic</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>pluractional</i>
uozh	'fall'	lieg

Pluractionality

(8) Suppletional Pluractional Verbs, Newman (2012, 194)

c. Obolo (Aaron 1996/97)

<i>basic</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>pluractional</i>
kpuk	'chop'	s::p
fieek	'slice'	sek
t::k::	'pour'	gwook
m::n::	'take'	chiaa
na a	'depart'	yat

d. Sura (Jungrathmayr 1963)

<i>basic</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>pluractional</i>
taa	'fall'	cfiyo
t££	'tear, break'	yila
ma	'take'	ghar
naa	'see'	liyap
can	'cut'	saa
l::p	'get dressed'	jwal

Pluractionality

- most languages have an overlap between Participant Number and Pluractionality or do not differentiate between either
- In a way, plurality of participants implies plurality of events:

(9) Participant Number and Pluractionality

- a. I kick the ball. (Singular Participant, Singular Activity)
- b. We kick the ball. (Plural Participant, Singular Activity)
- c. I kick the ball several times. (Singular Participant, Plural Activity)
- d. We each kick the ball several times. (Plural Participant, Plural Activity)

Overlapping Verbal Number

(10) Hausa Pluractionality, Newman (2012, 198)

Hausa

i. <i>Basic</i>		<i>pluractional</i>	
kíráa	‘call’	kírkíráa	‘keep on calling or call many people’
táakàa	‘step on’	táttàakáa	‘trample’
kácfàa	‘beat (e.g., a drum)’	káRkàcfàa	‘drum for a long time or in many places’
táfàsáa	‘boil’	táfáRfàsáa	‘boil a lot or repeatedly’

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San Pedro Amuzgo

- One point of data that might be very interesting to look at for the future is San Pedro Amuzgo (SP Amuzgo, Palancar and Feist (2015))
- Some SP Amuzgo verbs are also suppletive for number, however, according to Palancar and Feist (2015) they follow a **S-A pattern instead of a S-O pattern**.
- Even further, according to Kim (2022), citing Tapia García (1999), **causative structures actually block** the surfacing of suppletive patterns, i.e. for verbs with suppletive stems, only one may surface independently of what number feature either argument may bear.

San Pedro Amuzgo

(11) Amuzgo Suppletive Verbs, Palancar and Feist (2015, 367)

	Singular	Plural	
a.	<i>ki³-ndyi³⁴</i>	<i>ki⁵-to³⁵</i>	'be included'
	<i>ñe³+ki⁵_tso⁵</i>	<i>ñe³+ki³_nda¹</i>	'be tired'
	<i>tsku³</i>	<i>tε³</i>	'close', 'prohibit'
	<i>tʔeo³⁵</i>	<i>tyue³⁵</i>	'cry'
	<i>ncchi³⁵</i>	<i>ngio¹</i>	'know', 'find out' ^a
	<i>nthi³⁵</i>	<i>ndio¹</i>	'find'
	<i>bʔi³⁵</i>	<i>bhe³⁵</i>	'get angry'
	<i>ndyo¹</i>	<i>nkio³</i>	'come'
	<i>ndi⁵+hi⁵³-ba³⁵</i>	<i>ndi⁵+hi⁵³-mi³</i>	'get bad, ugly'

San Pedro Amuzgo

(12) Amuzgo Suppletive Verbs + Causative Interaction Kim (2022)

(10) ‘sleep’

‘cause to sleep’

Forma singular

1° tzö¹ bà¹tzö¹2° tzu⁵³ **bá⁵tzú¹**3° tzó⁵ ⁵tzó⁵

Forma plural

1° jnda³⁴ ko³nda³⁴2° jnda³¹ ko³nda³¹3° jnda¹ ko³nda¹
o³ o³4° jnda¹ ko³nda¹
jó⁵ jó⁵

síkítzö (5.5.53) matzíkítzö (3.5.5.53) nr

síkítzo’ (5.5.53) matzíkítzo’ (3.5.5.53) nnt

síkítzó (5.5.5) ‘tzíkítzó (5.5.5.5) nnt:

jna’kítzö ö (1.5.5.5) konà’kítzö ö (3.1.5.5.5) n
5.5)

jna’kítzô (1.5.31) konà’kítzô (3.1.5.31) nnà

jna’kítzó o’ (1.5.5.3) konà’kítzó o’ (3.1.5.5
(3.1.5.5.3)

jna’kítzó (1.5.5) konà’kítzó (3.1.5.5) nnà’l

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Conclusions?

- Nothing is solved. There is no uniform account for anything.
- Some interim suggestions/observations:
 - a. Both Participant Number and Pluractionality seem to adhere to **similar principles**.
 - b. Suppletion is available **independent of the type of verbal number** and in fact sometimes Participant Number and Pluractionality are two sides of the same coin.
 - c. (Regarding Participant Number) The **“Ergative” pattern** seems to be attested for many languages and could thus give pointers to Locality Conditions (i.e. objects seem to be structurally closer to the verb as subjects).
- How do we integrate the data from Oto-Manguean languages such as SP Amuzgo or even Koasati?

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