Verbal number and Suppletion in Hiw

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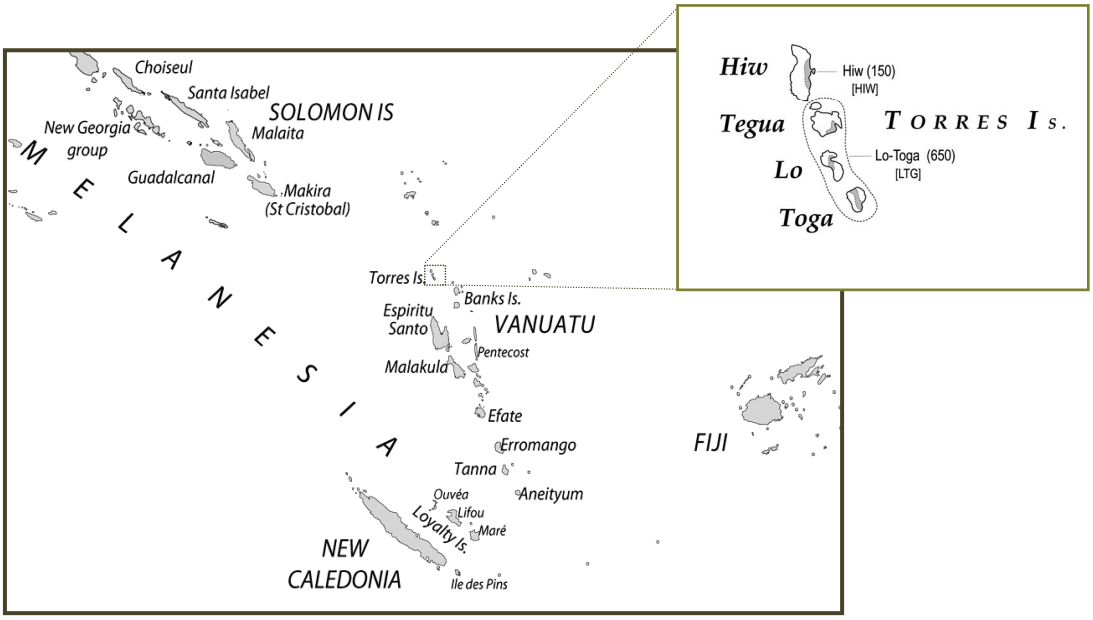


Language: Hiw, Torres Is., north Vanuatu. 150 speakers.

I. The coding of number

A. Number on NP vs Number on verb

(1) *Nine* kayŗake.
3**SG** stand.up
'He stood up.'

(1') *Sise* kayŗake.
3**PL** stand.up
'They stood up.'

(2) *Nine* ***sō***. (*Nine iw.)
3**SG** fall:**SG**?
'He fell.'

(2') *Sise* ***iw***. (*Sise sō.)
3**PL** fall:PL?
'They fell.'

(3) Ne wō-metu mik ***sō***.
ART fruit-coconut APPREH fall.**SG**?
'The coconut might fall.'

(3') Ne wō-metu mik ***iw***.
ART fruit-coconut APPREH fall.**PL**?
'The coconut**s** might fall.'

Number encoded on NPs (NOMINAL NUMBER) and/or on the verb (VERBAL NUMBER).

Two sorts of verbs:

most verbs don't vary for number (e.g. *kayr̄ake*)
vs **30 verb pairs** encode verbal number (e.g. *sō* ≠ *iw*)

How does VERBAL NUMBER compare with NOMINAL NUMBER in Hiw?
What is the relationship between *sō* and *iw*? Are they 2 allomorphs of the same word? Or 2 different words in paradigmatic relationship?

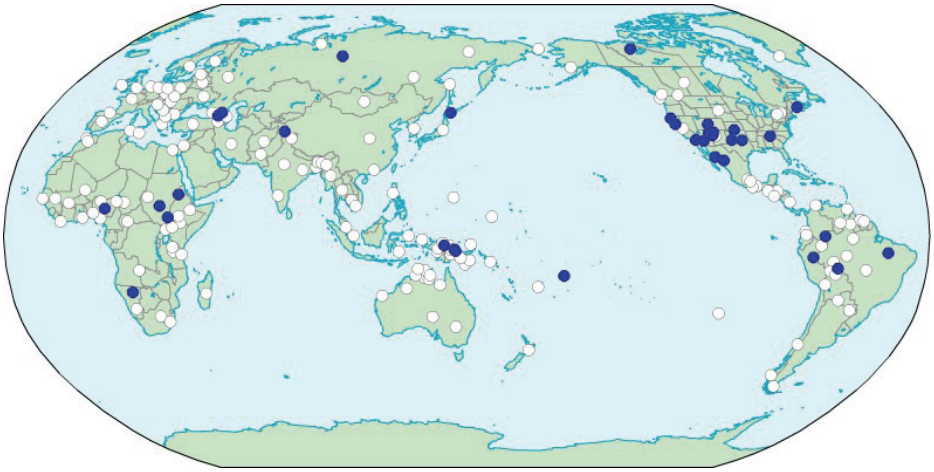
B. Verbal number suppletion in the world

Pairs of verbs depending on number: 'verbal suppletion for number', 'verbal number'.

See Durie (1986), Mithun (1988), Corbett (2000), Veselinova (2006, 2008).

e.g. Ainu (Tamura 1988):
as 'stand.SG' ≠ ***roski*** 'stand.PL'

Number of verb pairs per language = from 1 or 2 to ≈30.
Frequent in north America + Papuan languages. → cf. map from WALS (Veselinova 2008)



Among Austronesian languages, mostly Polynesian languages:

e.g. Kapingamarangi (PN outlier; Lieber & Dikepa 1974)
damana 'large.SG' ≠ ***llauehe*** 'large.PL'

Samoan (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992)
alu 'go.SG' ≠ ***ō*** 'go.PL'
inu 'drink.SG' ≠ ***fe-inu*** 'drink.PL'

Oceanic, non-Polynesian languages: very few cases reported.

Araki (François 2002)
hetehete 'small.SG' ≠ ***variri*** 'small.PL'
lapa 'big.SG' ≠ ***v̈alalapa*** 'big.PL'

Banks Is: Ø verbal-number pairs.

⇒ Torres Is:
14 verb pairs in Lo-Toga + **30** verb pairs in Hiw.

II. Inventory of verb number pairs in Hiw & Lo-Toga

Meaning	*LO-TOGA*		*HIW*	
	SG	*non-SG*	*non-PL*	*PL*
small	reri	wureri	(kkë)	(këkkë)
big	luwō	liliave		
stay, dwell			yöy	toge
sit	**hag**	**vërhagir**	**sag**	**vor̄sasēr̄ēg**
stand	**tu**	**vërtur**	**tu**	**vor̄tur̄**
lie	in	vërenev	ēn	moner̄ög
sleep	(metur)	(metmetur)	mitir̄	motr̄ig
go (on land)			tō	vën
go back (on land)			tō n̄wuye	n̄wuye
fetch			tör̄ön	vënr̄ön
leave behind			ter̄og	vënr̄og
bring, carry			tevog	vënn̄og
run	velag	rerōw	vëyag	voyi
fall			sō	(s)iw
jump	wël	wuwël		
alive; escape	ah	uah		
die, (be) dead	mēt	(pe)pun	mët	qēt
cry	kerë	vërkari	woge	wogig
be hanging			sëm	quy
hang s.th.			vasëm	quy
(be) broken			meyēt	mōr̄ōt
splitting			yēt	r̄ōt
cut			tar̄e	r̄ōt
plant	**ton**	**va**	**ton**	**va**
take, collect	**ole**	**vile**	**oye**	**viye**
grab			oye	mōwe
throw			wötog	tr̄og
shoot s.o.			vēnie	kar̄e(n̄i)
pelt stones at	let(n̄ie)	gōh	ove(n̄i)	pyot
tie, bind			soy	r̄öt
stow			gön	pr̄og
hit w. stick			not	tr̄an̄we
hit, kill	**not**	**rohe**	**not**	**r̄ote**
kill			not	qētn̄og

[In bold: Forms found to be cognate between the two neighbouring languages.]

III. The mechanism of verbal number in Hiw

Number-related "suppletion" cannot be reduced to just formal agreement with the subject.

A. Ergative pattern

Dominant alignment pattern of Hiw is nominative-accusative (S=A).

(4) NOKE *sesu* ti.
1SG bathe PERF
'I had a bath.'

(4') NOKE *yō-**se*** ti.
1SG see-3NSG PERF
'I saw them.'

But verbal number generally works on an **ergative-absolutive** basis (S=O):
Verb number indicates number of S in intransitive clauses, of O in transitive clauses.

(5) Temaŕëŕë peon ***not*** i **noke**!
old.man FUT kill.**SG** OBJ **1SG**
'The Ogre will kill$_{SG}$ me!'

(5') Temaŕëŕë peon ***qētn̄og*** i **tite**!
old.man FUT kill.**PL** OBJ 1INC.**PL**
'The Ogre will kill$_{PL}$ us!'

Verb agrees with its 'internal' argument, "participant most affected" (Comrie 1982:112).

B. Nominal number vs Verbal number

NOMINAL NUMBER: ***Animacy hierarchy*** in number marking (cf. Corbett 2000:90)

inanimate < animate < human generic < **human specific**

no contrast in number SG-DU-PL

cf. (3) p.1: number on verb, not on NP

→ Human specific referents:

- Personal pronouns

(6)

	singular	*dual*	*plural*
1 INC		**tōr̄ö**	**tite**
1 EXC	**noke**	**kamaŕe**	**kama**
2	**ike**	**kimiŕe**	**kimi**
3	**nine**	**sōr̄ö**	**sise**

- Object suffixes (defective paradigm)

(7)

	singular	*non-singular*
1 INC		**-te**
1 EXC	**—**	**—**
2	**-ke**	**—**
3	**(-e)**	**-se**

- Verbal number: dual NPs systematically combines with the 'singular' verb.
  e.g. 'fall' *sō – iw*:

(8)	*singular*	*dual*	*plural*
1 INC		törö **sō**	tite **iw**
1 EXC	noke **sō**	kamaře **sō**	kama **iw**
2	ike **sō**	kimiře **sō**	kimi **iw**
3	nine **sō**	sörö **sō**	sise **iw**

(9) Ne yeqën viřö pe vën ***sag*** řë
ART woman two REL DIREC sit:NPL there
'The two women ***sitting*** over there…'

(9') Ne yeqën vitöy pe vën ***vořsaserēg*** řë
ART woman three REL DIREC sit:PL there
'The three women ***sitting*** over there…'

Verbal number and *nominal number* divide the number spectrum differently:

Referent number	**NOMINAL NUMBER** Subject pronouns	Object suffixes	human generic NP/ non-human NP	**VERBAL NUMBER**
1	**singular**	**singular**	*(no number contrast)*	**'non-plural'**
2	**dual**	**non-singular**		
≥3	**plural**			**'plural'**

- Non-plural verb x non-singular object = dual interpretation:

(10) Ne temët ***not*** ***mat*** i-**se**.
ART ghost hit:**NPL** dead:**NPL** OBJ-3**NSG**
'The ghost killed them two.'

Verbal number is a semantic category formally independent from *nominal number*.

C. Summary: The semantics of verbal number

Hiw has 30 verb pairs which distinguish between two types of events, depending on the plurality of its absolutive (internal) participant.

"individual" event internal participant ≤2		***"group" event*** internal participant ≥3	
'individual' sitting	***sag***	'group' sitting	***vořsasērēg***
'individual' falling	***sō***	'group' falling	***iw***
'individual' killing	***not***	'group' killing	***qētňog***…

This formal division reflects a perceptual contrast between "individual" and "group" events.

IV. The nature of the verbal pairs

Does each pair represent one lexical word? or two distinct words?

A. Suppletion vs reduplication

In many languages, verbal number is expressed by *reduplication*.

	Mwotlap	**Hiw**	**Sikuani** (Amazonia)
Verbal number (plural participant)	***Redup***	***Suppletion***	***Redup + Suppletion***
Verbal aspect (pluractionality, atelicity…)	***Redup***	***Redup***	***Redup + Suppletion***

- Mwotlap (François 2004)

(11) Na-mtig tile ***qēsdi***.
ART-coconut APPREH fall~INDIV
'The coconut might fall.'

(11') Na-mtig tile ***qēsqēsdi***.
ART-coconut APPREH fall~MULT
'The coconuts might fall.'

qēsdi → *qēsqēsdi*:
Morphological derivation (1 lexeme)

- Hiw

(3) Ne wō-metu mik ***sō***.
ART fruit-coconut APPREH fall.**NPL**
'The coconut might fall.'

(3') Ne wō-metu mik ***iw***.
ART fruit-coconut APPREH fall.**PL**
'The coconuts might fall.'

sō → *iw*:
What relation??

B. One or two words ?

- Suppletion? → Two allomorphs of same lexeme
- Lexical contrast? → Two different words

1. SUPPLETION?

Suppletion = relationship usually encoded by inflection, exceptionally by change of radical.

wash : wash-ED :: go : WENT

But Hiw does NOT have an inflectional category of verbal number.

→ This is *not suppletion* proper (Durie 1986, Mithun 1988, Corbett 2000, Veselinova 2006)

2. LEXICAL CONTRAST?

Several arguments show we are dealing with **separate lexemes, in paradigmatic relation**.

a) Different etymologies

e.g. 'plant s.th.': ***ton*** [NPL] < POc *tanum ≠ ***va*** [PL] < POc *pasok

In a few cases, one can reconstruct a pattern of morphological derivation:

'stand'	(***tu***)	tʉ	< *tuqur	(***vor̄tur̄***)	**βɔᵍʟtʉᵍʟ**	< ***paʀi**- tuqur -**i***
'sit'	(***sag***)	sayˠ	< *sake	(***vor̄sasēr̄ēg***)	**βɔᵍʟ**sasɪᵍʟɪˠ	< ***paʀi**- sasake -(r)**i***
'sleep'	(***mitīr̄***)	mitiᵍʟ	< *matiruʀ	(***motr̄ig***)	mɔtᵍʟiˠ	< *matiruʀ -**i***

POc ***paʀi-... -i*** = 'unified or conjoined action by a plural subject' (Pawley 1973:151).

cf. Samoan: *inu* 'drink:SG' → ***fe**-inu* 'drink:PL' < ***paʀi**-inu(m)*

But this derivation process is not productive any more, and opaque.

b) Separate nominalisation

Nominalisation = Verb + suffix *-ove*

'go'	***tō***	→	*ne* ***tō-ove*** *=na me*	'his coming here, his visit'
	vën	→	*ne* ***vën-ove*** *=sa me*	'their coming here, their visit'
'sit'	***sag***	→	*ne* ***sag-ove*** *=kie*	'my sitting, my presence'
	vor̄sasēr̄ēg	→	*ne* ***vor̄sasēr̄ēg-ove*** *=ta*	'our sitting, our meeting'

c) Different morphosyntactic properties

	STATIVE 'hang [INTR]'		**CAUSATIVE** 'hang s.th. [TR]'
NPL	***sëm***	⇒	***va-sëm***
PL	***quy***	=	***quy***

d) Different polysemies

	(s.th.) 'remain'	(s.o.) 'stay, dwell'	'Progressive auxiliary'
NPL	***toge***	***yöy***	***toge***
PL	***toge***	***toge***	***toge***

	'fall'	'go down'
NPL	***sō***	***iw***
PL	***iw***	***iw***

	'hit with stick'	'kill by hitting'	'kill'
NPL	***not***	***not***	***not***
PL	***tr̄anw̄e***	***r̄ote***	***qētn̄og***

	'walk'	'go (on land)'	'go (otherwise)' boat, plane...	'go' (metaph.)	*Directional* 'thither'
NPL	***tō***	***tō***	***vën***	***vën***	***vën***
PL	***tō***	***vën***	***vën***	***vën***	***vën***

Each pair of verbs = two distinct lexemes which have developed a regular paradigmatic relationship *for some of their senses*.

V. Conclusion

Hiw has developed a semantic category of *verbal number*, contrasting "individual" events (particip. **≤2**) vs "group" events (particip. **≥3**).
This semantic principle structures a whole subset of the lexicon.

- How did this arise in Hiw?

  It probably started as a derivational process, with **paʀi-… -i* circumfix.

  The cognitive contrast ('individual event' vs 'group event') then became increasingly salient as a relevant principle for organising the verb lexicon.

  ⇒ Several pairs of semantically related words were then "hijacked" for the purpose of embodying this semantic contrast, *for some of their senses*.

  = Emergence of **paradigmatic structure within the lexicon**.

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Abbreviations

NSG 'non-singular'; NPL 'non-plural'; APPREH 'Apprehensive mood'; OBJ 'object preposition'; REL 'relativiser'.

orthogr.	*a*	*e*	*ë*	*ē*	*g*	*i*	*k*	*m*	*n*	*ñ*	*ñw*	*o*	*ö*	*ō*	*p*	*q*	*r̄*	*s*	*t*	*u*	*v*	*w*	*y*
IPA	a	ə	e	ɪ	ɣ	i	k	m	n	ŋ	ŋʷ	ɔ	ɵ	o	p	kʷ	ᵍʟ	s	t	ʉ	β	w	j