

# Defectiveness: typology and diachrony

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(1) A classic example: Latin ‘change’

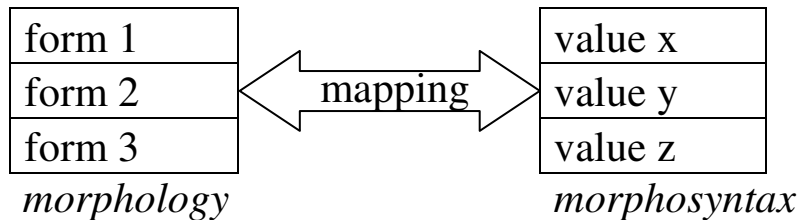
	singular	plural
NOM	-----	vicēs
ACC	vicem	vicēs
GEN	vicis	-----
DAT	-----	vicibus
ABL	vice	vicibus

Questions:

- What units are affected? → *see Part A*
- How do gaps arise? → *see Part B*
- How are they maintained/enforced/learned? → *rest of conference?*

## Part A: Synchronic typology

(2) Three components of an inflectional paradigm



## 1 Morphology

### 1.1 Stem

(3) ‘Big’ in Yir-Yoront (Alpher 1991).

	‘fresh (water)’	‘narrow’	‘bad’	‘who’	‘big’
ABS	purrchuwr	yoyrr	warrch	wanh	-----
ERG	purrchpurr	yoyrn-an	wirrchi-r	wotho-l	thowo-rr
DAT	purrchpurr-iy	yoyrn-um	wirrchi-y	wotho-nn	thowo-nn

## 1.2 Prosody

### (4) Chiquihuitlan Mazatec ‘carry’ (Jamieson 1982: 166)

	neutral positive		neutral negative	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1INCL		ča <sup>3</sup> nēh <sup>31</sup>		ča <sup>2</sup> nēh <sup>21</sup>
1	ba <sup>3</sup> nēh <sup>31</sup>	ča <sup>3</sup> nīh <sup>314</sup>	ba <sup>2</sup> nēh <sup>21</sup>	ča <sup>2</sup> nīh <sup>214</sup>
2	ča <sup>3</sup> nīh <sup>31</sup>	ča <sup>3</sup> nūh <sup>31</sup>	ča <sup>2</sup> nīh <sup>21</sup>	ča <sup>2</sup> nūh <sup>21</sup>
3	ba <sup>3</sup> nīh <sup>31</sup>		ba <sup>2</sup> nīh <sup>21</sup>	

	incompletive positive		incompletive negative	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1INCL		ča <sup>4</sup> nēh <sup>41</sup>		-----
1	kua <sup>3</sup> nēh <sup>31</sup>	ča <sup>4</sup> nīh <sup>414</sup>	kua <sup>2</sup> nēh <sup>21</sup>	-----
2	ča <sup>4</sup> nīh <sup>41</sup>	ča <sup>4</sup> nūh <sup>41</sup>	-----	-----
3	kua <sup>4</sup> nīh <sup>41</sup>		-----	

Note: tones are indicated through superscript numerals, from ‘1’ (high) to ‘4’ (low).

### (5) Alternations involving segmental material: no correspondence

	‘prefixes’		endings (underlying)		endings (surface)	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1INCL		B		-ã		-ẽ
1	A	B	-a	-ĩ	-ẽ	-ĩ
2	B	B	-i	-ũ	-ĩ	-ũ
3	A		∅		-ĩ	

### (6) Tonal alternations in the incompletive

	incompletive positive		incompletive negative	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1INCL		4...	<i>Expected:</i> tone 3 → tone 2 tone 4 → tone 4	
1	3...	4...		
2	4...	4...		
3	4...			

### 1.3 Affixes

(7) Latin: some 3rd declension nouns lack genitive plural

	singular	plural	
NOM	fax	facēs	‘torch’
ACC	facem	facēs	
GEN	facis	-----	
DAT	facī	facibus	
ABL	face	facibus	

(8) 3rd declension subtypes (masculine/feminine)

	consonant-stem		i-stem	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
NOM	-s	-ēs	-(i)s	-ēs
ACC	-em	-ēs	-em, -im	-ēs, -īs
GEN	-cis	<b>-um</b>	-is	<b>-ium</b>
DAT	-ī	-ibus	-ī	-ibus
ABL	-e	-ibus	-e, -ī	-ibus

- Gap = discrepancy between consonant-stem and i-stem paradigms

### 1.4 Whole word form

(9) Tuvaluan demonstrative/relative pronoun/adjective

	singular	plural, locative	plural, locative
near speaker	tee-nei	ko-nei	ki-nei
near addressee	tee-naa	ko-naa	ki-naa
neutral	tee-laa	ko-laa	-----

- Expected *kilaa* would be homophonous with *kilaa* ‘hairless’. ‘Attempts to elicit the missing form were invariably met with embarrassment or guffaws.’ (Besnier 2000: 419)

## 2 Morphosyntax

### (10) Macedonian *siromav* ‘poor’

	defective adjective ‘poor’		adjective ‘beautiful’		masculine noun ‘worm’	
	INDEF	DEF	INDEF	DEF	INDEF	DEF
M.SG	siromav	siromaviot	ubav	ubaviot	crv	crvot
F.SG	-----	-----	ubava	ubavata		
N.SG	-----	-----	ubavo	ubavoto		
PL	siromasi	siromasite	ubavi	ubavite	crvi	crvite

- *Siromav* has the morphosyntactic profile of a noun, but the syntax and morphology of an adjective.

## 3 Mapping between morphology & morphosyntax

### 3.1 Anti-syncretism

#### (11) Tamashek ‘adjectival’ verbs

	normal verbal affixes			adjectival verb ‘be black’ (perfective)
	prefix		suffix	
	V-init.	C-init.		
1SG	∅		-æγ	kæwɔl-æγ
1PL	n-		∅	-----
2SG	t-	∅	-æd	kæwɔl-æd
2PL.M			-æm	kæwɔl-æm
2PL.F			-mæt	kæwɔl-mæt
3SG.M	∅	i-	∅	kæwɔl
3SG.F	t-	∅		
3PL.M	∅		-æn	kæwɔl-æn
3PL.F			-ænt	kæwɔl-ænt

- Perfective stem of ‘adjectival’ verbs lacks prefixes; thus, the endingless 1PL and 3SG *should* both be realized by the bare stem.
- But speakers reject 1PL interpretation of bare stem: ‘Instead, a circumlocution or a specialized construction was offered to express senses like ‘we became black’ (Heath 2005: 437f).

(Paradigms based on the short imperfective & long imperfective stem always have prefixes, and are not defective.)

### 3.2 Mismatch

(Chickasaw set II transitive verbs; Munro & Gordon 1982, Munro 2005, Payne 1982)

(12) 3 classes of intransitive verbs; ‘fluid-S’ system, sort of

	set I ≈ agentive SBJ	set II ≈ patientive SBJ	set III ≈ dative SBJ
1SG	-li	sa-	am-, sam-
1PL	ii-, kii-	po-	pom-
2SG	ish-	chi-	chim-
2PL	hash-	hachi-	hachim-
3	∅	∅	im-

(13) Example of intransitive with set II markers

1SG	<b>sa-chokma</b> ‘ <u>I</u> am good’
1PL	<b>po-chokma</b> ‘ <u>we</u> are good’
2SG	<b>chi-chokma</b> ‘ <u>you (SG)</u> are good’
2PL	<b>hachi-chokma</b> ‘ <u>you (PL)</u> are good’
3	<b>chokma</b> ‘ <u>he</u> is good’

(14) Normal transitive verb uses set I for subject and set II for object

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
<i>set I markers:</i>					
1SG			<b>is-sa-hoyo</b> ‘you (SG) look for me’	<b>has-sa-hoyo</b> ‘you (PL) look for me’	<b>sa-hoyo</b> ‘he looks for <u>me</u> ’
1PL			<b>ish-po-hoyo</b> ‘you (SG) look for us’	<b>hash-po-hoyo</b> ‘you (PL) look for us’	<b>po-hoyo</b> ‘he looks for <u>us</u> ’
<i>set II markers:</i>					
2SG	<b>chi-hoyo-li</b> ‘I look for you’	<b>kii-chi-hoyo</b> ‘we look for you’			<b>chi-hoyo</b> ‘he looks for <u>you (SG)</u> ’
2PL	<b>chi-hoyo-li</b> ‘I look for you’	<b>kii-chi-hoyo</b> ‘we look for you’			<b>hachi-hoyo</b> ‘he looks for <u>you (PL)</u> ’
3	<b>hoyo-li</b> ‘I look for him’	<b>ii-hoyo</b> ‘we look for him’	<b>ish-hoyo</b> ‘you (SG) look for him’	<b>hash-hoyo</b> ‘you (PL) look for him’	<b>hoyo</b> ‘he looks for <u>him</u> ’

(15) Defective transitive verb: reinterpretation of ‘patientive’ intransitive subject as transitive object. Only works where one object is zero-marked (i.e. 3rd person object)

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3
<i>set I markers:</i>					
1SG			-----	-----	<b>sa-banna</b> ‘ <u>I</u> want him’
1PL			-----	-----	<b>po-banna</b> ‘ <u>we</u> want him’
<i>set II markers:</i>					
2SG	-----	-----			<b>chi-banna</b> ‘ <u>you (SG)</u> want him’
2PL	-----	-----			<b>hachi-banna</b> ‘ <u>you (PL)</u> want him’
3	-----	-----	-----	-----	<b>banna</b> ‘ <u>he</u> wants him’

Argument linking

Transitivity

## 4 Unclassifiable

(16) Itel'men 'be' (Bogoras 1922: 766)

	present	past
1SG	-----	t-ɬi-k
2SG	čhi-ž-č	ɬi-č
3SG	-----	ɬi-č
1PL	-----	n-ɬi-k
2PL	-----	ɬi-šx
3PL	čhi-ž-šiʔn	ɬ-čiʔn

- Transitive forms w/ 3rd person subject function as verb of having.

### Part B: diachronic typology

#### 1 Morphologization of formerly motivated restrictions

##### 1.1 Phonological

(17) Latin *nōlō* ← *nē* + *volō*, but only where root vowel was *e* or *o*

	'not wish'	'wish'
1SG PRS	<i>nōlō</i>	<i>volō</i>
2SG PRS	-----	<i>vīs</i>
3SG PRS	-----	<i>vult</i>
1PL PRS	<i>nōlumus</i>	<i>volumus</i>
2PL PRS	-----	<i>vultis</i>
3PL PRS	<i>nōlunt</i>	<i>volunt</i>

##### 1.2 Morphosyntactic

Macedonian (10). English *\*funner* belongs here too (for some of us). Possibly Chickasaw (15) and Tamashek (11).

##### 1.3 Semantic

British English *scales*?

## 2 Purely morphological patterns

Ideal state of harmony is disrupted by:

- Lexical change
- Morphological change
- Covert change?

### 2.1 Lexical change

New items fail to adapt to established morphological pattern.

(18) Russian *ubedit'* 'convince' (Baerman 2008)

		singular	plural
<b>Source</b> (Church Slavonic)	1	ubě(žd)u	ubědim
	2	ubědiši	ubědite
	3	ubědit	ubědjat

⇩

		singular	plural
<b>Native pattern</b>	1	vo(ž)u	vodim
	2	vodiš'	vodite
	3	vodit	vodjat

*vodit'* 'drive'

⇒

		singular	plural
	1	-----	ubedim
	2	ubediš'	ubedite
	3	ubedit	ubedjat

Where do new items come from? Some examples:

- Prestige language (Church Slavonic → Russian; Latin/French → Spanish & Portuguese). Revivification of obsolete lexemes may give the superficial appearance of decay (French *clore* 'close'; Gilliéron 1919).
- Zero-derivations: Russian *pylesos* 'vacuum cleaner' → *pylesosit'* 'to vacuum'

## 2.2 Morphological change

### 2.2.1 Paradigm split

(19) Polish *deszcz* ‘rain’

<i>older Polish</i>				
NOM/ACC	deszcz	NOM/ACC	deszcz	‘rain’
GEN	dżdżu	GEN	deszczu	
LOC	dżdżu	LOC	deszczu	
DAT	dżdżowi	DAT	deszcz	
INS	dżdżem	INS	deszczem	
		NOM/ACC	-----	‘drizzle’
		GEN	dżdżu	
		LOC	dżdżu	
		DAT	dżdżowi	
		INS	dżdżem	

(Kuryłowicz’s 4th law of analogy)

### 2.2.2 Inflection class shift

(20) German *backen* ‘bake’: strong versus weak

3SG PRESENT	bäckt/backt
SIMPLE PAST	buk/backte/---
PAST PARTICIPLE	gebacken/gebackt

- Aggravated by category loss (see below).

### 2.2.3 Phonological change

Can phonological change introduce fatal problems?

## 2.3 Covert change

### 2.3.1 Category loss

Morphological complications may be fatal where the category (grammatical or lexical) itself is (largely) superfluous. German (20); Modern Greek genitive plural (see Sims’s talk in this conference); Tuvaluan (9)?



### 2.3.2 Rule change/straightforward loss

Can the threshold of tolerance simply be lowered?

#### Conclusion: synchronic & diachronic typology

- Synchronic patterns likely the result of diachronic processes. Inertia plays the key role.
- ‘Unclassifiable’ patterns (e.g. Itel'men) make neither synchronic nor diachronic sense. Are the data screwy, or are we missing something?

#### References

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