

Defectiveness and morphosyntactic deviance

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(1) A defective paradigm: ‘be’ in Teton Sioux/Dakota (Riggs 1893: 30)

	singular	dual	plural
1	-----	unyakonj	unyakonpi
2	dakanonj		dakononpi
3	-----		yakonpi

‘SIMPLE’ CASES are confined to the realm of forms or to the realm of functions:

- Failure to generate a form, independent of function, on the basis of
 - phonological problems
 - morphological problems
 - paradigmatic problems
 - just because (also a factor in all the above)
- Absence of a function, independent of form, i.e. pluralia tantum (to the extent they’re defective)

‘COMPLEX’ CASES involve some kind of back-and-forth between morphological form and morphosyntactic function.

Case study #1

(2) Tamashek ‘adjectival’ verbs (Heath 2005)

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

(All verbs have three stems: perfective, short imperfective & long imperfective. Forms based on the latter two stems take the normal affixes.)

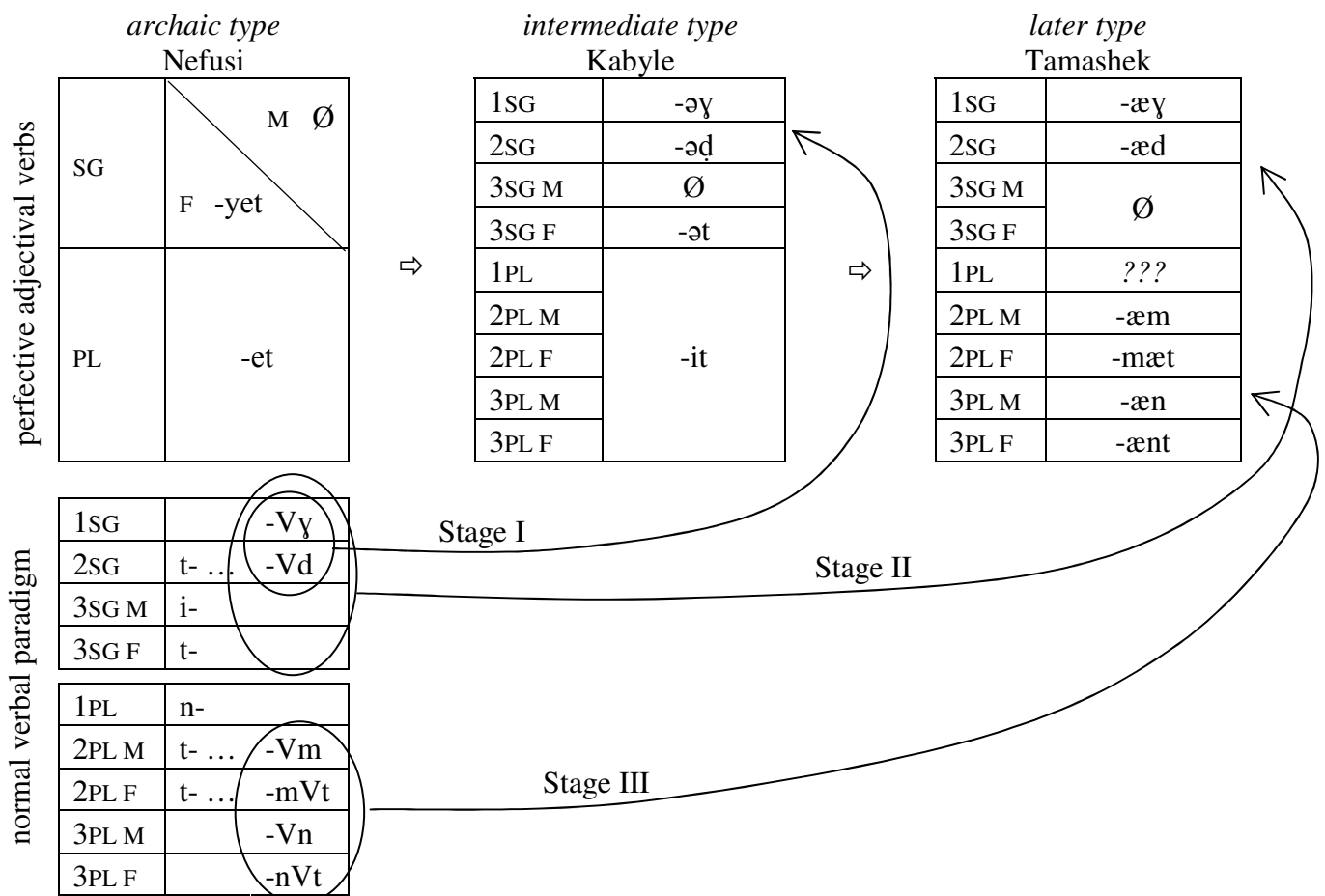
- Verbs have subject prefixes & suffixes. Perfective stem of the class of ‘adjectival’ verbs lacks prefixes; consequently, the endless 1PL and 3SG *should* both be realized by the bare stem.

But speakers reject 1PL interpretation of bare stem:

Instead, a circumlocution or a specialized construction was offered to express senses like ‘we became black’ A T-ka (Timbuktu area, Kal Ansar) informant offered **kæwɔl-æte-næy**, a difficult -to-segment morphological oddity that seems to involve an apparent preposition-like-extension **-æte-** that takes the 1Pl suffix **-næy**, but the only **-æt** suffix that can occur in such a position is FeSg Participle suffix **-æt**, so the construction is obscure. Another T-ka speaker, the R (Rharous area) speaker, offered a circumlocution with Reslt[ative] **-æmós-** ‘be, become’ and a plural relative clause: **n-æmós [i kæwɔl-nen]** ‘we have become black ones’. (Heath 2005: 437f).

- What’s wrong with syncretism anyway?
- If syncretism is unacceptable, there’s an obvious default solution available (prefixes); since the perfective stem is distinct from other stems, no danger of homophony. At least one Malian variety of Tamashek does this (Prasse 1985: 24).
- Note that we’re dealing not with defective lexemes, but with a defective rule! It never works.

(3) A possible diachronic account: incremental importation of normal verb suffixes into originally adjectival paradigm (Prasse 1973: 10f, Beguinot 1942: 66f)



- Stage I: Borrowing of overt singular suffixes from the normal verbal paradigm; original gender-number suffixes restricted to 3rd person.
- Stage II: Complete accommodation to the suffixal pattern of the normal verbal paradigm in the singular.
- Stage III: Borrowing of overt plural suffixes from the normal verbal paradigm; status of zero suffix in 1PL unclear.

Case study #2

(4) Chiquihuitlan Mazatec ‘carry’ (Jamieson 1982)

	neutral aspect		incompletive aspect	
	positive	negative	positive	negative
1SG	ba ³ nēh ³¹	ba ² nēh ²¹	kua ³ nēh ³¹	kua ² nēh ²¹
2SG	ča ³ nīh ³¹	ča ² nīh ²¹	ča ⁴ nīh ⁴¹	-----
3	ba ³ nīh ³¹	ba ² nīh ²¹	kua ⁴ nīh ⁴¹	-----
1INCL	ča ³ nēh ³¹	ča ² nēh ²¹	ča ⁴ nēh ⁴¹	-----
1PL	ča ³ nīh ³¹⁴	ča ² nīh ²¹⁴	ča ⁴ nīh ⁴¹⁴	-----
2PL	ča ³ nūh ³¹	ča ² nūh ²¹	ča ⁴ nūh ⁴¹	-----

- *Vh* indicates laryngealized vowel.

(5) Endings (i-stem verbs)

	normal stem		nasalized stem	
	positive	negative	positive	negative
1SG	-æ	-ẽ	-ẽ	
2SG	-i	-ĩ	-ĩ	
3			-ĩ	
1INCL	-ẽ		-ẽ	
1PL	-ĩ		-ĩ	
2PL	-ũ		-ũ	

- Underlying form of negative ending is -ĩ, realized variously in the different conjugation classes.
- *æ* and *e* merge under nasalization

(6) Tone (class A, prefixal sets 8-18)

	normal stem		laryngealized stem	
	positive	negative	positive	negative
1SG	3-1	2-21	3-31	2-21
2SG	4-1	4-41	4-41	
3				
1INCL	4-41		4-414	
1PL	4-1	4-414		
2PL		4-41		

- 1=high tone ... 4=low tone
- Negation marked by: (i) tone alternation in 1SG, (ii) lengthening, tone contour realized on final syllable, and (iii) upglide in 1PL.
- Laryngealization causes lengthening; tone contour realized on final syllable.

(7) Homophony is or isn't fatal

	normal verb (tone class A, prefixal sets 8-18) ‘throw away’		laryngealized + nasalized stem verb ‘carry’	
	positive	negative	positive	negative
1SG	ska ³ ntæ ¹	ska ² ntẽ ²¹	kua ³ nēh ³¹	kua ² nēh ²¹
2SG	ča ⁴ nti ¹	ča ⁴ ntĩ ⁴¹	ča ⁴ nīh ⁴¹	X
3	ska ⁴ nti ¹	ska ⁴ ntĩ ⁴¹	kua ⁴ nīh ⁴¹	
1INCL	ča ⁴ ntẽ ⁴¹		ča ⁴ nēh ⁴¹	
1PL	ča ⁴ ntĩ ¹	ča ⁴ ntĩ ⁴¹⁴	ča ⁴ nīh ⁴¹⁴	
2PL	ča ⁴ ntũ ¹	ča ⁴ ntũ ⁴¹	ča ⁴ nūh ⁴¹	

- Positive and negative regularly homophonous for 1INCL of some verbs (but apparently is tolerated?).

(Alternative negation strategy involves preposed negator ?a⁴ kũĩ⁴¹.)

Case study #3

(8) Person-number markers in Chickasaw (Munro & Gordon 1982, Munro 2005)

	<i>set I</i>	<i>set II</i>
1SG	hopoo- li 'I am jealous'	sa -chokma 'I am good'
1PL	(k) ii -hopoo 'we are jealous'	po -chokma 'we are good'
2	ish -hopoo 'you are jealous'	chi -chokma 'you are good'
3	hopoo 'he is jealous'	chokma 'he is good'

- Set I \approx active/agentive subject, set II \approx patientive subject, but seems lexically arbitrary much of the time.
- 2PL marked by *ha-* prefixed to 2nd person marker (so long as it's in word-initial position).

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

		<i>set I markers (subject)</i>			
		1SG	1PL	2	3
<i>set II markers (object)</i>	1SG			is-sa -hoyo 'you look for me'	sa -hoyo 'he looks for me'
	1PL			ish-po -hoyo 'you look for us'	po -hoyo 'he looks for us'
	2	chi -hoyo- li 'I look for you'	kii-chi -hoyo 'we look for you'		chi -hoyo 'he looks for you'
	3	hoyo- li 'I look for him'	ii -hoyo 'we look for him'	ish -hoyo 'you look for him'	hoyo 'he looks for him'

(10) Defective transitive verb: set II used for subject. 'These verbs cannot be used with non-third person objects; thus, *Sa-nokfónkha* is 'I remember her', but 'She remembers me' cannot be expressed in a single clause.' (Munro 2005: 125)

		<i>set I markers lacking</i>			
		1SG	1PL	2SG	3
<i>set II markers (subject)</i>	1SG			-----	sa -banna 'I want him'
	1PL			-----	po -banna 'we want him'
	2	-----	-----		chi -banna 'you want him'
	3	-----	-----	-----	banna 'he wants him'

(11) Closely-related Choctaw fleshes out the paradigm by (i) prefixing set II markers for object; (ii) allowing syncretism in single-affixed forms (Broadwell 2006)

		<i>set II markers (object)</i>			
		1SG	1PL	2	3
<i>set II markers (subject)</i>	1SG			chi-sa -bannah 'I want you'	sa -bannah 'I want him'
	1PL			chi-pi -bannah 'we want you'	pi -bannah 'we want him'
	2	sa-chi -bannah 'you want me'	pi-chi -bannah 'you want us'		chi -bannah 'you want him'
	3	sa -bannah 'he wants me'	pi -bannah 'he wants us'	chi -bannah 'you want him'	bannah 'he wants him'

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