

Explaining the Generalisation on Suppletion and PRE-marking

Karen De Clercq¹ Guido Vanden Wyngaerd²

²KU Leuven (Brussels)

¹FWO/U Ghent (Ghent)

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Introduction

Empirical support for GOSP

PRE vs POST

PRE- and POST-marked comparatives

Suppletion

Deriving GOSP

Conclusion

Introduction

(1)

	POS	CMPR
SYNTHETIC	smart	smart-er
ANALYTIC	intelligent	more intelligent

Root Suppletion Generalisation (RSG) (Bobaljik 2012)

Root suppletion is limited to **synthetic** (i.e., morphological) comparatives.

(2)	Greek	POS	CMPR
a.	SYNTHETIC	kak-ós	cheiró-ter-os 'bad'
b.	ANALYTIC	kak-ós	pjo kak-ós
c.	ANALYTIC	kak-ós	*pjo cheir-ós

Introduction

Generalisation on Suppletion and PRE-marking (GOSP)

When there is root suppletion in the comparative degree with respect to the positive, the marker of the comparative cannot occur **to the left** of the adjectival root.

(3)

	POS	CMPR	
a.	RIGHT	kak-ós	cheiró- ter -os 'bad'
b.	LEFT	kak-ós	pjo kak-ós
c.	LEFT	kak-ós	* pjo cheir-ós

Aim

Explain GOSP as a consequence of

- ▶ a structural difference between PRE and POST marking
- ▶ a comparative functional sequence $\langle C2, C1, Q, F0 \rangle$
- ▶ a general restriction on admissible functional sequences

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Suppletive triplets in Bobaljik (2012)

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MEANING	N	SUFF	PRE	CIRCUMF	PM
GOOD	32	24	–	3	5
BIG	7	5	–	1	1
BAD	22	19	–	–	3
SMALL	9	6	–	–	3
MUCH, MANY	31	25	1	–	5
Total	101	79	1	4	17

Bulgarian/Macedonian

(5)

	POS	CMPR	SPRL	
Bg.	mного	po-veče	naj-mnogo	'much/many'
Mac.	mnogu	po-veќе	naj-mnogu	

Bulgarian/Macedonian

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	POS	CMPR	SPRL	
Bg.	mnogo	po-veče	naj-mnogo	'much/many'
Mac.	mnogu	po-veќе	naj-mnogu	

- ▶ problematic for GOSP, but we set this case aside, and we take GOSP to be a valid generalisation for now

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Starke (2018)

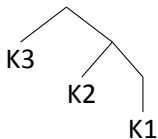
POST marking:

- ▶ suffixal
- ▶ to the right of the lexical root
- ▶ displays mirror principle ordering
- ▶ results from movement of the root to the left of the POST marker

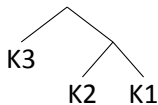
PRE marking:

- ▶ prefixal
- ▶ spellout of functional material to the left of the lexical root
- ▶ ordering reflects the underlying order of the functional sequence
- ▶ involves no movement, but a separately merged complex specifier

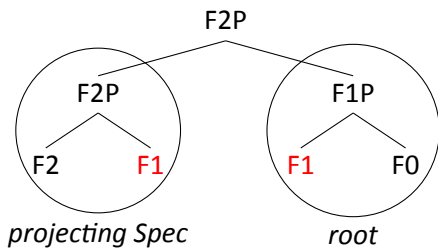
(6) POST: unary bottom



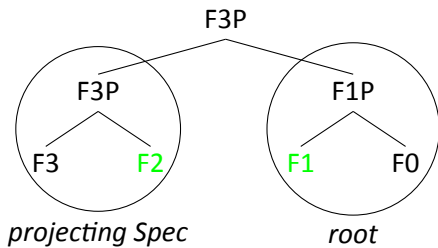
(7) PRE: binary bottom



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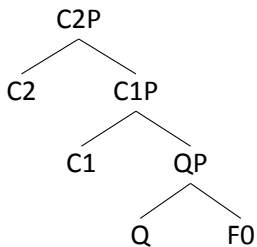
Suppletion

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The adjectival functional sequence

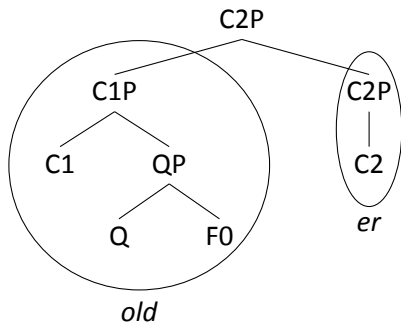
(10)



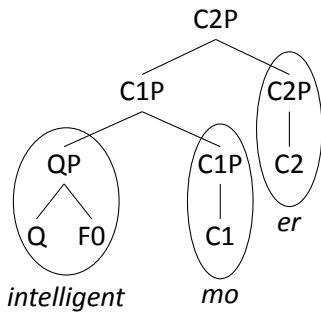
(11)

	F0	Q	C1	C2	
a.	bujar		ěj	š	'merry'
b.	star			š	'old'
c.	intelligent		mo	re	
d.	old			er	

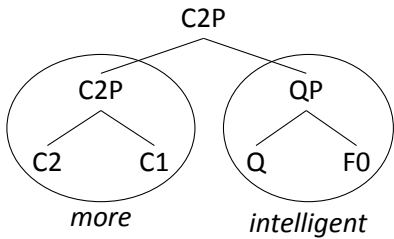
(12)



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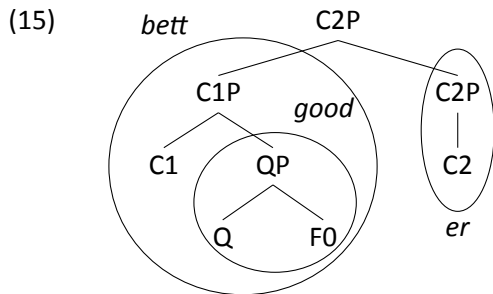
PRE- and POST-marked comparatives

Suppletion

Deriving GOSP

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Suppletion



Suppletion

- Confirmed by the systematic absence of *ěj* in Czech suppletive comparatives

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POS	CMPR	
dobr-ý	lep-š-í	'good'
špatn-ý	hor-š-í	'bad'
mal-ý	men-š-í	'little, small'
velk-ý	vět-š-í	'big'
dlouh-ý	del-š-í	'long'

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	F0	Q	C1	C2	
a.	dobr				'good'
b.	lep			š	'better'

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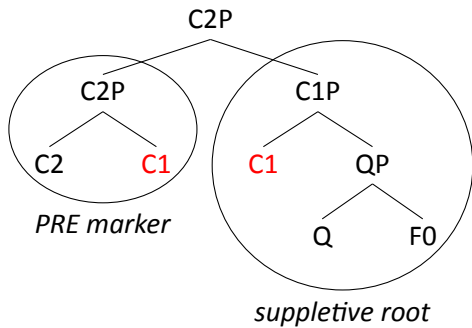
Conclusion

Deriving GOSP

GOSP

*[PRE+suppletive comparative root]

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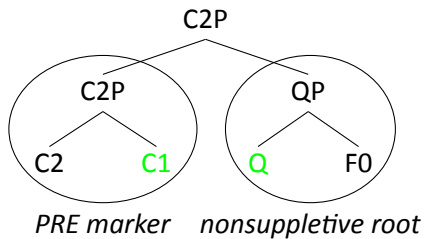


* $\langle X, X \rangle$

There must be no immediately consecutive identical features in the functional sequence.

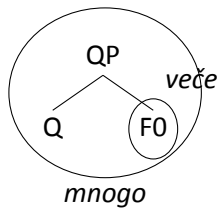
(De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2018; Collins 2018)

(19)

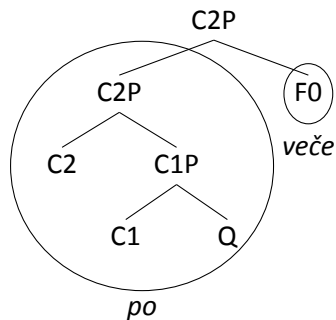


Bulgarian

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GOSP is derived, assuming

- ▶ a comparative fseq $\langle C2, C1, Q, F0 \rangle$
- ▶ the structural difference between PRE and POST marking
- ▶ a general restriction on admissible functional sequences

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