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**CRISP**  
Center for Research in Syntax,  
Semantics, and Phonology

**KU LEUVEN**

## Person and Number: 3<sup>rd</sup> Person vs. Plural

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## The Literature on Person

	SG	Cysouw 2009	Harbour 2016	PL	Cysouw 2009	Harbour 2016
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>I</i>	1	<i>i</i>	<i>we</i>	1+3	<i>i<sub>o</sub></i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>you</i>	2	<i>u</i>	<i>you</i>	2+3	<i>u<sub>o</sub></i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>he, she, it</i>	3	<i>o</i>	<i>they</i>	3+3	<i>o<sub>o</sub></i>

Common analysis:  
PLURAL = + 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON

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## Claim

PLURAL ≠ 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON

- PL = *a* associates
- 3<sup>rd</sup> = *o* other

} DIFFERENT morphologically and semantically

	SG		PL	
1	<i>I</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>ia</i>
2	<i>you</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>ua</i>
3	<i>he, she, it</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>oa</i>

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## Outline

1. Morphological Differences
2. Semantic Differences
3. Theoretical Consequences
4. Conclusion
5. Questions

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1. Morphology

## 1. Morphological Differences

Possible Person Paradigms:

- Suppletive paradigm
- Regular person stem + number affix
- Suppletive person stem + number affix

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1. Morphology

- Suppletive paradigm (Guarani):

Gregores & Suárez 1967

	SG	PL
<i>iu</i>		yané
<i>i</i>	šé	oré
<i>u</i>	né	peé
<i>o</i>		(demonstr)

1. Morphology

- Suppletive paradigm (Guarani)
- Regular person stem + number affix (Quechua): Adelaar 1977

	SG	PL
<i>iu</i>		nuxañči(k)
<i>i</i>	nuxa	nuxa:-guna
<i>u</i>	xam	xam-guna
<i>o</i>	pay	pay-guna

1. Morphology

- Suppletive paradigm (Guarani)
- Regular person stem + number affix (Quechua)
- Suppletive person stem + number affix: (Kayardild): Evans 1995

	SG	PL
<i>iu</i>		nga-ku-l-da
<i>i</i>	nga-da	nga-l-da
<i>u</i>	nyingka	ki-l-da
<i>o</i>	niya	bi-l-da

1. Morphology

- Suppletive paradigm (Guarani)
- Regular person stem + number affix (Quechua)
- Suppletive person stem + number affix (Kayardild)

→ Compositional paradigms

1. Morphology

### Expectation

Compositional paradigms:

One morpheme for 3<sup>rd</sup> & plural

	sg	pl
<i>iu</i>		α-δ
<i>i</i>	β	β-δ
<i>u</i>	γ	γ-δ
<i>o</i>	δ	δ

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1. Morphology

### Claim

Unattested

	sg	pl
<i>iu</i>		α-δ
<i>i</i>	β	β-δ
<i>u</i>	γ	γ-δ
<i>o</i>	δ	δ

- Sample (39 lgs)
- Typological literature, a.o: (330 lgs)
  - Forchheimer 1953
  - Harley & Ritter 2003
  - Daniel 2005
  - Baerman et al. 2005
  - Bobaljik 2008
  - Cysouw 2009
  - Harbour To Appear
  - Ackema & Neeleman To Appear

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1. Morphology

## Composite Forms in Forchheimer 1953

'Composite Forms': +3 pl

- Pama-Nyungan:
  - Kalaw Lagaw Ya
  - Arrernte
- Penutian
  - Coastal Oregon Penutian
    - Coos
    - Siuslaw
  - Chinook
- Ancient Middle-East, Mesopotamia
  - Hurrian
  - Sumerian

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1. Morphology

## Arrernte

- Independent subject pronouns  
(Wilkins 1989, p. 124)

	SG	DU	PL
<i>i</i>	ayenge, the	ilerne	(a)nwerne
<i>u</i>	unte, nge	mpwele	arranthe <sup>(e)</sup>
<i>o</i>	<sup>(e)</sup>	re-therre	itne

- Phonemic length of /r/
- Syllables never consonant final

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1. Morphology

- Verbal number agreement:  
(Wilkins 1989, p. 249-252)

SG	DU	PL
∅	-rre-	-rlitwe
	-lerre	-rre
	-rlenerre	-warra
		-rrirre
		<sup>(e)</sup>
		-rnirre

- based on verb classes
- plural marker *-re*:
  - = pl *-rre* + inchoative derivational suffix *-irre*
  - ≠ 3sg pronoun *re*

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1. Morphology

## Summary

There are no convincing examples of languages that use the same morpheme for

- PL
- 3<sup>rd</sup>

→ PL ≠ 3<sup>rd</sup>

	sg	pl
<i>iu</i>	α-δ	
<i>i</i>	β	β-δ
<i>u</i>	γ	γ-δ
<i>o</i>	δ	δ

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## 2. Semantic differences

Reference: (Ackema & Neeleman to appear, pp. 70-73)

“An *o* ... cannot be included in the reference of a first or second plural pronoun without first being turned into an associate in some way.”

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2. Semantics









Peter: Do you know whether George Clooney likes good coffee?

- Ad: #Yes, we both drink Illy.
- Ad: Yes, he drinks Illy, just like me.

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2. Semantics

Peter: Do you know whether George Clooney likes good coffee?

- Ad: #Yes, we both drink Illy.
- Ad: Yes, he drinks Illy, just like me.

Ad: We both know good coffee when we see it.

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2. Semantics

### Survey

- Dutch: Flemish speakers

	sg	pl
<i>iu</i>		wij
<i>i</i>	ik	wij
<i>u</i>	jij	jullie
<i>o</i>	hij, zij, het	zij

- 32 participants included

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2. Semantics

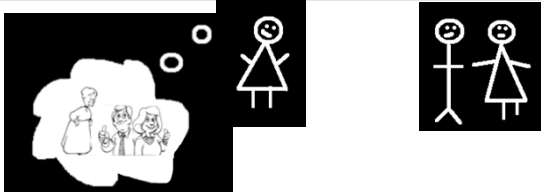
### Results

**Reference:** (Ackema & Neeleman to appear, pp. 70-73)

“An *o* ... cannot be included in the reference of a first or second plural pronoun without first being turned into an associate in some way.”

- Plural pronoun: NO third person
- Plural pronoun: associates

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“Yesterday I saw my granny and tomorrow I am visiting my parents. She wishes you the best.”

• You and partner + my parents	3%
• Only you and partner	88%
• Both options are possible	9%

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2. Semantics

Peter: “Do you know if George Clooney likes to drink coffee?”

- Ad: “Yes, we both like to drink Nespresso.” 2.40/5
- Ad: “Yes, he likes to drink Nespresso, just like I do.” 4.26/5

SD: 1.58 & 0.95

(Ackema & Neeleman, To Appear)

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2. Semantics

Peter: "Do you know if George Clooney likes to drink coffee?" 2.40/5

- Ad: "Yes, we both like to drink Nespresso." 3.38/5
- Ad: "Yes, he likes to drink Nespresso, just like I do." 4.44/5

SD: 1.44 & 0.74 25

2. Semantics

Peter: "Do you know if George Clooney likes to drink coffee?"

- Ad: "Yes, they both like to drink Nespresso." 1.87/5
- Ad: "Yes, he likes to drink Nespresso, just like Julia Roberts does." 4.16/5

SD: 1.29 & 1.18 26

2. Semantics

Peter: "Don't you think Julia Roberts and George Clooney act so well together? ... By the way, do you know if George Clooney likes to drink coffee?" 1.87/5

- Ad: "Yes, they both like to drink Nespresso." 2.27/5
- Ad: "Yes, he likes to drink Nespresso, just like she does." 3.75/5

SD: 1.40 & 1.33 27

2. Semantics

### Summary

- A plural pronoun
  - Does NOT include reference to a third person
  - Includes reference to associates
  - Speakers differ in whether or not they consider a third person as an associate

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### Summary

PLURAL ≠ 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON

• PL = a	associates	} DIFFERENT morphologically and semantically
• 3 <sup>rd</sup> = o	other	

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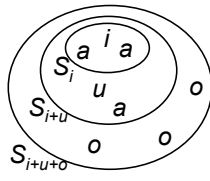
### Outline

1. Morphological Differences
2. Semantic Differences
3. Theoretical Consequences
  1. Ackema & Neeleman (to appear)
  2. Harbour (to appear)
  3. The Kite Framework (Seuren & Jaspers 2014)
4. Conclusion
5. Questions

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3. Theoretical Consequences

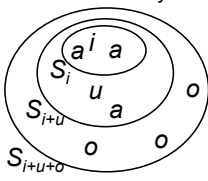
### Ackema & Neeleman

- Input set:
 
- Features:
  - [prox]: discard outer layer
  - [dist]: select outer layer

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3. Theoretical Consequences

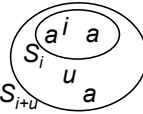
- we*:  $i_a, iu_a$  [prox (pers)]
  - Discard outer layer



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3. Theoretical Consequences

- we*:  $i_a, iu_a$  [prox (pers)]
  - Discard outer layer

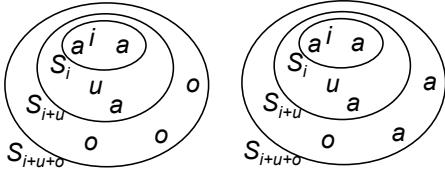


- $S_i, S_{i+u}$ :  $\{i, ia, iaa, \dots; iu, iua, iuaa, \dots\}$
- $\{i_a, iu_a\}$

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3. Theoretical Consequences

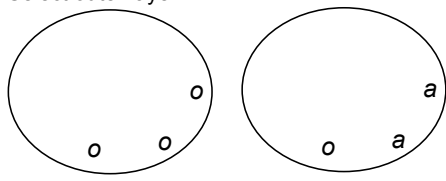
- He, she, it, they* [dist (pers)]
  - Select outer layer



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3. Theoretical Consequences

- He, she, it, they* [dist (pers)]
  - Select outer layer



- $\{\emptyset, o, oo, \dots\}$
- $\{\emptyset, o, oa, oaa, a, aa, \dots\}$

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3. Theoretical Consequences

### Harbour

- Lattices:
  - Person:  $\{i_o, u_o, iu_o, o_o\}$
  - Author:  $\{i\}$
  - Participant:  $\{i, iu, u\}$
- Features:
  - $[\pm\text{auth}]$ : + / - author lattice
  - $[\pm\text{part}]$ : + / - participant lattice

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3. Theoretical Consequences

- **we:  $iu_o, i_o$  [+auth (pers)]**
  - $L_{pers} + L_{auth}$
  - $\{i_o, u_o, iu_o, o_o\} + \{i\}$
  - $\{ii_o, iu_o, iiu_o, io_o\}$
  - $\{i_o, iu_o\}$
- **we:  $iu_a, i_a$  [+auth (pers)]**
  - $L_{pers} + L_{auth}$
  - $\{i_a, u_a, iu_a, o_a\} + \{i\}$
  - $\{ii_a, iu_a, iiu_a, io_a\}$
  - $\{i_a, iu_a, io_a\}$

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3. Theoretical Consequences

### Summary

- 3 person atoms:
  - $i$
  - $u$
  - $o$
- Plural: +  $a$
- 8 possible persons
  - $\emptyset$  expletive
  - $i$  first
  - $u$  second
  - $o$  third
  - $iu$  inclusive
  - $io$  non-hearer
  - $uo$  non-speaker
  - $iuo$  generic

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3. Theoretical Consequences

### The Kite Framework

Predicted by the Concept Formation Constraint in the kite framework:

- \* $io$  non-hearer
- \* $uo$  non-speaker

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3. Theoretical Consequences

### The Kite Framework

(Jaspers 2012, Seuren & Jaspers 2014)

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3. Theoretical Consequences

### Ambiguity of "some"

Jacoby, Sesmat, Blanché 1952

- **Some, possibly all:**  
 "If some students pass the test, I'll treat them to chocolates"  
 → "If all students pass the test, I'll treat them to chocolates"
- **Some but not all:**  
 "Some people are allergic to chocolate"  
 ≠  
 "All people are allergic to chocolate"

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3. Theoretical Consequences

Jaco

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3. Theoretical Consequences

### The Kite Framework

Lexicalisation in certain closed lexical fields is restricted by a concept formation constraint (Jaspers 2012, Seuren & Jaspers 2014):

- Logical hexagon: two corners are never lexicalised
- Result: kite structure

3. Theoretical Consequences

### Person

Person deixis: corresponding limitations on concept formation

3. Theoretical Consequences

### Person deixis: corresponding limitations on concept formation

3. Theoretical Consequences

### Tümpisa Shoshone

	SG	PL
iu		ta-mmü
i	nü	nü-mmü
u	ü	mü-mmü
o		(Demonstratives)

Dayley 1989

3. Theoretical Consequences

### PLURAL ≠ 3<sup>rd</sup> PERSON

DIFFERENT

- morphologically
- semantically

3. Theoretical Consequences

### English

	pl
we	we
we	we
you	you
o	he, she, it they




3. Theoretical Consequences

The Concept Formation Constraint in the kite framework allows for all the lexicalisable person distinctions attested in natural language

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## Outline

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5. Conclusion

## Conclusion

- Morphology: Different morphemes for 3rd person and plural
- Semantics: Reference

↓

3rd person:    *o*

≠

Plural:        *a*


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5. Conclusion

- This is a necessary distinction if analyses of person aim to make the correct predictions on person lexicalisation

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*Thank You!*



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## Questions?

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