

# Online Appendix to *Complex copula systems as suppletive allomorphy*

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This online appendix contains materials supplementing my paper *Complex copula systems as suppletive allomorphy* (insert link to Glossa paper here). The first section lists every syncretism pattern predicted to be possible by my approach, along with an attested example where one is known to me. The second section discusses a generalization proposed by Postma (1993) concerning suppletion in auxiliary BE and HAVE.

## 1 Possible Copula Systems on the Present Approach: Testing the Possible and Impossible Syncretisms Prediction

The examples of each category in Clark's taxonomy are repeated here for the reader's convenience.

- (1) Locationals in the Typology of Clark (1978)
  - a. There is a book on the table. (Existential construction)
  - b. The book is on the table. (Locative construction)
  - c. Tom has a book. (Possessive<sub>1</sub> construction)
  - d. The book is Tom's. (Possessive<sub>2</sub> construction)

Recall that, for the purposes of this discussion, I follow Clark in taking Possessive<sub>1</sub> to mean predicative possession constructions of the HAVE type and of the existential BE type. Other known types of predicative possession construction are predicted to pattern like predicative copula constructions.

Note also that, for any system below lacking an "elsewhere" allomorph (that is, any system in which no Vocabulary Insertion rule lacks a conditioning environment), the same system can be produced by leaving out the conditioning environment of an arbitrarily chosen Vocabulary Insertion rule. I do not list all such possibilities, because they are not empirically distinguishable from the listed cases in the absence of evidence from Impoverishment that an elsewhere form exists.

Finally, "transitive" in this document is used in the same technical sense employed in the paper itself, to mean a structure in which Voice has a specifier and a phi probe with which it Agrees with some DP in its complement domain.

## One-Copula System

- (2) a. Attested Example: Finnish

Construction	Form
Existential	A
Locative	A
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	A
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	A

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A$

## Two-Copula Systems including HAVE (intransitive structure for existentials)

- (3) a. Attested Example: English

Construction	Form
Existential	A
Locative	A
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	B
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	A

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow B / \text{Voice}_{\{D\},\phi}\text{---}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A$

## Two-Copula Systems including HAVE (transitive structure for existentials)

- (4) a. Attested Example: French

Construction	Form
Existential	B
Locative	A
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	B
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	A

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow B / \text{Voice}_{\{D\},\phi}\text{---}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A$

## Two-Copula Systems lacking HAVE

- (5) a. Predicted Pattern (Haven't Found an Example Yet)

Construction	Form
Existential	A
Locative	B
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	A
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	A

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow B / \text{---Pred}_{stage}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A$

- (6) a. Attested Example: Mande; extremely common in West Africa generally (Denis Creissels *pers. comm*)

Construction	Form
Existential	A
Locative	A
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	A
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	B

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow B / \text{---Pred}_{\text{indiv}}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A$

- (7) a. Attested Example: Cochabamba Quechua

Construction	Form
Existential	B
Locative	A
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	B
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	A

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow B / \text{---Pred}_{\text{exist}}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A$

### Three-Copula Systems including HAVE (intransitive structure for existentials)

- (8) a. Predicted Pattern (Haven't found an example yet)

Construction	Form
Existential	A
Locative	B
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	C
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	A

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow B / \text{---Pred}_{\text{stage}}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow C / \text{Voice}_{\{D\},\phi}\text{---}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A$

- (9) a. Attested Example: Santiago del Estero Quechua

Construction	Form
Existential	A
Locative	A
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	B
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	C

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow B / \text{Voice}_{\{D\},\phi}\text{---}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow C / \text{---Pred}_{\text{indiv}}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A$



- (13) a. Attested Example: Standard Spanish (transitive structure in existentials)

Construction	Form
Existential	A
Locative	B
Possessive <sub>1</sub>	C
Possessive <sub>2</sub>	D

- b.  $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow A / \text{Voice}_{\{D\},\phi} \text{Pred}_{exist}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow B / \text{Pred}_{stage}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow C / \text{Voice}_{\{D\},\phi}$   
 $v_{BE} \Leftrightarrow D / \text{Pred}_{indiv}$

## 2 Discussion of Postma (1993)

Postma (1993:32) proposes a generalization about suppletion in past participle forms of BE crosslinguistically. The generalization is as follows (by ‘defective’, Postma means that the past participle exhibits suppletive allomorphy, not that there is no past participle form at all).

- (14) Aux Generalization

The infinitival root of BE is defective in its participle formation in language L iff L uses the verb BE as a perfect auxiliary for BE.

For example, Italian *essere* takes BE as its perfect auxiliary, and its past participle form displays root suppletion: *sono stato*. On the other hand, French *être* takes HAVE as its auxiliary, and the past participle form does not display root suppletion: *J’ai été*. Postma shows that the Aux Generalization in (i) is borne out across Romance and Germanic in at least 20 languages. Attempting to extend the present approach to this generalization, if desirable, will have to wait until the approach is extended to auxiliary verb uses of HAVE and BE more generally. In the meantime though, it’s important to note that (i) is not exceptionless. There are attested cases in which past participle suppletion is absent, but BE serves as the perfect auxiliary; examples are shown in (ii) and (iii).

- (15) Cajamarca Quechua (attested example from Acts 11:5)

Jupi llaqta-pi-m ka-shqa ka-ni  
 Joppa city-in-EVID be-PRTC be-1SUBJ

‘I have been in the city of Joppa.’

- (16) Orkney English (Fruehwald & Myler 2015:145, citing Meredith Tamminga, *pers. comm.*)

You’ll no be been there afore.

You’ll not have been there before

‘You won’t have been there before.’

# References

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