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Table of Contents

3. Negation

Another relevant parameter for the description of subordination is negation. As is well known, in many languages there is a negative marker for verbal moods expressing an objective state of affairs (typically, the indicative) different from the marker employed in clauses with moods expressing a subjective state of affairs (typically, involving will, wish, hope, possibility). In Greek, for the former case the negative particle which is used to express negation is *ou(k)*, and for the latter *mḗ*:

(17) *potamòs d' ei mén kaì állos ára hēmîn esti diabatéos ouk oîda*
     'whether there is any other river that we can cross, I don't know' (Xen. *An.* 2.4.6)

(18) *kaì epnígeto hóstis neîn mḕ etúnkhanen epistámenos*
     'and whoever happened not to be able to swim drowned' (Xen. *An.* 5.7.25)

This distinction involves both the finite and the non-finite subordinates.

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Pierluigi Cuzzolin

Suffix

→ Derivational Morphology

Suppletion

1. Introduction

The term suppletion derives from the Latin verb *suppleō* 'fill up, make up for a loss', and first appears in linguistics in the late 19th c. (Osthoff 1899). With the advent of structuralism in the 20th c., the term has been established for denoting a phenomenon which encapsulates exceptions found in the encoding of grammatical features, in the sense that when a regular morpho-syntactic pattern is broken, unrelated forms fill the gap. Suppletive forms occur in a variety of languages, are detected in most grammatical categories, and are often aligned with certain morpho-syntactic features, such as aspect, tense, gender, case and number. It is generally difficult to provide an explanation of why the phenomenon has emerged. For the genesis of suppletion, one of the reasons given by

Maiden (2004:248) is the existence of synonyms whose meanings differ by a semantic nuance not clearly perceived by speakers.

As a theoretical notion, suppletion has been a controversial issue in linguistics. For instance, there is disagreement whether it affects only lexemes or it extends to functional categories as well. For Bloomfield (1933) – and recently for Carstairs-McCarthy (1994) – suppletion is a matter of stems and affixes, while Matthews (1974) restricts it to stem replacement. Moreover, a small number of scholars (e.g. Mel'čuk 1994) accept suppletion as a phenomenon applying to all word-formation processes, contrary to the widespread view that the phenomenon is confined to inflection. Another matter which has evoked conflicting reactions among linguists concerns the tendency to regard suppletion as a marginal phenomenon. For instance, within the generative-grammar tradition, it is rather ignored, or at best, it is considered as a problem assigned to the lexicon. For the natural-morphology framework (Dressler et al. 1987), suppletion is seen as the most 'unnatural' phenomenon and proper to inflection. Nevertheless, there are linguists, such as Fertig (1998), Carstairs-McCarthy (1994) and Maiden (2004) who have conducted thorough investigations of the genesis and the characteristics of suppletion, trying to determine its impact on paradigmatic relations as well as its relation with other morphological phenomena (e.g. allo-

morphy). It is also worth pointing out the work by Veselinova (2006) who, by drawing evidence from a variety of languages, argues against the marginal character of suppletion.

2. SUPPLETION IN ANCIENT GREEK

Ancient Greek displays all types of suppletion described above. It affects all major grammatical categories, but it is particularly discernible in verbs. This peculiarity is probably due to the fact that Ancient Greek had inherited from Indo-European the property to have a conjugation with verbal stems not necessarily related to each other (Chantraine 1973:153–154, 156). Moreover, in certain cases, the Aktionsart (→ Lexical Aspect) of certain roots is associated with the function of specific forms marked for aspect and tense (i.e., the paradigms of present, aorist, future and perfect). As a result, different roots could be used for the formation of the inflectional paradigms expressing the same verbal notion. For instance, roots denoting the duration of a process were better fit for the formation of the present tense. Other roots designating the process itself were introduced in the context of the aorist tense. For example, the root *bher- 'to bring' appears in the present tense (e.g. *phérō*), but not in the aorist, for which another root created forms such as *énenkon*. An illustration of verbal suppletion is given below:

(1)

Present	Aorist	Future	Perfect	Meaning
hairéō	*heîlon*	*hairḗsō*	*hḗirēka*	'to seize'
eimí	*egenómēn*	*ésomai*	*gégona*	'to be'*
érkhomai	*ḗlthon*	*eîmi*	*elḗlutha*	'to come'
esthíō	*éphagon*	*édomai*	*edḗdoka*	'to eat'
zô	*ebíōn*	*zḗsō / biṓsomai***	*bebíōka*	'to live'
légō	*eîpon / élexa*	*erô /léxō*	*eírēka*	'to tell'
horáō	*eîdon*	*ópsomai*	*heóraka / ópōpa*	'to see'
trékhō	*édramon*	*dramoûmai*	*dedrámēka*	'to run'
phérō	*énenka / énenkon*	*oísō*	*enḗnokha*	'to bring'

*As noticed by Fertig (1998), the verb 'to be' is a major locus of suppletion in many languages.
**zḗsō is based on the root of the present tense, *biṓsomai* on that of the aorist; in the case of *heóraka* and *ópōpa* we are dealing with the present and the future stem.

The study of the suppletive forms in (1) is crucial because it shows that the Ancient Greek verb is built around two stems, the present stem and the aorist stem. As for the perfect and future forms,

they usually derive from the other two, as also mentioned by Chantraine (1973:158), though not always, as is seen here with *eîmi, erô, ópsomai,* and *oísō*. Generally, the existence of suppletive

forms proves that not all verbs conform to a coherent conjugation system the forms of which would be created from one particular base. It should be noted, however, that the tendency to use different roots for the formation of verbal paradigms rather reflects an archaism in the history of Greek. Already in the historical period, the vast majority of the Ancient Greek verbs have complete conjugation paradigms formed from the same root. Nevertheless, a good number of old suppletive paradigms seem to persist, perhaps due to their high frequency (e.g. *légō* versus *eîpon* 'say'). Crucially, for some of these cases, the emergence of new forms, alternating with the suppletive ones, can also be detected. This innovation optimizes the paradigms by regularizing them, since the new forms are usually built on the present tense stem. For instance, *élexa* and *léxō* in the aorist and the future tense, respectively, are typical examples of this change: they are created from *légō* in analogy to regular verbs (e.g. *lúō* : *élusa* : *lúsō* 'untie', *gráphō* : *égrapsa* : *grápsō* 'write', etc.; → Analogy). The use of the present stem for shaping the verbal inflection constitutes another innovation of the language, since this stem was originally used for the inflection of denominal verbs, the inflection of the rest of verbs being usually built on the aorist stem (Chantraine 1973:159).

With respect to the other grammatical categories, it is worth pointing out that the appearance of suppletion is quite restricted in nouns, it can also be observed in the numeral 'one' (*heîs*. MASC, *mía*.FEM, *hén*.NEUT 'one'), the definite article *ho*.MASC, *hē*.FEM, *tó*.NEUT 'the' (it originates from a corresponding form of the demonstrative pronoun which is attested in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; → Definiteness/Definite Article), and is quite frequent as far as the pronouns and some common morphologically simple adjectives are concerned. For an illustration, consider the personal pronouns in (2) and the adjectives in (3):

(2) Personal pronouns

Singular	Plural	Dual
egṓ 'I'	*hēmeîs*	*nṓ*
sú 'you'	*humeîs*	*sphṓ*

(3)

Adjective	comparative degree	superlative degree
agathós 'good'	*ameínōn* / *areíōn* / *beltíōn* / *kreíssōn* / *lṓiōn*	*áristos* / *béltistos* / *krátistos* / *lôistos*
kakós 'bad'	*kheírōn* / *hḗssōn*	*kheíristos* / *hḗkistos*
olígos 'little	*meíōn* / *hḗssōn* / *hḗttōn* / *elássōn* / *eláttōn*	*meîstos* / *hḗkistos* / *elákhistos*

Interestingly, the distribution of suppletive forms is not fortuitous. As shown by the examples (1–3), it is arranged according to the syntactic context and the morphosyntactic features assigned to lexemes. For instance, suppletive verbal forms are allotted according to the features of aspect and tense (→ Aspect (and Tense)), while suppletion in nouns and pronouns is distributed according to case and number; in pronouns and numerals suppletion relates with different gender values, while the feature of degree (comparative or superlative) seems to be a crucial factor for its appearance in adjectives. Therefore, in fusional languages, such as Ancient Greek, the observation that suppletion is closely related to inflection (e.g. Dressler et al. 1987) is a commendable one.

As already stated, suppletion may also arise within the category of functional elements, although in this case, it is much restricted when compared to what is observable in lexemes. For instance, suppletion manifests itself in the expression of negation, where two different forms, the so-called 'objective' *ou(k)* and the 'subjective *mḗ* (see Humbert 1973:345 for details) appear in various contexts (e.g. Thuc. 2.15 *hopóte mḗ ti deíseian, ou xunḗiesan bouleusómenoi hōs tón basiléa* 'When they did not have any subject, they did not meet in the king's place to deliberate'). The suppletive forms expressing negation are phrasal functional elements, but suppletion may also arise within the context of bound affixes. More particularly, while in the aorist of many verbs the usual morpheme of the perfective value is *-s-* (e.g. *élusa* 'I untied' of the verb *lúō*), there are verbs, the so-called athematic ones, displaying a *-k-* (e.g. *édōka* 'I gave' of *dídōmi, éthēka* of *títhēmi* 'to put', *hêka* of *híēmi* 'to throw'), which is typical of the paradigm of the perfect tense of many

verbs (*léluka, dédōka, téthēka, heîka*). Given the affinities between the perfect and the aorist during the Classical period, it is not surprising that for some verbs *-k-* may be shared by both paradigms. However, after the Hellenistic period (ca 3rd c. BCE–3rd c. CE), this type of suppletion disappeared and the aorist of the three verbs, *dídōmi, títhēmi* and *híēmi*, became regularized by assuming the *-s-* form (*édosa, éthesa, áfisa*, also subject to the change of pronunciation during the Hellenistic period).

Finally, an interesting case of suppletion, one that demonstrates that the phenomenon should not be considered as proper to inflection, can be detected in the form variation of the so-called 'linking element' which appears in compounding, namely between the first and the second constituent elements. Tserepis (1902) provides a huge number of compounds where the linking element assumes the form of *-o-* (e.g. *hul-o-tómos* 'wood-cutter'), *-ē-* (e.g. *thalam-ē-pólos* 'chamber maid', lit. 'who comes in the nuptial room'), *-i-* (e.g. *khalk-í-naos* 'temple of bronze'). As argued by Ralli (2008), this linking element originates either from a thematic vowel (*-o-*) or from an inflectional ending. In the early Hellenistic period, *-o-* was spread to all compounds, and subsequently reanalyzed as a semantically vacuous compound marker.

To sum up, the study of suppletion is crucial for both the morphological analysis and the history of Greek, since it may shed light on various structural and highly idiosyncratic tendencies of the language.

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ANGELA RALLI

Syllabic Consonants

Although syllabic → consonants are not unambiguously present at any stage of attested Greek (but see below for the proposal of Heubeck 1972), their development from Proto-Indo-European has received an enormous amount of attention. A set of four syllabic consonants (two nasals, [m̥] and [n̥], one lateral [l̥], and one rhotic [r̥]) are reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European as allophones of their consonantal counterparts (Sihler 1995:§93; Fortson 2010:61–62; Weiss 2010:39–40; Meier-Brügger 2010:230). Sanskrit has phonemic [r̥] and [l̥], although the latter is only attested in one root, *kl̥p* 'arrange' (on which see Jamison 1983:124–125). The development of the syllabic consonants into Mycenaean and later Greek exhibits considerable complexities, which can only be sketched here (see further Meillet 1910; Ruijgh 1961; Lejeune 1972:195–199; Moralejo 1973; Rix 1992:65–67; Sihler 1995:§§93–109; Bartoněk 2003:135; Bernabé and Luján 2006:127–131; Risch and Hajnal 2006:201–218; Thompson 2010:191–192).

1. Syllabic Nasals

In word-final position, as well as before a consonant, syllabic *m̥* and *n̥* merge with /a/ or /o/. It is often held that the syllabic nasals merge with /o/ in Aeolic, → Mycenaean, and Arcado-Cypriot, and /a/ in all other dialects (Rix 1976:65; Weiss 2010:94; for a more nuanced view, see Risch and Hajnal 2006:212). So for instance PIE *m̥* in *dek̑m̥* 'ten' yields *déko* in → Arcadian, but *déka* elsewhere. Before a → vowel, a glide, or a sequence of laryngeal plus vowel, we find *an* or *am*, e.g. *ánudros* 'waterless'.

A closer look at the data, however, reveals that the distribution of /a/ and /o/ does not correspond so neatly to dialect. Within Mycenaean itself, for instance, we find /a/ in some lexical items and /o/ in others, e.g. *e-ka-ma*, alphabetic Greek *ékhma* 'support', and *a-mo*, alphabetic Greek *hárma* 'wheel, chariot'. The final segment of both words continues *n̥*. In two cases, we find both outcomes: *pe-mo* and *pe-ma* for