Plurality and its kinds: number-neutrality, pluractionality, and VP plurality in Karitiana
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Background: Kratzer 2007 claims that there are two possible sources for verbal plurality: lexical cumulativity and VP-pluralization. Lexical cumulativity means that nouns and verbs are number-neutral in the lexicon, as is the case of Ns and Vs in Karitiana, as illustrated by the many interpretations of sentence (1). Number-neutral Ns and Vs may refer both to singularities and pluralities.

(1) Õwã Ø-naka-’y-t boroja.
    Kid 3-DC-eat-NF snake
   ‘(The/a/some) kid(s) eat(s)/ate (the/a/some) snake(s) (one or more than one time)’

VP-pluralization, on the other hand, is syntactically built and has scope over the whole predicate. It is needed to account for truly distributive readings - readings in which the number of events and/or of entities denoted by the predicate is multiplied. In Karitiana, truly distributive readings are effected by reduplicated adverbials such as the reduplicated numeral in (2). In this example, the ‘eating-3-snakes event’ is multiplied by the number of individuals in the denotation of the subject (1’eating 3-snakes’event X 2 (Lu & Le) = 2 ‘eating 3-snakes’ events).

(2) Myjym-t.myjym-t Ø-naka-’y-t boroja Lu Le.
    three-OBL.DPL 3-DC-eat-NF snake Lu Le
   ‘Lu & Le eat/ate three snakes each’

Thesis: Based on the discussion of Karitiana, a Tupi language, this paper argues that there are still other sources of verbal plurality. The argument is based on data from pluractionality.

Argument: Many languages of the world make use of reduplication to express event plurality, intensity, and distributivity (Cusic 1981, Newman 1990, Lasersohn 1995, among others). V-reduplication or pluractionality in Karitiana means event repetition in time. It is effected by the reduplication of the root (compare 3 to 4). Pluractionality is a fully productive process, which may be applied to all types of verbs (Müller & Sanchez-Mendes 2008).

(3) Lu Ø naka-’y-t boroj a
    3 Le Ø-naka-’y-t boroj a

(4) Lu Ø-naka-’y-’y-t myjym-t boroj
    3 Le naka-’y-t a

Lu and Le ate three snakes’

In sentence (4) pluractionality does not seem to be playing any role. Nevertheless, if one replaces myjym ‘(three)’ for myhint ‘(one), the pluractional sentence becomes ungrammatical (*Lu Le Ø-naka-’y-’y-t myhim-t boroja). Pluractionality then means that the number of events must be plural.

Conclusion: If one takes the basic meaning of the term plurality to refer to two or more entities or events, one must acknowledge that plurality may be linguistically expressed by distinct semantic means. The distinct kinds of plurality in Karitiana thus include: (i) number-neutrality; (ii) pluractionality – excluding singular events from the denotation of a verbal head; (iii) true distributivity, which implies VP-pluralization. Based on the discussion of
Karitiana, what is to be expected cross-linguistically besides lexical cumulativity and VP-pluralization, is also plural operations on cumulative V-heads, such as pluractionality.

**Abbreviations:** 3=3rd person; DC=declarative.mood; NF=non-future; OBL=oblique; DPL=reduplication.

**References:**