

Change-of-state without morphology in Daakaka



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Overview

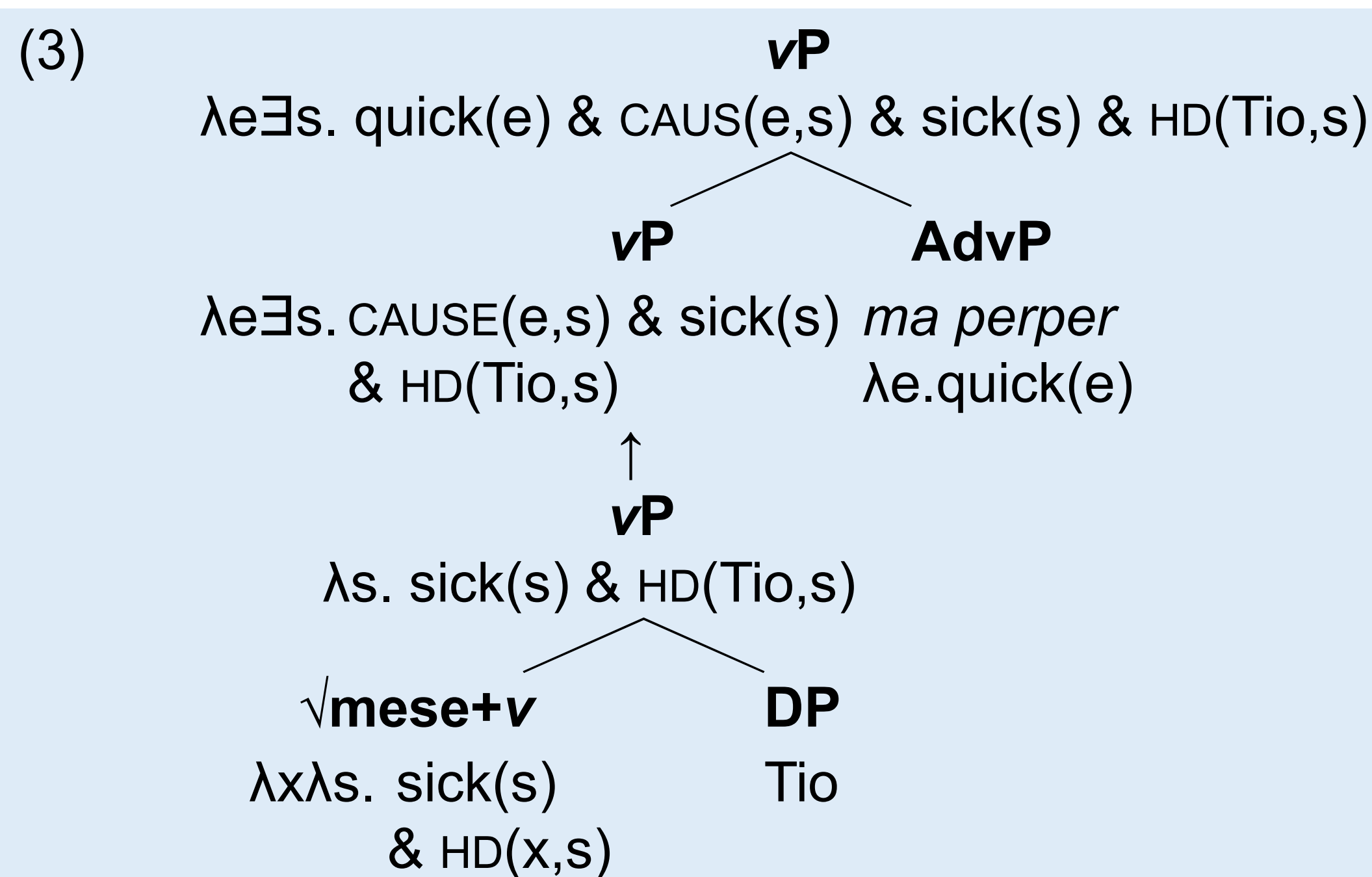
- ❖ Daakaka (Oceanic, Austronesian) lacks designated morphology to derive **change-of-state (COS) predicates** from stative predicates.
- ❖ Inchoative and causative semantics are instead introduced by a post-syntactic operation **Causative Shift**, i.e. in the presence of additional event-selecting material. (Smith et al. 2022, Kratzer 2005)
- ❖ The **additional restriction of causative semantics** to resultatives suggests that Causative Shift alone is unable to satisfy the spell-out conditions of agentive Voice. (cf. Wood 2016)

State/change-of-state lability

- ❖ Stative verbs in Daakaka show state/COS lability: (Koontz-Garboden 2007, cf. Smith et al. 2023, Krajinovic 2020)
 - **No surface morphophonological distinction** between stative predicates and their inchoative counterparts.
 - Inchoative semantics **dependent on event-selecting material**, e.g. progressive aspect (1b) or rate adverbials (1c).
- (1) a. *Tio ma mese / i biyo.* b. *Tio bwe mese / i biyo.*
 Tio REAL.be.sick COP deaf Tio PROG be.sick COP deaf
 'Tio is/#became sick/deaf.' 'Tio is getting sick/deaf.'
- c. *Tio ma {mese / i biyo} ma perper / medó.*
 Tio REAL.be.sick COP deaf REAL be.quick be.slow
 'Tio became sick/deaf quickly/slowly.'

Causative Shift

- ❖ COS semantics arise from a **type-shifting operation** that applies to stative verbs to resolve type-mismatches in the absence of (c)overt functional morphology. (Smith et al. 2023; cf. Chierchia 1998)
 - (2) **CAUSATIVE SHIFT** (adapted from Smith et al. 2023:1; cf. Kratzer 2005)
 For a verbal constituent V of type <s,t>,
 $SHIFT(V) = \lambda e \exists s. CAUSE(e,s) \ \& \ V(s)$ (assuming BECOME=CAUSE)
- ➔ As a **last resort operation**, Causative Shift is not freely available.



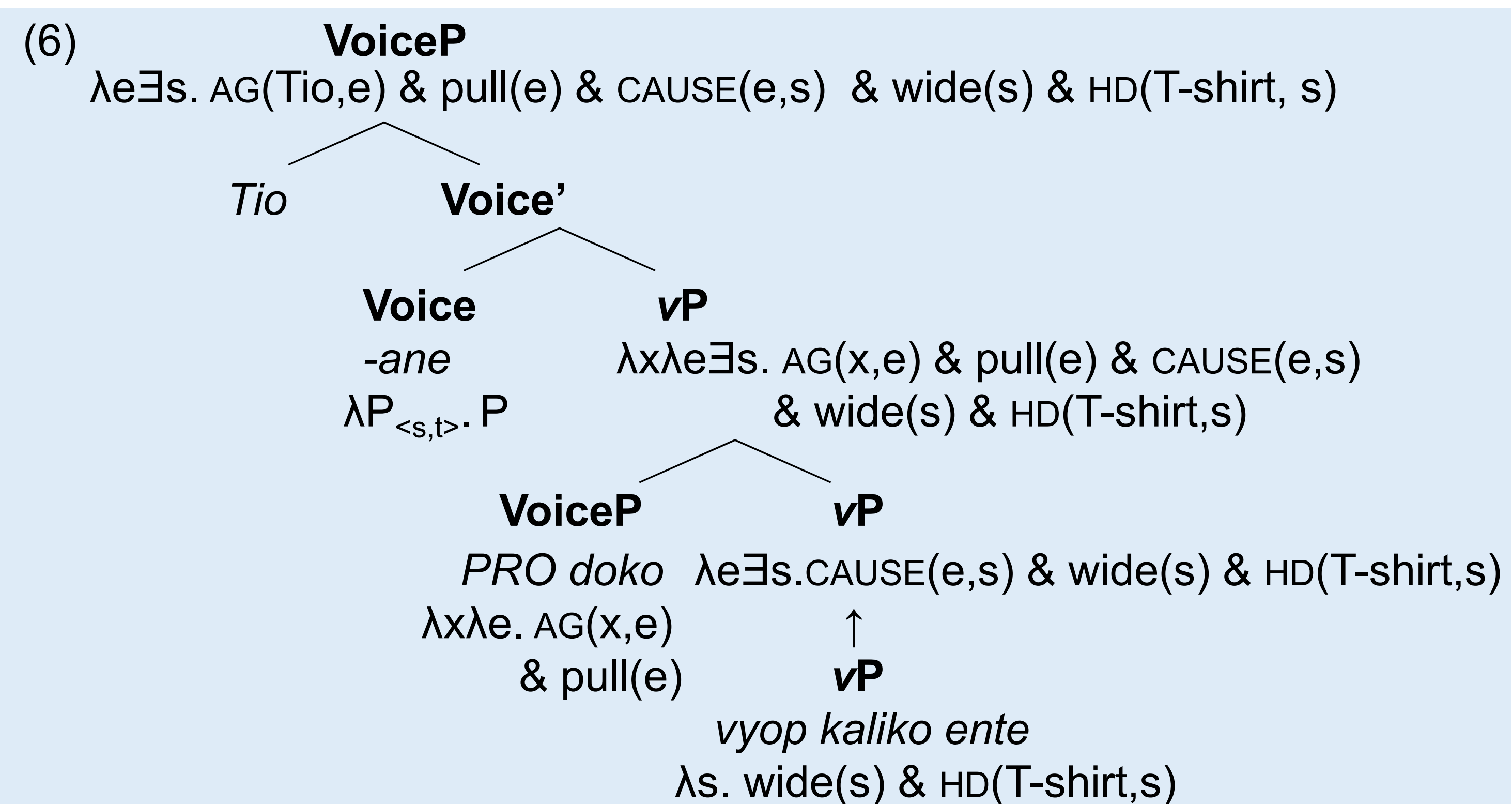
Serializing causatives

- ❖ The dependence on eventive material of change-of-state semantics extends to **causative predication**, which are even more restricted. (Hopperdietzel 2021, 2020b)
 - **No causativizing morphology**, as transitive morphology is independent of COS semantics. (Hopperdietzel 2020a)
 - Agentive causer dependent on **agentive verbal adjuncts** in resultative SVCs. (cf. Hopperdietzel 2022)
- (4) a. *Tio ma *(doko) vyop-ane tisot ente.*
 Tio REAL pull.ITER be.wide-TR T-shirt DEM
 'Tio widened the T-shirt by pulling.'
- b. **Tio ma vyop-ane tisot ente ma perper / medó.*
 Tio REAL be.wide-TR T-shirt DEM REAL be.quick be.slow
 'Tio widened the T-Shirt quickly/slowly.'

➔ **Absence of (c)overt functional material** that introduces change-of-state semantics in Daakaka.

Voice allosemy

- ❖ Voice semantics is subject to **contextual allosemy** in that it is sensitive to the type of its vP complement. (Oikonomou & Alexiadou 2022, Wood 2016, Alexiadou 2014)
- (5) Voice ↔ $\lambda e \lambda x. AGENT(x,e)$ / $\underline{\quad}$ (agentive vP)
 ↔ $\lambda s \lambda x. HOLDER(x,s)$ / $\underline{\quad}$ (stative vP)
 ↔ $\lambda P_{\langle s,t \rangle}. P$ / elsewhere (Wood 2016:18)
- ❖ As causative shift seems insufficient to render vP eligible for agentive Voice, **agentive semantics** must be introduced within manner adjunct, passed on to the type-shifted predicate via Event Ident. (cf. Bhatt 2006 for a direct predication analysis of PRO)



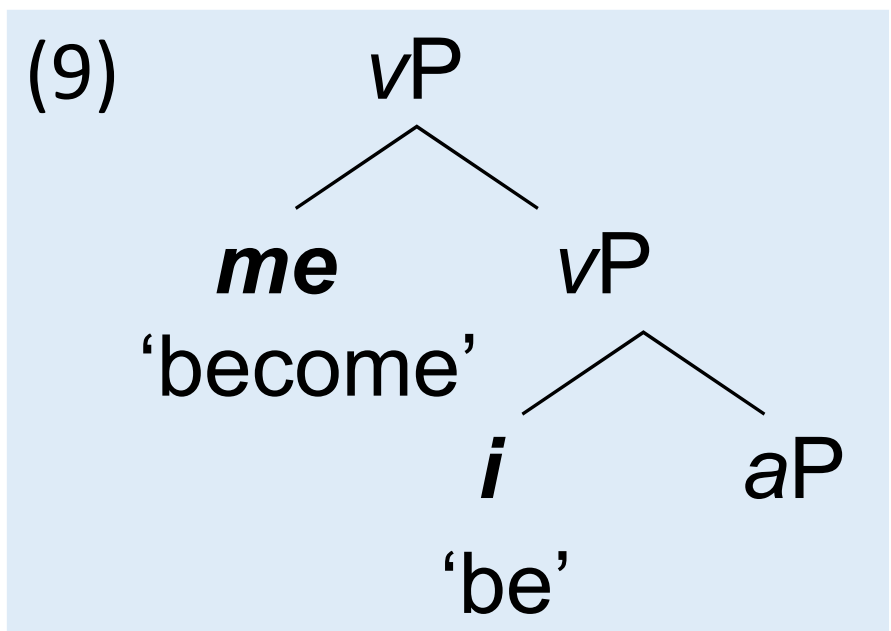
Periphrastic constructions

- ❖ Despite the lack of change-of-state morphology, Daakaka exhibits **periphrastic inchoatives** and **periphrastic causatives**.
- (7) a. *Tio mwe me mese / i biyo.*
 Tio REAL BECOME be.sick COP deaf
 'Tio became sick.'
- b. *Tio ma gene tisot ma vyop.*
 Tio REAL make T-shirt REAL be.wide
 'Tio made the T-shirt wide.'
- ❖ Periphrastic constructions do not block Causative Shift as they operate on a different level of **structural complexity**, i.e. they are not structural alternatives. (Smith et al. 2023, cf. Katzir 2007, Chierchia 1998)

(8) BLOCKING PRINCIPLE WITH STRUCTURAL ALTERNATIVES

For any type-shifting operator τ and any X: $*\tau(X)$ if there is an expression Y such that Y is at most as complex as $Y \in A_{str(X)}$ and $\llbracket Y \rrbracket = \llbracket \tau(X) \rrbracket$.

(Smith et al. 2023: 8)



➔ COS semantics available on a different **morphosyntactic levels**.

Outlook

- ❖ **Cross-linguistically**, similar manner restrictions are described for unrelated labile languages, e.g. Igbo, Mandarin, and Wá-šiw. (cf. Tham 2013, Hale et al. 1995, Hanink & Koontz-Garboden 2024)
- ❖ The interaction between Causative Shift and Voice allosemy may suggest a **relative ordering of post-syntactic process at LF**. (cf. Nevins & Arregi 2008, Embick & Noyer 2007 on PF phenomena)

(Selected) References

Bhatt. 2006. *Covert modality in non-finite contexts*. de Gruyter • Chierchia. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6, 339-405. • Hopperdietzel. 2021. A manner condition on causatives. *Proceedings of SUB25*, 412-419. • Katzir. 2007. Structurally defined alternatives. *L&P* 30, 669-690. • Oikonomou & Alexiadou. 2022. Voice syncretism cross-linguistically. *Languages* 7, 19. • Smith et al. 2023. From state to change-of-state by type-shift. Paper presented at CLS59. • Wood. 2016. How roots do and don't constrain the interpretation of Voice. *Working papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 96, 1-25.

Acknowledgements

This work was funded by ERC-2017-COG 769192 to Andrew Koontz-Garboden, DFG AL 554/8-1 to Artemis Alexiadou and the DAAD. Sipa ten to my Daakaka consultants, especially Tiobang Massing.