

Change-of-state without morphology in Daakaka

Overview. Daakaka (Oceanic, Austronesian) lacks designated causative morphology to derive causative verbs from intransitive stative predicates (Hopperdietzel 2021, 2020). Instead, causative semantics must be expressed by either periphrastic causative constructions or in combination with a manner verb in resultative serial verb constructions (RSVCs). In this talk, I demonstrate that inchoative semantics shows a similar distribution, as it is not introduced by designated morphology but requires the presence of additional eventive material (cf. state/change-of-state lability; Koontz-Garboden 2007). As a result, morphosemantic operations that introduce change-of-state semantics are entirely absent in Daakaka.

Proposal. To account for the distribution of change-of-state semantics in Daakaka, I adopt Smith et al.’s (2023) type-shifting analysis of state/change-of-state lability, according to which inchoative semantics is introduced at the semantic level to resolve type-mismatches between stative and dynamic predicates in the absence of (c)overt change-of-state morphology. Generalizing this analysis to causatives, I develop a unified analysis of both phenomena, building on the contextual interpretation of Voice that is sensitive to the semantic type of the ν P (Oikonomou & Alexiadou 2022, Wood 2016), with cross-linguistic implications for languages that show related patterns, including Igbo, Mandarin, and Wá:šiw.

State/change-of-state lability. Verbal stative predicates in Daakaka exhibit properties of state/change-of-state lability as no surface morphophonological distinction is made between stative verbs and their inchoative counterparts (1/2) (von Prince 2015; cf. Krajinovic 2020, Koontz-Garboden 2007). Yet, in the absence of a rate adverbial like *ma perper* ‘quickly’ or other material selecting for a dynamic event predicate, e.g. the progressive marker *bwe* (3), a change of state meaning is infelicitous (1a/2a).

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| (1) a. <i>Tio ma mese.</i>
Tio REAL be.sick
‘Tio is sick.’ | (2) a. <i>Tio mw=i biyo.</i>
Tio REAL=COP deaf
‘Tio is deaf.’ | (3) a. <i>Tio bwe mese.</i>
Tio PROG be.sick
‘Tio is getting sick.’ |
| b. <i>Tio ma mese ma perper.</i>
Tio REAL be.sick REALbe.fast
‘Tio got sick quickly.’ | b. <i>Tio mw=i biyo ma perper.</i>
Tio REAL=COP deaf REALbe.fast
‘Tio got deaf quickly.’ | b. <i>Tio bw=i biyo.</i>
Tio PROG=COP deaf
‘Tio is getting deaf.’ |

Categorial restrictions. Notably, state/change-of-state lability is sensitive to the lexical category of the stative expression (cf. Koontz-Garboden et al. 2023 for a typological overview). Daakaka exhibits two classes of stative lexemes that can be distinguished by the obligatory presence of the copula *i* in predicative contexts (1-2) (von Prince 2015). Like other stative verbs, copula constructions encode inchoative semantics in the presence of a rate adverbial (2b). In nominalizations however, where the copula is disallowed, only verbal (4a) but not adjectival predicates (4b) can express change-of-state semantics.

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| (5) a. <i>Mese perper an ma sanga.</i>
be.sick be.fast ART REAL be.bad
‘Getting sick quickly is bad.’ | b. * <i>Biyo perper an ma sanga.</i>
deaf be.fast ART REAL be.bad
Intended: ‘Getting deaf quickly is bad.’ |
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Partial vs. full change. Inchoative expressions are known to vary in the type of change involved, i.e. whether they denote a partial or full change-of-state (cf. Bochnak 2023). In Daakaka, the type of change is determined by the properties of the stative ν P: If the stative ν P appears in the positive form, the corresponding change is full, i.e. it entails positive semantics (1); if the stative ν P appears in the comparative, the corresponding change can be partial (5). Therefore, Daakaka inchoatives resemble periphrastic *become*-inchoatives in English, which show a parallel contrast.

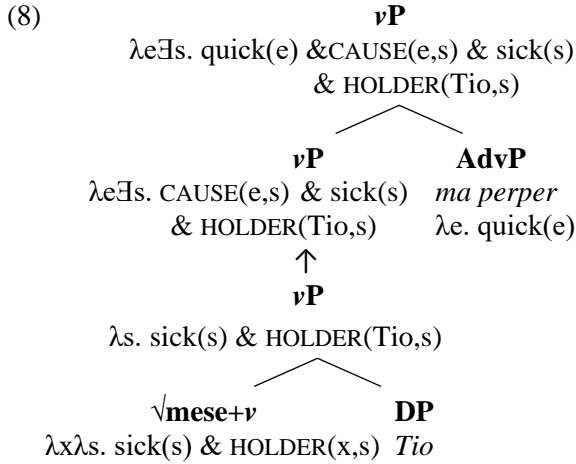
- (6) *Tio ma mese save Angela ma perper.*
Tio REAL be.sick EXCEED Angela REAL be.fast
‘Tio got quickly sicker than Angela.’

Causative Shift. To account for the distribution of change-of-state semantics, I adopt a type-shifting analysis of state/change-of-state lability, as proposed by Smith et al. (2023). Accordingly, such lability arises via a type-shifting operation that applies to stative verbs and returns an event predicate to resolve type-mismatches in the absence of respective morphosemantic processes (7), as illustrated in (8) below.

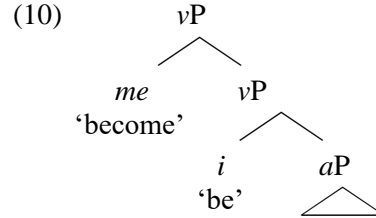
(7) **CAUSATIVE SHIFT** (adapted from Smith et al. 2023: 1)

For a verbal constituent V of type $\langle s, t \rangle$, $\text{SHIFT}(V) = \lambda e \exists s. \text{CAUSE}(e, s) \ \& \ V(s)$

In particular, the operation closes the state argument and introduces a causative relation between an event and a state (cf. Alexiadou et al. 2006, Kratzer 2005 on CAUSE = BECOME), thereby obeying the monotonicity principle on word formation (cf. Koontz-Garboden 2012). As type-shifting operations are understood to be last resort operations to resolve type-mismatches, Causative Shift is not freely available but requires the presence of material that selects for dynamic predicates, e.g. rate adverbials.



- (9) a. *Tio mwe me mese.*
Tio REAL INCH sick
'Tio got sick.'
b. *Tio mwe me i biyo.*
Tio REAL INCHCOP deaf
'Tio got deaf.'



Periphrastic inchoatives. Although Daakaka lacks morphological inchoatives, it still has periphrastic inchoatives derived by the inchoative verb *me* that embeds either stative verbs or copula constructions (9) (von Prince 2015). While the co-occurrence of Causative Shift and inchoative verbs may be unexpected as morphosemantic alternatives should block its application (Sawada & Grano 2011, Chierchia 1998), Smith et al. (2023) argue that periphrastic inchoatives only block the application of type-shifting operations if they count as structural alternatives, i.e. operate on the same level of structural complexity (11) (cf. Katzir 2007). As the inchoative verb *me* embeds the copula *i*, periphrastic inchoatives in Daakaka are more complex than type-shifted VPs and thus do not block Causative Shift (10).

(11) **GENERALIZED 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)

Serializing causatives. The dependence on additional eventive material for the expression of change-of-state meaning extends to causatives (Hopperdietzel 2021), indicating that a morphosemantic process that introduces such change-of-state semantics is generally absent in the language. Causative semantics however is more restricted than inchoative semantics, as an agentive causer is not felicitous in the context of merely event-selecting material (12b) but requires the presence of an agent-introducing *means*-adjunct in RSVCs (12a) (see Hopperdietzel 2021 on the adjunct status of the manner verb).

- (12) a. *Tio ma *(ta) mwelili-ane lee.* b. **Tio ma mwelili-ane lee ma perper.*
Tio REAL cut.INTRbe.small-TR tree Tio REAL be.small-TRtree REAL be.fast
'Tio made the tree small *(by cutting).' Intended: 'Tio made the tree quickly small.'

Voice alloemy. Adopting the view that Voice semantics is subject to contextual alloemy (Oikonomou & Alexiadou 2022, Wood 2016), the introduction of agentive semantics on the external argument-introducing head Voice are conditioned by the semantics of the vP, which may or may not be compatible with a respective Voice head. In particular, Voice introduces a holder argument in the context of a stative vP but an agent argument in the context of an agentive vP (13).

- (13) Voice \leftrightarrow $\lambda e\lambda x$. AGENT(x,e) / __ (agentive vP)
 \leftrightarrow $\lambda s\lambda x$. HOLDER(x,s) / __ (stative vP)
 \leftrightarrow $\lambda P_{\langle s, \langle s, \langle t, \rangle \rangle \rangle}$. P / elsewhere (Wood 2016: 18)

As Causative Shift does not always feed causative formation, I take type-shifting alone to be unable to render the shifted vP eligible for agentive Voice. Instead, agentive semantics must be introduced by an eventive manner verb within the *means* adjunct which attaches at the vP-level (Hopperdietzel 2022). As a result, the shifted vP as a whole enables Voice to introduce an agentive (causer) external argument.

Outlook. In the absence of respective change-of-state morphology, state/change-of-state lability and the manner requirement on (lexical) causatives co-occur in typologically-distinct languages, including Igbo (Niger-Congo), Mandarin (Sinitic), and Wá-šiw (Hokan/isolate; cf. Hale et al. 1995, Tham 2013, Bochnak & Rhomieux 2013), suggesting a deeper connection between the two phenomena.

(Selected) References. Oikonomou & Alexiadou. 2023. Voice syncretism crosslinguistically: The view from Minimalism. *Philosophies* 7, 19. • Hopperdietzel. 2021. A manner condition on causatives: Resultative compounds in Daakaka. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 27, 412-429. • Smith. et al. 2023. From state to change-of-state by type-shift. Paper presented at CLS 59 • Wood. How roots do and don't constrain the interpretation of Voice. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 96, 1-25.