

An affectedness constraint in Kimaragang restructuring

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Butt (1995) argues that complex predicate formation in Urdu is best analyzed as a merger operation on Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS), using Jackendoff's (1990) model of LCS. In this talk I argue for a similar analysis of two types of restructuring in Kimaragang Dusun (KQR), an endangered Philippine-type language of northeastern Borneo. The first type (1a) is similar to the "adverbial verb" construction described in many Formosan languages (Chang 2010; Holmer 2010). The second (1b) is a resultative construction in which V_1 names the result while V_2 names the manner. The monoclausal status of both types is confirmed by a variety of evidence, including standard restructuring diagnostics such as clitic climbing, scrambling across putative clause boundaries, and the equivalent of long-distance passivization.

- (1) a. G<in>ibang-Ø ku yalo manampar(m-poN-tampar).
<PST>-left-OV 1S.GEN 3sg.NOM AV-TR1-punch
'I hit him with my left hand.'
- b. N-a-rasak do karabaw monginum(m-poN-inum) at weeg.
PST-NVOL-dry.up GEN buffalo AV-TR1-drink NOM water
'The stream was drunk dry by buffaloes.'

The fact that the result verb in resultative restructuring (1b) is syntactically higher than the manner verb leads to a conflict between the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984) and widely-held assumptions about how cause and result are mapped onto underlying syntactic configurations (Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002). I propose that no Head Movement is involved; rather, the two verbs are base-generated *in situ* as a kind of complex predicate formed by merger of the verbs' LCS. Using Jackendoff's (1990) distinction between the Thematic Tier, which encodes thematic information, and the Action Tier which encodes affectedness, I assume with Butt (1995) that the merged LCS contains information from both verbs in the Thematic Tier, but only a single common Action Tier.

Additional support for this proposal comes from a constraint on the morphological form of V_2 . Many transitive verbs, including those which permit dative- and locative- (*spray-load*) type alternations, have alternate forms for Active Voice. With locative-alternation verbs, for example, the transitivity prefix *poN-* marks goal as primary object (2a), while *po-* marks theme as primary object (2b). I analyze the primary object in Active Voice as the affected argument (second argument on the Action Tier), based on semantic properties such as total affectedness and individuation. When the affected argument is selected as subject by using one of the non-active voices, as is common in Philippine-type languages, neither prefix occurs; the identity of the affected argument is reflected in the choice of voice marker.

- (2) a. Monuwang(m-poN-suwang) oku do pata'an do sada.
AV-TR1-enter 1sg.NOM ACC basket ACC fish
'I will fill a basket with fish.'
- b. Ø-po-suwang oku diti sada sid pata'an.
AV-TR2-enter 1sg.NOM this(ACC) fish DAT basket
'I will put this fish in a/the basket.'

The morphological constraint is this: both verbs in a restructuring construction must register the same affected argument, either by voice marking or by choice of transitivity prefix. In (3), the theme ‘money’ is the affected argument of V_1 ; so the transitivity prefix on V_2 must select the same affected argument, hence only *po-* is possible. Strikingly, this constraint applies even to adverbial restructuring (4a-b), where the patient is not a semantic argument of the first verb. Moreover, the constraint does not apply to adverbial clauses. This is illustrated in (4c), where the theme is morphologically registered as affected argument of the matrix verb *tandayay* while the goal is the affected argument of the subordinate verb *monumpos*. These facts strongly suggest that the constraint is not purely semantic; rather, it reflects something about the syntactic properties of the restructuring construction.

- (3) N-a-awi-Ø ku *pataak/*manaak* sid tongo tanak it siin ku.
 PST-NVOL-finish-OV 1sg.GEN AV-TR2/*TR1-give DAT PL child NOM money my
 ‘I used up all my money giving it to my children.’
- (4) a. Tanday-ay no ino paray Ø-*po-tumpos/*monumpos* ...
 careful-DV.IMPER PRTCL that(NOM) rice AV-TR2/*TR1-sow.seed
 ‘Put the rice seed into the dibble hole carefully (or it will get scattered).’
- b. Tanday-ay no *monumpos/*potumpos* ino luwang.
 careful-DV.IMPER PRTCL AV-TR1/*TR2-sow.seed that(NOM) hole
 ‘Fill the dibble hole (with rice seed) carefully.’
- c. Tanday-ay no ino paray do monumpos...
 careful-DV.IMPER PRTCL that(NOM) rice COMP AV-TR1-sow.seed
 ‘Treat the rice seed carefully when you are dropping it into the dibble hole (or it might get scattered).’ [bicausal]

Under the proposed analysis, this constraint does not need to be stipulated: it follows directly from the fact that the two verbs in the merged LCS must share a single Action Tier, and thus a single affected argument.

References

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