

Manner/result polysemy in Daakaka

Jens Hopperdietzel
The University of Manchester
jens.hopperdietzel@manchester.ac.uk

In the endangered language Daakaka (Oceanic, Austronesian), one group of transitive verbs, such as *tiwiye* ‘press manually, break’ is ambiguous in lexicalizing either a manner or a result meaning component: In its manner variant (1a), the verb denotes the manner of action without entailing any result state, whereas in its result variant, the verb denotes the result state of an underspecified action (1b) (cf. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2013 on English *cut*). Based on original fieldwork, I demonstrate that the respective interpretation, as either a manner or result verb, is predictable by the morphosyntactic context in which the root appears in, i.e. the result meaning is restricted to the non-initial position in resultative serial verb constructions only (Hopperdietzel to appear).

- (1) a. *Bong ma tiwiye pwesye.* b. *Bong ma ta tiwiye pwesye.*
Bong REAL press.manual.TR branches Bong REAL cut.ITR break.TR branches
‘Bong pressed manually at the branches.’ ‘Bong broke the branches by cutting them.’

While the observation of manner/result polysemy in Daakaka provides additional cross-linguistic support for the hypothesis of manner/ result complementary (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2010; cf. Gast et al. 2014 on Oceanic), it suggests that this lexicalization principle does not operate on the root or the verb level (Beavers & Koontz-Garboden 2020). Instead, it argues in favour of a structural interpretation of manner/result complementary in which the meaning of underspecified roots is determined by their relative position to eventuality-introducing functional heads (cf. Folli & Harley 2020, Mateu & Acedo-Matellan 2012). Consequently, Daakaka manner/result polysemy can be interpreted as an instance of contextual root alloosemy (Levinson 2010).

References:

- Beavers, John & Andrew Koontz-Garboden. 2020. *The roots of verbal meaning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Folli, Raffaella & Heidi Harley. 2020. A head movement approach to Talmy's typology. *Linguistic Inquiry* 51, 425-470.
- Gast, Volker, Ekkehard König & Claire Moyse-Faurie. 2014. Comparative lexicology and the typology of event descriptions: A programmatic study. In Doris Gerland, Christian Horn, Anja Latrouite & Albert Ortmann (eds.), *Meaning and grammar of nouns and verbs*, 145-183. Düsseldorf: Düsseldorf University Press.
- Hopperdietzel, Jens. to appear. A manner requirement on causatives: Resultative compounds in Daakaka. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 25 (SuB25)*,
- Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport Hovav. 2013. Lexicalized meaning and manner/result complementarity. In Boban Arsenijević, Berit Gehrke & Rafael Marín (eds.), *Studies in the composition and decomposition of event predicates*, 49-70. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Levinson, Lisa. 2010. Arguments for pseudo-resultative predicates. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28(1), 135-182.
- Mateu, Jaume & Víctor Acedo-Matellan. 2012. The manner/result complementarity revisited: A syntactic approach. In María C. Cuervo & Yves Roberge (eds.), *The end of argument structure*, 209–228. Leiden: Brill.
- Rappaport Hovav, Malka & Beth Levin. 2010. Reflections on manner/result complementarity. In Malka Rappaport Hovav, Edit Doron & Ivy Sichel (eds.), *Lexical semantics, syntax and event structure*, 21-38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.