From State to State On the typology of states and the causative-inchoative alternation



Michael Spagnol · Elif Bamyacı · Florian Schönhuber University of Konstanz, Germany

Background

Words denoting **causative** (*He* broke *the window*) and **inchoative** change of state events (*The window* broke) are often morphologically related to words denoting the associated **state predicates** (*The window is* broken), though the relationship differs for different kinds of states.

For change of state events, there is no single **direction of derivation** from causative to inchoative (e.g. Italian *sciogliere* 'melt TR.' \rightarrow *sciogliersi* 'melt INTR.') or inchoative to causative (e.g. Turkish *öldürmek* 'kill' \leftarrow *ölmek* 'die'). Typological approaches argue that the direction of derivation is sensitive to the **lexical semantic nature of verbs**, namely to whether the kind of event denoted by the verbs tends to occur spontaneously (e.g. *freeze*, *melt*) or is more likely to be instigated by a causer (e.g. *break*, *close*) (cf. Haspelmath 1993; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995; Comrie 2006).

In addition to how the change of state event is brought about, spontaneously or not, another factor that has been suggested to be responsible for such an **asymmetry** in the formal encoding of the causative-inchoative alternation is the **nature of the state underlying the change of state** (Koontz-Garboden 2006).

Dixon (1982) shows that there is a distinction between **property concept states** (PCS) and **result states** (RS). The latter entail some prior event giving rise to the state, whereas the former do not presuppose such an event.

It has recently been suggested that the semantic difference between the two kinds of states tends to be reflected morphologically: **PCS** are **morphologically simple as state predicates** (e.g. $loosen \leftarrow loose$, $widen \leftarrow wide$) and **RS** are **morphologically simple as change of state events** (e.g. $break \rightarrow broken$, $burn \rightarrow burnt$) (cf. Koontz-Garboden & Levin 2004; Koontz-Garboden 2005, 2006).

In this preliminary investigation of the relationship between change of state events and state predicates, we took **34 triplets** of causative and inchoative verbs and their associated states, such as:

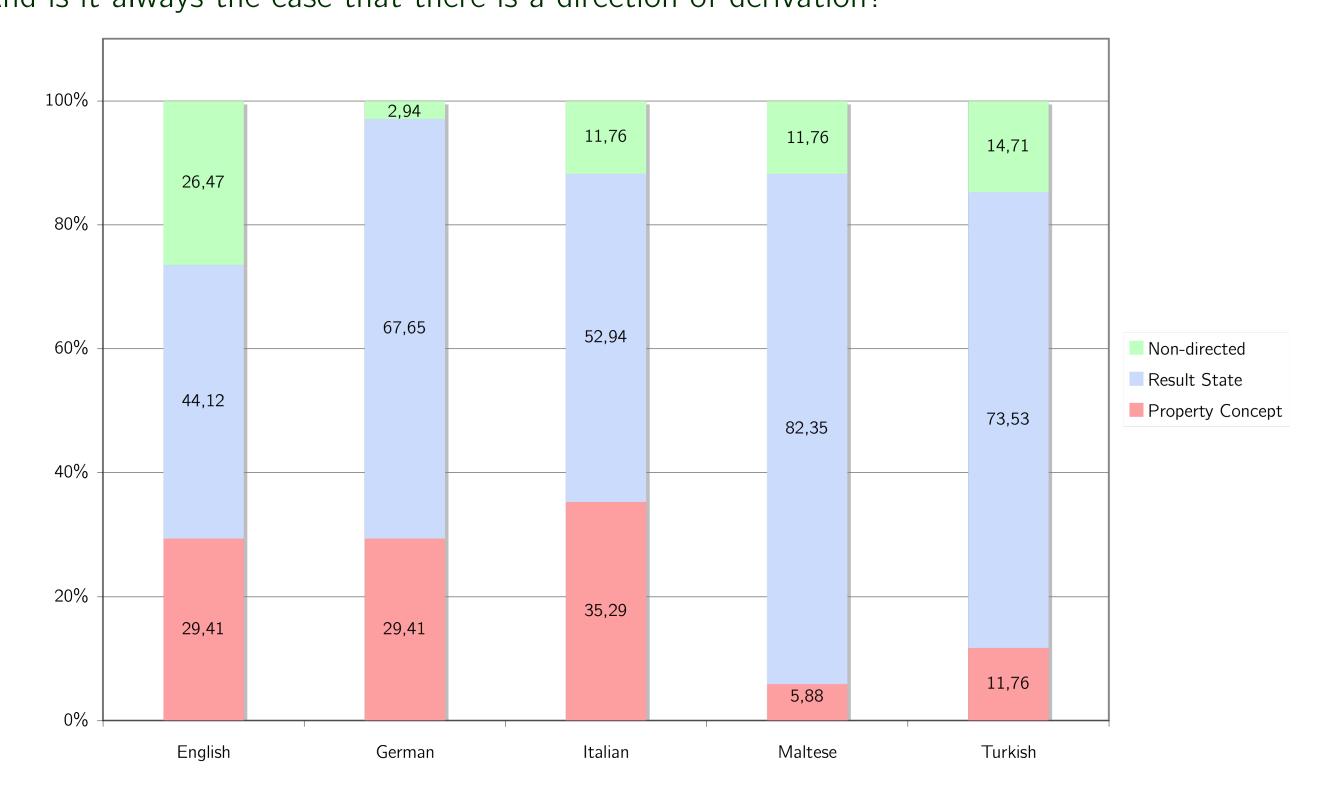
The man **open**-ed the door. The door **open**-ed. The door is **open**. The woman **tore** the dress. The dress **tore**. The dress is **torn**. The woman **loosen**-ed the knot. The knot **loosen**-ed. The knot is **loose**.

In most cases, human causers were chosen as the subject for transitive sentences. Inanimate tangible entities serve as the object of the transitive sentences and the subject of the intransitive and stative sentences. An analysis was carried out across 5 languages, two Germanic (**English**, **German**), one Romance (**Italian**), one Semitic (**Maltese**) and one Altaic (**Turkish**) by means of a sentence completion task filled in by a number of native speakers for each language.

Types of state predicates

➤ Do languages show a preference for deriving states from change of state events (i.e. for encoding states as RS) or the other way round (i.e. for encoding states as PCS)?

And is it always the case that there is a direction of derivation?



All 5 languages exhibit a tendency for deriving state predicates from causative/inchoative verbs, though to different extents.

Maltese and Turkish show a high propensity for RS.

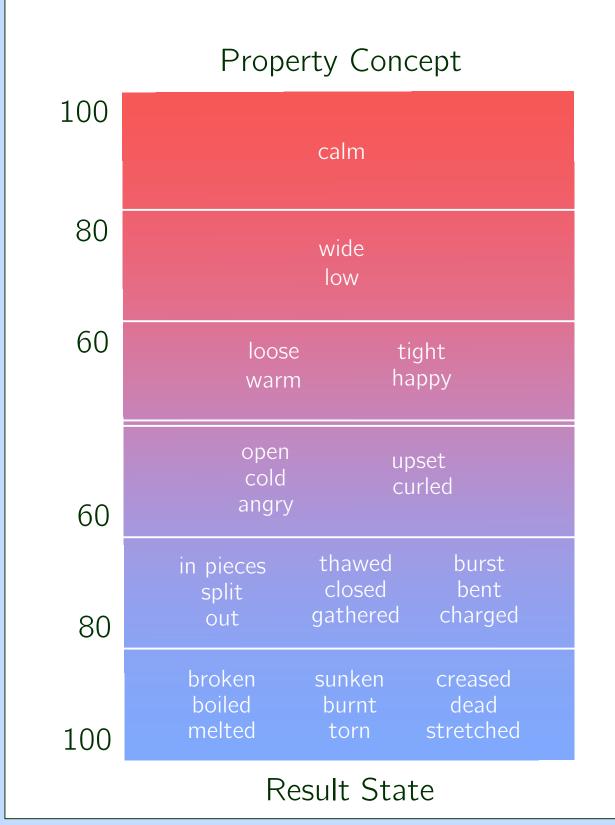
The same holds for **German** and **Italian**, though they tend to have a larger number of PCS (i.e. of verbs derived from states) in comparison to Maltese and Turkish.

English shows a slight preference for RS ($close \rightarrow closed$). However, there is a remarkable amount of PCS ($widen \leftarrow wide$).

For each language there are cases where the direction of derivation is unclear because:

- the same form is used (*The door* open-ed = *The door is* open)
- the items are equally complex (Turkish $c\ddot{o}zd\ddot{u}r/c\ddot{o}z\ddot{u}l$ 'thaw TR./INTR.' = $c\ddot{o}z\ddot{u}k$ 'thawed')
- the associated adjective is (synchronically) not related morphologically to the verbs (*The prices* rose = *The prices are* high; *The beer* cool-ed down = *The beer is* cold).

Continuum of state types



➤ Do the state predicates of individual notions tend to be encoded as PCS or RS across languages?

Among the 5 languages there is a clear tendency for some state predicates to be lexicalized as PCS (CALM, WIDE) and for others as RS (BROKEN, CLOSED).

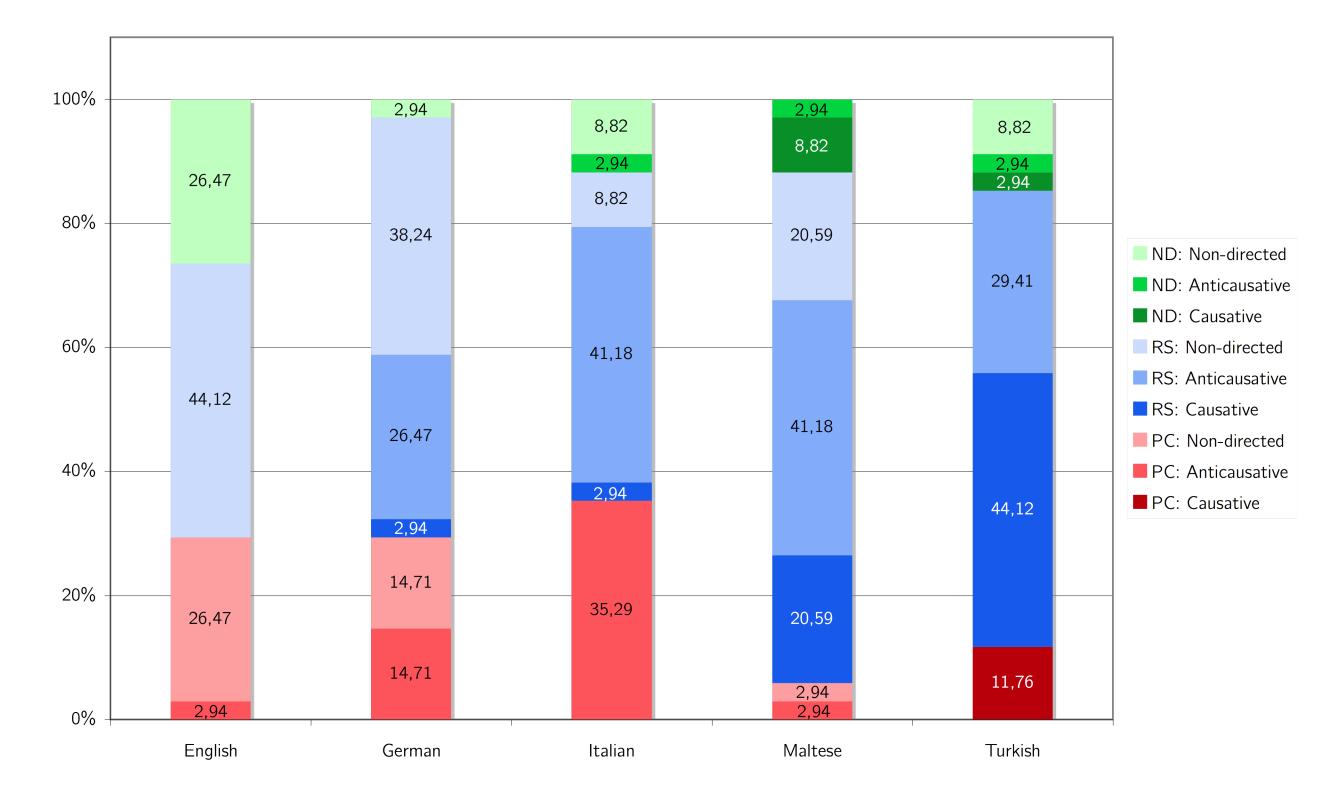
However, most of the notions tend to be deverbal, with the change of **state events** being **morphologically simpler** than the state predicates.

For three notions (DRY, HIGH, AWAKE) there was no cross-linguistic tendency for having the state as either PCS or RS.

For one notion in particular (LOW), the direction of derivation is unclear, as the verbs and the state predicate have different roots as a base (*The taxes* decreased = *The taxes are* low).

Correlation between states and verbs

➤ Does the nature of the underlying state indeed have an impact on the direction of derivation among causative-inchoative verb pairs (as suggested by Koontz-Garboden 2006)?



English no direction of derivation is observed in causative and inchoative verbs both when associated to PCS ($wide \rightarrow widen = widen$) and RS ($broken \leftarrow break = break$)

German when the state is PC there is equal chance that the inchoative is derived (OPEN offen \rightarrow offnen \rightarrow sich offnen) or that there is no direction of derivation (DRY trocken \rightarrow trocknen = trocknen). For RS, the verbs are either non-directed (BROKEN zerbrochen \leftarrow zerbrechen = zerbrechen) or the inchoative is derived (CLOSED geschlossen \leftarrow schließen \rightarrow sich schließen)

Italian the direction of derivation among verbs is anticausative for both PCS (LOW basso → abbassare → abbassarsi) and RS (TORN strappato ← strappare → strapparsi)

Maltese for both PCS and RS, causative, anticausative and non-directed alternations are all possible, with a slight preference for anticausatives when the state is resultative (CREASED $mkemmex \leftarrow kemmex \rightarrow tkemmex$)

Turkish PCS are always causative (DRY $kuru \rightarrow kurut \leftarrow kuru$). RS may be either anticausative (BENT $b\ddot{u}k\ddot{u}k \leftarrow b\ddot{u}k \rightarrow b\ddot{u}k\ddot{u}l$) or causative (ANGRY $kizgin \leftarrow kizdir \leftarrow kiz$)

Conclusion

This preliminary investigation of change of state events and their associated state predicates suggests three main findings:

- all 5 languages tend to **derive the state predicates** from their associated change of state events
- most of the stative notions in question **fall along a continuum** with regard to the two types of state predicates, with some notions being typically encoded as property concept states and others as result states
- the data suggest that there is **no direct correlation** between the type of state predicate, whether it is a property concept or a result state, and the direction of derivation in causative-inchoative verb pairs, neither within nor across these 5 languages.

In order to be able to draw generalizations about the relationship between state predicates and the causative-inchoative alternation, further research is to be carried out (i) on a wider range of change of state events and their associated state predicates (ii) among more languages from different families and geographical areas.

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Contact

Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Konstanz D-78457 Konstanz Germany michael.spagnol elif.bamyaci florian.schoenhuber

@uni-konstanz.de