

Resultatives, Restructuring and Voice in Takituduh Bunun

In this paper, I present novel data on resultative complex predicates in Takituduh Bunun, a kind of lexical restructuring that has been neglected in the study of restructuring among the different varieties of Bunun (Li 2017, Shih 2017, Wu 2013). I present morphological and syntactic evidence that such restructuring clauses correspond to *voice restructuring* in Wurmbrand's (2014, 2016) typology, with embedded verbs containing both *vP* and *VP*, while still prohibiting the embedded verb from hosting the distinct voice morphology of the clause. This stands in contrast to the analysis of restructuring clauses in Isbukun Bunun developed by Wu (2013) (embedded verb as [*VP*]), but in favor of the analysis developed for Takibakha Bunun by Shih (2017) (embedded verb as [*vP* [*VP*]]), although neither author analyze the kind of complex resultative predicates discussed here.

An illustration of such restructuring predicates is given in (1) below, where the verbs 'to hit' and 'to shatter' combine, with the leftmost verbs being syntactically dominant, hosting the distinctive voice morphology of the clause, with the subordinate verb obligatorily in the default Actor Voice. Evidence of restructuring is found in the raised clitic, hosted by the matrix verb (Li 2017, Wu 2013). Example (2) presents morphological evidence that the embedded verb contains a *vP* since it has an overt causative. The prediction made within Wurmbrand's (2014) typology of restructuring predicates is that languages with such *voice restructuring* should allow for Long Distance Object Movement. This prediction is born out, as illustrated in example (3), where the internal argument has undergone movement past the embedded verb. Such complex predicates in Takituduh Bunun must match their transitivity values, both either using their transitive (*pindusa + liqliq*) or intransitive (*indusa + uliqliq*) stems, illustrated in examples (4a) and (4b), respectively. In (4c), a transitive stem *pindusa* is combined with the intransitive stem *uliqliq*, and the clause is ungrammatical. I propose that the ungrammaticality of example (4c) follows naturally from the framework developed by Wurmbrand, if we add the following stipulation for Takituduh Bunun:

- Features on embedded *v* and matrix *v* in lexical restructuring predicates in Takituduh Bunun must match

Anticausatives can be analyzed as an overt *v/voice* head with a [-AGENT]-feature (Alexiadou et al. 2015). For example (4c) then, there would then be a mismatch in feature values of the two *v*-heads, since the matrix *v* is merged with an [+AGENT]-feature, while the embedded *v* head carries a [-AGENT]-feature. In example (4a), in contrast, the features for the embedded *v* are not specified, and can be copied from the matrix *v* to yield the interpretation that the agent of both verbs is the same. For example (4b), the embedded *v* is specified for [-AGENT], but the matrix verb lacks a *v*, following the assumption that unmarked unaccusative verbs lack a *v/voice* projection (Alexiadou et al. 2015).

When discussing restructuring in Austronesian languages, Wurmbrand argued in favor of the presence of a *vP* in the embedded based on voice marking on the embedded verb. No such pattern is attested for resultatives in Takituduh Bunun, where the distinctive voice morphology must be hosted by the matrix verb. However, such structures are available for other type of matrix verbs, illustrated in examples (5a-b), but then with the matrix verb in AV, suggesting that this constitutes a distinct structure. Resultative restructuring clauses thus constitute a structure where *v* is present but where Austronesian Voice Morphology is prohibited, thereby providing a novel argument in favor of Austronesian Voice being situated outside of the expanded *VP*, higher in the structure in Takituduh Bunun (cf. Chen 2017, Rackowski & Richards 2005).

To summarize, this paper not only provides new data for an understudied language variety, it also discusses a previously neglected type of restructuring clause while providing important insight into Takituduh Bunun clause structure, the structure of restructuring clauses and the Austronesian Voice System.

Examples

1. *ludaq-un=ku ma-pulpul ca baluku*
Hit-PV=1s.AGT AV-shatter NOM bowl
'I shattered the bowl by hitting it.'
2. *ludaq-un=cia p-inuma ca tidanuman*
hit-PV=3s.AGT CAU-break NOM window
'S/he broke the window by hitting it.'
3. *cangcang-un=cia ca nincing p-in-dusa*
chop-PV=3s.AGT NOM carrot CAU-INCH-two
'S/he chopped the carrot in two pieces.'
- 4a. *p-in-dusa-un=cia ma-liqliq ca haqail*
CAU-INCH-two-PV=3sAGT AV-tear NOM paper
'S/he tore the paper in two.'
- 4b. *m-in-dusa m-u-liqliq ca qaihav dii*
AV-INCH-two AV-ANTC-tear NOM cloth DEM
'This cloth got tore in two.'
- 4c. **p-in-dusa-un=cia m-u-liqliq ca haqail*
CAU-INCH-two-PV=3s.AGT AV-ANTC-tear NOM paper
- 5a. *asa azak siqailaz-un min-zongtong*
AV.want 1s.NOM choose-PV become-president
'I want to be elected as president.'
- 5b. *ma-pising azak kalat-un acu*
AV-fear 1s.NOM bite-PV dog
'I am afraid of being bitten by dogs.'

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