The morpho-syntax of Hawaiian valency morphology

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The morphosyntax of Hawaiian valency morphology

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Preliminaries

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Goals

- Describe valency increasing morphemes *hoʻo, haʻa*
- Compare the distribution of these with other valency related morphology
- Argue that *hoʻo* and *haʻa* are syntactically conditioned allomorphs
  - Within Distributed Morphology framework
Data Sources

- Elbert & Pukui (EP henceforth):
  - *Hawaiian Grammar*, 1979
  - *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 1986 (primary source)
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836 entries headed by hoʻo & haʻa

Coding for morphology, phonological alternation, interaction with reduplication, meaning, etc.

Note that hoʻo & haʻa have several uses not related to valency change, which I do not focus on here
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hoʻo and haʻa increase valency

- *hoʻo & haʻa* are typically characterized as causative prefixes
- However, these have a wider range of applicability than typical causatives
- In particular, both *hoʻo & haʻa* can be prefixes to nouns as well as adjectives and verbs with different levels of transitivty
- *hoʻo & haʻa* are best characterized as general valency increasing prefixes: they increase the number of arguments associated with their root
• EP describe *ho‘o* as a *causative-simulative* prefix
• EP’s causative function is exemplified here

(1) a. hele
    *to go*  
    b. ho‘ohele
    *to set in motion*

(2) a. ‘ai
    *to eat*
    b. hō‘ai
    *to feed*

(3) a. ola
    *alive*
    b. ho‘ōla
    *to save*

(4) a. hale
    *house*
    b. ho‘ohale
    *to house*

• *Ho‘o* has phonologically conditioned allomorphs *ho‘*, *ho*, *hō*, and *hō‘*
• The vowel lengthening of the root in (3) is a phonological process related to stress domains (Alderete & MacMillan 2014).
• EP describe an additional prefix *haʻa* as *causative-simulative*

• EP’s causative function is exemplified here

(5)  a. ‘āpuka
     *to cheat*

     b. haʻāpuka
     *to cause to cheat*

(6)  a. kia
     *nail, spike*

     b. hākia
     *to nail, fasten*

• *Haʻa* has phonologically conditioned allomorphs *hā* and *ha*
Simulative uses

- For EP, the simulative refers to examples where hoʻo or haʻa derive an intransitive from a noun, meaning ‘to act/feign like:’

(7) a. haole
white person
b. hoʻohaole
to act like a white person

(8) a. koaʻe
tropicbird
b. haʻakoaʻe
to act like the tropicbird
More simulative uses

(9)  a. wahine
     woman
     b. hoʻowahine
        to behave like a woman, to grow into womanhood

(10) a. kuli
     deaf
     b. hoʻokuli
     to act deaf or to feign deafness

• Similar construction in English:

(11) What happened was you Anderson Silva-ed the guy. [Jim Rome Show, 5/23/16]

(12) I’m gonna monster over this table. (= climb over the table like a monster truck)
Descriptive summary

- *ho‘o* & *ha‘a* both increase valency very generally
- Prefixation of these morphemes to nominals (both for EP’s causatives and simulatives) does not necessarily encode causation
- EP’s ‘causative’ and ‘simulative’ describe special cases of valency increase
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EP’s Analysis

- Despite similarity, EP analyze *ho‘o* & *ha‘a* as (synchronously) unrelated
- First, both morphemes may attach to the same root, deriving the same meaning:

\[(13)\]

1. *ko‘o*
   - brace, prop, pole
2. *ho‘oko‘o*
   - to prop with a pole
3. *ha‘ako‘o*
   - (same as *ho‘oko‘o*)

\[(14)\]

1. ‘awe
   - pack, knapsack
2. hō‘āwe
   - to carry on the back
3. hā‘awe
   - (same as hō‘āwe)
EP’s Analysis

• Further, *hoʻo* may attach to *haʻa*, but not the converse:

  (15)  
  a. nui
  *large*  
  b. haʻanui
  *to brag, exaggerate*  
  c. hoʻohaʻanui
  *to cause to brag*

  (16)  
  a. nini
  *to pour*  
  b. hanini
  *to overflow*  
  c. hoʻohanini
  *to cause an overflow*

• Within EP’s structuralist framework, each morpheme has a unique slot: they are not allomorphs
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Morphological Competition

- Corpus analysis suggests an additional distribution pattern
- *hoʻo*, but not *haʻa*, co-occurs with other valency related morphology, such as passive and nominalization
- *haʻa* competes with other valency related morphology
- This distribution, combined with the similarity of meaning, indicates that these morphemes are syntactically conditioned allomorphs
Interaction with Nominalization

- *hoʻo* (but not *haʻa*) freely co-occurs with nominalizing *-na*:

(17) a. kahu
    to pray in chant

b. kahuna
   priest

c. hoʻokahuna
   to ordain a kahuna

(18) a. ʻike
   to see [transitive]

b. ʻikena
   view, seeing, knowing

c. hoʻikenena
   to see, know [intransitive]
Interaction with Passive

- *hoʻo* (but not *haʻa*) freely co-occurs with passive -*Cia/-a*:

(19) a. ‘ike
    
    *to see*

b. hōʻike
    
    *to show*

c. hōʻikea
    
    *to be shown*

(20) a. waʻa
    
    *canoe, trench*

b. hoʻowaʻalia
    
    *to be dug out*
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Cyclic Effects in Morphology

- I adopt the DM framework for cyclic effects in morphology (Embick & Marantz 2008, Embick 2010)
- Embick’s (2010) example with nominalizing *n*:

  (21) *n* root-conditioned allomorphs: marri-*age*, refus-*al*, confus-*ion*
  (22) *n* elsewhere allomorph *-ing*: marry-*ing*, refus-*ing*, confus-*ing*
  (23)

  \[
  \begin{array}{c}
  n \\
  \sqrt{\text{root}} n
  \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
  n \\
  \sqrt{\text{root}} \quad v \quad n
  \end{array}
  \]

- 2-way distinction: *n* in ‘inner domain’ has unpredictable allomorph, *n* in ‘outer domain’ has predictable allomorph
- The specific realization of inner-*n* is an independent, morpho-phonological process
Morphological Analysis

• For Hawaiian, where $n$ & $v$ are cyclic:
  • $v_{incr}$ is a general valency-increasing morpheme
  • for $v_{incr}$: ha‘a is the root conditioned allomorph, ho‘o elsewhere
  • for nominalizing $n$: ⌀ is the root conditioned allomorph, -na elsewhere
  • $v_{be}$ and $v_{agent}$ are always spelled out ⌀
Sample Derivations

- **intransitive → transitive**

(24)  
  a. hele  
      *to go*  
  b. hoʻohele  
      *to set in motion*

(25)  
  a. \([ \text{hele} \, v_{be} \] = hele  
      *to go*  
  b. \([ v_{incr} \, [ \text{hele} \, v_{be} ] \] = hoʻohele  
      *to set in motion*
Sample Derivations

- noun/root → simulative

(26) a. haole
   *white person*
   b. hoʻohaole
      *to act like a white person*

(27) a. koaʻe
   *tropicbird*
   b. haʻakoʻaʻe
      *to act like the tropicbird*

(28) a. $\left[v_{incr} \ [ \text{haole} \ n \ ] \right] = \text{hoʻohaole}
      *to act like a white person*
   b. $\left[v_{incr} \ \text{koaʻe} \right] = \text{haʻakoʻaʻe}
      *to act like the tropicbird*

- The optionality of $n$ with a root derives EP’s observation that both *hoʻo* and *haʻa* can superficially attach to roots
Cyclic Interactions

• Presence of passive or nominalizing morphemes forces $v_{incr}$ into outer domain:

(29)  a. [ ‘ike $v_{agent}$ ] = ‘ike
       \textit{to see [transitive]}

       b. [ [ ‘ike $v_{agent}$ ] $n$ ] = ‘ikena
           \textit{view, seeing, knowing}

       c. [ $v_{incr}$ [ [ ‘ike $v_{agent}$ ] $n$ ] ] = ho‘ikena
           \textit{to see [intransitive]}

(30)  [ $v_{incr}$ [ [ ‘ike $v_{agent}$ ] $v_{pass}$ ] ] = hō‘ikea
       \textit{to be shown}
Co-occurrence Restrictions

• The same analysis derives the ungrammaticality of *ha‘aho‘o- prefixes:
  • The root-attached morpheme must be spelled out as ha‘a
  • Any additional affixation of $v_{incr}$ is realized as ho‘o

(31) \[ [v_{incr} [v_{incr} nui ]] = ho‘oha‘anui \]

*to cause to brag*
Conclusion

- *Haʻa* competes with other valency related morphology, including passive, nominalization, and itself ($v_{incr}$)
- This suggests that *haʻa* is the root-conditioned allomorph of the functional morpheme $v_{incr}$
- *hoʻo* is the realization of $v_{incr}$ when in an outer domain
  - *hoʻo* can prefix to *haʻa*, but not the converse
  - *hoʻo* & *haʻa* can both attach to string-identical roots (*haʻa* to a root directly, *hoʻo* to a true nominal)
  - *hoʻo* is far more frequent in EPs dictionary, because it is less restricted in its domain of application
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Thank You

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Additional Material

- Additional material appears below
• According to Elbert & Pukui (1979) and Hawkins (1979), *hoʻo*, when prefixed to verb which is normally transitive can have the function of emphasizing agency, without introducing a new argument:

(32) a. Ua peku ʻo Kale i ke kinipōpō.  
PERF kick SUBJ Kale OBJ the ball  
Kale kicked the ball.

b. Ua hoʻopeku ʻo Kale i ke kinipōpō.  
PERF CAUSE.kick SUBJ Kale OBJ the ball  
Kale deliberately kicked the ball.
Deliberative

(33) a. holo - ‘to run or sail’
    b. ho‘oholo - ‘to sail something or to sail deliberately’

(34) a. hūnā - ‘to hide’
    b. ho‘ohūnā - ‘to hide deliberately’
    c. Ua ho‘ohūnā ‘oe i ka na‘auao mai kō lākou
       PAST hide you OBJ the understanding DIR POSS their
       na‘au aku.
       mind DIR
       You have closed their minds to understanding.¹

- There is also a class in which there is reported to be no change in
  meaning (see also Gould et al. (2009) for Niuean)

- It’s unclear at this point if this is a fact that should be addressed in
  the morpho-syntax, or whether these cases should be understood
  within the deliberative class

¹ Note presence of intrans. variant pe‘e ‘to hide’