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The Morphosyntax of the Hawaiian Causative

David J. Medeiros

Preliminaries

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Conclusions

• Hawaiian (not Hawaiian Creole English)
• As documented by S. Elbert & M. Pukui between 1950-1980
Data Sources

- Elbert & Pukui:
  - *Hawaiian Grammar*, 1979
  - *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 1986 (primary source)
Feel free to email or check my website for a copy of today’s slides:

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Elbert & Pukui call the Hawaiian prefix *hoʻo* a *causative-simulative* prefix. *Hoʻo* is very productive and in many cases has a clearly causative function (note that *hoʻo* has several allomorphs)

(1) a. hele - ‘to go’  
b. hoʻohele - ‘to set in motion’

(2) a. ‘ai - ‘to eat’  
b. hōʻai - ‘to feed’

(3) a. ola - ‘alive’  
b. hoʻōla - ‘to save’

(4) a. makaʻu - ‘to fear’  
b. hoʻomakaʻu - ‘to frighten’
(5)  a. Ua ʻike ke ka a i ka ihe.  
   PERF see the warrior OBJ the spear  
   The warrior saw the spear.

   b. Ua hōʻike ke koa a i ka ihe i kona ʻenemi.  
   PERF CAUSE.see the warrior OBJ the spear OBJ his enemy  
   The warrior showed the spear to his enemy.

(6)  a. Make ke aliʻi i ke kanaka.  
   die the chief by the man  
   The chief died because of the man.

   b. Hoʻomake ke kanaka i ke aliʻi.  
   kill the man OBJ the chief  
   The man killed the chief.
Valency Increaser

• With an expanded data set, it is apparent that ho‘o should properly be understood as a valency-increaser in a general sense

• *Ho‘o* is not limited to verbs but also appears with nouns:

  (7) a. ‘aha - ‘sennit’
      b. ho‘aha - ‘to make sennit’

  (8) a. a‘a - ‘root’
      b. ho‘oa‘a - ‘to take root’

  (9) a. hale - ‘house’
      b. ho‘ohale - ‘to house’

  (10) a. ai - ‘sex’
       b. hō‘ai - ‘to breed’
Further Examples

(11) a. ‘ae‘a - ‘wandering’
    b. hō‘ae‘a - ‘to cause to wander off’

(12) a. āka‘a - ‘to peel (e.g. fruit)’
    b. ho‘āka‘a - ‘to cause to peel’

(13) a. luli - ‘to quiver’
    b. ho‘oluli - ‘to shake something’

(14) a. ‘ai‘āina - ‘to rule land’
    b. hō‘āi‘āina - ‘to award land’

(15) a. ‘ula‘ula - ‘red’
    b. ho‘o‘ula‘ula - ‘to redden’
Other Uses

• However, not all uses of *hoʻo* are transparently (only) valency increasing
• This has been noted by the data sources mentioned above but has seen little formal treatment
• Gould et al (2009) and Massam (2009) discuss a related phenomenon in Niuean
• Linguists working on Hawaiian have focused on categorizing the different uses of *hoʻo* - two readings discussed here include:
  • similtude
  • deliberative
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Similtude

(16)  a. haole - ‘white person’
      b. ho‘ohaole - ‘to act like a white person’

(17)  a. keonimana - ‘gentleman’
      b. ho‘okeonimana - ‘to act the gentleman’ (EP 1979)

(18)  a. wahine - ‘woman’
      b. ho‘owahine - ‘to act like a woman’

(19)  a. kāne - ‘man’
      b. ho‘okāne - ‘to act like a man’

(20)  a. kuli - ‘deaf’
      b. ho‘okuli - ‘to act deaf or to feign deafness’
Deliberative

- 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:

(21)  
  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.
(22) a. holo - ‘to run or sail’
   b. ho‘oholo - ‘to sail something or to sail deliberately’

(23) a. hūnā - ‘to hide’
   b. ho‘ohūnā - ‘to hide deliberately’
   c. Ua ho‘ohūnā ‘oe i ka naʻauao mai kō lākou
      past hide you OBJ the understanding DIR POSS their
      naʻau 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’
Summary Thus Far

• *Ho‘o* is a productive suffix in Hawaiian
• *Ho‘o* is traditionally described as a causative, but:
  • valency increaser is a better term for the general case
  • There exists at least one reading (the deliberative) in which *ho‘o* does not increase valency
• In the next section I will provide an analysis for the morpho-syntactic facts
• A formalized semantics is still in the works
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Outline

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A Non-Lexicalist View

- I adopt a non-lexicalist view
- E.g. Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993 et seq.) or any other formal approach in which roots combine with functional projections:
  - no part of speech category specified on the root
  - formal properties of the functional heads derive superficial category status (i.e. part of speech is a derived property)
  - functional heads differ in their morphological realization, possibly null
- With goal to eliminate terms such as ‘deliberative’ from the theory
One Root - Three Levels of Valency

• Consider ‘ike ≈ see or vision:

(24) a. Pau ka ‘ike.  
    Finished the vision  
    To loose consciousness.

b. Ua ‘ike ke koa i ka ihe.  
    PERF see the warrior OBJ the spear  
    The warrior saw the spear.

c. Ua hō‘ike ke koa i ka ihe i kona ‘enemi.  
    PERF CAUSE.see the warrior OBJ the spear OBJ his enemy  
    The warrior showed the spear to his enemy.  (b & c repeated from above)

• I assume that there are not two (or three) homophonous items in the lexicon, but one root associated with different functional projections (e.g. n^0 in the (a) example)
Little v All Around

- I will follow many prior researchers and assume that even verbal constructions which are morphologically simple on the surface have functional $v^0$ heads (Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), Harley (1995), Marantz (1997), and others)

- For the difference between (non-agentive) ‘see’ and causative ‘see,’ the relevant contrast is between $v_{be}$ and $v_{cause}$
Little v All Around

(25) Ua ‘ike ke koa i ka ihe.
    PERF see the warrior OBJ the spear
    The warrior saw the spear.

(26)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{vP} \\
\text{subj} \quad \text{v'} \\
\text{v}_{\text{be}} \quad \text{VP} \\
\sqrt{\text{root}} \quad \text{DP} \\
\text{internal-object}
\end{array}
\]
For causatives, I adopt the structure proposed in Harley (2008), see also Pylkkänen (2008)

(27)    Ua hō‘ike ke koa i ka ihe i kona ‘enemi.
          PERF CAUSE.see the warrior OBJ the spear OBJ his enemy
          The warrior showed the spear to his enemy.

(28)
Similtude Revisited

• Compare a similtude construction with a simple case of valency increase

• I assume both (b) examples to be structurally unergative:

(29)  
  a. haole - ‘white person’
  b. ho‘ohaole - ‘to act like a white person’

(30)  
  a. ‘aha - ‘sennit’
  b. ho‘aha - ‘to make sennit’

(31)

• A goal will be do formally derive the meaning contrast from the semantics of the roots as they combine with $v_{cause}$
Deliberative Revisited

- Recall that the deliberative use of *ho’o* does not increase valency:

  (32) a. Ua peku ‘o Kale i ke kinipōpō.
      PERF kick SUBJ Kale OBJ the ball
      Kale kicked the ball.
  
  b. Ua ho‘opeku ‘o Kale i ke kinipōpō.
      PERF CAUSE.kick SUBJ Kale OBJ the ball
      Kale deliberately kicked the ball.

- A solution is to propose separate $v^0$ heads: one agentive and the other causative

(33) $vP$
    \[agent \quad v'\]
    \[v_{do} \quad VP \quad \sqrt{root} \quad DP \quad internal-object\]

(34) $vP$
    \[causer \quad v'\]
    \[v_{cause} \quad VP \quad \sqrt{root} \quad DP \quad internal-object\]
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Final Remarks

• Several different types of *hoʻo* constructions were derived using a non-lexicalist, syntax-all-the-way-down approach.

• In order to derive the non-valency increasing reading, I proposed two different v⁰ heads, one causative and the other agentive.
  • How cross-linguistically motivated is this?

• Finally, *hoʻo* is not the only valency affecting morphology in Hawaiian.
  • How do these interact with each other and under what conditions do any of these morphemes apply?
Thank You

Selected References: