

THE STATIVE-INCHOATIVE ALTERNATION IN MAZAHUA. AN ACCOUNT FOR THE DERIVATION OF INCHOATIVES

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Overview

This work proposes a formal representation of the stative-inchoative alternation in Mazahua (Oto-Manguenan) illustrated in (2), (3) and (4). - Previous work has claimed statives and inchoatives in Mazahua belong to different lexical classes (Vargas Bernal, 2013; López Reynoso, 2016; Victoria Sebastián, 2018). - I built on the idea that **inchoatives are morphosyntactically derived from statives** within the Distributed Morphology framework (Cuervo, 2003, 2015; Partida-Peñalva, 2021) - **How do Mazahua inchoatives fit in the typology of inchoatives?**: I argue:

1. **Lack Voice** (cannot express external cause) (i.e. they do not have a defective Voice).
2. Are **not built from** a verbalized AP (c.f. Alexiadou et al. (2004)).

Inchoatives without Voice

Two types of inchoatives cross-linguistically (Kratzer, 2000; Alexiadou et al., 2004; Alexiadou and Schäfer, 2006; Alexiadou, 2010; Kim, 2009):

1. **defective Voice** (by-phrases are possible, can express external cause with inchoative stem)
2. **lack of Voice** (no by-phrases, no external cause)

Mazahua lacks Voice: 1. it **does not allow by-phrases** (PPs can only express location/direction) (1a-b). 2. **agent/causers can only be licensed in constructions with transitivized stems** (1c).

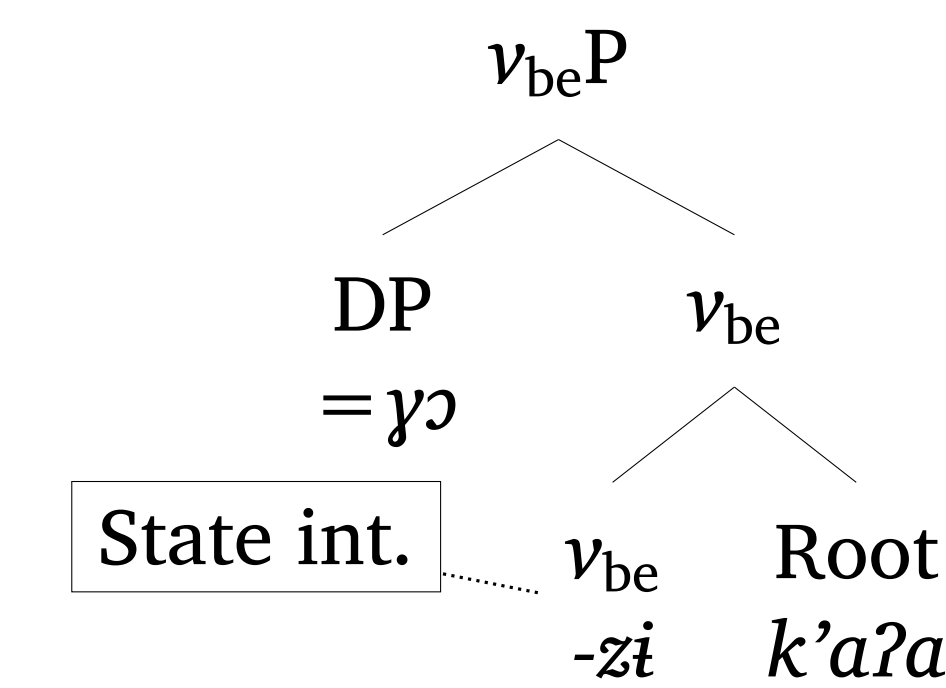
- (1) a. *ó = k'ayi-zi j'ebe
PST = get.wet-1 rain
Intended: 'I got wet by rain'
b. ó = k'ayi-zi k^ha j'ebe
PST = get.wet-1 PREP rain
'I got wet in the rain'
c. ó = k'aki-zi j'ebe
PST = wet.TR-1 rain
'The rain soaked/wet me'

Stative-Inchoative alternation

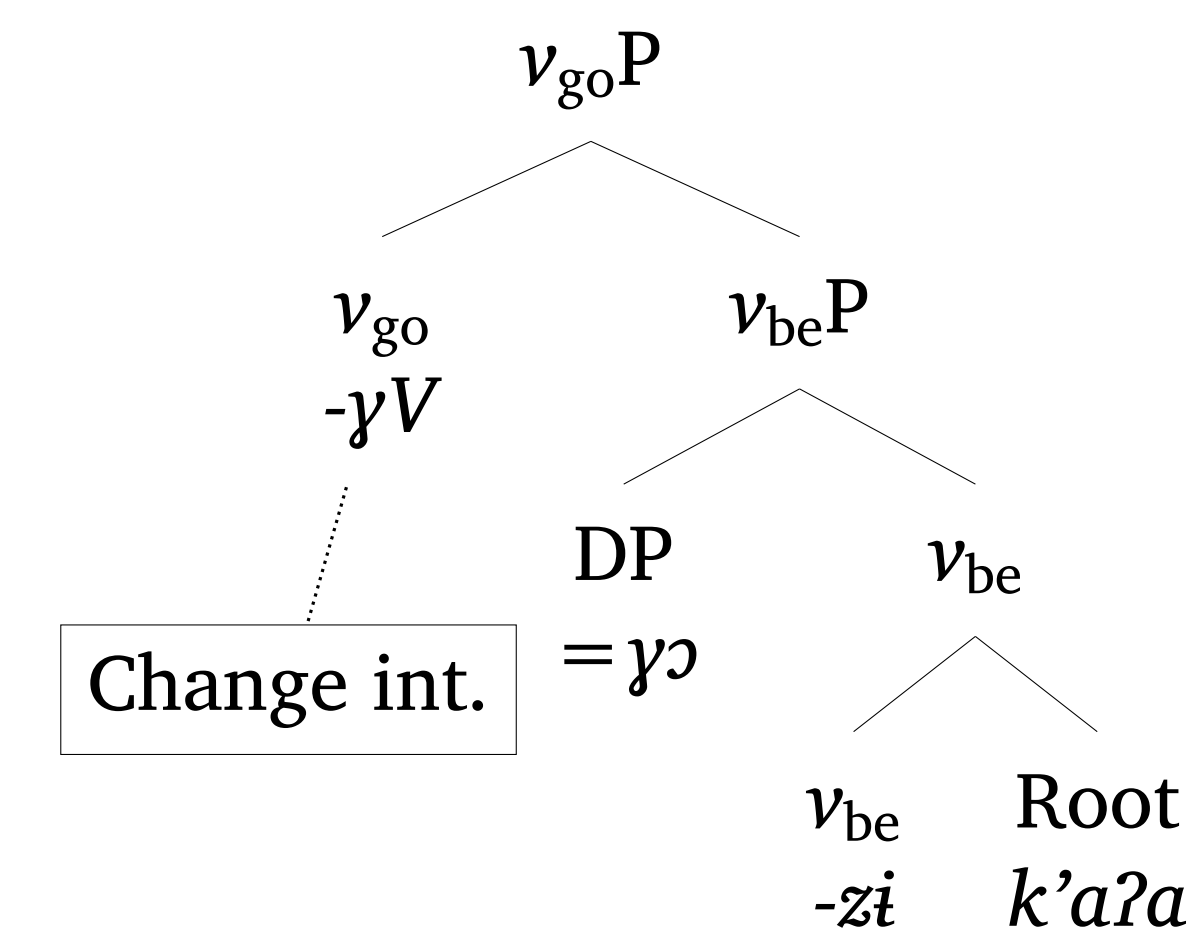
- (2) a. má = k'aʔa-zi = ʔɔ
CONT.PST = wet-1 = EMPH1
'I was wet'
b. ó = k'ayi-zi = ʔɔ
PST = get.wet-1 = EMPH1
'I got wet'
- (3) a. má = hoʔo-zi = ʔɔ
CONT.PST = good-1 = EMPH1
'I was good/healthy'
b. ó = hoyi-zi = ʔɔ
PST = get.better-1 = EMPH1
'I got better'
- (4) a. má = poʃi-zi = ʔɔ
CONT.PST = dirty-1 = EMPH1
'I was dirty'
b. ó = poʃki-zi = ʔɔ
PST = get.dirty-1 = EMPH1
'I got dirty'

Structures

(5) Statives



(6) Inchoatives



Statives/Inchoatives without AP

Alexiadou et al. (2004) argues inchoatives derived from states are formed of a verbalizing head + AP (containing a + Root).

Data from **Mazahua** suggests **there are inchoatives** derived states **that do not contain an AP** in their structure. - Mazahua lacks adjectives as a syntactic category:

1. **Properties of nouns can only be expressed via a stative construction.** (2a), (3a), (4a).
2. **Roots denoting properties cannot be used in copula constructions** (7a), which are restricted to nominal predication (7b).

- (7) a. *mí = ηge-z = gɔ k'aʔa
PST.IPFV = COP-1 = EMPH1 wet
'I was wet'
b. mí = ηge-z = gɔ
PST.IPFV = COP-1 = EMPH1
na = ʃopite
DET.INDF = professor
'I was a professor'

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Acknowledgments

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