Potentive and stative voice alternations in western Austronesian symmetrical voice languages

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Outline

1) Introduction
2) Morphological and syntactic differences
3) Semantics of potentives:
   i. Volition-culmination
   ii. Notion of ability
   iii. Special status of perception predicates in western Austr. languages
Potentives: accidental & ability predicates

• Accidental, involuntary:

(1) a. *Isia moko- bagu' i haji.*
   3s POT.AV- hit HON Haji
   ‘He accidentally hit the Haji.’

   b. *Isia noN- bagu' i aku.*
   3s AV.RLS- hit HON 1s
   ‘He hit me.’

• Ability:

(2) a. *Ingga ko- tau moko- jaab.*
    NEG EXIST- person POT.AV- answer
    ‘No one could answer it yet’

   b. *I Enggee ko- doong mo- jaab.*
    HON PN KO- want AV- answer
    ‘Enggee wants to answer.’
Potentives: predicates that typically occur in potentive form

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Potentives

• Perception predicates:
(3) a. Gina noko- ita kitik. Gina POT.AV.RLS- see duck ‘Gina already saw a duck.’

b. Isia nog- ita anak =na. 3s AV.RLS- see child =3s.GEN ‘He watched his child.’

• Get
(4) a. Moko- ala =mo bogas jata. POT.AV- fetch =CPL hulled.rice allotment ‘(They) already got rice (as a bribe).’

b. Inang =na nog- ala bungo kayu. mother =3s.GEN AV.RLS- fetch fruit wood ‘Her mother already fetched some fruits.’
Statives: intransitive

• States:

(5) Ana waktu mo-lotok sasik.
if time ST-calm sea
‘In times when the sea is calm.’

(7) Mata =na mo-itom.
eye =3s.GEN ST-black
‘Her eyes are black.’

• includes bodily states:

(6) Anak ia ma-alom.
child PRX ST-hungry
‘This child is hungry.’

• and emotions:

(8) Tau gaake mo-linggo dei saa.
person too ST-fear LOC snake
‘People are also afraid of snakes.’

• and qualities:

(7) Mata =na mo-itom.
eye =3s.GEN ST-black
‘Her eyes are black.’
Statives: transitive

• Change of state, causative reading:

(9)  *Mata ondo*  noko- ongot baki.
    eye day     ST.AV.RLS- sore head

‘The sun causes headaches.’ (Lit. ‘The sun makes the head sore’)
POT & ST in the context of verbal morphology
POT voice alternations

(10)


   `1s POT.AV.RLS- drink poison`

   ‘I accidentally drank poison.’

b. *Ni- ko-* inum -an =ku rasung.

   `RLS- POT- drink –UV2 =1s.GEN poison`

   ‘I accidentally drank poison.’
ST voice alternations

(11)

a. Mata ondo ana *noko-* itom boko =na.
   eye   day   MED ST.AV.RLS- black skin =3s.GEN
   ‘The sun blackened his skin.’

   skin =3s.GEN RLS- POT- black -UV2 eye   day
   ‘The sun blackened his skin.’

→ CAUSER = SUBJECT
→ UNDERGOER = NON-SUBJECT
→ UNDERGOER = SUBJECT
→ CAUSER = NON-SUBJECT (GEN)
mV/nV- forms

(12) Lipu **mo-** ita =ku ia.
    village POT- see =1s.GEN PRX
    ‘I see the village’

(13) Aku **ma-ngasa** dei isia.
    1s ST-angry LOC 3s
    ‘I am angry with her.’
Overlap between potentive and stative morphology I: complete separation

- Arta (Kimoto 2017)

Table 1: Arta POT & ST Verbal Paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Past</td>
<td>Past</td>
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<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>maka-</td>
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<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV</td>
<td>ma- -an</td>
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<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>ma-; me:-</td>
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Overlap between potentiive and stative morphology II: partial overlap

• Tagalog (Himmelmann 2004)

Table 2: Tagalog POT & ST Verbal Paradigm

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<td>ma- -an</td>
<td>ka- -an</td>
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<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>ma-i-</td>
<td>i-ka-</td>
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Overlap between potentive and stative morphology III: complete overlap

- Totoli

Table 3: Totoli POT & ST Verbal Paradigm

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<td>NRLS</td>
<td>RLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.POT</td>
<td>moko-</td>
<td>noko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV.POT tr (!)</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UV.POT</td>
<td>ko- -i</td>
<td>(ni)-ko- -an</td>
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Morphosyntactic distinction

**POTENTIVE**

Dei ngia **aku** noko- ita deuk lili doua.
LOC APRX 1s POT.AV.RLS- see dog yellow two

‘Here I’ve seen two yellow dogs.’

**BASIC**

Lipu mo- ita =ku ia.
village POT- see =1s.GEN PRX

‘I see the village’

**UV**

Ni- ko- lipa –an =na no-boli sagin.
RLS-POT- forget –APPL2 =3s.GEN AV.RLS- buy banana

‘S/he forgot to buy bananas.’

**STATIC**

Liok =na noko- ambang **aku**.
behaviour =3s.GEN ST.AV.RLS- shame 1s

‘His behaviour embarrasses me.’

**BASIC**

Aku mo- ita =ku ia.
1s POT- see =1s.GEN PRX

‘I am angry with her.’

**UV**

Ni- ko- ngasa-dei- isia.
1s RLS-ST- angry LOC 3s

‘My friend is angry at me’

**SUBJECT**

Non-Subject
Table 4: Possible major affixations for verbs (= aspect/mood inflectable words) in Western Austronesian symmetrical voice systems (based on Tagalog formatives)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dynamic</th>
<th>stative</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-potentive</td>
<td>potentive</td>
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<tr>
<td>AV (itr/tr)</td>
<td>-UM-, MAG-</td>
<td>MAKA-(PAG-)</td>
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<td>PV (tr)</td>
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<td>PAGKA-</td>
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Semantics of potentives
Volitionality and culmination

• Already noted by Dell (1983) and Kroeger (2017) that accidental predicates have a culminative character (i.e. the event cannot be cancelled).

• Culmination derives from the fact that potentives are sensitive to/reflect agentive features. [lack of volitionality]
Volitionality and culmination

• Martin (2015): correlation between agenthood and non-culmination
• Animate agent with intention $\rightarrow$ cancellation possible

(14) a. *Ils l’ont réparé mais cela ne fonctionne toujours pas*
    they it have repaired but this NEG works still NEG
    ‘They repaired it but it still doesn’t work.’

• Inanimate causer $\rightarrow$ culmination not defeasible

  b. *Le choc l’a réparé mais #cela ne fonctionne toujours pas.*
    the shock it has repaired but this NEG works still NEG
    ‘The shock repaired it #but it still doesn’t work.’
Volitionality and culmination

• The Austronesian evidence:

(15) Totoli:

a. *Inang noN-tibok taipang tetapi ingga ni-kolog-0 =na*
mother AV.RLS:divide mango but NEG RLS-cut -UV1 =3s.GEN
‘The mother (tried to) split the mango but she didn’t cut it.’

b. *Inang noko-tibok taipang # tapi ingga ni-kolog -0 =na*
mother POT.AV.RLS-divide mango but NEG RLS-cut -UV1 =3s.GEN
‘The mother accidentally/managed to split the mango # but she didn’t cut it.’
What does "ability" mean in this context?

Tagalog:

(16) Nà-kì-kita ba ninya yung iskinita?
RLS.POT.PV-RDP1-seen Q 2.PL.POSS DIST.LK street.corner
'Can you (are you able to) see that corner?' (Wolff et al1991:286)

(17) Kung mà-bi-bilí iyan.
if POT.PV-RDP-sale MED
'If that can be sold/if this is sellable.' (Himmelmann 2004:105)

(18) Hindi ma-hulug-an ng karayom ang lugar sa dami ng tao.
NEG POT-fall-LV GEN needle SPEC place LOC amount GEN people
'One could not drop a needle in the place because of the amount of people.’ (Himmelmann 2004:114)
What does "ability" mean in this context?

• Epistemic modality
  (19)  Ann can’t be at home yet.
       She only left work 10 minutes ago.

• Root modality (deontic + dynamic)
  • Permission (allowance comes from human authority/rules)
    (20)  You can go.
  • Internal ability (inherent properties of the individual)
    (21)  He’s not very bright, but he can cook.
  • External ability (circumstantial, nihil obstat)
    (22)  Nobody can cook in such a mess.
What does "ability" mean in this context?

(23) Aku maala =mo mo- -um- sake motor.  
1s can =CPL AV- -AUTO.MOT- get.on motorcycle  
‘I can already ride a motorcycle.’

if 1s POT.AV- -AUTO.MOT- get.on motorcycle 1S.ACT- CAU- ST- fast  
‘If I had the chance to drive a motorcycle, I would drive it fast.’
What does "ability" mean in this context?

• Epistemic modality
  (19) *Ann can’t be at home yet.*  
  *She only left work 10 minutes ago.*

• Root modality (deontic + dynamic)
  • Permission (allowance comes from human authority/rules)
  (20) *You can go.*
  • Internal ability (inherent properties of the individual)
  (21) *He’s not very bright, but he can cook.*  
  *No es muy inteligente, pero sabe cocinar.*
  • External ability (circumstantial, *nihil obstat*)
  (22) *Nobody can cook in such a mess.*  
  *Nadie puede cocinar en este desorden.*
### Special status of perception predicates?

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Special status of perception predicates?

(25) Gina tooka =mo noko- ita kitik.  
Gina finished =CPL POT.AV.RLS- see duck  
‘Gina already saw a duck.’

(26) Bau luno no- ita =ku sabatu.  
fish green POT.RLS- see =1s.GEN one  
‘I see one green fish.’

(27) Kitik tooka =mo ko- ita -an i Gina.  
duck finished =CPL POT- see -UV2 HON Gina  
‘Gina already saw a duck.’
Conclusions

• Potentive and stative paradigms show great morphological variation

• Semantics of potentives need a more fine-grained characterisation including:
  • Culminative character (driven by the [-volition] feature)
  • “Ability” refers to EXTERNAL abilities and not to INTERNAL abilities.
• Martin, Fabienne. 2015. Explaining the link between agentivity and non-culminating causation, Proceedings of SALT 25.