

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

(Totoli)

POT

DYN

Perception
predicates

ita

‘see’

‘watch, look at, look for’

tiing

‘hear’

‘listen to’

Remember/
Forget

lambot

‘remember’

‘commemorate, keep in mind’

lipa

‘forget’

‘disregard, try not to think about’

Get

ala

‘get’

‘fetch’

abung

‘get’

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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.'

- and qualities:

(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.'

Statives: transitive

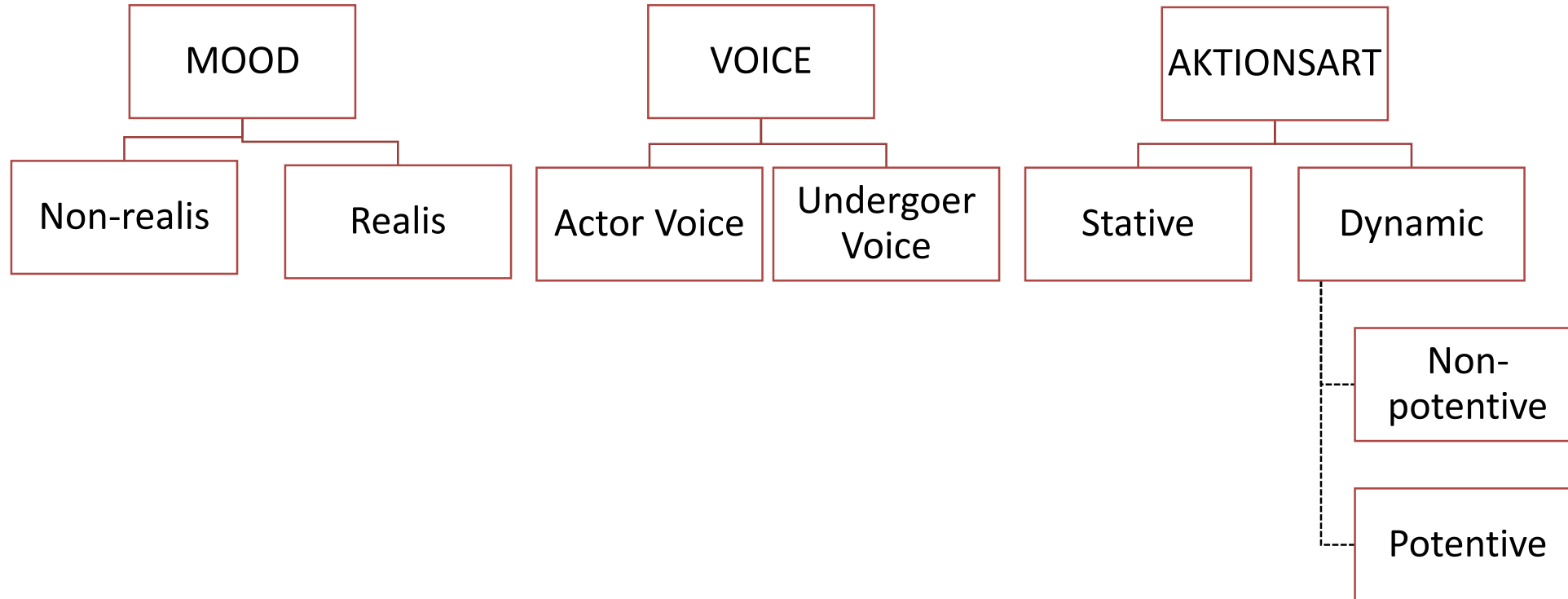
- Change of state, causative reading:

(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)

a. Aku *noko-* *inum* rasung.
1s POT.AV.RLS- drink poison

'I accidentally drank poison.'

→ AGENT = SUBJECT

→ UNDERGOER = NON-SUBJECT

b. *Ni- ko-* *inum -an* =ku rasung.
RLS- POT- drink –UV2 =1s.GEN poison

'I accidentally drank poison.'

→ UNDERGOER = SUBJECT

→ AGENT = NON-SUBJECT (GEN)

ST voice alternations

(11)

- a. *Mata ondo ana* *noko- itom* *boko =na.*
eye day MED ST.AV.RLS- black skin =3s.GEN
→ CAUSER = SUBJECT
→ UNDERGOER = NON-SUBJECT
'The sun blackened his skin.'
- b. *Boko=na* *ni-ko-itom-an* *mata ondo.*
skin =3s.GEN RLS- POT- black -UV2 eye day
→ UNDERGOER = SUBJECT
→ CAUSER = NON-SUBJECT (GEN)
'The sun blackened his skin.'

mV/nV- forms

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

→ TRANSITIVE

(13) *Aku* **ma-ngasa** (*dei* *isia.*)
1s **ST-angry** (LOC 3s)
'I am angry with her.'

→ INTRANSITIVE

Overlap between potentive and stative morphology I: complete separation

- Arta (Kimoto 2017)

Table 1: Arta POT & ST Verbal Paradigm

	POTENTIVE		STATIVE	
	Non-Past	Past	Non-Past	
AV	maka-	naka-	tiC-	agentive.ST
PV	ma-	(mi)na-	maŋa:-	patientive.ST
LV	ma- -an	(mi)na- -an	makaN-	possessive.ST
CV	ma-; me:-	(mi)na-; (mi)ne:-	---	---

Overlap between potentive and stative morphology II: partial overlap

- Tagalog (Himmelman 2004)

Table 2: Tagalog POT & ST Verbal Paradigm

	POTENTIVE	STATIVE	
AV	maka-	maka-	ST.AV
PV	ma-	ma-	ST
LV	ma- -an	ka- -an	ST.LV
CV	ma-i-	i-ka-	ST.CV

Overlap between potentive and stative morphology III: complete overlap

- Totoli

Table 3: Totoli POT & ST Verbal Paradigm

	POT		STATIVE		
	NRLS	RLS	NRLS	RLS	
AV.POT	moko-	noko	moko-	noko-	ST.AV
UV.POT tr (!)	mo-	no-	mo-	no-	ST itr (!)
UV.POT	ko- -i	(ni)-ko- -an	ko- -i	(ni)-ko- -an	ST.UV

Morphosyntactic distinction

SUBJECT

NON-SUBJECT

POTENTIVE

AV

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.'

STATIVE

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

'His behaviour embarrasses me.'

BASIC

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

'I see the village'

Aku mo-ngasa dei isia.
 1s ST- angry LOC 3s BASIC

'I am angry with her.'

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.'

Aku ni- ko- ngasa -an singgaian =ku.
 1s RLS- ST- angry -APPL2 friend =1s.GEN UV

'My friend is angry at me'

Generic table for POT & ST paradigms

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

		dynamic	stative	
		<u>non-potentive</u>	<u>potentive</u>	
AV (itr/tr)	-UM-, MAG-	MAKA-(PAG-)	(MAKA-)	ST.AV (tr)
PV (tr)	-IN	MA- (tr)	MA-	ST (itr)
LV (tr)	-AN	MA--AN / KA--AN	KA--AN	ST.LV (tr)
CV (tr)	I-	MA-I- / IKA-	IKA-	ST.CV (tr)
GER	PAG-(RDP-)	PAGKA-	PAGKA-	ST.GER

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 → **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 → **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.' (Himmelman 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.'
(Himmelman 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.'

(24) Ana aku moko- -um- sake motor ku- po- ko- gaan.

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)

Spanish:

(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?

(Totoli)		POT	DYN
Perception predicates	<i>ita</i>	'see'	'watch, look at, look for'
	<i>tiing</i>	'hear'	'listen to'
Remember/ Forget	<i>lambot</i>	'remember'	'commemorate, keep in mind'
	<i>lipa</i>	'forget'	'disregard, try not to think about'
Get	<i>ala</i>	'get'	'fetch'
	<i>abung</i>	'get'	-

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.

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