

Passives, states, and roots and Malagasy

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1 Introduction

QUESTIONS:

- 1 – What shapes do participles come in?
- 2 – How are these represented in phrase structure?
- 3 – What are the argument structure possibilities?

SECTION 2: Theoretical background
SECTION 3: Types of passives in Malagasy
SECTION 4: External arguments in Malagasy
SECTION 5: Phrase structure account of passives
SECTION 6: Conclusions

2 Theoretical background: Eventives, resultatives, statives

2.1 TYPES (E.G. EMBICK 2004)

(1) a. The door was opened.

- EVENTIVE (Someone opened the door)
- RESULTATIVE (The door was in the state of having become open)

b. The door was open.

- STATIVE (The door was in the state of being open)

(2) Examples: RESULTATIVE and EVENTIVE passive – same morphology

| Root | Stative | Resultative | Eventive passive |
|--------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|
| √BLESS | bless-èd | bless-ed | bless-ed |
| √AGE | ag-èd | ag-ed | ag-ed |
| √ROT | rott-en | rott-ed | rott-ed |
| √SINK | sunk-en | sunk-0 | sunk-0 |
| √SHAVE | (clean)-shav-en | shav-ed | shav-ed |
| √OPEN | open-0 | open-ed | open-ed |
| √EMPTY | empty-0 | empti-ed | empti-ed |
| √DRY | dry-0 | dri-ed | dri-ed |

2.2 TESTS (RESULTATIVES VS. STATES)

2.2.1 Manner adverbs

- **either** not possible with state vs. resultative

- (3) a. The package remained carefully opened. (*remain* shows adjectival status)
b. * The package remained carefully open.

- **or** fewer readings with state vs. resultative

- (4) a. the recently open door (open at a recent point and probably no longer open)
b. the recently opened door (*also*, still open, the opening having happened recently)

2.2.2 CREATION verbs (resultatives bad; states good)

- (5) a. This door was built open.
b. * This door was built opened.
- (6) a. This new ruler was built long.
b. * This new ruler was built lengthened.

2.2.3 Resultative secondary predicates (resultatives bad; states good)

- (7) a. John kicked the door open/*opened. etc...

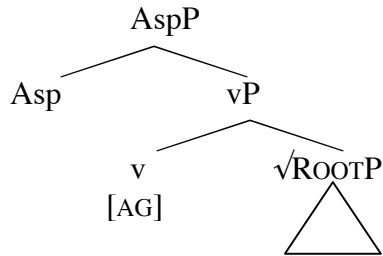
2.3 TESTS (EVENTIVES VS. NON-EVENTIVES: WASOW 1977)

2.3.1 *by* phrases

- (8) The metal is hammered by John.
only EVENTIVE reading (can tell because of habitual interpretation)

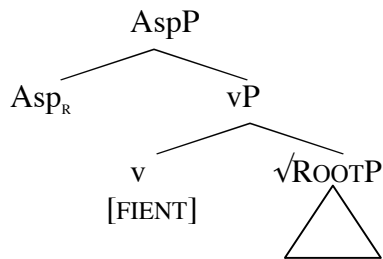
2.4 STRUCTURES (FROM EMBICK)

(9) a. VERBAL PASSIVE



- Asp_E always takes a complement headed by v[AG]
- v[AG] licenses *by* phrase and gives EVENTIVE reading

(10) a. RESULTATIVE

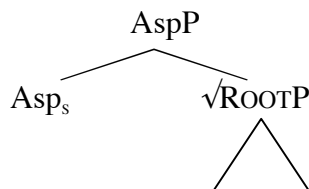


- Asp_R always takes a complement headed by v[FIENT]
- v[FIENT] always takes a stative complement
- v[FIENT] licenses manner adverb and gives change of state interpretation

can see FIENTIVE (inchoative) head in the morphology:

flat - en - ed
 ROOT - FIENT - Asp

(11) stative



- Asp_s always takes a ROOT complement

→ turn to Malagasy

3 Malagasy passives: 4 types

What is **common** to them:

- THEME in subject position (and will see later, can have external argument)

What is **different** about them:

- Event structure (stative vs. eventive; state vs. change of state)

3.1 THE DATA

3.1.1 Suffixed passive

- (12) a. Sitranana ny aretinao $\sqrt{\text{SITRANA+ina}}$
cure-TT DET illness-2SG
'Your illness was cured.'
- b. Tapahina ny tady $\sqrt{\text{TAPAKA+ina}}$
cut-TT DET cord
'The cord was cut.'

3.1.2 Voa passive

- (13) a. Voatapaka ny tady $\text{voa}+\sqrt{\text{TAPAKA}}$
VOA-cut DET cord
'The cord was cut.'
- b. Voatsangana ny sari-vongona $\text{voa}-\sqrt{\text{TSANGANA}}$
VOA-stand DET statue
'The statue was stood up.'

3.1.3 Tafa passive

- (14) a. Tafatsangana ny ankizy $\text{tafa}-\sqrt{\text{TSANGANA}}$
TAFa-stand DET child
'The child stood up.'
- b. Tafalentika lalina tamin'ny tongotro ny tsilo $\text{tafa}-\sqrt{\text{LENTIKA}}$
TAFa-go.in deep PST.AMIN'DET foot.1SG DET thorn
'The thorn went deep into my foot.'
(R-R 1971: 96)

3.1.4 Root passive

- (15) a. Tapaka ny tady $\sqrt{\text{TAPAKA}}$
 $\sqrt{\text{cut}}$ DET cord
'The cord is cut.'
- b. Sitrana ny aretina maro $\sqrt{\text{SITRANA}}$
 $\sqrt{\text{cured}}$ DET illness many
'Many illnesses are cured.'
(R-R 1971:95)

- (19) a. Voavorin'ny mpampianatra ny ankizy
 VOA-reunited'DET teachers DET children
 'The children were gathered by the teachers.'
- b. * ... nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy
- (20) a. Tafavory ny mpampianatra ny ankizy
 TAFa-reunited'DET teachers DET children
 'The children were gathered by the people.'
- b. * ... nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy
- (21) a. Vitan'ny ankizy ny asa
 finish-GEN-DET children DET work
 'The children finished the work.'
- b. *... nefa mbola tsy vita foana (... but still not finished yet)

3.2.3 Implicit external argument: Suffix and *voa-* vs. *tafa-* and root

| | Suffix | <i>Voa</i> | <i>Tafa</i> | ROOT |
|-----------------|--------|------------|-------------|------|
| Implicit ExtArg | Yes | Yes | No | No |

- (22) a. Tapahina ny tady
 cut-TT DET cord
 'The cord is being cut (by someone).' (RH: 10/04)
- b. Voatapaka ny tady
 VOA-cut DET cord
 'The cord was cut (by someone).' (RH: 10/04)
- c. Tafalentika ny tsilo
 TAFa-go.in DET thorn
 'The thorn went in.' (RH: 11/04)
- d. Tapaka ny tady
 cut'DET DET cord
 'The cord is cut.' (RH: 10/04)

Voa/Tafa- distinction is telic version lexical causative/unaccusative distinction

- Malagasy has many unaccusative/lexical causative pairs
- Malagasy is 'atelic' language (see Dell 1983 for Tagalog)

(23)

| | Transitive | Unaccusative | Passive |
|--------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| atelic | <i>m-an</i> | <i>m-i</i> | <i>-ina</i> |
| telic | <i>m-aha</i> | <i>tafa</i> | <i>voa-</i> |

3.2.4 Tense interpretation: *voa* and *tafa* vs. suffix and root

| Interpret (<i>ho</i>) | Suffix | <i>Voa</i> | <i>Tafa</i> | ROOT |
|-------------------------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|--------|
| | FUTURE | FUTURE PERFECT | FUTURE PERFECT | FUTURE |

- (24) a. Hovoriko izy ireo amin'ny fito
 FUT-reunite-1SG 3PL AMIN'DET seven
 'They will be gathered by me at seven.' (RH: *avory*)
- b. Ho voavóriko izy ireo amin'ny fito (Rajemisa-Raolison 1971:96)
 FUT VOA-reunite-1SG 3PL AMIN'DET seven
 'They will have been gathered by me at seven.'
- c. Ho tafavóry izy ireo amin'ny fito
 FUT TAFa-reunite 3PL AMIN'DET seven
 'They will have gathered at seven.'
- d. Ho tapaka ny tady amin'ny fito (RH: 11/04)
 FUT cut DET cord AMIN'DET seven
 'The cord will be cut at seven.'

3.2.5 *Tsy ela* (change of state): Root vs. others

| <i>Tsy ela</i> | Suffix | <i>Voa</i> | <i>Tafa</i> | ROOT |
|----------------|--------|------------|-------------|------|
| | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |

- (25) a. Notapahina tsy ela ny tady
 PST.cut.TT NEG long.ago DET cord
 'The cord was cut not long ago.' (RH: 10/04)
- b. Voatapaka tsy ela ny tady
 VOA.cut NEG long.ago DET cord
 'The cord was cut not long ago.' (RH: 10/04)
- c. Tafapetraka tsy ela ny sari-vongona
 TAFa-stand NEG long.ago DET statue
 'The statue was stood up not long ago.' (RH: 11/04)

d. *Tapaka tsy ela ny tady
 cut NEG long.ago DET cord
 ‘The cord was cut not long ago.’

(RH: 10/04)

3.2.6 Summary

| | Tense form | Endpoint achieved | Implicit external | Tense interpretation | <i>Tsy ela</i> |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Suffix | <i>0/no-/ho-</i> | No | Yes | future | √ |
| <i>voa</i> | <i>0/0/ho</i> | Yes | | future perfect | |
| <i>tafa</i> | | | No | future | * |
| ROOT | | | | | |

Suffix vs. *Voa, Tafa, Root*:

- Telicity (results/states)

Suffix, *Voa* vs. *Tafa, Root*:

- External argument always there, i.e. always transitive
 (*voa* is telic counterpart of suffix passive)

Suffix, *Voa, Tafa* vs. *Root*:

- dynamic vs. stative

(26) Comparing English and Malagasy

| English | | Malagasy | |
|-------------|---------------------------|----------|----------------------------|
| EVENTIVE | <i>opened</i> | SUFFIX | <i>tapahina</i> ‘was cut’ |
| RESULTATIVE | <i>opened</i> | VOA | <i>voapaka</i> ‘was cut’ |
| ?? | ?? <i>arrivé</i> (French) | TAFA | <i>tafavory</i> ‘gathered’ |
| STATE | <i>open</i> | ROOT | <i>tapaka</i> ‘cut’ |

- Why are *TAFA* and *ROOT* considered passive in Malagasy?
- Need to understand relation of telicity and external arguments ...

4 External arguments

Different from English in

- syntactic realization
- licensing (where that-role comes from)
- interpretation

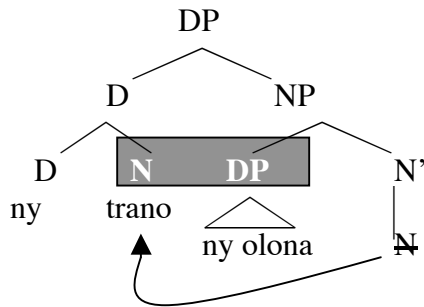
4.1 REALIZATION

See Keenan (2000) on N-bonding and Paul (1996) on genitives

(i) N – Possessives

- (27) a. ny tranon'ny olona
 DET house-DET people
 'the people's house'

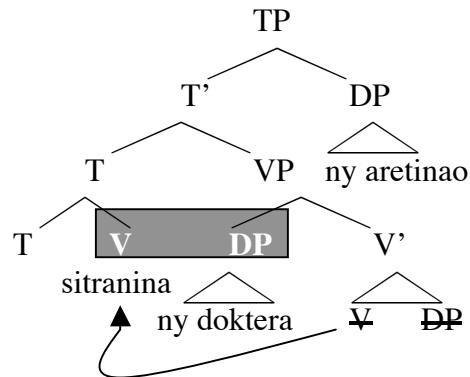
(28) a. NSO (Ritter 1986)



(ii) V – non-subject Agents

- b. Sitranin'ny dokotera ny aretinao
 cure.TT'DET doctor DET illness-2SG
 'Your illness is being cured by the doctor'

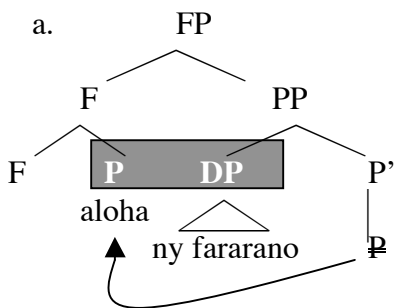
b. Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992)



(iii) P – object (R-R 1971:145)

- (29) a. alohan'ny fararano
 before'DET rainy season(?)
 'before the rainy season'

(30) a.

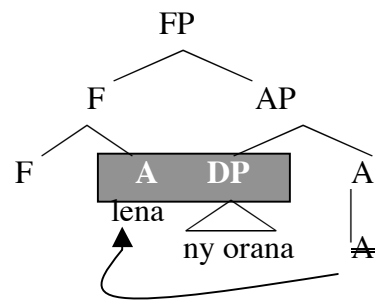


This is a generalized phenomenon ...

(iv) A – cause (R-R 1971:43)

- b. Lenan'ny orana
 wet'DET rain
 'made wet by the rain'

b.



4.2 LICENSING

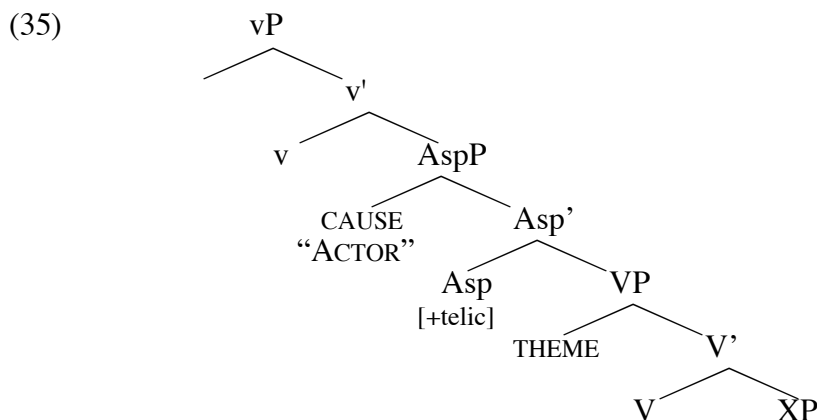
- unaccusatives aren't telic
- (31) a. Nivory ny olona PST.I.meet DET people
'The people met.'
- b. ? nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy
'.... but they didn't have time.'
- TAFI-ROOT is the telic version of an unaccusative
- (32) a. tafavory ny olona TAFI.meet DET people
'The people met.'
- b. * nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy.
'.... but they didn't have time.'
- unaccusatives cannot have an external argument
- (33) a. * Nivory ny ankizy ny mpampianatra.
PST.I.meet DET children DET teacher
- b. * Nivorin'ny mpampianatra ny boky
- TAFI-ROOT version does license an external argument
- (34) Tafavory ny mpampianatra ny ankizy
TAFI.meet.GEN DET teacher DET children
'The teacher was able to gather the children.'

CONCLUSIONS:

- telicity (end-state) licenses external argument
- extend to pure states like adjectives (of a certain type)
- licensed in Spec, Asp (dependent on telicity)

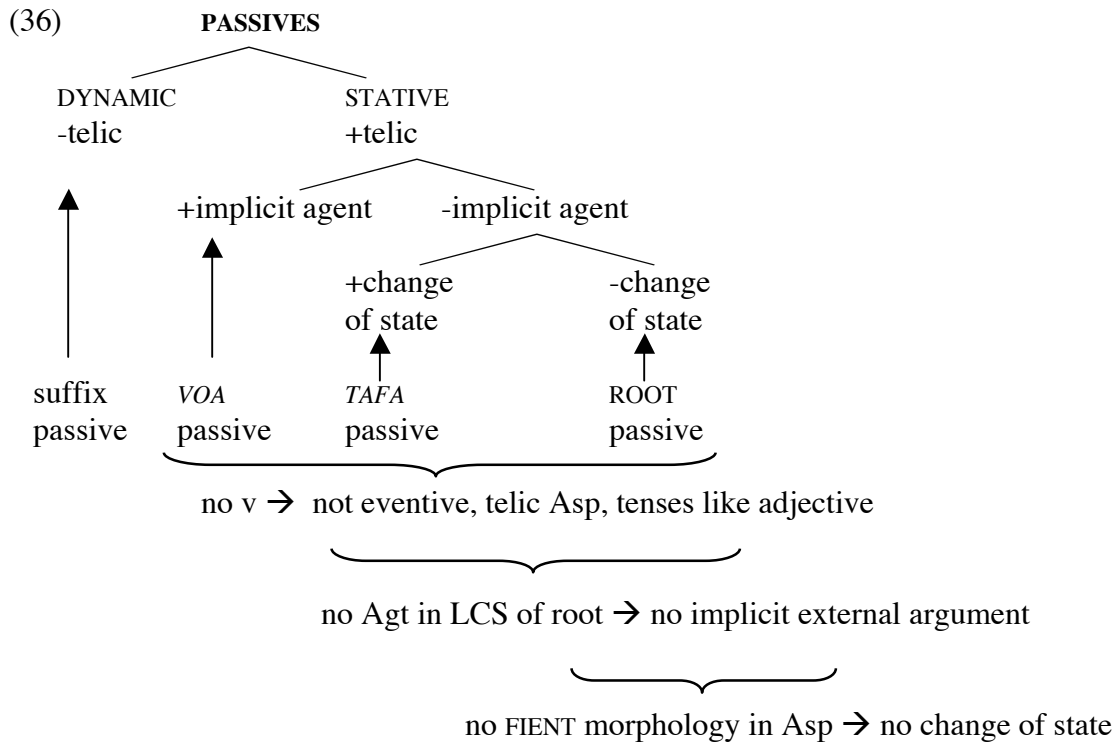
4.3 INTERPRETATION

- If the root has an AGENT, the AGENT is non-volitional (Dell 1983 Tagalog)
- If the root has no AGENT, the external argument is CAUSE



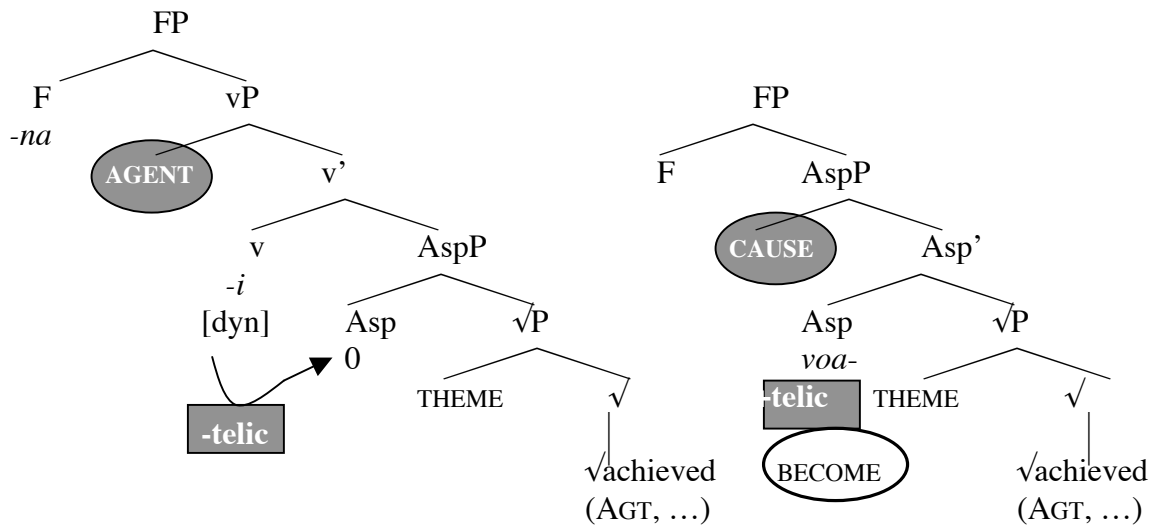
- AGENTS in Spec, vP
- Arguments of dynamic v
- CAUSES in Spec, AspP
- Arguments of a telic Asp

5 Phrase structure account of passive types



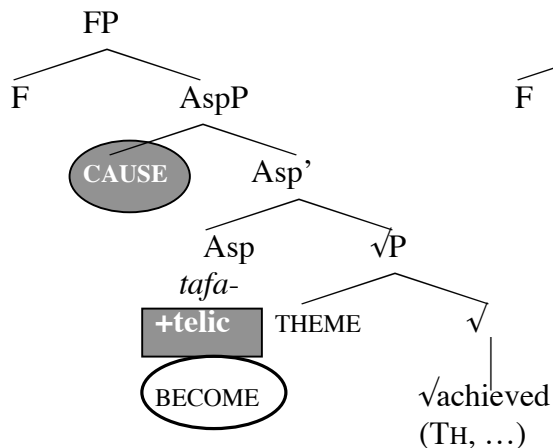
(37) a. SUFFIX PASSIVE
 (Embick – select V [AG])
 eventive v
 atelic Asp
 volitional Agent

b. VOA-PASSIVE
 (Embick – select V [FIENT])
 no v
voa- is change of state
 selects V with Agent (in Spec, Asp)



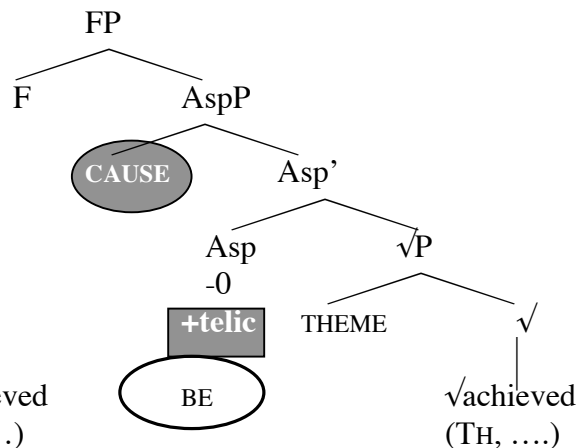
c. TAFAPASSIVE

no v
tafa- is change of state
 selects V with no Agent



d. ROOT PASSIVE
 (Embick – selects ROOT)

no v
 no change of state



Diagnoses:

- Tense form Position in tree: verbal (v) vs. not
- (End)point Telicity in Asp
- Implicit EA Agent in theta-grid
- Tense interpretation Combination of BECOME and telicity
- *Tsy ela* Change vs. no change

6 Conclusions

Different passives of Malagasy similar to different participles of English, but comparisons of two languages helps understand the constructions more:

- Verbal vs. adjectival in English comes out as difference in tense realization in Malagasy
- Lack of *by* phrase is lack true AGENT in Malagasy
- Existence of other external arguments in Malagasy due to independent difference between English and Malagasy (CAUSE in Spec, Asp of telic Aspect)
- Importance of telicity lost in English because eventives are also telic

References

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