1 Introduction

- Present four types of passive in Malagasy
- Compare with three types of participle/(resulting) states in English
- Suggest a syntax
- Turn to a semantic problem
  - **Question**: Why does same morpheme/process produce different readings with different roots?
  - **Answer**: ‘Meaning’ is extra information that isn’t already encoded by the stem

2 States

1.1 FOUR TYPES OF PASSIVE IN MALAGASY

1.1.1 Suffixed passive (√+V+na)

(1) a. Sitranana ny aretinao √SITRANA+i+na
cure-TT DET illness-2SG
‘Your illness was cured (by someone).’

b. Tapahina ny tady √TAPAKA+i+na
cut-TT DET cord
‘The cord was cut (by someone).’

1.1.2 Voa passive (voa+√)

(2) a. Voatapaka ny tady voa+√TAPAKA
VOA-cut DET cord
‘The cord was cut (by someone).’

b. Voatsangana ny sari-vongona voa-√TSANGANA
VOA-stand DET statue
‘The statue was stood up (by someone).’
1.1.3 *Tafa* passive (*tafa+√*)

(3) a. Tafatsangana ny ankizy tafa-√TSANGANA
*TAFa-stand DET child*
‘The child stood up.’

b. Tafalentika lalina tamin’ny tongotro ny tsilo tafa-√LENTIKA
*TAFa-go.in deep PST.AMIN’DET foot.1SG DET thorn*
‘The thorn went deep into my foot.’ (R-R 1971: 96)

1.1.4 Root passive (√)

(4) a. Tapaka ny tady √TAPAKA
*√cut DET cord*
‘The cord is cut.’

b. Sitrana ny aretina maro √SITRANA
*√cured DET illness many*
‘Many illnesses are cured.’ (R-R 1971:95)

1.2 ENGLISH PARTICIPLES AND STATES

(e.g. Embick 2004)

1.2.1 The data

(5) 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)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Resultative</th>
<th>Eventive passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>√BLESS</td>
<td>bless-èd</td>
<td>bless-ed</td>
<td>bless-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√AGE</td>
<td>ag-èd</td>
<td>ag-ed</td>
<td>ag-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√ROT</td>
<td>rott-en</td>
<td>rott-ed</td>
<td>rott-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√SINK</td>
<td>sunk-en</td>
<td>sunk-0</td>
<td>sunk-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√SHAVE</td>
<td>(clean)-shav-en</td>
<td>shav-ed</td>
<td>shav-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√OPEN</td>
<td>open-0</td>
<td>open-ed</td>
<td>open-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√EMPTY</td>
<td>empty-0</td>
<td>empti-ed</td>
<td>empti-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>√DRY</td>
<td>dry-0</td>
<td>dri-ed</td>
<td>dri-ed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.2 Some tests to distinguish

- **English**

**EVENTIVE vs. RESULTATIVE**
(7) a. The package was opened by the child.
   b. * The package remained opened by the child. (*remain* shows adjectival status)

**RESULTATIVE vs. STATE**
(8) a. The package remained carefully opened.
   b. * The package remained carefully open.

(9) Bird’s eye view: English
e.g. Wasow (1977)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EVENTIVE</th>
<th>RESULTATIVE</th>
<th>STATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verbal</td>
<td></td>
<td>adjectival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change of state</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Malagasy**

(10) SUFFIX vs. others

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIX</th>
<th>VOA</th>
<th>Tafa</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>0-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>ho-</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>ho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- like **adjectives**, the *voa, tafa*, root passives have only a future/non-future distinction
- like **verbs**, the suffixed passives have a three-way tense distinction

(11) Others vs. ROOT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsy ela</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUFFIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) 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 elā ny sari-vongona
   TAFA-stand NEG long.ago DET statue
   ‘The statue was stood up not long ago.’ (RH: 11/04)

d. *Tapaka tsy elā ny tady
   cut NEG long.ago DET cord
   ‘The cord was cut not long ago.’ (RH: 10/04)

(13) Bird’s eye view: Malagasy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIX</th>
<th>Tense realization</th>
<th>Tsy elā ‘not long ago’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VOA</td>
<td>verbal</td>
<td>change of state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAFA</td>
<td>adjectival</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

➢ save distinction between VOA and TAFA till later….  

1.3 STRUCTURES

1.3.1 English (from Embick)

(14) a. VERBAL PASSIVE

```
Asp,P
   /\                 
  \   /                 
    vP                vP
    /\                 /\                    
   v   \ROOTP      v   \ROOTP
   /\   [AG]         /\   [AG]
```

• Asp,e always takes a complement headed by v[AG]
• v[AG] licenses by phrase and gives EVENTIVE reading

(15) a. RESULTATIVE

```
Asp,P
   /\                 
  \   /                 
    vP                vP
    /\                 /\                    
   v   \ROOTP      v   \ROOTP
   /\   [FIENT]         /\   [FIENT]
```

• 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:

\[ \text{flat} \quad \text{en} \quad \text{ed} \]
\[ \text{ROOT} \quad \text{FIENT} \quad \text{Asp} \]

(16) STATIVE

```
  Asp_P
    Asp_s \quad \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}_P
```

- Asp_s always takes a ROOT complement

### 1.3.2 Malagasy

(17) SUFFIX \((\sqrt{\text{V}}+\text{na})\)

```
  EP
    E \quad \text{vP}
      -na
          \quad \sqrt{\text{Asp}}_P
            Asp \quad \text{vP}
```

higher than others \(\rightarrow\) different tense realization

(18) VOA \((\text{voa}+\sqrt{\text{V}})\): TATA \((\text{tafa}+\sqrt{\text{V}})\)

```
  Asp_P
    Asp
      voa/tafa \quad \sqrt{\text{P}}
```

(19) ROOT \((\sqrt{\text{V}})\)

```
  Asp_P
    Asp
      0 \quad \sqrt{\text{P}}
```

zero morpheme in Asp \(\rightarrow\) no change of state
Still missing
  - *voa*/*tafa* distinction
  - other meaning differences

1.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF ‘RESULT’

1.4.1 Malagasy is ‘atelic’ language

(20) Transitive active/unergative (from Phillips 2000: 22)
  a. nisambotra ny alika ny zaza  b. ... nefa faingana loatra ilay alika
      PST. I. captive DET dog DET child  but quick too that dog
      'The child caught the dog.'  '... but the dog was too quick.'

(21) Suffix passive
  a. Nosamborin'ny zaza ny alika  b. ... nefa faingana loatra ilay alika
      PST. captive. GEN DET child DET dog
      'The dog was caught by the child.'  '... but the dog was too quick.'

(22) Unaccusative
  a. Nivory ny olona  b. ? .... nefa tsy nanana fotoana izy
      PST. I. meet DET people
      'The people met.'  '.... but they didn't have time.'

1.4.2 Telicity marked by special morphemes

(23) Telicity marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ATELIC</th>
<th>TELIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRANSITIVE ACTIVE/UNERG</td>
<td>an-/*i-√</td>
<td>aha-√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUFFIX PASSIVE</td>
<td>√-V-na</td>
<td>voa-√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNACCUSATIVE</td>
<td>i-√</td>
<td>tafa-√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  ➢ Now can see distinction between *VOA*- and *TAF* - passives: +/- implicit argument

(24) a. Voatsangana ny sari-vongona  b. Tafatsangana ny ankizy
      *VOA*-stand DET statue  *TAF*-stand DET child
      'The statue was stood up (by someone).'  'The child stood up.'

1 Because of additional way that Malagasy has to license external arguments, this isn’t as clear-cut as in English (see e.g example (12c)) but the difference can be teased out.
1.4.3 Telicity brings with it other meanings

- Able to

(25) a. Mahateny Rabe
    PRES-a-ha-speak Rabe
    ‘Rabe can talk.’

    b. Tsy voabatako ity entana ity
    NEG VOA-lift this suitcase this
    ‘I cannot lift this suitcase.’

    c. Tafiditra tao an-tanana ny fahavalo
    TAFA-enter PST-in an-city DET enemy
    ‘The enemy was able to enter the city.’

- Accidently/Suddenly

(26) a. Tafapetraka aho nahare ilay vaovao
    TAFA-sit I PST-a-ha-hear that news
    ‘I sat in spite of myself on hearing the news’

Tafa- often forces additional ‘flavours’ of effort, accidental or sudden occurrence

2 Abilities

2.1 ABLE IS ACTUALITY (BHATT 1999)

(27) a. Yesterday, John was able to eat five apples in an hour.
    PAST EPISODIC

    b. In those days, John was able to eat five apples in an hour.
    PAST GENERIC

(28) Ability Attribution: ABILITY (P)(x)
    Actuality Implication: (P)(x)

BUT … “the actuality implication is all there is” → “actuality entailment is all there is”

Point 1:
“… an actuality implication does not have an ability component to its meaning”
(Bhatt 1999:177)

(29) a. Yesterday, Brown hit three bulls-eyes in a row. Before he hit three bulls-eyes,
    her fired 600 rounds, without coming close to the bulls-eye: and his subsequent
    tries were equally wild.
b. Brown was able to hit three bulls-eyes in a row.
c. Brown had the ability to hit three bulls-eyes in a row.

Can conclude (b) but not (c): “Brown could have hit the target three times in a row by pure chance …” (Bhatt 1999:180 emphasis mine)

Point 2:
“… do not just mean that an event … took place” (Bhatt 1999:177)

(30) #A woman in Watertown was able to win 3 million dollars in the lottery yesterday.

➢ Need non-minimal effort (via conversational implicature)
(31) After buying lottery tickets regularly for several years, a woman in Watertown was finally able to win 3 million dollars in the lottery yesterday.

Conclusion: “Actuality implication constitutes the assertion”

2.2 ABILITY IS ADDITIONAL GENERIC OPERATOR

(32) (Gen (ABLE (P))(x))

2.2.1 Imperfective vs. perfective: e.g. Greek

and Hindi, Bulgarian, Catalan, French, ….

(33) Modern Greek (Bhatt 1999: 175)
a. Borusa na sikoso afto to trapezi ala en to sikosa
   ‘(In those days), I could lift this table but I didn’t lift it.’
   CAN.impfv.1s NA lift.non-pst-pfv.1s this the table but NEG it lift.impfv
b. Boresa na tu miliso (#ala en tu milisa)
   ‘I was able to talk to John (but I did not talk to him).’
   can.pst-pfv.1s NA him talk.non-pst.pfv.1s but NEG him talk.pst-pfv

2.2.2 No change of state vs. change of state: Chichewa

(34) Passive vs. Stative Passive (Dubinsky and Simango 1996)

   beans AGR-PAST-cook-PASS beans AGR-PAST-cook-STAT
   ‘The beans were cooked.’  ‘The beans were cooked.’

(35) Stative passive only possible with change of state verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANGE OF STATE</th>
<th>STATIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>swa ‘break’</td>
<td>sw-eka</td>
<td>sw-edwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luma ‘bite’</td>
<td>*lum-ika</td>
<td>lum-idwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the stative morpheme can attach to both classes with *abilitative* meaning (*lumika* ‘biteable’ — the *abilitative* is the only option for the non-change of state verb

2.2.3 Atelic vs. telic: St’at’imcets

(36) Out of Control (OOC) constructions (Davis and Demirdache 2000)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
[ \text{ka-sék’w-s-as-a} ] & [ \text{ti nk’wan’ústen-a} ] & [ \text{ti swáycw-a} ] \\
\text{OOC-broken-CAU-ERG-OOC DET window-DET DET man-DET} \\
\text{‘The man accidentally broke the window.’}
\end{array}
\]

BUT … when attached to an atelic event, get *abilitative*

(3) telic: sék’w-s ‘break’ \textit{ka- sék’w-s-a} ‘to accidentally break’

atelic: sék-cal ‘to hit (people/things) \textit{ka-sék-cal-a} ‘to be able to hit …’

2.2.4 Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek, etc.</th>
<th>IMPERFECTIVE</th>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ability</td>
<td>result</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chichewa</th>
<th>NO CHANGE OF STATE</th>
<th>CHANGE OF STATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ability</td>
<td>state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St’at’imcets</th>
<th>ATELIC</th>
<th>TELIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ability</td>
<td>accidental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malagasy</th>
<th>ATELIC</th>
<th>TELIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ability</td>
<td>result/accidental/effort?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Accidents

*Τάφα*- in Malagasy often brings in other meanings…

- unlike English, ALL four passives can have external arguments which remain within the VP.

- This gives near minimal pairs with unaccusative/lexical causative

(37) a. Voatsangana ny sari-vongona \textit{VOA-√TSANGANA}

\textit{VOA-stand DET statue}

‘The statue was stood up (by someone).’
b. Tafatsangana ny ankizy
   \( TFA-\sqrt{TSANGANA} \)
   \( TFA \)-stand \( \text{DET} \) child
   ‘The child stood up.’

(38) a. Voatsangan-dRakoto ny sari-vongona
   \( VOA-\sqrt{TSANGANA} \)
   \( VOA \)-stand-Rakoto \( \text{DET} \) statue
   ‘The statue was stood up by Rakoto.’

b. Tafatsangan-dRakoto ny sari-vongona
   \( TFA-\sqrt{TSANGANA} \)
   \( TFA \)-stand-Rakoto \( \text{DET} \) statue
   ‘The statue was stood up by Rakoto.’

…. suddenly/out of the blue/in spite of it being difficult

…. adding telicity to unaccusative is near redundant, what becomes evident are the conventional implicatures

(39) \( ABLE \rightarrow \text{actuality} \)

-BOUNDED +BOUNDED

\( Gen \) operator \( \rightarrow \) Actuality (RESULT)

ABILITY ACCIDENTAL non-volitional
SUDDEN non-duration
WITH EFFORT creates a process

Remaining question:
Relating between INNER ASPECT (predicate class: telic vs. atelic) and OUTER ASPECT (perfective vs. imperfective)

.... can see ‘stacking’ in St’at’imcets: lose boundedness with progressive

(40) a. OOC with unaccusative: ACCIDENTAL
   \[ ka-kwís-a \] \[ ti k’ét’h-a \]
   \( OOC \)-fallen-\( OCC \) \( \text{DET} \) rock-\( DET \)
   ‘The rock accidentally fell’

b. with progressive, return to ABILITY meaning
   wa7 \[ ka-kwís-a \] \[ ti k’ét’h-a \]
   \( \text{PROG} \) OOC-fallen-\( OCC \) \( \text{DET} \) rock-\( DET \)
   ‘The rock can fall’
   ‘*The rock is accidentally falling’
4 Conclusions

- Results in Malagasy are like participles/states in English with something extra
- Extra is ABLE which in fact is ACTUALITY
- ABLE means ACTUALITY
- with Gen operator, ABLE becomes ABILITY
- in bounded contexts, ABLE means ACTUALITY but with implicatures
  - ACCIDENTAL
  - SUDDEN
  - EFFORTFUL

References

Comments welcome: lisa.travis@mcgill.ca