Potential and accidental verbs in Sangiric languages

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AIMS of this paper

- Analyze potential/accidetal verbs in Sangiric languages
- Describe usages of potential/accidental verbs in Sangiric languages (North Sulawesi, South of Mindanao)
  - In may WMP languages, a single affix that attaches to verbs can denote both potential and accidental meanings
  - The range of meaning of the affix will be described mainly by looking at Bantik and Talaud
  - The prefix *ka-* is found in Bantik, and its cognate *ʔa-* is found in Talaud
- Contrast the meaning of *ka-/ʔa-* with other affixes with similar meaning to clarify its meaning and usages
  - The prefix *i-*: Accidentality in Bantik, Desirative in Talaud
  - The prefix *ma-/na-*: Potentiality
- Investigate the meaning that covers both potential and accidental meaning: Lack of Volitionality?
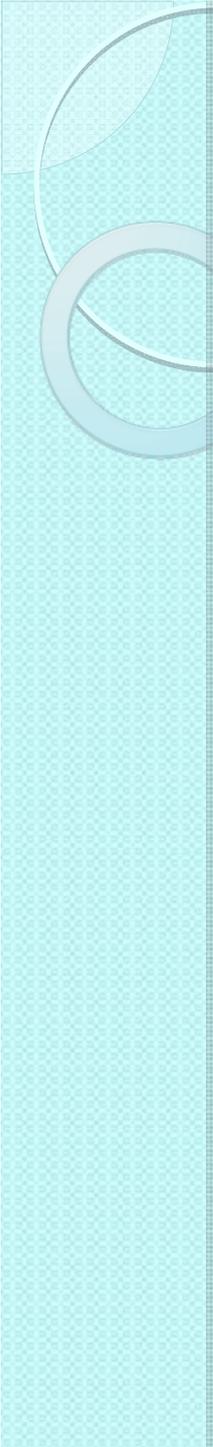
Sangiric Languages

- Sangiric micro-group belongs to Philippine languages, WMP (Sneddon 1984)
- It consists of five languages
  - Sangil (Phlippine, South of Mindanao)
  - Sangir (North Sulawesi, Sangir Islands)
  - Talaud (North Sulawesi, Talaud Islands)
  - Bantik (North Sulawesi, North coast of Minahasa Peninsula)
  - Toratan (North sulawesi, South coast of Minahasa Peninsula)
- Bantik and Talaud data are mainly reffered in this paper: Utsumi's own data
- Other Sangirik languages will also referred to
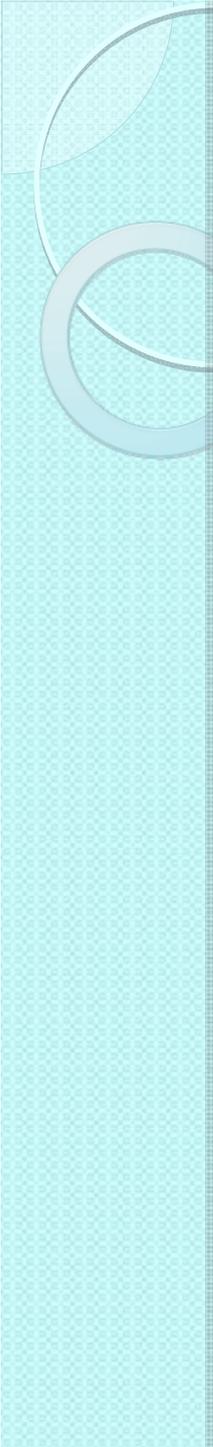
The Talaud Language

- The Talaud language is spoken in Talaud islands which are located to the northeast of Sulawesi, Indonesia, spreads to the south of Mindanao.

- Speakers are more or less 40,000, but the young speakers are switching their first language to Manado Malay. It is in danger of extinction.

- Talaud is said to have six dialects. The Salibabu dialect that is spoken in Salibabu island is regarded to be most prestigious.
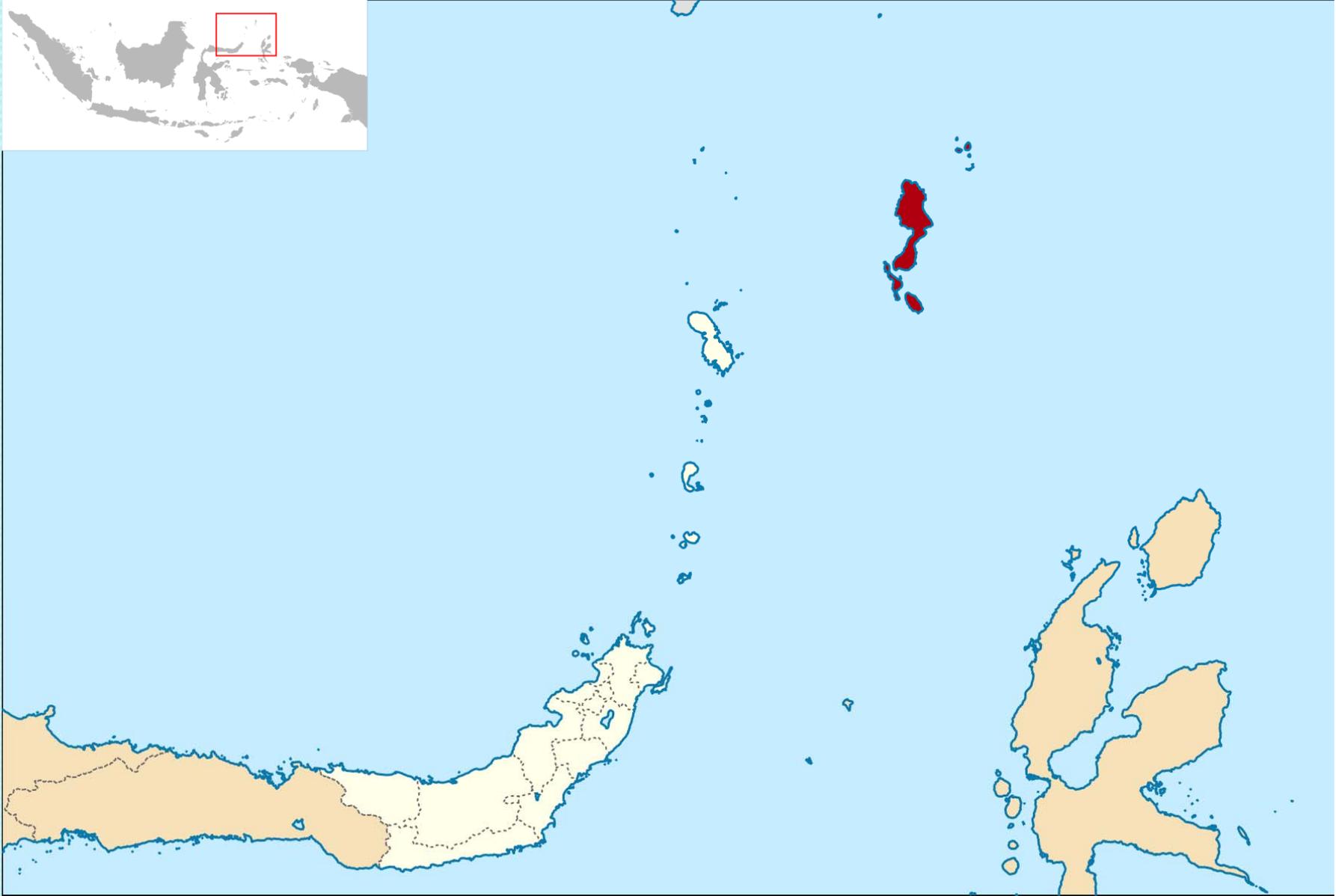
An Overview of the Talaud Language

- Vowels are /i, e, a, o, u/.
- Consonant phonemes slightly different from dialect to dialect.
- The Salibabu dialect has 18 consonants: /m, n, ŋ, p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, β, s, h, z, r, ɾ, l, w/.
- Talaud has a rich morphology. Two suffixes, one infix, and many more prefixes attach to bases to form a word.
- In most cases, verbs should take at least one affix.
- Example sentences in this presentation were taken from both the elicitation session and the narrative text.
- Consultants are Mr Christofer Ipu (born in 1930s) and Mr Musa P. Timuwo (born in 1930s), and the data was taken from 2004 to 2012.
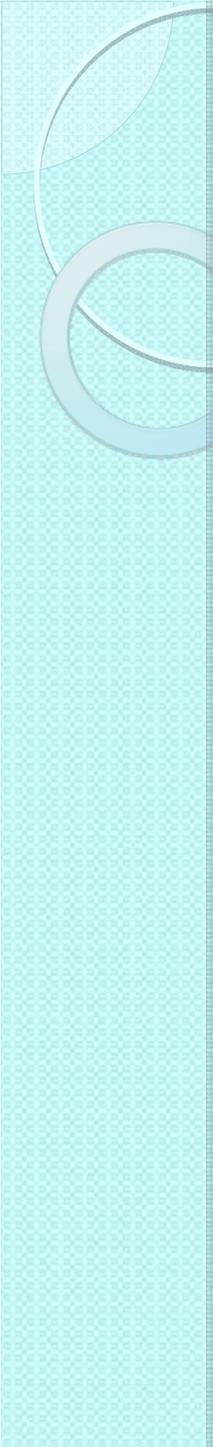
The Bantik Language

- The Bantik language is spoken in Minahasa (North Sulawesi) Peninsula. It is spoken in eleven villages, and nine of them are located to near the Manado City (the capital of North Sulawesi).

- Speakers are more or less 10,000 (Noorduyn, 1991) but the young speakers are switching their first language to Manado Malay. Most of the first language speakers are born before 1940s. It is in danger of extinction.

- Dialectal differences within the Bantik language is not known. The variety that is spoken in the villages along the coast seems to have lost word-final / ŋ / whereas the inland variety still maintains it. (Word-final /m/ has been lost in both of the varieties.)
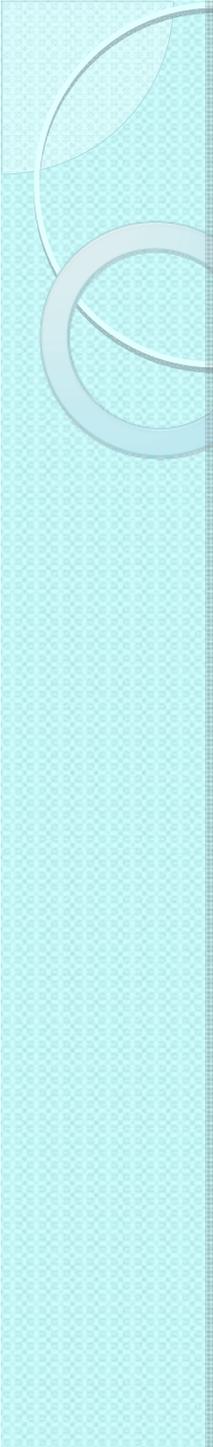
Overview of the Bantik language

- It has five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and fourteen consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, s, h, ʔ, j, ɾ, m, n, ŋ /
- It has rich morphology as other Philippine languages
- It has three noun markers that mark grammatical roles
- It has (at least) three grammatical voices: Actor Voice, Goal Voice, and Conveyance Voice. The latter two will be called Undergoer Voice in the following discussion
- Bantik speakers are bilinguals who speak both Bantik and Manado Malay
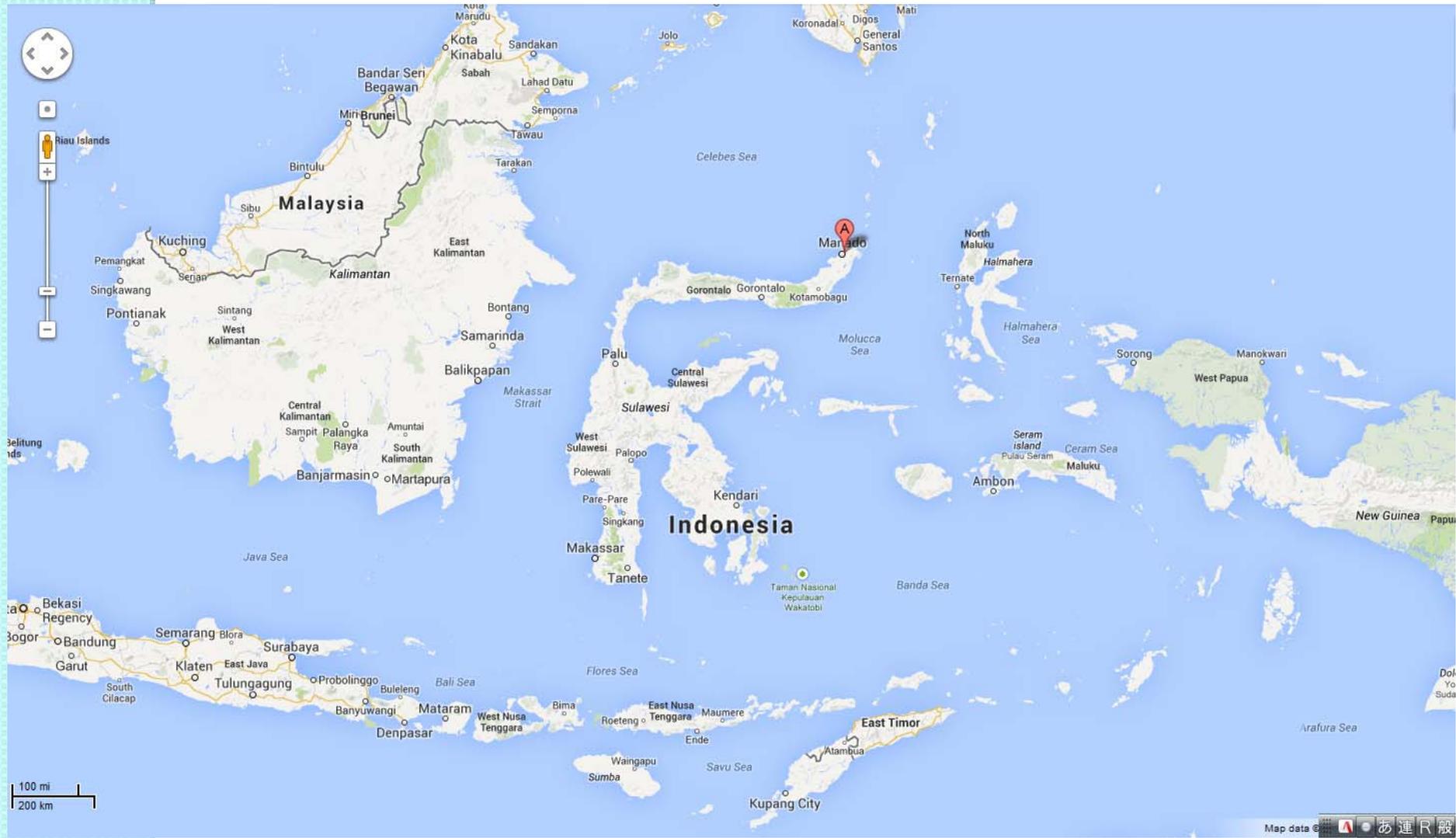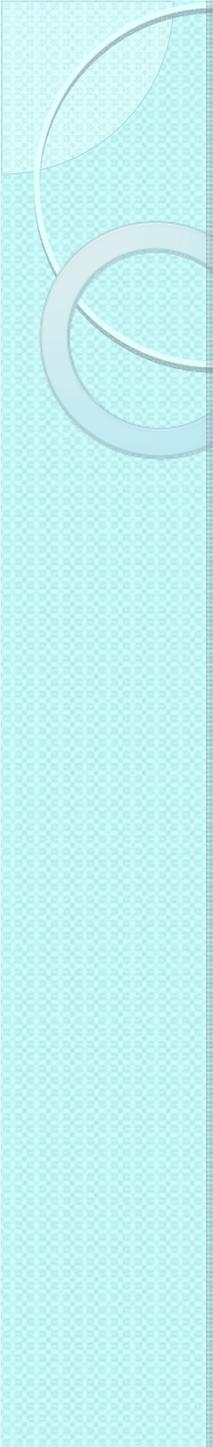
Basic Morpho-syntax of Sangiric Languages

- Three grammatical voices
  - Actor Voice
  - Undergoer Voices (at least the below two)
    - Goal Voice
    - Conveayance Voice
    - Local Voice?
- Rich verbal Morphology
- Verbs should take one affix in order to appear in a sentence
- Three kinds of Actor Voice affixes
  - MaN-/naN-: Dynamic, Sematically transitive
  - Ma-/na-: Stative, Semantically intransitive
  - -Um-/-im-, -um-/na-um-: Dynaimc, Semantically intransitive
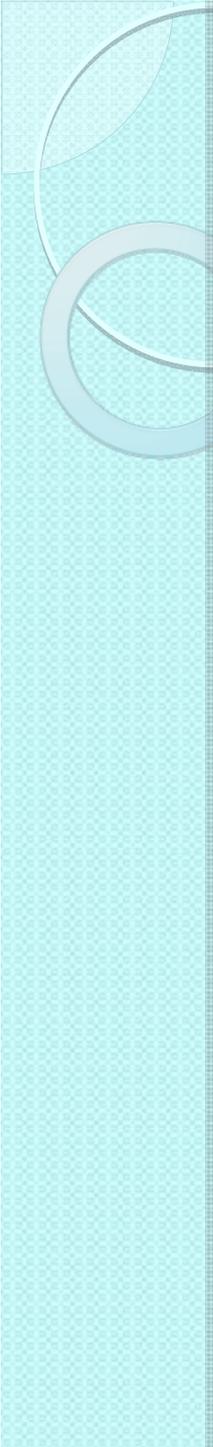
Potentiality and Accidentality

- A morpheme that covers meanings of both potentiality and accidentality can be observed in many WMP languages
- *Ter-* in Indonesian: abilitative(=potential) and accidental (Sneddon 1996, Goddard 2003)
- *Ka-* in Tagalog: abilitative(=potentiality) and non-desirative(=accidentality) (Palmer et al. 2003)
- In Sangiric languages, *ka-* or *ʔa-* (innovated form in Talaud) denotes both potentitality and accidentality

Ter- in Indonesian 1: Lack of volitionality (Undergoer Voice)

(1) *Sebagai sesama manusia   saya merasa terpanggil*

    as   fellow human.being 1sg feel   ACC-call

 untuk menolong mereka

 for   help   3pl

 'As a human, I feel being called to help them'

(2) *Indonesia seharusnya mampu menarik*

    Indonesia should   be.able.to   withdraw

 devisa   hasil   ekspor yang selama ini

  foreign.exchange outcome export REL while this

 ter-simpan di bank-bank asing.

   ACC-keep LOC RED-bank foreign

 'Indonesia should be able to withdraw the outcome of the export of foreign exchange which is kept in foreign banks.'
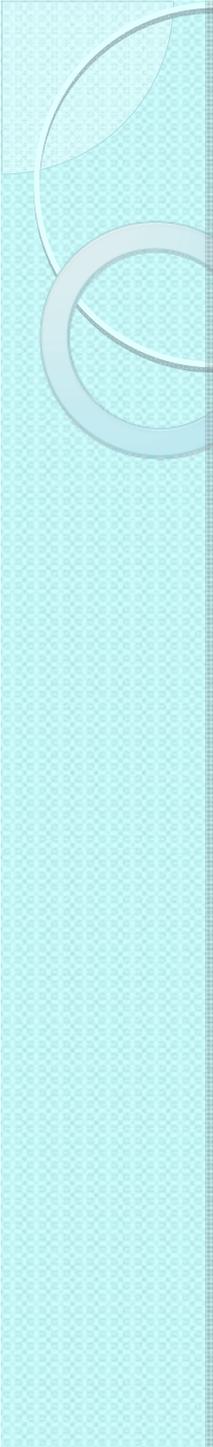
Ter- in Indonesian 2: Potentiality and Accidentality

- Potentiality

(3) *Rumah itu sudah   hampir setahun belum   ter-jual   juga.*

   house that already almost one.year not.yet ACC-sell too

   'That house has been on the sale for almost one year, but has not been sold yet'

- Accidentality

(4) Ramadan 2015 sudah sepekan *ter-lewat-i*

   Ramadan 2015 already one.week ACC-pass-TRAN

   'One week has already passed in Ramadan 2015'

Ilocano Potentive and Stative mode: *maka-/naka-* and *ma-/na-*

- Potentive mode
  - *g-um-atang*   to buy
  - *maka-gatang*   to be able to buy, to happen to buy, to purchase accidentally
  - *Dungpar-en*   to crash into someone (on purpose)
  - *ma-dungpar*   to crash into someone (on accident)

(5) Na-atal=ak   isuna
    ACC-run.over=1sg 3sg

'I accidentally ran over him.'

- Involuntary or stative verbs, adjectives
  - *ma-ldaang*   to be said
  - *ma-uyong*   to be crazy
- Non-volitional or abilitative agency: *ma- + -an*

(6) *na-gasag-an=ak*
    ACC-spice-LV=1sg

 'I was affected by the spice'

(Rubino 2000)

Tagalog: *ma-ka-/na-ka-, maka-/naka-*

- Tagalog *ka-* has wide variety of meaning, which include both accidental and abilitative (Palmer et al. 2003)
  - In the article, 'accidental' is called 'non-desirative'.
- Potentiality

(7) *Na-ka-sayaw ko si Anna*

    POT-COM-dance 1sg.GEN NOM Anna

  'I was able to dance with Anna'

- Accidentality

(8) *NAKA-patay ako ng tao*

    POT-kill   1sg GEN person

  'I accidentally killed a person'

- Resultative

(9) *naka-tanim dito ang ilangilang*

   RES-plant   here NOM ylang-ylang

  'Ylang-ylang is planted here'

(Nagaya 2015)
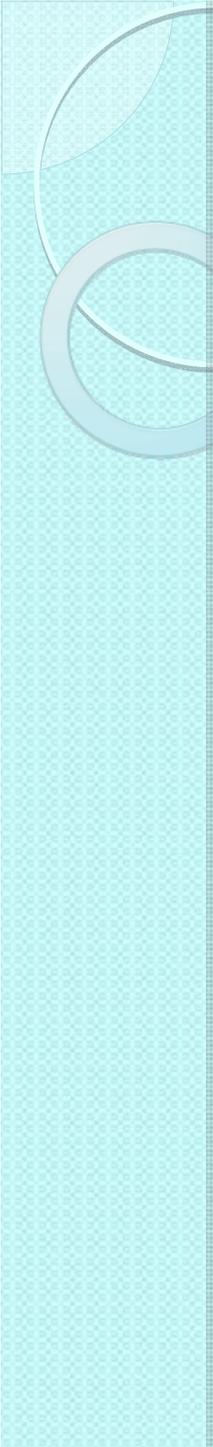
The prefix *ka-* and Bantik and Talaud

- The two languages share the same prefix for the verb that is cognate to Tagalog and Ilocano *(ma)ka-/(na)ka-*

- The prefix *ka-* can be found widely in Kalimantan and Sulawesi languages

- In Bantik, it is *ma-ka-/na-ka-*

- In Talaud, it is *ma-ʔa-/na-ʔa-*
  - In Talaud, /k/ underwent an innovation in that it became /ʔ/.

Paradigm of *ka-/ʔa-* prefixed verbs

Voice	Actor Voice	Goal Voice	Conveyance Voice
Bantik: Non-past	*ma-ka*-BASE *ma-ka-dahu* ŋ 'can sew'	*ka*-BASE-AN *ka-dahum-an* 'can be sewn'	*ka*-BASE *ka-buni* 'can be hidden'
Past	*na-ka*-BASE *na-ka-dahu* ŋ 'could sew'	*ni-ka*-BASE-AN *ni-ka-dahum-an* 'could be sewn'	*ni-ka*-BASE *ni-ka-buni*
Talaud: Non-Past	*ma-ʔa*-BASE *ma-ʔa-tabbiʔa* 'can sew'	*(ʔ)a*-BASE-ANNA *(ʔ)a-tabbiʔ-anna* 'can be sewn'	*i-a*-BASE *i-a-tiri* 'can be moved'
Past	*na-ʔa*-BASE *ma-ʔa-tabbiʔa* 'could sew'	*ni-a*-BASE-ANNA *ni-a-tabbiʔ-anna* 'could be sewn'	*n-i-a*-BASE *n-i-a-tiri* 'could be moved'

ka-/ʔa- in Bantik/Talaud

- Ambiguity between Potentiality and Accidentality
- Verbs with the potential meaning can be used in the non-past and the past tenses
- Verbs with the accidental meaning are usually in the past tense, but there are exceptions to this
- In the below examples, the morpheme will be glossed 'POT'

(10) *i-aŋga*   *ma-ka-suʔ*   *sikoɾa* *ene*

 SUBJ-Angga   AV.NPST-POT-enter   school that

 'Angga can enter that school/ Angga will accidentally go into that school' (Bantik)

(11) *i-tou* *na-ʔa-appid* *du-anna*   *su* *bailla*

 SUBJ-3sg AV.PST-POT-take LINK-food LOC field

 'S/he could bring the food to the field/ S/he mistakenly took the food to the field' (Talaud)

Morpho-syntax
Bantik potentiality/accidentality prefix *ka-*

- *Ka-* in Bantik can take three voices

- Verbs with two voices

(13) *isie*   *na-ka-seɾei*   *si-desi*

    SUBJ-3sg AV.PST-POT-see OBJ-Desi

    'S/he could see Desi' (Actor Voice)

(14) *i-desi*   *ni-ka-seɾe-an=ne*

     SUBJ-Desi PST-POT-see-GV=GEN.3sg

     'Desi was seen by her/him' (Goal Voice)

Morpho-syntax
Bantik potentiality/accidentality prefix *ka-*

(15) *i-yopi   ma-ka-buni   doitiʔ   su-ambei*
   SUBJ-Yopi AV-POT-hide money   LOC-belt
   `Yopi can hide money in the belt' (Actor Voice)

(16) *ambei ka-buni-an   ni-yopi   doitiʔ*
   belt POT-hide-GV PST-Yopi money
   `The belt can be used by Yopi to hide money'
   (Goal Voice)

(17) *doitiʔ   ka-buni   ni-yopi   su-ambei*
   money   POT-hide PST-Yopi LOC-belt
   `Money can be hidden in the belt by Yopi'
   (Conveyance Voice)

Morpho-syntax
Talaud potentiality/accidentality prefix *ʔa-*

- ## Three Voices

(18) *taggu udde ma-ʔa-tiri*   *nau ŋ ŋi-tou*

     advice that   AV.NPST-POT-move heart GEN-3sg

     (Actor Voice)

(19) *tampa udde a-tiri-an*   *nu-bale*

     place   that   POT-move-GV GEN-ball

     'In that place, a ball can be moved' (Goal Voice)

(20) *nau ŋ ŋi-tou*   *i-a-tiri*   *n-taggu*

     heart   GEN-3sg   CV-POT-move   GEN-advice

     'His heart can be moved by a piece of advice'

     (Conveyance Voice)

The prefix *i-*: Bantik and Talaud: Table 1

- The prefix *i-* : The same form in Bantik and Talaud
- Verbs which the prefix *i-* is attached have only Actor Voice
- The meaning of the prefix differ in each language

	Voice	Meaning
Bantik	Actor Voice only *ma-i*-BASE (non-past) *na-i*-BASE (past)	Accidental
Talaud	Actor Voice only *ma-i*-BASE (non-past) *na-i*-BASE (past)	Desirative

The prefix *i-*: Bantik

- In Bantik, as for the meaning of accidentality, the prefix *i-* (glossed as ACC in the below examples) has the similar meaning as *ka-*

- Verbs with the prefix *i-* has only Actor Voice

- The subject of an *i-* attached verb can be both animate (mostly human) and inanimate

(21) *i-santi   na-i-ɾuta ŋ   kapuna   ni-kuntua*

  SUBJ-Santy   AV.PST-ACC-shoot dog GEN-village.mayor

  'Santi accidentally killed the dog of the village mayor'

(22) *pahigi ene na-i-sonda ŋ sinage*

   knife that NA-I-pierce   person

   'That knife happened to pierce a person'

The prefix *i-*: Talaud

- The Talaud prefix *i-* has 'desirative' meaning (glossed as DSR in the below examples)

- Verbs with the prefix *i-* has only Actor Voice even when they take an object NP

- The subject of an *i-* attached verb has to be animate (mostly human)

(23) *i-aʔu*   *ma-i-ellega*   *si-ʔo*

    SUBJ-1sg   AV.NPST-DSR-look   OBJ-2sg

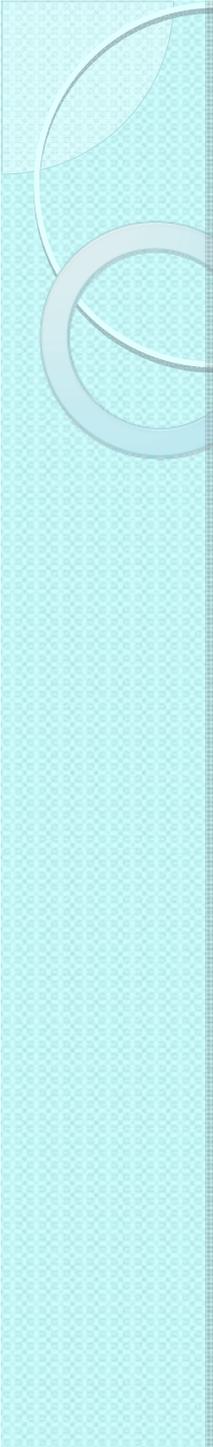   'I want you to take look after me'

(24) *tuariʔ=u*   *ma-i-tabbiʔ*   *u-laub=be*

  younger.sibling=GEN.1sg AV.NPST-DSR-sew LK-clothes=GEN.3sg

  su mananabbiʔa

   LOC tailor

   'My younger brother wants his clothes sewn by the tailor'

The prefix *ma-*/*na-*: Potential meaning

- The prefix *ma-*/*na-* has a variety of usages
- Only *ma-*, no tense alternation
  ◦ Form adjectives Form stative verbs
- *ma-*/*na-*, non-past/past alternation
  ◦ Form stative verbs
  ◦ Form dynamic intransitive verbs
  ◦ Form dynamic transitive verbs
  ◦ Form potential verbs (glossed as POT2)
  ◦ Form accidental verbs only in Talaud (glossed as ACC2)
- The prefix *ma-*/*na-* in Bantik and Talaud show similar meanings
- However, the morpho-syntax, meanings and usages of the two languages differ

Paradigms of *ma-/na-* stative/dynamic verbs: Table 2

		Actor Voice	**Goal Voice**	**Conveyance Voice**
Bantik	non-past	*ma*-BASE *ma-haɾaʔ*	BASE-*AN* *haɾaʔ-en*	*
	past	*na*-BASE *na-haɾaʔ*	*ni*-BASE-*AN* *ni-haɾaʔ-en*	*
Talaud	non-past	*ma*-BASE *ma-saɾai ŋ ŋ a*	BASE-*ANNA* *saɾai ŋ-anna*	*I*-BASE *i-saɾai ŋ ŋ a*
	past	*na*-BASE *na- saɾai ŋ ŋ a*	*ni*-BASE-*ANNA* *ni-saɾai ŋ-anna*	*N-I*-BASE *n-i-saɾai ŋ ŋ a*

Ma-/na- prefixed verbs: Bantik

- BantikTalaud prefix *ma-/na-* : Adjective, Stative verb, Intransitive verb, Transitive verb

(25) *ba ŋ o*   *ene ma-ɾa ŋ kasa*

    coconut.tree   that MA-tall

  'That coconut tree is tall' (Adjective)

(26) *side*   *dua na-kabi ŋ*

    SUBJ.3pl   two NA-marry

  'The two of them got married' (Stative verb)

(27) *side*   *na-kantar*

    SUBJ.3pl NA-sing

  'They sang' (Dynamic intransitive verb)

(28) *side*   *na-haɾaʔ*   *oto*

    SUBJ.3pl   NA-wait   car

  'They waited for the car' (Dynamic transitive verb)

Ma-/na- prefixed verbs: Talaud

- Talaud prefix *ma-/na-* : Adjective, Stative verb, Intransitive verb, Transitive verb

(29) *niukka   udde ma-tangakka*

  coconut.tree that MA-tall

  'That coconut tree is tall' (Adjective)

(30) *i-ma ŋ itou   na-taut ti-hani*

  SUBJ-3pl   NA-be.scared GEN-Hanny

  'They were scared of Hanny' (Stative verb)

(31) *i-ani   na-luassa   wuassu silaka*

  SUBJ-Annie NA-be.pleased from danger

  'Annie was pleased (because she escaped) from the danger' (Dynamic intransitive verb)

(32) *i-tou   na-lutata ŋ ŋ a su wawi*

  SUBJ-3sg NA-shoot LOC pig (Dynamic transitive verb)

Potential Verb with the prefix *ma-/na-*: Bantik

- In Bantik, a *ma-/na-* attached verb has potential meaning
- Only one voice is observed for potential *ma-/na-*, which is equivalent to Actor Voice
- The subject of a *ma-/na-* attached verb should be PATIENT

(33)a. *heka ma-geheʔ=te*

    cloth POT2-tear=COMP

   'The cloth is about to rip'

  b. *heka ma-geheʔ ni-heis*

    cloth POT2-tear GEN-Heis

   'The cloth can be torn by Heis'

(34) *saþi   ini   na-buno=ku*

  cow   this   UV.PST.POT2-kill=GEN.1sg

  'This cow was killed by me' (Bantik, PATIENT as subject)

(35) *mei=ku   na-eɾoʔ=te   nu   ake   n-tahiti*

    rice=GEN.1sg POT2-level=COMP GEN water GEN-rain

Potential Verb with the prefix *ma-*: Talaud

- In Talaud, a *ma-/na-* attached verb has potential meaning, in both the non-past and the past tenses
- In addition, it also has accidental meaning only in the past tense
- The subject of a *ma-/na-* attached verb should be ACTOR

(36) *i-ani* *na-pesa* *lamaʔa* *udde*

I-Annie POT2-break dish that

'Annie could break that dish/ Annie accidently broke the dish. (Talaud)

(37) *i-ma ŋ itou ma-romba waɾe*

  SUBJ-3pl POT2-break house

'They can break a house' Only potential meaning

(38) *i-ma ŋ itou na-romba waɾe*

  SUBJ-3pl POT2-break house

'They were able to break a house/ They accidentally broke the house' Potential and accidental interpretations are possible

Potential Verb with the prefix *ma-/na-*: Talaud

- Talaud potential/accidental verbs with the prefix *ma-/na-* have two voices
- In addition to Actor Voice, Conveyance Voice is observed
- Potential meaning: in the non-past and the past tenses
- Accidental meaning only in the past tense

(39)a. *waɾe* *i-a-romba*   *m-ma ŋ itou*

  house CV-NPST.POT-break GEN-3pl

 'The house can be broken by them' Potential meaning

 b. *waɾe* *i-na-romba*   *m-ma ŋ itou*

  house CV-PST.POT-break GEN-3pl

 'The house could be broken by them/ The house was accidentally broken by them' Potential and accidental meanings

Verb bases that take *ma-/na-* in Talaud

- Semantically transitive verb bases can take both *ma-/na-* and *maN-/naN-* in Talaud
  - *ma-/na-* attached verbs have potential/accidental meanings
  - *maN-/naN-* attached verbs have dynamic meaning

(40) a. *i-ani*   *na-pesa*   *lamaʔa*

     SUBJ-Annie   PST.POT-break dish

     'Annie accidentally broke a dish'

    b. *lamaʔa i-na-pesa*   ŋk-*ani*

    dish   CV-PST.POT-break GEN-Annie

    'The dish was accidentally broken by Annie'

(41) *i-ani*   *na-mesa*   *lamaʔa*

     SUBJ-Annie   AV.PST-break dish

     'Annie broke a dish'

Paradigm of Sangiric languages : *ma-ka-/na-ka-* verbs: Table 3

- Potential verbs with *ma-ka-/na-ka-* show the same paradigm in Bantik, Toratán and Talaud

Voice	Actor Voice	Goal Voice	Conveyance Voice
Bantik: Non-past Toratán	*ma-ka*-BASE *ma-ka*-BASE *ma-ʔa*-BASE	*ka*-BASE-AN *ka*-BASE-AN *(ʔ)a*-BASE-*ANNA*	*ka*-BASE *ka*-BASE *i-a*-BASE
PAST: Bantik Toratán Talaud	*na-ka*-BASE *na-ka*-BASE *na-ʔa*-BASE	*ni-ka*-BASE-AN (*k-in-a*-BASE-AN) *k-in-a*-BASE-AN *ni-a*-BASE-*ANNA*	*ni-ka*-BASE, (*k-in-a*-BASE) *k-in-a*-BASE *n-i-a*-BASE

Paradigm of Sangiric languages : *ma-/na-* verbs: Table 4

- Potential/Accidental verbs with *ma-/na-* show different paradigm among three languages (Bantik, Toratán and Talaud)

Voice	Actor Voice	Goal Voice	Conveyance Voice
Non-Past: Bantik Toratán	*ma*-BASE *ma-ka*-BASE *ma*-BASE	* *ka*-BASE-AN ??	* *ka*-BASE *i-a*-BASE
Past: Bantik Toratán Talaud	*na*-BASE *na*-BASE *na*-BASE	* *k-in-a*-BASE-*AN* ??	* *k-in-a*-BASE *i-na*-BASE

Summary 1

- In Sangiric languages, the prefixes *(ma/na)ka-/ʔa-* and *ma-/na-* are found
- The prefix *i-* has been attested in Bantik and Talaud
- Observing semantics of each verb, it seems the paradigm *ka-/ʔa-* attached verbs can take three voices in Bantik and Talaud, and also in Toratan
- *I-* attached verbs in Bantik and Talaud have only Actor Voice form
  - The meaning of the prefix *i-* in Bantik is 'accidental' whereas in Talaud it is 'desirative'
- *Ma-/na-* attached verbs do not show the same paradigm in three Sangiric languages
  - Actor Voice only in Bantik
  - Actor Voice and Conveyance Voice are attested in Talaud
 - Three voice system is reported for Toratan
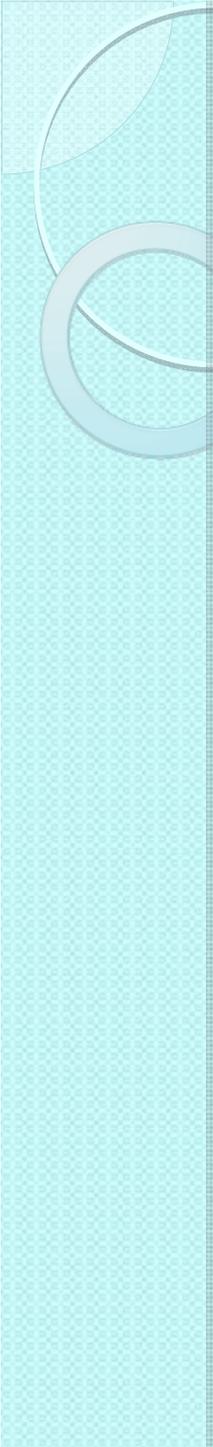
Summary 2

- Potential verbs are used both in the non-past and the past tenses
- Accidental verbs are mostly used in the past tense
- This is quite understandable from the semantic point of view
  - The result of the accidental action can be observed
  - Accidental action cannot be predicted in most cases

Summary 3: Table of potential/accidental verbs in Bantik and Talaud

|	ka-/ʔa-	i-	ma-/na-
Bantik	Potential Accidental ACTOR as the subject	* Accidental	Potential PATIENT as subject
Talaud	Potential Accidental ACTOR as the subject	* * (Desirative)	Potential ACTOR & PATIENT as a subject non-past/past tenses Accidental ACTOR & PATIENT as a subject past tense only

Summary 4

- Bantik and Talaud have two prefixes that have potential meaning
  - *(ma/na)ka-/ʔa-*
  - *ma-/na-*
- Bantik and Talaud have two prefixes that have accidental meaning
  - Bantik: *(ma/na)ka-* and *i-*
  - Talaud: *(ma/na)ʔa-* and *ma-/na-*
  - In Talaud, *i-* shows 'desirative' meaning
- *Ma-/na-* in Bantik has only potential meaning
  - Only PATIENT can be the subject
- *Ma-/na-* in Talaud has both potential and accidental meanings
  - ACTOR and PATIENT can be the subject
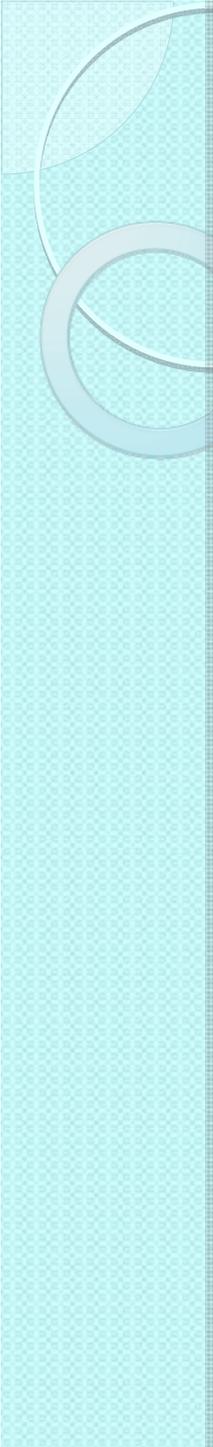
Summary 6

- Potentiality and Accidentality shares one feature in common: Lack of volitionality

- Bantik and Talaud, the two languages in Sangiric micro-group share similar affix forms and meanings, but with a closer look, the two show several differences

- This tells us that the meanings of affixes and morpho-syntax can change easily

- Potentiality/Accidentality meanings are indicated by the same prefix *(ma/na)ka-/ʔa-* across many languages in WMP, and also in languages that belong to Sangiric micro-group

- However, other prefixes with the meanings of Potentiality/Accidentality differ from language to languages
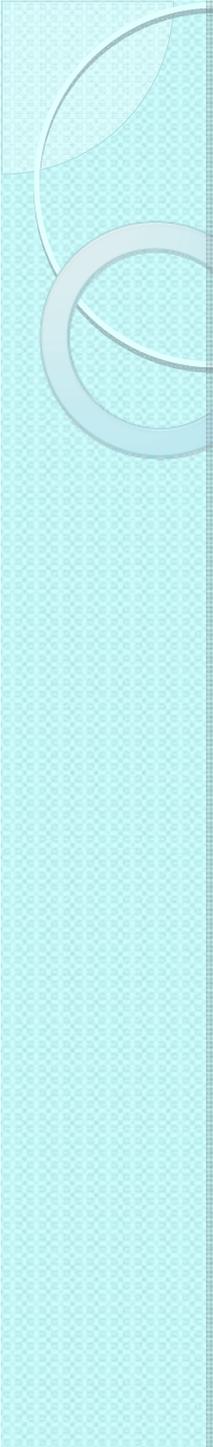
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