ACADEMIA SINICA
Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office

Malagasy Case System in Complex Structures– April 14, 2001
by
Charles Randriamasimanana

Point # 1.1:   Nominative, Accusative & Genitive forms of Personal Pronouns.

(1)   N-ividy   mofo   **aho/izy/ianao**.
        Past-buy (some) bread I/(s)he/you-**nominative**
        'I/(s)he/you bought (some) bread.'

(2)   N-itady   **ahy/azy/anao**   i Jeanne.
        Past-seek   me/him/her/you-**accusative**   art Jeanne
        'Jeanne was looking for me.'

(3)   N-itady   ahy ny nama-**ko/ny/nao.**
        Past-seek me the friend(s)-of- mine/his-hers/yours-**genitive**
        'The friend(s) of mine/of his (hers)/of yours was looking for me.'

Point # 1.2:   Cases and Personal Names.

(4)   N-ividy   mofo   **Rabe/Ikoto or i Koto**.
        Past-buy (some) bread   Rabe/Ikoto-**nominative**
        'Rabe/Ikoto bought (some) bread.'

(5)a.   N-itady   **an-dRabe/an'Ikoto/an' i Koto**   i Jeanne.
        Past-seek   **acc. Rabe/acc. I Koto/acc. i Koto**   art Jeanne
        'Jeanne was looking for Rabe/Ikoto/Koto.'

   b.   *N-itady   **Rabe/Ikoto/i Koto**   i Jeanne.
        Past-seek   **Rabe/Ikoto/i Koto**   art Jeanne
        'Jeanne was looking for Rabe/Ikoto/Koto.'

(6)   N-itady   ahy   ny nama**n-dRabe/-n' Ikoto/-n'iKoto.**
        Past-seek me   the friend(s)-of-Rabe/of-Ikoto/of-art-Koto (**genitive**)
        'The friend(s) of Rabe/of Ikoto/of Koto was looking for me.'

Point # 1.3:   Optional Accusative

(7)a.   N-an-didy   **(an)' ilay** mofo   i Jeanne.   From Hout Week 4.
        Past-prefix-cut (acc.) the bread   art. Jeanne
        Active voice
        'Jeanne was cutting the (**previously mentioned**) bread.'

   b.   **M-an-(**s)oratra   **ilay** taratasy   i Paoly.   From Hout Week 2.
        Pres-prefix-root   the letter   art Paul
        'Paul is writing the letter, i.e beginning the process of writing the letter.'

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Point # 2.1:   Ditransitive Verbs & Predicate 'an' 'belong' in a Small Clause.
Also see Appendix A and Appendix B.

(8)a.   **N-an-ome**   ilay mofo **an**'i Petera   i Jeanne.
Past-prefix-**give** the bread **pred**. art Peter   art Jeanne
'Jeanne was giving bread to Peter.'

   b.   **An**'i Petera   ilay mofo.
Belong-to art. Peter   the (previous mention) bread.
'The (previously mentioned) bread belongs to Peter'

(9)a.   N-anome   **an**'   i Koto ilay vola   i Jaona. From Hout Week 1.
'pst-give   ?**DO** art. K. art. money   art. John'
'John gave (little) Koto the money.'

   b.   **An**'i Koto   ilay   vola.
Predicate   article money
'The money belongs to (little) Koto.'

Point # 2.2   Binary Branching & Ditransitive Verbs.
From Keenan (1999: 34). Also see Appendix A and Appendix B.

(10)   Nanolotra vary **ho an**'ny vahiny t-amin'ny lovia vaovao aho
Past-hand rice **to the guest** past-with the dish new I

'The intended meaning for (10) is: 'I presented rice to the guest on the new dishes.'
However, the Malagasy sentence means something entirely different, i.e. 'I presented
rice (which was destined) for the guest on the new dishes' with a relative clause kind
of meaning.' From Randriamasimanana (2000)b.

(11)   N-anolotra [vary$_i$ ny vahiny] [t-amin'ny lovia vaovao ø$_i$] aho.
Past-hand   rice$_i$ the guest   past-prep the dish new ø$_i$ I

(12)   N-anolotra [ny vahiny vary$_i$] [t-amin'ny lovia vaovao ø$_i$] aho
Past-hand   the guest rice$_i$ past-prep the dish new ø$_i$ I

'Both (11) and (12) mean: 'I presented rice to the guest on the new dishes.'In (11), we
have two Small Clauses, the first with a nonverbal predicate ny vahiny 'the guest'; the
second with a prepositional predicate comprising a past tense-marker t- indicating that
this constituent is a mere adjunct to the higher verb. In (12), we also have the inverse
word order within the first Small Clause.' From Randriamasimanana (2000)b.

Point # 2.3:   Malagasy Small Clause under verbs like 'mihevitra':

(13)   M-ihevitra   azy ho mahay   i   Paoly^i.   From Hout Week 1.
Pres-believe   him^i **comp** intelligent art. Paul^i
'Paul considers himself intelligent.'
See Randriamasimanana (1986: 562-563) for details.

Point # 2.4:   Different types of Oblique Constructions.

(14)a. **N**-an-didy   mofo **t-amin'** ny antsy i Jeanne.   From Hout Week 4
        Past-prefix-cut bread **perf**-prep the knife art Jeanne
        'Jeanne was cutting bread **with** the knife.'

   b.   * **N**-an-didy   mofo **t-ami**-ny i Jeanne.
         Past-prefix-cut bread **perf**-prep-it art Jeanne
         'Jeanne was cutting bread **with** it.'

(15)   N-andefa entana **ho azy** i Paoly.
        past-send parcel **part. him**-DO deic Paul
        "Paul sent <u>a parcel which is for him/her</u>."   Also see (10) above.

(16)a. **N**-andeha **n**-iaraka   **t**-amin'   i Petera i Jaona. From Hout Week
        Past-go   **past**-accompany **past**-prep art Peter art John
         'John went with Peter.'

   b. **N**-andeha **n**-iaraka   **t**-ami-ny   i Jaona
        Past-go   **past**-accompany **past**-prep-him art John
        'John went with him/her.'

(17)   **N**-i-petraka   **t-any** Antsirabe   i Paoly.
        past-prf-stay   **perf-at** Antsirabe art Paul
        'Paul stayed at Antsirabe.'

Point # 3:   Non-causative Complex Constructions.   From Hout Week 4.
                 Weak vs Strong forms of Tense.

        Intend type of main verb:
(18)   N-ikasa   (ny)   **h**-andeha **ø**   i Paoly.
        past-intend   (comp) **fut**-go   Empty   deic Paul
        "Paul intended to leave."
                                                Randriamasimanana (1997: 488)
        Want type of main verb:
(19)   Tia-ko   **ho** entina   <u>ilay fiara</u> (obligatorily overt subject).
        be-liked-by-me **fut** be-driven **the car**
        "I would like to drive the (previous mention) car."

        Double Passive:
(20)   No-kasa-in'   i   Paoly   **ho**   entina   <u>**ilay fiara.**</u>
        past-intend-by deic Paul   **future** be-taken **the car**
        "Paul intended to take the (previous mention) car."
                                                Randriamasimanana (1997: 490).

(21)   N-ikasa   (ny)   **h**-itondra ilay fiara **ø**   i Paoly.
        Past-intend   (comp) **fut**-drive the car   **EC**   art. Paul
        'Paul intended to drive the (previous mention) car.'
                                                Randriamasimanana (2000b)

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Force type of main verb:

(22)   N-anery   an' i   Jeanne **h**-andeha i Jaona.
            Past-force DO art Jeanne **fut**-go   art John
            'John forced Jeanne to go.'

(23)   No-tere-n'   i Jaona **h**-andeha **ø** i Jeanne.
            PastPassive1-force-by art John **fut**-go   EC art Jeanne
            'Jeanne was forced by John to go.'
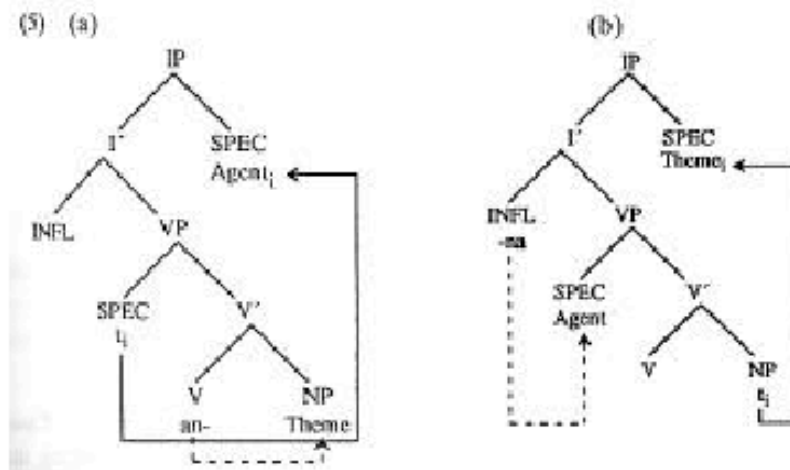
Point # 4.1:   Malagasy Case & Guilfoyle, E., H. Hung & L. Travis (1992).
                      'Spec of IP and spec of VP: Two Subjects in Austronesian Languages'
                      in *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 10*; 375-414, 1992.

Point # 4.1.2: Their sample sentences:

(4)a.   M-an-(sasa) (manasa) ny lamba amin'ny savony ny zazavavy.
        AT-wash   the clothes with the soap   the girl
        'The girl washes the clothes with the soap.'
    b.   Sasa-na (sasan') ny zazavavy amin'ny savony ny lamba.
        Wash-TT   the girl   with the soap   the clothes
        'The clothes are washed with the soap by the girl.'   GHT 1992: 380

(6)   An-sasa-na (anasan') ny zazavavy ny lamba ny savony.
        XT-wash   the girl   the clothes the soap
        'The soap was washed (with) the clothes by the girl.' GHT 1992:381
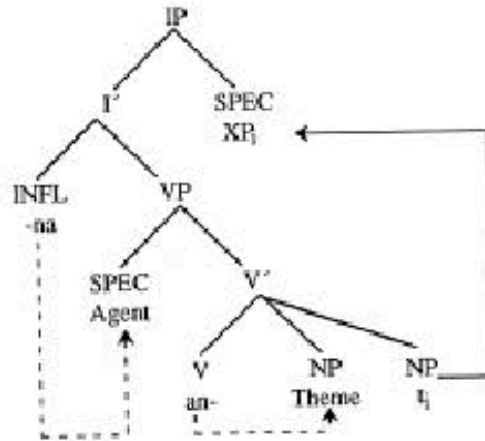
Where AT = Agent Topic, TT = Theme Topic and XT = non-Agent/non-Theme.

Point # 4.1.3: Their Analysis for Active (a) & Passive (b) Voice in Malagasy.
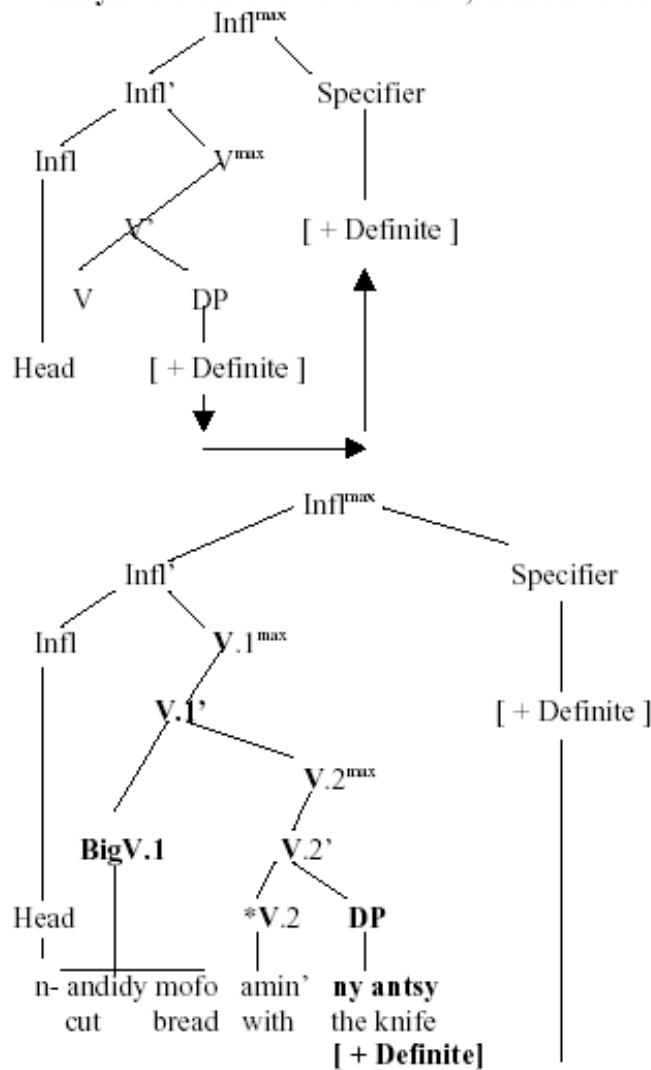

Evidence advanced for the above structure provided by Figure 7 below:' 'Where Agent & Patient are licensed in their respective theta positions, and a third NP appears in the specifier of IP position' GHT 1992: 381.

(7)

```
                        IP
                       /  \
                     I'    SPEC
                    / \     XPᵢ  ←────────┐
                  INFL  VP              │
                  -na   / \             │
                     SPEC   V'          │
                    Agent  / | \        │
                          V  NP   NP ───┘
                         an- Theme  tᵢ
```

Point # 4.2:   Analysis for Passive: Passive1 first, then Passive2. See Hout # 5.

```
                    Inflᵐᵃˣ
                   /        \
                Infl'        Specifier
               /    \              |
            Infl    Vᵐᵃˣ        [ + Definite ]
              |     /
                  V°
                 /  \
                V    DP
                |     |
              Head  [ + Definite ]
```

```
                    Inflᵐᵃˣ
                   /        \
                Infl'        Specifier
               /    \              |
            Infl    V.1ᵐᵃˣ      [ + Definite ]
              |     /
                 V.1'
                /    \
            BigV.1   V.2ᵐᵃˣ
               |      /
             Head   V.2'
               |    /  \
                  *V.2   DP
                   |      |
            n- andidy mofo  amin'  ny antsy
              cut    bread  with  the knife
                                  [ + Definite]
```

Active =   **N-** andidy mofo   **t-**amin'ny antsy   i Jeanne
             Past cut   bread   **perf**-with the knife art Jeanne
             [+ CONTROL]
             'Jeanne was cutting bread with the knife.'   From handout # 5.
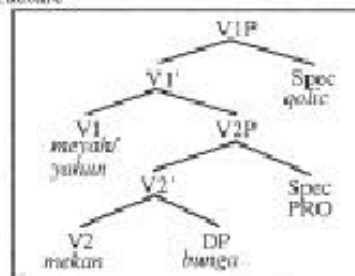
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Point # 5.1:   Seediq Clause Structure & Holmer (1996: 78 &108).

38. Psmalu   sapah   Awi ka   Pawan.
     make CAUS AF   house   PN   KA   PN
     'Pawan is making Awi build a house.'

12 a. Meyah   mekan   bunga   ka   qolic.
      come AF   eat AF   sweet potato KA   rat
      'The rat will come and eat sweet potatoes.'

   b. Yahun   mekan   qolic ka   bunga.
      come PF   eat AF   rat   KA   sweet potato
      'A rat will come and eat the sweet potatoes.'

Fig 23. Double VP HCS structure

From Holmer . 1996. *A parametric grammar of Seediq*. Lund University Press.

Point # 5.2:   Malagasy and Internal VP Subject. Also see 3 in Appendix B.
              A. **Selectional restriction** imposed by the verb on the subject NP:

(24)   Vaky   ny fitaratra.
       broken the glass
       "The glass is/has been broken."

(25)   *Vaky   i   Paoly.
        broken deic. Paul
       "Paul is broken."   From Randriamasimanana 1994

          B. The **theta-role** allocated to the subject depends on the prefix
          showing up inside the verb, i.e. here the lower predicate:

(26)   N-amp-**i**-tahotra   an' i Jeanne i   Paoly.
       past-caus-**pref**-fear DO deic. Jeanne deic. Paoly
       "Paul frightened Jeanne-PATIENT (because of what he did to her)".

(27)   N-amp-**a**-tahotra   an' i Jeanne i   Paoly
       past-caus-**pref**-fear DO deic. Jeanne deic. Paul
       "Paul frightened Jeanne-EXPERIENCER (because of his looks)."
                                        From Randriamasimanana 1994

Point # 6:   **Malagasy Manipulative Causative.**

A. Empty Specifier of V_2P of S1.

(28)a. N-amono   tsy n-aha-faty   i Paoly. Randriamasimanana (1999)b.
        past-kill   not past-cause-dead   article Paul
        Literally: 'Paul killed but did not cause (someone) to
        die.' i.e. freely translated into English: 'Paul
        tried to kill (someone) but did not manage to.'

   b.   N-amono an 'i   Jeanne i   Paoly.
        Past-kill DO art Jeanne art Paul
        'Paul was killing Jeanne.'

(29)   Tsy mbola teraka hono   ø !
        Not yet   born   be-said Empty subject
        Nonverbal predicate
        "X is said to be not yet born!"

                                                        Randriamasimanana (1998)

(30)   Faty   ø.
        'dead'   Empty subject
        Nonverbal predicate

B. Full NP in Specifier of V_2P of S.1:

(31)   N-amono an' i   Jeanne$_i$ i Paoly$_j$ fa tsy n-aha-faty   ø$_i$ ø$_j$.
        past-kill acc.art Jeanne art Paul but not past-cause-dead   Empty Empty
        Literally: 'Paul killed but did not cause Jeanne to
        die.' i.e. freely translated into English: 'Paul
        tried to kill Jeanne but did not manage to.'

Point # 6.1:   'Neutral' vs 'Manipulative' Causatives.

(32)   N-amp-andeha   an' i Jeanne   i Paoly.
        Past-caus-go   acc. art Jeanne   art Paul
            V.1 + V.2
        Active voice
        'Paul made Jeanne leave' or 'Paul asked Jeanne to leave.'

(33)   N-amp-andeha-n-an'   i Paoly   i Jeanne.
        Past-caus-go-Passive1-by   art Paul   art Jeanne
        Passive Voice
        'Jeanne was propped up and dragged along by Paul.'

Point # 6.2:   'Permissive' Causative.

(34)   N-amela an' i Jeanne h-andeha   i Paoly.
        Past-let acc. art Jeanne fut-go   art Paul
        'Paul allowed Jeanne to leave.'   Randriamasimanana 1986: 3

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Point # 6.3: 'Unmarked' vs 'Marked' Causative constructions.

Manipulative causative with ONE complex verb & Complement & restructure:

(35)   N-am-(v)aky   an' ilay fitaratra   i Paoly.
         Past-caus-broken acc. the glass   art Paul
               V.1 + V.2   acc.
         'Paul broke the (previous mention) glass.'

One complex verb, i.e. verb V.1 + V.2 combination & NO complement:

(36)   *N-am-(v)aky   ø   i Paoly.
         Past-caus-broken ø   art Paul
               V.1 + V.2 acc.
         '*Paul broke.'

Note the absence of any overt aspect-marker on the lower verb V.2 in (35)

Lower V.2 requires full NP in Specifier of VP:

(37)   Ny ditrany   no n-ampa-**voa**-kapoka   an' i Paoly.
         Themischief-his part past-caus-**passive1**-punish acc. art Paul
                                V.1   V.2
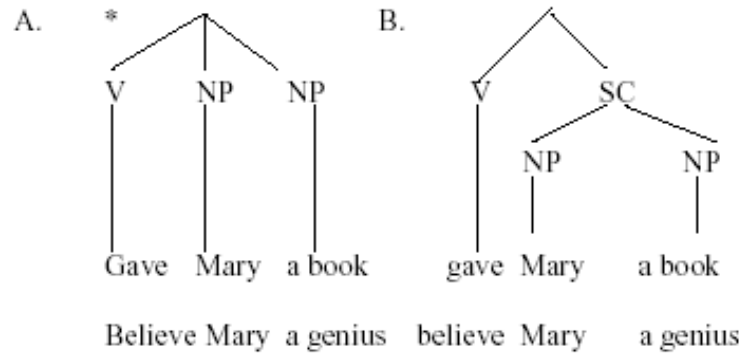   'It was his mischief which was the cause of Paul's being punished.'

                                   From Randriamasimanana (1986: 5)

(38)   * Ny ditrany   no n-ampa-**voa**-kapoka   ø .
         Themischief-his part past-caus-**passive1**-punish   ø
                          V.1   V.2
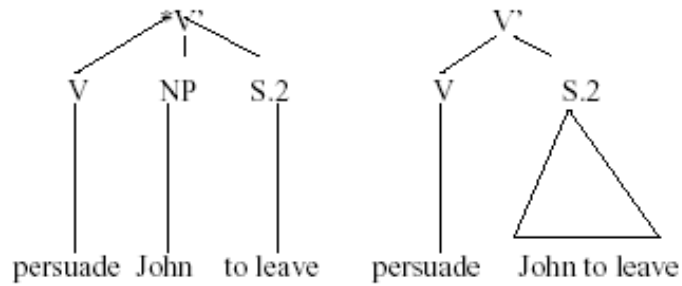   'It was his mischief which was the cause of ø's being punished.'

   Note presence of the perfective aspect-marker **voa** on the lower verb V.2 in (37).

Appendix A

Binary Branching and illustrative examples from English. From Randriamasimanana (2000)b.

A.

```
*        /\
     /  |  \
    V   NP  NP
    |   |   |
   Gave Mary a book

  Believe Mary a genius
```

B.

```
        /\
       /  \
      V    SC
      |    /\
      |  NP  NP
      |   |   |
   gave Mary  a book

 believe Mary  a genius
```

(1)   John gave Mary a book.
(2)   John believed Mary a genius.

(3)   Mary persuaded John to leave.

```
       *V'
      / | \
     V  NP  S.2
     |  |    |
 persuade John to leave
```

```
      V'
     /  \
    V    S.2
    |    /\
    |   /  \
 persuade John to leave
```
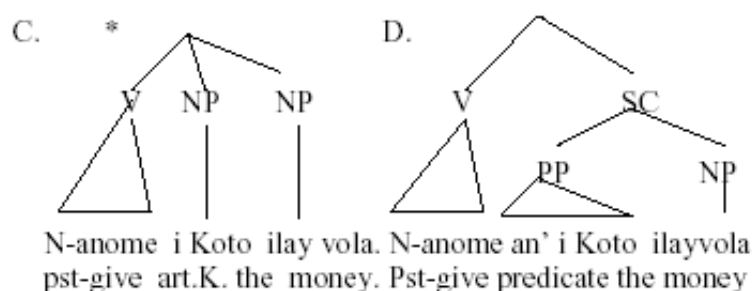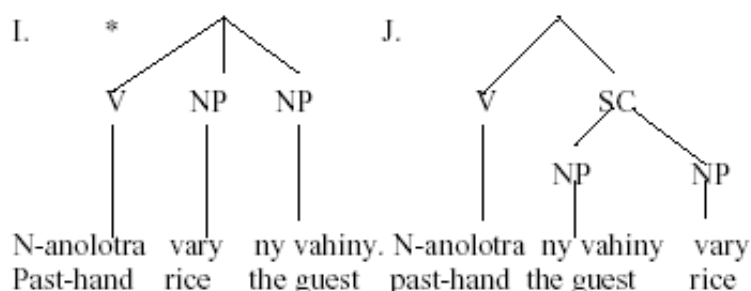
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Appendix B

1-Di-transitive Verbs. From Randriamasimanana (2000)b, similar to (8)a above:

    (13)   N-anome *an'i Koto ilay vola*   i Jaona
               'pst-give ?DO K.   art. money art. John'
               'John gave (little) Koto the money.'

    (14)   *An'i Koto*   *ilay vola.*= Small Clause (SC)
               Predicate   article money
               'The money belongs to (little) Koto.'

C.   *   D.

            V   NP   NP   V   SC

                                   PP   NP

    N-anome i Koto ilay vola. N-anome an' i Koto ilayvola
    pst-give art.K. the money. Pst-give predicate the money

2-To understand the ungrammaticality of sentence (10), we can represent the relevant structures in terms of a binary branching (J) and a non-binary branching tree (I):

I.   *   J.

          V   NP   NP   V   SC

                                  NP   NP

    N-anolotra vary   ny vahiny. N-anolotra ny vahiny   vary
    Past-hand   rice   the guest past-hand the guest   rice

3- As noted in Randriamasimanana (2000)a. relative to example (16)c. , there are universal quantifiers such as 'daholo' and 'rehetra' 'all' in Malagasy which are restricted to a grammatical subject position within any given sentence.

    (16)a. N-ahita   mpianatra   i Paoly.
             past-see   students   art Paul
             'Paul saw   (some) students.'
        b. *N-ahita   ny mpianatra daholo/rehetra i Paoly.
            past-see   the students   all   art Paul
            'Paul saw all the students.'
        c. Hita-n'   i Paoly **daholo** ny mpianatra (**rehetra**).
            pass-see-by art Paul **all**   the students   (**all**)
            Lit. 'All the students were (all) seen by Paul.'
            'Paul saw all the students.'