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Complex Clauses in Malagasy, March 23, 2001

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Point # 1.1: Causatives from *The Causatives of Malagasy*, Hawaii (1986:3-5)

- (1) a. Nanao izay handehanan' i Jeanne i Paoly¹.
past-do comp fut-circ-go-by Jeanne Paul
"Paul was doing so that Jeanne would leave."
- b. Nanao izay hividianan' i Jeanne ny boky i Paoly.
past-do comp fut-circ-buy-by Jeanne the book Paul
"Paul was doing so that the book would be bought by
Jeanne."
- (2) a. Nanery an' i Jeanne handeha i Paoly.
past-force Jeanne fut-go Paul
"Paul was forcing Jeanne to leave."
- b. Nanery an' i Jeanne hividy ny boky i Paoly.
past-force Jeanne fut-buy the book Paul
"Paul was forcing Jeanne to buy the book."
- (3) a. Namela an' i Jeanne handeha i Paoly.
past-let Jeanne fut-go Paul
"Paul was allowing Jeanne to leave."

- b. Nampela an'i Jeanne hivity ny boky i Paoly.
 past-let Jeanne fut-buy the book Paul
 "Paul was allowing Jeanne to buy the book."
- (4) a. N-amp-andeha an'i Jeanne i Paoly.
 past-caus-go Jeanne Paul
 "Paul was having Jeanne go."
- b. N-amp-ivity ny boky an'i Jeanne i Paoly.
 past-caus-buy the book Jeanne Paul
 "Paul was having Jeanne buy the book."
- (5) a. N-amp-iakanjo an'ilay zaza Rasoa.
 past-caus-dress the child Rasoa
 "Rasoa was dressing the child."
- b. N-amp-idina ny saina i Paoly.
 past-cause-lower the flag Paul
 "Paul was causing the flag to come down," i.e.
 "Paul was lowering the flag."
- c. N-amp-ianjera ny latabatra/an'i Jaona i Paoly.
 past-caus-fall the table/ John Paul
 "Paul was causing the table/Paul to fall."
- d. N - aha - sasa ny fitaratra i Paoly.
 past-caus-wash the glass Paul
 "Paul was causing the glass to be washed," i.e.
 "Paul managed to wash the glass."

- e. N - an - (v)aky ny fitaratra i Paoly,
 past-caus-broken the glass Paul
 "Paul was breaking the glass."
- (6) a. N - aha - resy an'i Jaona i Paoly.
 past-caus-be in defeat Jaona Paul
 "Paul succeeded in causing John to be in defeat,"
 i.e. "Paul managed to defeat John."
- b. N - aha - vaky ny fitaratra i Paoly.
 past-caus-broken the glass Paul
 "Paul caused the glass to be in the broken state,"
 i.e. "Paul managed to break the glass."
- (7) a. Ny ditra-ny no n-ampa-voa-kapoka an'i P.
 the mischief-his part past-caus-pass-punish P
 "It was his mischief which was the cause of P's
 having been punished."
- b. Ny adala-ny no n-aha-resy an'i P.
 the stupidity-his part past-caus-in-defeat P
 "It was his stupidity which was the cause of P's
 having been defeated."
- c. Ny resaka no n-an-dreraka an'i Jeanne.
 the talk part past-caus-fed up Jeanne
 "It was the talk which fed Jeanne up," or
 "Because of the talk, Jeanne was fed up."

Point # 1.2: Relevant parameters for an adequate description of Malagasy causatives from *The Causatives...* 1986:2 & 28 .

- Animacy (Section 1),
- Control (Section 2),
- Entailment (Section 3),
- Productivity of the different Causative predicates (Section 4),
- Degree of fusion of the higher and the lower predicates (Section 5),
- Markedness (Section 6).

Table 1

The Animacy Parameter

	Underlyingly	
	Higher S _i	Lower S _i
"Neutral" Directive	[+Animate]	[+Animate]
Manipulative	[+Animate]	[+/- Animate]
Abilitative	[+/- Animate]	[+/- Animate]
Causal	[-Animate]	[+Animate]
<p><u>Notes:</u> Higher S_i = CAUSER; Lower S_i = CAUSEE; + = Positive; - = Negative ; +/- = Optional.</p>		

Point # 1.3: Control from *The Causatives of Malagasy* (1986:74).

Table 2

Control by Causee

		Activity				State			
		Deliberate				Not Deliberate			
Causatives	Prefix	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
"persuasive"	0	*	+	*	*	*	*	*	*
Directive "coercive"	0	+	*	+	+	*	*	*	*
"permissive"	0	+	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
"neutral"	Amp(a)	+	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Manipulative	Amp(a)	+	+/*	*	S	*	*	*	*
Manipulative	An(a)	*	*	S	S	*	*	+	+
Abilitative	Aha	*	*	S	S	*	*	+	+
Causal	Aha	*	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
Causal	Amp(a)	*	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
Causal	An(a)	*	*	*	*	*	*	+	+
Causal	Ank(a)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	?

Note: 1 = Active voice; 7. = Root passive;
 2 = Circumstantial voice; 8. = Adjective;
 3 = Affixal passive no...ina; + = Grammatical;
 4 = Affixal passive a; * = Ungrammatical;
 5 = Affixal passive voa; / = Either;
 6 = Affixal passive tafa; S = Substitution.

Point # 1.5: The Different Types of Embedded Predicates from *The Causatives of Malagasy* (1986: 128).

Table 4

The Different Types of Embedded Predicates

Causative Constructions	Types of Predicates					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
"Neutral" Directive <u>amp(a)</u>	*	+	+	*	*	*
Unmarked Manipulative <u>amp(a)</u>	*	*	+	+	*	*
Manipulative <u>an(a)</u>	*	*	*	+	+	+
Abilitative <u>aha</u>	*	*	*	*	+	+
Causal <u>aha</u>	+	+/*	+/*	*	+	+
Marked Causal <u>amp(a)</u>	+	+/*	+/*	*	+	+
Causal <u>an(a)</u>	*	*	*	*	+/*	+/*
Causal <u>ank(a)</u>	*	*	*	*	*	?
<p><u>Note:</u> * = Ungrammatical A = <i>Voa/Tafa</i> + = Grammatical B = Typically Transitive Verb +/* = Restriction C = Typically Intransitive Verb ? = Very Limited Set D = Clause-Union precedes Affixal Passive E = Root Passive F = Adjective.</p>						

Point # 1.6: Markedness from *The Causatives of Malagasy* (1986: 194)

Table 6

Markedness

Causative	Prefix	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
"persuasive"	0	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
"coercive"	0	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Directive "permissive"	0	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
"neutral"	Amp(a)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Manipulative	Amp(a)	*	*	+/*	*	*	+/*	+
Manipulative	An(a)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Abilitative	Aha	*	*	+	*	*	*	*
Causal	Aha	+	+/*	+	*	+	*	+
Causal	Amp(a)	+	+/*	+	+	+	*	+
Causal	An(a)	*	+	+	*	*	+	+
Causal	Ank(a)	*	+	+	+	*	+	+

Note. 1 = Affixal Passive Obligatory,
 2 = Psychological Predicate Obligatory,
 3 = Entailment,
 4 = Emphatic Pronoun,
 5 = Obligatory Clefting,
 6 = Avalgamation,
 7 = Embedding.
 * = Unmarked, + = Marked, +/* = Partially Marked.

Point # 2.1: Complex Non-Causative Constructions

Point # 2.2: Control constructions (Equi-1 & Equi-2) & Embedding:

- (8) **M-ikasa** [**h-amono tena ---**] i Paoly.
pres-intend [**fut-kill self EC**] art. Paul
"Paul intends to kill himself."
- (9) **N-angataka** [an'i Paoly **h-amono tena ---**] i Jaona.
past-ask DO Paul fut-kill self EC] John
"John asked Paul to kill himself."

Point # 2.3: Non-Control constructions (Raising) & Embedding:

- (10)a. I Paoly aloha **marina** tokoa [**fa n-amono tena ---**].
Art. Paul first **true** really [**that past-kill self EC**]
"First of all, it is really true that Paul killed himself."
- b. **Marina** tokoa [**fa ... n-amono tena ... i Paoly**].
true really [**that ... past-kill self art. Paul**]
"It is really true that Paul killed himself."
- Adapted from Randriamasimanana (1998a)
- c. **Marina** tokoa [**fa ... h-amono tena ... i Paoly**].
true really [**that ... fut-kill self art. Paul**]
"It is really true that Paul will kill himself."
- d. **Marina** tokoa [**fa ... m-amono tena ... ny olona adala**].
true really [**that ... pres-kill self the people foolish**]
"It is really true that foolish people kill themselves."

Point # 2.4: Embedding vs Adjunction:

- (11) **N-i-anatra n-amily fiara** i Paoly.
past-prf-learn past-drive a car art Paul
'Paul was learning how to drive a car.'
- (12) **M-i-anatra m-amily fiara** i Paoly.
pres-prf-learn pres-drive a car art Paul
'Paul is learning how to drive a car.'
- (13) **H-i-anatra h-amily fiara** i Paoly.
fut-prf-learn fut-drive a car art Paul
'Paul will be learning how to drive a car.'
- (14) ***M-i-anatra h-amily fiara** i Paoly.
pres-prf-learn fut-drive a car art Paul
'Paul is learning how to drive a car.'

From Randriamasimanana (1999b)

Point # 3: Causatives in Austronesian languages in Taiwan.

Point # 3.1: 'Persuasive' Causatives?

From Holmer 1996: 78, ex. (39)

- 39 a. Pnimah ku tikuh sino seediq.
drink CAUS AF PRET 1s.n. a bit wine person
'I invited some people to drink some wine.'
- b. Pnimah mu. tikuh sino seediq kiya.
drink CAUS PF PRET 1s.g. a bit wine person that
'I invited that person to drink some wine
(that's why he's lying there drunk).'
- c. Pnmahan mu sino seediq kiya.
drink CAUS LFPRET 1s.g. wine person that
'I invited that person to drink wine.'
- d. Spnimah mu seediq sino ni.
drink CAUS IF 1s.g. person wine this
'I am inviting someone to drink this wine.'

Point # 3.2: 'Neutral' Causative?

From Zeitoun & Huang (2000:411 (64)

- (64) Saisiyat
- a. yako s<ovv>i'ael ka pazay
ISO.NOM eat<AF> ACC rice
'I ate the rice.' (Yeh 1991:34)
- a'. 'oya' pa-si'ael ka korkoring ka pazay
mother CAUS-eat ACC child ACC rice
'Mother fed the child with rice.' (Yeh 1991:68)

Point # 3.3: 'Manipulative' Causatives

From Zeitoun (1992: 32, ex (85).

- (85) a. mo mavo ta piNi si amo
AF-Non Past open Obl door Nm father
'Father is opening the door'
- b. i-si pavi ta amo si piNi
NAF-Non Past open Obl father Nm door
'The door has been opened by father'
- c. mo mavo si piNi
AF-Non Past open Nm door
'The door is open'

Point # 3.4: 'Causal' Causative

From Zeitoun & Huang (2000: 405, ex. (49))

- (49) Southern Paiwan
- a. *pa-tjalatjalaw* ti kivi
AFSTAT-RED:angry NOM Kivi
'Kivi is angry.'
- b. *pa-'a-tjalaw-sun* tjay kivi?
CAUS-STAT-angry-2SG.NOM OBL Kivi
'Did you make Kivi angry?'

Point # 3.5: Additional Data - From Huang 1995: 72 (82)-(84).

we may treat the above sentences as having the agent focus marker \emptyset :²⁵

- (82)a'. \emptyset -pa -siting=ci' cu' 'ulaqi'
[AF-Caus-wear -1S.BN Acc.Nrf child]
'I am putting clothes on a child'
- b'. \emptyset -pa -pqilaap cu' 'ulaqi' 'i' yaya'
[AF-Caus-sleep Acc.Nrf child Nom mother]
'Mother is making a child sleep'

Now consider some affirmative declarative causative sentences cooccurring with NAF markers and/or tense/aspect markers (italicized below):

- (83)a. *pa* -psiaq-un ni' yumin ku' 'ulaqi'
[Caus-laugh-PF Gen Yumin Nom.Rf child]
'Yumin is making the child laugh'
- b. *pa* -pa -psiaq-un 'i' kisa' ni' yumin ku'
[Red-Caus-laugh-PF Part later Gen Yumin Nom.Rf
'ulaqi'
[child]
'Yumin will make the child laugh later'
- (84)a. *pa* -hakay-un ni' yumin ku' 'ulaqi'
[Caus-walk -PF Gen Yumin Nom.Rf child]
'Yumin let the child walk/go out'
- b. *pa* -pa -hakay-un ni' yumin ku' 'ulaqi'
[Red-Caus-walk -PF Gen Yumin Nom.Rf child]

²⁵ While working on Paiwan causative constructions, Chang (1992:35) considers that 'the causative prefix *pa-* and the AF affixes are mutually exclusive.' Chang's observation is correct, but it is not clear how Chang would treat *pa-* and what AF focus marker is in a causative sentence. Since in Mayrinax the causative marker *pa-* can cooccur with another focus affix, we postulate that the AF marker in a causative is \emptyset .