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Institute of Linguistics, Preparatory Office

Complex Clauses in Malagasy, March 23, 2001
by
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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 Paoly.  
   past-do comp fut-circ-go-by Jeanne Paul  
   "Paul was doing so that Jeanne would leave."

b. Nanao izay hvidianan' 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. Nany ne an' i Jeanne handehe a Paoly.  
   past-force Jeanne fut-go Paul  
   "Paul was forcing Jeanne to leave."

b. Nany ne an' i Jeanne hvidiy 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 handehe a Paoly.  
   past-let Jeanne fut-go Paul  
   "Paul was allowing Jeanne to leave."
b. Nama la an'ina Jeanne ividy ny boky i Paoly.
past-let Jeanne fut-buy the book Paul
"Paul was allowing Jeanne to buy the book."

(4a). N-amp-andoa an'ina Jeanne i Paoly.
past-cause-go Jeanne Paul
"Paul was having Jeanne go."

past-cause-buy the book Jeanne Paul
"Paul was having Jeanne buy the book."

(5a). N-amp-ikanjo an'ily maza Raso.
past-cause-dress the child Raso
"Raso was dressing the child."

b. N-amp-idina ny maina i Paoly.
past-cause-lower the flag Paul
"Paul was causing the flag to come down," i.e.
"Paul was lowering the flag."

past-cause-fall the table/ Jeanne Paul
"Paul was causing the table/ Paul to fall."

d. N-aha - sasa ny fitaratra i Paoly.
past-cause-wash the glass Paul
"Paul was causing the glass to be washed," i.e.
"Paul managed to wash the glass."
e. N = am = (v)aky ny fitaratra i Paoly.
  past-caus-broken the glass Paul
  "Paul was breaking the glass."

(6a) N = ahy - 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 = ahy - 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."

(7a) 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 reisa no n-an-dreaka 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Animacy Parameter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Underlyingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Neutral&quot; Directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abilitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**
- Higher Su = CAUSER
- Lower Su = CAUSED
- + = Positive
- - = Negative
- +/- = Optional.
Point # 1.3: Control from *The Causatives of Malagasy* (1986:74).

Table 2

Control by Causes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causatives</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;persuasive&quot;</td>
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<td>* * * * * * * *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directive &quot;coercive&quot;</td>
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<td>* * * * * * * *</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;permissive&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>* * * * * * * *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;neutral&quot;</td>
<td>Amp(a)</td>
<td>* * * * * * * *</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Manipulative</td>
<td>Amp(a)</td>
<td>+/ + S + + + +</td>
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<tr>
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<td>* * S S * * + +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abilitative</td>
<td>An(a)</td>
<td>* * S S * * + +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>An(a)</td>
<td>* * * * * * + +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>AnK(a)</td>
<td>* * * * * * + +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The Entailment Parameter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative Construction</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Non-St.</th>
<th>Entail.</th>
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<td>*/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
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<td>Directive &quot;permissive&quot;</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;neutral&quot;</td>
<td>Amp(a)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulative</td>
<td>Amp(a)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Y/N</td>
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<td>Manipulative</td>
<td>An(a)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>Aha</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>Amp(a)</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
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<td>Causal</td>
<td>Ank(a)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** * = Not Possible; Stative = Psychological or not; */ = Either + or *; non-St. = Not Stative; Y = Presence of Entailment; Entail. = Entailment; N = Absence of Entailment; Y/N = Restriction.
**Table 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative Constructions</th>
<th>Types of Predicates</th>
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<tr>
<td>Manipulative an(a)</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abilitative anh</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal aha</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked Causal amp(a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Causal an(a)</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal anh</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**

* = Ungrammatical

+ = Grammatical

+/\* = Restriction

? = Very Limited Set

A = Voa/Tafa

B = Typically Transitive Verb

C = Typically Intransitive Verb

D = Clause-Union precedes Affixal Passive

E = Root Passive

F = Adjective.
Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
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<td>&quot;coercive&quot;</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>Directive &quot;persuasive&quot;</td>
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<td>#</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;neutral&quot;</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. 1 = Affixal Passive Obligatory,
2 = Psychological Predicate Obligatory,
3 = Entailment,
4 = Epithetic Pronoun,
5 = Obligatory Clefting,
6 = Analomation,
7 = Embedding.
* = Unmarked, + = Marked, +/- = Partially Marked.
Point # 2.1:  Complex Non-Causative Constructions

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

    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)

b.  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."

c.  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. Pnamah ku tikeh sino seediq.
     drink CAUS AF PRET 1s.g. wine person
     ‘I invited some people to drink some wine.’

b. Pnamah
     drink CAUS IF PRET 1s.g. wine person that
     ‘I invited that person to drink some wine
      (that’s why he’s lying there drunk).’

c. Pnamah
     drink CAUS LP PRET 1s.g. wine person that
     ‘I invited that person to drink wine.’

d. Pnamah
     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<acc> p’ael ka pazay
       (3G.NOM eat<AF> acc rice
       ‘I ate the rice.’ (Yeh 1991:34)

    a’. ‘oya p’ael ka korkoring ka pazay
       mother cause-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. nga-tjalajlaw ti kivi
AFCaus-STAT-angry NOM Kivi
‘Kivi is angry.’

b. pa-ye-tjalaw-sum tjay kivi?
CAUS-STAT-angry-3sg.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 ə:

(82)a. ə -pa -sitiung-ci' cu' 'ulaqi
[AF-Caus-wear =1s.BN Acc.Nrf child ]
‘I am putting clothes on a child’

b. ə -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 nì' yumin ku' 'ulaqi
[Caus-laugh-PF Gen Yumin Nom.Rf child ]
‘Yumin is making the child laugh’

b. pa -pa -psiaq-un 'i' kisa' nì' 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 nì' yumin ku' 'ulaqi
[Caus-walk -PF Gen Yumin Nom.Rf child ]
‘Yumin let the child walk/go out’

b. pa -pa -hakay-un nì' 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 ə.