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Malagasy Verbal Voice System – Part 2/April 6, 2001
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Point # 1: The Notion of Argument of a Verb.
Point # 1.1: The Keenan-Comrie Hierarchy & Cut-off Points.
  Passive & Keenan-Comrie Hierarchy (1977):
  (1) Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive

French:
  (2)a. Le receveur de la Poste a envoyé un colis à Henri.
       the master of the post has sent a parcel to Henry
       DO
  b. Un colis a été envoyé à Henri par le receveur de la Poste.
       a parcel has been sent to Henry by the master of the Post
       DO> Su

  (3)a. Le receveur de la Poste a envoyé un colis à Henri.
       the master of the post has sent a parcel to Henry
       IO
  b. *Henri a été envoyé un colis par le receveur de la Poste.
     Henry has been sent a parcel by the master of the Post
     IO> Su

English:
  (4)a. The Postmaster sent Henry a parcel.
       IO   DO
  b. Henry was sent a parcel by the Postmaster.
     IO> Su

  (5)a. The Postmaster sent a parcel to Henry.
       DO   IO
  b. A parcel was sent to Henry by the Postmaster.
     DO> Su

Malagasy:
  (6)a. N-andehe t-any Taipei i Petera.
       past-go perf-to Taipei art Peter
       ‘Peter went to Taipei.’
       DIRECTION-Oblique
  b. (T-any) Taipei no n-a-leha-n’ i Petera.
      (Perf-to) Taipei part past-passive2-gone-to-by art Peter
      *Taipei was gone to by Peter.
Point # 1.2: Contrast Core vs Periphery.

The Verb & its Arguments

(7) The cat  *devoured*  the rat.
Subject  Verb  D.O.
Ext. Arg.  Verb  Int. Arg  

__________________________

Predicate

<..........CORE.................................> = all the arguments accompanying V

(8) The publisher  *sent*  her  a (review) copy  (of the book).
Subject  Verb  I.O.  D.O.  D.O.

__________________________

Predicate

<..........CORE.................................>

(......) = PERIPHERY

CORE = The publisher sent her a copy.
Arg#1  V  Arg#2

PERIPHERY = ...(review)...(of the book)

Point # 1.3: Incorporation & the Case of Javanese.

A. The case of an Instrument-Oblique:

(9) Polisi-ne  n-(t)embak para demonstran nganggo bedhil-e
   police-Def shoot PL demonstrator with rifle-Def
   Su  DO  Instrument

<  CORE  >  Periphery

‘The police shot the demonstrators with the rifle.’
Suhandano (1994:55)

b. Polisi-ne  n-(t)embak-ake bedhil-e marang para demonstran
   police-Def shoot rifle-Def PL demonstran
   Su  V-ake  DO

<  CORE  >  Periphery

‘The police shot the demonstrators with the rifle.

Suhandano (1994:55-56)

c. Bedhil-e  di-tembak-ake marang para demonstran dening polisi-ne
   rifle-Def shoot to PL demonstrator by police-Def
   Su  Passive-V-ake

<  CORE  >  Periphery

‘The rifle was used by the police to shoot the demonstrators.’
Suhandano (1994:55-56)
B. The case of a Location-Oblique:

(10)  Bocah cilik iku   turun   ing kamar-ku
      child small that   sleep   in room-my
      Su   V   LOCATION-Oblique

<  CORE  >  Periphery

‘That small child slept in my room.’

   Suhando (1994)

(11)  Bocah cilik iku   n-(t)uru-ni  kamar-ku
      child small that   sleep   room-my
      Su       V-ni   ?DO

<  CORE  >  Periphery = 0

‘That small child slept in my room.’

(12)  Kamar-ku          di-turu-ni  dening  bocah cilik iku
      room-my Passive-sleep by   child small that
      Location-Oblique Passive-V-ni by AGENT-Oblique

<  CORE  >  Periphery =

My room was slept in by that small child.’

The process of Incorporation in Javanese:

(10') Bocah cilik iku   turun   ing kamar-ku
      child small that   sleep   in room-my
      Su   V   LOCATION-Oblique

<  CORE  >

‘That small child slept in my room.’

(11') Bocah cilik iku   n-(t)uru-ni  kamar-ku
      child small that   sleep   room-my
      Su       V-ni   ?DO

<  CORE  >  Periphery = 0

‘That small child slept in my room.’

Javanese: Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique

(i)

(ii)

(iii)  ?DO

Possible: (i) Promotion of DO to Subject in Javanese
       (ii) Promotion of IO to Subject in Javanese
       (iii) Promotion of Oblique to ?DO --as in sentence (11’).
       (iv) Finally promotion of ?DO to subject -- as in (12).
Point # 1.4: Incorporation & Mayrinax.

Data from Huang (1995:24-25)
Note the final position of the dative nominal with *cku*’

(13)a. *m-in-aiq cu’ pila’ ‘i’ yumin cku’ ‘ulaqi’*

AF-past-give Acc.Nrf money Nom Yumin Dat.Rf child

< CORE > Periphery

‘Yumin gave money to the child.’

b. *m-in-aiq ‘i’ yumin cu’ pila’ cku’ ‘ulaqi’*

AF-past-give Nom Yumin Acc.Nrf money Dat.Rf child.

‘Yumin gave money to the child.’

(14)a. *m-in-aiq=ci’ cu’ pila’ ‘i’ yumin*

AF-past-give+1S.BN Acc.Nrf money Acc Yumin

< CORE > Periphery?

‘I gave money to Yumin.’

b. *m-in-aiq=ci’ yumin cu’ pila’*

AF-past-give=1S.BN Yumin Acc.Nrf money

< CORE >

‘I gave money to Yumin.’

where *ci’ ‘1S.BN’* is derived from *cu ‘1S.BN’ + ‘i’ ‘Acc’

(15)a. *m-in-aiq=ci’ cu’ pila’ ‘i’ yumin*

AF-past-give+1S.BN Acc.Nrf money Acc Yumin

< CORE > Periphery

‘I gave money to Yumin.’

b. *m-in-aiq=ci’ yumin cu’ pila’*

<AF-past-give=1S.BN Yumin Acc.Nrf money>

Verb + suffix

‘I gave money to Yumin.’
Point # 2.1: The Notion of Adjunct in Malagasy.

Adjunct with an *Inona*-word 'Why/How'

(16)a. N-aninona no tsy n-ianatra i Paoly?
   Past-why part neg past-study art Paul
   Adjunct [ - Control ]
   ‘Why did Paul not study?’

   b. *N-aninona no tsy n-i-anar-an’ i Paoly?
      Past-Pf-Passive2-study art Paul
      [ - Control ]
      ‘Why did Paul not study?’

Malagasy *Inona*-words lie outside the domain of a simple S

(17)a. Tsy n-ianatra i Paoly (fa) n-aninona?
      neg past-study art Paul (Comp) past-why
      [ - Control ] Adjunct
      < CORE > < Periphery >
      ‘Paul did not study; why?’

   b. N-aninona no tsy n-i-anatra i Paoly?
      Past-how part neg past-study art Paul
      Adjunct [ - Control ]
      Periphery < CORE >
      ‘Why did Paul not study?’

   c. Tsy n-ianatra i Paoly (fa) n-ahoana?
      Neg past-study art P (Comp) past-how
      [ - Control ] Adjunct
      < CORE > < Periphery >
      ‘Paul did not study; why?’

   d. N-ahoana no tsy n-i-anatra i Paoly?
      Past-how part neg past-study art Paul
      Adjunct [ - Control ]
      Periphery < CORE >
      ‘How come Paul did not study?’

   e. *N-ahoana no tsy n-i-anar-an’ i Paoly?
      Past-how part neg past-Passive2-by art Paul
      ‘Why did Paul not study?’
Starting with **Source-Oblique, Comitative-Oblique** and **Causal Oblique**, Malagasy expresses these kinds of Oblique through a different (simple) clause, which no longer depends on the main verb or V1!
Point # 2.2.1: Source-Oblique.
(18)a. N-iainga a'vy t-any Toamasina i Jaona.
   Past-leave came past-from Toamasina art Jaona
   --------Source-Oblique--------
   < Periphery >
   ‘John left from Toamasina.’

b. *T-any Toamasina no n-iainga-n’ i Jaona a'vy.
   Past-from Toamasina part past-leave-Passive2-by art John came

Point # 2.2.2: Comitative Oblique.
(19)a. N-andeha n-iaraka t-amin’ i Petera i Jaona.
   Past-go past-accompany past-prep art Peter art John
   --------Comitative Oblique--------
   ‘John went with Peter.’

b. *T-amin’i Petera no n-andehan-an’ i Jaona n-iaraka…
   Past-prep art Peter part past-go-Passive2-by John past-accompany…

Point # 2.2.3: Causal Oblique.
(17’)a. Tsy n-ianatra i Paoly (fa) n-aainona?
   Neg past-study art P (Comp) past-why
   [ - Control ]
   < CORE > < Periphery >
   ‘Paul did not study; why?’

b. *N-ahomano tsy n-i-anar-an’ i Paoly?
   Past-how part neg past-Passive2-by art Paul
   ‘Why did Paul not study?’

Point # 2.3: The Crucial Factor = Feature [+/- CONTROL ] of V.1.
The Case of Location-Oblique.
(20)a. M-androtsaka ny rano ao an-tsinibe i Soa.
   pres-pour the water into the big.jar art Soa
   [ + Control ]
   Argument
   ‘Soa verse l’eau dans la jarre.’
   ‘Soa is pouring the water into the big jar.’
   Rabenilaina 1985: 40

b. *Ao an-atsinibe no m-androtsaka ny rano i Soa.
   into the big.jar part pres-pour the water art Soa
   Argument
   [ + Control ]
   Active Voice
(21). a. **M-ianatra** ao amin’ny salon i Soa. 
Pres-study in the lounge art Soa

[ - Control ] Adjunct

‘Soa étudie au salon.’ English: ‘Soa studies in the lounge.’

b. **Ao amin’ny salon** no **m-ianatra** i Soa
in the lounge part pres-study art Soa

Adjunct [ - Control ]

Active Voice

fa tsy ao an-davaranana.
but not on the verandah

C’est au salon que Soa étudie, mais non au véranda.’
‘It is in the lounge that Soa studies, but not on the verandah.’
Rabenilaina 1985: 41 & 43

Sentence (21).a. has a [ - Control ] verb *m-ianatra* ‘present-study’ (note the absence of the
light verb -an(ao), therefore it is likely to take the prepositional phrase *Ao amin’ny salon* as an adjunct), and is appropriate in a context where we are looking at a picture showing
Soa studying in the lounge. That situation contrasts with the following

(22) **Ao amin’ny salon** no **ianar-an’i** Soa fa tsy ao an-davaranana.
in the lounge part study-passive but not on the verandah

Argument [ + Control ]

Passive2

‘C’est au salon qui est le lieu où Soa étudie, mais non au véranda.’
‘It is in the lounge that Soa should study, not on the verandah.’

where the prepositional phrase *Ao amin’ny salon* is an argument of the [ + Control ]
predicate *m-ianatra* ‘present-study’--in this case, the feature has to be present since the
light verb *an(ao)* does not show up morphologically-- and where the verb in the
circumstantial voice --as shown in (22)-- is appropriate in the following context: An
alleration has arisen between Soa and someone else. The person uttering (22) is
arbitrating and assigns the lounge to Soa so that she can go and study there, i.e. the verb
describes an activity which entails duration. In other words, the grammatical subject *i Soa*
is assumed to be capable of being in control of the durative event described by the verb.

**Point # 3.1: Passive2 & Head-Specifier Relation.**

(23). a. **N-an-didy** mofo t-amina’ ny antsy i Jeanne.
Past-prefix-cut bread perf with the knife art Jeanne

‘Jeanne was cutting bread with the knife.’

b. **N-an-didi-an’** i Jeanne mofo ny antsy.
Past-Passive2-cut-by Jeanne bread the knife

‘The knife was being cut-the-bread-with by Jeanne.’
   Past-give book to art Paul art Jeanne  
   ‘Jeanne was giving (some) books to Paul.’  

b. No-me-n’ i Jeanne boky i Paoly.  
   Past-Passive1-give-by art Jeanne book art Paul  
   ‘Paul was given (some) books by Jeanne.’  

c. N-a-me-n’ i Jeanne boky i Paoly.  
   Past-Passive1-give-by art Jeanne book art Paul  
   ‘Paul was given (some) books by Jeanne.’  

   Past-active-cut perf-prep the bread Rabe  
   ‘Rabe was cutting from the bread.’  

b. N-an-didi-and Rabe ny mofo.  
   Past-Passive2-cut-by Rabe the bread  
   Head Specifier  
   ‘(Some of the) bread was being cut by Rabe.’  

**Point # 3.2: Primacy of Head- Specifier Relation.**  

(26)a. N-ansotra (ny) menaka t-amin’ ny kanakana aho.  
   Past-rub (the) oil perf-prep the duck  
   ‘I was rubbing oil on the duck.’  

b. N-ansotra menaka o-prep ny kanakana aho.  
   Past-rub oil no prep the duck  
   ‘I was rubbing oil the duck.’  

c. No-sora-ko (ny) menaka ny kanakana.  
   PastPassive1-rub-by me (the) oil the duck  
   Head Specifier  
   ‘The whole duck was rubbed with oil.’