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Malagasy Case System in Complex Structures—April 14, 2001
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Point # 1.1: Nominative, Accusative & Genitive forms of Personal Pronouns.

(1) N-ividy  mofo  aho/izy/lanao.
Past-buy (some) bread  I/(s)he/you-nomitive
‘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-nomitive
‘Rabe/Ikoto bought (some) bread.’

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 naman-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.’
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 Joana. 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

(11)  N-anolotra [ vary, ny vahiny] [t-amin’ ny lovia vaovao o₁] aho.
Past-hand rice, the guest past-prep the dish new o₁ I

(12)  N-anolotra [ ny vahiny vary₄] [t-amin’ ny lovia vaovao o₁] aho
Past-hand the guest rice, past-prep the dish new o₁ 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 Paoly³. From Hout Week 1.
Pres-believe him’ comp intelligent art. Paul
‘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 a parcel which is for him/her." Also see (10) above.

    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 o i Paoly.
    past-intend (comp) fut-go Empty deic Paul
    "Paul intended to leave."
    Randriamasimanana (1997: 488)

Want type of main verb:

(19) Tiia-koko ho entina ilay fiara (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 ilay fiara.
    past-intend-by deic Paul future be-taken the car
    "Paul intended to take the (previous mention) car."

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

**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-IT 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.**

![Diagram](image)

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

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.

38. Pamanu make CAUS AF sapah AWi ka Pawan, house PN KA IPN
   ‘Pawan is making Awii build a house.’

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

   b. Yahum come PF mekan eat AF qolic KA bunga rat
   ‘A rat will come and eat the sweet potatoes.’


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 fitanatra.
   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 $S_1$.

(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 o ! Not yet born be-said Empty subject Nonverbal predicate "X is said to be not yet born!"

Randriamasimanana (1998)

(30) Faty o. ‘dead’ Empty subject Nonverbal predicate

B. Full NP in Specifier of $V_2P$ of $S_1$:

(31) N-amono an’ i Jeanne, i Paoly, fa tsy n-aha-faty o, o, 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.


(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.

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 o i Paoly.
     Past-caus-broken o 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 nampa-voa-kapoka an’ i Paoly.
     Themischief-his part past-caus-passivel-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 nampa-voa-kapoka o.
     Themischief-his part past-caus-passivel-punish o
     V.1 V.2
     ‘It was his mischief which was the cause of o’s being punished.’

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


\[ A. \quad * \quad B. \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
  V \\
  NP \\
  NP \\
\end{array} 
\quad \quad 
\begin{array}{c}
  V \\
  SC \\
  NP \\
  NP \\
\end{array} 
\]

Gave Mary a book gave Mary a book

Believe Mary a genius believe Mary a genius

(1) John gave Mary a book.
(2) John believed Mary a genius.
(3) Mary persuaded John to leave.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
  V \\
  NP \\
  S.2 \\
\end{array} 
\quad \quad 
\begin{array}{c}
  V \\
  S.2 \\
\end{array} 
\]

persuade John to leave persuade John to leave
Appendix B

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

(13) N-anome *an’i Koto ilay vola i Jaoma
     '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.

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 (I) and a non-binary branching tree (J):

I. * J.

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.'