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# THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF ASIA AND MADAGASCAR

Edited by Alexander Adelaar and  
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# MALAGASY

Janie Rasoloson and Carl Rubino

## 1 INTRODUCTION

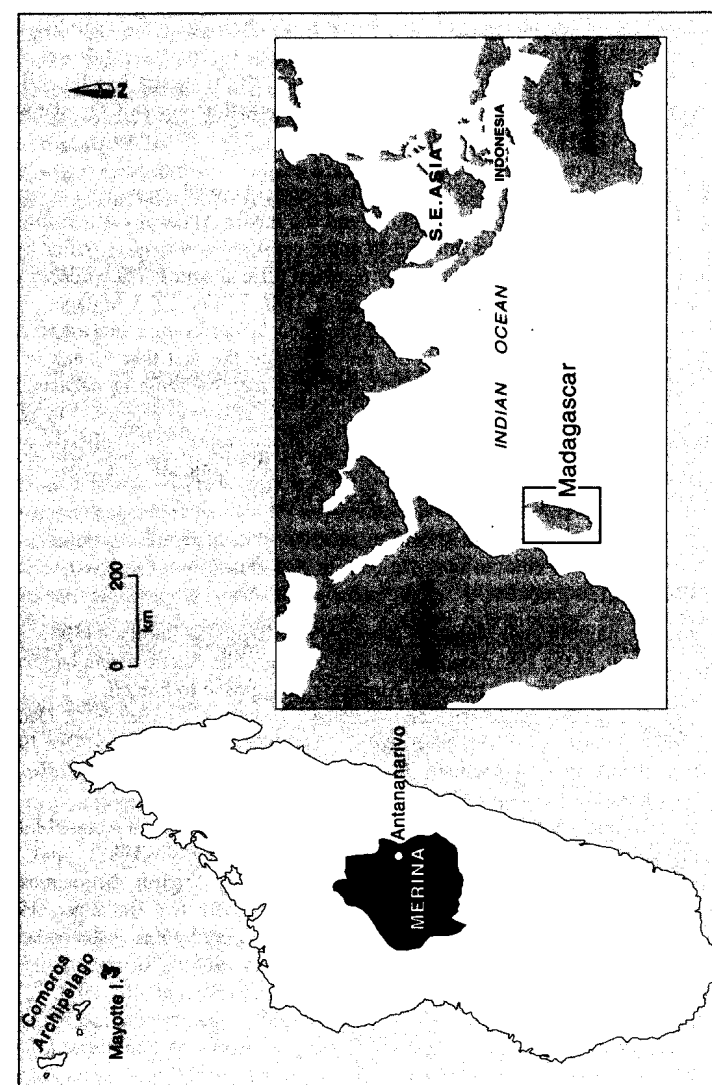
### 1.1 Language area and speakers

Malagasy is an Austronesian language belonging to the Southeast Barito linguistic subgroup of the Western Malayo-Polynesian subfamily (cf. Dahl 1977). It is spoken by about 14 million people throughout Madagascar as well as by an ethnic group on the island of Mayotte (Comoros Islands; see Map 16.1).

The relationship between Malagasy and the Austronesian languages has been discussed by various scholars since Houtman (1603). An overview of their work is given in Dahl (1951, 1991) who also outlines that Maanyan, an Indonesian language spoken in South Borneo, shows striking phonetic, grammatical as well as lexical similarities with Malagasy and is the language most closely related to Malagasy. Adelaar (1989, 1994a, 1994b) demonstrates the existence of Malay and Javanese loanwords in Malagasy. He proposes the seventh century AD as the most likely migration date and argues for continued contacts between Madagascar and Southeast Asia until after the introduction of Islam in the latter. Adelaar (1995) shows the existence of South Sulawesi loanwords in Malagasy. The contacts of Malagasy with non-Austronesian languages are witnessed by elements from Swahili and other Bantu languages (cf. Dahl 1951, 1988), Sanskrit (Dahl 1951), Arabic (cf. Dahl 1983), French and English.

Malagasy is spoken in several dialects, which are often so closely related to one another that a clear group classification is uncertain and quite a number of different classifications have been put forward (cf. Vérin et al. 1969; Dez 1963, 1980; Simon 1988; Mahdi 1988). Andriamanantsilavo and Ratrema (1981:41–63) propose a detailed typological classification of Malagasy dialects based on comparisons of specific phonemes or phonemic groups within the regional dialects. They divide them into three main groups: the eastern dialects, the western dialects, and the intermediate dialects. The following phonemic oppositions distinguish eastern dialects from western ones (see also Beaujard 1998): /di/ vs. /li/ (e.g. *miady* vs. *miàly* 'to fight'), /tsi/ vs. /ti/ (e.g. *antsika* vs. *antika* 'ours'), /tr/ vs. /ts/ (e.g. *fahēfatra* vs. *fahēfatse* 'fourth'), /-z-/ vs. /ø/ (e.g. *àiza* vs. *àia* 'where'), /-i/ vs. /-e/ (e.g. *mihētsika* vs. *mihēseke* 'to move').

The eastern dialects include *Antakarana*, *Tsimihety*, *Sakalava avaratra*, *Bezanozano*, *Sihanaka* in the northeast, *Merina*, *Betsimisaraka atsimo*, *Betsileo avaratra* in the central east, and *Antaimoro*, *Antambahoaka*, *Antesaka*, *Antaifasy*, *Tanala*, *Zafisoro* in the southeast. *Antaimoro* has the oldest written literature, which is a consequence of the early encounter of its speakers with Islam. Already in the fifteenth century the *Antaimoro* made use of the Arabic script to write Malagasy. *Merina*, spoken in the central highlands, was also first written in Arabic script. In 1820 the Malagasy king Radama I adopted the Roman script using an orthography developed by British missionaries.



MAP 16.1 THE INDIAN OCEAN AND MADAGASCAR

The western dialects include *Sakalava of Menabe*, *Masikoro* and *Vevo avaratra* in the central west and *Antandroy*, *Mahafaly*, *Tañala* and *Vevo atsimo* in the south-west. The intermediate dialects, which share elements from both the western and eastern dialects, include *Bara*, *Antanosy* and *Betsileo*. The *Antalaotsy* dialect and two dialects spoken on Mayotte, *Kibosy Kimaore* and *Kiantalaotsy*, are not included in this dialect classification.

The establishment of a monarchy and the colonial rivalry between France and England in the nineteenth century contributed to the supremacy of the Merina dialect. It was standardized by British and French missionaries and served as the model for the official Malagasy language. Schmidt (1991:14–20) gives a historical account of the status of Malagasy from the eighteenth century to the early 1990s (see also STEINHAEUER, LANGUAGE POLICY).

During the French colonial period (1895–1960), French obtained a privileged position over Malagasy in official functions, education, and the media. Malagasy was restricted to family use only, although it was allowed in some censored newspapers. After independence in 1960, both French and Malagasy received official status. This process was known as *fanagasiana* or *malgachisation* (Schmidt 1984). After 1975 Malagasy was introduced in education, but it was never implemented in universities and eventually became established in state primary schools only. Despite the fact that French is the medium in higher education, Malagasy is predominant in national radio broadcasts, and it is used in local newspapers and television. Although the efforts to promote Malagasy were largely unsuccessful (Schmidt 1983, 1984) – an obvious repercussion of sixty years of French occupation – Malagasy was established as the national language of the Malagasy Republic in an official referendum passed in 1992.

## 1.2 Major sources

The comprehensive monolingual Malagasy dictionary by Rajemisa-Raolison (1963, new edition 1985) was one of the first monolingual dictionaries of an Austronesian language. Its publication was an initiative to promote Malagasy as opposed to French.

There are several dialect dictionaries and wordlists: Dubois 1917 (*Betsileo*); Decary 1928 (*Antandroy*); Deschamps 1936 (*Antaisaka*); Descheemaeker (unpubl.) and Dez 1960, 1992 (all three dictionaries of southern *Betsimisaraka*); Mampitovy 1978 (*Zafisoro*); Gueunier 1986 (dialect of Mayotte); Elli 1988 (*Bara*); Beaujard 1998 (*Tanala*).

Major bilingual dictionaries include the French–Malagasy dictionaries of Abinal/Malzac (1888), Rajaonarimanana (1995b), Rajaonarimanana and Vérin (1997), and the Malagasy–French dictionary of Webber (1853), the Malagasy–English dictionaries of Freeman and Johns (1835), Richardson (1885), Paginton (1970), and Hallanger (1969, 1973). A compact Malagasy–English/English–Malagasy dictionary by Rasoloson appeared in 2001. There is also a Malagasy–Russian dictionary (Korneev 1966), a Russian–Malagasy dictionary (Korneev 1970) and a Malagasy–German dictionary (Bergenholtz 1991).

Older grammars include Ailloud (1873), G. Cousins (1882), the grammatical introduction in Richardson's dictionary by W. Cousins (1885), the works of Causse (1886), Malzac (1908), Montagné (1931) and Gerbinis (1946), which are followed by an outpour of Malagasy grammars written by native speakers as exemplified by Rahajarizafy (1960), Rajemisa-Raolison (1969), Rajaona (1972), Domenichini-Ramiaramanana (1976), Rabenilaina (1983), and Rajaonarimanana (1995a). Further grammars include Dez (1980) and Builles (1998). An array of works on different aspects of Malagasy morphology and syntax has recently appeared, e.g. Keenan (1976, 1994), Randriamasimanana (1986),

Dahl (1986), Mahdi (1988), Manaster-Ramer (1992), Pearson and Paul (1996), Keenan and Polinsky (1998), Keenan and Lalalaoherivony (1998), Paul (1998), Rackowski (1998), Fugier (1999), Randriamasimanana (1999), Paul (1999, 2000), Pearson (1996, 2001), Keenan and Rabenilaina (2001).

Major Malagasy textbooks in French include Berthier (1922), Rajaobelina (1966), Rabearivelo (1976), Razafindrabe (1984), Razafindrakoto (1990) and Rajaonarimanana (1995c). Stark (1969) published a Malagasy course for English-speaking students. Razafindrabe, Ralahatra and Ravaomalala (1980) provide an outstanding bilingual textbook in French and English. The first Malagasy textbook for German speakers is Rasoloson (1997).

Corpus-based studies of spoken Malagasy are rare (Rasoloson 1994, 1995). Most of the examples in this chapter originate from our own corpus of spontaneous spoken language.

## 2 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Segments

The Malagasy consonantal inventory is detailed in Table 16.1, using the standard Malagasy orthography. Phonemes attested only in some dialects are given in parentheses.

Voiceless stops are unaspirated. There is an asymmetry in the velar stops; the voiceless velar stop has a palatalized allophone preceding the vowel *i*, and all velar stops palatalize following the vowel *i*, e.g. *alika* 'dog' [alik'a], *hàingana* 'fast' [(h)áj'g'ana]. All stops may appear prenasalized. They are then pronounced either with a short homorganic nasal onset or, less frequently, as stops following a heavily nasalized vowel. The voiceless prenasalized consonants *mp*, *nt*, *ntr*, *nts*, and *nk* only appear word-medially. (The nominal prefix *mp-* in words like *mpiàsa* 'worker' is pronounced [p].) The five fricatives in Malagasy include two labio-dentals, *f* and *v*, two alveolar, grooved fricatives articulated with spread lip position, *s* and *z*, and the weak glottal fricative *h*. Fricatives may be syllabic when they precede devoiced vowels. The four affricates in Malagasy are the apical dento-alveolars *ts* and *j* (*dz*), and the blade alveolars *tr* and *dr*. Like the stops, they may appear prenasalized. The resonants are *l*, a voiced, dento-alveolar lateral, and *r*, a trill

TABLE 16.1: MALAGASY CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar/Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b		t d		k g	(ʔ)**
Prenasalized stops*	mp [m̥p] mb [m̥b]		nt [n̥t] nd [n̥d]		nk [n̥k] ng [n̥g]	
Fricatives		f v	s z			h
Affricates			ts j [dz] nts [n̥ts]	tr dr		
Prenasalized affricates*			nj [n̥dz]	ndr [n̥dr]		
Nasals	m		n		(ñ [ɲ])	
Laterals			l			
Trills			r			

\* Prenasalized stops and affricates are represented in the official orthography with a hyphen following the nasal in cases of a morpheme break.

\*\* The glottal stop has phonemic status only in a few dialects, e.g. Antaimoro.

which may also appear as a single flap. All consonants except *h* are slightly palatalized before *i*, and may be slightly labialized before the vowel *u*. The velar nasal *ŋ* is present in most varieties of Malagasy; however, it is not phonemic in Merina.

All consonants except the voiceless prenasalized consonants may occur in initial position. The one exception to this rule is *ntàolo* 'ancestors' which lost a historical initial /u/ (Keenan and Polinsky 1998). The glottal fricative is often dropped in medial position, especially between two distinct vowels. It alternates with *k* in certain morphologically complex forms, reflecting an older stage of the language (\**k* > *h*): *òlon-kèndry* (/òlona-hèndry/'person-wise') 'wise person', *haingankàingana* 'somewhat fast' (/RDP-haingana/'fast').

Although geminate consonants do not exist in underlying form, they may result from the devoicing and dropping of an unstressed *i* or *o* vowel, e.g. *inona* 'what' [inna]. When an unstressed vowel is dropped before the nasal *n*, the nasal may assimilate to the preceding consonant, causing gemination: *lâmina* 'set, arrange' [lâmma], *tèlina* 'swallow' [tèlla], *òlona* 'person' [ùlla].

Malagasy has a four vowel system, *i* (spelled <y> in word-final position), *u* (orthographic <o>), *e*, and *a*, with four diphthongs, *ai*, *ia*, *oa*, and *au*. The vowel [o] may result from shortening of the vowel sequences *ao* or *oa* (except word finally where it is pronounced as *u*), e.g. *misàotra* 'to thank' [misòtra], *lòatra* 'too much' [lòtra], but *tokòà* 'indeed' [tukú]. The vowel [o] also frequently occurs in loan words, where it may be represented orthographically as *ô*, e.g. *kamiônèty* 'pick up truck', *môtôsikilèty* 'motorcycle', *biôlôjia* 'biology'. Although the vowel [o] does occur as a phoneme in non-standard dialects, the only native Merina word with the vowel is the vocative interjection *ô*. The vowel sequence *ia* and the diphthong *ai* may be pronounced as [e], e.g. *dia* 'focus particle' [de], *ianào* 'you' [enáu], *hàino* 'listen' [héno]. The vowel /a/ may reduce to [ə] in unstressed environments, or just to a simple release of the preceding consonant, especially word-finally, e.g. *mahita* [mahitə] 'see'.

Vowels have weak nasalization preceding a nasal consonant, and heavy nasalization preceding prenasalized consonants. They do not occur long.

All vowels may occur root-initially, but the vowel *e* is rare as the second vowel of native roots. In final position with some verbs, the vowel *i* (orthographic *y*) alternates with *e* in suffixed forms, e.g. *mambòly* (<maN-voly) 'plant (active)' vs. *volèna* 'plant (passive)'. No sequences of identical vowels occur, and only the sequence /ai/ functions as a stable diphthong, retaining the stress pattern v'v instead of becoming v.v' with stress attracting suffixes (Garvey 1964:19).

The unstressed vowels *i* and *o* are often devoiced in Malagasy, especially in final position or between two consonants.

## 2.2 Syllable structure and stress

Malagasy syllable structure is CV; no codas are allowed word-finally and the maximal onset is one segment, except in a few loanwords, e.g. *frantsày* 'French'. Only vowels may function as syllable peaks, all other segments must be treated as onsets phonologically.

Most Malagasy words are stressed on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *mahita* 'see', *màmba* 'crocodile', *sikidy* 'divination', *vàry* 'rice', *paràky* 'tobacco' (in standard Malagasy orthography, stress is indicated by a grave accent, as in the preceding examples). However, there are cases where stress is not predictable, e.g. *àty* 'liver' vs. *aty* 'here (not in sight)' and in the imperative formation of some active verbs and adjectives, as a result of

a suffix *-a* that has merged (contracted) with a final root vowel, e.g. *manàsa* 'wash (indicative)' vs. *manasà* 'wash (imperative)'; *tsàra* 'good' vs. *tsarà* 'be good'. If a word ends in a diphthong, it bears final stress, e.g. *papây* 'papaya', *manào* 'do'. Moreover, words ending in the 'weak final syllables' *-na*, *-ka*, or *-tra* take stress on the antepenultimate syllable, e.g. *filàmatra* 'principle', *kàmbana* 'twin', *fànatra* 'know', *manòmboka* 'begin'. A regular exception to this rule is that words, which end in weak syllables have penultimate stress when the preceding vowel is /e/, /e/ being a regular stress-attractor in Malagasy, e.g., *pòkètra* 'purse, hand bag'.

Weak final syllables in Malagasy behave peculiarly in that they function as extrametrical stem formatives, which delete in compounding, reduplication, and before clitics and suffixes: *antànana* 'fall into the hands of' + *màmba* 'crocodile' = *antàna-màmba* 'fall into the hands of a cruel person'; *fihina* 'to clutch, clasp' + *màmba* > *fihi-màmba* 'refusal to let go of something', *zànaka* 'child' + =ko '1s.GEN' > *zànako* 'my child'. The deviant behavior of *-ka*, *-tra*, and *-na* reflects the fact that they are a product of a default vowel /a/ added after historically consonant-final words as part of the development towards the modern CV structure in Malagasy, e.g. *vòlana* 'moon' (< \*bùlan), *sòratra* 'writing' (< \*surat). The resulting forms should be treated as 'extended roots' which are involved in a variety of synchronic alternations.

Roots of four or more syllables assign secondary stress to every second syllable working back from the main stress. Compound words receive primary stress on the second word of the compound, e.g. *tòro-hèvitra* (point-idea) 'advice'; *manòso-pòtaka* (/maN-hòsotra-fòtaka/=ACT-smear-mud) 'smear with mud, slander'.

In suffixation, root stress shifts one syllable to the right (e.g. *bàbo* > *babòina* 'be captured') unless the root is stressed on the final syllable, is monosyllabic, or has a weak ending in which case an additional consonant may be inserted, e.g. *to* > *toàvina* 'be obeyed', *fàoka* > *fàohana* 'be carried off'. With bi-syllabic enclitics, the enclitic often attracts heavy stress, but does not alter the stress of the root.

## 2.3 Morphophonemics

A homorganic nasal is inserted between reduplicant and base in reduplication and between the two components of a genitive construction or compound if the first component does not end with a weak final syllable *-tra*, *-ka*, or *-na*, e.g. *rèsin-tòry* (/resy-tory/=overcome-sleep) 'overcome by sleep'; *sòlom-bodiakòho* (/sòlo-vody-akòho/=substitute-rump-chicken) 'a gift given to one's elder (different from the traditional chicken rump)', *akànjon-jàza* (/akànjo-zàza/=clothing-child) 'children's clothing', *fetim-pianakaviana* (/fety-fianakaviana/=feast-family) 'family feast' (for further details of genitive formation, see section 3.2.1).

If the first component of a compound or reduplication ends on *-tra* or *-ka*, the weak final syllable is dropped before a consonant. If this consonant is a fricative or liquid it becomes a stop or affricate based on the rules given in Table 16.2 (see Erwin 1996 for a more detailed phonological account). Examples: *hèna-màso* (/henatra-maso/=shame-eye) 'behaving in the presence of others', *hàta-piso* (/hataka-piso/=request-cat) 'persistent request', *pòà-bàsy* (/poaka-basy/=explosion-gun) 'gunshot'; *vòso-dràtsy* (/vosotra-ratsy/=joke-bad) 'buffoonery'; *mandàtsa-bàratra* (/mandàtsaka-vàratra/=lay/cast.down-thunder) 'to cause misfortune from a wrongdoing'. Before a vowel the final *a* of the weak syllable is dropped, the dropped vowel in this environment being indicated in the orthography by an apostrophe e.g. *sàsak'àlina* (/sasaka-alina/=half-night) 'midnight'.

TABLE 16.2: MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATIONS IN COMPOUNDING

v > b	tòsi-bòhon-tànana (/tosika-vòho-tànana/ = push-back-hand)	rejection showing disdain
f > p	fitandrèmam-pahasalamàna (/fitandrèmana-fahasalamàna/ = caring for-health)	health care
h > k	fanavakavàham-bòlon-kòditra (/fanavakavàhana-volo-hoditra/ = discrimination-color-skin)	racial discrimination
s > ts	fàdin-tseràna (/fady-seràna/ = taboo-port.of.entry)	customs duties
z > j	mihètsi-jàza (/mi-hètsika-zàza/ = ACT-move-child)	to be in labour
r > dr	mangiran-dràtsy (/mangirana-ràtsy/ = light.beam-bad)	first dim light of the morning
l > d	an-dàlana (/an-làlana/ = on-road)	on the way

Words ending with the weak final syllable *-na* drop final *a* before consonants, and the nasal is realized as homorganic to the following consonant. The latter may be occlusivized following the rules discussed in Table 16.2, e.g. *èntana vàrotra* (baggage-commerce) > *èntam-bàrotra* 'merchandise' (see also the examples in Table 16.2).

In words with prefixes ending with a homorganic nasal such as present tense active *maN-*, the homorganic nasal of the prefix assimilates to a following obstruent, after which the obstruent deletes if it is voiceless, e.g. *mamihina* (from *fihina*) 'to clutch, clasp', *manàfy* (from *tàfy*) 'to dress', *manàfotra* (from *sàfotra*) 'to submerge', but *mambòntsina* (from *bòntsina*) 'to mislead'. Before vowel-initial bases, the prefix ends in /n/: *manàfaka* (from *àfaka*) 'to set free'. If the base begins with an /h/, the /h/ is replaced either by a prenasalized glottal stop as in *mangàtaka* (from *hàtaka* < \**kataka*) 'to ask for' or by /n/ as in *manàntona* 'hang' (from *hàntona*). See Keenan and Polinsky (1998:595f) for further details.

## 2.4 Reduplication

Malagasy verbs and adjectives may undergo full root reduplication to encode attenuation, iterativity or unsystematic (non-motivated) event processing, e.g. *mainty* 'black', *main-timainty* 'slightly dark skinned', *mandèha* 'to go, walk' > *mandehandèha* 'to walk about'. The weak endings *-ka*, *-tra*, *-na* do not participate in the reduplication, e.g. *pitsoka* 'foolish' > *mi-pitso-pitsoka* 'a little bit stupid, foolish', *mi-pètraka* 'to sit' > *mi-petrapètraka* 'to sit about'.

As detailed in Table 16.2 for compound constructions, reduplications undergo similar phonological alternations involving consonantal substitution, e.g. *maN-fàntsika* 'to nail' reduplicated becomes *mamantsipàntsika* 'to nail repeatedly', *maN-hàntona* 'to hang' becomes *manantonkàntona* 'to hang about', and *mi-vàntana* 'to be direct' becomes *mivantambàntana* 'to be somewhat direct'.

## 3 BASIC MORPHOSYNTAX

### 3.1 Basic clause structure

In unmarked phrases, Malagasy clauses are predicate-initial. The predicate can be verbal or non-verbal (e.g. noun/proper name, adjective, numeral, prepositional phrase, possessive (genitive) phrase, temporal adverb, deictic). The following examples for non-verbal

predicates show that these are not introduced by a copula. Note also that the Malagasy predicates do not always correspond to the English ones:

*Possessive:*

- (1) *Anày ilày fiàra simba.*  
1pe.DAT DET car broken  
'The broken car is ours.'

*Adjective:*

- (2) *Lehibè tokòà ny aerodrome.*  
big indeed DEF airport  
'The airport is big indeed.'

*Numeral:*

- (3) *Fòlo ihàny ny òmbi=này.*  
ten only DEF ox=3pe.GEN  
'We only have got ten oxes.' (lit. Our oxes are only ten)

*Deictic in presentative function:*

- (4) *'ty ny famèrim-bòlanào, tòmpoko.*  
inty ny famèrim-bòla=nào tòmpo=ko  
PRX.VIS.PRD DEF change=2s.GEN lord=1s.GEN  
'Here is your change, Sir.'

In verbal clauses, both transitive and intransitive verbs are marked for voice and tense. Active verbs take an active prefix, the most common ones being *mi-* and *maN-*, where the prefix *m-* changes to *h-* or *n-* depending on tense (see section 5).

- (5) *N-i-salasàla i Nàivo.*  
PST-ACT-hesitate PN Nàivo.  
'Nàivo hesitated.'
- (6) *N-a-hita òmby àho.*  
PST-ACT-see OX 1s  
'I saw an ox.'

Malagasy simple main clause subjects are generally placed in final-position in non-verbal clauses as well as in verbal clauses, as seen in the preceding examples. In the majority of cases where undergoer arguments appear with active verbs, they occur immediately after the verb and are indefinite as in (6) unless specified by a demonstrative or the definite article *ny*, as in (7):

- (7) *Làsa n-i-làhatra nanòhana ny grévistes an!*  
Gone n-i-làhatra n-aN-t òhana ny grévistes an!  
Gone PST-ACT-stand.in.line PST.ACT:support DEF strikers INTJ  
'Gone [on strike] to support the strikers!' (emphatic)

Passive verbs are marked with the affixes *-ina*, *-ana* or *a-*. The undergoer argument appears in subject position and is generally definite (Manaster-Ramer 1992:276). The

actor argument immediately follows the verb, often in the form of a clitic pronoun. Contrast (6) with (8):

- (8) *An, napètrako t-èò ny tômbôbila...*  
*An, n-a-pètraka=o t-èò ny tômbôbila...*  
 INTJ PST-PASS-put=1S.GEN PST-MED.VIS DEF car  
 'Uh, I left the car there...'

Other arguments and adjuncts typically occur in between the two core arguments of transitive verbs:

- (9) *Nanàovan'ny Croix Rouge kermèsy ny*  
*n-aN-tào-v-ana=n'ny Croix Rouge kermèsy ny*  
 PST-CIRC-do-SF-CIRC=GEN.DEF Cross Red fair DEF  
*vòla voaàngona.*  
*vòla voa-àngona.*  
 money RES-raise ♣  
 'The money raised was used by the Croix Rouge to organize a fair.'

- (10) *Natàon'ny Croix Rouge tàmin'ny vòla*  
*n-a-tào=n'ny Croix Rouge t-àmin'ny vòla*  
 PST-PASS-do=GEN.DEF Cross Red PST-with:GEN.DEF money  
*voaàngona ny kermèsy.*  
*voa-àngona ny kermèsy.*  
 RES-raise DEF fair  
 'The Red Cross organized the fair with the money raised.'

- (11) *Nanàovan'ny Croix Rouge kermèsy*  
 PST:CIRC.do.SF:CIRC=GEN.DEF Cross Red fair  
*t-àmin'ny zomà t-ào Mahavòky*  
 PST-ON:GEN.DEF Friday PST-MED.INVIS Mahavòky  
*ny vòla voa-àngona.*  
 DEF money RES-raise  
 'The money raised was used by the Red Cross to organize a fair in Mahavòky on Friday.'

Adjuncts occurring after the subject can be interpreted as modifying the subject rather than the overall predication, as in (12).

- (12) *Nanàovan'ny Croix Rouge kermèsy ny vòla*  
 PST.CIRC.do.SF:CIRC.GEN.DEF Cross Red fair DEF money  
*voa-àngona t-àmin'ny zomà t-ào Mahavòky.*  
 RES-raise PST-ON:GEN.DEF Friday PST-MED.INVIS Mahavòky.  
 'The money raised on Friday in Mahavòky was used by the Red Cross to organize a fair.'

As shown in examples (10), (11), and (12), prepositional phrases always show tense agreement with the verb. Here they are inflected for past tense with the prefix *t-* (i.e. *t-ào* and *t-àmin'ny*).

The unmarked VXS word order may be altered by the fronting of a normally post-predicate subject followed by the focus marker *no*: *S + no + P*. The element preceding

the particle *no*, which is the subject appearing here in clause-initial position, carries the greatest prominence in the clause, e.g.:

- (13) *Ny mpampiànatra no n-i-tèhaka.*  
 DEF teacher FOC PST-ACT-clap the hand  
 'The teacher (and no one else) applauded.'

(13) encodes a restrictive meaning singling out this teacher from any other person who might be under consideration (e.g. the musician, the children, the spectators, etc.).

This type of focus construction is not restricted to subjects. Other non-predicate elements (e.g. an adverb) can also appear in initial position and be followed by the particle *no* indicating focus on this element. Thus, in the sentence: *Omàly no niànga izy* (yesterday FOC PST:leave 3) the focus is on the temporal adverb *omàly* 'yesterday': 'He/she left yesterday (and not on another day)'. Compare also:

- (14) *T-ào Mahavòky t-àmin'ny zomà no*  
*t-ào Mahavòky t-àmin'ny zomà no*  
 PST-MED.INVIS Mahavòky PST-ON:GEN.DEF Friday FOC  
*nanàovan'ny*  
*n-an-tào-v-ana=n'ny*  
 PST-CIRC-do-SF-CIRC=GEN.DEF  
*Croix Rouge kermèsy t-àmin'ny vòla voa-àngona.*  
 Cross Red fair PST-with:GEN.DEF money RES-raise  
 'It was in Mahavòky on Friday that a fair was organized by the Red Cross with the money raised.'

Another inversion construction may be obtained simply by fronting the post-predicate subject, which yields an 'emphatic' SVO word order. The preposed subject is set off from the remainder of a sentence by a pause or by lengthening the last vowel (*fàrany:::*) of the preposed subject argument (cf. Rasoloson 1994:109–122):

- (15) *Izy mirahavavy fàrany::: tsy mbòla n-a-hita ranomàsina.*  
 3 sister last NEG yet PST-ACT-see sea  
 'The youngest two (sisters) of them, they have not seen the sea yet.'

This 'emphatic' SVO construction could be given as an answer to the question: 'Who has not seen the sea yet?'

In predicate focus constructions, the subject also occurs in clause-initial position, and the predicate is preceded by the particle *dia*: *S + dia + P*. The implication of this type of construction is that, of the set of potential events under consideration (put in brackets as shown below), there is only one which is carried out (16).

- (16) *Ny bibikèly dia n-i-hinana ny fàka=ny.*  
 DEF insect(s) FOC PST-ACT-eat DEF root=3.GEN  
 'The insect(s) ate its roots (they did not damage them or play with them, etc.).'

Compare this example with the related subject-focus clause construction:

- (17) *Bibikèly no n-i-hinana ny fàka=ny.*  
 insect(s) FOC PST-ACT-eat DEF roots=3.GEN  
 'Insect(s) (not butterflies, not bees, not dragonflies, etc.) ate its roots.'

In a subtype of the predicate-focus construction, the clause-initial subject consists of a nominalized expression and the predicate of a nominal expression:

- (18) *Ny n-i-hinana ny fāka=ny dia bibikely.*  
 DEF PST-ACT-eat DEF roots=3.GEN FOC insect(s).  
 'Insect(s) ate its roots (the ones who ate its roots were insects).'

### 3.2 Noun phrases

Basic order in full noun phrases is DETERMINER HEAD MODIFIER. Alternative orders of head and modifier are possible but usually also convey a different meaning. Thus, adjectives usually follow their head as in *ny kirāro malōto* (DEF shoes dirty) 'the dirty shoes'. If the adjective precedes its head, a nominalization results (cf. also section 6.1): *ny malōto kirāro* (DEF dirty shoes) 'the one with the dirty shoes'.

Common noun phrases are marked for definiteness by an article or a demonstrative, with a special set of markers occurring in the case of personal names (cf. Table 16.3).

In addition to the definite article *ny*, there is the determiner *ilāy* which is used for referents known to speaker and hearer via specific shared knowledge without necessarily having been mentioned in the preceding discourse.

- (19) *Āry ilāy rangāhy m-i-pitsoka hita=nào?*  
 and DET man PRS-ACT-crazy PASS:see=2s.GEN  
 'What about that crazy man you saw?'

The personal article *i* is not used when the name begins with a proper name proclitic, *I-*, *Ra-*, *Ilai-* or *Ikāla-*. In addition to the personal article *i*, there is a further personal article *ry* which designates a group of persons in a family relationship or in a friendship relationship with the person denoted by the noun it precedes (20). *Ry* is also used before nouns to address someone directly (21).

- (20) *Nandēfa taratāsy ry Bakòly.*  
 n-aN-lēfa taratāsy ry Bakòly  
 PST.ACT:send letter PN Bakòly  
 'Bakòly and her family sent a letter.'
- (21) *N-isy vòla ve t-ào ry Māma?*  
 PST-EXIST money PTCL PST-MED.INVIS PN Mum  
 'Was there any money in there, Mum?'

The full genitive clitics of the group (A) in Table 16.3 are used as proclitics, forming possessive predicates (group B is discussed in the next section). *An'ny* [annɪ] and *an'ilāy* are employed with definite common nouns whereas *an'i* [ani] is used with proper nouns:

- (22) *An'ny mpampianatr'i Sēndra 'ty pòkètra 'ty.*  
 GEN.DEF teacher:GEN.PN Sēndra PRX.VIS bag PRX.VIS  
 'This bag belongs to Sēndra's teacher.'

TABLE 16.3: NOUN PHRASE MARKERS

	DEF	GEN.DEF	
		(A)	(B)
Definite common nouns	<i>ny/ilāy</i>	<i>an'ny/an'ilāy</i>	= n'ny
Personal names	<i>i</i>	<i>an'i</i>	= n'i/=n

- (23) *An'i Rina 'zào e!*  
 GEN.PN Rina now INTJ  
 'It is Rina's [turn] now!'

These possessive predicates can be nominalized by preposing the definite article *ny* and then function as subjects (preposed subjects in the following example):

- (24) *Ny an' isè diso fa ny an' ialāhy no mètý.*  
 DEF GEN FAM wrong but DEF GEN FAM.M FOC okay  
 '“Yours” (i.e. one trainee's performance) is wrong but “yours” (another trainee's performance) is okay.' (Teacher to his trainees.)

Pronouns come in three major sets rather than the two attested for common nouns (see Table 16.4 for a summary). The nominative case is used for pronominal subject arguments, e.g. *Lèò izy* (fed up 3) 'he/she is fed up'; the dative for non-subject arguments and for predicates conveying possession, e.g. *Lèò àzy àho* (fed up 3.DAT 1s) 'I am fed up with him/her, *Anarèò io*. (2p.DAT that) 'That is yours'. The genitive forms are used to indicate the actor of a non-active verb, e.g. *Vita=ko ilāy boky*. (PASS-finish=1s.GEN DET book) 'I finished that book', or the possessor of a nominal, e.g. *ny solomàso=nào* (DEF glasses 2s.GEN) 'your glasses'. They are also used for most prepositional objects. The choice between the two genitive forms is morphologically conditioned, as discussed in the next section.

Both forms of the first pronoun singular *àho* and *izàho* can function as a nominative subject. The difference between them is conditioned by word order: *Izàho* is the clause-initial counterpart of *àho*. E.g.: *Miàsa àho* (work 1s) 'I am working' vs. *Izàho dia miàsa* (1s FOC work) 'I am working (not sleeping)'.

The second singular pronoun *ianào* is not necessarily a familiar form. In most uses, it in fact excludes any kind of familiarity and is used as a distant form. In family relationship, however, *ianào* may express familiarity when used between a married couple or by an adult addressing a child. In other informal friendly relationships, a different set of nominal address forms is preferred which encode additional information about the speech act participants (sex, age, social status, personal relationship, etc.), e.g. *ialāhy* (high degree of familiarity, addressing a male), *indry* (high degree of familiarity, addressing a female), *isè* (high degree of familiarity) (cf. example (24) above and Rasoloson 2000).

TABLE 16.4: FULL AND CLITIC FORMS OF MALAGASY PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	NOM	DAT	GEN	
			(I)	(II)
1.SG	<i>izàho/àho</i>	<i>àhy</i>	=ko	=o
2.SG	<i>ianào</i>	<i>anào</i>	=nào	=ào
1.PL.INCL.	<i>isika</i>	<i>antsika</i>	=ntsika	=tsika
1.PL.EXCL.	<i>izahày</i>	<i>anày</i>	=này	=ày
2.PL	<i>ianarèò</i>	<i>anarèò</i>	=narèò	=arèò
3 (SG or PL)	<i>izy</i>	<i>àzy</i>	=ny	=ny
3.PL	<i>izy irèò</i>	<i>àzy irèò</i>	=n'izy irèò	=ny

## 3.2.1 Genitive constructions

Genitive constructions are morphologically complex and differ for pronominal and nominal genitive modifiers. The head of a genitive construction can be a noun, a verb in passive or circumstantial voice, or a preposition.

The use of the genitive pronouns (Table 16.4) varies according to whether or not the final syllable of the head is a weak syllable. Heads not ending in a weak syllable take the genitive pronouns of group (I), e.g. *ny kiràro* > *ny kiràro=ko* (DEF shoe=1s.GEN) 'my shoes', *ny boky* > *ny boki=narèo* (DEF book=2p.GEN) 'your book'. With heads ending in weak *-na*, the weak syllable drops and genitive pronouns of group (I) are used as well: *kāvina* 'earring' > *kāvi=nāy* (earring=1pe.GEN). If the head ends in weak *-ka* or *tra*, the final *-a* of the weak syllable is dropped and the genitive pronominal clitics of group (II) are used: e.g.: *pèratra* 'ring' > *pèratr=āo* (ring=2s.GEN) 'your ring'. If these clitics begin with a consonant (i.e. the third person and the first person plural inclusive clitics), then they replace the weak syllable, hence *pèrany* 'her/his/their ring' and *pèratsika* 'our (incl.) ring'.

If the genitive argument consists of a noun or noun phrase, a number of different scenarios have to be distinguished. In the case of definite noun phrases and personal names functioning as genitive arguments, the genitive markers of group (B) in Table 16.3 above are used: *=n'ny* (phonologically /ni/) is employed with common nouns while *=n'i* (phonologically also /ni/) is employed with personal names: *ny boky* 'the book(s)' > *ny boki=n'ny mpampianatra* 'the teacher's book', *ny kiràro* 'the shoes' > *ny kiràro=n'i faly* 'Faly's shoes'. Major variants of this basic rule are as follows:

- If the personal name begins with /t/ (including names beginning with the personal name proclitic *Ra=*) the genitive marker is simply *=n*: *sàry* 'photograph' + *Rasòlo* > *sàrin-dRasòlo* 'Rasòlo's photograph' (r > dr is a phonologically regular alternation in reduplication, compounds and genitive constructions (cf. section 2.3)). The use of a dash in between head and genitive argument in this environment is a convention of standard Malagasy orthography. Another example with a verbal head is *Mbòla totòn-dRalàny ny kafè* (still PASS-pound=GEN Ralàny DEF coffee) 'Ralàny is still pounding the coffee'.
- If the genitive argument is a personal name and the head ends in a weak syllable (*ka*, *tra*, or *na*) the vowel *a* of the weak syllable is dropped (in orthographic representations it is replaced with an apostrophe) and no special genitive marker is used: *kāvina* 'earring' > *kāvin' i Rina* 'Rina's earring(s)'. As the preceding example shows, this rule also applies to personal names beginning with /t/, which then are preceded by the personal article *i*.
- If the genitive argument is a definite common noun and the head ends in weak *ka* or *tra*, the final *a* of the weak syllable is replaced with /i/ followed by the article *ny*, e.g.: *pèratra* 'ring' > *pèratry ny rahavàvi=ko* (ring:GEN DEF sister=3.GEN) 'my sister's ring', *zànaka* 'child' > *zànaky ny àlina* 'child(ren) of the night=children who are wandering about in the night'.
- If the genitive argument is a definite common noun and the head ends in weak *na*, the weak syllable is replaced by *=n'ny*, e.g. *hàvana* 'relative' + *ny sèfo* 'the boss' > *hàva=n'ny sèfo* 'relative(s) of the boss'.

Finally, if the genitive argument is an indefinite (common) noun phrase, then the genitive marker is *=n* as in *vinànto* 'son or daughter in law' + *andriana* 'nobleman' > *vinànton'andriana* 'a nobleman's son or daughter in law', *tràno* 'house' + *andriana* 'nobleman' > *trànon'andriana* 'a nobleman's house' (conventionally written as a single word in standard Malagasy orthography). If the genitive argument begins with a fricative

or a liquid, this initial consonant is turned into a stop according to the rules stated in Table 16.2. Examples: *adàla* 'crazy' + *lalào* 'games' > *adàlan-dalào* 'game-mad (person)', *vinànto* + *sakàiza* 'friend' > *vinànton-tsakàiza* 'a friend's son in law or a friend's daughter in law'. Once again, somewhat different regularities hold for heads ending in weak syllables (see Keenan and Polinsky 1998:575f. for details and examples).

Adjectives may follow either the genitive argument or the head. In the latter case, the genitive case marker, if any, is directly appended to the adjective: *ny boky malòto=n'ny mpampianatra* (DEF book dirty=GEN.DEF teacher) 'the teacher's dirty book(s)'. If the adjective follows the genitive argument, this may result in two different constructions distinguished by context and intonational contour. One possibility is an unmarked restrictive relative clause (cf. section 3.2.2) as in *ny bokin'ny mpampianatra malòto* (DEF book:GEN.DEF teacher dirty) 'the teacher's book(s) which is/are dirty', the other an 'emphatic' subject construction (cf. section 3.1): *ny bokin'ny mpampianatra* (pause) *malòto* 'the teacher's book(s), they are dirty'.

## 3.2.2 Relative clauses

Malagasy relative clauses follow the noun they modify. They are optionally introduced by the relative clause marker *izày* and optionally followed by a demonstrative: DEF + N + (*izày*) + Predicate Phrase + (DEM) (Keenan 1994). Malagasy can only relativize on subjects and on possessors of subjects. Consequently, the verb in the relative clause has to appear in the appropriate voice, as illustrated in the following examples (in all of which *izày* is omissible):

- (25) *i Bèma [izày nanòratra taratàsy ho an'ny nàma=ny]*  
 PN Bèma REL PST.ACT:write letter to GEN.DEF friend=3.GEN  
 'Bèma [who wrote a letter to his friend]'
- (26) *ny taratàsy [izày nosoràtan'i Bèma ho an'ny nàma=ny]*  
 DEF letter [REL PST.WRITE:PASS.GEN.PN B. to GEN.DEF friend=3.GEN  
 'the letter [that Bèma wrote to his friend]'
- (27) *ny nàma=ny [izày nanoràtan'i Bèma taratàsy]*  
 DEF friend=3.GEN REL PST.CIRC:write:GEN.PN Bèma letter  
 'His friend [whom Bèma wrote a letter]'
- (28) *ny tràno [izày hanàovana ny hasoàvan-jàza]*  
 ny tràno izày h-an-tào-v-ana ny ha-sòà-v-ana=zàza  
 DEF House REL FUT-CIRC-do-SF-CIRC DEF CIRC-good-SF-CIRC-child  
 'The house [where the child's circumcision will be carried out]'

By using a non-active voice, it is also possible to relativize on the possessor in a possessive construction. Thus, from (29) one may form (30):

- (29) *Nokapòhako tàmin'ny kifàfa ny*  
 no-kapòka-ana=ko t-àmin'ny kifàfa ny  
 PST-knock-PASS=1s.GEN PST-with:GEN.DEF broom DEF  
*alika'ilay rangàhy.*  
 alika=n'ilay rangàhy.  
 dog=GEN.DET man  
 'I hit the man's dog with a broom.'

- (30) *Ilày rangàhy* [izày *nokapòhako* *t-àmin'ny*  
 DET man [REL PST:knock:PASS=1S.GEN PST-With:GEN.DEF  
*kifàfa ny alika=ny.*  
 broom DEF dog=3.GEN  
 'That man [whose dog I hit with a broom]'

Definite objects freely appear with active verbs in relative clause constructions, following the rigid constraint that only subject arguments (and their possessors) can be relativized:

- (31) *Ny trôpy Antananarivo teàtra indrày izày h-i-sèhatra*  
 DEF troupe A theatre as.for REL FUT-ACT-stage  
*izàny tantàra izàny*  
 DIST.INVIS story DIST.INVIS  
 'As for the Antananarivo theatre troupe which will perform those (aforementioned) stories...'

If the relative clause is not formally marked by *izày*, it is only distinguished by intonation from an 'emphatic' subject construction (cf. Dez 1980:111ff.). Compare the following two examples:

- (32) *Ny òlon-dehibè m-i-rèsaka*  
 DEF adults PRS-ACT-talk  
 'The adults who are talking.'
- (33) *Ny òlon-dehibè (..) m-i-rèsaka.*  
 DEF adults (pause) PRS-ACT-talk  
 'The adults, they are talking.'

It is also possible to form headless relative clauses. Here, the relative pronoun *izày* cannot be omitted:

- (34) *Asehò=y àhy izày n-a-tào=narèo omàly.*  
 Show=PASS.IMP 1S.DAT REL PST-PASS-do=2p.GEN yesterday  
 'Show me what you did yesterday.'
- (35) *Tsy hàì=ko ry Fàra izày n-a-lèha=ny a!*  
 NEG know=1S.GEN ART F. REL PST-PASS-go=3.GEN INTJ  
 'I do not know where he has gone, Fàra.'

#### 4 DEIXIS

Malagasy has a rather elaborate deictic system. It involves the remarkably high number of seven degrees of distance from the speaker in addition to a visible/non-visible distinction. Apart from these semantic distinctions, there is also a grammatical distinction between adverbs and demonstratives. The deictic adverbs are listed in Table 16.5.

TABLE 16.5: DEICTIC ADVERBIALS

	Proximal	Medial	Distal
Visible	etỳ, èto	èo, etsỳ	èny, eròa, erỳ
Invisible	atỳ, àto	ào, atsỳ	àny, aròa, arỳ

- (36) *Làvitra àvy èto ve izàny?*  
 far coming.from PRX.VIS Q DIST.INVIS  
 'Is that (the road, not visible) far from here (close by, visible)?'
- (37) *àry tsy m-isy ràhona èny àmin'ny lànitra*  
 and NEG PRS-EXIST cloud DIST.VIS in:GEN.DEF sky  
 '...and there are no clouds there in the sky (distal, visible).'
- (38) *Mbòla àny izy àny.*  
 still DIST.INVIS 3 DIST.INVIS  
 'He's still (hanging about) there (distal, invisible).'

Like prepositions, deictic adverbs are marked for past tense with the prefix *t-* when occurring in a past tense context:

- (39) *ràha tònga t-ào Ambòsitra izy.*  
 as arrive PST-MED.INVIS Ambòsitra 3  
 '...as he arrived there in Ambositra.'

Deictic adverbs can also be verbalized with the active voice prefix *mank-*, e.g. *Nank-àny àho* (PST-ACT-there 1) 'I went there'. This also holds for the corresponding locative question word *àiza* 'where' as in *Mank-àiza ianào?* (PRS-ACT-where 2s) 'Where are you going?'

The demonstratives, which are obviously derived from the adverbs, are listed in Table 16.6. Note that there is a special, though not fully complete, series of plural forms for the visible demonstratives. The demonstratives can be used both as pronouns and as determiners. Examples for pronominal use are *lhy no tia=ko* (that DIST.VIS want=1S.GEN) 'That is what I want' and:

- (40) *Ka omàly io sa tsy omàly e?*  
 so yesterday MED.VIS OR NEG yesterday INTJ  
 'So is that (fruit salad) from yesterday or not?'

When functioning as determiners, the demonstratives regularly occur at the beginning of a noun phrase, taking the place of the definite article. For emphasis, they may in fact flank the noun phrases they specify, e.g. *ho anào io labiera io* (for 2S.DAT MED.VIS beer MED.VIS) 'That beer is for you', *ity trano lehibe ity* (PRX.VIS house big PRX.VIS) 'this big house'.

- (41) *lzy no nanào an'iny retrarètra iny.*  
 izy no n-aN-tào an'iny rehetra-rehetra iny.  
 3 FOC PST-ACT-do GEN.DIST.VIS RDP-all DIST.VIS  
 'He did all of that!'
- (42) ... *na io fitambàra=n'i Allemagne io arany*  
 ... *na io f-i-tàmbatra-ana=n'i Allemagne io àry*  
 OR MED.VIS NR-CIRC-unify-CIRC=GEN.PN Germany MED.VIS even  
 'even this German reunification...'

TABLE 16.6: MALAGASY DEMONSTRATIVES

	Proximal	Medial	Distal
Invisible	izatỳ, izàto	izào, izatsỳ	izàny, izaròa, izarỳ
Visible	itỳ, ito	io, itsỳ	iny, iròa, irỳ
Visible.Plural	irèto	irèo, irètsy	irèny, ireròa, irerỳ

The visible/nonvisible distinction permeates the system. This distinction does not only refer to visibility in a literal sense. Instead, the invisible forms are used for referring to places or entities which are only vaguely identified or have unclear boundaries. Conversely, highly topical referents may be encoded with a visible deictic, even if they are not actually present during the speech event.

- (43) *nefa manào ahoàna sy manào ahoàna izy io?*  
*nefa m-aN-tào ahoàna sy m-aN-tào ahoàna izy io?*  
 but PRS-ACT-do how and PRS-ACT-do how 3 MED.VIS  
 '...but just how is he (emphatic)? (referring to someone not present in the speech event but just mentioned for the first time).'

This example also shows that in emphatic reference the demonstratives may occur with personal pronouns.

Furthermore, visible deictics are employed in narratives to refer to entities whose location is known or accessible to the addressee, even though the referents are clearly not visible in the actual speech event.

- (44) *ka nanontanintàny àzy t-èny an-dàlana.*  
 and PST.ACT:RDP.interrogate 3.DAT PST-DIST.VIS on-road  
 '[His father approached him] and asked him there en route.'

In addition to deictic adverbs and demonstratives, there are also predicative deictics based on the same roots. Most of these are obsolete in modern Malagasy speech (but see (4) above for an example). The singular predicative deictics are from proximate to distal: *inty*, *indro*, *iny*, *indry*, *intsy*, *indròna*, *indry* (visible); *injato*, *inào*, *injào*, *inây*, *injây*, *inàny*, *injàny* (invisible).

## 5 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Malagasy verbs form the class of words that are marked for mood (section 5.4), mode (section 5.5) and voice (section 5.1). They can be classified into two primary classes, active and non-active, depending on whether they take an agentive argument in the genitive case. Non-active verbs (traditionally called 'passive' verbs) are those that take a genitive argument encliticized to the verb, which serves as an actor, and a subject argument in a non-actor case role. The non-active verbs may be subclassified into four groups based on their morphology: monomorphemic root passives, suffixal passives in *-ina* (with a stem-conditioned variant *-ena*), or *-ana*, prefixed thematic passives in *a-*, and circumstantial verbs which consist of the active prefix minus the *m-* and the suffix *-ana*. Malagasy verbs, like certain prepositions, are inflectionally marked for tense (cf. section 5.3), and can be derived to reflect causation (cf. section 5.6), and reciprocity (cf. section 5.7). This section also details the specifics of the Malagasy resultatives formed from the prefixes *tafa-*, and *voa-* (cf. section 5.2).

### 5.1 Voice

#### 5.1.1 Active verbs

Active verbs in Malagasy are those verbs that take one of the following active prefixes: *m-*, *mi-*, *ma-*, *maN-*, *miaN-*, *miha-*, *mana-*, *maha-*, *mank-*, or *manka-*, and form their

imperatives with *-a* (Sec 5.4). Among the very few exceptions to the bimorphemic nature of active verbs are the verbs *tia* 'to like', and the following verbs of motion: *tàmy* 'about to arrive', *làsa* 'to be gone', *tônga* 'to arrive', and *avy* 'to come'. The last three verbs can be used as auxiliaries:

- (45) *Tèna làsa nanòkatra varavàrana mihitsy anie i Nivo e!*  
*Tèna làsa n-aN-sòkatra varavàrana mihitsy anie i Nivo e!*  
 even gone PST-ACT-open gate indeed PTCL PN NIVO INTJ  
 'Nivo has even gone to open the gate!'

The verb *tia* 'to like' may also appear as *te*=before a verb in the future tense, where it functions as an auxiliary proclitic meaning 'to want': *te=hi-ànatra aminào dho.* (want=FUT.ACT-learn from.you 1s) 'I want to learn from you'.

Furthermore, the verbs *tia*, *làsa* and *tônga* may also occur as root passive verbs, taking genitive agents, e.g. *Tia=nào ve ny àsa=nào* (like(PASS))=2p.GEN Q DEF work=2p.GEN 'Do you like your job?'

Of the four basic active prefixes *mi-* and *maN-* are highly productive, whereas the prefixes *m-*, and *ma-* apply only to a closed class of roots. We will discuss the four prefixes by their order of productivity.

The *mi-* prefix is commonly used to form intransitive verbs such as *milàsy* 'to camp', *mièmpo* 'to dissolve, melt', *mitsinkàfona* 'to float', *mihàvana* 'to be friends'.

- (46) *Mbòla mba m-i-tèny ve izàny?*  
 still RQV PRS-ACT-speak Q DIST.INVIS  
 'Does that still make sense?'

*Mi-* verbs may also take objects, which are usually non-specific, unless qualified by the definite article or demonstrative: *Hi-sòtro (ny) labièra izy.* (FUT.ACT-drink (DEF) beer 3) 'He will drink (the) beer'. Very low on the transitivity continuum, *mi-* cannot be used to form ditransitive verbs, unlike the passive affixes and the active prefix *maN-*. *Mi-* is also used with verbs that are inherently reciprocal, e.g. *mi-anadàhy* 'to be siblings' and *misobàdy* /*mi-saotra-vady*/ (ACT-thank-spouse) 'to divorce each other'.

Many *maN-* verbs, with the less frequent variant *mana-*, can also be shown to be primarily intransitive, e.g. *mandèvy* 'boil, bubble', *mangasihàsy* 'to be timid', *manètroka* 'to give off smoke'. But *maN-* verbs are usually distinguished from their *mi-* counterparts in that they have one more argument in their semantic frame, putting them relatively higher on the transitivity continuum. Their semantics is therefore comparable to their passive counterparts. Compare the following triplets: *mi-sàraka* 'to be separated, divorced' vs. *manàraka* (active), *saràhina* (passive) 'to separate something, detach'; *mi-fòra* 'to be circumcised' vs. *mamòra* (active), *foràina* (passive) 'to circumcise somebody'; *mi-àmpy* 'to be added', *manàmpy* (active), *ampiana* (passive) 'to add, to augment'.

*M-* verbs are those in which a tense prefix (*n-* past, *m-* present, *h-* future) directly appends to the root. There are a few dozen such verbs, including *mànana* 'to have', *mìno* 'to believe', *mòdy* 'to go home', *mèty* 'to agree', *mèndrika* 'to deserve', *mèrika* 'to drizzle', *misy* 'to exist', and *màka* 'to take'.

*Ma-* verbs comprise a closed class of verbs, which are primarily stative, like their Philippine counterparts. They include *mahita* 'to see', *matòry* 'to sleep', *maràry* 'to be sick', *madio* 'to be clean', *mahitsy* 'to be straight', *malàny* 'to be foul smelling', *masàka* 'to be ripe; well cooked', *maròroka* 'to grow rapidly'.

The remaining active voice affixes convey more specific meanings in addition to active voice: *miaN-* indicates direction (motion towards) or tendency, e.g. *mian-àla*

(ACT-forest) 'to go to the forest', *mian-tsèna* 'to go to the market'; *miha-* expresses the inchoative, e.g. *miha-mangatsiaka* 'to become cold'. For *mank-* see section 4, and for *manka-* section 5.6.

### 5.1.2 Passives

Formally speaking, passive verbs are the most heterogeneous kind of verbs in Malagasy, as they may be formed with prefixes, suffixes, or no morphology at all. Their common feature is that they take a genitive argument as actor, usually in a transitive verb frame, and do not take the imperative suffix *-a* associated with active verbs, but *-y* or *-o*. The nominative argument of passive verbs is non-agentive, which can be a variety of things with respect to the semantics of the passive verb: a patient, theme, location, or instrument. Although in the majority of tokens of passive verbs, a genitive argument is overtly expressed, there are cases in which no arguments are overtly expressed, and the subject is understood to be a non-agentive argument which must be inferred from the context.

- (47) *Mbôla voàsana. Mbôla kikisana.*  
*mbôla voàsana. mbôla kiky-s-ana*  
 still peel:PASS still grate-SF-PASS  
 'It's still being peeled off. Still being grated.' [talking about ginger fruit]

We will now discuss passives by their morphological form and function, differentiating the roles of the root passives, suffixing passives in *-ina* and *-ana* and the *a-* thematic passives.

Root passives are those verbs that are monomorphemic and take either an actor in the genitive case, or a patient in the nominative case or both.

- (48) *Tsy n-isy zavatra re àfatsy ny fi-patrapàtraky ny ràno.*  
 NEG PST-EXIST thing PASS:hear except DEF NR-drip drop:GEN DEF water  
 'Nothing was heard except the drip drop of the water.'

They are rather frequent in Malagasy discourse, cited in Keenan (1994) to comprise thirty percent of the occurrences of passive verbs, second in frequency to the *-ina* passives. Root passives in Malagasy include experienter verbs such as *azo* 'understood', *hita* 'seen', *re* 'heard', *fiantatra* 'known', *hèno* 'listened to', *tsàpa* 'felt', *tsinjo* 'perceived from above', *tadidy* 'remembered', and a number of other verbs such as *hàny* 'able to', *rèsy* 'defeated', *vàky* 'broken', *bàbo* 'captured', *vôa* 'afflicted', etc.

The most frequently occurring passive verbs in discourse are those taking the suffixes *-ina* (*-ena*), or *-ana*, with concomitant stress shift one syllable to the right for minimally bisyllabic roots. Unlike in Philippine languages, where the choice between the suffixes is dependent upon the semantics involved, the suffix choice in Malagasy is largely a feature of the root, except in the very few (dozen or so) cases where roots can accept both *-ana* and *-ina* with different meanings (Rahajarizafy 1960:190). While *-ina* is much more frequent than *-ana* for passive verbs, only *-ana* is used for circumstantial verbs, so the suffixes most likely carried different meanings in a paradigm that was productive earlier on in the history of the language.

The passive suffix is appended to the root formative, which is not necessarily identical to the root used with an active verb. The stem endings *-ka*, *-tra*, and *-na* are reduced before the suffixes, and many roots take a thematic consonant before the suffix. Some roots change their final vowel before the addition of the suffix, and non-final diphthongs

TABLE 16.7: FORMATION OF SUFFIXING PASSIVES

Root	Suffixing stem	Suffixed passive
(a) Reduction of stem endings		
<i>tàpaka</i> 'break'	<i>tapàh-</i>	<i>tapàhina</i>
<i>sòratra</i> 'write'	<i>soràt-</i>	<i>soràtana</i>
<i>sàina</i> 'think; mind'	<i>sàin-</i>	<i>sàinina</i>
(b) Addition of a thematic consonant with or without stem ending reduction		
<i>hàfatra</i> 'message, order'	<i>hafār-</i>	<i>hafàrana</i>
<i>tsinjo</i> 'see from afar'	<i>tsinjöv-</i>	<i>tsinjövina</i>
<i>dòka</i> 'flatter'	<i>dokè-</i>	<i>dokàfana</i>
<i>tàratra</i> 'see through'	<i>taràf-</i>	<i>taràfina</i>
(c) Change of final root vowel with or without a thematic consonant added		
<i>jèry</i> 'look at'	<i>jerè-</i>	<i>jerèna</i>
<i>vòly</i> 'plant'	<i>volè-</i>	<i>volèna</i>
<i>rèfy</i> 'fathom, measure'	<i>refès-</i>	<i>refèsina</i>
<i>tèty</i> 'pass through'	<i>tetèz-</i>	<i>tetèzina</i>
<i>àndry</i> 'wait'	<i>andràs-</i>	<i>andràsana</i>
<i>tàndrina</i> 'pay attention'	<i>tandrèm-</i>	<i>tandrèmàna</i>
(d) Addition of stem formant <i>-as-</i> , <i>-az-</i> or <i>-av-</i>		
<i>dimby</i> 'replacement'	<i>dimbiàs-</i>	<i>dimbiàsina</i>
<i>be</i> 'big'	<i>beàz-</i>	<i>beàzina</i>
<i>tàdy</i> 'look for'	<i>tadiàv-</i>	<i>tadiàvina</i>

within roots often become monophthongal in stems before the suffixes, e.g. *tàiza* 'a nursing child' > *tezàina* 'bring up children (passive)'. The major types of passive formations are summarized in Table 16.7.

In addition to these regular alternations, suffixing passives sometimes also involves suppletion. Verbs with suppletive active-passive pairs include: *m-aka* 'take (ACT)', *alà-ina* 'take (PASS)'; *mi-tòndra* 'carry (ACT)', *ènt-ina* 'carry (PASS)'; *mi-vàotra* 'sell (ACT)', *amidy* 'sell (PASS)'; and *mamàofy* (*vàofy*) 'peel (ACT)', *voàsana* 'be peeled (PASS)'. It should be noted that the infix *-in-*, the perfective or realis counterpart of the cognates of *-ina/-ana* undergoer voice suffixes in a number of western Austronesian languages, is not a productive morpheme in Malagasy, although it surfaces as an infix in a few passive verbs, e.g. *vàky* 'broken', *vinàky* 'be broken'.

A number of stative verbs share the ability to derive passive forms, e.g. *vòlo* 'hair' + *-ina* > *volò-ina* 'hairy' (adj.) but *vòlo* + *-ana* > *volò-s-ana* 'to be plucked (of fowl)'; *ma-dio* 'clean', *dio* + *-ina* > *diòvina* 'to be cleaned' (pass.).

The prefix *a-* forms passive verbs that, like the suffixal passives, are most often encountered with an overt genitive actor. However, they differ from the suffixal passives in that the nominative argument is most likely to be either an instrument, a theme or an argument which is physically or psychologically conveyed, *a-sòritra* 'to mark with (instrument)' vs. *sorit-ina* (< *soritra-ina*) 'to mark something, that which is marked (patient)'; *a-dika* 'to translate, copy (theme)' vs. *dikàina* 'to cross (location)'. Common verbs which specify conveyance include *a-hàtaka* 'move away, separate', *a-òlaka* 'turn something aside', *a-ròso* 'push, put forward', *a-rònjina* 'push out of the way', *a-tèlina* 'swallow', *a-tòlotra* 'present to, give as a gift', *a-tòtotra* 'fill up with earth', etc. *A-* passive verbs may also denote themes which are transformed, e.g. *a-òlana* 'to twist'.

The prefix *a-* carries secondary stress and maintains its syllabic integrity before vowel-initial roots; *alàlaka* 'turn something aside' syllabifies as *a.o.la.ka*. Although the

*a-* passives are formally quite different from the suffixal passives, they take the same tense marking, reduplication and imperative marking as their suffixal counterparts, maintaining the appropriate consonant mutations, and stem alternations (cf. §5.3).

It should be noted here that all thematic passives with the prefix *a-* have suffixing passive or circumstantial counterparts.

### 5.1.3 Circumstantial verbs

Circumstantial or 'relative' verbs in Malagasy are readily identifiable as those verbs, which have both an active prefix (*i-*, *aN-*, *a-*, *Ø-*) and the passive suffix *-ana*. Table 16.8 presents a few typical examples.

The name 'circumstantial' was coined to reflect the nature of the subject as being a semantically peripheral argument of the verb. They are usually cited in paradigms with active and passive examples as in (49–51), giving the somewhat false impression that they are fully productive as main predicate verbs.

- (49) *Mandràkotra làmba ny tòngony àho.*  
*m-aN-ràkotra làmba ny tòngotra=ny àho*  
 PRS-ACT-COVER blanket DEF leg=3.GEN 1s  
 'I cover his legs with a blanket.' (Active)
- (50) *Rakòfako làmba ny tòngony.*  
*ràkotra-ana=ko làmba ny tòngotra=ny.*  
 COVER-PASS=1.SG.GEN blanket DEF leg=3.GEN  
 'I cover his legs with a blanket.' (Patient passive)
- (51) *Aràkotro ny tòngony ny làmba.*  
*a-ràkotra=Ø ny tòngotra=ny ny làmba.*  
 PASS-COVER=1s.GEN DEF leg=3.GEN DEF cloth  
 'I cover his legs with a blanket.' (Thematic passive)
- (52) *Andrakòfako ny tòngony ny làmba.*  
*aN-ràkotra-ana=ko ny tòngotra=ny ny làmba.*  
 CIRC-COVER-CIRC=1s.GEN DEF leg=3.GEN DEF blanket  
 'I cover his legs with a blanket.' (Circumstantial)

Examples (50) and (51) are different in that in (50) the subject argument is the patient *ny tongon* while in (51) it is the instrument *ny làmba*. Structurally, the prefix passive clause (51) and the circumstantial clause (52) are identical. One major difference between them is that circumstantials ordinarily are not used as main predicates in natural discourse. They typically appear as modifiers to nouns in relative clause constructions (with or without the relativizer *izay*), or after the focal particle *no*.

TABLE 16.8: MALAGASY VERBS IN THREE VOICES

Root	Active	Passive	Circumstantial
sàsa 'wash'	manàsa	sasàna	anasàna
vòno 'kill'	mamòno	vonòina	amonòana
rèsaka 'converse'	mirèsaka	resàhina	iresàhana
hàino 'hear'	mihàino	henòina	ihainòana
àraka 'follow'	manàraka	aràhina	anaràhana

- (53) *ilây zazavàvy nampiàkariny ho vady*  
*ilây zazavàvy n-amp-i-àkatra-ina=ny ho vady*  
 DET young woman PST-CAU-CIRC-lift up-CIRC=3.GEN for wife  
 'that young woman he married'

- (54) *Aiza intsòny no hahatadiidiàvako an'izàny?*  
*àiza intsòny no h-aha-tadidi-àv-ana=ko an'izàny?*  
 where ever FOC FUT-POT-remember-SF-CIRC=1.GEN GEN.DIST.INVIS  
 'How am I ever supposed to remember that?'

In nominal frames after an article or existential, the circumstantial verb specifies the purpose, reason, or circumstance of an act, not the actor (as expressed by an active verb counterpart), or the patient (as expressed by a passive verb counterpart).

- (55) *Tsy m-isy niomànan'ny òlona mihitsy.*  
*Tsy m-isy n-i-òmana-ana=n'ny òlona mihitsy.*  
 NEG PRS-EXIST PST-prepare-CIRC=GEN.DEF person a little  
 'There was no time at all for the people to prepare.' (lit. there was no way/means at all in which the people could get ready)

Circumstantial verbs may also be employed to modify nouns in lexicalized compound constructions: *vàlan-drèsaka niaràha=ny* (interview accompany:CIRC=3.GEN) 'his joint interview'.

Circumstantial verbs may also be formed with the secondary prefixes *-anka-*, *-amp-*, with the reciprocal prefix *-if-*, and with reduplicated stems. Their imperatives are formed in the same way as passive imperatives, taking either *-y*, or *-o*, as determined by the vocalic nature of the root (Sec 5.4).

### 5.2 Voa- and Tafa- resultatives

The resultative prefixes *voa-* and *tafa-* are considered together here because they share a few morphosyntactic similarities. They do not inflect for imperative mode or past tense, e.g. *voa-tòntan'ny latàbatra ny lòha=ny* (RES-fall:GEN.DEF table DEF head=3.GEN) 'The table fell on his head'.

Contrary to many grammatical analyses of Malagasy, we do not categorize these resultatives with passives. The behavior of *voa-* and *tafa-* resultatives is strikingly different from *a-*, *-ina* and *-ana* passives, as the agent, typically coded in the genitive case, is usually absent.

The differences between *voa-* and *tafa-* resultatives are as follows: *voa-*, historically apparently related to the root *voa* 'fruit, seed', encodes completive states with experiencers (non-agents) in subject function. Examples of *voa-* resultatives include: *voa-ràkitra* 'preserved', *voa-fidy* 'elected', *voa-tèry* 'forced', *voa-hàja* 'respected', and *voa-fàritra* 'demarcated'. They may participate in compounding to form new lexical items: *òlom-boafidy* / *òlona-voa-fidy* (person-RES-elect) 'elected official'.

Although the agent of *voa-* predicates is usually unexpressed, it may be expressed immediately after the *voa-* resultative, provided it is not in initial predicate position.

- (56) *Fokontàny èfatra no voa-kàsiky ny ràno.*  
*fokontàny four FOC RES-affect:GEN DEF water*  
 'Four fokontany (communities) were affected by the water' (in a flood).

*Tafa-* resultatives often encode a coincidental or unexpected state of affairs. The subject of *tafa-* resultatives exercises more control to bring about the resultant state than the subject of a *voa-* formative.

- (57) *Tafa-vèrina t-èto Antananarivo ny Fi-lòha Zàfy.*  
 RES-return PST-PRX.VIS Antananarivo DEF NR-head Zafy  
 'President Zafy happened to return to Antananarivo.'

Keenan and Polinsky (1998:590) notes that *voa-* may be used with reduplicated roots, while *tafa-* may not, e.g. *voalazalàza* 'said a bit'; *tafavèrina* 'returned', but not *\*tafaverimberina*.

### 5.3 Tense and aspect

Most Malagasy verbs take inflectional tense marking in accordance with the following patterns. Active verbs with the prefix *m-* change the initial prefix *m-* to *n-* to indicate past tense, and *h-* for the future tense, e.g. *manòmpo* 'serve', *nanòmpo* 'served', *hanòmpo* 'will serve'; *H-i-àraka amin'i nèny izy* (FUT-ACT-accompany with:GEN.PN mother 3) 'He'll go with Mother'. Like active verbs, stative verbs and the majority of adjectives beginning with the present active prefix *m-* take *n-* for the past tense and *h-* for the future tense, e.g. *ma-hòmby* 'successful' > *na-hòmby* 'was successful' > *ha-hòmby* 'will be successful'.

All circumstantial verbs, and passive verbs that begin with a vowel or take the prefix *a-*, also take the prefix *n-* for their past form, and *h-* for their future form, e.g. *oròhana* 'be kissed', *noròhana* 'was kissed', *horòhana* 'will be kissed'. Suffixal passives that begin with a consonant take the prefix *no-* for the past tense and *ho-* for the future tense (formerly written as separate words), e.g. *velòmina* 'is brought to life/started (engine/fire)' *novelòmina* 'was brought to life', *hovelòmina* 'will be brought to life'.

The particle *ho* is used to form the future of certain verb types that do not inflect for past tense: monomorphemic root verbs, or resultatives which take the prefixes *tafa-* or *voa-*: *Ho tonga=ko ny òvy* (FUT bring(PASS)=1s.GEN DEF sweet.potatoes) 'I'll bring the sweet potatoes', *Efa ho lasa izy* (done FUT depart 3) 'He is about to leave'. It may also be employed to express the future of nominal and deictic predicates *Ho mpitsabo Rasoa* (FUT doctor R.) 'Rasoa will be a doctor', *Ho àny amin'ny tanàna i Koto* (FUT DIST.INVIS in:GEN.DEF village PN Koto) 'Koto will be in the village'.

Most verbs in Malagasy carry only one inflectional tense marker, but there are a few derived verbal compounds that can carry two, such as *miàra-mandèha* (PRS:with-PRS:go) 'go with' vs. *hiàra-handèha* 'will go with' (Ranaivoson unpublished).

Inflectional past tense is not only reserved for verbs and adjectives beginning with *m-*. As already noted above, demonstratives, prepositions and the locative interrogative *aiza* 'where' may also inflect for past tense, however, with a different prefix (*t-*). In auxiliary and complement constructions, both the auxiliary/matrix verb and the complement verb are marked for tense (59).

- (58) *N-i-pètraka n-an-gina t-èto izy ròa làhy...*  
 PST-ACT-sit PST-ACT-silence PST-there 3 two boy,  
*fa tsy nisy òlona nihelingelina.*  
*fa tsy n-isy òlona n-i-RDP-hèlina.*  
 but NEG PST-EXIST person PST-ACT-RDP-PASS\_by  
 'The two boys sat there silently, but nobody passed by.'
- (59) *Tàiza ianàno no niànatra namàky tènny?*  
 T-àiza ianàno no n-i-ànatra n-aN-vàky tènny?  
 PST-where 2s FOC PST-ACT-learn PST-ACT-read word  
 'Where did you learn to read?'

Malagasy verbs and adjectives may also encode aspectual distinctions through reduplication, e.g. *mi-tsàngana* 'to rise, stand' > *mi-tsangantsàngana* 'to promenade, stroll', *mihèrika* 'to look back' > *mihèrikèrika*, 't: keep looking around; to look behind one repeatedly'.

- (60) *Za alòà de mipaozipaozy isan'andro fa*  
*izàho alòà dia m-i-paozi-paozy isan'andro fa*  
 1s first PART PRS-ACT-RDP-appearance everyday but  
*'zany hoe tsisy mikitikitika*  
*'izany hoe tsy isy m-i-kiti-kitika*  
 I.mean NEG EXIST PRS-ACT-RDP-touch  
 'I always smarten up myself every day but – I mean – nobody touches me here and there.'

Some verbs with an inherent durative or iterative nature always appear in reduplicated form, e.g. *mi-vezi-vèzy* 'to wander, roam', *mi-kiti-kitika* 'tickle, touch in passing', *mi-dràdra-dràdra* 'cry aloud', *mi-dridro-dridro* 'squeal', *mi-safo-sàfo* 'caress', *mi-dodo-dodo* 'move with quick and noisy steps'.

Finally it may be noted that Malagasy uses repetition to express intensification. In such instances, the adjective or verb is repeated and the focus particle *dia*, functioning here as a linker, is usually inserted in between two elements, e.g. *gàga dia gàga àho* (surprised LK surprised 1s) 'I was very surprised indeed', *miànatra dia miànatra ianarèo* (PRS.ACT:learn LK PRS.ACT:learn 2p) 'You are learning a lot indeed'.

### 5.4 Imperative formation

Imperatives of adjectives and active verbs are usually formed by suffixing *-a* after the stem (sometimes with insertion of a final consonant to the root if the latter ends in a vowel). However, if the stem terminates in stressed *e*, no suffix is added. After stems that end in *-a*, the suffix *-a* and the final vowel merge while attracting stress: *milàza* + *-a* = *milazà* 'Tell!'. The addressee is not overtly expressed in the imperative, e.g. *Ma-zotò-a* (ACT-diligent-IMP) 'Be diligent!'. Imperatives of prefixing or suffixing passives are formed by adding the suffix *-y* to the full stem of the verb if the last syllable of the stem contains the vowel *o*, otherwise *-o* is suffixed. The suffix *-y* may also be applied if the penultimate syllable of the stem contains the vowel *o*, and the last syllable does not contain a high vowel *i* or *e* as illustrated with *loàh-y* in Table 16.9, which exemplifies the regularities just stated.

Prohibitives are formed with *aza* 'don't' and the verb in its present indicative form, and the particle *mba* is used for polite, less forceful suggestions.

- (61) *Mba atoròy lalana àho azafady.*  
*mba a-tòro-y lalana àho azafady*  
 RQV PASS-point out-PASS.IMP way 1.SG please  
 'Please show me the way!'

Less forceful suggestions may also be uttered using the indicative form of the verb instead of the imperative: *M-i-ànatra m-i-tsitsy* (PRS-ACT-learn PRS-ACT-save) 'Learn to save money'. Future tense is yet another option for suggestives:

- (62) *Mi-fôha-z-a amin'izay, 'ndào h-i-sakàfo e!*  
 PRS.ACT-WAKE-SF-IMP then PRPV FUT-ACT-meal INTJ  
 'Get up then! Let's have breakfast!'

TABLE 16.9: IMPERATIVE FORMATION

## Active imperatives

Root	Active	Stem	Imperative
tonga 'arrive'	tonga	tongav-	tongava
hevitra 'think'	mihevitra	hever-	mihevëra
fy 'delicious'	mankafy	fiz-	Mankafiza
omè 'give'	manomè	manomez-	manomèza
sòkatra 'open'	manòkatra	sokaf-	manokàfa

## Passive imperatives

Root	Passive	Stem	Imperative
omè 'give'	omèna	omè-	omèo
tàpaka 'break'	tapàhina	tapàh-	tapàho
la 'refuse, deny'	làvina	lav-	làvo
foy 'give up'	afòy	afoiz-	afoizo
kàroka 'investigate'	karòhina	karòh-	karòhy
lòaka 'bore a hole'	loàhana	loàh-	loàhy
sòratra 'write'	soràtana	soràt-	soràty, soràto

Root verbs do not take special imperative marking: *Las' = nareo tèo* (go=2p three) 'The three of you go!' Because the undergoer of an imperative is usually identifiable, passive imperatives are preferred to actives in the case of transitive verbs: *Amèo (omeo) vàry kèly a' hoe?* (give:IMP rice little 1s QUOT) 'Please will you give me some rice?'

## 5.5 Potentive mode

Potentive verbs are those that are morphologically marked to express states, or actions that are abilitative, non-volitional or accidental. They are formed with the prefix *ma(ha)-*.

- (63) *Zây m-ànana posipòsy 'zào no tènà maha-vòà.*  
Who PRS.ACT-have rickshaw now FOC really POT-hit.the.mark  
'Those who own rickshaws are really making profits now.'
- (64) *Tsisy mahàzo miàsa?*  
tsy isy maha-àzo m-i-àsa  
NEG exist POT-get PRS-ACT-work  
'Nobody is allowed to work?'

Like the prefix *maka-* in Philippine languages (see RUBINO, ILOKO), *maha-* also forms verbs that express non-volitional causation. Non-volitional and especially inanimate causers frequently take *maha-* verbs in this capacity: *mahatsiravina* 'to shock', *mahafinàritra* 'to please (by being beautiful)', *mahagàga* 'to surprise, astonish', *mahavèlona* 'to support, keep alive (nourishment)', *mahamènatra* 'to shame', *mahasàrika* 'to attract (as a magnet)', *mahasalàma* 'to make healthy'.

- (65) *Mahafinàritra ilày migrèvy e?*  
m-aha-finàritra ilày m-i-grèvy e  
PRES-POT-happy DET PRS-ACT-strike INTJ  
'It's fun to go on strike, isn't it?' [Subject is *migrèvy* 'going on strike']
- (66) *Maha-liana àhy ny zavamaniry.*  
POT-interest 1s.DAT DEF plants  
'The plants interest me' (I am interested in the plants).

Verbs of cognition such as *mahafàntatra* 'know' and *mahalàla* 'know, learn' also take the *maha-* affix. Peculiar to the *maha-* affix is its ability to form verbs from locative deictics: *naha-t-èto* (PST.POT-PST-here) 'brought here'.

## 5.6 Causatives

There are three causative prefixes: *(m)amp-*, *(m)anka-*, and *(m)aha-*. The prefix *mamp-* is the most prototypical one, as it may encode a volitional agent and is the most productive of the causative affixes. It is used in both active and passive voices. Example clauses are *lnona no zàvatra m-amp-a-tàhotra anào* (what FOC thing PRS-CAU-ACT-afraid 2s.DAT) 'What things scare you?', and:

- (67) *Èfa nampanantèna àho fa handòà.*  
èfa n-amp-an-antèna àho fa h-aN-lòà  
already PST-CAU-ACT-promise 1s that FUT-ACT-pay  
'I already promised (made a promise) to pay.'
- (68) *Ampisambòry vòla àho azafàdy.*  
amp-i-sàmbotra-y vòla àho azafàdy  
CAU-SF-borrow-PASS.IMP money 1s please  
'Please loan me some money.'

The prefixes *maha-* and *manka-* greatly differ from *mamp-* in their function. As noted in section 5.5, the prefix *maha-* may form causative verbs that denote actions in which the causation is non-volitional, e.g. *zàva-maha-domèlina* (thing-CAU-stupefy) 'narcotic, something that causes a stupefied state'. The prefix *manka-*, on the other hand, combines primarily with stative roots to form verbs which may express either causation or appreciation of a state: *mankarary* 'to cause illness', *mankasitraka* 'consider pleasing, appreciate, enjoy'.

- (69) *Tsisy mankaràry vavòny 'zàny*  
tsy isy m-ank-aràry vavòny izàny  
neg exist PRS-CAU-sick stomach DIST.INVIS  
'That doesn't spoil the stomach...'

## 5.7 Reciprocals

The reciprocal prefix *if-* is a secondary prefix; it succeeds the tense marking prefixes, and may either precede or follow the causative prefixes as shown in Table 16.10. The reciprocal prefix is not fully productive as it does not co-occur with all active marking prefixes.

- (70) *Mifanitsa-kitro ny vahòaka.*  
m-if-aN-hitsaka-kitro ny vahòaka  
PRS-RCP-ACT-trample-ankle DEF people  
'People trample on each other's ankles' (at a fair).
- (71) *Ampifandimbiàso ny vòly àmin'ny tàny anankirày.*  
amp-if-aN-dimbi-as-o ny vòly àmin'ny tàny anankirày  
CAU-RECIP-ACT-replace-SF-IMP DEF plants ON:GEN.DEF land one  
'Alternate the (planting of the) plants on a single plot of land' (for a better harvest).  
[Causative of a reciprocal action: *ampifandimbiàsina ny vòly* 'to successively exchange the plants.]

TABLE 16.10: CAUSATIVE AND RECIPROCAL MORPHOLOGY

Simple	Reciprocal	Causative	Causative- Reciprocal	Reciprocal- Causative
mi- miha maha- ma- maN- mana- manka-	m-if-a- m-if-aN- m-if-ana- m-if-anka-	m-amp-i- m-amp-iha- m-amp-aha- m-amp-a- m-amp-aN- m-amp-ana- m-amp-anka-	m-amp-if-aN- m-amp-if-ana- m-amp-if-anka-	m-ifamp-i- m-ifamp-iha- m-ifamp-aha- m-ifamp-a- m-ifamp-aN- m-ifamp-ana- m-ifamp-anka-

- (72) *Tsy n-if-amp-a-tòky izy roa-làhy.*  
 NEG PST-RCP-CAU-ACT-trust 3 two-male  
 'The two of them (they) did not trust each other.' [Reciprocal of a causative action]

## 6 NOMINALIZATIONS

Malagasy has quite a few productive derivational nominalization patterns. Typical cases of derivational morphology involve affixes which form nominals from adjectives, verbs, as well as nouns. In every case, nominalizing affixation involves regular alternations in consonants, vowel fusion, and stress-shift (cf. section 2).

### 6.1 Agent nominals with prefix *mp-*

Malagasy agentive nominalizations are formed predominantly with the prefix *mp-* (pronounced [p]) based on active verbs. The derived form designates an individual whose regular activity is denoted by the root: *mpisòtro* /mp-i-sòtro/ (NR-ACT-drink) 'drinker, drunkard', *mp-aN-dihy* (NR-ACT-dance) 'dancer, a person whose habit is to dance', *mpandròra* /mp-aN-ròra/ (NR-AC-spittle) 'a person who has the habit of spitting'. It also forms a large number of occupational nouns: *mpandrafitra* /mp-aN-ràfitra/ (NR-ACT-carpentry) 'carpenter', *mpanjàka* /mp-aN-zàka/ (NR-AC-governing) 'king', *mpiànatra* /mp-i-ànatra/ (NR-ACT-advice) 'student, pupil', *mpanèty* /mp-aN-hèty/ (NR-AC-scissors) 'barber', etc.

An agent nominal can be formed from a predicate phrase, e.g. from the action verb *mitèndry* 'to perform on a musical instrument' and its object *valiha* 'a Malagasy lute made of bamboo' is formed the agent nominal *mpitèndry valiha* 'one who plays the *valiha*', from *mitsòka mozika* 'to blow a musical instrument' is formed *mpitsòka mozika* 'one who blows a musical instrument'. In this type of agentive formation active verbs like *manào* 'to do, to make' can be compounded with a specific field to designate profession. Thus, *manào + nify* 'teeth' yields *mpanào nify* 'dentist'; *manào + kiràro* 'shoes' yields *mpanào kiràro* 'shoemaker'.

Causative verbs (cf. section 5.6) and reciprocal verbs, including the complex reciprocals (causative reciprocal forms and reciprocal causative forms, cf. section 5.7), also form agent nominals in the same way: *mpampihomèhy* /mp-amp-i-homèhy/ (NR-CAU-ACT-laugh) 'someone who makes people laugh', *mpifampatòky* /mp-if-amp-a-tòky/ (RCP-CAU-ACT-trust) 'people who trust each other'.

Besides derivational patterns, agent nominals may be obtained from syntactic nominalizations (cf. section 6.3).

### 6.2 Prefix *f-*: action/result, object, instrument, manner and/or location

A productive morphological process for creating action or result nominals is based on active verbs where the nominaliser prefix *f-* replaces the present tense marker *m-*: *m-i-òva* 'to change' > *f-i-òva* 'change(s), the way of changing', *m-an-ontàny* 'to ask' > *f-an-ontàny* 'question'. In many instances, the derivative can have an instrumental interpretation, a fact/occurrence interpretation and a manner interpretation, e.g. *m-a-tòry* 'to sleep' > *f-a-tòry* 'the way of sleeping, the fact of sleeping', *m-i-hògo* 'to comb (intransitive)' > *f-i-hògo* 'instrument for combing/a comb, the way of combing one's hair, the fact of combing one's hair', *m-i-ràkotra* 'to cover' > *f-i-ràkotra* 'a covering, the way of covering, the fact of covering'. The transitive verb *mandràkotra* /m-aN-ràkotra/ (PRS-ACT-cover) 'cover' has the nominal derivative *fandrakotra* 'which is usually used to cover'.

A few passive verbs formed with the prefix *a-* may take the nominalizer *f-* to form a nominal designating something, which usually undergoes the action denoted by the passive verb: *f-a-lèfa* (NR-PASS-send) 'something which is usually sent or shipped', *f-a-lèha* (NR-PASS-go) 'something which is usually gone along (a road or a path)', *f-a-sèho* (NR-PASS-display) 'things which are usually displayed'.

The prefix *f-* may also be applied to circumstantial verbs (cf. section 5.1.3). For instance, *m-i-vòry* (PRS-ACT-meet) 'to meet' has a circumstantial form *i-vòri-àna* (CIRC-meet-CIRC), from which is derived the nominal *f-i-vori-àna* (NR-CIRC-meet-CIRC) 'a meeting'. The derivatives thus formed may have an action nominal interpretation, an instrument interpretation (*f-a-handrò-ana* 'something used for the purpose of cooking'), a location interpretation (*f-i-petràh-ana*, 'place of sitting') and a manner interpretation (*f-i-lomanò-s-ana* 'way of swimming'). In the following sentences, *fikapàna hazo* ('the cutting of trees') allows all four of these interpretations depending on context:

- (73) *Fikapàna hazo ity.*  
*f-i-kàpa-ana=ko hazo ity*  
 NR.CIRC:cut:CIRC=1s.GEN trees PRX.VIS  
 'This is the implement with which I cut trees.' (instrument)
- (74) *Izào no fikapàna hazo.*  
 MED.INVIS FOC NR.CIRC:cut:CIRC trees  
 'This is the way of cutting trees.' (manner)
- (75) *Fikapàna hazo èo.*  
 NR.CIRC:cut:CIRC trees MED.VIS  
 'Trees are cut there.' (location)
- (76) *Fikapàna hazo no àntom-pivelòma=ny.*  
*f-i-kàpa-ana hazo no àntony-f-i-vèlona-ana=ny*  
 NR.CIRC:cut:CIRC trees FOC reason-NR-CIRC-living-CIRC=3.GEN  
 'Cutting trees is his means of subsistence.' (action nominal)

The nominals derived from circumstantial verbs may be used like adjectives in attributive functions or as an unmarked relative clause construction as in (77):

- (77) *Ikètaka fanirakirakây àto an-tràno*  
*Ikètaka f-an-iraka-iraka=ay àto an-tràno*  
*Ikètaka NR-ACT-RDP-send=1pe.GEN PRX.INVIS in-house*  
 'Ikètaka who used to be our messenger girl here in the house.'

Derivatives with *f-* may appear with reduplicated stems: *famerimberèna* /f-aN-vèrina-vèrina-ana/ (NR-CIRC-RDP-repeat-CIRC) 'the act of repeating many times',

*fanavakavàhana* /f-aN-àvaka-àvaka-ana/ (NR-CIRC-RDP-discriminate-CIRC) 'discrimination'. And as with the agent nominals discussed in section 6.1., *f-* nominals can also be formed from a predicate phrase, e.g.: *mitèndry valiha* 'to play the *valiha*' yields the action nominal *fitèndrèna valiha* 'the act of playing the *valiha*'.

A related formation on the basis of adjectives consists in circumfixing *faha-...-ana* to the base, the derived form then denoting abstract qualities: *fahavokisana* /faha-vòky-s-ana/ (NR-satiated-SF-NR) 'satiation, the fact of being satiated', *faharatsiana* /faha-ràtsy-ana/ (NR-wicked-NR) 'wickedness, the fact of being wicked', *fahadisòana* /faha-di-so-ana/ (NR-mistake-NR) 'mistake, guilt'. Note that the affixes *ha-* and *ha-...-ana* also form abstract nominals from adjectival roots: *ha-* expresses an intrinsic quality (Dez 1980), whereas *ha-...-ana* describes a quality which is not inherent to an object or a person but which results from a process of action practised on or by the subject. Compare *tsàra* 'nice, beautiful, kind' > *ha-tsàra* 'intrinsic kindness, natural beauty' vs. *hatsaràna* /ha-tsàra-ana/ 'kindness or beauty acquired through a transformation'.

### 6.3 Syntactic nominalization

Besides derivational formations, nominalization can also be realized by introducing a verbal phrase with the articles *ny* (78) or *ilày* (79), or by flanking the predicate phrase with demonstratives as in (80):

- (78) *Ny mitsangatsàngana èny àmin'ny*  
 Ny m-i-tsàngana-tsàngana èny àmin'ny  
 DEF PRS-ACT-RDP-stand DIST.VIS TO:GEN.DEF  
*gàra no tènà maha-variana tokòà*  
 station FOC really POT-absorb one's attention indeed  
 'Going for a walk at the (railway) station is very absorbing indeed.'
- (79) *Sàrotra erỳ ilày nanòlotra ny sakàfo fanajàna*  
 sàrotra erỳ ilày n-aN-tòlotra ny sakàfo f-aN-hàja-ana  
 difficult really DET PST-ACT-offer DEF meal NR-CIRC-honor-CIRC  
*sy fandraisam-bahiny*  
 sy f-aN-rày-s-ana-vahiny  
 and NR-CIRC-receive-SF-CIRC-guests  
 'Offering a meal in order to honor and welcome the guests was really difficult.'
- (80) *Irèò voa-làza ambòny irèò àry no santiòna=n'ny*  
 MED.VIS.PL PASS-mention above MED.VIS.PL and FOC sample=GEN.DEF  
*kabàry fanào àmin'ny fandevèna*  
 kabàry f-aN-tào àmin'ny f-aN-lèvina-ana/  
 speech NR-ACT-do at:GEN.DEF NR-CIRC-bury-CIRC  
 'And these aforementioned (oratories) are samples of the oratories usually made at burial ceremonies.'

Agent nominals may also be obtained from a predicate phrase premodified by a definite article (81) or a demonstrative (82):

- (81) *Ilày nihèvitra ho nanào ny sòà indrày no tàitra*  
 Ilày n-i-hèvitra ho n-aN-tào ny sòà indrày no tàitra  
 DET PST-ACT-think PTCL PST-ACT-do DEF good again FOC shocked  
 'That one who thought to have done good to someone was afterwards (the one to be) shocked.'

- (82) *Nòdy irèò n-i-àsa àlina*  
 PST.ACT:go.home MED.VIS.PL PST-ACT-work night  
 'Those who worked at night went home.'

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## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

## PHAN RANG CHAM

Graham Thurgood

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The extraordinary French scholar Coedès noted that Cham is the earliest attested Austronesian language. Coedès dated the Cham inscription found at Trakiêu near the old Cham capital of Indrapura as being from the middle of the fourth century, describing the inscription as 'the oldest text, presently known, written in a Malayo-Polynesian dialect' (Coedès 1939). The language of the text is associated with the once flourishing kingdom of Champa, a kingdom first mentioned by the Chinese *ca.* 190–193. Champa reached its zenith about the sixth century, continuing to flourish until the Vietnamese 'push to the South' in the tenth century began its slow demise. At the time of the first inscriptions, the Chamic languages were still a largely undifferentiated dialect continuum, but in the subsequent 1500 or so years of change, realignments in patterns of affiliation and language contact restructured stretches of the original dialect chain into distinct languages and distributed the speakers over a much wider area. No longer functioning as the lingua franca of the kingdom of Champa, Chamic lives on in its modern descendants: the Tsat spoken on Hainan, the Rade, Jarai, Haroi, Chru, and Rglai spoken in the southern Vietnam highlands, the Phan Rang Cham spoken in Vietnam, the various Western Cham communities of Cambodia, and the Acehnese of north Sumatra.

Quite correctly, the literature simply assumes that the mainland Chamic languages form a subgroup, but there have been minor questions about the relationship of Acehnese with the mainland Chamic languages. Niemann reached the correct solution as early as 1891, first subgrouping Acehnese and Cham together on the basis of similarities in the verbal morphology, the treatment of inherited vowels, and in various instances of apparent lexical agreement, and then positing a migration of Chams to Aceh (cf. Thurgood 1999 for extended discussion).

Phan Rang Cham (or, Eastern Cham) is a Chamic language spoken in southern Vietnam by 35,000 to 50,000 people in the area around the towns of Phan Rang and Phan Ri. It is closely enough related to Western Cham for the two to be considered dialects of one another. Baumgartner (1998:1) notes that the differences between the two are primarily matters of pronunciation and vocabulary with the grammars being almost identical. As for the number of speakers, he notes that Western Cham is the numerically larger of the two, with 300,000 to 350,000 speakers in Cambodia, and another 35,000 or so speakers in the Mekong delta region of Vietnam, particularly around Chau Doc, Tay Ninh, and Saigon.

## 1.1 Classification and history

Although as early as 1822, John Crawford, a British civil servant and a medical doctor, had recognized the Austronesian affiliation of Cham, which he termed the 'Malay of Champa', it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that scholarship would