On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy

マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

MINOURA Nobukatsu

Institute of Global Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

箕浦信勝

東京外国語大学大学院総合国際学研究院

Keywords: Malagasy, ditransitive clauses, case marking, flagging, case alignment

キーワード： マダガスカル語、複他動節、格標示、フラギング、格アラインメント

箕浦信勝　Minoura Nobukatsu
On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy
マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

60

Abstract

When examining the nominal constituents of Malagasy ditransitive clauses, the most common pattern is the indirective alignment, which is not uncommon among world languages. It is noteworthy that the case marking of R has a few options, i.e. beneficiary marking, oblique marking, and location marking. The case marking of P (and A) in monotransitive clauses does not enjoy such freedom in Malagasy. The cases of A and P are assigned according to the voice of the clause.

In addition to the indirective alignment, the neutral alignment can also be found. So far, what I have are examples of the verb *m-an-ome* (NV-VM-give), which is used quite often. Moreover, if we look at the behavior of *ilay NP* (ANA NP), we can say that the neutral alignment turns out to be the secundative alignment and the indirective alignment turns out to be the tripartite alignment because the form *ilay NP* (ANA NP) is used for the T slot, but *an=ilay NP* (ACC=ANA NP) has to be used for the P slot.

As for the word order of ditransitive clauses, Malagasy has the VTRS order with some exceptions where it has the VRTS order.

要旨

　マダガスカル語の複他動節の名詞的構成要素を調べると、最も多いアラインメントのパターンは indirect パターンであり、世界の諸言語の中では平凡である。その中で特記すべきは、R の格標示の選択肢である。R は受益者標示、斜格標示、場所標示を受けることができる。単他動節の場合、P（そして A）の格標示は節のボイスによって決まってきて、上記 R の様な自由さは無い。

　上述の indirect パターンの他に、neutral パターンもある。今のところ、動詞 *m-an-ome* (NV-VM-give) の例だけではあるが、この動詞の頻度は高い。更に、*ilay NP* (ANA NP) の振る舞いを吟味すると、上記の neutral パターンは secundative パターンに変じ、indirect パターンは tripartite パターンに変ずる。なぜなら *ilay NP* (ANA NP) は T として使われるが、P としては *an=ilay NP* (ACC=ANA NP) が使われるからである。

　複他動節の語順に関して、マダガスカル語は VTRS を持つが、例外的に VRTS もある。

Introduction

　The aim of this paper is to facilitate the description of Malagasy by using and adapting general linguistic and cross-linguistic tools but not so much to promote any particular linguistic theories. This time around, the case marking and object alignment of Malagasy ditransitive clauses will be examined.

1.　Flagging of core nominals

　In some of the literature dealing with Malagasy grammar, what fits into the object slot of a monotransitive clause in the nominative voice[1] is considered to be accusative. However, I would like to divide the

---

1)　Malagasy has a tripartite voice system. There are the nominative voice, the absolutive voice, and the circumstantial voice (cf. Minoura 2023), which are referred to in the literature as the active voice, the passive voice, and the relative voice (cf. Stark 1969, Moriyama 2003).

so-called "accusative" into two categories. Flagged[2] accusative and unflagged oblique. Flagged accusative includes both a noun phrase[3] with an *an-* prefix and an accusatively inflected pronoun. The following examples are taken from my field research in Tokyo[4].

(1) a. M-i-jery   azy   aho
      NV[5]-VM-Watch   her/him.ACC   I
      'I am watching her/him'
     b. M-i-jery   anao   aho
      NV-VM-Watch   you.ACC   I
      'I am watching you'

Azy (her/him.ACC) is the accusative form of *izy* ((s)he) (1a), while *anao* (you.ACC) is the accusative form of *ianao* (you) (1b).

Below are examples of noun phrases with the accusative prefix *an-*.

(2) a. M-i-jery   an=dRakoto   aho
      NV-VM-Watch   ACC=PN   I
      'I am watching Rakoto'
     b. M-i-jery   an=Andrianina   aho
      NV-VM-Watch   ACC=PN   I
      'I am watching Andrianina'
     c. M-i-jery   an=i Fara[6]   aho
      NV-VM-Watch   ACC=DEF PN   I
      'I am watching Fara'
     d. M-i-jery   an=i Aina   aho
      NV-VM-Watch   ACC=DEF PN   I
      'I am watching Aina'

The personal names require an accusative prefix *an-* (2).

---

2) Flagging includes case marking by a particle (≒ clitic), by an affix, or by other types of inflection (cf. Malchukov et al. 2007).

3) The term noun phrase is used loosely like in Tallerman (1998) and it does not exclude determiner phrases. In this paper it also includes prepositional phrases.

4) The Malagasy examples were collected in March, 2023 from Mme Raivo Toyoda, a Malagasy living in Japan who taught Malagasy at the Summer School of the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 2003.

5) The abbreviations used in this paper are: - (affix boundary), = (clitic boundary), + (compound boundary), 3 (third person), ABS (absolutive), ACC (accusative), ALL (allative), ANA (anaphoric), AV (absolutive voice), CAUS (causative), CV (circumstantial voice), DAT (dative), DEF (definite), DEM (demonstrative), ERG (ergative), FUT (future), GEN (genitive), INST (instrumental), IND (indicative), INT (interrogative), LAP (less affected patient), LIP (less individuated patient), LK (linker), N (noun), NOM (nominative), NP (noun phrase), NV (nominative voice), OBL (oblique), P (patient), PF (perfect(ive)), PL (plural), PN (personal/place name), PRON (pronoun), PST (past), R (recipient), SG (singular), SUBJ (subjunctive), T (theme), V (verb), VM (valence marker).

6) In some places in a clause, a personal name must be marked with a definite marker. For names beginning with *Ra-* and *Andria-*, the *Ra-* and *Andria-* are considered the definite prefix while names without the prefix must be preceded by a definite article *i*. (cf. Stark 1969, Moriyama 2003). The *i* is actually a proclitic, but not all the clitics are marked with a clitic boundary (=) in this paper. Only when the clitic is written without a space, with an apostrophy, or with a hyphen in the orthography, is it replaced by a clitic boundary (=).

If one or more determiners are used, an accusative prefix *an-* is usually required (3).

(3) a. M-i-jery   an=io vehivavy io   aho
     NV-VM-Watch   ACC=that woman that   I
     'I am watching that woman'
   b. M-i-jery   an=ilay vehivavy marary   aho
     NV-VM-Watch   ACC=ANA woman sick   I
     'I am watching the sick woman'
   c. M-i-jery   an=ilay ankizy m-i-lalao   aho
     NV-VM-Watch   ACC=ANA child(ren) NV-VM-play   I
     'I am watching the playing children'
   d. M-i-jery   an=io fiarakodia io   aho
     NV-VM-Watch   ACC=that car that   I
     'I am watching that car'
   e. M-i-jery   an=ilay fiarakodia   aho
     NV-VM-Watch   ACC=ANA car   I
     'I am watching the car'

However, when a noun phrase is used with the definite article *ny=* or without a determiner, the accusative marker is not used.

(4) a. M-i-jery   ny vehivavy/ny ankizy   aho
     NV-VM-Watch   the woman/the child(ren)   I
     'I am watching the woman/the child(ren)'
   b. M-i-jery   ny biby/ny fiarakodia   aho
     NV-VM-Watch   the animal/the car   I
     'I am watching the animal/the car'
   c. M-i-jery   biby lava   aho
     NV-VM-Watch   animal long   I
     'I am watching a snake'

The definite article *ny* (4a, b) and the anaphoric marker *ilay* (3b, c, e) are similar in function, but the *ilay* requires the accusative prefix *an-* while the *ny* does not. As for the determinerless noun phrase *biby lava* (animal long = snake), Minoura (2021: 65, 2023: 122-123) argues that a bare noun phrase can be an indefinite object, i.e. a P without an accusative marker (see (4) and especially (4c) for a less individuated patient (LIP, Vigus 2018)), indefinite means of transport or movement (5), indefinite core nominal in existential construction (6), and the second subject in the so-called double-subject construction (7).

(5) M-an-deha   lamasinina/tongotra   Rasoa (Minoura 2021: 62)
     NV-VM-go   train/foot   PN
                   means of transport or movement
     'Rasoa goes on a train/on foot'
(6) M-isy   varavarankely lehibe   ity efitra ity (Minoura 2021: 62)
     NV-exist   window big   this room this
                   indefinite core nominal in the existential construction
     'This room has a big window'

(7) Lava   orona   ilay/ny   elefanta (Minoura 2021: 51)
     Long   nose   ANA/the   elephant
                          second subject in the so-called double subject construction
     'Elephants have a long trunk (nose)'

They are not the typical core nominals. They are more like oblique objects (4c) in antipassive voice clauses in the languages that have this construction since they are less individuated patients (LIP, Vigus 2018), or oblique non-objects (5-7). Moreover, the LIPs are less individuated patients and also tend to be less affected patients (LAP, ibid.).

(8) M-i-sotrò-a   rano ara+dalana,   sotrò-y   tsikelikely   izany
     NV-VM-drink-IMP water according.to+rule,   drink-AV.IMP   little.by.little   it
     'Drink water regularly; drink it little by little' (Minoura 2023: 119, Centre Médical Claym 2021)

Example (8) shows two imperative clauses. The first clause is a nominative-voice imperative clause and the second clause is an absolutive-voice imperative clause. The nominative-voice imperative clause cannot have a definite P. The P *rano* (water) is indefinite. On the other hand, the anaphoric demonstrative *izany* (it) in the second clause is definite and the imperative verb must be in the absolutive voice.

<Table 1> Accusative case and unflagged oblique case for (mostly) P

	Subjective	**Accusative object**	**Unmarked oblique**
Pronouns	izy	azy (1a)	
	ianao	anao (1b)	
Personal names	Rakoto	an-dRakoto (2a)	
	Andrianina	an=Andrianina (2b)	
	i Fara	an=i Fara (2c)	
	i Aina	an=i Aina (2d)	
With demonstratives	io vehivavy io	an=io vehivavy io (3a)	
	io fiarakodia io	an=io fiarakodia io (3d)	
With an anaphoric article	ilay vehivavy marary	an=ilay vehivavy marary (3b)	
	ilay ankizy milalao	an=ilay ankizy milalao (3c)	
	ilay fiarakodia	an=ilay fiarakodia (3e)	
	ilay tany	an=ilay tany (22e)	(ilay tany (22a))[7]
With a definite article	ny vehivavy		ny vehivavy (4a)
	ny ankizy		ny ankizy (4a)
	ny biby		ny biby (4b)
	ny fiarakodia		ny fiarakodia (4b)
	ny minisitra	(an=ny minisitra (16b))[8]	ny minisitra (16a)
Bare noun phrase	ny biby lava		biby lava (4c)

7) Not as an object of a monotransitive clause (P), but there are cases where a phrase with demonstratives or with an *ilay* is used without the accusative marker *an=* for a T object in a ditransitive clause (12b, 22b, 32b). *Ilay N* (ANA N) would be *an=ilay N* (ACC=ANA N) for P/R unlike *ilay N* (ANA N) for T.

8) Not as an object of a monotransitive clause (P), but there are cases where the definite article is preceded by the accusative marker *an=* for an object when there are more than one object in the clause (16b). The case in (16b) is neither T nor R but a causee in causative construction.

Table 1 shows the forms of noun phrases for the P function in a monotransitive clause. Those in parentheses are not used for the P function in a monotransitive clause (but they can be used when there is more than one object, etc.).

2.　Flagging of ditransitive objects and their alignment

In the field of cross-linguistic studies, Malchukov et al. (2007: 3-4, also Haspelmath 2010) argue that languages can be divided into three categories according to the case marking of the monotransitive object (P) and the ditransitive objects (T, R).

When R is treated differently from P and T, it is called indirect alignment. In Japanese, P and T are marked accusative while R is marked dative.

(9)　a.　Miki=ga　　ringo=o　　　tabe-ta
　　　　PN=NOM　　apple=ACC　　eat-PST
　　　　　　　　　　P
　　　'Miki ate the apple'
　　b.　Miki=ga　　kodomo=ni　　ringo=o　　age-ta
　　　　PN=NOM　　child=DAT　　apple=ACC　give-PST
　　　　　　　　　　R　　　　　　T(=P)
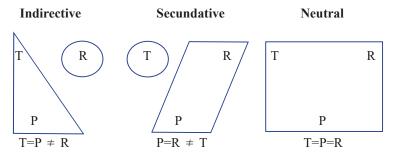　　　'Miki gave the child the apple'

On the other hand, when the T is treated differently from P and R, it is called secundative alignment. West Greenlandic has instrumental case for T and absolutive case for P and R (Malchukov et al. 2007: 4, Fortescue 1984).

(10)　a.　Piita-p　　　　tukurnarta.q　　　tuqup-paa
　　　　Peter-ERG.SG　stranger.ABS.SG　kill-INT.3SG → 3SG
　　　　　　　　　　　　P
　　　'Did Peter kill the stranger?'
　　b.　(Uuma)　　Niisi　　　　aningaasa-nik　　　tuni-vaa
　　　　(That.ERG)　Nisi.ABS.SG　money-INST.PL　　give-IND.3SG → 3SG
　　　　　　　　　　R(=P)　　　　T
　　　'He gave Nisi money'

When P, T, and R are encoded in the same way, such constructions are called double-object constructions and in terms of alignment, it is called neutral alignment. An example comes from Dagaare (Gur, Ghana) (Malchukov et al. 2007: 4).

(11)　a.　O　　　na　　ngme　ma　　la
　　　　He　　FUT　beat　me　　FACTUAL
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　P
　　　'He will beat me'
　　b.　O　　　ko　　ma　　la　　　　　a　　gane
　　　　He　　give.PF　me　　FACTUAL　　DEF　book
　　　　　　　　　　R(=P)　　　　　　　　　T(=P)
　　　'He gave me the book'

Figure 1 (Malchukov et al. 2007: 4, cf. Haspelmath 2010) schematically illustrates these alignment types.

<Figure 1>Ditransitive alignment types (Malchukov et al. 2007: 4)

2. 1. Fluctuating R-marking

Let us take a look at the 'give' verbs. We start with the verb root *ome* (give).

(12) a. M-an-omè   (ny) solosaina   ny ankizy   ny fanjakana
      NV-VM-give   (the) computer   the child(ren)   the government
      T   R   A
     'The government gives the children (the) computers'

     b. M-an-omè   ilay solosaina   ny ankizy   ny fanjakana
      NV-VM-give   ANA computer   the child(ren)   the government
      T   R   A
     'The government gives the children the computers'

     c. M-an-omè   (ny) solosaina   an=ilay ankizy   ny fanjakana
      NV-VM-give   (the) computer   ACC=ANA child(ren)   the government
      T   R   A
     'The government gives the children (the) computers'

     d. Omè-n=ny fanjakana   solosaina   ny ankizy
      Give-AV=the government(.GEN)   computer   the child(ren)
     'The children are given computers by the government'

     e. N-an-omèz-an=ny fanjakana   (ny/ilay) solosaina   ny ankizy
      PST-VM-give-CV=the government(.GEN)   (ANA/the) computer   the child(ren)
     'The children were given (the) computers by the government'

The (12a, b, c) are in the nominative voice. The (12d) is in the absolutive voice and the (12e) is in the circumstantial voice. At a first glance, (12a, b) seem to be in the neutral pattern where both the T ((*ny/ilay*) *solosaina* ((the/ANA) computer) and the R (*ny ankizy* (the child(ren))) are caseless. But the R is caseless only because it is a phrase preceded by the definite article *ny* (the). If you put a personal name (13) or *ilay ankizy* (ANA child(ren)) in the R slot, it is accusative marked as *an=ilay ankizy* (ACC=ANA child(ren), 12c). On the other hand, the T cannot be accusative-marked as easily as in (13) because it is rather rare that a person is made into a T. Such rare cases of accusative-marked human T can be seen in (18a, b). Moreover, when the T is more individuated (≒ more definite), the absolutive voice rather than the nominative voice is likely to be used.

(13) a. N-an-omè   (ny) solosaina   an-dRasoa   ny ray aman=dreni=ny
         NV.PST-VM-give   (the)computer   ACC-PN   the father OBL=mother=her
                            T   R   A
     'Rasoa's parents gave her (Rasoa) a/the computer'
   b. N-an-omè   ilay solosaina   an-dRasoa   ny ray aman=dreni=ny
         NV.PST-VM-give   ANA computer   ACC-PN   the father OBL=mother=her
                            T   R   A
     'Rasoa's parents gave her (Rasoa) the computer'

In summary, the R is marked accusative where appropriate. T is an unmarked oblique phrase. If both the accusative-marked phrase and the unmarked oblique phrase are taken to be roughly as broadly-defined "accusative," as is done in much of the previous literature (cf. Stark 1969, Moriyama 2003), then this is a neutral pattern. But in this paper, I want to present a possibility to treat this pattern as a quasi-secundative pattern, where the T is a caseless oblique as in (4c, 5, 6, 7). The quasi-secundative analysis is definitely appropriate when *ilay NP* (ANA NP) is used for T (12b) and *an=ilay NP* (ACC=ANA NP) is used for P (3b, c, e) and R (12c)

Moreover, some people may be puzzled that the subject in both the absolutive-voice (12b) and the circumstantial-voice (12c) is *ny ankizy* (the child(ren)). The subject in the absolutive voice is usually derived from the P in the nominative voice. Therefore it is natural that the caseless R in the nominative-voice clause is promoted to the subject in the absolutive voice. (In the following subsections, it is the caseless T that is promoted to the subject in the absolutive voice.) The subject in the circumstantial voice is usually derived from a non-core nominal (a non-S/A/P). My wild guess is that the R in the nominative-voice clause is taken as a non-core nominal in this ditransitive clause and is promoted to the circumstantial subject.

(14) a. N-an-omè   solom.bodiakoho[9)]   ho an=ny ray aman=dreny
         NV.PST-VM-give   gift   ALL ACC=the father OBL=mother
                            T   R
     ny zanaka aman=jafy
     the offspring OBL=grandchild(ren)
     A
     'The children and the grandchildren gave a gift to the parents'
   b. N-omè-n=ny zanaka aman=jafy
     PST-give-AV=the offspring OBL=grandchild(ren) (.GEN)
     ho an=ny ray aman=dreni-ny   ny solom.bodiakoho
     ALL ACC=the father OBL=mother   the gift
     'The gift was given by the children and the grandchildren to the parents'
   c. N-an-omèz-an=ny zanaka aman=jafy   solom.bodiakoho
     PST-VM-give-CV=the offspring OBL=grandchild(ren) (.GEN)   gift
     ny ray aman=dreny
     the father OBL=mother
     "The parents were given gift by the children and the grandchildren"

9) *Solom-bodiakoho* or *solombody akoho* or even *solombodiakoho* can be analyzed into *solo* (substitute) =*m*= (=LK=) *body* (*vody* buttocks) + *akoho* (chicken). The chicken's rump meat is the tenderest part of the chicken. It means "a gift of money to one's superior in place of the traditional chicken's rump" (Andro Vaovao 1973: 87).

The same verb root *ome* (give) as in (12, 13) can also have the indirective pattern (14) where the R is marked as a beneficiary, instead of the neutral/quasi-secundative pattern (12, 13). A beneficiary is marked with allative *(ho)* plus accusative *(an=)* combined. When they are combined, the benefactive meaning is rendered.

In (14a), the T is caseless and the R is beneficiary-marked with allative plus accusative. In the absolutive-voice clause (14b), the T in the nominative-voice clause is taken as the subject. In the circum-stantial-voice clause (14c), the beneficiary-marked R in the nominative-voice clause is taken as the subject and the case markers are removed.

The situation in (14), where the T in the nominative clause is taken as the subject in the absolutive clause and the R in the nominative clause is taken as the subject in the circumstantial clause, is different from the situation in (12), where both the absolutive clause and the circumstantial clause take the R in the nominative clause as the subject. It seems that the T and R in (12a) are not treated as differently as the T and the R in (14a). In other words, (12a, b) do not show the indirective pattern whereas (14a) shows the indirective pattern. (12a, b, c) can be seen as an example of a neutral/quasi-secundative pattern where T is an unmarked oblique as in (4c, 5-7).

There are a few more examples with the root *ome* (give).

(15) Mba   h-amp-i-roboròbo   ny fahaiza=ny   no
     So.that   NV.FUT-CAUS-VM-progress   the ability=her/his   that
     n-an-omèz-an=ny fanjakana   ilay/ny solosaina   ny ankizy
     PST-VM-give-CV=the government(.GEN)   ANA/the computer   the child(ren)
     'It was so as to promote the children's ability that they were given the computers by the government'

The example (15) has the circumstantial *n-an-omez-an(a)* (PST-VM-give-CV). The subject *ny ankizy* is the R subject.

(16) a. N-an-omè   vary   ny vahoaka   ny minisitra
        NV.PST-VM-give   rice   the people   the minister
                             T   R   A
        'The minister gave the people rice'
     b. N-amp-an-omè   vary   ho an=ny vahoaka   an=ny minisitra   ny prezidà
        NV.PST-CAUS-VM-give   rice   ALL ACC=the people   ACC=the minister   the president
                              T   R   (A)=causee   causer
        'The president made the minister give rice to the people'

These examples are taken from the Malagasy language class in the Summer School of the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 2003. The (16a) is a regular neutral example just like (12a). The (16b) is a causatively derived clause from (16a). Two caseless objects are allowed in (16a), but when the causative subject is added in (16b), the former agent-subject *ny minisitra* (the minister) is marked accusative (*an=ny minisitra*, ACC=the minister) and the R is marked as a beneficiary. It seems that three consecutive caseless objects are too awkward to have so the case markers have been provided. Note that the accusative-marked an=ny minisitra (ACC=the

minister) is irregular. As a P in a monotransitive clause, it would be caseless *ny minisitra* (the minister).

We will look at examples with the root *tolotra* (present).

(17) a. M-an-òlotra   solosaina   ho an=ny ankizy   ny mpampianatra
NV-VM-present   computer   ALL ACC=the child(ren)   the teacher
               T   R   A
'The teacher gives computers to the children'

b. A-tòlotry ny mpampianatra   solosaina   ny ankizy
AV-present the teacher(.GEN)   computer   the child(ren)
'The children are given computers by the teacher'

c. A-tòlotry ny mpampianatra   ho an=ny ankizy   ny solosaina
AV-present the teacher(.GEN)   ALL ACC=the child(ren)   the computer
'The computers are given to the children by the teacher'

d. An-olòr-an=ny mpampianatra   solosaina   ny ankizy
VM-present-CV=the teacher(.GEN)   computer   the child(ren)
'The children are given computers by the teacher'

The examples with the root *tolotra* (present) (17a) are in the nominative voice, (17b, c) in the absolutive voice, and (17d) in the circumstantial voice. In (17a), the R is marked with allative and accusative as a beneficiary. Although the R is marked as a beneficiary unlike in some examples with the root *ome* (give, 12a, 16a), both T and R in (17a) can become the subject in the absolutive-voice clauses (17b, c). The (17d) takes the R in (17a) as the marked oblique phrase and makes it into the circumstantial subject.

Let us take a look at the examples of *tolotra* (present) clauses with a human T.

(18) a. N-an-òlotra   an=dRavao/an=i Nehemia/ny   zana=ny vavy
NV.PST-VM-present   ACC=PN/ACC=the PN/the   offspring=his female
                          human T
ho vadi=n=i Lita   ny rai=ny
ALL spouse=LK=the PN   the father=her
R   A
'Her father presented Ravao/Nehemia/his daughter to be Lita's wife'

b. N-an-òlotra   an=dRavao/an=i Nehemia   ho an=i Lita   ny rai=ny
NV.PST-VM-present   ACC=PN/ACC=the PN   ALL ACC=the PN   the father=her
                          human T   R   A
'Her father presented Ravao/Nehemia for Lita'

c. N-an-òlotra   ny zana=ny vavy   ho an=i Lita   ny rai=ny
NV.PST-VM-present   the offspring=his female   ALL ACC=the PN   the father=her
                          human T   R   A
'Her father presented his daughter for Lita'

d. N-a-tolòtry ny rai=ny   an=dRavao   i Lita
PST-AV-present the father=her(.GEN)   ACC=PN   the PN
'Lita was presented to Ravao by her father'

e. No-tolòr-an=ny rai=ny   an=dRavao   i Lita
PST- present-AV=the father=her(.GEN)   ACC=PN   the PN
'Lita was presented to Ravao by her father'

When a human is placed in the T slot (18a, b, c), it is either accusative marked (*an=dRavao* (ACC=PN), *an=i Nehemia* (ACC=the PN)) or unmarked (*ny zana=ny vavy* (the offspring=his female)). The R is marked as the beneficiary in (18b, c, *ho an=i Lita* (ALL ACC=the Lita)). Both (18d, e) are the absolute-voice counterpart of (18b). This verb has two absolutive-voice forms: *a-tolotr(a)* (18c) and *tolor-an(a)* (18d).

(19) a. N-i-angàvy   fitenenana   t-amin=i Tojo   i Sedera
      NV.PST-VM-beg   speech   PST-OBL=the PN   the PN
      T   R   A
      'Sedera asked Tojo for a speech'
   b. N-i-angàvy   fitenenana   an=i Tojo   i Sedera
      NV.PST-VM-beg   speech   ACC=the PN   the PN
      T   R   A
      'Sedera asked Tojo for a speech'
   c. N-i-angavì-an=i Sedera   an=i Tojo/*t-amin=i Tojo   ny fitenenana
      PST-VM-AV=the PN(.GEN)   ACC=the PN/*PST-OBL=the PN   the speech
      'Sedera asked Tojo for the speech'
   d. N-i-angavì-an=i Sedera   fitenenana   i Tojo
      PST-VM-CV=the PN (.GEN)   act.of.speaking   the PN
      'Tojo was asked for a speech by Sedera'

The examples (19a, b) are both in the nominative voice. (19c) is in the absolutive voice and (19d) is in the circumstantial voice. The R marker in the (19a, b) varies between the oblique marker (19a) and the accusative marker (19b). But in the absolutive voice (19c), the R is marked accusative. My language consultant actually rejected the oblique marking (*t-amin=i Tojo* (PST-OBL=the PN)) for the absolutive voice. In all these examples in subsection 2.1., T is always caseless in the nominative voice except when it is a person name and marked accusative (18a, b). On the other hand, the clauses with the verb root *ome* (give) in the nominative voice have a caseless R (12a, 16a), an accusative-marked R (13a), and a beneficiary-marked R (14a). The clauses with the verb root *tolotra* (present) in the nominative voice have a beneficiary-marked R (17a, 18b). The clauses with the verb root *angavy* (beg) in the nominative voice have an oblique-marked R (19a) or an accusative-marked R (19b), but the oblique-marking does not survive into the absolutive voice (19c).

2. 2. Beneficiary-marked R

For some subsections starting with 2.2., we take a look at indirective-marked ditransitive clauses. Unlike monotransitive clauses with very little variation in case marking for A and P (cf. Minoura 2023), R in indirective-marked ditransitive clauses can take several forms. We start with beneficiary marking. Beneficiary marking is sometimes but not always used for the give/present verbs (2.1., 14a, 17a). It seems to be the most unmarked and most common ditransitive marking for other kinds of verbs.

(20) a. M-amp-ìta   tolo+tsaina   (kolo+tsaina)   ho an=ny mpianatra   aho
      NV-CAUS-cross.over   idea/advice   (culture)   ALL ACC=the pupil   I
      T   R   A
      'I give ideas/an advice(culture) to the pupils/students'

箕浦信勝　Minoura Nobukatsu
On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy
マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

70

b. Amp-ità-0=ko   (ho an=)ny mpianatra   ny tolo+tsaina
CAUS-cross.over-AV=I.GEN   (ALL ACC=)the pupil   the idea/advice
'I give the ideas/advice to the pupils/students'

c. (N-)amp-ità-0=ko   tolo+tsaina   ny mpianatra
(PST-)CAUS-cross.over-CV=I.GEN   idea/advice   the pupil
'The pupils/students are(were) given ideas/an advice by me'

d. M-ìta   rano   ny baka
NV-cross   water   the ferry
'The ferry crosses water (e.g. a river)'

In the nominative voice (20a), the R is marked for the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the absolutive voice (20b), the beneficiary marking for the R is optional. In the circumstantial voice (20c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject. *Mampita* (give (20a)) is causatively derived from *mita* (cross (20d)).

(21) a. M-an-dèfa   mailaka   ho an=i Malala   Rabe
NV-VM-send   e-mail   ALL ACC=the PN   PN
                           T   R   A
'Rabe sends an e-mail to Malala'

b. M-an-dèfa   hafatra m-i-afina   ho an=i Malala   Rabe
NV-VM-send   message NV-VM-hide   ALL ACC=the PN   PN
'Rabe sends a secret message to Malala'

c. A-lèfa=n=dRabe   ho an=i Malala   ny mailaka
AV-send=LK=PN(.GEN)   ALL ACC=the PN   the e-mail
'Rabe will send the e-mail to Malala'

d. An-defàs-an=dRabe   mailaka   i Malala
VM-send-CV=PN(.GEN)   e-mail   the PN
'Malala is sent an e-mail by Rabe'

In the nominative voice (21a, b), the R is marked for the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the absolutive voice (21c), the beneficiary marking for the R remains. In the circumstantial voice (21d), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

(22) a. N-i-vìdy   (ny) tany   ho an=ny tanara=ny   i Dadabe/Ranaivo
NV.PST-VM-buy   (the/ANA) land   ALL ACC=the children=his   the grandfather
                            T   R   A
'The grandfather/Ranaivo bought the land/a piece of land for his children'

b. N-i-vìdy   ilay tany   ho an=ny tanara=ny   i Dadabe/Ranaivo
NV.PST-VM-buy   ANA land   ALL ACC=the children=his   the grandfather
                            T   R   A
'The grandfather/Ranaivo bought the land for his children'

c. N-i-vìdy   (ny) lamba   ho an=i Manitra   i Dadatoa
NV.PST-VM-buy   (the) cloth   ALL ACC=the PN   the uncle
                            T   R   A
'The uncle bought the cloth/a piece of cloth for Manitra'

d. N-i-vìdy ilay lamba ho an=i Manitra i Dadatoa
NV.PST-VM-buy ANA cloth ALL ACC=the PN the uncle
T R A
'The uncle bought the cloth for Manitra'

e. No-vidì-an=i Dadabe ho an=ny tanara=ny ny/ilay tany
PST-buy-AV=the grandfather(.GEN) ALL ACC=the children=his the/ANA land
'The grandfather bought the land for his children'

f. I-vidi-ànan=i Dadabe tany ny tanara=ny
VM-buy-CV=the grandfather(.GEN) land the children=his
'The children are bought land for by grandfather'

g. N-i-vidi-ànan=i Dadabe an=ilay tany ny tanara=ny
PST-VM-buy-CV=the grandfather(.GEN) ACC=ANA land the children=his
'The children were bought the land for by grandfather'

In the nominative voice (22a, b, c, d), the R is marked for the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)), while the T can be a bare nominal *tany*/*lamba* ((a piece of) land/cloth) or *ny/ilay tany/lamba* (the/ANA land/cloth) with an article. Note that the T can be *ilay tany* (ANA land) without an accusative marker[10]. In the absolutive voice (22e), the beneficiary marking for the R remains. In the circumstantial voice (22f, g), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject while the T can be a bare nominal *tany* (land, 22a) or accusative marked (*an=ilay tany* (ACC=ANA land), 22g).

(23) a. N-i-kaomàndy zava+pisotro ho ahy i Manda
NV.PST-VM-order thing+to.drink ALL me.ACC the PN
T R A
'Manda ordered a beverage for me'

b. No-kaomandì-n=i Manda ho ahy ny zava+pisotro
PST-order-AV =the PN(.GEN) ALL me.ACC the thing+to.drink
'Manda ordered the beverage for me'

c. N-i-kaomandì-an=i Manda zava+pisotro aho
PST-VM-order-CV=the PN(.GEN) thing+to.drink I
'I was ordered a beverage for by Manda'

In the nominative voice (23a), the R is marked for the beneficiary (*ho ahy* (ALL me.ACC)). In the absolutive voice (23b), the beneficiary marking remains for the R. In the circumstantial voice (23c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject and the beneficiary marking is removed.

(24) a. N-i-tòno masikita ho an=i Jao i Mbola
NV.PST-VM-broil skewered.meat ALL ACC=the PN the PN
T R A
'Mbola broiled skewered meat for Jao'

b. N-a-tòno=n=i Mbola ho an=i Jao ny masikita
PST-AV-broil=LK=the PN(.GEN) ALL ACC=the PN the skewered.meat
'Mbola broiled the skewered meat for Jao'

---

10)If it were a P, it would be *an=ilay tany* (ACC=ANA land) with the accusative marker like in (3b, c, e). This shows that the T in a ditransitive clause can be treated differently from the P in a monotransitive clause.

箕浦信勝　Minoura Nobukatsu
On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy
マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

72

   c. N-i-tonò-an=i Mbola   masikita   i Jao
      PST-VM-broil-CV=the PN(.GEN)   skewred.meat   the PN
      'Jao was broiled skewered meat for by Mbola'

In the nominative voice (24a), the R is marked as the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the absolutive voice (24b), the beneficiary marking remains for the R. In the circumstantial voice (24c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

(25) a. N-a-hìta   sakaiza   ho an=i Seta   i Vololona
      NV.PST-VM-find   friend   ALL ACC=the PN   the PN
                        T   R   A
      'Vololona found a friend for Seta'
   b. N-a-hità-n=i Vololona   sakaiza   i Seta
      PST-VM-find-CV=the PN(.GEN)   friend   the PN
      'Seta was found a friend for by Vololona'

In the nominative voice (25a), the R is marked as the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the circumstantial voice (25b), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject. The absolutive-voice counterpart for (25a) could not be elicited. One reason for this situation may be that the absolutive-voice counterpart of *m-a-hita* (NV-VM-find) is usually the root absolutive voice form *hita*, which can mean non-volitional finding or seeing and it is semantically awkward.

(26) a. N-am-àtsy   vola   ho an=ny mponina   ny fanjakana
      NV.PST-VM-supply   money   ALL ACC=the inhabitant   the government
                        T   R   A
      'The government supplied money for the inhabitants'
   b. No-vatsì-an=ny fanjakana   ho an=ny mponina   ny vola
      PST-supply-AV=the government(.GEN)   ALL ACC=the inhabitant   the money
      'The government supplied the money for the inhabitants'
   c. N-am-atsì-an=ny fanjakana   vola   ny mponina
      PST-VM-supply-CV=the government(.GEN)   money   the inhabitant
      'The inhabitants were supplied money by the government'

In the nominative voice (26a), the R is marked as the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the absolutive voice (26b), the beneficiary marking remains for the R. In the circumstantial voice (26c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

(27) a. N-amp-i-ànatra   taratasy   ho an=i Njara   Rataoma
      NV.PST-CAUS-VM-study   letters   ALL ACC=the PN   PN
                         T   R   A
      'Rataoma taught letters (alphabet) for Njara'
   b. N-amp-i-anàr-in=dRataoma   ho an=i Njara   ny taratasy
      PST-CAUS-VM-study-AV=PN(.GEN)ALL   ACC=the PN   the letters
      'Rataoma taught the letters (alphabet) for Njara'
   c. N-amp-i-anàr-an=dRataoma   taratasy   i Njara
      PST-CAUS-VM-study-CV=PN(.GEN)   letters   the PN
      'Njara was taught letters (alphabet) by Rataoma'

In the nominative voice (27a), the R is marked as the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the absolutive voice (27b), the beneficiary marking remains for the R. In the circumstantial voice (27c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

(28) a. N-an-òratra taratasy ho an=ny reni=ny i Ndriana
　　 NV.PST-VM-write letter ALL ACC=the mother=his the PN
　　 T R A
　　 'Ndriana wrote a letter to his mother'
　 b. No-soràt-an=i Ndriana ho an=ny reni=ny ny/ilay taratasy
　　 PST-write-AV=the PN(.GEN) ALL ACC=the mother=his the/ANA letter
　　 'Ndriana wrote the letter to his mother'
　 c. N-an-oràt-an=i Ndriana taratasy ny reni=ny
　　 PST-write-CV=the PN(.GEN) letter the mother=his
　　 'His mother was written a letter to by Ndriana'

In the nominative voice (28a), the R is marked as the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the absolutive voice (28b), the beneficiary marking remains for the R. In the circumstantial voice (28c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

(29) a. N-amp-an-antèna harena ho an=i Soa i Lala
　　 NV.PST-CAUS-VM-hope wealth ALL ACC=the PN the PN
　　 T R A
　　 'Lala promised wealth to Soa'
　 b. N-amp-an-antenà-in=i Lala ho an=i Soa ny harena
　　 PST-CAUS-VM-hope-AV=the PN(.GEN) ALL ACC=the PN the wealth
　　 'Lala promised the wealth to Soa'
　 c. N-amp-an-antenà-n=i Lala harena i Soa
　　 PST-CAUS-VM-hope-CV=the PN(.GEN) wealth the PN
　　 'Soa was promised wealth by Lala'

In the nominative voice (29a), the R is marked as the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the absolutive voice (29b), the beneficiary marking remains for the R. In the circumstantial voice (29c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

(30) a. M-an-ìry fahaombiazana ho an=i Ony i Faly
　　 NV-VM-hope success ALL ACC=the PN the PN
　　 T R A
　　 'Faly wishes success for Ony'
　 b. N-irì-n=i Faly ho an=i Ony ny fahaombiazana
　　 PST-hope-AV=the PN(.GEN) ALL ACC=the PN the success
　　 'Faly wishes the success for Ony'
　 c. N-an-irì-an=i Faly fahaombiazana i Ony
　　 PST-VM-hope-CV=the PN(.GEN) success the PN
　　 'Ony was wished success by Faly'

In the nominative voice (30a), the R is marked as the beneficiary (*ho an=* (ALL ACC=)). In the absolutive voice (30b), the beneficiary marking remains for the R. In the circumstantial voice (30c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

In all these examples in subsection 2.2., T is always caseless even with the anaphoric *ilay* (ANA) (22b, d). A phrase with *ilay* (ANA) becomes *an=ilay N* (ACC=ANA N) as a P in a monotransitive clause (cf. fn 10). On the other hand, R is always marked for the beneficiary with allative and accusative markings combined.

2．3．Oblique-marked R

Now let us look at the examples of the oblique-case marked R.

(31) a. M-amp-i-sèho   ny fahaiza=ny   amin=i Hasina   Randria
     NV-CAUS-VM-appear   the ability=his   OBL=the PN   PN
                                T   R   A
     'Randria is showing his ability to Hasina'
   b. Amp-i-sehò-in=dRandria   amin=i Hasina   ny fahaiza=ny
     CAUS-VM-appear-AV-PN(.GEN)   OBL=the PN   the ability=his
     'Randria is showing his ability to Hasina'
   c. Amp-i-sehò-an=dRandria   ny fahaiza=ny   i Hasina
     CAUS-VM-appear-CV-PN(.GEN)   the ability=his   the PN
     'Hasina is shown Randria's ability by the latter'

In the nominative voice (31a), the R is marked oblique (*amin=* (OBL=)). In the absolutive voice (31b), the oblique marking for the R remains. In the circumstantial voice (31c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

(32) a. N-i-tantàra   (ny) tsaho   t-amin=ny zana=ny   i Tanteraka
     NV.PST-VM-narrate   (the) rumor   PST-OBL=the child=her   the PN
                            T   R   A
     'Tanteraka tells her child(ren) a/the rumor
   b. N-i-tantàra   ilay tsaho   t-amin=ny zana=ny   i Tanteraka
     NV.PST-VM-narrate   ANA rumor   PST-OBL=the child=her   the PN
                            T   R   A
     'Tanteraka tells her child(ren) the rumor'
   c. No-tantarà-in=i Tanteraka   t-amin=ny zana=ny   ny tsaho
     PST-narrate-AV=the PN(.GEN)   PST-OBL=the child=her   the rumor
     'Tanteraka tells her child(ren) the rumor'
   d. N-i-tantarà-n=i Tanteraka   (ny/ilay) tsaho   ny zana=ny
     PST-VM-narrate-CV=the PN(.GEN)   (the/ANA) rumor   the child=her
     'Tanteraka's child(ren) is/are told a/the rumor by her'

In the nominative voice (32a, b), the R is marked oblique (*t-amin=* (PST-OBL=)). In the absolutive voice (32c), the oblique marking for the R remains. In the circumstantial voice (32d), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject. Note that the T in the nominative voice (32a, b) and in the circumstantial voice (32c) can be a bare nominal *tsaho* (rumor) or a nominal with a determiner *ny/ilay tsaho* (the/ANA rumor). The *ilay tsaho* (ANA rumor) is not marked with an accusative to become *an=ilay tsaho* (ACC=ANA rumor). If it was a P in a monotransitive clause, the accusative marking is necessary (see fn. 10).

(33) a. N-an-ìpy   ny sakaosy   t-ami=ko   i Sarobidy
     NV.PST-VM-throw   the bag/satchel   PST-OBL=me   the PN
     T   R   A
     'Sarobidy threw the bag/satchel at me'

     b. N-a-tsipì=n=i Sarobidy   t-ami=ko   ny sakaosy
     PST-AV-throw=LK=the PN(.GEN)   PST-OBL=me   the bag/satchel
     'Sarobidy threw the bag/satchel at me'

     c. N-an-ipaz-an=i Sarobidy   sakaosy   aho
     PST-VM-throw-CV=the PN(.GEN)   bag/satchel   I
     'I was thrown a bag/satchel at by Sarobidy'

In the nominative voice (33a), the R is marked oblique (*t-ami=* (PST-OBL=)). In the absolute voice (33b), the oblique marking for the R remains. In the circumstantial voice (33c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

(34) a. N-i-angàvy   fitenenana   t-amin=i Tojo   i Sedera (=19)
     NV.PST-VM-beg   speech   PST-OBL=the PN   the PN
     T   R   A
     'Sedera asked Tojo for a speech'

     b. N-i-angàvy   fitenenana   an=i Tojo   i Sedera
     NV.PST-VM-beg   speech   ACC=the PN   the PN
     T   R   A
     'Sedera asked Tojo (to give) a speech'

     c. N-i-angavì-an=i Sedera   an=i Tojo/* t-amin=i Tojo   ny fitenenana
     PST-VM-AV=the PN(.GEN)   ACC=the PN/*PST-OBL=the PN   the speech
     'Sedera asked Tojo for the speech'

     d. N-i-angavì-an=i Sedera   fitenenana   i Tojo
     PST-VM-CV=the PN (.GEN)   act.of.speaking   the PN
     'Tojo was asked for a speech by Sedera'

These examples have already been shown in (19). It is shown again because the R in the nominative clause (34a) can be marked oblique.

(35) a. N-an-ontàny   vidi=n=entana   t-amin=ny mpivarotra   i Vola
     NV.PST-VM-ask   price=LK=goods   PST-OBL=the merchant   the PN
     T   R   A
     'Vola asked the merchant for (the) price of the goods'

     b. N-an-ontanì-an=i Vola   t-amin=ny   mpivarotra   ny vidi=n=entana
     PST-VM-ask-AV=the PN(.GEN)   PST-OBL=the   merchant   the price=LK=goods
     'Vola asked the merchant for the price of the goods'

     c. N-an-ontanì-an=i Vola   vidi=n=entana   ny mpivarotra
     PST-VM-ask-CV=the PN(.GEN)   price=LK=goods   the merchant
     'The merchant was asked for (the) price of the goods by Vola'

In the nominative voice (35a), the R is marked oblique (*t-amin=* (PST-OBL=)). In the absolute voice (35b), the oblique marking for the R remains. In the circumstantial voice (35c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

箕浦信勝　Minoura Nobukatsu
On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy
マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

76

(36) a. N-an-òlo　　　　　　entana simba　　　t-amin=ny entana vaovao
　　　NV.PST-VM-replace　goods damaged　PST-OBL=the goods new
　　　　　　　　　　　　T　　　　　　　R(?? non-T object)
　　　t-any amin=ny fivarotana[11]　i Hery
　　　PST-there OBL=the shop　　the PN
　　　location　　　　　　　　A
　　　'Hery exchanged damaged items with new items at the shop'

　　b. No-solò-an=i Hery　　　　　　t-amin=ny　　　entana vaovao
　　　PST-replace-AV=the PN(.GEN)　PST-OBL=the　goods new
　　　t-any amin=ny fivarotana　ny entana simba
　　　PST-there OBL=the shop　the goods damaged
　　　'Hery exchanged the damaged items with new items at the shop'

　　c. N-an-olò-an=i Hery　　　　　　　　entana simba　　　t-amin=ny entana vaovao
　　　PST-VM-replace-CV=the PN(.GEN)　goods damaged　　PST-OBL=the goods new
　　　ilay fivarotana
　　　ANA shop
　　　'At the shop, Hery exchanged damaged items with new items'

　　d. N-an-olò-an=i Hery　　　　　　　　entana simba　　　t-any amin=ny fivarotana
　　　PST-VM-replace-CV=the PN(.GEN)　goods damaged　　PST-there OBL=the shop
　　　ny entana vaovao
　　　the goods new
　　　'With the new items, Hery exchanged damaged items at the shop'

In the nominative voice (36a), the R or rather the non-T object is marked oblique (*t-amin=* (PST-OBL=)). In the absolutive voice (36b), the oblique marking for the non-T object (≒ R) remains. In the circumstantial voice, the non-T object (≒ R) in the nominative voice becomes the subject in (36d) and the place becomes the subject in (36c).

(37) a. N-an-azàva　　　　　ny toerana　t-amin=ny mpizaha+tany　i Mahery
　　　NV.PST-VM-explain　the place　PST-OBL=the tourist　　the PN
　　　　　　　　　　　　　T　　　　R　　　　　　　　　　A
　　　'Mahery explained the tourists the place (the ways around)'

　　b. N-an-azavà-in=i Mahery　　　　　t-amin=ny mpizaha+tany　ny toerana
　　　PST-VM-explain-AV=the PN(.GEN)　PST-OBL=the tourist　　the place
　　　'Mahery explained the tourists the place (the ways around)'

　　c. N-an-azavà-n=i Mahery　　　　　　ny toerana　　　ny mpizaha+tany
　　　PST-VM=explain-CV=the PN(.GEN)　the place　　　the tourist
　　　'The tourists were explained the place (ways around) by Mahery'

In the nominative voice (37a), the R is marked oblique (*t-amin=* (PST-OBL=)). In the absolutive voice (37b), the oblique marking for the R remains. In the circumstantial voice (37c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject.

---

11) A location is expressed by the formula: location demonstrative plus areal phrase. For example, a place name is an areal noun and it does not require further marking: *(t-)any Madagasikara* ((PST)-there Madagascar, in Madagascar). A regular noun is not an areal noun and needs oblique marking: *(t-)any amin=ny fivarotana* ((PST-)there OBL=the shop, at the shop). Some of the regular nouns can also take an accusative marker: *(t-)any an=tsekoly* ((PST)-there ACC=school, at the school).

(38) a. N-an-aìngo efi+trano t-amin=ny fanaka vaovao i Beby
  NV.PST-VM-adorn room+house PST-OBL=the furniture new the PN
  T R(?? non-T object) A
  'Beby furnished (the) room with new pieces of furniture'

 b. N-amp-i-haingò-in=i Beby t-amin=ny fanaka vaovao ny efi+trano
  PST-CAUS-VM-adorn-AV=the PN(.GEN) PST-OBL=the furniture new the room+house
  'Beby furnished the room with the new pieces of furniture'

 c. N-amp-i-haingò-an=i Beby efi+trano ny fanaka vaovao
  PST-CAUS-VM-adorn-CV=the PN(.GEN) room+house the furniture new
  'With the new pieces of furniture, Beby furnished (the) room'

In the nominative voice (38a), the R or rather the non-T object is marked oblique (*t-amin=* (PST-OBL=)). In the absolutive voice (38b), the oblique marking for the non-T object (≒ R) remains. In the circumstantial voice (38c), the non-T object (≒ R) in the nominative voice becomes the subject. Incidentally, *m-an-aingo* (NV-VM-adorn, furnish/adorn) is the transitive counterpart of the middle verb *m-i-haingo* (NV-VM-adorn, furnish/adorn oneself). When there is a pair of verb forms that differ only in the valency markers *i-* and *an-*, it is often a pair of a middle verb and a transitive verb. But it is not always guaranteed that a verb with the valency marker *i-* to be intransitive. It usually works when there is a pair. A verb with the valency marker *an-* is usually transitive. On the other hand, *m-amp-i-haingo* (NV-CAUS-VM-adorn, furnish/adorn oneself) is the causative of *m-i-haingo*. My language consultant decided to start from the causative *m-amp-i-haingo* to derive the absolutive-voice form (38b) and the circumstantial-voice form (38c).

There are a few more examples of cultural words.

(39) a. N-an-dà ny tolotra n-a-tao=n=ilay vinanto
  NV.PST-VM-refuse the gift PST-AV-do=LK=ANA son.in.law(.to.be)
  T
  t-amin=ny fofo=m=badi=ny ny ray aman=dreny
  PST-OBL=the smell=LK=spouse=his the father OBL=mother
  R(?? non-T object) A
  'The parents rejected the gift presented by the son-in-law-to-be for the dowry'

 b. N-an-dà ny vody ondry n-a-tao=n=ilay vinanto
  NV.PST-VM-refuse the butt goat PST-AV-do=LK=ANA son.in.law(.to.be)
  T
  t-amin=ny fofo=m=badi=ny ny ray aman=dreny
  PST-OBL=the smell=LK=spouse=his the father OBL=mother
  R(?? non-T object) A
  'The parents rejected the bride price presented by the son-in-law-to-be for the dowry'

In all these examples in the subsection 2.3., T is always caseless even with the anaphoric *ilay* (ANA) (32b). A phrase with *ilay* (ANA) becomes *an=ilay N* (ACC=ANA N) as a P in a monotransitive clause (cf. fn. 10). On the other hand, R (or a non-T object) is always marked oblique.

箕浦信勝　Minoura Nobukatsu
On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy
マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

78

2. 4. Location-marked R

There are also ditransitive verbs that mark the R as a location.

(40) a. N-ìndrana   vola   t-any amin=ny zoki=ny   i Seheno
     NV.PST-borrow money PST-there OBL=the older.sibling[12]=her   the PN
                       T   R(?? non-T object)   A
     'Seheno borrowed money from her older sibling'
   b. N-indràm-in-i Seheno   t-any amin=ny   zoki=ny   ny vola
     PST-borrow-AV=the PN(.GEN)   PST-there OBL-the   older.sibling=her the money
     'Seheno borrowed the money from her older sibling'
   c. N-indràm-an-i Seheno   vola ny   zoki=ny
     PST-borrow-CV=the PN(.GEN)   money   the older.sibling=her
     'Seheno's older sibling was borrowed money from by Seheno'

In the nominative voice (40a), the R is marked as a location (*t-any amin=* (PST-there OBL=), cf fn. 11). In the absolutive voice (40b), the oblique marking for the R remains. In the circumstantial voice (40c), the R in the nominative voice becomes the subject. *T-any amin=ny zoki=ny* (PST-there OBL=the older. sibling=her) is treated as an R here, but strictly speaking, it is not a recipient but rather a source.

There is also an example with a real location rather than a person with the same verb.

(41) N-ìndrana   boky   t-any am=pianarana   ny ankizy
     NV.PST-borrow book   PST-there ACC-school   the child
                    P   location   A
     'The child borrowed a book at school'

When *m-indrana* (NV-borrow) is derived causatively, it becomes *m-amp-indrana* (NV-CAUS-borrow = lend).

(42) N-amp-ìndrana   ny vola   ho an=i Seheno   ny zoki=ny
     NV.PST-CAUS-borrow the money ALL ACC=the PN   the older.sibling=her
                           T   R   A
     'Her older sibling lent Seheno the money'

In these examples (40a, 41a, 42a), the T is always caseless. The R or the non-T object (≒ R) is marked for location (40a, 41a). The beneficiary marking of R in (42a) belongs to subsection 2.2.

2. 5. Seemingly neutral alignment and irregular R-T order

Finally, there is neutral ditransitive alignment where both T and R are marked as monotransitive P.

(43) a. M-amp-aha-fàntatra   an=i Zaivololona an=i Lalaina   Ramaro
     NV-CAUS-VM-know   ACC=the PN   ACC=the PN   PN
                         T(=P??)   R(=causee)   A(=causer)
     'Ramaro is introducing Zaivololona to Lalaina'

---

12) In Malagasy, there are two sets of names for siblings. One is *zoky* (older.sibling) and *zandry* (younger.sibling). The gender does not need to be specified for this set. The other set is: *rahavavy* (same-sex.sister), *rahalahy* (same-sex. brother), *anabavy* (opposite-sex.sister), *anadahy* (opposite-sex.brother).

b. Amp-aha-fantàr-in=dRamaro   an=i Lalaina   i Zaivololona
   CAUS-VM-know-AV=PN(.GEN)   ACC=the PN   the PN
   'Zaivololona is introduced to Lalaina by Ramaro'

Both objects in (43a) are equally marked accusative. Therefore you cannot take one of them to make it into a circumstantial subject. One theory can be that *an=i Zaivololona* (ACC=the PN) is the P for *m-aha-fantatra* (NV-VN-know) and *an=i Lalaina* (ACC=the PN) is the causee in the causative construction.

There are several other examples with two objects. One of the objects is a person and the other is not.

(44) a. N-an-dràra   an=i Haja   ny tsy h-i-lalao   ny mpanazatra
    NV.PST-VM-forbid   ACC=the PN   the not NV.FUT-VM-play   the trainer
                  R   T   A
    'The trainer forbade Haja to play'
   b. N-an-drarà-na   ny mpivarotra   ny tsy h-an-doto
    PST-VM-forbid-CV   the merchant   the not NV.FUT-VM-soil
    ny toerana i-varot-a=ny
    the place VM-sell-CV=he/she/they.GEN
    'It is forbidden for the merchants to soil the places where they sell'

In both examples (44a, b), what is forbidden is expressed in the form *ny tsy V.FUT*, i.e. *ny tsy h-i-lalao* (the not NV.FUT-VM-play) and *ny tsy h-an-doto* (the not NV.FUT-VM-soil). In both cases, the verb does not undergo morphological nominalization, which is quite easy to do in Malagasy, but instead the verb is nominalized by the placement of the definite article *ny* (the). It is also interesting to note that the verb has a negation *tsy* (not[13]). If you take the person object as the R, (44a) has an R-T order instead of the T-R order which can be seen everywhere in the previous pages.

We will look at some more examples where the second object is fine.

(45) a. N-ana-sazy   an=i Lalaina   iray tapitrisa ariary   ny tribonaly/ny fanjakana
    NV.PST-VM-fine   ACC=the PN   one million ariary   the tribunal/the government
                R   T   A
    'The tribunal/government fined Lalaina one million ariary'
   b. No-sazì-n=ny tribonaly(.GEN)   an=i Lalaina   ny iray tapitrisa ariary
    PST-fine-AV=the tribunal   ACC=the PN   the one million ariary
    '(The fine of) one million ariary was sentenced to Lalaina by the tribunal'
   c. No-sazi-an=ny tribonaly   iray tapitrisa ariary   i Lalaina
    PST-fine-AV=the tribunal(.GEN)   one million ariary   the PN
    'Lalaina was fined one million ariary by the tribunal'

Also in this example (45a), we have the R-T order instead of the T-R order. The case markings in (43a) may be the result of the causative construction. (44a) has a deverbal phrase T and (45a) has the amount of fine as the T and they both have the irregular R-T order.

---

13) It looks somewhat like the expletive *ne* in French. E.g. *j'ai peur qu'il ne le fasse* (I have fear that he not it do.SUBJ (I'm afraid he'll do it)) (Lawless 2023).

箕浦信勝　Minoura Nobukatsu
On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy
マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

80

2．6．Section summary

　　In the literature (cf. Stark 1969, Moriyama 2003), accusative-marked P/T and caseless P/T are treated as broadly-defined "accusative" as it is done in the English school grammar. But from the point of view of morphological case marking, this is not appropriate. (In language classrooms, it may be easier for the students to understand the mechanisms.)

　　From the point of view of morphological case marking, the NPs taking the role of subjective form, unmarked object/oblique form, accusative forms, and oblique-marked forms are classified in Table 2. Beneficiary forms and location forms are easily formed from ACC forms and OBL forms, respectively (cf. fns. 15, 16).

<Table 2>

	Subjective[14]	Unmarked object/ oblique	ACC[15]	OBL[16]
PRON	izy ((s)he)		azy (her/him)	(t-)ami=ny ((PST-)OBL=3)
PN	Rakoto (PN)		an=dRakoto (ACC=PN)	(t-)amin=dRakoto ((PST-)OBL=PN)
I PN	i Aina (the PN)		an=i Aina (ACC=the PN)	(t-)amin=i Aina ((PST-)OBL=the PN)
DEM NP DEM	io vehivavy io (that woman that)		an=io vehivavy io (ACC=that woman that)	(t-)amin=io vehivavy io ((PST-)OBL=that woman that)
Ilay NP	ilay vehivavy (ANA woman)	ilay vehivavy (ANA woman , T)	an=ilay vehivavy (ACC= ANA woman)	(t-)amin=ilay vehivavy ((PST-)OBL=ANA woman)
Ny NP	ny vehivavy (the woman)	ny vehivavy (the woman, P/T/R)	-	(t-)amin=ny vehivavy ((PST-)OBL= the woman)
P/T without a determiner		solosaina (computer, P/T), bibi lava (animal long, snake, P/T)		

---

14) Subjective case functions as nominative in the nominative-voice clauses, as absolutive in the absolutive-voice clauses, and is used for a case-stripped (when possible) subject derived from an adjunct in the circumstantial-voice clauses. *Ny/ilay NP* (the/ANA NP) is used for both subjective and unmarked object/oblique. Morphologically speaking, they have the same forms.
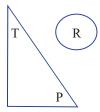
15) The beneficiary is expressed by *ho* plus the accusative forms in the table, e.g. *ho azy* (ALL 3.ACC, for her/him), *ho an=dRakoto* (ALL ACC=PN, for Rakoto).

16) Location is expressed by inserting a locative demonstrative between *(t-)* and *OBL* in the OBL forms in the table, e.g. *(t-)any ami=ny* ((PST-)there OBL=3, at her/him), *(t-)any amin=dRakoto* ((PST-)there OBL=PN, at Rakoto). *Any* (there) is not the only locative demonstrative that can fill the slot. Any of the 13 locative demonstratives can fill the slot. Location can also be expressed in the form *(t-)locative.demonstrative ACC=NP* like *(t-)any an=tsekoly* ((PST-)there ACC=school, at school). See also fn. 11.

Let us return to the indirective case alignment, secundative case alignment, and neutral case alignment in Figure 1. When talking about case alignment, only the nominative-voice examples are considered because T and R are always both present as objects/obliques only in the nominative voice. In the absolute voice, T (and sometimes R) in the nominative voice becomes the subject. In the circumstantial voice, R in the nominative voice sometimes becomes the subject. Most of the examples in the subsections 2.2., 2.3., and 2.4. can be considered to have the indirective alignment pattern since both P and T are either accusative-marked or an unmarked object/oblique. R, on the other hand, is beneficiary-marked (2.2., fn. 15), oblique-marked (2.3.), or location-marked (2.4., fn. 16).

<Figure 2>Ditransitive alignment types: indirective alignment (adapted from Figure 1)
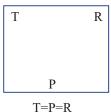
Indirective

$T=P \neq R$

Some of the examples in subsection 2.1. (12a, b, 16) can be considered to have neutral alignment because both T and R have no case markings.

<Figure 3>Ditransitive alignment types: neutral alignment (adapted from Figure 1)
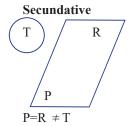
Neutral

$T=P=R$

When there is an accusative marking for R, it is a bit difficult to handle. It is very easy to find accusative-marked P as in (2, 3). But it is more difficult to find accusative-marked T. There are examples of person-name T that is accusative-marked but not in the neutral alignment (18a, b) and possibly (43). (43) has two consecutive accusative-marked phrases, but this may be due to the causative derivation. Moreover, most of the T examples in this paper are case-wise unmarked object/oblique without an article or with one of the articles *ny* (the) or *ilay* (ANA). Among these T examples, the bare noun phrase without an article can be a less individuated patient (LIP) which is explained in the paragraph following (4). When a T is more definite, e.g. it is a personal name, it is an NP sandwiched by demonstratives, etc., it tends to be used as a subject in the absolutive-voice clause. See Minoura (2023: 132) for a similar discussion of

箕浦信勝　Minoura Nobukatsu
On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy
マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

82

a potential definite P to be used as a subject in the absolutive-voice clause. This may also be one of the reasons why we mostly have fewer definite NPs in the T slot.

Almost all the nominative-voice ditransitive clauses in Malagasy can be classified into the two alignment types, i.e. indirective and neutral. But because of a piece of subtle evidence, we have to add other alignment types as well. The subtle evidence is that *ilay NP* (ANA NP) is not case-marked in the T slot, but when it is a P, it is accusative-marked as *an=ilay NP* (ACC=ANA NP) (3b, c, e). And the R-marking for *ilay NP* (ANA NP) can be *an=ilay NP* (ACC=ANA NP) or beneficiary-marked *ho an=ilay NP* (ALL ACC=ANA NP) (2.2.), oblique-marked *amin=ilay NP* (OBL=ANA NP) (2.3.), or location-marked *(t-)any amin=ilay NP* ((PST-)there OBL=ANA NP) (2.4., cf. fn. 16). If the R has accusative-marking, it can be said that it has the secundative pattern.

<Figure 4>Ditransitive alignment types: secundative alignment (adapted from Figure 1)
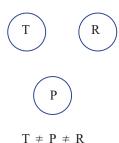
Secundative

P=R ≠ T

T is caseless, i.e. *ilay NP* (ANA NP) and P and R are accusative-marked, i.e. *an=ilay NP* (ACC=ANA NP).

On the other hand, if the R is beneficiary-marked, oblique-marked, or location-marked, it can be said to have a tripartite pattern.

<Figure 5>Ditransitive alignment types: tripartite alignment (adapted from Figure 1)

Tripartite

T ≠ P ≠ R

T is caseless, i.e. *ilay NP* (ANA NP), and P is accusative-marked, i.e. *an=ilay NP* (ACC=ANA NP), and R is marked for the beneficiary, i.e. *ho an=NP* (ALL ACC=NP), oblique, i.e. *(t-)amin=ny NP* ((PST-)OBL=the NP), and location, i.e. *(t-)any amin=ny NP* ((PST-)there OBL=the NP).

As for the basic word order of ditransitive clauses, Malagasy has the VTRS order except in (44a, 45a). In (44a), a verb phrase nominalized by a definite article behaves as T and the clause has an R-T order

unlike in the previous subsections. In (45a), the amount of the fine is the T and the clause also has an R-T order. In all the other examples, Malagasy has a T-R order, of which Haspelmath (2015) could not find any examples at the time he wrote the paper.

<Table 3> (Haspelmath 2015: 14, Table 1)

main order type	R-T order	example	T-R order	example
SVO	S V O_R O_T	Tswana	S V O_T O_R	Fongbe
SOV	S O_R O_T V	Uzbek	S O_T O_R V	Ijo
VSO	V S O_R O_T	So	V S O_T O_R	Tahitian
VOS	V O_R O_T S	Q'eqchi'	V O_T O_R S	?

Haspelmath (2015: 14) writes "though for the least frequent order VOS, I do not know of a language with T-R order." Malagasy can fill in the gap as a language with the V O_T O_R S order in the lower-right corner of Table 3, replacing the question mark.

Conclusion

Looking at the nominal constituents of Malagasy ditransitive clauses, the most common pattern is the indirective alignment, which is not uncommon among world languages. The examples can be found in the subsections 2.2., 2.3., and 2.4. What is noteworthy is that the case marking of R has a few options, i.e. beneficiary marking, oblique marking, and location marking. For the case marking of P (and A) in monotransitive clauses, Malagasy does not enjoy such freedom. The cases of A and P are assigned according to the voice of the clause (Minoura 2023).

In addition to the indirective alignment, there is also the neutral alignment (12a, b, 16 in 2.1.). So far, what I have are examples of the verb *m-an-ome* (NV-VM-give), which is used quite often. Moreover, if we look at the behavior of *ilay NP* (ANA NP), we can say that the neutral alignment turns out to be the secundative alignment and the indirective alignment turns out to be the tripartite alignment because the form *ilay NP* (ANA NP) is used for the T slot, but *an=ilay NP* (ACC=ANA NP) has to be used for the P slot.

As for the word order of ditransitive clauses, Malagasy has the VTRS order with some exceptions when it has the VRTS order (44a, 45a).

References

Andro Vaovao. (1973). *Diksionera Malagasy-Anglisy (Malagasy-English Dictionary).* Trano Printy Loterana.

Centre Médical Claym. (2021). "Mitandrema hatrany (Always be careful)," an entry in Facebook, December 7, 2021. https://www.facebook.com/Centre-Médical-Claym-768071060036077/photos/2039146326261871/. (accessed on September 23, 2022).

Fortescue, Michael D. (1984). *West Greenlandic (Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars).* Routledge Keegan & Paul.

箕浦信勝　Minoura Nobukatsu
On the case marking and the alignment of ditransitive clauses in Malagasy
マダガスカル語複他動詞節の格標示とアラインメントについて

84

Haspelmath, Martin. (2010). "On S, A, P, T, and R as comparative concepts for alignment typology." https://www.eva.mpg.de/fileadmin/content_files/staff/haspelmt/pdf/OnSAPTR.pdf. (accessed on March 30, 2023).

--------. (2015). "Ditransitive constructions." DOI:10.1146/annurev-linguist-030514-125204. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/144783745.pdf. (accessed on March 23, 2023)

Lawless, Laura K. (2023). "Ne explétif (Expletive ne)," *Lawless French*. https://www.lawlessfrench.com/grammar/ne-expletif/. (accessed on March 23, 2023)

Malchukov, Andrej, Martin Haspelmath & Bernard Comrie. (2007). "Ditransitive constructions: a typological overview." First draft, September 2007. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Andrej-Malchukov-2/publication/265423193_Ditransitive_constructions_A_typological_overview/links/5704e90a08ae13eb88b83df7/Ditransitive-constructions-A-typological-overview.pdf. (accessed on March 18, 2023.)

Minoura, Nobukatsu (箕浦信勝) (2021). "On and around "double-subject sentences" in Malagasy and Malagasy Sign Language (TTM)," *Area and Culture Studies, no. 102,* pp. 49-76. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

-------- (2023). "On arguments and adjuncts in Malagasy," *Area and Culture Studies, no. 105,* pp. 109-141. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Moriyama, Takumi (森山工). (2003). *Madagasukarugo Kaki Gengo Kenshû Tekisuto Bumpôhen (The Textbook for the Summer Language School, Malagasy, Grammar)*. Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Stark, Elsie. (1969). *Malagasy Without Moans*. Trano Prinity Loterana.

Tallerman, Maggie. (1998). *Understanding Syntax, fourth edition*. Routledge.

Vigus, Meagan (2018). "Antipassive constructions: Correlations of form and function across languages," *Linguistic Typology*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 339-384.