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A DESCRIPTIVE NOTE ON MALAGASY VERBAL COMPLEMENTATION AND THE BINDING HIERARCHY:
With Special Reference to the Occurrence of the Complementizer fa

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Abstract: The aim of the present paper is to describe verbal complementation in Malagasy and to consider how the Malagasy data reflect the "binding hierarchy" proposed by Givón (1980). It will be shown that the Malagasy data provide support for the hierarchy and that the occurrence of the complementizer fa can be accounted for in terms of the strength of binding of the main-clause verb.

1. Introduction

Malagasy is an Austronesian language spoken in Madagascar. Its basic word order is VOS.\(^2\)

(1) a. natory aho
   past-sleep 1sg(nom)
   'I slept'

b. nahita ahy ianao
   past-see 1sg(acc) 2sg(nom)
   'You saw me'

c. nahita anao aho
   past-see 2sg(acc) 1sg(nom)
   'I saw you'

The cases are distinguished in the personal pronoun system, namely, nominative, accusative, and genitive. The genitive forms are criticized to the noun:

(2) trano-ko
    house-1sg(gen)
    'my house'

Genitive forms can also occur as clitics on verbs to express non-subject agent. Verbs divide as to whether they can take an argument in the genitive or not, and those that can are called "non-active" and those that can't are called "active":

(3) a. mividy mofo ho'ian ny ankizy aho
    buy bread for the child 1sg(nom)
    'I am buying bread for the child'

b. ividiana-ko
    bought for-1sg(gen) bread
    'The child is bought bread for me'

-- Keenan (1976/256)

The Malagasy conjunction fa has various senses, as illustrated in (4).\(^3\)

(4) a. Mafanontra aho fa handeha any NY izy.
   pres-know 1sg(nom) that-fug-to NY 3sg(nom)
   'I know that s/he will go to NY'

b. Namela ary handeha any NY aho, fa tsy nandeha izy
   past-allow 3sg(ace) fug-to to NY I but NEG past-go 3sg(nom)
   'I allowed him to go to NY, but he didn’t'

c. Tsy nandeha aho fa avy ny orana.
   NEG past-go 1sg(nom) because fall the rain
   'I didn’t go because it rained'

In (4a), fa is used as a complementizer, introducing the subordinate clause of the verb mafanontra 'know'. In (4b), fa is used as a conjunction 'but'. In (4c), fa is used to mean 'because'.

The aim of the present paper is to describe verbal complementation in Malagasy and to consider how Malagasy complementation reflects the "binding hierarchy" proposed by Givón (1980, 1990). Special attention is given to the consideration of the semantic conditions that govern the appearance of fa as a complementizer. The organization of the paper is as follows: §2 describes three types of complement clauses in Malagasy and discusses what kinds of verbs can take each complement type. §3 shows how the three types of complement clauses reflect the binding hierarchy and how the occurrence of fa may be accounted for. §4 comprises the conclusion.

2. Three Types of Verbal Complement Structures

This section describes three types of Malagasy verbal complementation and considers the syntactic/semantic characteristics of each type.

Type A

Consider the following pair:

(5) a. Nilaza i Koto hoe "ti-a-ko i Soa"
    past-say Koto QUOT like-1sg(gen) Soa
    Koto said, "I like Soa"

b. Nilaza i Koto fa (1a am) Soa izy
    past-say Koto that like ACC-Soa 3sg(nom)
    'Koto said that he liked/disliked Soa'

(5a) and (5b) represent direct speech and indirect speech, respectively. In (5b), Nilaza is the main-clause verb and i Koto is the main-clause subject. The fa-clause is the complement clause selected by the main-clause verb nilaza. The sentence has the word order VSO, where O is a complement clause headed by fa. I will call this complementation structure Type A. Let us take a look at other verbs that can take a Type A complement:

(6) Mino aho fa handeha any NY izy.
    pres-believe 1sg(nom) COMP fug-to to NY 3sg(nom)
    'I believe that s/he will go to NY'

(7) Mafanontra aho fa handeha any NY izy.
    pres-know 1sg(nom) COMP fug-to to NY 3sg(nom)
    'I know that s/he will go to NY'

(8) Fany aho fa handeha any NY izy
    happy 1sg(nom) COMP fug-to to NY 3sg(nom)
    'I am happy that s/he will go to NY'

(9) Nandre aho fa handeha any NY izy.

past-hear 1sg(nom) COMP fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
'I heard that s/he is going to NY'

(10) Nuhita aho fa namitaka ahy iry
past-see 1sg(nom) COMP past-cheat 1sg(acc) 3sg(nom)
'past found that s/he cheated me'

(11) Nanapakevirira aho fa handehe any NY iry
past-decide 1sg(nom) 'COMP fut-go to NY 3sg(nom)
'I decided that s/he should go to NY'

(12) Manaaky isika fa mahay mithia tsra indrinda iry
agree 1pl(incl,nom) COMP able to sing good most 3sg(nom)
'We agree that s/he is the best singer'

(13) Manantra i Koto fa hahita an'iso aho
hope Koto COMP fut-see ACC-Soa 1sg(nom)
Koto hopes that I will see Soa'

(14) Mahatadidy aho fa nandeha any NY iry.
remember 1sg(nom) COMP past-go to NY 3sg(nom)
'remember that s/he went to NY'

(15) Nanadino aho fa nandeha any NY iry.
past-forget 1sg(nom) COMP past-go to NY 3sg(nom)
'I forgot that s/he went to NY'

In the above examples, fa is obligatorily present and cannot be omitted. The verb iva
('like'), however, can occur with or without fa: 8

(16) Tiako (fa) hianatra any angilisy iry
like-1sg(gen) (COMP) fut-study English 3sg(nom)
'Lit. I like that s/he will study English'

Examples (6)-(16) suggest that the Type A complement clause is just like an
independent/main clause in terms of VOS word-order. The complement-clause verb is tensed and
tense agreement does not generally exist between the main-clause verb and the complement-clause
verb. 6

pres-know 1sg(nom) COMP [pres/past/fut-go] to NY Koto
'I know that Koto [goes/went/will go] to NY'

There are cases, however, where the Type A complement clause becomes less like an
independent/main clause. We have so far seen examples where the main-clause subject and the
complement-clause subject are non-coreferential; when the two are coreferential, the complement-
clause subject may not overtly be expressed. 7 Compare, for example, (12) and (13) with (18) and
(19), respectively:

(18) Manaaky isika fa baso(mbooka aloha (*isika)
past-agree 1pl(incl,nom) COMP fut-start early
'We agreed that we should start early'

(19) Manantra aho fa hahita an'iso Koto (*aho)
pres-hope 1sg(nom) COMP fut-see Koto
'I hope that I will see Koto'

To sum up the properties of Type A complementation:
The sentence has the VSO word order, with O being a complement clause headed by fa.

The complement clause has the same word order as the basic main clause (i.e., VOS).

The complement-clause subject is unrestricted in terms of coreference with the main-clause subject. The complement-clause subject may not be expressed when it is coreferential with the main-clause subject.

The complementizer fa is obligatory except with the verb tia (‘like’).

The complement clause is tensed. No intrinsic tense agreement exists between the main-clause verb and the complement-clause verb.

Type B

It was observed in (18) and (19) that the complement-clause subject may not be expressed when it is coreferential with the main-clause subject. There is another way of coding the situation where the complement-clause subject/agent is coreferential with the main-clause subject/agent. Compare the following examples of Type B complementation.

(21) a. Nanaiky isika fa hanomboka aloha (=18)
    past-agree 1pl(incl, nom) COMP fut-start early
    ‘We agreed that we should start early’

b. Nanaiky (fa) hanomboka aloha isika
    past-agree (COMP) fut-start early 1pl(incl, nom)
    ‘We agreed to start early’

On the surface, it is not clear whether isika in (21b) is main-clause subject or complement-clause subject; however, Randrianasirianana (1986:497-98) provides syntactic evidence that it is the complement-clause subject, rather than the main-clause subject, that undergoes deletion. Assuming his argument, then, (21b) has the word order VOS, where O is a complement clause, which is optionally headed by fa and has no overt subject. (21a) and (21b), on the other hand, have in common that the complement clause is tensed. I will call the complementation pattern exemplified in (21b) Type B. 8

Let us look at more examples of Type B complementation. Just like manaky (‘agree’), verbs manapakevitira (decide’) and manantena (‘hope’) can take a Type B complement as well as a Type A complement. Compare (11) and (13) with (22) and (23), respectively:

(22) Nanapakevitira (fa) hande ha any NY aho
    past-decide (COMP) fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
    ‘I decided to go to NY’

(23) Manantena (fa) hatia an’i Koto aho
    pres-hope (COMP) fut-see ACC-Koto 1sg(nom)
    ‘I hope to see Koto’

Notice that in (21)-(23), the complementizer fa is optional in this construction, unlike the Type A complement, where fa is generally obligatory. 9

The verbs mahatady (‘remember’), manadina (‘forget’) and tia (‘like’) can take a Type B complement as well as a Type A complement; however, unlike (21)-(23), they cannot have fa in Type B complement:

(24) Nahatady (fa) nivydy gazety aho
    past-remember past-buy newspaper 1sg(nom)
I remembered to buy a newspaper

Nanadino (*fa) nhidika ny rova aho
past-forget  past-visit the palace 1sg(nom)
'I forgot to visit the palace'

Tia (*fa) miteny fantsay aho 33
like  pres-speak French 1sg(nom)
'I want to speak French'

We have so far seen verbs that can take both Type A and Type B complements. The following are examples where the verb can take a Type B complement, but not a Type A complement:

Nikasa (*fa) nianatra teny angilisay aho
past-intend  past-study English 1sg(nom)
'I intended to study English'

cf. *Nikasa aho fa hianatra teny angilisay

Natandranana (*fa) nianatra teny angilisay aho
past-try  past-study English 1sg(nom)
'I tried to study English'

cf. *Natandranana aho fa nianatra teny angilisay

Nanomboka (*fa) nianatra teny angilisay izy
past-begin  past-study English 3sg(nom)
'S/he began to study English'

cf. *Nanomboka izy fa nianatra teny angilisay

Nahavita (*fa) nianatra teny angilisay izy
past-finish  past-study English 3sg(nom)
'S/he finished studying English'

cf. *Nahavita izy fa nianatra teny angilisay.

Nanajanona (*fa) nianatra teny angilisay izy
past-stop  past-study English 3sg(nom)
'S/he stopped studying English'

cf. *Nanajanona izy fa nianatra teny angilisay.

Unlike Type A complementation, there exists tense agreement between the main-clause verb and the complement-clause verb; for example, it is reported by the consultant that the main-clause verb tense and the complement-clause verb tense have to agree for verbs such as 'try', 'begin' and 'stop'.

To sum up the syntactic characteristics of Type B complementation:

a. The sentence has the VOS word order, where O is a complement clause.
b. fa is optionally present for some verbs but not for others.
c. The complement clause lacks an overt subject.
d. The complement-clause subject/agent is interpreted as coreferential with the main-clause subject/agent.

type C

Some verbs allow the following two types of complementation:
(33) a. Mino aho fa handeza any NY izy. (=6)
    pres-believe 1sg(nom) COMP hit-go to NY 3sg(nom)
    I believe that he will go to NY

b. Mino aho ny Bana aho any NY izy.
    pres-believe 3sg(acc) fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
    I believe him to go to NY

(34) a. Mahafantatra aho fa handeza any NY izy. (=7)
    pres-know 1sg(nom) COMP fut-go to NY 3sg(nom)
    I know that he will go to NY

b. Mahafantatra aho ny Bana aho any NY izy.
    pres-know 3sg(acc) fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
    I know him to go to NY

The (a) examples of (33) and (34) have Type A complements. The (b) examples of (33) and (34) have the word order VOS, with O being a complement clause, where its agent is expressed as the main-clause object, i.e., azy (3sg acc), I will call this complementation structure Type C. Notice, however, that the complement-clause verb is tensed in the (b) examples. Here are some more examples of Type C complementation:

(38) Nilaza an'i Soa handeza any NY aho. (cf.5b)
    past-say ACC Soa fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
    I talked about Soa going to NY

(39) Nandre azy niteny angilisy aho. (cf.9)
    past-hear 3sg(acc) past-speak English 1sg(nom)
    I heard him speaking English

(40) Nahtita azy namitaka azy aho. (cf.10)
    past-see 3sg(acc) past-see English 1sg(nom)
    I found him to have cheated me

(41) Mananstenia ahy habita an'i Soa i Koto. (cf.13)
    hope 1sg(acc) fut-see ACC Soa Koto
    Koto hopes for me to see Soa

(42) Mahatadidy azy nandela any NY aho. (cf.14)
    pres-remember 3sg(acc) fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
    I remember that he went to NY

(43) Nanadino azy nandela any NY aho. (cf.15)
    past-forget 3sg(acc) fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
    I forgot that he went to NY

(44) Tia azy kianatra teny angilisy aho. (cf.16)
    like 3sg(acc) fut-study English 1sg(nom)
    I want him to study English

There are some verbs that can take a Type A complement, but not a Type C complement:

(45) *Faly azy handeza any NY aho. (cf.8)
    happy 3sg(acc) fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
    I'm happy that he will go to NY

(46) *Nanapacevitra azy handeza any NY aho. (cf.11)
    past-decide 3sg(acc) fut-go to NY 1sg(nom)
    I decided that s/he should go to NY

(47) *Manaiky azy tsubay miitra tsara indrindra isika. (cf.12)
    pres-agree 3sg(acc) able slog good most 1pl(incl,nom)
    'We agree that s/he is the best singer'
Type C complements can be used to express causative meanings. There are basically two ways of expressing causative in Malagasy: morphological causative and periphrastic causative. Morphological causative is made by prefixing *amp(a)- to the base of the verb. In periphrastic causative, verbs such as manery /notere- (‘force’, ‘order’, ‘make’) and mamely lavela- (‘allow’, ‘let’) are used. In (49) and (50), the (a) examples use a Type A complement and the (b) examples use a Type C complement:

(49) a. Notereko (*fa) hividy fianarioria izy past-force-1sg(gen) fut-buy car 3sg(nom) ‘I forced him to buy a car’
   b. Nanery ahy hividy fianarororidia aho past-force 3sg(acc) fut-buy car 1sg(nom) ‘I forced him to buy a car’

(50) a. Naveloky (*fa) [handehia/nandeha] any NY izy past-allow-1sg(gen) [fut-go/past-go] to NY 3sg(nom) ‘I allowed him to go to NY’
   b. Namely ahy [humelo/ia/handeha] any NY aho past-allow 3sg(acc) (fut-go/past-go) to NY 1sg(nom) ‘I allowed him to go to NY’

Note that fo is impossible in (49a) and (53a). Also, it seems to be the case that only non-active counterparts can take a Type A complement, while only active counterparts can take a Type C complement. Compare (49) and (50) with the following:

(51) a. Nannery aho fa hividy fianarioria izy past-force 1sg(nom) COMF fut-buy car 3sg(nom) ‘I forced him to buy a car’
   b. *Notereko ahy hividy fianarioria past-force-1sg(gen) 3sg(acc) fut-buy car

(52) a. ??Namely aho fa handehia any NY izy past-allow 1sg(nom) COMF fut-go to NY 3sg(nom) ‘I allowed him to go to NY’
   b. *Navelako ahy handehia any NY past-allow-1sg(gen) 3sg(acc) fut-go to NY

As the above examples show, the complement-clause verb of Type C complementation is tensed; however, tense agreement is observed between the main-clause verb and the complement-clause verb. Let us see the following as an example:

(53) a. Nanery ahy [handehia/nandeha] any NY aho, fa tsy nanalohaka izy past-force 3sg(acc) (fut-go/past-go) to NY 1sg(nom), but NEG past-go 3sg(nom) ‘I forced him to go, but he didn’t’

The past tense of the complement-clause verb implies that the causee actually went to NY, making it sound contradictory to add ‘he didn’t go’. The future tense, on the other hand, does not have such an implication; therefore, it is not contradictory to add ‘he didn’t go’. Thus the complement clause verb tense serves to distinguish implicativity.
When the main-clause causative verb is in the future tense, it logically follows that only non-implicative future tense can appear in the complement-clause verb. This proves correct as the following example indicates:

(54) Hanery azy [handeha/mandeha/manlela] any NY aho
fat-make him [fat-goa/present-goa/past-goa] to NY lag(nom)
I will make him go to NY

To sum up the characteristics of Type C complementation:

(55) a. The sentence has the word order VOS, with O being a complement clause.
b. The complement-clause agent is expressed in the accusative case.
c. The complement verb is tensed and tense agreement is observed.
d. fa cannot occur in this complementation.

3. Malagasy Complementation and Givón’s Binding Hierarchy

Givón (1980, 1990) proposes the concept of “binding” to capture systematic and iconic correlations between the semantics of complement-taking verbs and the syntactic structure of their complements. “Binding” is defined as “The stronger the influence exerted over the agent of the complement clause by the agent of the main-clause verb, by whatever means, the higher is the main-clause verb on the binding scale” (Givón 1980:335). The basic claim is summarized as follows:

(56) The higher a verb is on the binding scale, the less would its complement tend to be syntactically coded as an independent/main clause. (Givón 1980:337)

Givón (1980, 1990) classifies complement-taking verbs into three major classes as in (57) and demonstrates, with cross-linguistic evidence, that manipulative verbs and modality verbs occupy higher positions on the binding scale than cognition-utterance verbs:

(57) (i) Cognition-utterance verbs (‘say’, ‘think’, ‘know’, etc.)

(58)

\[
\text{cognition-utterance verbs} \quad \rightarrow \\
\text{modality verbs} \\
\text{manipulative verbs}
\]

WEAKEST BOND ←---------→ STRONGEST BOND

As for cognition-utterance verbs, Givón (1980:345) postulates the following scale and cites cross-linguistic evidence that the higher cognition-utterance verbs on the scale tend to develop either modality or manipulative senses.
(59) 'say' < 'think' < 'decide' < 'hope' < 'want'
     'believe' 'agree' 'remember'
     'know' 'expect' 'forget'

weak bond <-----------------> strong bond

The binding of the verb correlates negatively with the degree to which its complement appears syntactically similar to a main clause. More specifically,

(60) The higher a verb is on the binding scale,
(i) the less is the agent in its complement/embedded clause likely to exhibit the case-
     marking characteristic of main-clause subjects/agents/topics
(ii) the less is the verb of its complement clause likely to exhibit the tense-aspect-
     modality markings characteristic of main clauses
(iii) the more is the verb in its complement clause likely to be predicate-raised, i.e.
     lexicalized as one word with the main verb
(iv) the less the main clause and the subordinate clause are likely to be separated by a
     subordinator (or a physical pause)

       (Givón 1980:338, 1990:560-561)

It is now rather obvious that Malagasy verbs that take Type A, Type B, and Type C complementation described in §2 may correspond to cognition-utterance verbs, modality verbs, and manipulative verbs, respectively. This section aims to examine how Malagasy verbal complementation described in §2 reflects the syntactic ramifications (60).

The overall picture

The following is a summary chart that shows which Malagasy verb can take which complementation type. In the columns of Type A and Type B, it is indicated whether the occurrence of fa is obligatory, optional, or prohibited (indicated by V, (V), and *, respectively):19
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>TypeA</th>
<th>TypeB</th>
<th>TypeC</th>
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Using the above chart, let us consider what kinds of verbs take which types of complement clause. First, we can observe that cognition-utterance verbs and non-active forms of manipulative verbs can take Type A complements, but modality verbs can’t.

As for Type B complement, modality verbs typically take it, but manipulative verbs can’t. It is well expected that higher cognition-utterance verbs on the binding scale (ct. (59)) may take a Type B complement, but what is peculiar is that in addition to higher-positioned verbs such as ‘hope’, and ‘want’, verbs as low on the scale as ‘say’, ‘believe’, ‘know’ can take it:

(62) Milaza fa bandeha izy
pres-say COMP fut-go 3sg(nom)
S/he says that s/he will go.

(63) Mino (fa) hamarana tery angilisy aho
pres-believe (COMP) for-study English 1sg(nom)
w/f fa: ‘It is likely that I will study English’
w/o fa: ‘I believe that I will study English’
(64) Mahafantatra fa handeha any NY aloh. pres-know COMP fat-go to NY 1sg(nom)
I know that I will go to NY.

As for Type C complement, active forms of manipulative verbs can take it, but modality verbs can’t. Again, higher cognition-utterance verbs on the binding scale are expected to take a Type C complement (and it is indeed the case with verbs like ‘hope’ and ‘want’), but verbs as low on the hierarchy as ‘say’ and ‘know’ can take it as well.

In sum, cognition-utterance verbs in Malagasy are peculiar in that they can participate in complementation patterns that stronger-binding verbs (manipulative/modality verbs) typically take. Except for this, we could say that there is a correlation between cognition-utterance verbs and Type A complement, modality verbs and Type B complement, and manipulative verbs and Type C complement.

Syntactic dimensions: case-marking, verb-form and co-lexicalization

Let us next consider how (60 i-iii) are reflected in the Malagasy complementation patterns. As for (60 i), it was observed in §2 that a complement-clause agent is expressed just like a main-clause subject in Type A complements, whereas it is not overtly expressed in Type B complements, and it is expressed as a main-clause object in Type C complements.

As for (60 ii), it was shown in §2 that no tense agreement generally exists between the main-clause verb and the complement-clause verb in Type A complementation, but there is tense agreement of some sort in Type B complementation and Type C complementation.

As for (60 iii), it was observed in §2 that no tense agreement generally exists between the main-clause verb and the complement-clause verb in Type A complementation, but there is tense agreement of some sort in Type B complementation and Type C complementation.

Let us next turn to (60 iii). As far as our data are concerned, there is no co-lexicalization of the complement-clause verb and the main-clause verb in either Type A, Type B, or Type C complementation. Since Type B complementation, however, has the main-clause verb and the complement-clause verb in sequence, it is conceivable that Type B complementation may develop co-lexicalization. The following examples may be considered examples of co-lexicalization:

(65) a. te-hanaiky hanasa ny zaza Rasou fa tsy afaka (Kreenen 1976:279) want-agree wash the child Rasou but not free ‘Rasou wants to agree to wash the child but (she) isn’t free (to do so)’
   b. ta-handeha rahamintso izy (Milara 1893, 1963:857) want-fut-go tomorrow 3sg(nom)
       ‘I’ll veut partir demain’ (S/he wants to go tomorrow)

(66) Miama-mentiny io zaza io (Malag 1893, 1963: 138)
   pres-learn pres-speak that child
   ‘Get enfant commence à parler’ (That child starts to talk)

The complete forms of toha and minox are tia and minatso, and here they elision to the complement-clause verbs. I am not sure, though, how common and wide-spread this phenomenon is.

It can be concluded from the above that syntactic ramifications (60 i-iii) are observed in the three complementation patterns of Malagasy.

Occurrence of the complementizer fa.

Lastly, let us consider how (60 iv) is reflected in Malagasy complementation. It was observed in §2 and summarized in Chart (61) that cognition-utterance verbs generally take fa.
obligatorily in Type A complementation, except for the verb *tia* (‘like’, ‘want’), which takes *fa* optionally. Notice that the verb *want* is cross-linguistically situated higher on the binding scale than more typical cognition utterance verbs such as ‘say’, ‘believe’, and ‘know’ (cf. 59). Furthermore, manipulative verbs when they take a Type A complement cannot have *fa*. Thus, we may generalize for Type A complementation that the higher a verb is on the binding scale, the less likely it is to take *fa*.

Let us next consider the occurrence of *fa* in Type B complementation. Chart (61) indicates that *fa* is impossible for modality verbs and stronger-binding cognition utterance verbs such as *mahatadafa* (‘remember’), *manafira* (‘forget’), and *tia* (‘want’). For other cognition utterance verbs, *fa* is either obligatory or optional in Type B complementation. This again supports the generalization that the higher a verb is on the binding scale, the less likely it is to take *fa*. As for Type C complementation, it is impossible to have *fa*, regardless of the verb class.

To conclude, we may propose the following generalization:

(67) The higher a verb is on the binding scale, the less likely it is to take *fa*.

This observation shows that Malagasy complementation reflects (60 iv), namely, the higher a main-clause verb is on the binding scale, the less the main clause and the subordinate clause are likely to be separated by a subordinator.

4. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been two-fold: description of Malagasy verbal complementation and examination of the binding hierarchy with respect to the Malagasy data. For the former, this paper has classified Malagasy verbal complementation into three types, described structural/semantic properties of each type, and provided a list of verbs that take each complementation type. For the latter, it has been shown that Malagasy verbal complementation generally supports Givón’s claims about syntactic reflections of the binding hierarchy, and that the occurrence of *fa* can be accounted for in terms of the strength of binding of the main-clause verb.

NOTES

1 This is a revised version of my course paper for Field Methods instructed by Professor Suzanne Kemmer in Spring 1993 at University of California, San Diego. I am greatly indebted to Aurelien Rajoharison for patiently acting as consultant. I am also grateful to Professor Suzanne Kemmer for her comments on the course paper, to all the students who attended the course and Ron Sheffer for their help, and to a reviewer of KWPL for comments. Any remaining errors and inadequacies are, of course, my responsibility alone.

2 See Dyen (1971) for a succinct overview of the language.

Richardson (1885:144) gives 'for', 'but', 'therefore', 'because', 'that' as the meanings of fa. Keenan (1976:274) notes that "We note that fa above is a very general sentential connective in Malagasy. It is often used with contrastive effect, like but in English, but also serves to introduce sentential complements of verbs of thinking, saying, etc., and as well serves as a largely contentless discourse connective."

See Keenan (1976:276-277) for his arguments for positing an underlying VOS order for these sentences.

There is a significant semantic difference between the sentence with fa and the one without fa: the sentence with fa means 'I like the fact that he is going to study English/I am happy that he is going to study English', whereas the sentence without fa means 'I wish he would study English'. The difference seems to concern facticity of the complement.

I use the term "tense agreement" in the sense that the complement-clause verb tense is dependent in one way or another on the main-clause verb tense. Cf. Givón (1990:531).

Keenan (1976) calls this rule Equi-1 and notes that "It is not fully clear whether Equi-1 is obligatory"; see Keenan (1976:276-278) for more details.

This construction corresponds to Keenan's (1976) Equi 2 and to Randriamasimanana's (1986) Equi 1.

Keenan (1976:278) and Randriamasimanana (1986:501) state that no complementizer can be present in Type B complement ("Equi-2") construction in Keenan and "Equi-1" construction is Randriamasimanana, but it seems to be the case that, at least for some verbs, the complementizer fa can optionally be present in Type B complements. This will be discussed more later below.

The complementation of the verb iat ("like", "want") is unlike other verbs in that the main-clause verb tense is expressed by the complement-clause verb; the replacement of miteny by miteny (past-speak) and niteny (fut-speak) would make the sentence mean "I wanted to speak French" and "I will want to speak French" respectively.

Randriamasimanana (1986:500) states that future tense marker is mandatory for Type B construction (= "Equi 1" in his term), but it appears to be the case that future tense is not always mandatory.

See Keenan (1976) and Randriamasimanana (1986) as they formulate "Raising to Object (R-O)" to derive this complement type.

Randriamasimanana (1986:536), however, lists the verb manaisy as a raising verb.

See Randriamasimanana (1986) for a detailed study of the causatives of Malagasy.

Randriamasimanana (1986:6) calls any(a), manery and mameyla "neutral Directive", "coercive", and "permissive", respectively. See Randriamasimanana (1986: ch.1) for other Malagasy causative construction types. Also, Randriamasimanana (1986) distinguishes between
raising and equi, and derives (49b) and (50b) by Equi-2 in his term. In this paper, I will not be concerned with the difference between raising and equi, and stick to the surface similarity between the two. cf. Langacker (1993).

The same contrast is observed when namery (past-order) is replaced by namela (past-allow). Randriamasimanana (1986:77-78) claims that there is no entailment in coercive and permissive causatives, but his examples use complement-clause verbs in future tense.

See Cooreman (1984) for an application of the concept to Chamorro.

See Givón (1990:518, 533) for the semantic definitions of each class of verbs. Note, especially, that his usage of "modality" is somewhat different from the common usage in the linguistics literature, he defines modality verbs as "The main verb codes inception, termination, persistence, success, failure, attempt, intent, obligation or ability --- vis-a-vis the complement state/event" (Givón 1990:533).

This chart is based on a limited number of sentences I checked with the consultant. It is possible, I am aware, that particular choice of lexical items or pragmatic factors may have affected the results. Future research is necessary to determine whether (or how) discourse pragmatics --- in addition to the matrix verb semantics --- can influence the occurrence of fa.

It is a task for future research to see if there is any restrictions on aspect and modality for each complementation type.

REFERENCES


