

Two Notes on Copy Structures in Malagasy

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SUMMARY

Malagasy presents an elaborate system of demonstrative adjectives. They frame to nominal or verbal constituent that they determine: Dem+X(P)+Dem. This constituent may be syntactically complex, so demonstrative copying is unbounded. We finish with some brief examples of locative deictics which admit of copying in certain cases. Almost all our examples are taken from newspapers or elementary level school books.

RÉSUMÉ

Le malgache présente un système assez élaboré d'adjectifs démonstratifs. Ils encadrent le syntagme nominal ou verbal qu'ils déterminent: Dem+X(P)+Dem. Ce syntagme peut-être syntaxiquement complexe ce qui fait que le copiage du démonstratif est non-borné. Nous terminons avec quelques remarques sur les démonstrative locatifs qui se laissent copier dans certains cas. Presque tous nos exemples sont pris des journaux ou des livres scolaires de bas niveau.

1 INTRODUCTION

Malagasy presents a considerable variety of grammaticized forms which appear to involve overt copying—at least the expressions contain copies of words, often at some distance from each other, which are interpreted as a semantic unit. Here I review a few of these and then focus, briefly, on two which have been little discussed in the generative literature. I note merely their productivity and a possibly unexpected self-embedding they induce.

At one end of the copy spectrum we count the highly productive use of reduplication, well attested in Western Austronesian languages (Tagalog, Indonesian). In Malagasy it often, but not always, has a weakening effect: *maro* 'many': *maromaro*

‘somewhat many’; *mandeha* ‘goes’: *mandehandeha* ‘walks around a bit’; *latabatra* ‘table’: *latabatabatra* ‘sort of a table’. See Keenan and Polinsky (1998) and Keenan and Razafimamonjy (2000).

A less well known structure and one that is more syntactic than reduplication (which applies primarily to roots or verbs of the form *maN*+root) is phrasal copying, discussed in Keenan et al. (2017):

- (1) a. Niasa dia niasa Rabe.
worked DIA worked Rabe
‘Rabe really worked.’
- b. Niasa fe niasa Rabe.
worked FE worked Rabe
‘Rabe worked half-heartedly.’

The *dia* construction is quite common in texts, with adjectival predicates especially: *lalina dia lalina* ‘very deep’, etc. The *fe* construction is much less widespread (but still cited in Rajemisa-Raolison 1976, henceforth RR).

I don’t know if adjectival copying with a particle is any sort of general construction across languages, though I have recently found an example in Burmese (J&HT 2016:125):

- (2) kàun ‘good’;
kàun-hmà-kàun ‘good+prt+good’ = really good

In Malagasy a significant range of syntactic complexity is allowed in the copy, (3), but not the full range of VPs, (4):

- (3) Maniry ho any aminy dia maniryho any aminy aho.
desire IRR there to+him DIA desire IRR there to+him I
‘I really desire to go to his place.’
- (4) * Mamboatra trano honenan’ny fianakaviany DIA mamboatra trano
repair house in.which.will.live his.family DIA repair house
honenan’ny fianakaviany Rabe.
in.which.will.live his.family Rabe
Intended: ‘Rabe really repairs the house in which his family will live.’

So it seems that *X dia/fe X* is a construction type in Malagasy, where X can be a syntactically non-trivial tensed VP, but not freely chosen.

A third type of well attested copy structure is of the form *na (XP) Q_{int} na (XP) Q_{int}*, meaning roughly *whatever XP*, as in:

- (5) a. na iza na iza
 or who or who
 ‘whoever’ (lit. Or who? Or who?)
- b. na mpianatra iza na mpianatra iza
 or student who or student who
 ‘whatever student’ (lit. Or student who? Or student who?)
- c. Tsy nahita na iza na iza tany aho.
 not saw or who or who PST.there I
 ‘I didn’t see anyone there.’
- d. ny ratsy vitantsika na tamin’iza na tamin’iza ... [RR]
 the evil done.by.us or PST.prep’who or PST.prep’who...
 ‘the evil we do to whomever (...we will pay for later)’

A paraphrase of (5b) is *na iza na iza mpianatra* ‘or who or who student’. And as the XP gets longer, speakers prefer this form. Thus “whatever foreign student” is preferably *na iza na iza mpianatra vahiny...* though the fully copied form is recognized without problem and the preference, while clear, seems more like a performance one than a purely grammatical one. See Paul 2005.

Now, the primary copy structure we look at here is the elaborate system of demonstrative determiners, as seen in (6).

- (6) Mitomany mafy io zaza io.
 cries strong that child that
 ‘That child is crying hard.’

The demonstrative *io* ‘that’ frames the NP it determines. Malagasy presents a half dozen such demonstratives, with variants. RR lists six in the singular, which differ in meaning, roughly, from closest to speaker to farthest from speaker:

- (7) ity, ito, io, itsy, iny, iroa, irý
this.close ⇒ ... ⇒ *that.far*

Ity and *iry* are, unusually, stressed on the last syllable, as noted, the others on the penultimate syllable, per the usual pattern. We use standard orthography, in which word final *y* and word internal *i* are /i/. Cousins 1885, already notes *ito* as obsolete. RR and A&M note longer variants for some of these, e.g. *ity* ⇒ *itony*, *itikitra*, without suggesting any semantic or pragmatic differences.

More importantly, these singular demonstratives form plural forms by infixing *-re-*, which carries main stress, after the initial *i*:

- (8) ireto, ireo, iretsy, ireny, ireroa, irery
these.close ⇒ ... ⇒ *those.far*

Comparing (7) and (8) we infer that the singular *ito* has died out, but its plural form is retained as the plural form of *ity*, where the expected **irety* does not exist. Malagasy has no other number marking morphology, and *-re-* is only used with these demonstratives

and three pronouns: nominative you: *ianao* / *ianareo*; accusative you: *anao* / *anareo* and one less widely used third person form *rizareo* (only plural), understood, vaguely, to be on the other side of something.

- (9) Efa naneho ny heviny ry zareo syndiká mikasika... [JR:30]
 already showed DET thought.3GEN 3pl union concerning...
 ‘The unions have already shown their opinion concerning...’

The demonstratives in (7) and (8) have various specialized uses (See JR LXII – LXV for extensive discussion). These are not our focus, but we note the case of *ireo*. It is often used without repetition as, in effect, a plural definite article (10).

- (10) Hahafaly ny mpanoratra ny handray faniniana avy
 FUT.make.happy the ER.write DET FUT.get critique come
 amin’*ireo* mpampianatra mampiasa ity boky ity.
 from’the.PL ER.cause.learn PRES.make.work this book this
 ‘The author will be happy to receive critiques from the teachers who use this
 book.’ [JLR 1971]

Malagasy uses *ny* as a generalized determiner, often with a definite interpretation, but it is non-committal concerning number. Overt numerals, and quantifiers can force a plural meaning, as can various adverbs with meanings like “floated” *each* in English.

- (11) Inona avy no anaran’ny volana amin’ny taona iray?
 what each FOC name’DET month prep’DET year one
 ‘What are the names of the months in a year?’

The (grammatically optional) distributive marker *avy* ‘each’ forces *ny volana* ‘the month(s)’ to be understood as plural, though we see in *ny taona iray* ‘DET year one’ that *ny* can accompany a singular indefinite.

We note also that *ireo*, and several nouns, may augment the third person nominative and accusative pronouns, *izy* and *azy*, forcing a plural reading.

- (12) a. Faly izy.
 happy he/she/they
 ‘He/she/they is/are happy.’
 b. Faly izy ireo.
 happy 3 the.pl
 ‘They (*S/he is) are happy.’
 c. Faly izy mivady.
 happy 3 spouse
 ‘They (spouses) are happy.’
 d. Faly izy roa lahy.
 happy 3 two man
 ‘The two men are happy.’

A second major affixal variant of the core demonstratives in (7) are those in (13) with infix *-za-* forming a series in which the object marked is either not visible, or vague, or just abstract, even temporal:

(13) *izaty, izato, izao, izatsy, izany, izaroa, izary*

In (13) *izao* ‘this, now’ and *izany* ‘that, abstract’ occur very frequently. The others do not occur in my texts. RR lists *izay* as a variant of *izao*, but many of its uses are non-deictic.

(14) ...tao anatin'*izany* taona maro *izany* dia niova be ihany Ambositra
... PST.there in'that year many that TOP PST.change much even A.
‘...in those many years Ambositra changed a lot even so’

(15) ... nentiny tao amin'*izao* foto-pibasy ao andrefan-tranony *izao*
(he) was led there PREP'DEM base-loquat there west-house DEM
‘(He) was brought by him to that base of the loquat tree to the west of his house’ [IKM]

RR cites plural forms for the determiners in (13): *izareto, izarety, izareo*, etc. The latter occurs in the already cited *rizareo* (*ry zareo*) but otherwise these forms basically do not occur in the texts at my disposal. A further set of less systematically derived forms are presentatives: *inty, indro, indreo, indreto* in which the consonant is prenasalized. But these forms do not enter copy constructions.

(16) Inty ny zara fihinananareo.
voici the portions for.you.to.eat
‘Here are the portions for you to eat.’

2 WHAT CAN DEMONSTRATIVES FRAME?

We can not fully answer this question but we do show that they can frame syntactically complex NPs and Predicate Phrases, nominalized or not. So Malagasy copies over considerable distances. Our examples so far, except (6) and the accidental *ity boky ity* in (10), are ones which the framed phrases have non-trivial internal syntactic structure. In fact in (15), the ‘base of the loquat tree to the west of his house’ is respectably complex. Here are some other examples, like (14) and (15), all taken from school readers, newspapers, or the occasional novel.

We note that framed demonstratives, like the generalized determiner *ny* and the previous reference article *ilay*, can combine with modified NPs, nominalized VPs and tensed VPs to yield nominals with the meaning ‘the one(s) who ...’.

(17) ... ny fisian'*ireo* vahiny maro *ireo*
the existence'these foreigners many these
...‘the presence of these many foreigners’

- (18) ... *ireny* raharaha tamin-dRandriampeno *ireny*
 ... those matters PST+concerning-Randriampeno those
 ‘... those matters concerning Randriampeno’
- (19) Iza *iretsy* mpianatra mividy boky *iretsy*?
 Who those student buy book those
 ‘Who are those students (who are) buying books?’ [RRR 3]
- (20) ... tamin’*izao* trano lehibe rihan-droa misy lavarangana kely eo
 ... PST.PREP that house big storey-two with balcony little there
 andrefan-trano *izao* no nahatazanany an-dRazaimalala.
 west-house that FOC PST.seen.by.them ACC-Razaimalala
 ‘It was there at that big two storey house with a little balcony
 on the west side of the house that they saw Razai.’ [IKM]
- (21) *iny* resaka nifanaovan’ny manampahefana ambony tao amin’ny
that discussion PST.REC.done’by the officials high PST.there on’
 ny fahitalavitra tamin’ny zoma alina 20 aogositra *iny* momba ...
 the television PST.PREP’the Friday evening 20 Aug. that about...
 ‘That discussion the high officials had with each other there
 on the television on Friday evening the 20th of August about...’
- (22) Nokendrena ho anareo *ity* boky famakiana teny malagasy *ity*
 intended for you.pl this book for reading language malagasy this
 ‘This book for readings in Malagasy is intended for you.’ [JLR]
- (23) ... *io* anana maitso mavana sy maha-te-hihinana *io* [LB]
that plant green edible and make-want-eat that
 ‘That edible and delicious plant’
- (24) Ireto rano samihafa loko anaty tavoahangy *ireto*
Those liquids diverse color in bottles those
 ‘Those liquids of different colors in bottles’ [LohaRano T.8]
- (25) ... *irony* laza adina fanome amin’ny fanadinana *irony*
 ... those exam subjects given on’the exams those
 ‘... those exam subjects regularly given on the exams’
- (26) Razay dia faly tamin’*izany* fialany ao an-tanàna *izany*
 Razay TOP happy PST+at’that leaving.their there LOC-town that
 ‘Razaimalala (she) was happy at their leaving from that town’
- (27) ... *izany* fikarakara-ny sy fanolokoloa-ny an-dRazaimalala *izany*
 ... that care-their and good+treatment-their ACC-Razai. that
 ‘Their care and good treatment of Razaimalala (was great)’

We illustrate for the reader the morphosyntactic complexity of the expression framed by *izany ... izany* in (27). *fikarakarány* is the habitual nominalization (*f-*) of the circumstantial form *ikarakarána* of the transitive active verb *-ikarakára* ‘take care of’, whence it is a three place predicate. (I also marked stress.) One argument is expressed by the genitive *-ny* ‘their’, so *fikarakarany* is a transitive nominal (built from an inherently reduplicated root *karakara*). *Fanolokoloany* is analyzed identically. These two nominals coordinate forming a syntactically complex transitive nominal. *An-dRazaimalala* is the accusatively marked (*an-*) direct object of that transitive nominal.

Now here are some overtly tensed VPs framed by demonstratives.

- (28) Iza *io* manao ny fitafiako *io?* [LB]
 who that PRES.do the clothes.my that
 ‘Who is that wearing my clothes?’
- (29) Tsy rivo-doza *iny* nandrava zavatra betsaka tany Antalaha
 not cyclone this destroyed thing many PST.there Antalaha
 tamin’ny talata *iny*
 PST.PREP’DET Tuesday this
 ‘This (thing that) destroyed many things there in Antalaha this
 past Tuesday was not a cyclone’ [JR; newspaper]

Equally the determiner *ny* forms arguments from tensed VPs, [NZ], in (30). (*Nitiavana* is the past tense of the circumstantial verb *itiavana*, built from the root *tia* ‘to love’; the noun ‘love’ is *fitiavana*).

- (30) Toy izany no niandohan’ny nitiavan’i Sahondra an-dRavalohery
 like that FOC was-begun’the PST.love’of art Sahondra ACC-Rava.
 ‘The love of Sahondra for Ravalohery was begun in that way’

3 SELF EMBEDDING

Framed demonstratives may self-embed. This, recall, was the property that Chomsky 1956 used to distinguish context free grammars from mere finite state ones.

- (31) Hatramin’**izao** daty anoratanay *ity* lahasoratra *ity* **izao**, dia
 up-to’present date write.by.us this text this present, then...
 ‘Up until the present date on which was written by us this text this present’
 (the leader of the nation has not yet been heard by us to have
 visited those tragedy-struck regions). (LaKroa newspaper 1994).
- (32) ireo biby nomeny anjara eto amin’**ity** anganon’izao andro izao **ity**
 these animals given role here prep’this talk this day this this
 ‘these animals given a role in this tale of that time’ [ISAM]

Of note: the initial *ireo* ‘the.pl, these’ can be copied at the end of (32) resulting in a triple embedding (thanks to Baholisoa Ralalaoherivony for the example):

- (32') *ireo* biby nomeny anjara eto amin' **ity** anganon' izao andro izao **ity** *ireo*
- (33) *Izany* fitombon'ny herin' *ity* mpanjaka vaovao *ity izany* dia ...
that growth'the force'this ruler new this that TOP...
 'that growth of the power of this new ruler...' [Chapus]
- (34) ... ny fomba fiasa ao Tsimbazaza ao amin' *izao* fotoam-pivoriana
 DET manner NOM.work there Tsi. there PREP'not time-meeting
 faharoa amin' **ity** taona **ity** *izao*?"
 second PREP'this year this now
 '... the manner of working there at Tsimbazaza in this second session in this year'

The self-embedding pattern in these examples is consistent with the distribution of framed demonstratives and other discontinuous operators that do not involve copying. (35) illustrates the *na (dia) +X+ aza* 'even...though' construction and (36) illustrates Negation + NPI, which frame predicate phrases:

- (35) **na dia** *iny* rahona kely mpiserana eto *iny aza*,...
 Even dem cloud small flitting-by there dem though ...
 'Despite that small cloud passing by...'
- (36) ... **tsy** nahalala *izao* fahasambarana safo-morona *izao akory* izy
 ... not known that happiness overpowering that npi she
 '... She hadn't known that overpowering happiness at all' [NZ]

Note that (32) and (34) involve the same pair of demonstratives: *ity...ity* and *izao...izao* but the embedding order is reversed in the two examples. Thus the data do not support that e.g. more specific/visible is always embedded in less specific/non-visible.

Also I have found no examples in which the right edges of the demonstratives cross:

- (37) * *izao daty anoratanay ity lahasoratra izao ity.*
 the-present date on.which.we.wrote this article present this

A native speaker check supports the * in (37). So proper self embedding is fine but the crossing dependency in (37) is not. It is the crossing dependency which we see in Dutch or Swiss German VPs which takes us out of the context-free domain (if iterable).

4 LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

Locative demonstratives present a series comparable to (7), but they accompany location denoting expressions:

- (38) *etý, éto, éo, étsy, ény, eróa, erý*
 here.close ⇒ ... ⇒ there.far

In their most common use they are not framing expressions, occurring just once, obligatorily:

- (39) Mipetraka *(*any*) Antsirabe aho.
 PRES+sit NON.PST.there Antsirabe 1s.NOM
 ‘I live in Antsirabe.’

- (40) ... ny fomba fiasa *eny* Tsimbazaza [JR]
 ... the manner of working there Tsimbazaza
 ‘... the manner of work in Tsimbazaza’

These locatives do not have morphological plurals, but they do inflect for past/non-past and visible/non-visible to speaker (usually; the specifics are more complicated). The base *é* indicates visible to speaker (usually). Replacing this vowel with *a* we obtain another seven member series used with the same distance interpretation but now indicating non-visible to speaker: *atý, áto, áo, ...* Finally, the forms in each of the two series given indicates non-past. Prefixing a *t-* indicate past, as in (42), and (41) below which contrasts with (39).

- (41) Nipetraka tany Antsirabe aho.
 pst+sit pst.there Antsirabe 1s.nom
 ‘I lived in Antsirabe.’

Interrogative *aiza?* ‘Where?’ also marks past with *t-*, *taiza?* ‘Where (in the past)?’, as does the generalized preposition *amy/amina, tamy/tamina*, and the adverb *aloha* ‘before’ / *taloha* ‘formerly’.

- (42) a. Taiza izy omaly?
 PST.where he yesterday
 ‘Where was he yesterday?’
 b. Tany Antsirabe izy.
 PST.LOC Antsirabe he
 ‘He was in Antsirabe.’
 c. Tsy tany aho.
 not PST.there 1s.NOM
 ‘I wasn’t there.’
 d. Ho aiza ianao?
 FUT where you.NOM
 ‘Where are you going?’

Given these preliminaries, we note that these locative deictics do sometimes iterate, hence their interest here, though I do not know how to define the environments in which this happens. (34), *ao Tsimbazaza ao*, is already one example. A few others are:

(43) ... lasa niakatra *tany* amin'ny Zanahary *tany* [LB]
 ... went pst.ascend pst.loc prep'det God pst.loc
 '... (they) went up there to God'

(44) ... nahita bibilava *tato* anaty lavaka *tato* aho [LB]
 ... sawsnake pst.loc in hole pst.loc 1s.nom
 '... I saw a snake there in a hole'

Often when past tense locative deictics frame an X only the first carries the past tense *t-*, as in (45), just two pages from (43).¹

(45) ... zanaky ny mpanjaka avy *tany* an-dafin'ny tany atsimo *any* [LB]
 ... son of the ruler come pst.loc loc-side'the earth south loc
 '... son of the ruler from the southern side of the land'

(46) *Tany* aorianany *any*, niala tao anaty rano I Volamazava.
pst.loc after.3gen loc, went.out there in water art Volamazava
 'Afterwards Volamazava came out from in the water.'

The past marking *t-* on demonstratives and adverbs is independent of that on verbs, which is *n-/no-*. The relation between the two is not one of simple agreement though at times it may appear so:²

(47) Handeha #*tany* / ho *any* Antsirabe aho.
 will.go PST.there FUT there Antsirabe 1.nom
 'I will go to Antsirabe.'

(47) with *tany* is pragmatically bizarre in the same way as English #*I will go to Antsirabe yesterday*. The future locative *ho any* is natural. But past and non-past *tany/any* may both occur with a past tense verb with subtly different meanings:

(48) Niakatra hianatra *any* / *tany* Antananarivo Rabe.
 pst.ascend fut.study there / pst.there Antananarivo Rabe
 'Rabe went up to study in Antananarivo.'

In (48), if tensed *tany* is used we infer that Rabe has already returned, the studying being completed, while if untensed *any* is used we infer that Rabe is still in Antananarivo. This usage is confirmed in RR:139. (The future *hianatra* (*h-/ho-* = future) is used as it is an irrealis complement of *niakatra* 'went up'; Malagasy does not have a distinct infinitival form). Here are some further non-past examples:

¹ The middle *tany* in (45) is independently the word for 'land'.

² h+aN+leha = FUT+ACT+go

- (49) Ny vava dia tonga *aty* ambadika *aty!* [LB]
 the mouth top arrive here behind here
 ‘The mouth comes here behind!’
- (50) Dia ho entinay *any* amin’ny Zanahary *any* ianao [LB]
 then FUT carried.by.us there prep det God there you.nom
 ‘Then you are carried by us there to God’
- (51) Mitpetraha *eto* ambody hazo *eto* ambara-piveriko. [RR:138]
 sit.imp here at-base tree here until-return.my
 ‘Sit here at the foot of the tree until I return.’
- (52) lasa fisainana *eo* anilan’ny varavarakely *eo* [ETSY]
 went thought there next.to’the window there
 ‘(He) went absorbed in thought next to the window’

When used as locative adverbials (but not when used as prepositions) *akaiky* ‘near’ and *lavitra* ‘far’ often take framed locatives:

- (53) Misy fivarotam-boky vaovao *atsy* akaiky *atsy* [RRR 1]
 exist store-book new here near here
 ‘There is a new bookstore near here’
- (54) a. Aiza no misy tsena?
 where FOC exist market
 ‘Where is there a market?’
 b. *Ary* lavitra *ary* no misy tsena.
 there far there FOC exist market
 ‘There far away is a market.’

Finally, to close I note that framed demonstratives are quite frequent in texts; framed locatives are much less so. I have not found any examples of properly self-embedded locatives, though they may embed framed demonstratives:

- (55) Ny nahatongavany **teo** amin’*io* toerana *io* **teo** [LB]
 DET PST.arrival.his PST.there prep’this place this PST.there
 hono dia nobaben’ny reniny
 doubtless TOP PST.carried.on.back’the mother.his
 ‘His managing to arrive here at this place, one assumes, is due
 to being carried by his mother on her back’

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