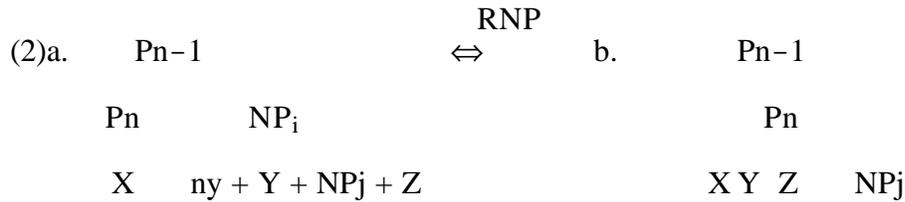


(2b) is said to be "derived", NP_j in (2b) is called the "raised NP"; the Predicate X is said to "host" the raising and to "incorporate" the "remnant" Y+Z.



We now consider the range of instances of RNP according to the value of n (just 1 or 2) and the syntactic nature of X, Y, and Z and the types of NP_i and NP_j involved.

I. Possessor Raising (PossR)

Here NP_j is the syntactic possessor of NP_i. We consider first cases in which n = 1, so NP_i is the subject of its clause and NP_j the subject after raising. In the most common case,

1. P1 is Adjectival. (1), (3) and (4) are illustrative (with stress marked in (4)):

<p>(3) a. Marary ny zana-dRabe sick the child-of-Rabe <i>Rabe's child is sick</i></p>	<p>b. Marary zanaka Rabe sick child Rabe <i>Rabe has/is afflicted with a sick child</i></p>
---	---

<p>(4) a. Maráry ny kíboko sick the belly-my <i>My stomach aches</i></p>	<p>a'. Maràry kíbo aho sick belly I <i>I am sick in the stomach</i></p>
--	---

<p>b. Róvitra ny vódin'ny hárona torn the bottom-of-the basket <i>The bottom of the basket is torn</i></p>	<p>b'. Ròvi-bódy ny hárona torn bottom the basket <i>The basket has a torn bottom</i></p>
--	---

<p>c. Téry ny trànonáy / Téry ízy tight the house-our cramped it <i>Our house is cramped It is cramped</i></p>	<p>c'. Tèry tráno ìzaháy tight house we <i>We live in cramped quarters</i></p>
--	--

<p>d. Ráva ny tránony destroyed the house-his <i>His house was destroyed</i></p>	<p>d'. Ràva tráno izy destroyed house he <i>He was house-wrecked</i></p>
--	--

1.1 the major constituent break

1.1.1 Pronominal sisters to P1s are drawn from the series *aho, ianao, izy, ...*, called *nominative* (possessors are drawn from the morphologically dependent series *-ko, -nao, -ny, ...*, called *genitive*). The presence of the nominative pronouns in (4a',c',d') thus supports that the preceding Adj+N is a P1. Equally the subject NPs in (4) are replaceable by nominative pronouns, as per (4c). Secondly, P1s in general are marked by rising intonation which peaks at the last main stress in the P1. This property clearly identifies the Adj+N as a P1 in the raised Ss. Further constituency tests (see Keenan 1976, 1995 and Pearson 1996) are illustrated in (5): interrogative particles are placed

between the P1 and the subject, (5a). Negation plus negative polarity items frame the P1, (5b). The concessive particles *na dia ...aza* frame the P1 (5c), and only the subject NP may be relativized, (5d).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (5) a. Marary ve ny zana-dRabe?
sick Q the child-of-Rabe
<i>Is the child of Rabe sick?</i> | b. Tsy marary intsony/akory ny zana-dRabe
not sick longer/at all the child-of-Rabe
<i>Rabe's child isn't sick any longer / at all</i> |
| c. na dia marary aza ny zana-dRabe...
though sick even the child-of-Rabe...
<i>even though the child of Rabe is sick...</i> | d. ny zaza (izay) marary
the baby (who) sick
<i>the baby that is sick</i> |

These tests show that the major constituent break in (3b) is between *zanaka* 'child' and *Rabe*, and cannot be placed between *marary* 'is sick' and *zanaka* 'child'.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (6) a. Marary zanaka ve Rabe?
<i>Does Rabe have a sick child?</i> | a'. *Marary ve zanaka Rabe |
| b. Tsy marary zanaka akory Rabe
<i>Rabe doesn't have a sick child at all</i> | b'. *Tsy marary akory zanaka Rabe |
| c. na dia marary zanaka aza Rabe
<i>although Rabe has a sick child</i> | c'. *na dia marary aza zanaka Rabe |
| d. ny olona (izay) marary zanaka
<i>the person (that) has a sick child</i> | d'. *ny zanaka (izay) marary Rabe
<i>the child (that) Rabe has sick</i> |

1.1.2 Adj+N coordinates with other P1s, (7), supporting that they have the same category.

- (7) a. Efa fotsy volo sy antitrantitra Rabe
already white hair and old(redup) Rabe
Rabe is already white haired and oldish
- b. Sady mazoto no kinga saina izy
both energetic and adroit mind she
She is both energetic and quick minded
- c. Be sandry sady mihetraketraka Rabe
big arms and looks+for+trouble Rabe
Rabe is strong and looks for trouble
- d. Very hevitra ka miherikerika fotsiny Ranaivo
lost thought and+so looks+around only Ranaivo
Ranaivo is confused and so just looks from side to side

The second conjuncts in (7c,d) are tensed active intransitive verbs built from roots by prefixing the active *i-* and then *m-*, which varies with *n-* 'past' and *h-* 'future'.

1.1.3 the predicate formed by RNP retains the categorial status of its host

So Adj+N exhibits adjective-like behavior: it accepts modification, (8), enters comparative (9) and superlative (10) constructions, modifies nouns (11), and forms optatives (12).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (8) a. Tena marary zanaka izy
very sick child he | b. Saika very vola be ianao
almost lost money big you |
|---|--|

He is very afflicted with a sick child

You almost lost a lot of money

(9) a. Marary kokoa noho Ranaivo Rabe
sick more than Ranaivo Rabe
Rabe is sicker than Ranaivo

b. Marary zanaka kokoa noho Ranaivo Rabe
sick child more than Ranaivo Rabe
Rabe is more afflicted with a sick child than is Ranaivo

a'. Lehibe (kokoa) Rabe noho Ranaivo
big emph Rabe against Ranaivo
Rabe is bigger than Ranaivo

b'. Lehibe vatana Rabe noho Ranaivo
big trunk Rabe against Ranaivo
Rabe has a bigger body than Ranaivo

(10) Marary zanaka ny olona maro any, fa ny marary zanaka indrindra dia Rabe
sick child the people many there, but the sick child most part. Rabe
Many people there have sick children, but the most afflicted with a sick child is Rabe

(11) a. Tsy tonga ilay olona maty vady
not arrived that person died spouse
That (aforementioned) person who was widowed hasn't arrived

b. Manam-pahefana ireny firenena be vola ireny
have-power those nations big money those
Those nations with wealth have power

(12) a. (?) Sóa ny dianao
nice the trip-of-you:gen

b. Soáva dia (ianao)!
(You:nom) have a nice trip!

Equally root adjectives commonly causativize with the prefix *-aha-*, creating of course a P2 (transitive verb) which takes pronouns from the *accusative* series *ahy* 'me', *anao* 'you', *azy* 'him,her,it,them', ...as arguments. E.g. *finaritra* 'is pleasing', *mahafinaritra* 'makes pleasing'; *tsara* 'good', *mahatsara* 'renders good', etc.

(13) a. Gaga aho
surprised I:nom
I am surprised

b. Mahagaga ahy izany
surprises me:acc that
That surprises me

And we find that P1s of the form [Adj + N] also causativize with *-aha-*; other prefixes, such as *amp-*, are used to causativize verbal P1s:

(14) a. Ratsy ny fanahiny
bad the spirit-his:gen
His character is bad

b. Ratsy fanahy izy
bad spirit he:nom
He has a bad character

c. ny namany ihany no naha-ratsy fanahy azy
the friends-his only foc past+cause-bad spirit him:acc
It was just his friends who made him mean spirited

Of course the causative of the P1 *ratsy fanahy* 'bad spirit/character' is transitive so its argument is accusative as per (14c).

1.2 Incorporation of the remnant. By *incorporation* we intend that (1) the remnant forms a tight constituent with the host predicate, and (2) the derived predicate has the same categorial status

as its host, and so presents the range of syntactic and morphological behavior associated with that category. This is what we just showed in 1.1.3 for adjectival hosts. Below we support (1). We note that while incorporation in Malagasy does not involve inserting material properly within the verbal morphology, our usage is consistent with that in S. Rosen (1989) and Mithun (1984) who classify types of Incorporation across Ls.

But, like object incorporation into transitive verbs in Malagasy, possessive head incorporation into P1s is quite different from the noun incorporation in Mohawk (Baker 1996). Malagasy has no verb agreement with arguments, so argument incorporation is not motivated by the Morphological Visibility Condition. Nor are incorporated Ns "referentially active" in Malagasy. They cannot be definite and do not antecede pronouns. We note:

(15) Possessive head incorporees are always indefinite/generic (à la différence de Mohawk)

- a. *Maty ny vady Rabe b. *Maty azy ireo Rabe
 dead the spouse Rabe dead 3:acc.pl Rabe

(16) Incorporees do not naturally antecede pronouns or empty categories.

- a. Maty ny vadin-dRabe. Efa antitrantitra (izy) (izy, Ø = Rabe's spouse)
Rabe's spouse died. already oldish (she)
- b. ?*Maty vady Rabe. Efa antitrantitra (izy).
Rabe was widowed. already oldish (she)

In (16b) it is not natural to interpret the gap or the pronoun *izy* '3:nom' as referring to Rabe's spouse; only *Rabe* is a natural antecedent despite its pragmatic unnaturalness.

(17) Incorporees may not strand quantifiers or modifiers:

- a. Marary ny zana-dRabe sasantsasany/rehetra/lehibe indrindra
 sick the child-Rabe:gen some/all/biggest
Some/all/the eldest of Rabe's children are/is sick
- b. *Marary zanaka Rabe sasantsasany/rehetra/lehibe indrindra
 sick child Rabe:nom some/all/biggest

We consider now some ways in which the remnant is tightly bound to its predicate host.

1.2.1 stress reduction: the derived Pn is a prosodic word (in the simplest case)

The P1 [Adj+N] reduces main stress on the Adj to secondary (noted `), with the effect that [Adj+N] has the stress pattern of a prosodic word: a single main stress (noted ,), occurring finally, inherited from the remnant. This pattern is noted in (4).

1.2.2 adverbs cannot separate Adj + N

- (18) a. Madio lalandava ny akanjon-dRabe b. Madio akanjo lalandava Rabe
 clean always the clothes-of-Rabe clean clothes always Rabe
Rabe's clothes are always clean Rabe always dresses clean
- c. *Madio lalandava akanjo Rabe
 clean always clothes Rabe

- (19) a. Maty tampoka ny vadin-dRabe
died suddenly the spouse-of-Rabe
Rabe's spouse died suddenly
- b. Maty vady tampoka Rabe
died spouse suddenly Rabe
Rabe was suddenly widowed
- c. *Maty tampoka vady Rabe
died suddenly spouse Rabe
- (20) a. Fotsy tokoa ny nifiny
white especially the teeth-her
Her teeth are especially white
- b. Fotsy nify tokoa izy
white teeth especially she
She really has white teeth
- b'. *Fotsy tokoa nify izy
white especially teeth she

1.2.3 the phonological bonding between Adj+N and P2+ bare DO is the same:

The final syllables *-na*, *-ka-*, and *-tra* of hosts drop and an initial continuant of the following word mutates to the corresponding non-continuant. See Keenan & Razafimamonjy 1996 for a detailed presentation. (21) illustrates Bonding with DOs of transitive verbs.

- (21) a. Manana vola izy ⇔ Manam-bola izy
has money she
- b. Mangalatra fary izy ⇔ Mangala-pary izy
steals sugar-cane he
- c. Mandatsaka vato izy ⇔ Mandatsa-bato izy
drops stones (= votes) he

(22) is one case of possessive head bonding. Some others are (4b), (35b), and (69b).

- (22) a. Tapaka ny fe+ny "His leg is broken" ⇔ Tapa-pe izy "He has a broken leg"
- b. Tsotra ny fiaina+ny "His life is simple" ⇔ Tso-piaina izy "He has a simple life"

Bonding is basically obligatory between P1s and possessive heads; less so for DOs and P2s. Phonological bonding occurs in other contexts (e.g. reduplication) but not between a P1 of any sort and its subject: "Rabe is kneeling" = *Mandohalika Rabe*, **Mandohali-dRabe*.

1.2.4 nominalizing Adj+N predicates arises in two ways, and both are remarkable in that possessors/agents of the nominalized predicates occur outside the incorporated material (which seems natural but which is in fact unusual in the Malagasy context).

Circumstantial forms of verbs are built from active ones by suffixing active verbs and shifting stress rightward. They are used (Keenan 1995) when an oblique is presented as subject. (23b) is illustrated with a Benefactive subject. (24b) is the *f*-nominalization.

- (23) a. n+i+vidy akanjoho an'ny ankizy Rasoa
past+act+buy clothes for'the children Rasoa:nom
Rasoa buys clothes for the children
- b. n+ividi+anan-dRasoa akanjo ny ankizy
past+buy+circ-Rasoa:gen clothes the children:nom
The children are bought clothes for by Rasoa

- c. ny fividianan-dRasoaka akanjo
 the nom+buy+circ-Rasoaka:gen clothes
Rasoaka's clothes buying

In (23b,c) the Agent phrase *Rasoaka* is bound as a genitive complement of *nividianana*. *akanjo* 'clothes' is accusative in all three examples. The bare DO *akanjo* is arguably incorporated into the predicate in (23a). Adverbs, PPs or other accusative objects cannot separate it from the P2. But in non-active forms, such as passives and circumstantials, the Agent Phrase "n-bonds" as a genitive complement (See Paul 1996 for details) of the verb, separating the verb and its accusative complement. This is even true when the P2 + bare DO is idiomatic, as shown in (24), where *baraka* is a borrowing and essentially only occurs with verbs built from the root *ala*, and (25), where *mitsongo dia* 'lit: pinch step' is a pure idiom meaning 'spies on'.

- (24) a. Manala baraka an'i Soa i Vao b. Alan'i Vao baraka i Soa
 remove:act honor acc'art Soa art Vao remove:pass-art Vao:gen honor art Soa
Vao dishonors Soa *Soa is dishonored by Vao*

- c. Mahamenatra ny fanalan'i Vao baraka azy
 causes-shame the removal-art Vao:gen honor her:acc
Vao's dishonoring her is shameful

- (25) a. Mitsonga dia an'i Soa Rakoto b. Tsongoin-dRakoto dia i Soa
 pinch:act step acc'art Soa Rakoto pinch:pass-Rakoto:gen step art Soa
Rakoto spies on Soa *Soa is spied on by Rabe*

- c. Lasa lavitra ny f+itsongoan-dRakoto dia an'i Soa
 goes far the nom+pinch:circ-Rakoto:gen step acc'art Soa
Rakoto's spying on Soa is extensive

In contrast, the possessor of nominalizations of the circumstantial forms of causative verbs built from predicates that hosted RNP occurs obligatorily exterior to the incorporated possessive noun. NB: hyphens are present in standard Malagasy orthography; + is not, but is used by us to indicate morpheme boundaries.

- (26) a. Kinga ny sain-dRasoaka b. Kinga saina Rasoa
 adroit the mind-Rasoaka:gen adroit mind Rasoa
Rasoaka's mind is adroit *Rasoaka is quick thinking*
- c. ny f+aha+kingan-tsaina d. ny fahakingan-tsain-dRasoaka
 the nom+cause-adroit-mind the nom+cause+adroit-mind-Rasoaka:gen
quick thinkingness *Rasoaka's mental agility*
- e. *ny fahakingan-dRasoaka saina
 the nom+cause+adroit-Rasoaka:gen mind
Rasoaka's mental agility

(27a) is taken from a recent newspaper article. Note that demonstratives frame the nominals they determine.

- (27) a. izany fahakingan-tana+ny dia fahakingan-tsai+ny izany...
 that adroitness-hand+his and adroitness-mind+his that ...
his manual and mental adroitness (at playing cards)
- b. Ny f+aha-ratsi+am-panahi+n-dRabe no naha+faty azy

Incorporated remnants in our examples have all been single lexical items. But they may accept a limited amount of modification as long as they preserve the individual level character of the derived predicate, which argues that Adj+Remnant PIs are not merely complex lexical items (as per S. Rosen 1989). In fact in (32d) the modifier itself is derived by RNP.

- (32) a. *Maty zanaka hendry Rabe* "Rabe suffers the death of his well behaved child"
 died child well-behaved Rabe
- b. *Marary zana-dehibe ve Rabe?* "Is Rabe is afflicted by the illness of his eldest child"
 sick child-big Rabe
- c. *Very kirarao mafy toto Rabe* "Rabe suffers the loss of his force-withstanding shoes"
 lost shoes strong pounding Rabe
- d. *Maty vady tsara fanahy Rabe* "Rabe suffered the loss of his nice characterized wife"
 died spouse good spirit Rabe

On the other hand the host Adj (*maty, marary, etc.*) does seem to be limited to (possibly tensed marked) lexical items. One might attempt to say that e.g. in (19a) the PI *maty tampoka* 'died suddenly' hosts the raising and the noun *vady* 'spouse' moves across the adverb. But this would leave a subtle semantic difference between (19a,b) unaccounted for. The difference is clearer replacing *tampoka* 'suddenly' with *indroa* 'two times'. Then (19a) suggests, implausibly, that Rabe's spouse died twice, whereas (19b) just says, plausibly, that Rabe was widowed twice. Even coordination of acceptable adjectival hosts is unnatural:

- (33) a. *Fotsy nify izy* b. *Kely nify izy* c. **?Fotsy sy kely nify izy*
 white tooth he small tooth he white and small tooth he
He has white teeth *He is small toothed* *He is white and small toothed*

1.3 Semantic aspects of Raising from NP

1.3.1 the possessive head is often a relational noun, one that expresses a relation between objects rather than just a property of objects. Body parts and kin terms are common, but more abstract function nouns are not uncommon (34a-c), and non-relational Ns denoting commonly possessed things are also common, (34d,e).

- (34) a. *Tsara endrika Raso*a a'. *Tsara ny endri-dRaso*a
 good appearance Raso good the appearance-of-Raso
Raso is pretty *Raso's appearance is good*
- b. *Saro-drafitra io fehezan-teny io*
 difficult-structure this sentence this
This sentence has a difficult structure
- b'. *Sarotra ny rafitr'io fehezan-teny io*
 difficult the structure-of-this sentence this
The structure of this sentence is difficult
- c. *Lava anarana ity fanafody ity*
 long name this medicine this
This medicine has a long name
- c'. *Lava ny anaran'ity fanafody ity*
 long the name-of-this medicine this
The name of this medicine is long
- d. *Madio akanjo Rabe*
 clean clothes Rabe
Rabe dresses cleanly
- d'. *Madio ny akanjon-dRabe*
 clean the clothes-of-Rabe
Rabe's clothes are clean
- e. *Be vola ity firenena ity*
 big money this nation this
- e'. *Be ny volan'ity firenena ity*
 big the money-of-this nation this

This nation is wealthy

The money of this nation is a lot

1.3.2 the raised possessor may be human, inanimate (35a), abstract (35b), even mass, (35c):

(35) a. Vaky kodiarana ny fiara
broken wheel the car
The car has a flat tire

a'. Vaky ny kodiaran'ny fiara
broken the wheel-of the car
The wheel of the car is broken

b. Nihen-danja ny fahaizan-dRabe
decreased-weight the knowledge of R
Rabe's knowledge diminished in quality

b'. Nihena ny lanjan'ny fahaizan-dRabe
decreased the weight-of the knowledge-of R
The quality of Rabe's knowledge decreased

a. Mitovy endrika ny rano sy ny toaka
same form the water and the rum
Water and rum look the same

c'. Mitovy ny endrin'ny rano sy ny toaka
same the form-of the water and the rum
The appearance of water and rum is the same

1.3.3 the derived predicate is individual level, expressing a stable property of the derived subject, which explains the judgments in (36), whose predicates are stage level. Subjects

(36) a. Tezitra/Vizaka ny zana-dRabe
angry/tired the child-of-Rabe
Rabe's child is angry/tired

b. *Tezitra/*Vizaka zanaka Rabe
angry/tired child Rabe
Rabe has an angry/tired child

of the derived P1s are usually interpreted as "implicated" or "involved" in the state expressed by the P1. In some cases this overrides stability or permanence of the P1 property, as in (4a') *Marary kibo aho* 'I'm sick in the stomach'.

1.3.4 the raised NP is not necessarily benefactive or malefactive (contra the analysis of C.Rosen and M.Baker for S. Tiwa). Stability may outrank affectedness.

(37) a. Roa ny lelan'ny antsipikany
two the blades-of the pocket-knife-his
The blades of his pocket knife number two

a'. Roa lela ny antsipikany
two blade the pocket-knife-his
His pocket knife is two bladed

b. Maro ny karazan'ny trano eto
many the types-of the houses here
The types of houses here are numerous

b'. Maro karazana ny trano eto
many types the houses here
The houses here are of many types

c. Samihafa ny endrik'izy ireny
divers the appearance-of 3 dem+pl
Their appearances are diverse

c'. Samihafa endrika izy ireny
diverse appearance 3 dem+pl
They look different

((37c) is a simple matter of fact; (37c') is more of a judgment and awareness of perception on the part of the speaker). The predicates in these expressions are not activity predicates, and the subjects of the RNP Ss are in no sense Benefactive or Malefactive. And recall, (23a), that in apparent distinction to S. Tiwa, Malagasy does have a benefactive preposition *ho an-* (often written *hoan-*) and a grammatically regular way of presenting such NPs as subjects, (23b).

1.3.5 semantic shift Many common predicates derived by PossR have an idiomatic meaning, whereas the expressions with possessive NP subjects have a literal meaning, more restricted in application, and occasionally even ungrammatical:

(38) a. Tsara ny tarehi+ny / fo+ny / fanahi+ny

a'. Tsara tarehy / fo / fanahy izy

- | | |
|--|--|
| good the face+her / heart+his / mind+his
<i>Her face is good/pretty</i>
<i>Her heart is good</i>
<i>His spirit/mind is good</i> | good face / heart / spirit s/he
<i>She/He/It is pretty</i>
<i>She is good hearted</i>
<i>He is a nice guy</i> |
| b. Maranitra ny maso+ny / ny sai+ny
sharp the eyes+his / the mind+his
<i>His eyes are sharp / His mind is sharp</i> | b'. Marani-maso/tsaina izy
sharp-eye / mind he
<i>He is sharp eyed / He is sharp</i> |
| c. ??Mafy ny rafitry ny sezanao
strong the structure-of-the chair-your
<i>The structure of your chair is strong</i> | c'. Mafy rafitra ny sezanao
strong structure the chair-your
<i>Your chair is well built</i> |
| d. Lava ny tongo+ny
long the feet+his
<i>His feet are long</i> | d'. Lava tongotra izy
long feet he
<i>He is always on the move</i> |
| e. Fotsy ny varavaran'i Soa
White the door-of'art Soa
<i>Soa's door is white</i> | e'. Fotsy varavarana i Soa
white door art Soa
<i>Soa is never at home</i> |
| f. *Mafy ny toton'ity kirarao ity
hard the pounding-of-this shoe this
no meaning | f'. Mafy toto ity kirarao ity
hard pounding this shoe this
<i>These shoes can take a lot of abuse</i> |

The PossR predicates above are all natural and express stable properties. Their putative sources on the left are less natural and differ from them in meaning. (38a) and (38a') differ in meaning as do *John's heart is good* and *John is good hearted*. Moreover something can be pretty (*tsara tarehy*) without having a face. (38c) is unclear in meaning; (38d') does not mean that he has long feet, nor does (38e') mean that Soa's door is white. (38f) is nonsensical.

2. P1 is non-adjectival

2.1 P1 = intransitive active verbs (IAVs)

- | | |
|--|--|
| (39) a. ?Miasa ny lohan-dRaso
works the head-of-Raso
<i>Raso's head is doing work</i> | a'. Miasa loha Raso
works head Raso
<i>Raso is preoccupied</i> |
| b. Miridiridy ny fihetsikin'i Be
is+rigid the movements-of'art Be
<i>Be's movements are rigid</i> (Rabenilaina 1991) | b'. Miridiridy fihetsika i Be
is+rigid movement art Be
<i>Be moves rigidly</i> |

These cases are less common than ones with adjectival hosts. Our consultants split on the acceptability of (40b), whereas the nearly synonymous (4d') with an adjectival host is fine.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (40) a. N+i+anjera ny trano+ny
past+act+fall the house+his
<i>His house collapsed</i> | b. ??Nianjera trano izy
past+act+fall house he
<i>He underwent house collapsing</i> |
|---|---|

In general the battery of properties exhibited for RNP predicates with adjectival hosts apply to ones with IAV hosts as well. We note just a few cases.

2.1.1 The constituency tests employed for adjectival predicates carry over directly: Question

Particle Placement (41), Adverb Placement (42) and Coordination (43).

- (41) a. Miasa loha ve Raso? works head Q Raso
Is Raso preoccupied? b. *Miasa ve loha Raso?
works Q head Raso
- (42) a. Miasa loha lalandava Raso works head always Raso
Raso is always preoccupied b. *Miasa lalandava loha Raso
works always head Raso
- (43) Miasa loha sady mifoka loatra i Soa works head and smokes much art Soa
Soa is preoccupied and is smoking a lot

2.1.2 Verbs expressing temporary or accidental properties do not host RNP

- (44) a. Mihomehy ny zana-dRabe is+laughing the child-of-Rabe
Rabe's child is laughing a'. *Mihomehy zanaka Rabe
is+laughing child Rabe

2.1.3 the source of RNP Ss may be idiomatic or ungrammatical

- (45) a. Mikaon-doha ny mpivory join-heads the attendees
The attendees reflected together b. *Mikaona ny lohan'ny mpivory
join the heads-of-the attendees

2.1.4 IAV+N behaves like active intransitive verbs: they have circumstantial forms, (46), and form imperatives, (47):

- (46) a. Inona no antony niasan-dRaso loha? what foc reason work+circ+gen-Raso head
For what reason was Raso preoccupied?
- b. Malahelo i Be noho ny firidiridiany fihetsika sad art Be because-of the rigidity-her (of) movement
Be is sad because of her rigidity of movement (Rabenilaina 1991)

- (47) a. Mijáiko famindra Raso is cautious manner-of-walking Raso
Raso is walking on eggs b. Mijaikóá famindra (ianao)! cautious (imp) manner of walking (you)
Walk gingerly

2.2 P2 is an (agented) passive verbs

- (48) a. Hetezan-dRabe ny volon-janany cut+by-Rabe the hair-of-child+his
The hair of Rabe's child is cut by him a'. Hetezan-dRabe volo ny zanany
cut+by-Rabe hair the child+his
Rabe's child has his hair cut by him
- b. Didin'ny dokotera ny nonon'i Soa cut+by'the doctor the breast-of-art Soa
Soa's breast was cut by the doctor b'. Didin'ny dokotera nona i Soa
cut+by'the doctor breast art Soa
Soa had her breast cut by the doctor

We see in 3 that RNP also applies to DOs of transitive verbs. We consider there the merits of deriving the passives above from their active counterparts.

2.3 P1 is an Adverb, incorporating a nominalized active verb

(55b,b') illustrate the incorporation of a nominalized IAV into an adverb. These expressions are very natural, and stand in the PossR relation to the much less natural (55c,c').

- (55) a. m+i+tranga matetika izany b. matetika f+i+tranga (mateti-pitranga) izany
 pres+act+often that often nom+act+often that:nom
That happens often *That's a frequent happening*
- c. Matetika ny f+itranga+n+izany (fitrangan'izany)
 often the nom+happen+gen+that
That's taking place is frequent
- a'. m+aN+leha (mandeha) miadana ny fiara / Rasoa
 pres+act+go slowly the car/Rasoa
The car/Rasoa is going slowly
- b'. miadana f+aN+leha (miadam-pandeha) ny fiara / Rasoa
 slow nom+act+go the car/Rasoa
The car/Rasoa goes slow
- c'. miadana ny fandeha+n'ny fiara / ny fandeha+n-dRasoa
 slow the going+gen'the car / the going+gen-Rasoa
Rasoa's / the car's habitual manner of going is slow

They further illustrate that the incorporee may be morphologically complex, containing at least the nominalizer *f-* and the active prefixes *-i-* and *-aN-*, also seen in (22).

Crucial to claim that RNP applies to the c-Ss is that the adverbs in question be able to occur as predicates. This is in fact the case: adverbs which do not occur as predicates do not host RNP, (56) – (58), nor do ones that do not take *f-* nominalized verbs as arguments, (59).

- (56) a. Miteny tokoa izy b. *Tokoa fiteny izy c. *Tokoa ny fiteniny
 speaks really he really nom+speaks he really the speaking+his
He really speaks
- (57) a. Miteniteny foana izy
 speak(redup) always/in vain he
- b. *Foa-piteniteny izy c. *Foana ny fiteniteniny
 always/in vain nom+speaks he always/in vain the speaking-his
- (58) a. m+ifamp+i+resaka isan-andro Rabe sy Rakoto
 pres+rec+act+conversation every-day Rabe and Rakoto
Rabe and Rakoto talk with each other every day
- b. *Isan-andro f+ifampiresaka Rabe sy Rakoto
 every-day nom-rec-talk Rabe and Rakoto

c. *Isan-andro ny f+ifampiresa-dRabe sy Rakoto
every-day the nom+rec-talk-Rabe and Rakoto:gen

(59) a. mipetraka ao an-trano i Koto
is-sitting there in-house art Koto
Koto sits/is sitting in the house

b. *Ao an-trano f+ipetraka i Koto
there in-house nom+set art Koto

c. *Ao an-trano ny fipetrak'i Koto
there in-house the sitting-of'art Koto

d. Ao an-trano i Koto
there in-house art Koto
Koto is in the house

3. P2's which host RNP. Here the raised possessor behaves as a DO of the derived P2. Such instances of RNP are less readily accepted than raising from subjects of P1s. We give many examples, all accepted by at least two speakers, to guarantee that we are not mistaking a few idioms for a regularity.

(60) a. Manety ny volon-jana+ny Rabe
cut the hair-of-child+his Rabe
Rabe cut the hair of his child

a'. Manety volo an-janany Rabe
cut hair acc-child+his Rabe
Rabe hair-cut his child

b. Manala ny fatoran'ny gadra Rabe
removed the bonds-of-the prisoner Rabe
Rabe removed the bonds of the prisoner

b'. Manala fatorana ny gadra Rabe
removed bonds the prisoner Rabe
Rabe bond-removed the prisoner

c. Mandidy ny nonon'i Soa ny dokotera
cuts the breast-of'art Soa the doctor
The doctor cuts the breast of Soa

c'. Mandidy nono an'i Soa izy
cuts breast acc'art Soa he
He breast-cuts Soa

d. Nanongotra ny nifin'i Soa ny reni+ny
pulled+out the tooth-of'art Soa the mother+her
Soa's mother pulled out her tooth

d'. Nanongotra nify an'i Soa izy
pulled+out tooth acc'art Soa she
"She extracted a tooth from Soa"

e. Manolo ny lamban'ny zana+ny Rasoa
change the clothes-of'the child+her Rasoa
Rasoa is changing the clothes of her child

e'. Manolo lamba azy Rasoa
change clothes him Rasoa
Rasoa is clothes-changing him

f. Mahatadidy ny tarehi+ny i Vao
remember the face+his art Vao
Vao remembers his face

f'. ?Mahatadidy tarehy azy i Vao
remember face him art Vao
Vao face-remembers him

g. Mampiasa ny lohako ity raharaha ity
make+work the head-my this matter this
This matter makes me think

g'. Mampiasa loha ahy iny
make+work head me that
That gets me thinking

The same constituency tests as used previously apply: Question particles (61), Adverb Placement (62, 63), Coordination with clear P2s (64).

(61) a. Manolo lamba azy ve Rasoa?
change clothes him Q Rasoa
Did Rasoa change his clothes?

b. *Manolo ve lamba azy Rasoa?
change Q clothes him Rasoa

(62) a. Nanolo lamba azy haingana Rasoa
changed clothes him quickly Rasoa
Rasoa changed his clothes quickly

b. *Nanolo haingana lamba azy Rasoa
changed quickly clothes him Rasoa

(63) a. Nanendaka an-keriny ny akanjon-dRabe Raso
 tore+off by+force the clothes-of-Rabe Raso
Raso tore off Rabe's clothes by force

b. Nanendaka akanjo an-keriny an-dRabe Raso
 tore+off clothes by-force acc-Rabe Raso
Raso did clothes tearing off to Rabe by force

c. *Nanendaka an-keriny akanjo an-dRabe Raso
 tore+off by-force clothes acc-Rabe Raso

(64) a. Sady nanety volo no nanasa mafy an'i Koto Raso
 both cut hair and washed hard acc'art Koto Raso
Raso both hair-cut and washed hard Koto

b. Sady tsy niarahaba no tsy nahatadidy anarana azy aho
 both not greeted and remembered name him I
I both didn't greet and didn't name-remember him
 (= I didn't greet him and didn't remember his name)

c. Nandrori-bolo sy nanongo an'i Soa i Vao
 pulled+out-hair and pinched acc'art Soa art Vao
Vao pulled out Soa's hair and pinched her

And some P2+Ns created by PossR are interpreted idiomatically and do not have a grammatical source or else differ in meaning considerably from that source:

(65) a. Mitaingim-bozona ny mpiasa ny tale
 mount-neck the workers the director
The director oppresses the workers

a'. *Mitaingina ny vozon'ny mpiasa izy
 mount the neck-of-the workers he

b. Manala baraka azy ny hava+ny
 remove honor him the relatives+his
His relatives dishonored him

a'. *Manala ny baraka+ny ny hava+ny
 remove the honor+his the relatives+his

Finally, P2+N have properties of basic P2s, transitive verbs (TVs): they combine with accusative NPs to make P1s, (60); they coordinate with lexical P2s, (64), and for some but not all speakers they form imperatives, (66).

(66) a. Manoló+a ny lamban'ny zanak+ao!
 change+imp the clothes-of-the child+your
Change your child's clothes!

a'. ?Manolóa lamba azy!
 change+imp clothes him:acc
Change him!

b. Mikapá ny ranjon-dRabe!
 break the legs-gen-Rabe
Break Rabe's legs

b. ?Mikapá ranjo an-dRabe!
 Break legs acc-Rabe
"Break him the legs"

Also if we take passivization as basic TV behavior then we see that RNP derived P2s passivize, just as TV+N idioms do (25a,b). Thus the passive corresponding to (60d') is (67a) and that corresponding to (60f') is (67b).

(67) a. N+ongot+an'ny reniny nify i Soa
 past+extract+pass'the mother-her:gen tooth art Soa:nom

Soa had her tooth extracted by her mother

- b. Tadidi+n'i Vao tarehy izy
remember+gen'i Vao face he:nom
He was recalled (by his face) by Vao

But in fact deriving passives from actives in Malagasy is unnatural (Keenan 1995). In many common cases (Keenan & Manorohanta 1998) the active is visibly derived from the passive. E.g. in (67b) the passive *tadidy* is a root. The active *mahatadidy* is built from it by prefixing *-aha-* and then present tense active *m-*. More generally actives and passives are independently derived from roots. In (67a) the root *ongotra* yields the active (pres) *manongotra* and the passive (pres) *ongotana*. And active morphology is not meaningless (Keenan 1995); it matches syntactic arguments with theta roles. But in the passive none of that active meaning is present as the syntactic arguments are different (the passive having a genitive not present in the active, the active having an accusative not present in the passive).

In addition to the general failure to relate actives and passives directly we find cases specific to RNP, where RNP to passives is judged better than to actives: (68a) was accepted by all speakers, but about half rejected RNP from DOs in (68b).

- (68) a. Hadino+ko anarana izy b. M+aN+hadino (manadino) anarana azy aho
forget+1sg:gen name 3:nom pres+act+forget name 3:acc 1sg:nom
He has his name forgotten by me *"I name forget him"*

Equally passive imperatives are judged by virtually all speakers to be better than active ones. Thus the passive of (66a), *Soloy lamba izy* 'be replaced (by you) clothes he' is accepted by all speakers, whereas not all accept (66a') and those that do prefer the passive. The preference for passive over active imperatives is general and not specific to RNP contexts. But given Compositionality it renders implausible that passive imperatives would be derived from, and hence interpreted as a function of, active imperatives, as many speakers hesitate in associating a meaning with active imperatives, whereas none do with passives.

Lastly, note that in RNP to DOs, it is the derived DO which is portrayed as involved or to which a stable property ascribed: e.g. having his hair cut in (60a'), being freed in (60b'), etc. And here involvement seems to win out more than stability.

4. Constraints on RNP We exhibit several constraints on (1) which sorts of Pn's may host RNP, and (2) which sorts of NPs can be raised out of.

4.1 Types of Pns which do not naturally host Raising from NP In almost all the excluded cases the Pn is syntactically and semantically "complex", where containing two or more content words counts as complex, as does causative and reciprocal morphology, but not tense and active or passive voice morphology. The one exception would be agented passives. As well one caveat is in order: the claim that no expressions of a certain grammatical form are acceptable cannot be supported with just a few instances. Perhaps further work will uncover examples we overlooked. In particular, complexity seems to promote stage rather than individual level interpretations, so our examples will not always discriminate these two factors.

4.1.1 Raising to Object Predicates (68a) below illustrates sentence complementation with active matrix verbs. In (68b) the subject of the complement clause is presented as a DO of the matrix verb, replaceable by an accusative pronoun (*azy*). (68c) shows that PossR does not apply here. (69), not derived by Raising to Object, shows that incorporated Ns do not control *ho* complements, arguably small clause predicates, whence the problem lies more with the non-referential status of

incorporated Ns, less with incorporating into complex predicates.

(68) a. Mihevitra Rabe fa mpangalatra ny zana-dRakoto
thinks Rabe that thief the child-of-Rakoto
Rabe thinks that Rakoto's child is a thief

b. Mihevitra ny zana-dRakoto ho mpangalatra Rabe
thinks the child-of-Rakoto as thief Rabe
Rabe claims the child of Rakoto to be a thief

c. *Mihevi-janaka an-dRakoto ho mpangalatra Rabe
thinks-child acc-Rakoto as thief Rabe

(69) a. Nangataka ny zana-dRabe ho vady aho
asked-for the child-of-Rabe as spouse I
I asked for Rabe's child as a wife

b. *Nangata-janaka an-dRabe ho vady aho
asked-for-child acc-Rabe as wife I

4.1.2 Pns with incorporated N. As in S. Tiwa RNP doesn't iterate.

(70) a.. Maty vady ny zana-dRabe
died spouse the son of Rabe

b. *Maty vady zanaka Rabe
died spouse son Rabe

4.1.3 transitive verb + object

(71) a. Nikapoka ny alika ny zanako
hit the dog the child+my
My child hit the dog

a'. *Nikapoka ny alika zanaka aho
hit the dog child I

a". *Nikapoka zanaka ny alika aho
hit child the dog I

b. Mamboly paraky ny havanay
cultivate tobacco the relatives-our
Our relatives cultivate tobacco

b'. *Mamboly paraky havana izahay
cultivates tobacco relatives we

b". *Mamboly havana paraky izahay
cultivates relatives tobacco we

c. Namono tena ny zana-dRabe
killed self the child-of-Rabe
Rabe's child killed himself

c'. *Namono tena zanaka Rabe
killed self child Rabe

Rabe underwent his child's suicide

(71c) shows that the reflexive pronoun, *tena*, counts as a DO for purposes of RNP.

4.1.4 circumstantial verbs

(72) a. Ipetrahako ny sezanao
sitting+in+by+me the chair+your
Your chair is being sat in by me

a'. *Ipetrahako seza ianao
sitting+in+by+me chair you

b. Iafenan'ny jiolahy ny tranony
hidden+in+by'the brigand the house+her
Her house is being hidden in by the brigand

b'. *Iafenan'ny jiolahy trano izy
hidden+in+by'the brigand house she

4.1.5 causatives of intransitive verbs used absolutely

(73) a. Mampatahotra ahy Rabe
cause+fear me Rabe
Rabe frightens me

a'. Mampatahotra Rabe
cause+fear Rabe
Rabe is frightening (causes fear)

Like *mampatahotra* we have *mampihomehy* 'makes laugh' and *mampalahelo* 'makes sad'. These P1s behave as transitive for purposes of PossR. The primed Ss below only have the causative reading, in which causative *amp-* scopes over the object, not the one associated with PossR in which we incorporate into the causative predicate.

(74) a. Mampatahotra ny vadin-dRaso
cause+fear the spouse-of-Raso
Raso's spouse is frightening

a'. Mampataho-bady Raso
cause+fear spouse Raso
Raso makes her spouse afraid
**Raso suffers spouse-frightening*

b. Mampihomehy ny zana-dRabe
cause+laugh the child-of-Rabe
Rabe's child is funny

a'. Mampihomehy zanaka Rabe
cause+laugh child Rabe
Rabe makes children laugh
**Rabe has laughing children*

c. Mampalahelo ny zana-dRabe
cause+sad the child-of-Rabe
Rabe's child is pitiful

c'. Mampalahelo zanaka Rabe
cause+sad child Rabe
Rabe makes children sad
**Rabe has sad children*

4.1.6 UOD (unspecified object deletion) predicates

(75) a. Misotro toaka izy
drink booze he "*He drinks rum*"

a'. Misotro izy
drink he "*He drinks*"

In the primed Ss below the postverbal N can only be understood as a direct object of the verb, not as an original possessive head.

(76) a. Misotro ny zana-dRaso
drinks the child-of-Raso
The child of Raso drinks

a'. *Misotro zanaka Raso
drinks child Raso
Raso suffers from children drinking

b. Mifoka ny zana-dRaso
The child of Raso smokes

a'. *Mifoka zanaka Raso
Raso suffers from child smoking

4.1.7 reciprocals of transitive verbs

(77) a. n+ifamp+i+kapoka (nifampikapoka) ny zana-dRabe sy Ranaivo
past+rec+act+strike the children-of-Rabe and Ranaivo
The children of Rabe and Ranaivo struck each other

a'. *nifampikapoka zanaka Rabe sy Ranaivo
Rabe and Ranaivo underwent their children fighting with each other

b. n+if+aN-lainga (nifandainga) ny vadin-dRavelo sy Raso
past+rec+act+lie the spouse-of-Ravelo and Raso

The spouses of Ravelo and Rasoa lie to each other

- b'. *nifandainga vady Ravelo sy Rasoa
Ravelo and Rasoa undergo spouse lying

4.1.8 Raising to Subject Predicates

In (78) we can treat the complement clause as subject, (79a) or we can treat the subject of that clause as the subject of the entire S, (79b)

- (78) Lazain-dRabe fa mpangalatra ny zana-dRakoto
said-by-Rabe that thief the child-of-Rakoto
That the child of Rakoto is a thief is said by Rabe, or
The child of Rakoto is said by Rabe to be a thief

- (79) a. Lazain-dRabe ve fa mpangalatra ny zana-dRakoto?
said-by-Rabe Q that thief the child-of-Rakoto
Was that the child of Rakoto was a thief said by Rabe?

- b. Lazain-dRabe fa mpangalatra ve ny zana-dRakoto?
said-by-Rabe that thief Q the child-of-Rakoto
Is the child of Rakoto said by Rabe to be a thief?

But PossR cannot apply to (78) analyzed with *ny zana-dRakoto* 'the child of Rakoto' as subject:

- (80) a. *[[Lazain-dRabe fa mpangalatra] zanaka] Rakoto
said-by-Rabe that thief child Rakoto
Rakoto underwent that Rabe said that his (Rakoto's) son was a thief
- b.i. [Lazain-dRabe fa mikapoka alika] ny zana-dRakoto
said-by-Rabe that hits dogs the child-of-Rakoto
Rakoto's child is said by Rabe to hit dogs
- ii. *[[Lazain-dRabe fa mikapoka alika] zanaka] Rakoto
said-by-Rabe that hits dogs child Rakoto
Rakoto underwent that Rabe said that his (Rakoto's) son beats dogs

4.1.9 predicate nominals

- (81) a. Dokotera ny nama+ny
doctor the friend+his
His friend is a doctor
- a'. *Dokotera namana izy
doctor friend he
He is a doctor-friend
- b. Mpangalatra ny rain-dRabe
thief the father-of-Rabe
Rabe's father is a thief
- b'. *Mpangala-dray Rabe
thief-father Rabe
Rabe has a thief-father

5. Constraints on the launching site for Raising

5.1 Neither object of a ditransitive verb (Malagasy admits double accusatives)

- (82) a. Manome vola ny zanak'i Soa aho
give money the child-of-Rasoa I
I give money to the child of Rasoa

b. *Manome vola zanaka an'i Soa aho
give money child acc'art Soa I

b'. *Manome zanaka vola an'i Soa aho
give child money acc'art Soa I

(83) a. Nanome ny karaman-dRabe ny vadiny Rakoto
gave the salary-of-Rabe the wife-his Rakoto
Rakoto gave Rabe's salary to his wife

b. *Nanome karama an-dRabe ny vadiny izy
gave salary acc-Rabe the spouse+his he

(84) a. Nampianatra marika ny zana-dRabe aho
cause+learn math the child-of-Rabe I
I taught Rabe's child math

b. *Nampianatra marika zanaka an-dRabe aho
taught math child acc-Rabe I

b'. *Nampianatra zanaka marika an-dRabe aho
taught child math acc-Rabe I

5.2 objects of prepositions do not allow RNP despite pragmatic acceptability.

(85) a. Mivazivazy amin'ny vadin-dRabe aho
joke with'the wife-of-Rabe I
I joke with Rabe's wife

b. *Mivazivazy vady amin-dRabe aho
joke wife with-Rabe I
I wife-joke with Rabe

We may replace *mivazivazy* 'jokes' with *misakaizakaiza* 'flirts' or *mitsiky* 'smiles' above.

This concludes our discussion of PossR in Malagasy. We see that it satisfies the following generalizations, which also hold for S. Tiwa. Gen-2 is just the Relational Succession Law (RSL) of RG:

Gen 1 Possessors only raise from absolutes.

Gen 2 A raised possessor assumes the grammatical function of NP out of which it raises.

We turn now to two additional cases of RNP. The first is surprising but can perhaps be assimilated to PossR as previously given. The second cannot, and clearly violates the RSL.

II. Extending RNP

1. Possessor Raising from Relative Clauses

(86) a. Maro ny raharaha (izay) sahana+ina+ko (sahaniko)
much the work (rel) confronted+pass+1sg:gen
The work faced by me is great

b. Maro raharaha sahanina aho
much work confronted+pass I
I have much work to face

We may replace *sahanina* 'to be faced' with other semantically comparable non-actives: *todihana* 'to be returned to by', *herehina* 'concerned with by', *iandraiketana* 'be responsible for by', *iantsorohana* 'shouldered by'. The invariable relativizer *izay* may occur as indicated in (86a), though it is more natural to omit it. Speakers reject its presence in (86b).

Clearly the subject of (86a) is *ny raharaha sahaniko* 'the work faced by me'. For example question particles precede it, and cannot precede *-ko* '1sg:gen' or a full NP (genitive) agent phrase of the passive *sahanina* 'confronted by'. And *-ko* is not the possessor of this subject. Rather

(87) a. Maro ve ny raharaha sahaniko?
Is the work to be faced by me voluminous?

b. *Maro ny raharaha sahanina ve ko?

It is the possessor (Agent Phrase) of the passive modifying *raharaha* 'work', the whole thing determined by *ny* 'the'. Here are some further examples of this surprising construction. They show that the verb in the relative clause may be either passive or circumstantial and that the agent phrase may be either pronominal or a full NP.

(88) a. Tsy lany ny zavatra iry+ina+ny olombelona (irin'ny olombelona)
 not exhausted the things desire+pass+the humans:gen
The things desired by humankind are unending

b. Tsy lany zavatra iry+ina (irina) ny olombelona
 not exhausted things desire+pass the humankind:nom
Humankind has limitless need of things

(89) a. Iray ny lalana izor+an+tsika
 one the route gone-straight-on+circ+1pl.incl.gen
The route we are taking directly is the same

b. Iray lalana izor+ana isika
 one route gone-straight-on+circ we:incl.nom
We are taking the same route

(90) a. Tsy tonga ny vahiny n+asa+ina+ko (nasaiko)
 not arrived the guests past+invite+pass+1sg:gen
The guests that were invited by me haven't arrived

b. Tsy tonga vahiny nasaina aho
 not arrive guests invited I
I am in the state of having guests not show up

(91) a. Fohy/Kely ny andro n+i+velo+mana+Rabe (niveloman-dRabe)
 short/few the days past+act+living+circ+Rabe:gen
The days during which Rabe lived were short/few

b. Fohy/Kely andro nivelomana Rabe
 short/few days lived+through-circ Rabe:nom
Rabe had a short life

These examples suggest that the NPs in question have been reanalyzed as possessive NPs with

the lower possessor now taken to be the possessor of the entire NP. Observe in this regard the similarity with certain simple possessive constructions:

- (92) a. ny raharaha+ko b. ny raharaha kely+ko (=keliko)
 the work+1sg:gen the work little+my
 my work *my little work*
- c. ny raharaha sahan+i+ko
 the work faced+pass+1sg:gen
 the work faced by me (= my work to be done)

Thus we suggest that a structural reanalysis along the lines of (93) is admitted in Malagasy, and once done, the RNP relation is established as in the cases already considered.

(93) **Reanalysis** [N + [V_{act} + NP:gen]] ⇔ [[N+V_{act}] + NP:gen]

That is, the lower genitive NP comes to be a sister to the modified N. In this way it has the same structural position as an ordinary possessor and thus enters the ordinary PossR relation. We observe that these cases of PossR exhibit the properties characteristic of the simple cases. For example the incorporated N may be complex and move across adverbials:

- (94) a. Lavitra tokoa ny lalana h+a+leha+nay (halehanay)
 far very the route fut+pass+go+we[excl,gen]
 The road that will be taken by us is far/long
- b. Lavi-dalan-kaleha tokoa izahay c. *Lavitra tokoa lalan-kaleha izahay
 far-route-fut-pass-go very we far very route-fut-pass-go we
 We have a long road to travel

Equally predicates that do not invite a stable, involvement interpretation are felt as bizarre or unacceptable in the raised expression

- (95) a. Mena / Manify ny lobaka tadiavin-dRabe
 red / thin the shirt sought-by-Rabe:gen
 The shirt that Rabe is looking for is red / thin
- b. *Mena/*Manify lobaka tadiavina Rabe
 "Rabe experiences the loss of a red/thin shirt"

Note that color adjectives alone host RNP and thus present the requisite "stability":

- (96) a. Manga feo izy b. Mena maso izy
 blue voice he red eye he
 He has a nice voice *He is red eyed*

So the lack of individual-levelness of the predicates in (95) is due to the modifier *tadiavina* 'is sought'. It is not a stable property of Rabe that he is seeking a red shirt. He could capriciously decide he wanted a green one.

1.1 Constraints on Reanalysis

1.1.1 Reanalysis does not apply to DO's

- (97) a. Nahita ny vola veri+ko / notadiavi+ko Rabe
 saw(found) the money lost-by+1sg:gen / sought-by+1sg:gen Rabe
Rabe found the money I lost / was seeking
- b. *Nahita vola very / notadiavina ahy Rabe
 found money lost/sought me:acc Rabe
- (98) a'. Mamaky ilay boky tia+ko izy
 reads that book liked-by+1sg:gen he
He is reading that book I like
- b'. *Mamaky boky tiana ahy izy
 reads book liked me:acc he

1.1.2 Reanalysis does not apply to subjects of transitive verbs

- (99) a. Nanapaka (ny) seza ny vahiny nasai+ko
 broke(act) (the) chair the guests invited-by+1sg:gen
The guest(s) I invited broke my chair
- b. *Nanapaka (ny) seza vahiny nasaina aho (both are bad)
 broke (the) chair guest(s) invited I
- (100) a. Nisondrotra kilasy ny ankizy nampianari+ko
 went-up class the children taught-by+1sg:gen
The children taught by me were promoted to the next class
- b. *Nisondrotra kilasy ankizy nampianarina aho
 went-up class children taught I

The unacceptability of (101) however shows that further constraints on Reanalysis are necessary. The immediate suggestion that the reanalyzed NP must be clause final is counterexemplified in (102), so further work is needed here.

- (101) a. Very / Tsy hita ny entana napetrako tao am-bata
 lost / not found the things placed-by-1sg:gen there in-trunk
The things I put in the trunk were lost / not found
- b. *? Very / Tsy hita entana napetraka tao am-bata aho
 lost / not found thing placed-by-1sg:gen there in-trunk I
- (102) a. Maro ny zavatra ho+laza+ina+ko (holazaiko) anao
 many the things fut+say+pass+1sg:gen you:acc
The things that will be said by me to you are numerous
- b. Maro zavatra holazaina anao aho
 many things will-be-said you:acc I:nom
I have many things to say to you

For *holazaiko anao* in (102a) we can put *horeshahiko aminao / hambarako anao (aminao) / hatorako anao* (will be spoken about by me to you / will be revealed by me to you / will be shown by me to you, respectively).

In (102a) the possessor NP occurs internal to the relative clause, though semantically it has the entire relative clause in its scope. In (103a) the possessor is even still further inside:

- (103) a. Maro ny zavatra tia+ko ho+laza+ina anao
 many the thing liked-by+1sg:gen fut+say+pass you:acc
The things that are wanted by me to be said (by me) to you are numerous
- b. Maro zavatra tiana holazaina anao aho
 many thing liked fut-be said you:acc I:nom
I have many things I want to tell you

2. Raising of accusatives to nominatives. (104) – (106) violate the RSL:

- (104) a. Maro ny (tovolahy) tia an'i Soa
 many the (young-men) like:act acc'art Soa
The people (young-men) who like Soa are numerous
- b. Maro (tovolahy) tia i Soa
 many (young-men) like:act art Soa
Soa is very popular/well liked (by young-men)
- a'. Be ny asa manahirana ahy
 much the work bothers:act me:acc
The work that worries me is great
- b'. Be asa manahirana aho
 Much work bothers I:nom
I have a lot of bothersome work to do

Other quantity adjectives like *vitsy* 'few' and *betsaka* 'numerous' may replace *maro* here.

- (105) a. Mahery ny mp+anohana an'i Soa
 strong the er+support acc'art Soa
The supporters of Soa are strong
- b. Mahery mpanohana i Soa
 strong supporters art Soa
Soa has strong support

For *mahery* here we can substitute other judgmental adjectives like *tsara* 'good', *matanjaka* 'strong', *malemby* 'weak,soft' and *mafy* 'strong,hard'.

- (106) a. Mafy ny (raha) nahazo azy
 hard the (thing) attained him:acc
The thing that struck him was hard
- b. Mafy raha nahazo izy
 hard thing attained he:nom
He was struck (afflicted) with s.th. hard

The raised NP presents all the characteristic properties of subjects: it is nominative, (107a), takes question particles in front of it (107b), extracts (107c,d), and negation and concessive expressions frame the derived VP, (107e,f).

- (107) a. Maro tia izy
 many like she
She is popular
- b. Maro tia ve i Soa?
 many like Q art Soa
Is Soa popular
- c. olona izay maro tia
 people who many like
people who are popular
- d. Iza no maro tia indrindra eto?
 who focus many like most here
Who is most popular here?
- e. Tsy maro tia mihitsy/akory/intsony i Soa
 not many like at-all/at-all/longer art Soa
Soa isn't at all/any longer popular
- f. Tsy faly i Soa; na dia maro tia aza e;
 not happy art Soa though many like even
Soa isn't happy even though (she) is popular

Also the derived predicate is individual level, expressing a stable property. And not all raised NPs are Patients, (108a,b), and even when they are the raised NP may shift somewhat in theta role as determined by the main predicate rather than the one it was governed by originally.

- (108) a. Be ny mpiteny ny teny angilisy / azy io
 a'. Be mpiteny ny teny angilisy / izy io

many the speaker the lg English / 3:acc dem
The speakers of English/it are numerous

many speaker the lg English/3nom dem
It/English has many speakers

b. Maro ny mpankafy io mozika io:acc
many the delecter this music this
Those who prize this music are numerous

b'. Maro mpankafy io mozika io
many delecter this music this:nom
This music has many fans

(109) a. Afaka ny aretina nanahirana ahy
free the illness bothered me
The illness that was bothering me is over

a'. Afaka aretina nanahirana aho
free illness bothered I
I am free from a bothersome illness

And as before, Raising from stage level predicates is generally unacceptable:

(110) a. Mihazakazaka / Matory ny mpanohana an'i Soa
are-running / are-sleeping the supporters acc'art Soa
Soa's supporters are running / sleeping

a'. *Mihazakazaka / Matory mpanohana i Soa
Soa has running / sleeping supporters

b. Tezitra/Vizaka ny mpividy an'io
angry/tired the buyers acc'that
The people who are buying that are angry/tired

b'. *Tezitra/Vizaka mpividy io
angry/tired buyers that
That has angry/tired buyers

Syntactically the remnant of the relative clause is incorporated into the predicate. Question particles, negative polarity items, concessive particles, and adverbs cannot appear between the host predicate and the remnant. Paralleling the well formed (107) we have:

(111) b'. *Maro ve tia i Soa?

d'. *Iza no maro indrindra tia eto?

e'. *Tsy maro intsony tia i Soa

f'. *Tsy faly i Soa na dia maro aza tia

Similarly Causative *-aha-* combines with predicates created by Accusative Raising:

(112) a. Izany no maha-marosy tia an'i Soa
that foc cause-many likes acc'art Soa
It's that which makes Soa so popular

b. Izany no	It is that which
maha-vitsy mpanohana an'i Soa	makes Soa's supporters few
mahabe asa manahirana ahy	increases the work that's bugging me
mahafaka aretina nanahirana aho	cured the illness that was bugging me"

And the derived predicates coordinate with other P1s:

(113) a. Tsara fanahy ka maro tia i Soa
good spirit and-so many like art Soa
So has a good character and is popular

b. Tena mahafinaritra sady/ka maro mpankafy io mozika io
very pleasing and/and-so many delectors that music that
That music is very pleasing and has many fans

c. Be asa manahirana sy mandreraka aho

much work bothersome and exhausted I:nom
I have much worrisome work and am exhausted

Also in common with PossR, Accusative Raising (AccR) is not available from subjects of transitive verbs:

(114) a. Niantso ny polisy ny nahita izany zavatra izany / azy
called the police the saw that thing that /3:acc
The ones who saw that thing / it called the police

a'. *Niantso ny polisy nahita izany zavatra izany / izy
called the police saw that thing that / 3:nom

b. Mitady ny mpivarotra ny mpividy an'io
seek the sellers the buyers acc'that
The buyers of that are looking for the sellers

b'. *Mitady ny mpivarotra mpividy io
see the sellers buyers that:nom

Nor does AccR apply to DOs or OPreps:

(115) a. Tsy mahalala ny tia an'i Soa aho
not know the likes acc'art Soa I
I don't know the ones who like Soa

a'. *Tsy mahalala tia an'i Soa aho
not know likes acc'art Soa I

b. Tsy tia ny mpankafy io mozika io aho
not like the delectors that music that I
I don't like the people who appreciate that music

b'. *Tsy tia mpankafy io mozika io aho
not like delectors that music that I

In one important respect however AccR differs from PossR: it is somewhat more productive syntactically, and somewhat more compositional semantically in the sense that the predicates it builds are less subject to idiomatic or idiosyncratic interpretation.

Regarding syntactic productivity we note that in distinction to the basic cases of Adjectival hosts of Possessor Raising, (33), here coordinate predicates do host AccR.

(116) a. Maro sady/sy mahery mpanohana Rakotoarivony
many and/and strong supporters Rakotoarivony
Rakotoarivony has many and strong supporters

b. Tsy fantatro na maro na vitsy mpividy itony zavatra itony
not known-by-me whether many or few buyers that thing that
Whether that sort of thing has many or few buyers is not known by me

Also the incorporated Ns seem to coordinate more freely than in PossR:

(117) a. Vitsy mpankafy sy mpividy io akanjo io
few delectors and buyers that clothes that
That article of clothing has few people who like it and buy it

b. Maro tia sy mividy ireto entana ireto

many likes and buys those thing those
Those things have many people who like them and buy them

This concludes our discussion of Accusative to Nominative Raising. Obviously the precise nature of this phenomenon and its relations to other derivational processes still needs much investigation, both internal to Malagasy and cross linguistically. At time of writing we know of no clear analogues to AccR in other languages.

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