

## Raising from NP in Malagasy<sup>1</sup>

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We characterize a syntactic relation in Malagasy we call *Raising from NP* (RNP). Part **I** focuses on the special case of Possessor Raising (PossR). It largely conforms to the Relational Grammar (RG) generalizations given in Allen et al (1990) for S. Tiwa, and is broadly consistent with the analysis in C. Rosen (1990) but not naturally reanalyzable as Benefactive complementation (Baker 1996). Part **II** extends the instances of RNP, in some of which the raised NP does not assume the grammatical function of the NP out of which it was raised (in violation of the Relational Succession Law of RG). Finally we note that while RNP creates complex predicates by incorporation, it is not associated with any distinctive morphology, an apparent characteristic of PossR in general (Donohue 1996).

We illustrate the basic parameters of RNP in (1) with the case of PossR. Major constituents are bracketed. We use 'NP' rather than 'DP'; we use 'Pn' for *n place predicate phrase*, expressions that combine with n NPs to form a sentence. An NP sister to a P1 will be called its *subject*, an NP sister to a P2 its (*direct*) *object* (DO).

<p>(1) a. [Maty [ny vadin-dRabe]]           [died [the spouse-of-Rabe]]           <i>Rabe's spouse died/is dead</i></p>	<p>↔</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">RNP</p> <p>b. [[Maty vady] Rabe]           [[died spouse] Rabe]           <i>Rabe was widowed</i></p>
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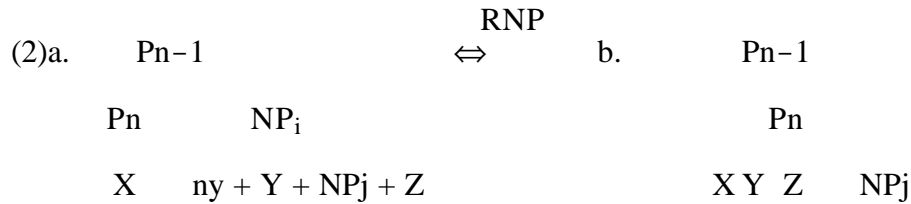
(1a) consists of an adjectival P1 *maty* 'dead/died' followed by its subject, *ny vadin-dRabe* 'the spouse of Rabe'. In (1b) the P1, *maty vady* 'died spouse', is built from *maty* incorporating the bare noun *vady* 'spouse'. Its subject is the name *Rabe*. (1b) entails (1a), whence *Rabe* in (1b) is understood as the possessor of *vady* 'spouse'. But crucially, the P1 in (1b) *essentially involves* *Rabe* whereas that in (1a) does not. It is an individual level predicate not a stage level one and as such expresses a stable property of its subject (though it may have come into existence suddenly) rather than an easily changed one. In (1b) *Rabe* is presented as affected by his spouse's death, but (1a) could be true without *Rabe* even knowing that his spouse died.

Syntactically a classical PossR transformation would derive (1b) from (1a) by stripping the subject of (1a) of its definite article *ny*, incorporating the possessive head *vady* 'spouse' into the predicate, eliminating the genitive morphology *-n-* + the consonant mutation /r/ → /dʀ/ in *Rabe*, and presenting the semantic possessor *Rabe* as sister to the derived P1. We do not defend such derivations here<sup>2</sup>, but we use the terminology they support: in the general formulation (2) of RNP,

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<sup>2</sup>Overall we prefer to base generate P1s of the form [Adj + N], requiring that x satisfies its selectional restrictions (SRs) iff x satisfies the SRs of a possessor of N and that [ny Gen(N,x)] satisfies the SRs of Adj. A stronger requirement would be that [Adj+N](x) imply Adj(ny Gen(N,x)), but this ignores the idiomacity differences in meaning.

(2b) is said to be "derived", NP<sub>j</sub> 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<sub>i</sub> and NP<sub>j</sub> involved.

### I. Possessor Raising (PossR)

Here NP<sub>j</sub> is the syntactic possessor of NP<sub>i</sub>. We consider first cases in which n = 1, so NP<sub>i</sub> is the subject of its clause and NP<sub>j</sub> 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<br/>sick the child-of-Rabe<br/><i>Rabe's child is sick</i></p>                          | <p>b. Marary zanaka Rabe<br/>sick child Rabe<br/><i>Rabe has/is afflicted with a sick child</i></p> |
| <p>(4) a. Maráry ny kíboko<br/>sick the belly-my<br/><i>My stomach aches</i></p>                                       | <p>a'. Maràry kíbo aho<br/>sick belly I<br/><i>I am sick in the stomach</i></p>                     |
| <p>b. Róvitra ny vódin'ny hárona<br/>torn the bottom-of-the basket<br/><i>The bottom of the basket is torn</i></p>     | <p>b'. Ròvi-bódy ny hárona<br/>torn bottom the basket<br/><i>The basket has a torn bottom</i></p>   |
| <p>c. Téry ny trànonáy / Téry ízy<br/>tight the house-our cramped it<br/><i>Our house is cramped It is cramped</i></p> | <p>c'. Tèry tráno ìzaháy<br/>tight house we<br/><i>We live in cramped quarters</i></p>              |
| <p>d. Ráva ny tránony<br/>destroyed the house-his<br/><i>His house was destroyed</i></p>                               | <p>d'. Ràva tráno izy<br/>destroyed house he<br/><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?<br>sick Q the child-of-Rabe<br><i>Is the child of Rabe sick?</i>                                  | b. Tsy marary intsony/akory ny zana-dRabe<br>not sick longer/at all the child-of-Rabe<br><i>Rabe's child isn't sick any longer / at all</i> |
| c. na dia marary aza ny zana-dRabe...<br>though sick even the child-of-Rabe...<br><i>even though the child of Rabe is sick...</i> | d. ny zaza (izay) marary<br>the baby (who) sick<br><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?<br><i>Does Rabe have a sick child?</i>            | a'. *Marary ve zanaka Rabe   |
| b. Tsy marary zanaka akory Rabe<br><i>Rabe doesn't have a sick child at all</i> | b'. *Tsy marary akory zanaka Rabe  |
| c. na dia marary zanaka aza Rabe<br><i>although Rabe has a sick child</i>       | c'. *na dia marary aza zanaka Rabe   |
| d. ny olona (izay) marary zanaka<br><i>the person (that) has a sick child</i>   | d'. *ny zanaka (izay) marary Rabe<br><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<br>very sick child he | b. Saika very vola be ianao<br>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 this 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  
 remove:act honor acc'art Soa art Vao  
*Vao dishonors Soa*
- b. Alan'i Vao baraka i Soa  
 remove:pass-art Vao:gen honor art 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  
 pinch:act step acc'art Soa Rakoto  
*Rakoto spies on Soa*
- b. Tsongoin-dRakoto dia i Soa  
 pinch:pass-Rakoto:gen step art 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  
 adroit the mind-Rasoaka:gen  
*Rasoaka's mind is adroit*
- b. Kinga saina Rasoa  
 adroit mind Rasoa  
*Rasoaka is quick thinking*
- c. ny f+aha+kingan-tsaina  
 the nom+cause-adroit-mind  
*quick thinkingness*
- d. ny fahakingan-tsain-dRasoaka  
 the nom+cause+adroit-mind-Rasoaka:gen  
*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

the nom+cause-bad+circ-spirit+gen-Rabe foc made+dead 3:acc  
*It was Rabe's badness of character which killed him*

A second case concerns adjectival nominalizations formed from *ha...ana*:

- (28) tsára 'good'            ⇔    hatsarána 'goodness, beauty'  
    rátsy 'bad'             ⇔    haratsiana 'badness'  
    (ma)ránitra 'sharp' ⇔    haranítana 'sharpness'

And when *ha...ana* applies to adjectives of the form Adj+N, possessors of the resulting nominal go outside the incorporated possessive head:

- (29) a. Tsara tarehy i Soa "Soa is pretty"  
      good face art Soa

b. ny hatsaran-tarehin'i Soa  
   the good+ness-face"art Soa:gen  
   *Soa's beauty*

b'. \*ny hatsaran'i Soa tarehy  
     the good+ness'art Soa:gen face

- c. Voafidy i Soa noho ny hatsaran-tarehi+ny  
   chosen art Soa because-of the good+ness-face+her  
   *Soa was chosen because of her good looks*

- (30) a. Ratsy fanahy Rabe "Rabe has a bad character"  
      bad spirit Rabe

b. Iaraha-mahalala ny haratsiam-panahin-dRabe / \*haratsian-dRabe fanahy  
   all-know the bad+ness-spirit-gen-Rabe / \*haratsian-dRabe fanahy  
   *We all know Rabe's bad character*

- (31) a. Marani-tsaina (< maranitra + saina) Rabe "Rabe is sharp minded"  
      sharp-mind Rabe

b. Fatratra ny harani-tsain-dRabe / \*harani-dRabe saina  
   extreme the sharp+ness-mind-Rabe:gen / \*sharp+ness-Rabe:gen mind  
   *Rabe's intelligence is exceptional*

Positioning the possessor outside the incorporated noun is strong evidence that the incorporated noun forms a tight unit with the host predicate<sup>3</sup>.

### 1.2.5 the syntactic complexity of the incorporated remnant

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<sup>3</sup>And we note that there are a few cases of object incorporation into P2s that have become lexicalized and also present the possessor outside the incorporated noun (b), even when the non-nominalized, less idiomatic, form still has the Agent intervene (c):

a. Mamindra fo aminao Rabe  
   moves heart to+you:gen Rabe  
   *Rabe takes pity on you*

b. ny famindram-pon-dRabe aminao  
   the nom+move+circ-heart-Rabe:gen to+you  
   *Rabe's compassion towards you*

a. Amindra+ny fo ianao "You are pitied by him"  
   move:circ+3:gen hear you:nom



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<br><i>Her face is good/pretty</i><br><i>Her heart is good</i><br><i>His spirit/mind is good</i> | good face / heart / spirit s/he<br><i>She/He/It is pretty</i><br><i>She is good hearted</i><br><i>He is a nice guy</i> |
| b. Maranitra ny maso+ny / ny sai+ny<br>sharp the eyes+his / the mind+his<br><i>His eyes are sharp / His mind is sharp</i>                | b'. Marani-maso/tsaina izy<br>sharp-eye / mind he<br><i>He is sharp eyed / He is sharp</i>                             |
| c. ??Mafy ny rafitry ny sezanao<br>strong the structure-of-the chair-your<br><i>The structure of your chair is strong</i>                | c'. Mafy rafitra ny sezanao<br>strong structure the chair-your<br><i>Your chair is well built</i>                      |
| d. Lava ny tongo+ny<br>long the feet+his<br><i>His feet are long</i>   | d'. Lava tongotra izy<br>long feet he<br><i>He is always on the move</i>   |
| e. Fotsy ny varavaran'i Soa<br>White the door-of'art Soa<br><i>Soa's door is white</i>   | e'. Fotsy varavarana i Soa<br>white door art Soa<br><i>Soa is never at home</i>  |
| f. *Mafy ny toton'ity kirarao ity<br>hard the pounding-of-this shoe this<br>no meaning   | f'. Mafy toto ity kirarao ity<br>hard pounding this shoe this<br><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<br>works the head-of-Raso<br><i>Raso's head is doing work</i>                                | a'. Miasa loha Raso<br>works head Raso<br><i>Raso is preoccupied</i>                 |
| b. Miridiridy ny fihetsikin'i Be<br>is+rigid the movements-of'art Be<br><i>Be's movements are rigid</i> (Rabenilaina 1991) | b'. Miridiridy fihetsika i Be<br>is+rigid movement art Be<br><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<br>past+act+fall the house+his<br><i>His house collapsed</i> | b. ??Nianjera trano izy<br>past+act+fall house he<br><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 Rasoana? works head Q Rasoana  
*Is Rasoana preoccupied?*  
b. \*Miasa ve loha Rasoana? works Q head Rasoana
- (42) a. Miasa loha lalandava Rasoana works head always Rasoana  
*Rasoana is always preoccupied*  
b. \*Miasa lalandava loha Rasoana works always head Rasoana
- (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-dRasoana loha? what foc reason work+circ+gen-Rasoana head  
*For what reason was Rasoana preoccupied?*  
b. Malahelo i Be noho ny firidiridiana 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 Rasoana is cautious manner-of-walking Rasoana  
*Rasoana 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*

Note that (48b) expresses a specific event, but one that does determine a stable property of the derived subject *Soa*. We see shortly that RNP from DOs also has this interpretative possibility, one that is not natural for Adj or IAV hosts. Agentless passives also host RNP, but passives are most usually agented (Keenan & Manorohanta 1998) for text counts).

- (49) a. Mangana ny tongo-dRabe                      b. Mangan-tongotra Rabe  
       blue+pass the foot-Rabe:gen                blue+pass-foot Rabe:nom  
       *Rabe's foot was bruised (by s.th./s.o.)*     *Rabe got a bruised foot*

Again the constituency tests used previously apply: Question Particle Placement in (50), Adverb Placement (51,52), Coordination (53).

- (50) a. Tadidin'ny olona tarehy ve izy?  
       recalled'by-the people face Q he  
       *Was he recognized by the people (by his face)?*

- (51) a. Ho tsaroan'ny olona anarana mandrakariva izy  
       fut remembered-by'the people name always he  
       *He will always have his name remembered by the people*

- b. \*Ho tsaroan'ny olona mandrakariva anarana izy  
       fut remembered-by'the people always name he

- (52) a. Tadidin'ny olona tarehy avy hatrany izy  
       remembered-by'the people face immediately he  
       *He was immediately recognized by the people*

- a'. \*Tadidin'ny olona avy hatrany tarehy izy  
       remembered-by'the people immediately fact he

- b. Soloan-dRasoam-ba lamba haingana ny zanany  
       replaced-by-Rasoam-ba clothes quickly the child-her  
       *Rasoam-ba's child had its clothes changed quickly by her*

- b'. \*Soloan-dRasoam-ba haingana lamba ny zanany  
       replaced-by-Rasoam-ba quickly clothes the child-her

- (53) a. Nororitin'i Vao volo sy notsongoiny i Soa  
       pulled+out-by'art Vao hair and pinched-by-her art Soa  
       *Soa had her hair pulled out by Vao and was pinched by her*

- b. Notsaboin'ilay dokotera nify ka nitomany i Soa  
       was+treated-by'that doctor tooth and+so cried art Soa  
       *Soa had her teeth treated by that doctor and cried*

Finally, passive hosts form imperatives in the usual way for passives:

- (54) a. Didio ny nonon'i Soa                      a'. Didio nono i Soa  
       be-cut (by you) the breast'art Soa:gen        Be-cut (by you) breast art Soa

- b. Soloy ny lamban'ilay zazakely                b'. Soloy lamba ilay zazakely  
       be-changed (by you) the clothes'of that baby    be-changed (by you) clothes that baby

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<sub>act</sub> + NP:gen]] ⇔ [[N+V<sub>act</sub>] + 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 Ig English / 3:acc dem  
*The speakers of English/it are numerous*

many speaker the Ig 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-marô 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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