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).

RNP

(1) a. [Maty [ny vadin-dRabe]] ⇔ b. [[Maty vady] Rabe]
    [died [the spouse-of-Rabe]]               [[died spouse] Rabe]
    Rabe's spouse died/is dead             Rabe was widowed

(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 even 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 /l/ → /d/ in *Rabe*, and presenting the semantic possessor *Rabe* as sister to the derived P1. We do not defend such derivations here, but we use the terminology they support: in the general formulation (2) of RNP,
(2b) is said to be "derived", NPj in (2b) is called the "raised NP"; the Predicate X is said to "host" the raising and to "incorporate" the "remnant" Y+Z.

\[
\text{RNP}
\]

(2)a. \( \text{Pn} - 1 \) \( \Leftrightarrow \) b. \( \text{Pn} - 1 \)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Pn} & \text{NP}_i & \text{Pn} \\
X & ny + Y + \text{NPj} + Z & X & Y & Z & \text{NPj}
\end{array}
\]

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 NPi and NPj involved.

I. Possessor Raising (PossR)

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

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

(3) a. Marary ny zana-dRabe  
sick the child-of-Rabe  
Rabe's child is sick

b. Marary zanaka Rabe  
sick child Rabe  
Rabe has/is afflicted with a sick child

(4) a. Maráry ny kíboko  
sick the belly-my  
My stomach aches

b'. Maráry kíbo aho  
sick belly I  
I am sick in the stomach

b. Róvitra ny vódin'ny hárona  
torn the bottom-of-the basket  
The bottom of the basket is torn

b'. Ròvi-bódy ny hárona  
torn bottom the basket  
The basket has a torn bottom

c. Téry ny trànonáy / Téry ízy  
tight the house-our  
Our house is cramped

c'. Téry tràno izaháy  
tight house we  
We live in cramped quarters

d. Ráva ny tránony  
destroyed the house-his  
His house was destroyed

d'. Ràva tráno izy  
destroyed house he  
He was house-wrecked

1.1 the major constituent break

1.1.1 Pronominal sisters to P1s are drawn from the series \( \text{aho, ianao, izy, ..., called nominative} \) (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
   Is the child of Rabe sick?

   b. Tsy marary intsony/akory ny zana-dRabe
      not sick longer/at all the child-of-Rabe
      Rabe's child isn't sick any longer / at all

   c. na dia marary aza ny zana-dRabe...
      though sick even the child-of-Rabe...
      even though the child of Rabe is sick...

   d. ny zaza (izay) marary
      the baby (who) sick
      the baby that is sick

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?
   Does Rabe have a sick child?

   b. Tsy marary zanaka akory Rabe
      Rabe doesn't have a sick child at all

   c. na dia marary zanaka aza Rabe
      although Rabe has a sick child

   d. ny olona (izay) marary zanaka
      the person (that) has a sick child

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

(7) a. Efa fotsy volo sy antirantitra 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) Incorporerees do not naturally antecede pronouns or empty categories.

(a) Maty ny vadin-dRabe. Efa antitrantitra (izzy) (izzy, ∅ = Rabe's spouse)
Rabe's spouse died. already oldish (she)

(b) ?*Maty vady Rabe. Efa antitrantitra (izzy).
Rabe was widowed. already oldish (she)

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

(17) Incorporerees 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 stess 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
clean always the clothes-of-Rabe
Rabe's clothes are always clean

b. Madio akanjo lalandava Rabe
clean clothes always Rabe
Rabe always dresses clean

c. *Madio lalandava akanjo Rabe
clean always clothes Rabe
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 illustrates this with a Benefactive subject. (24b) is the f- nominalization.

(23) a. n+i+vidy akanjo ho an'ny ankizy Rasoa
    past+act+buy clothes for the children Rasoa:nom
    Rasoa buys clothes for the children
b. n+ivi+dan-dRasoa akanjo ny ankizy
    past+buy+circ-Rasoa:gen clothes the children:nom
    The children are bought clothes for by Rasoa
c. ny fividianan-dRasoa aankanjo
   the nom+buy+circ-Rasoa:gen clothes
   Rasoa's clothes buying

In (23b,c) the Agent phrase Rasoa is bound as a genitive complement of nividianana. aankanjo 'clothes' is accusative in all three examples. The bare DO aankanjo 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 circumstantialities, 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

b. Alan'i Vao baraka i Soa
   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
   pinch:act step acc'art Soa Rakoto

b. Tsongoin-dRakoto dia i Soa
   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-dRasoa
   adroit the mind-Rasoa:gen

b. Kinga saina Rasoa
   adroit mind Rasoa

Rasoa's mind is adroit
Rasoa is quick thinking

c. ny f+aha+kingan-tsaina
   the nom+cause-adroit-mind

   quick thinkingness

   Rasoa's mental agility

d. ny fahakingan-tsain-dRasoa
   the nom+cause+adroit-mind-Rasoa:gen

   Rasoa's mental agility

e. *ny fahakingan-dRasoa saina
   the nom+cause+adroit-Rasoa:gen mind

   Rasoa'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
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' ⇔ haratsíana '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'i Soa tarehy
    the good+ness-face art Soa:gen
    Soa's beauty

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
    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.

1.2.5 the syntactic complexity of the incorporated remnant

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 Ps 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 charactered 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 P1 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 white tooth he
b. Kely nify izy small tooth he
c. *Fotsy sy kely nify izy 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 Rasoa
   good appearance Rasoa
   Rasoa is pretty

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 medecine this
   This medecine has a long name
c'. Lava ny anaran'ity fanafody ity long the name-of-this medecine this
   The name of this medecine 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

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

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

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

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

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

(38) a. Tsara ny tarehi+ny / fo+ny / fanahi+ny
a’. Tsara tarehy / fo /fanahy izy

This nation is wealthy

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two the blades-of-the pocket-knife-his
The blades of his pocket knife number two

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

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

(38) a. Tsara ny tarehi+ny / fo+ny / fanahi+ny
a’. Tsara tarehy / fo /fanahy izy
good the face+her / heart+his / mind+his      good face / heart / spirit s/he
Her face is good/pretty                      She/He/It is pretty
Her heart is good                           She is good hearted
His spirit/mind is good                     He is a nice guy

b. Maranitra ny maso+ny / ny sai+ny       b’. Marani-maso/tsaina izy
sharp the eyes+his / the mind+his          sharp-eye / mind he
His eyes are sharp / His mind is sharp     He is sharp eyed / He is sharp

c. ??Mafy ny rafitry ny sezanao            c’. Mafy rafitra ny sezanao
strong the structure-of-the chair-your     strong structure the chair-your
The structure of your chair is strong       Your chair is well built

d. Lava ny tongo+ny                        d’. Lava tongotra izy
long the feet+his                          long feet he
His feet are long                           He is always on the move

e. Fotsy ny varavan’i Soa                  e’. Fotsy varavarana i Soa
White the door-of’art Soa                  white door art Soa
Soa’s door is white                        Soa is never at home

f. *Mafy ny toton’ity kirarao ity          f’. Mafy toto ity kirarao ity
hard the pounding-of-this shoe this        hard pounding this shoe this
no meaning                                  These shoes can take a lot of abuse

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-dRasoa            a’. Miasa loha Rasoa
works the head-of-Rasoa                    works head Rasoa
Rasoa’s head is doing work                 Rasoa is preoccupied

b. Miridiridy ny fihetsikin’i Be           b’. Miridiridy fihetsika i Be
is+rigid the movements-of’art Be           is+rigid movement art Be
Be’s movements are rigid (Rabenilaina 1991)  Be moves rigidly

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            b. ??Nianjera trano izy
past+act+fall the house+his               past+act+fall house he
His house collapsed                       He underwent house collapsing

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 Rasoa?
   works head Q Rasoa
   Is Rasoa preoccupied?

b. *Miasa ve loha Rasoa?
   works Q head Rasoa

(42) a. Miasa loha lalandava Rasoa
   works head always Rasoa
   Rasoa is always preoccupied

b. *Miasa lalandava loha Rasoa
   works always head Rasoa

(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

b. *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-dRasoa loha?
   what foc reason work+circ+gen-Rasoa head
   For what reason was Rasoa 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 Rasoa
   is cautious manner-of-walking Rasoa
   Rasoa is walking on eggs

b. Mijaikóa 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

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

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 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
    blue+pass the foot-Rabe:gen
    Rabe’s foot was bruised (by s.th./s.o.)

b. Mangan-tongotra Rabe
    blue+pass-foot Rabe:nom
    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-dRasoa lamba haingana ny zanany
    replaced-by-Rasoa clothes quickly the child-her
    Rasoa’s child had its clothes changed quickly by her

b’. *Soloan-dRasoa haingana lamba ny zanany
    replaced-by-Rasoa 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. Notsoaboin’ilay dokotera nify ka nitomany i Soa
    was+treated-by’tat 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
    be-cut (by you) the breast’art Soa:gen
    Be-cut (by you) breast art Soa

a’. Didio nono i Soa
    Be-cut (by you) breast art Soa

b. Soloy ny lamban’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').

\[(55)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>m+i+tranga matetika izany</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>matetika f+i+tranga (mateti-pitranga) izany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pres+act+happen often that</td>
<td>often nom+act+happen that:nom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>That happens often</em></td>
<td><em>That's a frequent happening</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

\[(56)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speaks really he</td>
<td>really nom+Speak he</td>
<td>really the speaking+his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He really speaks</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(57)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speak(redup) always/in vain he</td>
<td>always/in vain nom+Speak he</td>
<td>always/in vain the speaking-his</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(58)\]

| 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
d. Ao an-trano i Koto
    there in-house the sitting-of'art 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
b. Manala ny fatoran'ny gadra Rabe
    removed the bonds-of-the prisoner Rabe
    Rabe removed the bonds of 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

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

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

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

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

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 Rasoa
tore+off by+force the clothes-of-Rabe Rasoa
*Rasoa tore off Rabe's clothes by force*
b. Nanendaka akanjo an-keriny an-dRabe Rasoa
tore+off clothes by-force acc-Rabe Rasoa
*Rasoa did clothes tearing off to Rabe by force*
c.*Nanendaka an-keriny akanjo an-dRabe Rasoa
tore+off by-force clothes acc-Rabe Rasoa

(64) a. Sady nanety volo no nanasa mafy an'i Koto Rasoa
both cut hair and washed hard acc'art Koto Rasoa
*Rasoa 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*
b. Manala baraka azy ny hava+ny
remove honor him the relatives+his
*His relatives dishonored him*

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!*
b. Mikapá ny ranjon-dRabe!
break  the legs-gen-Rabe
*Break Rabe's 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
    forget+1sg:gen name 3: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 Pn's 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

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
    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

   c". *Namono zanaka ny tena 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
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.

(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-dRasoa
cause+fear the spouse-of-Rasoa
*Rasoa's spouse is frightening*

a'. Mampataho-bady Rasoa
cause+fear spouse Rasoa
*Rasoa makes her spouse afraid
*Rasoa 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

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-dRasoa
drinks the child-of-Rasoa
*The child of Rasoa drinks*

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

b. Mifoka ny zana-dRasoa
The child of Rasoa smokes

a'. *Mifoka zanaka Rasoa
Rasoa 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 Rasoa
past+rec+act+lie the spouse-of-Ravelo and Rasoa
The spouses of Ravelo and Rasoa lie to each other

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

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 absolutives.
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  
the work+1sg:gen  
my work

b. ny raharaha kely+ko (=keliko)  
the work little+my  
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**  
\[ \text{[N} + \text{[V}_{?act} + \text{NP:gen}]] \leftrightarrow \text{[[N} + \text{V}_{?act} \text{] + NP:gen]} \]

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  
far-route-fut-pass-go very we  
We have a long road to travel

c. *Lavitra tokoa lalan-kaleha izahay  
far very route-fut-pass-go we

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  
blue voice he  
He has a nice voice

b. Mena maso izy  
red eye he  
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
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 b'. *Mamaky boky tiana ahy izy
   reads that book liked-by+1sg:gen he  reads book liked me:acc he
   He is reading that book I like

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 horesahiko aminao / hambarako anao (aminao) /
htarako 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:

(97) b. *Nahita vola very / notadiavina ahy Rabe
   found money lost/sought me:acc Rabe

(98) b'. *Mamaky boky tiana ahy izy
   reads book liked me:acc he
   He is reading that book I like

(100) b. *Nisondrotra kilasy ankizy nampianarina aho
   went-up class children taught I
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', *malemy* '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 indrinra 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 many speaker the lg English/3nom dem

The speakers of English/it are numerous It/English has many speakers

b. Maro ny mpankafy io mozika io:acc b'. Maro mpankafy io mozika io
many the delecter this music this many delecter this music this:nom

Those who prize this music are numerous This music has many fans

(109) a. Afaka ny aretina nanahirana ahy a'. Afaka aretina nanahirana aho
free the illness bothered me free illness bothered I

The illness that was bothering me is over 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 b'. *Tezitra/Vizaka mpividy io
angry/tired the buyers acc'that angry/tired buyers that

The people who are buying that are angry/tired 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-maro tia an'i Soa
that foc cause-many likes acc'art Soa

It's that which makes Soa so popular

b. Izany no maha-vitsy mpanohana an'i Soa
mahaabe asa manahirana ahy
mahafaka aretina nanahirana aho

It is that which makes Soa's supporters few
increases the work that's bugging me
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
\[ I \text{ have much worrisome work and am exhausted} \]

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
\[ The \text{ ones who saw that thing / it called the police} \]

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
\[ The \text{ buyers of that are looking for the sellers} \]

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
\[ I \text{ don't know the ones who like Soa} \]

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
\[ I \text{ don't like the people who appreciate that music} \]

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

In one imporatant 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
\[ Rakotoarivony \text{ has many and strong supporters} \]

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

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
\[ That \text{ article of clothing has few people who like it and buy it} \]

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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