On ad-verbal and adnominal case marking in English, Japanese, and Malagasy

英語、日本語、マダガスカル語における連用格標示・連体格標示について

MINOURA Nobukatsu

Institute of Global Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

箕浦 信勝

東京外国語大学大学院総合国際学研究院

Introduction

- 1. What is examined
- 2. Examination of data according to valency and semantic roles
 - 2.1. Monovalent (one-place) clauses
 - 2.2. Divalent (two-place) clauses
 - 2.3. Trivalent (three-place) clauses
 - 2.4. Benefactive case marking
 - 2.5. Comitative (case) marking
 - 2.6. Locative case marking
 - 2.7. Allative case marking
 - 2.8. Locative case marking

Conclusion

Keywords: morphosyntax, contrastive linguistics, Malagasy, English, Japanese, case marking, adnominal case marking

キーワード: 形態統語論、対照言語学、マダガスカル語、英語、日本語、格標示、連体格標示



Abstract

Both core nominals and adjuncts are adnominalized when the head verb is nominalized in Japanese. Adjuncts remain the same for before and after the nominalization of the head in English. Core nominals are genitivized when the head verb is made into a deverbal noun. The patients remain unchanged when the head noun is made into a gerund. The agents, on the other hand, can vary between zero/accusative marking and genitive marking when the head noun is made into a gerund. In Malagasy, all the core nominals and adjuncts remain in the same forms before and after the head verbs' nominalization except for the agent nominals of the nominative voice clauses, which get into the genitive/ergative forms. But this case change of the agent can be considered the other way around. The agents are genitive/ergative-marked in the original or underlying form, but it gets the nominative (= absolutive) marking only when it becomes the subject in the nominative voice clause.

要旨

日本語では項と付加語句はどちらも、主要部動詞が名詞化を受けた場合に連体的な形式に変えられる。英語では、付加語句は主要部動詞の名詞化に際して格標示の変化は無い。英語の項は、主要部動詞が出動名詞にされる際、属格標示を受ける。他方、主要部動詞が動名詞にされる際は、被動者には変化が無いが、動作主はゼロ・対格標示と属格表示の間で揺れがある。マダガスカル語では、全ての項と付加語句が1つの例外を除いて、主要部動詞の名詞化の前後で変化しない。その例外とは主格ボイス節の動作主で、主要部動詞の名詞化の後で属格・能格標示を受ける。ただしこの動作主の格変化は逆方向に考えることができる。動作主は元来、あるいは基底形で属格・能格表示を受けている。それが、主格ボイス節の主語となる際にのみ主格(=絶対格)表示を受けると考えられる。

Introduction

In this paper, I would like to contrast case marking of nominals in relation to the head in English, Japanese, and Malagasy. The head can be either verbal or nominal. The case marking of a nominal in relation to a verbal head is called ad-verbal 1) case marking in this paper whereas the case marking of a nominal in relation to a nominal head is called adnominal case marking. I would like to demonstrate that Japanese is very sensitive to whether the head is verbal or nominal, that Malagasy is very insensitive, and

¹⁾ This awkward term ad-verbal is a translation of ren'yô meaning 'used with a verbal head.' in Japanese whereas adnominal is a translation of rentai meaning 'used with a nominal head.' The term ad-verbal must be clearly distinguished from the term adverbial.

TOKYO UNIVERSITY OF FOREIGN STUDIES, AREA AND CULTURE STUDIES 104 (2022)

English is in between the two languages. In other words, the ad-verbal case marking in Japanese always changes when the verbal head is replaced by the corresponding nominal head whereas the ad-verbal case marking in Malagasy remains intact even when the verbal head is replaced by the corresponding nominal head. English is in between the two languages. The phenomena's possible typological implications are noted in the conclusion.

1. What is examined

Verb-headed clause, agent nominalization, and event nominalization are considered. A verb-headed clause is something like:

(1) Lee teaches French²⁾

The example (1) can undergo agent nominalization:

(2) a. Lee is a French teacher

b. Lee is a teacher of French

The patient *French* turns into an adjective in (2a), which I would not examine in the present discussion. The patient *French* takes a case marker in the form of a preposition *of* in (2b), which is a part of the discussion in this paper.

The example (1) can undergo event nominalization:

(3) a. Lee's teaching of French makes me happy

b. Lee teaching French makes me happy

When a gerund is used, my consultant prefers the agent and the patient unmarked as in (3b). (3a) with the double genitive marking probably is possible when the -ing form is considered a deverbal noun (or a nominal gerund, cf. Lyne 2006) instead of a (verbal) gerund. Before my consultant's correction of my English examples, I had a lot of genitive Lee's, which he considers to belong to the casual speech register in the Midwest and in the South of the United States but not elsewhere in the country. My writing Lee's in the first place has been influenced by my L1 Japanese, where the nominative =ga turns into the genitive =no when the head verb is nominalized.

The Internet is full of ESL and/or prescriptive articles which advise to use genitive before a gerund. Lyne (2006) states that there are verbal gerunds and nominal gerunds. She has the following examples:

²⁾ I composed the English examples first, which have been corrected by Mr. John Pulaski, an American who has been teaching English in Japan for a long time. The Malagasy examples have been elicited from M^{me} Raivo Toyoda, a Malagasy living in Japan who taught Malagasy back in 2003 at the summer school of the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Japanese examples are my own

76

(4) a. I do not approve of your/you climbing ladders. (a verbal gerund, Lyne 2006)

b. I do not approve of your/*you climbing of ladders. (a nominal gerund, ibid.)

A verbal gerund can be preceded by a genitive pronoun or an accusative pronoun (in other words, variation is allowed) whereas a nominal gerund (in my terms: deverbal noun³⁾) can be preceded only by a genitive pronoun. You can tell the *climbing* in (4b) is nominal because it is followed by a genitive phrase *of ladders*. If we go back to the example (3), we can say that (3a) has a nominal gerund or a deverbal noun in my terms whereas (3b) has a (verbal) gerund.

Let us see what we get in Malagasy. First, we examine the verb-headed clause:

(5) M-amp-i-anatra frantsay Rasoa NV^{4) 5)}-CAUS-VM-learn French PN

'Rasoa teaches French'

In the example (5), the patient frantsay (French) is not marked for case. Let us examine the agent nominalization of (5):

(6) Mp-amp-i-anatra frantsay Rasoa AGN-CAUS-VM-learn French PN

'Rasoa is a teacher of French'

The nominal voice marker *m*- turns into *mp*- in agent nominalization. Even when the head verb of a clause undergoes agent nominalization, the patient remains caseless in Malagasy as in (6). Let us examine the event nominalization of (5):

(7) M-aha-finaritra ny f-amp-i-anar-an=dRasoa (teny) frantsay NV-VM-be.happy the NMZ-CAUS-VM-learn-CIRC=PN (language) French

'Rasoa teaching French (language) makes (me/us) happy'

In Malagasy, even when the predicate verb is nominalized, the patient remains caseless, but the agent turns

³⁾ Gerunds always end in -ing whereas deverbal nouns can end in -ing, -al, -ation, etc. or can take other forms. Lyne's (2006) nominal gerunds are my deverbal nouns which end in -ing.

⁴⁾ The abbreviation are: - (affix boundary), = (clitic boundary), + (morpheme boundary in compounds), ABV (absolutive voice), ACC (accusative), ALL (allative), ADN (adnominal), AGN (agent nominalizer), CAUS (causative), CONV (converb), COP (copula), CV (circumstantial voice), GEN (genitive), GER (gerund), INST (instrumental), LNK (linker), NEG (negative), NMZ (nominalizer), NOM (nominative), NV (nominative voice), OBL (oblique case), PN (personal/place name), PL (plural), POL (polite ~ teineigo), PST (past), SG (singular), SUCC (successfulness), TOP (topic), VM (valency marker).

⁵⁾ I name the three voices of Malagasy nominative voice (NV), absolutive voice (ABV), and circumstantial voice (CV). They are referred to as active voice, passive voice, and relative voice in many of the local publications for the local readers and/or non-linguists (Cf. Stark 1969). The nominative voice takes the A-argument of a divalent verb or the S-argument of a monovalent verb as its subject. The absolutive voice takes the P-argument of a divalent verb or the S-argument of a monovalent verb as its subject. The circumstantial voice promotes an adjunct to the subjecthood.

into the so-called genitive form $=dRasoa^{6}$ which encliticizes itself to the head verb.

Let us turn to Japanese. Let us begin with a verb-headed clause:

(8) Miki=wa⁷⁾ huransugo=o osie-te i-masu
PN=TOP French=ACC teach-CONV be-POL
'Miki teaches French'

In (8), the agent is not marked for case but rather for its topicality whereas the patient is marked by the accusative case marker. Let us take a look at the agent nominalization:

(9) Miki=wa huransugo=no sensee=desu PN=TOP French=GEN teacher=COP.POL 'Miki is a teacher of French'

In (9), the accusative marking of the patient is changed to the genitive marking because its head sensee (teacher) is a noun. For some verbs, an agent noun which is derived from the verb itself can be used, but such a form is not used for osieru (teach). Let us turn to event nominalization (or a manner noun to be more precise):

(10) Miki=no huransugo=no osie+kata=wa hyooban=ga ii
Miki=GEN French=GEN teach+way=TOP reputation=NOM be.good
'Miki's way of teaching French gains good reputations'

The osie+kata (the way one teaches) in (10) is not a plain event noun but rather a manner noun. For some verbs, their ad-verbal forms (ren'yôkê) can be used as the event nouns, but it is not the case for osieru (teach) in this context.

The examples up to this point show roughly that Malagasy cases are not sensitive to whether the head is nominal or verbal, that Japanese cases are sensitive to whether the head is nominal or verbal (more examples to come in the following sections), and that English is somewhere between Malagasy and Japanese.

2. Examination of data according to valency and semantic roles

In the following subsections, verb-headed clauses, agent nominalization, and event nominalization are examined according to the head predicate's valency and the dependent nominals' semantic roles. Agent nominalization and manner nominalization are also presented for Malagasy to facilitate the possibilities of the readers' access to Malagasy data.

⁶⁾ The d of =dRasoa is not a genitive marker. The r [r] turns into dr [$\widehat{\mathfrak{q}}$ $z_{c} \sim (d)r$] after an n by a regular phonologica adjustment.

⁷⁾ Japanese is Romanized according to the Hattori (= New Japanese) system in the examples and according to the Hepburn system elsewhere.

2. 1. Monovalent (one-place) clauses

In this subsection, the cases where the predicate verbs are monovalent are examined. Let us start with English:

- (11) Lee ran
- (12) Lee is a runner
- (13) Lee running amazed me

The subject of the monovalent (one-place⁸⁾) verb takes on a genitive case marker when the predicate verb undergoes agent nominalization (12). Here the event nominalization of the verb is materialized by the gerund form (ing-form). Otherwise, a deverbal noun can be used too: e.g. arrive \rightarrow arrival (cf. 22a, c).

Let us examine Malagasy examples:

- (14) M-iha-zakazaka izy
 NV-VM-run (s)he
 '(S)he runs/is running'
- (15) Mp-iha-zakazaka izy
 AGN-VM-run (s)he
 '(S)he is a runner'
- (16) M-amp-i-homehy ny fomba f-iha-zakàza=ny/f-iha-zakazàh-a=ny

 NV-CAUS-VM-run the manner NMZ-VM-run=3SG/NMZ-VM-run-CV=3SG

 'The way (s)he runs makes (me) laugh'

Here, *fomba* (manner) can be followed either by the manner nominalized form *fihazakazany* (a manner noun) or by the nominalized circumstantial form *fihazakazahany* (am event noun). The *fihazakazany* is comprised of *fihazakaza(ka)* (manner nominalization of *mihazakazaka*) plus =ny (her/his). The *fihazakazahany* is comprised of *fihazakazaha(na)* (circumstantial nominalization of *mihazakazaka*) plus =ny (her/his). Circumstantial nominalization can have various meanings, e.g. event, locus, reason, etc. But in the following text, it is referred to as event nominalization for simplicity. Throughout Malagasy texts etc., circumstantial nominalization (an event noun) with the circumstantial suffix -ana⁹⁾ (CV) is more widely used than the manner nominalization (a manner noun) without the suffix. The manner nominalization form tends to be more often lexicalized (cf. Stark 1969, Ntelitheos 2012, also read the lines following (98)), but not always. Below is an example of event nominalization (circumstantial nominalization) which is not headed by a noun like *fomba* (manner).

⁸⁾ One-place verb, two-place verb, and three-place verb are the terms used by Tsunoda (1985) aiming at using plainer terms in place of learned-looking ones.

⁹⁾ The paragogical *a* (the second *a* of -*ana*) drops when an enclitic is attached or when it is subject to some other morphosyntactic operations. The *n* before the paragogic *a* is also often dropped.

79

(17) Ny f-iha-zakazah-a=ny no n-amp-i-sondrotra azy

The NMZ-VM-run-CV=3SG that PST-CAUS-VM-succeed her/him

'It was her/his running that made him succeed'

Let us take a look at Japanese examples:

(18) Miki=ga hasit-ta
PN=NOM run-PST
'Miki ran'

(19) Miki=wa rannaa=da
PN=TOP runner=COP
'Miki is a runner'

(20) Miki=no hasiri=wa/hasiri=kata=wa hanpa=zya=nai
PN=GEN run.NMZ=TOP/run=way=TOP odd=COP.TOP=NEG
'Miki's running/way of running is impressive/exceptional'

The *rannaa* (runner) in (19) is a loan from English. When the verb is made into a deverbal noun¹⁰⁾, the agent takes the genitive case marking (20).

Let us turn to another monovalent verb arrive:

- (21) Lee arrived
- (22) a. Lee's arrival amazed me
 - b. Lee arriving too soon astonished me
 - c. Lee's extremely early arrival astonished me

In these examples, the verb is turned into a gerund (22b) and a deverbal noun (22a, c). The deverbal noun requires the agent to be genitive-marked unlike a gerund, of which the agent can be caseless (22b) or genitive-marked (cf. Lyne 2006).

Let us take a look at Malagasy examples:

(23) Tonga Ramaro
Arrive.ABV PN
'Ramaro arrived'

Tonga is a verb in the absolutive voice without affixes. It is sometimes referred to as radical/root passive form (Cf. Moriyama 2003, Stark 1969). A non-radical passive (= absolutive voice) form is formed by a prefix and/or a suffix (cf. 110).

¹⁰⁾ The verbal gerund (ren'yôkê) has the form hasiri (the acute accent here marks the downstep in pitch right after the vowel) as in koo'en=ni hasiri=ni iku (park=ALL run.NMZ=ALL go, go to the park to jog). The nominal gerund has the form hasiri as in kono kuruma=wa hasiri=ga ii (this car=TOP run=NOM good, this car runs well). The verbal gerund and the nominal gerund do not change in form for the verbs without the downstep.

箕浦 信勝 Minoura Nobukatsu On ad-verbal and adnominal case marking in English, Japanese, and Malagasy

英語、日本語、マダガスカル語における連用格標示・連体格標示について

(24) Ny f-aha-tongav-an=dRamaro dia m-aha-velom=bolo

The NMZ-VM-arrive-CV=PN that NV-CAUS-be.lively=hair

'It was Ramaro's arrival that made us be perky'

When the verb is made into a circumstantial noun, i.e. an event noun, the agent =dRamaro would be encliticized to it (24). Overall the language, this kind of encliticized form is used for a possessor (genitive when the head is a noun) and an agent (ergative when the head is a verb in absolutive voice form or in circumstantial voice form but not in the nominative voice form). Therefore, the form =dRamaro can be ambiguous whether it is genitive or ergative, but in this case, it cannot be ergative but genitive because the verb is monovalent. Genitive and ergative have the same forms throughout the language and the forms are usually called genitive without making the distinction in the literature mostly intended for the local and/or non-linguist readers.

An affixless absolutive form (= radical/root passive form) cannot be made into an agent noun form. You need to put a real head noun in front of the verb.

Let us now take a look at an example with a manner noun:

(25) Mandra=p-aha-tonga=n=ny= taom=baovao dia m-an-angom=bola ny= olona
Until=NMZ-VM-arrive-LNK=the year=new that NV-VM-gather=money the person/people
'It is until/before the arrival of the new year that people gather money'

The word mandra(ka) (until) which has the nominative voice verb form is used like a preposition and requires the manner nominalization (pahatonga \leftarrow fahatonga) rather than the circumstantial nominalization (fahatongavana). Mandra(ka) plus a manner noun usually is translated in the form 'until V-ing,' but it sometimes bears a nuance of purposive nominalization or clause (cf. 41, 57, 64, 100, 108). Mandraka + fahatonga renders mandra-pahatonga with phonological adjustments. The form =n=ny=taom=baovao (=LNK=the=year=new) is the genitive (ergative) form of =ny=taom=baovao (=the=year=new). But again it can be safely assumed to be genitive because the original verb is monovalent.

As for the examples of monovalent (one-place) clauses, Malagasy nominals remain in the same form when the verbal head is nominalized except when it is the agent, which changes into the genitive form. Japanese nominals always change the case marking of their dependents to adnominal case markings. English core nominals do not change their case markings when the head verb turns into a gerund according to my consultant, but Lyle (2006) suggests that the subject can either be accusative or genitive. When it turns into a deverbal noun or Lyle's (ibid.) nominal gerund, the core nominals take genitive markings.

80

TOKYO UNIVERSITY OF FOREIGN STUDIES, AREA AND CULTURE STUDIES 104(2022)

2. 2. Divalent (two-place) clauses

Let us turn to divalent (two-place) clauses. We start with English:

- (26) Lee hit Pat
- (27) Lee hitting Pat amazed me

Neither the agent nor the patient takes the genitive markings ('s, of) because the head is a gerund rather than a deverbal noun.

Let us take a look at Japanese:

(28) Miki=ga Yuzuki=o but-ta/ooda=si-ta
PN=NOM PN=ACC hit-PST/hitting=do-PST

'Miki hit Yuzuki'

(29) Miki=niyoru Yuzuki=no ooda
PN=by.ADN PN=GEN hitting
'Miki hitting Yuzuki'

Marking two noun phrases genitive by the case enclitic =no can be awkward and can make the clause semantically ambiguous. The agent nominal, therefore, takes the non-subject agentive enclitical complex =niyotte (=by) but modifies it into the adnominal form =niyoru (=by.ADN)

Now let us take a look at Malagasy examples:

(30) N-i-kapoka an=i= $Tiana^{11}$ i= Malala NV.PST-VM-hit ACC=the PN the= PN 'Malala hit Tiana'

(31) F-i-kapoh-an=i=Malala an=i= Tiana m-amp-i-homehy
NMZ-VM-hit-CV=the=PN ACC=the= PN NV-CAUS-VM-smile
'Malala hitting Tiana makes me laugh'

The agent of the event noun i=Malala is changed into the genitive/ergative form, which is just the change of position from the end of the clause to right after the event noun as an enclitic in this case (31).

(32) Mp-i-kapoka an=i= Tiana indraindray i= Malala
AGN-VM-hit ACC=the= PN sometimes the PN
'Malala is sometimes Tiana's beater'

¹¹⁾ Personal names and place names need a definite marker when they are an argument or an object of a preposition (cf. Stark 1969, Moriyama 2003). Personal names starting with *Ra-*, *Andria-* do not take an extra definite marker because *Ra-* and *Andria-* are considered definite prefixes. When a personal name does not have one of these prefixes, the name is preceded by the article *i=*. Likewise, place names starting with *An-* takes no article, but place names which do not start with *An-* takes the article *i=*. Moreover, the patient of a divalent (= transitive) verb takes the accusative marker *an=*. Only when the patient is a determinerless noun phrase or is preceded by the definite article *ny=*, the accusative maker *an=* is not needed.

When the verb is made into an agent noun mpikapoka (hitter, beater), its patient takes the accusative form with a proclitic an= and it looks the same as the patient of the nominative voice verb mikapoka (hit). The nikapoka is its past tense form (30).

(33) M-a-lemy ny fomba f-i-kapok=i= Malala an=i= Tiana NV-VM-soft the manner NMZ-VM-hit=the= PN ACC=the= PN 'the way Malala hits Tiana is soft'

The fikapohan(a) in (31) is the circumstantial noun and fikapok(a) in (33) is the manner noun. In (33), the head *fomba* (manner) triggers the manner nominalization, but perhaps circumstantial nominalization can be also used instead like in (16).

Below (34) is another example of a divalent verb:

- (34) Lee saw a rainbow
- (35) (I am not convinced of) Lee seeing a rainbow

In (35), the patient of the gerund is not case-marked whereas its agent can be genitive-marked in some varieties of English, but it remains unmarked for case here.

Let us turn to Japanese:

- (36) Miki=ga nizi=o mi-ta
 PN=NOM rainbow=ACC see-PST
 'Miki saw a rainbow'
- (37) Miki=niyoru nizi=no *mi/mokugeki
 PN=by.ADN rainbow=GEN *seeing/spotting
 'Miki's spotting of a rainbow'

Just like in (29), the agent is marked with the adnominal =niyoru (=by.ADN) and the patient with genitive. The potential gerund form from the converb mi of miru (see) cannot be used in this context.

Let us turn to Malagasy:

- (38) N-a-hita antsiben'Andriamanitra 12)/avana i= Naivo
 NV.PST-VM-see rainbow/rainbow the= PN
 'Naivo saw a rainbow'
- (39) Mp-a-hita lolo i= Naivo
 AGN-VM-see ghost the= PN
 'Naivo is a ghost spotter'

For the agent nominalization of a verb (39), lolo (ghost) is unmarked for case because it is a bare

¹²⁾ Antsiben'Andriamanitra can be analyzed as antsi (knife)+be (big) =n= (LNK) Andriamanitra (God), 'God's big knife i.e. rainbow.'

stem whereas a verb's patient (30) and an agent noun's patient (32) both receive accusative marking with an= because the noun is preceded by the definite article i=.

- (40) N-aha-gaga ny= f-a-hità-n=i= Naivo ilay antsiben' Andriamanitra azy NV.PST-VM-amaze the= NMZ-VM-see-CV= PN rainbow 'Naivo seeing the rainbow amazed himself'
- (41) Mandra=p-a-hìta=n=i= Naivo avana dia n-i-jery lanitra izy Until=NMZ-VM-see=LNK=the=PN rainbow that NV.PST-VM-look.at sky (s)he 'So that he can see a rainbow, Naivo is looking at the sky'
- (40) has the circumstantial noun fahitàn(a) (seeing) and mandra(ka) (until) in (41) requires the manner noun $fahita \rightarrow pahita$ (seeing). In this way, they form a quasi-minimal pair stress-wise.

Let us restart with English:

- (42) Lee discovered the virus
- (43) Lee's discovery of the virus

There is nothing new about (42, 43). With the deverbal noun, the agent and the patient are both marked with genitive.

- (44) Miki=ga uirusu=o hakken=si-ta PN=NOM virus=ACC discovery=do-PST 'Miki discovered the virus'
- (45) Miki=niyoru uirusu=no hakken PN=by.ADN virus=GEN discovery 'Miki's discovery of the virus'

Just like in (29, 37), the agent is marked with the adnominal =niyoru (by.ADN) and the patient with genitive.

- (46) N-a-hita valanaretina vaovao ny= dokotera NV.PST-VM-see virus the= doctor new 'The doctor discovered the new virus'
- (47) N-aha-gaga ny= f-a-hità-n=ny= dokotera ilay valanaretina vaovao the=NMZ-VM-see-CV=the=doctor NV.PST-VM-amaze the virus new 'The discovery of the new virus by the doctor was amazing'
- (48) Mandra=p-a-hìta=n=ny= dokotera vahaolana/valanaretina dia Until=NMZ-VM-see=LNK=the= doctor solution/virus that m-i-ezaka mafy ry.zareo NV-VM-try hard they

'The doctors try hard for their discovery of the solution/virus'

These examples have the circumstantial noun fahitàn(a) (discovery) (47) and the manner nominalization

84

fahìta (discovery) (48). Again, they form a quasi-minimal pair stress-wise.

As for the examples of divalent (two-place) clauses, Malagasy nominals remain in the same forms except when it is the agent, which changes into the genitive form. Japanese nominals always change their case markings to adnominal case markings. English core nominals do not change case markings when the head verb turns into a gerund, but when it turns into a deverbal noun, the core nominals take genitive markings.

2. 3. Trivalent (three-place) clauses

Let us take a look at trivalent clauses. Let us start with English:

- (49) a. Lee gave Pat the car
 - b. Lee gave the car to Pat
- (50) Lee giving the car to Pat (amazed me)

When the trivalent verb is made into a gerund, the recipient is assigned a case (50) like in (49b), but the agent and the theme remain case-wise unmarked.

Let us look at Japanese examples:

- (51) Miki=ga Yuzuki=ni kuruma=o age-ta
 PN=NOM PN=DAT car=ACC give-PST
 'Miki gave Yuzuki a/the car'
- (52) Miki=niyoru Yuzuki=e=no kuruma=no zooyo
 PN=by.ADN PN=ALL=GEN car=GEN giving
 'Miki giving a/the car to Yuzuki'

The ad-verbal cases are replaced by the adnominal cases or case complexes. We have seen the nominative =ga turning into =niyoru several times. The dative =ni does not render *=ni=no but rather =e=no. This case probably is discussed in numerous books and papers, one of which is Fistiawati (2002). The accusative =o regularly turns into the genitive =no.

Let us look into some Malagasy examples:

- (53) N-an-ome fiarakodia an=i= Manitra i= Vero
 NV.PST-VM-give car ACC=the= PN the= PN

 'Vero gave a car to Manitra'
- (54) N-aha-gaga ny= fomba f-an-omez-an=i= Vero fiarakodia an=i= Manitra
 NV.PST-VM-amaze the= manner NMZ-VM-give-CV=the= PN car ACC=the= PN
 'Vero's way of giving a car to Manitra was amazing'

In (54), fanomezan(a) (giving) is preceded by fomba (manner). Without the fomba, fanomezan(a)'s

lexical meaning 'gift, present' would override the plain deverbal noun reading 'giving.' In this example too, the caseless theme *fiarakodia* (car) and the accusative recipient *an=i=Manitra* (ACC=the=Manitra) are the same between (53) and (54). The caseless agent turning into the genitive/ergative form is what we have been witnessing all the way through.

- (55) N-an-ome sakafo an=i= Manitra i= Vero
 NV.PST-VM-give meal ACC=the= PN the=PN

 'Vero gave a meal to Manitra'
- (56) Mandra=p-an-omez-an=i= Vero sakafo an=i= Manitra dia noana izy
 Until=NMZ-VM-give-CV=the=PN meal ACC=the= PN that be.hungry (s)he
 'Until Vero's giving meal to Manitra, she (= Manitra) was hungry'

Mandra(ka) (until) usually requires a manner nominalization (i.e. $panome \leftarrow fanome$) rather than a circumstantial nominalization, but what we got in (56) is a circumstantial nominalization $panomezan(a) \leftarrow fanomezana$. One reason that can explain this 'mismatch' is that it may be awkward to encliticize anything to the stem ome and therefore the circumstantial suffix -an(a) was inserted to render $panomezan(a) \leftarrow fanomezan(a)$. Other than that, the cases are like what we have seen so far. The caseless theme sakafo (meal) remains the same. The recipient an=i=Manitra (ACC=the=Manitra) remains the same. The agent takes on the genitive/ergative form (the form is the same in this case, but the genitive/ergative =i=Vero (=the=Vero) is encliticized to the circumstantial nominalized form.

(57) Mandra=p-an-ome sakafo an=i= Manitra dia m-i-asa i= Vero
Until=NMZ-VM-give meal ACC=the= PN that NV-VM-work the= Vero
'Vero is working so that he can give a meal to Manitra'

The agent of the manner nominalized $panome \leftarrow fanome$ (way of giving) is the same as the subject agent of the main clause i=Vero (the= Vero), the encliticized agent is omitted unlike in (56) where the agents are different between =i=Vero (=the=Vero) for the nominalized $panomezan(a) \leftarrow fanomezan(a)$ (giving) and the izy (meaning i=Manitra (the= Manitra)) for noana (be.hungry). Mandra(ka) (until) is therefore followed by the regular manner nominalized $panome \leftarrow fanome$ (way of giving).

The overall patterns for the trivalent clauses are the same as for the monovalent and divalent clauses in English, in Japanese, and in Malagasy.

2. 4. Benefactive case marking

Now we take a look at adjunct case markings beginning with benefactive case marking:

- (58) Lee wrote the book for the children
- (59) Lee writing the book for the children (amazed me)

86

In these examples, we can see that the adnominal benefactive marking (59) is identical with the ad-verbal benefactive marking (58) in English.

Let us turn to Japanese:

- (60) Miki=ga kodomo-taci=no=tame=ni hon'=o kai-ta
 PN=NOM child-PL=GEN=sake=DAT book=ACC write-PST
 'Miki wrote a book for the children'
- (61) Miki=no kodomo-taci=no=tame=no hon=no sippicu/kaki-ppuri
 PN=GEN child-PL=GEN=sake=GEN book=GEN writing/write-manner
 'Miki writing/Miki's way of writing of the book for the children'

The ad-verbal benefactive =no=tame=ni (=GEN=sake=DAT) is modified by replacing the dative =ni with the genitive =no.

Let us look at Malagasy examples:

- (62) N-an-oratra boky ho=an=ny= ankizy i= Fara

 NV.PST-VM-write book for=ACC=the= child(ren) the= PN

 'Fara wrote a book for the children'
- (63) Haingana ny= f-an-orat-an=i= Fara boky ho=an=ny= ankizy
 Be.quick the= NMZ-VM-write-CV=the-PN book for=ACC=the= child(ren)

 'Fara writing the book for the children was quick'

The benefactive marking ho=an= (for=ACC=) is the same whether it is ad-verbal (62) or adnominal (63).

(64) Mandra=p-an-oratr=i= Fara boky ho=an=ny= ankizy dia m-i-heritreritra izy
Until=NMZ-VM-write=the= PN book for=ACC=the= child(ren) that NV-VM-ponder she
'So that she can write a book for the children, Fara is deeply reflecting'

With the manner nominalization too, the benefactive marking ho=an= (for=ACC=) remains the same.

The benefactive marking is adnominalized in Japanese when the head is nominalized, but it remains the same in English and in Malagasy.

2. 5. Comitative (case) marking

Let us start with English examples:

- (65) Lee played with Chris
- (66) (I have nothing to do with) Lee playing with Chris

The comitative marking with remains the same whether it is ad-verbal (65) or adnominal (66).

Let us turn to Japanese:

- (67) Miki=ga Yuzuki=to ason-da
 PN=NOM PN=with play-PST
 'Miki played with Yuzuki'
- (68) Miki=no Yuzuki=to=no *asobi/kooyuu/asobi=kata
 PN=GEN PN=with=GEN *playing/playing/play=manner
 'Miki's *-/playing/way of playing with Yuzuki'

To the ad-verbal comitative marker =to (=with), the genitive =no is added when the head is nominalized.

Malagasy comitative marking involves verb serialization and the oblique marking:

(69) N-i-ara=n-i-lalao baolina t-amin=i= Ony i= Hery
NV.PST-VM-do.together=NV.PST-VM-play ball PST-OBL=the= PN the= PN
'Hery co-played soccer with Ony'

The verb serialization is composed of *niara(ka)* (did.together) and *nilalao* (played) and the comitative nominal is procliticized with a tensed oblique preposition *t-amin*= (PST-OBL).

(70) Mp-i-ara=m-i-lalao baolina amin=i= Ony i= Hery AGN-VM-do.together=NV-VM-play ball OBL=the= PN the= PN 'Hery is a co-player of soccer with Ony.

The first verb in verb serialization undergoes agent nominalization mpiara(ka) (co-doer) \leftarrow miaraka (do. together) while the second verb does not undergo agent nominalization but remains in the unmarked form for the nominative voice. As for the oblique case marking, the tense t- (PST-) drops, but otherwise, it is the same preposition as what can be seen in (69).

(71) a. Matetika ny f-i-arah-a=m-i-lalao=n=i= Hery baolina amin=i= Ony be.often the NMZ-VM-do.together-CV=NV-VM-play=LNK=the= Hery ball OBL=the= Ony 'Hery co-playing soccer with Ony takes place frequently'
b. Matetika ny f-i-arah-an=i= Hery m-i-lalao baolina amin=i= Ony be.often the NMZ-VM-do.together-CV=the= PN NV-VM-play ball OBL=the= Ony 'Hery co-playing soccer with Ony takes place frequently'

In the above examples (71a, b), the serialized verbs undergo event nominalization. The encliticized agent comes after the nominalized serialized verb chunk in (71a), but it comes after the first nominalized verb in (71b).

The comitative marking is adnominalized in Japanese when the head is nominalized. It remains the same in English. The oblique marking in Malagasy remains the same except for the tense marking.

2. 6. Locative case marking

We start with English examples:

- (72) Lee lives in Paris
- (73) a. (I have nothing to do with) Lee living in Paris b. (I have nothing to do with) Lee's life in Paris

The locative phrase in Paris remains the same in the original clause (72) and in its corresponding gerund phrase (73a) and its deverbal noun phrase counterpart (73b).

Let us turn to Japanese examples:

- (74) Miki=ga Pari=ni sun-de iru
 PN=NOM PN=LOC live-CONV be
 'Miki lives in Paris'
- (75) Miki=no Pari=de=no kyozyuu/sumai=kata
 PN=GEN PN=LOC=GEN living/live=way
 'Miki living/Miki's way of living in Paris'

When the head is nominalized, =ni (=LOC) does not change to *=ni=no (=LOC=GEN), but it changes to =de=no (=LOC=GEN) (Fistiawati 2002 and elsewhere).

Let us look at Malagasy examples:

- (76) M-i-petraka any ambanivohitra i= Lalao
 NV-VM-live there countryside the= PN

 'Lalao lives in the countryside'
- (77) Mp-i-petraka any ambanivohitra i= Lalao
 AGN-VM-live there countryside the= PN
 'Lalao is an inhabitant of the countryside'

The locative phrase *any ambanivohitra* (there country.side) remains the same before and after agent nominalization (76, 77).

- (78) M-amp-i-alona ny= f-i-petrah-an=i= Lalao any ambanivohitra NV-CAUS-VM-envy the= NMZ-VM-live-CV=the= PN there country.side 'Lalao living in the countryside makes people/me/us envious'
- (79) M-amp-i-alona ny= fomba f-i-petrak=i= Lalao any ambanivohitra NV-CAUS-VM-envy the= manner NMZ-VM-live =the= PN there country.side 'Lalao's way of living in the countryside makes people/me/us envious'
- (78) is an example of event nominalization and (79) is an example of the manner nominalization which is required by the head noun *fomba* (manner). In these cases too, the locative phrase *any ambanivohitra*

(there country.side) remains the same before and after nominalization

- (80) N-i-lalao t-any andafy i= Antema NV.PST-VM-play PST-there abroad the= PN 'Antema played in a foreign country'

'Antema is the one who plays in a foreign country'

The locative phrase remains the same before and after the agent nominalization except for the past tense marking in (80) when the head is a verbal predicate.

- (82) M-aha-velom=bolo ny= f-i-lalaov-an=i= Antema any andafy NV-CAUS-live=hair the= NMZ-VM-play-CV=the= PN there abroad 'Antema playing in a foreign country is refreshing'
- (83) M-aha-velom=bolo ny= fomba f-i-lalao=n=i= Antema any andafy NV-CAUS-live=hair the= manner NMZ-VM-play=LNK=the= PN there abroad 'Antema's way of playing in a foreign country is refreshing'
- (82) is an example of event nominalization and (83) is an example of manner nominalization which is required by the head noun *fomba* (manner). In these cases too, the locative phrase *any andafy* (there abroad) remains the same before and after nominalization.

The locative marking is adnominalized in Japanese when the head is nominalized, but it remains unchanged both in English and in Malagasy.

2. 7. Allative case marking

In this section, we look at allative (goal) case marking. We start with English examples:

- (84) Lee goes to Paris
- (85) Lee going to Paris

The allative phrase to Paris remains the same in the original clause (84) and in its gerund phrase (85).

Let us turn to Japanese examples:

- (86) Miki=ga Pari=e it-ta/ryokoo=si-ta
 PN=NOM PN=to go-PST/travel=do-PST
 'Miki went/traveled to Paris'
- (87) Miki=no Pari=e=no ryokoo
 PN=GEN PN=to=GEN travel
 'Miki's travel to Paris'

90

When the head is a noun (87), the allative marker =e is followed by the genitive marker =no.

(88) a. N-an-deha any Toamasina i= Tantely

V.PST-VM-go there PN the= PN

'Tantely went to Toamasina (and he is still there)'

b. N-an-deha t-any Toamasina i= Tantely NV.PST-VM-gothere PN the= PN

'Tantely went to Toamasina (and he came back or went somewhere else)'

(89) Mp-an-deha any Toamasina i= Tantely
AGN-VM-go there PN the= PN

'Tantely is the one who goes to Toamasina'

The allative phrase remains the same before and after the agent nominalization (88a, 89) except for the past tense marking in (88b). When any (there) is used (88a), it implies that the subject still remains in the destination. When t-any (PST-there) is used (88b), it implies that the subject is back in the starting point or is somewhere else. In fact, the allative phrase has the same shape ((t-)any PN ((PST-)there PN)) as the locative phrase in the previous subsection for locative marking. The allative phrase can have a preposition ho (for) as in (90).

(90) N-i-ainga ho= any Toamasina i= Tantely NV.PST-VM-depart for= there PN the= PN 'Tantely departed for Toamasina'

Whether a phrase with allative meaning requires the ho (for) or not depends on the predicate verb. Nianga (departed) requires the ho (for) while nandeha (went) does not require it.

(91) M-aha-gaga ny= f-an-dehan-an=i= Tantely any Toamasina NV-CAUS-be.amazed the= NMZ-VM-go-CV=the=PN there PN 'Tantely going to Toamasina is amazing'

(92) Mandra=p-an-deha=n=i= Tantely any Toamasina dia m-i-andry isika
Until=NMZ-VM-go=LNK=the= PN there PN that NV-VM-wait we
'We are waiting until Tantely goes to Toamasina'

Fandehan(a) (going) is an event nominalization (91) and $pandeha \leftarrow fandeha$ (way of going) is a manner nominalization (92) which is required by mandra(ka) (until). With both the event nominalization and manner nominalization, the allative phrase remains the same ($any\ Toamasina$) (there Toamasina)) as in the clause with a verbal predicate (88).

The allative (goal) marking is adnominalized in Japanese when the head is nominalized, but it remains unchanged both in English and in Malagasy.

TOKYO UNIVERSITY OF FOREIGN STUDIES, AREA AND CULTURE STUDIES 104 (2022)

2. 8. Instrumental case marking

We take a look at instrumental case marking with the meanings of tools and materials. First, we look at the English examples with the instrumental case for tools:

- (93) Lee chopped wood with an axe
- (94) Lee chopping wood with an axe (amazed me)

The instrumental phrase remains the same in English (93, 94).

Below are the Japanese examples with the instrumental case for tools:

- (95) Miki=ga ono=de maki=o wat-ta
 PN=NOM axe=INST firewood=ACC split-PST
 'Miki chopped firewood with an axe'
- (96) a. Miki=no ono=de=no maki=no *wari/wari=kata
 PN=GEN axe=INST=GEN firewood=ACC *-/split=manner
 'Miki's way of chopping firewood with an axe'
 b. Miki=no ono=de=no maki+wari
 PN=GEN axe=INST=GEN firewood+splitting
 'Miki's firewood chopping with an axe'

The instrumental phrase ono=de (axe=INST) takes the genitive marker to render ono=de=no (axe=INST=GEN) when the head is a noun (96a, b). Maki=no *wari (firewood=GEN *splitting) is not acceptable. You need to modify it to maki=no wari=kata (firewood=GEN split=manner) (95a) or resort to the compound maki+wari (firewood+splitting) (96b).

Let us turn to Malagasy examples:

- (97) N-am-aky kitay t-amin=ny= famaky i= Tamby NV.PST-VM-split f irewood PST-OBL=the= axe the= PN 'Tamby chopped firewood with an axe'
- (98) Mp-am-aky kitay amin=ny= famaky i= Tamby
 AGN-VM-split firewood OBL=the= axe the= PN
 'Tamby is a chopper of firewood with an axe'

When the predicate verb is in the past tense, the instrumental preposition is marked with past tense too (97). The instrumental phrase remains the same before and after the agent nominalization except for the tense marking on the preposition (97, 98). As you might have noticed, the noun *famaky* (axe) is a result of instrumental nominalization of *m-am-aky* (NV-VM-split) and is lexicalized.

92

(99) M-amp-a-tahotra ny= fomba f-am-aki-an=i= Tamby kitay amin=ny=famaky NV-CAUS-VM-be.afraid the= manner NMZ-VM-split-CV=the= PN firewood OBL=the= axe 'The way Tamby chops firewood with an axe frightens (me)'

The head noun *fomba* (manner) usually requires a manner noun, which would be *famaky* (way of splitting) in this case, but instead, what we got is an event noun *famakian(a)* (splitting).

(100) Mandra=p-am-aki=n=i= Tamby kitay amin=ny= famaky dia
Until=NMZ-VM-split=LNK=the= PN firewood OBL=the= axe that
m-an-angona hazo ny= olona
NV-VM-gather wood the= people
'So that Tamby can chop wood with an axe, people are gathering wood'

With the mandra(ka) (until/so that), we got the manner noun $pamaki \leftarrow famaky$ (way of splitting) (100).

Now we look at the examples of instrumental case marking with the meaning of material in English:

- (101) Lee built a house with bricks
- (102) Lee building a house with bricks (amazed me)

The instrumental phrase remains the same in English (101, 102).

Now we turn to Japanese examples:

- (103) Miki=ga renga=de ie=o cukut-ta/tate-ta
 PN=NOM brick=INST house=ACC make-PST/build-PST
 'Miki made/built a house with bricks'
- (104) a. Miki=no renga=de=no ie=no *cukuri/cukuri=kata
 PN=GEN brick=INST=GEN house=GEN *-/make=manner
 'Miki's *making/way of making of a house with bricks'
 b. Miki=no renga=de=no ie=no *tate/tate=kata
 - PN=GEN brick=INST=GEN house=GEN *-/build=manner 'Miki's *building/way of building of a house with bricks'
 - c. Miki=no renga=de=no ie+zukuri
 PN=GEN brick=INST=GEN house+making
 'Miki's house building with bricks'

The instrumental phrase renga=de (brick=INST) takes the genitive marker to render renga=de=no (brick=INST=GEN) when the head is a noun (104a, b, c). Ie=no *cukuri/*tate (house=GEN *making/*building) are not acceptable (104a, b). You need to modify them to ie=no cukuri=kata/tate=kata (house=GEN make=manner/build=manner) (104a, b) or resort to the compound ie+zukuri (house+making) (104c).

Now let us turn to Malagasy examples:

TOKYO UNIVERSITY OF FOREIGN STUDIES, AREA AND CULTURE STUDIES 104 (2022)

```
(105) a. N-an-angana
                                    trano
                                            t-amin=ny= biriky
                                                                  i= Tiavina
        NV.PST-VM-build
                                    house
                                            PST-OBL=the= brick the= PN
        'Tiavina built a house with bricks'
     b. N-aha-tsangana
                                            t-amin=ny=biriky
                                                                  i= Tiavina
                                    trano
        NV.PST-VM-build
                                            PST-OBL=the= brick the= PN
                                    house
        'Tiavina built a house with bricks'
     c. N-aha-tafa-tsangana
                                            t-amin=ny=biriky
                                    trano
                                                                  i= Tiavina
        NV.PST-VM-SUCC-build
                                            PST-OBL=the= brick the= PN
                                    house
        'Tiavina successfully built a house with bricks'
```

(106) Mp-an-angana amin=ny= biriky i= Tiavina trano OBL=the= brick the= PN AGN-VM-build house

'Tiavina is a builder of houses with bricks'

The instrumental (material) phrase remains the same before and after agent nominalization except for the past-tense marking in the verb-headed clause (105a, 106). When you change the valency marker of the nominative voice verb from an- (105a) to aha- (105b), the latter seems to emphasize the causativity. When you add the successfulness prefix tafa- (104c) to (104b), grammatical meaning 'successfully' is added.

```
(107) Mafy
                  ny= f-an-angan-an=i= Tiavina
                                                             amin=ny= biriky
                                                     trano
                  the= NMZ-VM-build-CV=the= PN
                                                    house
                                                             OBL=the= brick
     'Tiavina building a house with bricks is sturdy'
```

```
(108) Mandra=p-an-angan=i= Tiavina
                                      trano
                                              amin=ny= biriky dia
     Until=NMZ-VM-build=the=PN
                                      house
                                              OBL=the= brick that
     m-an-davaka
                     fototra
                                 ny= olona
     NV-VM-dig.hole foundation
                                 the= people
```

'People are digging a hole for foundation so that Tiavina can build a house with bricks'

The instrumental marking is adnominalized in Japanese when the head verb is nominalized, but it remains unchanged both in English and in Malagasy.

Conclusion

The overall patterns can be summed up in the following. Both core nominals and adjuncts are adnominalized when the head verb is nominalized in Japanese. The adjuncts remain the same for head verbs, head gerunds, and head deverbal nouns in English. Core nominals can remain unchanged when the head verbs turn into gerunds in English (the subject phrase has a variation between caseless/accusative marking and genitive marking), but they get genitive markings when the head verbs turn into deverbal nouns. In Malagasy, all the core nominals and adjuncts remain in the same forms before and after the head verbs'

nominalization except for the agent nominals, which get into the genitive forms. But consider the following examples. (109) is in the nominative voice form:

(109) N-an-angana trano t-amin=ny= biriky i= Tiavina (=105)

NV.PST-VM-build house PST-OBL=the= brick the= PN

'Tiavina built a house with bricks'

Let us modify (109) into the absolutive voice form (110) and the circumstantial voice form (111):

(110) N-a-tsangan=i= Tiavina t-amin=ny= biriky ny= trano
PST-ABV-build =the=PN PST-OBL=the= brick the= house
'The house, Tiavina built it with bricks 13)'

(111) N-an-angan-an=i=Tiavina trano ny= biriky
PST-VM-build-CV=the=PN house the= brick
'With bricks, Tiavina built a house'

The circumstantial voice form (111) can be put in the cleft construction (112):

(112) Biriky no n-an-angan-an=i=Tiavina trano
Brick that PST-VM-build-CV=the=PN house
'It was bricks that Tiavina built a house with'

If you consider that the nominative clause is the unmarked form, the agent subject seems to transform into the genitive/ergative form in the absolutive voice clause (110), in the circumstantial voice clause (111, 112), and when the nominative voice clause gets nominalized. But my idea is the other way around. The agent is genitive/ergative-marked in the unmarked form (or in the underlying form). When the agent is made into a subject of a nominative voice clause, it takes the marked nominative form, which happens to be morphologically unmarked. In the same way in the absolutive voice clause (110), the patient takes on the subjecthood and is put in the marked absolutive (= nominative) form (ny = trano (the= house)). In the circumstantial voice clause (111, 112), the adjunct takes on the subjecthood and is put in the marked absolutive/nominative form ((ny=) biriky ((the=) bricks)). I consider the morphologically unmarked nominative (=absolutive) subject to be marked because agents are genitive/ergative-marked in more constructions, i.e. in absolutive and circumstantial voice constructions and with nominalized forms of verbs. Agents are marked nominative (=absolutive) only in the nominative voice construction.

From micro-scale morphosyntactic typological point of view, what eases Japanese to steadily and explicitly mark adnominal cases owes to its capability of lumping more than one case markers like in Pari=e=no (Paris=to=GEN, 87). Japanese case markers are particles/adpositions/clitics but not affixes, which

¹³⁾ The *the house* in (110) and the *with bricks* in (111), both placed at the initial position of the clause, look like topics in the English translation, but the corresponding Malagasy phrases *ny= trano* (the= house) and *ny= biriky* (the= brick) are actually subjects, which happen to be also topics. Also note that the instrumentality is not marked on the subject *ny= biriky* (the= bricks), but is marked on the predicate verb with the circumstantial suffix (111).

TOKYO UNIVERSITY OF FOREIGN STUDIES, AREA AND CULTURE STUDIES 104(2022)

certainly eases double case markings. But it is neither a necessary condition nor a sufficient condition. Two or more case suffixes in Patwin and in other languages are reported by Lawyer (2016). The stacking of case markers (probably mostly suffixes) has been known as suffixaufnahme (Kracht 2002, Bachvarova 2007), but it encompasses a wider array of phenomena than what I have presented for Japanese in this paper. To sum it up, stacking of case markers has been known for a long time, but it is still premature to talk about a typological classification of the languages which have related phenomena. On the other hand, Malagasy's identical ad-verbal and adnominal case markings are probably a result of nominalization of verb phrases as a whole, i.e. verb phrases including arguments and/or adjuncts undergo nominalization where the case marking of the arguments and/or adjuncts remain intact. For English adjunct case markings, one needs not employ nominalization of verb phrases unlike for Malagasy to explain the phenomena, but it can be said that adjunct case markings are not sensitive to whether its head is verbal or nominal. On the other hand, English arguments' genitive markings with the deverbal nouns are in line with what we have in Japanese (genitive case marking does not cause stacking of cases even in Japanese unlike for adjunct cases); English arguments zero(accusative)/genitive fluctuation with the gerunds seems to testify English gerunds' syntactic properties which are shared with both verbs and nouns.

References

- Bachvarova, Mary R. (2007). "Suffixaufnahme and Genitival Adjectives as an Anatolian Areal Feature in Hurrian, Tyrrhenian, and Anatolian Languages" Proceedings of the 18th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. University of California Los Angeles.
- Fistiawati, Iin Maryanti. (2002). "Joshi 'no' niyotte tsukurareru rentai shûshokugo no imi to yôhô" (The meaning and the usage of adnominal qualifiers made with the particle 'no'). Term Papers for the Training Program in Japanese Language and Japanese Culture, The 16th Term, pp. 1-10. Hiroshima University. (https://ir.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/00038884, retrieved on March 25, 2022)
- Kracht, Marcus. (2002). "Suffixaufnahme" ms. FU Berlin.
- Lawyer, Lewis C. (2016). "Layers in Patwin: Double case marking and the Miwok substrate" *Preprints for the SSILA 2016 meeting*. Society for the Studies of Indigenous Languages of the Americas. (https://staticl.squarespace.com/static/5ec41a332c820e196d4ea9d6/t/5ede6ed7cfba73689ff697cf/1591635673451/handout.pdf, retrieved on July 28, 2022)
- Lyne, Susanna. (2006). "The form of the pronoun preceding the verbal gerund: Posssessive or objective?" *ICAME Journal, Volume 30*, pp. 37-53. International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English.
- Manzini, M. Rita, Ludovico Franco, & Leonardo Savoia. (20). Chapter 8, Suffixaufhahme, oblique case and Agree"
- Moriyama, Takumi (森山工). (2003). Madagasukarugo Kaki Gengo Kenshû Tekisuto Bumpôhen (The Textbook for the Summer Language School, Malagasy, Grammar). Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Ntelitheos, Dimitrios. (2012). Deriving Nominals, A Syntactic Account of Malagasy Nominalizations. Brill.
- Stark, Elsie. (1969). Malagasy Without Moans. Trano Prinity Loterana.
- Tsunoda, Tasaku. (1985). "Remarks on transitivity," Journal of Linguistics 21, pp. 385-396.