

Where the Malagasy Adverbs Are
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Cinque differentiates the adverbs that go above TP and those that go below TP as higher and lower adverbs. I will show that Malagasy has some lower adverbs that must be higher than tense, raising the question of what happens with the higher adverbs. The answer to this is that in Malagasy higher adverbs don't exist as such, they are different heads that select the clause as its complement.

Cinque proposes a theory of adverbs in which they follow a universal hierarchy. Adverb phrases occupy specifier positions of functional categories, which provide a landing site for the verbs. Cinque divides them in two categories, higher adverbs which interact with the auxiliaries, and lower adverbs which interact with the participle. This places the lower adverbs between AuxP and vP, which works perfectly in languages such as Italian. Rackowski argues that, to account for the discrepancies in order that Malagasy exhibits, the lower adverbs split in pre-verbal and post-verbal.

However, these discrepancies have further implications on the relative position of the lower and higher adverbs with TP. In Malagasy, the verb goes as high as T° and while the post-verbal lower adverbs follow the verb, the pre-verbal ones precede it, thus these lower adverbs are above TP. So, if the pre-verbal lower adverbs are where we expect the higher adverbs to be, where are the higher adverbs?

I will show that in Malagasy the meanings of the higher adverbs is conveyed by different syntactic structures, i.e. different categorial heads that select full clauses. As shown in the examples in (1), higher adverbs can translate to either adjectives, nouns, or verbs, combined with complementizers.

- (1) a) **Mahagaga fa...**
surprising that
'Surprisingly' (it is surprising that)
- b) **Raha tsorina...** / **Marina fa...**
if basically / True that
'Frankly'
- c) **Azo antoka fa...**
(make) surety that
'Probably'

Since Higher Adverbs are not adverbs *per se* in Malagasy, they can change in linear order maintaining grammaticality, i.e. they no longer follow the hierarchy set out by Cinque. This contrasts with other languages, e.g. English, as shown in (2).

- (2) a) **Raha tsorina mazava fa** tsy sasan'ny zazavavy foana amin'ny savony ny lamba.
if basically clear that not TT.PRES.N'DET girl always with'DET soap DET clothes
'Frankly clearly the girl doesn't always wash the clothes with the soap'
- b) **Mazava fa raha tsorina** tsy sasan'ny zazavavy foana amin'ny savony ny lamba.
clear that if basically not TT.PRES.N'DET girl always with'DET soap DET clothes
*'Clearly frankly the girl doesn't always wash the clothes with the soap'

In sum, in Malagasy lower adverbs appear to extend higher up the tree, forcing the higher adverbs even higher, as heads of other lexical categories. The sentential scope of the higher adverbs is then realized syntactically different, accounting for the flexibility in word order.

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