Finite Control in Malagasy?

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1 The Issue

Malagasy MISSING SUBJECT CONSTRUCTION (MSC) (Keenan 1976)—complement clause subject is missing under coreference with a higher element

- (1) a. manantena Rabe fa hividy fiara hope.PRESENT Rabe that buy.FUTURE car 'Rabe hopes to buy a car.'
 - b. [manantena Rabe_i [fa hividy fiara _i]] hope Rabe that buy car

FINITE CONTROL ANALYSIS (Keenan 1976:276-278)

Malagasy permits control into a tensed, finite clause, as in some other languages missing subject in MSC arises from ordinary mechanisms of Control

NP DROP ANALYSIS (Keenan 1976:278)

Malagasy is a subject-drop language (Rahajarizafy 1960, Keenan 1976, Pearson 2005)

missing subject arises from NP drop in the embedded clause, licensed by higher matrix constituent

Outline of the talk:

- basic facts of Malagasy grammar
- arguments against the Finite Control analysis of the MSC
- MSC as an instantiation of NP Drop; Malagasy as a topic drop language

2 Malagasy Basics

predicate-initial (VOS) language

Philippine-style voicing system—verbal morphology registers the grammatical role of clause-final DP "subject"

- (2) a. n-i-vidy akoho i Bao AGENT TOPIC (AT)
 PAST-AT-buy chicken Bao
 'Bao bought the chicken.'
 - b. no-vidi-n' i Bao ny akoho THEME TOPIC (TT)

 PAST-buy-TT Bao the chicken
 'The chicken was bought by Bao.'
 - c. n-i-vidi-anan' i Bao ny akoho i Soa CIRCUMSTANTIAL PAST-AT-buy-CT Bao the chicken Soa TOPIC (CT) 'Soa was bought a chicken by Bao.'

obligatory extraposition of complement clauses with overt C°

- (3) a. manantena Rabe [fa handeha ho any Frantsa aho] hope.AT Rabe that go.AT LOC France 1SG.NOM V S CP 'Rabe hopes that I will go to France.'
 - b. *manantena [fa handeha ho any Frantsa aho] Rabe hope that go LOC France 1SG.NOM Rabe V CP S

obligatory tense morphology on verbs

(4) Malagasy tense prefixes

past present future/irrealis n(o)- ø- h(o)-

no dedicated non-finite verb forms, future/irrealis substitutes

- (5) a. te **h-ividy** fiara aho want.AT FUT-buy.AT car 1SG.NOM 'I want to buy a car.'
 - b. nanandrana h-amono akoho ilay vehivavy tried.AT FUT-kill.AT chicken that woman 'That woman tried to kill a chicken.'

3 The Missing Subject Construction (MSC)

MSC—missing complement clause subject (represented atheoretically as) interpreted as coreferential with a higher DP

(6) manantena Rabe_i [fa hividy fiara _i] hope.AT Rabe that FUT.buy.AT car 'Rabe hopes to buy a car.'

3.1 Keenan's (1976) description

only subjects of AT verbs trigger deletion

- (7) a. *antenain-dRabe_i fa hividy fiara hope.TT-Rabe that buy car ('Rabe hopes to buy a car.')
 - b. *manantena ny fianakavian-dRabe_i fa hanambady an-dRasoa hope.AT thefamily-Rabe that marry ACC-Rasoa ('Rabe's family hopes that Rabe will marry Rasoa.')
 - c. *manantena Rabe_i sy Rakoto fa hanambady an-dRasoa hope.AT Rabe and Rakoto that marry ACC-Rasoa ('Rabe and Rakoto hope that Rabe will marry Rasoa.')

only subjects can be missing

- (8) a. *manantena Rabe_i [fa hamangy i Rasoa] hope Rabe that `visit.AT Rasoa ('Rabe hopes that Rasoa will visit him.')
 - b. *manantena Rabe_i [fa hovangiana _i Rasoa] hope Rabe that visit.TT Rasoa ('Rabe hopes that Rasoa will be visited by him.')

3.2 The Finite Control analysis

MSC is an instance of Control into a finite clause

- finite control is documented for other languages: Hebrew (Landau 2004), Japanese (Uchibori 2000), Persian (Hashemipour 1988, 1989, Ghomeshi 2001), Bulgarian, Albanian (Landau 2004), perhaps Greek (Terzi 1992)

Hebrew (Landau 2004)

- MSC shows basic characteristics of Obligatory Control (OC)
- (11) *obligatory control characteristics* (Hornstein 1999)
 - a. does not allow an arbitrary reading of missing subject
 - b. does not allow a non-local antecedent
 - c. does not allow a non-c-commanding antecedent

3.3 The NP Drop analysis

Malagasy is a discourse-oriented, subject-drop language (Rahajarizafy 1960, Keenan 1976, Pearson 2005)

dropped NP's referent must have been previously established as topic of discourse

(12) manantena Rabe $_{topic}$ [CP fa hividy fiara $\frac{izy}{izy}$] hope Rabe that buy car he 'Rabe hopes to buy a car.'

(analysis to be developed in section 5)

4 Argumentation Against Finite Control

The MSC does not show properties of Obligatory Control, Finite Control, orattested Malagasy control structures

4.1 Unlike obligatory control

- (13) *obligatory control characteristics*
 - a. does not allow an arbitrary reading of missing subject
 - b. does not allow a non-local antecedent
 - c. does not allow a non-c-commanding antecedent
 - d. controller choice governed by the Minimal Distance Principle
 - e. controllee must be complement clause subject
 - f. does not allow a split antecedent
- antecedent choice not governed by minimality restriction
- (14) Minimal Distance Principle (MDP) (Rosenbaum 1967)
 PRO is coindexed with the lowest DP that c-commands it
- (15)a. Sandy_i tried PRO_i to win SUBJECT CONTROL
 b. Sandy_i persuaded me_j PRO_{*i,j} to go OBJECT CONTROL

ordinary control in Malagasy obeys MDP

*'Rabe told Rasoa that he (Rabe) will learn Malagasy.'

b. nampahatsiahy ny zananyj [hanidy ny varavarana *i,j] Rasoai remind thechild lock the door Rasoa 'Rasoa reminded her children to lock the door.'

*'Rasoa reminded her children that she will lock the door.'

c. nandresy lahatra an-dRabe_j [haka rivotra *i,j] aho persuade ACC-Rabe take wind I 'I persuaded Rabe to take a vacation.'
*'I persuaded Rabe that I will take a vacation.'

i persuaded Rabe that I will take a vacation.

exceptions are few and cross-linguistically stable (Larson 1991, Ruzicka 1999, Jackendoff and Culicover 2003)

(17) Sandy_i promised me_j PRO_{i,*j} to leave

MSC triggered by a subject in presence of an object

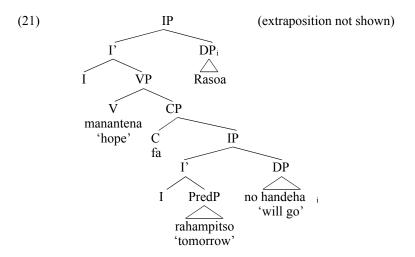
- - b. mampahatsiahy ny zanany Rasoa;
 remind the children Rasoa
 [fa hanidy ny varavarana i]
 that lock the door
 'Rasoa reminded her children that she (Rasoa) will lock the door.'
 - c. nandresy lahatra an-dRabe ny ray aman-dreniko; persuade ACC-Rabe the parent.1SG
 [fa tsy maintsy haka rivotra ;] that should FUT.take wind 'My parents persuaded Rabe that they should take a vacation.'
- dropped subject can be further embedded in a relative clause: focus construction

focus construction is a pseudocleft (Paul 2001)

(19)a. Rasoa no nihomehy Rasoa PRT laugh 'It's Rasoa who laughed'

dropped subject can be inside headless relative clause of focus construction (20) manantena i Rasoa; [fa rahampitso [no handeha i]] hope Rasoa that tomorrow PRT go

'Rasoa hopes that tomorrow she will go.'



• split antecedent allowed for dropped subject

ordinary control resists split antecedents (Hornstein 1999, pace Landau 2000)

*Kim_i persuaded Sandy_j PRO_{i+j} to respect each other

ordinary control in Malagasy does not permit split antecedents

*nampahatsiahy an-dRasoa_j [hifanaja _{i+j}] i Rabe_i remind ACC-Rasoa respect.RECIP Rabe ('Rabe reminded Rasoa to respect each other.')

MSC permits split antecedent interpretation

- - b. nampahatsiahy an-dRasoa_i i Rabe_j remind ACC-Rasoa Rabe
 [fa hifanaja manomboka androany i+j] that respect.RECIP begin today
 'Rabe reminded Rasoa that they will respect each other starting today.'
- The MSC does not have characteristics of obligatory control

- 4.2 Unlike finite control
- (25) *finite control characteristics*
 - a. irrealis interpretation of complement clause
 - b. restriction to certain matrix predicates
 - c. preference for third person controllers
- irrealis interpretation of complement clause not required temporal properties of control complements are restricted by the matrix predicate (Bresnan 1982, Varlokosta 1993, Stowell 1995, Martin 1996, Terzi 1997, Landau 2000, 2004, and others)

embedded verb in finite control has an irrealis interpretation (Landau 2004)

MSC does not show any temporal dependency

- (26)a. mihevitra i Rabe fa **n**-ahita gidro tany an-tsena think Rabe that **PAST**-see lemur LOC ACC-market 'Rabe thinks he saw a lemur at the market.'
 - b. mihevitra i Rabe fa h-ahita gidro any an-tsena think Rabe that FUT-see lemur LOC ACC-market 'Rabe thinks he will see a lemur at the market.'

factive predicates allow MSC

- (27)a. nanadino i Rasoa fa efa nividy vary forget Rasoa that already buy rice 'Rasoa forgot that she already bought rice.'
 - b. gaga ny mpiasa fa handray valim-pitia be.surprised the worker that receive reward 'The worker is surprised that he will receive a reward.'
- matrix predicate is semantically unrestricted finite control is restricted to certain matrix predicates (directive and commissive verbs in Hebrew (Landau 2004))

MSC is not restricted: propositional, factive, directive, desiderative, and others (28) verbs that permit the MSC

manantena 'hope', milaza 'say', manenina 'regret', mino 'believe',
mihevitra 'think', mieritreritra 'think', mikasa 'intend', manaiky
'agree', mahatadidy 'remember', mikiry 'insist', manadino 'forget',
mitetika 'plan, plot', manambara 'announce', manapakevitra 'decide',
manonofy 'dream', manontany 'demand, ask'

(29) a verb allows the MSC iff it takes a CP complement

• 1st/2nd person controllers not dispreferred

1st and 2nd person controllers are not permitted in finite control with an overt complementizer (Landau 2004 for Hebrew, Hashemipour 1988 for Persian)

Persian

- (30)a. Leyla_i tæsmim gereft ke _i mosaferæt ber-e Leyla decision took.**3**SG that travel go.SUBJ-**3**SG 'Leyla decided to go on a trip.'
 - o. *pro_i tæsmim gereft-æm ke _i mosaferæt ber-æm decision took-**1s**G that travel go.SUBJ-**1s**G ('I decided to go on a trip.')

no restriction against 1st/2nd person in Malagasy

- (31)a. mihevitra aho fa handeha ho any Antsirabe think 1sG.NOM that go LOC Antsirabe 'I think I will go to Antsirabe.'
 - b. manantena ianao fa hividy fiara amin' ny herin-taona hope **2**SG. NOM that buy.AT car PREP the next year 'You hope to buy a car next year.'
- The MSC does not have characteristics of finite control

4.3 Unlike Malagasy control

syntactic patterns of control in Malagasy are well documented (Keenan 1976, 1995, Law 1995, Paul and Ranaivoson 1998, Pearson 2001, Polinsky and Potsdam 2002a, 2003, 2005)

the controller-controllee relationship in the MSC is either more restricted or differently restricted than in ordinary control (see Appendix for data)

The MSC does not pattern with ordinary control in Malagasy

5 NP Drop Analysis

5.1 Proposal

NP Drop is Topic Drop:

• Malagasy is a topic-drop language, with a Germanic-style topic drop

(see Richards 2000, Pearson 2001, 2005 for comparison between Austronesian and Germanic)

(see Balkenende 1995 for topic drop in Dutch, Vikner 1995, Rohrbacher 1999 for topic drop in German, Sigurdsson 1993 for topic drop in Old Icelandic, Diesing 1990, Santorini 1992 for topic drop in Yiddish, among others)

- constituents that are dropped must be in a privileged syntactic position
- referential identification of the (embedded) null topic is determined by an interpretive rule
- 5.2 Malagasy as a topic drop language
- clause-final DP is a structural topic

cannot be an existentially quantified or non-referential

(32)a. *handeha ho any ny zaza go.AT LOC the child ('Some children/A child will go there.') ok: 'The child/children will go there.'

b. *tsy handeha ho any na iza na iza NEG go.AT LOC anyone ('No one will go there.')

overtly marked for definiteness

(33) mitomany *(ny/ilay) zaza cry the/that child 'The/that child is crying.'

cannot be focus

(34) *mihinana trondro ilay zaza fotsiny eat fish [this child only] ('Only this child eats fish.')

must be specific (Keenan 1976:252-254, Paul 2000, Pearson 1996, 2001:19-20)

structural position: spec, TopP (see Pearson 2001, 2005)

topic drop

under appropriate discourse contexts the subject may be dropped (Rahajarizafy 1960, Keenan 1976, Pearson 2005)

Rahajarizafy (1960:14) "Quand le sujet grammatical est suffisamement précisé par le contexte, surtout en parlant, il est souvent sous-entendu."

(36) Tonga e! Rahajarizafy 1960:14 arrive 'I/you/he arrive(s).' (according to context) *'Someone arrives.'

null topic always interpreted as specific

- 5.3 A pro analysis of topic drop and the MSC
- topic drop in general

the Malagasy null topic is an instance of *pro*pro must be licensed and identified (following Rizzi 1986)

(37) *pro* in Malagasy is licensed by Top° in spec,Top

licensing: *pro* only occurs in spec,Top (38)a. *mamaky *pro* i Rabe read Rabe ('Rabe is reading it/them.')
b. nangalarina *pro* ny vola-

b. nangalarina *pro* ny vola-ko steal.TT the money-1SG.POSS 'My money was stolen (*by him/you/me).'

pro licensed in spec, TopP is always a topic (specific, etc.)

topic drop and the MSC

the missing subject is pro in the embedded subject/spec, TopP position (39) manantena i Rabe_i [fa [hividy fiara t_i]_{IP} pro_i]_{TopP} hope.AT Rabe that buy.AT car 'Rabe hopes to buy a car.'

accounts for the categorical subject restriction in the MSC (= (8))

- (40)a. *manantena Rabe_i [fa hamangy *pro*_i Rasoa] hope Rabe that visit.AT Rasoa ('Rabe hopes that Rasoa will visit him.')
 - b. *manantena Rabe_i [fa hovangiana *pro*_i Rasoa] hope Rabe that visit.TT Rasoa ('Rabe hopes that Rasoa will be visited by him.')

predicts NP Drop regardless of embedded verb voice morphology

(41) manantena i Rabe_i fa hofidina *pro*_i hope Rabe that FUT.choose.TT 'Rabe hopes that he will be chosen.'

5.4 referential identification of pro

the referential identity of the null topic is determined by an interpretive rule

- (42) identification of pro in Malagasy embedded clauses (first try) co-index pro with a c-commanding DP in spec, TopP (higher topic)
- (43) manantena Rabe_i fa hividy fiara *pro*_i hope.AT Rabe that buy.AT car 'Rabe hopes to buy a car.'

only subjects of AT verbs trigger deletion (= (7))

(44)a. *antenain-dRabe_i fa hividy fiara *pro*_i hope.TT-Rabe that buy car ('Rabe hopes to buy a car.')

- b. *manantena ny fianakavian-dRabe_i fa hanambady an-dRasoa *pro*_i hope.AT thefamily-Rabe that marry ACC-Rasoa ('Rabe's family hopes that Rabe will marry Rasoa.')
- c. *manantena Rabe_i sy Rakoto fa hanambady an-dRasoa *pro*_i hope.AT Rabe and Rakoto that marry ACC-Rasoa ('Rabe and Rakoto hope that Rabe will marry Rasoa.')

MSC is not possible with sentential subjects

- (45)a. *mahagaga an-dRasoa_i [fa nofidina *pro*_i] surprise ACC-Rasoa that choose.TT ('That she was chosen surprised Rasoa.')
 - b. gaga i Rasoa; [fa nofidina proi]
 be.surprised Rasoa that choose.TT
 'Rasoa is surprised that she was chosen.'

(46) *antenain-dRabe_i [fa hividy fiara pro_i] hope.TT-Rabe that buy car ('That he will buy a car is hoped by Rabe.')

antecedent can be multiple clauses up (focus pseudocleft) (= (20))

(47) manantena i Rasoa [fa rahampitso [no handeha proi]] hope Rasoa that tomorrow PRT go 'Rasoa hopes that tomorrow she will go.'

intervening object permitted (= (18))

- (48)a. niteny tamin-dRasoa Rabe; [fa hianatra teny gasy proi] tell to-Rasoa Rabe that learn Malagasy 'Rabe said to Rasoa that he (Rabe) will learn Malagasy.'
 - b. mampahatsiahy ny zanany Rasoa, remind the children Rasoa [fa hanidy ny varavarana proi] that lock the door 'Rasoa reminded her children that she (Rasoa) will lock the door.'
 - c. nandresy lahatra an-dRabe ny ray aman-dreniko; persuade ACC-Rabe the parent.1SG
 [fa tsy maintsy haka rivotra pro;] that should FUT.take.AT wind 'My parents persuaded Rabe that they should take a vacation.'

MSC is impossible if matrix predicate has no topic position: nominalizations (49)a. ny fanantenan-dRabe_i [fa hitety any Madagasikara izy/*pro_i] the hope-Rabe that travel LOC Madagascar 3SG.NOM 'Rabe's hope that he will travel in Madagascar'

b. ny fanirian-dRabe_i [fa hanambady an-dRasoa izy/*pro_i] the desire-Rabe that marry.AT ACC-Rasoa 3SG.NOM 'Rabe's desire that he marry Rasoa'

5.5 refinements

with some transitive predicates, the object can identify pro

- (50)a. nandresy lahatra ahy_k i Rabe_i fa tsy maintsy haka rivotra *pro*_{i/k} persuade me Rabe that should take wind 'Rabe persuaded me that he/I should take a vacation.'
 - o. nampahatsiahy ahy_k i Rabe_i fa hanidy ny varavarana *pro*_{i/*k} remind me Rabe that lock the door 'Rabe reminded me that he/*I will lock the door.'

subject and object can both identify pro: split antecedent data (= (24))

- (51)a. nandresy lahatra an-dRasoa_i i Rabe_j [fa hividy ilay fiara pro_{i+j}] persuade ACC-Rasoa Rabe that buy that car 'Rabe persuaded Rasoa that they will buy this car.'
 - b. nampahatsiahy an-dRasoa_i i Rabe_j remind ACC-Rasoa Rabe

'Rabe reminded Rasoa that they will respect each other starting today.'

syntactic basis of identifying pro (= (42))

(52) identification of pro in Malagasy embedded clauses (first try) co-index pro with a c-commanding DP in spec, TopP (higher topic)

non-syntactic (discourse) factors that can influence choice of higher topic

- i. minimality: restricts topic domain (topic should not be far removed from *pro*)
- ii. topicality: [+Top] feature on a DP outside the spec, TopP position

non-syntactic factors lead to potential ambiguity and speaker variation

(53) identification of pro in Malagasy (second try)
co-index pro with a higher topic in spec, TopP unless some other DP is
a discourse topic

5.6 Topic Drop and Finite Control: comparing the analyses

Properties of the MSC	Topic Drop	Finite Control
prohibits arbitrary reading of missing DP	✓	✓
missing DP must be subject	✓	✓
allows a non-local antecedent (as in clefts)	✓	*
allows a non-c-commanding antecedent	✓	×
allows a split antecedent	✓	*
no tense dependency in the embedded clause	✓	×
broad range of matrix predicates	✓	×
no restriction to third person antecendent	✓	×

6 Conclusions

6.1 summary

The missing subject construction in Malagasy is an instance of topic drop, not finite control

- (54)a. manantena Rabe fa hividy fiara hope.PRESENT Rabe that buy car 'Rabe hopes to buy a car.'
 - b. manantenaRabe_i [fa [hividy fiara t_i]_{IP} pro_i]_{TopP} TOPIC DROP
 - c. *manantena Rabe_i [fa hividy fiara PRO_i] FINITE CONTROL

The MSC further supports the analysis of Malagasy as a subject-drop language, with dropped subject limited to topic (similar to Germanic topic-drop)

The identification of *pro* in spec,Top position is syntactically determined but subject to overriding discourse factors

6.2 further questions

ellipsis facts

the topic drop analysis predicts that the MSC should permit strict and sloppy readings under ellipsis (confirmed by preliminary data):

(55) mino i Rabe_i fa hahomby pro_i. Mino izany koa i Rasoa believe Rabe that succeed believe that also Rasoa 'Rabe believes that he will succeed. Rasoa also believes that she will succeed.'

'Rabe believes that he will succeed. Rasoa also believes that Rabe will succeed.'

STRICT

no strict reading under obligatory control

- (56) te hahomby i Rasoa. Tia izany koa aho want.AT succeed.AT Rasoa want.AT that also I 'Rasoa wants to succeed and I do too' SLOPPY *'Rasoa wants to succeed and I want her to also' *STRICT
- predict impossibility of topic drop in embedded clauses lacking the topic projection

variation in intervention data

'persuade' vs 'remind': can the overriding factors be lexically determined?

variation by person: non-subject discourse participants may be stronger interveners than third person expressions

• pro in root clauses (no c-commanding higher topic): how is pro identified?

(57) mangatsiaka pro be.cold.AT 'I am cold.' ?/*'It is cold.'

licensing of arbitrary pro: spec,VP

(58) nangalarina *pro* ny vola-ko steal.TT the money-1SG.POSS 'My money was stolen (by someone).'

does Malagasy have finite control?

irrealis complementizer mba forces object control interpretation

(59)a. nandresy lahatra ahy_k i Rabe_i
persuade me Rabe
mba tsy maintsy haka rivotra *_{i/k}
C.IRREALIS should take wind
'Rabe persuaded me that *he/I should take a vacation.'

b. nampahatsiahy ahy_k i Rabe_i
remind me Rabe
mba hanidy ny varavarana *_{i/k}
C.IRREALIS lock the door
'Rabe reminded me that *he/I will lock the door.'

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Appendix

comparison of ordinary and finite control patterns in Malagasy

• intransitive verb ordinary control

(60)a. subject—subject

manantena [hividy ilay fiara i] Rabei hope.AT buy.AT that car Rabe

b. agent—agent

antenain-dRabe_i [hovidina _i] ilay fiara hope.TT-Rabe buy.TT that car 'Rabe hopes to buy that car'

MSC is more restrictive

(61)a. subject—subject

manantena Rabe; [fa hividy ilay fiara i] hope.AT Rabe that buy.AT that car

b. *agent—agent

*antenain-dRabe_i [fa hovidina i ilay fiara] hope.TT-Rabe that buy.TT that car 'Rabe hopes to buy that car.'

• transitive verb ordinary control

(62)a. object—subject (AT)

nampahatsiahy ahy_i [hanidy ny varavarana _i] i Rabe remind.AT me lock.AT the door Rabe

b. *subject—subject (AT)

*nampahatsiahy ahy [hanidy ny varavarana k] i Rabek remind.AT me lock.AT the door Rabe

c. subject—subject (TT)

nampahatsiahivin-dRabe [hanidy ny varavarana i] ahoi remind.TT-Rabe lock.AT the door I

d. object—agent (CT)

nampahatsiahivin-dRabe_k ahy_i [hohidiana _{i,*k}] ny varavarana

remind.CT-Rabe me lock.TT the door 'Rabe reminded me to lock the door.'

MSC shows different patterns

(63)a. *object—subject (AT)

*nampahatsiahy ahyi i Rabe [fa hanidy ny varavarana i remind.AT me Rabe that lock.AT the door

b. subject—subject (AT)
nampahatsiahy ahy i Rabe_k [fa hanidy ny varavarana k]
remind.AT me Rabe that lock.AT the door

c. subject—subject (TT)
nampahatsiahivin-dRabe aho_i [fa hanidy ny varavarana _i]
remind.TT-Rabe I that lock.AT the door

d. *object—agent (CT)

*nampahatsiahivin-dRabe_k ahy_i [fa hohidiana _{i,k} ny varavarana] remind.CT-Rabe me that lock.TT the door 'Rabe reminded me that I/he will lock the door.'

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