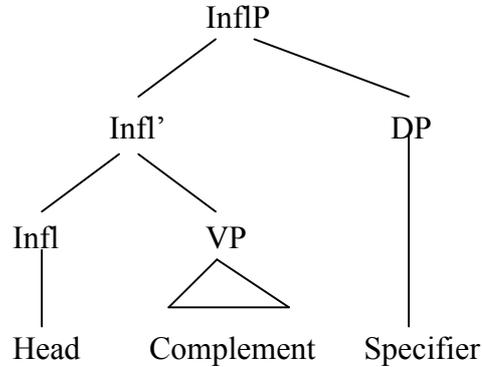


Part One: Malagasy Control Structures vs Verbs of Saying



Where head = lexical = { V, P, N, A }; head = functional = { voice, tense, aspect, agreement }; DP = Definite Phrase

Figure 1: X-Bar Theory and Tree Geometry

- Subject Control** predicate¹ –see Randriamasimanana (1986: 499, ex. 119a)--
 Property 1: constituent-selects the tense-marker on the embedded verb
 Property 2: allows optional complementizer 'ny'
 Property 3: NEVER allows a postposed sentential object, i.e. after the subject

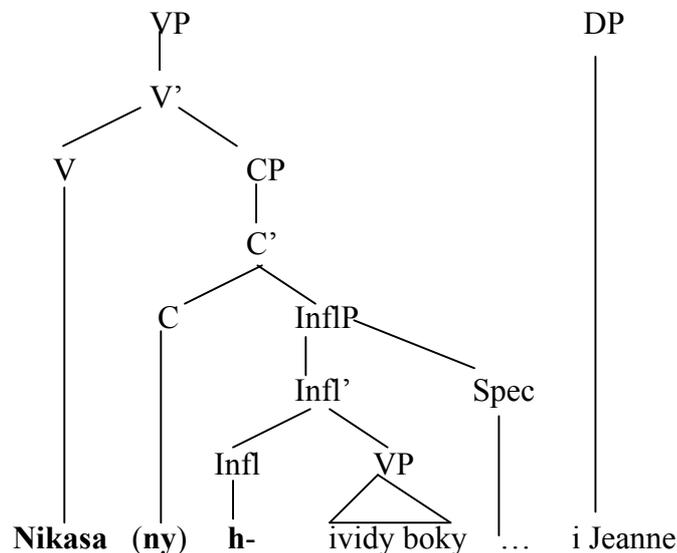


Figure 2: **Subject Control** & Subcategorization

- (1) Nikasa (ny) hividy boky i Jeanne.
N-i-kasa² (ny) h-i-vidy boky i Jeanne³.
 past-prf-root.intend (comp) fut-prf-root.buy a book(s) D.sg Jeanne
 "Jeanne intended to buy a book/books."

Object Control predicate⁴ --see Randriamasimanana (1986: 514, ex. 144.a & 144.b)--
 Property 1: constituent-selects the tense-marker on the embedded verb
 Property 2: allows optional complementizer 'mba'
 Property 3: usually does NOT allow a postposed sentential object, i.e. after the subject.

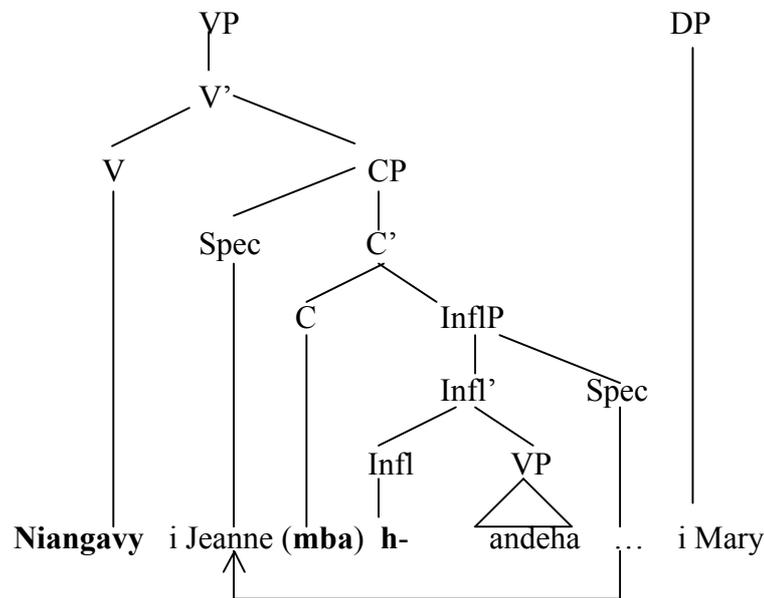


Figure 3: **Object Control** & Subcategorization

(2) Niangavy an'i Jeanne (mba) handeha i Marie.
N-i-angavy an' i Jeanne (**mba**) **h-**andeha i Marie.
 past-prf-**request** acc D.sg Jeanne (**comp**) fut-go D.sg Marie
 "Marie asked Jeanne to go."

(2') Evidence for Spec of CP position

Milaza azy ho mahay i Paoly.
 M-ilaza azy ho mahay i Paoly.
 Pres-say him/her Comp intelligent D.sg Paul
 'Paul considers himself intelligent.'

(2'') I Jeanne handeha.
 I Jeanne h-andeha.
 D.sg Jeanne fut-go
 Lit.'Jeanne will go.'
 English: 'As for Jeanne, she will go.' Exhaustive listing interpretation.

Malagasy verbs:

Subject Control { mikasa 'to intend', mitetika 'to plan', milofo 'to strive', etc }

Object Control { miangavy 'to request', mangataka 'to ask', manery 'to force', etc }

Verb of Saying based on <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~%7Ecpgl0015/pargram/Frsynsem1.htm>

Entry: *Verbs of saying - Some properties of verbs of saying*

Property 1: does NOT constituent-select the tense-marker on the embedded verb

Property 2: allows complementizer 'fa'⁵, but NEVER comp 'ny' nor 'mba'

Property 3: typically allows a postposed sentential object, i.e. after the subject

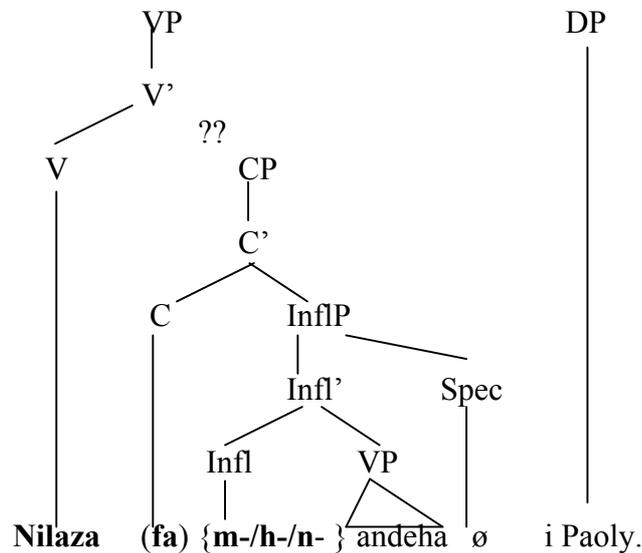


Figure 4: **Verb of Saying** & Absence⁶ of Subcategorization

- (3) Nilaza i Paoly fa handeha.
N-i-laza i Paoly **fa** **h-an-(l>)**deha.
 past-prf-root.laza D.sg Paul **comp fut**-pref-root.leha.
 "Paul said that he would go."
- (3a) Nilaza i Paoly fa nandeha tany.
N-i-laza i Paoly **fa** **n-an-(l>)**deha t-any.
 past-prf-root.laza D.sg Paul **comp past**-pref-root.leha perf-there.
 "Paul said that he went there."
- (3b) Nilaza i Paoly fa mandeha \emptyset -any.
N-i-laza i Paoly **fa** **m-an-(l>)**deha \emptyset -any.
 past-prf-root.laza D.sg Paul **comp pres**-pref-root.leha nonperf-there.
 "Paul said that he goes there."
- (3c) Nilaza (fa) handeha \emptyset -any i Paoly.
 N-i-laza (fa) **h-an-(l>)**deha \emptyset -any i Paoly.
 past-prf-root.laza (comp) **fut**-pref-root.leha nonperf-there D.sg Paul.
 "Paul said that he would go."
- (3d) Nilaza (fa) nandeha t-any i Paoly.
 N-i-laza (fa) **n-an-(l>)**deha t-any i Paoly.
 past-prf-root.laza (comp) **past**-pref-root.leha perf-there D.sg Paul.
 "Paul said that he went there."

Part Two: Brief Review of Contemporary Literature

Putative **Subject Control** : adapted from Potsdam (2004)

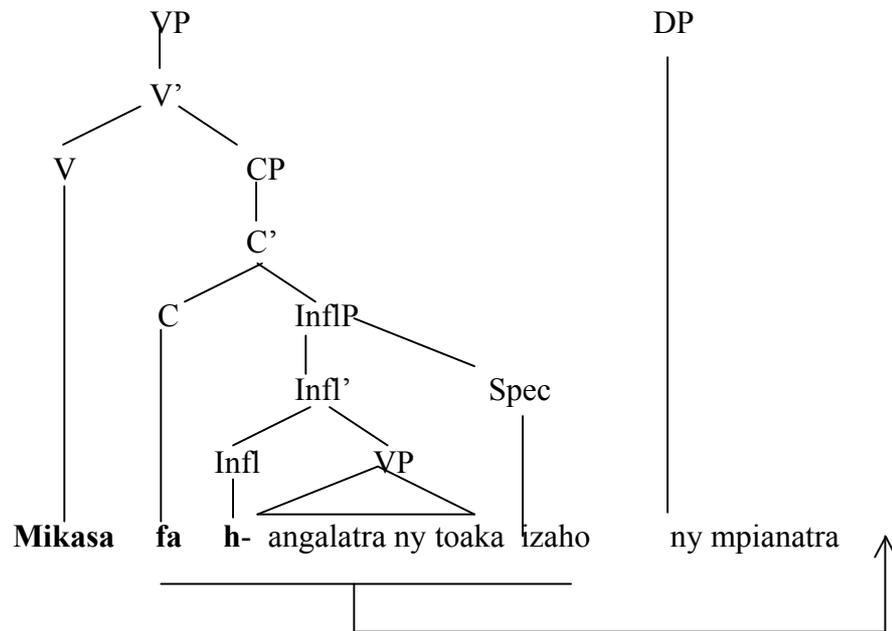


Figure 5: **Subject Control** & Subcategorization

- (4)a. **mikasa** ny mpianatra [**fa** izaho no **hangalatra** ny toaka]. = NOT Malagasy⁷
intend the student **that** I FOCUS **fut-steal** the booze
 ‘The student intends that I steal the booze’
- b. **mikasa** ahy [**hangalatra** ny toaka] ny mpianatra. = NOT Malagasy.
intend me **fut-steal** the booze the student
 ‘The student intends me to steal the booze’

Object Control: adapted from Polinsky & Potsdam (2005, ex 16a. = 4c. below)

- (4)c. **niteny** tamin-dRasoaj [**hianatra** teny gasy *_i,j] Rabei = NOT Malagasy⁸
n-iteny t-amin-dRasoaj [**h-ianatra** teny gasy *_i,j] Rabei
past-tell past-to-Rasoaj **fut-learn** language Malagasy Rabe
 ‘Rabe told Rasoaj to learn Malagasy.’
 *‘Rabe told Rasoaj that he (Rabe) will learn Malagasy.’
- d. **niteny** tamin-dRasoaj Rabei **fa/hoe hianatra** teny gasy = my version of (4)c
n-iteny t-amin-dRasoaj Rabei [**fa/hoe h-ianatra** teny gasy]
 past-speak past-to-Rasoaj Rabei comp fut-study language Malagasy
 ‘Rabe spoke with Rasoaj saying that he will study Malagasy.’

NOTE: **miteny** = ‘to speak, to say’, **hoe** = comp ‘quote...unquote’; see Note 8.

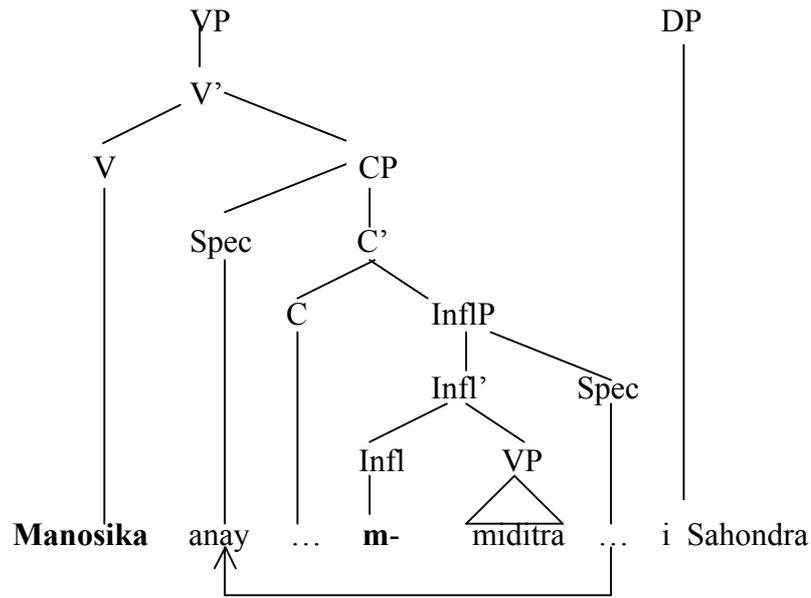


Figure 6: Putative **Object Control** & Subcategorization

Object Control: Paul et al. (1998: 117, ex. 17a = 5.b below).

- (5)a. **Manosika** miditra⁹ anay i Sahondra. = NOT Malagasy.
 AT.push AT.ebter 1plex(acc) Sahondra
 ‘Sahondra urges us to go in.’

NOTE: **manosika = to physically push; see Note 4 for the relevant Malagasy verb.**

- b. **Anosehan**⁹ i Sahondra anay **ny**¹⁰ hiditra. = NOT Malagasy.
 CT.push Sahondra(gen) 1plex(acc) **det fut.**AT.enter
 ‘Sahondra urges us to go in.’
 lit. ‘to go in is urged us by Sahondra.’

Object Control: Pearson (2001: 116, ex. 82 = 6 below).

- (6) a. **Manosika** anay [hividy mofo] ianareo = NOT Malagasy.
 NomP.push 1ex **Irr**-NomP.buybread 2p
 “You are urging us [PRO to buy bread]”
- b. **Atosikareo** [hividy mofo] izahay = NOT Malagasy.
 TrnP.push-2p **Irr**-NomP.buy bread 1ex
 “Us, you are urging [PRO to buy bread]”
- c. **Anosehanareo** anay [hovidina] ny mofo = NOT Malagasy.
 CrcP.push-2p 1ex **Irr**-AccP.buy Det bread
 “The bread, you are urging us [PRO to buy]”

Passive Control: Polinsky & Potsdam (2003)

- (7) **n**-andram-an-dRabe **no**-vono-ina ny akoho
PAST-try-PASS-Rabe **PAST**-kill-PASS the chicken
 <-----> InflP-Adjunct
 (lit.: the chicken was tried by Rabe to be killed)
 ‘Rabe tried to kill the chicken.’

Conclusions

- A. **Subject control** constituent-selects embedded **future** tense & **Comp 'ny'**;
- B. **Object control** constituent-selects embedded **future** tense & **Comp 'mba'**
- C. **Verb of Saying** does NOT constituent select future tense & requires **Comp 'fa'**.
- D. **InflP-type of Adjunction** with verbs like '**manandrana**' to try'.

Adapted from Potsdam, Eric. 2006.

ORDINARY CONTROL

- (8) a. **nampahatsiahivin-** dRasoahy [hohidiana ny varavarana] = NOT Malagasy.
remind.OT Rasoahy **me fut-lock.TT** the door

BACKWARD CONTROL

- b. **nampahatsiahivin-** dRasoahy [hohidia-ko ny varavarana] = NOT Malagasy.
remind.OT Rasoahy **fut-lock.TT-I** the door
'Rasoahy reminded me to lock the door.'

Adapted from official site of the 'Église Evangélique luthérienne de France'.

- (9) **Ampahatsiahivina fa** misokatra hoan'ny rehetra ny fotoam-pivavahana
amin'ny teny frantsay isan'alahady maraina amin'ny 10 h 30.
"(It) is recalled that is open to all the religious service
in the French language every Sunday morning at 10:30."

- a. **Ø-amp-aha-tsiahiv-ina** **fa** **m-**isokatra ... ny fotoam-pivavahana
Pass.pres-amp-aha-stem.tsiahiv-suff.ina **comp pres-open** Det religious service
- b. **Ø-amp-aha-tsiahiv-ina** **fa** **n-**isokatra ... ny fotoam-pivavahana
Pass.pres-amp-aha-stem.tsiahiv-suff.ina **comp past-open** Det religious service
- c. **Ø-amp-aha-tsiahiv-ina** **fa** **h-**isokatra ... ny fotoam-pivavahana
Pass.pres-amp-aha-stem.tsiahiv-suff.ina **comp fut-open** Det religious service

Note: Also consult Note 11.

NOTES

1. **Subject control** sample from Malagasy language website
<http://taratramada.com/> Date: 30-11-2004
Mitetika ny hanakorontana ireo sendikan'ny mpampianatra.
M-i-tetika ny h-anakorontana ireo sendika-n' ny mpampianatra.
Pres-pref.i-intend comp fut-disturb DX.plur association(s)-of Det teachers
"those teachers' associations intend to disturb."
2. The **subject control** predicate 'mikasa' means 'to intend' and as a result requires as a subject a referent **DP capable of intentions**. This rules out the sequence shown in b. under note 3, where the grammatical subject of 'mikasa' is 'ny fiara' 'the car'.
3. A Double Passive construction involving a subject control matrix predicate requires that both matrix and embedded verbs be in the passive voice. This rules out:
a. nijanona novaki-nao (ve) ny boky (*ve)?
stop.ACT read.PASS-2SG Q the book Q
'Did you stop reading the book?' (=28a)

b. tsy nikasa hosasan-dRaso (intsony) ny fiara (*intsony)
 NEG intend.ACT wash.PASS-Raso any.longer the car any.longer
 ‘Raso didn’t intend to wash the car (any longer).’ (=28b)
 from Polinsky & Potsdam (2003).

4. **Object control** sample from Malagasy language website
<http://taratramada.com/> Date: 21/1/2005

Manentana ny mpitondra taksy **mba** hividy « lanterne » ny kaominina.
 M-an-entana ny mpitondra taksy mba h-ividy « lanterne » ny kaominina.
 Pres-prf.an-urge Topic driver taxi comp fut-buy lanterns Det commune(s)
 “(All) communes urge taxi-drivers to buy lanterns.”

5. **Verb of Saying** sample from Malagasy website
<http://www.lexpressmada.com/>

Ny senatera Arema, Lucien Andrianirina, dia **nilaza fa...**
 Ny senatera Arema, Lucien Andrianirina, dia n-i-laza fa...
 Topic senator Arema, Lucien Andrianirina, part past-pref.i-say that...
 “Arema (party) senator Lucien Andrianirina said that ...”

With a Verb of Saying we have one type of Adjunction, i.e. CP-type of Adjunction, which allows any tense inside the adjoined clause; when Adjunction is to the right of the subject, Comp is obligatory, whereas when it occurs to the left of subject, Comp is optional. A different type of Adjunction is required with a verb like ‘manandrana’ to try’, an InFlP-type of Adjunction where the conjoined elements share the same tense and where the adjoined element necessarily shows up to the left of the grammatical subject.

6. There is a fundamental distinction in Malagasy between Embedding and Adjunction: Subject control and Object control involve Embedding whereas a Verb of Saying involves an Adjunction. A subject control predicate canNOT accommodate a pronoun inside an embedded structure like the following from (Law (1995), (8)), which is irretrievably ungrammatical:

kasain-dRaso ho-sasa-ko ny zaza
 intend.PASS.by-Raso FUT.wash.PASS.by-me the child
 ‘It is intended by Raso that the child will be washed by me.’

For the sequence to be grammatical, the genitive clitic pronoun –ko must be dropped from the embedded predicate. In fact, from Rajemisa-Raolison (1995:481). Rakibolana malagasy. [Malagasy encyclopedia] Ambozontany, Fianarantsoa, Madagascar, we have one crucial example:

Raharaha inona no kasainao hatao ...?
 Raharaha inona no ø-kasa- in(a) /nao h-atao
 occupation what focus pass.pres-stem.kasa-suff.ina/clitic.by.you fut-be.done
 Lit.: “What occupation is intended by you to be done ...?” where both passive verbs share the same grammatical subject.

Equally irretrievably ungrammatical is the following sequence from Polinsky and Potsdam (2003) for exactly the same reason as mentioned above:

tian-dRaso hilaoza-ny i Tana
 want.PASS-Raso leave.PASS-3SG Antananarivo
 ‘Raso wants to leave Antananarivo.’

By contrast, where a Verb of Saying involving a CP-Adjunction is the case, a co-referential pronoun may be retained in the adjoined, i.e. NOT embedded structure:
Nilaza i Jeanne fa izy no handeha.

N-i-laza i Jeanne fa izy no h-andeha.

Past.prf.i-say D.sg Jeanne that she focus will.go

“Jeanne said that it is she who will go.”

7. The **subject control** predicate ‘mikasa’ ‘to intend’ requires the **same subject** on the matrix as well as the embedded predicate.

8. There is amalgamation here between two different constructions. Construction A where ‘miteny’ means ‘to have a word (with someone)’ subcategorizing for an object complement and construction B where ‘miteny’ means ‘to speak with someone saying...’ requiring a Comp. In construction B the relevant and obligatory comp is ‘hoe’ as in the following sample from the Malagasy language site

<http://www.forum.serasera.org/?rub=dinika/>

ny vadiko no niteny tamiko hoe makanesa eto

ny vadi-ko no n-i-teny t-amiko hoe makanesa eto

Topic spouse-of.mine focus pres-prf.i-speak past-with-me comp imper.come here

‘It is my spouse who spoke with me saying:’ ‘Come here!’

On the other hand, with construction A, ‘miteny’ ‘to have a word with’ requires a human direct object:

Niteny azy aho.

N-i-teny azy aho.

Past-prf.i-speak acc.him/her nom.I

Lit. ‘I gave him/her a talking-to.’

English: ‘I had a word with him/her.’

9. The hallmark of an InFLP-type of Adjunction in Malagasy is the presence of the same tense-marker on two subsequent verbs. Here ‘m-anosika m-iditra’ ‘present-push present-enter’ represents a putative adjoined sequence, as explained and illustrated in Randriamasimanana (1999:522-525). However it is to be noted that ‘manosika’ ‘to physically push’ is not of the same subtype as ‘manandrana’ ‘to try’.

10. The function word ‘ny’ can be either a determiner meaning ‘(all) the’, a topic-marker meaning ‘as for ...’ or a complementizer meaning something like ‘that’. It is a Det(erminer) when its complement is a Noun, whereas it is a Comp(lementizer) when its complement is a Verb. In this specific case, the complement is definitely a Verb, therefore ‘ny’ must be analyzed as a Comp and NOT as a Det.

In addition, we are dealing here with a straightforward Comp ‘ny’ as the accompanying verb is a root and NOT a stem. Indeed the relevant root for the verb ‘miditra’ ‘to enter’ is ‘iditra’, which is what we have, whereas the corresponding stem is ‘idir’. On the other hand, if ‘ny’ was accompanied by a verb stem, say ‘idir’, then we would have a deverbal construction and ‘ny’ can be a Det, i.e. with a nominal island DP.

11. Nominal DP from <http://fr.groups.yahoo.com/group/serasera/message/25806>

De : FPMC <fpm_c@...>

Date : Vendredi 24, F©vrier 2006 21:30

Objet : JOBILY FAHA-10 TAONA, VOLANA FAHAROA

fpm_c

ampahatsiahivina ny fandaharam-potoana
 "The timetable is being recalled."
 Ø- amp-aha-tsiahiv- ina ny fandaharam-potoana ...
 pass.pres-amp-aha-stem.tsiahiv-suff.ina Det schedule
 Lit.: "Is being recalled the schedule."

Note that in this last sequence instead of the sentential subject with Comp 'fa', which we have in the sequences in (8), we have a nominative subject DP with Det 'ny' accompanying a verbal stem andahar; the relevant corresponding root would be 'lahatra'. This in turn contrasts with Comp 'ny' accompanying a Verb, i.e. a root 'iditra' as shown in sequence (5)b.

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