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AFLA 21

The Proceedings of the 21st Meeting of the
Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association

edited by

Amber Camp, Yuko Otsuka, Claire Stabile and Nozomi Tanaka

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The Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA) is an organization which promotes the study of Austronesian languages from a formal perspective. The 21st annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA 21) was held at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa on 23-25 May, 2014. Of the 28 papers presented at the conference, 17 are included in this volume. The contributions include studies in the syntax, semantics, phonetics, phonology, morphology, processing, and acquisition of Austronesian languages.



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CONTROL INTO NOMINALIZED COMPLEMENTS IN MALAGASY*

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We consider the analysis of control structures in Malagasy in which the complement clause is introduced by the morpheme *ny*. *Ny* is the default determiner in Malagasy and we argue that such structures instantiate control into nominalized clauses. We consider and reject the dominant position in the literature that *ny* in such control structures has been reanalyzed as a complementizer.

1. Introduction

Control phenomena have figured prominently in the generative syntax literature, going back to Rosenbaum 1967. One development in the history of obligatory control in particular is the inclusion of other languages and phenomena beyond the canonical case of obligatory control into nonfinite clauses seen in English. For example, recent work has documented and analyzed control into finite complement clauses (Landau 2004 and others). A phenomenon that is known from English and other languages but which has received relatively little attention is control into nominalized clauses (see Stiebels 2007:32–33 and Landau 2013:43–46). Examples from Arabic and Q’eqchi’ are in (1), where nominalization of the complement clause is variously indicated by case morphology, a nominalization affix, and/or a determiner. We will call this NOMINAL CONTROL.

- (1) a. STANDARD ARABIC
Ziyaad qarrara l-rahiil-a.
Ziyad decided.3MSG DEF-leaving-ACC
‘Ziyad decided to leave.’

* Examples come from our own fieldwork unless otherwise indicated. We thank our Malagasy consultants Bodo and Voara Randrianasolo and Naunau Mezandrinaivo. The following non-Leipzig abbreviations are used in glossing: AT-actor topic voice, DIR-directional, CT-circumstantial topic voice, PREP-preposition, TT-theme topic voice.

- b. Q'EQCHI'
 N-in-lub chi x-mesunk-**il** li kabl.
 PRS-1SG.ABS-tire COMP 3SG.ERG-sweep-**NMLZ** the house
 'I am tired of sweeping the house.' (Kockelman 2003:(13))

The goal of this paper is to argue for the existence of nominal control in Malagasy, a VOS Austronesian language spoken on the island of Madagascar. A representative example is given in (2b), alongside ordinary control in (2a). It is the presence of the determiner *ny* which suggests a nominal control analysis.

- (2) a. Nanandrana hisambotra ilay akoho ny ankizy.
 PAST.try.AT IRR.catch.AT DEM chicken DET children
 b. Nanandrana **ny** hisambotra ilay akoho ny ankizy.
 PAST.try.AT **DET** IRR.catch.AT DEM chicken DET children
 'The children tried to catch that chicken.'

The paper is structured as follows. We begin in section 2 with a discussion of Malagasy complement control patterns. Existing analyses of (2b) claim that it is not in fact nominal control but ordinary control with the formative *ny* having been reanalyzed as a complementizer (Randriamasimanana 1986, 2007, Ntelitheos 2012, 2013). Section 3 argues against this approach, attempting to establish that *ny* in such examples is a determiner. Section 4 presents our conclusions.

2. Malagasy Control

Malagasy is an Austronesian language of the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup. It is typically described as having VOS word order with a Philippine-style symmetrical voice system. The precise analysis of Malagasy word order and clause structure is actually of some debate (see Pearson 2005 and references therein for discussion) so for concreteness we will assume the following picture: the core of a clause is a fully saturated predicate. The order of elements within this predicate is V + SUBJECT + OBJECT + OBLIQUE + ADJUNCT. From within the predicate, one element, called the TRIGGER, externalizes to the clause-final position. Following Pearson 2005, this externalization is A' movement. Verbal "voice" morphology registers the underlying grammatical role of the trigger. There are three voices: actor topic (AT) in which the subject is the trigger, (3a), theme topic (TT) in which the object is the trigger, (3b), and circumstantial topic (CT) in which an oblique element is the trigger, (3c). Subjects in non-actor topic clauses appear immediately after the verb, phonologically "bonded" to it. This is indicated in the orthography by a hyphen or apostrophe.

- (3) a. N-i-antso mpiasa i Mery.
 PAST-AT-call worker DET Mary
 ‘Mary called the worker.’
- b. N-antso-in’ i Mery ny mpiasa.
 PAST-call-TT DET Mary DET worker
 ‘Mary called the worker.’
- c. N-i-antso-an’ i Mery mpiasa ny kiririoka.
 PAST-CT-call-CT DET Mary worker DET whistle
 ‘Mary called the worker with the whistle.’

Control verbs in Malagasy allow a number of patterns and have been much discussed in the generative syntax literature (Keenan 1976, 1995, Randriamasimanana 1986, 2007, Law 1995, Paul and Ranaivoson 1998, Pearson 2001, Polinsky and Potsdam 2002, 2003, 2005, Potsdam 2006, 2009, Ntelitheos 2006, 2012, 2013, Potsdam and Polinsky 2007). A typical paradigm for a subject control verb is given below.

- (4) Nanandrana ø/mba/ny hisambotra akoho Rasoa.
 tried.AT Ø/COMP/NY IRR.catch.AT chicken Rasoa
 ‘Rasoa tried to catch a chicken.’

In (4), the actor topic control verb *manandrana* ‘try’ selects a clause-like complement.¹ This clause may be introduced paratactically, a construction we call BARE CONTROL. The complement clause may also be introduced by the complementizer *mba* (Randriamasimanana 1986, Potsdam and Polinsky 2007), what we will call *MBA-CONTROL*. Finally, the complement clause may be introduced by the formative *ny*, which we will argue below is a determiner and thus instantiates nominal control. To not prejudge the situation, we will for now call this *NY-CONTROL*. The complements introduced by these elements will be called bare clauses, *mba*-clauses, and *ny*-clauses, respectively.

The goal of this paper is to investigate more closely the *ny*-control pattern. As far as we have been able to determine, the control structure with *ny* is allowed with all control verbs, as is the bare control option. This contrasts with *mba*-control, which is only available with certain verbs. For example, *mba* is permitted with ‘remember’ but not with ‘refuse’:

¹ All verbs in Malagasy show morphological tense: *n(o)*- ‘PAST’, *h(o)*- ‘FUT/IRR’, and *ø*- ‘PRES’ (Pearson 2001). To first approximation, tense marking in controlled clauses follows two patterns: For some control verbs, the embedded tense marking must be future/irrealis; for others, there must be tense matching with the matrix verb (Paul and Ranaivoson 1998:121; Randriamasimanana 1986, 2007; Ntelitheos 2006:309–317).

- (5) a. Nahatadidy *ø/ny/mba* hanidy ny varavarana ianao.²
 remember *ø/NY/COMP* lock DET door 2SG
 ‘You remembered to lock the door.’
- b. Nanda *ø/ny/*mba* hamafa trano ny vehivavy.
 refuse *ø/NY/COMP* sweep house DET woman
 ‘The woman refused to clean the house.’

It is widely recognized since Williams 1980 that there are two types of control constructions: obligatory control (OC) and non-obligatory control (NOC). There are a number of well-known diagnostics for distinguishing the two (see Williams 1980, Hornstein 1999, Landau 2013, among others for discussion). They include the following:

- (6) characteristics of OC
- a. requires a linguistic controller
 - b. requires a local controller
 - c. requires a c-commanding controller
 - d. prohibits a strict reading under ellipsis

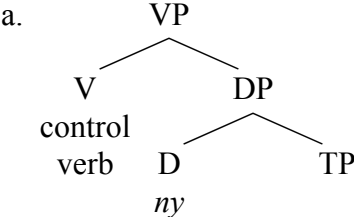
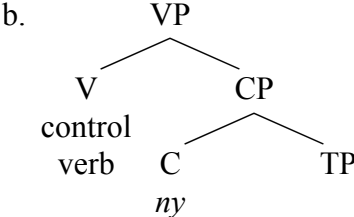
We have elsewhere shown that the other options in (4) are also OC (Polinsky and Potsdam 2003 for bare control and Potsdam and Polinsky 2007 for *mba*-control). The data in (7–10) confirm that *ny*-control instantiates OC as well.

- (7) Mikasa ny hanadio ny lapany ny andriana.
 intend.AT NY clean DET castle.3SG DET king
 ‘The king intends to clean his castle.’
 (lit.: intends the cleaning of his castle)
 *‘The king intends for someone to clean his castle.’
- (8) Mihevitra Rasoa fa mikasa ny handao an’ i Tana
 think Rasoa that intend NY leave ACC DET Tana
 ny governemanta.
 DET government
 ‘Rasoa thinks that the government intends to leave Tana.’
 *‘Rasoa thinks that the government intends for her to leave Tana.’
- (9) Mikasa ny hanambady an- dRasoa ny fianakavian- dRabe.
 intend NY marry ACC Rasoa DET family Rabe
 ‘#Rabe’s family intends to marry Rasoa.’
 *‘Rabe’s family intends for him to marry Rasoa.’

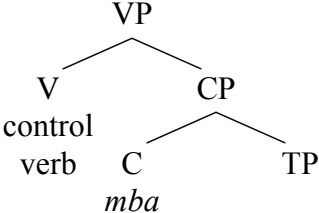
² Here and below, all verbs are in the actor topic form unless otherwise indicated.

- (10) Nanaiky ny hividy ity trano ity ny mpitsara.
 agree NY buy DEM house DEM DET judge
 Toa izany koa ilay mpampiasa.
 CONJ that also DEM employer
 ‘The judge agreed to buy this house and the employer also agreed to
 buy this house.’
 *‘The judge agreed to buy this house and the employer also agreed for
 the judge to buy this house.’

The primary issue discussed in the literature regarding *ny*-control is the status of the formative *ny*. Ntelitheos 2006:284ff discusses *ny*-control and calls *ny* and the following clause a nominalization. He provides arguments, some of which we review in section 3, that *ny* and the following clause constitute DPs. In particular, he points out that *ny* is the default determiner in Malagasy (see Paul 2009). We will call this the DETERMINER HYPOTHESIS. On the other hand, Randriamasimanana 1986:498ff, 2007 and later Ntelitheos 2012, 2013 assert that *ny* is a complementizer. We will call this the COMPLEMENTIZER HYPOTHESIS. These two hypotheses for the structure of examples like (2b) are shown in (11). Under the determiner analysis, *ny* is a D° and projects a DP. Under the complementizer analysis, *ny* belongs to the lexical category C° and projects a CP.

- (11) DETERMINER HYPOTHESIS COMPLEMENTIZER HYPOTHESIS
- a.  b. 

Our primary goal is to reinforce Ntelitheos’ original position that *ny*-control does involve nominal control, with the formative *ny* being a determiner. To do this, we will systematically compare *ny*-control and *mba*-control, as we take *mba* to be an uncontroversial complementizer:

- (12) 

3. Evidence for Nominal Control

This section presents arguments in favor of the determiner hypothesis. We consider facts related to Malagasy's determiner inventory, complement selection, advancement to trigger, fronting, coordination, comparatives, and islandhood.

3.1. Malagasy determiners

There is a well-known formal restriction in Malagasy that triggers must have a determiner (Keenan 1976, 2008, Pearson 2001, Paul 2000, 2009, Law 2006, and others). The basis for this restriction is not clear but it accounts for the data in (13).

- (13) Nihomehy *(ny) zaza.
laugh DET child
'The child laughed.'

Ny is the default determiner used in such cases, but its semantic contribution is not well-defined. Even in other positions, its semantic contribution, if any, is sometimes not evident (Law 2006, Keenan 2008, Paul 2009), as shown by (14). It is thus the expected determiner in the control context.

- (14) Tia (ny) boky frantsay aho.
like DET book French 1SG
'I like French books.' (Paul 2009)

Ntelitheos 2012 observes that if *ny* is a determiner in *ny*-control, then given the structure in (11), one expects to see other determiners in the same position. Malagasy has a large number of demonstratives that encode number, distance from the speaker, and visibility (Rahajarizafy 1960:24, Rajemisa-Raolison 1969:53, Paul 2009). Demonstratives may be used alone in a prenominal position or as framing demonstratives that have an identical demonstrative both preceding and following the noun phrase:

- (15) a. izany zaza b. ireo olona ireo
DEM child DEM person DEM
‘that child’ ‘those people’

Ntelitheos 2012:293 offers the following data showing that demonstratives may not replace *ny* in *ny*-control structures.

- (16) a. *Mameno **ilay** handeha ho any Antsiranana Rabe.
 wish DEM go PREP LOC Antsiranana Rabe
 ('Rabe wished to go to Antsiranana.')
- b. *Nikasa **ity** hanoratra taratasy **ity** Rabe.
 intend DEM write letter DEM Rabe
 ('Rabe intended to write a letter.')

While our consultants also rejected the above examples, which would argue against the determiner hypothesis, they did accept control clauses with the determiner *izany*:

- (17) a. Mikasa ny hanasa alika i Aina
 intend NY wash dog DET Aina
 'Aina intends to wash the dog.'
- b. Mikasa **izany** hanasa alika i Aina
 intend DEM wash dog DET Aina
 'Aina is contemplating washing the dog.'

Izany is the most vague demonstrative, encoding something that is invisible and indefinitely far from the speaker. If *izany* projects a DP in such examples it supports the determiner hypothesis. The impossibility of other demonstratives may arise because they are too lexically specified to be used with an event; for example, they may have an unwanted deictic interpretation.

3.2. Complement selection

A claim of the determiner hypothesis is that all verbs that participate in nominal control subcategorize for a DP complement and thus should allow a non-clausal DP complement. This appears to be the case. The examples in (18) are representative.

- (18) a. Tsy nahatadidy ny pepetra aho.
 NEG remember DET rule 1SG
 'I don't remember the rules.'
- b. Nitsahatra ny ady ny fahavalo.
 stop DET war DET enemy
 'The enemies stopped the war.'
- c. Mihevitra ny fiainana aho.
 think DET life 1SG
 'I am thinking about life.'

- d. Mikasa izany ireo mpiasa ireo.
intend DEM DEM worker DEM
'The workers intend that.'
- e. Te hanandrana ny sakafony aho.
want try DET food.3SG 1SG
'I want to try his food.'

The complementizer hypothesis, in contrast, predicts no correlation: we might expect *ny* to be lexically selected like *mba* 'COMP', as we saw above.³

3.3. Subject position

A test for nominal status in Malagasy is the ability to appear in trigger position. Only nominals can be triggers (Keenan 1976, Paul 2000:95–96, Potsdam 2011).⁴ *Ny*-clauses in *ny*-control can advance to trigger position, (19b) (Paul and Ranaivoson 1998:117, Netlitheos 2013:7). Comparison to *mba*-clauses and bare infinitives suggests that *ny*-clauses are in fact nominal. *Mba*-clauses and bare infinitives cannot be triggers, (19c).

³ We did find one verb that allows *ny*-control but does not seem to take a DP complement. The verb *mirohotra* means 'to rush to V, to do all at once/together'. It allows various control patterns but excludes a DP complement:

- (i) a. Mirohotra ø/ny/mba mivoaka ny trano ny olona.
rush ø/NY/COMP exit DET building DET people
'The people are rushing to exit the building.'
- b. *Mirohotra {izany, ny tsinjaka vaovao} ny olona.
rush DEM DET dance new DET people
('The people rushed to that/the new dance.')
- c. Mirohotra ho amin' izany ny olona.
rush PREP PREP that DET people
'The people are rushing to that.'

⁴ One potential exception is argument clauses, which seem to show up as triggers, (i). As Keenan (1976:254, 285–286) indicates however, it is rather difficult to show that such clauses are triggers and not extraposed complements as suggested by the alternative extraposition translation.

- (i) Mazava/Antenaiko [fa efa lasa ny mpianatra].
clear/hope.TT.1SG that already gone DET student
'That the students already left is clear/hoped by me.'
'It is clear/hoped by me that the students already left.' (Keenan 1976:254)

- (19) a. Mila [ø/ny/mba hivity sira] ny mpahandro.
 need ø/NY/COMP buy salt DET cook
- b. Ilain' ny mpahandro [ny hivity sira].
 need.TT DET cook NY buy salt
- c. *Ilain' ny mpahandro [(mba) hivity sira].
 need.TT DET cook COMP buy salt
 'The cook needs to buy salt.'

The contrast suggests that *ny*-clauses and *mba*-clauses do not have the same categorial status. If they did, the above contrasts would be mysterious. The contrast makes sense if *ny*-clauses are DPs in trigger position and *mba*-clauses are CPs that cannot advance to trigger position.

A similar pattern occurs with object control predicates. One might expect that *ny* control would be impossible with object control verbs if *ny* clauses are nominal because that would require the verb to select two DP complements. In fact, Malagasy is a double object language: ditransitive complement frames can be expressed with either a DP PP frame or a DP DP frame (Randriamasimanana 1986, Pearson 2000):

- (20) a. Nanome voankazo ho an' ny gidro aho.
 give fruit PREP PREP DET lemur 1SG
 'I gave some fruit to the lemur.'
- b. Nanome voankazo ny gidro aho.
 give fruit DET lemur 1SG
 'I gave the lemur some fruit.'

It is thus not surprising that *ny* clauses are possible with object control verbs, even if they are nominals:⁵

⁵ Randriamasimanana notes the ungrammaticality of *ny*-clauses in the following object control examples, which our consultants also rejected. We have no explanation for this difference.

- (i) a. *Niangavy an' i Jeanne ny handeha i Marie.
 ask ACC DET Jeanne NY go DET Marie
 'Marie asked Jeanne to go.' (Randriamasimanana 2007:(10a))
- b. *Nanery an' i Jeanne ny hanasa an' i Jaona i Paoly.
 force ACC DET Jeanne NY wash ACC DET John DET Paul
 'Paul forced Jeanne to wash John.' (Randriamasimanana 1986:536)

- (21) a. Niteny ahy ø/ny/mba hianatra teny gasy
 tell 1SG.ACC ø/NY/COMP learn language Malagasy
 ny lehibeko.
 DET boss.1SG
 ‘My boss told me to learn Malagasy.’
- b. Nampahatsiahy ahy ø/ny/mba hanidy ny varavarana
 remind 1SG.ACC ø/NY/COMP lock DET door
 i Soa.
 DET Soa
 ‘Soa reminded me to lock the door.’

As with subject control verbs, the *ny*-clause can be promoted to subject position; the object control verb appears in its circumstantial topic form:

- (22) a. Nitenenan’ ny lehibeko ahy ny hianatra
 tell.CT DET boss.1SG 1SG.ACC NY learn
 teny gasy.
 language Malagasy
 ‘To learn Malagasy was told to me by my boss.’
- b. Nampahatsiahivan’ i Soa ahy ny hanidy ny varavarana.
 remind DET Soa 1SG.ACC NY lock DET door
 ‘To lock the door was reminded to me by Soa.’

The ability of *ny*-clauses to advance to trigger position strongly supports their status as DPs.

3.4. Fronting

Malagasy has two fronting constructions which, to first approximation, target only triggers (Keenan 1976, Paul 2000, 2002, Sabel 2002, Pearson 2005, others). In each, the trigger is fronted and followed by a particle. The particle *no* is used to focus the fronted phrase and the particle *dia* is used to topicalize the fronted phrase:

- (23) a. Manasa lamba Raso.
 wash clothes Raso
 ‘Raso is washing clothes.’
- b. Raso **dia** manasa lamba.
 Raso **TOP** wash clothes
 ‘Raso, she’s washing clothes.’

- c. Rasoa **no** manasa lamba.
 Rasoa **FOC** wash clothes
 ‘It’s Rasoa who is washing clothes.’

The determiner hypothesis correctly predicts that *ny*-clauses can front since they can be triggers, (24) (see similar examples in Randriamasimanana 1986:507, Keenan 1995:196, and Ntelitheos 2013:290).

- (24) a. Heverin- dRabe [ny hividy fiara].
 think.TT Rabe NY buy car
 ‘Rabe is thinking of buying a car.’
- b. Ny hividy fiara no heverin- dRabe.
 NY buy car FOC think.TT Rabe
 ‘It’s buy a car that Rabe is thinking of doing.’
- c. Ny hividy fiara dia heverin- dRabe.
 NY buy car TOP think.TT Rabe
 ‘Buying a car, Rabe is thinking of doing that.’

The complementizer hypothesis would not allow such examples because such CPs could not first become triggers. As expected, *mba*-clauses and bare infinitives cannot front:

- (25) a. * (Mba) hividy fiara no heverin- dRabe.
 COMP buy car FOC think.TT Rabe
 (‘It’s buy a car that Rabe is thinking of doing.’)
- b. * (Mba) hividy fiara dia heverin- dRabe.
 COMP buy car TOP think.TT Rabe
 (‘Buying a car, Rabe is thinking of doing that.’)

3.5. Comparatives

Comparatives provide a test for DP status. Potsdam 2011 argues that the standard of comparison in comparatives must be a DP with an overt determiner, as suggested by the representative examples in (26).

- (26) a. Nividy laoranjy betsaka [noho *(ny) akondro] Rabe.
 bought orange many than DET banana Rabe
 ‘Rabe bought more oranges than bananas.’

- b. Betsaka kokoa ny vola nangalarin' ny olon-dratsy
 many more DET money steal.TT DET thief
 tamin- dRaso [noho *(ny) tamin' ny sakaizany].
 PREP Raso than DET PREP DET friend.3SG
 'The thief stole more money from Raso than from her friend.'

The determiner hypothesis correctly predicts that *ny*-clauses will appear as the standard of comparison, (27). The complementizer hypothesis would rule out such examples.

- (27) Mankahala (kokoa) ny mipasoka lamba [noho ny mamafa
 hate more NY iron clothes than NY sweep
 trano] Raso.
 house Raso
 'Raso hates to iron clothes more than to sweep the house.'

3.6. Double passives

(28a) illustrates what Randriamasimanana 1986 calls the DOUBLE PASSIVE CONTROL construction (see also Polinsky and Potsdam 2005). Both the control verb and the embedded verb are in the theme topic form and the embedded clause object is the matrix trigger. The construction is used to front the object of the embedded clause, (28b), because, as we saw, only triggers can be fronted.

- (28) a. Nandraman- dRaso hosamborana ny akoho.
 tried.TT- Raso IRR.catch.TT DET chicken
 lit. 'The chicken was tried by Raso to be killed.'
 'Raso tried to catch the chicken.'
- b. Inona no nandraman- dRaso hosamborana?
 what FOC tried.TT- Raso catch.TT
 'What did Raso try to catch?'

Ny is excluded from the double passive construction while *mba* is not, (29). We provide an account for this difference below but it already suggests a difference between *ny*-clauses and bare/*mba*-clauses.


- (29) Nandraman- dRaso ø/mba/*ny hosamborana ny akoho.
 tried.TT- Raso ø/COMP/NY catch.TT DET chicken
 'Raso tried to catch the chicken.'

Our explanation for the contrast in (29) crucially relies on the DP status of *ny*-clauses. It is based on the novel claim regarding Malagasy syntax in (30).

DPs are islands and movement cannot take place from within a DP. This includes advancement to trigger.

(30) DPs are islands

This claim is supported by a number of constructions. First, we suggest that Malagasy *Tough-Movement* (Keenan 1976) involves actual movement and displaces a constituent from the complement clause of a *tough*-predicate to the matrix trigger position:

- (31) a. Sarotra vakina ilay boky.
 difficult read.TT DEM book
 lit. ‘That book is difficult to be read.’
 ‘That book is difficult to read.’
- b. Sarotra [vakina ~~ilay boky~~] ilay boky.
 difficult read.TT DEM book
- 

Evidence that the final DP is the matrix trigger comes from the fact that it can be fronted using the constructions discussed in section 3.4 and can be preceded by the question particle *ve*, which appears between the predicate and the trigger (Keenan 1995):

- (32) a. Ilay boky no sarotra vakina.
 DEM book FOC difficult read.TT
 ‘It’s that book that is difficult to read.’
- b. Sarotra vakina ve ilay boky?
 difficult read.TT Q DEM book
 ‘Is that book difficult to read?’


If DPs are islands, then we correctly predict that the complement to *tough*-predicates cannot contain *ny*:

- (33) *Sarotra ny vakina ilay boky.
 difficult NY read.TT DEM book
 lit. ‘That book is difficult to be read.’
 (‘That book is difficult to read.’)

A second instance of movement in Malagasy is the Subject-to-Object Raising (SOR) construction shown in (34b) (Keenan 1976, Paul and Rabaovoloana 1998, Pearson 2001).

- (34) a. Nanantena Rabe [fa nanasa ny zaza Rasoa].
 hope Rabe that wash DET child Rasoa
 ‘Rabe hoped that Rasoa washed the child.’
- b. Nanantena an-dRaso [ho nanasa ny zaza] Rabe.
 hope ACC-Raso COMP wash DET child Rabe
 ‘Rabe hoped Raso washed the child.’ (Keenan 1976:283)

Pearson 2001:150ff argues that the embedded subject undergoes A' movement:

- (35) Nanantena an-dRaso [ho nanasa ny zaza ~~Raso~~] Rabe.
 hope ACC-Raso COMP wash DET child Rabe
- 
- The diagram shows a horizontal line with an upward-pointing arrow at the left end, connecting the position of the deleted word 'Raso' in the embedded clause to the position of the main clause verb 'Rabe'.

As with *tough*-movement, *ny* is not possible in complement clauses with SOR:

- (36) *Nanantena an-dRaso [ny nanasa ny zaza ~~Raso~~] Rabe.
 hope ACC-Raso NY wash DET child Rabe
 (‘Rabe hoped Raso washed the child.’)

Two other potential movement environments in Malagasy are Subject-to-Subject Raising (Flegg and Paul 2003), shown in (37), and Possessor Raising (Keenan 1976, Keenan and Ralalaoherivony 1998) shown in (38). In neither case can movement take place if the domain of extraction is introduced by *ny*.

- (37) Manomboka [(**ny*) avy ~~ny~~—orana] ny orana.
 begin NY come DET rain
 ‘It’s beginning to rain.’
- (38) Maty [(**ny*) vady ~~Rabe~~] Rabe.
 dead NY spouse Rabe
 ‘Rabe was widowed.’ (Keenan and Ralalaoherivony 1998:69)

Given this generalization, the determiner hypothesis correctly predicts that *ny*-clauses will be islands for advancement to trigger. This accounts for the impossibility of double passives with *ny*, (29). The embedded object cannot advance to trigger position out of the DP. It is able to do so if the embedded clause is introduced by a complementizer, either *mba* or zero, as CPs are not islands.

3.7. Summary

We have presented a number of phenomena that identify *ny*-clauses as DPs and *mba*-clauses as CPs, supporting the determiner hypothesis. This is in agreement

with Ntelitheos 2006 but contra Randriamasimanana 1986, 2007 and Ntelitheos 2012, 2013.⁶

Although the data in the previous sections strongly support the claim that *ny*-clauses can be DPs and cannot only be CPs, they do not in fact rule out a dual analysis in which *ny*-clauses are ambiguous between DP and CP. That is, allowing *ny*-clauses to also be CPs is also compatible with the data. This is in line with Ntelitheos's (2013) claim that *ny* is undergoing reanalysis from determiner to complementizer. The only decisive argument against a dual analysis is based on the double passive and islandhood of DP. If *ny*-clauses were also CPs, one would not expect the contrast between *ny* and *mba/ø* with respect to the double passive. There should be an analysis of clauses with *ny* that pattern with *mba*. At the same time, this is the most theory-internal argument.

Before concluding, we consider a semantic argument for the complementizer analysis from Ntelitheos 2013. It is based on the observation that *ny* does not seem to make a semantic contribution to *ny*-control structures. Speakers generally indicate that examples are synonymous with and without *ny*. Ntelitheos does note one weak semantic difference, in (39), however.

- (39) a. Nikasa (?ny) hanasa ny lamba Raso
 intend NY wash DET clothes Raso
 fa narary tampoka izy.
 but ill suddenly 3SG
 'Raso intended to wash the clothes but she suddenly became ill.'
- b. Nikasa ?(ny) hanasa ny lamba Raso
 intend NY wash DET clothes Raso
 fa tsy vitany intsony izany.
 but NEG complete.3SG anymore DEM
 'Raso intended to wash the clothes but they weren't finished by her.'
 (Ntelitheos 2013:(45, 46))

In (39a), an event of washing did not take place and *ny* is dispreferred on this unrealized event. In (39b), in contrast, an event of washing was initiated and *ny* is preferable. This contrast is understandable if *ny* is contributing specificity or definiteness to an event of washing clothes. At the same time, he notes that the contrast is not systematic and not all speakers are sensitive to it. Some of our consultants did not perceive this difference. Ntelitheos concludes that "*ny* in control complements does not imply definiteness or specificity as in normal

⁶ Ntelitheos 2006 provides two further arguments in favor of the determiner hypothesis from coordination and object shift. We were not able to fully replicate the supporting data. For reasons of space, we do not discuss them here.

noun phrases, exhibiting semantic bleaching of the sort illustrated with the English complementizer *that* (Ntelitheos 2013:8)”.

While his observation about the lack of a semantic contribution from *ny* may be well-founded, the conclusion that it is therefore a complementizer is not necessarily warranted. Law 2006 and Paul 2009 discuss the interpretation of *ny* and suggest that it signals familiarity not definiteness/specificity; however, this interpretation can be overridden in certain contexts.

4. Conclusion

We conclude that Malagasy does instantiate obligatory nominal control, as in the example below:

- (40) Nanandrana [DP *ny hisambotra ilay akoho*] *ny ankizy*.
tried DET catch DEM chicken DET children
‘The children tried to catch the chicken.’
(lit.: tried the catching of the chicken)

Ny in such examples can be a determiner that heads a DP. We were not able to rule out a complementizer analysis for *ny* suggesting that *ny* may in fact be undergoing a category change in this environment (Ntelitheos 2012, 2013). The one decisive argument against the complementizer hypothesis was based on the novel claim that DPs in Malagasy are islands, a claim that requires further investigation.

Nominal control in Malagasy instantiates obligatory control, as we showed in section 2. English nominal control, in contrast, is non-obligatory control (Landau 2013:43–46). It is not yet clear what the relationship is between control and nominalized clausal complements cross-linguistically. This is another issue in need of further investigation.

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