

Joachim Sabel

Adjuncts and phrase structure in Malagasy

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The study of the syntax of adjuncts has been a catalyst in developing more fine-grained theories of (A) phrase structure and (B) locality. The literature of the relevant phenomena in Austronesian languages has already demonstrated the relevance and (heuristic) potential of studying Austronesian languages in the light of the syntax of adjuncts. With respect to recent controversies about the nature of adverb placement, i.e. whether or not it is governed by a universal hierarchy of functional projections (Cinque 1999), an initial study of Malagasy adverb order indicates an interesting kind of confirmation of the universalist hypothesis (see Rackowski and Travis 2000, Pearson 2000, and the papers in Gärtner et al. 2006). Concerning the locality aspect, Chung (1994; 1998; 2005) formulates several interesting generalizations with respect to extraction of adjuncts. In her discussion of extraction from syntactic islands in Chamorro she defends a variant of the approaches by Rizzi (1990; 1991) and Cinque (1990), according to which the extraction behavior of referential expressions is more liberal. Thus, only referential items can escape islands (see also Donohue & Maclachlan 1999). She distinguishes "VP-adjuncts" and "S-adjuncts" on the basis of *wh*-movement and the presence vs. absence of binding-theoretic principle C violations, and discusses evidence from Malagasy showing that instrumental, locative and temporal adjuncts must be able to attach outside of VP, given their extractability as non-triggers (1998: chap. 9, Chung 2005; see also Paul 2000).

In this talk, I present new data on adjuncts in Malagasy with respect to both topics.

(A) Phrase Structure I will first present a (linear) topological description of adverb positions for adverbs with a postverbal base position. Then the implications for the hierarchical clause structure of Malagasy are discussed. As a first approximation, the base and potentially derived positions of manner adverbs, frequency adverbs, instrumentals, as well as temporal, locative and sentence adverbs will be illustrated with respect to the following four clausal zones:

(1) ... α ... (*dia/no*) ... β V ... γ ... *Subject* ... δ .

Further refinements are needed. For example, only certain adverbs can appear in the zone α alone, but nearly all adverbs can appear in α together with another element in the "bodyguard" construction; the position γ splits in fact into several positions if we consider the possibility that (in)definite/definite objects and further adjuncts can be realized between the verb and the subject. Locative and temporal *wh*-adjuncts never appear in the position δ , although their non-interrogative counterparts can appear there.

Next I consider the effects of different adverb positions on interpretation and phrase structure. In the following example the adjunct in γ scopes over the adjunct in δ .

(2) Nanao vakansy [araka ny fanirian'i Fafa] ny fianakavian-dRabe [tamin'izany foroana izany]
made holidays according to Fafas plan the family of Rabe in those days

The interpretation of (2) suggests that the pre-subject adjunct in γ c-commands the adjunct in δ . This is problematic for roll-up accounts. If Malagasy VOS order is derived from an underlying SVO order (via intraposition) the base position of an element in γ is structurally lower than the position of the sentence final subject and elements in δ and furthermore, the adjunct in γ may not c-command elements in δ from its derived position. The observed facts are compatible, however, with a base-generated VOS structure for Malagasy involving right-adjunction and rightperipheral specifiers (Keenan 2000). Similar problems arise with respect to the already mentioned fact that locative and temporal *wh*-adjuncts cannot appear in δ . If they can be base-generated VP-externally (given their extractability as non-triggers) they should be licensed to appear in the position δ . Alternatively, the *wh*-adjunct restriction could be argued to follow from restrictions on movement. A further potentially problematic example for the intraposition account concerns the following "exceptional adverb permutation." As illustrated in (3a), the order of the adverbs involved has *impolokely* "often" obligatorily sandwiched in between *tsara* "good" and (*tsy*) *mihitsy* "(not) at all".

(3) a. Tsy miasa (*impolokely) tsara impolokely mihitsy (*impolokely) Rakoto
not work good often at all Rakoto
b. Impolokely tsy miasa tsara mihitsy Rakoto

If the order *tsara* > *impolokely* > (*tsy*) *mihitsy* in (3a) is the result of intraposition we expect that - contrary to fact (see (3b)) - *impolokely* cannot be extracted.

Example (4) below, however, where the variable position of the adjunct correlates with different interpretation possibilities is compatible with a roll-up structure as well as with a system that allows mixed and scopally flexible left and right adjunction (Ernst 2002). In γ , the adverbial *eo ambony latabatra* "there on the table" is ambiguous between a locative reading (the waiter is located on the table) and an instrumental reading (the drinks are located on the table), but in the position δ it only has a locative reading.

(4) mandroso zava-pisotro (eo ambony latabatra) iny mpandroso-sakafo iny (eo amb. latabatra)
serve drinks there on the table this waiter

(B) Locality The final part of the talk deals with extraction of adjuncts from argument CPs and from adjunct clauses in Malagasy. An interesting asymmetry can be observed that (as far as I know) has not yet been mentioned in the literature. The phenomenon correlates with the variable status of adverbials as arguments and as non-arguments (with respect to voice morphology). Extraction of non-argumental adverbials (non-triggers) from argument clauses is less restricted than extraction of argumental adverbials (triggers). I will discuss the consequences of this fact for the extraction analysis presented in Rackowski and Richards (2005). Finally, it will be shown that extraction from adjunct clauses is possible in Malagasy. It is, however, only possible if the adjunct clause has argument (trigger) status, and in this case, I will argue, the adverbial clause is merged as a sister of the verb.