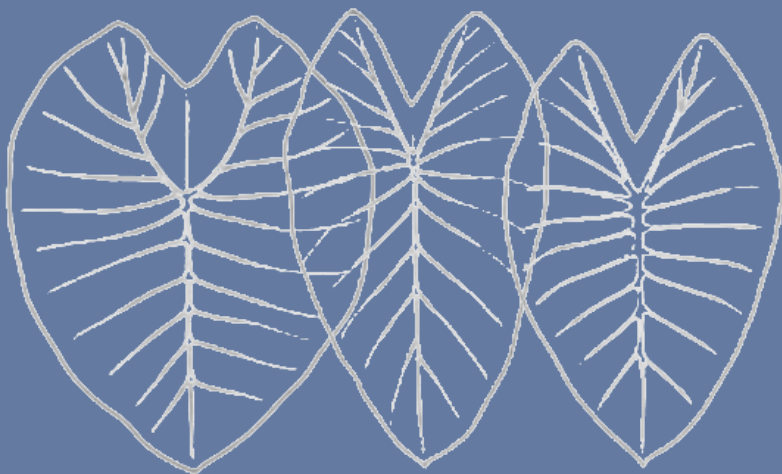


Proceedings of TripleAFLA

9th TripleA workshop for semantic fieldworkers

29th annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association



Edited by Vera Hohaus, Jens Hopperdietzel & Siena Weingartz

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Edited by Vera Hohaus, Jens Hopperdietzel & Siena Weingartz
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Preface

The **TripleAFLA** conference was hosted by the Department of Linguistics and English Language at the University of Manchester between the 28th June and the 1st July 2022. The conference was a joint event combining the 9th TripleA workshop for semantic fieldworkers and the 29th annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA).

The programme included 22 talks selected by reviewed abstract, of which eight are featured as papers in this volume. Invited talks at the conference were from Sasha Calhoun (Victoria University of Wellington), Tingchun Chen, (National Tsing Hua University, Hsinchu), Joash Gambarage (University of British Columbia, Vancouver), Paloma Jeretič (Leibniz-Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin), Manfred Krifka (Leibniz-Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), and Luisa Martí (Queen Mary University of London).

We are grateful to the reviewers listed below for their time and feedback.

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TripleAFLA was made possible by funding from the Andrew Koontz-Garboden's European Research Council (ERC) project "The Lexical Semantics of Lexical Categories" (grant agreement ID #769192). Thank you also to Abbie Taylor, our technical assistant during the conference.

The Organisers

Margit Bowler, Emily Hanink, Vera Hohaus,
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MALAGASY FRAMING DEMONSTRATIVES*

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Malagasy demonstratives appear initially and finally within the DP and must be identical. To account for this unusual pattern, we draw on the literature on verb doubling in predicate clefts and propose an analysis that invokes Parallel Chains. Two independent heads probe for the demonstrative and the head of each chain is pronounced. There is also Nominal Fronting within DP, along the lines of predicate fronting in the clausal domain. These movements give rise to the framing pattern and account for the absence of doubling when demonstratives are used pronominally.

1. Introduction

Demonstratives in Malagasy are expressed as a syntactic circumfix, where the initial (DEM1) and final (DEM2) demonstrative are identical. These demonstratives are initial and final in the DP, framing all nominal dependents. The examples in (1) illustrate this pattern, where we see DEM2 after a numeral in (1b) and after an adjective and a relative clause in (1c).

- (1) a. *io boky io*
DEM1 book DEM2
'this book'
- b. *ireo saka telo ireo*
DEM1 cat three DEM2
'those three cats'
- c. *izany teny mahatezitra izay nolazain-dRabe izany*
DEM1 word angry REL said-Rabe DEM2
'those angry words that Rabe said'

In this paper, we provide a syntactic analysis of this unusual pattern, by exploring a Parallel Chains analysis. What is novel about our approach is that much of the literature on Parallel Chains is about movement in the clausal domain, but our analysis posits Parallel Chains within DP.

This paper is organized as follows. We begin in section 2 with a description of the basic patterns to be analyzed. Section 3 then proposes a structure for Malagasy nominals that involves roll-up movement and fronting within the nominal domain. Section 4 lays out the Parallel Chains analysis of the framing pattern. Specifically, we suggest that demonstratives head a low projection in the nominal spine. Two heads, D° and Num° both probe for Dem° . In this configuration, Dem° moves to Num° and DemP moves to spec,DP and the heads of both chains are pronounced. In the conclusion, we explore some remaining questions.

* This paper would not have been possible without the generous assistance of Vololona Razafimbelo, Bodo and Voara Randrianasolo, and Vanilla Dimisy. We also thank the attendees at MOTH 2022 and TripleAFLA 2022 for their feedback.

2. Descriptive Patterns

This section describes various determiner and demonstrative elements in Malagasy nominals.

2.1. Determiner-like Elements

Malagasy has a default determiner *ny* ‘DET’, which may be required for syntactic reasons but does not uniformly encode definiteness, uniqueness, specificity, or familiarity (Fugier 1999, Paul 2009, others). For example, in (2b), the tree is not contextually salient or previously mentioned.

- (2) a. *Lalina ny fitiavan’ ny Malagasy maro an’ ilay antoko vaovao.*
 deep DET love DET Malagasy man ACC DET party new
 ‘The love that many Malagasy have for this new party is deep.’
 b. *Nokapohiko ny hazo.*
 hit.1SG DET tree
 ‘I hit a tree.’ (Fugier 1999:16-17)

There is also an anaphoric determiner *ilay*, which is used with previously mentioned referents.

- (3) *Te hividy ilay fiara fotsy aho.*
 want buy.FUT DET car white 1SG.NOM
 ‘I want to buy that white car (one that we were talking about).’

Both determiners occur initially in DP, conforming to Malagasy’s head-initial status.

2.2. Demonstrative Inventory

Malagasy is known for its large inventory of demonstratives (Rajemisa-Raolison 1966:53, Rajaona 1972:623-632, Rajaonarimanana 1995:47-48, Imai 2003). As well as distance, these encode singular versus plural, visibility, and whether the space is viewed as bounded or unbounded. We illustrate in Table 1 below a subset of the demonstratives.

Table 1. Malagasy Demonstratives

DISTANCE	VISIBLE		INVISIBLE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NEAR SPKR	ito	ireto	izato	izareto
	ity		izaty	izarety
	itsy	iretsy	izatsy	izaretsy
↓	iroa	ireroa	izaroa	izareroa
FAR	iry	irery	izary	izarery
NEUTRAL	io	ireo	izao (izay)	izareo
NEUTRAL	iny	ireny	izany	izareny

The reader will note clear morphological regularities in the demonstratives, but we set these aside here.

2.3. Framing Demonstrative Position

The word order within the Malagasy DP is relatively rigid:

- (4) *Malagasy DP word order* (modified from Ntelitheos 2012:63)
 DEM1/DET N ADJ* POSS NUM QUANT RC DEM2

As noted above, framing demonstratives are strictly initial and final in the DP. The examples below illustrate the position of the demonstratives with respect to adjectival modifiers, possessors, numerals, PP modifiers, quantifiers, and relative clauses.

- (5) a. *possessor & adjective*
io akoho (*io) fotsin- (*io) -dRasoa **io**
 DEM chicken DEM white DEM Rasoa DEM
 ‘this white chicken of Rasoa’s’
- b. *number & PP complement*
ireo boky (*ireo) telo (*ireo) momba ny planet **ireo**
 DEM book DEM three DEM about DET planet DEM
 ‘those three books about the planets’
- c. *quantifier & relative clause*
ireo fitsipika (*ireo) vitsivitsy (*ireo) izay tena ilaina **ireo**
 DEM rule DEM few DEM REL really needed DEM
 ‘those few rules which are very needed’

The only exception to this ordering that we are aware of is with exceptive phrases and non-restrictive relative clauses. As illustrated in (6), the second demonstrative (DEM2) precedes exceptive phrases, (6a), and optionally, non-restrictive relative clauses, (6b). Note that only two demonstratives are possible in any DP. In (6b), DEM2 either precedes the relative clause or follows it. We assume that exceptive phrases and non-restrictive relative clauses are adjoined to DP, which will place them strictly final under most any structural analysis. We do not consider them further.

- (6) a. **ireo** vahiny rehetra **ireo** afa-tsy Rasoa (*ireo)
 DEM guest all DEM except Rasoa all
 ‘all those guests except Rasoa’
- b. **ity** varavarana (**ity**) izay nolokoina mena (**ity**)
 DEM door DEM REL painted red DEM
 ‘this door, which is painted red’

Finally, the demonstratives (DEM1 and DEM2) must be identical.

- (7) **io** boky **io**/*ity/*iny/*itsy/*iroa/*iry
 DEM1 book DEM2
 ‘this book’

2.4. Non-framing Uses of Demonstratives

As noted above, the framing pattern for demonstratives is common for all demonstratives. There are, however, three non-framing uses. First, it is possible to have a final demonstrative (DEM2) with the anaphoric determiner *ilay* but not with the default determiner *ny* or the null determiner, (8). As shown in (9), the null determiner is otherwise compatible with direct objects.

(8) *Te hividy ilay/*ny/*ø fiara fotsy ity aho.*
 want buy DET car white DEM 1SG.NOM
 ‘I want to buy that white car (which is near the speaker)’

(9) *Te hividy fiara fotsy aho.*
 want buy car white 1SG.NOM
 ‘I want to buy a white car’

Second, some DEM1s can appear alone. This option is both lexically and idiolectally restricted. We assume that these demonstratives have been reanalyzed as determiners (Rajaona 1972:685) and we do not consider them further. The examples below illustrate. The plural demonstratives *ireto* and *ireo* were accepted by all speakers, while the singular *ity* and *io* were only accepted by some. The remaining demonstratives, such as those illustrated in (10c), were rejected by all speakers, unless accompanied by DEM2.

(10) a. *ireto/ireo boky*
 DEM1.PL.NEAR book
 ‘these books’
 b. *%ity/io boky*
 DEM1.SG.NEAR book
 ‘this book’
 c. **iny/itsy/iroa/iry/ireny/iretsy/ireroa/irery boky*
 DEM1 book
 (‘that/those book(s)’)

Finally, all demonstratives can be used pronominally and in this use are never doubled.

(11) a. *Te hihinana an’ ity/io/itony/iretsy/irery/etc. aho.*
 want eat ACC DEM 1SG
 ‘I want to eat this/that/these/those.’
 b. **Te hihinana an’ ity ity aho.*
 want eat ACC DEM DEM 1SG
 (‘I want to eat this.’)

Summing up, in the framing pattern DEM1 and DEM2 must be identical and appear strictly initial and final in the DP. Lone DEM2 is possible with *ilay*, but not *ny* or the null determiner. All demonstratives can be used pronominally but cannot be doubled in this use.

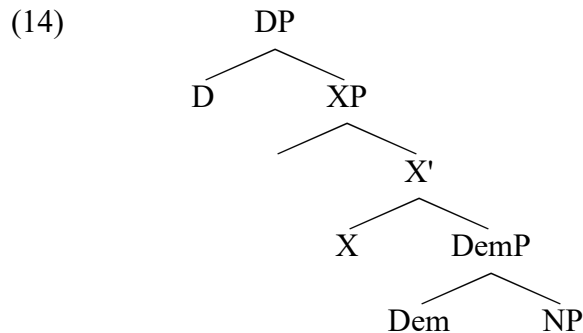
3. Malagasy nominal structure

Before turning to our analysis, we lay out our assumptions about nominal structure in Malagasy. There is very little work on nominal structure in Malagasy (but see Ntelitheos 2012). As we noted above, Malagasy DPs are head-initial, and the order of modifiers is relatively rigid. Adjectival modifiers show inverse ordering (with respect to English), (12, 13), though there is considerable freedom and inter-speaker variation.

(12) *Malagasy adjective word order*
 N > NATIONALITY > COLOR > SHAPE > SIZE > QUALITY

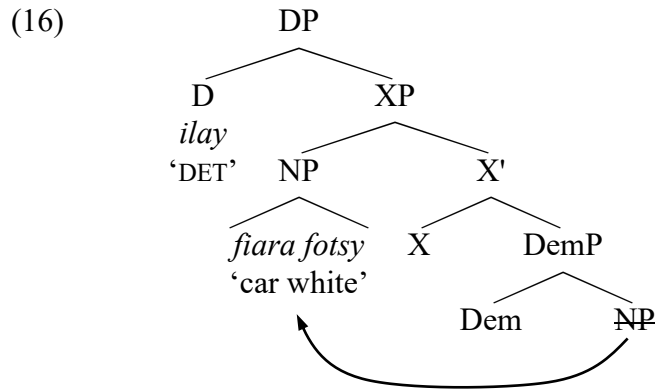
(13) *tavoahangy sinoa mangamanga lehibe*
 bottle Chinese blue.RED big
 ‘big blue Chinese bottle’

We propose the following DP structure to account for the core word order facts.



To account for the inverse ordering of adjectives, we adopt a roll-up movement within NP. In what follows, we do not show the rolled-up structure and simply label this constituent NP. Demonstratives are merged in DemP, which is low in the nominal spine (immediately above NP), following many researchers (Bernstein 1997, Giusti 1997, 2002, Pangiotidis 2000, Brugè 2002, Shlonsky 2004, Roehrs 2010, Cinque 2010, 2020, others). NP moves leftward within DP to the specifier of a projection above DemP, which we call XP for now. We call this movement Nominal Fronting. We return to the nature of XP below. Nominal Fronting is roughly equivalent to Predicate Fronting in the clausal domain that derives predicate-initial word order (VOS) (see Massam and Smallwood 1997, Rackowski and Travis 2000, Pearson 2001, 2005, Aldridge 2004, Cole and Hermon 2008, others for discussion and motivation). The tree in (16) illustrates the structure of the NP in (15).

- (15) *ilay fiara fotsy ity*
 DET car white DEM
 ‘this white car (we were talking about)’



The following section shows how to derive the position of the framing demonstratives within DP.

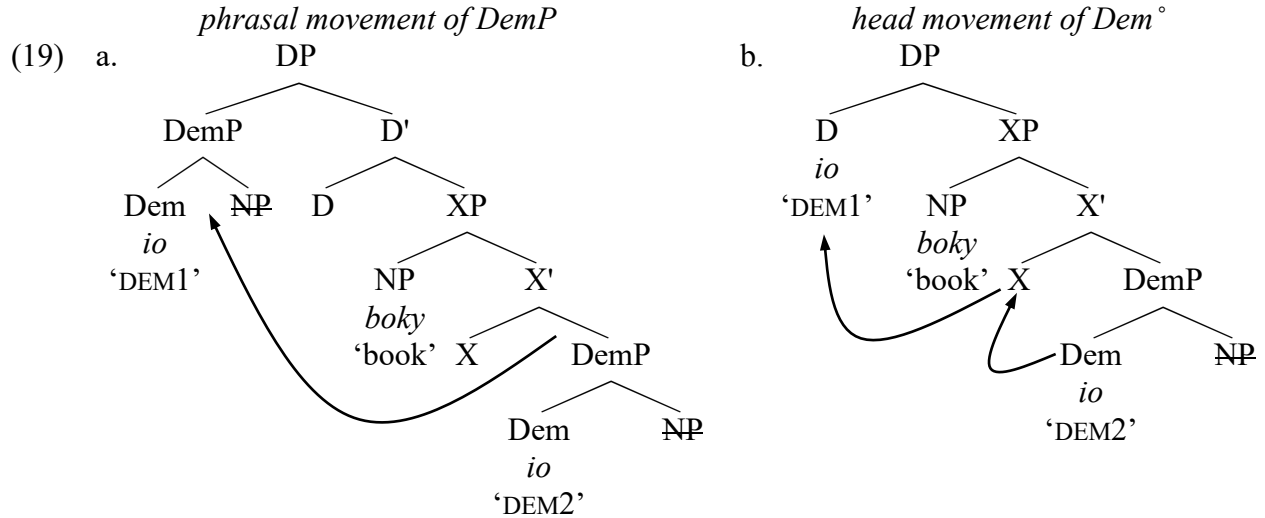
4. A Derivation for Framing Demonstratives

Now that we have the basic DP structure in place, we can turn to the proposed analysis. The core of the proposal is as follows. The demonstrative originates in the Dem head and moves to a high position. Both copies of the demonstrative are pronounced. The initial demonstrative is pronounced in the DP domain; the final demonstrative is pronounced in the demonstrative’s base position (to be revised below). The steps of the derivation are below, where (17a-b) have already been discussed in the previous section and (17c) is new.

- (17) (a. Roll Up inside NP)
 b. movement of NP to spec,XP (Nominal Fronting)
 c. movement of DemP to spec,DP OR movement of Dem° to D° (Dem Raising)

The tree in (19) illustrates the derivation of the phrase in (18).

- (18) *io boky io*
 DEM1 book DEM2
 ‘this book’



The tree in (19a) illustrates phrasal movement of DemP to spec,DP while (19b) involves head movement of Dem to D. In what follows, we will adopt the phrasal movement approach. To obtain framing, we need to pronounce both copies. What syntactic mechanism would allow this multiple pronunciation? Below, we suggest an analysis that adopts Parallel Chains (Chomsky 2008). But we first turn to other instances of doubling in the literature that have been analyzed using Parallel Chains.

4.1. Interlude: Predicate Clefts and Parallel Chains

There are various constructions in different languages that allow a word or phrase to be pronounced more than once. One example is what is called the Copy Predicate Cleft, where a verb or verb phrase is fronted, resumed by a verb in a lower position. CPCs are widely found in the world's languages (see Kandybowicz 2008). Representative examples are in (20).

- (20) a. *Vis-n hob ikh es gevust.* YIDDISH
 know-INF have.1SG I it know.PART
 'As for knowing, I have known it.' (Cable 2004: (8c))
- b. *Lirkod Gil lo yirkod ba-xayim.* HEBREW
 dance.INF Gil not dance.FUT in.the.life
 'As for dancing, Gil will never dance.' (Landau 2006: (1))
- c. *Kε- dɪke (i-gyo) yi əkyɪ wv ε-dɪke (i-gyo).* KRACHI
 NOM cook PL-yam FOC woman the PST-cook PL-yam
 'It was (only) cooking yams that the woman did.'
 (Kandybowicz & Torrence 2021: (2b,c))
- d. *Ðù (*blèdì lɔ) (%wè) Séná d̥ù *(blèdì lɔ).* GUNGBE
 eat bread DET FOC Sena eat bread DET
 'Sena ate the bread.' (Aboh & Dyakonova 2009: (28a, 33))

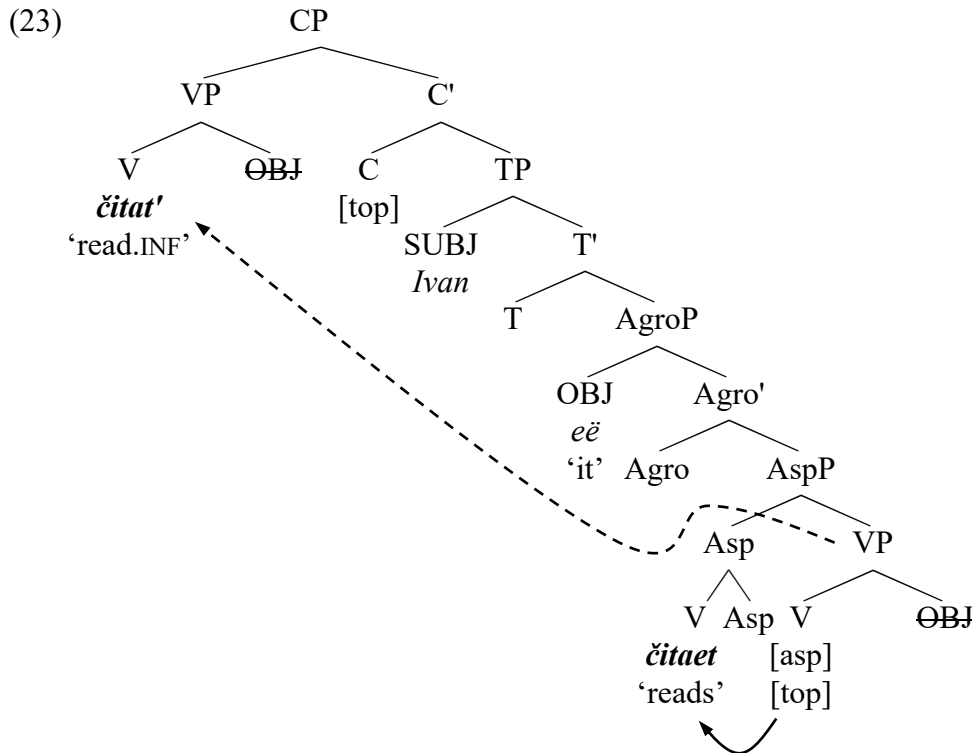
There is cross-linguistic variation in the realization of CPCs, some of which is summarized in (21), suggesting that its syntax is not uniform.

- (21) a. position of the direct object (must/may/cannot accompany the fronted verb)
- b. category of the fronted constituent
- c. morphological (non)identity of the two verbs
- d. structural position of lower verb

Given this variation, it is not surprising that there is no shortage of analyses of CPCs (see Aboh & Dyakonova 2009 for a summary of approaches). We present a Parallel Chains analysis (Kandybowicz 2008, Aboh & Dyakonova 2009, Kandybowicz & Torrence 2021) because we see similarities to the framing demonstrative construction, suggesting that a Parallel Chains analysis is plausible for that phenomenon as well.

The derivation of the Russian example in (22) is provided in (23).

- (22) **Čitat'** Ivan eë čitaet. RUSSIAN
 read.INF Ivan it.FEM.ACC reads
 'Ivan does read it.' (Abels 2001: (1))



This derivation is based on Abels (2001) and Aboh & Dyakonova (2009). There are two heads, C and Asp, which each probe a single goal, the verb. V moves to Asp to check an [aspect] feature (the solid line in (26)). This movement is widely assumed to take place in Russian. To check the [topic] feature of the C head, VP moves to spec,CP (shown with a dashed line). This phrasal movement is an instance of Generalized Pied Piping (Chomsky 1995): V is the real goal. As a result, there are two distinct chains (V to Asp and VP to spec,CP) and the heads of both chains are pronounced, following Chomsky (2008).

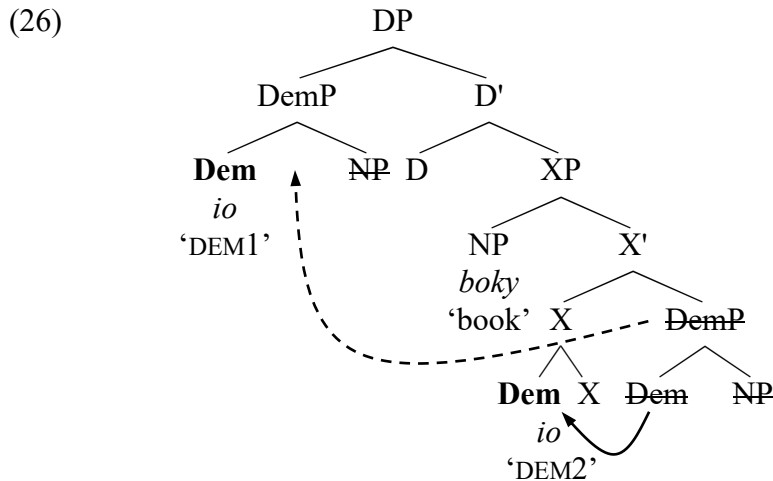
- (24) *Parallel Chains* (Chomsky 2008)
 Two chains formed with identical tails (goals) but distinct heads (probes). The independence of the two chains results in the heads of both chains being pronounced.

Note that in Russian, there is obligatory object shift (Abels 2001), so only the verb is pronounced in the fronted VP. With these elements in place, we can now turn to the Malagasy framing demonstratives.

4.2. A Parallel Chains Analysis of Framing Demonstratives

Recall the pattern under discussion. Malagasy demonstratives are always doubled, must be identical and occur initially and finally in DP. The tree in (26) provides the derivation of the nominal in (25).

- (25) *io boky io*
 DEM1 book DEM2
 ‘this book’



The steps of the derivation are as follows, again building on the DP structure described in Section 3. Both X and D probe for Dem. Dem moves to X and DemP moves to spec,DP. The resulting configuration involves Parallel Chains and the head of both chains (the demonstrative) is pronounced. As above, Nominal Fronting moves NP to spec,XP. The resulting word order is therefore as in (25), where the demonstratives frame the noun. If the noun phrase contains any modifiers, these would be within NP, with the result that DEM2 is strictly final. We now turn to the motivation for the different movements in the derivation.

4.3. Why Do DemP and Dem Move?

In the proposed derivation, there are two key movements: DemP to spec,DP and Dem to X. For the former, we follow Giusti (2002), who proposes that D° has a referential feature, [ref], which must be lexicalized on either D° itself or its specifier because of the Principle of Economy of Lexical Insertion in (27) (see Giusti 2002, Alexiadou et al. 2007:114).

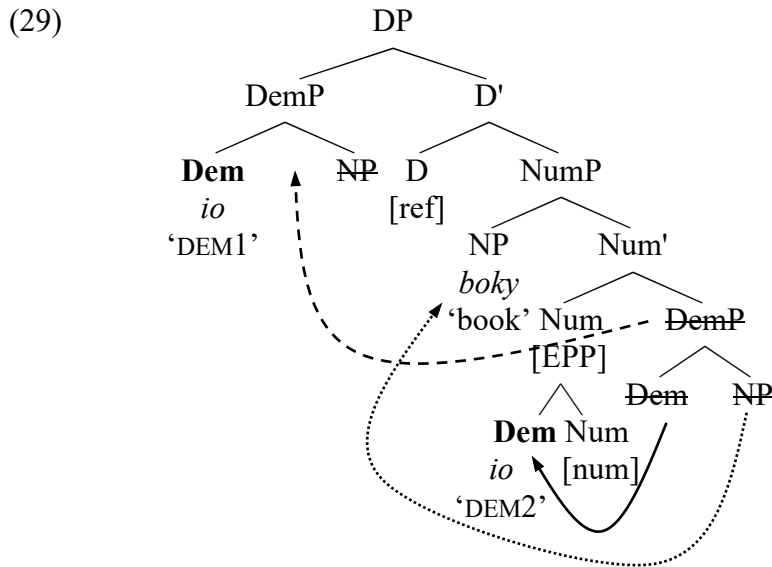
- (27) *Principle of Economy of Lexical Insertion* (PELI) (Giusti 2002)
 A functional head must be licensed by
 a. making the specifier visible
 b. making the head visible

In Malagasy, PELI applies to DP in an exclusive-or manner. Either spec,DP must be filled or D° must be filled, but not both. This can be viewed as a “Doubly Filled Det Filter”. In the derivation of demonstratives, it is the movement of DemP to spec,DP that satisfies PELI.

As for movement of Dem to X, we suggest that XP is an inflectional projection, along the lines of IP at the clausal level. We follow Zribi-Hertz & Mbolatianavalona 1999 in identifying XP as NumP. This label is motivated in part by the fact that demonstratives are the only lexical items in Malagasy that show distinction in number (singular versus plural). We suggest that Num probes for a [number] feature and attracts Dem. Num also has an EPP feature, which is responsible for Nominal Fronting (movement of NP to spec,NumP).

The final derivation is given below.

- (28) *io boky io*
 DEM1 book DEM2
 ‘this book’



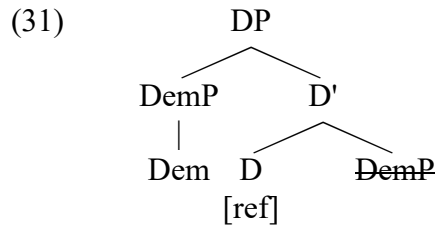
Recall the proposed DP structure where DP dominates NumP, which dominates DemP, which in turn dominates NP. NP is a cover term for the Roll Up domain discussed earlier. NP moves to spec,NumP to satisfy the EPP feature (what we call Nominal Fronting). This is shown with a dotted line. Dem moves to Num to check the [num] feature (the solid line) and DemP moves to spec,DP to check the [ref] feature (the dashed line). Dem is pronounced as the head of both chains, due to the Parallel Chains mechanism, yielding the framing structure. Thus, the unusual pattern of framing demonstratives arises due to independently motivated movement in Malagasy (Nominal Fronting), combined with a Parallel Chains analysis that has been proposed for doubling constructions in other languages.

4.4. Pronominal Demonstratives

Recall that all demonstratives can be used pronominally and, in this use, cannot be doubled, (30). The proposed analysis accounts for this pattern without any additional assumptions.

- (30) a. *Te hihinana an' ity/io/itony/iretsy/irery/etc. aho.*
 want eat ACC DEM 1SG
 'I want to eat this/that/these/those.'
- b. **Te hihinana an' ity ity aho.*
 want eat ACC DEM DEM 1SG
 ('I want to eat this.')

The explanation is as follows: pronominal demonstratives are intransitive and lack an NP complement. In the absence of NP, NumP is not projected (we assume that certain inflectional material is only projected when necessary). As a result, there is no Dem to Num movement. DemP, however, still moves to spec,DP to check the [ref] feature, as in (31).



There is only one chain and therefore only one instance of Dem is pronounced. No doubling is possible.

Summing up, the Parallel Chains analysis of Malagasy demonstratives captures the core facts. While some of the details remain to be worked out, it appears to be a promising start. There are in fact several other analyses that have been suggested to us; some are given below. For reasons of space, we do not explore them here but we hope that future work will determine if these alternatives can account for the full range of data.

- (32) a. DemP Analysis: DEM1 and DEM2 are generated independently in the head and specifier of DemP
- b. DP Analysis: DEM1 and DEM2 are head and rightward specifier of DP (no DemP)
- c. Combined DP/DemP Analysis: DEM1 and DEM2 are distinct heads of DP and DemP
- d. Copy Movement Analysis: DEM1 and DEM2 are related by movement/feature sharing with Multiple Copy Spell Out (Zribi-Hertz & Mbolatianavalona 1999; see Bleaman 2022 for a Copy Movement analysis of the CPC in Yiddish)
- e. Appositive Analysis: The main use of demonstratives is as pronominals. When they are accompanied by additional material, this is an appositive nominal (Rajaona 1972)

5. Conclusion

This paper has provided an analysis of framing demonstratives in Malagasy, a phenomenon that has not yet been analyzed. The analysis posits NP Fronting within DP, parallel to Predicate Fronting in the clausal domain. The analysis also builds on work in the literature on demonstratives and DP structure, bringing in a typologically distinct language. In particular, we adopt a low structural position for demonstratives, following Bernstein 1997, Giusti 1997, and others. To account for the framing pattern, we invoke Parallel Chains (Chomsky 2008), a mechanism that until now has been restricted to movement in the verbal domain.

Remaining questions include a more detailed analysis of nominal structure and a more careful consideration of the Parallel Chains mechanism. We would also like to extend our analysis to account for the occurrence of demonstratives with proper names and pronouns, as in (33) below.

- (33) a. *Mba tsy misy saina loatra i Soa iny!*
PRT NEG exist intelligence too DET Soa DEM
'Soa (who is not here) is not very intelligent!'
(adapted from Ravalolomanga 1996)
- b. *Ho aiza marina isika ity e?*
FUT where real 1PL.INCL DEM PRT
'Where are we really going?' (Jedele & Randrianarivelo 1998)

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