

Where the Malagasy Adverbs Are

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I. The Background

1 Facts

- o VOS
- o V → T
- o AT/TT/CT

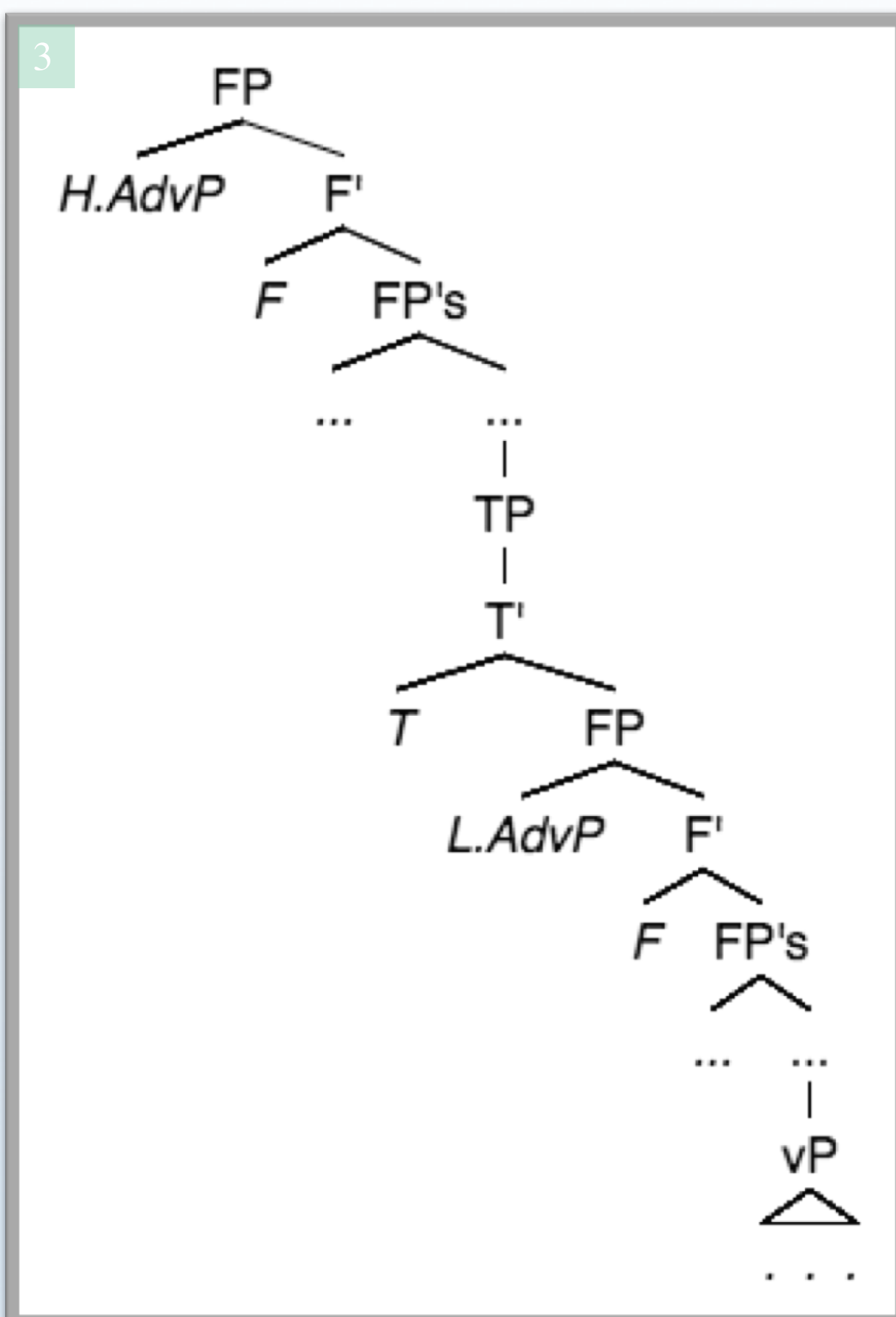
Cinque 1999
 ⇒ AdvP → Spec, FP
 ⇒ Hierarchical order
 ⇒ Higher Adverbs
 ⇒ Lower Adverbs

Rackowski 1998
 ⇒ Malagasy Lower Adverbs:
 ⇒ Pre-verbal
 ⇒ Post-verbal
 ⇒ Opposite order

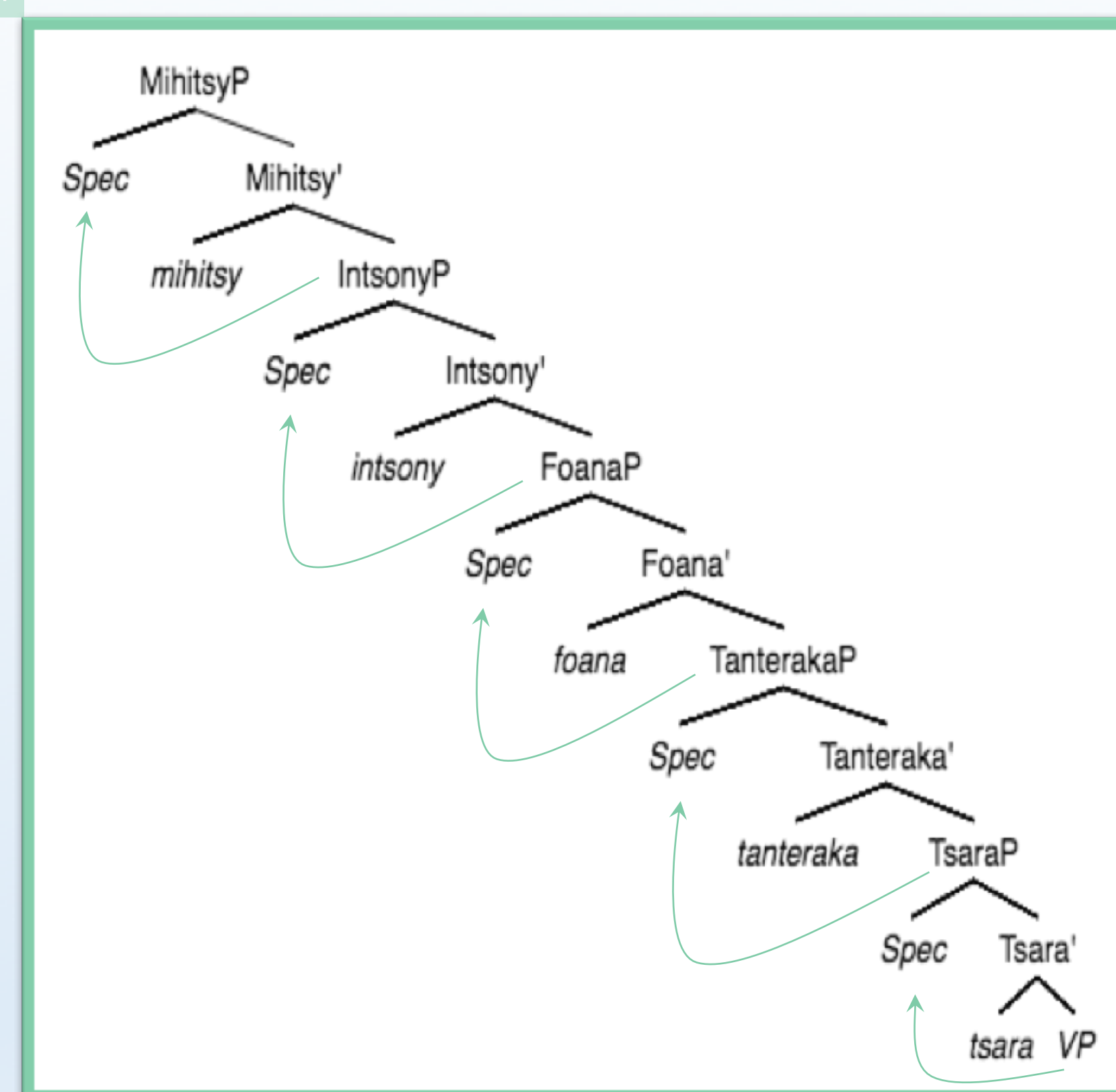
2 Lower Adverbs

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 (Speech Act) > Generally > Neg > Already > Still > (at-all) > Anymore > Always > Completely > Well

2 3 4 5 (3) 10 9 8 7 6 1
 Na(dia) > Matetika > Tsy > Efa > Mbola > Tsy > **VERB** > Tsara > Tanteraka > Foana > Intsony > Mihitsy > ... Aza > Ve
 'Even' > generally > Neg > Already > Still > Neg > Well > Completely > Always > Anymore > At-all > 'though' > Speech Act



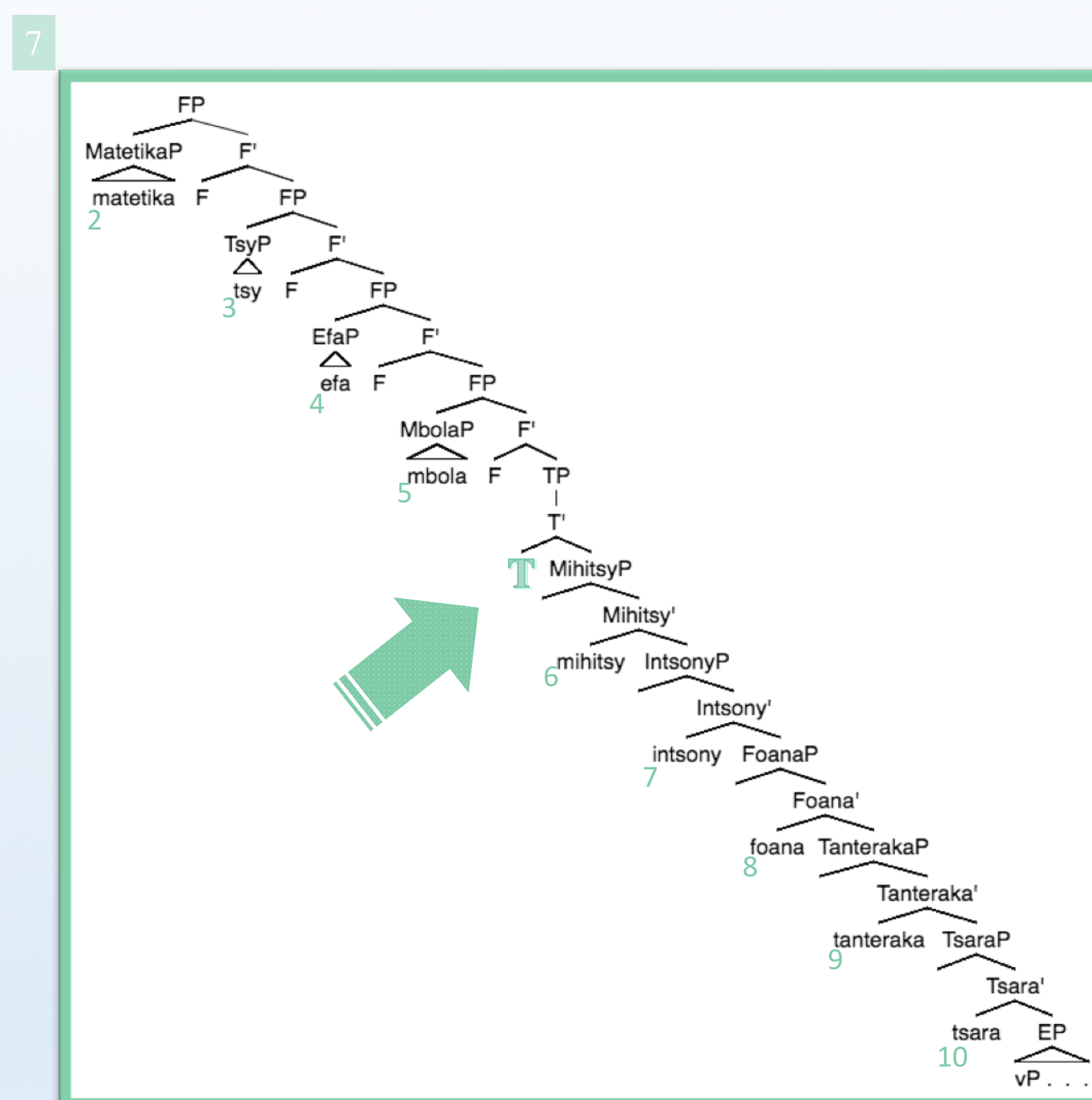
4 Malagasy Opposite Order → Roll-Up



BACK-ground

5 (Some) HIGHER Adverbs in The Universal Hierarchy
 Frankly > Fortunately > Surprisingly > Clearly > Evidently > Probably >
 Once > Then > Perhaps > Maybe > Necessarily > Possibly > Usually > Again
 > Often > Intentionally > Wisely > Quickly > ...

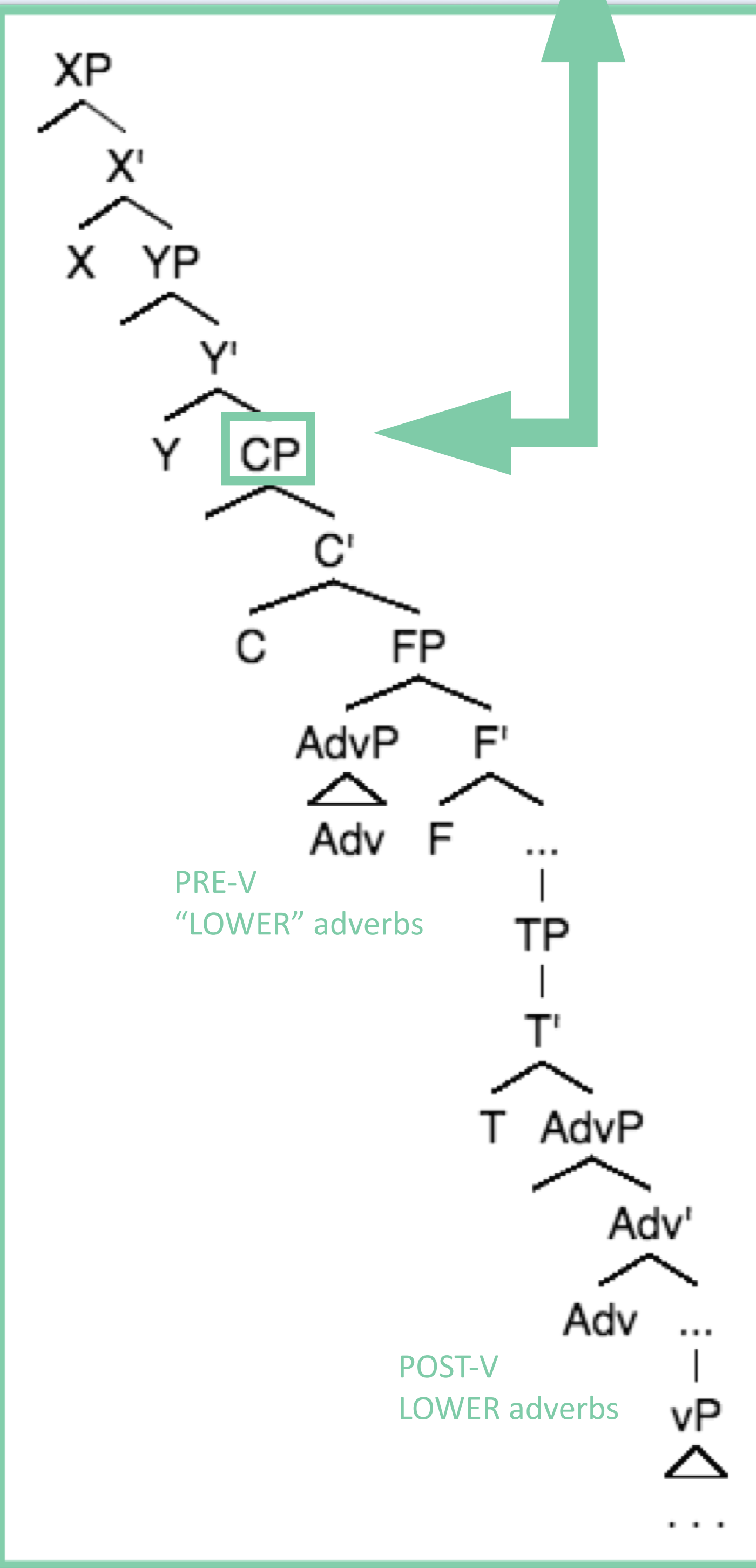
III. The Answer



In Malagasy LOWER adverbs are HIGHER in the tree

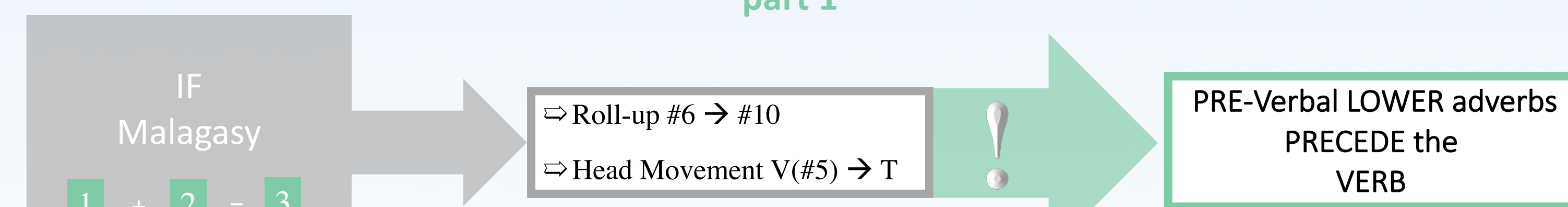
v. The Proposal

They are HIGHER as SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES of varied categorial heads that SELECT FULL CLAUSES



POST-V LOWER adverbs

II. The Problem part 1



8 AT: Manasa ny lamba amin'ny savony ny zazavavy.
 AT.PRES.aN-wash DET clothes with/DET soap DET girl
 'The girl washes the clothes with the soap'

EFA: 'The girl already washes the clothes with soap'
 Already

(1) * Manasa efa ny lamba amin'ny savony ny zazavavy.
 (2) * Manasa ny lamba efa amin'ny savony ny zazavavy.
 (3) * Manasa ny lamba amin'ny savony efa ny zazavavy.
 (4) Efa manasa ny lamba amin'ny savony ny zazavavy.
 (5) Efa sasan'ny zazavavy (*) amin'ny savony (*) ny zazavavy. (TT)
 (6) Efa anasan'ny zazavavy (*) ny lamba (*) ny savony. (CT)

Where is the Verb
 T° / TP
 WHERE are the ADVERBS

IV. The Problem part 2

IF the pre-verbal LOWER adverbs are above TP, where we expect the HIGHER adverbs to be,
 THEN WHERE are the HIGHER adverbs

In Malagasy lower adverbs appear to extend higher up the tree, forcing the higher adverbs even higher, as heads of other lexical categories. The sentential scope of the higher adverbs is then realized syntactically different, accounting for the flexibility in word order.

The Data

- 8 1) Raha tsorina mazava fa tsy sasan'ny zazavavy foana amin'ny savony ny lamba.
 if basically clear that not TT.PRES.N'DET girl always with'DET soap DET clothes
 'Frankly clearly the girl doesn't always wash the clothes with the soap'
- 2) Mazava fa raha tsorina tsy sasan'ny zazavavy foana amin'ny savony ny lamba.
 clear that if basically not TT.PRES.N'DET girl always with'DET soap DET clothes
 *'Clearly frankly the girl doesn't always wash the clothes with the soap'

"Higher Adverbs" in Malagasy can change in linear order maintaining grammaticality, i.e. they no longer follow the hierarchy in 5. This contrasts with other languages, e.g. English.

REFERENCES
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 Neehan, Matthew. "The Malagasy subject as an A'-object." Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 23, no. 2 (2005): 361-471.
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 Guillole, Elzina, Henrietta Hung, and Lisa Travis. "Spec of IP and Spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages." Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 10, no. 3 (1992): 375-414.

