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Sunday, March 8<sup>th</sup>: 1:30-2:00

The Role of Maximality and Post-Topic PPs in Malagasy Pseudoclefts

In this presentation, I propose a solution to a pervasive question about the extraction of non-topics in Malagasy (pseudo)clefts. Malagasy is a predicate-initial/VOS language in which the role of the subject/topic in the verbal predicate is encoded through voice morphology on the verb. There are three different possible configurations: Actor Topic (the verb's agent is in topic position), Theme Topic (the verb's theme is in topic position), and Circumstantial Topic (a VP adjunct or PP argument is in topic position). Across most syntactic constructions, only the subject/topic can undergo A' extraction, arguably because the subject/topic position is itself A' (e.g., Pearson, 2005).

The general structure of a cleft in Malagasy is shown in (1). The clefted constituent – most often a PP or DP – is followed by the particle *no*, followed by a clause missing the argument or adjunct that corresponds to the clefted phrase. As expected given the observation about A' extraction being limited to topics, in order to cleft an agent or theme, the post-*no* TP must be in Actor Topic or Theme Topic form, respectively; this is shown in (2) and (3), with the gap in topic position underlined. Unexpectedly, however, it is possible to cleft an adjunct or PP argument when the verb is in any of the three voices, as shown in (4)-(6). (Note that the paraphrase for (5)-(8) is the same as that in (4).) In (4), the gap is in topic position, just like (2) and (3). In (5) and (6), which I will refer to as non-topic clefts, it is unclear where the gap is in the post-*no* TP, or whether there is a gap at all. Further complexities include: (i) the 'bodyguard' construction in non-topic clefts, shown in bold in (7) and (8); and (ii) the possibility of inserting a 'head' in topic clefts but not in non-topic clefts, demonstrated in bold in (9)-(13).

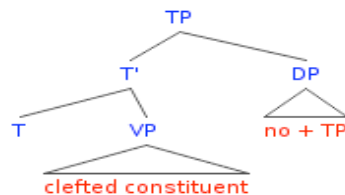
My account of *no* constructions has four components. First, I support Paul (2001) and Potsdam (2006), who demonstrate that the clefted constituent is the matrix predicate while the *no*-phrase (*no*+TP) is in matrix subject/topic position (shown in (14)), much like pseudocleft constructions in other languages. Second, I propose that *no* is a D that selects a CP or TP and enables a free relative to be in topic position. Third, using the syntax/semantics of free relatives presented by Caponigro (2004), I argue that the *no*-phrase is best described as a DP-like free relative, with *no* acting as a semantic operator triggering maximality into an <e,t> complement and creating an entity of type <e>. Consistent with maximality, the clefted constituent is interpreted as an exhaustive list.

Finally, I propose a solution to account for adjuncts and PP arguments being able to be clefted, along with the appearance of the 'bodyguard' and 'head': in all clefts, the maximality operator *no* computes maximality into an empty A' position in its complement. In topic clefts, the A' topic position of the *no*-phrase is empty, so the clefted constituent corresponds to the topic. In non-topic clefts, the topic position is filled. Since *no* must compute maximality into an A' gap, this filled-topic construction is interpreted as containing a high, empty post-topic PP, which commonly appears overtly in regular declaratives in Malagasy (see (15), in which the topic is underlined and the post-topic PP is bolded). When *no* computes maximality into this position, the result is that the clefted constituent corresponds to a contextually-relevant adjunct or PP argument. The 'bodyguard' results from the topic in non-topic clefts raising to spec,DP of the *no*-phrase,

and the ‘head’ that can appear in topic clefts is a relative clause formation, which as such must obey Malagasy’s restrictions on A’ movement (only subjects can A’ move).

This account of *no* as a maximality operator that selects a TP or CP is a step towards solving the lingering questions about Malagasy *no*-phrases.

- (1) [<sub>XP</sub> clefted constituent] *no* TP
- (2) Rabe *no* manasa lamba amin’ny savony \_\_\_\_\_  
Rabe *no* wash-AT clothes with the soap \_\_\_\_\_  
‘(The person) who washes clothes with soap is Rabe.’
- (3) Ny lamba *no* sasan- dRabe amin’ny savony \_\_\_\_\_  
The clothes *no* wash-TT Rabe with the soap \_\_\_\_\_  
‘What Rabe washes with soap are the clothes.’
- (4) Amin’ny savony *no* anasan- dRabe ny lamba \_\_\_\_\_  
With the soap *no* wash-CT Rabe the clothes \_\_\_\_\_  
‘What Rabe washes the clothes with is the soap.’
- (5) Amin’ny savony *no* manasa lamba Rabe  
With the soap *no* wash-AT clothes Rabe
- (6) Amin’ny savony *no* sasan- dRabe ny lamba  
With the soap *no* wash-TT Rabe the clothes
- (7) Amin’ny savony **Rabe** *no* manasa lamba
- (8) Amin’ny savony **ny lamba** *no* sasan-dRabe
- (9) Rabe *no* **lehilahy** (izay) manasa lamba amin’ny savony \_\_\_\_\_  
Rabe *no* man (that) wash-AT clothes with the soap \_\_\_\_\_  
‘The man who washes clothes with soap is Rabe.’
- (10) Ny lamba *no* **zavatra** (izay) sasan- dRabe amin’ny savony \_\_\_\_\_  
The clothes *no* thing (that) wash-TT Rabe with the soap \_\_\_\_\_  
‘The things that Rabe washes with soap are the clothes.’
- (11) Amin’ny savony *no* **fomba** (izay) anasan- dRabe ny lamba \_\_\_\_\_  
With the soap *no* manner (that) wash-CT Rabe the clothes \_\_\_\_\_  
‘The manner in which Rabe washes clothes is with soap.’
- (12) \*Amin’ny savony *no* **fomba** (izay) manasa lamba Rabe  
With the soap *no* manner (that) wash-AT clothes Rabe
- (13) \*Amin’ny savony *no* **fomba** (izay) sasan- dRabe ny lamba  
With the soap *no* manner (that) wash-TT Rabe the clothes
- (14)



- (15) Manasa lamba Rabe amin’ny savony

## References

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