MALAGASY IMPERATIVES

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This paper focuses on establishing the syntactic building blocks of Malagasy imperatives, map their hierarchy, establish the derivations that underlie imperatives, and identify areas for future research. Addressed are the location of imperative morphology, the distribution of the addressee, silent and overt, the left periphery of imperatives and negative imperatives.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a preliminary description and analysis of the syntactic properties of imperatives in Malagasy, a Western Austronesian language spoken in Madagascar[*]. It will focus on establishing the syntactic building blocks of Malagasy imperatives, map their hierarchy, establish the derivations that underlie imperatives, and identify areas for future research. The analytical tools come from what Cinque and Rizzi have called the cartographic research program. Central to this enterprise is the idea that word formation is syntactic (see also Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000 and Koopman 2005a), that complex properties are decomposed into small atoms that project (among others Kayne 1994, Koopman 1996, 2000, Cinque 1999, Rizzi, 1996, 2002, etc) and that heads are accompanied by single specifiers.

2. IMPERATIVE MORPHOLOGY

Malagasy imperatives are formed by adding an imperative suffix to the different voice forms. Active voice (AT), often called Actor voice, and Passive voices, which I refer to as theme voice (TT) and circumstantial voice (CRP), combine with the imperative suffix (IMP$_M$). The form of the imperative suffix varies with the type of voice: –a in the active voice, and, depending on the phonological properties of the verbal root, /-u/ or -/i/ (orthographic –o/-y), in the non-active voices. The imperative suffix forms a word with the voiced form, and triggers rightwards stress shift. As a result, the long form of the root surfaces for those predicates that have a long form (Erwin 1996).

2.1. *Active voice (AT) imperative.*

In the active voice, the highest argument of the predicate maps onto the clause final DP position, which I will refer to as nominative topic position (NOM.TOP), yielding the characteristic surface

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VOS word order of tensed clauses. The imperative is formed by adding a suffix –a[1] to the active voice form (1), which consists of the prefix m- and the active voice prefix[2] or to the root, that would appear in the active indicative (2). Adjectival roots take –a as well (*tsará* 'be good.IMP)[3], Active voice imperatives contain a silent addressee which corresponds to the nominative topic in the indicative.

(1)   a.   mamaky   boky   izy   b. mamakia   boky
            m.AT.read book   he.NOM.TOP   m.AT.read.IMP book
            'She is reading a book/ she reads books'   'Read a book!

(2)   a.   avy   aty   Rakoto   b. avia   aty
            arrive here Rakoto   come.IMP   here
            'Rakoto arrived here'   'Come here'

   Because of stress shift, the "long" form of the root surfaces in the imperative (see Erwin 1996), as it does with the only other suffixes of Malagasy, the non active voice markers. (*mandeha* ' to go' *mandehana* (m.AT.go.IMP), *manome* 'to give', *manomeza* m.AT.give.IMP).

2.2. *Theme voice imperatives.*

In the theme voice, the 'theme' maps onto the nominative topic position, and the highest argument of the predicate shows up predicate internally, preceded by the nominal linker *n* (LNK) which bonds the predicate and the genitive DP subject into a surface constituent [V.TT-LNK-DP$_{agent}$]. The theme voice leads to [VS$_{gen}$….O$_{nom.top}$] surface word order in tensed clauses, and to [V.IMP …O$_{nom.top}$] order in imperatives with silent addressees. When the root contains a high round vowel u , (orthographic –o), the suffix is realized as i (orthographic y); elsewhere it is –o.

              Theme voice form   *Imperative Theme Voice*
(3)   a.   vaki-in(a)   b. vaki-o   ny boky
            read.TT   read.TT.IMP the book.NOM.TOP
                                                       'read the book!'

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[1] The segmental form of the active voice imperative suffix is written as –a in the official orthography. It is severely reduced or deleted in the Merina dialect, the Malagasy variety spoken in and around Antananarivo. Stress shift, appearance of the "long" form of the root reveals its presence, and vowel change (y-->e (=i+a) reveal its presence.

[2] I will assume an/i are exponents of the active voice head, and m- is an inflectional element that co-occurs with it, contra Pearson (2001), who treats m- as the active voice marker.

[3] Imperative morphology can also attach to some cases of non verbal predication (*tsará* good.IMP 'be good'), but not to all *doctotera* 'doctor.IMP 'be a doctor!'. I will assume imperative only attaches to verbs, and that *tsara* can combine with a silent verbalizer. With other root adjectives the verbalizer shows up as *a*: *madio* 'm.a.clean' *madiova* (m.a.clean.imp) 'be clean!) (cf. Ntelitheos (forthcoming)).

(4) a. didi-an(a)   b. didi-o   ny akoho
        cut. TT   cut.TT.IMP the chicken.NOM.TOP
                                         'cut the chicken!'

(5) a. vono-in(a)   b. vono-y   ny akoho
        kill.TT   kill.TT.IMP the chicken.NOM.TOP
                                         'kill the chicken!'

(6) a. solo-ana   b. solo-y
        change.TT   change.TT.IMP
                                         'change it/replace it!'

   The imperative suffix and the theme voice suffix are in complementary distribution. However, TT voice morphology and imperative morphology co-occur with verbs that take a theme voice prefix. This shows that both TT-voice and IMP are distinct atoms of the syntactic structure[4]. The linker *n* is systematically silent in non-active voice imperatives (cf.(7b)).

(7) a. ataon'dRakoto   ity   b. ataov-y   ity
        TT.do.LNK.Rakoto.GEN   this.NOM   TT.do.-IMP this
        'Rokoto did this'   'Do this!'

Theme voice imperatives are highly frequent, run-of-the-mill imperatives, and are acquired earlier than active (transitive) imperatives (Keenan and Manorohanta, 2004; Hyams et al, 2004). An important fact is the following: theme voice imperatives must be used when the object is definite, as in (7b), and the active imperative with a definite object is judged ungrammatical by five of the six consulted speakers (cf *mamakia ny boky* 'AT.read.IMP the book' contrasts with active imperatives with indefinite objects, as in (1a)[5]. All consulted speakers accept definite objects in corresponding active voiced tensed clauses. Although this fact initially prompted my research on imperatives, and may have a link to obligatory scrambling of low objects, I don't have an account to offer at this point.

2.3. *Circumstantial voice imperatives*

In the circumstantial voice form, neither agent nor theme maps onto the nominative topic position. Some other DP argument is promoted to a nominative topic (benefactive, instrument, locative), or some DP adjunct (manner, reason, time..) is A' moved into the left periphery. The highest argument shows up in the genitive, bonding to the voice form in the usual fashion. The circumstantial voice forms is build on the active voice form, and always contains the invariant

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[4] Left for future research is how the complementary distribution of suffixes falls out. The region between the right edge of the root, the voice suffix, the linker and pronominal clitics or DP subjects undergoes considerable morphophonological reductions.
[5] The speaker in LA is uncertain about the judgment, and thinks it may express a somewhat more polite, less direct imperative. No examples were ever given in elicitations.

suffix *–an(a)*. The prefix *m-* is excluded from these forms, as it is from the TTvoice. This shows that the hierarchy of merger is CRP> AT> v/V, from which [[AT-root] CPR] is derived syntactically[6]. As with the theme topic voice, the imperative suffix and the suffix *–an(a)* are in complementary distribution, and the linker *n* is absent.

(8)   a.   anorat-ana   'AT.write.CRP'   anorat-y   'AT. write.IMP'
       b.   andehan-ana   'AT.go. CRP'   andehan-o   'AT.go.IMP'
       c.   ividian-ana   'AT.buy.CRP'   ividian-o   'AT.buy.IMP'

(9)   iviadano   vary   aho
       AT.buy.CRP rice   I.NOM.TOP
       'Buy me some rice'

2.3. *The morphology: building blocks*

The two forms of the imperative suffix will be treated as realizing the same syntactic atom, IMP. The voice form raises to the left of IMP, forming a word with the suffix. The phonological form will be selected after movement, and depends on the category of its left sister (active voice vs. non active voices). In the conference presentation, I proposed making the phonological selection contingent on the projection of the linker which non active clauses must contain. Since the linker is obligatorily silent in non active voice imperatives, non active imperative morphology *–o* could be treated as a fused vocabulary item spelling out the LNK and IMP, with *–a* as the elsewhere case. However, silence of the linker does not depend on the presence of imperative, as the linker is silent in other environments, like control (10b):

(10)   a.   ataon' Ibony ity   b.Kasaiko$_i$ ho   atao ity
            TT.do.LNK'Ibony this.NOM.TOP   intend.TT.I.GEN IRR   TT.do this. NOM.TOP
            'Ibony did this'   'This, I intend to do '

   Imperatives of non-active voices may contain an overt genitive subject (section 3.2.), leading to the conclusion that LNK is always projected in non-active voices. This leads minimally to the following hierarchies:

(11)   Theme voice: ...IMP$_M$ LNK   VOICE$_{TT}$ vP/VP
            Circumstantial voice   ...IMP$_M$ LNK   VOICE$_{CPR}$ VOICE$_{AT}$ vP/VP
            Active voice: …IMP   (VOICE$_{AT}$)   vP/VP

   (11) is compatible with the idea that the linker is a D/C like element triggering predicate fronting (Kayne, 1994, Koopman 2004, Den Dikken 1998, forthcoming), and with the idea that

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[6] Forms can become quite large: (Ntelitheos (forthcoming)).
   (i) i-f-anorat-y   ireto penina ireto
       [AT.REC.AT.write].IMP   these pens   these.NOM.TOP
   'Use these pens to write to each other'

IMP is merged at the CP level. As we will see below, a number of projections occur higher than IMP, which either should be taken to show that there is a very large left periphery, or that IMP is merged as a C level element in a lower CP.

The derivation minimally involves v/V combining with Voice, non-active Voice combining with the LNK, and Voice combining with IMP. Movement to the linker and the imperative morphology is assumed to be achieved by phrasal remnant movement, following Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000. (For reasons of space, derivations cannot be fully detailed here). What is important though is that this will allow the VoiceP, or some constituent that contains it to move as a phrase from Spec to Spec, a hypothesis for which there is ample evidence. More concretely, the non-active VoiceP raises to the Spec of the LNK, yielding [V.voice] LNK, whence voiceP moves to Spec, Imp:

(1)   Non active voices.
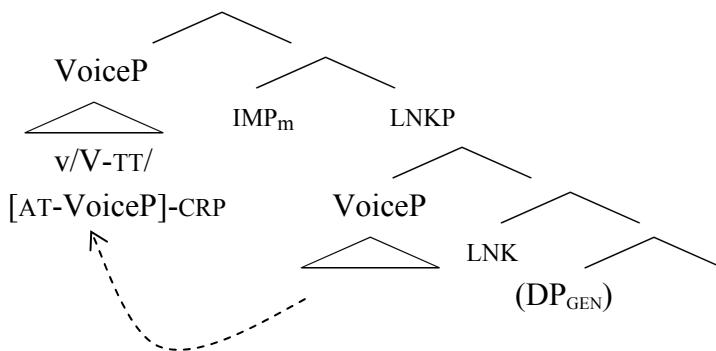
(2)   Active voice:
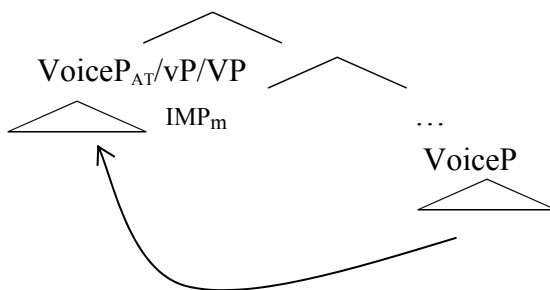
Word structure is formed post-syntactically: if the IMP head does not come with a word boundary, the imperative suffix will cause stress shift. The phonological selection of the form of the suffix depends on the category of the phrase in its Spec.

The maybe somewhat surprising syntactic constituency in (12) is independently supported, and is a particular instance of a very general Malagasy "shape" that can be described in simplified terms in (14), with Y standing for a head that triggers predicate inversion or predicate fronting:

(14)   Basic Malagasy surface constituency shape:
         XP is merged or moves outside a constituent containing the predicate, and that
         constituent moves to Spec, YP[7].
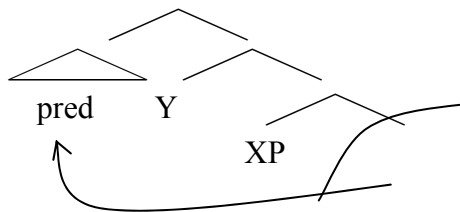
   This constituent structure repeats at many stages in the derivation from a very early point in the derivation up to the low Topic in the CP region. (Rackowsci 1998, Pearson, 2001, Travis 2005). Thus, the size of the "pred" constituent grows as the derivation advances.

3. THE ADDRESSEE

The addressee in the imperative can be silent, as in the examples so far, or overt, as illustrated below.

3.1. *Silent addressee*

The silent addressee in the imperative corresponds to the nominative in the active voice, and to the genitive in non-active voices:

   (15)   mamaki-a   boky ianao
           m.AT.read.IMP book   you.NOM.TOP
           'read a book'

   (16)   vaki- o -   nao   ity boky ity
           read-TT.IMP   you.GEN   this book this.NOM.TOP
           'read this book'

As originally discussed in Schachter (1976) for Philippine languages, imperatives clearly show that the theme voice forms are not equivalent to passives in English and other languages. In English imperatives, only the nominative argument can correspond to the addressee. (don't you get hit ~~you~~ by the boy), *don't the boy get hit (~~by you~~)). The Malagasy addressee can never correspond to the nominative topic in non-active voices, but must correspond to the genitive:

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[7] All derivations in this paper are consistent with Kayne's (2003) proposal that it is never a direct complement of H which moves to Spec of H, but the complement or the specifier of the next head down.

(17) * didion-dRrakoto   ianao
       cut.TT.IMP.LNK' Dakoto.GEN you.NOM
       intended: 'Get cut by Rakoto'.

   Genitive arguments in non-active voices and nominative arguments in active voices are picked out as the highest "argument", or element in an A-position not only in imperatives, but also in control:

(18)   Kasaiko   ho vakina   ilay boky
            intend.TT.I.GEN IRR read.TT   that book
            'That book, I intend to read'

Let us interpret this distribution as follows: the silent addressee can only correspond to the highest argument in the c-command domain of IMP/voice. Most likely this follows from some property of IMP, a property that reminds control (of the addressee by the speaker). If the Nominative topic is merged outside of this domain, i.e. higher than the Imp/voice complex, IMP will never be able to make the nominative topic into a silent addressee, because it fails to c-command it. This leads to the following hierarchy, which receives further independent support below. The underlying position of the silent addressee is boldfaced[8].

(3)   Theme voice: NomTop.. IMP_M LNK $Voice_{TT}$ **DP_{gen}**v/VP ....
       CRP voice   NomTop .. IMP_M LNK $Voice_{cpr}$ $Voice_{at}$ **DP_{gen}** v
       AT voice (-a)   NomTop ..IMP_M (m- $Voice_{at}$) **DP_{nom}** ...

   The predicate containing IMP fronts to the left of nominative topic. This movement is not specific to imperatives but occurs in tensed clauses as well:

(4)   Y [$DP_{NOM.TOP}$ [TOP [[$_{IMPP}$]…] --> [[IMP_P]…] Y [$DP_{NOM.TOP}$]

   Notice that the movement around the nominative topic brings the imperative into the periphery of the root CP. This latter fact forms an important ingredient in accounting for the root character of imperatives:

(5)   A constituent containing IMP_m must appear in the root CP region.

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[8] If IMP is at the CP level, and LNK is equivalent to C and responsible for genitive case, it is tempting to analyze all three structures as containing a clause with a structural case position (a subject position) to which the highest argument raises:
(i)   non-active voices: a. IMP C_{LNK} [$_{IP}$$DP_{GEN}$ .. $Voice_{TT}$ ~~DP~~ …]
     active voice: b. IMP C   [$_{IP}$ DP_{NOM} m- $Voice_{AT}$ ~~DP~~   ]
The source of the nominative case on the Top in the non-active environment may come from a structure that embeds this CP, as in tough-movement constructions.

Thus, imperative morphology may be merged lower as long as it can become local to the root C at the end of the derivation.

3.2. *Overt addressee*

An overt addressee in non active voices occupies the same position as it would in corresponding tensed clauses[9]:

(6) a. vaki- o -   nao   ity   boky ity
          read-TT.IMP you.GEN this   book this.NOM
          'you read this book'

The nominative addressee occurs in the nominative topic position (7a), following clause typing particles (cf. (27)), but can also remain clause internally (7b): [10, 11]

(7) a. mandraisa   boky ianao   b. mandraisa   ianao boky (Dez 1990: p. 433).
          m.AT.take.IMP book you.NOM   m.AT-take.IMP you a book
          'you take a book'   'you take a book!'

Although a nominative addressee may thus fail to externalize in imperatives, this possibility is excluded from tensed clauses, as the order in (23b) is sharply ungrammatical in corresponding tensed clauses. Active imperatives thus probably lack a projection that is obligatory in tensed clauses, possibly, following Platzack and Rosengren 2000, the Subject of Predication position (see also Cardinalleti 2004, Koopman, 2005). Whatever the explanation however, examples like (23b) (further) confirm that specifiers in Malagasy are located on the left, in accordance with antisymmetry (Kayne 1994). Indeed if Malagasy specifiers were base generated to the right, the unmoved subject should follow the object in the active, contrary to fact.

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[9] Discussion in this section is restricted to second person pronouns. Grammars cite the fact that the overt addressee of an imperative can be non pronominal and non third person, but my speaker seems only comfortable with second person in clause internal positions. Since this pattern is found in Dutch imperatives (Bennis 2001), further exploration is required. Vocatives are followed by a vowel –o, -a, or –e, and occur either leftperipherally, or on the right periphery), and will not be discussed here.

[10] Dez (1990) states that (22) involves more emphasis on the subject, which may suggest some connection with low focus.

[11] For similar cases in other languages, see Henry (1995) for Belfast English, and Platzack and Rosengren (2000) for German, Swedish, and Danish.
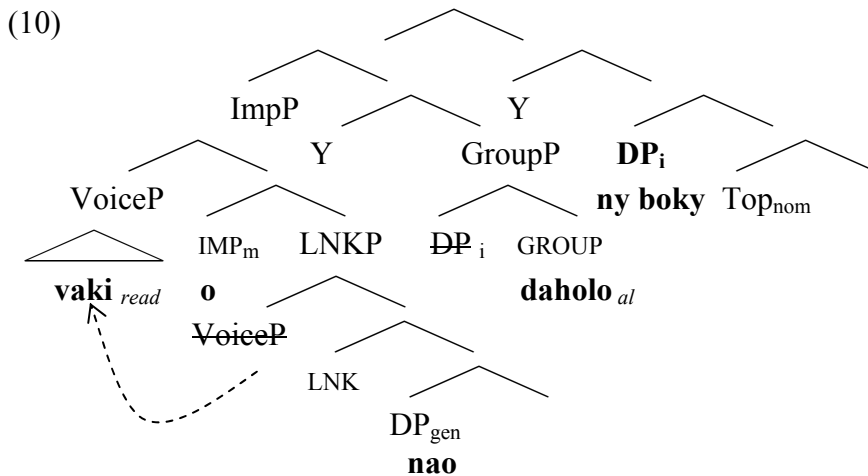
4. WHERE IS IMPERATIVE MORPHOLOGY MERGED?

4.1. *Daholo*

The distribution of the quantifier *daholo* 'all' helps us determine where exactly imperative morphology is located. *Daholo* can only quantify over a nominative topic.

(8)   vakionao   daholo ny boky
       read.IMP TT.YOU.GEN all   the books
       'read all the books!'

(9)   mamakia   buky daholo
       m.AT read.IMP books all
       '(you) all read books'

The distributional and quantificational properties follow if the nominative DP must raise to Spec, *daholo* to establish quantification, whence it must locally extract to the nominative topic. The predicate pied-pipes around *daholo*, as it does in all clause types, and subsequently it pied-pipes around the nominative topic. Pending further work on the exact semantics of this quantifier, I tentatively analyze *daholo* as the head of GroupP, following (Beghelli and Stowell 1997). This yields the structure in (10) corresponding to the string in (8).

(10)

Since imperative morphology is part of the clausal constituent that moves around *daholo,* which in turn is merged lower than the nominative topic, the hierarchy of merger must be as follows (as before we leave the category label of Y unspecified). This hierarchy is consistent with NOM.TOP>IMP argued for in section 3.1.:

(11)   Y> NOM.TOP>daholo>Y>IMP.

4.2. *Imperative auxiliaries*

The imperative attaches to the highest verbal element in "standard" Malagasy. This means it attaches to certain auxiliaries, like *miaraka/miara* 'to be/do together', *avy* 'arrive'[12], *misy* "to exist, there is" and the strongly distributive verb *samy* "to each". We return to other patterns in section 4.3.

    (12)   Miaraha   mandeha   amiko
             AT.together.IMP AT.walk   with me
             'Walk together with me'

    (13)   avia   hilalao   (Dez: 1980: 88)
             come.IMP FUT.AT.play
             'Come play'

    (14)   Misia   mandeha any an-tanana   ianareo
             AT.exist-IMP   m-AT-go there LOC village   you.PL.NOM
             'Some of you have to go to the village'

In (14), the existential verbs c-commands a silent *some* (an element with a wide distribution).

    Imperative morphology also attaches to the distributive element *samy* 'to each'. *Samy* like *daholo* can only associate with a DP that has moved to the nominative topic position. I will treat *samy* as merged in the Dist head (Beghelli and Stowell 1997). *Samy* often coocurs with *daholo:* the semantic compositionality seems to indicate DistP>GroupP ('each of all the members of the group').

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[12]Further exploration is needed for the following contrast (from Dez (1990: 87, 88), as well as for the verb *mandeha* ('to go'):

    (i)   avia   milalao   (Dez: 87)
          come.IMP m.AT.play   (but I won't play with you)

    (ii)   avia   hilalao   (Dez: 88)
          come.IMP FUT.AT.play   (come play: (and I will play with you)

Mandeha (to go') has reduced forms *anheha , ndeha* that are also used as hortative markers. The form *andao* seems to be used exclusively as hortative)

    (iii)   andeha mililao
          go   m.at.play "go play"

    (iv)   andeha/ndeha/ndao handeha
          FUT.go   FUT.go
          'let's go' (us, not you)

(15)　samia[13]　　mamaky an'ity　boky ity　　ianareo.
　　　　each.IMP　　read　　ACC'this book this　you.PL.NOM
　　　　'everyone read this book, each of you read this book'

(16)　samia　　mamaky an'ity　　boky ity　daholo ianareo.
　　　　each.IMP read　　ACC this　book this all　　you.PL.NOM
　　　　'each of (the members of the group made up by) you read this book'

(17)　samia　　vakinao　　　　ireto boky ireto
　　　　each.IMP　read.TT.you.GEN these book these
　　　　'read each of these books!

As we have shown in (11), IMP is lower than *daholo* in the absence of *samy*. Why then does imperative morphology attach to *samy*? If *samy* is a verb, the distribution of imperative morphology follows the general rule for auxiliaries: the highest verbal element c-commanded by the root CP must carry IMP. This could follow if embedding IMP would create a minimality violation or an intervention effect. One way to implement this is to assume that the IMP carries an uninterpretable feature which must be checked by an imperative Force located somewhere in the left periphery of root clauses. Embedding the imperative under a verb will not result in checking, and the derivation will crash. This would force the imperative to merge above the highest verbal element. We will see in the next section, however, that imperative morphology attachment is in fact much more variable.

4.3. *Verbal complexes*

The possibility of having imperative morphology below auxiliairies like *samy* is not mentioned in the literature. However, such forms were repeatedly produced in elicitations in Los Angeles, besides the standard forms. Further exploration with five speakers in Madagascar by Dimitrios Ntelitheos confirms the existence of these patterns for some speakers. All five speakers accept forms with imperative morphology on *samy* and other auxiliaries (*avi* 'come' *mandeha* 'go', *miaraka* 'to be/do together'). Some speakers allow imperative morphology on the lower verb, and some speakers in addition allow imperative morphology on both verbs. Preliminary investigation seems to show consistency on judgments across auxiliaries within speakers. (Imperative morphology in boldface):

(18)　*imperative morphology on* TT.*voice or active voice under samy:*

　　a.　# samy vak**io**　　　ireto boky ireto　　(cf (17)
　　　　　each　read.**IMP**. these book these
　　　　　'Read each of these books!'

　　b.　#samy paso**y**　ireo　akanjo ireo!

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[13] These forms are interesting, as *a* is not easily detectable: the suffixation of –a to -y does not yield -e **same*, a form which may be expected on the basis of numerous other cases like *mijery'*; to look *mijere*! 'Look.IMP!

each iron.**IMP** these clothes these.NOM.TOP!

imperative morphology on both verbs:

c.   #sami**a**   mamaki**a**   boky
    each.**IMP**   m.AT.read.**IMP** book

d.   #sami**a**   mandrais**a**!
    each.**IMP**   m.AT.take.**IMP**

(19)   *Imperative morphology embedded under miara 'to be/do together'*

a.   # mi**a**ra   mandeh**a**na   (=miara mandeha)
    m.AT.together m.AT.go.**IMP**

Imperative on both verbs:

b.   # miar**a**   mandeh**a**na
    m.AT.together.**IMP** m.AT.go.**IMP**

In these grammars then the auxiliary and the following verb may either form some kind of a verbal complex [V1 V2] IMP], or allow checking of the IMP on the lower verb [V1 [[V2] imp]. Further investigation is needed.

<p style="text-align:center">5. THE LEFT PERIPHERY: NO-FOCUS, CLAUSE TYPE PARTICLES AND DIA TOPICS.</p>

We next turn to the rich left periphery of Malagasy, and discuss focused constituents followed by *no*, *dia* topics, and clause typing particles. As we will see the left periphery of imperatives in essence looks like that of tensed clauses.

<p style="text-align:center">5.1. No-Focus</p>

Imperatives can contain focused elements which show up preceding the predicate, followed by the particle *no*. Below are examples drawn from written texts.

(20)   samia   vakinao   ireto boky ireto
        each.IMP   read.TT.you.GEN these book these
        'read each of these books!

(21)   Ny taratasy ho entiny   no   ataovy   vonona
        the letter   FUT carry-TT.he.GEN FOC do-TT.**IMP** ready
        "Get the letter ready that he will carry"   (Keenan, 2001). (RRR p.72)

(22)   Ka izao no tandremonao   tsara: Aza miteny hoe
         So this FOC pay-attention.**IMP**.you well: don't say   quote
            "Sira" eo akaikiko na oviana na oviana.
            "Salt" there by me ever.   (Keenan, 2001 Ny any aminay.p.91)

Additional examples[14] come from elicitation sessions in Los Angeles and in Madagascar
(thanks to Dimitris Ntelitheos). Judgments vary between speakers and range on shorter examples
from perfect to ?*. Importantly, judgments dramatically improve if additional material is added,
either to the sentence, or to the focused constituent, (as is incidentally the case in the examples in
(21) and (22) which all speakers accept). This is indicated in the examples below:

(23)   samia   vakinao   ireto boky ireto
         each.IMP   read.TT.you.GEN these book these
         'read each of these books!

(24)   a. #Ny akanjo fotsy no   vidio   b. Ny akanjo fotsy no vidio ho azy
            The dress white FOC buy.IMP   The dress white FOC buy.IMP for her
            'Buy the WHITE dress'   'Buy the WHITE dress for her'

(25)   a. # ianao irery   no tongava
            'You   alone   no come.IMP'

         b.   ianao ihany no mandehana   amin'ny tranoko
              you   only no m.AT.go.IMP   to   the house.my.GEN
              'Only you must go to my house.'

    Since imperatives are root constructions, this makes it unlikely that *no* should be analyzed as a
wh-item heading a free relative as in Paul 1990. Indeed one expects free relatives to contain
dependent verb forms, not root forms: *[this is [what do.IMP] , *[this is what doing]. I tentatively
assume that *no* should be analyzed as the head of Focus in an expanded left periphery (Rizzi,
1997, 2002, 2004), Focus$_{no}$> Top$_{nom}$ leaving a full account for the future for reasons of space. In
grammars that allow these forms it is thus sufficient that the predicate carrying the imperative
makes it into the low left periphery of the root clause.

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[14] Dez (1980: 98) cites S. Rajaona's judgment:" a form like *ianao no mandehana*' you-<u>no</u> leave.imp is impossible",
but points out that "one starts hearing the following":
   (i) a.   ianao   no mandehana
             you.nom   no go.IMP
        b.   ianao mihitsy no tongava
             you   only   no come.imp
Dez (1990, p433) further comments "that one seldom comes across examples where the subject is preposed in
imperatives. These do occur however, and it is possible that this is a recent innovation [*translation HK*]."

<div align="center">

5.2. **Dia**-*topics*

</div>

Both active and non-active imperatives allow *dia*-topics, which occur higher than *no*:[15]

(26)   a.   Ianareo rehetra izay eto dia   mihainoa   tsara ny teniko (Malzac p.137)
            you.PL all   who here   TOP listen.IMP good the words-my
            'You all who are here, listen well to my words'

       b.   ny akanjo fotsy izay hitan-dRabe omaly   dia   vidio
            the clothes white that see.LNK. Rabe yesterday TOP buy.IMP
            'The white clothes that Rabe saw yesterday, buy'

<div align="center">

5.3. *Clause typing particles*

</div>

Malagasy has a wide array of (hard to translate) particles that occur high in the left periphery. One such particle is *re*, which often cooccurs with the preverbal particle *mba,* softening imperative force. *Re* occurs in the regular Malagasy position for such particles: following the predicate, preceding the nominative topic, or preceding the focus particle *no* and *dia*:

(27)   mba   vakionao   daholo   *re* ny boky
        mba   read.IMP TT.you.GEN all   re the books:
        'Please read all the books!

(28)   mba   omeo   ahy   daholo *re* ny pensily
        mba   give.TT.IMP me.ACC all   *re* the pencil
        'Please give me all the pencils'

(29)   Ny akanjo fotsy *re* no vidio   ho azy.
        The dress   white *re* no buy.IMP for her
        Buy the white dress (it is the white dress you have to buy)

   I will in essence follow Pearson (2001)'s analysis of the left periphery. The predicate inverts up to Y. In the shaded high periphery no predicate inversion takes place: the first position, which I will call neutrally Z, is endowed with an EPP feature, attracting the XP in the closest specifier:

(30)   [Z_{+epp} [re [Top_{dia} [Foc_{no} [$_{PredP}$ [voiceP]..] Y [Top_{nom} […[
            a. *Z attract closest Spec || predicate fronting*

---

[15] *Dia* also occurs with predicate cleft/verb doubling constructions. A verb with imperative morphology can be clefted:
   (i)   mandehana dia mandehana
            m.AT.go.IMP dia m.AT.go.IMP 'really go!'

Thus, PredP containing VoiceP will be initial when no other specifiers intervene. Z will attract Spec Focus if this projection is present (31b), as indicated in the shading etc:

(31)   a.   [Z_{+epp} [(re)   [PredP   Y [Top_{nom} […[
             (=(27))

       b.   [Z_{+epp} [(re)   [DP Foc_{no} [[PredP]] Y [Top_{nom} […[[
             (=(29))

Note that PredP includes VoiceP with imperative morphology in a left specifier. It is therefore possible that Imperative morphology is checked somewhere in the left periphery either under closest c-command, or under pied-piping by moving to a position lower than Foc.

6. NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES

Negative imperatives in Malagasy use a special negative form (*aza)*, the regular negation *tsy* is excluded and so is imperative morphology:

(32)   aza   mamaky   boky   ~~you~~(*tsy mamakia   /*aza mamakia)
       don't m.AT.read   book   (*tsy m.AT.read.IMP   /*aza m.AT.read.IMP)
       'Don't read books'

(33)   Aza mba   vakina   re (anie) ity boky ity e!
       aza please read.TT *re anie* this book this

(34)   a.   (mba) vakio   ity boky ity
             please read.TT.IMP ~~you~~gen this book this
             'Please read this book!'

       b.   Aza (mba)   vakina   re (anie) ity boky ity e! (*tsy vakio /*aza vakio)
             Don't please read-TT ~~you~~gen *re anie* this book this e
             'Please don't read that book'

Malagasy thus belongs to the type of languages that do not have compositional negative imperatives (Italian, Spanish, Modern Greek, Maasai, etc) and not to the type of languages that do (Dutch, German, Ancient Greek).

   We address the following questions: how should negative imperatives with *aza* be analyzed, why are compositional negative imperatives in Malagasy excluded, and what exactly distinguishes languages that have compositional or non compositional imperatives.

   Let us start with the analysis of *aza,* which expresses both negation and imperative, and is involved in licensing the silent addressee. An important clue comes from the relative order of *aza* and *mba*. *Mba* precedes the regular imperative verb (34a), but *follows aza* (34b). This shows

that *aza* is higher than *mba* . The positioning of *re* shows that the predicate acts as the highest Spec in the left periphery, as this is the constituent that has been attracted past *re. Aza* therefore cannot be merged as a high specifier in the left periphery, because this should have led to the ungrammatical sequence **aza re mba vakina*. This leaves the following two options: *aza* either merges higher than *mba* but lower than *re ,* pied-piping with the predicate to the left of *re* (36a*)*, or *aza* merges outside the CP with expanded periphery, i.e. *aza* takes the expanded CP as its complement (36b).

    (35)   a.   (mba) vakio   ity boky ity
                please read.TT.IMP ~~you~~gen this book this
                'Please read this book!'

    (36)   a.   [[Aza (mba) vakina   ] re (anie) [ity boky ity]]e!
                Don't mba   read-TT ~~you~~gen *re anie*   that book that e

             b.   [aza [CP [(mba) vakina   ] re (anie) ity boky ity]] e
                don't   mba   read-TT   re anie   that book that

    Pending further work on the surface constituent structure, I take *aza* to merge with a CP with an extended periphery: this allows capturing the dependency between *mba* and *re* as a regular local Spec head relation (a constituent headed by *mba* is attracted to Spec, *re*), and it allows a simple account for the impossibility of imperative morphology. If the structure is basically bi-clausal, the root C dominating *aza.* Imperative morphology must reach the root CP, hence imperative morphology cannot occur under *aza*.

    (37)   [Root ..IMP [aza[+neg, +imp] [CP   *IMP

    Let us turn next to how compositional negative imperatives can be excluded. What prevents building negative imperatives from the regular negation *tsy* and imperative morphology, IMP. A first factor concerns Malagasy negation tsy: *tsy* precedes the constituent that it takes scope over *samy* 'each', and over daholo 'all'.

    (38)   tsy **samy** salama   rizareo
                NEG **samy** healthy they
                'It is not the case that each of them is healthy'.

    (39)   tsy namaki   buky daholo ny children   ((not >all)
                NEG PAST.AT.read books all   the children
                'Not all the children read books'

    Since *daholo* is merged higher than imperative morphology, compositional negatives by transitivity should obey the following hierarchy.

(40) tsy_{neg} > Imp_m

These two parts cannot be put together to form negative imperatives. As Han 2000 points out, the relative scope of imperative and negation must be imperative>negation, and cannot be negation>imperative. If scope is determined by the order of merger, negative imperatives must involve Imp>negation: (40) therefore cannot converge, and negative imperatives must involve:

(41) $\text{IMP} > \text{NEG}$.

Suppose IMP is the head that spells out imperative morphology. As we have seen this head attracts VoiceP to its Spec, i.e. it selects for VoiceP. This restricts merger of IMP to positions in which VoiceP can reach its Spec, obeying regular constraints on movement. Arguably this property cannot be satisfied by the order of merger in (41). *Tsy* independently merges much higher than VoiceP, and must precede the predicate. Extraction of VoiceP from to IMP would probably be disallowed given constraints on movement (VoiceP would already be a deeply embedded specifiers), and constraints on negation which have as effect to keep the element negation scopes over to the *right* of negation. Therefore (41) cannot correspond to the head that spells out imperative morphology. Regular negation and imperative morphology then can only in principle coexist in Neg>IMP_M.

Suppose that imperative morphology does not represent the true IMP head which is responsible for scope, and that the latter is located in the left periphery of root clauses. This makes sense in light of the fact that imperative morphology must appear on the highest verb in the clause, and that a constituent which contains the morphological imperative ends up in the left periphery of the root C. What then excludes (42), which would yield the correct scope:

(42) IMP_s >NEG_{tsy} > IMP_m

Note that negation obligatorily intervenes between Imp_s and IMP_m, and brings us to the standard insight in accounting for non-compositional negatives (Rivero and Terzi 1996, Zanutini 1997): the intervening negation leads to Relativized Minimality violation. In Malagasy, a constituent which contains IMP_m on the left edge must raise to the CP periphery of the root. Imperative morphology will always remain embedded under negation, as discussed above. Even though the negative predicate raises into the periphery of the root C, negation still embeds the imperative morphology, and presumably keeps IMP_m invisible from IMP_s. Whatever the precise implementation of this may ultimately turn out to be, it appears clear that Malagasy must resort to non compositional negative imperatives, because compositional negatives have no way of converging giving the properties of each of the items involved.

This brings us to the final question. Is there any parameter that distinguishes languages with from language without non compositional imperatives. Postma and Van der Wurf (2001), address this question. They document an extremely interesting correlation with the form of anaphoric negation in a great number of Romance and Germanic languages, and set out to account for it, using Relativized minimality and a finer understanding of the "negative" region.

(43)   If anaphoric negation is the same form as sentential negation,
        imperative morphology cannot cooccur with negation.

    We simply note at this point that Malagasy seems to be consistent with this generalization, as the anaphoric negation *tsia (no)* is clearly closely related to the sentential negation *tsy.*

7. FUTURE DIRECTIONS.

In this paper, I have presented a preliminary description and analysis of the properties of Malagasy imperatives. In many ways this paper should be seen as a starting point for further exploration, with areas for future research identified. These include differences between tensed clauses and imperatives which show up in the distribution of the overt addressee, and the definite object, the interaction of auxiliary verbs and imperative morphology in verbal complex formation in individual speakers, issues concerning the distribution of the focus particle *no*, in particular the question why grammaticality judgments on *no*-focusing depend on the number of surface constituents (suggesting these constituents must be present to create enough derivational space to yield convergence), and the syntax of negative imperatives.

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