

## Finite Control

**Goal.** This paper presents and analyzes Finite Subject Control in Malagasy (Keenan 1976). Finite Control (FC) is a control construction in which the subject of a control verb determines the interpretation of the empty subject ( $\Delta$ ) of the verb's *finite* clause complement (“*John<sub>i</sub> hopes that  $\Delta_i$  will win*”). FC has been documented in other languages, including Persian (Hashemipour 1988, 1989, Ghomeshi 2001), the Balkan languages, Hungarian, and Hebrew (Landau 2004). Although Landau argues for a PRO-based analysis of FC, we show that a movement-based analysis of FC is viable and has interesting theoretical implications.

**Description of FC.** In the Malagasy FC, illustrated in (1), an active voice control verb selects a tensed clausal complement introduced by the complementizer *fa*. We show that the relationship between the overt subject and the non-overt subject is one of canonical control. Since Malagasy is not a pro-drop language, the embedded subject cannot be *pro*. In addition, FC shows all interpretive properties of Obligatory Control (Hornstein 2003, Jackendoff and Culicover 2003), which the paper documents in detail. Finally, Malagasy FC shares characteristics peculiar to FC cross-linguistically: it is preferred with a third person controller, the embedded predicate is in the future, and the range of verbs permitting FC is comparable.

**Analysis.** FC is of interest to the on-going theoretical debate over the proper analysis of control. The main dichotomy is between movement analyses (Hornstein 1999, 2003) and PRO-based (base-generation) analyses of control. Landau (2004) provides a PRO-based analysis of FC, the success of which implicitly argues in favor of PRO based-theories. In this paper we propose that a movement analysis of FC, which dispenses with PRO, is also available. The analytical challenge for a movement analysis is to show that this movement is empirically and theoretically motivated. Empirical support for the analysis comes from the observation that Malagasy has subject-to-subject raising out of finite complements of passives (Keenan 1976), (2). Given the independent evidence for A-movement from the subject of a finite complement clause, we analyze the FC construction as involving similar licit movement. In the derivation, the subject of the embedded clause moves to the intermediate, “escape hatch” position in spec,CP of the embedded clause, and from there moves to the subject position of the matrix clause, (3). We address the theoretical challenge by showing how this derivation is permitted, and forced, with the phase-based machinery of the current Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

This analysis correctly predicts that passive FC, in which both the control verb and the embedded verb are passive and a control relation exists between the two passive agents, will not be allowed. In such a derivation, there will be two movement chains originating in the embedded clause, and both are competing for the “escape hatch” position of the embedded clause. The empirical facts support this prediction (4a, b).

**Implications.** The paper offers further support for a movement analysis of control in that it is able to successfully analyze Malagasy FC. The pattern presented here is interesting from the cross-linguistic standpoint in that unlike other FC constructions, Malagasy FC appears in the absence of pro-drop or rich verb morphology. The analysis presented here provides new evidence for A-movement of the subject of a finite clause. Such long A-movement is also seen in subject-to-subject raising (Ura 1994) and subject-to-object raising (Tanaka 2002). Within Government-Binding theory, such movement was thought to be impossible, but it is allowed by the Minimalist Program theory of movement.

## Data

- (1) a. m-an-antena Rabe fa h-i-vidy fiara amin'ny herin-taona  
PRES-ACTIVE-hope Rabe that FUT-ACTIVE-buy car in'the next-year  
'Rabe hopes that he will buy a car next year.' (VSO)  
(the CP appears in final position due to extraposition)
- b. \*m-an-antena fa h-i-vidy fiara amin'ny herin-taona Rabe  
'Rabe hopes that he will buy a car next year.' (VOS)
- (2) heverin-dRabe [fa hividy fiara aho] ve aho?  
think.PASSIVE-Rabe that FUT-ACTIVE-buy car 1SG Q 1SG  
'Does Rabe think that I will buy a car?'
- (3) [<sub>IP</sub> manantena [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>Rabe</sub> [<sub>C</sub> fa [<sub>IP</sub> hividy fiara t<sub>Rabe</sub>]]] Rabe]  
hope that buy car Rabe
- (4) a. \*nantenain-dRabe fa ho-vidina ny fiara  
hope.PASSIVE-Rabe that FUT-buy.PASSIVE the car  
'(Rabe hoped to buy a car.)'  
OK as 'Rabe hopes that someone will buy a car.'
- b. nantenain-dRabe fa tadiavin-dRaso a izy  
hope.PASSIVE-Rabe that seek.PASSIVE-Raso a 3SG  
'Rabe hoped that he will be looked for by Raso a.' (pronominal must appear)

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