In Malagasy (Austronesian; Madagascar) certain PPs and spatio-temporal adverbials, referred to here as *oblques*, can carry the prefix t- or appear unprefixed. Typically the t-form occurs in past tense clauses while the unprefixed form occurs in non-past clauses, as shown in (1) and (2). In (1) the oblique is a predicate and the presence or absence of t- is the sole indication of tense (note Malagasy has no overt copula). In (2) the oblique functions as a modifier and its form covaries with the tense of the verb, suggesting *tense concord*. However, concord obtains only when the oblique is an *adjunct* denoting a location, instrument, etc. When the oblique is a *complement* denoting the goal in a motion event, both the unprefixed form and the t-form are possible in past-tense clauses, with a difference in interpretation. In (3a), where the goal is unmarked, it is understood that the children are either at school at utterance time (UT), or that they have not yet reached the school as of UT. By contrast (3b), with a t-marked goal, entails that the children reached the school and implies that they are no longer there at UT. Assuming a goal oblique denotes the *target state* that is the culmination of the motion event (i.e., the state of the theme being at the goal), use of the t-form indicates that the target state properly precedes UT, while the unprefixed form indicates that the target state does not precede UT but instead overlaps or follows UT.

To account for the asymmetry between (2) and (3), I appeal to the difference in where complement and adjunct obliques attach. First, I assume that telic durative predicates have the structure in (4): the vP layer introduces an event argument e₁ associated with the cause/activity sub-event, while the VP layer introduces a separate event argument e₂ associated with the target state. vP and VP are each in the immediate scope of an aspect head, where the higher head Asp₁ orders the time of e₁—i.e., τ(e₁)—relative to the assertion time AT (= UT by default), while the lower head Asp₂ orders τ(e₂) relative to AT (cf. Demirdache & Uribe-Extebarria 2014, et al., on Asp as an ordering predicate). Oblique phrases also have an event argument, e₂obl. They are prefixed with t- when in the immediate scope of a [+PAST] Asp, signifying that τ(e₂obl) precedes AT. Oblique adjuncts merge with vP, and thus e₂obl is equated with e₁ via Kratzer’s (1996) Event Identification. Since the adjunct is in the scope of Asp₁, it carries t- when Asp₁ is [+PAST]; i.e., τ(e₂obl) = τ(e₁) precedes AT. Tense marking on the verb, which raises to T via Asp₁, likewise reflects the features of Asp₁, yielding the tense concord pattern in (2) (I provide evidence in the paper that verb morphology encodes features of Asp₁ rather than T). By contrast, oblique complements merge with V, in the immediate scope of Asp₂. Here e₂obl is equated with the target state e₂, and thus an oblique complement is t-marked when Asp₂ is [+PAST]: i.e., τ(e₂obl) = τ(e₂) precedes AT.

Although oblique adjuncts normally show tense concord with the verb (2), when an oblique adjunct is embedded in a temporally-dependent complement clause, a contrast similar to (3a,b) becomes available. Consider (5), where an instrumental oblique appears in the complement of ‘begin’. Note the tense of the embedded verb must match the tense of ‘begin’ (Paul & Ranaivoson 1998). Here, unlike in (2b), the oblique can be unprefixed (5a), in which case it is understood that Rabe is still cutting the bread at AT. When the oblique is t-marked (5b), the cutting event is assumed to be over. Similarly in (6), the oblique is in the clausal complement of a perception verb. This construction denotes direct perception of an event, and again the tense of the embedded verb must match the tense of the superordinate verb (Pearson 2018). In (6a) the cutting event must overlap AT, while in (6b) the cutting event precedes AT.

To account for the verb-tense matching requirement in (5) and (6), I propose that the embedded clause has a featurally deficient T head. This reflects the temporal dependency between the embedded event and the matrix event: In (5) τ(e) of ‘begin’ aligns with the initial point of τ(e₁) of ‘cut’. The same dependency is found in the monoclausal structure in (4), where the endpoint of τ(e₁) aligns with the initial point of τ(e₂). Similarly in (6), τ(e) of ‘see’ must overlap τ(e₁) of ‘cut’. The embedded verb, which raises to T, thus encodes the features of the matrix Asp (since ‘begin’ and
'see' are punctual, I assume the matrix clause includes only one Asp head). The oblique, however, adjoins to the embedded vP, in the scope of the embedded Asp₁, and thus the form of the oblique is determined by the features of the embedded Asp₁. E.g., the use of the t-form in (5b) encodes that \( \tau(e_{obl}) = \tau(e₁) \) of 'cut' precedes AT; i.e., the cutting event is over. Use of the unprefixed form in (5a) encodes that \( \tau(e_{obl}) = \tau(e₁) \) of 'cut' does not precede AT; since 'begin' carries past tense marking (i.e., \( \tau(e) \) of 'begin' precedes AT), we derive the interpretation that the cutting event is ongoing.

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) & \quad \text{a. Any anatin' ny ala ny gidro} & \quad \text{b. Tany anatin' ny ala ny gidro} \\
& \quad \text{there inside.of Det forest Det lemur} & \quad \text{T.there inside.of Det forest Det lemur} \\
& \quad \text{'The lemur is in the forest'} & \quad \text{'The lemur was in the forest'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(2) & \quad \text{a. Mandidy mofo \{ amin' / *tamin' \} ny antsy Rabe} \\
& \quad \text{Pres.cut bread with T.with Det knife Rabe} \\
& \quad \text{‘Rabe is cutting bread with the knife’} \\
& \quad \text{b. Nandidy mofo \{ tamin' / *amin' \} ny antsy Rabe} \\
& \quad \text{Pst.cut bread T.with with Det knife Rabe} \\
& \quad \text{‘Rabe cut bread with the knife’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(3) & \quad \text{a. Nalefan' ny vehivavy any am-pianarana ny ankizy} \\
& \quad \text{Pst.send Det woman there Loc-school Det children} \\
& \quad \text{‘The woman (has) sent the children to school’ (they’re at school now, or on their way)} \\
& \quad \text{b. Nalefan' ny vehivavy tany am-pianarana ny ankizy} \\
& \quad \text{Pst.send Det woman T.there Loc-school Det children} \\
& \quad \text{‘The woman sent the children to school’ (they’re no longer at school)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(4) \quad \text{[TP T [AspP Asp₁±PAST] [vP V₁(e₁) [AspP Asp₂±PAST] [vP V₂(e₂) ... ] ] ] ] ]
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(5) & \quad \text{a. Nanomboka [ nandidy mofo amin' ny antsy | Rabe} \\
& \quad \text{Pst.begin Pst.cut bread with Det knife Rabe} \\
& \quad \text{‘Rabe has begun cutting bread with the knife’ (he’s still cutting)} \\
& \quad \text{b. Nanomboka [ nandidy mofo tamin' ny antsy | Rabe} \\
& \quad \text{Pst.begin Pst.cut bread T.with with Det knife Rabe} \\
& \quad \text{‘Rabe began to cut bread with the knife’ (he’s no longer cutting)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(6) & \quad \text{a. Nahita [ an-dRabe nandidy mofo amin’ ny antsy | aho} \\
& \quad \text{Pst.see Acc-Rabe Pst.cut bread with Det knife 1sNom} \\
& \quad \text{‘I saw Rabe cutting bread with the knife’ (he’s still cutting)} \\
& \quad \text{b. Nahita [ an-dRabe nandidy mofo tamin’ ny antsy | aho} \\
& \quad \text{Pst.see Acc-Rabe Pst.cut bread T.with with Det knife 1sNom} \\
& \quad \text{‘I saw Rabe cut(ting) bread with the knife’ (he’s no longer cutting)}
\end{align*}
\]