LONG-DISTANCE AGREEMENT IN HINDI: SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS*

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Abstract. In this paper I offer an analysis of Long-Distance (Object) Agreement in Hindi that crucially relies on the operation *Agree* introduced in Chomsky (2000). I show that an Agree-based account captures the core facts pertaining to Long-Distance Agreement, and is superior to feature movement or Spec-Head agreement alternatives. I also argue that Long-Distance Agreement is a phenomenon akin to clitic climbing, and extend Wurmbrand's (2001) analysis of restructuring in terms of bare VP complement selection to Hindi. Such an extension allows me to view Case and agreement as two sides of the same coin.

1. The Spec-Head relation and Agree

Kayne (1989) provided a powerful argument for capturing instances of agreement as resulting from the establishment of a Spec-Head relation. Kayne built his argument around the following paradigm from French.

(1) a. Jean a vu-*e la fille
Jean has seen-AGR.FEM the girl
'Jean saw the girl.'
b. Jean l'a vu-e
Jean her-has seen-AGR.FEM
'Jean saw her.'
c. Quelle fille Jean a(-t-il) vu-e
which girl Jean has-he seen-AGR.FEM
'Which girl did Jean see?'
d. Cette fille a été vu-e
this girl has been seen-AGR.FEM
'This girl was seen.'

As can be seen above, past participle agreement is only possible with displaced objects (cliticized, wh-moved, and passivized in the examples at hand). Quite naturally, Kayne took agreement in this case (and, by hypothesis, in all cases) to require raising to some specifier position – the Spec-Head relation. This line of thought has been very productive, and was at the core of the early minimalist conception of Case/agreement (Chomsky 1993). However, recently, several arguments have been

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presented in favor of another agreement/Case configuration which Chomsky (2000) dubbed Agreement at a distance, or Agree for short.

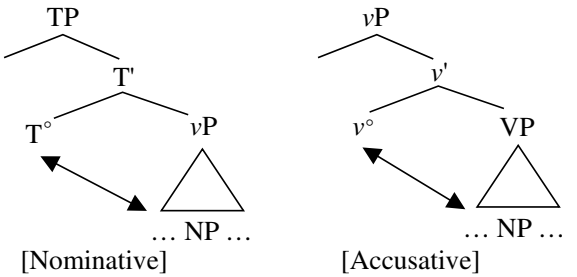
The evidence for Agree came from existential constructions and instances of long-distance agreement in Icelandic with nominative objects, illustrated in (2) and (3), respectively. In both cases there is compelling evidence (not summarized here; see Boeckx 2003a) showing that the agreeing NP has not raised to the locus of agreement at any point in the derivation, making it difficult for a Spec-Head analysis to be entertained.[1]

(2) There *seems/seem to be two men in the boat

(3) Mér me.DAT *virðist/virðast seem.3SG/3PL þeir they.NOM vera be skemmtilegir interesting
'It seems to me that they are interesting.'

Based on such facts, Chomsky proposed a simplification of feature checking (including Case/agreement) by eliminating actual feature displacement (posited in Chomsky (1995) and originally used in the context of (2)–(3); see Chomsky (1995) and Boeckx (2000)) in favor of a checking procedure taking place at a distance. Under Agree, a functional head, called Probe, checks its uninterpretable feature against a matching element, called Goal, located in the Probe's complement domain, as schematized in (4).

(4)



All instances of Case/agreement-checking are hypothesized to fall under Agree. In a sense, the nature of Case/agreement in existential constructions has become the model to which all other instances of Case/agreement must reduce. For Chomsky, any instance of categorical displacement is said to be an instance of EPP-satisfaction. EPP-satisfaction is taken to be a process distinct from Case/agreement checking, and I will say nothing more about it here. Crucially, for Chomsky, the Spec-Head relation is dismissed as a significant syntactic relation. Chomsky (to appear: 6–7, 13) notes that a Spec-head relation is beyond the set of relations available within a

[1] I should note that it is always possible to describe facts like those under discussion in terms of massive remnant movement, but such an option clearly lacks restrictiveness, as it could capture virtually any fact.

reasonable definition of minimal search space (essentially, the complement domain). Furthermore, as Boeckx (2003a) argues, a Spec-head relation is also inconsistent with a label-less theory of the type outlined in Collins (2002), since Spec-Head is just another term for Case assignment under m-command, command by a maximal projection, which cannot exist in the absence of labels.

It is therefore important to revisit the evidence adduced in favor of the Spec-Head relation for Case/agreement, and see to what extent it can be captured under the more restrictive Agree-theory. Clearly, the task is vast, as can be gathered from the discussion in Chung (1998), Koopman (1992, 1995, 2001), and Sportiche (1998), to cite but a few works which rely abundantly on the Spec-Head relation to capture a rich array of facts. This paper has the more modest aim of discussing an agreement phenomenon in Hindi, Long-Distance (Object) Agreement (henceforth, LDA). LDA shares most of the characteristics that have been associated with past participle agreement in French in Kayne (1989). However, unlike French, Hindi provides a strong case for Agree and against Spec-Head, or so I will show in what follows. If I am correct, the properties of French past participle agreement ought to be dissociated from the Spec-Head relation, and an alternative analysis should be developed. I develop such an analysis toward the end of the paper.

2. Properties of Hindi long-distance agreement

LDA refers to the ability of a verb, taking an infinitival complement, to agree with an object that is the internal argument of the infinitive, as illustrated in (5). (Throughout, the reader should focus on feminine nouns, which trigger a type of agreement that is morphologically distinct from default agreement, for which masculine is used.)

(5) Vivek-ne [kitaab parh-nii] chaah-ii
Vivek-ERG book.F read-INF.F want-PFV.F
'Vivek wants to read the book.'

LDA has several properties that will be the focus of this paper. First, note that the matrix verb *chaah-ii* does not agree with the matrix subject. This conforms to the general rule of agreement in Hindi according to which a subject triggers agreement on a verb if and only if the subject is not overtly Case-marked (see, for instance, (6)). If the subject is overtly Case-marked, the object may trigger agreement on the verb (7). If both arguments are overtly Case-marked, the verb bears default inflection (8).[2]

[2] Ideally, one would like to develop a theory of agreement that captures all the facts in (6)–(8) (e.g., the fact that ergative subjects don't trigger agreement) in terms of primitives of the theory. But this is a task for future research. Here I focus on LDA only. For general considerations on agreement in Hindi, see Nevins (2003).

(6) Rahul kitaab parh-taa thaa
Rahul.MASC book.F read-HAB.MSC be.PST.MSC
'Rahul used to read (a/the) book.'

(7) Rahul-ne kitaab parh-ii thii
Rahul.ERG book.F read-HAB.PFV.F be.PST.MSC
'Rahul had read the book.'

(8) Rahul-ne kitaab-ko parh-aa thaa
Rahul-ERG book-ACC read-PFV.MSC be.PST.MSC
'Rahul had read the book.'

A second property of LDA is that it is only possible with arguments of non-finite complements. Agreement across a finite clause boundary is impossible (9).

(9) Firoz-ne soch-aa/*-ii ki [Mona ghazal gaa-tii hai]
Firoz-ERG think-PFV.3MSG/3FSG that Mona ghazal.F sing-HAB.F be.PRS
'Firoz thought that Mona sings ghazals.'

Third, LDA is not possible if the infinitival clause has an overt subject (contrast (10) and (11)).

(10) *Firoz-ne [Shabnam-kaa rotii khaa-nii] chaah-ii
Firoz-ERG Shabnam-GEN bread.F eat-INF want-PFV.3FSG
'Firoz wanted Shabnam to eat bread.'

(11) Firoz-ne [rotii khaa-nii] chaah-ii
Firoz-ERG bread.F eat-INF want-PFV.3FSG
'Firoz wanted to eat bread.'

Fourth, LDA appears to be optional. Thus, (12) is as acceptable as (11).

(12) Firoz-ne [rotii khaa-naa] chaah-aa
Firoz-ERG bread.F eat-INF.MSC want-PFV.MSC
'Firoz wanted to eat bread.'

Fifth, LDA only goes from bottom to top. That is to say, we do not find any instance of LDA where an argument of a matrix predicate triggers agreement on some embedded predicate.

(13) *Mona peR-ko dekh-nii chah-tii thii
Mona tree.MASC-ACC see-INF-F.SG want-HAB.F be-PST.F
'Mona wanted to see the tree.'

Finally, for a vast majority of speakers,[3] agreement on the infinitival predicate is 'parasitic' on agreement with the matrix predicate. That is,

[3] For some speakers (see, e.g., Butt 1995), agreement with the infinitival clause may take place independently of LDA (i.e., for them (14b) is grammatical). I will set the dialects that accept (14b) aside for the time being, coming back to them in section 4.

agreement with the infinitival verb fails if LDA fails (14b), and agreement with the infinitival verb must obtain if LDA obtains (14c).

(14) a. Shahrukh-ne tehnii kaat-nii chaah-ii
Shahrukh-ERG branch.F cut-INF.F want-PFV.F
'Shahrukh wanted to cut the branch.'
b. *Shahrukh-ne tehnii kaat-nii chaah-aa
Shahrukh-ERG branch.F cut-INF.F want-PFV.MSC
c. *Shahrukh-ne tehnii kaat-naa chaah-ii
Shahrukh-ERG branch.F cut-INF.MSC want-PFV.F

There have been very few analyses of LDA in Hindi. Here I briefly mention Mahajan's (1989) and Bhatt's (2001) analyses, as the other analysis of LDA I am familiar with, Butt (1995), is meant to account for dialects in which (14b) is grammatical (see note 3). Mahajan's (1989) account of LDA ties the phenomenon to his claim that infinitivals optionally assign Case to their objects. If they do, no LDA takes place. If they don't, objects must agree with the matrix predicate, triggering LDA. As Bhatt (2001) observes, Mahajan's proposal immediately suffers from the fact that it predicts (incorrectly) that the subject of an infinitival clause may be Case-licensed by the matrix predicate if the infinitive fails to assign Case to it. However, (15) shows that the prediction is not borne out. The subject of the infinitival clause must be licensed by the infinitive.

(15) *Ram-ne Mohan jaa-naa chaah-aa
Ram-ERG Mohan go-INF want-PFV
'Ram wanted Mohan to go.'

Because of this problem, and because of the more general issue of optional Case assignment in minimalism, I will not pursue Mahajan's intuition further.

Bhatt (2001) treats LDA as an instance of agreement at a distance, following Chomsky's (2000) Agree-based Case/agreement licensing mechanism. Crucially, he dissociates agreement from Case. According to him, Case is assigned to the object by the infinitival predicate. Agreement is a 'post-cyclic' phenomenon that happens after the whole matrix clause has been built.

The analysis I will propose in the next section shares with Bhatt's the idea that Agree underlies LDA. In fact, this is the central point of the analysis, as it will enable me to argue against the Spec-Head relation. But unlike Bhatt, I claim that Case and Agreement need not be dissociated, consistent with recent proposals that treat Case and agreement as two sides of the same coin (see Boeckx (2003a,b) for discussion and references).

3. An Agree-based analysis of Hindi long-distance agreement

From the perspective of current syntactic theorizing, the 'parasitic' agreement relation between the embedded object and the embedded

infinitival is most interesting. It raises issues similar to those found in the realm of successive cyclicity: should the intermediate steps be taken independently of the trigger for the final step, as an emphasis on local economy and minimization of look-ahead would have it, or should it be part of chain formation upon the introduction of the trigger for the final step of movement?

The interesting twist coming from an investigation of LDA is that in this case movement is, as I will show, irrelevant: all the conditions for LDA are computed at the level of Agree, before any movement operation.

Already at some abstract level, one can show that several characteristics of LDA reviewed in the previous section fall out immediately from the nature of Agree. For purposes of illustration, I will use examples from existential construction and Icelandic nominative object agreement, as these two are representative cases of Agree.

First, Agree cannot reach across a finite CP boundary:

(16) *There seem that three men are in the room.

(17) Mér virðist/*virðast að þeir lesi bókina
me.DAT seem.3SG/3PL that they.NOM read book.the.ACC
'It seems to me that they read the book.'

Second, Agree is subject to Relativized Minimality. In particular, Agree is subject to defective intervention, whereby an element in between the Probe and the Goal blocks Agree even if that intervener itself cannot enter into agreement (see Chomsky 2000; Boeckx & Jeong 2002).

Instances of defective intervention in existential constructions and in Icelandic are given in (18)–(19). (For a detailed analysis of these, see Boeckx & Jeong 2002.)

(18) There seems/*?seem to a woman to be three men in the room.
(cf. There *?seems/seem to be three men in the room.)

(19) Mér fannst/*fundust henni leiðast þeir
me.DAT seemed.3SG/3PL her.DAT bore they.NOM
'I thought she was bored with them.'
(cf. Mér *virðist/virðast þeir vera skemmtilegir
me.DAT seem.3SG/3PL they.NOM be interesting
'It seems to me that they are interesting.')

LDA is also subject to defective intervention, as shown in (10), repeated here as in (20): the presence of a genitive subject in the infinitival clause blocks LDA. Crucially, the intervention is defective, as the embedded subject of an infinitival clause cannot trigger agreement on the matrix predicate (recall (15)).

(20) *Firoz-ne [Shabnam-kaa rotii khaa-nii] chaah-ii
Firoz-ERG Shabnam-GEN bread.F eat-INF want-PFV.3FSG
'Firoz wanted Shabnam to eat bread.'
(cf. Firoz-ne [rotii khaa-nii] chaah-ii
Firoz-ERG bread.F eat-INF want-PFV.3FSG
'Firoz wanted to eat bread.')

Third, Agree is insensitive to movement, as it applies prior to displacement (EPP-satisfaction; Chomsky 2000). Thus, Agree obtains in the context of relativization (21), topicalization (22), or scrambling in the case of LDA (23).

(21) The three men that there seem to be in the garden …

(22) Þeir$_i$ *virðist/virðast mér t_i vera skemmtilegir
they.NOM seem.3SG/3PL me.DAT be interesting
'It seems to me that they are interesting.'

(23) Kitaab$_i$ Vivek-ne [t_i parh-nii] chaah-ii
Book.F Vivek-ERG read-INF.F want-PFV.F
'Vivek wants to read the book.'

On the basis of such similarities, it seems clear that an analysis of LDA in terms of Agree is desirable.

Before spelling out the details of an Agree-analysis, I want to show that no other mechanism currently available in theory will be able to explain LDA. I can think of three alternative possibilities: a feature-movement analysis, an overt Spec-Head agreement analysis, and a covert phrasal movement analysis. The three of them are inadequate.

Let us start with the feature-movement analysis. On the surface it looks like LDA can be handled nicely under Move-F. The difference between Agree and Move-F is very subtle. Chomsky (2000) offers only a conceptual argument for abandoning Move-F in favor of Agree: Move-F requires feature-chains, which, like head-chains more generally, are at odds with optimization considerations.[4] Move-F could explain the clause-boundedness of LDA (assuming, with Chomsky (1995), that feature-chains are like head-chains, hence clause-bounded), and defective intervention effects (see Boeckx (2000) for a Move-F analysis of Icelandic object agreement, recast in Agree-terms in Chomsky (2000)), but it would be more difficult to apply it to data showing that agreement is independent of movement. Here is why.

As originally suggested by Chomsky (1995) and exploited in Ochi (1999) and Lasnik (2003), when feature-movement takes place overtly, the element out of which the feature has moved is 'PF-defective' and must

[4] For an empirical argument in favor of Agree over Move-F, see Boeckx (2002).

raise to a position close enough to the feature to be PF-legible (assume with Ochi and Lasnik that 'close enough' here means the specifier position of the head to which the feature has adjoined).

If we assume SOV order in Hindi to be derived (from an SVO base, as in Kayne 1994), then, the derivation of a sentence like (5) (*Vivek-ne [kitaab parh-nii] chaah-ii*) is likely to proceed as in (24).

(24) a. Vivek-ne chaah-ii [kitaab parh-nii] → Move-F
b. Vivek-ne [F_i + chaah-ii] [[kitaab]$_i$ parh-nii] → raising of *parh-nii*
c. Vivek-ne parh-nii$_j$ [F_i + chaah-ii] [[kitaab]$_i$ t_j]
→ raising of *kitaab* or of *[[kitaab]$_i$ t_j]* →
d. Vivek-ne [[kitaab]$_i$]$_k$ parh-nii$_j$ [F_i + chaah-ii] [t_k t_j]
or
d′. Vivek-ne [[kitaab]$_i$ t_j]$_k$ parh-nii$_j$ [F_i + chaah-ii] t_k

As can be seen from either (24d) or (24d′), *kitaab* will not be adjacent to the raised feature triggering agreement at any point in the derivation. The derivation should therefore crash at PF. A PF-crash could be avoided if feature movement were to take place in a separate covert component (where PF-legibility, hence adjacency, is irrelevant), as it did in existential constructions (Chomsky 1995). But covert raising is not an option here as LDA can take place with scrambled objects (see (23)). Scrambling would take the object beyond the c-command/attraction domain of the agreeing matrix predicate in overt syntax, leaving no possibility for covert attraction. This could be prevented if scrambling is assumed to reconstruct and covert raising is allowed to take place after reconstruction. But if such an option is chosen, it leaves the defective intervention effect in (20) unexplained, as lowering essentially voids minimality effects (see Bošković & Takahashi 1998).

A similar problem for Move-F arises if we assume that Hindi has an SOV base. Here too, it is easy to see that the object will not be adjacent to the agreeing predicate after feature-movement (the embedded participle will again intervene between them). And covert feature-movement is excluded for the same reason given in the previous paragraph). Thus it appears that the adjacency condition on overt Move-F is lethal to the feature-movement analysis of LDA.[5]

An overt Spec-head relation fares no better, as evidenced from sentences like (25).

(25) Vivek-ne [jaldise kitaab andhereme parh-nii] chaah-ii
Vivek-ERG quickly book.F in-the-dark read-INF.F want-PFV.F
'Vivek wanted to read the book quickly in the dark.'

[5] Of course, one could deny the adjacency requirement on Move-F, but if one does so, Agree and Move-F become notational variants, with only conceptual arguments distinguishing the two (in favor of Agree).

As (25) shows, LDA obtains when the agreeing NP is sandwiched between adverbs belonging to the embedded clause. It is very hard to see how the relevant NP would be picked out to sit in the relevant specifier of the relevant head to the exclusion of the adverbs sandwiching it. I don't see any non-stipulative way of doing that.

As for a covert Spec-Head relation, it suffers from the same problem I raised for the covert featural movement analysis: any covert operation would fall short of capturing the fact that the relevant relation can obtain prior to an operation that has an overt reflex. Agree faces none of these problems. In the next section, I provide a precise characterization of how LDA obtains within an Agree-based theory.

4. Agree and restructuring

Let me start this section by drawing a parallelism between Hindi LDA and the well-known, and better-studied phenomenon of clitic climbing in Romance. The parallelism will provide a basis for understanding the mechanics of LDA.

Clitic climbing refers to a phenomenon where an argumental clitic from the embedded clause attaches to the matrix predicate, as shown in (26) from Italian.

(26) Maria li ha voluti prendere
Maria them has wanted take
'Maria wanted to take them.'

As has been extensively documented since at least Rizzi (1976), clitic climbing cannot take place in the presence of an overt subject in the infinitival clause (27), and cannot take place out of a finite clause (28), properties which it shares with Hindi LDA.

(27) *Maria li ha voluti Gianni prendere
Maria them has wanted Gianni take
'Maria wanted Gianni to take them.'

(28) *Gianni li crede che Maria ha voluti prendere
Gianni them thinks that Maria has wanted take
'Gianni thinks that Maria wanted to take them.'

Rizzi (1976) and many subsequent studies have argued that clitic climbing is contingent upon restructuring, an operation that combines the matrix predicate and the infinitive into a complex predicate of sorts. Rizzi took restructuring to be an instance of reanalysis.

Recently, Wurmbrand (2001) has provided compelling evidence in favor of viewing infinitival complements undergoing restructuring as bare VPs. By bare VPs, she means that 'restructured' infinitival complements

lack a *v*-layer, and thus the external argument that *v* is assumed to introduce, along with accusative Case resources (see Chomsky (1995) for the origin of the claim that *v* has both thematic and Case functions). This bareness implies that internal arguments of the infinitive will have to be Case-licensed in the matrix clause, hence will have to 'climb.'

Just like LDA in Hindi, clitic climbing/restructuring is optional. Wurmbrand captures the optionality in the latter case by assuming that the matrix predicate may either select a bare VP (in which case, restructuring results (obligatorily)), or a larger phrase (IP or CP), which will lack all the characteristics of 'clause union' as it now contains enough functional projections to check the Case of the internal argument and introduce (and license) the external argument (*v*P and IP).

I would like to extend Wurmbrand's selection-based account to Hindi. In particular, I claim that when LDA takes place, the infinitival complement is a bare VP. The internal argument is Case-licensed (via Agree) by the matrix predicate, which, by the same token, agrees long distance with it. In other words, there is no Case-agreement dissociation (unlike in Bhatt's (2001) analysis mentioned above). In LDA cases, the infinitival clause fails to license the Case on its internal argument because it lacks the functional layer (*v*P, to be precise). If the matrix predicate selects a phrase larger than VP, say IP or CP, the presence of a (possibly null) external argument triggers a defective intervention effect, which blocks LDA. The two situations are schematized in (29) and (30). (Linear order irrelevant.)

(29) [*v* [V [$_{VP}$ V Obj]]] LDA
Agree

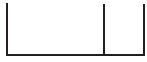
(30) [*v* [V [$_{CP/IP}$ C/I(…) [Subj *v* [V Obj]]]]] no LDA
x

The proposed extension of Wurmbrand's analysis of restructuring captures the apparent optionality of LDA in such a way that is consistent with the Minimalist intuition that there is no optionality when it comes to checking features. Optionality resides in which functional heads are selected from the lexicon (see also Lasnik 2003). The Agree-based account also captures the directionality of LDA (see also Bhatt 2001): Agree is a 'downward' operation: it operates strictly within the c-command/internal domain of the attractor (Probe in Chomsky's (2000) terminology).

As for the parasitic nature of agreement on the infinitive, I would like to argue that it is best captured as an instance of multiple Agree, of the type explored by Hiraiwa (2001, 2002), Nomura (2002), Boeckx (2003b),

and Chomsky (to appear). Instances of multiple agreement in a way mirror processes like vowel harmony or tone spreading in phonology, where all potential elements between the upper bound (one may say 'Probe') and the lower bound (the 'Goal') are valued due to spreading. In the particular case of LDA, the Probe (matrix V) looks down into its c-command domain, and finds a bare VP containing an infinitival form and a Goal NP, and values both simultaneously. I speculate here that the infinitival verb in Hindi manifests agreement overtly because it is gerundive in character (thus more nominal than a straight infinitive, on a par with participles, which also manifest agreement).[6] At any rate, a multiple Agree analysis explains why, if no LDA takes place, no agreement with the infinitive will take place, as the latter does not take place independently of the former.[7] The application of multiple Agree in LDA is schematized in (31). (Linear order irrelevant.)

(31) [*v* [V [$_{VP}$ V Obj]]] LDA



Multiple Agree

[6] I do not wish to imply that all instances of past participle/infinitivals agreement come about via Multiple Agree. At the moment, it seems to me that participles/infinitivals that are 'nominal' such as in Hindi, where infinitives are gerunds morphologically, and in Icelandic, where participles bear nominal Case morphology, participate in Multiple Agree, by virtue of being a close (categorical) match to the NP Goal. In languages like, say, Italian, where participles do not display overt 'nominal' characteristics such as Case, a different, more direct relation is probably at play (participles may be an independent Probe).

The difference between the two types of languages would account for why Icelandic rules out past participle agreement with a quirky dative (the participle gets default morphology), as it does for any instance of finite verb agreement (i), while in Italian, quirky clitic *si* can trigger agreement on the participle while it is unable to agree with INFL (ii) (see D'alessandro 2002).

(i) Stelpunum var hjálpað
the.girls.DAT.PL.FEM was.3SG helped.SG
'The girls were helped.'

(ii) Si è arrivati presto
si is.3SG arrived.MASC.PL early
'People arrived early.'

[7] For speakers of Kashmiri and Hindi-Urdu who allow agreement in the embedded clause in the absence of LDA (see Butt 1995, Subbarao & Munshi 2000; Bhatt 2001; see note 3), I have to assume that they allow *v* to be [+Φ] if selected by T[-finite], as schematized in (i); an option that most speakers of Hindi reject. Clearly, this is an instance of micro-variation (in the realm of categorial selection).

(i) [*v* [V [$_{TP}$ T (…) [Subj *v* [V Obj]]]]] Kashmiri

(Multiple) Agree

All in all, it appears that an Agree-based analysis can capture the relevant properties of LDA in an explanatory fashion. The final issue I would like to tackle is French past participle agreement. I would like to hypothesize that whenever agreement obtains in such situations, the establishment of a Spec-Head relation is irrelevant. In particular, I would like to argue that agreement on the past participle comes about as the result of the presence of an additional functional head associated with clitic objects (see Sportiche (1992) and much subsequent work; interestingly, Taraldsen (2002) also posits a clitic projection to capture participle agreement facts in Germanic and Romance). This probe, not active if the object is not a clitic, would agree with both the participle and the object clitic, as schematized in (32).

(32) $[_{\text{CIP}}\ Cl\ [\ldots\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \text{Part. Obj}_{\text{clitic}}]]]$ LDA

The fact that object clitics subsequently undergo displacement is independent of agreement.

Past participle agreement also obtains in two contexts in French: when the object is A-bar moved (wh-movement; clitic left dislocation), and when the object is passivized. I think that the two cases should not be treated on a par. For situations involving A-bar movement, I assume, as I did in Boeckx (2001, 2003c), that there is a phonologically null (resumptive) clitic associated with the wh-phrase (in the case of clitic left dislocation, the clitic is overt), as in (33).

(33) $[_{\text{CIP}}\ Cl\ [\ldots\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \text{Part.}\ [\text{Obj}_{\text{clitic}}\ \text{Wh-phrase}]\ ]]]$ LDA

Assuming the presence of a null resumptive clitic in (33) immediately accounts for the semantic effect of specificity noted by Obenauer (1994), Déprez (1998), Richards (2001), and Rizzi (2001), and allows agreement to be computed locally (without look-ahead up to the C-domain).

For instances of agreement under passivization, I assume that the participle is in fact an adjective (adjectives independently agree with the NP they modify in French). That is, we are dealing with a different situation altogether. The fact that 'past participle' agreement under passivization is obligatory in French, as opposed to being optional in other contexts, in fact suggests that a non-uniform analysis is called for.

My analysis of past participle agreement in French, if correct, suggests that what Kayne's study and much work in its wake uncovered is not the need of a Spec-Head configuration for agreement but (in some cases, not

in all) the presence of a functional layer. Once this functional layer is identified, an Agree analysis is at the very least equally valid.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have offered an analysis of LDA in Hindi that crucially relies on the operation *Agree* introduced in Chomsky (2000). I have shown how an Agree-based account captures the core facts pertaining to LDA, and is superior to feature movement or Spec-Head agreement alternatives. From this I conclude that Agree should be generalized, and the temptation to use Spec-Head relations resisted, even in face of apparent empirical evidence to the contrary. This is welcome, as Agree can be shown to yield a more restrictive theory of syntactic relations, as argued in Chomsky (2000, to appear).

Aside from this theoretical point, I have also argued that LDA is a phenomenon akin to clitic climbing, and extended Wurmbrand's (2001) analysis of restructuring in terms of bare VP complement selection to Hindi. This extension has allowed me to view Case and agreement as two sides of the same coin, which concurs with much recent work in syntactic theorizing (see Boeckx 2003a for review).

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