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HINDI-URDU AGREEMENT UNDER CONTROL

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➢ **DATA POINT : LONG-DISTANCE-AGREEMENT/LDA WITH CONTROL PREDICATES**

Johnne [roTiiyaan khaaniin] chaah-iin.
John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.pl.fem. want.pl.fem.perf.
John wanted to eat bread.

➢ **CORE POINTS OF PREVIOUS ANALYSES (BOECKX 2004; BHATT FORTHCOMING)**

* LDA involves restructuring
* Restructuring constructions lack infinitival PRO-subjects (à la Wurmbrand 1998)
* PRO can be realized either syntactically or semantically
*Obligatory control effects arise via Chierchia's (1983) semantic mechanism

➢ **SOME REFLECTIONS & A PROPOSAL**

* Previous analyses are empirically inadequate
* The Wurmbrandian perspective on restructuring and control makes them conceptually unattractive as well
* An alternative analysis within Hornstein's (1999, 2001) control-as-movement account is tenable
* It is desirable to discard a redundant twin-control-mechanism in favor of another operation in the grammar, movement

➢ **STRUCTURE OF THE PRESENTATION**

I. HU LDA
II. Previous Analyses: LDA & Restructuring
III. Loopholes: Scope-Agreement Correlations
IV. Alternative Proposal & Its Virtues
V. Conclusion

I. HU LDA

(1) HU is a split ergative language; subjects are case-valued either nominative or ergative.

(2) Nominative subjects trigger obligatory person, number and gender agreement on the verb.

(3) John roTiyaan khaataa/*khaatiin he.
John-nom. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat.sg.mas./pl.fem. be.3P.sg.
John eats bread (habitually).

(4) Ergative subject constructions are restricted to perfective aspect; accusative objects (may) trigger number and gender agreement on the verb.[1]

[1] Overtly case-marked nominals fail to trigger overt verbal agreement in HU.

(5) Johnne roTiyaan khaayiin/khaayaa thiin/thaa.
John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat.pl.fem./def. be.pl.fem.perf./be.def.
John had eaten bread.[2]

(6) LDA is a phenomenon whereby a matrix verb agrees with the object of its infinitival complement.

(7) Johnne [roTiiyaan khaaniin] chaah-iin.
John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.pl.fem. want.pl.fem.perf.
John wanted to eat bread.

(8) Characteristics of LDA as listed below (a)-(d).
(a) LDA is optional.

(9) Johnne [roTiyaan khaanaa] chaahaa.
John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.def. want.def.perf.
John wanted to eat bread.

(b) LDA is restricted to constructions with ergative subjects.

(10) *John [roTiyaan khaanii] chaahiin thiin.
John-nom. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.pl.fem. want.pl.fem. be.pl.fem.perf.
John wanted to eat bread.

(11) John [roTiyaan khaanaa] chaahtaa thaa.
John-nom. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.def. want.sg.mas be.3P.sg.perf.
John wanted to eat bread.

(c) LDA cannot permeate finite boundaries.

(12) *Johnne chaahiin ki [voh roTiyaan khaayiin]
John-erg. want.pl.fem. that he-nom bread-acc.pl.fem eat-pl.fem.
John wanted that he should eat bread.

(13) Johnne chaahaa ki [voh roTiyaan khaaye].
John-erg. want.def. that he-nom. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-subjunc.3P.sg.
John wanted that he should eat the bread.

(d) 'Parasitic' agreement on the embedded verb is obligatory in LDA instances.

(14) * Johnne roTiyaan khaaniin chaahaa.
John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.pl.fem. want.def.perf.
John wanted to eat bread.

[2] Default agreement in HU is third person singular masculine.

(15) *Johnne roTiyaan khaanaa chaahiin.
John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.def. want.pl.fem.perf.
John wanted to eat bread.

II. Previous Analyses: LDA & Restructuring

(16) Boeckx (2004) and Bhatt (forthcoming) independently place LDA on par with other phenomena reminiscent of restructuring in other languages.

(17) German long passives - with passivized matrix predicates and embedded nominative Case-marked nominals – are possible in restructuring environments.

(18) dass der Traktoren und der Lastwagen zu reparienren versucht wurden.
that [the tractor and the truck]-nom to repair tried were.
That they tried to repair the tractor and the truck.

(19) Wurmbrand (2001) claims that (lexical) restructuring predicates like *try* select infinitival VP-complements that lack:
(i) accusative case assigners/checkers – obliging the embedded objects to check Case against matrix functional heads and;
(ii) PRO-subjects – which explains the lack of intervening elements in the agreement relation.

(20) Non-restructuring predicates – that select non-defective infinitival complements – disallow long passives.

(21) dass versucht wurde/*wurden den Traktor und der Lastwagen zu reparienren
It tried was /*were [the tractor and the truck]-acc to repair.
That they tired to repair the tractor and the truck.

(22) Auxiliary assumption in Wurmbrand (ibid):
(i) Obligatory control effects for restructuring predicates arise from the inherent lexical properties of the verbs at a post-syntactic level (à la Chierchia 1983).

II.1. A Multiple Agree Analysis for LDA

(23) Boeckx assumes a strict correlation between case and agreement.

(24) The embedded object gets its Case checked via long distance Agree (in the sense of Chomsky 2000 and subsequent works) with the matrix predicate.

(25) [v [V [VP V Obj]]]
↑ ↑ Agree/LDA

(26) 'Parasitic' agreement on the embedded verb is a result of the higher verb entering into 'Multiple Agree' with Inf-0/lower VP (that is gerundive in character) and the object.[3]

[3] Hiraiwa (2002) proposes Multiple Agree, a "refined theory of multiple feature-checking" as in (i).
(i) MULTIPLE AGREE (multiple feature checking) with a single probe is a single simultaneous syntactic operation; AGREE applies to all the matched goals at the same derivational point *derivationally simultaneously*.

(27) [v [V [VP V Obj]]]
↑ ↑ ↑ Multiple Agree/LDA

(28) Optionality of LDA arises in non-restructuring contexts with a 'PRO-subject' serving as the intervenor.

(29) [v [V [$_{CP/IP}$ C/I(…) [Subj v [V [$_{VP}$ V Obj]]]]]]
↑ ↑ No LDA

(30) Boeckx states, "…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".

II. 2. An AGREE based analysis for LDA

(31) Bhatt instead appeals to AGREE:

AGREE is a 'process by which a head X with unvalued uninterpretable features (the Probe) identifies the closest Y /YP in its c-command domain with the relevant set of visible matching (i.e. non-distinct) interpretable features (the Goal), and uses the interpretable features of Y /YP to value its uninterpretable features.

(32) AGREE essentially fails to deactivate already case-marked nominals for further computational operations.

(33) Other assumptions:
(i) restructuring predicates involve embedded vP (+Case, -θ);
(ii) finite T is the locus of agreement in HU.

(34) T [uF] [Subj-Erg V [Inf [uF] .... OBJ[uF]]]
↑ ↑ ↑ AGREE
Co-valuation

(35) 'Parasitic' agreement is the result of a 'dependency'/co-valuation between T and the embedded Inf.

(36) Optionality of LDA: an embedded PRO-subject blocks LDA in non-restructuring contexts.

(37) [T [Subject [v [V [Inf [PRO v[V OBJ]]]]]]]
↑ ↑ No LDA

(38) Lack of 'parasitic' agreement in (37): HU Inf. cannot act as an 'independent' probe for the embedded object.

III. Loopholes: Scope-Agreement Correlations

(39) Agreeing nominals in HU LDA constructions may take wide scope vis-à-vis the matrix predicate and/or be interpreted as specific/definite (Davison 1988, Mahajan 1989, Bhatt forthcoming, among others)

(40) Naimne har kitaab parhnii chaah-ii.
Naim-erg. every book-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
Naim wanted to read every book.
Want > every book
Every book > want

(41) Naimne har kitaab parhnaa chaah-aa.
Naim-erg. every book-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.def. want.def.perf.
Naim wanted to read every book.
Want > every book
*Every book > want

(42) Boeckx's analysis completely overlooks these facts.

(43) Bhatt's account, in his own words is "… a preliminary and admittedly speculative attempt to derive the semantic effects of Long Distance Agreement."

(44) Bhatt's observations:
(i) Restructuring infinitives allow for, but do not require, covert movement of the object to a position preceding the matrix predicates.
(ii) Optional, covert QR-operation is sensitive to Fox's (2000) principle of Scope Economy, whereby any string vacuous/covert operation is permitted only if it has a different interpretative outcome.

(45) A boy loves every girl. (Ambiguous)

(46) There are two variant scope-shifting derivations that do not mutually exclude each other, as they produce different semantic outputs.

(i) [IP A boy-1 [vP every girl-2 [vP t-1 loves t-2]]].

(ii) [IP every girl-2 [IP a boy-1 [vP t-1 loves t-2]]].

(47) John loves every girl. (Unambiguous)

(48) There are again, two scope-shifting derivations, but they exclude each other, as they generate interpretatively similar results.

(i) [IP John-1 [vP every girl-2 [vP t-1 loves t-2]]].

(ii) [IP every girl-2 [vP John-1 [vP t-1 loves t-2]]]. (*ruled out a more economical derivation)

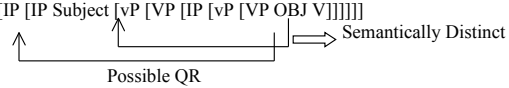
(49) Bhatt's adaptation of the Scope Economy Principle: a successive-cyclic QR account:

(i) Non-LDA representation
[Subject [vP [VP [IP [vP PRO [VP V OBJ]]]]]]]

(ii) LDA representation
[Subject [vP [VP [IP [vP [VP OBJ V]]]]]]

(50) Prediction 1: Agreeing objects in LDA constructions scope over matrix ergative subjects.

(51) [IP [IP Subject [vP [VP [IP [vP [VP OBJ V]]]]]]

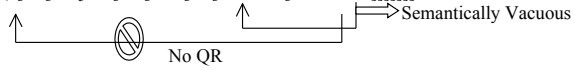


(52) Prediction 1 not borne out.

(53) kisi shaayarne [har ghazal paRhnii] chaahii.
Some poet-erg. every song-acc.sg.fem.read-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
There is some poet who wanted to read every song. (unambiguous)

(54) Prediction 2: Non-agreeing objects cannot scope over matrix subjects.

(55) [IP [Subject [vP [VP [IP [vP PRO [VP V OBJ]]]]]]]



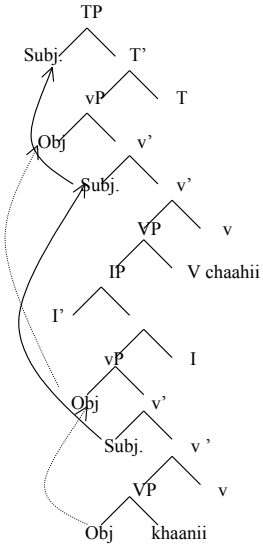
(56) Prediction 2 is not borne out.

(57) koi shaayar [PRO har ghazal paRhnaa] chaahtaa he.
Some poet-nom. every song-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.def. want.mas.sg. be.3P.sg.
Some poet wants to read every song. (ambiguous)

IV. Alternative Analysis & Its Virtues

(58) Core Assumptions:
(i) Control is movement (Hornstein 1999, 2001)
(ii) Restructuring and non-restructuring predicates select defective vP-complements (+θ, - case).

(59) LDA: An Alternative Represenation



(60) The alternative account captures the empirical facts.

(i) LDA is optional; no object movement in non-LDA/non-restructuring environments.

(61) [TP Subj [vP Subj v[V [Inf [vP [Subj v[V Obj]]]]]]]

(62) Embedded nominals are marked partitive Case by the lower V (in line with Belletti 1988, Enc 1991, Lasnik 1992).

(ii) LDA is absent in nominative subject constructions - Object agreement possible only in instances where v (as opposed to T) is the locus of case and agreement.

(iii) LDA cannot permeate finite boundaries - embedded finite T's EPP feature is satisfied by the subject, that blocks further object movement.

(iv) "Parasitic" agreement:
(a) Agreement on higher v - Agreement on lower v.
(b) Default Agreement on higher v - Default Agreement on lower v.

(c) *Agreement on higher v - Default Agreement on lower v.
(d) *Default Agreement on higher v - Agreement on lower v.

(63)
Option (a) – where the object moves successive-cyclically via the specifier of embedded vP;

Option (b) – where the object remains in situ;

Option (c) – where the object moves to the specifier of the higher predicate without moving through the specifier of the lower vP – is ruled out as a Minimality violation;

Option (d) is out as a Case Filter violation, as the object's Case-feature remains unvalued in the embedded clause.

(64) Scope-Agreement Correlation accounted for: either copy of the object may be considered for deriving the scopal relations.

IV.1.Remarks on Scope Puzzles
(65) We still need to explain the following contrast!
(i) agreeing/raised objects cannot scope over matrix ergative subjects (see (53))
(ii) non-agreeing/non-raised objects can scope over matrix nominative subjects (see (57))

(66) Possible solutions to the problem:
(i) HU ergative subjects do not reconstruct (also see Nevins and Anand 2003), and hence cannot scope under the objects in matrix spec, vP.
(ii) nominative subjects reconstruct and may scope under the non-agreeing object.

V. Conclusion
(67) An alternative account for LDA within the control-as-movement account is possible.

(68) A twin control-mechanism can be eliminated in favor of movement, a welcome observation for a minimalist modeling of grammar.

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