

Long-Distance Agreement in Hindi-Urdu: Agree, AGREE or Spec-Head?

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0. Introduction

This paper deals with Hindi-Urdu (HU) long distance agreement (LDA), a phenomenon that involves phi-feature agreement between a predicate and the object of its infinitival complement. Previous analyses on LDA (Boeckx 2004, Bhatt forthcoming) contend that these agreement patterns can be explained within the (long-distance) Agree based paradigm of Chomsky (2000 and subsequent works) or AGREE¹. Both these studies also adopt Wurmbrand's (2001) framework of restructuring predicates. LDA is restricted to restructuring predicates like *want*, *forget*, which select clausal complements that: (i) lack functional projections like vP and TP, and (ii) are subject-less (i.e., they realize their subjects via a semantic mechanism à la Chierchia 1983). Non-LDA constructions on the other hand involve non-restructuring predicates that select full-clausal (CP/TP) complements that realize their subjects (null or otherwise) 'syntactically'.

My main objective in this paper is to provide an alternative analysis for these data. I start by highlighting some of the inadequacies of these studies and demonstrate that an Agree based analysis specifically fails to explain the correlation between LDA and the wide scope readings for the embedded nominals. Agreeing objects scope over matrix predicates and are interpreted as specific. On the other hand, a non-agreeing object obligatorily ends up with narrow scope and is non-specific. Based on these facts, I argue that the object must move overtly to the specifier of higher v in order to trigger agreement with it. The embedded v is defective and thus ineligible to check/value a Case feature. The object moves via its outer specifier to the specifier of matrix vP. This lets it take scope over the matrix predicate, as well as show agreement with both verbs in the structure.

For non-LDA constructions, the alternative account assumes that the embedded nominal is an NP that receives a partitive Case from the lower V (Belletti 1988, Enc 1991, Lasnik 1992). There is no object-movement in these constructions and as a consequence, the nominal is rendered an obligatory narrow scope reading and a non-specific interpretation.

Further, adopting Hornstein's (1999, 2001) control-as-movement analysis, I argue that in both LDA and non-LDA constructions, the matrix subject base-generates as the external argument of the lower predicate and later moves to the specifier of matrix TP (via the specifier of the higher v). The present account differs from all previous analyses, which stipulate that PRO may be realized either syntactically or through a semantic mechanism. It eliminates the redundancy of employing two different strategies that these analyses posit to account for the same phenomenon (control).

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¹ Bhatt's (forthcoming) AGREE differs from Agree as it considers case-marked nominals active for further computational operations (see section II.2).

0.1. Outline of the Paper

The paper starts with a brief presentation of agreement patterns in HU simple clauses and LDA constructions. The second section summarizes two recent analyses on LDA, while simultaneously highlighting some phenomena that they either do not deal with, or fail to capture adequately. The alternative analysis is presented in the third section. The fourth section discusses HU object agreement in general. The fifth section is an explanation of some scope patterns in the language. The sixth section discusses Kashmiri LDA vis-à-vis HU LDA. The main observations and arguments of the paper are summarized in the concluding section.

I. HU Agreement Matters

I.1. General Facts

HU is a split ergative language. Subjects are case-valued either nominative or ergative. Consider the following nominative subject construction in (1).

- (1) John roTiyaan khaata he.
John-nom. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat.sg.mas. be.3P.sg.
John eats bread (habitually).

The nominative subject enters into (obligatory) phi-feature agreement (person, number and gender) with the verb-auxiliary complex. The object is case marked accusative and fails to trigger agreement on the verb in the presence of a nominative subject (2).^{2,3}

- (2) *John roTiyaan khaatiin hen.
John-nom. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat.pl.fem. be.3P.pl.
John eats bread (habitually).

Object-verb agreement is however possible in ergative subject constructions, as illustrated in the following sentence. Ergative subjects are restricted to structures with perfective aspect and do not trigger agreement on the verb.

² Both nominative and accusative Cases are morphologically null. The latter is optionally marked overtly with *-ko*, (except for objects that are pronominals, names and other definites/specifics that bear the default *-ko* marker). Throughout this paper, all direct objects, irrespective of the presence or absence of *-ko* on them, will be glossed with accusative.

³ The *-ko* marker is also used for dative case (i)-(ii), or as ‘default’ specificity marker (iii) and for some dialects, for locative (iv).

- (i) mene Johnko kitaab dii.
I-erg John-dat book.acc.sg.fem. give.sg.fem.perf.
I gave a book to John.
(ii) mujhko chiink aayiigii.
I-dat. sneeze.nom.sg.fem.fut. come.3P.sg.fem.
I will sneeze.
(iii) [Johnkaa is filmko dekhnaa] naamumkin he.
John-gen. this film see-inf.def. impossible be.
John’s watching this movie is impossible.
(iv) me kalkatte-ko jaaungaa.
I-nom. Kolkata-to go-1P.sg.mas.fut.
I will go to Kolkata tomorrow.

- (3) Johnne roTiyaan khaayiin thiin.
 John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat.pl.fem. be.pl.fem.perf.
 John had eaten bread.

The accusative object triggers number and gender agreement on the predicate.^{4,5} Object-verb agreement is however optional, as shown in (4).

- (4) Johnne roTiyaan khaayaa thaa.
 John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat.def. be.def.perf.
 John had eaten bread.

Here, the verb shows default agreement; i.e. it fails to trigger either subject or object agreement.^{6,7} HU matrix verbs also display long-distance agreement with objects in embedded non-finite clauses. These cases are discussed in the next section.

1. 2. HU Long Distance Agreement

Long Distance Agreement is a phenomenon whereby a matrix verb agrees with the object of its infinitival complement.⁸ The sentence in (5) shows an LDA construction with a control predicate like *want*.⁹

⁴ Following standard claims, I will assume the objects in HU ergative subject constructions are case-marked accusative. It must be mentioned here that in line with other languages with ergative subjects, the objects may be analyzed as case-marked absolutive. The conclusions in this paper remain unaffected as long as both accusative and absolutive are checked by v (however see Marantz 1984, Murasugi 1992, Bittner 1994 for analyses that treat absolutive as analogous to nominative).

⁵ Note that all overtly ‘case-marked’ nominals fail to trigger agreement on the v-T complex. As pronominal objects must bear the overt marker *-ko* as shown in (i), it is impossible to say whether objects ever trigger person agreement in HU.

(i) Johnne usko dekhaa.
 John-erg. her-acc. see.def.perf.
 John saw her.

⁶ Default agreement in HU is third person singular masculine.

⁷ In embedded finite clauses, as with simple clauses, the verb agrees with the accusative object only when the subject is case-marked ergative, as illustrated in the following examples.

(i) Mary jaantii he ki John roTiyaan khaataa he.
 Mary-nom. know.sg.fem. be.3P.sg. that John-nom. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat.sg.mas. be.3P.sg.
 Mary knows that John eats bread.
 (ii) Mary jaantii he ki Johnne roTiyaan khaayiin hen.
 Mary-nom. know.sg.fem. be.3P.sg. that John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat.pl.fem. be.pl.
 Mary knows that John had eaten the bread.

⁸ Long distance agreement also holds between a matrix predicate and the subject or the object of its finite complement clause in languages like Tsez. I refer the reader to Polinsky and Potsdam (2001) for an account of LDA in that language.

⁹ The set of predicates participating in LDA is very restricted (e.g *want*, *forget*). The present study does not consider ‘LDA’ constructions like (i)-(ii) with predicates like *let*, *know how/come* that are generally recognized as light verbs, characterized as ‘functional’ verbs that cadge the argument structures of the lexical ‘host’ verbs (see Butt 1997).

(i) Nadiane saroshko gaaRii chalaane dii.
 Nadia-erg Sarosh-acc. car-acc.fem.sg. drive-ger.Obl. let.fem.sg.perf.
 Nadia let Sarosh drive the car.
 (ii) mujhe zaruur saikil chalaanii aatii he.
 Me-dat. definitely bicycle-acc.sg.fem. ride-inf.sg.fem. come.sg.fem. be.sg.fem.
 I certainly know how to ride a bicycle.

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

The matrix predicate *want* agrees with the object (*bread*) of the embedded infinitival clause, in number and gender.

Some characteristics of LDA constructions are listed below in (a)-(d).

(a) LDA is optional, as illustrated in (6), where the verb displays default agreement.

- (6) 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. Consider the following unacceptable nominative subject construction, where the higher verb displays agreement with the embedded object.

- (7) *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.

In the presence of a nominative subject, the matrix predicate must obligatorily agree with it (8). The embedded predicate displays default agreement.

- (8) 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 is impossible with finite complement clauses (9).

- (9) *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.

Object agreement cannot be triggered across a finite clause boundary. The matrix verb must bear default agreement, as shown in (10).

These constructions have been argued to involve obligatory LDA (similar to constructions with modals, see (iii) and unlike the cases considered in this paper).

- (iii) Raamko [davaaai khaa lenii/*lenaa] chaahiye thii/*thaa.
 Ram-dat. [medicine-fem. eat take-inf.fem/*sg.mas.] should be-fem./sg.mas.
 Ram should have taken the medicine.

A second difference is that the agreeing nominals have a ‘preferred’ non-specific reading. For the purposes of the present paper, I assume that these constructions involve complex-predicate formation (and hence obligatory agreement on the higher verb). These predicates pattern closely with ‘functional’ restructuring verbs in languages like German (see footnote 19).

Alternatively, if we were to consider *let* and *know* (*come*) on par with other control predicates, we can incorporate these constructions into our alternative theory (with the added assumption that object-control (matrix) predicates assign an extra structural Case feature on the embedded subject (as in (i)).

- (10) 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) Object agreement is triggered on both predicates in LDA constructions. Consider (11)-(12)¹⁰.

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

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

The two predicates must display the same agreement morphology, i.e. they must either trigger object-agreement (as in (5)) or bear default agreement morphology (as in (6)). Other combinations: default morphology on matrix v and agreement on lower v (11) or agreement on matrix v and default morphology on lower v (12) are not permitted.

In summary, HU LDA is restricted to ergative subject constructions with infinitival complements and obligatorily co-occurs with ‘parasitic’ agreement on the lower predicate.¹¹

II. LDA & Restructuring

In this section, we discuss two recent analyses on HU LDA (Boeckx 2004, Bhatt forthcoming).¹² One common assumption of these studies is that this phenomenon patterns with clitic-climbing in restructuring environments. Restructuring constructions involve infinitival complements, and are characterized by the lack of clause-boundedness effects (in languages in which infinitives otherwise show clausal behavior). The following examples in (13)-(14) from Italian show the relevant contrast between restructuring and non-restructuring contexts.

¹⁰ See section VI for some dialectal variations.

¹¹ LDA is also available with embedded ditransitive predicates, where a dative indirect object fails to block agreement between the matrix predicate and the embedded object (i)-(ii). The relative order of the object and the indirect object makes no difference to the agreement patterns in the sentences.

(i) Johnne [roTii Peterko denii] chaahii.
 John-erg bread-acc.sg.fem. Peter-dat. give-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 John wanted to give the bread to Peter.

(ii) Johnne [Peterko roTii denii] chaahii.
 John-erg Peter-dat. bread-acc.sg.fem. give-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 John wanted to give the bread to Peter.

A tentative analysis is that the dative IO (which base generates as the complement of the lower V moves simultaneously along with the direct object, via the multiple specifiers of (lower) vP to ‘adjoin’ to (higher) vP. The core assumption (along the lines of Kidwai (2000)) is that (higher) Agro/v has two case-features that are assigned to the IO (in a broadly L-related position) and to the DO (in a L-related position). The adjoined position of the IO explains the lack of scrambling/extraction out of IOs (in direct contrast to the possibility of extraction out of DOs).

¹² HU LDA has also been studied by Mahajan (1990), Butt (1995), among others. This paper shares Mahajan’s intuition that LDA involves overt object movement. However it rejects his core assumption that HU infinitival verbs optionally assign Case to their objects. The other problematic assumption of his analysis and all previous works is the concept of “PRO invisibility”, (whereby a PRO is “invisible” for the agreement relation between the matrix v and the lower nominal).

(13) Lo volevo [vedere tCL subito]
 Him I-wanted [see tCL immediately]
 I wanted to see him immediately.

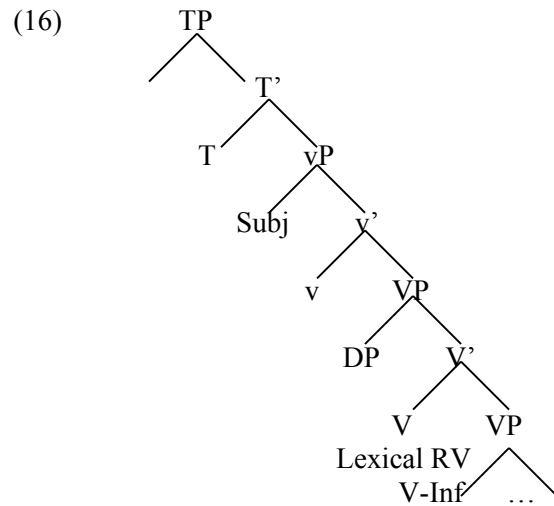
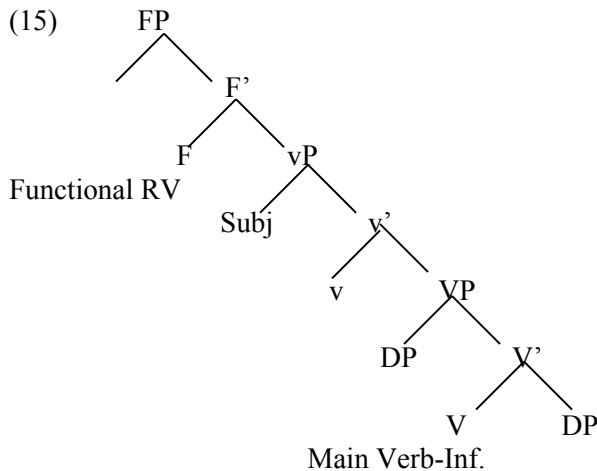
(14) *Lo detesto [vedere tCL in quello stato]
 Him I-detest [see tCL in that state]
 I detest seeing him in that state.

(13) is a restructuring construction, as can be observed from the “transparency” of the infinitival complement; clitic-climbing is possible in such instances. The non-restructuring infinitive in (14), on the other hand, forms a separate and impenetrable domain for any movement operation, including clitic-climbing. In a nutshell, restructuring predicates, unlike non-restructuring verbs, generate mono-clausal environments.

II.1. Two kinds of Restructuring

There are two approaches to ‘restructuring’: (a) ‘functional’ restructuring approach according to which a restructuring verb is a type of auxiliary or a functional head that selects an infinitive that is the main predicate of the clause; and (b) ‘lexical’ restructuring approach where a restructuring ‘full lexical verb’ selects an infinitival clause (a bare VP).

Proponents of the former (cf. Cinque 1997, 2001, 2002, also see Napoli 1981), argue that all restructuring predicates are functional/auxiliary verbs with a unique position in Cinque’s Functional Hierarchy¹³. Wurmbrand (1999, 2004) on the other hand, argues that languages (such as German) may have both kinds of restructuring predicates: restructuring ‘auxiliary’ verbs and restructuring ‘lexical’ verbs. Consider the following structural representations.



¹³ Cinque’s Functional Hierarchy:

MoodP-speech act > MoodP-evaluative > MoodP-evidential > ModP-epistemic > TP(past) > TP (future) > MoodP-irrealis > ModP-alethic > AspP-habitual > AspP-repetitive(I) > AspP-frequentative(I) > ModP-volitional > AspP-celerative(I) > TP(anterior) > AspP-terminative > AspP-continuative > AspP-retrospective > AspP-proximative > AspP-durative > AspP-generic/progressive > AspP-prospective > ModP-obligation > ModP-permission/ability > AspP-completive > VoiceP > AspP-celerative(II) > AspP-repetitive(II) > AspP-frequentative(II)

In (15), a ‘functional’ restructuring environment, the lower predicate is selected by a *v.*, which is itself selected by an auxiliary/functional head (i.e. the restructuring verb). The subject of the clause is generated in the specifier of the lower predicate (vP). In (16), a ‘lexical’ restructuring environment, the lower predicate is a bare VP, selected by a restructuring predicate. The subject of the clause is generated in the specifier of the higher verb (vP).

Since a detailed exposition of the differences between these two kinds of restructuring predicates is beyond the scope of this paper, I will restrict myself to the following diagnostics for ‘functional’ restructuring verbs, suggested by Cinque (2001).

‘Functional’ restructuring verbs:

- (i) do not assign theta-roles to arguments,
- (ii) are subject to rigid ordering and co-occurrence restrictions, and
- (iii) allow only one type of complementation.

Let us first consider (i). In the Italian example in (13)/(17), the matrix predicate *want* has an external argument *I*.

- (17) Lo volevo [vedere t-CL subito]
 Him-CL I-wanted [see t-CL immediately]
 I wanted to see him immediately.

According to Cinque, the restructuring predicate is a functional/modal verb and it assigns an ‘adjunct’ theta-role to the matrix subject. The core assumption is that control predicates like *want* are root/deontic modals that are adjunct theta-roles assigners (Zubizarreta 1982, Roberts 1985, Ross 1969). Root modals behave like the special class of agent-oriented adverbs. Both require agents (18)-(19).

- (18) John can read Swahili.

- (19) John deliberately read the manifesto.

They are also compatible with implicit agents (Zubizarreta 1983), as illustrated in the following example where the agent is only ‘implicitly’ present.

- (20) Klamath can be/was deliberately heard in the wilds of Oregon.

They are unacceptable in middle constructions (21)-(22), which are derived by a lexical process of deletion of the agent theta-role (of a transitive verb).

- (21) *Swahili can read easily.

- (22) *The manifesto deliberately read easily.

The above examples show that root modals and agent-oriented adverbs have semantic arguments. However, Zubizarreta claims that unlike lexical verbs, they are unable to assign ‘main’ theta-roles to their arguments. Instead they assign the class of theta-roles called ‘adjunct’ theta-roles that are

different in that they are not subject to the Theta-criterion¹⁴. They can be assigned to arguments already bearing theta-roles. Note however that ‘adjunct’ theta-role assignment is optional.

Cinque adopts the concept of ‘adjunct’ theta-role to his analysis of restructuring. The restructuring/functional verb may assign an ‘adjunct’ theta-role to an argument of its vP complement.

Next consider (ii). Since all ‘restructuring’ verbs are essentially ‘functional’ verbs, they occupy specific positions on the Functional Hierarchy. They must therefore display ‘rigid’ ordering. Cinque provides the following evidence.

- (23) *Suole provarle a fare t-CL da solo.*
He-uses to-try-them-CL to do t-CL by self.
He uses to try to do them by himself.

- (24) **Prova a solerle fare t-CL da solo.*
He-tries to use-them-CL to do t-CL by self.
He tries to use to do them by himself.

As predicted, the predicates *use* and *try* must be placed in a certain order. The acceptable sentence in (23) has the right ‘use-try’ order (suggesting that the former is placed at a higher position than the latter in the Functional Hierarchy). The sentence in (24) with the reverse order is bad.¹⁵

The third property of ‘functional restructuring verbs is that they always chose vP-complements. This predicts that restructuring properties (such as clitic climbing in (17)/(23)) must be obligatory. This is however not the case, as shown in (25) (also see footnote 15/eg. (i)).

- (25) *Suole provare a farle da solo.*
He-uses to-try to do-them-CL by himself.
He uses to try to do them by himself.

Cinque then claims that the optionality of clitic-climbing can be explained by assuming that Italian has two different structural positions for clitic-placement. When the clitic raises to the higher position, we get (13)/(17) and (23), and if it targets the lower position, we get the apparent ‘non-restructuring’ structure in (25). Optionality therefore resides in the ‘restructuring’ properties and not in the nature of the ‘restructuring’ predicates.

I assume that LDA predicates like *want*, *forget* are ‘lexical’ restructuring predicates, based on the following observations.

¹⁴ The Theta-criterion states: Each argument bears one and only one theta-role, and each theta-role is assigned to one and only one argument.

¹⁵ The ordering effects remain the same even in the absence of clitic-climbing as shown in the following examples (i)-(ii).

- (i) *Suole provare a farle da solo.*
He-uses to-try to do-them-CL by himself.
He uses to try to do them by himself.
(ii) **Prova a soler farle da solo.*
He-tries to use to-do-them-CL. by himself.
He tries to use to do them by himself.

First, they bear an external theta-role that they (must) assign to a nominal argument. Consider the following contrast: *want* has a theta-role that it ‘obligatorily’ assigns to the subject.¹⁶

- (26) *yeh caahtaa he ki John roTii khaaye.
 It want.def. be that John-nom. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.subjunc.3P.sg.
 It (was) wanted that John eat bread.

- (27) Bill caahtaa he ki John roTii khaaye.
 Bill want.sg.mas.be.3P.sg. that John-nom. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.subjunc.3P.sg.
 Bill wanted that John eat bread

For LDA constructions (see eg. (5)), *want* similarly assigns a theta-role to the matrix (ergative) subject. In Cinque’s system, this predicate is however an auxiliary/‘functional’ verb that assigns an ‘adjunct’ theta-role. Note however that ‘functional’ restructuring predicates are not case-assigners; the nominal is case-valued within the vP that is complement to the functional verb. The proposed analogy between functional/deontic modals and control/restructuring predicates then faces the following challenge.

- (28) Johnko chiink aanii chaahiiye.
 John-dat. sneeze.fem. come-inf.fem. must.
 John must sneeze.

- (29)* Johnko chiink aanii chaahii.
 John-dat. sneeze.fem. come-inf.fem. want.fem.
 John wanted to sneeze.

HU complex (unergative) predicates like *sneeze-come* (*sneeze*) assign a quirky dative to its external argument. As shown in (28), when the lower clause/vP is embedded under an auxiliary/modal, the quirky case on the subject is retained, suggesting that the deontic modal does not assign a Case-value. On the other hand, such a construction is impossible with a matrix control predicate.¹⁷ This indicates that the subject must receive a case-value from the higher predicate.¹⁸ LDA predicates therefore do not pattern like functional/modals in the language.

¹⁶ As I will argue later on, the matrix predicate is a control ‘lexical’ verb that assigns a second theta-role to an argument of its complement clause. So in essence, I will assume a Weak Theta-criterion, whereby an argument is allowed more than one theta-role.

¹⁷ The non-LDA counterpart (i) of this sentence is also unacceptable.

(i) *Johnko chiink aanaa chaahaa.
 John-dat. sneeze.fem. come-inf.def. want.def.
 John wanted to sneeze.

¹⁸ The other problem with LDA ‘control’ predicates is that they do not passivize (similar to modals/raising verbs). Note however that the absence of passivization does not imply that the concerned predicate is non-lexical or functional. HU unergatives and unaccusatives similarly cannot be passivized, as shown in (i)-(ii), which cannot be taken as an indication that they are functional verbs.

(i) *(John dwaraa) hasaan gayaa.
 John by laugh give-passive.
 John laughed.
 (ii) *(John dwaraa) aayaa gayaa.
 John by arrive give-passive.
 John arrived.

Subject-control verbs do not passivize in a number of languages (cf. Chomsky 1980). I do not address this issue here (however see Nunes (in progress) for a solution in English and Brazilian Portuguese).

Secondly, there is no ordering amongst these predicates, contrary to what is expected of verbs holding pre-determined spots in the universal hierarchy.

- (30) ?Johnne roTiyaan khaanii chaahnii bhulii.
 John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.pl.fem. want-inf.pl.fem. forget.pl.fem.perf.
 John wanted to forget to eat bread.

- (31) ?Johnne roTiyaan khaanii bhulnii chaahii.
 John-erg. bread-acc.pl.fem. eat-inf.pl.fem. forget-inf.pl.fem. want.pl.fem.perf.
 John forgot to want to eat bread.

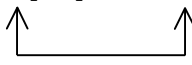
Finally, as already discussed (see section I.2), HU LDA is optional. The predicates may or may not agree long distance with the embedded nominals. As we will see below, previous studies explain the optionality by assuming optional restructuring structures: LDA is possible only in instances where the matrix predicate chooses a VP/vP-complement. When the complement is a TP/CP, LDA is ruled out.^{19,20}

I will later propose that HU LDA/'lexical' restructuring verbs obligatorily chose vP(defective)-complements. The optionality in LDA is not due to an optional TP/CP-complement, but rather follows from the presence of an NP (that receives partitive Case) in the embedded clause.

We now turn to a summary of Boeckx's and Bhatt's observations on LDA.

II.2. Previous Analyses

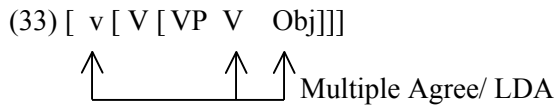
Boeckx (2004) extends the 'lexical' restructuring framework to HU LDA constructions. LDA predicates like *want* are verbs (with a functional vP layer) that select infinitival VP complements. The embedded object gets its Case checked via long distance Agree (in the sense of Chomsky 2000 and subsequent works) with the matrix predicate since the infinitival clause, by virtue of being a VP, is unable to license the nominal's uninterpretable Case feature. Long distance agreement between the higher verb and the object is schematically represented in (32).

- (32) [v [V [VP V Obj]]]
 Agree/ LDA

¹⁹ Wurmbrand (2004), based on evidence from German, also claims that optionality in restructuring arises from the nature of the clausal complement. 'Lexical' restructuring verbs in this language choose either VP or TP/CP complements, and accordingly display restructuring or non-restructuring properties. On the other hand, 'functional'/raising/modal predicates do not show any such optionality; they trigger obligatory restructuring or reanalysis. Recall (see footnote 9) HU also has obligatory LDA with modals and light verb like *let*, *come* (unlike predicates like *want* and *forget* which allow optional LDA/restructuring).

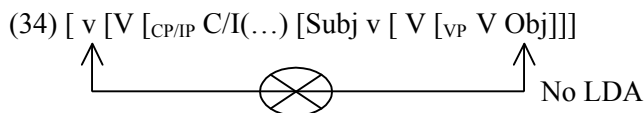
²⁰ A Cinque style analysis will assume that the absence of LDA follows not from the nature of the embedded clause, but rather from other structural properties. As for instance, it could be argued that HU has two different Agr-Os: one that shows overt agreement and the other that shows default agreement. I do not adhere to his Functional Hierarchy for the purposes of this paper.

‘Parasitic’ agreement on the embedded verb is a result of the higher verb entering into Multiple Agree (à la Hiraiwa 2002) with Inf-0/lower VP and the object (33).²¹



Boeckx (2004:33) “speculates here that the infinitival verb in Hindi manifests agreement overtly because it is gerundive in character (thus more nominal than a straight infinitive...)”. The higher v in (33) simultaneously Agrees with the gerund-like lower infinitival verb and the embedded nominal.²²

The lack of LDA is triggered when the matrix predicate selects a phrase larger than VP (or more precisely a functional layer, IP/CP). The Case of the embedded nominal/object is valued within the lower clause. The external argument (possibly null) of the lower predicate triggers defective intervention effects; it blocks Agree between matrix v and the embedded object. As a result, the former ends with default agreement morphology.



To account for the lack of overt object-infinitival verb agreement in (34), Boeckx (2004:33) 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”.

In summary, Boeckx accounts for the LDA data in HU within the Agree based paradigm, where feature checking between a probe and a goal are accomplished long distance; i.e. feature checking and movement exist independently from each other. In the LDA constructions, the embedded nominal (and the intervening gerundive infinitival-verb) values the uninterpretable phi-set of the

²¹ Hiraiwa proposes Multiple Agree, a “refined theory of multiple feature-checking” (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*.

²² Butt (1995) makes a similar (though stronger) observation about HU infinitives. Bhatt (op cit) while critically evaluating her analysis, notes that though there is no morphological distinction between HU gerunds and infinitivals, they behave syntactically different: as for instance, only the former allows genitive subjects. He claims that since genitive subjects are also incompatible in LDA constructions (as illustrated in (i)), these cannot be gerunds.

(i) *Firoz-ne [Shabnam-kaa/kii rotii khaa-nii] chaah-ii.
 Firoz-erg Shabnam-gen. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 Firoz wanted Shabnam to eat bread.

Non-LDA constructions, unlike their LDA counterparts are compatible with genitive subjects, as shown in (ii).

(ii) ?Firoz-ne [Shabnam-kaa rotii khaa-naa] chaah-aa.
 Firoz-erg Shabnam-gen. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.def. want.def.perf.
 Firoz wanted Shabnam to eat bread.

If Bhatt’s observations are right, Boeckx’s characterization of Inf. as gerunds cannot be correct. Further, the marked sentence in (ii) is impossible for my informants, thereby ruling out the possibility of considering Inf. in non-LDA constructions as a gerund (also see footnote 57).

higher predicate without raising to its specifier. PRO prohibits a (long distance) probe-goal relation in non-LDA constructions.²³

Another crucial aspect of his analysis is that case and agreement are taken “as two sides of the same coin”. The embedded nominal agrees with the head (matrix predicate), which also assigns a value to its structural Case feature. This is a crucial difference between his and Bhatt’s analysis that we discuss later.

A few problems with Boeckx’s analysis are given below.

First, Boeckx fails to mention how the case on the embedded nominal is satisfied in (34). Since the higher predicate cannot Agree with the object, its Case features must be valued within the lower clause, presumably by a non-defective v. Thus contrary to what he proposes, the infinitival verb must be a case-checking head in the (non-LDA) structure. However, if the lower v checks Case on the object, it is not clear why it never shows agreement with it (in the absence of LDA); or in other words, why structures like (11) are impossible in HU.²⁴

Boeckx’s analysis moreover does not consider the specificity effects and ambiguous scope relations in LDA constructions. As has been convincingly demonstrated by a number of researches (Davison 1988, Mahajan 1989 among others), the agreeing nominal may scope out of the embedded clause and is also generally interpreted as specific.²⁵ Consider:

- (35) Usne kursii toRnii chaah-ii.
He-erg. chair-acc.sg.fem. break-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf
He wanted to break the chair.

- (36) Usne kursii toRnaa chaah-aa.
He-erg. chair-acc.sg.fem. break-inf.def. want.def.perf
He wanted to break chair.

The embedded agreeing nominal in (35) has a specific interpretation; i.e. it refers to a nominal *chair* that has already been introduced into the domain of discourse.

The non-agreeing nominal in (36), on the other hand, receives a generic interpretation. The speaker does not have any definite *chair* in mind while uttering this sentence.

Some more examples are provided in (37)-(38).

²³ Both Boeckx and Bhatt assume (along with Wurmbrand) that PRO in restructuring contexts is not generated syntactically (more toward the end of this section).

²⁴ To be more explicit, the lack of object-infinitival agreement without LDA is a problem for Boeckx, especially since he considers agreement and case-checking to be “two sides of the same coin”.

²⁵ The most-widely accepted view of specificity is one where it correlates with the nominal’s wide scope over other operators in the structure (cf. Fodor and Sag 1982). However, as Enc (1991) points out, this is too strong a correlation, as evidenced by the following examples. The indefinite *a certain student* scopes under the modal operator in (i) and has a ‘wide-scope’ reading in sentences with no overt operators like (ii).

(i) For every committee, the dean must appoint a certain student to represent the students’ point of view.

(ii) John talked to a certain student about his problem.

Enc herself provides an analysis where specificity is independent of scope. However for the HU LDA/non-LDA cases that we discuss here, there is a strong correlation between wide scope and specificity; agreeing nominals scope over matrix predicates and are interpreted as specific. In instances where such movement is impossible, the nominals scope under the matrix predicates and are interpreted as non-specific.

(37) Ramne roTii khaanii chaah-ii.
 Ram-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 Ram wanted to eat bread.

(38) Ramne roTii khaanaa chaahaa.
 Ram-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.def. want.def.perf.
 Ram wanted to eat bread.

Mahajan observes that the agreeing object in (37) scopes over the matrix verb *want*, rendering it a specific interpretation; i.e. the speaker desires for a specific kind of *bread*. This reading is unavailable for the non-agreeing object in (38); it refers to a general ‘bread-eating’ activity.

The agreement-scope correlation is further corroborated by the following examples (from Bhatt) involving quantificational expressions.

(39) 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

(40) 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

The sentence in (39) is ambiguous. The first reading allows *every book* to scope under *want* (i.e. it expresses Naim’s desire to read every book). This reading is the sole interpretation for (40).

There is a second reading for (39), one where *every book* scopes over *want*. This is the reading “where Naim does not have the express desire to read every book (in the library) - it is just that for every book in the library he has expressed his desire to read it. For this reading he need not know that he has in fact exhausted the books in the relevant set” (Bhatt:34). In a situation, where a couple of new books are introduced to the existing set in the library, but Naim is unaware of the latest additions, (39), but not (40), becomes infelicitous.

It could be argued that the embedded nominal in an LDA construction quantifier-raises at LF to obtain wide scope over the matrix predicate. The QR analysis nonetheless fails to account for the absence of quantifier-raising of non-agreeing nominals in non-LDA constructions (or in other words, it fails to explain why agreement correlates with specificity and wide scope). Moreover, it is not obvious if the presence of a PRO (as in non-LDA constructions) blocks object QR. Take for instance the following examples.

(41) John persuaded a boy [PRO to love every girl].

(42) Someone wanted [PRO to visit everyone].²⁶

²⁶ The judgments on this sentence are not entirely clear. It has been argued in the literature on QR-lowering that the matrix subject cannot take scope under the object.

The embedded objects *every girl* and *everyone* scope over the matrix object *a boy* and the matrix subject *someone* respectively. Object QR across PRO is therefore allowed in English, and must also be permitted in HU.²⁷

To summarize, there is a clear connection between the presence of LDA and the specificity and/or wide scope interpretation for the agreeing nominals, which an Agree based analysis leaves unexplained.

A second analysis for LDA is proposed by Bhatt, who (broadly) adopts Wurmbrand's framework for restructuring. His system permits the infinitival predicates of restructuring verbs to license accusative case to the embedded objects.

This assumption is motivated by the standard claim that Burzio's Generalization does not hold for HU where the raised nominal 'presumably' does not forsake its 'accusative' Case.

- (43) Sita-ko raam-dwara daantaa gayaa.
 Sita-acc Ram-by scold.def. passive.def.
 Sita was scolded by Ram.

In the passive sentence in (43), the surface subject appears with the accusative case-marker *-ko*, instead of the nominative case-marker. The active counterpart is (44).

- (44) Ram Sitako daantaa.
 Ram-nom. Sita-acc. scold-def.
 Ram scolded Sita.

The object in the active sentence is case-valued accusative *-ko*, which is retained in the passive sentence, indicating the presence of a case-valuing 'v' in the latter. Bhatt exploits these facts to suggest that a verb's case-licensing property exists independently of its property to license a theta-role to an external argument in HU; i.e. a verb may license Case yet choose not to (syntactically) project its external argument position. This assumption, as we demonstrate below, is crucial for Bhatt's analysis of LDA.

Below is his proposed structure for HU LDA constructions with restructuring verbs like *want*.

- (45) [Subject [v [V [Inf [v[V OBJ]]]]]]

As illustrated here, the restructuring and infinitival predicates are selected by functional heads (i.e. v). The external argument position of the lower verb remains unrealized, i.e. neither PRO nor any other nominal is generated in the specifier of the lower vP. The matrix subject is generated in the specifier of the higher predicate.

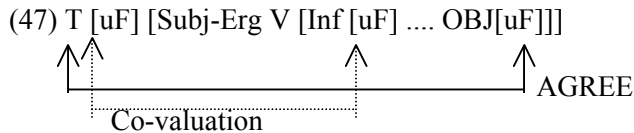
Bhatt's analysis of LDA centers on a case-agreement dissociated 'feature-checking' mechanism AGREE given in (46).

- (46) 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.

²⁷ See section V for some discussion on scope in English and HU.

AGREE differs from Chomsky's Agree in that a nominal whose Case has already been valued, is NOT rendered invisible for further checking operations.

Consider the LDA derivation in an AGREE based paradigm in (47).



Recall that for Bhatt, the lower predicate is a case-checking head (*v*), and the embedded object values its structural Case feature within the lower vP. The object also enters into long distance agreement/AGREE with the (matrix) finite T, as depicted above.

There are two important points to note here. Firstly, AGREE in (47) involves a goal whose Case-feature has already been satisfied in the lower vP, i.e. the object is active for computational purposes even though its Case feature is already valued. Secondly, agreement, in this system, is restricted to finite T (with unvalued features). Bhatt's Case-agreement dissociated AGREE allows the nominal in LDA constructions to get Case from *v* (but not agree with it) and agree with T (but not receive a structural Case value from it).²⁸

Matrix T also enters into a kind of 'dependency' with the embedded Inf. that has an incomplete set of uninterpretable features. Given that AGREE is between a probe with uninterpretable features and a goal with interpretable features, T's features cannot be satisfied by Inf's uninterpretable features. However the defective Inf. does not block the T from seeking a lower goal. Once T's features are checked by the lower goal (the embedded nominal here), it passes its value to Inf. via a process called 'co-valuation'. This explains the obligatory and 'parasitic' agreement on Inf. in the presence of LDA.

The unacceptability of infinitival agreement in instances without LDA (as in (11)) is explained by assuming that Inf. in HU cannot act as a probe by itself. It cannot get a value for its set of uninterpretable features directly from a nominal. As its valuation is dependent on matrix T (indirectly via 'co-valuation'), infinitival object agreement is ruled out in those instances where matrix T-object agreement is also impossible.

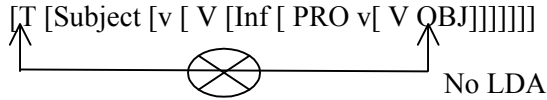
Bhatt assumes that the matrix subject is valued ergative by T (and transitive *v* complex). The overtly case-marked subject fails to trigger agreement on the *v*-T complex.²⁹

The optionality in LDA, for Bhatt (as for Boeckx), follows from the presence of a PRO subject in the embedded clause. PRO blocks AGREE between the embedded nominal and a matrix probe (48).

²⁸For Bhatt, accusative Case to objects is assigned/valued by transitive *v*, ergative Case by Tense in association with transitive *v* and perfective aspect and nominative Case by other combinations of finite Tense, *v* and Aspect.

²⁹ Recall that overtly case-marked nominals fail to trigger agreement on *v*-T. This leads Bhatt to assume "that the phi-features of overtly case-marked NPs ...are not visible for the purposes of agreement". (Bhatt:20)

(48) Hindi-Urdu Non-Restructuring Infinitive:



As a consequence, matrix T ends up with default agreement in non-LDA contexts. Ergative subjects by virtue of being overtly case-marked also cannot trigger agreement on T.

Some problems with Bhatt's analysis are discussed below.

Firstly, (43) is not strong evidence for the absence of Burzio's Generalization in HU. As already noted (see footnote 2), the *-ko* marker in HU is obligatory for definite objects (including names and pronouns). The presence of a (default) *-ko* marker on the object *Sita* does not suggest that passives have case-assigning v(s).³⁰

The next problem concerns the scope ambiguity of LDA constructions that were discussed previously. Bhatt explains the scope variations in LDA by assuming that restructuring infinitives allow for, but do not require, optional covert movement of the object to a position preceding the matrix predicate. He adopts Fox's (2000) principle of Scope Economy whereby any string vacuous/covert operation is permitted only if it has a different interpretative outcome.³¹

For Fox, scope-shifting operations (SSOs) are restricted by economy considerations. Economy considerations choose the 'optimal' derivation from among a set of 'interpretatively similar' derivations (termed as a "reference set"). An optimal derivation is one that is constructed by eliminating instances of movement or by minimizing their length. A longer/'non-economical'

³⁰ As the following example shows, the derived subject may also bear a morphological null Case (and trigger agreement on v-T).

(i) Johnke dwaaraa roTii khaa-lii gayii.
 (John-gen. by) bread-nom.sg.fem. eat-take.sg.fem. pass.sg.fem.
 The bread was eaten (by John).

If we assume that (a) passivization 'detransitivizes' the verb (i.e it takes away its Case-valuing property) and (b) HU passives are derived from underlying nominative subject counterparts (ii), then T remains the sole Case-checking head in the structure. If so, the derived subject must end up getting nominative Case.

(ii) John roTii khaa-liyaa.
 John-nom. bread-acc.fem.sg. eat-take.3P.sg.mas.
 John ate the bread.

³¹ Fox's account centers around scope effects in English VP-ellipsis constructions. It is widely noted in the literature that VP-ellipsis disambiguates the structure. Consider (i)-(ii).

(i) Some boy loves every girl. (Ambiguous)
 (ii) Some boy loves every girl and John does too. (Unambiguous).

To account for structures like (ii) as well as ambiguous VP-ellipsis structures in (iii), Fox formulates the 'Ellipsis Scope Generalization' (iv).

(iii) Some boy loves every teacher and some girl does too. (Ambiguous)

(iv) *Ellipsis Scope Generalization*

The relative scope of two quantifiers, one of which is in an antecedent VP of an ellipsis construction, may differ from the surface c-command relation, only if the parallel difference will have semantic effects in the elided VP.

Movement in the second conjunct is driven by economy considerations (i.e. a scope shifting operation is allowed only if it generates a distinct semantics). Parallelism requirements demand that the first conjunct has exactly the same set of operations.

SSO is thus blocked in the presence of a competing shorter/‘more economical’ SSO in the same reference set. Consider the following examples from Fox.

(49) A boy loves every girl.

(Ambiguous)

(50) John loves every girl.

By Fox’s account, the interpretations available in (49)-(50) are natural consequences of SSOs’ sensitivity to economy considerations. Below I demonstrate how his system works for these two sentences.

The scope ambiguity in the former results from the availability of two different derivations: (i) where the object QRs to vP (51) and (ii) where the object QRs to IP (52). These are not mutually exclusive as they produce different interpretative outputs. The derivation in (i) is interpreted as *there is a particular boy who loves every girl*, while that in (ii) is interpreted as *for every girl, there is a (possibly different) boy who loves her*. Since they produce ‘semantically’ different results, they do not form part of the same reference set. Hence both may apply in (49).

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

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

The sentence in (50) which has only one possible interpretation also has two ‘possible’ derivations: (i) where the object QRs to vP (53) and (ii) where the object QRs to IP (54). Both derivations result in the same interpretation: *John loves every girl*. Therefore they are competing derivations in the same reference set. Economy considerations choose the shorter ‘more optimal’ (i). Hence the object does not require QR to IP in this case.

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

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

Bhatt extends Fox’s principle of Scope Economy to HU LDA sentences. Consider Bhatt’s proposed structures for non-LDA and LDA constructions in (55)-(56) respectively.

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



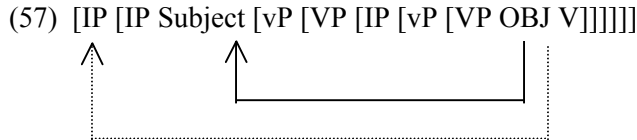
(56) [Subject [vP [VP [IP [vP [VP OBJ V]]]]]]



The absence of wide scope reading for a non-agreeing object vis-à-vis the matrix predicate in non-LDA sentences follows, for Bhatt, from the presence of a PRO (55). Object QR over PRO is semantically vacuous (i.e. it fails to generate a new interpretation) and thus must be ruled out by economy considerations. Any further movement of the object is ruled out as a consequence; i.e. blocking the first step also “... rules out further covert movement of the object over the matrix verb” (Bhatt:51). On the other hand, the wide scope of an agreeing embedded nominal is permitted (though not required) across a PRO-less infinitival complement (56). Bhatt opines that “...with a PRO subject absent, the first step of the QR of the embedded object is over the

embedding predicate [the matrix vP- PC] and is not semantically vacuous.” (ibid) Since this movement generates a unique interpretation, Scope Economy does not rule it out. LDA constructions therefore allow both wide and narrow scope readings of the embedded nominals.³²

The principle of Scope Economy (along with the above observations by Bhatt) has the following problems for HU. Consider the LDA structure (56) again. The movement/QR of the object over the matrix predicate is not semantically vacuous (as it creates a unique interpretation). Hence this movement is legitimate. Since the first step of the object is not blocked, we predict that it can move or QR further, i.e. it may adjoin to matrix IP and scope over the matrix subject. This movement is depicted by the dotted line in (57).



Contrary to our expectations, a quantificational (agreeing) object in LDA constructions cannot scope over the matrix ergative subject; i.e. in the present framework, it cannot QR to an IP-adjoined position. Consider:

- (58) kisi shaayarne [har ghazal paRhni] chaahii.
 Some poet-erg. every poem-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 Some poet wanted to recite every poem.

The above sentence allows only one interpretation: *there is some (specific) poet who wanted to recite every poem*. It is infelicitous in a situation where there is a set of poems and, for every poem there is a different poet who wants to recite it. Bhatt’s analysis thus makes a false prediction about scopal relations in LDA constructions.

Recall that Bhatt assumes that object QR over PRO is blocked by Scope Economy as the movement fails to generate a new interpretation. However it is not obvious if QR over PRO is always ruled out in HU.

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

This sentence (59) has a matrix nominative subject, which agrees with the matrix v-T complex. The infinitival verb displays default agreement. We assume that as in non-LDA sentences with matrix ergative subjects, the infinitival complement has a (syntactically realized) PRO subject.³³

There are two interpretations for (59): it can mean either (i) *there exists some poet who wants to recite every poem* or (ii) *for every poem, there is a (possibly different) poet who wants to recite it*.

³² Given Bhatt’s apparent ‘successive cyclic’ notion of QR, movement of the object to IP in (52) must also be ruled out, since its first step over vP (containing the trace of the subject) is semantically vacuous.

³³ Bhatt does not explicitly discuss non-LDA structures with nominative subjects. I am assuming that like non-LDA structures, these sentences involve full CP/TP complements. Note however that since T AGREES with the nominative subject, it does not seek a lower goal. PRO could then be generated semantically (as its role as ‘defective-intervener’ is redundant). If PRO is absent in (59), the arguments presented here do not hold.

Within the framework assumed by Fox and Bhatt, following are the two possible LF representations.

(60) [Subj-1 [vP Obj-2 [vP t-1 [VP [IP [vP PRO [V t-2]]]]]]]]

(61) [IP Obj-2 [IP Subj-1 [vP t-1 [VP [IP [vP PRO [V t-2]]]]]]]]

The LF representation in (60) permits the subject to scope over the object (which adjoins to the higher vP). This gives us the interpretation in (i): *there is a unique poet who wants to recite every poem*. On the other hand, for the second interpretation (ii), the object must QR over the subject (as in 61); i.e. it must adjoin to the matrix IP in order to scope over the latter, giving us the interpretation: *for every poem, there is a (possibly) different poet who wants to recite it*.

If we were to assume with Bhatt that QR of the object over PRO is blocked due to Scope Economy, which also bars its subsequent movement (to matrix TP), we again end up making a false prediction: sentences like (59) do not allow inverse scope between the matrix subject and the embedded object. The availability of inverse scope in non-LDA constructions with nominative subjects suggests that the non-agreeing object may QR over the intervening PRO, contrary to what is claimed by Bhatt for non-LDA constructions with ergative subjects.³⁴

To summarize our main observations in this section, Boeckx and Bhatt independently analyze LDA within Agree/AGREE based paradigm. These accounts however fail to capture the scope-agreement correlations in HU.

Boeckx and Bhatt adopt Wurmbrand's analysis of restructuring. While the former analyzes LDA within the 'lexical' restructuring framework, the latter makes the additional assumption that HU restructuring predicates select an infinitival complement vP, rather than a VP. They also claim that the embedded predicate in restructuring contexts lacks an external argument (PRO in this case). Following Chierchia (1983, 1984a, 1984b), the obligatory control effects arise from the inherent lexical properties of the verbs. Thus obligatory control infinitives may be represented as subject-less predicates.^{35, 36} LDA is possible only in (obligatory control) infinitives where PRO is realized semantically (and not syntactically). It is blocked when PRO is realized syntactically.

Interestingly, as illustrated below, both LDA and non-LDA constructions pattern similarly with regard to the 'characteristics' associated with 'obligatory control' (as observed by Williams 1980, Hornstein 1999, 2001): an OC PRO must have a local antecedent (62)-(63), the antecedent must c-command the PRO (64)-(65), OC PRO has the sloppy reading under VP-ellipsis (66)-(67), and

³⁴ The quantificational object also scopes under the intentional predicate. If we assume that there is no PRO in (59), we will incorrectly predict the opposite result.

³⁵ Chierchia rejects the relevance of syntactic control and proposes that obligatory control infinitives are properties rather than propositions; they are subject-less. The control relations are entailment relations that are made explicit as part of the meaning of the selecting predicate, and the subject is added later on in context by the addition of meaning postulates like $\Box\text{-}j$ (a context dependent modal operator) in (i); (ii) is the paraphrase of (i).

(i) try' (P) (x) $\rightarrow \Box\text{-}j$ P(x)

(ii) whenever x tries to bring about P, then in all contextually relevant situations (namely those where what x tries actually succeeds) x does P.

³⁶ Lasnik and Fiengo (1974) make a similar observation about obligatory control.

PRO has the ‘de se’ interpretation (68)-(69): *the unfortunate wants that he himself eat the bread*.³⁷

- (62) Johnne-i socaa ki Maryne-j apnii-j/*i kitaab paRhnii chaahii.
 John-erg think.def. that Mary-erg self’s book-acc.fem.sg. read-inf.fem.sg.
 want.fem.sg.perf.
 John thought that Mary wanted to read her/*his book.
- (63) Johnne-i socaa ki Maryne-j apnii-j/*i kitaab paRhnaa chaahaa.
 John-erg think.def. that Mary-erg self’s book-acc.fem.sg. read-inf..def.. want.def.perf.
 John thought that Mary wanted to read her/*his book.
- (64) [Johnki-i maa-ne]-j apnii-j/*i kitaab paRhnii chaahii.
 [John-gen mother]-erg. self’s book-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 John’s mother wants to read her/*his book.
- (65) [Johnki-i maa-ne]-j apnii-j/*i kitaab paRhna chaahaa.
 [John-gen mother]-erg. self’s book-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.def. want.def.perf.
 John’s mother wants to read her/*his book.
- (66) Johnne roTii khaanii chaahii aur Billne bhii.
 John-erg bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf. and Bill-erg also.
 John wanted to eat bread and Bill too (wanted Bill to eat bread).
- (67) Johnne roTii khaanaa chaahaa aur Billne bhii.
 John-erg bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.def. want.def.perf. and Bill-erg also.
 John wanted to eat bread and Bill too (wanted Bill to eat bread).
- (68) abhaagene roTii khaanii chaahii.
 Unfortunate-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 The unfortunate wanted to eat bread.
- (69) abhaagene roTii khaana chaahaa.
 Unfortunate-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.def. want.def.perf.
 The unfortunate wanted to eat bread.

These similarities are not considered by either Boeckx or Bhatt. Within their systems, it seems plausible to claim that for non-LDA constructions, the control characteristics are generated by the syntactic realization of PRO, while those in LDA constructions are generated via a semantic realization of PRO. Their analyses therefore (implicitly) suggest that the grammar employs two different strategies (semantic and syntactic) to account for the same (control) phenomenon. But this betrays the spirit of minimalism – to exterminate redundancy from the grammar.

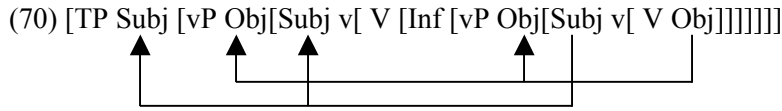
³⁷ Obligatory control also cannot have split antecedents as shown in the English example in (i);

(i) *John-i told Mary-j to PRO-i+j leave together.

LDA is impossible with predicates like *ask/tell*. Hence we are unable to use this particular diagnostic here.

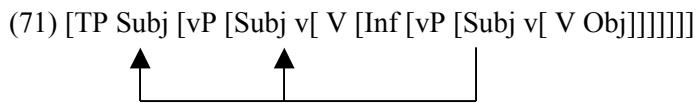
III. Towards An Alternative

I propose the following structure for HU LDA.



The lower clause has a vP layer. The v head is however defective (i.e. phi-incomplete) and is unable to assign Case to the embedded object which then moves to the specifier of the matrix vP, via the specifier of the lower vP. This explains the parasitic ‘overt’ agreement morphology on both verbs, as well as the ambiguous scope facts found in such constructions.

Compare the structure in (70) with the non-LDA structure in (71).



I will assume that there is no object movement in non-LDA structures and consequently, both verbs fail to show overt agreement morphology. The object receives a partitive Case from the lower verb.

Note that for both LDA and non-LDA constructions (i.e. (70) and (71) respectively), the matrix subject is base generated as the external argument of the lower predicate that moves to the specifier of the matrix vP to receive the external theta-role from the higher verb. The present analysis does not consider grammatical constructs like PRO and is consonant with recent minimalist studies of control-as-movement, a topic that we introduce very briefly in the next section.

III.1. On Control As Movement

I assume, along with Hornstein (1999, 2001) that (obligatory) control is movement. Consider the following sentence:

(72) John hopes [PRO to see Mary someday].

This sentence, within the control-as-movement theory involves the structure in (73).

(73) John-1 [vP John-2 hopes [TP John-3 to [John-4 see Mary someday]]].³⁸

This structure excludes PRO; instead the subject *John* first merges as the external argument of the embedded predicate and moves to the matrix subject position, via the specifiers of the embedded TP and higher vP. The chain <John-1, John-2, John-3, John-4> involves two theta positions (the specifiers of the embedded and matrix vPs), but only one case position (the specifier of matrix TP).^{39, 40} We now turn to an elaborate discussion of the alternative analysis of LDA.

³⁸ The indices are just for ease of exposition, and have no real significance in the grammar.

³⁹ This assumption is not at odds with the theta-criterion, given its demise in a level-of-representation-less system like the one minimalism embraces.

⁴⁰ My analysis is also compatible with Chierchia’s mechanism of PRO-realization. See section III.4.

perfectly legitimate, such as their movement(s) to the multiple specifiers of the higher v . Similarly, further movement of the subject from the specifier of higher vP to the specifier of TP is also permitted.⁴¹

An important assumption here is that the subject does not move through the specifier of the embedded IP . If this were not the case, the subject would be placed closer to the higher v , thus blocking the object from moving out of the embedded clause. We therefore assume that the embedded IP does not have an EPP feature, and hence there is no movement through this position. An alternative would be to simply assume that the embedded IP layer does not exist.⁴²

The structural Case feature on the object is checked and valued accusative by matrix v . The ergative subject on the other hand, moves to the specifier of (matrix) TP to check T 's uninterpretable ϕ -set and EPP feature.⁴³

Note that my analysis assumes that the (embedded) object gets Case from the head v , as well as, triggers agreement with it; i.e. it is the same head that elicits both object agreement and object (accusative) Case. On a similar vein, the head T is associated with nominative Case and agreement with the subject (in nominative subject constructions).

III.3. Explaining the Characteristics of LDA

The alternative analysis accounts for the characteristics of LDA, as we discuss below.

First, we observed that LDA is optional.

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

⁴¹ There are two issues that I want to point out here.

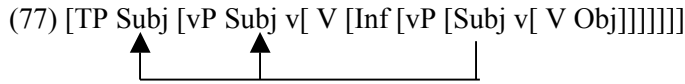
(i) Once the subject and the object are placed in the same minimal domain, we have to make some extra assumptions for why the subject may not target the outer specifier of higher v (receiving the accusative Case), while the object target the inner specifier of the same probe (receiving the extra theta-role). One possible solution would be to assume that the subject gets its Case checked in lower v (see footnote 43) and hence it cannot receive a second Case from matrix v .

(ii) If we were to make the unconventional assumption that the trace of the subject in the specifier of the lower v acts as an intervener, object movement (to the specifier of the same head) becomes obligatory. Since the subject trace intervenes, the object cannot enter into a probe-goal relation with matrix v from its base generated position.

⁴² This approach is at odds with our tentative assumption (in footnote 49) about 'tense-dependency' between the two clauses. If 'tense-dependency' between the higher T and lower Inf/T exists, then it is necessary the later does not bear an EPP feature. I however do not claim that embedded (non-finite) Inf/T universally lacks an EPP feature, or that there is never any successive cyclic movement through such positions (though see Epstein and Seely (in press) for some arguments in favor of such a claim).

⁴³ I remain agnostic here about the structural versus lexical nature of ergative Case in HU. Some evidence that HU ergative Case is lexical is presented in Nevins and Anand (2003). Their main argument is that movement driven solely for the EPP does not reconstruct. Ergative subjects never scope under their objects, suggesting lack of reconstruction. If their observations are right, it will imply that movement of ergative subjects to the specifier of TP is motivated for the EPP, and crucially not for Case checking reasons. A tentative proposal is that lower v assigns ergative 'lexical' Case to the ergative subject, which then proceeds to spec, matrix TP for EPP.

In non-LDA structures, the embedded nominal does not move out of the lower vP to check its Case feature. The sentence has the structural representation in (77) where the subject moves from the lower vP to the matrix TP position, while the non-agreeing object remains in situ.



There is no object movement, implying that the nominal's structural Case checking requirement is 'somehow' satisfied within the infinitival clause. The first approach is to assume (along with Mahajan 1990) that the lower v is non-defective and thus eligible to case-mark the embedded nominal. Once the nominal's Case feature is valued, it becomes invisible to further computational operations and it cannot seek a higher probe. Consequently, there is no object movement to the specifier of higher v, and hence no LDA.

The problem with positing a non-defective infinitival verb is that it fails to explain why structures like (78) are not permitted in the language.

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

The embedded verb cannot agree with the object in the absence of agreement between the object and a higher predicate. If the lower v is non-defective, we expect (78) to be acceptable.

A second possibility is to attribute an (optional) EPP feature on embedded T. The subject moves to check T's EPP and is placed at a higher position than the object. The object must remain in situ, resulting in default agreement on both predicates.

This approach too requires a non-defective (lower) v to check the embedded nominal's structural Case feature (which if left unchecked/unvalued would lead to a crash at the interfaces). It faces the same problem as the previous approach; it too predicts object-infinitival agreement in the absence of LDA.

Instead, I contend that infinitival verbs in non-LDA constructions are defective (on par with their LDA counterparts) and are therefore unable to check Case on the embedded nominals. I assume that the embedded nominal is an NP that is assigned a partitive Case by the lower V (in line with Belletti 1988, Enc 1991, Lasnik 1992). There is no object movement to the specifier of vP, and as a result, it fails to trigger overt agreement on the verb. The v-T complex ends up with default agreement morphology.^{44,45,46,47}

⁴⁴ Lasnik's analysis centers on expletive subject constructions in English. See section VII for more on Agree and expletive subject sentences.

⁴⁵ An alternative will be to assume that there is N to (lower) V incorporation. Later, I will briefly elaborate on some agreement, specificity and movement correlations in noun-incorporation languages.

⁴⁶ I am not assuming the Inverse Case Filter (Boskovic 1997), where the higher v also has a case feature to discharge. Since within our analysis, there is no object/nominal to receive Case from the higher v in non-LDA constructions, the undischarged feature would (incorrectly) lead to a crash at the interfaces.

⁴⁷ A standard assumption is that partitive Case is not assigned to nominals with strong quantifiers. Turkish (strong) quantificational objects also appear with a 'morphological null' Case, which in Enc's terms is a partitive Case.

That ‘structural’ case on a nominal is (often) related to its overt displacement and specific interpretation is not a phenomenon unique to HU. Consider the following Turkish sentences.

(79) Zeynep adam-i gordu.
Zeynep the-man-acc. saw.
Zeynep saw the man.

(80) Zeynep adam gordu.
Zeynep man saw.
*Zeynep saw the man.
Zeynep saw man.

Overtly (accusative) case-marked nominals in Turkish show certain interpretive differences (Enc 1991, also see Cagri 2004). They are unambiguously specific, as is the case with the object in (79). On the other hand, the sentence in (80) is acceptable only with a non-specific interpretation (i.e. *Zeynep saw any man or did man-seeing*). In addition, specific/overtly case-marked nominals, unlike non-specific/non-case-marked nominals, must move out of the VP, where they are base generated. The following examples (from Cagri) show the expected differences in word order.

(81) Ali /dun /kasikla /hizli pasta(*-yi) yedi.
Ali /yesterday /with a spoon /quickly cake(*-acc) ate.
Ali ate (some) cake yesterday/quickly/with a spoon.

(82) Ali bu pasta-yi /dun /kasikla /hizli yedi
Ali this cake(-acc) yesterday with a spoon quickly ate.
Ali ate this cake quickly/yesterday/with a spoon.

The non-specific object in (81) is placed to the right of adverbs, unlike their specific counterparts in (82) which must precede the adverbs. This suggests that Turkish specific objects move, while non-specific objects stay in situ. These facts have led researchers to propose an NP/DP distinction for such languages. NPs either receive partitive case or incorporate into the verb, whereas DPs move (out of VP) to receive Case. I similarly claim that HU specific objects in LDA constructions are DPs that must move out of the lower vP in order to check structural Case against matrix v, while NPs stay in situ. DPs scope over matrix intentional predicates as well receive specific interpretation. On the other hand, NPs take narrow scope and are interpreted as non-specific.

Similar correlations are also evident in other languages. We will very briefly present evidence from polysynthetic languages, which involve the phenomenon of noun-incorporation (Seiter 1980; Baker 1988, 2002; also see Baker Johnson and Roberts 1989). Noun-incorporation is a process in which the head of an object NP is adjoined onto a verb. Interestingly, “such objects are unusual, ...in that they need not necessarily be assigned Case” (Baker et al, 1989:238). Consider the following structures from Niuen.

(83) Ne fanogonogo a lautolu *(ke he) tau lologo ke he tau tula ne ua.
Past listen abs. they to pl. song to pl. clock nonft. two.
They were listening to (the) songs for a couple of hours.

(84) Ne fanogonogo lologo a lautolu ke he tau tula ne ua.
Past listen song abs they to pl clock nonft. two.
They were listening to songs for a couple of hours.

The sentences in (83)-(84) involve a special class of “defective transitive” verbs in the language, that do not value Case. This is evidenced by the obligatory insertion of the (case-assigning) preposition *ke he* in (83), which is not a noun-incorporating structure. In (84) on the other hand, where the noun *songs* incorporates into the verb *listen*, a preposition is unnecessary. Note that the noun’s structural Case feature remains unvalued in this sentence, and yet it is not rendered ungrammatical. Noun-incorporation appears to substitute for case valuation in certain languages, and is in complementary distribution with overt agreement/case, displacement and specificity effects. A few examples citing these facts are given below.

Firstly, overt (object) agreement is in complementary distribution with noun-incorporation. In a polysynthetic language like Mohawk for example, all verbs must agree with subjects, direct and indirect objects, except for those instances when the direct object is incorporated into the verb (a phenomenon also found in Nahuatl and Chukchee).

- (85) Shako-nuhwe’-s (ne owira’a).
 MsS/FO-like-HAB NE baby.
 He likes them (babies).

- (86) Ra-wir-a-nuhwe’-s.
 MsS-baby-like-HAB.
 He likes babies.

- (87) *Ra-nuhwe’s ne owir’a.
 MsS-like-HAB. NE baby.
 He likes babies.

A transitive verb in this language either involves object agreement (85) or object incorporation into the verb (86). A structure with neither incorporation nor object agreement is unacceptable (87).

Secondly, agreement on a nominal induces its dislocation (as found in Mohawk, Kinande and Chichewa among others). The following examples are from Kinande.

- (88) N-a-gul-a eritunda.
 1sS-past-buy fruit.
 I bought a fruit.

- (89) Eritunda, n-a-ri-gul-a.
 fruit 1s-S-past-OM-buy-FV.
 The fruit, I bought it.

The non-agreeing object in (88) incorporates into the verb. On the other hand, the agreeing object must dislocate (89).

Finally, overt object agreement is often associated with a specific interpretation for the nominal. This is illustrated in the Kinande and Mapudungun examples.

- (90) Nu-n mapu.
 Take-1sS land.
 I look land.

- (91) Nu-ñi-n mapu.
 Take-OM-1sS land.
 I took the land.

In Kinande, where object-agreement correlates with overt dislocation, we also find a difference in meaning; the dislocated, agreeing object has a specific interpretation (89). This reading is not possible for the non-dislocated, non-agreeing object in (88). Similarly for Mapudungun, where overt object agreement is manifested by the *fi* morpheme on the verb, agreement on the object correlates with its specific interpretation (91), whereas non-agreeing objects are interpreted as non-specifics (90).

As an alternative (to partitive case assignment) for the non-LDA cases, we may assume that a similar (though not identical) process takes place for HU non-LDA constructions. In instances where the object is unable to check its Case, noun-incorporation is used as a last resort operation to save the derivation from a crash at the interface. Technically implemented, this would imply that the object is unable to escape the lower vP (possibly due to the absence of the optional EPP on v). As it cannot value its uninterpretable feature from this position, it must incorporate into the verb to avoid a derivational crash.⁴⁸

The second property of LDA is that it is restricted to ergative subject constructions. Contrast the unacceptable nominative-subject construction with LDA in (92) vis-à-vis the acceptable (93), where the matrix predicate agrees with the subject.

- (92) * 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.

- (93) 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.

⁴⁸ The process of noun-incorporation in languages like HU cannot involve complete morphological fusion of the participants. Consider:

- (i) ?roTii Johnne khaanaa chaahaa.
 Bread.acc.sg.fem. John-erg. eat-inf.def. want.def.perf.
 John wanted to eat bread.
 (ii) Johnne roTii jaldise khaanaa chaahaa.
 John-erg bread-acc.sg.fem. quickly eat-inf.def. want.def.perf.
 John wanted to eat bread.

The structure in (i) has a scrambled object. In (ii), the noun and the lower predicate are separated by the adverb *quickly*. However, scrambling and adverb placement in HU may not be very useful diagnostics for (N to V or V to v) incorporation. This is illustrated in the following examples, involving the complex predicate *dikhaaii denaa* (*see-give* = *see*).

- (iii) ?dikhaaii tum mujhe dii, lekin ...
 see-sg.fem you-acc I-dat give-sg.fem. but ...
 I saw you but...
 (iv) Johnko chaand dikhaaii hamesha detii he.
 John-dat. moon-acc.sg.fem. see-sg.fem. always give-sg.fem. be-sg.mas.imp.
 John sees the moon all the time.

Complex predicate formation is a process of V to v incorporation. However, as shown here, the two verbal components may be scrambled or separated by an adverb.

Note that this property is part of a more general phenomenon of the language. Object agreement in HU is always restricted to ergative subject constructions.

- (94) Johnne roTii khaayii.
 John-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.sg.fem.
 John ate bread.

- (95) *John roTii khaayegii.
 John-nom. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.sg.fem.fut.
 John will eat bread.

In (94), the object agrees with the predicate in the presence of an ergative subject. It receives a value for its structural Case feature from v and triggers agreement with it. This is not possible in (95), a nominative subject construction, as the subject must trigger agreement on the v-T complex. Similarly for LDA constructions, object agreement on matrix (as well as infinitival verb) is triggered only when the subject is ergative. In these instances, an embedded nominal is case-marked by matrix (restructuring) v. The locus of case/agreement is the restructuring verb, which also ‘triggers’ parasitic agreement on the lower predicate. In the presence of a nominative subject (93), object agreement cannot be triggered (on either predicates) as the subject must now agree with matrix v-T.

A third property of LDA is that it is restricted to predicates that take infinitival complements.

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

This property follows from the nature of the embedded TP. Finite T has a complete set of uninterpretable phi-features and an EPP feature. This requires the embedded external argument to move from its base generated position to the specifier of the lower TP. Once the subject occupies this position, the object cannot move out of the lower vP (without causing a minimality violation). Hence LDA is impossible in structures like (96).

The final property of LDA concerns the ‘parasitic’ agreement on the embedded predicate.

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

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

Below are the four possible agreement patterns:

- (i) Agreement on higher v - Agreement on lower v.
- (ii) Default Agreement on higher v - Default Agreement on lower v.
- (iii) Agreement on higher v - Default Agreement on lower v.
- (iv) Default Agreement on higher v - Agreement on lower v.

As already mentioned for (i), the object moves through the outer specifier of the lower *v* on its way to the final landing site. This movement is obligatory as it places the object in the same minimal domain as the subject (thus making them equidistant from a higher goal). The ‘parasitic’ agreement on the lower verb results from the successive-cyclic movement of the nominal through the specifier of the lower *v*.

Option (iii) is possible only if the object moves to the specifier of the higher predicate without moving through the specifier of the lower vP. This is an apparent Minimality violation (with a lower nominal moving across a higher potential goal (i.e. the subject)). The sentence in (97) is thus rendered ungrammatical.

The unacceptability of (iv) also indicates is that if the nominal has raised to the specifier of (lower) vP, it must raise further to the specifier of matrix v. There cannot be a situation where a nominal that has moved to the specifier of lower v chooses not to move further to matrix v. Restructuring is therefore obligatory in HU.^{49,50,51,52}

Our analysis is not compatible with a (syntactically realized) PRO as the embedded subject in LDA constructions. Reconsider the underlying representation (99) for an LDA construction, but with PRO generated at the specifier of the embedded (defective) v.

⁵² Since HU is head final, it is difficult to diagnose overt verb-raising.

PRO is base generated at the specifier of the lower vP, where it is theta-marked by the verb. It moves to the specifier of the embedded TP to get Null Case. This is in line with Chomsky's (1995:119-120) observations of PRO as a “minimal” NP argument, lacking independent phonetic, referential, or other properties...the sole NP that can bear null Case”, where Null Case is checked by minimal I (i.e. infinitival elements and the head Inf. of gerundive nominals). It therefore follows “that Last Resort applies to PRO exactly as it does to any argument: PRO is permitted to move from a non-Case position to a position where its Case may be assigned.”

Given these assumptions, PRO moves from the specifier of the lower vP to the specifier of embedded infinitival T, where it is assigned the null Case. This makes it a closer goal to matrix v. Object movement is therefore blocked, contrary to what we have claimed so far.

For non-LDA constructions, as the object receives a Case from the lower verb, the presence or absence of PRO makes no difference to our analysis. Finally, our analysis of LDA as well as non-LDA is compatible with Chierchia's semantic mechanism of PRO.

IV. More on HU Object Agreement

This section provides evidence that HU object agreement in general involves object movement out of VP.

- (100) Johnne roTii khaayii.
 John-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.sg.fem.perf.
 John ate bread.

- (101) Johnne roTii khaayaa.
 John-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.def.
 John ate bread.

On par with LDA constructions, object agreement in ergative subject constructions is optional (100)-(101). Object agreement is also impossible with nominative subject constructions (102).

- (102) *John roTii khaatii he.
 John-nom. bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.sg.fem. be.3P.sg.
 John eats bread (habitually).

Finally, agreeing objects in structures like (100) receive a specific interpretation; i.e. the speaker refers to a specific (kind of) bread. This interpretation is absent for the non-agreeing object in (101); it must be non-specific.

That HU agreeing objects (unlike their non-agreeing counterparts) move out of their base generated positions has already been noted in the literature. Consider the following examples taken from Mahajan (1990).

- (103) raam-ne kaam jaldiise kiya.
 Ram-erg. work-acc.mas. quickly do-mas.sg.perf.
 Ram did the work quickly.

- (104) raam-ne jaldiise kaam kiya.
 Ram-erg. quickly work-acc.mas. do-mas.sg.perf.
 Quickly, Ram did the work.

Certain adverbs like *quickly* are ambiguous between two readings (as first observed by Travis 1988). The first reading is termed ‘the process reading’, where the adverb qualifies the action itself. The process reading of *quickly* is available in a sentence like *She read the book quickly*, meaning *rapid reading*. The other meaning, ‘the event reading’ of *quickly* is available in a sentence like *She quickly read the book*. On this interpretation, the *actual reading* might take a long time, but the commencement of the action is immediate. These two meanings of the adverbs, as Travis argued, indicate its different structural positions; ‘process reading’ is associated with a VP-adjoined adverb, whereas ‘event reading’ indicates an I’ adjoined adverb.

The sentence in (103) has a ‘process reading’ for the adverb, meaning *Ram worked quickly* (i.e. *the action was done quickly*). The adverb *quickly* is therefore adjoined to VP, and the object is placed higher than VP. On the other hand, (104) has an event interpretation: *Ram commenced on the work quickly* (though *the work itself might have progressed slowly*). The adverb *quickly* is adjoined to I’, suggesting that the agreeing object is placed lower than I’. Based on these variant adverbial interpretations, Mahajan contends that agreeing objects are positioned above VP (but lower than I’), namely the spec, Agr-O in his system or the (outer) specifier of vP in our system.⁵³

Mahajan compares these constructions to nominative subject sentences with non-agreeing objects.

- (105) sitaa kaam jaldise kartii thii.
 Sita-nom. work-acc.mas. quickly do be.3P.sg.fem.past.
 Sita worked quickly

- (106) sitaa jaldiise kaam kartii thii.
 Sita-nom. quickly work-acc.mas. do-be.3P.sg.fem.past.
 Sita worked quickly.

The sentence in (105) is ambiguous between ‘event’ and ‘process’ readings, though the latter interpretation is stronger. The important point to note here is that the non-agreeing object requires focal stress, suggesting that it scrambles to a focus position (either above I’ or VP). This is in direct contrast to the sentence in (103), where the agreeing object bears no such focal stress.

The sentence in (106) is also ambiguous. Compare this to the sentence in (104) where a ‘process reading’ is impossible. This indicates that the non-agreeing object, unlike its agreeing counterpart, is placed at a position below the VP-adjoined adverb.

So far, we have observed that HU object agreement is related to the nominal’s specific interpretation. However there are some nominals that do not trigger agreement on the verb, but

⁵³ Mahajan does not provide similar examples with non-agreeing objects in ergative subject constructions (also note that he is using a masculine object that makes it difficult to differentiate actual object agreement from default agreement). For my informants, the following sentences (with a feminine object) display different semantic interpretations. The former has a process reading, while the latter has an event interpretation. However the process reading is available for (i) only with a certain intonation.

- (i) Johnne roTii jaldiise khaayii.
 John-erg. bread-acc.sg.fem. quickly eat.sg.fem.perf.
 John ate the bread quickly.
 (ii) Johnne jaldiise roTii khaayaa.
 John-erg quickly bread-acc.sg.fem. eat.def.perf.
 John ate the bread quickly.

nonetheless are interpreted as specific/definite. These are the nominals that are overtly (accusative)-case-marked with a *-ko* morpheme.

- (107) Johnne us laRkiiko dekhaa.
 John-erg. that girl-acc. saw.def.perf.
 John saw that girl.

- (108) *Johnne us laRkiiko dekhii.
 John-erg. that girl-acc. saw.sg.fem.perf.
 John saw that girl.

As shown in (107)-(108), *-ko* marked objects do not trigger agreement on the embedded predicate. Similarly, these nominals do not allow LDA (109)-(110).

- (109) Johnne us roTiiko khaanaa chaahaa.
 John-erg. that bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.def. want.def.perf.
 John wanted to eat that bread.

- (110) *Johnne us roTiiko khaanii chaahii.
 John-erg. that bread-acc.sg.fem. eat-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 John wanted to eat that bread.

As with all (agreeing) specific objects, we assume that these (non-agreeing) specific objects also raise to the specifier of *v* to for case and agreement checking. The *-ko* marker is either a (default) accusative case-marker or a (default) specificity marker. These objects move to spec, *vP*, but fail to show overt agreement due to a general prohibition on overtly case-marked nominals to agree overtly with the verb.⁵⁴

V. On Scope

Let us now consider the phenomenon of scope in HU, starting with ergative subject constructions.

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

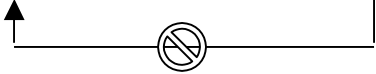
Within the alternative analysis, the agreeing object in the LDA construction in (111) moves to the specifier of the higher predicate, permitting it to take wide scope over the latter. This generates the interpretation, where *for every book*, *Naim has a desire to read it*. The second reading, where *every book* scopes under *want*, is available when the ‘reconstructed’ or lower copy of the nominal is taken into consideration.

⁵⁴ Participle object agreement in French, Italian, Swedish and Norwegian also suggest a specifier head agreement relation (see Kayne 1989, Christensen and Taraldsen 1989, among others) Overt object agreement with the participle is possible only if the object moves to a pre-participle position (by A-bar (clitic/wh-) movement or A-movement (passives/unaccusatives). In most cases, there is also a specificity effect associated with these objects.

The lack of wide scope for the nominal (over the matrix predicate) in non-LDA constructions, like (112), results from the absence of object-movement. The object does not move for Case/agreement relations and hence it fails to take wide scope.

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

The absence of wide scope of the non-agreeing nominal also suggests that HU does not allow object QR (to vP in this case). The relevant steps are sketched in (113).

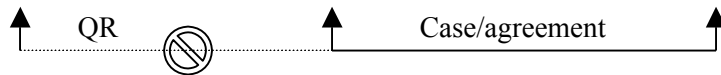
- (113) [TP Naim [vP [vP [v wanted [vP read every book]
- 

Similarly, object QR to TP must also be blocked, as shown by the rigid scope in (114).

- (114) kisi shaayarne [har ghazal paRhni] chaahii.
 Some poet-erg. every poem-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.sg.fem. want.sg.fem.perf.
 Some poet wanted to recite every poem.
 Some poet > every poem
 *every poem > some poet

This sentence has only one reading: *there is a unique poet who wants to recite every song*. If the object is allowed to scope over the subject, we will get the disallowed interpretation: *for every poem, there is a (possibly) different poet who wants to recite it*. This is schematized below.

- (115) [TP [TP Some poet [vP every poem [v wanted [vP recite every poem]]]].



The first movement of the (agreeing) object (in (115)) is for Case/agreement purposes. This allows it to scope over the matrix predicate. The second movement (object-QR to TP) is not permitted, and hence the impossibility of generating the inverse scope reading. An alternative explanation with Nevins and Anand's (2003) QR+restructuring analysis is also possible, to which we now turn.

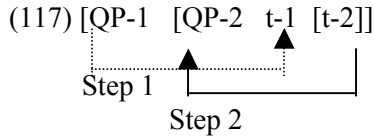
Nevins and Anand consider sentences like the following.

- (116) kisi shaayarne har ghazal paRhii.
 Some poet-erg. every song-acc.sg.fem. read.sg.fem.perf.
 Some poet recited every song.
 Some poet > every song
 *every song > some poet

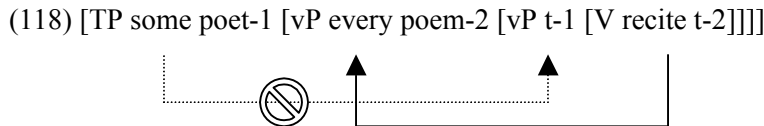
The accusative object in (116) cannot take scope over the ergative subject; i.e. there is only one interpretation for the sentence: *there exists a (particular) poet, who recited every song*. Nevins and Anand claim (i) that HU ergative subjects do not reconstruct at LF and (ii) more generally,

that movement driven only for the EPP does not reconstruct. They suggest that HU ergative is a lexical Case and that an ergative DP (first merged into the specifier of vP) has no uninterpretable Case features and moves to the specifier of TP for pure EPP reasons. The scope rigidity of these DPs follows from a general principle in the grammar: A-movement driven for EPP does not reconstruct.

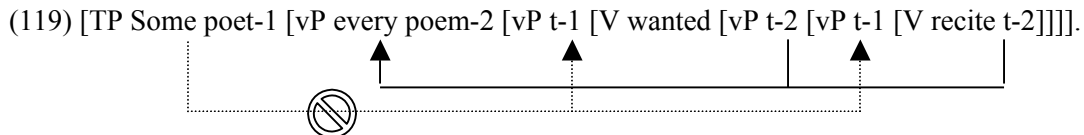
They adopt a QR-plus-reconstruction derivation, on the lines proposed by Hornstein (1995) and Johnson and Tomioka (1997). Inverse scope, according to them is contingent on two operations: (i) reconstruction of the higher quantifier phrase (QP), and (ii) raising of the lower QP, as schematized in (117). Failure to do either (i)/step 1 or (ii)/step 2 yields scope rigidity.



The raised QP-1 must reconstruct to its base-generated position and the lower QP-2 must QR to a position from where it can c-command the reconstructed QP-1 in order to generate the inverse scope reading. In their system, the object QRs to vP, but the ergative subject fails to reconstruct to its base generated position. This accounts for the lack of inverse scope in simple ergative subject constructions (116), as illustrated in (118). Note that in our account, the object is already present in the specifier of vP (for case/agreement reasons).



We adopt their analysis to explain the scope relations for LDA constructions. For the sentence in (114), the object that is already placed in the specifier of matrix v scopes over the matrix predicate, but fails to take scope over the subject as the latter fails to reconstruct (119).



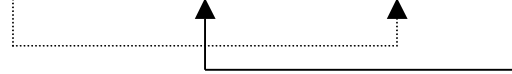
Let us now consider some nominative subject constructions.

- (120) koi shaayar har ghazal paRhaa.
 Some poet-nom. every poem-acc.fem.sg. read.mas.sg.perf.
 Some poet recited every poem.
 Some poet > every poem
 Every poem > some poet

- (121) koi shaayar har ghazal paRhnaa chaahtaa he.
 Some poet-nom every song-acc.sg.fem. read-inf.def. want.sg.mas. be.3P.sg.
 Some poet wanted to recite every song.
 Some poet > every song
 Every song > some poet

In direct contrast to ergative subject constructions, HU nominative subject constructions allow scopal ambiguity: the object *every poem* may scope over the subject *some poet* and vice versa. The scope variations are illustrated below:

(122) [TP some poet-1 [vP every poem-2 [vP t-1 [V recite t-2]]]]



(123) [TP Some poet-1 [vP t-1 [V wanted [vP every poem-2 [vP t-1 [V recite t-2]]]]].



In a simple nominative subject construction, the subject reconstructs and takes scope under the accusative object, placed at the outer specifier of v. In a non-LDA construction, the subject reconstructs back to its base generated position. The object, which raises to the specifier of the lower v in order to check Case may scope over it. Note that object must not move (either overtly or covertly) to the specifier of matrix v. Such a movement would allow it to scope over the matrix predicate, contrary to fact.⁵⁵

English sentences like the following also allow inverse scope between the nominative subject and the accusative object.

(124) Someone visits everyone.

Someone > everyone

Everyone > someone

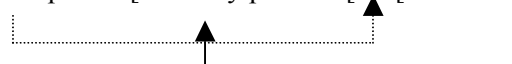
(125) Someone wanted to visit everyone.

Someone > everyone

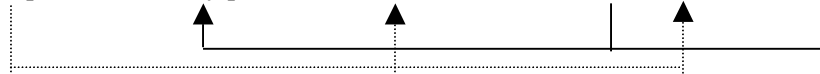
Everyone > someone

The nominative subject (may) reconstruct to a vP-internal position and take scope under the object, placed at the specifier of v /matrix v respectively, as shown in (126)-(127).

(126) [TP some poet-1 [vP every poem-2 [t-1 [v visits t-2]]]]



(127) [TP Some poet-1 [vP every poem-2 [vP t-1 [V wanted [vP t-2 [vP t-1 [V recite t-2]]]]].



There is some evidence in the literature that objects in English raise overtly (Johnson 1991; Koizumi 1993, 1995; Lasnik 1999).

⁵⁵ As observed here, for the object to scope over the matrix subject, it must move to the specifier of the lower v for case checking purposes. I have nothing interesting to say about the nature (structural or lexical) of this Case. However note that even though the object has moved to the edge of v, it cannot move further. One reason could be that in non-LDA counterparts with nominative subject constructions, there is no Tense-Dependency between the two clauses; i.e. though the event of *wanting* must be completed in the past though the event of *eating* need be. That implies that there is no lower T raising to higher v/T, thus ruling out restructuring. Since it is not a restructuring environment, the object cannot enter into case/agreement relations with the higher verb (see footnote 49).

(128) The DA questioned two men during each other's trials.

(129) The DA proved [two men to have been at the scene] during each other's trial.

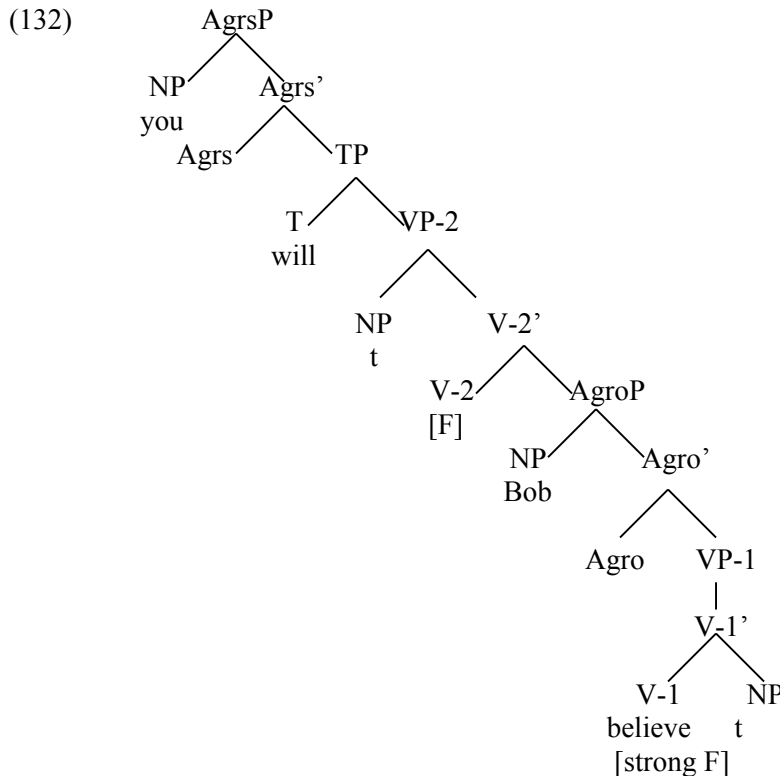
As illustrated above, the simple direct object and the exceptional-case-marked subject bind the anaphor, suggesting that they must have moved out of their base generated positions (which are too low for binding purposes). Compare the acceptable sentences in (128)-(129) with the unacceptable (130) which is ruled out a Condition A violation.

(130) *There seem to each other [to have been some linguists given good job offers].

Note that Condition A cannot be satisfied by covert object raising in the acceptable sentences. If that were the case, the above sentence must be acceptable too. Lasnik provides further evidence for overt object raising from pseudogapping constructions like the following.

(131) You might not believe me but you will Bob.

Adopting Koizumi's split-VP structure (132), he suggests that the object raises overtly to the specifier of AgrO. The verb (V-1) also has a strong feature that must be checked by V-1-raising to V-2. If it raises, the result is the non-elided structure *You might not believe me but you will believe Bob*. If it does not raise, the derivation crashes (due to the unchecked feature on V-1), unless the VP-1 is deleted at PF.⁵⁶ This gives us the elided construction in (131).



⁵⁶ Lasnik's analysis of English pseudogapping constructions is evidence for the PF crash theory that states that a strong feature that is not checked in overt syntax causes a derivation to crash at LF.

Note that in the above structure, subject reconstruction is to a position above AgrOP. This structure does not allow the object to scope over the subject. This problem however does not arise if we assume that object raises to the outer specifier of vP (for accusative Case-valuation) and the subject reconstructs back to the inner specifier of the same head (see (124)/(126)).

Similarly for (125)/(127), we will assume that the embedded object raises to the specifier of matrix vP and scopes over the subject when the latter reconstructs to its base generated position.

VI. Kashmiri – A Case for Optional Restructuring

This section is a brief discussion of Kashmiri LDA.

Kashmiri belongs to the same (Indo-Aryan) family as HU, and it too displays LDA. Consider the following example (from Bhatt, also see Wali and Koul 1997).

- (133) Raam-an che hameeSI yatshiImatsI panInis necivis khAAtrI koori
 vuchini.
 Ram-erg. be.fem.pres. always wanted.pl.fem. self-dat. son.dat. for girls
 see-inf.pl.fem.
 Ram has always wanted to see girls for his son.

The matrix verb agrees with the object of its infinitival complement. This is accompanied by ‘parasitic’ agreement on the embedded infinitival verb. Kashmiri however differs from HU in that it allows infinitival agreement without LDA.

- (134) Raam-an chu hameeSI yotshiImut panInis necivis khAAtrI koori
 vuchini.
 Ram-erg. be.sg.mas.pres. always wanted.sg.mas. self-dat. son.dat. for girls
 see-inf.fem.pl.
 Ram has always wanted to see girls for his son.

Recall that structures like (134) are unacceptable in HU; object-infinitival agreement is always ‘parasitic’ on LDA. However researches (Mahajan 1990, Butt 1995, among others) claim that some speakers find similar HU structures acceptable. I assume (along with Boeckx and Bhatt) that this reflects a dialectal variation, and analyze it along with the Kashmiri data.

Consider (133) first. The object’s features are not satisfied in the lower clause, and hence it moves to check them against the matrix predicate. On the other hand, in the sentence in (134), the object’s features are satisfied within the lower vP. This is not a restructuring environment and consequently there is no LDA. Restructuring is therefore not obligatory in this language. The object raises to the specifier of the lower vP; further movement to the specifier of the higher v is not necessary (if the nominal’s case feature is valued in some way within the lower clause).

This is in direct contrast to HU restructuring, which as we observed, is obligatory. The embedded object’s features are never satisfied within the lower clause, and it must move to check them against a higher head.

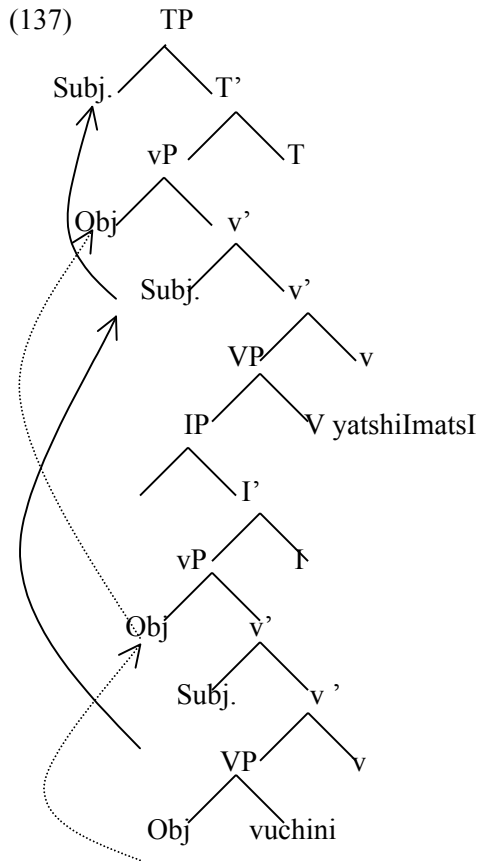
The other significant difference between HU and Kashmiri is that only the latter allows object infinitival agreement in non-LDA environments, i.e. in situations where LDA (and restructuring) is not possible.

- (135) mohnIn yi philim vuchIn chu mumkin.
 Mohan-gen.sg.fem. this film.fem.sg. see-inf.fem.sg. be.mas.sg.pres. possible.
 Mohan's seeing this film is possible.

Infinitival-object agreement is permitted in Kashmiri, irrespective of whether the matrix clause has a restructuring predicate or not. This is disallowed in HU; infinitival-object agreement is restricted to situations where there is a higher goal (typically a restructuring predicate) against which the object checks its features. In all other instances, the infinitival verb bears default agreement (136).⁵⁷

- (136) [roTii *khaanii/khaanaa] sehat ke-liye achchhaa ho-taa hai.
 Fruit-acc.sg.fem. *eat-inf.sg.fem./eat-inf.def. health for good be-hab.
 Eating bread is good for health.

The ability of the infinitival verb to (independently) agree with its object in the Kashmiri sentences (133) and (135) explains why restructuring is optional in this language. Restructuring is possible only when the lower (infinitival) verb cannot check the embedded object's features. Following is the structural representation of a Kashmiri LDA construction like (133).



⁵⁷ The HU counterpart for the Kashmiri sentence in (135) is given below.

- (i) [Mohankaa yeh film dekhnaa] naamumkin thaa.
 Mohan-gen this film.acc.sg.fem. see-inf.def. impossible be-past .
 It was impossible that Mohan saw this movie.

Recall that the presence of a genitive subject indicates a gerund. If this is true, then we are dealing with a gerund and not an infinitive in (i).

Kashmiri LDA has the same representation as that of HU LDA (see (75)). The object moves to the outer specifier of the higher predicate, via the (outer) specifier of lower v. Kashmiri object agreement (in the LDA instances) takes place in a local spec-head configuration. The other details remain the same.

Our account provides a general framework to treat HU and Kashmiri LDA patterns, in contrast to Bhatt who provide a separate account for the latter. Below is summarized Bhatt's treatment for Kashmiri LDA.⁵⁸

Bhatt proposes that Kashmiri Inf functions as a probe for AGREE. Recall that Inf in HU on the other hand, was a goal for the probe T. T entered into a kind of 'dependency' with it and 'co-valued' it once its own features were valued by the embedded nominal. An independent status of a probe is imparted to Kashmiri Inf instead, given its ability to agree with its object even in the absence of a higher restructuring predicate. In the LDA construction (133), Inf therefore independently AGREES with the object. Once its features are valued, it is invisible to the computational system. Next, matrix T AGREES with the embedded object, resulting in LDA. Note that PRO must be realized 'semantically' and not syntactically for AGREE to take place between the matrix T and the embedded nominal.

For the construction in (134), Inf AGREES with the object. "After entering into AGREE Inf cannot by itself trigger further agreement on a higher T because the features on Inf are uninterpretable, and by the definition of AGREE a Probe can only use interpretable features to value its unvalued features". (Bhatt: 38)⁵⁹ Probe T is unable to access the object, as the infinitival clause has a syntactically realized PRO.

Unlike Bhatt, the alternative account does not stipulate a different strategy for Kashmiri LDA. As already mentioned, Kashmiri LDA is a process similar to HU LDA. The object must move in instances when the lower v cannot satisfy its Case features. This generates the structure where agreement shows up on both predicates.

The object must move through the specifier of the lower v in order to move to the higher clause. Thus agreement on the lower v is obligatory, when the higher predicate displays overt agreement. The prediction is that this language disallows structures where LDA is available without overt agreement on the lower verb.

For structures like (134), I assume that Kashmiri infinitival verb 'optionally' agrees with its object. This is a non-restructuring environment where the object's features have already been checked within the lower clause. There is no object movement to matrix v and hence no LDA. This generates a structure where infinitival agreement exists, even though the matrix verb displays default agreement.

On par with HU object agreement, we will assume that Kashmiri object agreement takes place in a spec-head configuration. The object in (134) raises to the specifier of the lower v, but since its Case feature is already checked, it does not raise further. Restructuring is therefore optional.

⁵⁸ Boeckx suggests briefly that for the specific HU dialect and Kashmiri speakers, T[-finite] selects a v[+phi]. The following structure represents the Multiple Agree Relation (between the **bold** elements) in constructions where the embedded predicate shows object agreement in the absence of LDA.

(i) [v [V [TP T (...) [Subj v [**V** **Obj**]]]]].

⁵⁹ Bhatt does not clarify why Inf's features remain 'uninterpretable' even after it has AGREEd with the object.

Finally for non-LDA constructions where both predicates display default agreement, we assume that the object is assigned partitive Case within the lower vP. There is no object movement and hence no LDA.^{60,61}

VII. Conclusion: Some Remaining Questions

In summary, this paper revealed some problems with Boeckx and Bhatt's Agree based analyses of LDA. First, the scope/specificity and agreement correlations cannot be explained under these accounts. Second, these studies need to stipulate a redundant mechanism for control.

An alternative for the data was provided within the control-as-movement analysis, and it was proposed that the object moves to the specifier of the matrix v to trigger overt agreement with it. Object agreement in HU LDA (as well as in simple clauses) takes place in a local specifier-head relation.

I discuss a few remaining issues in this section.

Firstly, 'parasitic' agreement on the lower predicate in LDA constructions was assumed to follow from the successive cyclic movement of the object through the outer specifier of the lower v. This movement is restricted to a restructuring context, where the selecting (matrix) verb assigns Case to an embedded nominal. We now turn to a few remaining cases with embedded unergative and unaccusative predicates.⁶²

(138) Mary hasnaa/*hasnii chaahatii he.
 Mary-nom. laugh-inf.def/*sg.fem. want.sg.fem. be.3P.sg.
 Mary wants to laugh.

(139) Mary vahaan pahuunchnaa/*pahuunchnii chaahatii he.
 Mary-nom. there arrive-inf.def/*sg.fem. want.sg.fem. be.3P.sg.
 Mary wants to arrive there (on time).

As illustrated above, 'parasitic' agreement is impossible in both these constructions, irrespective of the fact that the subject moves via the specifier(s) of the embedded verb(s.) Following are the structural representations for each of the (acceptable) sentences.

(140) [TP Mary-1 [vP Mary-2 v [V want [vP Mary-3 v [V laugh]]]].

(141) [TP Mary-1 [vP Mary-2 v [V want [vP Mary-3 v [V arrive Mary-4]]]].

Consider (140) first. The nominal *Mary* base generates as the external argument of the lower unergative predicate and receives the theta-role (of *laugh*) at the specifier of lower vP. It then

⁶⁰ Kashmiri pronominal objects trigger person agreement, as shown in the following example.

(i) aslam-an vuch-u-kh tsI.
 Aslam-erg. saw-mas.sg.2sg. you.mas.sg.
 'Aslam saw you'

Whether person agreement in this language exists outside its pronominal clitic system is not evident at this point. I leave this issue, and its relevance for LDA as a topic for future research.

⁶¹ In the absence of adequate Kashniri data, I am unable to provide evidence for my claim from other facts, such as scope, semantic effects (specificity/tense dependency) and binding.

⁶² I do not consider constructions with ergative subjects as they fail to trigger any agreement.

moves to the specifier of the higher vP where it gets the second theta-role from *want*. Its final movement is to the specifier of matrix TP, where it satisfies the uninterpretable phi-set and EPP feature on T, and gets a nominative value for its own uninterpretable structural Case feature.

For the unaccusative structure in (141), the nominal *Mary* base generates as the internal argument of the lower predicate *arrive* and then moves (via the specifier of lower v to the specifier of matrix predicate *want* where it receives the second theta-role) to spec,TP for case/agreement and EPP reasons.

Note, especially for the unaccusative structure involving an underlying ‘object’, the nominative case marked nominal fails to trigger agreement on the lower predicate even though it moves via the specifier of the lower v on its way to the final landing site. As is evident, the locus of case/agreement here is T (illustrated by the nominative case-value on the subject), and not matrix v.

This difference seems to be a crucial one. These are not restructuring environments; restructuring environments are induced only in the presence of a case/agreement checking v. Parasitic agreement on the infinitival is restricted to restructuring contexts. In all other instances, the lower verb (irrespective of whether it is able to assign Case or not) does not show overt agreement. Agreement in HU therefore appears to be tied to finiteness/finite T. In the absence of a finite T, the verb must show default agreement. What a restructuring verb does is open up the domain of a lower (non-finite) clause (possibly by a process of head-incorporation (see footnote 49)). Finiteness of the matrix T is passed onto the lower clause only via the case/agreement-valuing restructuring verb.

The second issue concerns the types of agreement mechanisms in the grammar: Spec-head vis-à-vis Agree.

In recent minimalist theories, movement and phi-feature checking are considered separate operations. Phi-feature valuation takes place at a distance while overt movement is restricted for EPP reasons. Existential constructions provide compelling evidence for Agree or more generally, for the phi-agreement and movement dissociation.

(142) There seem/*seems to be several men in the room.

In (142), the associate *several men* triggers agreement on the matrix predicate without moving to the specifier of a feature checking head. The agreement is either realized via formal-feature movement at LF (à la Chomsky 1995) or via Agree.

What is crucial for our present purposes is that the associates in these constructions are always non-specific/non-definite, as illustrated by the unacceptability of the following sentence.

(143) *There seem to be the man in the room.

The requirement that the associate be non-specific/non-definite in structures like (143) implies that these nominals are “...NPs rather than DPs” (Chomsky 1995:342). If so, Agree is an operation that applies to NPs; only NPs can agree with probes long distance (i.e. without overt movement). Further, there is ample evidence provided in the literature (den Dikken 1995; Lasnik 1995, among others) from scope, anaphoric binding, NPI licensing and WCO to suggest that associates remain low in the structure.

Given these observations. I will conclude by assuming that Agree is restricted to NPs, which do not move to a higher position in the clause and consequently fail to show definiteness/specificity effects. On the other hand, the case/agreement valuation of DPs is accomplished in a spec-head configuration.

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