

Delayed Valuation*

A reanalysis of “upwards” complementizer agreement and the mechanics of Case

Vicki Carstens

University of Missouri

1. Introduction

1.1. Approaching goal features

Minimalist theory posits a class of morpho-syntactic features that are unvalued and uninterpretable (uFs). uFs are analyzed as *probes* which must acquire values from matching features of a suitably local expression. The search space of a probe α is generally taken to be its c-command domain, comprised of the contents of α 's sister β . This approach to valuation was initially motivated by empirical phenomena like (1) (see Chomsky 2000).

- (1) a. There *is* [a man] in the room.
b. There *are* [two men] in the room.

Epstein (1998) argues that the central role of c-command in syntactic relations has a derivational basis, and his proposals yield a simple, organic account of the downward directionality of probing: at the point of Merge, α has no place to look other than β . It follows automatically that β is where α must seek the valuation that it needs. Thus (2):¹

- (2) MERGE (T_{uPhi} [$_{VP}$ DP_{3S}...]) necessarily \rightarrow [T_{uPhi3S} [$_{VP}$ DP_{3S}...]].

Its explanatory power and elegant design make this idea highly appealing. Many locality properties of the Agree relation are derivable under two additional assumptions similarly rooted in the derivation. The first of these is cyclic Spell-Out, which by purging

* This paper could not have existed without the illuminating research of Michael Diercks on complementizer agreement in Lubukusu (see Diercks 2010 and to appear b). I thank Lillian Waswa, Aggrey Wasike, and Justine Sikuku for all Lubukusu data in this paper that are not taken from Diercks (to appear b). Thanks also to Mark Baker, Jonathan Bobaljik, Zelko Bošković Sam Epstein, Martha McGinnis, Ken Safir, and Susi Wurmbrand for discussions in relation to this material. A special thanks to Dan Seely for comments on an early draft that helped clarify my thinking about valuation relations.

¹ I abstract away from the proposal that T inherits its probe features from C (Chomsky 2007, 2008; Richards 2007). See Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely (2010), Carstens (2010, 2011), Haegeman & van Koppen (2010), Carstens & Diercks (2011), Diercks (2011b), and Kandybowicz (2011) for arguments against this.

accumulated content at regular intervals accounts for well-established depth limits on valuation relations (see the Phase Impenetrability Constraint of Chomsky 2001, henceforth PIC). The second factor is the assumption (alluded to above) that valuation occurs whenever possible. The default, Minimalist approach is that the probe α cannot delay, arbitrarily ignoring relevant material with which it was Merged and instead awaiting the arrival of content added at a later point, higher in the tree.

Well-known syntactic processes attributable to unvalued features show downwards (c-command) sensitivity (among them 1a,b, and see discussion of West Germanic complementizer agreement in §2). So in addition to the virtue of simplicity the derivational approach to valuation is amply motivated by empirical patterns. But questions arise in connection with the features identifying “active” *goals* in Agree relations, such as a DP’s uCase. As uninterpretable features that need to acquire values, they meet the definition of probes. If probing cannot be delayed, the very existence of goal features is puzzling. Why is it licit for goal features to lack valuation until a probe finds them? Why do they not probe their own c-command domains and, if a match is absent there, cause the derivation that contains them to fail?²

In this paper I argue that there is no separate species of goal features. Rather I propose that every uF probes its sister upon Merge as described above. If a uF γ fails to be valued before phasal Transfer, the result is a PF crash due to unclarity as to how γ should be pronounced (see Epstein, Kitahara & Seely 2010 and Carstens 2010 on this conception of uF crashes). But prior to the fatal point of Transfer, DELAYED VALUATION is possible under

² Bošković (2007, 2011); Epstein & Seely (2006) argue that goals must move and probe; see discussion below.

limited circumstances. Thus the defining property of goal features is that their valuation does not happen right away (see 3). An additional step or two is involved.

(3) **Goal features:** uFs that find no match at the point of first Merge.

(4) **DELAYED VALUATION:** Valuation that is not obtained in a uF's original c-command domain.

Understanding this much about goal features yields some new insights into atypical valuations relations including apparent upwards agreement phenomena (see Baker 2008, Diercks 2010, 2011, to appear b) and downwards Case-checking (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2005; Wurmbrand 2004/2006). And exploration of such instances of DELAYED VALUATION gives us important information regarding how it comes about.

1.2 Preview of complementizer agreement and DELAYED VALUATION

The empirical core of this paper is a difference between West Germanic and Lubukusu complementizer agreement (CA). uPhi on a West Germanic complementizer is valued by the embedded subject, under closest-command at first Merge (Carstens 2003; Hageman & van Koppen 2011). I argue that this is because, in the cartography of Rizzi (1997), the West Germanic agreeing complementizer is the low left-peripheral phase-head Fin(ite)⁰ (see 5). In contrast, the agreeing Lubukusu complementizer is Force⁰, Merged high in the left periphery after the embedded clause has been Transferred to Spell Out (see 6; Transferred material here and subsequently is shaded). For this reason, a successful derivation including Lubukusu's agreeing C relies on DELAYED VALUATION.³

³ Through a timing paradox this analysis made its first appearance in a handout of Diercks, Putnam, & van Koppen (2011). See their paper in progress for a very interesting proposal that Lubukusu C has unvalued interpretable features; and for much more detailed comparison of downwards versus upwards probing approaches to CA than I provide here. In glosses, SA=subject agreement; PST = past. Cardinal numbers (1-3) denote person features when they are accompanied by a number specification (sg= singular and pl= plural); thus 2sgSA=second person singular subject agreement. Arabic numbers 1-17 are noun classes, hence 2SA=subject agreement for noun class 2. Other abbreviations should be transparent.

- (5) a. Kvinden **dan** die boeken te diere zyn [West Flemish; Haegeman 1992]
I-find that-PL the books too expensive are
'I find those books too expensive.'

b. $\text{Fin}_{u\Phi} [\text{TP SU T } [_{VP} \text{SU v } [_{VP} \dots]]]$ *West Germanic Complementizer Agreement*
At Merge, $u\Phi$ of Fin successfully probes the embedded subject

- (6) a. N-enya **n-di** Barack Obama a-khil-e [Lubukusu; Diercks to appear b]
1stSG-want 1stSG-that 1Barack.Obama 1S-win-SBJ
'I want Barack Obama to succeed.'

b. $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{Force}_{u\Phi} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Fin } [_{\text{TP}} \text{SU } \dots]]]$ *Lubukusu Complementizer Agreement:*
 $u\Phi$ of Force cannot probe the already Transferred SU.

Close inspection of Lubukusu CA argues that its DELAYED VALUATION involves raising ForceP to an outer Spec of the higher vP (see 7), and thus motivates the conclusion in (8).

(7) $[_{vP} \text{ForceP}_{u\Phi} [_{vP} \text{SU } [_{v'} v' [_{VP} \dots V \text{ForceP}]]]]$ *Lubukusu Complementizer Agreement:*
 $u\Phi$ of Force(P) raises and probes SU

- (8) **Mechanics of Delayed Valuation:** uF with no match in its c-command domain can be valued ex-situ, by raising to closest c-command a matching feature.

Support for (7) comes from the fact that CA with the subject is possible even when ForceP originates within the VP complement to a phasal Applicative head (cf. McGinnis 2001), as the theme argument in a double object construction. Thus if movement of ForceP does not take place, the agreeing complementizer is Transferred well before the subject is Merged.

The proposals in (7) and (8) converge with the analysis of English nominative valuation in Bošković (2007, 2011) and Epstein & Seely (2006) (though my approach will differ from them both in some significant respects). And (8) converges also with the analysis of Case-driven movement of nominatives in German restructuring constructions involving 2 lexical verbs as described and analyzed in Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2005). But Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (op cit) also present important evidence that the uCase of a VP-internal DP can be valued nominative in situ, if the domain is small enough (a simple clause or a restructuring complement to a modal or raising verb). Putting together the evidence of

Lubukusu CA with Bobaljik & Wurmbrand's proposals for German, I will argue that (8) should be broadened as follows.⁴

- (8') **Mechanics of Delayed Valuation:** uF with no match in its c-command domain can be valued:
- (i) Ex situ, by raising to c-command a matching feature in a higher phase, *OR*
 - (ii) In situ, by a matching feature within the same phase.

The approach I will adopt to motivating movement is sketched in (9).

- (9) Why there is movement: An edge feature removes any visible uF from within its complement.

(9) is intended as an implementation of Bošković's (2007, 2011) proposal that features of the moving item drive movement. And (8') is only a slight modification of Bobaljik & Wurmbrand's (2005) proposal for what they call *agreement domains*, extended to both Case and the novel facts of Lubukusu CA. In §5 I will present a speculative proposal that (8i) is unnecessarily restrictive: DELAYED VALUATION may be less about a specific representational requirement than about matching features being made local, though the operation of (9) obscures this fact in many cases. There is some reason to think that when an edge feature is not available c-commanding a potential source of valuation β , moving of uF α to be closest c-commandee of β may suffice; hence the revised (8'R).

- (8'R) **Directionality-Free Mechanics of Delayed Valuation:** uF with no match in its c-command domain can be valued:
- (i) Ex situ, by raising into locality with a matching feature in a higher phase, *OR*
 - (ii) In situ, by the closest matching feature within the same phase.

Thus while my approach rejects upwards/downwards as a parametric choice (Baker 2008, Diercks 2011a), the investigation results in a suggestion that something resembling "upwards" looking valuation processes are in principle available in all languages when first

⁴ Henceforth I will assume that being *closest* is prerequisite to any successful matching/valuation relation, and restrict attention in definitions to the hierarchical and phasal aspects of the relations.

Merge provides no results. Any intrinsic directionality to probing is illusory, and so perhaps is any actual process of “probing”, on this view (cf. Dan Seely personal communication).

1.3 uF of X become uF of XP

The approach to goal features and upwards agreement phenomena that I advocate here leads inevitably to rejection of the view that unvalued features of X abort XP or make it impossible for XP to Merge with Y (Chomsky 2000; Adger 2003). Chomsky (2000:132) writes, “Properties of the probe [...] must be exhausted before new elements of the lexical subarray are accessed to drive further operations.” But a DP bearing unvalued uCase is licit in syntactic relations with other expressions, including Merge with a selecting head (Merge (H, DP_{uCase})), and Merge of a higher probe that can value its uCase. Given that “active goal features” meet the definition of probes and that in my own and several other analyses they *are* probes (see Bošković 2007, 2011; Epstein & Seely 2006) the hypothesis expressed in Chomsky’s quote is untenable. Throughout this paper I accordingly assume that XP inherits the features of X, because its label is a copy of X. Any unvalued features of X thus become properties of XP and can probe the c-command domain of XP (see also Bejar & Rezac 2009 for a different implementation of this idea). I return to the issue of XP probing in §7, arguing that concord on APs and agreement on the Luyia adjunct ‘how’ are additional cases in which unvalued features of X obtain value in relations (Agree (XP_{uPhi} Y(P))).

1.4 Structure of the paper

This paper consists of eight sections. In §2 I propose the approach to goal features in terms of DELAYED VALUATION that is the theoretical premise of the paper upon which subsequent sections rely. In §3 I explore the difference between West Germanic and Lubukusu

complementizer agreement and its implications for how DELAYED VALUATION works. §4 considers DELAYED VALUATION of Case, focusing on Bobaljik & Wurmbrand's treatment of nominative in German restructuring contexts, and the proposals of Bošković (2007, 2011) and Epstein & Seely (2006) regarding nominative in English. §5 addresses the question of how and when movement occurs. §6 looks at agreement displacement phenomena discussed in Bejar & Rezac (2009) in light of my findings. §7 provides independent evidence from a range of additional phenomena that uF of X can be valued through probing by XP. §8 concludes.

2 Goal features

Consider the partial derivation of (10a) presented in (10b,c) below. (10b) indicates that when v Merges with VP, VP contains a DP direct object bearing unvalued Case. Under fairly standard Minimalist assumptions, the interaction of this DP's uCase with v's uPhi permits both to be valued as shown in (10c).

- (10) a. I will see him.
 b. MERGE ($v_{u\Phi}$ [$VP DP_{3S, uCase...}$])
 c. [$v_{u\Phi 3S}$ [$VP DP_{3S, uCaseAcc...}$]]

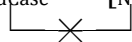
The process is repeated in subsequent stages of the derivation presented in (11) below. The subject is Merged bearing a uCase feature (11a). Then vP is Merged with T, which bears a uPhi probe (11b). Only after this step can uCase of the subject DP be valued (11c).

- (11) a. MERGE ($DP_{1S, uCase}$ [$vP...$])
 b. MERGE ($T_{u\Phi}$ [$vP DP_{1S, uCase}$ [$v' V...$]])
 c. $T_{u\Phi 3S}$ [$vP DP_{1S, uCaseNom...}$]]

(10) and (11) represent the mechanics of Case-valuation in Chomsky (2000, 2001). The state of affairs sketched out here is at odds with the assumption that uFs must find values, where possible, in their c-command domains.

My proposal is to extend to goal features like uCase the approach that successfully accounts for probe uFs, that is, the assumption that valuation is automatically attempted at first Merge. Appearances to the contrary arise by virtue of an independently motivated claim that it is possible for matching of a uF α to initially fail and the derivation to converge nonetheless as the syntactic object that contains α is expanded to include additional material (Bejar 2003, Rezac 2003, Bejar & Rezac 2009). I propose that D bears a uCase feature which is not valued in its c-command domain (= NP) because there is simply nothing suitable there (see 12). Note that if uCase is assumed to be a property of N rather than D, greater technical difficulties face the problem's resolution since N is not the head of DP; hence DP does not automatically inherit its features (and see Carstens 2010, 2011 for arguments that there is no "percolation" of morpho-syntactic features from N to D).

(12) $[_{DP} D_{uCase} \quad [_{NP} \dots]]$



Upon Merge, D's uCase cannot be valued

There are in principle at least 3 conceivable ways in which a syntactic object that contains a stranded uF like D's uCase in (12) might be thought to progress towards a convergent derivation. I summarize in (13), where α represents any uF in such a circumstance.

(13) Hypotheses for DELAYED VALUATION of uF α

- (i) α raises to probe a possible valuer β under closest c-command (perhaps pied piping the XP bearing α and thus yielding common Spec, head configurations and relations; cf. Epstein et al 1998; Epstein & Seely 2006; Bošković 2007, 2011).
- (ii) α can be valued by iF of a higher expression in a limited domain without moving, as the syntactic object that includes it is expanded to include some β with matching features

(Rezac 2003; Bejar & Rezac 2009).⁵

(iii) α is valued if a probe β , Merged higher in the same phase, takes it as goal in an Agree relation.

Though I have set out the problem of DELAYED VALUATION in relation to English Case, both raising and in situ analyses of have been proposed for it in the syntactic literature as noted above. Choosing the best among these analyses is not an easy task due to the confounding issue of whether there is an independent catalyst for DP-movement in English -- the EPP. My strategy in this paper is therefore to evaluate the possibilities in (13i-iii) in relation to several different classes of phenomena that I think are more conclusive, beginning with the two varieties of complementizer agreement I have already introduced: the direct, downward-valued variety found in West Germanic, and the apparently upward-probing variety found in Lubukusu (cf. Diercks to appear b). As noted in the introduction, I analyze the latter as DELAYED VALUATION resulting from the absence of $i\Phi$ in the c-command domain of Lubukusu C's $u\Phi$ at the point of Merge, because Lubukusu C is high in the left periphery. By the time it enters the syntax, cyclic Transfer has removed the subject. Successful valuation is a subcase of (12i). But §4 and §5 present evidence that (13ii-iii) are also options employed in natural language for providing DELAYED VALUATION of $u\Phi$ s, with the choice among mechanisms based primarily on locality. I will argue that (13ii) and (13iii) can be collapsed, hence the two-point conclusion in (8').

Before we begin, a clarification is in order regarding my approach to Case.

Throughout the paper I will assume with Bošković (2011) that categories can value $u\text{Case}$ only if they themselves have uninterpretable but intrinsically valued Case features -- thus T

⁵ Rezac (2003) and Bejar & Rezac (2009) treat this as second-cycle probing. I will argue for a more neutral conceptualization under which it is simply Match and valuation in a larger domain; see §6 for discussion.

bears uNom, and v or P uAcc. Because they have values, these features do not require “checking” or deletion, but a match relation with one of them is necessary to provide valuation for D(P)’s intrinsically unvalued uCase feature. And as in Chomsky (2000, 2001), the Case-valuing heads generally have uPhi. These assumptions are important ingredients in the creation of a unified treatment for agreement and Case.

3. Evidence from “upward” complementizer agreement.

3.1 The empirical issue

I argued in §2 that there is no species of uF that fails to probe downwards upon Merge, for reasons rooted in the derivation. Goal features heretofore seemed a notable exception to this rule. The proposal in §2 eliminates them as an obstacle to a unitary conception of uFs, arguing that goals are simply uFs that cannot obtain values on first Merge.

The idea that probes must search in their sisters has been challenged in recent work by Baker (2008), Diercks (2011, to appear b) among others. Baker proposes that upwards/downwards probing (henceforth U/D) is a parametric choice. A key piece of evidence he cites for this claim is the existence of agreement in Lubukusu between a complementizer and the subject of the immediately higher clause (see 14 and 15, from Diercks to appear b. Henceforth complementizer agreement = CA; I boldface it below).

- (14) khw-aulile **khu**-li ba-limi ba-funa ka-ma-indi
1stPL-heard 1stPL-that 2-farmers 2S-harvested 6-6-maize
'We heard that the farmers harvested the maize.'
[Lubukusu]
- (15) Sammy ka-bol-el-wa **a**-li ba-keni b-ola
1Sammy 1S-say-AP-PASS 1-that 2-guests 2S-arrived
'Sammy was told that the guests arrived.'

Diercks (op cit) provides two important arguments that agreement on Lubukusu C is not simply subject agreement copied onto it from the higher T (a possibility that is in any case at odds with phase theory for reasons that will become clear in §3.3.2). In subject

extraction contexts, T can only agree in number and gender (Diercks calls this the Alternative Agreement Effect; it is bolded and glossed AAE below), but agreeing C exhibits full features of gender, number, and person (16). And in imperatives, there are no explicit subject agreement features on the verb; but C bears second person singular or plural (17a,b). Hence it appears that Lubukusu C has independent uPhi features that are valued by the subject (assuming with Diercks op cit that in imperatives like 16a,b there is a silent second person subject).

(16) naanu **o**-manyile **a**-li (***o**-li) Alfred a-l-ola
 who AAE-knows 1-that (*AAE-that) 1Alfred 1S-FUT-arrive
 ‘Who knows that Alfred will arrive?’

(17) a. Suubisye **o**-li o-kh-eche muchuli
 promise 2ndSG-that 2ndSG-FUT-come tomorrow ‘
 ‘Promise me that you (sg) will come tomorrow.’

b. Loma **mu**-li orio muno
 say 2ndPL-that thank you very much (pl)
 ‘Say thank you very much.’

The Lubukusu pattern resembles that of CA in the better-documented West Germanic (WG) languages in being demonstrably independent of SA. But the two contrast crucially in that WG CA reflects features of the embedded SU (18). Carstens (2003), Haegeman & van Koppen (2010) argue that West Germanic C has uPhi distinct from that of T, and each uPhi is valued by SU independently as seems to be the case in Lubukusu. Among the evidence provided by Haegeman & van Koppen (op cit) is the fact that WG C can agree with the left member of a conjoined subject, while T must agree with the whole:⁶

⁶ I found some licit mismatches in Lubukusu SA and CA with conjoined subjects (see i). For lack of insight into Lubukusu conjunctions and person hierarchies I defer analysis to future research (see Baker & Safir 2012a,b).

(i) [Afred ne na-se/Ese ne Alfred] **khw**-a-par-a **khu/ndi**/***a**-li omukeni k-ool-a
 Alfred and CONJ-I/I and Alfred 1PL-PST-think-FV 1PL/1S/3S-that 1guest 1SA-arrive-PST-FV

- (18) Ich dink de-s [toow en Marie] kump. [Lumburgian]
I think that-2SG you(SG) and Marie come.PL
'I think that you and Marie will come'

Summarizing, then, both kinds of agreeing Cs have independent uPhi, but the values they acquire are drawn from quite different domains – the higher versus the lower clause. For Baker (op cit) and Diercks (2010), the contrast between West Germanic and Lubukusu CA motivates and is at least partially explained by the U/D parameter. A very fruitful approach to parameters attributes them to properties of lexical items (Borer 1984, Chomsky 1995). As Baker (op cit) acknowledges, U/D is probably not implementable in these terms. It is hard to imagine a potential feature of LIs, save perhaps a fanciful designation such as “novelty seeker,” that could encode the downwards value of the U/D parameter, causing an unvalued feature to spurn valuation available to it in a feature-match at Merge. A less constrained and predictive grammar results from the admission of representation-based parameters like U/D.

3.2 The delayed valuation approach

I propose that, like the difference between probe and goal features, the contrast between WG and Lubukusu CA is due to whether valuation is available for the relevant uFs in their Merge locations. The analysis rests on interaction among a few independently motivated factors: (i) the Phase Impenetrability Condition of Chomsky (2001); (ii) an articulated left edge as in Rizzi (1997) allowing differences in the height of agreeing Cs in the 2 cases; and (iii) one of the DELAYED VALUATION mechanisms sketched out in relation to goal features in §2. Relevant aspects of Rizzi's approach to the left periphery are illustrated in (19):

'Alfred and I thought that the guest had arrived'

(19) [ForceP Force⁰ [FinP Fin⁰ [TP SU T...]]]

Articulated left periphery

Assume that West Germanic C is Fin⁰. When uPhi of Fin⁰ probes its sister upon Merge, SU is accessible under the PIC (see 20). Hence Fin's uPhi can find a match in the features of SU within its c-command domain at first Merge:

(20) a. $\text{Fin}_{u\Phi i} [\text{TP SU T } [\text{VP SU v...}]]$

West Germanic Complementizer Agreement
uPhi of Fin successfully probe the subject

b. $\text{Fin}_{u\Phi i} [\text{TP SU T } [\text{VP SU v...}]]$

In contrast, Lubukusu agreeing C is the higher complementizer, Force⁰. Force⁰ is a phase-head, so when it probes its own c-command domain TP has already been Transferred to Spell Out. The subject is gone, and like a goal feature, uPhi of Force⁰ (henceforth Force_{uPhi}) cannot be valued until and unless Merge of additional material expands the possibilities.

(21) [ForceP Force_{uPhi} [FinP Fin [TP SU ...]]]

Lubukusu Complementizer Agreement:
Force_{uPhi} cannot probe SU because Force is a phase head

Carstens & Diercks (to appear) provide independent evidence that the agreeing C in Lubukusu is a high phase-head complementizer. They argue from the existence of reconstructed readings for examples like (22a) that there is HYPER-RAISING in Lubukusu -- raising out of tensed clauses. But the agreeing complementizer is not possible in a HYPER-RAISING construction (see 22b); HYPER-RAISING is only licit across a non-agreeing complementizer *mbo*. Carstens & Diercks (op cit) claim that *mbo* is a low, non-phasal C whereas agreeing C is higher and a phase head (see 23a,b from Carstens & Diercks to appear), thus explaining why A-movement can cross the former but not the latter.⁷ I adopt the general approach and for concreteness analyze *mbo* is Fin and agreeing C is Force.

⁷ Bošković (2007) reviews evidence from Chuckchee and Blackfoot suggesting that Agree can reach into an embedded clause (citing data and analyses drawn from Stepanovic & Takahashi 2001 and Legate 2005). He argues that only Move is subject to the PIC. Given the evidence that Lubukusu cross-clausal agreement fails, I

- (22) a. Mikaeli a-lolekhana mbo a-si-kona
Michael 1SA-seem that/ 1SA-PRES-sleep
‘Michael seems to be still sleeping.’
[Lit: Michael seems that is sleeping]
(OK upon observing Mike’s house is dark: the reconstructed reading)
- b. * Mikaeli a-lolekhana **a-li** a-si-kona
Michael 1SA-seem 1-that 1SA-PERS-sleep
‘Michael seems to be still sleeping.’
- (23) a. [TP DP seem [CP1 C [TP <DP> T VP]]] Raising OK in (22a) out of CP1
|
non-phase
- b. * [TP DP seem [CP2 Agr-C [CP1 Ø [TP <DP> T VP]]]] *Raising in (22b) out of CP2
|
phase

Returning to the mechanics of Lubukusu CA, the situation for uPhi of Force at the point in (21) is entirely parallel to that of D’s uCase in (12). In line with the possibilities in (13), there seem to be three ways in which valuation might be hypothesized to take place here. Force⁰ might raise to c-command an expression bearing iPhi (with or without pied-piping surrounding material). Alternatively, Force⁰ might probe upwards as the syntactic object containing it is expanded. Lastly, Force⁰ might be able to obtain valuation without doing anything at all, when a higher expression is Merged that bears some relevant uF probe feature and/or matching iPhi. Teasing out the best among these options is the next task. I will argue below that ForceP raises to outer Spec, vP where its uPhi probes the subject.

suggest instead that the relevant C in Chuckchee and Blackfoot is the low non-phasal C Fin, so that long-distance Agree in these languages relies on the same embedded clause permeability as Lubukusu hyper-raising across *mbo*. See also Bhatt (2005), Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2005) for analyses of some long-distance agreement in terms of restructuring, and Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) for arguments that long-distance agreement in Tsez is mediated by a null topic in Spec of the embedded CP.

3.3 The subject orientation and its implications

3.3.1 The empirical problem

The evidence that Force(P) must move lies in the identity of the expression that ultimately values its uPhi. Diercks (to appear b) demonstrates that only the subject of the immediately superordinate clause can value uPhi of C. C cannot agree with a more remote subject (see 24); nor with an indirect object or causee (see 25) (24 and 25a from Diercks op cit; thanks to Lillian Waswa for 25b).

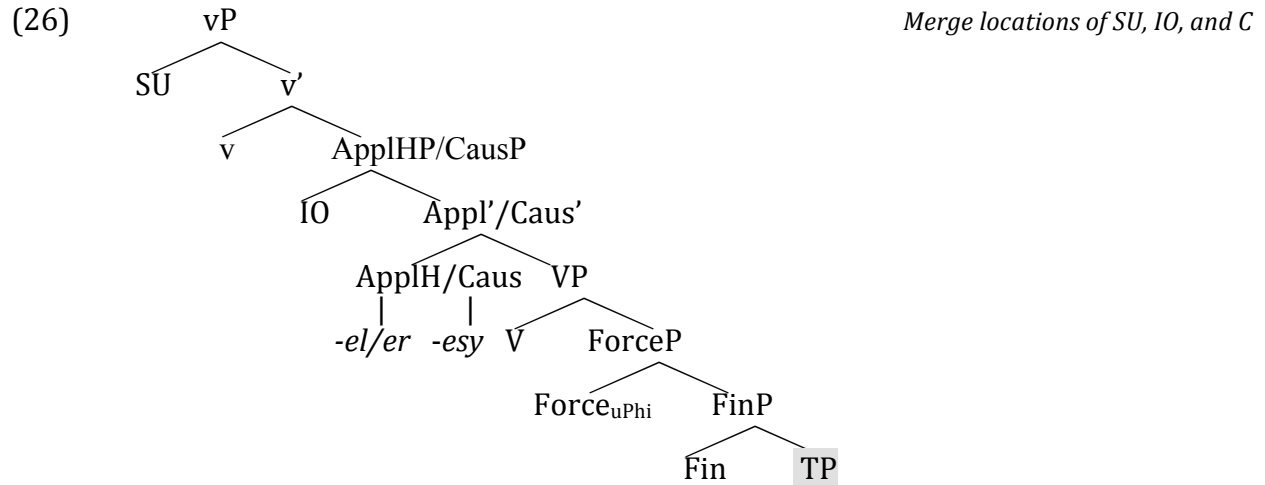
(24) Alfredi ka-a-loma a-li ba-ba-andu ba-mwekesia bali (*ali) o-mu-keni k-ola
1Alfred 1S-PST-say 1-that 2-2-people 2S-revealed 2-that 1-1-guest 1S-arrived
'Alfred said people revealed that the guest arrived.'

(25) a. Ewe w-abol-el-a Nelsoni o-li (*a-li) ba-keni ba-rekukha.
you 2^{nds}-say-AP-FV 1Nelson 2^{nds} (*3^{rds} -that 2-guests 2SA-left
'You told Nelson that the guests left.'

b. N-ok-esy-a Wekesa ndi (*ali) ba-keni ba-rekhukha.
1s-see-CAUS-FV 1Wekesa 1^{sts}SA (*3^{rds}-that 2-guests 2SA-left
'I showed Wekesa that the guests had left.'

(24) indicates that the relation underlying Lubukusu CA is local, as Diercks (to appear b) points out. Given this, (25a,b) present a locality puzzle. The syntax of causative and applicative constructions seems to be parallel in Lubukusu so I will consider them together (see Baker & Safir 2012b, §3.3.2:(30) and §3.5). Following Marantz (1993), and (McGinnis 2001) I assume that indirect objects in Bantu languages Merge in Spec of a 'high' Appl(licative)P located between vP and VP. (on the difference between 'high' and 'low' applicatives see Pylkkanen 2002, 2008, for whom the external argument is Merged in Spec of VoiceP where VoiceP>ApplHP>vP>VP; this differences is not significant here). Appl in Bantu is generally realized in an overt verbal suffix (Lubukusu -el- or -er-). Extending this approach to causatives, the schematic structure of (25a,b) is hence (26). Evidence that IO asymmetrically c-commands DO is presented in (27), supporting this analysis (see Barss &

Lasnik 1986; Marantz 1993 for early recognition of the significance of binding for diagnosing the structure of double object constructions).⁸ As (26) illustrates, the Merge positions of the subject and agreeing C are not at all local.



- (27) a. Na-a-rer-er-a buli mayi_i omwana wewe_i
 1sSA-PAST-bring-APPL-FV every 1mother 1child 1her
 'I brought each mother_i her_i child' (OK with bound variable reading)
- b. *Na-a-rer-er-a mayi wewe_i buli omusorereri_i
 1sSA-PAST-bring-APPL-FV 1mother his every 1boy
 *'I brought his_i mother each boy_i' (OK without bound reading)

Thus whether Force(P) is hypothesized to raise, to probe upwards, or to be valued by a feature of T or the subject DP interacting with it downwards, the indirect object or causee would seem to be in the way. Diercks (op cit) argues that there is a logophoric subject-oriented null operator in Spec of the embedded CP. Because of Lubukusu's adoption of the upwards probing parameter, C agrees with this operator rather than with the material in its c-command domain (see 28). But the mechanics of the proposed operator's subject orientation are unclear, leaving the question restated but not fully answered.

⁸ Binding relations in Lubukusu double object constructions are more complex than this, as will be detailed §3.5. I assume that the rigid word order and binding pattern when both objects are animate reveal the underlying hierarchical relations; see also prior works on the topic of DOCs cited in this section.

- (28) a. [You_i say-APPL Alfred_j [CP OP_i C_{uPhi} the guests left]] →
 b. [You_i say-APPL Alfred_j [CP OP_{2ndS} C_{uPhi2ndS} the guests left]]

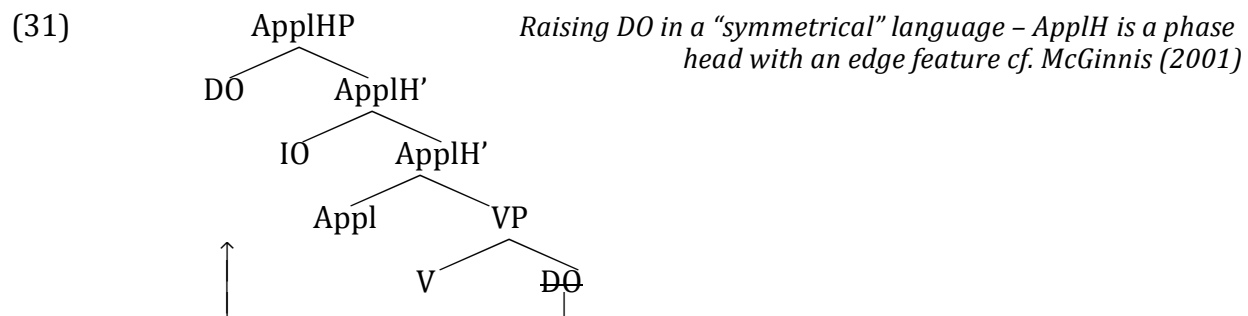
3.3.2 A movement account

Lubukusu is what is called a “symmetrical” language in that either the indirect or the direct object can generally be realized as an object pronoun, or move to Spec, TP in a passive (see also Baker & Safir 2012b). McGinnis (2001) argues that in such languages, Appl is a phase head with an edge (= EPP) feature.⁹ This allows direct objects to raise across indirect objects, feeding passivization and pronominalization. The examples in (29) and (30) demonstrate that Lubukusu applicatives and causatives are indeed symmetrical (thanks to Aggrey Wasike for 29; 30 is from Baker & Safir 2012b). I illustrate McGinnis’s approach in (31), where raising of DO across IO is mediated by the Appl phase head. I assume the approach extends to symmetrical causatives; thus Lubukusu Caus is also a phase head.

- (29) a. Khu-rer-er-e omusoleli vitabu
 1PLSA-bring-APPL-PAST 1boy 8book
 ‘We brought the boy books’
 b. Khu-**mu**-rer-er-e vitabu
 1PLSA-1OM-bring-APPL-PAST 8book
 ‘We brought him books’
 c. Khu-**vi**-rer-er-e omusoleli
 1PLS-8OM-bring-APPL-PAST 1boy
 ‘We brought them (to) the boy’
 d. Omusoleli a-rer-er-w-e vitabu
 1boy 1SA-bring-APPL-PASS-PAST 8book
 ‘The boy was brought books’
 e. Vitabu vi-rer-er-w-e omusoleli
 8book 8SA-bring-APPL-PASS-PAST 1boy
 ‘The books were brought (to) the boy’

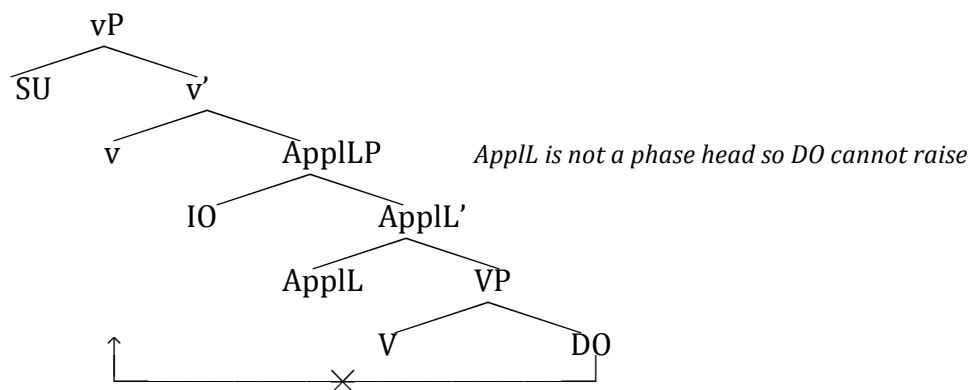
⁹Chomsky (2008) defines an A’ position as one created by an edge feature of a phase head, raising questions about the A/A’-status of pronominalization and passivization under this analysis. I discuss this in §3.5.

- (30) a. Sitabu sy-ok-esy-ebw-a Wekesa.
7book 7SA-see-CAUS-PASS Wekesa
'The book was shown to Wekesa.'
- b. Wekesa o-ok-esy-ebw-a situbu.
Wekesa 1SA-see-CAUS-PASS 7book
'Wekesa was shown the book.'

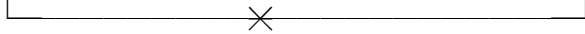


In contrast, only the indirect, “applied” object can be passivized or pronominalized in an “asymmetrical” language (many of which are the “low” applicatives in Pylkannen 2002, 2008; but see McGinnis 2005 on exceptions in each direction). McGinnis argues that when double object constructions are not symmetrical, Appl is not a phase head. It hence has no edge feature, so the DO is trapped below the IO (unless it is A’-extracted to Spec, CP; presumably via Spec, vP).

- (32) a. *A book was given the children
- b. *We gave it the children (out with DO reading for the pronoun)
- c.



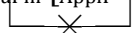
McGinnis’s successful analysis of the two varieties of applicatives extends nicely to the symmetrical double object constructions of Lubukusu. Interestingly for our purposes, it is completely incompatible with an approach to Lubukusu CA in terms of in situ valuation of Force_{uPhi}. This is because by the time the subject is Merged, the complement to the Appl phase head including ForceP will have been spelled out:¹⁰

- (33) $[_{VP} SU [_{v'} v [_{ApplP} IO [_{Appl'} Appl [_{VP} V [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi} \dots]]]]]]]$

Since Lubukusu Appl is a phase head, an in situ approach to CA must fail

On the other hand, McGinnis’s proposal that an edge feature of phasal Appl can raise the DO yields a straightforward movement analysis for valuing Force_{uPhi}. Since ForceP is the direct object, the possibility of raising it is automatically available under McGinnis’s approach.

- (34) $[_{VP} SU [_{v'} v [_{ApplP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{ApplP} IO [_{Appl'} Appl [_{VP} V [_{ForceP_{uPhi}} \dots]]]]]]]]]$

The question that the analysis must confront next is why the indirect object does not value Force_{uPhi} under closest c-command, once this raising has taken place. Something apparently blocks the potential Agree relationship:

- (35) $[_{VP} v [_{ApplP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{ApplP} IO [_{Appl'} Appl [_{VP} V [_{ForceP} \dots]]]]]]]$

ForceP raises to outer Spec, Appl but Agree does not occur

I will argue below that the applied object is Case-licensed in situ and hence “deactivated”.

As the derivation continues, Merge introduces *v* and subsequently the thematic subject in Spec, *vP*. If *uPhi* of ForceP is to be successfully valued, ForceP raises again, to outer Spec, *vP*. At this point valuation finally takes place.¹¹

¹⁰ This problem also arises for the logophoric operator approach in Diercks (2010) and (to appear b): unless the operator raises at least from Spec, CP to Spec, ApplP it will be trapped inside the Transferred VP. Unlike movement of the whole ForceP, raising of the operator does not fall out as a subcase of the independently motivated raising of DO over IO, or from principles of *uF* valuation like (8'). Hence my approach has significant theoretical advantages.

¹¹ Example (15) demonstrated that C agrees with the derived IO subject when a double object verb with a ForceP complement is passivized. This result can be obtained by assuming either that (i) even unaccusative *v*

- (36) $[_{VP} \text{ForceP}_{u\Phi i} [_{VP} \text{SU} [_{v'} v [_{\text{ApplP}} \text{ForceP} [_{\text{ApplP}} \text{IO} [_{\text{Appl}'} \text{Appl} [_{VP} \dots]]]]]]]]$
After ForceP raises again, Agree (ForceP_{uPhi}, SU) succeeds

The analysis rests crucially on the proposition that Lubukusu subjects and indirect objects contrast with respect to vP-internal Case-valuation. I argue for this contrast next.

3.3.4 Case and multiple agreement with subjects

Much has been written about how and whether Case plays a role in Bantu (see among others Harford-Perez 1986; Baker 2003; Diercks to appear a; Carstens 2005; Carstens 2010; Carstens 2011; Carstens & Diercks to appear; Henderson 2007; Halpert 2011; and Ndayiragije 1999). One area of conflict between Bantu language data and Case theory is the phenomenon of multiple agreement with subjects in Bantu compound tense constructions. Subjects can also be doubly agreed with in Lubukusu ‘how’ questions (see the Lubukusu 37 and 38, taken from Carstens & Diercks 2011, and the HYPER-RAISING 22a of §3.2).

- (37) a-kha-be ne-a-khola siina?
 1SA-FUT-be NE-1SA-do 7what
 ‘What will s/he be doing?’
- (38) Baba-ana ba-kha-kule bi-tabu ba-rie(ena)?
 2-children 2SA-FUT-buy 8-book 2-how
 ‘How will the children buy books?’

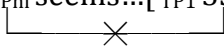
Iterating agreement with subjects is impossible in English (see 39).

- (39) a. *John has is sleepings.
 b. *He seems __ has left.


Chomsky (2000, 2001) addresses (39b), attributing it in part to a strict relationship between agreement and Case-valuation. He argues that Agree with a “phi-complete” probe (in 39b/40a,b, the lower T) values the embedded subject DP’s uCase. This prohibits the

is a phase head (see Legate 2003); or (ii) anticipating §3.3.4, when Appl is passivized the IO has no in situ Case licensing and hence is “active”. ForceP stops in outer Spec, ApplP and probes the IO before the IO raises to Spec, TP (see also note 16). Solution (ii) is simple and consistent with the approach to movement in (9).

relevant DP from entering an Agree relation with the matrix T (see 40c). Chomsky (2001:6) writes, “Once the Case value is determined, N no longer enters into agreement relations and is ‘frozen in place.’”

- (40) a. [TP₁ T₁_{uPhi} 3S_{uCase} have left] →
 b. [TP₁ T₁_{uPhi} 3S_{uNom} have left] *Lower clause of (39b)*
 c. *[TP₂ T₂_{uPhi} seems... [TP₁ 3S_{uNom} T₁...]] *Agreement/movement of 3S blocked, after Case-valuation in the lower clause of (39b)*
- 

Carstens (2001) points out that Bantu subjects do not exhibit the expected “frozen in place” property, analyzing (37) as in (41), and arguing that agreement and Case should be dissociated in syntactic theory (see also Baker 2003; Carstens 2005; and Henderson 2007).

- (41) [TP SU be+T_{uPhi} [AspP SU V+v+Asp_{uPhi} [vP SU ...]]]
- 
- Asp agrees with and raises the subject
T agrees with and raises the subject*

In theory-neutral terms, the fact that uPhi of Lubukusu ForceP agrees only with a subject may be viewed as just one among many indicators that subjects in Bantu have an unusual capacity to license agreement multiple times. Hence whatever analysis best accounts for this overall pattern ought to be extended to cover Lubukusu CA with the subject. But since CA presents novel evidence on the topic I will review some recent approaches and present a new proposal as to why subjects in particular exhibit this behavior.

In addition to the unusual ability of Bantu subjects to value multiple agreement, several works have made the potentially related observation that the location of DPs in many Bantu languages is unconstrained in ways unexpected from the standpoint of Case theory. Among the evidence is the licitness of inversion constructions like the Zulu (42). Consideration of such phenomena has played a major role in shaping proposals that Case is completely absent in Bantu (see in particular Harford-Perez 1986; Diercks to appear a).

(42) ku- fund- is-a uSipho abantwana
 17S- earn-CAUS- FV 1Sipho 2children
 'SIPHO teaches the children.'

(43) CASE PARAMETER: a language does/does not have abstract Case.
 (Diercks to appear a).

But Halpert (2011) suggests that the “no case” proposals of Diercks (to appear a) and Harford-Perez (op cit) generalize incorrectly from subjects to other arguments, and argues that there is Case-licensing for nominal expressions within Zulu vPs despite its otherwise exhibiting the constellation of properties that motivated Diercks (to appear a) to propose a negative value in Bantu for the Case parameter. One of the vP-internal positions that Halpert (op cit) argues is Case licensed in Zulu is that of applied objects. McGinnis (2001) also argues that Appl Case-licenses applied objects in Bantu languages generally – a view that I will adopt here.¹²

As noted above, Halpert’s proposals are based on Zulu, a language in which transitive inversions are possible, leaving the thematic subject in situ as we saw in (42). While Harford-Perez (op cit) and Diercks (to appear a) took evidence like (42) to indicate that Bantu DPs do not have abstract Case features restricting their distribution, Halpert’s proposals make it possible to interpret such inversions as coming about at least in part because more vP-internal Case-licensing is available in Bantu languages than in English.

¹² Halpert argues that in Zulu applied constructions, Appl Case-licenses the argument to its right, usually the direct object, while a higher licenser Case-licenses IO. I will assume that Lubukusu Appl values Case on its own argument (since Appl raises, it is an open question whether this Case relation is “downward”). This approach is preferable for Lubukusu since it does not lead to the erroneous expectation that in the absence of an IO, the hypothesized higher Case-licenser will be able to value Lubukusu in situ subjects as Halpert argues that it does in Zulu. My discussion here omits many interesting details of Halpert’s analysis including consideration of the augmentless Zulu nouns upon which her theory is based. All that is important for purposes of my paper is the claim that in situ applied objects have Case licensing (unless APPL is passivized), and evidence that Lubukusu in situ subjects do not (see 44b,c).

It is accordingly very interesting to note that in Lubukusu, only unaccusative subjects may appear in situ (see 44, from Carstens & Diercks 2011):

- (44) **Repeated agreement Locative inversion:** DP_{loc} raises to Spec, TP; thematic SU in situ¹³
 [TP LOC T-V-V... [VP v [VP SUBJ V LOC]]] OK: unaccusative
- a. **Mu**-mu-siiru **mw**-a-kwa-**mo** ku-mu-saala.
 18-3-forest 18SA-PST-fall-18L 3-3-tree
 'In the forest fell a tree'
- b. ***Mw**-iloo **mu**-sun-ile-**mo** e-nduyu. *unergative
 18-5hole 18SA-jump-pst-18L 9-9rabbit
 'Into the hole jumped the rabbit'
- c. ***Mu**-mu-siiru **mu**-kha-kule ba-ba-ana bi-tabu *transitive
 18-3-forest 18SA-FUT-buy 2-2-child 8-book
 *'In the forest bought the children books'

Departing somewhat from the framework of Halpert's proposals, I suggest that whether or not subjects can remain vP-internal diagnoses the availability of Case licensing for them there (see 45 and Belletti 1998). In view of an identical contrast between in situ unaccusatives and other subjects in English and Italian, Belletti (1988) proposed that unaccusative subjects have a special inherent Case available to them in situ which allows them to remain there. This Case is compatible with subsequent Agree/structural licensing relations if an unaccusative subject raises out of vP. I adopt Belletti's approach here to explain the Lubukusu contrast in (44) and those of English in (46).

(45) If DP can surface vP-internally, then it is Case-licensed there.

- (46) a. On the table lay the keys to the jewelry box. OK: unaccusative SU in situ
 b. There arrived a man with three daughters. OK: unaccusative SU in situ
 c. *In the kitchen smoked a waitress (a cigarette). *unergative/ transitive SU in situ
 d. *There broke the children several toys. *transitive SU in situ

¹³ There is a second locative inversion construction in which Diercks (2011a) argues that DP_{loc} undergoes A' movement to Spec CP; v+V+T raises to C across an unergative subject in Spec, TP. This is not relevant here.

Hence the fact that all but unaccusative subjects in Lubukusu must vacate vP indicates that, unlike in Zulu, they cannot obtain Case-values in situ, but must instead raise to Spec, TP. See Epstein & Seely (2006); Bošković (2007, 2011) for proposals that English nominative valuation is contingent upon raising the subject (and see §4 and §5); on the other hand see Halpert (op cit) for an argument that Zulu DPs receive no abstract Case in Spec, TP -- hence only DPs bearing an intrinsically Case-licensing pre-prefix may appear in Spec, TP.¹⁴ The precise situation ex situ is not crucial here. What matters to the account of CA is that at least until their arrival to Spec, TP, Lubukusu subjects are “active.”¹⁵ Indirect/applied objects in contrast, are Case-valued and hence “inactive” for relations with other probes.¹⁶ As a result, Force_{uPhi} cannot be valued by the object in Spec, Appl in (35, repeated below).

(35) [vP v [ApplP ForceP_{uPhi} [ApplP IO [Appl' Appl [VP v [ForceP]]]]]]
 ForceP raises to outer Spec, Appl but Agree does not occur

Now a point of indeterminacy arises. Once the subject is Merged, it is conceivable that a local match relation can be established between SU and ForceP in Spec, ApplP as in (47) -- Because ForceP is at the edge of the ApplP phase, it is visible in relations at the next phase

¹⁴ Lubukusu DPs do exhibit the preprefix but its removal does not yield the NPI reading found in Zulu (see Halpert op cit). A question arises regarding my (45), if we adopt for Lubukusu Halpert's proposal of intrinsic Case-licensing for Lubukusu's preprefixed DPs, namely why would it be that an intrinsically Case-licensed DP can't remain in situ? Either something about intrinsic Case is incompatible with the in situ location in Lubukusu, or Lubukusu subject DPs are in fact forced to raise for structural Case, raising questions about (22a). Because the solution to this puzzle lies outside the scope of my paper I leave it for future research.

¹⁵ I assume that Bantu multiple agreement involves iterating match relations between the valued but uninterpretable uGen feature of a nominal and unvalued uGen (the “probe”) on categories that Agree with it (for a symmetrical version of the “activity requirement” where uFs must match in kind for Agree to work, see Carstens 2010, 2011a). If uCase is crucially involved in an Agree relation, further Agree relations are often impossible because they yield unclarity at PF regarding how uCase should be pronounced (see Carstens 2010, 2011a; Epstein, Kitahara & Seely 2010). Bejar & Massam (1999), Melebari & Seely (2011) provide evidence that Case values can change in the course of the derivation, but this seems to be an option unavailable in English and many familiar languages. I will not explore the sources of this cross-linguistic contrast here.

¹⁶ Passivization can lift this restriction presumably by eliminating the Case-licensing property of Appl in a case like (29d) (passive can alternatively eliminate the Case-licensing property of v yielding e.g. 29e). This argues that the Case of Lubukusu IOs is not like German dative; I will assume that it is structural. Realization of the IO as a pronoun in cases like (29b) is arguably mediated by Appl itself, hence not a contradiction to my claim that with Case-licensing from Appl, the IO cannot interact with other probes.

(Chomsky 2001). But given the existence of an edge feature on the higher phase head v , nothing prevents a derivation in which ForceP moves to an outer Spec, vP to c-command SU as in (36), repeated below.

(47) $[_{vP} SU [_{v'} v [_{AppIP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{AppIP} IO [_{AppI'} Appl [_{VP} \dots]]]]]]$
Hypothesis #1: Match with $iPhi$ c-commanding $uPhi$

(36) $[_{vP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{vP} SU [_{v'} v [_{AppIP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{AppIP} IO [_{AppI'} Appl [_{VP} \dots]]]]]]]]$
Hypothesis #2: Match with $uPhi$ c-commanding $iPhi$

I can think of no empirical means for choosing among these options (assuming the CP would extrapose from either position; see §3.4 below). But the facts so far have been consonant with the view that “imperfections” of an expression force its movement from a position in which they cannot be immediately remedied via valuation, whenever such movement is possible (on this see especially Bošković 2007, 2011;¹⁷ Epstein & Seely 2006; my (9), and discussion to come in §5). There seems to be no principled basis on which to suspend this process at the stage in (47), save perhaps for applying a kind of “global economy” metric here, in the terminology of Collins (1994). I follow Collins (op cit) in considering this an illusory kind of economy. At the stage in (35), $uPhi$ of ForceP cannot be valued, and this should suffice to drive its movement onwards if circumstances permit (i.e. there is a phase edge for it to move to). On this basis I adopt (36). The same consideration argues that in clauses without an indirect object, ForceP nonetheless raises to outer Spec, vP as in (48): it is a uF , and an edge feature is available to raise it (in §4 I will propose an alternative to “imperfection-driven” movement which does not change the analysis here).

(48) $[_{vP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{vP} SU [_{v'} v [_{VP} V ForceP_{uPhi}]]]]$

¹⁷ In Bošković (2007) movement to what he calls a “cyclic Spec” like (47) is explicitly ruled out by a c-command requirement on probing. See §5 for discussion of an alternative view.

3.4 Summary and a word order question

I argued in §3.3 for an analysis of Lubukusu CA in which ForceP raises to Spec, vP where its uPhi are valued by the in situ subject. I present a full derivational history in (49), including head movements of V to Appl, V+Appl to v, and v+V+Appl to the middle field of the clause (for simplicity I represent adjunction to T, though a lower landing site for Bantu inflected verbs has been persuasively argued for; see among others Julien 2002). (49a-f) show the Merge operations building from embedded ForceP upwards to the vP level, and indicate Transferred material with shading. After Merge of Appl and the indirect object in steps (49c-d), v is Merged in (49e). Merge operations take precedence over Move (see Chomsky 1995, 2001), so the subject is added next yielding (49f). ForceP then raises to outer Spec, vP (48g). Once T is Merged (49h) and the subject raises to its Spec, (49i) results.¹⁸

- (49) a. [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi} [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP...}]]] →
 b. [_{VP} V [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi} [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP...}]]]] →
 c. [_{ApplP} Appl [_{VP} V [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi} [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP...}]]]]] →
 d. [_{ApplP} IO [_{ApplP} V+Appl [_{VP} V [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi} [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP...}]]]]]] →
 e. [_{v'} v [_{ApplP} IO [_{ApplP} V+Appl [_{VP} V [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi} [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP...}]]]]]]] →
 f. [_{vP} SU [_{v'} V+Appl+v [_{ApplP} IO [_{ApplP} Appl [_{VP} V [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi} [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP...}]]]]]]]] →
 g. [_{vP} [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi}...] [_{vP} SU [_{v'} V+Appl+v [_{ApplP} IO Appl [_{VP} V [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi}...]]]]]] →
 h. V+Appl+v+T [_{vP} [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi}...] [_{vP} SU [_{v'} V+Appl+v [_{ApplP} IO ...]]]] →
 i. [_{TP} SU V+Appl+v+T [_{vP} [_{ForceP} Force_{uPhi}...] [_{vP} SU [_{v'} V+Appl+v [_{ApplP} IO ...]]]]]

¹⁸ The absence of an intervention effect by Force when T probes SU in (49h) might have either of 2 sources: A'-opacity (cf. Rezac 2003; Obata & Epstein 2011; Carstens & Diercks 2011 among others) or the invisibility of one uPhi to another uPhi probe even after valuation (cf. Carstens 2010).

As noted above, this analysis is in the spirit of approaches in Epstein et al (1998), Epstein & Seely (2006), and Bošković (2007, 2011) to motivating syntactic movement. Though there are some differences in implementation among these works, each argues that an item bearing uF must move to a position where it c-commands a source of valuation. The analysis predicts, however, that agreeing CP should precede IO, contrary to fact.

- (50) a. *Ewe w-abol-el-a [o-li ba-keni ba-rekukha] Nelsoni
you 2^{nds}-say-AP-FV 2^{nds}-that 2-guests 2SA-left 1Nelson
- b. *Ewe w-abol-el-a o-li Nelsoni ba-keni ba-rekukha
you 2^{nds}-say-AP-FV 2^{nds}-that 1Nelson 2-guests 2SA-left

Intended: 'You told Nelson that the guests left.'

Neither CP (50a) nor C alone (50b) can precede the indirect object

CPs have a well-known propensity to seek clause-peripheral positions that is likely at work here (cf. Stowell 1981; Emonds 1976). The contrast between (51) and (52) demonstrates that English CPs cannot surface in the canonical position of direct objects. Instead they appear at the right edge of the clause.¹⁹ Sentential subjects are similarly resistant to being "hemmed in" to the canonical subject position (see 53).

- (51) a. John said [_{DP} his name] loudly.
b. *John said loudly [_{DP} his name].
- (52) a. *John said [_{CP} that he was leaving] loudly.
b. John said loudly [_{CP} that he was leaving].
- (53) a. Did [_{DP} John's departure] upset Mary?
b. *Did [_{CP} that John left] upset Mary?

¹⁹ The copy theory of movement is potentially relevant here; it may be that the low in situ copy of ForceP must be the one spelled out. I have no insight as to why this might be, apart from convergence with the general pattern in (52) and (53).

I propose that the CP headed by Lubuku's agreeing C = Force must surface at the right edge like the English CP in (52b). Thus word order does not conflict with a raising approach to delayed valuation of Lubukusu CA. Given this, and the advantages of the raising approach to overcoming phase-theoretic problems that confront in situ valuation of Force_{uPhi}, I conclude that it is the best analysis of the facts.

3.5 Excursus on binding and the edge feature of Appl/Caus

This section has developed an analysis of how uPhi of Force is valued based upon the approach to 'high', symmetrical applicative constructions in McGinnis (2001). Following McGinnis, I have argued that ApplHP (and by extension CausP) has an edge feature that raises the DO across the IO in a language with symmetrical double object constructions. McGinnis argues that this edge feature indicates that ApplH is a phase head.

Chomsky (2008) proposes that an A' position is one created by the edge feature of a phase head. As I noted in footnote 9, questions accordingly arise about the nature of raising of the DO across the IO, mediated by ApplH/Caus. Given that this movement feeds pronominalization and passive, should these be viewed as A' processes in Lubukusu? Alternatively, should the status of ApplH/Caus as a phase head be reassessed? Or is Chomsky's biconditional linkage between phasal edge features and A' positions too rigid?

My investigation uncovered novel evidence that raising of the DO across the IO is in fact A-movement. Some applied or causative verbs that take an animate IO and inanimate DO allow symmetrical ordering and binding possibilities among the two post-verbal objects. I show this in (54). When IO precedes the DO (54a), a universal quantifier in the former can bind a pronoun in the latter as expected (54b; see also 27). But when the DO precedes the IO (54c), a universal quantifier in the DO can bind a pronoun in the IO (see 54d). McGinnis

(2010) argues that binding relationships are irreversibly established as each phase is completed. Under this assumption, and given that the ApplP phase is not completed until the DO raises to outer Spec, Appl, the change in binders is correctly predicted to be licit.

- (54) a. Khu-rer-er-e omuloleli vitabu
 1PLSA-bring-APPL-PAST 1boy 8book
 'We brought the boy books'
- b. Khu-rere-re buli musoleli sitabu siewe
 1PLSA-bring-APPL-PAST every1boy 7book 7his
 'We brought every boy his (own) book'
- c. Khu-rer-er-e vitabu omusoleli.
 1PLSA-bring-APPL-PAST 8book 1boy
 'We brought the boy books'
 [Lit: We brought books the boy]
- d. Khu-rere-re buli sitabu mwenesiyo
 1PLSA-bring-APPL-PAST every book 1owner
 'We brought every book (to) its owner'

- (55) a. ...[_{VP} SU v+Appl+bring [_{ApplP} every boy [_{Appl'} Appl [_{VP} V his books]]]] = (54b)
 b. ...[SU v+Appl+bring [_{ApplP} every book [_{ApplP} its owner [_{Appl'} Appl [_{VP} ...]]]] = (54d)

If raising of the DO across the IO were A'-movement, we would expect (54d) to be unacceptable. Recall that in the order [V IO DO], a pronoun in the IO cannot be bound by a quantifier in the DO (see 27, repeated below). (56) shows that this is true also in cases where the DO is inanimate and the order [V DO IO] is possible. The degraded status of such an example does not seem to arise from a "backwards pronominalization" problem. (57) shows that backwards pronominalization is acceptable when a pronoun is within the subject and its logical antecedent is an object. More marginally, but not entirely excluded, is backwards pronominalization in a double object construction (58). Hence the standard approach seems best – that the quantifier cannot bind a pronoun that it does not c-

command. A'-movement would not be expected to have an impact; the bound reading is infelicitous in **Every paycheck, I gave its owner* just as in **I gave its owner every paycheck*.

- (27) a. Na-a-rer-er-a buli mayi_i omwana wewe_i
 1sSA-PAST-bring-APPL-FV every 1mother 1child 1her
 'I brought each mother_i her_i child' (OK with bound variable reading)
- b. *Na-a-rer-er-a mayi wewe_i buli omusorereri_i
 1sSA-PAST-bring-APPL-FV 1mother his every 1boy
 'I brought his_i mother each boy_i' (OK without bound reading)
- (56) *N-ok-esy-a omwenyesyo buli kumupira
 1stsSA-see-CAUS-FV its.owner every 3ball
 'I showed its owner every ball'
- (57) John ka-sim-a engenyi. Mayi wewe a-tekh-el-anga John eng'enyi buli nyanga.
 1SA-like-FV 9fish. 1mother 1his 1SA-cook-APPL 1John 9fish every 9day
 'John likes fish. His mother cooks John fish every day'.
- (58) ?N-ok-esy-a omwenyesyo kumupira
 1stsSA-see-CAUS-FV its.owner 3ball
 'I showed its owner the ball'

Summing up, raising of the DO over the IO patterns as A-movement with respect to binding.

It also feeds passivization and pronominalization, both of which are typically part of A

rather than A' relations. Hence one of three things must be true:

- (59) Hypotheses consistent with A-movement of DO over IO in high Appl constructions
- Appl has an extra edge feature but it is not a phase head.
 - A position created by the edge feature of a phase head is not always an A' position, contra Chomsky (2008).
 - 'High' applicative constructions are always surrounded by an invisible layer of structure including a Spec position into which the DO moves across the IO; hence movement is not to an outer Spec, Appl contra McGinnis (2001).

Among these options (59b) seems the most promising. Arguing against (59a) is the fact that multiple edge features seem generally to be properties of v and C and not available in every kind of XP. The problem with (59c) is that the IO in Spec, ApplP should intervene to block single step A-movement of the DO from VP to any Spec external to ApplP, so the

desired results are unobtainable. It is also relevant that many Bantu languages have an inverse construction called Subject-Object-Reversal (SOR) in which a direct object raises to Spec, TP (see the Kilega 60a from Kinyalolo 1991 via Carstens 2005). It has been argued quite convincingly in Ndayiragije (1999) that SOR is A-movement to Spec, TP. To account for the fact that the subject in Spec, vP does not block raising of the DO, Carstens (2005, 2010) proposes that the DO first moves to an outer Spec, vP (see 60b). If outer Spec, vP were necessarily an A' position, A-movement through it to Spec, TP would be impossible.

- (60) a. Maku ta-ma-ku-sol-ag-a mutu weneene.
 6beer NEG-6AGR-PROG-drink-HAB-FV lperson alone
 'No one usually drinks beer alone'
 [Lit: Beer doesn't usually drink a person alone]
- b. $T [{}_{VP} OB [{}_{VP} SU [{}_{v'} v [{}_{VP} V OB]]]] \rightarrow [{}_{TP} OB T [{}_{VP} \cancel{OB} [{}_{VP} SU [{}_{v'} v [{}_{VP} V \cancel{OB}]]]]]$
Agree (T, OB) is possible after OB raises to outer Spec, vP

I conclude that (59b) is correct. The A/A' distinction must be otherwise derived, perhaps from the presence or absence of an operator feature on the head of the chain (see Carstens & Diercks 2011 for recent discussion in relation to Lubukusu inversion constructions).

4. Mechanisms of delayed Case valuation

4.1 Introduction

§3 argued that agreement can obtain DELAYED VALUATION by raising to c-command an "active" expression which bears iPhi features. In this section I broaden the investigation by turning to the issue of how uCase obtains DELAYED VALUATION.

As I pointed out in the introduction, the investigation of this topic is complicated by the consistency with which a DP must occupy Spec, TP in many languages including English. Attempts have been made to reduce this to Case (see Grohman, Drury, & Castillo 2000; Martin 1999; Bošković 1997, 2002, 2007, 2011); but consensus remains elusive.

However Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2005; henceforth B&W) presents an illuminating study of two ways that nominative can be valued in German, a language which Wurmbrand (2004/6) argues convincingly lacks any general requirement that Spec, TP be filled. German also has Case morphology, and subject-verb agreement tracks the nominative DP. These three properties make investigation of German Case especially instructive.

B&W show that nominative case can be valued in situ on a VP-internal DP in two environments: (i) when it is the theme argument in the VP of a simple passive; or (ii) when it is the theme argument within the complement to a passive non-lexical restructuring modal or ‘seem’. (see also Wurmbrand 2004/2006). On the other hand, B&W also show that a nominative DP must raise to Spec, TP if its Merge location is too distant from T – outside of what they refer to as a single *agreement domain*. This circumstance arises when restructuring involves two lexical verbs, which in the interests of creating a unified account I will treat the VP2 complement to V1 as a Spell Out unit. Their analysis argues that uCase can drive raising of DP just as we saw uPhi driving raising of ForceP in Lubukusu, and hence supports (8’i). But the mechanics of in situ nominative valuation strongly motivate (8’ii) as well (8’ is repeated below). I conclude with B&W that both possibilities are part of natural language.

- (8’) **Mechanics of Delayed Valuation:** uF with no match in its c-command domain can be valued:
- (i) Ex situ, by raising to c-command a matching feature in a higher phase *OR*
 - (ii) In situ, by a matching feature within the same phase.

4.2 German nominative in Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2005)

B&W demonstrate that in German restructuring contexts, the case of an embedded object is dependent on the matrix verb. If the verb is active, the embedded object is accusative (61).

If the matrix verb is passive as in (62), the object of the restructuring infinitival verb must be nominative even though this verb bears no passive morphology itself.

- (61) a. weil er den /*der Traktor versucht hat [t_{OBJ} zu reparieren]
 since he the.ACC/*the.NOM tractor tried has t_{OBJ} to repair
 'Since he tried to repair the tractor' *active*
- b. weil er jeden /*jeder Brief vergessen hat [t_{OBJ} zu öffnen]
 since he every.ACC/*every.NOM letter forgotten has t_{OBJ} to open
 'Since he forgot to open every letter' *active*
- (62) weil der Traktor zu reparieren versucht wurde
 since the.NOM tractor to repair tried was.SG
 'Since they tried to repair the tractor' *passive*

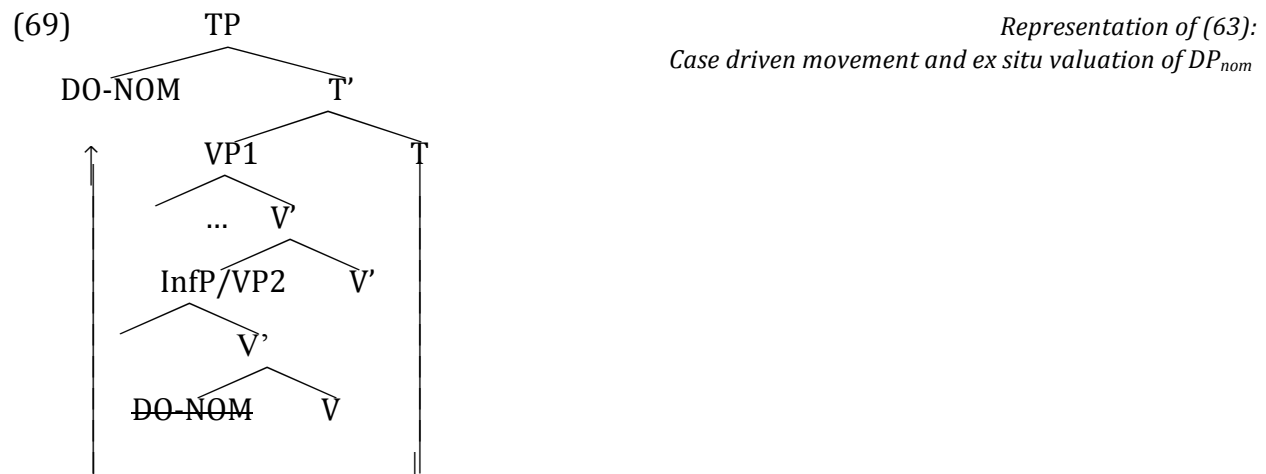
B&W go on to provide evidence from scope interactions that nominative DPs in restructuring infinitives are not uniform in location. In (63), the nominative must be interpreted as having wide scope over the verb 'forget'. Thus the interpretation cannot be one where the implicit agent remembered to close some but not all windows; rather, (63) means that no windows were remembered to be closed. In contrast, in the simple passive (64) and in (65) where the restructuring verb is a modal, a narrow scope reading is preferred for the nominative, though a wide scope reading is marginally possible.

- (63) weil alle Fenster zu schließen vergessen wurden
 since all windows (NOM) to close forgotten were
 'Since they forgot to close all the windows' $\forall \gg \text{forget}; * \text{forget} \gg \forall$
- (64) weil mindestens einem Kind jede Übung gelungen ist
 since at.least one.DAT child every.NOM exercise managed AUX
 'Since at least one child managed to do every exercise' $\exists \gg \forall / ? \forall \gg \exists$
- (65) weil mindestens einem Kritiker jeder Film gefallen sollte
 since at.least one.DAT critic every. NOM film please should
 'Since at least one critic should like every movie' $\exists \gg \forall / ? \forall \gg \exists$

B&W argue for the generalizations in (66) and (67) (Cable to appear supports 67 with evidence from Luo, another language that lacks obligatory EPP of T). I reproduce their analyses of (64) and (63) in (68) and (69) respectively.²⁰

(66) A DP may not be interpreted (for scope and binding) in a position lower than the domain in which it undergoes Case/agreement-checking.

(67) Case/agreement-checking may occur without DP-movement but only within a single *agreement domain*.



B&W thus provide a strong and persuasive argument that successful valuation of a DP's uNom does not entail raising of DP to c-command T in all cases, contra Bošković (2007, 2011) and Epstein & Seely (2006). But in situ valuation of uCase can happen only when T

²⁰ Unlike Bantu applied objects, German datives cannot be agreed with or raised to Spec, TP even in a passive (see among others McFadden 2006). I assume that they therefore do not count in the calculation of *closeness* for the Case-valuing relation (Agree (T, DP_{uCase})) in (68) and (8ii).

and the relevant DP are within the same *agreement domain*. It follows inevitably from the theory of cyclic Transfer that the full inventory of *agreement domains* must include the phases v*P and ForceP. Phasal transfer also potentially provides an excellent explanation for why a DP within VP2 cannot be valued nominative by the matrix T. Given this, and in the interests of forging a general account under one rubric, I suggest (as mentioned in §4.1) that the VP complement to a lexical restructuring verb in German be viewed as a phase in the sense of a Spell Out unit.²¹

5. Case and agreement viewed together: motivating A-movement

5.1 The proposal

At this point I turn to an important question facing any approach to delayed valuation – how to predict movement. As noted in the introduction, my answer is a version of the view that movement is driven by features of the moving item (Bošković 2007, 2011).

- (9) Why there is movement: An edge feature removes any visible uF from within its complement.

(9) is intended to ensure that ForceP will raise all the way to outer Spec, vP, and that a DP that requires nominative will raise out of a restructuring infinitive with two lexical verbs as in B&W's analysis. It is also intended to give rise to obligatory raising of the nominative argument in languages like English that have EPP features in all clauses. But in German, where T's EPP feature is arguably optional, nominative subjects will only optionally raise (see Cable to appear for arguments that optional raising to Spec, TP relies on optional EPP-features). In (64) and (65)/(68), the absence of an EPP feature does not cause any problem

²¹ Bobaljik & Wurmbrand argue that VP2 does not include an edge feature in part to account for the absence of reconstructed readings for the raised DP (see discussion in B&W:30 example 41). Hence it arguably has some but not all features of a strong phase. They also claim that VP1 cannot have an edge feature either, for movement theoretic reasons, but given (9) and anticipating discussion of (8'R), I see no reason to rule out the option that the nominative may surface in a Spec of VP1 if German T happens to have no EPP feature in a given sentence. The scope phenomena motivating their analysis will still be captured.

because in situ valuation is possible. In (63)/(69), because in situ valuation is impossible, a derivation including the optional EPP feature of T is arguably the only one that can converge (though see note 21 and discussion in §5.2).

Note that the analysis rests on the assumption that valuation does not precede raising, when the same head triggers both processes, so that there is no contradiction in the fact that T raises DP with uCase while also serving as its source of valuation.

Together (9) and (8i,ii, repeated below) account for all the instances of A-movement and in situ valuation we have observed.

- (8') **Mechanics of Delayed Valuation:** uF with no match in its c-command domain can be valued:
- (i) Ex situ, by raising to c-command a matching feature in a higher phase *OR*
 - (ii) In situ, by a local matching feature within the same phase.

5.2 A speculation: could raising to be closest c-commandee be enough?

Consider a possible addition to (8'), adding a second hypothetical option for successful valuation via movement:

- (70) uF can obtain valuation from features of a distant expression by:
- (i) raising to closest c-command it, *OR*
 - (ii) raising to be its closest c-commandee.

(70) is an initial attempt to suggest that only locality between 2 features matters for Match and Agree to proceed. If we determine that (70ii) is viable, and define locality as closest c-command, we can collapse (i) and (ii) as the revised condition (i) in (8'R).

- (8'R) **Directionality-Free Mechanics of Delayed Valuation:** uF with no match in its c-command domain can be valued:
- (i) Ex situ, by raising into locality with a matching feature in a higher phase *OR*
 - (ii) In situ, by a matching feature within the same phase.

I argued in §3 that Lubukusu ForceP must continue to raise after v is Merged because v has an edge feature, as is consistent with (9), hence rejecting the valuation scenario in (47) in

favor of (36) (both are reproduced below). The argument was based on the fact that *v* has an edge feature, and motivated by the “imperfection-driven” approach stated in (9). This analysis was consistent with (8i).

- (47) $[_{vP} SU [_{v'} v [_{AppIP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{AppIP} IO [_{AppI'} Appl]]]]]$ **Match with iF c-commanding uF*
- (36) $[_{vP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{vP} SU [_{v'} v [_{AppIP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{AppIP} IO [_{AppI'} Appl]]]]]]]$ *Match with uF c-commanding iF*

But consider a hypothetical case such as (71) in which an edge feature is not available to raise *uF* all the way to Spec, XP. B&W’s account of in situ Nominatives in simple restructuring clauses argues that valuation is a simple matter of two *uFs* establishing a matching relation under locality (8’ii). Given this, a natural question arises as to why (71) should be ruled out. Bošković (2007) labels Spec, YP in (71) a *cyclic Spec* and argues that raising of *uF* cannot stop here. This is in part due to standard minimalist assumptions that valuation relies upon probing, and probing requires closest c-command by a *uF*. But, following a suggestion of Dan Seely (personal communication), suppose that probing is just a metaphor. One feature does not in reality probe another; rather valuation is possible in a sufficiently local domain whenever a feature-match obtains. Assuming also the Activity Requirement, thus that both members in an Agree relation must have a *uF*, then what can be wrong with (71)?

- (71) $[_{XP} X_{uF1} [_{YP} \dots Z_{uF2} [_{WP} Z_{uF2} \dots]]]$ *Valuation following movement of uF2 to the position closest c-commanded by uF1*

I suggest that (71) might be precisely the situation under which a subject’s Case is valued in English [*for...to*] infinitives such as (72) and (73). It is well known that the presence of *for* on the left edge of an infinitival clause correlates positively with the possibility of a lexical subject appearing in an infinitive. Pronominalization shows that the lexical subject bears

accusative Case, leading to the proposal in (Chomsky 1981) that *for* is a prepositional complementizer, assigning accusative to the subject of its infinitival complement.²² (72) demonstrates with a pronominal theme argument of a passive verb raising to Spec of the infinitival TP where *for* values its Case as accusative. (73) illustrates the analysis for a transitive verb with an agent subject.

- (72) a. For him to be arrested would surprise me.
 b. [TP 3S_{uCaseAcc} to be [vP v [VP arrested <3S_{uCase}>]]]...
 c. [CP For_{uAcc} [TP 3S_{uCaseAcc} to be [vP v [VP arrested <3S_{uCase}>]]]...]
- (73) a. For Mary to invite John is typical.
 b. [TP Mary_{uCaseAcc} to [vP <Mary_{uCase}> v [VP invite John]]]...
 c. [CP For_{uAcc} [TP Mary_{uCaseAcc} to [vP <Mary_{uCase}> v [VP invite John]]]...]

(72) and (73) argue that (71) is licit; hence the more liberal wording of (8’Ri) should be preferred over that in (8’i). We need only suppose that it is impossible for a lexical DP to occupy [Spec, *for*] to account for the pattern of facts, perhaps because that DP is a non-operator or because *for* has no Spec (hence the famous **[for t]* effect might reduce to the impossibility of [~~wh~~ *for*]). With respect to the “activity” requirement, I further assume that *for* has uPhi agreeing abstractly with the infinitival subject, the same as English *v* agrees abstractly with the DP that it Case-licenses.

Melebari & Seely (2011) provide evidence similar to the English [*for...to*] construction that Case-valuation is possible under raising of a DP to be the c-commandee of a head with Case-“assigning” feature. They demonstrate that the Arabic complementizer *ʔanna* licenses accusative Case on a DP that follows it. Hence the contrast between the

²² In more recent literature attention has turned away from the correlation of *for* with accusative, focusing on its incompatibility with subject extraction **Who do you want for _ to visit?* See Pesetsky (1991), Bošković & Lasnik (2003), Kim (2008) for proposals that English null C is an affix; its overt counterparts showing up when affixation is impossible. I will assume that solution to the overt versus null issue is not in principle incompatible with an account under which *for* values accusative Case (and see my suggestion above).

nominative subject in (74a,b) and the accusative subject in (74c). Melebari & Seely analyze this as re-valuation of the subject's uCase from nominative to accusative (see Bejar & Massam 1999 on this phenomenon), so it does not disprove the narrow claim that unvalued features must raise to probe their valuers as in Bošković (2007, 2011) and my (8) and (8'i). It does however strongly suggest that valuation is not contingent upon the valuee's c-commanding the valuer, hence weakening the motivation to reject (71).

- (74) a. ʔal-ʔawlad-u qaraʔ-u d-dars-a *Main clause SU is NOM*
 the-boys-NOM read-3PL.MASC the-lesson-ACC
 'The boys read the lesson.'
- b. ʔanna al-ʔawlad-a ʔakal-u T-Taʕaam-a yusʕidu-ni *ʔanna, values SU as ACC*
 that the-boys-ACC ate-3PL.MASC the-food-ACC pleases 3PL.MASC-me
 'That the boys ate the food pleases me.'

I conclude that there are ample grounds to doubt whether features unvalued in situ must raise to a position c-commanding the valuer, and that this doubt means we should take seriously the more permissive, less representationally rigid (8'Ri). As noted in §1.1, the fact that α probes its c-command domain for valuation has a clear derivational basis at the point of first Merge. But in DELAYED VALUATION, there is no obvious reason why this downward bias should persist.

Bošković (2007) discusses two cases that provide apparent counter-examples to the hypothesis of valuation in (71) which, as noted above, he calls raising to a *cyclic* Spec. He first argues that sentences involving the English verbs *conjecture* and *remark* do not license accusative Case, hence the unacceptability of (75a). He next concludes from the unacceptability of (75b) that raising the object of *conjecture* or *remark* to Spec of a CP embedded under an accusative Case-licensor such as *know* does not remedy the problem (see 75c).

- (75) a. *John conjectured/remarked something.
 b. *I know what John remarked/conjectured.
 c. *I [_{VP} v [_{VP} know [_{CP} what [_{TP} John remarked ~~what~~]]]]

Case-valuation fails

Bošković also argues that the unacceptability of (76a) is due to the fact that ECM-type Case-licensing is unavailable with *wager*, as a locality problem outside the scope of this discussion blocks A-movement of the infinitival subject into the higher Spec, vP of the *wager* clause (see Bošković 1997). But under *wh*-movement, DP does raise through the higher Spec, vP and this yields a felicitous result.

- (76) a. *John wagered Mary to be smart.
 b. Who did John wager to be smart?
 c. [_{VP} ~~who~~_{uCase} v_{uNom} [_{VP} wager [_{CP} who [_{TP} to be smart]]]]

1st move

2nd move leads to Case-valuation

These are persuasive arguments, but it seems to me that it is a high cost to conclude from them that the relationship for ex situ valuation is narrowly representational rather than purely local. As I pointed out above, first Merge of uF α with a sister β leads naturally to “downwards” valuation relations. But for cases of DELAYED VALUATION, this rationale is lacking. I offer therefore the conjecture that Case-valuation fails in (76a) because *wager* selects a phasal CP complement, unlike *believe*-type verbs (see 77). This being the case, unless the subject is raised by A’ movement to matrix Spec, vP as it is in (76c), it must Transfer to Spell Out inside the embedded TP with no Case value, causing a PF-interface crash. As for (75), *remark*-type verbs do not allow extraction at all (78). Whatever explains this fact might underlie the unacceptability of (75b).

- (77) *John [_{VP} wagered [_{CP} C [_{TP} Mary to be smart]]]

- (78) *What do you think John remarked?

Summing up, the facts I have examined in connection with Case and agreement all converge on a general conclusion: the distinction between unvalued probe and goal features is

illusory. The two function identically; all that is relevant to valuation is establishing a match between relevant features under local conditions. There is ample evidence that, when valuation is not available to a uF at the point of first Merge, **DELAYED VALUATION** can take place if uF moves to a location where it closest c-commands a potential valuer. More speculatively, this section has argued that **DELAYED VALUATION** might also be possible even if uF can only raise to a location where it is closest c-commandee of the potential valuer. I am not aware of many studies looking into this possibility, and accordingly leave it as a question that should ultimately be decided on the basis of further empirical work on a range of languages.

6. Agreement displacement and delayed valuation: Bejar & Rezac (2009)

Something very like the concept of **DELAYED VALUATION** was developed independently in the work of Bejar & Rezac (2009) based on the phenomenon of “agreement displacement” (see also Bejar 2003; Rezac 2003). Bejar & Rezac explore several languages in which they argue that person feature hierarchies play a crucial role in determining whether agreement is valued by the internal or the external argument. If the internal argument is first or second person, the verb agrees with it (79a-c; following their conventions the relevant agreement morpheme is underlined, as is its controller in the translation). But third person is low on the hierarchy (in fact underspecified) and therefore if the object of the verb is third person and the subject is first or second person, the verb’s uPhi agrees with the subject (79d). For Bejar & Rezac, this indicates a second cycle of probing under *cyclic expansion* (see 80). Simplifying somewhat the technical details, this is possible because the unvalued features

of v are inherited by projections of v , and can initiate a continuation of the search.²³ Bejar & Rezac's analysis provides important and compelling evidence that the absence of a match in the c-command domain of a uF is not fatal to the derivation.

(79) a. ikusi z-in-t-u-da-n [Basque]

seen 2-X-PL-have-1-PAST
'I saw you.'

b. ikusi n-ind-u-en
seen 1-X-have-PAST
'He saw me.'

c. ikusi n-ind-u-zu-n
seen 1-X-have-2-PAST
'You saw me.'

d. ikusi n-u-en
seen 1-have-PAST
'I saw him.'

(80) a. [vP EA [v-Agr [VP V IA]]]

Agree cycle 1

b. [vP EA [v-Agr [VP V IA]]]

Agree cycle 2

Bejar and Rezac's analysis provides evidence that there is "upwards" valuation upon Merge of the external argument without movement of the $u\Phi$ probe. IN terms of my DELAYED VALUATION account, agreement displacement is an instance of (13ii) (13 is repeated below).

(13) Hypotheses for delayed valuation of uF α

(i) α raises to probe a possible valuer β under closest c-command (perhaps pied piping the XP bearing α and thus yielding common Spec, head configurations and relations; cf. Epstein et al 1998; Epstein & Seely 2006; Bošković 2007, 2011).

(ii) α can be valued by iF of a higher expression in a limited domain without moving, as the syntactic object that includes it is expanded to include some β with matching features (Rezac 2003; Bejar & Rezac 2009).²⁴

²³ See Nevins (2011) for an approach in terms of simultaneous Multiple Agree. Absent clear constraints or a principled account of where Multiple Agree is possible, I much prefer to avoid it (see Haegeman & Londahl 2009 for a persuasive argument against its involvement in licensing of multiple negative expressions).

(iii) α is valued if a probe β , Merged higher in the same phase, takes it as goal in an Agree relation.

I propose however that there is no real difference between (13ii) and (13iii). Given cross-linguistic evidence that an expression must have a uF to be “active” in agree relations, the DPs that can value the uPhi probe qualify as probes themselves as I have argued previously in this paper. Basque and other agreement displacement languages provide supporting evidence that the would-be probe need not c-command the would-be goal; their positions can be reversed. Thus agreement displacement converges with Bobaljik & Wurmbrand’s treatment of in situ Nominative valuation, in which there is “downwards” valuation of DP’s uCase without its undergoing raising. This convergence argues for reducing the three points in (13) to the two-point (8’) (or the more liberal and speculative 8’R).

(8’) **Mechanics of Delayed Valuation:** uF with no match in its c-command domain can be valued:

- (i) Ex situ, by raising into locality with a matching feature in a higher phase *OR*
- (ii) In situ, by a matching feature within the same phase.

I suggest that it is preferable to analyze agreement displacement along the same lines as German in situ Nominative, that is as an instance of (8’ii), than to suppose that vP can search material that it dominates. A model that dispenses with the probe-goal distinction has no need for this assumption.

²⁴ Rezac (2003) and Bejar & Rezac (2009) treat this as second-cycle probing. I assume instead that it is simply Match and valuation in a larger domain as in (13ii/iii).

7. XPs as probes

7.1 Introduction

As noted in §1.3, it is sometimes suggested that XP cannot be completed or XP Merged with another element so long as X has unvalued features (Chomsky 2000; Adger 2003).

Chomsky (2000:132) writes,

“Properties of the probe [...] must be exhausted before new elements of the lexical subarray are accessed to drive further operations.”

A common corollary assumption is that only heads can probe (in fact, Chomsky 2007, 2008 argues that only phase heads have probe features).

I pointed out in §1.3 that it is anomalous, in this connection, for DP with uCase to be licit in syntactic relations with other expressions including the relation Merge with a selecting head (Merge (H, DP_{uCase})), prior to its valuation. As uFs requiring valuation, uCase of DP meets the definition of a probe. Yet no problem seems to arise for the participation of DPs in syntactic relations prior to valuation of their uCase. Bošković (2007, 2011) and Epstein & Seely (2006) argue convincingly that DPs must be able to probe when they raise to c-command T or v; and as we have seen, sometimes this is the only way uCase can get valued (recall the German facts of restructuring constructions with two lexical verbs in which a nominative DP must raise to Spec, TP). Thus (81) is common and well-motivated cross-linguistically:

(81) [TP DP_{uCase} [T' T_{uNom} ...]]

Match and valuation where DP's uCase is the “probe”

In addition, we have seen that a unified account is possible for Case and valuation of Force_{uPhi} under the assumption that ForceP raises and probes (see 35, repeated below).

(35) [_{VP} ForceP_{uPhi} [_{VP} SU [_V v [_{ApplP} ForceP [_{ApplP} IO [_{Appl} Appl [_{VP} ...]]]]]]]]

After ForceP raises again, Agree (ForceP_{uPhi}, SU) succeeds

§7.2-3 provide more evidence that XPs probe, from agreeing APs and Luyia agreeing ‘how’.

7.2 Concord on APs as probing by XP

In languages with grammatical gender, it is common for adjectival modifiers to show “concord” in gender and number features.²⁵ Under the traditional analysis of adjectives as heading AP adjuncts²⁶ to NP (or nP), concord entails that XPs can probe.

- (82) a. kitabu [*kizuri sana*] [Swahili]
 7book 7good very
 ‘a very good book’
 b. mzigo *mzito* mno
 3load 3heavy too
 ‘too heavy a load’
- (83) a. la muchacha [*muy bonita*] [Spanish]
 the.fem girl.fem very pretty.fem
 ‘the very pretty girl’
 b. une voiture [*plus vite*] [French]
 a.fem car.fem more fast.fem
 ‘a faster car’
- (84) [NP AP_{uPhi} [NP N_{iPhi}]]

7.3 Agreeing ‘how’ as XP probing

Carstens & Diercks (2011) argue that ‘how’ in Lubukusu is a vP-adjunct with uPhi that agrees with the subject in Spec, vP under closest c-command. An analysis of ‘how’ as head of a clause-level functional projection is ruled out on the basis of word order: Lubukusu is left-headed, and ‘how’ appears on the right edge of the clause. The subject with which it agrees is separated from it as shown in (85), arguing against any Spec, head sort of

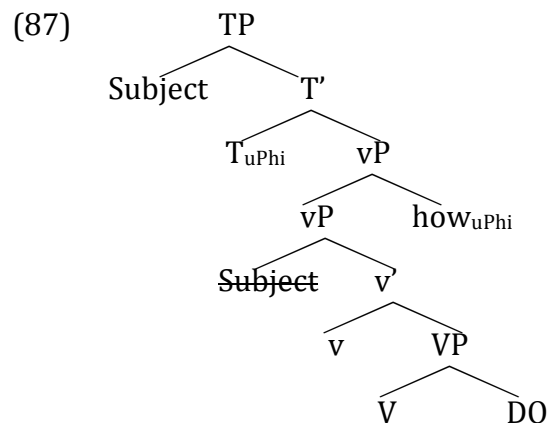
²⁵ For the sake of simplicity I refrain from explicit discussion of the phenomenon of Case concord, though the analysis extends to it.

²⁶ There is controversy on this issue. See Cinque (2005) and Shlonsky (2004) for an alternative view, and Carstens (2011b) for a rejoinder, analyzing adnominal modifiers as XPs.

approach (see 86). Carstens & Diercks (2011) propose (87), where ‘how’ is an XP adjunct to vP. Their analysis of agreeing ‘how’ provides one more argument that XPs can function as probes in Agree relations.

- (85) Baba-ana ba-kha-kule bi-tabu ba-rie(ena)?
 2-children 2SA-FUT-buy 8-book 2-how
 ‘How will the children buy books?’

- (86) *[_{TP} the children [_{T'} FUT [_{HowP} ~~the children~~ [_{How'} how [_{VP} ~~the children~~ buy the books]]]]]



8. Conclusion

In this paper I have shown that it is licit for uF of X to remain unvalued at and beyond the point where XP is Merged with Y, and that this routinely happens if a value for uF of X is lacking in X's sister. uF of X can obtain DELAYED VALUATION either in situ or by raising of XP. In situ valuation occurs under closest c-command by an expression Merged prior to any head with an edge feature (thus within the same phase). This is how DELAYED VALUATION of nominative Case works in passives of German simple clauses and simplex restructurings, and how agreement displacement works in a language like Basque. DELAYED VALUATION is also possible under movement of XP to c-command an expression with matching features, as in Lubukusu complemetizer agreement, or German nominative valuation in more complex restructuring constructions; or whenever an edge/EPP feature c-commands the

source of Case valuation as it always does in English TP. The anomalous concept of “active” goal features receives a principled account under this analysis, yielding a simpler theory. Some apparently upward-oriented uFs fall out from the approach, coupled with independently motivated factors including cyclic transfer and the articulated left-periphery. Finally, I have made a speculative proposal that raising into locality with a potential valuer suffices to permit DELAYED VALUATION, and this includes raising to be the potential valuer’s c-commandee.

References

- Adger, D. 2003. *Core Syntax*. 2003. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, M. 2003. 'Agreement, Dislocation, and Partial Configurationality', in A. Carnie, H. Harley, E. Jelinek, and M. Willie (eds.), *Formal Approaches to Function in Grammar*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 107-132.
- Baker, M. 2008. *The Syntax of Agreement and Concord*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP.
- Baker, M. & Safir, K. 2012a. Comitative constructions in Lubukusu. Ms in preparation, Rutgers University.
- Baker, M. & Safir, K. 2012b. Sources of symmetry in Bantu double object constructions. Ms in preparation, Rutgers University.
- Barss, A. & H. Lasnik. 1986. A note on anaphora and double objects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17, 347-354.
- Belletti, A. 1988. The Case of unaccusatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 1-35.
- Bejar, S. 2003. Phi-syntax: A theory of agreement. Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, Ontario.

- Bejar, S. and D. Massam. 1999. Multiple Case-checking *Syntax* 2.2: 65-79.
- Bejar, S. & M. Rezac. 2009. Cyclic Agree. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40.1: 35-73.
- Bhatt, R. 2005. Long-distance agreement in Hindi-Urdu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23:757-807.
- Bobaljik, J. & S. Wurmbrand. 2005. The Domain of Agreement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23:809-865.
- Borer, H. 1994. *Parametric Syntax: Case Studies in Semitic and Romance Languages*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Bošković, Željko. 1997. *The Syntax of Non-Finite Complementation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bošković, Željko. 2002. A-movement and the EPP. *Syntax* 5: 167-218.
- Bošković, Željko. 2007. On the locality and motivation of Move and Agree: An even more minimal theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38: 589-644.
- Bošković, Željko. 2008. On Successive Cyclic Movement and the Freezing Effect of Feature Checking. In *Sounds of Silence: Empty Elements in Syntax and Phonology*, ed. J. Hartmann, V. Hegedus, and H. van Riemsdijk, 195-233. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Bošković, Željko. 2011. Last Resort with Move and Agree in derivations and representations. In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Minimalism*, ed. Cedrix Boeckx, 327-353. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bošković, Željko and Howard Lasnik. 2003. On the distribution of null complementizers. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34:527 – 541.
- Cable, S. To appear. The optionality of movement and EPP in Dholuo. Forthcoming in *Natural Language and Linguistic Inquiry*.
- Carstens, V. 2011a. Hyperactivity and Hyperagreement in Bantu. *Lingua* 121.5:721-741.

- Carstens, V. 2011b. Head-movement in Bantu DPs. Paper presented at the 41st meeting of the North East Linguistics Society, Philadelphia, PA.
- Carstens, V. 2010. Grammatical gender and the theory of uninterpretable features. In *Exploring Crash Proof Grammars*. M. Putnam (ed), 31-57. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Carstens, V. 2005. Agree and EPP in Bantu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23:219-279.
- Carstens, V. 2003. Rethinking complementizer agreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34.3:393-412.
- Carstens, V. 2001. Multiple agreement and Case deletion. *Syntax* 4.3:147-163.
- Carstens, V. & M. Diercks. 2011. Agreeing How? LingBuzz/001389.
- Carstens, V & M. Diercks. To appear. Parameterizing Case and Activity: Hyper-raising in Bantu. In *Proceedings of the 40th Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step: Essays in honor of Howard Lasnik*, edited by R. Martin et al, 89-155. Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Kan Hale: A life in language*, edited by M. Kenstowicz, 1-52. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2007. Approaching UG from below. In *Interfaces + Recursion = Language?*, ed. by U. Sauerland and H.-M. Gartner, 1-29. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Chomsky Noam. 2008. On Phases. In *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory*, ed. by Robert Freidin, Carlos P. Otero and Maria Luisa Zubizarreta, 133-166. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Cinque, G. 2005. On deriving Greenberg's Universal 20. *LI* 36.3: 315-332.

- Collins, C. 1994. *Local Economy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Diercks, Michael. 2009. Subject extraction and (so-called) anti-agreement effects in Bukusu: A Criterial Freezing approach. Presentation made at the 45th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society. April 16-18, University of Chicago.
- Diercks, M. 2010. *Agreement with Subjects in Lubukusu*. PhD diss, Georgetown U.
- Diercks, M. 2011a. The morphosyntax of Lubukusu locative inversion and the parameterization of Agree. *Lingua* 121.5: 702-720.
- Diercks, M. 2011b. Against feature inheritance: phase heads are not defined by unvalued features. lingBuzz/001342.
- Diercks, M. to appear a. Parameterizing Case: Evidence from Bantu. *Syntax*.
- Diercks M. to appear b. Lubukusu complementizer agreement as a logophoric relation. Forthcoming in *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.
- Diercks, M., M. Putnam, & M. van Koppen. 2011. The directionality of Agree: can a universal feature valuation operation be established? Paper delivered at *The Minimalist Program: Quo Vadis?* Potsdam, Germany.
- Emonds, Joseph. 1976. *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Epstein, S. 1998. In S. Epstein, E. Groat, R. Kawashima, and H. Kitahara, *A Derivational Approach to Syntactic Relations*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Epstein, S. 1999. Unprincipled syntax: the derivation of syntactic relations. In *Working Minimalism*, ed by S. Epstein & N. Hornstein.

- Epstein, S., Kitahara, H., & T.D. Seely. 2010. Uninterpretable features: what are they, and what do they do? In *Exploring Crash-Proof Grammars*, ed. by Michael Putnam, 125-142. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Epstein, S. & T.D. Seely. 1999. SPEC-ifying the GF subject: Eliminating A-chains and the EPP within a derivational model. Ms, University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan University.
- Epstein, S. & T.D. Seely. 2006. *Derivations in Minimalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grohman, K., Drury, J. and Castillo, C. 2000. No more EPP. In *WCCFL 19 Proceedings*, ed. Billery and Lillehaugen, pp. 153-166. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Halpert, Claire. 2011. Argument Licensing in Zulu. LingBuzz/001400.
- Haegeman, L. 1992. Some speculations on argument shift, clitics and crossing in West Flemish. Ms., University of Geneva.
- Haegeman, L. & T. Lodahl. 2009. Negative concord and (multiple) agree: a case study in West Flemish. LingBuzz/000739.
- Haegeman, L. & M. van Koppen. 2010. Complementizer agreement and the relationship between T and C. LingBuzz/001181.
- Harford Perez, Carolyn. 1985. Aspects of complementation in three Bantu languages. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin dissertation.
- Henderson, Brent. To appear. Anti-Agreement: Locality of Movement or Agreement? In the *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistics Society 2009*.
- Henderson, Brent. 2007. Multiple agreement and inversion in Bantu. *Syntax* 9.3: 275-289.
- .Julien, Marit. 2002. *Syntactic Heads and Word Formation*, Oxford University Press,

New York.

Kandybowicz, J. 2011. On the incompatibility of Feature Inheritance and the PIC. Ms, Swarthmore College.

Kim, K. 2008. English C moves downward as well as upward: an extension of Bošković & Lasnik's (2003) approach. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39.2: 295-307.

Kinyalolo, K.K.W. 1991. *Kilega and the Spec, head agreement hypothesis*. UCLA PhD dissertation.

Legate, J. 2003. Some interface properties of the phase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34.3: 506-516.

Legate, J. 2005. Phases and cyclic agreement. In Martha McGinnis & Norvin Richards (eds.), *Perspectives on Phases*. MITWPL

Marantz, A. 1993. Implications of asymmetries in double object constructions. In Sam Mchombo (ed.), *Theoretical aspects of Bantu grammar*. Stanford: CSLI Publications, 113-150.

Martin, Roger. 1999. Case, the EPP and minimalism. In *Working Minimalism*, eds. Sam Epstein & Norbert Hornstein. Cambridge: MIT Press.

McFadden, Thomas. 2006. German inherent datives and argument structure. In Hole, D., A. Meinunger, and W. Abraham (eds). *Datives and Other Cases*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

McGinnis, M. 2001. Variation in the phase structure of applicatives. In *Linguistic Variation Yearbook 1*: 105-146.

McGinnis, M. 2005. UTAH at Merge: evidence from multiple applicatives. In *MITWPL 49: Perspectives on Phases*, ed. Martha McGinnis and Norvin Richards, 183-200. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.

- McGinnis, M. 2010. Binding Preservation. Talk delivered at UBC Colloquium.
- Melebari, A. & T. D. Seely. 2011. Agreement without 'exception' in Standard Arabic? Paper presented at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Nevins, A. 2011. Multiple Agree with clitics: person complementarity vs. omnivorous number. *Natural Language and Linguistic Inquiry*
- Ndayiragije, Juvenal. 1999. Checking Economy. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30.3: 399-444.
- Obata, M. and S. Epstein. 2011. Feature-Splitting Internal Merge: improper movement, intervention and the A/A'-distinction. *Syntax* 14.2: 122-147.
- Pesetsky, D. 1991. *Zero Syntax, vol. 2: Infinitives*. Unpublished manuscript, MIT.
<http://web.mit.edu/linguistics/www/pesetsky/infins.pdf>.
- Polinsky, Maria and Eric Potsdam. 2001. 'Long-Distance Agreement and Topic in Tsez', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19, 583-646.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2002. *Introducing Arguments*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing Arguments*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Rezac, M. 2003. The fine structure of cyclic Agree. *Syntax* 6.2: 156-182.
- Richards, M. 2007. On feature inheritance: an argument from the phase impenetrability condition. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38: 563-572.
- Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. L. Haegeman, ed. *Elements of Grammar*, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Shlonsky, U. 2004. The form of Semitic nominals. *Lingua* 114 (12): 1465-1526.
- Stjepanović, Sandra, and Shoichi Takahashi. 2001. Eliminating the Phase Impenetrability Condition. Paper presented at the workshop *Motivating movement: Explaining the displacement property of natural language*, University of Ulster.

Wurmbrand, S. 2004/2006. Licensing Case. Ms, UConn/publication in *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 18.3: 175-236.