Optionality and variation in agreement in some Hindi participles

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Optionality in participial agreement with fronted objects was noticed theoretically early on, in Kayne (1989) (see (1)), and has been studied in many languages since. Even before, also noticed was a certain kind of variation is such cases. Cinque (1975) showed that other Romance languages show up a difference between the two types of fronted objects (see (2) from Italian). Furthermore, it has also become known that even within Romance there are great parametric differences (Italian with obligatory agreement and Spanish with obligatory non-agreement in this case of fronted object clitic) along with other differences within dialects of these languages. Theoretically, such agreement was implemented through the presence of a low Agr position.

The optionality in participial agreement was noted in Kachru (2006:163) for Hindi, where the adverbial may agree with the subject NP in number and gender if the NP is in direct case, as in (3), where the participial auxiliary (*huii*) shows agreement with the subject in gender (3a) but not in (3b). Comparably, if we take a transitive predicate in a relative passive participle, the optionality in participial subject agreement that Kachru captured seems to take place in case of participial object agreement as well, as in (4).

The present paper argues for the presence of extensive (syntactic) variation in participial agreement in Hindi (data that has not been reported or analysed in the literature). In the case of relative participles case, where Kachru did not report any variation, the range of judgements obtain the results as in (5), which indicate a general reluctance of the number feature to be available too low in the structure. For the complex adjectival/ adverbial adjuncts, Kachru (2006) already observed variation (by one factor) in these examples, but the extent of variation is much wider than varying by only one factor, as shown by the observations in the current study. In spite of its non-exhaustiveness, the judgements on these variants already tell us something that is interesting: [person] seems to be available high up in the clause and [gender] lower down but it is [number] that hovers in between, represented roughly as in (6). This is in line with general observation that participle agreement is with number and gender and never with person, unlike subject agreement in general, another reason why this type of participle agreement should be seen as different from (subject) argument agreement on verbs. Theoretically significant results are summarized as: Result 1: Within the Adverbial participial, presence or absence of agreement with the sentential subject does not matter in case of singular subjects; Result 2: Number agreement either with the participle and the main clause aspect or just on the main clause Asp, is marginally acceptable; Result 3: Number agreement either with the participle and the main clause aspect or just on the main clause Asp is preferable than number agreement just on the participle. Theoretically, these refined results indicate, I think, that the trigger for the number agreement cannot be lower than *at least* the main clause aspectual head. This can be schematized as in (7).

Result 1 (for examples like (3)) is obtained by establishing a simple Agree relation from the matrix T (see (8a)). Note that in this example no Agree relation can be established within the VP-shell—with the little *v*—as the object is noun-incorporated into the main V. At the most, we can say that there is a split in the ϕ-features whereby person and gender are copied and/or relayed on to the appropriate heads differentially.

For result 2 and 3 given the results for the variants, we are pushed towards placing the V in-between Aux and Asp.

The paper makes a distinction between three operations: valuation, relaying and copying. **Valuation** is familiar from standard Agree models whereby the uninterpretable features of a Probe get valued by the interpretable features of the Goal. The **Relay** mechanism is assumed by everyone but never formalised; for example, English subject-verb agreement is obtained in classic textbook fashion by relaying the valued features from the T head onto the *v* (Adger, 2003). The **Copying** process is familiar from Norris (2014), Åfarli

(2016), Velle (2016), and others, where at least in the domain of adjectival agreement (both attributive and predicative agreement), it has been realised that *both* Agree and Copy are required.

The present paper tries to constrain these operations to one-step only operations only. For the data-results being presented here, it will be shown that both copying and probing by different heads is required. One of way of restraining copying can be achieved if dominance plays a role (Norris, 2014)—the syntactic account provided for both the paradigm cases this paper deals with incorporate this restriction on copying. By assuming a second probing from the matrix *v*, the result obtained with regards to some of the variants, easily falls out—if there is no "valued-[number] copy" in the head immediately dominating the adjunct, then there cannot be a "valued-[number] copy" inside the adjunct either.

With regards to the relative participle paradigm, the general picture of the derivation remains the same as an adverbial participle and is given in (8b), for the so-called standard result. Unlike in the adverbial adjunct participle case, here we are dealing with Agree within the relative participle itself, and given the nature of participles, T cannot act as a legal Probe as it is not clear if a full TP is available in such structures. Given that negation within the RC is not admissible, it is highly likely that even if there is a T it is highly defective. It will be assume that the relative participle clause is perhaps not a full TP with a ϕ-complete T, and therefore probing for ϕ-features is initiated from *v* instead.

Data and Analysis

(1)a. combien de tables Paul a repeintes/ repeint. 'How many tables has Paul repainted?'
b. Paul les a repeintes/ repeint. 'Paul them has repainted'

(2) a. Paulo le ha viste/ *visto. "Paulo them has seen.pl/*seen.sg"
b. le ragazze che Paolo ha visto/*viste. "the girls that Paolo has seen.sg/*pl"

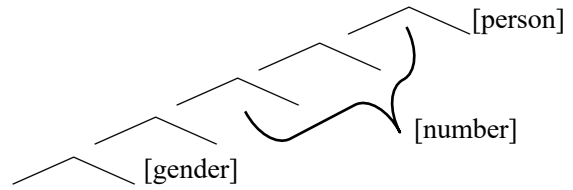
(3) a. laRkiyaã bhaagtii *huii* aayiĩ
girl.f.pl run.impf.f **ppl.f** come.prf.f.pl 'the girls came running.'

b. lakii-ne kamre-se nikalte *hue*
girl.f-erg room.m.s.obl-abl emerge.impf.obl **ptpl.obl**
darvaazaa band kar diyaa
door.m shut do give.perf.m.sg
'The girl closed the door (as she was) leaving the room.'

(4) ravi-se paRhii huii/ huiĩ kitaabẽ
Ravi-by read.cp.3.f.s be.cp.3.f.s/ be.cp.3.f.pl books.f.pl.
'The books read by Ravi.'

(5) (i) agreement in gender on both verb and participle preferred
(i) number agreement on V is not acceptable
(ii) number agreement on the participle is preferable
(iii) number agreement on both V and participle is not acceptable

(6)



(7) a. [$_{PplP}$ V-*tā/ī* PPL-**num**] ASP^0-**num** ↑ AUX^0
b. [$_{PplP}$ V-*tā/ī* PPL] ASP^0-**num** ↑ AUX^0

(8a,b)