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Clitic Doubling , Object Agreement and Specificity

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0. The main aim of this paper is to suggest a somewhat new approach to structural Case assignment to object NPs. We will argue that adopting this approach yields a number of empirical consequences which are readily observable in diverse construction types in many languages. After outlining the basic proposal, we will suggest that object agreement, clitic doubling of direct objects under wh-movement and object clitic left dislocation share an important structural property: all of these operations involve movement of the object to (or through) a position where they receive a structural Case from AGR. This accounts for a number of syntactic properties that these constructions share. We will also suggest that Case assignment by AGR to an NP is directly linked to the specificity of that NP.

1. Background and the basic proposal:

Chomsky(1981) outlines a theory of Case where structural Case is assigned by V (objective), P (oblique) and AGR (nominative) under government. Chomsky(1989) and Mahajan(1989) explore an alternative to this theory suggesting that objective Case may not be assigned by a verb to its complement but in fact is

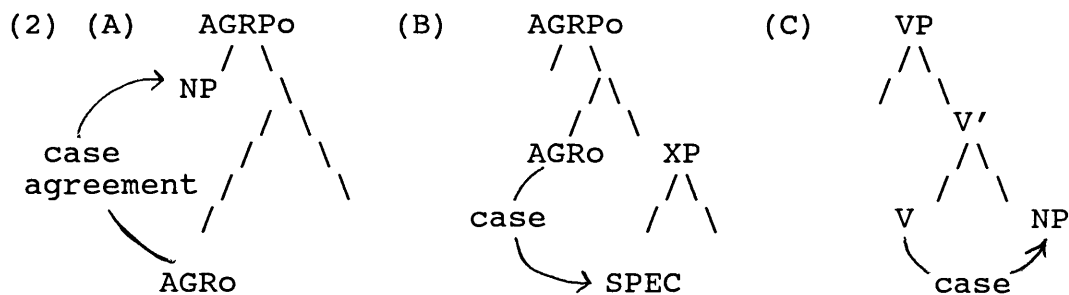
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assigned by AGRo to an NP in its specifier position.¹ While Chomsky(1989) suggests that all objects receive a structural Case in SPEC AGRo position, we will argue that objective Case assignment is not a unified phenomenon. In particular, we suggest that both AGRo as well as verbs may be able to assign a structural Case.² The basic proposal is outlined below in (1):

- (1) a) Objects can be structurally Case marked either by V or by AGRo. The choice is, however, not free. Only certain kind of objects get Case marked by V; others get case marked by AGRo.
- b) Non-specific objects get structurally Case marked by V within the VP. Specific objects get Case marked by AGRo.³
- c) Agreement is a SPEC-HEAD relation within AGRP (Mahajan,1989;1990). Structural case can be assigned under agreement but does not require agreement.

This can be schematically represented as in (2):



In (A): NP agrees, gets Case from AGR and must be specific

In (B): NP gets Case from AGR but does not agree and must be specific

In (C): NP gets Case from V; does not agree; must not be specific

In addition, we suggest that a filter like (3)

¹These proposals are based on Kayne(1989) where it is suggested that object agreement in French past participle construction is in fact mediated by an object movement rule.

²See also Belletti(1988) where a somewhat different approach is developed to account for definiteness effects connected to Case marking. Belletti assumes that non-specific NPs receive an inherent case. See also Mahajan(1990) for some relevant discussion.

³I will adopt here without elaboration the characterization of specificity outline in Enç(1991).

holds in general:⁴

- (3) *Specificity Filter:*
Only specific NPs can (and must) be structurally Case marked by AGR. Non-specific NPs must receive structural case in some other manner.⁵

In the sections that follow, we will show how a theory of the sort outlined in this section explains a range of empirical effects.

2. Hindi Object Agreement and Object Movement:

Following a proposal developed in detail in Mahajan(1989), we will assume that object agreement is mediated by an argument shift (object shift) rule. This rule moves a DO from the complement position a verb to the SPEC position of AGRO. Interesting thing to note in this regard is that in Hindi only objects of non Case assigning verbs can show agreement. These include objects of perfect participle and objects of psych predicates as shown in (4) to (7) below:

Objects of perfect participles:

- (4) raam-ne tasviir dekhii
Ram-erg(m) picture(f.sg.) see-per(f.sg)
Ram saw (looked at) the picture.
- (5) raam-ne tasviirē dekhīī
Ram-erg(m) picture(f.pl.) see-per(f.pl)
Ram saw (looked at) the pictures.

Objects of psych predicates:

- (6) siitaa-ko larkaa pasand thaa
Sita-dat boy like be-pst(m.sg.)
Sita like the boy.
- (7) siitaa-ko larke pasand the
Sita-dat boys like be-pst(m.pl)
Sita like the boys.

⁴The fact that Germanic object movement is related to specificity is noted in Koopman(1989) and Moltman(1990).

⁵It is not clear if the filter of the sort given in (3) is derivable within the current theory. One possibility explored in Mahajan(1990b) is to link the specificity effects directly to coindexation with AGR. That is, since AGR is pronominal, and pronouns are specific, anything that is coindexed with AGR must be specific. Case assignment by AGR, under that view entails coindexation between the Case assigner and the NP that receives Case.

Some evidence that agreeing objects move to a VP external SPEC AGRO position comes from the fact that when these objects precede an indirect object that contains a pronoun or a reflexive, they can bind the pronoun or the reflexive.⁶ We assume that lexically Case marked indirect objects can either stay within VP or may appear VP externally (by undergoing scrambling).^{7 8} Thus a weak crossover configuration as exemplified in (8) (where the IO is VP external) alternates with a sentence like (9) where the object has moved over a VP internal IO thereby overriding weak crossover.

(8) *siitaa ne uske_i maalik-ko kOn_i sii tasviir loṭaa dii
 Sita-erg its owner(IO) which book(DO)(f.) returned(f)
 Which book did Sita return to its owner?

(9) siitaa ne kOn_i sii tasviir uske_i maalik-ko loṭaa dii
 Sita-erg which book(DO)(f.) its owner(IO) returned(f)
 Which book did Sita return to its owner?

A similar effect can also be observed for reflexives where an agreeing DO can serve as an antecedent for a reflexive contained in an IO over which it has been fronted as shown in (10) and (11) below:

⁶The basic word order in Hindi is S-IO-DO-V (cf. Gambhir, 1981). I will assume that all other orders are derived from this underlying word order. I ignore here the issues regarding the d-structure position of subjects, i.e., whether they are generated VP internally or externally.

⁷See Mahajan(1990) where a theory of lexical Case and its licensing is formulated to yield this effect. This theory has the effect that lexically Case marked NPs can remain in a non structural Case position at s-structure. Since IOs in Hindi are lexically Case marked by *-ko*, they may or may not move at s-structure giving a scrambling effect.

⁸Some evidence that the indirect object in (8) and (9) occupy different positions comes from the fact that it is marginally possible to extract a possessive phrase from IOs which follow an agreeing DO while it is not possible to extract from an IO that precedes an agreeing DO. In the following examples a possessive phrase from within an IO has been moved to the right of the verb:

(i) *raam-ne dostoN-ko ek kitaab dii hamaare
 Ram-erg friends-IO a book-f give-perf-f our
 Ram gave our friends a book.

(ii)?? raam-ne ek kitaab dostoN-ko dii hamaare
 Ram-erg a book-f friends-IO give-perf-f our

Following Koopman(1989) who uses a similar test for Dutch, we can distinguish between (i) and (ii) by assuming that in (ii) the IO is in a theta position while in (i) it is not.

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- (10) *siitaa ne apne; pitaa-ko kOn; saa baccaa dikhaayaa
 Sita-erg self's father(IO) which child(DO)(m) show per(m)
 Which child did Sita show to self's father.
- (11) ?siitaa ne kOn; saa baccaa apne; pitaa-ko dikhaayaa
 Sita-erg which child(DO)(m) self's father(IO) show per(m)
 Which child did Sita show to self's father?

The position of adverbs like 'quickly' with respect to agreeing objects also makes the same point. (12) and (13) below differ in that in (12) the salient reading for the adverb is an event reading while in (13) the adverb has a process reading.

- (12) pulis-ne jaldii-se cor pakar liyaa
 police-erg quickly thief(m) arrested(m)
 The police quickly arrested the thief.
- (13) pulis-ne cor jaldii-se pakar liyaa
 police-erg thief(m) quickly arrested(m)
 The police arrested the thief quickly.

If event adverbs are attached to an I projection and process adverbs to a V projection (as suggested by Travis, 1988), then (12) and (13) show that object agreement involves object movement to SPEC AGRo. This is because if the DO in (12) is VP internal, then the adverb could either be attached to VP or an I projection. (12) should then be ambiguous between an event and a process reading which is not the case. Under the approach that is being developed here, the DO has moved to SPEC AGRo (yielding a configuration of object agreement). In (12) then, the adverb must be attached to some higher non V projection giving the event reading. In (13), since the object is in SPEC AGRo, the adverb which follows it must be attached to a lower projection, i.e., a V projection. A process reading is therefore naturally explained for (13) under this assumption. This approach predicts that the facts about adverbial interpretation would be somewhat different in sentences in which the objects do not show agreement. This turns out to be correct. In imperfective tenses Hindi does not have object agreement and as (14) and (15) show, the facts about adverbial interpretation are also different in these cases.

- (14) pulis jaldii-se cor pakar letii hE
 police(f) quickly thief(m) arrests(f)
 The police quickly arrests the thief.
- (15) pulis cor jaldii-se pakar letii hE
 police(f) thief(m) quickly arrests(f)
 The police arrests the thief quickly.

Unlike (12) and (13) both of these sentences are ambiguous. Both allow for an event as well as a process reading something that is expected under our approach. (There is however some difference between (14) and (15). (15) requires extra stress on the DO while (14) does not.) Since non agreeing objects cannot move to SPEC AGRo, they must receive Case in some other fashion. As suggested in the previous section, there is another way in which objects can receive a structural Case - that is from the verb. Since the verb is a Case assigner in sentences like (14) and (15), that is how the Case is assigned. The object can therefore not move to SPEC AGRo - another Case position. Since the object in (14) is VP internal, the adverb can either be attached to a V projection or an I projection yielding the ambiguity. (15) is somewhat surprising because the non agreeing object does precede the adverb but the sentence is still ambiguous. The fact that the object in (15) requires extra stress (as noted above) gives a clue to the solution of this problem. The object in (15) has been moved but is moved by A-bar movement to adjoin to some higher I projection. The adverb can still be attached to an I projection below the moved object therefore the sentence is still ambiguous.

Facts about weak crossover and reflexive binding in relation to the movement of a non agreeing object point to the same conclusion. Non agreeing objects can be fronted over a pronoun but such movement does not override weak crossover as was the case with agreeing objects.

(16) raam kOn_i sii tasviir uske_{*i/j} maalik-ko loṭaa degaa
 Ram(m) which book(DO)(f) its owner(IO) return-fut(m)
 Which book will Ram return to its owner?

Similarly a non agreeing object when fronted over a reflexive fails to be an antecedent for that reflexive.

(17)*siitaa kOn_i saa baccaa apne_i pitaa-ko dikhaayegii
 Sita which child(DO)(m) self's father(IO) show fut(f)
 Which child will Sita show to self's father.

These facts are accounted for naturally under the approach that we are suggesting. There is a class of verbs that can assign a structural case. Objects of such verbs can therefore not move to SPEC AGRo which is also a Case position. These objects therefore fail to show agreement, they fail to override WCO effects when fronted, they fail to antecede reflexives after

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fronting and they do not have any interpretation.

Long distance movement of a finite clause is possible with moved agreeing objects. The interesting thing about long distance movement of an agreeing object is that it can only agree with the clause it originates in but never with the matrix clause.

- (18) yah tasviir mohān
this picture(f) Mohan
raam-ne dekhiī ho
Ram-erg seen(f) be-
This picture, Mohan thought

Furthermore, the long distance moved agreeing NP cannot bind a pronoun in the matrix clause (i.e., it shows weak crossover) but it can bind a pronoun in the embedded clause as shown by (20):

- (19) yah tasviir; uske; maalik
this picture(f) its owner
raam-ne dekhiī ho
Ram-erg seen(f) be-
This picture, its owner thought
- (20) yah tasviir; mohān r
this picture(f) Mohan
uskei maalik-ne dekhi
its owner-erg seen
This picture, Mohan thought

This can be explained using the approach by assuming that long distance movement is a case of A-bar movement (see this proposal). In (20), the long distance moved agreeing object moves through a pre-subjunctive position (this step of movement is an instance of A-bar movement) before moving to the matrix clause under A-bar movement. A similar conclusion is supported by the fact that the matrix clause is analogous to pronominal binding facts as indicated in (21) and (22) below:

- (21) *yah baccaa; apne; pita
this child(m) self's father
mohan-ne dekhaa hogaa
Mohan-erg seen(m) be-f
This child, self's father thought

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fact with adverbial

of an agreeing object out of the clause in Hindi. Long distance movement of an agreeing object however bears focal stress. The interesting thing about long distance movement of an agreeing object is that the moved object can only agree with the clause that it originates in but never with the verb of a higher

- soocaa ki
thought(m)/*(f) that

that Ram must have seen.

Long distance moved agreeing NP cannot bind a pronoun in the matrix clause (i.e., it shows weak crossover) but it can bind a pronoun in the embedded clause as shown by (19) even though it originates in the matrix clause:

- soocaa ki
thought(m) that

that that Ram must have seen.

- soocaa ki
thought(m) that

that its owner must have seen.

The approach by assuming that long distance movement of a finite clause is a case of A-bar movement (see Mahajan, 1990 for details of this proposal), however, the agreeing object moves through a pre-subjunctive position (this step of movement) before moving to the matrix clause under A-bar movement. A similar conclusion is supported by the fact that the matrix clause is analogous to pronominal binding facts as indicated in (21) and (22) below:

- soocaa ki
thought that

that that Mohan must have seen.

- (22) yah baccaa_i, mohan-ne socaa ki
 this child(m) Mohan-erg thought that
 apne_i pitaa-ne _ dekhaa hogaa
 self's father-erg seen(m) be-fut(m)
 This child, self's father thought that Mohan must have seen.

Summing up: We have suggested that Case assignment to direct objects in Hindi examples seen here falls into two classes. The first class is that of agreeing objects that move from a VP internal position to a SPEC AGRO position. This is the case represented schematically in (2)A. Agreeing objects are always specific in Hindi. This is then in line with the filter in (3). Once an object receives a Case in that position it cannot move to another Case position therefore one expects it not to show agreement with a higher verb and to yield weak crossover effects with respect to a pronoun in a clause higher than in which it originates (since long distance movement would constitute A-bar movement).⁹ The second class is that of non agreeing objects which under my approach receive Case as in (2)C. Since these objects receive a structural Case in their d-structure position, they cannot move to another Case position. Therefore, we expect them to show weak crossover effect even for short distance movement something which is proved by the examples given above. Furthermore, non agreeing objects are non specific. This is also expected if specificity is linked to a syntactic condition like (3). Therefore, the Hindi data that we have seen in this section supports the theoretical approach that we outlined in section 1.

In the next few sections, we will briefly extend this approach to certain other seemingly different empirical domains, i.e., the domain of clitics and clitic doubling in some Romance languages, suggesting that these phenomena are also a special case of object agreement.

3. Romance Clitics and Agreement:

3.1. French: As noted earlier, the approach that we developed for Hindi agreement was motivated by Kayne's (1989) approach to French past participle

⁹I ignore here certain restructuring cases in which long distance movement does behave like A-movement with respect to agreement and pronominal as well as reflexive binding (see Mahajan, 1990 for details).

agreement. However, as Kayne points out, past participle agreement in French is limited to only those cases in which the object of the past participle is either a clitic or a wh-phrase. Such agreement is never possible with other objects. This is illustrated by the following examples taken from Kayne(1989):

- (23) Paul a repeint les chaises.
Paul has repainted the chairs.
- (24)*Paul a repeintes les chaises.
Paul has repainted the chairs.
- (25) Paul les a repeintes.
Paul them-has repainted.
- (26) les chaises que Paul a repeintes
the chairs that Paul has repainted

Our analysis of (25) and (26) would be somewhat similar to what Kayne suggested for these cases. In particular, we suggest that the clitic as well as the wh-operator move through SPEC AGRo position and therefore agreement and Case assignment is as in (2)A.¹⁰ However, our analysis of (23) and (24) differs from that of Kayne's. Kayne explains the lack of agreement for (23)-(24) by simply suggesting that the past participle assigns Case to its object so the object never moves to SPEC AGRo position (this movement is forced for the clitic and the wh-operator for independent reasons not available to a normal NP) therefore there is no agreement. However, since the NP in (23)-(24) is a specific NP, under our approach it cannot be allowed to receive a Case in the complement position of the verb (the position where non specific objects receive Case). To account for this problem, I suggest that even in French, specific objects are Case marked by AGRo but the configuration in which it takes place is the one given in (2)B- Case assignment by AGRo under government rather than by agreement. V to AGR on French will give the normal SVO order. The claim that is being made here is then that specific objects in French receive Case as in (2)B while non specifics receive Case as in (2)C. Clitics and wh-operators receive Case as in (2)A. French therefore illustrates all the three possibilities allowed for Case assignment

¹⁰This is in fact different from Kayne's analysis where it is assumed that the past participle assigns Case to the DO in its complement position. I am assuming that the past participle does not in fact assign a Case in that manner (see Kayne,1989 for some discussion in this respect).

to direct objects.

We have not given any direct evidence for our analysis of Case assignment in French. Since we do not have access to any direct evidence for this proposal from French, we will provide some supporting evidence from two other Romance languages for which some relevant data is available. Our discussion of these languages, Romanian and Italian, is heavily based on some recent work reported in Dobrovie-Sorin(1990) and Cinque(1991). The analysis that we suggest for the relevant phenomena in these languages is however very different from that of Dobrovie-Sorin and Cinque. We will attempt to unify the treatment of some of the facts that they report about clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation to our treatment of agreement and object movement.

3.2. Romanian: As noted by Dobrovie-Sorin(1990), Romanian exhibits a very interesting interplay between specificity and clitic doubling. Before going on to the discussion of these facts let me explicate my assumptions about clitic doubling. I will assume that clitic doubling is syntactically similar to agreement. That is, the object clitics in clitic doubling constructions occupy the position of AGRo. Whether or not they are agreement elements is not of relevance here therefore I will simply assume that they are generated in AGRo and must be licensed in the same fashion as object agreement (by agreeing with an object NP in SPEC AGRo position).¹¹

Romanian displays clitic doubling under wh-movement. However, only specific DOs allow for and in fact require clitic doubling under wh-movement. This is illustrated by the following examples. (All the Romanian examples here are taken from Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990).

- (27) Pe care (băiat) *(1)-ai văzut?
 pe which (boy) *(him)-have (you) seen
 Which one (which boy) did you see?
- (28) băiatul pe care *(1)-am văzut
 the boy pe which (I) *(him)-have seen
 the boy that I saw

¹¹Several proposals that treat clitics as agreement already exist. See for instance Suner(1888) and Roberge(1990). I will only make that assumption about doubled clitics in certain constructions. For general issues involved in theories of clitic doubling see Borer(1986), Suner(1988) and Roberge(1990) among others.

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These facts are then similar to the French facts except that French facts are limited to the objects of past participle. Furthermore, in Romanian we have a clitic instead of agreement and the clitic is not attached to the main verb but to the auxiliary. I will assume that the clitic has moved to AUX from AGRO. Under our analysis then, the wh-phrase which is specific moves through SPEC AGRO position as in (2)A. The clitic is therefore licensed (in a manner similar to that of agreement). The clitic then moves to AUX. The interesting question that arises when we try to compare French and Romanian is that in French only past participles show agreement while in Romanian it appears that clitic doubling is possible with other verbal forms too. I suggest that Case assignment by V is optional. Since specific object cannot receive Case from V under (3), the verb does not assign a Case to its complement. The object therefore moves and receives a Case from AGRO (as required by (3)) in Romanian. This licenses the clitic.¹² Interestingly, non specific objects do not allow clitic doubling.

- (29) Pe cine (*1)-ai văzut?
 pe who (*him)-have (you) seen
 Who have you seen?

This is to be expected if non specific objects are blocked from moving through SPEC AGRO position. They would then receive Case from the verb (which as pointed out above assigns Case optionally).

Furthermore, similar specificity effects are observed for clitic doubling of apparently unmoved direct objects.

- (30) L-am văzut pe Ion
 him-(we) have seen pe John
 We saw John.

We suggest that (30) should be analyzed as in (2)A - an instance of case assignment under agreement. V moves to AGR and to I to give the VO order.¹³

¹²This does not answer the question about why object agreement is possible in French in past participle construction (in Hindi also it is limited to perfect participle and psych verb constructions). It is possible that it is a morphological limitation of the participle forms in these languages. I leave this question open here.

¹³It is not clear to me however if V and aux form a syntactic unit in such constructions or not in Romanian.

Evidence that A-movement through or to SPEC AGRO is involved comes from the usual diagnostics of A-movement. As noted by Dobrovie-Sorin(1990), wh-movement of a specific object does not yield WCO effects while it the fronting of a non specific wh-phrase does.

(31) Pe care_i l_i-a certat mama lui_i e_i?
 pe which_i him_i-has scolded mother his_i e_i?
 Which one_i did his_i mother scold e_i?

(32)*Pe cine_i a certat mama lui_i e_i?
 pe who_i has scolded mother his_i e_i?
 Who_i did his_i mother scold e_i ?

This effect is then parallel to the effect we noted for Hindi where agreeing DO fronting overrides WCO effects.¹⁴ Further evidence for our analysis comes from the fact that fronted specific DOs that clitic double fail to license parasitic gaps while fronted nonspecific DOs do license them.

(33) Pe cine_i ai apreciat e_i inainte de a
 pe who_i have (you) appreciated e_i before
 cunoaste e_i
 knowing e_i

(34)*Pe care_i l_i-ai apreciat e_i inainte de a
 pe which_i have (you) appreciated e_i before
 cunoaste e_i
 knowing e_i

If parasitic gaps can only be licensed from an A-bar position then the presence of a trace in an A-position in (34), SPEC AGRO position, blocks this licensing while it is not the Case in (33) where the wh-phrase moves directly to an A-bar position.¹⁵

In addition to clitic doubling, the clitic left dislocation construction in Romanian also points to the same conclusion. Specific left dislocated objects require a clitic while non specific objects do not permit it.

¹⁴I am assuming that subjects are generated VP internally and that DO movement over subject can override WCO if the DO is moving to an A-position. Subsequent movement of the subject to some other position is irrelevant to this derivational approach to pronominal binding. See Mahajan(1990) for similar examples from Hindi.

¹⁵We need to assume here that the adjunct clause is c-commanded by SPEC AGRO.

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- (35) (Pe) Ion *(l)-am întâlnit anul trecut
 (pe) John him-(I) met last year
- (36) Pe nimeni nu *(l)-am supărat
 pe nobody not (*him)-have annoyed

Furthermore, left dislocation of specific DOs does not license parasitic gaps and does not yield WCO effects. Lastly, long clitic dislocation is possible in Romanian but clitic in such cases is allowed to appear only in the clause in which the direct object appears (see Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990 for relevant examples).

3.3. Italian: The clitic left dislocation data in Italian as presented in Cinque(1990) parallels that of Romanian dislocation facts and also the Hindi facts of section 2. Briefly, only specific objects require a clitic under left dislocation while non specifics do not. (The examples below are from Cinque, 1990)

- (37) Li conosci, quelli?
 Do you know those people?
 Qualcuno, *(l') ho già" conosciuto
 Yes, someone I know (him)
- (38) Qualcosa, farò (non preoccuparti)
 Something(or other), I will do (don't worry).

Similarly, clitic left dislocation of a specific object does not yield WCO effects and does not license parasitic gaps (see Cinque, 1990 for examples). This appears to contrast with dislocation of nonspecific objects. While Cinque(1990) suggests an account of these effects by suggesting that left dislocated phrases are base generated, under the approach that we are developing these facts will be accounted for if the dislocated objects move through SPEC AGRo position. This will account for the missing WCO effects, absence of parasitic gaps and also the specificity effects.

4. Conclusion:

I have argued that a wide range of facts in Romance clitic doubling constructions can be assimilated to the framework that was outlined in section 1 and applied to Hindi in section 2. Object clitics in clitic doubling constructions can be treated as AGR. These are licensed if the object moves through SPEC AGRo. There are several syntactic reflexes of the

object moving through SPEC AGRo: lack of WCO effects with respect to a pronoun that is c-commanded by SPEC AGRo; blockage of parasitic gap licensing and a unifying specificity effect that follows from a filter like (3).¹⁶

One may wonder if English displays reflexes of object movement in a manner similar to Hindi, French, Romanian and Italian. In the absence of object agreement or clitic doubling such evidence is hard to come by. However, if (3) is universal, which is an unmarked assumption, then one would expect specific objects in English to receive a structural case from AGRo and therefore display some effects of movement. The following sentences seem to provide some evidence for this conjecture.¹⁷

(39) John_i, his_i mother loves.

(40) John_i, I think his_i mother likes.

(41)??? John_i, his_i mother thinks that Mary likes.

As noted by Chomsky(1982) and Lasnik and Stowell(forthcoming) among others, topicalization in sentences like (39) and (40) does not show expected WCO effects. If we adopt a movement analysis of topicalization, we can account for the lack of WCO effects in (39) and (40) by assuming that the object NPs in (39) and (40) in fact move through SPEC AGRo. Since SPEC AGRo c-commands the subject position (under VP internal subject hypothesis), there is no WCO with respect to a pronoun contained in the subject phrase. This is then parallel to what we have seen in Hindi and Romanian. The appearance of WCO in (41) is also exactly parallel to the Hindi and Romanian cases except for the missing agreement/clitic. This evidence would then support the view that even English specific objects may

¹⁶The analyses presented in Dobrovie-Sorin(1990) and Cinque(1990) of the constructions that are discussed here is quite different. The purpose here was to explore a somewhat different treatment of the same range of facts within the model that I am developing.

¹⁷I thank Howard Lasnik and David Pesetsky for a discussion of these issues and for their judgements on the English data.

receive Case from AGR.¹⁸

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¹⁸The particle shift construction in English, which has been argued to involve object movement by Johnson (1990), provides some specificity alternations which indicate the role of object movement in English.

Consider:

- (i) He let out a yell. (Bolinger, 1971)
- (ii) *He let a yell out.
- (iii) Who picked which book up?
- (iv) ??? Who picked what up?

