

NORVIN RICHARDS (*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*)

## Case and licensing in Tagalog

### Case and Licensing

Early work on Case offered the hope that the same account could deal with Case (morphology on DPs) and Licensing (the conditions on the distribution of DPs and of PRO). Later work (Marantz 1991, Schütze 1997) showed that these must be dissociated. E.g., Sigurdsson (1991) shows that PRO is not restricted to positions that lack Case, but receives Case like any other nominal. Sigurdsson discusses floating quantifiers in Icelandic, which agree in Case with the DP from which they float; floated quantifiers associated with PRO show that PRO can have whatever case is normally assigned to its position, including Nominative (1).

- (1) a. Strákarnir komust **allir** í skóla  
boys.NOM got all.NOM to school  
'The boys all got to school'

- b. Strákana vantaði **alla** í skólann  
 boys.ACC lacked all.ACC in the-school  
 'The boys were all absent from school'
- c. Strákarnir vonast til að komast **allir** í skóla  
 boys.NOM hope for to get all.NOM to school  
 'The boys hope to all get to school'
- d. Strákarnir vonast til að vanta ekki **alla** í skólann  
 boys.NOM hope for to lack not all.ACC in the-school  
 'The boys hope to not all be absent from school'

### Tagalog Case

Rackowski (2002) argues that Tagalog verbal morphology reflects agreement for Case. For her, the alternation in (2) reflects Object Shift of the object into the highest specifier of vP (past the external argument). Agreement is with the highest argument in vP.

- (2) a. Kumain ang lalaki ng isda  
 NOM.ate ANG man UNM fish  
 'The man ate a fish'
- b. Kinain ng lalaki ang isda  
 ACC.ate UNM man ANG fish  
 'A man ate the fish'

In (2a), no Object Shift has taken place, and agreement is therefore with the subject (hence NOM). (2b) represents shift of the direct object (triggering ACC agreement). Rackowski and Richards (2005) extend this approach to conditions on extraction. Following Richards (1998), they claim that once a Probe P has Agreed with a particular Goal G, G is rendered transparent for P, making P able to Agree with elements inside G. This drives their account of the contrast in (3); in order for the higher v to Agree with the wh-phrase in the complement clause, it must first Agree with the complement clause itself.

- (3) a. Sino ang binabalak ni Maria [-ng patayin]?  
 who ANG ACC.plans UNM Maria C ACC.kill  
 'Who is Maria planning to kill?'
- b. \*Sino ang nagbabalak si Maria [-ng patayin]?  
 who ANG NOM.plans UNM Maria C ACC.kill

This first Agree relation establishes the morphology of the higher verb; the subsequent Agree relation with the wh-phrase does not alter the higher verb, though it does trigger movement of the wh-phrase into the higher clause.

### Tagalog Licensing

Aldridge (2005) discusses the contrast in (4). The examples in (4) have infinitival embedded clauses, and differ in the form of the higher verb. The ill-formedness of (4b) involves Licensing of the embedded subject; as (5) shows, both of the sentences in (4) are grammatical if the embedded subject is PRO.

- (4) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
 ACC.plans UNM Maria C NOM.POT.INF.study ANG child her at U.P.  
 'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'
- b. \*Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
 NOM.plans ANG Maria C NOM.POT.INF.study ANG child her at U.P.

- (5) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral sa U.P.]  
 ACC.plans UNM Maria C NOM.POT.INF.study at U.P.  
 'Maria is planning to be able to study at U.P.'

- b. Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral sa U.P.]  
 NOM.plans ANG Maria C NOM.POT.INF.study at U.P.

We can conclude that T in Tagalog is responsible for Licensing the subject, and that infinitival T Licenses PRO but not overt DPs. The contrast in (4) follows from the account of the extraction contrast in (3); in (4a), the higher  $\nu$  can optionally Agree with the subject of the lower clause, while in (4b) it cannot. The subject of (4b) is Licensed by infinitival T, and must be PRO (as in (5b)) rather than an overt DP. The subject in (4a), by contrast, can be Licensed by matrix  $\nu$ , which makes it an overt DP; if it is not licensed by matrix  $\nu$ , it appears as PRO, as in (5a). We thus arrive at a theory of licensing:

(6)

**(a)** Licensing applies to trivial chains, and takes place under Agree: **(b)** DPs licensed by nonfinite T are PRO: **(c)** DPs licensed by finite T or  $\nu$  are overt: **(d)** The last licenser to Agree with a DP determines its form.

This theory leads us to expect, correctly, that the contrast in (4) will only arise with subjects, which are dependent on T for licensing. The objects in (7), for example, can be overt DPs controlling agreement on the infinitival verb, regardless of the form of the higher verb; they are licensed, not by T, but by the  $\nu$  of the embedded clause, which is insensitive to finiteness. The behavior of subjects of non-NOM infinitival verbs also follows; these can be either overt DPs or PRO (8). Here the embedded verb's morphology is determined by the shifted object, the first phrase with which T Agrees; it is therefore impossible to determine whether T also Agrees with the subject. If second agreement by T is optional, then the optionality in (8) follows; if non-finite T Agrees with the subject, the subject is PRO, and if it does not the subject is overt.

- (7) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng kainin ang saging]  
 ACC.plans UNM Maria C ACC.eat ANG banana  
 'Maria is planning to eat the banana'

- b. Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng kainin ang saging]  
 NOM.plans ANG Maria C ACC.eat ANG banana

- (8) a. Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng kainin ng anak niya ang saging]  
 NOM.plans ANG Maria C ACC.eat UNM child her ANG banana  
 'Maria is planning for her child to eat the banana'

- b. Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng kainin ang saging] (= (7b))  
 NOM.plans ANG Maria C ACC.eat ANG banana

#### Case and Licensing are distinct

The embedded subject in all of the examples in (4-5) receives Nominative Case, reflected by the NOM Case-agreement on the lower verb. This NOM agreement parallels the NOM agreement on the floating quantifier in (1c); the subjects of these infinitival clauses receive Nominative case, as usual for subjects.

Case and Licensing in Tagalog  
Norvin Richards, MIT  
norvin@mit.edu  
AFLA 14, McGill University

- (1) a. Kinain ng kalabaw ang bulaklak.  
IN-ate NG water.buffalo ANG flower  
'The water buffalo ate the flower'
- b. Kumain ang kalabaw ng bulaklak.  
UM-ate ANG water.buffalo NG flower  
'The water buffalo ate a flower'

*a mighty duel*

- Rackowski (2002), Rackowski and Richards (2005):  
Case Agreement: -in- = ACC agreement,  
-um- = NOM agreement
- Aldridge (2004, 2006):  
Transitivity: -in- = transitive,  
-um- = antipassive

*lunge!*

Aldridge (2006)

- (2) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
IN-plans NG Maria LI UM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'
- b. \*Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
UM-Pag-plans ANG Maria LI UM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.

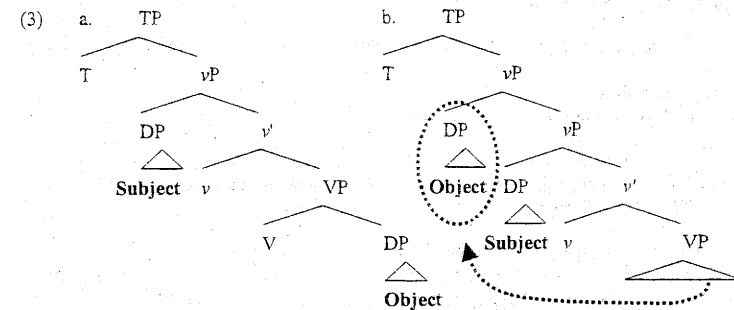
- proposal: (2a) is ECM; *ang anak niya* 'her child' gets Case from the matrix verb.
- (2b) is failure of ECM: matrix verb is intransitive.

*parry!*

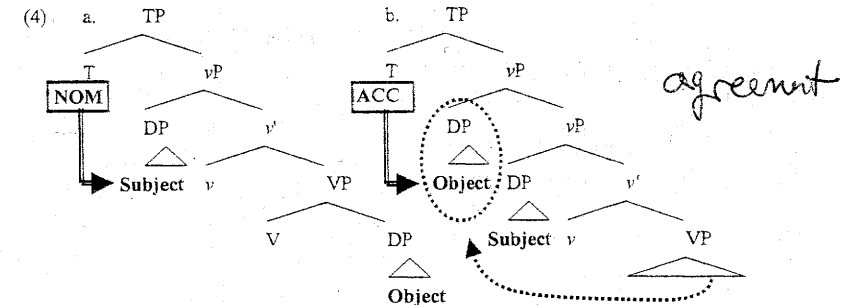
We need to distinguish Case from Licensing.

1. Rackowski (2002), Rackowski and Richards (2005)

- Tagalog has Object Shift which moves the highest internal argument past the external one:



- verb agreement is with the highest argument after Object Shift→  
with the shifted phrase, if any, or the subject, if not



- (5) a. Kumain ang kalabaw ng bulaklak.  
NOM-ate ANG water.buffalo NG flower  
'The water buffalo ate a flower'
- b. Kinain ng kalabaw ang bulaklak.  
ACC-ate NG water.buffalo ANG flower  
'The water buffalo ate the flower'

Aspect

- refining "Tense" slightly:

- (6) nagbili 'sold' (Past, NOM)  
 nagbibili 'is selling' (Present, NOM)  
 magbibili 'will sell' (Future, NOM)

Realis OBL redup

"Tense" is bipartite (cf. Kroeger 1993, Rackowski 1999, Travis 2000, and references cited there)

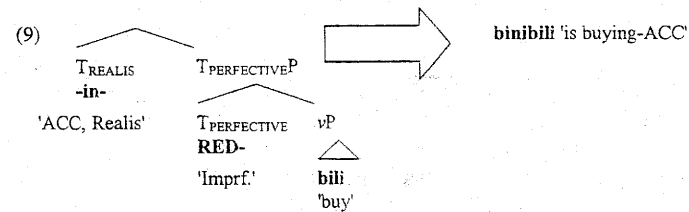
m/n: Future vs. non-Future: REALIS  
 Reduplication: Past vs. non-Past PERFECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

- (7) binili 'bought' (Past, ACC)  
 binibili 'is buying' (Present, ACC)  
 bibilhin 'will buy' (Future, ACC)
- (8) bumili 'bought' (Past, NOM)  
 bumibili 'is buying' (Present, NOM)  
 bibili 'will buy' (Future, NOM)

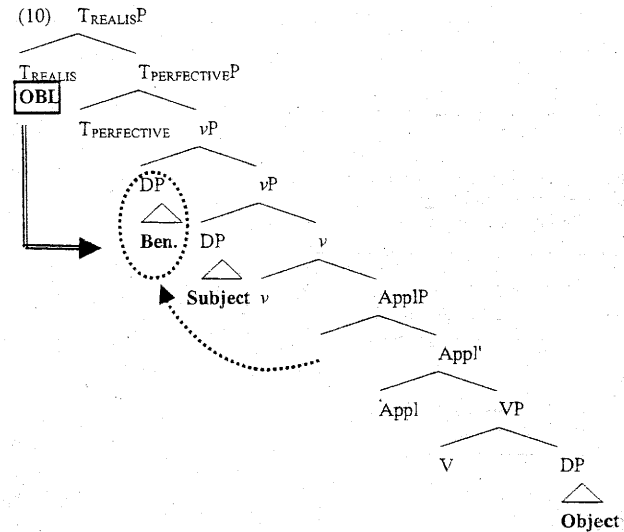
-in- 'REALIS'  
 -in- 'REALIS', redupl. 'IMPERFECTIVE'  
 redupl. 'IMPERFECTIVE'

-um- 'REALIS'  
 -um- 'REALIS', redupl. 'IMPERFECTIVE'  
 redupl. 'IMPERFECTIVE'

Case Agreement affects the exponence of 'REALIS': -um- vs. -in-.  
 --> Case Agreement is on the T<sub>REALIS</sub> head.



- Tagalog has applicatives, which allow the highest internal argument to be various things:



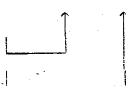
- (11) Ipinagluto ko ang kalabaw ng keyk  
 OBL-Ben-cooked NG.I ANG water.buffalo NG cake  
 'I baked the water buffalo a cake'

<sup>1</sup> This can't be quite right; 'Perfective' is supposed to assert successful completion, and Tagalog verbs in the 'non-abilitative' form appear to only imply successful completion (cf. Dell 1983).

• Multiple agreement

(Richards 1998, Hiraiwa 2001): Once a Probe P Agrees with a Goal G, P gets to ignore G for future Agree operations.

(12) P G G'



(13) a. Ano ang sinabi ni Maria [na kinain ng kalabaw    ]?  
what ANG ACC-said NG Maria LI ACC-ate NG water.buffalo  
'What did Maria say that the water buffalo ate?'

Matrix  $\nu$  Agrees first with embedded clause, then with highest clause-internal phrase: ✓

b. \*Ano ang nagsabi si Maria [na kinain ng kalabaw    ]?  
what ANG NOM-said ANG Maria LI ACC-ate NG water.buffalo

Matrix  $\nu$  fails to Agree with embedded clause, tries to reach inside it: \*

c. \*Ano ang sinabi ni Maria [na kumain ang kalabaw    ]?  
what ANG ACC-said NG Maria LI NOM-ate ANG water.buffalo

Matrix  $\nu$  correctly Agrees with embedded clause, but then can only Agree with the next highest DP; extracted DP must Object Shift, control agreement on lower verb

CED: only clauses that  $\nu$  can Agree with (complement clauses) are transparent:

(14) a. What did Mary say [that the water buffalo ate    ]? complement  
b. \*What will the water buffalo get sick [if it eats    ]? \*adjunct  
c. \*What did [that the water buffalo ate    ] surprise you? \*subject

> there is no "Austronesian extraction restriction"

> Tagalog verbal morphology is Agreement for Case, not valence-changing morphology

ok not adjunct  
into CP

not austronesian extraction  
condition

some special marking

wh phrase  
is higher  
for goals



that's  
why lower  
verb  
has to  
agree

2. Aldridge (2006)

"Tagalog A<sup>2</sup>"

(15) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
ACC-plans NG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'

b. \*Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
NOM-plans ANG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.

prefer  
semantics  
in the  
under  
handed  
some

"Tagalog B<sup>3</sup>"

(16) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
ACC-plans NG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'

b. Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
NOM-plans ANG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.

Some speakers report that (16b) makes it sound more like Maria is "scheming", actively working to bring about the situation in the embedded clause. They get the same contrast in (17):

(17) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral sa U.P.]  
ACC-plans NG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning to be able to study at U.P.'

b. Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral sa U.P.]  
NOM-plans ANG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study DAT U.P.

Infinitival complement clauses seem to be a big locus of cross-speaker variation; cf. Raising (Kroeger (1993, 173)), which some speakers can't get at all:

(18) a. Inasahan ko [na awitin ni Maria ang pambansa-ng awit]  
DAT-expected NG.I LI ACC-sing NG Maria ANG national-LI song  
'I expected [Maria to sing the national anthem]'

b. %Inasahan ko ang pambansa-ng awit [na awitin ni Maria]

<sup>2</sup> for "Aldridge"

<sup>3</sup> for "not Aldridge". Thanks to Tagalog B speakers Genara Banzon, Lawrence Maligaya, Noel Maligaya, Joshua Monzon, and Geraldine Zingapan for their help.

Case agreement floating  
quantified  
can see the  
PRO's  
case

Aldridge's take on (15):

- (15) represents ECM
- *binabalak* (15a) is Transitive; *nagbabalak* (15b) is Antipassive
- thus, in (15a), the matrix verb can assign Case via ECM to the embedded subject; in (15b), it can't.

Problems for Rackowski and Richards:

- how can the subject of the (infinitival) lower clause be Nominative?
- why do these examples contrast?

### 3. Answering Aldridge's Questions

How can the subject of an infinitival clause be nominative?

Icelandic: Sigurðsson 1991, 2007, Landau 2006

- (19) a. Bræðrunum líkaði illa [að PRO<sub>NOM</sub> vera ekki báðir<sub>NOM</sub> kosnir]  
brothers-the-DatPl liked ill to be not both-Nom elected  
'The brothers disliked not both being elected'
- b. Bræðurnir æsktu þess [að PRO<sub>DAT</sub> vera báðum<sub>DAT</sub> boðið]  
brothers-the-NomPl wished it to be both-Dat invited  
'The brothers wished to both be invited'

Case  
Control  
Can't be  
Same

Old theory: infinitival clauses have no Case for the subject,  
which is related to the fact that their subjects can be PRO.

New(er) theory: Case (Nom, Acc, Dat...) must be separated from Licensing (can DPs be overt?)  
(Marantz 1991, Harley 1995, Schütze 1997, and much subsequent work)

(15) may be more similar to "Long-Distance Agreement" than to ECM:

Tsez: Polinsky and Potsdam 2001

- (20) a. eni-r [už-ā magalu b-āc'-ru-i] r-iyxo  
mother-DAT boy-ERG bread.III.ABS III-eat-PTC-NL IV-knows  
'The mother knows that the boy ate the bread'
- b. eni-r [už-ā magalu b-āc'-ru-i] b-iyxo  
mother-DAT boy-ERG bread.III.ABS III-eat-PTC-NL IV-knows  
'The mother knows that the boy ate the bread'

Passamaquoddy: Bruening 2001

- (21) n-wewitaham-a-k [mate nomiyawik mawsuwinuwoK Kehlsik]  
1-remember-DIR-3PL not I.saw.them people Calais-LOC  
'I remember that I didn't see people at Calais'

What accounts for the Tagalog A contrast in (22)?

- (22) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
ACC-plans NG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'
- b. \*Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
NOM-plans ANG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.

Consider the Agree relations of the higher verb in (22a):

- (23) Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
ACC-plans NG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'

- higher v Agrees with the complement clause:  
determines ACC morphology for higher verb

also possible:

- (23') Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
ACC-plans NG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'

- higher v Agrees twice, first with complement clause  
(determines ACC agreement on higher verb, as before)  
and then with highest embedded DP  
(ang anak niya 'her child'--already marked ang because of agreeing embedded v)

contrast:

- (24) \*Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
NOM-plans ANG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'

- higher v Agrees with matrix subject,  
then tries to reach inside opaque complement clause  
--> banned, for the same reason that extraction of the embedded subject would be.

> Tagalog A can contribute to our understanding of Tagalog Licensing;  
Licensing involves the Agree relations reflected in verbal morphology.

upshot: a subject which is Licensed only by infinitival T must be null;  
matrix v can License an overt embedded subject (as in (23)), but only if it Agrees with it.

2 v can

#### 4. Tagalog Licensing

- **Licensers:** T, v, which Agree with licensees
- **infinitival T** Licenses null DPs
- **other Licensers** License overt DPs
- DPs may be Licensed multiple times

Four cases of interest:

- > main-clause verb NOM, embedded verb NOM
- > main-clause verb ACC, embedded verb NOM
- > main-clause verb NOM, embedded verb ACC
- > main-clause verb ACC, embedded verb ACC

preliminary: which T is the licenser?

(25)

nagbili	'sold' (Past, NOM)	<i>n-</i> : Realis,
nagbibili	'is selling' (Present, NOM)	<i>n-</i> : Realis, <i>Red.</i> : non-Perfective
magbibili	'will sell' (Future, NOM)	<i>m-</i> : Irrealis, <i>Red.</i> : non-Perfective
magbili	'to sell' (Infinitive, NOM)	<i>m-</i> : Irrealis...

Past, Infinitive share lack of Reduplication

...because both are Perfective???

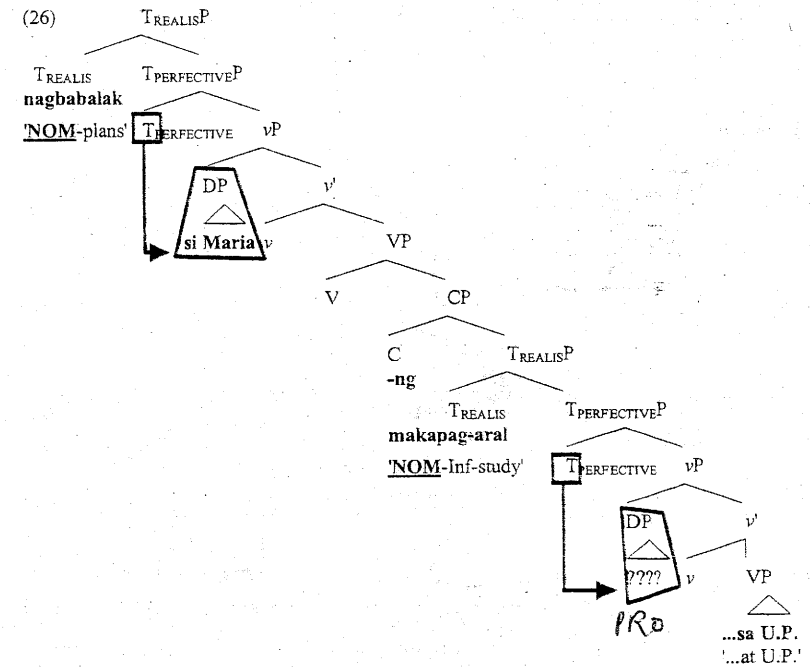
--> maybe this is where the Infinitive form is featurally defective; lacks 'Perfective'

wild guess: maybe T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> is the licenser for the subject.

(Alternatively, Tagalog has no real morphology for Tense (this is all Aspect), and the (null) real Tense is the licenser)

Recall that  $T_{\text{REALIS}}$  is the  $T$  that Agrees for Case with the shifted object, so these two instances of  $T$  are crucially distinct heads.

main-clause verb NOM, embedded verb NOM
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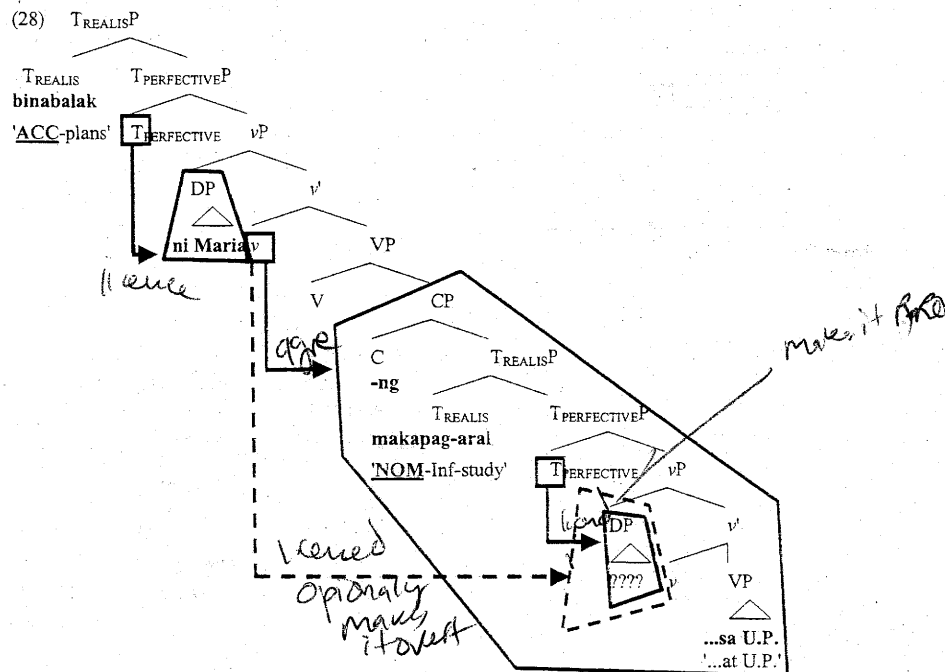
Licensing relations:

- matrix subject Licensed by tensed T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> --> overt
- embedded subject Licensed by infinitival T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> --> covert

- (27) a. Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral sa U.P.]  
NOM-plans ANG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study DAT U.P.  
 'Maria is planning to be able to study at U.P.'
- b. \* Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
NOM-plans ANG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
 'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'



main-clause verb ACC, embedded verb NOM



Licensing relations:

- matrix subject Licensed by tensed T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> → overt
- embedded subject Licensed by infinitival T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> → covert, but
- embedded subject can also be Licensed by matrix v → overt

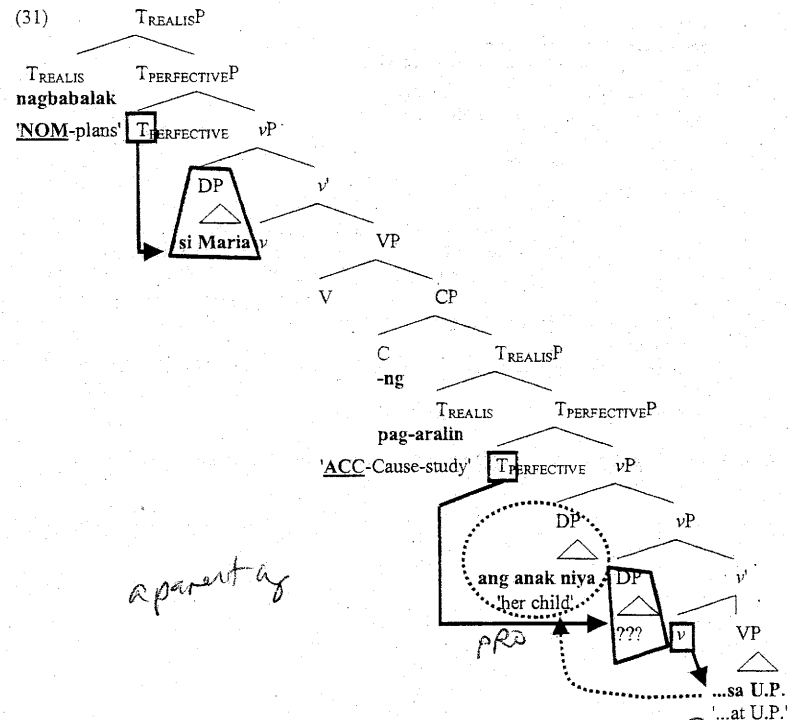
- (29) a. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral sa U.P.]  
ACC-plans NG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning to be able to study at U.P.'
- b. Binabalak ni Maria [-ng makapag-aral ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
ACC-plans NG Maria LI NOM-Abl-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at U.P.'

DPs may be Licensed twice, and their form is determined by the last licenser? freely chosen?

main-clause verb NOM, embedded verb ACC

Aldridge (2006)

- (30) Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng pag-aralin ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
NOM-plans ANG Maria LI ACC-Cause-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
'Maria is planning to cause her child to study at U.P.'



embedded infinitival T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> apparently reaches past 'shifted' object to License embedded PRO subject, because...

- the shifted object is unavailable for Licensing?
- (Licensing applies to trivial chains, shift is actually to a position above T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub>, the shifted object has checked off some feature that Licensing is sensitive to...)
- T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> can Agree twice, Licensing the subject on its second try?

Things we don't know about Tagalog A:

- (32) ¿Nagbabalak si Maria [-ng pag-aralin ng titser ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
 NOM-plans ANG Maria LI ACC-Cause-study NG teacher ANG child her DAT U.P.  
 'Maria is planning for the teacher to cause her child to study at U.P.'

- (33) (Kroeger 1993, 95)  
 ¿Inutusan ko si Maria [-ng mahalikan ni Pedro]  
 DAT-ordered NG.I ANG Maria LI DAT-Abjkiss NG Pedro  
 'I ordered Maria (to allow herself) to be kissed by Pedro'

If these are well-formed, then:

- the shifted object is unavailable for Licensing?  
 (Licensing applies to trivial chains, shift is actually to a position above)
- T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> the shifted object has checked off some feature that Licensing is sensitive to...
- T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> can Agree twice, Licensing the subject on its second try.

...and the object, being Licensed twice (by embedded *v* and embedded infinitival T) can be either overt or null,

(...and Binding Theory hopefully rules out multiple PROs)

(and maybe DPs need not be licensed at all? so the subject in (32) can be 'unlicensed', hence overt?)

main-clause verb NOM, embedded verb ACC

No Tagalog A data at all:

- (34) ¿Binabalak si Maria [-ng pag-aralin ang anak niya sa U.P.]  
 ACC-plans ANG Maria LI ACC-Cause-study ANG child her DAT U.P.  
 'Maria is planning to cause her child to study at U.P.'

facts differ from the previous case? if so, will tell us things about how high the matrix *v* can Agree.

Tagalog Licensing:

- T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub>, *v* License DPs via Agree
- same Agree relations implicated in Object Shift play a role in "long-distance Licensing"
- DPs may be licensed more than once, and may take the form determined by any licensor
- *v* Licenses overt DPs
- Infinitival T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> Licenses PRO...

(...in Tagalog A. In Tagalog B, "Infinitival" T<sub>PERFECTIVE</sub> can also license overt DPs)

## 5. Tagalog Case

...much simpler. In the examples we're concerned with, Subjects are always Nominative, Objects Accusative.

## 6. Moral(s) of the story

- Case and Licensing must be distinguished.
- the Agree relations that Rackowski and Richards (2005) posited for object shift and long-distance extraction are also responsible for Licensing by *v*.

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ma chage PRO in editio hoo ma foran  
 Can't be EAM for fun but can be long distance object with  
 but built with  
 LDA Subjects  
 many debate about names

I ate banana

I ate non banana

or morphological causative  
works with

Where case comes from

not operators change case  
maybe applicative

or it is inherent in  $\phi$  probes

or whatever probes, that don't  
force move to spec

non T

separate from the case morphology  
though.