

Case and clause type - handout 2

moral #2: Keep track of the premises of arguments whose conclusions you have accepted — since if the premises are successfully challenged in the future, the conclusions should be re-examined (and who knows where that may lead).

1. Challenges concerning the source of nominative case

The standard case-theory + agreement theory of NOM (review)

(1) Flavors of T: lexical choice

T may come from the lexicon (i) with or (ii) without a set of ϕ -features that trigger subject agreement and NOM case. A finite clause in a language like English results from choice (i), and an infinitival clause reflects choice (ii). Finiteness is a matter of *lexical choice*.

(2) Agree-based NOM

Agreement with T assigns/values NOM.

(3) Case Filter

DP must be licensed by Case assignment (*variant*: by Case valuation).

(4) General predictions of the standard theory of NOM and the Case Filter ...

a. Class 1: ... concerning presence or absence of agreement with T

A nominal whose only possible source of licensing is ϕ -feature agreement with T will suffer one of the following fates if T cannot enter into an agreement relation with it:

1. *salvation by Movement*: it moves to a position where it is licensed by some other element (e.g. an ACC-licenser, or the agreeing T of a higher clause); or
2. *salvation by External Merge*: some later-merged element licenses it in situ; or
3. *no salvation*: assign *star* if neither of these possibilities is realized.

- **Rephrasing the prediction**: a nominal specifier of TP without subject agreement obligatorily undergoes **Raising to Subject (R1)** or **Raising to Object/Spec,VP (R2)** (ignoring English *for*-infinitives for now).

b. Class 2: ... concerning non-nominals

If the properties summarized under "Rephrasing" above are part of the same story as the story that motivated case theory for complements (e.g. (5)), **the obligatoriness of R1 and R2 should not be detected with non-nominals**.

(5) Nominal vs. non-nominal complements differ in case needs

- a. We are sure [that the world is round].
*We are sure *(of) the world's roundness.*
- b. my proof [that the world is round]
*my proof *(of) the world's roundness*

Recall the challenge to class 1 from Icelandic

(6) Quirky subject, nominative object in finite clause

- a. Barninu batnaði veikin.
the.child.DAT recovered.from.3SG the.disease.NOM
'The child recovered from the disease.'
- b. Barninu bötнуðu veikirnar.
the.child.DAT recovered.from.3PL the.diseases.NOM
'The child recovered from the disease.'

(7) Quirky subject, nominative object in an R2 infinitival complement

- Læknirinn_i telur barninu (í barnaskap sínum_i) batnaði veikin.
the.doctor.NOM believes the.child.DAT (in foolishness his) recovered.from.INF the.disease.NOM
'The doctor_i believes the child (in his_i foolishness) to have recovered from the disease.'

- The embedded NOM object in (7) is unexpected in theories of case and nominal licensing that have (1), (2), and (3) as tenets.
- "... [I]f tensed inflection with agreement is the source of NOM case on the objects of DAT subject verbs, we would expect the object to lose its NOM case in an infinitive, because infinitive inflection does not assign NOM. Instead [...], such DAT subject/NOM object verbs still take a NOM object in infinitival constructions although there is no element around to assign NOM case." (Marantz 1991 "Case and Licensing", 18-19)

A less well-known challenge to class 2 predictions

(8) The case needs of nominal subjects in the standard theory...

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| a. Sue considers Mary to have solved the problem. | R2 |
| b. Mary seems to speak French well. | R1 |
| c. *It seems Mary to have solved the problem. | unacc. V |
| d. *It was believed Mary to speak French well. | passive V |
| e. *Mary is aware Bill to be the best candidate. | A |
| f. *Mary's belief it to have been raining | N |

(9) ... are mirrored by CP subjects ...

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| a. Sue considers [that the world is round] to be a tragedy | R2 |
| b. [That the world is round] seems to be a tragedy. | R1 |
| c. *It seems [that the world is round] to be a tragedy. | unacc. V |
| d. *It was believed [that the world is round] to be a tragedy. | passive V |
| e. *Mary is aware [that the world is round] to be a tragedy | A |
| f. *Mary's belief [that the world is round] to be a tragedy | N |

(but perhaps CP subjects are actually nominal?)

- (10) ... and mirrored by predicate-inversion (AP) subjects ...
- | | |
|---|-----------|
| a. Sue considers [even more important than linguistics] to be the fate of the planet. ¹⁹ | R2 |
| b. [Even more important than linguistics] seems to be the fate of the planet. | R1 |
| c. *It seems [even more important than linguistics] to be the fate of the planet. | unacc. V |
| d. *It was believed [even more important than linguistics] to be the fate of the planet. | passive V |
| e. *Mary is aware [even more important than linguistics] to be the fate of the planet | A |
| f. *Mary's belief [even more important than linguistics] to be the fate of the planet | N |
- (11) ... and mirrored by fronted locatives in Locative Inversion ...
- | | |
|--|-----------|
| a. Sue considers [in this room] to be found the finest examples of Athenian sculpture | R2 |
| b. [In this room] seems to have been found the finest examples of Athenian sculpture. | R1 |
| c. *It seems [in this room] to be found the finest examples of Athenian sculpture | unacc. V |
| d. *It was believed [in this room] to be found the finest examples of Athenian sculpture | passive V |
| e. *Mary is aware [in this room] to be found the finest examples of Athenian sculpture | A |
| f. *Mary's belief [in this room] to be found the finest examples of Athenian sculpture | N |
- (12) ... and mirrored by expletive subjects ...
- | | |
|---|-----------|
| a. Sue considers [there] to be a riot in progress. | R2 |
| b. [There] seems to be a riot in progress. | R1 |
| c. *It seems [there] to be a riot in progress. | unacc. V |
| d. *It was believed [there] to be a riot in progress. | passive V |
| e. *Mary is aware [there] to be a riot in progress. | A |
| f. *Mary's belief [there] to be a riot in progress | N |

The "Case and Licensing" response to the Icelandic challenge

- *Claim:* Nominals have no need for licensing.

But then what yields the standard case-theory generalizations concerning nominal vs. non-nominal complements?

- *Claim:* The Icelandic challenge shows us that "NOM is assigned by ϕ -agreement" is wrong, since we see NOM where there is no ϕ -agreement. Instead the right logic is "Agreement is assigned by NOM" (Bobaljik 2008).

But then what yields the correlation between infinitive~finite and movement~non-movement from subject position in (8)?

Marantz makes a proposal for R1 involving avoidance of satisfying EPP on T with an expletive (forcing movement) — *but this does not extend to the R2 and no-movement-at-all parts of the paradigm.*

2. An alternative approach to the NOM challenges

Overview of the approach

- At least one of the tenets of *standard* case theory from section 1 must be wrong:
 - (1) Whether a clause is finite or infinitival is a matter of lexical choice.
 - (2) NOM is assigned under ϕ -featural agreement with T.
 - (3) Nominals must be case-licensed.

Proposal: challenge tenet (1), instead of (2) or (3).

In a nutshell:

- In languages like English, the non-finiteness of embedded clauses in R1 and R2 constructions is a *consequence*, not a *trigger* of the raising of the embedded subject.
- Whether a clause is finite or infinitival is not a matter of choosing finite or non-finite T from the lexicon, but is *derivationally determined*.
- All clauses begin their derivational lives as full finite CPs. Non-finite clauses are reduced structures (*toP*) lacking CP and TP layers...
- ...as a consequence of an operation of **Exfoliation** that removes these layers when an element in *Spec,toP* is accessed by an R1 or R2 probe — in order to make that *Spec,toP* the edge of the embedded-clause phase.

Relevance to NOM challenges:

- **Class 2 (infinitive) challenges:**
 - Subjects of clauses that end up infinitival have no special case-theoretic problem. The starred examples in paradigms (8)-

- (11) have nothing to do with case theory — but instead are *instances of illegal Exfoliation when its structural description is not met*: the subject didn't move anywhere.

- **Class 1 (Icelandic) challenges:** Because every clause starts as a full and finite CP, *every clause starts its life endowed with a T that can assign NOM*.
 - The embedded clause in (7) is infinitival because its quirky subject underwent R2 raising, triggering Exfoliation.
 - The NOM object in (7) is licensed and bears NOM because its clause had a T that agreed with it before Exfoliation took place. NOM here is a memory of the clause's past life as a full finite CP.

Some presuppositions of the "lexicalist" standard theory

Standard lexicalist view of the past four decades (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970, Bresnan 1972)

- The finiteness of a clause and presence/absence of C is a result of the lexical items freely chosen to participate in the derivation that built that clause (*Lexical Array*).

- For example: if [\pm Past] and C do not form part of the Lexical Array chosen to build a particular clause, the result will be a reduced infinitive. Conversely, if [\pm Past] and C are chosen, the result will be a full finite CP.

How the behavior of R1 and R2 looks from the standard lexicalist perspective

- Given that the derivation has built an infinitive, how does the system solve the problems that follow from having chosen to build an infinitive?
- For example:** The subject of an English infinitive has a licensing problem that can be solved (only) if an R1 or R2 probe successfully locates it, so that that movement and case-licensing becomes possible. This is possible only across a reduced infinitival clause boundary but not across an unreduced one, due to [various proposals].

An alternative "derivationalist" view

- Abandon the assumption that infinitives and reduced clauses are "born, not made".
- The interaction between a higher probe (R1, R2 or \bar{A}) and an embedded subject *precedes* the differentiation of the embedded clause into finite vs. non-finite — and *triggers* its reduction to an infinitive.
- Specifically, probing of an embedded subject by a clause-external probe triggers the deletion of the C and T layers of the clause, creating a reduced infinitive from what would otherwise be a full finite CP.

Crucial background for the alternative view

(13) **Full CP hypothesis**

Every embedded clause is built by Merge as a full finite CP, and may be reduced to a less-than-full clause only as a consequence of later derivational processes. (plausible extension: each *phase* must be fully built)

(14) **Nature of *to***

- English *to* heads a projection between T and vP
- English *to* is overt only when it heads its clause

- Rule (14b) is an English-specific variant of a more general phenomenon cross-linguistically — relevant to the analysis of a variety of alternations found in languages such as Bùli (*āti/āli*; Sulemana 2018), Kreyòl (*ke/ki*) and French (*que/qui*) and West Flemish (*da/die*; Bennis & Haegeman 1984).

(15) **Exposure**

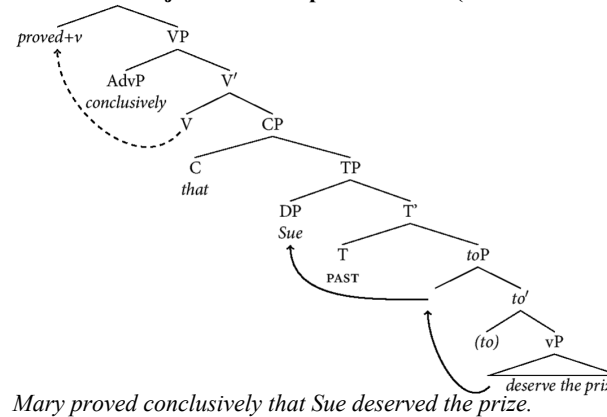
α is *exposed* iff it heads a phase.

(16) **Exposure Condition**

A functional head is overt only if exposed.

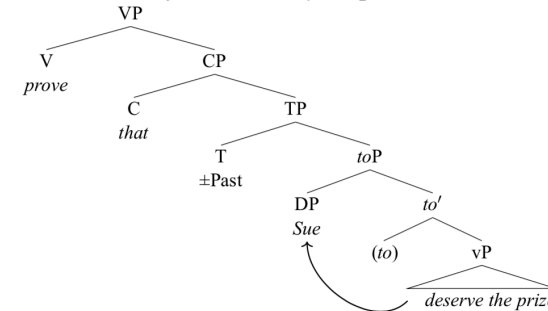
Exfoliation

(17) **Embedded subject raises to specifier of TP (and remains there)**



- Consider now a variant of (17) in which the subject *Sue* has raised to form a specifier of *to* within the embedded clause, responding to an EPP property of *to* — *but has not raised further* to form a specifier of T:

(18) **Embedded subject raises only to specifier of *toP***



- Suppose *prove* in (18) bears an R2 probe with property that triggers movement, and *Sue* is the nearest goal...

(19) **Probing across a clause boundary**

- Phase penetrability:** A probe π with a movement-triggering ("EPP") property can locate a goal γ across a CP boundary, even if γ does not occupy the edge of that CP...
- Phase impenetrability:** ...but γ can move to π **only if occupies the edge of CP.**

- If (19) is correct, *Sue* in (18) can be located by the R2 probe on *prove*.
- But unless some operation places *Sue* at the edge of the embedded clause, it cannot satisfy the EPP requirements of the R2 probe on *prove*.

- One might imagine that the \bar{A} -property of movement C prevents it from serving as an intermediate landing site for R2 movement of *Sue*. Alternatively:

(20) **Anti-locality**

Movement to the edge of CP must cross a phase boundary.¹

(cf. Saito & Murasugi 1998; Bošković 1994; Ishii 1999; Grohmann 2003, Erlewine 2015)

(→ ✓ spec,vP to spec,clauseP, *movement to spec,clauseP from outside vP)

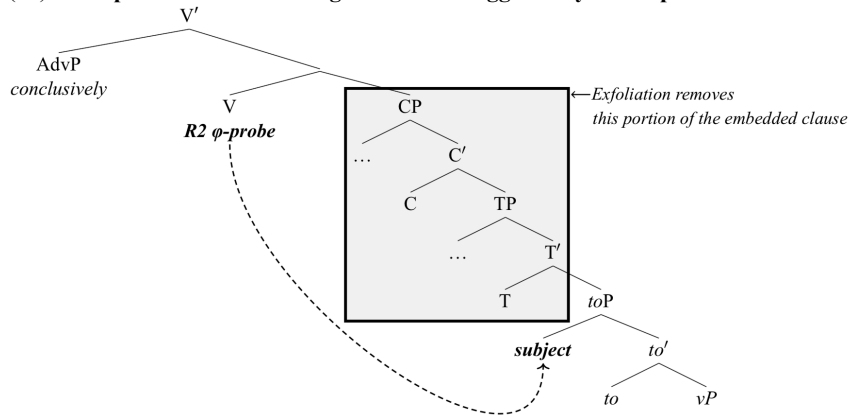
(21) **Exfoliation**

a. **Structural Description:**... β ... [YP (PHASE) ... [γ P (NON-PHASE) α ...]], where

- YP is the only phase boundary between β and α ,
- α occupies the edge of γ P, and
- a movement-triggering probe on β has located α as its goal

b. **Structural Change:** Replace YP with γ P, which inherits the phasal property of its predecessor.

(22) **Example: infinitive-forming exfoliation triggered by an R2 probe on V**



Mary proved Sue conclusively to deserve the prize

History

- **The alternative view is actually a modernization of the one of the oldest proposals in generative grammar** (Rosenbaum 1965, 1967) — according to which the Raising rules are responsible for the infinitivization of the clause from which Raising applies.

¹ *Improvement:* "Movement to the edge of a phase from a non θ -position must cross a phase boundary." — which reduces to a "lethal ambiguity" condition on probing. See below.

- **Model of grammar presupposed by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970)/Bresnan (1972)**
 - basic structure-building (the *base component*) and *syntactic selection* precedes all instances of movement and deletion, yielding *Deep Structure*
 - semantic interpretation applies to *Deep Structure*.
- **K&K/B's arguments against the older proposal...**
 - **Predicates select for different clause-types**, so clause-types must already be differentiated at Deep Structure, and clause-type choice cannot be triggered by movement.
 - **Choice of clause type has semantic implications**, so clause-types must already be differentiated at Deep Structure so the semantics can distinguish them. "The error [of previous approaches] is that different types of complements (*that*-clauses, gerunds, infinitives) have all been assumed to have the same deep structure, and hence to be semantically equivalent." (K&K, 172)
- **... but these arguments no longer distinguish the proposals in a model without Deep Structure**, where selection and semantic interpretation are interspersed with Internal and External Merge. So it worth reopening the debate thought closed.

3. An argument for infinitivization as a process: no need for case licensing yet patterns with nominals

- *Claim:* The embedded clause does not become an infinitive unless its subject raises out of it — regardless of its syntactic category and case needs (or lack thereof).
- (23) **Probes that can extract an embedded subject in English**
 - R2 probe** — triggering movement to Spec,VP: present on [a subset of] active instances of V (but not passive or unaccusative verbs, or A or N)
 - R1 probe** — triggering movement to Spec,vP: present on unaccusative *v* or *a* taking a subset of predicates as their complement (usable as an intermediate landing site on the way to a case position in passive and unaccusative configurations if no intervener blocks the movement)
 - \bar{A} -probe** — triggering movement to Spec, vP: present on *v*, *a*, and *n*
- In (8a-b) [repeated below], the embedded subject has moved in response to an R2 and R1 probe, respectively — but in (8c-f) it has remained in the embedded clause, for lack of a higher probe moving it out, so Exfoliation cannot apply.

(8) [repeated]

- a. Sue considers Mary to have solved the problem.
- b. Mary seems to speak French well.
- c. *It seems Mary to have solved the problem.
- d. *It was believed Mary to speak French well.
- e. *Mary is aware Bill to be the best candidate.
- f. *Mary's belief it to have been raining

R2
R1
unacc. V
passive V
A
N

Case and the subject of infinitives:

- On an Exfoliation approach to clause size, **the subject of an embedded infinitive has no case-licensing problem** — since its clause was a full finite CP until Exfoliation applied.

Exfoliation as a last resort:

- Since Exfoliation is in effect a last resort for solving the problem of goals too far from the phase edge, Exfoliation *only* applies to a clause when its subject (or other element in the upper clausal domain) is a goal with this problem. **Untriggered infinitivization should yield unacceptability...**
- ... which is why phrases that seem to have no case needs as complements show the same paradigm as nominals when the subject position of infinitives vs. finite clauses is at issue: **the paradigms in (9)-(12).**

4. The complementizer-trace effect and the unity of movement

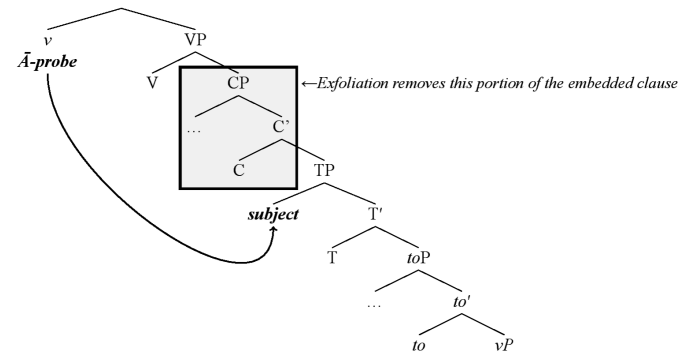
- **Subject extraction in English does not require infinitivization.** Subject extraction is compatible with the retention of tense and agreement in the embedded clause.
- **Famous property of English:** Subject extraction from a finite clause may not obligatorily trigger infinitivization — but it *does* trigger the absence of the complementizer. This is the **complementizer-trace effect**:

- (24)a. Mary, who I believe ___ to be the best candidate...
- b. Mary, who I believe ___ is the best candidate...
- c. *Mary, who I believe that ___ is the best candidate...

Proposal

- **Set-up:** \bar{A} -probe on higher v can find an embedded subject; \bar{A} -probe on C cannot interact with it due to **anti-locality**.
- Both *to* and T bear ϕ -probes with the EPP property.
- Exfoliation that deletes TP and CP also deletes EPP on T, eliminating the violation if the subject never raised that far ("salvation by deletion").
- **But the subject may alternatively move to spec,TP** — in which case subject extraction will only Exfoliate the CP layer, leaving TP intact.

(25)



- **What about A-movement from Spec,TP (Hyper-raising)?**
 - Some languages: Hyperraising banned.
 - Some languages: Hyperraising possible, with *that*-trace effects!

Lusaamia (Bantu, Kenya) shows hyper-raising with a that-trace effect: "The reconstructed reading is blocked by the presence of a complementizer in the embedded clause." (Carstens & Diercks 2013)

(26) *Scenario: You find that the watering hole is empty. Though there are no cows on site, you can say:*

- a. **no raising**
Bi-bonekhana koti eng'ombe chi-ng'were amachi
8SA-appear that 10cow 10SA-drink 6water
'It appears that the cows drank the water'
- b. **R1, no complementizer**
Eng'ombe chi-bonekhana chi-ng'were amachi
10cow 10SA-appear 10SA-drink 6water
'The cows appear to have drunk the water'

... *but not:*

- c. **R1, complementizer**
*Eng'ombe chi-bonekhana koti chi-ng'were amachi
10cow 10SA-appear that 10SA-drink 6water
'The cows appear as if they have drunk the water' (Carstens & Diercks 2013)

Moro (Kordofanian, Sudan): Hyper-raising incompatible with complementizer (as is subject relativization) (Jenks & Rose)

(27) *Complementizer in hyper-raising

- a. *Kúk:u g-a-rámát-iə* [(*tá) g-é-[↓]ʃʃð-á *ugi*]
 K. CLG-RTC-continue-IPFV COMP1 CLG-DPC1-chop-IPFV CLG.tree
 'Kuku kept chopping the tree'
- b. *orán g-a-n:-ó Kúk:u-ŋ* [(*tá) g-é-*lanq-ó* *awúr*]
 man CLG-RTC-hear-PFV Kuku-ACC COMP1 CLG-DPC1-close-PRFV CLJ.door
 'The man heard Kuku close the door'
- Languages that permit Hyperraising *without* a *that*-trace effect
 - e.g. Zulu (Halpert 2018), Lubukusu (Carstens & Diercks 2013): escape by other means, perhaps
 - e.g. Balkan Sprachbund, including Greek: the skipping strategy?

English

(28) **Hyperraising in English**

- a. %McDonald's has also seen an increase in the standard of hygiene across restaurants which ___ is felt ___ is attributable to the fact that the programme is now specifically about McDonald's restaurants.
- b. %A recording was also made of each School and was then used to transcribe the minutes and any quotes which ___ were felt ___ were relevant to the process.
- c. % [The church leaders] disagreed as to which books ___ were thought ___ were "Godly inspired". (Danckaert and Haegeman 2017, 27-28, ex. (1), (4), % added)

(29) **Complementizer-trace effect with hyperraising (English)**

These organisations will now have the opportunity to bid for the new city funds, which are hoped (*that) ___ will help up to 150 families facing eviction.

(Danckaert and Haegeman 2017, 30, ex. (9))

5. Does Icelandic really challenge classic case theory?

NOM objects in non-finite clauses (repeated)

(30) **Quirky subject, nominative object in finite clause**

- a. Barninu batnaði veikin.
 the.child.DAT recovered.from.3SG the.disease.NOM
 'The child recovered from the disease.'
- b. Barninu bötunðu veikirnar.
 the.child.DAT recovered.from.3PL the.diseases.NOM
 'The child recovered from the disease.'

(31) **Quirky subject, nominative object in an R2 infinitival complement**

Læknirinn_i telur barninu (í barnaskap sínum_i) batnaði veikin.
 the.doctor.NOM believes the.child.DAT (in foolishness his) recovered.from.INF the.disease.NOM
 'The doctor_i believes the child (in his_i foolishness) to have recovered from the disease.'

Life history of (31)

While the embedded clause is a full finite CP...

- Finite T in the embedded clause assigns NOM and case-licenses the nominative object — by whatever magic permits it to do so in simple clauses.

When the R2 probe on 'believe' finds the DAT subject of the embedded clause ...

- Exfoliation reduces the embedded clause to an infinitive.
- The embedded DAT raises to spec,VP (over the higher VP adverb, if present).

Anaphor-Agreement Effect before Exfoliation

(32) **Anaphor-Agreement Effect**

- a. *Mary believes that herself gave a good talk.
- b. *Jón segir að sig elski Maríu. (Icelandic)
 John says that REFL love.SUBJ.3SG Mary

Reasons to think the culprit really is agreement:

- a NOM-marked reflexive anaphor should be acceptable in a language without subject agreement (as long as its antecedent is sufficiently local)
- any syntactic position that is agreed with, even a non-subject, should block the appearance of a reflexive in that position
- special strategies might be invoked cross-linguistically that suppress agreement — to permit a reflexive in otherwise agreeing positions (Woolford 1999, 258; Sundaresan 2016, 79; Yuan 2018)
- No surprise** that when an otherwise licensed Icelandic reflexive bears quirky case and therefore fails to trigger ϕ -agreement, it is acceptable as a subject (since long-distance binding of a reflexive across a subjunctive clause boundary is generally permitted in Icelandic):

(33) **No AAE effect for quirky subject (Icelandic)**

Hún sagði að sér þætti vænt um mig.
 she said that REFL.DAT was.SUBJ3SG fond of me
 (Maling 1984, 216 ex 8b; Woolford 1999, 261 ex 9a)

- No surprise** that a NOM object, which is a target for agreement by finite T, may not be a reflexive in a finite clause:

(34) **AAE effect for NOM object in finite clause (Icelandic)**

*Maríu leiðist sig.
Maria.DAT find.boring.3SG REFL.NOM

Intended: 'Maria finds herself boring.'
(Everaert 1991; Woolford 1990)

- **A big surprise (perhaps):** that a reflexive is also excluded as the NOM object in an infinitival R2 clause, where there is no visible agreement morphology in the embedded clause:

(35) **AAE effect for NOM object in non-finite clause**

*Ég tel Maríu leiðast sig.
I believe Maria.DAT find.boring.INF REFL.NOM

Intended: 'I consider Maria to find herself boring.'

- Not attributable to a failure of c-command by the DAT antecedent — since a DAT nominal may serve as the antecedent for a non-nom reflexive.
(Zaenen et al. 1985, 456 ex 31; Taraldsen 1996, 200 ex 28)

Exfoliation resolution: The AAE arises from the pre-Exfoliation derivational period in which the embedded clause contained a T that agreed (or attempted to agree) with it.

A problem and a possible explanation (I will skip this in class)

- The impossibility of an embedded NOM object reflexive in an R2 construction like (35) contrasts with the complete acceptability of a reflexive as the raised ACC subject in an R2 construction ...
- ... despite the fact that here too the reflexive occupied a position targeted by agreement pre-Exfoliation.

(36) **No AAE effect for raised ACC subject in R2**

a. She believes herself to be strong.

b. Hún telur sig vera sterka.

She.NOM believes REFL.ACC be.INF strong.FACC (Icelandic)

- **Difference between the raised subject in (36) and its unraised counterpart in (35):**
 - the embedded subject in (36) has received a new case (ACC) after moving into the higher VP; but
 - nothing comparable happens in (35).
- **Absence of NOM→ACC case overwriting is at stake, not raising per se:**
 - Icelandic R2 with unaccusative verbs (impossible in English) yields NOM on the raised subject.

(37) **“Nominative with infinitive” construction (Icelandic)**

Mér sýndist Haraldur (í barnaskap mínum) hafa gert þetta vel.
me.DAT seemed Harold.NOM (in foolishness my) have.INF done this well

'Harold seemed to me (in my foolishness) to have done this well.'

(Thraínsson 1979, 426, ex 121)

- ... and the raised NOM subject shows an AAE effect.

(38) **AAE effect in “Nominative with infinitive” construction (Icelandic)**

*Mér sýndist sig hafa gert þetta vel.
me.DAT seemed REFL.NOM have.INF done this well

'Harold seemed to me to have done this well.'

Why does NOM→ACC overwriting eliminate the AAE effect?

- **Baker & Vinokurova (2010, 639) on Sakha:** nominal licensing in Sakha takes place in one of two ways:

(1) by agreement with an element such as T, or

(2) by the assignment of dependent case (under local c-command by a distinct non-oblique nominal).

- **Two features of their proposal**

○ integration of dependent case into a view that also countenances agreement as a source of case;

○ the idea that dependent case has a licensing role and is not purely morphological (cf. also Branan 2017 on Kikuyu).

- **If Icelandic has essentially the same system as Sakha** (and the clause is a locality domain for dependent case), then licensing by agreement with T should be the only licensing strategy available for the subject of a finite clause, or for a direct object locally c-commanded only by an oblique nominal within that clause.

- This suggests the following logic for generating the AAE effect:

(39) **AAE revised**

Agreement does not case-license a reflexive anaphor (perhaps because agreement fails).

- **Consequences:**

○ A reflexive for which T is the only possible source of licensing throughout the derivation will violate the Case Filter.

○ If a reflexive moves to a position where it may be licensed by dependent case, it can satisfy the Case Filter.

→ **AAE effects are Case Filter effects.**

More evidence for agreement before exfoliation

- First and second person ([+Participant]) NOM objects are problematic in finite clauses with overt agreement (for many speakers). Note that 1PL is the worst of the imperfect examples:

(40) NOM objects in present- and past-tense indicative clauses (Icelandic)

Present	Past
a. (?)Henni leiðist ég. her.DAT find.boring.PRS.1SG I.NOM Intended: 'She finds me boring.'	g. (?)Henni leiddist ég. her.DAT find.boring.PST.1SG I.NOM Intended: 'She found me boring.'
b. (?)Henni leiðist þú. her.DAT find.boring.PRS.2SG you.NOMSG Intended: 'She finds you (sg.) boring.'	h. (?)Henni leiddist þú. her.DAT find.boring.PST.2SG you.NOMSG Intended: 'She found you (sg.) boring.'
c. ✓ Henni leiðist hann. her.DAT find.boring.PRS.3SG he.NOMSG 'She finds him boring.'	i. ✓ Henni leiddist hann. her.DAT find.boring.PST.3SG he.NOMSG 'She found him boring.'
d. *Henni leiðumst við. her.DAT find.boring.PRS.1PL we.NOM Intended: 'She finds us boring.'	j. *Henni leiddumst við. her.DAT find.boring.PST.1PL we.NOM Intended: 'She found us boring.'
e. ?Henni leiðist þið. her.DAT find.boring.PRS.2PL you.NOM.PL Intended: 'She finds you (pl.) boring.'	k. ?*Henni leiddust þið. her.DAT find.boring.PST.2PL you.NOM.PL Intended: 'She found you (pl.) boring.'
f. ✓ Henni leiðast þeir. her.DAT find.boring.PRS.3PL they.NOM 'She finds them boring.'	l. ✓ Henni leiddust þeir. her.DAT find.boring.PST.3PL they.NOM 'She found them boring.'

- Same contrasts hold in non-finite R2 infinitives:

(41) 1PL and 2PL NOM objects in an R2 infinitive (Icelandic)

Ég tel henni leiðast...
I believe her.DAT find.boring.INF...

'I consider her to find boring...'

a. ?*...ég. ...I.NOM.SG	d. *...við. ...we.NOM
b. ?*...þú. ...you.NOM.SG	e. ?*...þið. ...you.NOM.PL
c. ✓...hann. ...he.NOM	f. ✓...þeir. ...boys.they.NOM

- If the contrast between third-person and [+Participant] subjects in (40) is due to an agreement problem ...
- ... we must conclude that **the same kind of agreement created the same problem in the infinitival embedded clauses of (41)** — as predicted by an Exfoliation account.

- **Data credit and caution:** Höskuldur Thráinsson (reporting judgments of two others as well) and Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson, p.c. The overall strength of their judgments of deviance differed somewhat, but I believe the pattern presented here correctly represents their data fairly. A fifth (younger generation) speaker, Iris Edda Nouwenstein, prefers 3PL agreement with plural nominative objects and reports the major contrast in (41) but not the subtle difference between 1PL and other [+Participant] NOMs. So take these data as the fruits of an informal pilot experiment, awaiting further confirmation.

6. Back to case theory

- We still need to understand the correlation between V/P vs. N/A in licensing a nominal *complement* that formed half of the domain of classical case theory ...
- ... but the generalization that extended this theory to the behavior of finite vs. non-finite T is gone.

What do the arguments for classical case theory look like now?

- We do not have an argument against the agreement theory of NOM any more, though we do not have an argument in favor of it either.

What evidence can now decide between agreement triggering nominative vs. nominative triggering agreement?

Quoting the moral lesson:

Keep track of the premises of arguments whose conclusions you have accepted

— since if the premises are successfully challenged in the future, the conclusions should be re-examined (and who knows where that may lead).