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Abstract

In this paper, I discuss variation in case marking on subjects of non-finite relative clauses (RCs) in Hill Mari (Finno-Ugric, Uralic) which relativize on a constituent other than subject, as well as ϕ -feature agreement on two different heads: the nominal and the participial head. I use these novel data to argue in favor of configurational case assignment as opposed to case assignment by a particular head. Adopting the configurational theory of case, I argue that NOM appears on clause-internal subjects as the unmarked case in the clausal domain. GEN, on the other hand, is the realization of unmarked case in the nominal domain, where two subject positions, external and internal, are available. Two dialects of Hill Mari each realize one of these options, which can be distinguished by a number of diagnostics.

Severing Case from Agreement: Non-finite Subjects in Hill Mari

Polina Pleshak*

1 Introduction

In this paper, I will discuss case marking on subjects of non-finite relative clauses (RCs) in Hill Mari (Finno-Ugric, Uralic) which relativize on a constituent other than subject; I will then focus on the interaction of subject marking in such RCs with ϕ -feature agreement. Agreement in Hill Mari tracks person and number. Subjects in non-finite clauses can be marked with either NOM(inative) or GEN(itive).

- (1) [mən' / mən'-ən məš-mə] tãgôr-vlä(-em)
1SG 1SG-GEN wash-PTCP.PASS shirt-PL-POSS.1SG
uže košk-en-ät
already dry.up-PRET-3PL
'The shirts that I washed have already dried up'.

In addition to variation in subject marking (NOM vs. GEN), these RCs show variation in agreement. First, agreement is optional. Second, the locus of agreement can be either the head noun of the RC (1) or the participial predicate itself (2) (but not both).

- (2) [mən' / mən'-ən məš-m(?-em)] tãgôr-vlä uže
1SG 1SG-GEN wash-PTCP.PASS-POSS.1SG shirt-PL already
košk-en-ät
dry.up-PRET-3PL
'The shirts that I washed have already dried up'.

These data raise two questions. First, why does agreement have the same form regardless of whether the subject is NOM or GEN? Second, why can the locus of agreement be outside the clause whose subject determines agreement, as in (1)? These two points, together with the fact that the agreement is optional, lead us to the broader question of whether case and agreement are tied together or are independent of one another. I will argue that they are independent and provide an account of how each of the two arises.

Similar case alternations are also found in typologically close Altaic languages, such as Dagur, Japanese and Turkish, and have been widely discussed in the literature (Hale 2002, Kornfilt 1984, 2003; Bedell 1972, Miyagawa 1993, 2008, a.o.). Miyagawa (2011) takes the availability of nominal case (GEN) on the subject to be an instance of exceptional case marking (ECM). Several proposals have been made regarding the licensing of these two cases, all situated within the Case-by-Agree model (Chomsky 2000, 2001), where case is licensed by functional heads, mostly tied to the locus of agreement. They converge on the assumption that the subject gets case from D (in the extended projection of the head noun), instead of T or C in the non-finite clause. Under some analyses, the subject is base-generated within the nominal domain (Spec, DP) and coindexed with an internal (pro) subject (Sakai 1994, Harada 1976). Under others, the subject moves overtly to Spec,DP.

In what follows, I show that the Case-by-Agree model is incompatible with the findings from Hill Mari. Instead, I pursue a configurational theory of case assignment (Marantz 1991), coupled with the assumption that the subject can occupy three different positions. Agreement, in contrast to case assignment, follows the probe-goal model (Chomsky 2000). I provide empirical support for each of these claims in the context of Hill Mari. This separation of case from agreement explains how subjects with different case marking nevertheless trigger the same agreement (1)-(2). I argue that NOM is assigned within the clausal domain, i.e., NOM subjects are clause-internal. GEN, on the other hand, is assigned within the nominal domain. Theoretically speaking, there are two possible

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case positions for subjects within the nominal domain. One is to base-generate the subject as a possessor (cf. Sakai 1994, Harada 1976). The other is to place the subject at the edge of the clausal domain, in which case, from the perspective of phase theory, it is part of the higher, nominal domain. While I show that each of these two options is realized in different Hill Mari dialects, I concentrate mainly on the former: base generation in the possessor position. As I will show, the analysis that recognizes different syntactic positions for subjects also resolves the second issue raised here: the loci of agreement.

In what follows, I use primary Hill Mari data collected in the villages of Kuznetsovo and Mikrjakovo (Mari El, Russia) in 2016–2020.

2 Case Assignment in Hill Mari

The nature of case and the way it is assigned is an important theoretical issue, for which different accounts have been proposed. In the Case-by-Agree model (Chomsky 2000), put forth in the context of the Minimalist Program, designated syntactic heads look for a goal in their c-command domain, in order to value their own unvalued (or uninterpretable) ϕ -features. Case on this model is therefore a side effect of feature valuation. Examples include NOM as case assigned under Agree with finite T, and ACC as case assigned under agreement with transitive *v*.

An alternative approach proposed by Marantz (1991) uses a disjunctive hierarchy of cases, which are assigned in specific syntactic configurations (see also Yip et al. 1987, Bittner and Hale 1996). For instance, a direct object that is c-commanded by another still-caseless noun phrase within the same case assignment domain (roughly corresponding to a clause) is assigned dependent case, which is realized as accusative. The remaining caseless noun phrase within the relevant domain is then assigned unmarked case, whose realization in the clausal domain is nominative.

In the remainder of this section, examining the agreement pattern, I will show that Case-by-Agree is not compatible with the data from Hill Mari, whereas the configurational theory of case is.

2.1 Non-finite Agreement in Hill Mari

Before turning to the agreement pattern itself, a note on the morphology of non-finite agreement in Hill Mari is in order.

The marker I refer to as a subject agreement marker, as in (3), has the same shape as possessive agreement on the head noun (4). The same agreement morphology, controlled by the subject, is found not only in RCs but also in nominalizations (5). It can occur not only on head nouns, but also on participles (6).

- (3) [tän'-än mǎš-mǎ] tǎgǎr-vlä(-et) uže košk-en-ät
 2SG[NOM] wash-PTCP.PASS shirt-PL-POSS.2SG already dry.up-PRET-3PL
 ‘The shirts that you washed have already dried up’.
- (4) tän'-än krǎvat'(-et) ogol-ǎštǎ šal-g-a
 2SG-GEN bed-POSS.2SG corner-IN stand-NPST.3SG
 ‘Your bed [stands in the corner]’.
- (5) tän'-än šǎkǎr-ǎm nǎl-m(-et)-ǎm ävä-t
 2SG-GEN bread-ACC take-NMLZ-POSS.2SG-ACC mother-POSS.2SG
 ǎšt-ǎ
 remember-NPST.3SG
 ‘Your mother remembers that you bought bread’.
- (6) tän' ro-m-et püšǎngǎ-m mä už-ǎn-na
 2SG[NOM] cut-PTCP.PASS-POSS.2SG tree-ACC 1PL see-PRET-1PL
 ‘[We saw] the tree cut by you’.

Given this distribution, I argue that the marker (or rather the set of markers encoding the various possible ϕ -feature combinations) is an elsewhere form: the exponence of ϕ -feature agreement in any context that is not specified for [+finite]. Nevertheless, following the descriptive tradition, I gloss these markers as possessive (POSS) even in what follows.

2.2 The Agreement Pattern in RCs

Consider (7), which demonstrates the pattern of case marking and agreement in Hill Mari RCs. The standard locus of agreement is on the head noun, not on the predicate itself (7a-b). This is true of both GEN (7a) and NOM (7b) subjects.¹ The agreement is optional, although speakers show a preference towards the presence of agreement when 1st and 2nd person subjects are involved. In colloquial speech, agreement may instead be located on the participial predicate itself (7c-d).

- (7) a. GEN SUBJECT – OPTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE HEAD NOUN
 tən'-ən ro-mê püşäng-et-əm / püşängö-m ...
 2SG-GEN cut-PTCP.PASS tree-POSS.2SG-ACC tree-ACC
- b. NOM SUBJECT – OPTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE HEAD NOUN
 tən' ro-mê püşäng-et-əm / ?püşängö-m ...
 2SG[NOM] cut-PTCP.PASS tree-POSS.2SG-ACC tree-ACC
- c. GEN SUBJECT – OPTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE PARTICIPIAL PREDICATE
 tən'-ən ro-mê / ?ro-m-et püşängö-m ...
 2SG-GEN cut-PTCP.PASS cut-PTCP.PASS-POSS.2SG tree-ACC
- d. NOM SUBJECT – OPTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE PARTICIPIAL PREDICATE
 ?tən' ro-mê / ro-m-et püşängö-m ...
 2SG[NOM] cut-PTCP.PASS cut-PTCP.PASS-POSS.2SG tree-ACC
 ... mä už-ên-na
 1PL see-PRET-1PL
 'We saw the tree cut by you'.

The possibility of locating subject agreement on the head noun instead of the predicate has been taken as support for an analysis of GEN as case assigned by D (Kornfilt 2005, a.o.). However, as (7b) shows, the same agreement appears in Hill Mari with a NOM subject as well. Agreement on the participial predicate is also possible regardless of the case borne by the subject. This suggests the distinction between constructions with NOM and GEN subjects does not lie in the position of agreement.

Co-occurrence of nominal agreement with both case markings also suggests that case cannot be assigned under Agree. That is because the same agreement pattern, with agreement showing up on the same head, can result in two different case markings.

One could interpret the data in (7a-d) to mean that underlyingly, the subject agrees with both heads and receives both cases, with PF deciding which case and which agreement morphology will surface in each instance. There are several reasons to reject such a theory. First, while one could reasonably posit that the two cases are in morphological competition, the agreement markers in question occur in two completely different positions in the string, and so there is no basis for the assumption that they compete in any morphological sense. Second, a theory where one DP can trigger simultaneous agreement on two heads and receive two cases is far less restrictive, and should be avoided if at all possible. Note also that a morphological-competition account of this sort would essentially require there to exist a null allomorph of every overt agreement exponent in Hill Mari, hardly a likely state of affairs (see also Preminger 2019).

As a result, given that subject agreement in Hill Mari non-finite RCs is optional, it is unclear how NOM and GEN get licensed in its absence. The observed optionality of agreement therefore emerges as an additional argument against a Case-by-Agree account.

2.3 Configurational Case Licensing in Hill Mari

In contrast to case assignment under Agree, configurational case theory assumes a disjunctive hierarchy of case: (i) lexical (assigned by a head in conjunction with a theta-role); (ii) dependent (as-

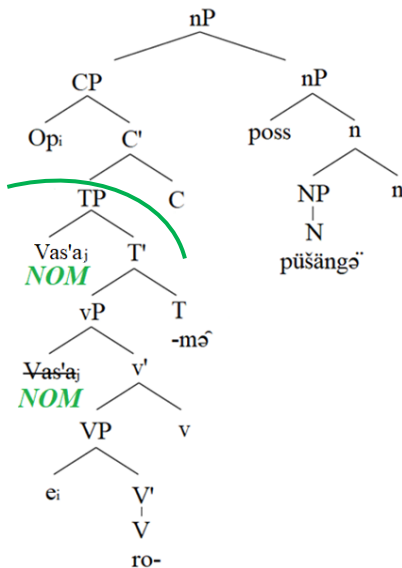
¹I contend that the nominative is a genuine case form, not a caseless occurrence of the relevant argument; evidence in support of this conclusion comes from the fact that NOM can be pronominalized and determine agreement on the predicate, which is not possible for caseless (bare) forms in Hill Mari.

signed to one of two still-caseless DPs that stand in an asymmetric c-command relation); (iii) unmarked (assigned to any DP that has not received case by (i)-(ii)), and (iv) default (Marantz 1991). The cases are assigned in a strict order beginning with (i). What is relevant for our present purposes is unmarked case. Following Marantz (1991: 14), I assume that NOM and GEN serve as realization of unmarked case in the clausal and nominal domains, respectively. I further assume that, in terms of contemporary syntactic theory, ‘clausal domain’ means the complement of C, while ‘nominal domain’ means the complement of D (both of which are phase heads; Chomsky 2001).

Consider the derivation of (8), given in (9). I adopt the operator analysis of RCs (e.g. Chomsky 1977), where the head noun is coindexed with a silent operator that has moved from the relativized position to Spec,CP. The subject is in Spec,TP, and TP is the complement of C. This subject is therefore within the clausal domain, and is assigned NOM.

- (8) vas'a ro-mê püşängö
 Vasja[NOM] cut-PTCP.PASS tree
 ‘the tree cut by Vasja’

(9)

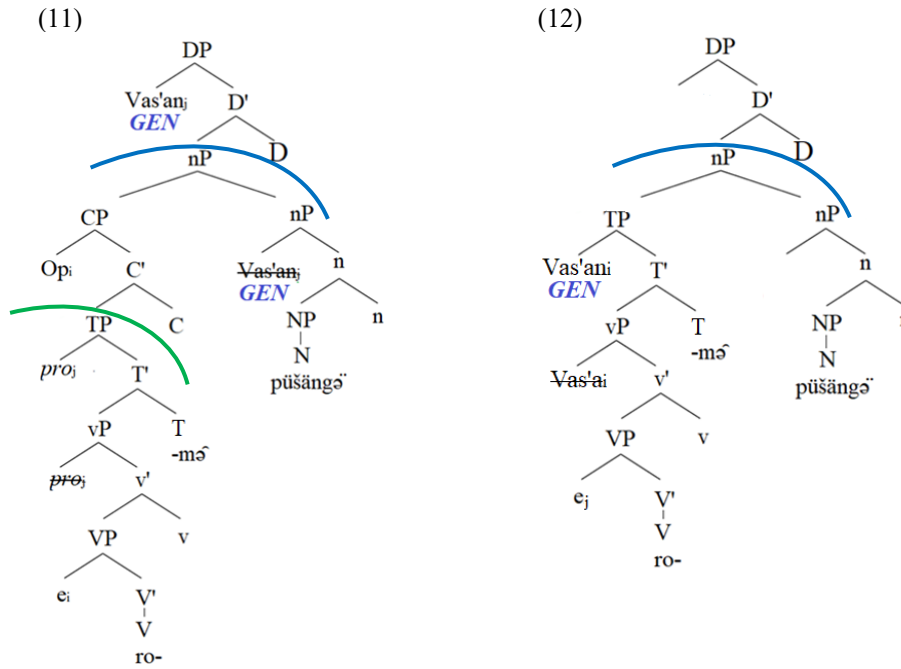


Let us now consider the derivation of the DP in (10):

- (10) vas'a-n ro-mê püşängö
 Vasja-GEN cut-PTCP.PASS tree
 ‘the tree cut by Vasja’

In principle, two analyses are possible here. On one approach, GEN is assigned to possessors (11), which are generated in Spec,nP (Alexiadou et. al 2007: 562). Note that in this model, possessors do not move to Spec,DP for case-related reasons, since they already receive case in their base position. The structure in (11) exemplifies a system in which subjects are base-generated as possessors and coindexed with a silent clause-internal subject (*pro*). I will discuss this base-generation analysis in greater detail in section 4.

An alternative analysis is shown in (12). The subject is still in Spec,TP, as it was in (9); but in the absence of a C head, the immediately-containing phase within which the TP is located is the one defined by D, i.e., the TP counts as part of the nominal domain for case purposes. Therefore, the subject DP bears GEN rather than NOM.



To sum up, we have three potential structural positions for subjects. In one, the subject surfaces as NOM, because it occurs in the clausal domain; in the other two, the subject occurs in the nominal domain and bears GEN, accordingly. Unlike the previous accounts put forth for Altaic, heads are not responsible for case licensing directly; instead, they affect case assignment indirectly, by delimiting the relevant case assignment domains. I now turn to empirical support for the claim that Hill Mari possessors can occupy two different structural positions.

3 Three Positions for Non-finite Subjects

While the notion that subjects receive NOM within their clause is a familiar one, the assumption that there are two positions for GEN subjects might not seem so innocent. In this section, I show that in different idiolects of Hill Mari, GEN subjects indeed occupy different positions. I use the following diagnostics for the position of the subject: (i) obligatory coreference of subjects and possessors; (ii) co-occurrence of overt subjects and overt possessors; (iii) licensing of subject NPIs by negation in the embedded clause; (iv) extraposition together with the clause. Table 2 summarizes the diagnostics and my expectations for each of the analyses.

Diagnostics	external GEN subjects (11)	internal GEN subjects (12)
I Obligatory coreference of subjects and possessors	YES	NO
II Co-occurrence of overt subjects and overt possessors	NO	YES
III Licensing of subject NPIs by negation in the embedded clause	NO	YES
IV Extraposition together with the clause	NO	YES

Table 2: Predictions for the two analyses of GEN subjects.

In the remainder of this section, I will discuss each of these diagnostics in turn, and will compare the behavior of GEN subjects in Hill Mari to that of NOM subjects. As we shall see, Hill Mari speakers fall into two groups with respect to the generation of GEN subjects: Group 1 has GEN subjects in the

possessor role, and Group 2 speakers seem to generate GEN subjects within the clause.

3.1 Obligatory Coreference of Subjects and Possessors

In Hill Mari, overt possessors can either follow or precede the modifying RC (13). Because of this, the string in (13b) is syntactically ambiguous: *Vasja* can be the possessor preceding the RC, or it can be the subject of the RC situated at the edge of its TP. The latter structure is shown in (13c).

- (13) a. [tengečə məšk-ən šəndə-mə] **vas'a-n** vərgem-vlä
 yesterday wash-CVB set-PTCP.PASS *Vasja*-GEN clothes-PL
 'Vasja's shirts that were washed yesterday'
- b. **vas'a-n** [tengečə məšk-ən šəndə-mə] vərgem-vlä
Vasja-GEN yesterday wash-CVB set-PTCP.PASS clothes-PL
 'Vasja's shirts that were washed yesterday'
- c. [**vas'a-n** tengečə məšk-ən šəndə-mə] vərgem-vlä
Vasja-GEN yesterday wash-CVB set-PTCP.PASS clothes-PL
 'shirts that Vasja washed yesterday'

We expect the string of words in (13b-c) to be ambiguous for Group 2 speakers; but if subjects and possessors are generated in the same place, as we propose for Group 1, then the DP preceding the RC should always be interpreted as possessor. Therefore, Group 1 speakers should not allow disjoint reference between a possessor and a subject. This prediction is borne out. Consider (14), where Group 2 speakers allow for an interpretation with disjoint reference, but Group 1 speakers do not (the different judgments are presented with a slash).

- (14) maša-n məšk-ən šəndə-mə vərgem-vlä
 Masha-GEN wash-CVB set-PTCP.PASS clothes-PL
 'Masha's shirts that were washed by her'
 */OK/ 'Someone's shirts that Masha washed'

Since possessors are never in NOM, no such ambiguity arises with NOM subjects.

3.2 Co-occurrence of Overt Subjects and Possessors

The claim that NOM subjects and possessors are indeed different entities and do not compete for the same position is further supported by the fact that the two can co-occur (15).

- (15) [**maša** məšk-ən šəndə-mə] **mən'-ən** vərgem-vlä
 Masha[NOM] wash-CVB set-PTCP.PASS 1SG-GEN clothes-PL
 'my shirts that were washed by Masha'

For Group 1, whose speakers generate GEN subjects as possessors, the co-occurrence of the two becomes ungrammatical when the subject's case is changed to GEN. Group 2 speakers, on the other hand, allow such a co-occurrence.

- (16) */OK[**masa-n** məšk-ən šəndə-mə] **mən'-ən** vərgem-vlä
 Masha-GEN wash-CVB set-PTCP.PASS 1SG-GEN clothes-PL
 'my shirts that were washed by Masha'

This diagnostic alone does not show that GEN subjects are necessarily generated as possessors. They might just compete with possessors for the same final position. However, taken together with the previous diagnostic (obligatory coreference), it strengthens the evidence that Group 1 speakers generate GEN subjects as possessors.

3.3 Subject NPIs Licensed by Negation in the Embedded Clause

NPI licensing in Hill Mari obeys a clausemate restriction, and NPIs licensed by clausal negation are possible in the subject position. A sentence with a NOM NPI as a subject is therefore grammatical:

- (17) stöl vəl-nə [ikt=ät jü-təmə] čäj cāškā šönz-ä.
 table on-IN2 INDEF=ADD drink-NEG.PTCP tea cup sit-NPST.3SG
 ‘A cup of tea that no one drank is standing on the table’.

For Group 1 speakers, GEN subjects cannot be licensed by negation in the RC, which again supports our hypothesis that they originate external to that clause (shown as the star in (18)). Group 2 speakers treat GEN subjects as clause-internal, and NPI genitive subjects can be licensed by negation within the embedded clause (marked as OK below):

- (18) */OK stöl vəl-nə [ikt-än=ät jü-təmə] čäj cāškā šönz-ä.
 table on-IN2 INDEF-GEN=ADD drink-NEG.PTCP tea cup sit-NPST.3SG
 ‘A cup of tea that no one drank is standing on the table’.

3.4 Extraposition of Subjects Together with the Relative Clause

If the subject is clause-internal, it should remain inside an extraposed RC. As expected, this is exactly what happens with NOM subjects:

- (19) män' tægâr-âm mâšk-ân-am, [vas'a l'avör-tö-mö-m]
 1SG[NOM] shirt-ACC wash-PTCP.PASS Vasja[NOM] dirt-CAUS-PTCP.PASS-ACC
 ‘I washed the shirt, the one made dirty by Vasja’.

For Group 1, such extraposition with the GEN subject (20) is ungrammatical, while for Group 2, it is possible (the different judgments are presented with a slash).

- (20) */OK män' tægâr-âm mâšk-ân-am, [vas'a-n l'avör-tö-mö-m]
 1SG[NOM] shirt-ACC wash-PTCP.PASS Vasja-GEN dirt-CAUS-PTCP.PASS-ACC
 ‘I washed the shirt, the one made dirty by Vasja’.

This difference in judgments points to the expected difference between the possible structures. (Of course, if all we had were this one diagnostic, there would be no way to be sure that the difference in judgments reflects precisely the distinction between (11) and (12). But taken together with the rest of the diagnostics presented here, it again strengthens the support for the proposed analysis.) In Group 1, the apparent subject is located outside the relative clause and cannot be extraposed together with it. In Group 2, the GEN subject behaves as though it is part of that relative clause.

The diagnostics reviewed throughout this section support the analysis whereby there are two possible positions for GEN subjects. The hypothesis about different groups of speakers having different grammars is borne out. Each speaker consulted exhibited judgments consistent with exactly one of the columns in Table 2. In one grammar, GEN subjects are clause-internal, and in the other, GEN subjects are clause-external, occupying the same position as possessors.

4 Agreement in Hill Mari

As shown in section 2.2, agreement on either the participle or the head noun of an RC can be triggered by both NOM subjects and GEN ones. I argue that there are two different probes whose exponents are the same non-finite ϕ -feature agreement morphemes (more accurately characterized as an elsewhere agreement form when not in the environment of [+finite]; see section 2.1). Agreement on the participle is associated with T, while agreement on the head noun is associated with D. Consider (7a-d), slightly simplified and repeated below as (21a-d).

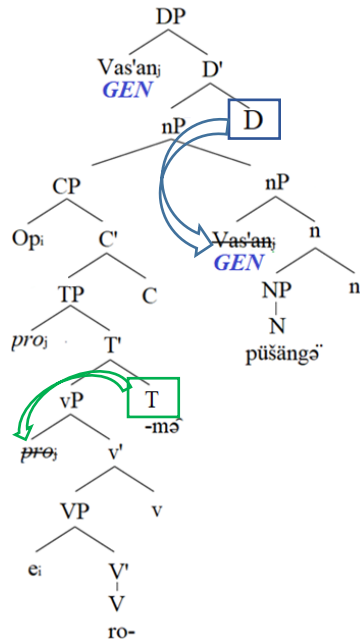
- (21) a. GEN SUBJECT – OPTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE HEAD NOUN
 tən'-ən ro-mê püşäng-et-əm
 2SG-GEN cut-PTCP.PASS tree-POSS.2SG-ACC
- b. NOM SUBJECT – OPTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE HEAD NOUN
 tən' ro-mê püşäng-et-əm
 2SG[NOM] cut-PTCP.PASS tree-POSS.2SG-ACC
- c. GEN SUBJECT – OPTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE PARTICIPIAL PREDICATE
 ?tən'-ən ro-m-et püşängə-m
 2SG-GEN cut-PTCP.PASS-POSS.2SG tree-ACC
- d. NOM SUBJECT – OPTIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE PARTICIPIAL PREDICATE
 ?tən' ro-m-et püşängə-m
 2SG[NOM] cut-PTCP.PASS-POSS.2SG tree-ACC
 'the tree cut by you'

The fact that the GEN subject in (21a) triggers agreement on the head noun is expected, in a sense, since this subject is in the nominal domain, is generated as a possessor, and is in the c-command domain of D. By the same token, however, it might be seen as surprising that a clause-internal NOM subject can control agreement on an external probe, as in (21b).

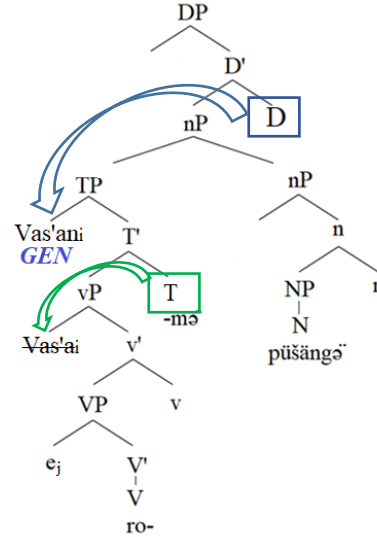
The situation with agreement on the participial predicate is the other way around. While we expect clause-internal NOM subjects to control agreement on the clausal predicate (21d), it is *prima facie* surprising that clause-external GEN subjects can do so (21c), as they are supposed to be located higher than the probe.

Let us look at each case in turn. In (21a), the nominal probe sees the possessor and agrees with it. In the RC itself, there is a *pro* subject coreferential with the external subject, as shown in (22a). Principles B and C are not violated as *pro* does not c-command the possessor in its lower position. In (21c), the clause-internal probe can see the *pro* and agree with it, which results in what looks like (but only looks like) agreement between the participle and GEN subject.

(22a)

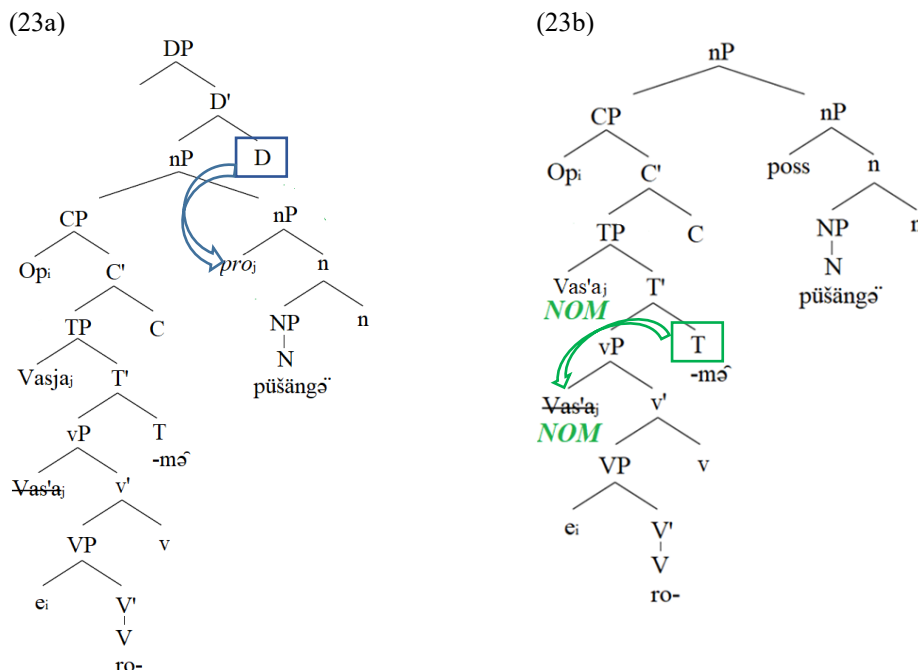


(22b)



The situation with NOM subjects is similar. In (21b), the external nominal probe cannot look inside the RC to agree with the internal NOM subject. Instead, it agrees with a coreferential *pro* in the possessor position, Spec,nP (23a). Note that a coreferential *pro* in the Spec,DP position in the same tree in (23a) would violate Principle C c-commanding the overt NOM subject in CP. However, the fact that such a structure is ruled out does not undermine the account, because (21b) is derived from

the structure in (23a). Turning to (21d), the internal probe accesses the internal NOM subject, and agreement between them obtains (23b).



In section 2.2, I argued that Case-by-Agree cannot account for Hill Mari data, because subjects marked with different cases trigger the same agreement. Let us revisit this argument in light of the possibility of *pro* serving as an agreement target, be it within nP or within vP. The question is whether every single apparent instance of case-agreement mismatch (agreement between the head noun and a NOM subject, or between the participle and a GEN subject) can indeed be analyzed away as agreement with a *pro* whose case is in fact not mismatched at all (i.e., agreement between the head noun and *pro*.GEN, or agreement between the participle and *pro*.NOM). There is at least one clear case in our data that cannot be handled in these terms: recall Group 2 Hill Mari speakers, who have GEN subjects properly contained in the embedded clause (22b) – as evidenced, for example, by the extraposition facts surveyed in 3.4 – where no additional *pro* can be postulated. Given that such speakers exhibit what is unambiguously an overt, GEN-marked, clause-internal subject, we have a bone fide instance of case-agreement mismatch that is not salvageable by positing null *pro*. The challenge to Case-by-Agree therefore stands.

In sum, the proposed analysis captures variation in case marking on the subjects as well as the agreement patterns observed in Hill Mari non-finite RCs.

5 Conclusions

This study argues in favor of configurational case assignment as opposed to case assignment by a particular head. In support of this, I discussed variation in case marking in non-finite RCs of Hill Mari as well as ϕ -feature agreement on two different heads: the nominal and the participial head. I showed that Hill Mari case assignment cannot be explained by Case-by-Agree, as different cases (NOM and GEN) trigger agreement on the same heads. Adopting the configurational theory of case, I argued that NOM appears on clause-internal subjects as the unmarked case in the clausal domain. This clausal domain is the complement of C. GEN, on the other hand, is the realization of unmarked case in the nominal domain (complement of D), where two subject positions, external and internal, are available. Two dialects of Hill Mari each realize one of these options, which can be distinguished by a number of diagnostics: (i) coreference of subjects and possessors; (ii) co-occurrence of overt subjects and possessors; (iii) NPI subject licensing by negation in the embedded clause, and (iv) extraposition together with the clause. In the dialect with external GEN subjects, these are generated

as possessors. In the other dialect, clause-internal subjects at the edge of the clausal domain are marked GEN. In light of these findings, it would be worthwhile to examine similar patterns in Altaic languages, which could be explained in terms of the configurational approach as opposed to the Case-by-Agree approach.

Abbreviations

1-3 – person, ACC – accusative, ADD – additive, CVB – converb, GEN – genitive, IN – inessive, INDEF – indefinite, NEG – negation, NMLZ – nominalization, NOM – nominative, NPST – non-past, PASS – passive, PL – plural, POSS – possessive, PRET – preterite, PTCP – participle, SG – singular.

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