

Lexical cases are assigned earlier than structural cases. Other operations may apply between the assignment of different cases.

1 Introduction

Matching Requirements: [MC ... XCASE_i ... [FR *wh* ... YCASE_i ...] ...]
Case and category from within the relative clause have to be the same as case and category in the main clause. (Grimshaw 1977)

In this talk: I present a study of **non-matching FRs** in Moksha Mordvin (Finno-Ugric) and claim that these data provide **empirical evidence for the particular order of case assignment**.

2 Data

Case assigned in the relative clause	Case assigned in the main clause					
	NOM	GEN	DAT	ABL	Loc.	PostP
NOM	OK	OK	OK	*	*	*
GEN	OK	OK	OK	*	*	*
DAT	OK	OK	OK	*	*	*
ABL	OK	OK	*	OK	*	*
Loc.	OK	OK	*	*	* – different OK – same	*
PostP	OK	OK	*	*	*	* – different OK – same

3 Examples

NOM in the **main** clause, DAT in the **relative** clause

(1) s'ε kut'-t' esə er'ε-j, [ki-n'd'i Kat'ε maks-əz'ə kn'iga-nzə-n]
that house-DEF.GEN in live-NPST.3 who-DAT Katja give-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O book-3SG.POSS.PL-GEN
'In that house lives the person, whom Katja gave her books.'

DAT in the **main** clause, NOM in the **relative** clause

(2) Kat'ε maks-əz'ə kn'iga-nc, [kijə er'ε-j sas'ədn'ej kut'-t' esə]
Katja give-PST.3SG.S.3SG.O book-3SG.POSS.GEN who live-NPST.3 neighbor house-DEF.GEN in
'Katja gave her book to the person, who lives next door.'

DAT in the **main** clause, ABL in the **relative** clause

(3) *mon'ava-z'ə maks'i jaɾcəmb'el'-t', [ki-də mon pel'-an]
I.OBL wife-1SG.POSS give.NPST.3SG.S.3SG.O food-DEF.GEN who.ABL I fear-NPST.1SG
'My wife gives food to the one, whom I am afraid of.'

There are no restrictions on the case or the category from within the relative clause for the subject and the direct object FRs. Non-matching for indirect object FRs is allowed if *wh*-word is assigned a structural case. Case and category matching is obligatory in all other cases.

4 Analysis

Assumptions

- FRs are CPs embedded under the null D: [D₀ [CP ...]] (Groos, van Riemsdijk 1981)
- Matching is the Agree operation between the null head and the *wh*-phrase, whereby features of *wh* are copied onto D (Himmelreich 2017)
- The case that appears on D as the result of Agree with *wh* cannot contradict the case value assigned within the main clause

Part I – *pro*

- Moksha has *pro* in the subject position

(4) soda-sa s'ε loman'-t'
know-NPST.3SG.O.1SG.S that person-DEF.GEN
'[I] know that person.'

- There is *pro* in the direct object position

An evidence for that comes from the correlative clauses, where contrary to the demonstrative requirement (Srivastav 1991) an overt pronoun is not obligatory:

(5) [kona ki-t' ezga višk-stə pačkəd'-at oš-u], min'
which road-DEF.GEN on quickly reach-NPST.2SG town-LAT we
mu-s'k (sən')
find-PST.3.O.1PL.S that-GEN
'We found a road that may be used to read the town quickly.'

Relative clauses in the subject and direct object positions are not free relatives. There is *pro* in the head. Matching requirements don't apply.

Part II – DP vs. KP

Nouns in NOM, GEN, DAT are DPs; they are KPs in all other cases (Pleshak et al. 2017).

- Moksha has 16 cases, but definiteness is marked only in NOM, GEN, DAT
- Order of the possessivity and case differs depending on the case form:
Case **follows** possessivity in NOM, GEN, DAT and **precedes** in other cases

GEN	vel'ə-n'	vel'ə-t'	vel'ə-z'ə-n'	vel'ə-də-n
ABL	vel'ə-də		village-1SG.POSS-GEN	village-ABL-1SG.POSS

The mismatch between the structural case and the lexical case is categorical.

Part III – Dative

- There is no agreement about dative belonging to structural or lexical cases (cf. Woolford 2006 vs. Baker, Vinokurova 2010 among others)
- Dative argument cannot be passivized in Moksha; the former subject takes dative

Dative belongs to structural cases in Moksha.

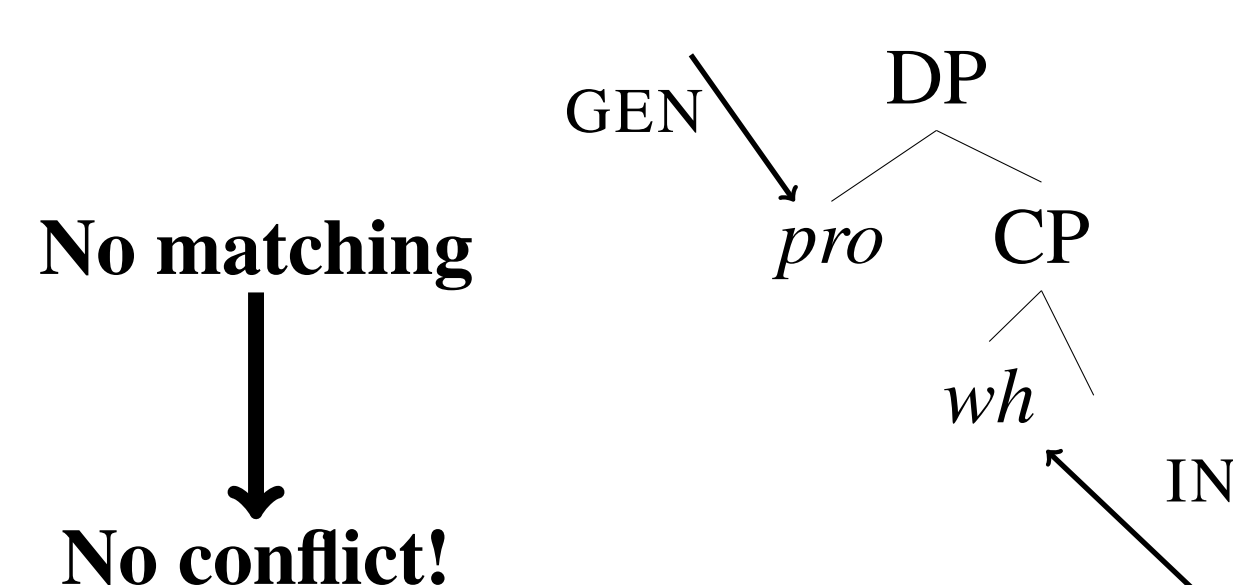
Part IV – Order of operations

- I claim that in Moksha Agree between the D and *wh* happens after assignment of lexical case and before assignment of structural cases:
① Assignment of lexical cases; ② Matching; ③ Assignment of structural cases;
- Structural case of *wh* comes into the derivation only after Agree between null D and *wh*

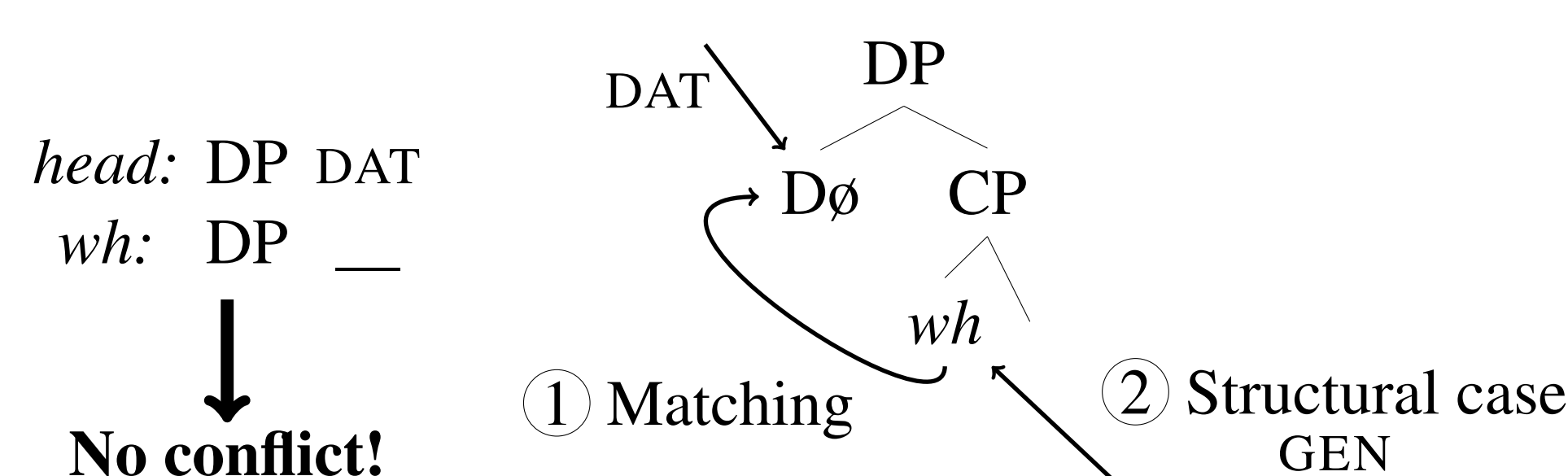
The combination of two different structural cases does not cause case conflict, because case features from within the relative clause are not copied onto D.

5 Derivations

(6) **Within the red square**
MainClGEN – RelClIN: OK



(7) **Within the orange square**
MainClDAT – RelClGEN: OK



(8) **Categorial mismatch between KP and DP**
MainClABL – RelClDAT: *

