

A configurational account of case in Khalkha Mongolian

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Embedded subjects in Khalkha Mongolian

- SOV, agglutinative, head-final, NOM-ACC alignment
- NOM is morphologically unmarked; ACC is optional

(1) Наргаа хуушуур(-ийг) ид-сэн.
Naraa huushuur(-iig) id-sen.
Naraa.NOM khuushuur(-ACC) eat-PST
'Naraa ate (the) khuushuur.' (khuushuur = a fried meat pastry)

- Today: What are the mechanisms behind ACC assignment?

Embedded subjects in Khalkha Mongolian

- Embedded subjects may be NOM, ACC or GEN (Guntsetseg, 2016; Aravind, 2019; Fong, 2019):

(2) Би [Бат/Бат-ын/Бат-ыг сугалаа-нд хож-сон]-ыг
Bi [Bat/Bat-iin/Bat-iig sugalaa-nd hoj-son]-iig
1SG.NOM Bat.NOM/Bat-GEN/Bat-ACC lottery-DAT win-PST -ACC
мэд-нэ.
med-en.
know-PRES
'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

(Aravind, 2019, p.3, (6))

- Today: NOM vs ACC subjects

Two theories of case assignment

- Fong 2019 argues that the source of ACC on embedded subjects is matrix v
- Aravind 2019 suggests that ACC case is calculated dependently

(3) *Rules of dependent NOM/ACC case assignment*

- a. If NP₁ c-commands NP₂ and both are in the same domain, value NP₂'s case as **accusative**.
 - b. If NP has no other case feature, value its case as **nominative**.
- e.g. Sakha (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010)

Two theories of case assignment

- Previous research has shown that ACC subjects are higher than NOM subjects (e.g. Baker and Vinokurova 2010 for Sakha; Aravind 2019 and Fong 2019 for Mongolian; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014 for Uyghur)
- Building on this insight, I argue that the availability of ACC subjects is due to their higher position than NOM subjects such that they enter case competition with a higher NP
- I show that a configurational treatment of ACC case better accounts for the distribution of embedded ACC subjects in a variety of contexts

1. The distribution of ACC on embedded subjects and some puzzles
2. Against functional head ACC case assignment
3. A dependent account of ACC case assignment

1. The distribution of ACC on embedded subjects and some puzzles
 - Clausal complements
 - Clausal subjects
 - Adjunct clauses
 - Non-subject relative clauses
2. Against functional head ACC case assignment
3. A dependent account of ACC case assignment

TP vs CP nominalisations

- C is overt
- Additional participial morphology e.g. HABitual *-d(e)g* on C, which have a nominalising function (Janhunen, 2012)
- Case-marking and possessive suffix on nominalised clause

(4) TP Nominalisation

Би [Нараа-г ир-сн]-ийг (нь) мэд-нэ.
Bi [Naraa-g ir-sn]-iig (n) med-en.
1SG.NOM Naraa-ACC come-PST -ACC (3.POSS) know-PRES
'I know that Naraa came.'

(5) CP Nominalisation

Би [Нараа-г ир-сэн гэдг]-ийг (нь) мэд-нэ.
Bi [Naraa-g ir-sen gedg]-iig (n) med-en.
1SG.NOM Naraa-ACC come-PST COMP-HAB -ACC (3.POSS) know-PRES
'I know that Naraa came.'

Nominalised CP vs Finite CP

- No case-marking on finite CPs

(6) CP Nominalisation

Би [Нараа-г ир-сэн гэ-дг]-ийг мэд-нэ.
Bi [Naraa-g ir-sen ge-dg]-iig med-en.
1SG.NOM Naraa-ACC come-PST COMP-HAB -ACC know-PRES
'I know that Naraa came.'

(7) Finite CP

Би [Нараа-г ир-сэн гэж](*-ийг) мэд-нэ.
Bi [Naraa-g ir-sen gej](*-iig) med-en.
1SG.NOM Naraa-ACC come-PST COMP (*-ACC) know-PRES
'I know that Naraa came.'

Nominalised CP vs Finite CP

- No possessive suffix on finite CPs

(8) CP Nominalisation

Би [Нараа-г ир-сэн гэ-дг]-ийг (нь) мэд-нэ.
Bi [Naraa-g ir-sen ge-dg]-iig (n) med-en.
1SG.NOM Naraa-ACC come-PST COMP-HAB -ACC (3.POSS) know-PRES
'I know that Naraa came.'

(9) Finite CP

Би [Нараа-г ир-сэн гэж](*нь) мэд-нэ.
Bi [Naraa-g ir-sen gej](*n) med-en.
1SG.NOM Naraa-ACC come-PST COMP (*3.POSS) know-PRES
'I know that Naraa came.'

Clausal complements

- NOM and ACC subjects in nominalised TP/CP clausal complements

(10) Nominalised TP complement

Би [**Бат/Бат-ыг** сугалаа-нд хож-сон]-ыг (нь) мэд-нэ.
Bi [**Bat/Bat-iig** sugalaa-nd hoj-son]-iig (n) med-en.
1SG.NOM Bat.NOM/Bat-ACC lottery-DAT win-PST -ACC (3.POSS) know-PRES
'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

(Aravind, 2019, p.3, (6))

(11) Nominalised CP complement

Би [**Бат/Бат-ыг** сугалаа-нд хож-сон гэ-дг]-ийг (нь)
Bi [**Bat/Bat-iig** sugalaa-nd hoj-son ge-dg]-iig (n)
1SG.NOM Bat.NOM/Bat-ACC lottery-DAT win-PST COMP-NAV -ACC (3.POSS)
мэд-нэ.
med-en.
know-PRES
'I know that Bat won the lottery.'

- NOM and ACC subjects in finite CP clausal complements

(12) Finite CP complement

Бат	[	маргааш	Дулмаа/Дулмаа-г		НОМ	үнши-на
Bat	[	margaash	Dulmaa/Dulmaa-g		nom	ünshi-n
Bat.NOM		tomorrow	Dulmaa.NOM/Dulmaa-ACC	book	read-PRES	

гэж] хэл-сэн.
gej] hel-sen.
COMP say-PST

'Bat said that Dulmaa will read a book tomorrow.'

(Fong, 2019, p.2, (3))

Clausal subjects

- No ACC subjects in nominalised TP/CP clausal subjects

(13) Nominalised TP subject

[**Бат/*Бат-ыг** хөл-өө хугал-сан] нь мэд-гэд-сэн.
[**Bat/*Bat-iig** höl-öö hugal-san] n med-ged-sen.
Bat.NOM/*Bat-ACC leg-RX break-PST 3.POSS know-PASS-PST
'That Bat broke his leg is known.'

(Aravind, 2019, p.6, (12))

(14) Nominalised CP subject

[**Бат/*Бат-ыг** чихэр ид-сэн гэдэг] нь намайг
[**Bat/*Bat-iig** chiher id-sen ge-deg] n namaig
Bat.NOM/*Bat-ACC candy eat-PST COMP-HAB 3.POSS 1SG.ACC
гайхш-руул-сан.
gaihsh-ruul-san.
surprise-CAUS-PST
'That Bat ate candy surprised me.'

(Fong, 2019, p.9, (29a))

- No ACC subjects in finite CP clausal subjects

(15) Finite CP subject

[Дулмаа/*Дулмаа-г сайн сэхээтэн гэж] хэл-эгд-сэн.
[**Dulmaa/*Dulmaa-g** sain seheeten gej] hel-egd-sen.
Dulmaa.NOM/Dulmaa-ACC good noble COMP say-PASS-PST
'It was said that Dulmaa is good and noble.'

(Fong, 2019, p.9, (28))

The distribution of embedded subject case so far...

Table 1. Embedded subjects in Mongolian

Clause type	SUBJ-NOM	SUBJ-ACC
Clausal subject	✓	*
Clausal complement	✓	✓

Adjuncts

- Adjuncts are headed by a converb - a nonfinite verb form that modifies the matrix predicate (Janhunen, 2012)
- Signs of nominalised structure: future temporal converb *bai-h-ad* = be-FUT-DAT 'when/while' and possessive suffix possible
- Only ACC subjects in adjuncts (however...)

- (16) Би [чамайг/??чи хичээл-ээ хий-ж байхад (чинь)
Bi [**chamaig/??chi** hicheel-ee hii-j baihad (chin)
1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC/??2SG.NOM study-RX do-PROG when (2.POSS)
] унт-сан.
] unt-san.
sleep-PST
'When you were studying, I fell asleep.'

Adjuncts

- NOM subjects acceptable if adjunct clause scrambles over matrix subject (17), or if a pause follows matrix subject (18)

(17) [**Чи/Чамайг** хичээл-ээ хий-ж байхад (чинь)] би *t*
[**Chi/Chamaig** hicheel-ee hii-j baihad (chin)] bi *t*
2SG.NOM/2SG.ACC study-RX do-PROG when (2.POSS) 1SG.NOM
унт-сан.
unt-san.
sleep-PST
'When you were studying, I fell asleep.'

(18) Би , [**түүнийг/?тэр** хичээл-ээ хий-ж байхад (нь)
Bi , [**tüüniig/?ter** hicheel-ee hii-j baihad (n)
1SG.NOM 3SG.ACC/?3SG.NOM study-RX do-PROG when (3.POSS)
] унт-сан.
] unt-san.
sleep-PST
'When she/he was studying, I fell asleep.'

Non-subject relatives

- ACC subjects not possible in non-subject relatives

(19) Бат [[миний/?би/*намайг өчигдөр уулз-сан]
Bat [[minii/?bi/*namaig öchigdör uulz-san]
Bat.NOM 1SG.GEN/?1SG.NOM/*1SG.ACC yesterday meet-PST
хүн*(-ийг)] хар-сан.
hün*(-iig)] har-san.
person*-ACC see-PST
'Bat saw the person I met yesterday.'

(20) [[Миний/?Би/*Намайг өчигдөр уулз-сан] хүн]
[[Minii/?Bi/*Namaig öchigdör uulz-san] hün]
1SG.GEN/?1SG.NOM/*1SG.ACC yesterday meet-PST person
Бат-ыг хар-сан.
Bat-iig har-san.
Bat-ACC see-PST
'The person I met yesterday saw Bat.'

The distribution of embedded subject case

Table 1. Embedded subjects in Mongolian

Clause type	SUBJ-NOM	SUBJ-ACC
Clausal subject	✓	*
Clausal complement	✓	✓
Adjunct	??(/✓)	✓
Non-subject relative	✓	*

- NOM subjects generally available except in adjuncts
- ACC subjects generally available when there is a higher NP *in the matrix clause*

The distribution of embedded subject case

Table 1. Embedded subjects in Mongolian

Clause type	SUBJ-NOM	SUBJ-ACC
Clausal subject	✓	*
Clausal complement	✓	✓
Adjunct	??(/✓)	✓
Non-subject relative	✓	*

- Why do we only find ACC subjects in adjuncts?
- Why don't we find ACC subjects in non-subject RCs?

1. The distribution of ACC on embedded subjects and some puzzles
2. Against functional head ACC case assignment
 - Some arguments from Fong 2019 for a functional head account of ACC assignment in Mongolian
 - Hyperraising through Spec,CP, copular possessives, passives, clausal subjects
 - Fong's 2019 observations can be captured under a dependent account
 - Arguments against functional assignment of ACC
3. A dependent account of ACC case assignment

- Obligatory ACC on embedded subject when it hyperraises into matrix clause

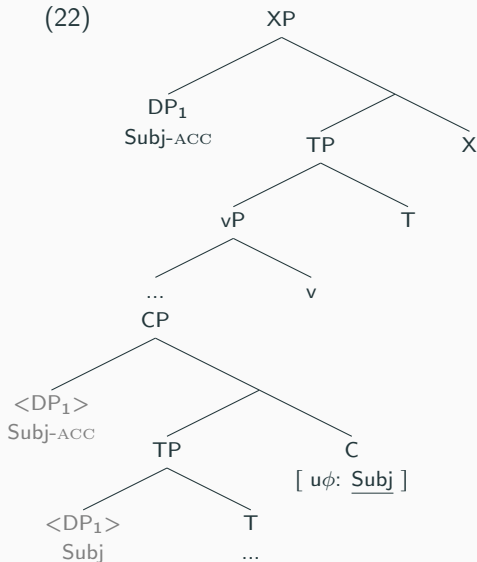
(21) 'Bat said loudly that dogs are wonderful.'

- a. Бат чангаар [**нохой(-г)** гайхал-тай гэж] хэл-сэн.
Bat changaар [**nohoi(-g)** gaihal-tai gej] hel-sen.
Bat.NOM loudly dog(-ACC) wonder-COM COMP say-PST
- b. Бат **нохой-г** чангаар [*t* гайхал-тай гэж] хэл-сэн.
Bat **nohoi-g** changaар [*t* gaihal-tai gej] hel-sen.
Bat.NOM dog-ACC loudly wonder-COM COMP say-PST

(Fong, 2019, p.3, (5))

Fong 2019: Hyperraising through Spec,CP

- Hyperraised argument moves through Spec,CP where it becomes accessible to matrix ACC-assigning v while escaping PIC



- ACC subjects possible in embedded copular possessives

(23) a. Шар лууван(*-г) Бат-ад бай-гаа.
Shar luuvan(*-g) Bat-ad bai-gaa.
yellow carrot(*-ACC) Bat-DAT COP-PRES
'Bat has a yellow carrot.'

b. Дулмаа чангаар [шар лууван-г Бат-ад бай-гаа
Dulmaa changaar [shar luuvan-g Bat-ad bai-gaa
Dulmaa.NOM loudly yellow carrot-ACC Bat-DAT COP-PRES
гэж] хэл-сэн.
gej] hel-sen.
COMP say-PST
'Dulmaa said loudly that Bat has a yellow carrot.'

(Fong, 2019, p.9, (27)))

- No ACC subjects when matrix v is passive

(24) [Дулмаа(*-г) сайн сэхээтэн гэж] хэл-эгд-сэн.
[**Dulmaa**(*-g) sain seheeten gej] hel-egd-sen.
Dulmaa(*-ACC) good noble COMP say-PASS-PST
'It was said that Dulmaa is good and noble.'

(Fong, 2019, p.9, (28))

- Another explanation: (24) involves a clausal subject

- No ACC subjects in clausal subjects

(25) [Бат(*-ЫГ) чихэр ид-сэн гэ-дэг нь] намайг
[Bat(*-iig) chiher id-sen ge-deg н] namaig
Bat(*-ACC) candy eat-PST COMP-НАВ 3.POSS 1SG.ACC
гайхш-руул-сан.
gaish-ruul-san.
surprise-CAUS-PST
'That Bat ate candy surprised me.'

(Fong, 2019, p.9, (29a))

- Fong's 2019 observations can be captured by the generalisations in Table 1:

Table 1. Embedded subjects in Mongolian

Clause type	SUBJ-NOM	SUBJ-ACC
Clausal subject	✓	*
Clausal complement	✓	✓

- Dependent story can account for these facts

Against functional ACC

- Aravind 2019: ACC subjects are available even when matrix v is not ACC-assigning

- (26) a. Наргаа хүүхэд-эд/*-ийг уурла-сан.
Naraa hүүhed-ed/*-iig uurla-san
Naraa.NOM child-DAT/*-ACC become.angry-PST
'Naraa got angry at the child.'
- b. Наргаа [хүүхэд-ийг/*-эд багш-ийг-аа хаз-сан]-д
Naraa [hүүhed-iig/*-ed bagsh-iig-aa haz-san]-d
Naraa.NOM child-ACC/*-DAT teacher-ACC-RX bite-PST -DAT
уурла-сан.
uurla-san
become.angry-PST
'Naraa got angry because the child_i bit his_i teacher.'

(Aravind, 2019, p.7, f.n. 5, (i-ii))

Against functional ACC

- ACC subjects are available even when matrix v is not ACC-assigning

(27) Дулмаа Бат-ад/*-ыг атаарх-сан.
Dulmaa Bat-ad/*-iig ataarh-san.
Dulmaa.NOM Bat-DAT/*-ACC be.jealous-PST
'Dulmaa was jealous of Bat.'

(28) 'Dulmaa was jealous that Bat has a yellow carrot.'

- a. Дулмаа [шар лууван-г/*-д Бат-ад бай-гаа]-д атаарх-сан.
Dulmaa [shar luuvan-g/*-d Bat-ad bai-gaa]-d ataarh-san.
Dulmaa.NOM yellow carrot-ACC/*-DAT Bat-DAT COP-PRES -DAT be.jealous-PST
- b. Дулмаа [шар лууван-г/*-д Бат-ад бай-гаа гэж] атаарх-сан.
Dulmaa [shar luuvan-g/*-d Bat-ad bai-gaa gej] ataarh-san.
Dulmaa.NOM yellow carrot-ACC/*-DAT Bat-DAT COP-PRES COMP be.jealous-PST

Against functional ACC

- Availability of ACC subjects in adjunct clauses, assuming vP adjunction
- ACC subjects possible when matrix v is passive (29) or unaccusative (30):

- (29) Миний ээж [**намайг** нохой гэр-т-ээ авчра-нгуут]
Minii eej [**namaig** nohoi ger-t-ee avchra-nguut]
1SG.GEN mother 1SG.ACC dog home-DAT-RX bring-CONCOM
түүнд хаз-агд-сан.
tüünd haz-agd-san.
3SG.DAT bite-PASS-PST
'Immediately after I brought a dog home, my mother was bitten by it.'
- (30) Би [**чамайг** хичээл-ээ хий-ж байхад (чинь)] унт-сан.
Bi [**chamaig** hicheel-ee hii-j baihad (chin)] unt-san.
1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC study-RX do-PROG when (2.POSS) sleep-PST
'When you were studying, I fell asleep.'

1. The distribution of ACC on embedded subjects and some puzzles
2. Against functional head ACC case assignment
3. A dependent account of ACC case assignment
 - Evidence that ACC subjects are higher than NOM subjects
 - Higher position of embedded subject feeds dependent ACC assignment
 - Adjunct clauses vs non-subject RCs
 - Availability of ACC due to different clausal size and presence of CP/DP layer

- Baker and Vinokurova 2010: ACC subjects in Sakha cannot follow a high adverb

(31) *Sakha*

- a. Min [sarsyn **ehigi(*-ni)** kel-iex-xit dien] ihit-ti-m.
1.NOM tomorrow you(*-ACC) come-FUT-2pS that hear-PST-1sS
'I heard that tomorrow you will come.'
- b. Min [**ehigi/ehigi-ni** бүгүн kyaj-yax-hyt dien] erem-mit-im.
I you/you-ACC today win-FUT-2pS that hope-PTPL-1sS
'I hoped that you would win today'

(Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, p.615-616, (39-40))

- A high adverb like 'tomorrow' does not distinguish the position of the embedded subject in Mongolian:

(32) Бат [маргааш **Дулмаа(-г)** ном унш-сан гэж] хэл-сэн.
Bat [margaash **Dulmaa(-g)** nom unsh-san gej] hel-sen.
Bat.NOM tomorrow Dulmaa(-ACC) book read-PST COMP say-PST
'Bat said that Dulmaa will read a book tomorrow.'

(Fong, 2019, p.2, (3))

- A reflexive possessive-marked (RX) argument can only be bound by a clause-mate subject:

(33) [Ах минь **нохой-той-г-оо** тогло-сон гэж] би
[ah min **nohoi-toi-g-oo** toglo-son gej] bi
older.brother 1SG.GEN dog-COM-ACC-RX play-PST COMP 1SG.NOM
бод-сон.
bod-son
think-PST
'I thought that my older brother_i played with his_i/*my dog.'

Subj-ACC vs Subj-NOM

- Cross-clausal binding of embedded subject allowed only if it is ACC
- ACC subjects are higher than NOM subjects in Mongolian (see Aravind 2019 and Fong 2019 for additional arguments)

(34) a. Бат [маргааш эгч*(-ийг)-ээ ир-нэ гэж] хэл-сэн.
Bat [margaash egch*(-iig)-ee ir-ne gej] hel-sen.
Bat.NOM tomorrow older.sister*(-ACC)-RX come-N.PST COMP say-PST
'Bat_i said that his_{i/*j} older sister is coming tomorrow.'

(Fong, 2019, p.11, (34-35))

b. Бат [маргааш эгч(*-ээ) ир-нэ гэж] хэл-сэн.
Bat [margaash egch(*-ee) ir-ne gej] hel-sen.
Bat.NOM tomorrow older.sister.NOM(*-RX) come-N.PST COMP say-PST
'Bat_i said that one's_{j/*i} older sister is coming tomorrow.'

D is phasal

- Topicalisation from nominalised clause bleeds ACC case on embedded subject (Aravind, 2019)

(35) Би [Бат/?Бат-ыг энэ ном-ыг унш-сн]-ийг ол-ж
Bi [Bat/?Bat-iig ene nom-iig unsh-sn]-iig ol-j
1SG.NOM Bat.NOM/?Bat-ACC this book-ACC read-PST -ACC find-PROG
мэд-сэн.
med-sen.
know-PST
'I found out that Bat read this book.'

(36) Энэ ном_i-ыг бол би [Бат/*Бат-ыг t_i унш-сн]-ийг
Ene nom_i-iig bol bi [Bat/*Bat-iig t_i unsh-sn]-iig
this book-ACC TOP 1SG.NOM Bat.NOM/*Bat-ACC read-PST -ACC
ол-ж мэд-сэн.
ol-j med-sen.
find-PROG know-PST
'As for this book, I found out that Bat read it.'

(Aravind, 2019, p. 9-10, (19) and (21))

Subj-ACC vs Subj-NOM

- Variability between ACC and NOM subjects in embedded finite CPs and nominalised clauses depends on whether the subject remains in TP (37a) or moves out of the DP/CP phase (37b) and (37c), thereby entering case competition with a higher NP:

(37) 'Bat said loudly that dogs are wonderful.'

- a. Бат чангаар [CP [TP **нохой** гайхал-тай] гэж] хэл-сэн.
Bat changaar [CP [TP **nohoi** gaihal-tai] gej] hel-sen.
Bat.NOM loudly dog wonder-COM COMP say-PST
- b. Бат чангаар [CP **нохой-г** [TP *t* гайхал-тай] гэж] хэл-сэн.
Bat changaar [CP **nohoi-g** [TP *t* gaihal-tai] gej] hel-sen.
Bat.NOM loudly dog-ACC wonder-COM COMP say-PST
- c. Бат **нохой-г** чангаар [CP *t* [TP *t* гайхал-тай] гэж] хэл-сэн.
Bat **nohoi-g** changaar [CP *t* [TP *t* gaihal-tai] gej] hel-sen.
Bat.NOM dog-ACC loudly wonder-COM COMP say-PST

Adjuncts vs RCs

- Recall: ACC subjects in adjuncts (38) but not in non-subject RCs (39):

(38) Adjunct clause

Би	[	чамайг/??чи	хичээл-ээ хий-ж	байхад (чинь)]
Bi	[	chamaig/??chi	hicheel-ee hii-j	baihad (chin)]
1SG.NOM		2SG.ACC/??2SG.NOM	study-RX	do-PROG	when 2.POSS

унт-сан.
unt-san.
sleep-PST
'When you were studying, I fell asleep.'

(39) Object RC

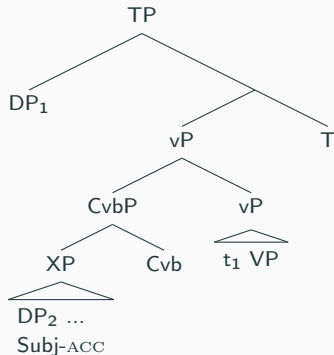
Бат	[	[	миний/?би/*намайг	өчигдөр уулз-сан]
Bat	[	[	minii/?bi/*namaig	öchigdör uulz-san]
Bat.NOM		1SG.GEN/?1SG.NOM/*1SG.ACC	yesterday	meet-PST	

хүн*(-ийг)] хар-сан.
hün*(-iig)] har-san.
person*-ACC see-PST
'Bat saw the person I met yesterday.'

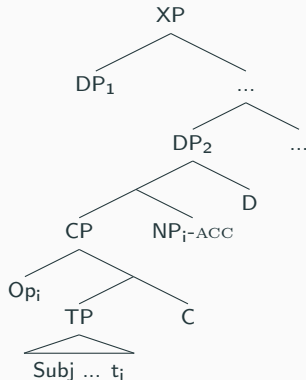
Adjuncts vs RCs

- Adjuncts are smaller than RCs, e.g. missing CP and DP layer

(40) Adjunct clause

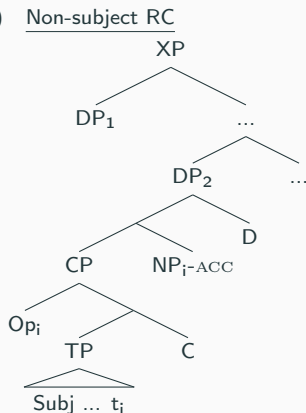


(41) Non-subject RC



No ACC subjects in non-subject RCs

- Embedded subject is insufficiently local to a case competitor e.g. matrix DP_1
- NP head of RC enters case competition with DP_1

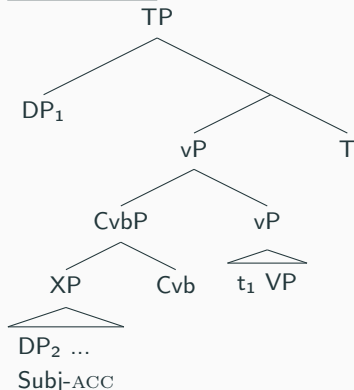


- (42) Бат [[миний/?би/*намайг өчигдөр уулз-сан] хүн*(-ийг)] хар-сан.
 Bat [[minii/?bi/*namaig öchigdör uulz-san] hün*(-iig)] har-san.
 Bat.NOM 1SG.GEN/?1SG.NOM/1SG.ACC yesterday meet-PST person*(-ACC) see-PST
 'Bat saw the person I met yesterday.'

No NOM subjects in adjuncts

- Missing CP/DP layer due to reduced size of adjunct clause
- Embedded subject in adjunct clauses is always visible to higher NP e.g. matrix DP₁

(40) Adjunct clause



- (43) Би [**чамайг/??чи** хичээл-ээ хий-ж байхад (чинь)] унт-сан.
Bi [**chamaig/??chi** hicheel-ee hii-j baihad (chin)] unt-san.
1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC/2SG.NOM study-RX do-PROG when 2.POSS sleep-PST
'When you were studying, I fell asleep.'

NOM subjects in scrambled adjuncts

- Both NOM and ACC subjects are possible if the adjunct clause precedes the matrix subject (44), or if a pause follows the matrix subject:
- Variability as to whether dependent case is calculated prior to (→ ACC subjects) or after (→ NOM subjects) raising of the adjunct clause:

- (44) [**Чи/Чамайг** хичээл-ээ хий-ж байхад (чинь)] би *t*
[**Chi/Chamaig** hicheel-ee hii-j baihad (chin)] bi *t*
2SG.NOM/2SG.ACC study-RX do-PROG when 2.POSS 1SG.NOM
унт-сан.
unt-san.
sleep-PST
'When you were studying, I fell asleep.'

Conclusion

- Distribution of embedded ACC subjects is better accounted for under a configurational account
- Unavailability of NOM subjects in adjuncts due to reduced size of the clause
- Unavailability of ACC subjects in non-subject RCs due to insufficiently local relationship to higher NP
- Future work: mechanism behind GEN subject licensing

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