Nominalisations without DP: Dissociating Genitive Case Assignment and Possessor Agreement

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1. Introduction

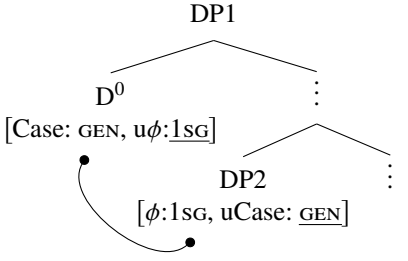
This paper discusses variation in the size of nominalised clauses (NCs) in Khalkha Mongolian (henceforth Khalkha) and ties it to genitive case assignment and possessor agreement in NCs. Adopting an expanded view of nominal structure which includes DP>PossP>nP (see e.g. Alexiadou et al. 2007), I argue that Khalkha argument NCs e.g. (1) are full DPs containing a PossP and nP layer, while adjunct NCs (2) are Small Nominals (Pereltsvaig 2006) that project nP and PossP, but lack a DP layer.

(1) *Argument NC*
Chi [namaig/**minii** unta-j bai-sn]**-iig(=min)** med-en.
2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC/1SG.GEN sleep-PROG COP-PFV -ACC=1SG.POSS know-NPST
'You know that I was sleeping.'

(2) *Adjunct NC*
Chi [namaig/***minii** hicheel-Ø=ee hii-j bai-had](**=min**) unt-san.
2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC/*1SG.GEN lesson-ACC=RP do-PROG COP-TEMP.CVB =1SG.POSS sleep-PST
'When/While I was studying, you fell asleep.'

I further argue that genitive case assignment should be dissociated from possessor agreement: while (1) shows that they co-occur, (2) shows that possessor agreement morphology does not guarantee genitive case assignment. The two operations are often treated as closely linked, especially in Turkic and Mongolic languages (e.g., Asarina & Hartman 2011, Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Bošković 2008, Hale 2002, Kornfilt 2003, Laszakovits 2018, Ótott-Kovács 2020). A typical view, shown in (3), posits that D^0 Agrees with DP2 to value D^0's unvalued ϕ-feature, while D^0 also simultaneously values DP2's unvalued Case feature.

(3)



Accordingly, it has been observed that in Turkish (Turkic), subjects obligatorily surface with genitive case in NCs that exhibit possessor agreement (Kornfilt 2020), while in Kyrgyz (Turkic), subjects cannot surface with genitive case without possessor agreement on NCs (Laszakovits 2018). In contrast, Khalkha displays a double dissociation of possessor agreement and genitive case assignment, as i) genitive case is not obligatory in NCs containing possessor agreement morphology, e.g. the subject may be accusative in (1), and ii) genitive case is possible in NCs without possessor agreement morphology, given that

* I thank Battsetseg Gantumur, Dariimaa Gombojav, Garid Erdenechuluun and Oyunomin Battoghtokh for sharing their language with me. I also thank Emily Clem, Michelle Yuan, members of UCSD S-Babble, and the audiences at SingSum 2022, WAFL16 and WCCFL41 for helpful feedback and comments. This research was supported by the Singapore Ministry of Education and Social Science Research Council under the Social Science Research Council Graduate Research Fellowship ([SSRC-2020-003]). All uncited data is from my fieldwork, and all errors are my own.

 Proceedings of the 41st West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics, ed. Nikolas Webster et al., 390-399. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

such morphology is optional. Further, genitive case on a subject is impossible in an adjunct NC, e.g. (2), containing the same possessor agreement morphology as an argument NC, e.g. (1). This asymmetry between argument and adjunct NCs with respect to genitive case assignment is not only found in Khalkha, but also Turkic languages such as Turkish (e.g. Kornfilt 2020) and Kazakh (Ótott-Kovács 2018, 2020), Udmurt (Uralic) (Georgieva 2017), and Cuzco Quechua (Quechuan) (Cole & Hermon 2011).

This paper provides a novel account of this asymmetry by arguing that argument and adjunct NCs contain different amounts of nominal structure, and that genitive case assignment and possessor agreement have different sources. In particular, I argue that $Poss^0$ controls possessor agreement and is found in both types of NC, while genitive case assignment is due to the presence of D^0, which is only found in argument NCs. I provide a brief overview of the morphosyntax of Khalkha nominals and NCs in section 2. In section 3, I argue that argument and adjunct NCs differ in the amount of nominal functional structure they contain, and I show that their different nominal properties fall out from my proposal that argument and adjunct NCs are of different sizes. In section 4, I provide further evidence from binding that supports a difference in size between argument vs adjunct NCs. Section 5 concludes.

2. Morphosyntax of Khalkha nominals and NCs

Khalkha is an SOV language with nominative-accusative case alignment. In root declarative clauses e.g. (4), subjects are marked with nominative case, which is morphologically zero, while direct objects may be marked with accusative case. Objects display differential object marking, and accusative marking is sensitive to properties such as specificity (Guntsetseg 2016). For instance, proper name (4) and possessed (5) direct objects are obligatorily marked accusative.

(4) Tuyaa Dorj-iig üns-sen.
T.NOM D.-ACC kiss-PST
'Tuyaa kissed Dorj.' (Guntsetseg 2016: 24, ex.42)

2.1. Khalkha possessive nominals

There are three ways of marking pronominal possession: with a genitive-marked pronoun (5a), a possessive (POSS) enclitic (5b), or both (5c). While the acceptability of the last strategy (5c) is debated, it has been documented by other authors and is accepted by my consultants (see e.g. Brosig et al. 2018, Hammar 1983, Lim to appear; cf. Gong 2021, Guntsetseg 2016):

(5) *Three ways to express pronominal possession in Khalkha*

a. *GEN pronoun*
Chi **minii** nom**-iig** unsh-san.
2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN book-ACC read-PST

b. *POSS enclitic*
Chi nom**-iig=min** unsh-san.
2SG.NOM book-ACC=1SG.POSS read-PST

c. *GEN pronoun + POSS enclitic*
Chi **minii** nom**-iig=min** unsh-san.
2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN book-ACC=1SG.POSS read-PST
'You read my book.'

(5) shows that possessive nominals display three morphosyntactic properties: i) the possessor is marked with genitive case, ii) the possessive nominal may host possessive enclitics, and iii) the possessive nominal may be assigned structural accusative case.

2.2. Mixed nominal properties of Khalkha NCs

In this subsection, I show that Khalkha NCs display variation with respect to the three nominal properties mentioned above, as summarised in Table 1:

Table 1. Mixed nominal properties of Khalkha NCs

	GEN subject	POSS enclitic	ACC marking
Argument NC	✓	✓	✓
Adjunct NC	✗	✓	✗

Generally, in both types of NCs, third-person subjects may surface with nominative case (Aravind 2019, Guntsetseg 2016):[1]

(6) *3SG subject may be NOM in argument NC*
Bi [**Naraa** unta-j bai-sn]-iig med-en.
1SG.NOM N.NOM sleep-PROG COP-PFV -ACC know-PRES.
'I know that Naraa was sleeping.'

(7) *3SG subject may be NOM in adjunct NC*
Bi [**Naraa** hicheel-Ø=ee hii-j bai-had] unt-san.
1SG.NOM N.NOM lesson-ACC=RP do-PROG COP-TEMP.CVB sleep-PST
'When Naraa was studying, I fell asleep.'

Looking at argument NCs first, (8) shows that in a complement NC, the embedded subject may also surface with accusative or genitive case; I provide an account of this subject case alternation in section 3.4. The complement NC also hosts a possessive clitic that covaries in ϕ-features with the embedded subject. Finally, the NC may also be assigned accusative case. Argument NCs thus resemble possessive nominals in displaying these three nominal properties.

(8) *Argument NC with GEN subject, ACC-marking and POSS enclitic*
Bi [Naraa-g/**Naraa-giin** unta-j bai-sn]**-iig**(**=n**) med-en.
1SG.NOM N.-ACC/N.-GEN sleep-PROG COP-PFV -ACC(=3.POSS) know-PRES.
'I know that Naraa was sleeping.'

Turning next to adjunct NCs, (9) is a converbial adjunct clause, which typically functions as a temporal modifying clause to the main clause. While a converbial adjunct may host a possessive clitic that covaries in ϕ-features with the embedded subject, it cannot contain a genitive subject or bear accusative case (10).

(9) *Adjunct NC with POSS enclitic*
Bi [Naraa-g/*Naraa-giin hicheel-Ø=ee hii-j bai-had](**=n**) unt-san.
1SG.NOM N.-ACC/*N.-GEN lesson-ACC=RP do-PROG COP-TEMP.CVB (=3.POSS) sleep-PST
'When Naraa was studying, I fell asleep.'

(10) *Converbial adjunct cannot be marked accusative*
* Bi [Naraa-g hicheel-Ø=ee hii-j bai-hd]-iig(=n) unt-san.
1SG.NOM N.-ACC lesson-ACC=RP do-PROG COP-TEMP.CVB -ACC(=3.POSS) sleep-PST
Int.: 'When Naraa was studying, I fell asleep.'

In sum, argument NCs appear to be fully nominal, paralleling possesive nominals in terms of the three nominal properties discussed here, while adjunct NCs appear to be less nominal in only being able to host possessive enclitics.

[1] There seems to be interspeaker variation as to whether an NC may contain a nominative subject and host a possessive enclitic, although this is dispreferred by my consultants. One possibility, as I discuss in section 3.5 is that nominative subjects are located in Spec,TP while subjects have to raise to Spec,PossP to license possessive enclitics. I leave an investigation of this phenomenon, as well as fuller analysis of possessive clitic doubling, for future work.

3. Proposal and analysis

In this section, I propose that argument NCs project full DPs while adjunct NCs project less nominal functional structure – up to PossP but not DP. Thus, adjunct NCs instantiate a type of Small Nominal (Pereltsvaig 2006). I first introduce the notion of Small Nominals, before presenting my analysis.

3.1. Prelude: Small Nominals

The Small Nominal Hypothesis proposes that nominals may vary in size within a single language, with Small Nominals being smaller than DP (Pereltsvaig 2006). Small Nominals differ from full DPs in properties like case marking and referential interpretation (see Pereltsvaig 2021 for an overview). This distinction is found in Tatar (Turkic) (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015, Pereltsvaig & Lyutikova 2014), which contains two kinds of possessive (ezafe) constructions. In an ezafe-3 construction, the possessor is bears genitive case and the head noun bears possessor agreement morphology (11a). In an ezafe-2 construction, the head noun bears possessor agreement morphology but the possessor is case-unmarked (11b).

(11) Tatar (Turkic) (modified from Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015: 300, ex.20)

a. *Ezafe-3*
bala-lar-**nɪŋ** alma-**sɪ**
child-PL-GEN apple-3.POSS
'(the) children's apple'

b. *Ezafe-2*
bala-lar alma-**sɪ**
child-PL apple-3.POSS
'children's apple' (e.g. apple for children)

The authors note that it is unclear if the POSS marker on the head noun in ezafe-2 constructions is agreement, as these constructions disallow pronominal possessors, which prevents testing for ϕ-feature covariance. They also argue that ezafe-3 constructions are full DPs with the marker on D^0, while ezafe-2 constructions are smaller PossPs with the marker on $Poss^0$. Crucially, they assume that genitive case is assigned to the possessor in Spec,DP, a position that is available in ezafe-3 but not ezafe-2. I depart from their analysis and assume that the POSS markers in ezafe-2 and ezafe-3 are on $Poss^0$ and represent possessor agreement. Genitive case is absent in ezafe-2 not due to missing agreement but because they lack a DP layer.

3.2. A Small Nominal analysis of NCs

I propose that the parallelism between Tatar possessive nominals and Khalkha NCs, as laid out in Table 2, suggests a unified analysis.

Table 2. Distributions of GEN and POSSAGR

Language	Construction	GEN	POSSAGR
Tatar	Ezafe-3 (DPs)	✓	✓
	Ezafe-2 (PossPs)	✗	✓
Khalkha	Argument NC	✓	✓
	Adjunct NC	✗	✓

I follow Abney 1987, Alexiadou et al. 2007, Borsley & Kornfilt 2000, Kornfilt & Whitman 2011 and others in assuming that NCs derive their nominal properties from a nominal functional projection above the clause. Using the hierarchy DP > PossP > nP, I posit that n^0 nominalises the clause (Marantz 2001), $Poss^0$ controls possessor agreement (e.g. Alexiadou et al. 2007), and D^0 is responsible for genitive case assignment, which is assigned via Agree with D^0 (Chomsky 2000, 2001) or as an unmarked case under DP in a dependent case framework (Baker 2015, Levin & Preminger 2015, Marantz 2001), which I adopt.

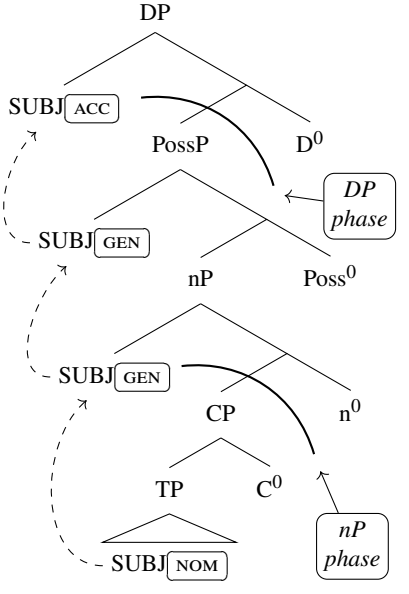
I propose that argument NCs are full DPs containing PossPs while adjunct NCs are smaller PossPs that lack a DP layer. Thus, argument NCs may contain both genitive subjects and possessive enclitics as they contain D^0 and $Poss^0$, while adjunct NCs may only contain possessive enclitics as they contain $Poss^0$ but lack D^0. This size-based approach differs from previous accounts of the argument-adjunct asymmetry

in NCs which assume that both types of NCs are uniformly DPs. For example, unlike Kornfilt (2003, 2006), who propose that D^0 assigns genitive case only when assigned a theta role or referential index (possible only in argument NCs), my analysis avoids imposing an "activation" condition on genitive case. My analysis maintains a clear dissociation between case and agreement, which eliminates the need to address cases where agreement occurs without case assignment.

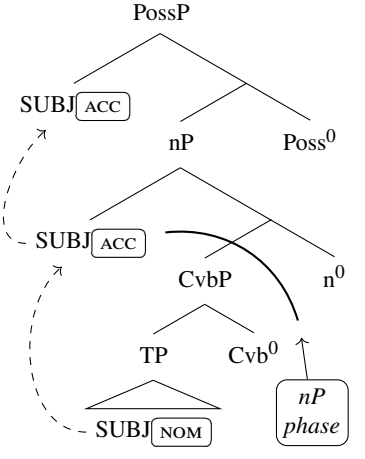
3.3. Structures of argument and adjunct NCs

I propose the following structures for argument NCs (12) and adjunct NCs (13).[2] An argument NC (12) is composed of a full DP structure merged above the clausal CP structure. Additionally, it contains two phasal domains within its nominal functional layer: nP (e.g. Marantz 2001) and DP (e.g. Aravind 2019). An adjunct NC (13) is composed of a reduced PossP structure merged above the clausal CvbP structure, and it only contains one phasal domain, nP. I further assume that subject case assignment is distributed across different structural positions (as shown in 12 and 13) and that these positions are related by movement (Aravind 2019, Lim 2022, Peters 2020). As I will explain shortly, the fact that the argument NC subject is assigned genitive case in Spec,nP/Spec,PossP, but the adjunct NC subject is assigned accusative in those same positions, is due to the different amounts of nominal functional structure in these two NC types.

(12) *Argument NC*



(13) *Adjunct NC*



3.4. Deriving subject case alternations

I adopt a dependent case approach for Khalkha (Aravind 2019, Lim 2022, Peters 2020). Under this approach, accusative is assigned as a dependent case in the clausal domain (e.g. TP or CP), to the lower of two DPs in a local c-command relation (Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Marantz 1991). Nominative and genitive case, on the other hand, are unmarked cases within TP and DP respectively (Baker 2015, Levin & Preminger 2015, Marantz 1991); "unmarked" here does not refer to morphologically zero case, but a particular case value that is assigned to DPs that have not been assigned any case.

We can now analyse how subject case alternations in argument and adjunct NCs are derived. I assume that the subject is first-merged in Spec,vP before it moves to Spec,TP, e.g. due to an EPP feature on T^0.

In argument NCs, if the subject remains in Spec,TP upon spell-out of the nP phase, it receives unmarked nominative case within TP. Probes on n^0, $Poss^0$, and D^0 may trigger further movement to

[2] These structures are different than what I have proposed in previous work (Lim 2022, to appear). First, I propose here that the subject in both NC types moves to Spec,nP to escape the nP phase in order to move further to Spec,PossP. Second, I propose here that in adjunct NCs the nominal functional layer is merged above CvbP instead of between CvbP and TP, as the latter structure is commonly taken to be impossible (e.g. Borsley & Kornfilt 2000).

Spec,nP, Spec,PossP, or Spec,DP. If the subject is in Spec,nP or Spec,PossP upon spell-out of the DP phase, it receives unmarked genitive case. However, if it moves to Spec,DP, it escapes spell-out within the DP phase and becomes visible to syntactic operations within the matrix clause, which enables it to be assigned dependent accusative case through case competition with the matrix subject.

In adjunct NCs, the subject in Spec,TP upon spell-out of the nP phase will receive unmarked nominative case. Probes on n^0 and $Poss^0$ may trigger movement to Spec,nP or Spec,PossP. However, without a DP phase head, the subject in these positions will remain visible to the matrix clause, which enables it to receive dependent accusative case via case competition with the matrix subject. Crucially, the subject cannot be assigned unmarked genitive case as adjunct NCs lack a DP layer.

3.5. On the nature of possessor agreement

In the previous subsection, I analysed genitive case as an unmarked case assigned within the DP domain, independent of possessor agreement. Here, I briefly address the source of possessor agreement morphology in Khalkha, leaving a fuller account for future work.

In Khalkha, possessive markers that appear on head nouns in possessive constructions and clause-finally on NCs behave as clitics (Gong 2022, Chapter 2). I propose that clitic-doubling in Khalkha is Agree-based (Kramer 2014), where $Poss^0$ Agrees with the embedded subject in Spec,nP, raising it to Spec,PossP. In Spec,PossP, the subject may optionally undergo m-merger (Matushansky 2006) with $Poss^0$, resulting in possessive clitics.

In argument NCs (8), the subject doubled by the clitic is assigned unmarked genitive case if it remains in Spec,PossP. If it raises to Spec,DP, it is assigned dependent accusative case through competition with the matrix subject. In adjunct NCs (9), the clitic doubles the subject in Spec,PossP, which is assigned dependent accusative case via case competition with the matrix subject. Subjects remaining in Spec,TP, where they are assigned unmarked nominative case, cannot be clitic-doubled, as they do not escape the nP phase, preventing movement to Spec,PossP and m-merger with $Poss^0$.

3.6. On the absence of ACC *on adjunct NCs*

The asymmetry in case marking on argument NCs vs. adjunct NCs supports the analysis of argument NCs as full DPs and adjunct NCs as smaller PossPs. Only DPs are eligible for case competition, allowing argument NCs to compete with the matrix subject and be marked accusative along with the embedded subject in Spec,DP. In contrast, adjunct NCs, as PossPs lacking a DP layer, cannot enter case competition and are not marked with dependent accusative.

This absence of accusative marking on adjunct NCs is not due to their structural position in the clause. Adjunct NCs are merged below matrix Spec,TP, where they would qualify for case competition if they were DPs. Evidence for this includes: (i) the embedded subject in adjunct NCs can be assigned accusative case under dependent case competition with the matrix subject (9), indicating that matrix Spec,TP c-commands Spec,PossP; and (ii) the matrix subject can anaphorically bind the possessor of an adjunct NC subject (14), showing that PossP is merged lower than matrix Spec,TP.

(14) *Possessor of adjunct NC subject coreferential with matrix subject*
Bi [**naiz-iig=aa** unta-j bai-had](=n) hicheel-Ø=ee hii-j bai-san.
1SG.NOM friend-ACC=RP sleep-PROG COP=TEMP.CVB =3.POSS lesson-ACC=RP do-PROG COP-PST
'When I_j was studying, $my_{j/*k}$ friend was sleeping.'

3.7. Summary

The above account of genitive case assignment and possessive clitic doubling allows us to understand the double dissociation of possessor agreement and genitive subject licensing in Khalkha NCs. First, possessor agreement morphology does not guarantee the presence of genitive subjects, as i) possessor agreement morphology is compatible with non-genitive subjects, i.e. accusative subjects, in both argument and adjunct NCs, and ii) in adjunct NCs, genitive subjects are impossible even with possessor agreement morphology. Second, we saw that genitive case is possible even without possessor agreement morphology, as possessive clitics are always optional. This suggests that possessor agreement is not a precondition

for genitive case assignment, as is standardly assumed under the view that D^0 assigns genitive case to a goal DP that it has ϕ-agreed with. Under the present account, the mechanism for genitive case assignment is completely independent from the mechanism responsible for possessor agreement morphology. I have proposed a dependent case framework for Khalkha, where genitive case is assigned as an unmarked case within DP (Baker 2015, Levin & Preminger 2015, Marantz 1991). The facts are compatible with an alternative view where genitive is assigned as a functional head case by D^0 under Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001). However, under such a view, the Agree relation responsible for genitive case assignment cannot be the same as the Agree that is responsible for possessor agreement morphology.

4. Further evidence from binding

In the previous section, I have argued that argument NCs are full DPs while adjunct NCs are smaller PossPs. In this section, I provide further evidence from Condition B effects that supports the absence of DP in adjunct NCs. Crucial to the analysis presented here is the assumption that the presence or absence of DP has consequences for whether binding into an NC is possible. I focus here on accusative and nominative subjects as they are found in argument and adjunct NCs.[3] I first show that subject-possessor coreference is sensitive to Condition B in Khalkha root clauses, before discussing how it behaves in Khalkha NCs.

4.1. Basic Condition B effects

Khalkha disallows coreference of pronominal possessors with subjects due to Condition B, regardless of whether the possessor is a full pronoun (15a), possessive enclitic (15b), or clitic-doubled pronoun (15c):

(15) *Pronominal possessor cannot be coreferential with subject*

a. * Bi minii nom-iig unsh-san.
1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN book-ACC read-PST

b. * Bi nom-iig=min unsh-san.
1SG.NOM book-ACC=1SG.POSS read-PST

c. * Bi minii nom-iig=min unsh-san.
1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN book-ACC=1SG.POSS read-PST
Int.: 'I read my book.'

Instead, the reflexive possessive (RP) enclitic is used to express subject-possessor coreference (16):

(16) Bi nom-Ø=oo unsh-san.
1SG.NOM book-ACC=RP read-PST
'I read my book.'

Having established that possessor-subject coreference is sensitive to Condition B, I discuss next how the possessor of an embedded subject in an NC behaves when it is coreferential with the matrix subject.

4.2. Condition B effects in NCs

As mentioned, I focus on accusative and nominative subjects in argument and adjunct NCs in this subsection. The key observations are: i) the possessor of accusative subjects in both NC types cannot be coreferential with the matrix subject, while ii) the possessor of a nominative subject in an argument NC, but not an adjunct NC, can be coreferential with the matrix subject.

Consider first accusative subjects in both argument and adjunct NCs: both (17a) and (18a) show that accusative subjects cannot be coreferential with the matrix subject due to Condition B.[4]

[3] My consultants found the use of a GEN-marked possessor on a GEN-marked subject degraded, and were not confident with providing binding judgements on these constructions. Further investigation is required.

[4] The RP marker is used instead to indicate that the possessor of an accusative subject is coreferential with the matrix subject, e.g. in (14).

Next, consider nominative subjects in both argument and adjunct NCs. In the argument NC (17b), the possessor of the nominative subject can be coreferential with the matrix subject. However, in the adjunct NC (18b), the possessor of the nominative subject still may not be coreferential with the matrix subject.

(17) *Argument NCs*

a. *Possessor of ACC subject cannot be coreferential with matrix subject*
Naraa [$_{DP}$ **tüünii naiz-iig** ir-sn]-iig mart-san.
N.NOM 3SG.GEN friend-ACC come-PFV -ACC forget-PST
'Naraa$_j$ forgot that her$_{k/*j}$ friend came.'

b. *Possessor of NOM subject can be coreferential with matrix subject*
Naraa [$_{DP}$ [$_{TP}$ **tüünii naiz** ir-sn]]-iig mart-san.
N.NOM 3SG.GEN friend.NOM come-PFV -ACC forget-PST
'Naraa$_j$ forgot that her$_{j/k}$ friend came.'

(18) *Adjunct NCs*

a. *Possessor of ACC subject cannot be coreferential with matrix subject*
Odgerel [$_{PossP}$ **tüünii naiz-iig** hicheel-Ø=ee hii-j bai-had] unt-san.
O.NOM 3SG.GEN friend-ACC lesson-ACC=RP do-PROG COP-TEMP.CVB sleep-PST
'Odgerel$_j$ fell asleep while her$_{k/*j}$ friend was studying.'

b. *Possessor of NOM subject cannot be coreferential with matrix subject*
Odgerel [$_{PossP}$ [$_{TP}$ **tüünii naiz** hicheel-Ø=ee hii-j bai-had]] unt-san.
O.NOM 3SG.GEN friend.NOM lesson-ACC=RP do-PROG COP-TEMP.CVB sleep-PST
'Odgerel$_j$ fell asleep while her$_{k/*j}$ friend was studying.'

In line with the account developed thus far, the different behaviours of nominative subjects in argument and adjunct NCs may be related to the fact that argument NCs contain DP but adjunct NCs do not. In argument NCs, material internal to the DP phase belongs to a binding domain distinct from material outside the DP phase, which includes Spec,DP and the matrix clause. Thus, the possessor of a nominative subject in embedded Spec,TP can be coreferential with the matrix subject, but the possessor of an accusative subject located in Spec,DP may not be. However, in adjunct NCs, the absence of a DP layer renders both accusative and nominative subjects visible to the matrix clause for Binding Condition B. Thus, the possessor of either an accusative or nominative subject cannot be coreferential with the matrix subject. The present analysis also suggests that nP – present in both argument and adjunct NCs – is not relevant for delimiting binding domains. I leave a fuller investigation of the data and its implications for future work.

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have argued that Khalkha possesses two types of NCs that vary in the amount of nominal functional structure they contain. Specifically, I have shown that argument NCs are full DPs, while adjunct NCs are smaller PossPs which lack a DP layer, i.e. they instantiate a type of Small Nominal (Pereltsvaig 2006). As supporting evidence, I have shown that the presence of a DP layer correlates with other morphosyntactic properties, summarised in Table 3:

Table 3. Morphosyntactic properties of Khalkha NCs

	Argument NC	Adjunct NC
Proposed structure:	DP	PossP
License POSS enclitic	✓	✓
License GEN subject	✓	✗
Can be assigned ACC	✓	✗
Possessor of NOM subj. can be coreferential with matrix subj.	✓	✗

Khalkha thus supports the Small Nominal Hypothesis by demonstrating that NCs can vary in size within a single language, akin to the variation seen in Tatar possessive nominals. Additionally, prior research has shown that nominalisations may include or exclude nominal functional projections such as Num(ber)P, ClassP, nP (e.g., Alexiadou 2001, Alexiadou et al. 2011, 2010), or DP (e.g., Pereltsvaig 2013). Khalkha contributes to this discussion by highlighting variation in the nominal functional structure of NCs. Lastly, I have argued for a dissociation between the mechanism that assigns genitive case and the one that yields possessor agreement. Specifically, I have shown that possessor agreement is neither strictly tied to the presence of genitive subjects, nor does it license genitive subjects in adjunct NCs. Instead, I have argued that possessor agreement is controlled by $Poss^0$, while licensing genitive subjects depends on the presence of a DP layer, associated with other morphosyntactic properties. This challenges the common assumption that possessor agreement and genitive case assignment are inherently linked.

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Proceedings of the 41st West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics

edited by Nikolas Webster, Yağmur Kiper, Richard Wang, and Sichen Larry Lyu

Cascadilla Proceedings Project Somerville, MA 2025

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ISBN 978-1-57473-483-6 hardback

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This paper can be cited as:

Lim, Jun Jie. 2025. Nominalisations without DP: Dissociating Genitive Case Assignment and Possessor Agreement. In *Proceedings of the 41st West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. Nikolas Webster et al., 390-399. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #3769.