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Case in Wholesale Late Merger: Evidence from Mongolian Scrambling

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Takahashi and Hulsey (2009) suggest that wholesale late merger is controlled by case. This article presents novel evidence for this idea from Condition C reconstruction effects in Mongolian local and long-distance scrambling. Departing from previous accounts, I argue that the complexity of the phenomenon reveals that Condition C connectivity is related neither to the position of underlying binders nor to A/Ā-properties—scrambling bleeds Condition C, so long as the case requirement of the late-merged NP can be satisfied. Crucially, I motivate a hybrid case system for Mongolian in which accusative case is assigned as a dependent case. I show that this is both necessary and independently motivated, thereby introducing a fine-grained view of case into the wholesale-late-merger mechanism.

Keywords: (long-distance) scrambling, Condition C connectivity, case, wholesale late merger, A/Ā-distinction, Mongolian

1 Introduction

It is well-known that A-movement typically does not exhibit Condition C reconstruction effects, whereas some instances of Ā-movement do (e.g., Chomsky 1993, Lebeaux 1988, 1998, Sauerland 1998, Fox 1999). Within the copy theory of movement, Takahashi (2006) and Takahashi and Hulsey (2009) propose that the surface difference in reconstruction effects can be accounted for via *wholesale late merger* (WLM), an updated and expanded version of the *late merger* operation in Lebeaux 1988. Under WLM, it is possible for determiners alone to undergo movement, with their restrictors countercyclically merged, so long as the output can be interpreted by the semantics (building on Fox 2002, Bhatt and Pancheva 2004, 2007). Crucially, the applicability of WLM is constrained by the case assignment mechanism. Takahashi and Hulsey claim that late merger of

The data presented in this article come from Khalkha and Chakhar, two major dialects of Mongolian. Khalkha and Chakhar are mutually intelligible and parallel in many respects in terms of syntax. However, they use different orthography (modern Khalkha Mongolian is primarily written in Mongolian Cyrillic script, whereas Chakhar is written in Mongolian vertical script) with different transliteration systems. For consultation on the Mongolian language and assistance with data collection, I am grateful to Tserenchunt Legden, Uurintuya, Gerelmaa Altangerel, and Bold-Erdene Byambaa. For helpful discussion of the material presented here, I thank Miloje Despić, John Whitman, and two anonymous *LI* reviewers, as well as the participants at the 2021 Syracuse-Cornell Workshop on Word Order and Scrambling. Any errors are my own responsibility.

Abbreviations used in the glosses: 1/2/3 = first/second/third person, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative case, C = complementizer, CAUS = causative, COMIT = comitative case, COND = conditional, COP = copula, CVB = converb, DAT = dative case, DECL = declarative, FOC = focus particle, FUT = future, GEN = genitive case, HABIT = habitual, INF = infinitival, INST = instrumental case, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative case, NPST = nonpast, PART = particle, PASS = passive, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PST = past tense, PTCP = participle, Q = question particle, REFL = reflexive, SG = singular, TOP = topic marker.

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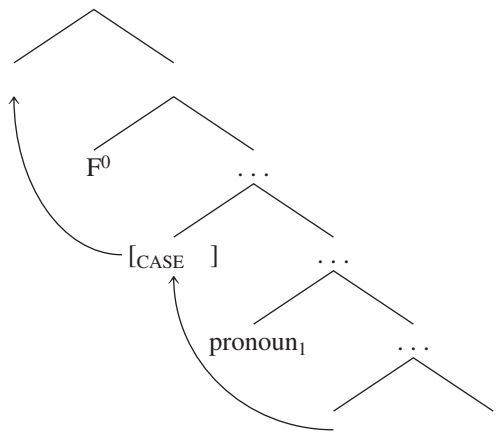
an NP restrictor is possible only at a point where case can be assigned. A well-studied contrast that helps illustrate this restriction is between raising and *wh*-movement in English. Raising feeds case assignment in the matrix clause, as in (1a). Thus, the restrictor [argument that John is a genius] can be countercyclically merged at a position higher than the coreferential pronoun, circumventing a Condition C violation.[1] In contrast, *wh*-movement does not feed case assignment, as in (1b). As a result, the entire copy of the DP must be introduced within the domain of the case-assigning head v. The DP including the R-expression is c-commanded by the pronoun binder in the subject position, violating Condition C.

(1) *Raising bleeds Condition C,* wh-*movement does not*
   a. [Every [argument that John_1 is a genius]] seems to him_1 [every] to be [every] flawless.
   b. ??/*[Which [argument that John_1 is a genius]] did he_1 believe [which [argument that John_1 is a genius]]?

Taken as a whole, the WLM account of Condition C reconstruction effects is based on the interaction of two factors. First, the late-merged NP restrictor must not be c-commanded by the coreferential pronoun. Second, an NP must have case. The situation where movement successfully bleeds Condition C can therefore be stated as in (2), where F^0 is the relevant case-assigning head.

(2) *Condition on WLM*
   a. WLM may bleed Condition C if the movement chain in question permits a case position higher than the pronoun binder.
   b.



An important prediction of (2) is that if a language has more than one location on a movement chain where case can potentially be assigned, a Condition C violation can be circumvented so long as the case position that ultimately gets realized (i.e., where late merger applies) is higher than the pronoun binder. Furthermore, if WLM is indeed tied to case, a given language may

[1] Specifically, Takahashi and Hulsey (2009:401–402) suggest that the restrictor NP is merged with the determiner at the matrix VP-adjoined position, where it is still within the scope of the case-assigning head T and is also structurally higher than the pronoun him_1, circumventing a Condition C violation.

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exhibit a specific type of Condition C reconstruction effect in accordance with the way its case assignment mechanism operates.

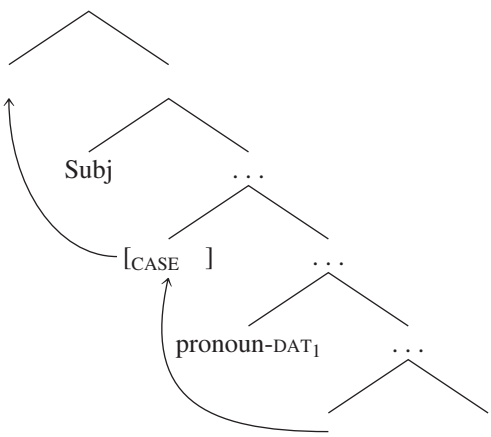
In this article, I present novel evidence from Mongolian scrambling that confirms this prediction. By investigating a group of paradoxical phenomena regarding Condition C reconstruction, I reaffirm the role of the case assignment mechanism in WLM. The central puzzle concerns the reconstruction patterns in local and long-distance scrambling: local scrambling over a subject pronoun binder exhibits obligatory reconstruction effects, but scrambling over a dative indirect object (IO) binder does not.

(3) *Obligatory reconstruction when scrambling over subject binder*
*[**Čemeg**$_1$-in nom-ig]$_2$ **ter**$_1$ Bat-ad ___$_2$ ög-sön.
Čemeg-GEN book-ACC 3SG.NOM Bat-DAT give-PST
Int(ended) 'Čemeg$_1$'s book, she$_1$ gave to Bat.'

(4) *No obligatory reconstruction when scrambling over DAT IO binder*
[**Čemeg**$_1$-in nom-ig]$_2$ bagš **tüün-d**$_1$ ___$_2$ ög-sön.
Čemeg-GEN book-ACC teacher.NOM 3SG-DAT give-PST
'Čemeg$_1$'s book, (the) teacher gave (to) her$_1$.'

I argue that the mismatch in reconstruction effects between (3) and (4) is a natural result of case assignment, which controls the applicability of WLM. Basing my proposal on a series of language-specific properties and building on Baker and Vinokurova 2010, I develop a hybrid case assignment model for Mongolian. Importantly, accusative case in Mongolian needs to be analyzed as a dependent case, which can be assigned at the position between the subject and the dative (IO) pronoun, as schematized in (5). As a consequence of this intermediate case position, WLM can apply when the DP scrambles over a pronoun binder in the dative IO position, hence the absence of reconstruction effects in (4). If the coreferential pronoun binder is instead in the subject position, the structure fails to satisfy (2). As a result, a complete copy of DP needs to be introduced below the subject, inducing the Condition C violation observed in (3).

(5) *Late merger at dependent case position (Mongolian)*



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I show that analyzing accusative as a dependent case not only is strongly motivated by independent data from the language, but also is reflected by the complex patterns of long-distance scrambling (LDS). The core empirical observation is that even LDS, which is commonly observed to be uniformly Ā-movement, can bleed Condition C in limited contexts. I argue that this otherwise puzzling fact is exactly predicted by the WLM mechanism coupled with the way case assignment works in Mongolian. Since some instances of LDS allow the scrambled DP to get (dependent) accusative case at an intermediate position inside the matrix clause, the current proposal predicts that LDS can bleed Condition C so long as the pronoun binder appears lower than the matrix case position. By contrast, LDS would exhibit obligatory reconstruction effects if the pronoun binder were higher than the matrix case position. Both predictions are borne out by empirical facts.

The novel data presented in this article strongly suggest that a WLM-based account of reconstruction effects requires a fine-grained view of the case mechanism of the language in question. This view is twofold: First, the pattern of case assignment does not always align with A/Ā-movement types. While in English Ā-movement does not feed case assignment and A-movement does, a number of languages depart from this alignment particularly in the realm of scrambling. In Hindi, for example, some instances of scrambling exhibit A-properties and others exhibit Ā-properties. However, it is argued that neither type of scrambling feeds case assignment (Bhatt and Keine 2019, Keine 2018). Mongolian, as will be shown here, has long-distance and at least partially Ā-like scrambling that does feed case assignment. Crucially, when case assignment fails to align with other clusters of A- or Ā-properties, Condition C connectivity tracks case, not movement types. Second, the fact that (structural) case assignment varies crosslinguistically has nontrivial consequences for the surface Condition C effects manifested in various languages, a point that has attracted increasing research attention. Bhatt and Keine (2019, 2021) suggest that the long-standing puzzle regarding Hindi local scrambling's mixed A/Ā-behavior, particularly in terms of Condition C connectivity, is in fact due to the interplay between case assignment and scrambling. Case and WLM have also been proposed to be at play in reconstruction effects in Dinka (Van Urk 2015). Meanwhile, an alternative case-based account for Condition C reconstruction has also been made by Miyagawa (2021) and Miyagawa and Oikonomou (2021). In this regard, Mongolian's case assignment mechanism and scrambling properties allow us to probe into a wide range of reconstruction effects, which in turn provides novel insight into case as a mechanism controlling late merger.

In addition, the current proposal departs radically from previous analyses of similar phenomena in German and Korean. Lee (1993) and Frank, Lee, and Rambow (1996) argue for these languages that certain Condition C effects in scrambling that fail to track the A/Ā-distinction are affected by the special status of subject binders: scrambling always exhibits obligatory reconstruction effects if the binder involved in the base order is a subject. By investigating a greater range of data, I show that their proposal cannot be maintained for Mongolian: scrambling can bleed Condition C even with a subject binder, as long as the condition on WLM in (2) is satisfied. Under the current approach, the special status of subject binders is an epiphenomenon that emerges from independent properties of grammar.

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The article is organized as follows. In section 2, I provide an overview of Mongolian clause-internal scrambling and the part of the Condition C puzzle that is limited to local scrambling. I preview the main proposal and situate it with regard to previous analyses of similar phenomena in other languages. In section 3, I outline the core components of my analysis and show that they immediately account for the local reconstruction facts. In section 4, I observe that the puzzle extends to clause-external scrambling. Among other facts, I show that even LDS, which is typically regarded as Ā-movement, bleeds Condition C in a way that mirrors the patterns in local scrambling. I then demonstrate that this otherwise puzzling fact is a natural consequence of the current proposal. In section 5, I return to the case issue and present evidence in support of a hybrid case assignment model in Mongolian. In section 6, I explore further predictions made by the current proposal and in section 7, I offer conclusions.

2 The Condition C Reconstruction Puzzle

2.1 Overview of Mongolian Clause-Internal Scrambling

The purpose of this section is to provide background on Mongolian scrambling, an area that has not been systematically investigated in previous literature. Like scrambling in Hindi (Mahajan 1990, 1994, Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996), Japanese (Saito 1985, 1992, Tada 1993), and Korean (Cho 1994, Ko 2018), scrambling in Mongolian is not a uniform phenomenon. Within clause-internal (or local) scrambling, I distinguish between *short scrambling* (SS), where the linear order between IO and DO alternates, and *intermediate scrambling* (IS), whereby an object moves to precede the subject. Aside from Condition C reconstruction, Mongolian SS and IS behave largely like A-movement. I first show that Mongolian SS behaves like A-movement in terms of anaphor binding and weak crossover (WCO). Then, I show that IS also displays A-properties with regard to the above tests.

A typical Mongolian ditransitive construction with the verb *ögsön* 'gave' is exemplified in (6). Both IO-DO and DO-IO are possible orders.

(6) *Two possible orders in ditransitive construction*
a. Bagš [$_{IO}$ Čemeg-d] [$_{DO}$ ter nom-ig] ög-sön.
teacher.NOM Čemeg-DAT that book-ACC give-PST
'The teacher gave Čemeg that book.'
b. Bagš [$_{DO}$ ter nom-ig] [$_{IO}$ Čemeg-d] ög-sön.

There are two analytical options regarding the word order permutation in (6). One is that (6b) is derived from (6a) via movement (SS). The other is that both (6a) and (6b) are base-generated.[2] Whether Mongolian has two base-generated ditransitive patterns is a question that awaits future research. Nevertheless, I show here that movement of DO over IO can strand a depictive secondary

[2] On the basis of pronominal variable binding, quantifier scope, and other evidence, it has been suggested that the Japanese counterpart of (6a) reflects the base structure, and the order in (6b) is derived by movement (e.g., Hoji 1985, Tada 1993, Takano 1998, Yatsushiro 2003). In contrast, it has also been suggested that both orders in (6) are base-generated (Miyagawa 1997, Miyagawa and Tsujioka 2004, Ito 2007).

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predicate, a possibility that independently demonstrates that short (A-)scrambling exists at least in the constructions under investigation.

Mongolian depictive secondary predicates follow the underlined part in the template (7). When depictives are marked by REFL.POSS, they are subject-oriented. When marked by 3SG.POSS, they are not subject-oriented (for extensive arguments that these are true secondary predicates instead of adjuncts, see Shibagaki 2014). As shown in (8)–(9), depictives can be stranded by A-movement, deriving passives and unaccusatives.[3]

(7) *Mongolian depictives* (Shibagaki 2014)
S O.ACC X-INST-REFL.POSS/3SG.POSS V

(8) *Depictive stranding in passive*
a. Bi [sü-tei čai-ii] khüiten-iyer ni uu-san.
1SG.NOM milk-COMIT tea-ACC cold-INST 3SG.POSS drink-PST
'I drank (the) milk tea cold.'
b. [Sü-tei čai]$_1$ named t_1 khüiten-iyer beng uu-gd-san.
milk-COMIT tea.NOM 1SG.DAT cold-INST REFL.POSS drink-PASS-PST
'(The) milk tea was drunk cold by me.'

[3] An anonymous reviewer suggests that it would be informative to further compare unaccusative constructions with unergatives. Compared with unaccusatives, which are illustrated in the main text, unergatives seem to show a slightly different pattern. First, as shown in (i), the adverb *khašaani gadaa* 'outside the fence' can intervene between the subject *Bat* and the depictive phrase *nutsgeneeree* 'naked'. In comparison, with a low, VP-level adverb such as *khurdan* 'quickly/fast', (ii) is slightly degraded for certain speakers and (iii) is grammatical for all.

(i) Bat khašaa-ni gadaa nutsgen-eer-ee gui-j bai-na.
Bat.NOM fence-GEN outside naked-INST-REFL.POSS run-CVB COP-NPST
'Bat is running naked outside the fence.'

(ii) ?Bat khurdan nutsgen-eer-ee gui-j bai-na.
Bat.NOM fast naked-INST-REFL.POSS run-CVB COP-NPST
'Bat is quickly running, naked.'

(iii) Bat nutsgen-eer-ee khurdan gui-j bai-na.
Bat.NOM naked-INST-REFL.POSS fast run-CVB COP-NPST
'Bat is quickly running, naked.'

I suggest that for the speakers who judge (ii) to be degraded, they do so because *khurdan* 'quickly/fast', a low, VP-level adverb, intervenes between the subject and the depictive. This makes it difficult for the depictive to be associated with the trace of the subject in Spec,vP. Similar to this, unaccusatives and unergatives have been reported to exhibit a sharper contrast in Japanese with respect to numeral quantifiers (e.g., Miyagawa 1989, Miyagawa and Arikawa 2007). In Mongolian, however, for many speakers (ii) is acceptable, especially in colloquial speech. This could be because in Mongolian, low adverbs like *khurdan* 'quickly/fast' can independently scramble, and thus it is difficult to show a stronger contrast between unaccusatives and unergatives in this respect.

In addition, it seems that depictive phrases are not licensed in positions that are not moving sites of the associated DP. In (iv) and (v), the depictives are separated from the subject NPs by VP-internal elements (the adverb *khurdan* 'fast' and the DO *khuwtsasaa* 'clothes'). The results are ungrammatical.

(iv) *Nutsgen-eer-ee khurdan Bat gui-j bai-na.
naked-INST-REFL.POSS fast Bat.NOM run-CVB COP-NPST
Int. 'Naked, Bat is running fast.'

(v) *Nutsgen-eer-ee khuwtsas-aa Bat ugaa-san.
naked-INST-REFL.POSS clothes-REFL.POSS Bat.NOM wash-PST
Int. 'Naked, Bat washed his clothes.'

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(9) *Depictive stranding in unaccusative*
Baatar$_1$ Kökeqota-ača t$_1$ yadaragsan-iyer beng ir-sen.
Baatar.NOM Hohhot-ABL tired-INST REFL.POSS come-PST
'Baatar came from Hohhot tired.'

Similarly, a depictive that modifies a DO can be stranded when the DO is moved over an IO. In (10a), the depictive *khüiteniyer-ni* 'cold-3SG.POSS' modifies the accusative DO *sütei čai-ii* 'milk tea-ACC'. In (10b), the DO appears to the left of the IO, stranding the depictive in the base position. The fact that depictive stranding is possible supports the view that in constructions like (10) the two orders can indeed be derived via movement (i.e., SS in the current context).

(10) *Depictive stranding by short scrambling*
a. Baatar [$_{IO}$ Čemeg-d] [$_{DO}$ sü-tei čai-ii] khüiten-iyer ni
Baatar.NOM Čemeg-DAT milk-COMIT tea-ACC cold-INST 3SG.POSS
ögkü-sen.
give-PST
'Baatar gave Čemeg milk tea cold.'
b. Baatar [$_{DO}$ sü-tei čai-ii]$_1$ [$_{IO}$ Čemeg-d] ___$_1$ khüiten-iyer ni
Baatar.NOM milk-COMIT tea-ACC Čemeg-DAT cold-INST 3SG.POSS
ögkü-sen.
give-PST

Further, the kind of movement in (10) behaves like A-movement. In Mongolian, binding by a local subject requires the subject-oriented anaphor *öör-öö* 'self-REFL.POSS', and binding by arguments other than the local subject requires the elsewhere case *öör ni* 'self 3SG.POSS'. In the nonscrambled order (11a), the IO *öör ni* 'self 3SG.POSS' is not subject-oriented and therefore cannot be bound by the subject *emč* 'doctor.NOM'. The anaphor also cannot be bound by the DO *Dorj* since it is not c-commanded by *Dorj*. In (11b), the DO moves to the left of the IO, successfully binding the anaphor *öör ni* 'self 3SG.POSS' in the dative IO position. Here again, the depictive *nütsgeneer ni* 'naked 3SG.POSS', which modifies the DO *Dorj*, is stranded, and the interpretation is that Dorj is the one who is naked.

(11) *SS feeds anaphor binding*
a. *Base order*
*Emč [$_{IO}$ öör-t ni]$_1$ [$_{DO}$ Dorj-iig]$_1$ nütsgen-eer ni üzüül-sen.
doctor.NOM self-DAT 3SG.POSS Dorj-ACC naked-INST 3SG.POSS show-PST
b. *Scrambled order*
Emč [$_{DO}$ Dorj-iig]$_1$ [$_{IO}$ öör-t ni]$_1$ ___$_1$ nütsgen-eer ni
doctor.NOM Dorj-ACC self-DAT 3SG.POSS naked-INST 3SG.POSS
üzüül-sen.
show-PST
'(The) doctor showed Dorj$_1$ to himself$_1$ naked.' (interpretation: Dorj is naked)

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Continuing to adopt the assumption that the DO-IO order can be derived via movement, further data concerning WCO are consistent with the view that SS has A-properties in Mongolian. Examples (12)–(13) indicate that this kind of movement can remedy an underlying WCO effect.[4]

(12) *SS feeds variable binding*
Baatar [$_{DO}$ suragči bolgon-ii]$_1$ [$_{IO}$ öör-in khni$_1$ bagš-id] ___$_1$
Baatar.NOM student every-ACC self-GEN 3SG.POSS teacher-DAT
taniltsuul-san.
introduce-PST
'Baatar introduced every student$_1$ to his$_1$ teacher.'

(13) *SS of* khen *'who' remedies an underlying WCO effect*
Baatar [$_{DO}$ khen-ii]$_1$ [$_{IO}$ öör-in khni$_1$ bagš-id] ___$_1$ taniltsuul-san be?
Baatar.NOM who-ACC self-GEN 3SG.POSS teacher-DAT introduce-PST Q
'Baatar introduced who$_1$ to his$_1$ teacher?'

Mongolian IS (i.e., scrambling of the object to the presubject position within the same clause) also behaves like A-movement in terms of anaphor binding (14) and underlying WCO amnesty (15)–(16).[5]

(14) *IS feeds anaphor binding*
[Ter qoyar-i]$_1$ [bey beye-u khni]$_1$ bagš ___$_1$ magta-ba.
that two-ACC body body-GEN 3SG.POSS teacher.NOM praise-PST
'Those two$_1$, each other$_1$'s teacher praised.'

(15) a. *IS feeds variable binding (using 'self'-pronoun* öör-in khni*)*
[Oyutan bolgon-ii]$_1$ [öör-in khni]$_1$ bagš ___$_1$ magta-ba.
student every-ACC self-GEN 3SG.POSS teacher.NOM praise-PST
'Every student$_1$, his$_1$ (own) teacher praised.'
b. *IS feeds variable binding (using possessive enclitic pronoun* ni*)*
[Oyutan bolgon-ii]$_1$ bagš ni$_1$ ___$_1$ magta-ba.
student every-ACC teacher.NOM 3SG.POSS praise-PST
'Every student$_1$, his$_1$ teacher praised.'

(16) a. *IS of* khen *'who' remedies underlying WCO (using 'self'-pronoun* öör-in khni*)*
Khen-iig$_1$ [öör-in khni]$_1$ bagš ___$_1$ magta-j uu?
who-ACC self-GEN 3SG.POSS teacher.NOM praise-PST Q
'Who$_1$, his$_1$ (own) teacher praised?'

[4] Note that independently, the surface orders in (12)–(13) are also consistent with the hypothesis that there are two possible base-generated word orders. Nevertheless, given the patterns of Mongolian depictives, I take short A-scrambling to be a possible derivation for the word order alternation, and I take (12)–(13) to further support the A-status of Mongolian SS. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for helpful discussion.

[5] Some additional clarifications are needed regarding the use of pronominal elements in these examples. The 3SG.NOM full pronoun *ter* (genitive form *tüünii*) in Mongolian generally cannot be bound as a variable, but the 3SG possessive pronoun enclitic *ni* can (see relevant discussions in, e.g., Montalbetti 1984, Despić 2013). In addition, the complex pronoun *öör ni* 'self 3SG.POSS' (genitive form *öör-iin khni*) can also be bound as a variable. Thus, both *ni* and *öör-iin khni* exhibit the same variable binding and WCO amnesty patterns with scrambling, but the full pronoun *ter* (genitive form *tüünii*) does not induce the same effect, possibly for the independent reason that it cannot be bound as a variable.

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b. *IS of* khen *'who' remedies WCO (using possessive enclitic pronoun* ni*)*
Khen-iig$_1$ bagš ni$_1$ ___$_1$ magta-j uu?
who-ACC teacher.NOM 3SG.POSS praise-PST Q
'Who$_1$, his$_1$ teacher praised?'

To sum up, the data so far suggest that both IS and SS display A-properties in terms of anaphor binding and underlying WCO amnesty. As I will show in the next section, though, this conclusion is challenged by the behavior of IS in terms of Condition C connectivity.

2.2 Condition C Reconstruction in Clause-Internal Scrambling

The core observations from the last section are repeated here:

(17) *Clause-internal scrambling in Mongolian*

Does short scrambling (SS) . . .			Does intermediate scrambling (IS) . . .		
Feed anaphor binding?	Yes	A	Feed anaphor binding?	Yes	A
Fix underlying WCO effect?	Yes	A	Fix underlying WCO effect?	Yes	A

Turning to Condition C connectivity, we observe that Mongolian SS remains consistent with the picture in (17). As shown in (18a), the pronoun in the dative IO position induces a Condition C violation on the R-expression *Čemeg* inside the accusative DO. As shown in (18b), scrambling the DO to the left of the IO makes the sentence grammatical under the coindexed reading. The absence of an obligatory Condition C reconstruction effect is expected given the observation that SS behaves like A-movement.

(18) *No reconstruction in SS*
a. *Bagš **tüün-d**$_1$ [**Čemeg**$_1$-in nom-ig] ög-sön.
teacher.NOM 3SG-DAT Čemeg-GEN book-ACC give-PST
Int. '(The) teacher gave her$_1$ Čemeg$_1$'s book.'
b. Bagš [**Čemeg**$_1$-in nom-ig]$_2$ **tüün-d**$_1$ ___$_2$ ög-sön.
teacher.NOM Čemeg-GEN book-ACC 3SG-DAT give-PST
'(The) teacher gave Čemeg$_1$'s book (to) her$_1$.'

Turning to IS, first, no reconstruction takes place in (19). This fits well with the previous observation that IS behaves like A-movement. Note that here the underlying Condition C violation is induced by the pronoun in the IO position binding the R-expression inside the DO.

(19) *No reconstruction in IS (IO binding DO)*
a. *Bagš **tüün-d**$_1$ [**Čemeg**$_1$-in nom-ig] ög-sön.
teacher.NOM 3SG-DAT Čemeg-GEN book-ACC give-PST
Int. '(The) teacher gave her$_1$ Čemeg$_1$'s book.'
b. [**Čemeg**$_1$-in nom-ig]$_2$ bagš **tüün-d**$_1$ ___$_2$ ög-sön.
Čemeg-GEN book-ACC teacher.NOM 3SG-DAT give-PST
'Čemeg$_1$'s book, (the) teacher gave (to) her$_1$.'

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However, additional facts of IS depart from the picture in (17). In contrast to (19), in both (20) (a transitive construction) and (21) (a ditransitive construction) the underlying Condition C violation is induced by the pronoun in the *subject* position binding the R-expression *Čemeg* in the DO position. Surprisingly, IS of the DO fails to bleed Condition C in both examples—reconstruction obligatorily takes place.

(20) *Obligatory reconstruction in IS (SUBJ binding DO, transitive)*
a. *$\textbf{Ter}_1$ [$\textbf{Čemeg}_1$-in nom-ig] ura-san.
3SG.NOM Čemeg-GEN book-ACC tear-PST
Int. 'She$_1$ tore Čemeg$_1$'s book.'
b. *[$\textbf{Čemeg}_1$-in nom-ig]$_2$ $\textbf{ter}_1$ ___$_2$ ura-san.
Čemeg-GEN book-ACC 3SG.NOM tear-PST
Int. 'Čemeg$_1$'s book, she$_1$ tore.'

(21) *Obligatory reconstruction in IS (SUBJ binding DO, ditransitive)*
a. *$\textbf{Ter}_1$ Bat-ad [$\textbf{Čemeg-in}_1$ nom-ig] ög-sön.
3SG.NOM Bat-DAT Čemeg-GEN book-ACC give-PST
Int. 'She$_1$ gave Bat Čemeg$_1$'s book.'
b. *[$\textbf{Čemeg}_1$-in nom-ig]$_2$ $\textbf{ter}_1$ Bat-ad ___$_2$ ög-sön.
Čemeg-GEN book-ACC 3SG.NOM Bat-DAT give-PST
Int. 'Čemeg$_1$'s book, she$_1$ gave to Bat.'

2.3 A Review of Similar Phenomena in Other Languages

The patterns outlined in the previous section are puzzling under the traditional approach to scrambling based on the A/Ā-distinction. We know that in Mongolian the presubject landing site for IS behaves like an A-position in terms of WCO amnesty and anaphor binding. If the presubject landing site can be an A-position, we expect that scrambling to this position does not reconstruct for Condition C. In reality, the DO scrambles to the presubject landing site in (19), (20), and (21), but only (19) shows no reconstruction effect. An A/Ā-based account would need to say that Mongolian IS behaves like A-movement in (19), but like Ā-movement in (20) and (21), although the DP scrambles to the same position in all three cases.[6]

It is well-known that IS in a number of languages shows mixed A/Ā-properties. Mahajan (1990, 1994) demonstrates that Hindi IS has properties of A-movement. For example, in Hindi, scrambling to the presubject position suppresses underlying WCO violations. At the same time, Hindi IS also displays properties of Ā-movement, in that scrambled DPs can reconstruct. Similarly, it has been suggested that IS in Japanese can be A- or Ā-movement (Saito 1992). With regard to the mixed properties of IS, several important proposals have been made. Webelhuth (1989,

[6] Alternatively, one might propose that the presubject position is always an Ā-position for Condition C. Therefore, reconstruction for Condition C always takes place from the presubject landing site. In (19), due to the availability of an intermediate A-landing site, the scrambled DP has the option to reconstruct only partially to that intermediate A-position, hence the grammaticality of (19b). Nevertheless, it is difficult to extend this to the clause-external scrambling cases introduced in section 4. See the rest of this section for relevant discussion.

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1992) proposes that scrambling takes place to a third type of position that is neither an A- nor an Ā-(operator) position. Mahajan (1990, 1994) argues that clause-internal scrambling can be either A- or Ā-movement, but not both simultaneously as in Webelhuth's account. Nevertheless, the Condition C reconstruction facts at hand are paradoxical given these two analyses. According to Webelhuth's account, scrambling takes place to a third type of position, so Condition C reconstruction should always be optional from such a position. According to Mahajan's account, clause-internal scrambling is ambiguous between A- and Ā-movement. However, it does not explain why the A-movement option is apparently unavailable for (20)–(21) but available for (19).

Saito (1992) argues that both Webelhuth's and Mahajan's proposals are necessary for the analysis of scrambling in Japanese. On the basis of facts in Japanese, he arrives at the following hybrid hypothesis:

(22) *Saito's (1992) hypothesis*
   a. Clause-internal scrambling is ambiguous between A- and Ā-movement, while "long-distance" scrambling must be Ā-movement (Mahajan's hypothesis).
   b. Ā-scrambling differs from *wh*-movement and topicalization in that it is movement to a nonoperator position (a revised version of Webelhuth's hypothesis).

A potential problem that Saito recognizes for (22) concerns the Condition C reconstruction effects. According to the hypothesis in (22), nothing prevents the IS in (23) from being an instance of A-movement. However, A-movements are not expected to exhibit reconstruction effects of the type illustrated in (23).

(23) ?*[Masao$_i$-no hahaoya]-o$_j$ [kare$_i$-ga t$_j$ aisiteiru] (koto).
   Masao-GEN mother-ACC he-NOM love fact
   '[Masao's$_i$ mother]$_j$, he$_i$ loves t$_j$.'

Under Saito's original analysis, building on Tada 1990, the landing site of IS can be reanalyzed as an A-position at LF. Given (23), this implies that Condition C reconstruction must be relevant not at LF, but at some level before the LF Ā→A reanalysis, arguably at D-Structure (Lebeaux 1988) or at NP-Structure (Van Riemsdijk and Williams 1981).

In contrast to the above proposals, Frank, Lee, and Rambow (1996) argue that the contrast in Condition C reconstruction effects manifested in scrambling simply cannot be explained using the A/Ā-distinction. Instead, this contrast is due to the special status of subject binders. The authors argue that the German and Korean counterparts of the puzzle in section 2.2 are tied to whether the binding relation affected by scrambling is one in which the binder is an element in a subject position. They formulate this as the Subject Binding Generalization in (24).

(24) *Subject Binding Generalization* (Frank, Lee, and Rambow 1996:83)
   If X in subject position binds Y at some point in the derivation, then X binds Y at all levels of representation.

According to this account, Condition C reconstruction will always happen if the R-expression has been bound by a subject at a certain point in the derivation, including its base position. Thus,

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Condition C reconstruction happens in (20)–(21) because scrambling affects a binding relationship involving a subject binder. By contrast, the binders in (18)–(19) are not subjects but indirect objects; therefore, scrambling of the constituent containing the R-expression does bleed Condition C. This proposal is extended by Lee (1993), who draws on Korean data to argue that the special role of subject binders is at play even in LDS. In section 4.2, I show using LDS data that the Subject Binding Generalization cannot be maintained for Mongolian. Instead, Condition C reconstruction effects are systematically regulated by case, giving rise to the surface effect where the presence or absence of reconstruction seems to depend on how Condition C is violated in the base order.[7] The current account is consistent with both Saito's (1992) and Frank, Lee, and Rambow's (1996) initial insight that Condition C must be valued somewhat differently than under an approach to binding reconstruction based on the standard A/Ā-distinction. Before turning to these arguments, I present the core components of my proposal, which derive the local scrambling facts.

3 The Proposal

3.1 Wholesale Late Merger and Case

In Takahashi and Hulsey 2009, DPs containing expressions denoting individuals such as the one in (25a) are analyzed as overt/covert definite descriptions (25b). I adopt this view for the current analysis.

(25) a. John's mother
b. [$_{DP}$ THE [$_{NP}$ mother of John's]]

Importantly, late merger of an NP restrictor can only take place at a position where the resulting DP can receive case. In Takahashi and Hulsey's account, all cases are assigned to DPs by nearby functional heads, in accordance with the Agree-based view of case assignment (Chomsky 1981, 2000, 2001, Legate 2008). Alternatively, according to dependent case theory (Marantz 1991), case is not determined by the structural relationship of a DP with a particular functional head, but is assigned on the basis of the DP's position relative to other DPs within a particular syntactic domain. While these two case assignment mechanisms have been traditionally treated as separate from each other, Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argue from their case study on Sakha that the functional head assignment and dependent case assignment mechanisms can coexist in the same language, possessing licensing functions that serve to satisfy the Case Filter.[8] For reasons that

[7] I should make it clear that while the current case-based account explains the Mongolian scrambling facts, whether or not such an account can be extended to Korean and German awaits future research. A closely related factor is the case mechanism in these languages and whether/how it relates to nominal licensing. For example, Lee (1993) has reported similar empirical facts in Korean local and long-distance scrambling, which can be potentially revisited and explored in light of more recent proposals regarding Korean case mechanisms (e.g., Levin 2017). A comparison among German, Korean, and Mongolian, although beyond the scope of this article, would be very illuminating. I leave this to future work.

[8] Under both Baker and Vinokurova's (2010) account of Sakha and my WLM account of Mongolian scrambling, (dependent) case needs to be a part of the Case Filter, departing from the type of approach represented by Marantz 1991 that dissociates case and nominal licensing. See Branan 2021 for a proposal that dependent case has a licensing function in Kikuyu.

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will become clearer in sections 4 and 5, I propose that a similar kind of hybrid mechanism exists in Mongolian. The rules for assigning accusative and nominative case, based on Baker and Vinokurova's proposal, are stated in (26a–b). In addition, dative is treated as a nonstructural case.

(26) *Case assignment rules in Mongolian*
   a. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same phase such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP2 as accusative, unless NP1 has already been marked for case.
   b. Nominative case is assigned by finite T.[9]
   c. Dative is a nonstructural case.

In the next section, I show that (26) allows WLM to apply in all scrambling cases that bleed Condition C. In sections 4 and 5, I will fully flesh out the hybrid model and reinforce the empirical basis for it.

3.2 Hybrid Case Assignment in WLM: Clause-Internal Scrambling

The hybrid case assignment mechanism immediately accounts for all the reconstruction facts in local scrambling. First, Condition C reconstruction does not happen in SS in which the Condition C violation is induced by the pronoun in IO binding the R-expression in DO. As shown in (27a), when the DO containing the R-expression is scrambled to the left of the IO, there is no reconstruction effect. Under the current analysis, as schematized in (27b), the derivation starts with the covert determiner [THE] being introduced as the complement of the main verb *ögsön* 'gave' at the base position; it then moves to the position between the subject *bagš* 'teacher' and the pronoun *tüünd* '3SG.DAT'. Here, WLM of the NP restrictor (indicated by the underlined part in (27b)) is allowed, because the resulting DP is within the same phase as the subject, which has not yet been valued for case. The whole DP gets accusative by competition with the subject.

(27) a. *No reconstruction in SS (IO binding DO)* = (18b)
   Bagš [**Čemeg**$_1$-in nom-ig]$_2$ **tüün-d**$_1$ ___$_2$ ög-sön.
   teacher.NOM Čemeg-GEN book-ACC 3SG-DAT give-PST
   '(The) teacher gave Čemeg$_1$'s book (to) her$_1$.'
   b. *WLM applies below SUBJ, ACC is assigned as dependent case*
   Bagš [$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ THE [$_{NP}$ **Čemeg**$_1$-in nom]-*ig*]$_2$ [$_{VP}$ **tüün**$_1$**-d** [$_{VP}$ [THE] ögsön]]]
   teacher Čemeg-GEN book-ACC 3SG-DAT gave

[9] Baker and Vinokurova's (2010) proposal for nominative case assignment in Sakha draws on the observation that nominative-marked phrases seem to cooccur with agreement (an observation for which Levin and Preminger (2015) suggest alternative explanations). Since, unlike Sakha, Mongolian does not have overt subject-verb ϕ-agreement, I have little to offer regarding this discussion. For present purposes, I assume following Baker and Vinokurova that nominative case is assigned to a caseless noun phrase by virtue of structural proximity to a designated functional head (i.e., finite T), during which an Agree relationship is established in accordance with the approach outlined in Chomsky 2000, 2001. See section 5.2 for additional discussions and motivations for this assumption.

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Some additional exposition is needed regarding this intermediate landing site and the timing of case valuation. For concreteness, I assume this intermediate landing site is Spec,VP, with VP in Mongolian regarded as a phase.[10] Thus, the scrambled object must stop at the edge of VP before moving into the next phase, in accordance with the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000, 2001). I also assume that case assignment happens as soon as the relevant structural conditions, specified in (26), are met. Therefore, upon merger of the external argument in Spec,vP, dependent case calculation takes place and the scrambled object gets accusative case.[11] Then, upon its merger T immediately searches its domain, finds the external argument, and evaluates its case feature as nominative. Finally, Mongolian exhibits several properties distinct from those of Sakha, which leads to my treating dative as a nonstructural case, in contrast to Baker and Vinokurova's dependent case account. I address this point further in section 5.

Second, Condition C reconstruction does not happen in IS when the underlying violation is induced by the IO binding the DO, as shown in (28a). The reason is the same as in the SS case in (27a): WLM is allowed at the position immediately below the subject, because accusative case can be assigned to the resulting DP via competition with the subject. The already case-valued DP then scrambles to the surface presubject position. In this derivation, no copy of the R-expression *Čemeg* is present within the domain of the original IO binder *tüünd* '3SG.DAT'. Therefore, no Condition C violation is induced.

(28) a. *No reconstruction in IS (IO binding DO)* = (19b)
[**Čemeg**$_1$-in nom-ig]$_2$ bagš **tüün-d**$_1$ ___$_2$ ög-sön.
Čemeg-GEN book-ACC teacher.NOM 3SG-DAT give-PST
'Čemeg$_1$'s book, (the) teacher gave (to) her$_1$.'

[10] Additional facts from differential object marking (DOM) are consistent with this idea. Mongolian has robust DOM—not all objects have overt accusative case marking. Generally speaking, only objects that are specific are obligatorily marked as accusative (for a detailed description of Mongolian DOM, see Guntsetseg 2016).

(i) *Mongolian DOM*
a. *Indefinite nonspecific DPs are not marked with ACC*
Bat neg nom aw-san.
Bat.NOM one book buy-PST
'Bat bought a book.'
b. *DPs marked with ACC are obligatorily interpreted as specific*
Bat neg nom-ig aw-san.
Bat.NOM one book-ACC buy-PST
'Bat bought a certain book.'
c. *Definite DPs and proper names are marked with ACC*
Bi Bat-ig/ter mašin-ig khar-san.
1SG.NOM Bat-ACC/that car-ACC see-PST
'I saw Bat/that car.'

Crosslinguistically, many accounts of DOM argue that the differential marking involves syntactic movement of the object (e.g., Bhatt and Anagnostopoulou 1996, Torrego 1998, Woolford 1999, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Richards 2010, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013; cf. Kalin and Weisser 2019). In these accounts, the movement is often related to the need for the object to raise out of VP to escape existential closure (Diesing 1992).

[11] The proposal that the DO moves to the edge of VP to be assigned accusative case implies that a dative object is scrambled over the accusative subject when they appear in the dative-accusative surface order. For examples of this sort, I assume following Baker and Vinokurova (2010) that they are derived by movement driven by focus/topic considerations. Thanks to a reviewer for raising this point.

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b. *WLM applies; DP moves to surface position*
[$_{DP}$ THE [$_{NP}$ **Čemeg$_1$**-in nom]-ig]$_2$ bagš [$_{DP}$ THE [$_{NP}$ **Čemeg$_1$**-in nom]-ig]$_2$ **tüün$_1$-d**
[$_{VP}$ [THE] ögsön] ↑ WLM, ACC assigned

Third, regardless of whether the verb is transitive or ditransitive, if the underlying Condition C violation is induced by the subject binding the DO, obligatory reconstruction is enforced: The relevant examples are repeated in (29a) and (29b). Unlike in the previous examples, here the binder in the underlying order is the subject, not the IO. As shown in the derivation (29c), WLM is not possible in either (29a) or (29b), because case cannot be valued at the position where WLM is required to apply. In order to escape a Condition C violation, the NP restrictor containing the R-expression *Čemeg* must be merged above the subject pronoun, as indicated in (29c). However, WLM cannot apply at this targeted presubject location, because the resulting DP cannot receive case; there is no higher case competitor present to allow the DP to receive dependent accusative case, and there is no eligible nearby functional head to assign nominative case to it.

(29) a. *Obligatory reconstruction in IS (SUBJ binding DO), transitive verb* = (20b)
*[**Čemeg$_1$**-in nom-ig]$_2$ **ter$_1$** ___$_2$ ura-san.
Čemeg-GEN book-ACC 3SG.NOM tear-PST
Int. 'Čemeg$_1$'s book, she$_1$ tore.'

b. *Obligatory reconstruction in IS (SUBJ binding DO), ditransitive verb* = (21b)
*[**Čemeg$_1$**-in nom-ig]$_2$ **ter$_1$** Bat-ad ___$_2$ ögsön
Čemeg-GEN book-ACC 3SG.NOM Bat-DAT give-PST
Int. 'Čemeg$_1$'s book, she$_1$ gave to Bat.'

c. *WLM is not possible at targeted location*
[THE [**Čemeg$_1$-in** nom]]$_2$ **ter$_1$** [$_{VP}$ [THE] ura-san]
Čemeg-GEN book 3SG.NOM tear-PST
↑
ⅹWLM

Note that the local scrambling data alone do not distinguish between the dependent case and functional head case assignment frameworks, and WLM will work equally well under the latter. Under the functional head case assignment account, v is responsible for assigning accusative case. Given condition (2) on WLM—namely, that the DP containing the R-expression needs to merge above the relevant pronoun binder—WLM can take place above IO binders but not above subject binders, since the latter are merged higher than v. Nevertheless, I maintain that analyzing accusative case as dependent not only is strongly motivated by independent data from the language (a point I will strengthen in sections 4 and 5), but also is reflected by the complex behavior of LDS in terms of Condition C reconstruction, which I turn to next.

4 Condition C Effects in Clause-External Scrambling

4.1 Two Types of Clause-External Scrambling in Mongolian

In this section, I shift the focus to Condition C reconstruction effects in clause-external scrambling, which offer crucial support for the WLM mechanism laid out in section 3. I extend the reconstruc-

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tion puzzle to two types of clause-external scrambling and demonstrate that both are natural consequences of the WLM mechanism coupled with the specific case assignment mechanism motivated for Mongolian.

4.1.1 Subject Cross-Clausal Scrambling The first type of clause-external scrambling involves moving the embedded accusative subject into the main clause. In Mongolian, subjects of finite embedded clauses can be marked with accusative case.[12] For example, in (30) the matrix verb *khelsen* 'said' takes a finite embedded clause headed by the complementizer *gej.* The embedded subject is in accusative case.

(30) *Subject of finite embedded CP is marked with accusative case*
Zaya [$_{CP}$ bagš-iig sain khün gej] khel-sen.
Zaya.NOM teacher-ACC good person C say-PST
'Zaya said that the teacher is a good person.'

Fong (2019) argues extensively that accusative subjects of the sort in (30) indeed originate from the embedded clause. She demonstrates that accusative subjects in Mongolian do not raise out of the embedded clause into the main clause, but are nevertheless higher than regular nominative embedded subjects. According to her account, the embedded subject *bagš* 'teacher' of (30) is raised to the edge of the embedded CP, receiving accusative case from the matrix v, as schematized in (31).

(31) *Analysis of* (30) *according to Fong (2019)*
Zaya . . . [$_{vP}$ **v** [$_{CP}$ bagš-iig [$_{TP}$ sain khün] gej] khel-sen]
Zaya . . . **v** teacher-ACC good person C say-PST]
ACC

What is important for the current discussion is that the accusative embedded subject can freely scramble into the matrix clause, exhibiting consistent A-properties, which Fong suggests to be an instance of hyperraising. However, the Condition C facts deviate from this generalization. In (32a), the matrix dative argument *tüünd* induces a Condition C violation on the embedded accusative subject. In (32b), the embedded subject containing the R-expression *Bat* is scrambled to the matrix presubject position, and the sentence becomes acceptable under the coindexed reading. In other words, when the binder in the original order is the (matrix) nonsubject, obligatory Condition C reconstruction does not happen. Contrastively, when the binder in the original order is the (matrix) subject, as in (33), Condition C reconstruction is obligatory.

[12] Descriptively, in many cases nominative and accusative case are both possible on subjects of finite embedded clauses in Mongolian (see, e.g., Guntsetseg 2016). Fong (2019) suggests that accusative case assignment requires the embedded subject to raise to the edge of the embedded CP; if the embedded subject does not raise, it stays low and receives nominative case. The structural height difference between nominative and accusative subjects is assumed here as well.

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(32) *No reconstruction in scrambling of ACC SUBJ (matrix DAT binder)*
a. *Bi **tüün$_1$-d** [$_{CP}$[$_{DP}$ **Bat$_1$-in** eej-iig] sain khün gej] khel-sen.
1SG.NOM 3SG-DAT Bat-GEN mother-ACC good person C say-PST
Int. 'I said to him$_1$ that Bat$_1$'s mother is a good person.'
b. ?[**Bat$_1$-in** eej-iig]$_2$ bi **tüün$_1$-d** [$_{CP}$ ___$_2$ sain khün gej] khel-sen.

(33) *Obligatory reconstruction in scrambling of ACC SUBJ (matrix SUBJ binder)*
*[**Baatar$_1$**-in zokhiol-iig]$_2$ **ter$_1$** [$_{CP}$ ___$_2$ maš sain gej] khel-sen.
Baatar-GEN article-ACC 3SG.NOM very good C say-PST
Int. 'Baatar$_1$'s article, he$_1$ said was very good.'

As an additional note on word order preference, (32) is in fact more natural if the matrix dative argument follows the embedded clause. As shown in (34), the entire embedded clause shifts from its base position to land above the dative matrix argument. The word order alternation does not have any effect on binding; (34) is still ungrammatical because it violates Condition C, and scrambling the accusative subject in (35) still leads to improvement of the sentence. This is expected under the view that the movement of the finite embedded CP undergoes full reconstruction. The preference for the surface word order in (34)–(35) might also be related to the fact that it is easier to parse the dative pronoun as a matrix argument when it immediately follows the complementizer *gej*. For expository purposes, I abstract away from such word order preference in the subsequent discussion.

(34) *Bi [$_{CP}$ [$_{DP}$ **Bat$_1$-in** eej-iig] sain khün gej] **tüün$_1$-d** ___$_{CP}$ khel-sen.
1SG.NOM Bat-GEN mother-ACC good person C 3SG-DAT say-PST
Int. 'I said to him$_1$ that Bat$_1$'s mother is a good person.'

(35) [**Bat$_1$-in** eej-iig]$_2$ bi [$_{CP}$ ___$_2$ sain khün gej] **tüün$_1$-d** ___$_{CP}$ khel-sen.

4.1.2 Object Cross-Clausal Scrambling The second type of clause-external scrambling is the more typical LDS observed crosslinguistically. In this case, the internal argument (mostly direct objects, in the scope of the current article) of the finite embedded clause moves into the matrix clause. An example is given in (36). Notice that the gap in (36b) cannot be filled with an overt pronoun.

(36) *LDS in Mongolian (gap cannot be filled with overt pronoun)*
a. Emč [$_{CP}$ namaig ene em-iig uu-san gej] khel-sen.
doctor.NOM 1SG.ACC this medicine-ACC drink-PST C say-PST
'The doctor said that I drank this medicine.'
b. **Ene em-iig$_1$** emč [$_{CP}$ namaig ___$_1$ / *üüniig$_1$ uu-san gej]
this medicine-ACC doctor.NOM 1SG.ACC / it.ACC drink-PST C
khel-sen.
say-PST

LDS in Mongolian behaves like both A- and Ā-movement. This contrasts with well-known crosslinguistic observations that clause-internal scrambling can be A-movement, but LDS is uni-

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formly Ā-movement (e.g., Saito 1985, 1992 for Japanese; Mahajan 1990 for Hindi). To a certain extent, Mongolian LDS patterns more closely with Korean LDS, which has been reported to have mixed A/Ā-properties (for an overview, see Ko 2018 and references therein). For instance, in Mongolian LDS may feed variable binding.

(37) *LDS feeds variable binding*
?**[Öwčtön bolgon-ig]**$_1$, **[öör-iin khni** ekhner ni]$_1$ [$_{CP}$ ene emč-ig
patient every-ACC self-GEN 3SG.POSS wife 3SG.POSS this doctor-ACC
öngörsön jil ___$_1$ awar-san gej] khel-sen.
last year save-PST C say-PST
'Every patient$_1$, his$_1$ (own) wife said that this doctor saved last year.'

At the same time, the scrambled phrases can also undergo reconstruction in some situations, which is characteristic of Ā-movement. For example, the scrambled reflexive possessive DP in (38) is interpreted in its base position in terms of anaphor binding. In addition, negative polarity items (NPIs) such as *kheniig č* 'anyone' can only be licensed by clausemate negation (39a). As shown in (39b), the accusative-marked NPI can undergo LDS to the presubject position in the matrix clause, while still being licensed by the embedded negation.

(38) *Reconstruction for anaphor binding*
[Geriin daalgawr-**aa**]$_1$ bi [$_{CP}$ **Altantsetseg**$_1$-iig zarimdaa ___$_1$
home.GEN work-REFL.POSS 1SG.NOM Altantsetseg-ACC sometimes
khii-deg-gui gej] bodo-j bai-na.
do-HABIT-NEG C think-CVB COP-NPST
'(Herself's)$_1$ homework, I'm thinking that Altantsetseg$_1$ sometimes doesn't do.'

(39) *Reconstruction for NPI licensing*
a. Bi [$_{CP}$ Bat-ig önöödör **khen-iig č** khar-aa-**güi** gej] bodo-j bai-na.
1SG.NOM Bat-ACC today who-ACC FOC see-PST-NEG C think-CVB COP-NPST
'I am thinking that Bat did not see anyone today.'
b. **Khen-iig č**$_1$ bi [$_{CP}$ Bat-ig önöödör ___$_1$ khar-aa-**güi** gej] bodo-j
who-ACC FOC 1SG.NOM Bat-ACC today see-PST-NEG C think-CVB
bai-na.
COP-NPST

Given the background outlined above, Mongolian LDS partially exhibits obligatory reconstruction effects in terms of Condition C, which seems to be sensitive to whether the binder in the base order is a subject or a dative argument. Condition C reconstruction happens in (40), but not in (41).

(40) *Obligatory reconstruction in LDS of ACC OBJ (matrix SUBJ binder)*
*[**Bat**$_1$-in esee-g]$_2$ **ter**$_1$ [$_{CP}$ bagš-iig ___$_2$ unš-san gej] khel-sen.
Bat-GEN essay-ACC 3SG.NOM teacher-ACC read-PST C say-PST
Int. 'Bat$_1$'s essay, he$_1$ said that the teacher read.'

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(41) *No obligatory reconstruction in LDS of ACC OBJ (matrix DAT binder)*
?[**Bat$_1$-in** esee-g]$_2$ Zaya **tüün$_1$-d** [$_{CP}$ bagš-iig ___$_2$ unš-san gej] khel-sen.
Bat-GEN essay-ACC Zaya.NOM 3SG-DAT teacher-ACC read-PST C say-PST
'Bat$_1$'s essay, Zaya said to him$_1$ that the teacher read.'

Taking together the Condition C reconstruction facts in LDS (40)–(41) and the Condition C reconstruction facts in clause-internal scrambling, the striking pattern that emerges is that the reconstruction effect in the two types of clause-external scrambling behaves exactly the same way as the effect in clause-internal scrambling: when the binder in the underlying order is the subject, scrambling forces reconstruction; when the binder in the underlying order is not the subject but a dative argument, scrambling bleeds Condition C. Previously, Lee (1993), building on Frank, Lee, and Rambow 1992, an earlier version of Frank, Lee, and Rambow 1996, observed the same patterns in Korean local scrambling as well as LDS. According to Lee's account, the Subject Binding Generalization (24) is responsible for the fact that in Korean, Condition C always reconstructs when the binder of the underlying order is the subject. In the next section, I show that given a wider range of empirical data, the Subject Binding Generalization cannot be maintained for Mongolian.

4.2 Hybrid Case Assignment in WLM: Clause-External Scrambling

The Condition C reconstruction patterns in clause-external scrambling are summarized in (42).

(42) *Condition C reconstruction in clause-external scrambling*

a. *No obligatory reconstruction in scrambling of ACC SUBJ (matrix DAT binder)*
?[DP$_1$-GEN . . .]-ACC DP-NOM pronoun$_1$-DAT [$_{CP}$ ___ [$_{C'}$ . . . . .]] V_{matrix}

b. *Obligatory reconstruction in scrambling of ACC SUBJ (matrix SUBJ binder)*
*[DP$_1$-GEN . . .]-ACC pronoun$_1$-NOM [$_{CP}$ ___ [$_{C'}$ . . . . .]] V_{matrix}

c. *No obligatory reconstruction in LDS of ACC OBJ (matrix DAT binder)*
?[DP$_1$-GEN . . .]-ACC DP-NOM pronoun$_1$-DAT [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ . . . [$_{VP}$ . . . ___ V]]] V_{matrix}

d. *Obligatory reconstruction in LDS of ACC OBJ (matrix SUBJ binder)*
*[DP$_1$-GEN . . .]-ACC pronoun$_1$-NOM [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ . . . [$_{VP}$ . . . ___ V]]] V_{matrix}

The account for the LDS data sets the current proposal apart from the Agree-based case assignment model in WLM. In Takahashi and Hulsey 2009, case is assigned by a nearby functional head via Agree. This model cannot fully capture the reconstruction effects in (42) because it would require late merger to apply when the scrambled arguments are outside the domain of their case assigners. As (43) (= (41)) shows, an embedded object undergoing LDS to the matrix presubject position does not undergo obligatory reconstruction for Condition C. As schematized in (44), in order to escape a Condition C violation, the NP restrictor *Bat-in esee* 'Bat's essay' must be introduced

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above the matrix pronoun binder *tüün-d*, since the latter cannot bind any copy of the R-expression *Bat.* However, this hypothetically late-merged NP cannot get case, because the resulting DP is outside the domain of the embedded v, which is the original assigner of accusative case.

(43) ?[**Bat$_1$-in** esee-g]$_2$ Zaya **tüün$_1$-d** [$_{CP}$ bagš-iig ___$_2$ unš-san gej] khel-sen.
Bat-GEN essay-ACC Zaya.NOM 3SG-DAT teacher-ACC read-PST C say-PST
'Bat$_1$'s essay, Zaya said to him$_1$ that the teacher read.'

(44) ?[**Bat$_1$-in** *esee-g*]$_2$ *Zaya* **tüün$_1$-d** [bagš-iig [$_{vP}$ **v** [t$_2$] unš-san] gej] khel-sen
late merger domain
↑ requires ACC case
↑ matrix binder can't bind any lower copy of *Bat*
↑ source of ACC given Agree-based account

Alternatively, consider the possibility that the scrambled DP gets accusative case not in the embedded clause but at some point in the matrix clause. This turns out not to be feasible under the Agree-based account. Recall that under Fong's (2019) proposal, the embedded subject of (43), *bagš-iig* 'teacher-ACC', is raised to the edge of the embedded CP, receiving accusative case from the matrix v. Since the matrix v has already assigned case to the embedded subject, without additional support from a mechanism such as multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001), there is no other functional head available that can license accusative case on the scrambled object phrase.

(45) *ACC case assignment on embedded SUBJ by v (based on Fong 2019)*
ACC
. . . [$_{vP}$ v [$_{CP}$ bagš **-iig** [$_{C'}$ C [$_{TP}$ . . . . .]]]]

In fact, further data suggest that the source of accusative case on the embedded subject needs to be reconsidered. The embedded subject can be marked with accusative case even when there is no functional head in the matrix clause that can assign accusative case to it. First, as shown in (46), the object of the predicate *uurlakh* 'to become angry' is required to be dative; it cannot be accusative. I take this to indicate that *uurlakh* does not assign accusative.[13] However, in (47), when *uurlakh* serves as the matrix predicate taking a finite clausal complement, the embedded subject can be in accusative case.

(46) Uurlakh *is unable to assign ACC*
Bat Zaya-d / *Zaya-g uurla-san.
Bat.NOM Zaya-DAT / Zaya-ACC become.angry-PST
'Bat became angry (at) Zaya.'

[13] Using the predicate *uurlakh* 'to be angry', Aravind (2021) has suggested a similar point about accusative subjects in Mongolian nonfinite clauses.

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(47) *Complement clause of* uurlakh *permits* ACC SUBJ
Emč [$_{CP}$ Bat-**ig** em-ee uu-gaagüi gej] uurla-san.
doctor.NOM Bat-ACC medicine-REFL.POSS drink-PST.NEG C become.angry-PST
'The doctor became angry that Bat did not drink his medicine.'

Second, as shown in (48), the nonfinite embedded clause receives dative case from the matrix predicate *itgeltei* 'believe'. Neither the matrix nor the embedded v can assign accusative case in this example. Nevertheless, the embedded subject is marked with accusative case. On the dependent case account, this fact follows straightforwardly: the embedded subject, being at the edge of the nonfinite clause, receives accusative case via competition with the matrix subject.

(48) *Embedded* SUBJ *has* ACC *when embedded clause gets* DAT *from matrix verb*
Bi [Čang-**iig** amid bai-gaa gedeg]**-t** itgeltei bai-na.
1SG.NOM [Čang-ACC alive COP-NPST.PTCP C]-DAT believe COP-NPST
'I believe that Čang is alive.'

In addition, accusative subjects are not unique to complement clauses. In Mongolian, subjects of many types of adjunct clauses can be marked with accusative case. Despite the absence of a nearby functional head, accusative case is available on these subjects. In (49), the matrix clause is a transitive construction with an accusative object *khuug* 'son.ACC'. Nevertheless, the subject of the adjunct clause *namaig* '1SG.ACC' is marked with accusative case.

(49) *ACC SUBJ of 'until'-clauses*
[**Namaig** khičeel-ee duus-tal] ter minii khuu-g khar-dag.
1SG.ACC class-REFL.POSS finish-until 3SG.NOM 1SG.GEN son-ACC watch-HABIT
'She/He looks after my son [until I have finished my lessons].'
(Tserenpil and Kullmann 2015:167)

In (50), the matrix clause is an existential construction; nevertheless, the embedded subject is marked with accusative case.

(50) *ACC SUBJ of 'when/while'-clauses*
Ta [bagš-**iig** irekh-ed] angi-d-aa bai-san uu?
2SG.NOM teacher-ACC come-DAT classroom-DAT-REFL.POSS COP-PST Q
'Were you in your classroom when the teacher came?'

Examples (49)–(50) are problematic for an Agree-based account where accusative is assigned by (transitive) v. However, they are expected under a dependent case treatment of accusative case. We could posit that the adjunct clause in (49) is first introduced below the matrix subject just as in (50). The embedded subject, being at the edge of the adjunct clause, is visible in the same phase as the matrix subject. Accusative case is assigned to the embedded subject by competition with the matrix subject. Then the adjunct clause is preposed to its surface position. Schematic derivations for (49) and (50) are shown in (51).

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(51) *Schematic derivations for (49)–(50)*

a. [$_{vP}$ ter [$_{v'}$ [**namaig** khičeel-ee duus-tal] [$_{v'}$ [$_{VP}$ minii khuu-g khardag] v]]]

b. [$_{vP}$ ta [$_{v'}$ [**bagš-iig** irekh-ed] [$_{v'}$ [$_{VP}$ angi-d-aa bai-san] v]]]

An anonymous reviewer has suggested a further discussion of different types of adverbial clauses, particularly in light of previous research on peripheral and central adverbial clauses (e.g., Haegeman 2003, 2006). In Mongolian, not only 'until-' and 'when/while'-clauses allow accusative subjects; adverbial clauses headed by 'if' and 'although' do so as well.

(52) *ACC SUBJ of 'if'-clause*

[Bagš-**iig** gurw-aac ömnö ir-wel] bi ene khun-ii tukhai khel-j
teacher-ACC three-ABL before come-COND 1SG.NOM this person-GEN about tell-CVB
čad-na.
can-NPST
'If the teacher comes before three, I can tell (the teacher) about this person.'

(53) *ACC SUBJ of 'although'-clause*

Zaya [Bat-**ig** yadar-č bai-san bolowč] tüün-tei yari-saar l bai-san.
Zaya.NOM Bat-ACC tire-CVB COP-PST although 3SG-COMIT talk-PROG still COP-PST
'Although Bat was tired, Zaya kept on talking to him.'

Once we adopt the view that accusative case is assigned configurationally in this language, the Condition C facts naturally follow under WLM. In particular, I argue that (42a) and (42c) are possible because of a dependent accusative case position inside the matrix clause, allowing WLM there. This point is illustrated with the LDS case (43), repeated in (54).[14]

(54) ?[**Bat$_1$-in** esee-g]$_2$ Zaya **tüün$_1$-d** [$_{CP}$ bagš-iig ___$_2$ unš-san = (43)
Bat-GEN essay-ACC Zaya.NOM 3SG-DAT teacher-ACC read-PST
gej] khel-sen.
C say-PST
'Bat$_1$'s essay, Zaya said to him$_1$ that the teacher read.'

Before turning to the WLM derivation, I offer one further comment regarding (54). My account and Fong's (2019) both take the embedded subject (*bagš* 'teacher' in (54)) to receive

[14] Some additional clarification of the precise case competition domain in (54) is needed. In the current account, the embedded accusative subject *bagš* 'teacher' is raised to the edge of the embedded CP. At this point, the embedded subject is visible in the matrix VP phase, but not in the matrix CP phase. Following Baker and Vinokurova (2010), I suggest that the entire embedded CP shifts out of the VP domain, which makes the embedded subject visible in the same phase as the matrix subject. The embedded subject therefore receives dependent accusative case via competition with the matrix subject. See Baker and Vinokurova 2010:617 for additional discussion. Note also that as for the embedded-subject scrambling examples (34)–(35), for sentences like (54) speakers prefer the word order in which the dative pronoun linearly follows the embedded CP. The word order preferences regarding the embedded-clause and matrix dative argument is independent of the reconstruction facts: the surface position of an embedded CP (whether it precedes or follows the matrix dative pronoun) does not affect the pattern of Condition C (see, e.g., the discussion regarding (34)–(35)). Therefore, I abstract away from this point in what follows. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for helpful discussions.

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accusative case at the edge of the embedded CP (although I argue that accusative should be analyzed as a dependent case). In (54), the presence of the embedded subject in Spec,CP does not block LDS of the embedded object. For examples of this sort, I adopt Fong's assumption that the embedded finite CP has an articulated left periphery (cf. Mongolian nominalized clauses, as discussed in Aravind 2021). Assuming this, I give the stepwise derivation schematized in (55).

(55) a. *Covert determiner [THE] is base-generated without NP restrictor*
[$_{VP}$ [THE] read.PST]

b. *[THE] undergoes successive-cyclic movement*
[$_{vP}$ Zaya [$_{VP}$ [THE] [$_{VP}$ 3SG.DAT [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ [THE] teacher.ACC [$_{TP}$ . . . [$_{VP}$ [THE] read.PST] T] C] . . . say.PST]]] v]

c. *WLM takes place at matrix VP-adjoined position, dependent case is assigned*[15]
[$_{vP}$ Zaya [$_{VP}$ [THE [$_{NP}$ Bat's$_1$ essay]-ACC] [$_{VP}$ 3SG.DAT$_1$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ [THE] teacher.ACC [$_{TP}$ . . . [$_{VP}$ [THE] read.PST] T] C] . . . say.PST]]] v]

d. *T assigns NOM to matrix SUBJ* Zaya*; matrix SUBJ then moves to Spec,TP*
[$_{TP}$ Zaya.NOM [T [$_{vP}$ Zaya [$_{VP}$ [THE [$_{NP}$ Bat's$_1$ essay]-ACC] [$_{VP}$ 3SG.DAT$_1$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ [THE] teacher.ACC [$_{TP}$ . . . [$_{VP}$ [THE] read.PST] T] C] . . . say.PST]]] v]]]
NOM

e. *[THE Bat's essay-ACC] scrambles to surface position; head of chain is pronounced*
[[THE [$_{NP}$ Bat's$_1$ essay]-ACC] [$_{TP}$ Zaya [T [$_{vP}$ ~~Zaya~~ [$_{VP}$ ~~[THE [$_{NP}$ Bat's essay]-ACC]~~ [$_{VP}$ 3SG.DAT$_1$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ [THE] . . . [$_{TP}$ . . . [$_{VP}$ [THE] read-PST] T] C] . . . say.PST]]] v]]]]

First, a covert determiner is base-generated inside the embedded VP without its restrictor (55a). Second, the determiner undergoes successive-cyclic movement out of the embedded clause and into the matrix clause (55b). Third, importantly, WLM takes place in the matrix clause (55c). For concreteness, I take this position to be the matrix VP-adjoined position. At this location, the scrambled element is not c-commanded by the matrix dative pronominal argument, but it is locally c-commanded by the subject, which has not yet been valued for case. After the merger of the NP restrictor [$_{NP}$ Bat's essay], accusative case is assigned to it as a dependent case (recall also that VP is assumed to be a phase; the scrambled object in (55c) is therefore visible to the matrix subject). Fourth, after T is introduced, it assigns nominative case to the matrix subject (55d). (The matrix TP is represented head-initially here to facilitate reading syntactic hierarchy off of linear representation.) Fifth, the derivation generates the ultimate surface order, with trace conversion

[15] Given the proposed case assignment mechanism, in this step of the derivation it is assumed that there can also be a potential dependent case position inside the embedded clause. This does not affect the presence of the higher (dependent) case position inside the matrix clause, and should not affect the availability of WLM there. See for example, Van Urk 2015:113–115 for a similar situation.

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applying as the last step (55e). Since no copy of the R-expression *Bat* is present within the domain of the matrix dative pronominal argument, a Condition C violation is circumvented.

On the current approach, successful late merger of the restrictor in (54)–(55) allows for the coindexing between the R-expression and the pronoun in the matrix dative argument position. In contrast, if the pronoun binder in the underlying order is the matrix subject (as in (40), repeated in (56)), there is no way that the case requirement of the late-merged NP can be satisfied. As schematized in (57), the latest point at which the scrambled element can get case is when it occupies the matrix VP-adjoined position. However, at this point the R-expression is still within the c-command domain of the matrix subject. Thus, sentences with matrix subject pronoun binders are ruled out due to a Condition C violation.

(56) *Obligatory reconstruction in LDS of* ACC OBJ *(matrix* SUBJ *binder)*
*[**Bat**$_1$-in esee-g]$_2$ **ter**$_1$ [$_{CP}$ bagš-iig ___$_2$ unš-san gej] khel-sen. = (40)
Bat-GEN essay-ACC 3SG.NOM teacher-ACC read-PST C say-PST
Int. 'Bat$_1$'s essay, he$_1$ said that the teacher read.'

(57) *Late merger at matrix VP-adjoined position leads to Condition C violation*
*[$_{vP}$ **3SG.NOM**$_1$ [$_{VP}$ [THE [$_{NP}$ **Bat's**$_1$ essay]-ACC] [$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ [THE] . . . [$_{TP}$ . . . [$_{VP}$ [THE] read-PST] T] C] . . . say]] v]

At this point, one could ask whether the scrambled DP can indeed appear overtly in this intermediate landing site within the matrix clause, showing that such a position is available. This possibility is represented in (58). The word orders here are much more degraded than in examples where the phrase scrambles all the way to the left edge of the matrix clause.[16] Nevertheless, speakers can obtain the coindexation between the R-expression *Bat* and the matrix dative pronoun *tüünd.*[17]

[16] It has also been observed that in Hindi, a long-distance movement that targets a position below the subject is much more degraded than one that targets a position above the subject (Bhatt 2003, Dayal 2017). While research on the reason behind this contrast and its crosslinguistic variations is not conclusive, see Keine 2018 for possible explanations for some of the derivations and an overview of the phenomena in Hindi.

[17] The existence of this intermediate landing site receives further support from Korean LDS (Lee 1993). The underlying Condition C violation in example (ia) can be circumvented by scrambling the embedded object *Minswuuy pwumonim* 'Minswu's parents' to the matrix intermediate landing site argued for in Mongolian. As Lee reports, (ib) is grammatical under the reading where *Minswu* and *kueykey* are coindexed.

(i) *Matrix intermediate landing site in Korean*
a. *Na-nun/Nay-ka **ku**$_1$-eykey [nay-ka **Minswu**$_1$-uy pwumonim-ul cal tolpo-keyss-ta-ko] yaksokhayssta.
I-TOP/I-NOM he-DAT I-NOM Minswu-GEN parents-ACC well take.care-FUT-DECL-C promised
'I promised him$_1$ that I would take good care of Minswu's$_1$ parents.'
b. Na-nun/Nay-ka [**Minswu**$_1$-uy pwumonim]$_2$-ul **ku**$_1$-eykey [nay-ka t$_2$ cal tolpo-keyss-ta-ko]
I-TOP/I-NOM [Minswu-GEN parents]-ACC he-DAT I-NOM well take.care-FUT-DECL-C
yaksokhayssta.
promised
'I, Minswu's$_1$ parents$_2$, promised him$_1$ that I would take good care of t$_2$.'
(Lee 1993:33, (97); I-NOM on matrix subject mine)

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(58) *Scrambled DP surfacing at matrix intermediate landing site*

a. ??Bi [Bat$_1$-in eej-iig]$_2$ tüün$_1$-d [___$_2$ sain khün gej] khel-sen.
1SG.NOM Bat-GEN mother-ACC 3SG-DAT good person C say-PST
'I, Bat's mother, said to him that is a good person. (= I said to him that Bat's mother is a good person.)'

b. ??Zaya [Bat$_1$-in esee-g]$_2$ tüün$_1$-d [bagš-iig-aa ___$_2$ unš-san
Zaya.NOM Bat-GEN essay-ACC 3SG-DAT teacher-ACC-REFL.POSS read-PST
gej] khel-sen.
C say-PST
'Zaya, Bat's essay, said to him that her teacher read. (= Zaya said to him that her teacher read Bat's essay.)'

At first blush, the pattern in (42) seems also to suggest that the Subject Binding Generalization, repeated in (59), is on the right track: all the examples where the original pronoun binder is the subject exhibit obligatory Condition C reconstruction, and none of the ones where the original binder is a dative argument (nonsubject) do so. These facts would follow if binding by subjects at the base position cannot be overridden by further derivations, with the result that there will always be a Condition C violation at least in the base structure.

(59) *Subject Binding Generalization* (Frank, Lee, and Rambow 1996:83)
If X in subject position binds Y at some point in the derivation, then X binds Y at all levels of representation.

I argue that this generalization cannot be extended to Mongolian. In fact, whether a subject binder is involved or not, as long as the case requirement of the scrambled DP can be satisfied, there will be a Condition C bleeding effect. I demonstrate this point using (60), which violates Condition C because the pronominal embedded subject binds the R-expression in the embedded object.

(60) *Embedded SUBJ inducing Condition C violation on embedded OBJ*

*Emč [$_{CP}$ **tüün**$_1$-iig [**Bat**$_1$-in em-iig] uu-gaagüi gej]
doctor.NOM 3SG-ACC Bat-GEN medicine-ACC drink-PST.NEG C
uurla-san.
become.angry-PST
Int. 'The doctor became angry that he$_1$ did not drink Bat$_1$'s medicine.'

As shown in (61), the embedded object can undergo LDS into the matrix clause, and the sentence becomes acceptable—no Condition C reconstruction takes place. This fact is unexpected under Frank, Lee, and Rambow's (1996) subject binding analysis, since the binder in the underlying order is indeed a subject: it is the subject of the embedded clause. The Subject Binding Generalization would therefore predict that Condition C reconstruction must happen and that (61) should be ungrammatical, contrary to fact.

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(61) *LDS can bleed Condition C with SUBJ binder*
[**Bat**$_1$-in em-iig]$_2$ emč [$_{CP}$ **tüün**$_1$-iig ___$_2$ uu-gaagüi gej]
Bat-GEN medicine-ACC doctor.NOM 3SG-ACC drink-PST.NEG C
uurla-san.
become.angry-PST
'Bat$_1$'s medicine, the doctor became angry that he$_1$ did not drink.'

By contrast, the possibility represented by (61) is a natural result under the current approach. Due to the presence of a higher case competitor (i.e., the matrix subject), the NP restrictor of the scrambled determiner can be late-merged below the matrix subject, since accusative case can be assigned as a dependent case to the late-merged NP.[18] In other words, even scrambling involving a subject binder can bleed Condition C, as long as the case requirement of the scrambled DP can be satisfied at a later point.[19]

(62) *Emč* [THE [**Bat**$_1$**-in em**-*iig*]] [$_{CP}$ **tüün**$_1$**-iig** [THE] uu-gaagüi gej]
doctor Bat-GEN medicine-ACC 3SG-ACC drink-PST.NEG C
uurla-san.
become.angry-PST

[18] As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, one could potentially further compare (61) with a version with a nominative-marked embedded subject.

(i) Bat$_1$-GEN medicine-ACC doctor.NOM [$_{CP}$ 3SG$_1$**-NOM** drink-PST.NEG C] become.angry-PST
'Bat$_1$'s medicine, the doctor became angry that he$_1$-NOM did not drink.'

The prediction is that (i) should not differ significantly from (61) in terms of Condition C reconstruction effects, since in both examples late merger happens at a position c-commanding the embedded subject pronoun. At this stage, the data are not conclusive regarding exactly how (i) differs from (61). Among the speakers I consulted, the acceptability of nominative-marked embedded subjects in general seems to vary depending on the construction and the speaker's dialect. There have been previous studies examining the factors behind Mongolian speakers' preference with regard to the case marking on embedded subjects. For example, Guntsetseg (2016) reports on experimental studies suggesting speakers' preference could be affected by factors ranging from referentiality to adjacency between main and embedded subjects. Drawing on work by Mizuno (1995), Tserenpil and Kullmann (2015) suggest the empirical picture is also complex in colloquial speech. Further large-scale studies are needed to investigate these distinctions across individual speakers and dialects.

[19] An anonymous reviewer notes that the current proposal implies that an object can in principle be assigned accusative case after it is preposed long-distance. The configuration is illustrated in (i).

(i) Subject Embedded.object-ACC$_1$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ Subject ___$_1$ Verb + Tense] C] Verb + Tense

The reviewer notes that if the embedded CP in (i) constitutes a phase and the complement TP is transferred to the interpretive component after the phase is constructed, then the copy of the scrambled phrase in the embedded object position is transferred without being assigned case. In the current case system, I assume following Baker and Vinokurova (2010) that case assignment happens as soon as the relevant structural conditions are met. This assumption is independently needed to avoid the situation where in a simple transitive clause the object (not yet case-valued) moves directly to the highest position in the clause, c-commanding the subject and inducing accusative case marking on the subject (see Baker and Vinokurova 2010:604). Under this assumption, the embedded object (here, a full copy of DP) in the configuration in (i) in principle receives case at the edge of the embedded VP, at the point of the derivation when the subject of the embedded clause has just been merged, and then undergoes LDS. Similarly, as mentioned in footnote 15, in an LDS derivation involving WLM, it is assumed that the base-generated determiner can also be in a potential case position. This does not affect the availability of the higher dependent case position inside the matrix clause. Since condition (2) on WLM can be satisfied as long as the late-merged NP can get case at a position higher than the pronoun binder, this assumption should not affect WLM at the higher position.

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4.3 Section Summary

I conclude that the Subject Binding Generalization cannot account for the reconstruction puzzle in Mongolian. Instead, the relevant facts are tied to whether WLM can be carried out successfully in each scenario, a difference that is in turn related to the language's case assignment mechanism.[20] It then follows that if case assignment mechanisms vary across languages, Condition C reconstruction effects are also expected to differ. In the next section, I present a series of language-specific properties that further motivate a hybrid case assignment model in Mongolian in which accusative is assigned as a dependent case and nominative is assigned by the functional head T via Agree. The goal is to demonstrate that in order to account for the full range of facts regarding both clause-internal and clause-external scrambling, introducing such a model into late merger is both necessary and independently motivated.

5 The Hybrid Case Assignment Model in Wholesale Late Merger

In this section, I provide further data and discussion in support of the hybrid case assignment model in Mongolian. At this point, it is worth emphasizing that the purpose of this article is not to show that one case assignment mechanism is superior to another in controlling WLM; instead, it is to demonstrate that case is indeed relevant for WLM, precisely as Takahashi (2006) and Takahashi and Hulsey (2009) originally proposed. To this end, I undertake the following tasks in this section. First, I present additional evidence for analyzing accusative as a dependent case by probing further into case alternations on subjects of various embedded clauses. Second, by showing that nominative case is unavailable in various tenseless domains, I provide empirical motivation for the rule that nominative case is assigned by the functional head T in Mongolian, essentially adopting Baker and Vinokurova's (2010) proposal. Finally, I provide relevant evidence for treating dative as a nonstructural case in Mongolian.

5.1 Accusative as a Dependent Case: Further Data

Recall that in section 4.2, I showed that as long as there is an accessible matrix case competitor, accusative case is allowed on the embedded subject, whether or not a case-assigning v head is present. In addition, if a matrix case competitor is absent, accusative is not allowed on the embedded subject. As shown in (63), when the embedded clause is the complement of an impersonal

[20] As an anonymous reviewer suggests, given the current account, scrambling of a nominative-marked embedded subject would not help in obviating Condition C, in contrast to scrambling of an accusative-marked subject. This is because unlike accusative, which is assigned as a dependent case, nominative is assigned to the embedded subject by the embedded T. Independently, however, scrambling a nominative-marked subject into the matrix clause seems to be generally degraded. Guntsetseg (2016:155) states that only accusative-marked subjects can be extracted out of the embedded finite clause headed by the complementizer *gej*, and it is not possible to extract nominative-marked subjects in the same environment without changing the meaning. The extent to which this constraint holds and the relevant implications regarding Condition C reconstruction need to be further tested across individual speakers and dialects. I leave this to future research.

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predicate, the embedded subject cannot be in accusative case, but can be in nominative or genitive case.[21]

(63) *Embedded* SUBJ *cannot be in* ACC *without a matrix case competitor*
[*Bat-ig/Bat/Bat-in ger-iin daalgawr-aa khiikh ni]
Bat-ACC/Bat.NOM/Bat-GEN home-GEN assignment-REFL.POSS do.INF 3SG.POSS
čukhal.
important
'It is important that Bat does his homework.'

Further, accusative case on the embedded subject is only available if the matrix subject, its case competitor, is in nominative case. In (64), the matrix predicate *uurlasan* 'became angry' does not assign accusative case, but the embedded subject *Jon* can be in accusative case. Under the dependent case account, this is because the embedded subject *Jon*, located at the edge of the embedded clause, is within the same case competition domain as the matrix subject *Saruul.* Accusative case is therefore assigned to the lower DP according to (26a).

(64) *Dependent* ACC *is possible when matrix argument is* NOM
Saruul [Jon-ig šine mašin aw-san gej] uurla-san.
Saruul.NOM Jon-ACC new car buy-PST C become.angry-PST
'Saruul became angry that Jon bought a new car.'

However, if there is no eligible case competitor in the main clause domain, the embedded subject cannot be in accusative case, as (65) illustrates.

[21] As exemplified in (63), 3SG.POSS *ni* in Mongolian can be used to nominalize clauses of various sizes, with no possessive interpretation. For example:

(i) Bat Ulaanbaatar-t yaw-na.
Bat.NOM Ulaanbaatar-DAT travel-FUT
'Bat will travel to Ulaanbaatar.'

(ii) Bat / Bat-in Ulaanbaatar-t yawakh ni
Bat.NOM / Bat-GEN Ulaanbaatar-DAT travel.INF 3SG.POSS
'Bat's traveling to Ulaanbaatar'

Tserenpil and Kullmann (2015) claim that the subject of *ni*-nominalized clauses should in principle be in genitive case; Janhunen (2012) provides similar discussion. However, nominative subjects are also commonly used in daily speech (for a study on the preference for different forms of subjects, see Mizuno 1995), especially in nominalized embedded clauses using the expression 'it is important that . . .'. For example:

(iii) Kharin [ene khünd tsag üyeiig **mongolchuud bid** khüchee negtgen, khamtyn khücheer
but this hard time stage.ACC Mongolian.PL we.NOM power join together.GEN power.INST
davan tuulakh ni] čukhal yum.
overcome 3SG.POSS important PART
'But it is important that we Mongolians unite and overcome this difficult time together.'
(https://news.mn/r/2393536/)

This contrasts with subjects of relative clauses, which can be in genitive case only. Relative clauses in Mongolian not only are nonfinite, but also appear to be much more restricted with respect to the case their subject can bear compared with nominalized clauses.

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(65) *Dependent* ACC *is not possible when matrix argument is* DAT
?Saruul-d [Jon / *Jon-ig šine mašin aw-san gej] sanagda-j bai-san.
Saruul-DAT Jon.NOM / Jon-ACC new car buy-PST C seem-CVB COP-PST
'It seemed to Saruul that Jon bought a new car.'

In (65), the matrix clause contains only one dative argument, and the embedded subject cannot be in accusative case (see Podobryaev 2013 for a similar situation in Mishar Tatar). The slight awkwardness comes from the fact that 'It seemed to someone that . . . ' is not a canonical expression in Mongolian. Instead, simple active constructions such as 'Someone thinks that . . . ' are preferred. Nevertheless, the sentence is grammatically acceptable when the embedded subject is in nominative case. The contrast in terms of which case the embedded subject can bear is straightforwardly explained if accusative is assigned as a dependent case. The assignment of (inherent) dative case to *Saruul* in (65) makes it ineligible as a case competitor for the embedded subject.

5.2 Nominative Is Assigned by Finite T

Given that the primary goal of the article is to argue for a case-based WLM account of Mongolian scrambling, the mechanism for assigning cases other than accusative also needs to be clarified. Following Baker and Vinokurova's (2010) proposal for Sakha, I adopt the view that nominative is not a default or unmarked case in Mongolian; rather, it needs to be assigned by the functional head T in accordance with (26b).[22]

In Mongolian, except for dedicated nominative forms for pronouns, nominative case does not have an overt morphological exponent, as (66) shows.

(66) *Pronouns have dedicated* NOM *forms, but* NOM *is not overtly marked on full DP*
Bi/Bat alim id-sen.
1SG.NOM/Bat.NOM apple eat-PST
'I/Bat ate (an) apple/apples.'

According to Baker and Vinokurova (2010), the existence of case assignment rule (26b) in Sakha is diagnosed by case alternations associated with ϕ-agreement as well as differences in syntactic environment. Mongolian does not have overt ϕ-agreement, but it does exhibit case alternations sensitive to changes in syntactic environments. First, following Baker and Vinokurova's reasoning for Sakha, if nominative is a default case in Mongolian, then it is expected to be freely available in various kinds of structural environment including PPs. The majority of postpositions in Mongolian require their complements to be in genitive case, as (67) illustrates.

[22] Since Mongolian patterns like Sakha in the respects discussed here, I adopt Baker and Vinokurova's (2010) proposal and analyze nominative case as being assigned by finite T in Mongolian. Levin and Preminger (2015) suggest that Baker and Vinokurova's Sakha data can also be interpreted as being compatible with a fully configurational system. As the main focus of this article is on reconstruction effects in scrambling, it suffices to show that the current assumptions about the Mongolian case system are motivated. I leave a complete exploration of alternative accounts of the case system to future work.

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(67) *Complements of postpositions with* GEN *case*
baišin-giin / *baišin-Ø urd/tukhai
house-GEN / house-Ø in.front.of/about
'in front of/about the house'

Nevertheless, there are a few postpositions, such as *deer* 'on' and *door* 'under' that appear to select for a complement with zero suffix. At first blush, (68) seems to suggest that nominative is freely available in PPs headed by postpositions that do not require their complement to be in genitive case.

(68) *Complement of* deer *'on' with zero suffix*
telewiz-Ø / *telewiz-in deer
television-Ø / television-GEN on
'on the television'

Upon closer investigation, however, the internal structure of (68) turns out to differ from that of (67), and *deer* 'on' in (68) patterns morphosyntactically with case suffixes rather than with the canonical postpositions exemplified in (67). The noun *telewiz* 'television' in (68) is therefore not a DP bearing nominative case, but a caseless stem. One piece of crucial evidence comes from the idiosyncratic stem allomorphy that is triggered by certain case endings and zero-suffix-selecting postpositions like *deer* 'on'. For a small set of singular nouns in Mongolian, a stem-final *n* always appears before three case suffixes only: genitive, dative, and ablative. This unpredictable, lexically conditioned stem alternation is traditionally called hidden-*n* or fleeting-*n* (for a complete description and a diachronic account, see Thompson 2008). *Širee* 'table' is a noun with hidden-*n*. As shown in (69), when *širee* 'table' is in a canonical nominative position, hidden-*n* is not allowed. In contrast, genitive, dative, and ablative (but not accusative) case suffixes obligatorily trigger hidden-*n* on that stem.

(69) a. *No hidden-*n *at canonical* NOM *position*
Ene širee / *širee**-n** khyamd.
this table / table-hidden.*n* cheap
'This table is cheap.'
b. *GEN, DAT, ABL trigger hidden-*n
*širee / širee**-n**-ii/-d/-ees
table / table-hidden.*n*-GEN/-DAT/-ABL
c. *ACC does not trigger hidden-*n
Bi ter širee-g / *širee**-n**-g öšiglö-sön.
1SG.NOM that table-ACC / table-hidden.*n*-ACC kick-PST
'I kicked that table.'

Like the genitive, dative, and ablative case endings in (69b), and unlike the nominative and accusative case endings in (69a,c), the zero-suffix-selecting postposition *deer* 'on' triggers hidden-*n* on *širee* 'table'. This behavior can be contrasted with that of the regular postpositions in (71), which require their complements to be in genitive case. This genitive case ending in turn triggers hidden-*n* on the stem.

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(70) Deer *'on' does not require* GEN *complement, but triggers hidden-*n *on stem*
*širee / širee**-n** deer
table / table-hidden.*n* on
'on the table'

(71) *Regular postpositions require* GEN *complements*
širee-n-ii urd/tukhai
table-hidden.*n*-GEN in.front.of/about
'in front of/about the table'

A further difference between regular postpositions and *deer* 'on' is that the latter requires its pronominal complement to assume a special suppletive form that is also triggered by a number of oblique case suffixes. For instance, the special oblique stem for the first person singular pronoun is *nad-*, shown in (72). Note that the stem *nad-* to which the case suffixes are attached is a bound morpheme that cannot stand alone.

(72) *Oblique stem* nad *for first person singular pronoun*
1SG.NOM bi
1SG-DAT nad-ad
1SG-ABL nad-aas
1SG-INST nad-aar
1SG-COMIT nad-tai

Surprisingly, *deer* 'on' also triggers the *nad-* stem on the first person singular pronoun. The canonical nominative form of the pronoun, by contrast, is ungrammatical as a complement of *deer* 'on'. This can be contrasted again with regular postpositions, which simply select for the genitive form of the pronoun.

(73) Deer *selects* nad *pronoun stem; full* NOM *pronoun is ungrammatical*
nad / *bi deer
1SG.OBL / 1SG.NOM on
'on me'

(74) *Regular postpositions select for* GEN *pronoun*
minii urd/tukhai
1SG.GEN in.front.of/about
'in front of/about me'

Moreover, *deer* 'on' differs from regular postpositions, but aligns with regular case suffixes, in terms of morpheme ordering. Regular postpositions like *tukhai* 'about' follow personal possessive enclitics such as *mini* '1SG.POSS' in (75). However, as shown in (76), *deer* 'on' precedes the personal possessive enclitic, just like regular case suffixes such as dative.

(75) *Regular postposition follows personal possessive enclitic*
aaw-in **mini** **tukhai**
father-GEN 1SG.POSS about
'about my father'

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(76) Deer *'on' and case suffix precede personal possessive enclitic*
širee-n **deer/-d mini**
table-hidden.*n* on/-DAT 1SG.POSS
'on/at my table'

These data suggest that if *urd* 'in front of' and *tukhai* 'about' are genuine postpositions, then items like *deer* 'on' are best seen as case suffixes rather than postpositions. Since *deer* 'on' is structurally regarded as a case suffix, the "zero suffix" complement it selects for in fact does not bear a default nominative case; instead, it is a caseless stem, as confirmed by the pronoun alternation in (73). If this is on the right track, then the apparent free availability of nominative case inside PPs is only illusory.

In addition, nominative case is not available in Mongolian nonfinite relative clauses (RCs) that lack a T head. In most instances, the subject of an RC must be in genitive case, as shown in (77). This is consistent with the view that nominative is assigned by T.

(77) *RC SUBJ is in GEN case*
[$_{RC}$ minii / *bi id-sen] alim
1SG.GEN / 1SG.NOM eat-PST.PTCP apple
'the apple that I ate'

Nevertheless, it has been reported that a bare nominal is possible with inanimate, nonpronominal subjects, especially in RCs with existential content (Janhunen 2012).[23]

(78) *RC SUBJ without GEN is allowed in clauses with existential content*
Ter bol [$_{RC}$ **manai mašin** zogso-j bai-san] gazar mön.
that TOP 1PL.GEN car stand-CVB COP-PST.PTCP] place COP
'That is the place where our car was (standing).'

A possible treatment of the nongenitive subject in this case is that since it is the theme and the sole argument of the relative clause in (78), it is (pseudo)incorporated into the verb. It has been argued that objects can be pseudoincorporated in Mongolian (Guntsetseg 2016, Driemel 2020). Since the subject of the existential/unaccusative clause is not merged as an external argument, but is introduced within VP and receives the theme role, it is possible that it has undergone pseudoincorporation into the verb and can remain caseless (e.g., Baker 1988). Whether and under what condition the RC subject can appear without genitive varies among speakers, and its exact nature as well as the dialectal variation associated with it remains to be investigated. For present purposes, these data seem sufficient to maintain the functional head case assignment rule for the treatment of nominative case.

[23] Example (78) is from Janhunen 2012:274; the spelling and gloss are modified in accordance with the conventions adopted here.

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5.3 Dative as Nonstructural Case

Dative has been implicitly treated as a nonstructural case in Mongolian in all the derivations above. Consequently, the dative IO does not interfere with dependent case calculation. It is worth noting that for present purposes, it is not crucial how the dative on the IO argument (which I distinguish from true lexical dative case uniquely assigned by certain predicates) is assigned, as long as the argument in question does not interfere with the calculation of the rest of the cases. Conceptually it is possible, for example, to follow Baker and Vinokurova (2010) and treat dative on IOs as a structural case assigned configurationally to the higher of the two arguments within a VP phase. Adopting one method over another does not have immediate consequences for reconstruction and scrambling. As expected, scrambling the IO argument over a subject binder always forces reconstruction (79). If dative is a structural case assigned configurationally within VP, then it is not possible for the IO argument to scramble out of VP while still getting case in (79). If dative is a nonstructural case—or, to be more specific, an inherent case associated with θ-role assignment—then it must be licensed at the base position, requiring a full copy of DP to be introduced in situ. WLM is not possible on either approach.

(79) *Scrambling IO forces Condition C reconstruction (SUBJ binding IO)*
*[**Čemeg**$_1$-in eej-id]$_2$ **ter**$_1$ ___$_2$ nom ög-sön.
Čemeg-GEN mother-DAT 3SG.NOM book give-PST
Int. '(To) Čemeg$_1$'s mother, she$_1$ gave (a) book/books.'

Nevertheless, empirical data from Mongolian favor a nonstructural view of dative case. Drawing on Chomsky 1981, 1986, researchers have often treated dative case as nonstructural in various languages, either as inherent case associated with particular θ-roles like goals, or as lexical case licensed by certain lexical heads (see, e.g., Woolford 2006, Pesetsky and Torrego 2011 for overviews). Meanwhile, it has been noted that in some languages dative shows properties of a structural case (e.g., Harley 1995, Folli and Harley 2007). Along this line, dative case has been treated as being assigned configurationally, either to the intermediate of three DP arguments (Podobryaev 2013, Yuan 2019) or to the higher of the two DP arguments within VP (Baker and Vinokurova 2010, Baker 2015).

As the specifics of dative case alternation in various constructions are beyond the scope of this article, I will offer one relevant observation and leave the remaining details to future research. Dative has previously been reported to behave like a dependent case in causative constructions of some languages. In Japanese, for example, the *make*-type causative with an intransitive root verb requires the causee to be in accusative case. However, when the root verb is transitive, the causee cannot be in accusative case; instead, it must be in dative case. Similar to what we find in Japanese, in Mongolian causative constructions the causee is usually in accusative case when the root verb is intransitive.

(80) *Causee is in ACC case when root verb is intransitive*
Bagš oyutan-ig yaw-uul-san.
teacher.NOM student-ACC leave-CAUS-PST
'The teacher had the student leave.'

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However, causativized transitive constructions in Mongolian depart from those in Japanese in several ways. First, when the root verb is transitive, the causee predominantly appears in instrumental case, not dative.

(81) *Causee is in INST case when root verb is transitive*
Bagš oyutn-aar esee bič-üül-sen.
teacher.NOM student-INST essay write-CAUS-PST
'The teacher made the student write (an) essay/essays.'

The causee can sometimes also be marked with dative case. When the causee is in dative case, its interpretation is to some extent similar to the 'let' reading of the Japanese causative construction with the morpheme *-sase-* (Kitagawa 1986, Terada 1990, Harley 1995, Miyagawa 2017). Thus, the following minimal pair is possible in Mongolian:

(82) *Contrast between a DAT causee and an INST causee*
a. Bi Bat-ad alim id-üül-sen.
1SG.NOM Bat-DAT apple eat-CAUS-PST
'I let Bat eat an apple.'
b. Bi Bat-aar alim id-üül-sen.
1SG.NOM Bat-INST apple eat-CAUS-PST
'I made Bat eat an apple.'
(Svantesson 2003:172, gloss modified)

Importantly for present purposes, the presence of dative case on the causee is not contingent on the presence of another eligible case competitor in the same domain. In (83), except for the subject and the causee there is only a PP headed by the postposition *tukhai* 'about' in the lower domain. Therefore, no eligible case competitor is present in the causee's local domain and dative cannot be assigned to the causee configurationally. In contrast, these facts follow naturally if dative is an inherent case.

(83) *DAT appears on causee without potential case competitors*
Bi tüün-d khurl-in tukhai san-uul-san.
1SG.NOM 3SG-DAT meeting-GEN about remember-CAUS-PST
'I let him remember about the meeting/I reminded him about the meeting.'

5.4 Section Summary

In this section, I have presented independent evidence in support of adopting the following hybrid case assignment model in Mongolian (= (26)):

(84) a. If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same phase such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP2 as accusative, unless NP1 has already been marked for case.

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b. Nominative case is assigned by finite T.
c. Dative is a nonstructural case.

Given these data and the idea that WLM is related to case, the fact that even some instances of LDS in Mongolian can bleed Condition C is not accidental. Because accusative case can be assigned configurationally, there are multiple potential dependent case positions on the LDS chain, which allows WLM at relatively high positions in the structure. Therefore, Condition C violation can be circumvented as long as the syntactic configuration satisfies condition (2) on WLM.

6 Further Predictions

6.1 Lexical Case vs. Structural Case

The proposal advanced above makes another prediction. If WLM is indeed related to case, we expect the possibility of late merger to be sensitive to the kind of case the DP bears. For example, the discussion so far has shown that scrambling that feeds structural accusative case assignment is capable of bleeding Condition C, a result expected under the WLM approach. Further, movements that feed structural nominative case assignment, such as passivization, exhibit the same effect. In general, passive constructions are not as commonly used in Mongolian as in languages like English, and this seems to be especially the case for inanimate derived subjects. Thus, a regular passive construction such as (85a) is rarely used (hence the ?), but is nevertheless grammatical. Against this background, the coreferential reading between the R-expression *Bat* in the derived subject position and the dative pronoun is easy to obtain in (85b), and the sentence is grammatical. This is expected under the current approach.

(85) a. *Regular passive construction*
?Nom$_1$ bagš-aar Dorj-id ___$_1$ ögö-gd-sön.
book teacher-INST Dorj-DAT give-PASS-PST
'(The/A) book was given to Dorj by the teacher.'
b. *Passivization bleeds Condition C*
?[**Bat**$_1$-in nom]$_2$ bagš-aar **tüün**$_1$-d ___$_2$ ögö-gd-sön.
Bat-GEN book.NOM teacher-INST 3SG-DAT give-PASS-PST
'Bat$_1$'s book was given to him$_1$ by the teacher.'

In contrast, if the DP bears a lexical case, then scrambling the DP might exhibit different reconstruction effects than when the scrambled DP bears structural case. In Mongolian, the object of the verb *tuslakh* 'to help' bears lexical dative case, not accusative. Example (86) is the result of scrambling the dative embedded object *Zorigiin emeed* 'Zorig's grandmother.DAT' to the matrix-initial position. In the base order, the embedded pronoun subject *tüüniig* induces a Condition C violation on the R-expression *Zorig* inside the embedded object. While the judgment is subtle, the order and coindexing in (86) are rejected by speakers who accept LDS of accusative phrases bleeding Condition C. If this is on the right track, (86) further suggests that the nature of the case being assigned (structural vs. nonstructural) may affect interpretations in terms of Condition C.

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(86) *LDS of lexical* DAT *objects*
??/*[**Zorig**$_1$-iin emee-d]$_2$, bi [$_{CP}$ **tüün**$_1$-iig ___$_2$ tusal-dag bai-san
Zorig-GEN grandmother-DAT 1SG.NOM 3SG-ACC help-HABIT COP-PST
gej] bodo-j bai-na.
C think-CVB COP-NPST
Int. 'Zorig's$_1$ grandmother, I am thinking that he$_1$ had been helping.'

In any formulation of WLM, movement of DPs with lexical case is expected to behave somewhat differently, because unlike accusative case, which in some languages can be assigned in different locations, lexical case is strictly tied to the lexical head that selects for the DP. This nature of lexical case might manifest itself in different ways in terms of late merger, depending on the specific properties of the language in question. Regarding this issue, the main proposal advanced in this article suggests one possibility given the overall picture in Mongolian. Since lexical case is assigned in a local configuration with the lexical case assigner, the DP including the NP restrictor must be fully spelled out in its base position, triggering a Condition C violation there.

6.2 PP-Scrambling

Condition (2) on WLM suggests that scrambling can bleed Condition C if the moved element can get case in a position that c-commands the pronoun binder. Since some instances of LDS in Mongolian allow accusative case assignment in the matrix clause, those instances of scrambling can fix Condition C violations induced by a matrix dative or by an embedded subject pronoun binder. The current proposal also predicts that there should be a visible distinction between scrambling DPs (permitting late merger of an NP restrictor to D at case positions) and scrambling other kinds of elements such as PPs. Reinhart (1976) points out that (87), with PP-preposing, is ungrammatical in English.

(87) *In Ben's$_1$ box, he$_1$ put cigars.
(based on Reinhart 1976:88)

As an anonymous reviewer suggests, if LDS of DPs in examples such as (88) and (89) is acceptable because the scrambled object can be assigned accusative case in the matrix clause under the Takahashi and Hulsey (2009) style WLM approach, there should be a visible distinction between LDS of DPs as in (88)–(89) and LDS of PPs in terms of Condition C effects.

(88) *LDS can bleed Condition C with matrix* DAT *pronoun binder*
?[**Bat**$_1$**-in** esee-g]$_2$ Zaya **tüün**$_1$-d [$_{CP}$ bagš-iig ___$_2$ unš-san gej]
Bat-GEN essay-ACC Zaya.NOM 3SG-DAT teacher-ACC read-PST C
khel-sen.
say-PST
'Bat$_1$'s essay, Zaya said to him$_1$ that the teacher read.'

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(89) *LDS can bleed Condition C with SUBJ binder*
[**Bat**$_1$-in em-iig]$_2$ emč [$_{CP}$ **tüün**$_1$-iig ___$_2$ uu-gaagüi gej]
Bat-GEN medicine-ACC doctor.NOM 3SG-ACC drink-PST.NEG C
uurla-san.
become.angry-PST
'Bat$_1$'s medicine, the doctor became angry that he$_1$ did not drink.'

Preliminary results of investigation into PP-scrambling suggest that this prediction is indeed borne out. Here, I focus on the verb *temtsekh* 'to fight', which can take a PP headed by the postposition *esreg* 'against'. A basic example using the expression 'to fight against' is presented in (90).[24]

(90) *Basic example using 'to fight [$_{PP}$ against . . .]'*
Odoo khümüüs [$_{PP}$ dain-i esreg] temtse-j bai-na.
now people war-GEN against fight-CVB COP-NPST
'Now, people are fighting against war.'

The PP headed by *esreg* 'against' can undergo LDS, as shown in (91).

(91) a. *Base order*
Bagš [$_{CP}$ zasgiin gazr-ig [$_{PP}$ ediin zas-giin khyamral-in esreg] temtse-j
teacher.NOM government-ACC economy-GEN crisis-GEN against fight-CVB
bai-na gej] nadad khel-sen.
COP-NPST C 1SG.DAT say-PST
'The teacher said to me that [$_{CP}$ the government is fighting [$_{PP}$ against the economic crisis]].'
b. *Scrambled order*
[$_{PP}$ Ediin zas-giin khyamral-in esreg]$_1$ bagš [$_{CP}$ zasgiin gazr-ig ___$_1$
economy-GEN crisis-GEN against teacher.NOM government-ACC
temtse-j bai-na gej] nadad khel-sen.
fight-CVB COP-NPST C 1SG.DAT say-PST
'[$_{PP}$ Against the economic crisis]$_1$ the teacher said to me that [$_{CP}$ the government is fighting ___$_1$].'

In addition, this kind of PP-scrambling may not proceed out of an island. As shown in (92), the PP headed by *esreg* 'against' may not scramble out of a relative clause.

[24] Note that the complement/adjunct status of PPs that combine with verbs is subject to crosslinguistic variation, and further investigation is needed to examine different kinds of PPs in Mongolian and in other languages. I thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this point. While these are important aspects to explore further, I believe a comprehensive resolution would be beyond the scope of the current study.

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(92) a. *PP inside a relative clause*
Bi [$_{RC}$ [$_{PP}$ takhl-in esreg] temtse-j bai-gaa] khun-iig ikh
1SG.NOM epidemic-GEN against fight-CVB COP-NPST.PTCP person-ACC very
khundel-deg.
respect-HABIT
'I really respect the people [$_{RC}$ who are fighting [$_{PP}$ against the epidemic]].'

b. *PP may not scramble out of a relative clause*
*[$_{PP}$ Takhl-in esreg]$_1$ bi [$_{RC}$ ___$_1$ temtse-j bai-gaa] khun-iig
epidemic-GEN against 1SG.NOM fight-CVB COP-NPST.PTCP person-ACC
ikh khundel-deg.
very respect-HABIT
Int. '[$_{PP}$ Against the epidemic]$_1$, I really respect the people [$_{RC}$ who are fighting ___$_1$].'

With the above facts in mind, consider the following examples that illustrate PP-scrambling and Condition C. In (93a), the pronoun in the embedded subject position induces a Condition C violation on the R-expression *Bat* inside the PP *Batin dontoltin esreg* 'against Bat's addiction' within the embedded clause. The sentence is ungrammatical under the reading where *tüüniig* '3SG.ACC' and *Bat* are coindexed. In (93b), [$_{PP}$ against Bat's addiction] has undergone LDS to the sentence-initial position. The surface order of (93b) no longer violates Condition C, but the sentence is still rejected by the speakers who accept LDS of accusative DPs in (88)–(89).

(93) a. *Embedded pronoun SUBJ binds R-expression* Bat*, violating Condition C*
*Emč [$_{CP}$ **tüün-iig**$_1$ kheden jil-iin turš [$_{PP}$ **Bat**$_1$-in dontolt-in esreg]
doctor 3SG-ACC some year-GEN during Bat-GEN addiction-GEN against
temtse-j bai-san gej] nadad khel-sen.
fight-CVB COP-PST C 1SG.DAT say-PST
Int. 'The doctor said [$_{CP}$ that he$_1$ has been fighting [$_{PP}$ against Bat$_1$'s addiction] for years].'

b. *PP-scrambling exhibits obligatory reconstruction effect*
*[$_{PP}$ **Bat**$_1$-in dontolt-in esreg]$_2$ emč [$_{CP}$ **tüün-iig**$_1$ kheden jil-iin turš
Bat-GEN addiction-GEN against doctor 3SG-ACC some year-GEN during
___$_2$ temtse-j bai-san gej] nadad khel-sen.
fight-CVB COP-PST C 1SG.DAT say-PST
Int. '[$_{PP}$ Against Bat's$_1$ addiction]$_2$, the doctor said [$_{CP}$ that he$_1$ has been fighting ___$_2$ for years].'

LDS of PPs with a matrix dative pronoun binder points in the same direction. In (94a), the matrix dative pronoun induces a Condition C violation on the R-expression *Zorig* inside the PP that is located in the embedded clause. The sentence is ungrammatical under the reading where *tüünd* '3SG.DAT' and *Zorig* are coindexed. In (94b), the PP [$_{PP}$ against Zorig's disease] has undergone LDS out of the embedded clause to the matrix-initial position. While the surface order no longer violates Condition C, the sentence is still unacceptable under the coindexed reading. Therefore,

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these preliminary data display consistent obligatory Condition C reconstruction effects with PP-scrambling.

(94) a. *Matrix* DAT *pronoun binds R-expression* Zorig*, violating Condition C*
*Zaya **tüün-d**$_1$ [$_{CP}$ emč nar-ig čadakh bükhn-eer-ee [$_{PP}$ **Zorig$_1$-iin**
Zaya.NOM 3SG-DAT doctor PL-ACC ability all-INST-REFL.POSS Zorig-GEN
öwčin-ii esreg] temtse-j bol-no gej] khel-sen.
disease-GEN against fight-CVB be-NPST C say-PST
Int. 'Zaya said to him$_1$ [$_{CP}$ that the doctors will do their best to fight against Zorig$_1$'s disease].'

b. *PP-scrambling exhibits obligatory reconstruction effect*
*[$_{PP}$ **Zorig$_1$-iin** öwčin-ii esreg]$_2$ Zaya **tüün-d**$_1$ [$_{CP}$ emč nar-ig čadakh
Zorig-GEN disease-GEN against Zaya.NOM 3SG-DAT doctor PL-ACC ability
bükhn-eer-ee ___$_2$ temtse-j bol-no gej] khel-sen.
all-INST-REFL.POSS fight-CVB be-NPST C say-PST
Int. '[Against Zorig$_1$'s disease]$_2$ Zaya said to him$_1$ [$_{CP}$ that the doctors will do their best to fight ___$_2$].'

While a complete picture of Mongolian PPs and their scrambling properties awaits a much more thorough and comprehensive investigation, which I leave for future work, the result presented above using PPs headed by *esreg* by 'against' shows that there does seem to be a difference between scrambling PPs and scrambling DPs. Such a difference is expected if the WLM mechanism, which enables late merger of an NP restrictor to D at case positions, is not available for PPs.

7 Conclusions

In this article, I have argued that the Condition C reconstruction effects manifested in Mongolian scrambling, which bear on a long-standing puzzle in the literature on scrambling and the A/Ā-distinction, are tied to the case assignment mechanism. Departing from previous characterizations of this phenomenon, I have offered a reanalysis of accusative case in Mongolian and related it to the Condition C reconstruction puzzle. I have demonstrated that some generalizations previously made about the puzzle—for instance, the Subject Binding Generalization—do not hold up on closer examination of a wider range of empirical facts. The WLM-based analysis advanced here instead takes the relevant phenomena to be the result of multiple available late-merger locations on the movement chain formed by scrambling. The fact that Mongolian has LDS and that accusative is assigned configurationally makes it possible to account for a wide range of intricate reconstruction effects.

I have also identified various scenarios under which WLM can successfully help avoid Condition C violations. The novel empirical data presented here provide a strong argument for the view that WLM is controlled by case, as originally proposed by Takahashi (2006) and Takahashi and Hulsey (2009). Moreover, WLM may play out according to the case mechanisms of a specific language, giving rise to variations in reconstruction patterns crosslinguistically. The facts

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in Mongolian point to the possibility that WLM is potentially compatible with different case mechanisms. While open questions and issues remain, as noted throughout the article, I hope to have demonstrated that the direction pursued here provides a new perspective from which to investigate reconstruction effects in different types of movement, especially LDS.

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