This paper is dealing with syntactic status of possessor in adnominal possessive constructions of two Finno-Ugric idioms: Moksha and Hill Mari (based on field data collected in 2014-2017).

In both languages possessor is in genitive case and triggers possessive agreement (cf. Hill Mari ex. (1)).

(1) män’ ādārämis-ān plaťā-(žā)-m už-a-m
   I woman-GEN dress-POSS.3SG-ACC see-NPST-1SG
   ‘I see woman’s dress’.

Here three main problems arise:
1. There are nominal phrases with genitive possessor but without possessive agreement on the head.
2. Possessive phrases can appear also without expressed genitive possessors.
3. As oblique phrases lack DP, there is no functional head that could assign case to DP of possessor.

Following Alexiadou et al. (2007) (see also references in it) and Simonenko and Leontjev (2012), I claim that possessors move from the NP to DP or OblP (in oblique phrases) to receive the case and there is an anaphorical pro in Spec,PossP.

In my talk I show, how it supports the separate analysis of direct and oblique cases both in Hill Mary and Moksha.

References:

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