Matching effects in Greek free relatives

Free relatives in Greek exhibit obligatory category and case matching; however, when case conflict occurs, it is always resolved in terms of the case requirements of the matrix clause (case attraction). In this talk, I will present the properties of Greek FRs, and then I will discuss the issue of their structure in the light of the various relabeling/reprojection analyses (Iatridou et al. 2001, Ott 2005, Donati 2006, Cecchetto & Donati 2015, Citko 2008 among others). I will argue that relabeling provides a straightforward explanation for the category matching phenomena, and I will present evidence in favour of a relabeling analysis in the line of Citko (2008) rather than Donati (2006) and Cecchetto & Donati (2015). The relabelling approach also offers the basis for an account of case conflict resolution in terms of case attraction and the factors that determine it. More specifically, it appears that case attraction resolution is determined both by the type of the abstract case (structural vs. inherent) and its morphological manifestation. In order to account for these complexities, I will propose an analysis that assumes a division of labour between narrow syntax and Morphological Structure as far as case assignment and realization are concerned and builds on the idea that case categories are not primitives, but rather they can be decomposed into bundles of features (Calabrese 1996, Halle 1997, McFadden 2004 among others) so that case assigning/realization operations refer to these features and not to case categories per se.