

The Tatar DP

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1. INTRODUCTION

Previous work on the (non-)universality of DP has focused mostly on article-less Slavic languages. Some scholars (e.g., Bošković 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010; Bošković and Gajewski 2011; Despić 2011; Trenkic 2004) have argued that in such languages “what you see is what you get”: the lack of articles in a language translates into a lack of a DP projection. Other scholars (e.g., Pereltsvaig 2006a, 2007a, 2007b, 2013a; Progovac 1998; Rutkowski 2002, 2007; Trugman 2005a, 2005b, 2007; Lyutikova 2010, *inter alia*) have argued that languages lacking articles have essentially the same syntax as do languages with articles, including the projection of DP. Slavic languages are particularly well suited for exploring the issue of the universality of DP since some of the languages in the family—Bulgarian and Macedonian—have articles, while others do not. Yet no claims about true universality of DP can be made without examining (article-less) languages from other families. In their 2014 article “The Turkish NP”, Bošković and Şener applied arguments based on Slavic languages (particularly Serbo-Croatian) to Turkish, an article-less Turkic language, and claimed that it too lacks the projection of DP. As the similarity of titles suggests, the present work is a response to Bošković and Şener (2014). Contrary to their claims about Turkish, in this paper we argue that a closely related article-less Turkic language, Tatar, has the projection of DP, although not all nominals in the language include that projection.¹

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¹ Tatar is spoken by about 5.3 million in Tatarstan, Russia. Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this paper come from Ekaterina Lyutikova’s fieldwork in 2011 on the Mişār dialect of

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, we review the generalizations about languages with/without articles postulated by Bošković (2010) and Bošković and Şener (2014) and conclude that these generalizations are highly problematic even before they are applied to Turkic languages. Rather, as we show in section 3, the original arguments for the DP projection in languages with articles (such as English or Hungarian; see Abney 1987) are fully applicable to languages without articles, and it is only logical that we postulate the DP in article-less languages. Therefore, instead of investigating how Tatar fares with respect to these generalizations, the rest of the paper examines two grammatical contrasts in the language, which are typically considered separately: two *ezafe* constructions (known as *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3*) and Differential Object Marking (i.e., the distinction between accusative and unmarked objects).² We introduce the two *ezafe* constructions in section 4 and Differential Object Marking in section 5. We show that possessors in *ezafe-3* exhibit a certain cluster of morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties, which—surprisingly—also characterizes accusative-marked direct objects. In contrast, possessors in *ezafe-2* share certain properties with unmarked direct objects. Why should noun phrases in such distinct syntactic environments—possessors and direct objects—pattern together? We argue that these unexpected parallels between different syntactic environments arise because the relevant cluster of properties derives not from a syntactic environment (possessor, direct object, etc.) but from the amount of functional structure in the nominal itself: nominals that include the DP pattern a certain way, while those that lack the DP (Small Nominals; Pereltsvaig 2006a) pattern differently. This analysis is developed more fully in section 6. In section 7, we show how the analysis applies to yet another syntactic environment in Tatar: complements of the so-called attributivizers. Section 8 concludes the paper.

2. PROBLEMS WITH BOŠKOVIĆ AND ŞENER'S (2014) ARGUMENTS

Bošković and Şener (2014) argue that noun phrases in Turkish are bare NPs rather than DPs; in particular, possessors are merged not in (the specifier of) DP but adjoined to NP. Their evidence is based largely on the dichotomy, drawn in Bošković's earlier work (see Bošković 2010 for an overview), between the so-called "DP languages" (i.e., those that have articles) and "NP languages" (i.e., those that lack articles and consequently, it is argued, lack the DP projection). Turkish, according to Bošković and Şener (2014:102), "patterns with NP, not DP languages".³

Tatar, as spoken in the village of Kutlushkino. Ossetian examples below are also from Ekaterina Lyutikova's fieldwork notes.

² Unlike in Iranian languages, where *ezafe* constructions introduce both possessors and attributes, in Turkic languages, *ezafe* has a more restricted application. See section 4 for details.

³ As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, classification of Turkish as an "articleless language" is not undisputed. In fact, Turkish has traditionally been analyzed as having an indefinite article *bir* (Kornfilt 1997:106, Lewis 1967:54), which is historically derived from the numeral 'one', similar to Romance indefinite articles. If this treatment is correct, Turkish is not an article-less language after all. Bošković and Şener (2014:113, fn. 10) address this issue in a footnote stating that they follow Ketrez (2005), who claims Turkish does not have an indefinite article, but this is not an uncontentious move. Fortunately for us, Tatar does not

This dichotomy, however, is highly problematic: some of the proposed generalizations do not hold, some other generalizations turn out to be spurious (i.e., they need to be explained by independent factors), and some languages straddle the fence between the NP and DP languages (see Pereltsvaig 2013a, 2015). While reviewing each and every generalization that is supposed to distinguish NP and DP languages would take us too far from the main focus of this paper, in this section we will review some examples of the problematic generalizations—enough in our mind to undermine the whole argument.

As mentioned above, some purported generalizations about NP/DP languages simply do not hold.⁴ For example, it has been claimed that “possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition only in article languages” (Bošković and Şener 2014:106). In other words, possessors in article-less languages are not supposed to induce an exhaustivity presupposition. As discussed in detail in Pereltsvaig and Kagan (2011) and Pereltsvaig (2013a, 2015), this is not true of Russian.⁵

This is particularly clear from nominals that include both possessors and numerals: if a possessor precedes a numeral, it induces an exhaustivity presupposition, but if a possessor follows a numeral, it does not. The sentence in (1b) can be true if the speaker has more than two sons, some of whom are still in school; the same is not true of (1a). Note that differences in case morphology on the possessive pronoun in (1a–b) reveal that it occupies distinct structural positions that are not simply a result of some surface word order manipulation (e.g., scrambling).⁶

- (1) a. *Moi dva syna uže zakončili školu.* (Russian)
 my.NOM two sons already finished school
 ‘My two sons have already graduated from school.’
- b. *Dva moix syna uže zakončili školu.*
 two my.GEN sons already finished school
 ‘Two of my sons have already graduated from school.’

have such a controversial candidate for an article and is therefore clearly an article-less language.

⁴ Many of the generalizations reviewed in this section are discussed in a number of works; for consistency’s sake, references are made to Bošković and Şener (2014), although it may not be the earliest article in which a given generalization was first mentioned.

⁵ In Ossetian, too, the genitive possessor appearing in the higher position induces an exhaustivity presupposition, so that the example below cannot be continued with “and *War and Peace* I have not read” (Ossetian is another article-less language):

- (i) *æž Tolstoj-ı biræ činguttæ ba-kaš-tæn.*
 I Tolstoy-GEN many book.PL PREF-read.PAST-TR.1SG
 ‘I read (all of) Tolstoy’s many books.’

⁶ The following abbreviations are used in this paper: 1 = 1st person, 2 = 2nd person, 3 = 3rd person, 3S = 3rd person singular subject agreement, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, ADJ = adjective, ALL = allative, ATTR = attributivizer, CAUS = causative affix, CL = clitic, CONV = converb, DAT = dative, DEF = definite, DIM = diminutive, EMPH = emphatic, ERG = ergative, GEN = genitive, INF = infinitive, IPFV = imperfective, LF = long form, LOC = locative, M: masculine, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, NOMIN = nominalization, OBL = oblique, PART = participle, PAST = past, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PRED = predicative, PREF = prefix, PRES = present, PTC = particle, SG = singular, TR = transitive.

Another alleged generalization about NP/DP languages is that “only article languages allow the majority superlative reading” (Bošković and Šener 2014:107–108). Once again, Russian contradicts this generalization, as discussed in Pereltsvaig (2015). In fact, Russian does allow the majority superlative reading, as in the following naturally occurring example:

- (2) Počemu do six por bol’šinstvo ljudej pjut koka-kolu, (Russian)
 why to this time most people drink Coca-Cola
 nesmotrja na to, što vse davno znajut, što ona očen’ vrednaja?
 despite that all long.ago know that it very harmful
 ‘Why do the majority of people drink Coca-Cola, although everybody has known for a long time that it is very harmful?’ (i.e., ‘Why do more than half the people drink Coca-Cola?’, not ‘Why do more people drink Coca-Cola than any other drink?’).

In fact, such sentences can only have the majority reading, so the following sentence is not true (given that only about 40% of India’s population speak Hindi as their mother tongue).

- (3) Bol’šinstvo ljudej v Indii govorjat na xindi kak na (Russian)
 most people in India speak on Hindi as on
 rodnom jazyke.
 native language
 ‘Most people in India speak Hindi as their mother tongue.’

A third generalization that Russian does not conform to concerns violations of Binding Conditions B and C in Serbo-Croatian (an NP language) vs. non-violations in English (a DP language). As noted originally by Despić (2011), in English the possessor does not c-command out of the noun phrase, thus allowing the possessor inside a subject noun phrase to be co-indexed with a nominal elsewhere in the clause (e.g., a direct object). In contrast, such co-indexing is not possible in Serbo-Croatian, an article-less language (examples adapted from Bošković and Šener (2014:111).

- (4) a. His_i latest movie really disappointed Tarantino_i. (English)
 b. Tarantino_i’s latest movie really disappointed him_i.
- (5) a. * Kusturicin_i najnoviji film ga_i je zaista razočarao. (Serbo-Croatian)
 Kusturica’s latest movie him is really disappointed
 ‘Kusturica’s latest movie really disappointed him_i.’
- b. * Njegov_i najnoviji film je zaista razočarao Kusturicu_i.
 his latest movie is really disappointed Kusturica
 ‘His_i latest movie really disappointed Kusturica_i.’

According to Despić (2011) and Bošković and Šener (2014:111), this contrast finds an easy explanation under the assumption that the possessor in Serbo-Croatian is an NP-adjunct, which, due to the lack of DP in the language, is able to c-command out

of the subject noun phrase; in English, the DP prevents this c-command relationship.⁷ If this analysis were correct, one would expect other article-less languages, such as Russian, to pattern with Serbo-Croatian, but this expectation is not borne out.⁸

- (6) a. Papina_i pervaja kniga srazu sdelala ego_i znamenitym.
Dad's first book immediately made him famous
'Dad_i's first book immediately made him_i famous.' (Russian)
- b. Ego_i pervaja kniga srazu sdelala papu_i znamenitym.⁹
his first book immediately made Dad famous
'His_i first book immediately made Dad_i famous.'

Some other alleged generalizations fall apart when considered more closely. For example, it has been claimed that "article-less languages disallow transitive nominals with two lexical genitives" (Bošković and Šener 2014:104). Russian, once again, does not fit comfortably with this generalization: while it is true of some types of nominals in Russian, it is certainly not true of other types of nominals (see Engelhardt and Trugman 1998, 2000; Pereltsvaig 2013a, 2015; Lyutikova 2014). In particular, while process (or event) nominals like (7a), typically only allow one genitive, non-process nominals in Russian, like (7b), allow two genitives (examples (7a–b) are adapted from Engelhardt and Trugman 1998). Under Bošković's view, phrases such as (7a) are ungrammatical because Russian lacks one of two potential genitive assigners, the D. But Engelhardt and Trugman (1998, 2000) argue convincingly that in such phrases, it is not the D that is lacking but the other genitive assigner, N: derived process nominals include a verbal rather than a nominal root and thus have only one genitive case. In accordance with the Engelhardt and Trugman analysis, even process nominals can have two genitives if one of them is an inherent/lexical case associated with the verbal root, as with *kasa*- 'touch', in (7c–d).

- (7) a. *analizirovanie [poëmy Puškina] [literaturoveda Pupkina] (Russian)
analyzing poem.GEN Pushkin.GEN literary.critic.GEN Pupkin.GEN
intended: 'analyzing Pushkin's poem by a literary critic Pupkin'

⁷ More precisely, Despić (2011) adopts a Kaynean (cf. Kayne 1994) definition of c-command, which does not distinguish adjuncts and specifiers, but he also adopts Kayne's analysis of the non-c-command in the relevant English examples in (4): the assumption is that the possessor in English is located in [Spec,PossP], which is in turn merged as a complement of a null D (i.e., the structure of English possessives is parallel to that in Italian, *il mio libro* lit. 'the my book', except that in the English counterpart the D is null). It is the presence of a higher DP projection that blocks c-command out of the nominal in the case of English possessors.

⁸ Only a limited range of nouns can form prenominal adjectival possessives in Russian; hence, the English/Serbo-Croatian examples had to be modified.

⁹ Some Russian speakers judge sentence (6b) as somewhat degraded (especially out of context) because cataphora is generally dispreferred.

- b. analiz [poëmy Puškina] [literaturoveda Pupkina]
 analysis [poem Pushkin].GEN literary.critic.GEN Pupkin.GEN
 ‘a literary critic Pupkin’s analysis of Pushkin’s poem’
- c. Snarjad kasaetsja beder.
 crossbar touch.PRES hips.GEN
 ‘The crossbar touches the hips.’
- d. kasanie snarjada beder
 touching crossbar.GEN hips.GEN
 ‘a touching of the crossbar at the hips’ (attested example from a
 discussion of weightlifting)

Moreover, the original generalizations (cf. Willim 2000; Bošković 2008, 2010; Bošković and Šener 2014) are based on comparing apples and oranges: specifically Saxon genitives in languages with articles and *of*-genitives in languages without articles. As can be seen from their original examples (reproduced from Bošković 2008), German (as well as English) allows one (prenominal) Saxon genitive and one (postnominal) *of*-genitive in such constructions, while Polish (and Russian) does not allow two *of*-genitives.¹⁰

- (8) a. Hannibals Eroberung Roms (German)
 Hannibal.GEN conquest Rome.GEN
 ‘Hannibal’s conquest of Rome’
- b. * podbicie Rzymu Hannibala (Polish)
 conquest Rome.GEN Hannibal.GEN
 intended: ‘Hannibal’s conquest of Rome’

However, it is a well-known generalization that languages with articles such as English and Catalan (also Hebrew, Greek, Italian; cf. Alexiadou et al. 2007:543) do not allow two *of*-genitives in process nominalizations, as shown in (9), while languages without articles do allow one of the arguments in event nominalizations to be a prenominal possessive, structurally parallel to Saxon genitive, and the other an *of*-genitive, as shown in (10). Thus, if structurally parallel examples are considered—(8a) and (10), or (8b) and (9)—languages with and without articles pattern exactly the same.

- (9) a. * the destruction of the city of the barbarians
 b. * l’afusellament de l’escamot d’en Ferrer Guardia
 the execution of the squad of Ferrer Guardia
 (Catalan; Alexiadou et al. 2007:543)
 intended: ‘the squad’s execution of Ferrer Guardia’
 (English; Alexiadou et al. 2007:543)

¹⁰ Perhaps contributing to the confusion is the fact that in German the prenominal *s*-genitive corresponds to the English Saxon genitive, while the postnominal *s*-genitive corresponds to the English *of*-genitive. The English translation of (8a) shows that the two are structurally distinct.

- (10) a. Marksova kritika gegelevskoj dialektiki (Russian)
 Marx.POSS critique [Hegel's dialectics].GEN
 'Marx' critique of Hegel's dialectics'
 (Google hit; cf. Lyutikova 2014:132)
- b. Irodovo izbienie mladencev
 Herod.POSS beating babies.GEN
 'Herod's massacre of the innocents'

Yet other proposed generalizations turn out to be spurious. For example, it has been suggested that LBE (Left-Branch Extraction) is possible only in article-less languages (Bošković and Šener 2014:106–107) because such languages lack the DP, which in languages with articles serves as a barrier for extraction. However, Pereltsvaig (2008) argues in detail that “Left-Branch *Extraction*” is a misnomer: split nominals, which have been called LBE since Corver (1992), do not in fact involve (sub)extraction. This is particularly clear from the fact that the allegedly extracted part of a split nominal need not be a constituent. Pereltsvaig 2008 also shows that LBE can violate known islands.

- (11) Protiv sovjetskij on vystupal vlasti. (Russian)
 against Soviet he demonstrated regime
 'It is against the SOVIET regime that he demonstrated.' OR
 'It is AGAINST the Soviet regime that he demonstrated.'

To recap, it turns out that Russian, an article-less language expected to pattern with its article-less relative Serbo-Croatian, does not support the dichotomy between NP and DP languages: in fact, it unexpectedly patterns, in some respects, with DP languages. Moreover, Russian is not the only language that despite the lack of articles does not pattern with NP languages. As shown in Van Hofwegen (2013) and Pereltsvaig (2015), Lithuanian straddles the alleged divide between NP and DP languages as well. Although Lithuanian has no free-morpheme articles of the English *a/the* type, it does have a definiteness marker which takes the form of an optional bound morpheme that attaches to the highest premodifier in a noun phrase, be it an adjective (Ambrasas 1997:142–147), a participle, a demonstrative, or an ordinal numeral (Ambrasas 1997:171–172) or even some types of interrogatives and superlatives (cf. Ambrasas 1997:217–219, Stolz 2010).

- (12) a. balt-as šun-iuk-as (Lithuanian)
 white-M.SG.NOM dog-DIM-M.SG.NOM
 'a/the white doggie'
- b. balt-as-is šun-iuk-as
 white-M.SG.NOM-DEF.M.SG.NOM dog-DIM-M.SG.NOM
 'the white doggie'

While historically this Lithuanian morpheme may be akin to the so-called “long morphology” of adjectives in Serbo-Croatian (cf. Progovac 1998, Aljović 2002), Slovenian (cf. Marušič and Žaucer 2013), and even Russian (cf. Bailyn 1994, Pereltsvaig 2001), Van Hofwegen (2013) argues quite convincingly that in the

synchronic grammar of Lithuanian the definiteness marker is more like the Bulgarian suffixed article than like the adjectival long morphology of Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Russian. In particular, the Lithuanian definiteness marker can appear only once per noun phrase, on the highest stacked adjective (cf. the Russian “long morphology”, which appears on all stacked adjectives):

- (13) a. * miegant-ys-is balt-as-is
 sleeping-M.SG.NOM-DEF.M.SG.NOM white-M.SG.NOM-DEF.M.SG.NOM
 šuniuk-as (Lithuanian)
 doggie-M.SG.NOM
 ‘the sleeping the white doggie’
- b. miegant-ys-is balt-as šuniuk-as
 sleeping-M.SG.NOM-DEF.M.SG.NOM white-M.SG.NOM doggie-M.SG.NOM
 ‘the sleeping the white doggie’

- (14) spjašč-ij bel-yj pësik (Russian)
 sleeping-LF.M.SG.NOM white-LF.M.SG.NOM doggie(M)-SG.NOM
 ‘{a/the} sleeping white doggie’

Since this morpheme is very similar to the Bulgarian suffixal definite article *-to*, one would expect Lithuanian to pattern with DP languages (of which Bulgarian is one). While in some respects Lithuanian indeed patterns with DP languages (e.g., in allowing two adnominal genitives and the majority superlative reading), in other respects Lithuanian behaves as an NP language: for instance, it allows LBE and does not exhibit exhaustivity of possessors. However, since we have shown these four purported generalizations to be problematic anyway, the mixed patterning of Lithuanian is not particularly surprising. It all goes to show that something is wrong with the alleged generalizations rather than with the language itself.

Other languages besides Russian and Lithuanian are highly problematic from the point of Bošković and Şener’s (2014) dichotomy between NP and DP languages. As is well known, Hungarian has articles but allows a relatively free word order, governed by information-structural considerations (Farkas 1986; Horvath 1986; É. Kiss 1987, 2002; Gécseg and Kiefer 2009; inter alia). Likewise, Ossetian does not have articles but allows two adnominal genitives, including in process nominalizations (cf. Abayev 1959):

- (15) a. mæ Sægat Irišton-ı kartæ (Ossetian)
 I.GEN.CL northern Ossetia-GEN map
 ‘my map of the Northern Ossetia’
- b. Alan-ı don-ı nižt mæ žærdæ-mæ næ sæui.
 Alan.GEN water.GEN drink.NOMIN I.GEN.CL heart-ALL NEG go.PRES.3SG
 ‘I don’t like that Alan drinks water.’ (lit. ‘I don’t like Alan’s drinking water.’)
- c. Alan don nuæžta.
 Alan water drink.PAST.TR.3SG
 ‘Alan drank water.’

Moreover, we have shown elsewhere that three additional generalizations drawn by Bošković and Şener (2014)—concerning NPI licensing, Scrambling, and number morphology—do not hold (cf. Pereltsvaig 2000, 2008, 2013a, 2013b, *inter alia*).

Given the highly problematic nature of the generalizations that are supposed to support the NP/DP language dichotomy, there seems little point in checking how Tatar fares with respect to these phenomena.¹¹ Instead, in the rest of this paper we will mount an argument that Tatar (and by extension other article-less Turkic languages) has the DP projection although it is not merged in all nominals in the language, thus extending Pereltsvaig's (2006a) argument that bare NPs and DPs can co-exist in the same language, whether or not it has (overt) articles.

3. ORIGINAL ARGUMENTS FOR THE DP-HYPOTHESIS

Before we consider Tatar possessives and direct objects in great detail in the following two sections, we review the earliest arguments for the DP-Hypothesis, developed originally based on languages with articles. The logic of this section is the following: if a certain pattern of linguistic data is used to support a certain analysis in one type of language, the same pattern of data in a different type of language necessarily supports the same analysis. Specifically, if a certain phenomenon is taken to support the DP projection in languages with articles, it necessarily supports the DP projection in languages without articles as well.

One of the main observations that motivated Abney's (1987) proposal that noun phrases are projections of a functional category D rather than of a lexical category N is that certain properties of noun phrases also characterize phrases built around a verbal lexical projection. For example, English gerunds such as *John's building a spaceship* are clearly built from the lexical verb, which is what accounts for the Case-licensing of the direct object *a spaceship* (and the lack of the preposition *of*). But as can be seen from this example, gerunds allow possessors and have the same external distribution as bona fide noun phrases like *John's book*. Abney argued that this parallel between gerunds and bona fide noun phrases derives from the fact that both structures are headed by the same functional head, D. According to Abney, the English possessive marker *'s* occupies the head D, while the possessor (*John* in the above examples) occupies its specifier. The analysis of different types of nominalizations as capped by the nominal functional projection, DP, has received much support in later literature. For example, nominalizations in Hebrew, a language with a definite article, have been analyzed in a similar vein in Ritter (1992), Hazout (1990, 1995), Siloni (1996, 1997), *inter alia*. See also Fu et al. (2001).¹²

¹¹ It will be seen, however, in our discussion of Differential Object Marking below, that Tatar exhibits inverse scope, despite lacking articles—in clear contradiction to Bošković and Şener (2014:109).

¹² Nominalizations in an article-less language, Russian, have also been analyzed along the same lines: see Engelhardt and Trugman (1998, 2000) and Pazelskaya and Tatevosov (2003), *inter alia*.

Turkic languages, such as Turkish (Kornfilt 2001, 2003) and Tatar, like English or Hebrew, have nominalized structures built from a verbal root, specifically nominalized embedded clauses.

- (16) min [Marat-nıŋ kičä jır-la-w-ı]-n bel-ä-m. (Tatar)
 I Marat-GEN yesterday sing-NOMIN-3-ACC know-PRES-1SG
 ‘I know that Marat sang yesterday.’

The verbal core of such nominalizations is revealed by the possibility of accusative-marked direct objects, as in (17a), and adverbs, as in (17b).¹³

- (17) a. min [sineŋ alma-nı aša-w-ıŋ]-nı bel-ä-m. (Tatar)
 I you.GEN apple-ACC eat-NOMIN-2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG
 ‘I know that you ate the apple.’
- b. min [sineŋ tiz-genä / kajt-kač uk alma-nı
 I you.GEN immediately / return-CONV PTC apple-ACC
 aša-w-ıŋ]-nı bel-ä-m.
 eat-NOMIN-2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG
 ‘I know that you {immediately/right away upon return} ate the apple.’

Yet the nominalized embedded clause also has nominal properties: it can fulfill the argument role of another predicate (e.g., the role of the direct object of the verb ‘to know’ in the above examples), it is marked with the accusative suffix *-nı* (cf. *min döres-ne/džawap-nı beläm* ‘I know the truth/answer’), and its subject takes the form of a genitive-marked possessor (cf. *Marat-nıŋ alma-sı* ‘Marat’s apple’). Since similar data from English gerunds is taken by Abney (1987) as evidence that a noun phrase—whether projected from a nominal or verbal lexical head—is capped by the same functional projection, DP, Tatar examples like (16)–(17) provide prima facie evidence that Tatar too has the DP projection.

Another early argument for the DP projection in languages with articles came from the parallel between clauses and nominals in terms of agreement. In particular, Abney (1987) cites Szabolcsi (1983), who showed that in Hungarian the possessee agrees with the possessor in person and number, just as the verb agrees with the subject. Possessor agreement, she proposed, is instantiated by a functional head (which Abney called D), much as subject agreement in clauses is instantiated by a functional category (INFL/Agr).¹⁴

¹³ Some adverbs, such as *kičä* ‘yesterday’, may optionally appear with the attributivizer *-gı* (see section 6 below), which turns it into a nominal modifier. If the attributivizer is present, the adverb is thought to attach to a nominal projection, but if the attributivizer is absent, the adverb must attach lower, to a verbal projection.

(i) min [Marat-nıŋ kičä(-ge) jır-la-w-ı]-n bel-ä-m. (Tatar)
 I Marat-GEN yesterday-ATTR sing-NOMIN-2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG
 ‘I know that Marat sang yesterday.’

¹⁴ An anonymous reviewer correctly points out that “adjectives in several languages also agree with nouns”. However, we believe that possessor agreement, which reflects the person/number features of the possessor **on the** N^o, should not be confused with modifier agreement, which reflects a broader range of features (gender, number, but also case, definiteness, etc.) of the N^o on the modifier. The latter is typically analyzed as feature

- (18) a. az én- \emptyset vendég-e-**m**
 the I-NOM guest-POSS-1SG
 ‘my guest’
- b. a te- \emptyset vendég-e-**d**
 the you-NOM guest-POSS-2SG
 ‘your guest’

If the presence of possessor agreement is taken as evidence for DP in a language with articles, the same sort of agreement with the possessor in languages without articles must also be taken as *prima facie* evidence for the DP. It has long been noted that Turkish also displays agreement with the possessor on the possessee noun (cf. Kornfilt 1984). Tatar, like Hungarian and Turkish, also displays possessor agreement:

- (19) a. minem bala-**m**
 I.GEN child-1SG
 ‘my child’
- b. sineŋ bala-**ŋ**
 you.GEN child-2SG
 ‘your child’

To recap, so far we have shown that Bošković and Şener’s (2014) distinction between NP and DP languages—and therefore their argument that Turkish lacks the DP—is highly problematic. Moreover, we have shown that at least two of the original arguments for the DP projection in languages with articles apply equally to languages without articles, particularly to Tatar.¹⁵ In the following sections, we will see that postulating DP for some—but crucially not all!—noun phrases in Tatar can explain some curious parallels between nominals in different syntactic environments.

4. TATAR POSSESSIVES: INTRODUCING THE DATA

While some Tatar possessives, illustrated in (19) above, have a genitive-marked possessor and an agreement marker on the possessee, not all possessives follow that

percolation or valuing unvalued uninterpretable features of the modifier. Possessor agreement is crucially different from modifier agreement in that it adds uninterpretable features to a head that already has its own (interpretable) person and number. Unsurprisingly, possessor agreement typically receives a different analytical treatment from modifier agreement.

¹⁵ Another type of argument for the DP projection (as well as for other intermediate functional projections, such as NumP) came from the word order facts: it has been shown that the noun may move to a higher functional head. Such N-to-D movement is entirely parallel to V-to-T movement in the clausal domain. For discussions of N-to-D or N-to-some-lower-functional-projection movement in Romance languages, see Longobardi (1994), Cinque (1994); in Germanic languages see Delsing (1993), Julien (2005); in Semitic languages see Ritter (1992), Pereltsvaig (2006b); in Slavic see Trugman (2005b). It is, however, difficult to diagnose (overt) head movement in a strictly left-branching language like Tatar; hence, no easy arguments about the presence of DP can be drawn from word order facts.

format. The construction illustrated in (19) is called *ezafe-3* and contrasted with the so-called *ezafe-2*.¹⁶ Unlike in *ezafe-3*, in *ezafe-2* the possessor is not marked with genitive case (in fact, it is not marked for case at all) and the possessive marker on the head noun does not seem to encode agreement.¹⁷

- (20) a. *ezafe-3*:
 bala-lar-**nıŋ** alma-sı
 child-PL-GEN apple-3
 ‘(the) children’s apple’
- b. *ezafe-2*:
 bala-lar alma-sı
 child-PL apple-3
 ‘children’s apple’

As in Turkish (cf. Bošković and Şener 2014:112–114), the *ezafe-3* possessor must precede an adjective. However, the same is not true of *ezafe-2* possessors: in fact, they must follow attributive adjectives. Crucially, the structure proposed by Bošković and Şener (2014:114, their (28)) for Turkish noun phrases does not have room to accommodate such post-adjectival *ezafe-2* possessors. Importantly, the possibility of the two *ezafe* possessors co-occurring, as in (21c), means that the structure proposed by Bošković and Şener (2014:116, their (35)) for Serbo-Croatian noun phrases, whereby a possessor is merged as a complement of N° and then moves to a higher, pre-adjectival position, does not apply for Tatar either, as it would entail merging a lower (*ezafe-2*) possessor in a position vacated by the pre-adjectival *ezafe-3* possessor, in violation of basic principles of syntax.

In contrast, under the DP-Hypothesis a structure for these noun phrases is immediately available: *ezafe-3* possessors appear in Spec-DP, whereas *ezafe-2* possessors appear in the specifier of a lower functional projection. Following Pereltsvaig and Lyutikova (2014), we call this lower functional projection PossP.¹⁸

- (21) a. (**kük*) bala-lar-**nıŋ** (**kük**) itek-lär-e
 blue child-PL-GEN blue boot-PL-3
 ‘(the) children’s blue boots’

¹⁶ There is another construction in Tatar, known as *ezafe-1*, which combines two bare nouns and is typically used to denote material, as in *altın jözek* ‘gold ring’. We will not discuss *ezafe-1* in this paper; the interested reader is referred to Zakiev (1995:120–122).

¹⁷ As we shall see below, *ezafe-2* nominals do not allow a 1st or 2nd person possessor (in fact, they do not allow pronominal possessors at all); therefore, it is not clear if the possessive marker in *ezafe-2* expresses agreement with the 3rd person (there is no number agreement in 3rd person in Tatar in general) or whether it is a default form. See Pereltsvaig and Lyutikova (2014) for a more detailed discussion.

¹⁸ Placing (a certain type of) possessors in the specifier of a functional projection below DP is not a novel move. In her influential analysis of Hebrew construct states, Ritter (1992) places possessors in construct state nominals in [Spec,NumP]. A similar analysis is needed for Italian possessives, where pronominal possessors are compatible with the definite article (cf. Italian *il mio Gianni* lit. ‘the my John’) and do not block N-to-D movement, as in *Gianni mio* lit. ‘John my’ (cf. Longobardi 1994).

- b. (**kük**) bala-lar (*kük) itek-lär-e
blue child-PL blue boot-PL-3
'children's blue boots'
- c. Marat-**nıj** **kük** bala-lar itek-lär-e
Marat-GEN blue child-PL boot-PL-3
'Marat's blue children's boot'

Besides differences in morphological marking (genitive vs. unmarked) and position (before adjectives vs. after adjectives), the two types of *ezafe* possessors also differ in their interpretation, as has been discussed in great detail in Pereltsvaig and Lyutikova (2014). To summarize the lengthy discussion there, *ezafe*-3 possessors are always interpreted as referential arguments, while *ezafe*-2 possessors are interpreted as modifiers. Consider the following examples: the *ezafe*-3 in (22a) denotes clothing that belongs to a woman, whereas the *ezafe*-2 in (22b) denotes clothing of the type associated with women. In other words, the clothing in (22b) can be owned by a cross-dressing male, while the clothing in (22a) cannot.¹⁹

- (22) a. xatın-**nıj** kijem-e
woman-GEN clothing-3
'a/the woman's clothing'
- b. xatın kijem-e
woman clothing-3
'women's clothing'

Depending on the argument structure of the noun, *ezafe*-3 possessors can saturate any argument role.²⁰ In particular, with 'picture'-nouns, *ezafe*-3 possessors can be Themes, Agents/Creators, or Owners.²¹ For example, the *ezafe*-3 possessor in (23) can be interpreted as the Owner ('a/the photo that (the) children own'), as the external argument ('a/the photo taken by (the) children'), or as the internal argument ('a/the photo that depicts (the) children').

- (23) bala-lar-**nıj** fotografijä-se (Tatar)
child-PL-GEN photo-3
'(the) children's photo'

In contrast, *ezafe*-2 possessors receive their interpretation in accordance with encyclopedic knowledge. For instance, the possessor in (24) can be interpreted as the content of the photo (i.e., 'a photo of the type that depicts children', such as the type of photo of their children that parents send to relatives or post on Facebook, where children are smiling, posing, dressed up nicely, etc.), but since it is hard to imagine a typical style of photos taken by children, this example does not naturally

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of English possessives of the modificational type, such as the translation of (22b), see Munn (1995).

²⁰ Throughout this paper, we assume a regular correspondence between thematic roles and structural positions, such as UTAH (Baker 1988:46).

²¹ With regular, non-argument-taking nouns, *ezafe*-3 possessors denote Owners (loosely defined), as in *Alsu-nıj alma-sı* 'Alsu's apple' or *Marat-nıj šähär-e* 'Marat's city'.

receive the interpretation where the children are the creators rather than the subject matter of the photo.

- (24) bala-lar fotografijä-se (Tatar)
 child-PL photo-3
 ‘(the) children’s photo’

However, similar *ezafe-2* examples with a different noun allow for the creator or even the intended audience interpretation. Thus, the possessor in (25a) can be interpreted as a creator (‘a/the drawing of the type drawn by children [i.e., simple shapes, stickmen, etc.]’) or as the intended audience (‘a/the drawing of the type drawn for children [e.g., illustration for a children’s book, but not a cubist drawing]’). The same *ezafe-2* possessor in (25b) most naturally receives the intended audience interpretation: ‘a/the book of the type produced for children [e.g., with light content, colorful illustrations, simple language]’. Note, however, that the objects denoted in these examples can be owned by adults; for example, the authors of the present paper own a few *balalar kitapları* ‘children’s books’ in their book collections.

- (25) a. bala-lar räsem-e (Tatar)
 child-PL drawing-3
 ‘(the) children’s drawing’
 b. bala-lar kitab-ı
 child-PL book-3
 ‘(the) children’s book’

The modificational nature of *ezafe-2* possessors is further highlighted by the fact that many examples of such possessives most naturally translate into other languages—Russian, as is the case with many descriptive grammars of Tatar, or English, as is the case with generative works on the language—with attributive adjectives (the examples in (26a–c) and their Russian translations are from Zakiev 1995:117–120, and the example in (26d) is from Grashchenkov 2007:85).

- (26) a. xalık džır-lar-ı (Tatar)
 people song-PL-3
 ‘folk songs’ (Russian: *narodnye pesni* lit. ‘folksy songs’)
 b. tau čišmä-se
 mountain creek-3
 ‘highland creek’ (Russian: *gornyj ručeeek* lit. ‘mountainous creek’)
 c. avgust hava-sı
 August air-3
 ‘August air’ (Russian: *avgustovskij vozdux* lit. ‘August-y air’)
 d. maçı küz-lär-e
 cat eye-PL-3
 ‘feline eyes’

To recap, *ezafe-3* possessors are characterized by a cluster of properties—morphological (case and possibly agreement they trigger on the possessee),

syntactic (position with respect to attributive adjectives), and semantic (argumental/referential interpretation)—that distinguish them from *ezafe-2* possessors. The plot thickens in the next section, where we show that direct objects in Tatar also fall into two categories, distinguished by a very similar cluster of properties: morphological case (accusative vs. unmarked), syntactic position (with respect to VP-boundary adverbs, indirect objects, etc.), and semantic (interpretative possibilities). In section 6, we will propose a unified analysis that applies both to the two kinds of possessors and to the two kinds of direct objects.

5. DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN TATAR

Like other Turkic languages, Tatar exhibits the so-called Differential Object Marking (DOM): direct objects can appear either marked with accusative case or unmarked for case. In what follows, we show that the difference in case marking between the two types of objects correlates with positional and interpretative possibilities, not unlike with the two types of possessors, discussed in the previous section.

- (27) a. Marat mašina-**nı** sat-ıp al-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat car-ACC sell-CONV take-PAST
 ‘Marat bought a (specific)/the car.’
- b. Marat mašina sat-ıp al-dı.
 Marat car sell-CONV take-PAST
 ‘Marat bought a car/cars.’

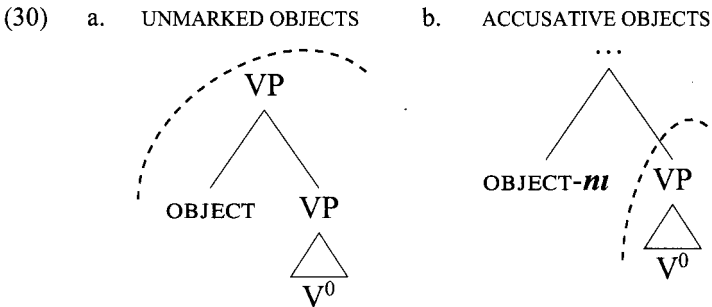
First, consider the position of accusative and unmarked objects with respect to VP-boundary adverbs, such as *tiz* ‘quickly’. As can be seen from the following examples, accusative objects can—and unmarked objects cannot—appear to the left of VP-boundary adverbs (i.e., outside the VP).

- (28) a. Marat *botka-nı* **tiz** aša-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat porridge-ACC quickly eat-PAST
 ‘Marat ate (the) porridge quickly.’
- b. *Marat *botka* **tiz** aša-dı.
 Marat porridge quickly eat-PAST
 ‘Marat ate porridge quickly.’

Similarly, accusative objects can—and unmarked objects cannot—occur to the left of indirect objects.

- (29) a. Marat ike kitap-**nı** bala-ga bir-de. (Tatar)
 Marat two book-ACC child-DAT give-PAST
 ‘Marat gave (the) two books to the/a child.’
- b. * Marat ike kitap bala-ga bir-de.
 Marat two book child-DAT give-PAST
 intended: same as (29a)

Because of this contrast, one influential analysis of DOM has been what we shall call the positional analysis. According to Baker and Vinokurova (2010:599–602) and Baker (2013), who analyze DOM in Sakha (a relative of Tatar) and Hindi, the contrast between accusative and unmarked objects reduces to a positional contrast: accusative objects are those that move out of the VP, whereas unmarked objects are those that remain inside that domain.²² According to Baker (2013), movement of the direct object outside the VP brings it into the same spell-out domain as the subject, triggering the assignment of accusative case, which Baker proposes to analyze as an instance of dependent case, in the sense of Marantz (1991). The positional analysis is schematized below (the arches show the left edge of VP as marked by VP-boundary adverbs):



In Sakha and Hindi, the difference in structural position of the object is visible in terms of the allowable word order: for example, in Sakha, where, as in the Tatar example (29b) above, unmarked objects cannot precede VP-boundary adverbs, accusative objects likewise are prohibited from following such adverbs (the following example is adapted from Baker and Vinokurova (2010:602), their (12b); they claim it to be grammatical only if the object is contrastively focused):

- (31) Masha **türgennik** *salamaat-(#y)* sie-te. (Sakha)
 Masha quickly porridge-ACC eat-PAST.3sS
 ‘Masha ate porridge quickly.’

Similarly, in Hindi the positional contrast between accusative and unmarked objects translates into a difference in the order with respect to indirect objects. Accusative objects must precede the indirect object, as in (32a), whereas the unmarked objects must follow the indirect object, as in (32b) (examples from Baker 2013).

- (32) a. Ram-ne chitthi-ko Anita-ko ghejaa. (Hindi)
 Ram-ERG letter-ACC Anita-DAT sent
 ‘Ram sent the letter to Anita.’
 b. Ram-ne Anita-ko chitthi ghejii.
 Ram-ERG Anita-DAT letter sent
 ‘Ram sent some/a letter(s) to Anita.’

²² Merchant (2009) and Levin and Preminger (2015) take a similarly positional approach to Case.

Baker (2013) extends this positional analysis to Turkish, so we must ask whether the same analysis is also applicable to the closely related Tatar. We believe that it is not. In particular, we think that although (30a) holds in Tatar (i.e., unmarked objects are indeed VP-internal), (30b) does not; that is, accusative objects in Tatar need not be VP-external. First, consider VP-boundary adverbs. Unlike in Sakha, in Tatar accusative objects can follow VP-level adverbs, such as *tiz* ‘quickly’.²³

- (33) Marat **tiz** *botka-nı* aša-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat quickly porridge-ACC eat-PAST
 ‘Marat ate porridge quickly.’

Unlike in Sakha, in Tatar no contrastiveness is involved. Whether or not the accusative object occurs in VP is determined by information structure; VP-internal objects are interpreted as new information (Rheme). For example, (33) above can be an answer to ‘What did Marat do when he came home?’ but not to ‘What did Marat do with (the) porridge?’.

Moreover, accusative objects in Tatar can take either wide or narrow scope with respect to other quantificational elements, again in contrast to Sakha and Turkish. The following examples illustrate the scope possibilities of accusative objects with respect to quantified subjects and negation. Crucially, each example can have the second interpretation listed, where the accusative object has narrow scope:

- (34) a. Hār ukuçı [Tukaj-**nıj** ike šıgır-e-*(**n**)] ukı-dı. (Tatar)
 every student Tukay-GEN two poem-3-ACC read-PAST
 ‘Every student read two poems by Tukay.’
 2 > ∀: ‘There are (certain) two poems by Tukay that every student read.’
 ∀ > 2: ‘Every student read (some) two poems by Tukay.’
- b. Marat [Alsu-**nıj** fotografijä-se-*(**n**)] kür-me-de.
 Marat Alsu-GEN photo-3-ACC see-NEG-PAST
 ‘Marat didn’t see a photo of Alsu.’
 ∃ > Neg: ‘There is a photo of Alsu that Marat didn’t see.’
 Neg > ∃: ‘It is not the case that Marat saw a photo of Alsu.’

More importantly, accusative objects occurring VP-internally at Spellout can take either wide or narrow scope with respect to quantificational elements inside or at the boundary of the VP. The possibility of the wide scope indicates that a VP-internal accusative object can undergo LF/covert movement, while the possibility of narrow scope means that accusative objects may remain in VP throughout the derivation. Note that this is exactly the opposite of the Turkish facts reported in Baker (2013), who claims that an accusative object “never has lowest scope with

²³ The adverb *tiz* ‘quickly’ in Tatar is not ambiguous between manner and aspectual reading, unlike its English counterpart. In Tatar, the aspectual reading is expressed by *tiz-genä* ‘right away’. See also example (17b).

respect to adverbs in Turkish” (p. 10).²⁴ For instance, in Tatar VP-internal accusative objects can take either wide or narrow scope with respect to aspectual adverbs.

- (35) Marat kabat-kabat kitap-**nı** uki-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat again-again book-ACC read-PAST
 ∃ > RE: ‘Marat read (the) book again and again.’ (same book, over and over)
 RE > ∃: ‘Marat read a book again and again.’ (a different book from a set)

Similarly, VP-internal accusative objects can take either wide or narrow scope with respect to indirect objects:

- (36) Marat här bala-ga ike kitap-**nı** bir-de. (Tatar)
 Marat every child-DAT two book-ACC give-PAST
 2 > ∀: ‘Marat gave two books to every child.’ (same two books)
 ∀ > 2: ‘Marat gave every child two books.’ (different two books from a set)

Note, however, that the two scopal possibilities are not available for accusative objects that have overtly moved out of the VP; in that case, only wide scope interpretation is possible. In other words, there is no reconstruction.

- (37) Marat kitap-**nı** kabat-kabat uki-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat book-ACC again-again read-PAST
 ∃ > RE: ‘Marat read (the) book again and again.’ (same book, over and over)
 *RE > ∃: ‘Marat read a book again and again.’ (a different book each time)

In sentences with an accusative object preceding a quantified indirect object, both scopal possibilities are once again available. The narrow scope of the accusative object is presumably achieved by an LF/covert movement of the indirect object, since reconstruction is ruled out by the interpretation of (36) above.

- (38) Marat ike kitap-**nı** här bala-ga bir-de. (Tatar)
 Marat two book-ACC every child-DAT give-PAST
 2 > ∀: ‘Marat gave two books to every child.’ (same two books)
 ∀ > 2: ‘Marat gave every child two books.’ (two different books from a set)

To summarize, we have shown that accusative objects in Tatar can move to a VP-external position either overtly, as in (29a), or covertly, as in (35)–(36), but crucially they may remain inside the VP, by Spellout or throughout the derivation. This is contrary to the positional analysis of DOM, which we therefore reject.

What about unmarked objects? As shown in (29b) above, they must occur VP-internally at Spellout. Can they move to a VP-external position at LF (i.e., covertly)? The answer is no: unmarked objects cannot take wide scope with respect

²⁴ Thanks to Jaklin Kornfilt (personal communication) for confirming the Turkish facts.

to other quantifiers or negation. For example, in (39) the unmarked object cannot take wide scope with respect to the quantified subject; the sentence cannot mean that there are a certain two books that every student read.

- (39) Hār ukučı ike kitap ukı-dı. (Tatar)
 every student two book read-PAST
 $\forall > 2$: 'For every student, there are two books that (s)he read.'
 $*2 > \forall$: 'There are (certain) two books that every student read.'

Nor can an unmarked object take scope over an indirect object, as shown in (40).

- (40) Marat hār bala-ga ike kitap bir-de. (Tatar)
 Marat every child-DAT two book give-PAST
 $\forall > 2$: 'Marat gave every child two books.' (different two books)
 $*2 > \forall$: 'Marat gave two books to every child.' (same two books)

Similarly, an unmarked object cannot take scope over negation; (41) cannot mean that there are (a certain) two books that Marat did not read.

- (41) Marat ike kitap ukı-ma-dı.
 Marat two book read-NEG-PAST
 Neg > 2 : 'It is not the case that Marat read two books.'
 $*2 > \text{Neg}$: 'There are (certain) two books that Marat didn't read.'

Moreover, unmarked objects take only narrow scope with respect to quantificational adverbs like 'again':

- (42) Marat kabat-kabat kitap ukı-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat again-again book read-PAST
 RE $> \exists$ 'Marat read book(s) again and again.' (a different book each time)
 $*\exists > \text{RE}$: 'Marat read (the) book again and again.' (same book, over and over)

Thus, it appears that unmarked objects are frozen in their scopal possibilities: only the surface scope is available to them. To recap, the two types of objects in Tatar—accusative and unmarked—differ in their positional possibilities: while accusative objects can occur either inside or outside the VP, unmarked objects *must* occur inside the VP. So while the positional analysis as formulated by Baker and Vinokurova (2010:599–602) and Baker (2013) is too strong for Tatar, the ultimate analysis must account for these positional differences.

Moreover, the two types of objects differ in their interpretational possibilities: accusative objects always have a referential (or what Beaver 2013 calls "determinate") interpretation, while unmarked objects have some (though as we shall see below, not all) semantic properties of weak or pseudo-noun-incorporated (PNI-ed) nominals.²⁵ The term PNI has been used for a number of different

²⁵ Pseudo-noun incorporation (PNI) is a term coined in Massam (2001) for constructions that have the semantic but not the morphological properties of noun incorporation (Baker 1988, 2009). Recently discussed examples of relevant constructions come from Hindi, Turkish,

constructions in various languages, but what all instances of PNI across languages have in common is that the PNI-ed nominals are reduced versions of those that serve as regular arguments (Massam 2009:1088) and that they have the semantic properties of incorporated nominals: they are obligatorily non-specific, take only narrow scope (Bittner 1994, Van Geenhoven 1998), are semantically number-neutral (Dayal 2007), and frequently form a predicate that names a conventional activity (Mithun 1984, 1986). Moreover, PNI-ed nominals cannot serve as antecedents of discourse anaphora.

Considered in light of these definitional properties of PNI, unmarked objects in Tatar do not perfectly fit the profile of PNI-ed nominals. For example, unmarked objects differ from other types of PNI-ed nominals in that they do not form a predicate that names a conventional activity. Moreover, unlike other cases of PNI, unmarked objects can support discourse anaphora.

- (43) Sin anarga kitap ala ala-sıñ. (Tatar)
 you that.DAT book take.IPFV can.PRES-2SG
 Häm a-nı matur it-ep ter-ep büläk it-ergä bula.
 and that-ACC beautifully make-CONV wrap-CONV gift make-INF be.PRES
 'You can buy him a book. You can wrap it beautifully and give it to him as a gift.'

Besides differing from other types of PNI-ed nominals in their semantics, unmarked objects in Tatar also do not have the syntactic properties of PNI-ed nominals. According to Baker (2013), PNI-ed objects in Tamil and similar languages are head-adjoined to the verb; unmarked objects in Tatar, however, cannot be analyzed that way, for two reasons. First, unmarked objects in Tatar may contain phrasal material. Besides simple adjectival modifiers and number/plurality markers, as in (44a), both of which can be potentially analyzed as head-adjoined to the noun, with the resulting complex head further head-adjoining to the verb, unmarked objects may be *ezafe-2* nominals containing phrasal possessors that can only be analyzed as specifiers of some functional projection in the extended noun phrase.²⁶ For example, in (44b), the unmarked object is *kırsaklı xatınnar kijeme* 'clothing for pregnant women', which contains a phrasal possessor *kırsaklı xatınnar* 'pregnant women's'.

- (44) a. Marat kızıl alma-lar aša-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat red apple-PL eat-PAST
 'Marat ate red apples.'

Hungarian, and Oceanic languages (note, however, that according to Baker 2013, Hindi data would be accounted for by object shift, not PNI). PNI-ed nominals, unlike truly incorporated ones, can contain more than just a bare noun: they may contain adjectival modifiers (as in Niuean), number markers (as in Hindi), and so forth. It is not clear, however, if PNI-ed nominals may contain any elements that are truly phrasal, such as phrasal complements, complex adjectival modifiers, relative clauses (especially non-restrictive relative clauses), and the like.

²⁶ According to the analysis developed in the preceding section, these phrasal possessors are located in [Spec,PossP].

- b. Alsu kirsak-lı xatın-nar kijem-e sat-ıp al-dı.
 Alsu belly-ATTR woman-PL clothing-3 sell-CONV take-PAST
 ‘Alsu bought clothing for pregnant women.’

Second, unlike their counterparts in Tamil, unmarked objects in Tatar need not be PF-adjacent to the verb. In particular, the head noun of the unmarked object may be separated from the (light) verb by a nominal component in the light verb construction (LVC). In (45), the nominal component *büläk* ‘gift’ separates the unmarked object *mašina* ‘car’ from the light verb *itte* ‘made’.²⁷

- (45) Äti-se Marat-ka mašina **büläk** it-te. (Tatar)
 father-3 Marat-DAT car gift make-PAST
 ‘His father gave Marat a car as a gift.’

Thus, unmarked objects in Tatar do not have the requisite “tight connection to the verb”; this is particularly clear from a comparison of unmarked objects and nominal components in light-verb constructions. We contend that the latter are a better candidate for PNI in Tatar than unmarked objects (cf. Megerdooimian 2008 on Farsi). First, nominal components in LVCs form a predicate that names a conventional activity (whereas unmarked objects do not, as mentioned above). Second, although nominal components in LVCs can have the focus particle *-gına* attached to them, they cannot be focused by this particle. The only reading available for sentences with the emphatic particle on the nominal component of LVC is where the whole predicate (i.e., light verb plus the nominal component) is focused. In contrast, if the emphatic particle is attached to the unmarked object, either the whole predicate or just the unmarked object itself is focused. This shows that connection of the nominal components in LVC to the verb is tighter than that of the unmarked object.

- (46) a. Marat bala-ga jaña **kitap-kına** ukı-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat child-DAT new book-EMPH read-PAST
 ‘The only thing that Marat did is read the child a new book.’
 OR: ‘The only thing Marat read to the child is a new book.’
- b. Äti-se Marat-ka jaña mašina **büläk-kenä** it-te.
 father-3 Marat-DAT new car gift-EMPH make-PAST
 ‘His father only GAVE Marat a new car as a gift.’
 NOT: #‘His father gave Marat a new car only as a gift.’

Third, nominal components in LVCs cannot be antecedents for discourse anaphora (in contrast to unmarked objects, which can; see (43) above). For example, ‘it’ in the following example is grammatical only if ‘making the student work’ is its antecedent.

²⁷ An anonymous reviewer points out that this example may be reanalyzed as having an unmarked object PF-adjacent to the verb “provided that the definition of *verb* in LV constructions is such that they include the non-verbal elements like *büläk* as well”. This understanding, however, goes against the spirit of Baker’s (2003) conceptualization of lexical categories.

- (47) Ukıtuçı ukuçı-nı **xezmät** it-ter-de. #Ul bik fajdalı eš. (Tatar)
 teacher student-ACC work do-CAUS-PAST it very useful matter
 NOT: 'The teacher made the student work. It (work) is very useful.'

To summarize, unmarked objects do not fit the profile of PNI-ed nominals. However, they do have some semantic properties of PNI. As we have discussed in connection with examples (39)–(42), unmarked objects necessarily take narrow scope with respect to negation and other quantificational elements. Moreover, unlike their accusative counterparts, unmarked objects are obligatorily non-specific, and they cannot have a partitive or anaphoric interpretation. For example, (48a) can only mean that I know some two girls, not two girls out of a given set; it is therefore not felicitous in the context of 'Several children entered the room'. Similarly, (48b) can express a general preference for dogs (e.g., over cats), but cannot be used anaphorically in the context of 'We have a cat and a dog'.

- (48) a. Min ike kız bel-ä-m. (Tatar)
 I two girl know-PRES-1SG
 'I know (some) two girls.'
- b. Min kübesenčä et jarat-a-m.
 I more dog like-PRES-1SG
 'I like {a dog/dogs} more.'

In the context of intentional predicates, unmarked objects can only be interpreted *de dicto*, while accusative objects receive the *de re* interpretation:

- (49) a. Min tabip ezl-i-m. (Tatar)
 I doctor look.for-PRES-1SG
 'I am looking for a [some/any] doctor.' (de dicto)
- b. Min tabip-nı ezl-i-m.
 I doctor-ACC look.for-PRES-1SG
 'I am looking for a (certain) doctor.' (de re)

Note also that the object in (48b) is number-neutral (Pereltsvaig 2013b); this is generally true of unmarked objects lacking overt number marking (i.e., the plural suffix *-lar*), as shown in (50a–b). But number-neutrality is possible only with unmarked objects; accusative objects are obligatorily interpreted as singular in the absence of the plural suffix *-lar*, as shown in (50c).

- (50) a. Marat kızıl alma aša-dı. (Tatar)
 Marat red apple eat-PAST
 'Marat ate {a red apple/red apples}.'
- b. Marat kızıl alma-lar aša-dı.
 Marat red apple-PL eat-PAST
 'Marat ate {*a red apple/red apples}.'
- c. Marat kızıl alma-nı aša-dı.
 Marat red apple-ACC eat-PAST
 'Marat ate {a/the red apple/*red apples}.'

To recap, unmarked objects are obligatorily non-specific, take only narrow scope, and can be number-neutral—in contrast to their accusative counterparts. So far, we have shown that accusative objects in Tatar cannot be analyzed as obligatorily moving outside the VP, nor can unmarked objects be analyzed as instances of PNI. However, although neither analysis of DOM proposed by Baker (2013) is applicable to Tatar, the two types of objects in that language clearly differ in both their positional and interpretational possibilities, and the analysis of DOM in Tatar must account for these differences.

In the next section, we build on the observation that unmarked objects share some properties, particularly semantic ones, with other types of PNI-ed nominals without being head-adjoined to the verb, as we have shown above. In particular, we propose an analysis that ties DOM in Tatar to the syntax of the two *ezafe* constructions considered in the previous section by relying not on the position of the object/possessor but on its internal structure, more precisely on the presence or absence of the DP projection in its extended structure.

6. STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF EZAFE AND DOM IN TATAR

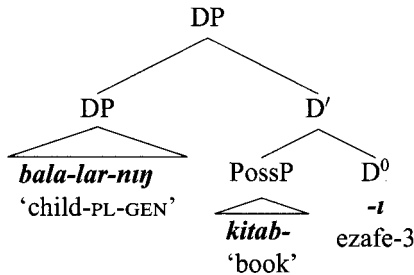
In the previous two sections, we have considered the two *ezafe* constructions (section 3) and two types of direct objects (known as DOM; section 4). The conclusion that emerges from this discussion is that nominals in the two syntactic environments—possessors and direct objects—exhibit the same clusters of properties: morphological (case marking), syntactic (positional possibilities), and semantic (interpretational possibilities). Specifically, in each syntactic environment we find two types of nominals: one that is marked for case (genitive for possessors, accusatives for objects), may appear in a higher structural position (in fact, *must* in the case of possessors; see discussion surrounding (17)), and has referential/determinate interpretation; and the other (*ezafe*-2 possessors and unmarked objects) that lacks case, must appear lower in the syntactic tree, and obligatorily has non-referential/indeterminate interpretation. Because of these wide-ranging parallels between *ezafe*-3 possessors and accusative objects, on the one hand, and between *ezafe*-2 possessors and unmarked objects, on the other, we believe that nominals in these two syntactic environments should receive a unified account. The analysis we propose below applies equally to possessors and direct objects. In the following section, we buttress our analysis by showing how it can be extended to yet another syntactic environment—the complement of attributivizers.

The gist of our analysis is that nominals in the possessor and object positions (and as we shall see below, in complements of attributivizers) can either be projected fully as DPs or be Small Nominals (i.e., DP-less nominals; cf. Pereltsvaig 2006a). Furthermore, we propose that the Case Filter (i.e., the requirement that nominals have syntactic Case and consequently morphological case, which we take to be dependent on syntactic Case), however formulated, applies only to DPs but not to Small Nominals. By introducing the referential index (see Pereltsvaig 2006a, 2007b for details), the D makes the noun phrase referential/determinate and at the same time visible to external probes searching for a D-feature. Therefore, whether a given noun phrase is a DP or a Small Nominal accounts for both its semantic (interpretive) and syntactic (positional) properties. Thus, the presence or absence of

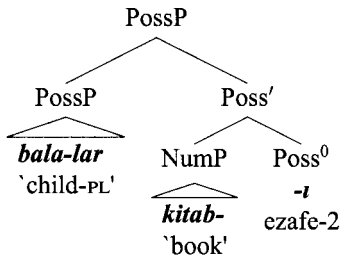
DP accounts for the cluster of properties that we have identified as distinguishing *ezafe-3* and *ezafe-2* possessors, as well as accusative and unmarked objects in Tatar. *Ezafe-3* possessors and accusative objects are DP, and consequently must appear in Case positions (and carry morphological case marking), and have referential/determinate interpretations; they are visible for higher probes searching for a D-feature, which allows them to move into a higher position on the tree. In contrast, *ezafe-2* possessors and unmarked objects are Small Nominals, lacking the DP, and consequently need not appear in Case positions (and can appear without morphological case marking), have non-referential/indeterminate interpretations; they are invisible to D-searching probes, making them frozen in their Merge positions.²⁸

The structures we propose for the two types of *ezafe* constructions and the two types of direct objects are summarized below. The tree in (52a) shows (in parentheses) two possible positions of an accusative DP object, inside and outside the VP.²⁹ The choice between these two positions depends on information structure; we leave the details for future research. Only the lower of these two structural positions is available for unmarked objects, as shown in (52b).

- (51) a. *Ezafe-3: bala-lar-nıy kitab-ı* '(the) children's book'



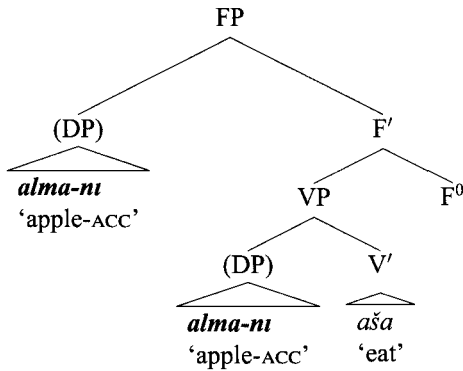
- b. *Ezafe-2: bala-lar kitab-ı* 'children's book'



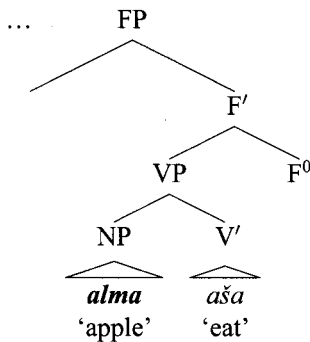
²⁸ In Pereltsvaig and Lyutikova (2014), it is argued that *ezafe-2* possessors occur outside the lexical projection NP, but that they are generated in that NP-external position. We refer the reader to that paper for detailed arguments.

²⁹ We remain agnostic as to the nature of the VP-external projection that serves as the landing site for object shift outside the VP in Tatar. We call it FP for a lack of a better term. To the best of our knowledge, the choice of label here does not affect our analysis.

- (52) a. Accusative objects: *alma-ni aša-dı* lit. ‘apple-ACC eat-PAST’



- b. Unmarked objects: *alma aša-dı* lit. ‘apple eat-PAST’



Note that contrary to Baker and Vinokurova’s (2010) and Baker’s (2013) positional analysis, our analysis does not require that all DPs occur in derived positions: as we have shown in the previous section, accusative objects in Tatar need not appear in a derived, VP-external position and may remain VP-internal throughout the derivation. Under our analysis, the contrast between Sakha, where accusative objects must move outside the VP, and Tatar, where such objects may remain inside the VP, is easily accounted for. Recall that according to our analysis, DPs need to be licensed by Case; therefore, they can stay inside VP if and only if they can be Case-licensed there. The contrast between Sakha and Tatar can thus be reduced to the (non-)availability of Case inside VP: in Tatar, DP objects may receive Case inside VP and consequently can stay there, while in Sakha object Case is available only outside the VP and as a result DP objects must move out of the VP. The (non-)availability of syntactic Case also accounts for the contrast between accusative objects and *ezafe-3* possessors in Tatar: the former may remain inside VP while the latter may not remain inside NP (where they are licensed as arguments of N, receiving a theta-role, etc.). Unlike DP objects, which may receive Case in their base position, there is no syntactic Case available inside NP in Tatar. This also

accounts for the contrast between Tatar and Russian in the possibility of licensing two argumental genitives. As mentioned in section 1 above, in Russian, non-event nominals can occur with two genitive arguments, while in Tatar they cannot (see also the discussion surrounding (7) above). As a result, in Tatar DP arguments of N must move out of NP, in search of Case.

- (53) fotografija Moskovskogo Kremlja turista Pupkina (Russian)
 photo [Moscow(ADJ) Kremlin]-GEN [tourist Pupkin]-GEN
 'tourist Pupkin's photo of the Moscow Kremlin'
- (54) * Alsu-nıñ Kazan Kremel-e(-neñ) fotografijä-se (Tatar)
 Alsu-GEN Kazan Kremlin-3(-GEN) photo-3
 intended: 'Alsu's photo of the Kazan Kremlin'

Our analysis makes another important prediction: given that *ezafe-2* possessors and unmarked objects lack the DP projection, we predict that they will not allow D-level elements, such as pronouns, proper names, demonstratives, and certain strong quantifiers. This prediction is borne out. First, consider *ezafe-2* possessors. As predicted, they cannot be pronouns or proper names, or contain strong quantifiers such as *här* 'every' or demonstratives.

- (55) a. * min дәftär{-em/-e} (Tatar)
 I notebook{-1SG/-3}
 intended: 'my notebook'
- b. * Marat дәftär-e
 Marat notebook-3
 intended: 'Marat's notebook'
- c. * här bala дәftär-e
 every child notebook-3
 intended: 'every child's notebook' (OK as 'every children's book')
- d. * bu bala дәftär-e
 this child notebook-3
 intended: 'this child's notebook' (OK as 'this children's book')

Such DP-level elements are acceptable in *ezafe-3* possessors, as expected:

- (56) a. minem дәftär-em
 I.GEN notebook-1SG
 'my notebook'
- b. Marat-nıñ дәftär-e
 Marat-GEN notebook-3
 'Marat's notebook'
- c. här bala-nıñ дәftär-e
 every child-GEN notebook-3
 'every child's notebook'
- d. bu bala-nıñ дәftär-e
 this child-GEN notebook-3
 'this child's notebook'

Similarly, unmarked objects cannot be pronouns or proper names, nor can they contain strong quantifiers or demonstratives. Such objects are necessarily marked accusative.

- (57) a. Marat a-lar-*(n₁) čakır-dı.
Marat he-PL-ACC invite-PAST
'Marat invited them.'
- b. Marat Alsu-*(n₁) čakır-dı.
Marat Alsu-ACC invite-PAST
'Marat invited Alsu.'
- c. Marat hâr bala-*(n₁) čakır-dı.
Marat every child-ACC invite-PAST
'Marat invited every child.'
- d. Marat bu bala-*(n₁) čakır-dı.
Marat this child-ACC invite-PAST
'Marat invited this child.'

Recall from our discussion of (21) above that *ezafe-3* possessors appear structurally higher than *ezafe-2* possessors, as revealed by their position with respect to attributive adjectives. Specifically, *ezafe-3* possessors appear in Spec-DP, while *ezafe-2* possessors appear in the specifier of a lower functional projection that we call PossP. From this, it follows that *ezafe-3* nominals as a whole are necessarily DPs, while *ezafe-2* nominals may be projected, not as a DP but as a Small Nominal (e.g., PossP). From this, two additional predictions regarding the distribution and interactions of *ezafe* and DOM can be made, both of which are borne out, as we shall see immediately below. First, we expect that *ezafe-2* possessors can themselves be *ezafe-2* nominals but not *ezafe-3* nominals. In other words, an *ezafe-2* can embed another *ezafe-2* but not an *ezafe-3*. There is expected to be no such limitation on *ezafe-3* possessors, however: they can be either *ezafe-2* or *ezafe-3* nominals. These expectations are borne out:

(58) *ezafe--2*:

- a. *[*ezafe-2* [*ezafe-3* [ukuçı-nıŋ] dâftâr-lâr-e] papka-sı]
student-GEN notebook-PL-3 folder-3
intended: 'folder for student's notebooks'
- b. [*ezafe-2* [*ezafe-2* [ukuçı] dâftâr-lâr-e] papka-sı]
student notebook-PL-3 folder-3
'folder for student's notebooks'

(59) *ezafe-3*: (Tatar)

- a. [*ezafe-3* [*ezafe-3* [ukuçı-nıŋ] dâftâr-lâr-e-neŋ] papka-sı]
student-GEN notebook-PL-3-GEN folder-3
'folder for {a/the} student's notebooks'

- b. [ezafe-3 [ezafe-2 [ukučɨ] däftär-lär-e-neŋ] papka-sɨ]
 student notebook-PL-3-GEN folder-3
 ‘folder for {a/the} student’s notebooks’

Second, we expect that ezafe-2 nominals can appear as unmarked objects, but ezafe-3 nominals cannot. This is indeed the case: ezafe-2 objects can be either accusative or unmarked, while ezafe-3 objects must be accusative.

- (60) a. Min bala-lar tabib-ɨ ezl-i-m.
 I child-PL doctor-3 look.for-PRES-1SG
 ‘I am looking for a pediatrician.’
- b. Min bala-lar tabib-ɨ-n ezl-i-m.
 I child-PL doctor-3-ACC look.for-PRES-1SG
 ‘I am looking for {a (certain)/the} pediatrician.’
- c. * Min bala-lar-nıŋ tabib-ɨ ezl-i-m.
 I child-PL-GEN doctor-3 look.for-PRES-1SG
 intended: ‘I am looking for {a/the} children’s doctor.’
- d. Min bala-lar-nıŋ tabib-ɨ-n ezl-i-m.
 I child-PL-GEN doctor-3-ACC look.for-PRES-1SG
 ‘I am looking for {a/the} children’s doctor.’

To recap, our analysis accounts for the correlation between D-level elements (such as pronouns and proper names) and case marking: D-level elements can occur only in DPs, and only DPs are subject to the Case filter and therefore necessarily appear with morphological case marking in Tatar. In the next section, we show that this correlation holds in yet another syntactic environment in Tatar—complements of attributivizers.

7. EXTENDING THE ANALYSIS: ATTRIBUTIVIZERS

As we have shown in the previous section, D-level elements, such as pronouns, proper names, strong quantifiers, and demonstratives, occur in case-marked nominals, such as ezafe-3 possessors and accusative objects, but not in their case-less counterparts (e.g., ezafe-2 possessors and unmarked objects). In this section, we show that the same pattern extends to an additional syntactic construction: the so-called attributivizer construction.

Tatar has several attributivizers, which are suffixes attaching to nominal elements and producing attributive modifiers. Among them are *-li*, *-gi*, *-siz*, *-daj*, *-lik*, *-ča*, which express a range of different meanings, some of which are shared by several attributivizers, while other meanings are peculiar to a particular attributivizer (e.g., *-siz* ‘without’, *-daj* ‘like’, etc.); example (61b) is from Grashchenkov (2007:85), examples (61c–f) are from Zakiev (1995:125–127).³⁰

³⁰ In accordance with the general morphophonological rules of Tatar, all of these attributivizers are subject to vowel harmony, and *-gi* and *-daj* also undergo voicing assimilation of the initial consonant.

- (61) a. čäčäk-le čäška
flower-ATTR cup
'a cup with {a flower/flowers}'
- b. jaz-gı čäčäk
spring-ATTR flower
'spring flower'
- c. xatın-sız keşe-lär
woman-ATTR man-PL
'unmarried men'
- d. tau-daj tank
mountain-ATTR tank
'mountain-like tank'
- e. eč kostjum-lık triko
three suit-ATTR knit.fabric
'knit fabric enough for three suits'
- f. ukrain-ča aš
Ukraine-ATTR soup
'Ukrainian(-style) soup'

What is the category of the complements of these attributivizers in Tatar? It turns out that the answer depends on the attributivizer in question: some can take a full-fledged DP as a complement, while others select a Small Nominal. For clarity, we focus on two attributivizers: *-lı* and *-gı*. As we show in (62-66), *-lı* selects a Small Nominal as complement (in fact, a bare NP), while *-gı* selects a DP.³¹

The complement of *-lı* cannot be a pronoun or contain a demonstrative, which supports our claim that it is not a DP but a Small Nominal.

- (62) a. * ul-lı čäška
it-ATTR cup
intended: 'a cup with it' (e.g., a blue flower)
- b. * bu čäčäk-le čäška
this flower-ATTR cup
intended: 'a cup with this flower'

³¹ An anonymous reviewer suggested an alternative analysis where *-gı* introduces a reduced relative clause. This analysis is problematic, however, as the complement of *-gı* cannot contain temporal adverbials that are possible in clauses and impossible in noun phrases (boldfaced in the examples below):

- (i) * **[elegräk bez-neŋ awıl-ıbız-da]**-gı xastaxanä
before we-GEN village-1PL-LOC-ATTR hospital
intended: 'hospital that used to be in our village'
- (ii) * **[xäzer Kazan-da]**-gı xastaxanä
now Kazan-LOC-ATTR hospital
intended: 'hospital that is now in Kazan'

In fact, the complement of *-li* is so structurally small that it cannot accommodate even the plural marker *-lar*. In other words, it lacks the projection responsible for syntactic number, NumP. Consequently, the complement of *-li* is number-neutral, as shown in (61a) above.

- (63) * čáčäk-lär-le čaška
 flower-PL-ATTR cup
 intended: 'a cup with flowers'

Note, however, that the complement of *-li* is not a bare nominal root; it can contain adjectival modifiers. We conclude that the complement of *-li* is an NP.

- (64) kük čáčäk-le čaška
 blue flower-ATTR cup
 'a cup with {a blue flower/blue flowers}'

In contrast, the complement of *-gı* can contain the plural marker *-lar*; consequently, in the absence of the plural marker, the complement of *-gı* is singular, not number-neutral.

- (65) a. šähär-lär-dä-ge uram-nar
 city-PL-LOC-ATTR street-PL
 'streets of cities'
- b. šähär-dä-ge uram-nar
 city-LOC-ATTR street-PL
 'streets of {a/the} city' (not cities)

Moreover, the complement of *-gı* can be an identifiable DP, such as a pronoun, a proper name, a nominal with possessive inflection (which instantiates the D, as in our analysis of *ezafe-3* above), or an *ezafe-3* construction (example (66c) is adapted from Zakiev 1995:126).

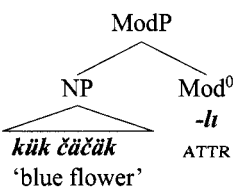
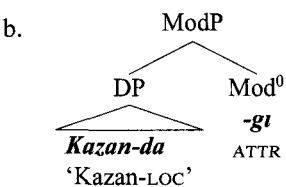
- (66) a. a-n-da-gı uram-nar
 it-OBL-LOC-ATTR street-PL
 'its (e.g., the city's) streets'
- b. Kazan-da-gı uram-nar
 Kazan-LOC-ATTR street-PL
 'streets of Kazan'
- c. kul-lar-ıbız-da-gı akča
 hand-PL-1PL-LOC-ATTR money
 'money in our hands'
- d. Marat-nıj šähär-e-ndä-ge uram-nar
 Marat-GEN city-3-LOC-ATTR street-PL
 'streets of Marat's city'

This difference in the structural size of the complement correlates with the case-marking pattern: the Small Nominal complement of *-li* is caseless, while the DP complement of *-gı* is marked with the locative case marker *-da*. The co-occurrence

of *-gı* with the locative *-da* is so regular that some scholars treat the whole sequence as one morpheme: *-dagı* (cf. Zakiev 1995:125–126). We disagree with Zakiev, however, because *-gı* can occur without *-da*, provided that its complement is a Small Nominal (cf. (61b) above).³² Also of note is the fact that the locative *-da* can occur without *-gı*.³³

- (67) [Marat-nıŋ Kazan-dan kilder-gän kızık-lı jaŋa kitab-ı]-n-da (Tatar)
 Marat-GEN Kazan-ABL bring-PART interest-ATTR new book-3-OBL-LOC
 ‘in Marat’s new interesting book brought from Kazan’

Using Rubin’s (1994) terminology, we call the projection that hosts attributivizers ModP. The structures we propose for the two attributivizers are given below.

- (68) a.  b. 

8. CONCLUSIONS AND ISSUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this paper, we considered whether an article-less Turkic language Tatar can be shown to have the DP projection, and argued that it can. Although a closely related language, Turkish, has been argued by Bošković and Şener (2014) to lack the DP projection, we showed that the diagnostics used by these scholars are misleading at best. The dichotomy that they postulate between NP and DP languages does not exist, as many of the diagnostic tests do not work, work for the wrong reasons, or place certain languages, such as Russian and Lithuanian, in the wrong category. Therefore, we consider the whole diagnostic complex of Bošković and Şener (2014) to be highly problematic, and turn to other arguments instead. We contend that the earliest arguments for the DP projection based on languages with articles (such as English and Hungarian; see Abney 1987 and the references therein)—including the higher-level syntax of nominalizations and the presence of possessor agreement—extend to languages without articles, including Tatar. We then proceeded to examine the two possessive constructions in Tatar and argue that they differ in terms of the amount of functional structure in both the *ezafe* construction as a whole and the possessor itself. Specifically, *ezafe*-3 constructions are DPs and their possessors are DPs; in contrast, *ezafe*-2 constructions and their possessors are Small Nominals (Pereltsvaig 2006a). Our next observation is that the contrast between case-marked DPs and non-case-marked Small Nominals can be seen in another

³² Zakiev (1995:125–126) himself cites several examples of *-gı* without the locative *-da*.

³³ Tatar also has a morpheme *-nikı/-neke*, which forms predicative possessors and historically derives from a combination of the genitive morpheme *-nıŋ* and the attributivizer *-gı*:

- (i) bu kitap Marat-nıkı.
 this book Marat-PRED.POSS
 ‘This book is Marat’s.’

syntactic environment, which has typically been analyzed separately under the heading of Differential Object Marking (DOM). Moreover, we showed that the same contrast also applies in attributivizer constructions: the attributivizer *-gı* selects a case-marked DP complement, while the attributivizer *-lı* selects a non-case-marked Small Nominal complement. Thus, we showed that three distinct alternations in three distinct syntactic environments in Tatar can receive a unified analysis. Our analysis also allows us to account for positional and interpretive differences in each alternation: DPs are visible to external Probes and therefore can appear in higher/derived structural positions; furthermore, a referential index introduced by D (Pereltsvaig 2007b) results in DPs having a referential/determinate interpretation. In contrast, Small Nominals are not able to move as freely as DPs do, nor can they have a referential/determinate interpretation. Crucially for us, the same pattern of morphological (case), positional, and interpretational properties characterizes nominals in three distinct syntactic environments.

Thus, while we reject the Parameterized DP Hypothesis advocated by Bošković (2008, 2009, 2010), Chierchia (1998), Bošković and Gajewski (2011), Bošković and Şener (2014), and Despić (2011), our position is more subtle than that of Longobardi (1994, 2000), who claims that DP is always needed for argumenthood. In particular, we have shown that some instances of apparent “arguments”, such as unmarked objects and *ezafe-2* possessors, do not contain a DP projection. While space limitations prevent us from delving into these issues in great detail, we tentatively assume that these nominals are semantically predicational (i.e., of type <e,t>); cf. Kagan and Pereltsvaig (2011). We further presume that Small Nominal *ezafe-2* possessors enter the semantic computation much like attributive adjectives (recall that such possessors follow—and therefore necessarily combine before—attributive adjectives). Moreover, we believe that unmarked objects combine with verbs not via argument saturation (thematic discharge) but via some alternative operation such as Restriction (see Chung and Ladusaw 2004) or Semantic Incorporation (see van Geenhoven 1998). We leave a detailed working out of these proposals for future research.

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