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## CONTENTS

**No 2 (25) 2017**

<b>Maria Bezenova.</b> The “Christian admonition of St. Tikhon in the Votyak language” (1891): nominal morphology .....	7
<b>Ekaterina Lyutikova.</b> Agreement, case and licensing: Evidence from Tatar .....	25
<b>Yulia Normanskaya, Ramil’a Karimova, Zarema Ekba.</b> Is V. V. Katarinski the author of the first Cyrillic Bashkir-language book? .....	46
<b>Gulkay Samirkhanova.</b> Satirical and humorous in the works of Rashit Nazar .....	53

## DISCUSSIONS

<b>Josefina Budzisch.</b> On the non-possessive use of possessive suffixes in Central and Southern Selkup .....	58
<b>Nadezhda Fedotova.</b> On the order of the personal-possessive declension suffixes in the Selkup language .....	67
Style sheet .....	79

## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

Номер 2 (25) 2017

<b>М. П. Безенова.</b> Наставление христианское святителя Тихона на вотском языке (1891) (Ѕеч кылъёс. Святой Тихонлэн ёечлы дышетэм кылъёсыз): именная морфология.....	7
<b>Е. А. Лютикова.</b> Согласование, падеж и лицензирование: данные татарского языка .....	25
<b>Ю. В. Норманская, Р. Н. Каримова, З. Н. Экба.</b> В. В. Катаринский — автор первой кириллической книги на башкирском языке? .....	46
<b>Г. Х. Самирханова.</b> Satirical and humorous in the works of Rashit Nazar .....	53

### ДИСКУССИИ

<b>Й. Будциш.</b> О непоссесивных употреблении притяжательных суффиксов в центральных и южных диалектах селькупского языка .....	58
<b>Н. Л. Федотова.</b> К вопросу о порядке следования суффиксов лично-притяжательного склонения в селькупском языке.....	67
Требования к оформлению статей.....	79

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## Agreement, case and licensing: Evidence from Tatar<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Argument licensing

Argument licensing has been a hot topic in syntax at least since [Chomsky 1965]. The natural hypothesis to consider was the idea that arguments are licensed via projection, that is, their appearance in the syntactic structure is determined by semantic properties of lexical heads. To ensure that the right number of arguments is inserted in the projection of the predicate the theory made use of theta-roles: every argument had to be assigned a (distinct) theta-role, and every theta-role of a given lexical predicate had to be discharged by a (distinct) DP/PP/CP.

This theory by itself appears to be not restrictive enough: it seems that nominal arguments have to meet some additional requirements in order to be licensed. Thus, in (1a), the Theme CP is fine as an argument of *proof*, but the DP-complement is illicit (1b) unless mediated by PP-shell (1c). Examples in (2) demonstrate that the overt subject of the infinitive clause, although equally projected by the lexical head, is only allowed in Exceptional Case Marking/raising constructions.

- (1) a. the proof that the Earth is round  
       b. \*the proof the theorem  
       c. the proof of the theorem
- (2) a. Bill decided [\*John/PRO to come].  
       b. Bill decided [for John to come].  
       c. Bill wanted [John to come].

In his famous letter, Vergnaud [Vergnaud 1977] proposed that the principle governing the distribution of nominal arguments is availability of (abstract) case: NPs have to receive case in order to be licensed. This hypothesis, although implemented in different ways, underlies the mainstream GB / minimalist Case theory.

The next step is to observe that not all nominals need case equally. Typological and language-specific studies of (morphologically observable) case reveal a regular pattern of asymmetrical differential argument marking [Malchukov, de Swart 2008] whereby case-marked form varies with a caseless one, as in example (3) from Turkish:

- (3) a. *Ali bir kitab-ı al-dı.*  
       Ali one book-ACC buy-PST  
       ‘Ali bought a certain book.’  
       b. *Ali bir kitab al-dı.*  
       Ali one book buy-PST  
       ‘Ali bought one book.’ (adapted from [Enç 1991: 5])

Although several attempts have been made to save the universality of the Case filter and to analyze the caseless form in (3b) as a special inherent/weak case [Belletti 1988; de Hoop 1996], data like (3a-b) have led to a variety of proposals assuming that certain structural types of nominals can escape the Case filter (e. g. by being (pseudo)incorporated [Massam 2001; Baker, Vinokurova 2010] or by lacking a DP layer and therefore lacking *u*Case feature [Danon 2006; Pereltsvaig, Lyutikova 2014; Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig 2015a; 2015b; Bianchi, Belletti 2014]. Such nominals typically exhibit a certain structural deficiency, syntactic rigidity and special interpretation (narrow scope/predicate).

In many languages exhibiting differential argument marking (DAM), 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are among those nominals that never participate in asymmetrical DAM but are obligatorily case-marked. This fact is easily explained under the assumption that personal pronouns are DP-proforms [Déchaine, Wiltschko 2002] and thus have *u*Case feature.

1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are also involved in the person case constraint (PCC) phenomena. In many languages, including Romance languages, Greek, Czech, Basque, and Georgian, certain person combinations are restricted when two phonologically “weak” arguments (pronouns, clitics) occupy the same domain. Thus, in French, in combinations of a direct and indirect object, both of which are phonologically weak, the direct object may not be 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person [Bonet 1991; Béjar 2003; Béjar, Rezac 2003].

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a part of the RFBR research project #16-06-00536 “Syntax-Semantics Interface in Uralic and Altaic Languages”.



- (4) *Il la/\*me/\*te lui a présenté(e).*  
 he 3.SG.F.ACC/1SG.ACC/2SG.ACC 3.SG.DAT AUX.3SG present.PP  
 'He introduced her/\*me/\*you to him.'

Béjar and Rezac propose that PCC effects derive from Person Licensing Condition (PLC) axiom (5) under the assumption that «... $\phi$ -features are not a homogeneous block, but separate person [ $\pi$ ] and number [#] entities, which Probe separately (but in that order), and Agree separately» [Béjar, Rezac 2003: 52].

- (5) Person Licensing Condition (PLC) axiom

An interpretable 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category.

PCC effects follow if there is a single licenser in the verbal domain and the dative clitic intervenes between the licenser and the accusative clitic, thus preventing the latter from establishing the AGREE relation with the [ $\pi$ ]-probe.

Recently, Kalin [Kalin 2015] put forward a proposal unifying the two phenomena. She claims that both DAM<sup>2</sup> and PCC phenomena result from a generalized feature licensing condition. Adopting Harley and Ritter's approach to geometric representation of morphosyntactic features [Harley, Ritter 2002], Kalin proposes that among  $\phi$ -features nominals can possess there are two basic types of features:  $\pi$ -features (person feature further decomposed into [participant] and [author]) and  $\gamma$ -features that comprise not only number and gender, but also animacy, specificity, definiteness etc.). Languages differ as to which features have to be licensed by entering the AGREE relation with a  $\phi$ -probe. Kalin suggests that the feature [participant] always needs licensing, and therefore 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person nominals need to agree with a  $\pi$ -probe to be licensed.  $\gamma$ -features, on the other hand, may require or not require licensing in a given language. If some  $\gamma$ -feature, e. g. [animate], needs licensing, then 3<sup>rd</sup> person animate nominals need to agree with a  $\gamma$ -probe. Given that structural case assignment is often taken to be a reflex of AGREE [Chomsky 2000, 2001], this mechanism derives obligatorily case-marked 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns and animacy-conditioned DAM. In this way, *uCase* is superficial and can be eliminated.

In order to explain the obligatory subject-predicate agreement which takes place even if the argument has no feature to be licensed by AGREE, Kalin distinguishes between obligatory and secondary licensers<sup>3</sup>. Obligatory licenser is a complete  $\phi$ -probe that is merged in every clause and attempts to Agree with the closest goal. Secondary licensers merge when needed for convergence of the derivation. Thus, in a transitive clause, T, by virtue of being an obligatory licenser, always merges with a complete  $\phi$ -probe, but *v*, a secondary licenser, merges with the  $\phi$ -probe only if the object features need licensing.

In this paper, I present data from Tatar, a Turkic language spoken in Russia, that contribute to our understanding of the phenomena outlined above<sup>4</sup>. Tatar is of special interest in several respects.

First, it shows an asymmetrical differential case marking in many structural positions, including direct object, noun phrase possessor, preposition object, embedded nominalized and finite clause subject. In this paper, only the first three positions will be considered.

Secondly, Tatar has three loci of morphologically observable agreement — predicate agreement within the finite clause, possessive agreement within the noun phrase and postposition agreement within the postpositional

<sup>2</sup> Kalin discusses differential object marking (DOM) exclusively, but it seems that the proposal can be extended to other contexts of differential structural case assignment, including subject and possessor.

<sup>3</sup> The idea that every clause has one obligatory locus of agreement, with secondary loci merging only when needed for convergence, dates back at least to Bobaljik's "obligatory case parameter" [Bobaljik 1993].

<sup>4</sup> Tatar data, unless specially indicated as coming from corpora of literary Tatar, come from my field work with native speakers of Kazan Tatar and represent the literary Tatar language. In what follows I use the phonetically adjusted transliteration of the Cyrillic script. Examples marked as coming from corpora have the following sources: «2013 Универсиада» (web site) — (18a), (49a); «Безнең гәжит» газетасы (web site) — (16a), (40a), (48a), (49b), (50), (51a), (52a); «Ислам — Татарлар һәм мөселманнар» (web site) — (20a); «Кызыл таң» газетасы (web site) — (27a), (41c); «Сөембикә» журналы (web site) — (48b); «Тазбаш» (web site) — (23); «Татар әдипләре» порталы (web site) — (41a); «Татар-информ» МА Татарстан Республикасы мәгълүмат агентлыгы (web site) — (51b); «Татарстан китап нәшрияты» (web site) — (25a); «Татарстан яшьләре» газетасы (web site) — (19); «Хезмәт даны» газетасы (web site) — (24a), (25b); «Шәһри Казан» газетасы (web site) — (53a); Бари Ислам, «Бик гади дә, серле дә син, тормыш» — (22); Галимжан Гыйльманов, «Албастылар» — (40b); Галимжан Ибраһимов, «Кызыл чәчәкләр» — (16b); Зифа Кадырова, «Сагынырсың — мин булмам» — (28); Нади Такташ, «Кияү» — (16c); Фанис Яруллин, «Сөөнечләр бүлешү» — (15a); Флүсә Шәрипова, «Минем сезгә бүлгем» (Шигырьләр) — (16d); Хасанов М. Х., Ахмадуллин А. Г., Галимуллин Ф. Г. «Татар әдәбияты. 10 сыйныф» — (18b).

phrase. Agreement reflects person and number of the goal, and its obligatoriness differs depending on the features of the goal and on the structural type of agreement.

Thirdly, case-marking and agreement overlap only partially. In some structural configurations, e. g. possessive construction, both differential case marking and agreement obtain. In other configurations, only differential case marking or differential agreement can be observed. Moreover, discrepancies of case-marking and agreement are partially based on the features of arguments: 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person arguments are always case-marked and control person and number agreement; some 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominals are obligatorily case-marked and can, but do not have to control predicate agreement in number.

I claim that in Tatar, two distinct mechanisms of argument/feature licensing are at work. The marked person feature [participant] is to be licensed via AGREE. Structural case marking is NOT an exponent of AGREE, but represents a separate type of licensing, which I'll call Vergnaud-licensing<sup>5</sup> and which can be viewed as licensing of DP (as argued in [Lyutikova 2014; Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig 2015a; 2015b] and elsewhere) or, in feature-driven syntactic system, as licensing of the feature of syntactic category D. As 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are also DP-proforms, they are case-marked agreement controllers in all the relevant configurations.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In section 2, Tatar data are discussed in more detail. Section 3 presents the proposal. In section 4, an apparent counter-evidence to the proposed analysis is discussed. Section 5 concludes the paper.

## 2. Structural case and agreement in Tatar

The 6 cases of Tatar include nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, ablative and locative. Among them, three are of a high relevance for our discussion. Accusative (markers *-ni/-n* is the case of the direct object, genitive (marker *-nıñ*) is the case of the possessor, and nominative (unmarked) is the case of the subject. They are exemplified in (6). The subject *Marat* 'Marat' is nominative, the possessor *Alsunıñ* 'Alsu's' is genitive, and the two coordinated direct objects demonstrate possessive (*kitabın* 'book') and bare (*däftärne* 'notebook') accusative.

- (6) *Marat Alsu-nıñ kitab-ı-n häm bu дәftär-ne al-dı.*  
 Marat Alsu-GEN book-3-ACC and this notebook-ACC take-PST  
 'Marat took Alsu's book and this notebook.'

The unmarked noun phrase can also function as a (non-specific) direct object or possessor (7a—b), the fact that led descriptive grammars to attribute direct object and possessor functions to nominative [Zakiev 1992: 118, 127; Zakiev 1993: 46—47; Galieva 2014]. I prefer to label this form as unmarked or caseless, since I am going to argue, following [Lyutikova 2014] and subsequent work, that bare direct objects and possessors have no case rather than zero-marked nominative.

- (7) a. *Marat kitap al-dı.*  
 Marat book take-PST  
 'Marat took a book/books.'  
 b. *xatın-kız-lar kijem-e*  
 woman-girl-PL clothing-3  
 'women's clothing'

Below I present the characterization of the morphosyntactic processes in the three structural configurations that correspond to three basic grammatical relations: subject, object, possessor. But before that, a short discussion of structural types of nominals and their features is due.

### 2.1. Nominals and their features

As argued in [Lyutikova 2014; Pereltsvaig, Lyutikova 2014; Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig 2015a; 2015b], Tatar noun phrases come in different size: some are full-fledged DPs and others are Small Nominals (in the sense of [Pereltsvaig 2006]), that is, they lack all or some functional projections that DPs possess. Although Tatar noun phrases are maximally DPs, not all noun phrases are fully projected. Various constructions involve nominals of different sizes: N°, NP, NumP or DP can be embedded in different constructions.

For instance, the nominal element in complex predicate constructions (CPCs) is N° (8a). It cannot contain the plural marker *-lar* (8b) or modifiers of any kind (8c).

<sup>5</sup> I owe this term to [Pesetsky 2013].

- (8) a. *Äti-se Marat-ka mašina büläk it-te.*  
 father-3 Marat-DAT car gift make-PST  
 ‘His father gave Marat a car (as a gift).’  
 b. *\*Äti-se Marat-ka mašina(-lar) büläk-lär it-te.*  
 father-3 Marat-DAT car-PL gift-PL make-PST  
 intended: ‘His father gave Marat cars (as gifts).’  
 c. *Äti-se Marat-ka mašina (\*jaxşı/\*ber/\*tege) büläk it-te.*  
 father-3 Marat-DAT car good/one/such gift make-PST  
 intended: ‘Father gave Marat a car as a good/one/such gift.’

The same is true of the nominal element embedded in the so-called ezafe-1 construction. There are three nominal embedding constructions in Tatar, as well as in other Turkic languages, labeled traditionally as ezafe-1, ezafe-2, and ezafe-3. As we show below, ezafe-1 embeds a bare N°, ezafe-2 embeds a NumP, and ezafe-3 embeds a DP.

The embedded element of ezafe-1, which is used typically for materials, is a bare noun, as in (9a). Like the nominal component in CPCs, it cannot contain the plural marker *-lar* (9b), or any modifiers (9c).

- (9) a. *altın jözek*  
 gold ring  
 ‘gold ring’  
 b. *taş-(\*lar) jort*  
 stone-(\*PL) house  
 intended: ‘house from stones’, ‘stone house’  
 c. *\*čin altın jözek*  
 real gold ring  
 intended: ‘ring from real gold’

In contrast, the embedded element of ezafe-2 is a NumP: unlike the nominals considered above, it can include the plural marker *-lar* (10a) or certain modifiers (it can be the ezafe-2 construction itself, (10b)), but still cannot be a personal pronoun or a proper noun (10c-d)<sup>6</sup>.

- (10) a. *kırsak-lı xatın-nar kijem-e*  
 belly-ATR woman-PL clothing-3  
 ‘clothing for pregnant women’  
 b. *bala-lar xastaxanä-se tabib-ı*  
 child-PL hospital-3 doctor-3  
 ‘a doctor in a children’s hospital’  
 c. *\*min дәftär-em/-e*  
 I notebook-1/-3  
 intended: ‘my notebook’  
 d. *\*zefär ata-sı*  
 Zufar dad-3  
 intended: ‘Zufar’s dad’ [Grashchenkov 2007: 84]

Unlike the ezafe-2 marker, the marker of ezafe-3 shows person and number agreement with the possessor, which can be a pronoun or a proper name, unlike with ezafe-2. I claim that the embedded nominal in ezafe-3 is a genitive-marked DP.

- (11) a. *minem дәftär-em*  
 I.GEN notebook-1SG  
 ‘my notebook’  
 b. *Marat-nıj дәftär-e*  
 Marat-GEN notebook-3  
 ‘Marat’s notebook’

As it turns out, ezafe-3 itself is a DP; hence, can be embedded only in ezafe-3 but not in ezafe-2.

<sup>6</sup> The ezafe-2 construction also involves the possessive suffix on the head noun glossed here as ‘3’ for 3<sup>rd</sup> person; it does not show agreement.

- (12) a. ezafe-2:  
 \*[[*ukuči-nıŋ*    *däftär-lär-e*]    *papka-sı*]  
 student-GEN notebook-PL-3 folder-3  
 ‘folder for student’s notebooks’
- b. ezafe-3:  
 [[*ukuči-nıŋ*    *däftär-lär-e-neŋ*]    *papka-sı*]  
 student-GEN notebook-PL-3-GEN folder-3  
 ‘folder for student’s notebooks’

In addition to the constructions described above, Tatar also has a number of attributivizing constructions which differ as to the amount of nominal structure allowed for embedding. Thus, attributivizer *-lı* selects a bare NP, while attributivizer *-gı* selects a case-marked DP (giving rise to the complex morphemes *-dağı* ‘LOC.ATR’ and *-nıkı* ‘GEN.ATR’, [Zakiev 1992: 42, 164; Tumasheva, Irisov 1989; Sulejmanov 1996].

- (13) a. [<sub>NP</sub> ...]-*lı* N  
 b. [[<sub>DP</sub> ...]-LOC]-*gı* N

The nominal selected by attributivizer *-lı* cannot contain the plural marker *-lar* (14b), but unlike the nominal element in CPCs or the embedded nominal in ezafe-1, it can contain certain modifiers (14c).

- (14) a. *čäčäk-le*    *čınajak*  
 flower-ATR cup  
 ‘a cup with a flower/with flowers’
- b. \**čäčäk-lär-le*    *čınajak*  
 flower-PL-ATR cup  
 intended: ‘a cup with flowers’
- c. *kük*    *čäčäk-le*    *čınajak*  
 blue flower-ATR cup  
 ‘a cup with a blue flower / with blue flowers’

In contrast, the nominal selected by attributivizer *-gı* is a full-fledged case marked DP: it can be a locative-marked personal pronoun (15a) or an ezafe-3 (15b), which I showed above to be a DP.

- (15) a. *Ibrahim abıŋ-nıŋ*    *min-dä-ge*    *ikenče*    *kitab-ı* — “Poet iz derevni Kırıajj”.  
 Ibrahim uncle-GEN I-LOC-ATR second book-3 “Poet from the Kırıajj village” (Rus.)  
 ‘The second book by uncle Ibrahim that I’ve got is “Poet from the Kırıajj village”.’ [TT]
- b. *Marat-nıŋ*    *šähär-e-ndä-ge*    *uram-nar*  
 Marat-GEN city-3-LOC-ATR street-PL  
 ‘streets of Marat’s city’

To recapitulate, Tatar distinguishes between full-fledged DPs and structurally deficient SNs. Some structural types of nominals are obligatorily DPs: those are personal pronouns and ezafe-3 constructions. SNs include bare N° and NP, as well as some intermediate structural types of nominals, such as NumP.

Let’s turn now to formal features of nominals in Tatar. As Tatar has no gender/class feature, person and number are the only features that are syntactically relevant.

Person and number in the nominal domain come in two varieties: interpretable and uninterpretable. Positive values of the interpretable person feature characterize personal pronouns exclusively. Interpretable number feature enters the derivation with the Num° head; so N° and NP have no *i*Number and demonstrate number neutrality (cf. examples (9b) and (14)). In Table 1, feature specification for various structural types of nominals is represented.

Table 1

Structural types of nominals and their interpretable features in Tatar

	DP		NumP	NP/N°
	personal pronouns	others		
<i>i</i> Person	1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup>	—	—	—
<i>i</i> Number	SG/PL	SG/PL	SG/PL	—

Uninterpretable person and number characterize several types of constituents in Tatar. First, finite clauses exhibit predicate agreement with their subject in person and number (16a—b) or, if the subject is 3<sup>rd</sup> person, only in number (16c). However, in absence of person agreement, number agreement is optional (16d).

- (16) a. *Min kabat bu tarix-nı is-kä tös̈er-de-m.*  
 I again this story-ACC mind-DAT drop-PST-1SG  
 ‘I remembered this story again.’ [WCTL]  
 b. *Bez žiŋ-de-k!*  
 we win-PST-1PL  
 ‘We won!’ [WCTL]  
 c. *Küz-lär biktäm-le, bkräxät it-ep jomıl-dı-lar.*  
 eye-PL very pleasure-ATR very delightdo-CONV close-PST-PL  
 ‘The eyes closed with pleasure and delight.’ [WCTL]  
 d. *Awıl-ım-da jaŋa jort-lar kalka.*  
 village-1SG-LOC new house-PL rise.PRS  
 ‘In my village, new houses grow.’ [WCTL]

Secondly, ezafe-3 nominals contain a possessive affix that agrees with the genitive possessor. If the possessor is 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun, the ezafe affix reflects its person and number features (17a—b). With the 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessor, the ezafe affix does not show agreement in number: the plural marker in (17c) can only be interpreted as denoting plurality of friends, i. e. as an interpretable Number feature of the whole DP<sup>7</sup>. The same invariable form of the ezafe affix obtains in ezafe-2 constructions, cf. (10) above.

- (17) a. *minem dus-lar-ım*  
 I.GEN friend-PL-1SG  
 ‘my friends’  
 b. *bez-ney dus-lar-ıbız*  
 we-GEN friend-PL-1PL  
 ‘our friends’  
 c. *bala-lar-nıŋ dus-lar-ı*  
 child-PL-GEN friend-PL-3  
 ‘the children’s friends’/\*‘the children’s friend’

Other contexts exhibiting person and number agreement derive from possessive constructions. These are postpositional phrases headed by denominal postpositions (see section 4) and nominalizations. Nominalizations of various types show possessive agreement with their 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person genitive subject (18a); 3<sup>rd</sup> person genitive subjects trigger the non-agreeing ezafe affix (18b). They will not be considered here, although the analysis I am going to propose can be extended to nominalizations as well<sup>8</sup>.

- (18) a. *Minem elegräk Uniwersiada-da bul-gan-ım juk ide.*  
 I.GEN before Universiade-LOC be-NML2-1SG absent AUX.PST  
 ‘I did not participate in the previous Universiade.’ [WCTL]  
 b. *Awtor-nıŋ monı şulaj eşlä-w-e oçrak-lı gına tügel.*  
 author-GEN such manner work-NML1-3 accidental-ATR EMPH NEG.COP  
 ‘The author’s working in such way is not accidental.’ [WCTL]

To sum up, person and number agreement is found in two types of constituents: finite clauses and possessive DPs. I take this as an evidence that finite T° and possessive D° can merge with a complete  $\phi$ -probe, that is, *u*Person and *u*Number.

## 2.2. Case assignment and agreement: subject, object, possessor

Now we are in a position to discuss variation in case assignment and agreement with different structural types of nominals.

<sup>7</sup> Here my data differ slightly from what descriptive grammars assume for Tatar. Zakiev [Zakiev 1993: 34—35] notes that the affix *-lar* ‘PL’ in examples like (17c) can also be interpreted as an exponent of number agreement; similar interpretation is attested for Mishar dialect of Tatar ([Lyutikova et al. (eds.) 2007: 317]). However, my consultants who are native speakers of Kazan Tatar coherently deny this interpretation. In what follows, I will base my analysis on the data obtained from and approved by my consultants.

<sup>8</sup> One more type of constructions where agreement in person and number is attested is a postpositional phrase headed by a denominal postposition. I address these constructions in section 4.

## 2.2.1. Subject

Subjects of finite clauses bear no case affix. This poses the problem of classifying this form as a nominative or as a caseless nominal. The problem is not specific to Tatar but arises in all Turkic languages. Different approaches are found in the literature, including “only nominative”, “only caseless” and “both nominative or caseless” hypotheses (e. g. [Kornfilt 2003; 2008; Öztürk 2005; Baker, Vinokurova 2010; Kornfilt, Preminger 2015]). The analysis I am going to develop requires that unmarked nominals be ambiguous between nominative and caseless form and that caseless nominals be available in subject position. There is indirect evidence that this stipulation is true.

The evidence comes from nominalizations like those in (18). As we see in (18a—b), the subject of nominalizations receives genitive like the DP possessor. However, non-specific subjects of nominalizations may remain unmarked, as in (19). Since no nominative is available in this configuration (cf. (20)), I conclude that the subject of nominalization is caseless in (19). Therefore, some (structural types of) subjects are licit without case assigned to them (cf. [Öztürk 2005] for a similar claim about Turkish).

- (19) [*Bügen-ge köñ-dä 18 urın-da preparat-lar sat-ıl-u-ı*] *bilgele bul-dı.*  
 today-ATR day-LOC 18 place-LOC medicine-PL sell-PASS-NML1-3 known be-PST  
 ‘It became known that today drugs were sold in 18 shops.’ [WCTL]

- (20) a. *Minem şäxsi tan-ıl-u-ım tügel...*  
 I.GEN personally know-PASS-NML1-1SG NEG.COP  
 ‘I’m not personally known (to him)...’ [WCTL]  
 b. \**Min şäxsi tan-ıl-u-ım/-ı tügel...*  
 I.NOM personally know-PASS-NML1-1SG/-3 NEG.COP

Additional evidence comes from the possibility of number-neutral interpretation of nominals in the subject position. Zakiev ([Zakiev 1993: 38]) gives examples of numberless subjects which denote pluralities:

- (21) *Bülmä-ne kitap bas-kan. Östäl-lär-ge dä kitap öj-el-gen, täräze*  
 room-ACC book flood-PF table-PL-DAT EMPH book put-PASS-PF window  
*töp-lär-e-n-ä dä, idän-när-ge dä... Kištä-lär-dä dä kitap.*  
 sill-PL-3-OBL-DAT EMPH floor-PL-DAT EMPH shelf-PL-LOC EMPH book  
 ‘Books flooded the room. Books lay on the tables, on the windowsills, on the floor... On the shelves there were books as well.’

Since number neutrality points to structural deficiency of a nominal (namely, lack of NumP and higher functional projections) and since structural deficiency is incompatible with case marking, (21) demonstrates that number neutral, hence caseless subjects are available in Tatar. To sum up, it is possible to maintain the hypothesis that unmarked subjects can be nominative or caseless.

Let’s now turn to subject-predicate agreement. As mentioned above, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns obligatorily trigger person and number agreement (22).

- (22) *Ä sin, Baris (anıñ min bula-\*(m) inde), kem bul-ırğa teli-\*(señ)?*  
 and you Baris this I be.PRS-\*(1SG) EMPH who be-INF want-\*(2SG)  
 ‘And you, Baris (I was this one), who would you like to be?’ [WCTL]

Other nominals, including proforms, ezafe-3 nominals can trigger only number agreement, which seems to be optional, cf. (16c—d) and (20). It is worth noting that uninterpretable person on DP (*kajsılarıbız* ‘some of us’, lit. ‘our which ones’) is never agreed with.

- (23) *Kajsı-lar-ıbız belä-(\*bez), kajsı-lar-ıbız bel-mi-(\*bez).*  
 which-PL-1PL know.PRS-(\*1PL) which-PL-1PL know-NEG.PRS-(\*1PL)  
 ‘Some of us know (it), some of us do not know (it).’ [WCTL]

The distribution of plural agreement marker is more controversial. Tatar descriptive grammars and language-specific papers [Zakiev 1992; 1993; Fattakhova 2002; Garyaev 2009; Kamalova 2010; Lutfullina 2011] report that plural marker is optional on the predicate, its presence being a matter of definiteness/animacy/individuation of the subject participant. I remain rather agnostic as to which of these features is determinative and, if several of them are relevant, how they interact in contributing to number agreement. However, my own research leads me to the conclusion that the relevant feature here is collective/distributive distinction. Consider (24a—b). In (24a), the plural participant is said to take the third prize as a team, and the verb shows number agreement. In (24b), on the contrary, different athletes are reported to take prizes separately, as individuals, and the plural marker is absent from the verb.

- (24) a. *Alar priz-lı öčençe urın-nı al-ıp kajt-tı-lar.*  
 they prize-ATR third place-ACC take-CONV return-PST-PL  
 ‘They took the podium in third place (as a team).’ [WCTL]  
 b. *Alar priz-lı urın-nar-nı al-ıp kajt-tı.*  
 they prize-ATR place-PL-ACC take-CONV return-PST  
 ‘They took prizes (as individual athletes).’

Moreover, collective adverbials, such as ‘together’, ‘both’, ‘teamwise’ etc. strongly favor plural agreement (25a), whereas distributive adverbials are compatible with non-agreeing predicates (25b). In sum, I assume that plural agreement shows up if the plural subject is collective.

- (25) a. *Alar Joldız-nı inde öçäüläp ezli başla-dı-lar.*  
 they Yolduz-ACC then all.three search begin-PST-PL  
 ‘Then they started looking for Yolduz all three of them.’ [WCTL]  
 b. *Bala-lar kaisı-kaja taralıš-tı inde...*  
 child-PL which-where disperse-PST EMPH  
 ‘The children dispersed...’ [WCTL]

### 2.2.2. Object

Like all other Turkic languages, Tatar exhibit differential object marking (DOM): direct objects can bear the accusative suffix or remain caseless. No morphologically visible object agreement is attested in Tatar, so the case marking is the only morphological exponent of DOM.

In [Lyutikova 2014; Pereltsvaig, Lyutikova 2014; Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig 2015a; 2015b] it is argued that in Tatar DOM is structurally determined: the accusative case marker attaches to a DP, and unmarked objects are Small Nominals, as shown in (26a–b).

- (26) a. *Marat [DP mašina]-nı sat-ıp al-dı.*  
 Marat car-ACC sell-CONV take-PST  
 ‘Marat bought a/the car.’  
 b. *Marat [NP/NumP mašina] sat-ıp al-dı.*  
 Marat car sell-CONV take-PST  
 ‘Marat bought a car/cars.’

The arguments presented in previous work include coordination constraints (case-marked and unmarked objects cannot be coordinated), special interpretation of unmarked objects (narrow scope, number neutrality in the absence of the plural marker) and their syntactic deficiency (failure to control syntactic anaphora and PRO, strictly preverbal position). [Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig 2015a] also argues against two alternative analyses proposed for DOM in other Turkic languages (and some non-Turkic languages as well): that DOM has a purely semantic motivation (e. g. that only definite or specific objects receive accusative marking, cf. [Enç 1991] for Turkish) and that DOM is positionally determined (e. g. objects that leave the VP receive accusative and objects that stay in their VP remain caseless, cf. [Baker, Vinokurova 2010] for Sakha).

The data that challenge the semantic analysis for Tatar involves *ezafe-3* construction. As mentioned above, an object which is an *ezafe-3* construction must receive structural (accusative) case. However, it may simultaneously receive a non-specific interpretation and take narrow scope in relation to other quantifiers or negation, as shown in (27a, b).

- (27) a. *Berençe tur-da här ukuçı Zinnur Najsıbullın-nıñ*  
 first place-LOC every student Zinnur Najsybullin-GEN  
*ber jaki ike šigır-e-\*(n) ... jattan söjlä-de.*  
 one or two poem-3-ACC ... by.heart tell-PST  
 ‘In the first round, every student recited one or two poems by Zinnur Najsybullin.’ [WCTL]  
 1-2 > ∀ or ∀ > 1-2  
 b. *Marat Alsu-nıñ ber fotografia-se-\*(n) kür-mä-de.*  
 Marat Alsu-GEN one photo-3-ACC see-NEG-PST  
 ‘Marat didn’t see a photo of Alsu.’  
 ∃ > Neg or Neg > ∃

Alternative theory places the burden of explanation on the position of the object in the clausal structure. The problem for the positional alternative is that ACC-marked objects need not leave the VP. In particular, they can appear to the right of the VP boundary marked by adverbs (28) or indirect objects.

- (28) *Bajras kat-kat xat-ni uki-di, ni-der aqla-rga tırıš-ti.*  
 Bayras again-again letter-ACC read-PST what-INDEF understand-INF try-PST  
 ‘Bayras read the letter again and again, trying to understand anything.’ [TT]

These data lead us to the conclusion that case marking in the object position is structurally determined: DPs receive accusative and Small Nominals remain caseless. More generally, we can hypothesize that only DPs must receive structural case, while SNs are not subject to such case licensing requirements and may remain morphologically caseless. If this hypothesis is correct, the distribution of case-marked and caseless subjects must obey the same principle: full-fledged DP subjects are assigned nominative, structurally deficient Small Nominals are caseless.

### 2.2.3. Possessor

In previous sections, either agreement (subject position) or case (object position) had visible exponents. Possessive construction is the configuration where both case assignment and agreement are morphologically observable.

Nominal possession is structurally expressed by *ezafe-3* and *ezafe-2* constructions. In [Pereltsvaig, Lyutikova 2014] it is argued that the two *ezafe* constructions differ in many respects. *Ezafe-3* is headed by possessive  $D^\circ$  that case-marks its DP-specifier and agrees with it. *Ezafe-2* has less functional structure and cannot case-mark the embedded nominal which, consequently, cannot be a DP but only an SN.

*Ezafe-3* constructions are of a particular interest for our story, because they clearly show that case-marking and agreement are not two sides of the same coin. Let us return to example (17), repeated here as (29). (29a–b) show *ezafe-3* construction with a 1<sup>st</sup> person possessor. The straightforward analysis of these data would be that possessive  $D^\circ$ , in virtue of having *uPerson* and *uNumber*, probes for interpretable  $\phi$ -features, finds a  $\phi$ -complete active goal in its c-command domain, agrees with it, becomes able to assign it genitive and attracts it to Spec, DP. However, this analysis fails to explain (29c). 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs never control number agreement on  $D^\circ$  (although they are able to do it on  $T^\circ$ ) but are still assigned genitive. Moreover, the *ezafe* affix, which is glossed as ‘3’, is in fact the default *ezafe* marker that also licenses the *ezafe-2* possessor but never assign case to it.

- (29) a. *minem dus-lar-ım*  
 I-GEN friend-PL-1SG  
 ‘my friends’  
 b. *bez-neŋ dus-lar-ıbız*  
 we-GEN friend-PL-1PL  
 ‘our friends’  
 c. *bala-lar-nıŋ dus-lar-ı*  
 child-PL-GEN friend-PL-3  
 ‘the children’s friends’/\*‘the children’s friend’

I conclude that in *ezafe* constructions, the possessor is case-marked (and attracted to Spec, DP) if and only if it is a DP and needs case. Possessive  $D^\circ$  agrees only with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns and does not agree with 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs.

The interim summary is given in Table 2. DPs are obligatorily case-marked in object and possessor positions, whereas SNs are not; I hypothesize that the same distribution obtains in the subject position. In all the configurations where agreement is morphologically observable, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns trigger obligatory person agreement, but for 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominals, no person agreement is attested. Additionally, number agreement with plural collective 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject takes place.

In the next section, I present my analysis of Tatar case and agreement system based on the generalizations obtained.

## 3. Analysis

I propose that in Tatar, two conditions on syntactic structure are at work: Person licensing condition (30) and Vergnaud-licensing condition (31).

- (30) Person licensing condition (to be reformulated)  
 An interpretable 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person feature must be licensed by entering into an AGREE relation with a functional category.  
 (31) Vergnaud-licensing condition  
 A DP must be licensed by a case-assigning head.



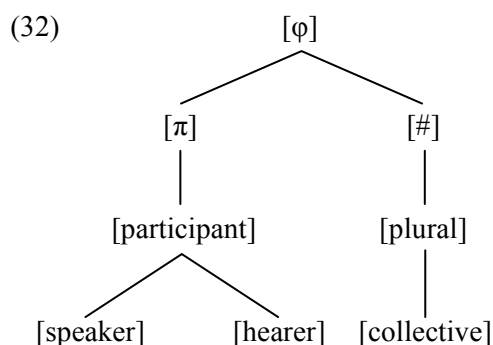
Table 2

Case assignment and agreement in three structural positions

	DPs		SNs
	1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> person	others	
Subject case agreement	(+) +	(+) number	(—) number
Object case agreement	+ —	+ —	— —
Possessor case agreement	+ +	+ —	— —

I claim that these conditions are independent from each other and that the fact that 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns are always case-marked follows trivially from their DP-status. Moreover, I claim that only positive values of features exist [Harley, Ritter 2002] and that 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs are actually DPs without interpretable person feature. Consequently, they cannot be agreed with in person and make a case-assigning probe  $\phi$ -complete and able to assign case to them. Accordingly, I dismiss the case assignment under AGREE model; instead, I develop a model where case and agreement, although coexistent in many structural configurations, involve different licensing mechanisms.

I start with reorganizing the feature system of Tatar preliminarily sketched in 2.1 above. I follow [Harley, Ritter 2002; Béjar, Rezac 2003; Kalin 2015] in distinguishing between two major classes of interpretable features —  $\pi$  (representing the speech act role) and  $\#$  (individuation, representing quantity, animacy, gender, class etc.). For Tatar, the following feature geometry obtains:



(32) states that no such features as definite or specific are presented under  $\#$ . Here my proposal diverges from Kalin's approach, who claims that those features can influence DAM directly, by their need of licensing via AGREE [Kalin 2015]. As I demonstrated in section 2.2, no interpretable feature of such kind can be taken as a licenser of DAM in object and possessor position; instead, a separate formal feature — the syntactic category of a nominal — is responsible for DAM. The familiar interpretational effects of case-marked arguments (availability of the wide scope and definite reading) are not separate formal features of these nominals but rather by-products of the semantics of full-fledged DPs (i. e. referentiality) and their mobility in both overt syntax and LF.

Now, the Person licensing condition (30) can be reformulated as in (33):

(33) Person licensing condition

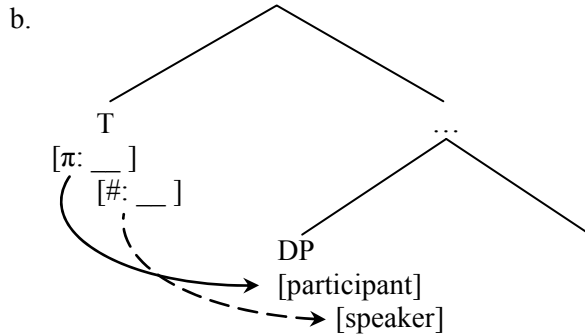
An interpretable [participant] feature must be licensed by entering into an AGREE relation with a functional category.

The functional categories that visibly license [participant] by agreeing with it are finite T° and possessive D°: we find a morphological exponent of this AGREE operation on the predicate and ezafe-3 marker. Let us see how this happens.

In (34), T° merges with a complete  $\phi$ -probe, which is decomposed into  $\pi$ -probe and  $\#$ -probe.  $\pi$  probes first and finds a subject DP that has a [participant] feature.  $\pi$ -probe on T° agrees with it and values its  $\pi$ -feature as 1<sup>st</sup> person. The [participant] feature of subject DP is thereby licensed. Then  $\#$  probes, finds no relevant feature on subject DP and receives the default value “singular”<sup>9</sup>. The valued features of T° surface as 1<sup>st</sup> person singular predicate agreement.

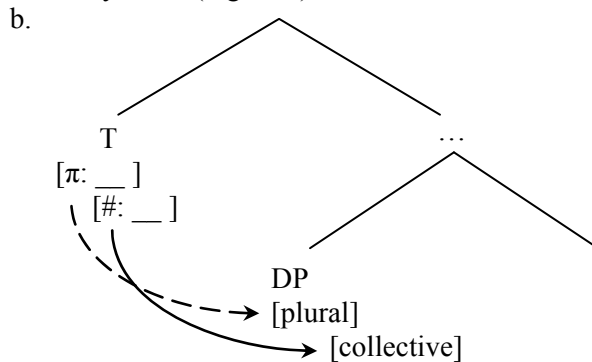
<sup>9</sup> In the diagrams below, succeeded agreement is marked with a solid line, failed agreement — with a dashed line.

- (34) a. *Min kil-de-m.*  
 I come-PST-1SG  
 'I came.'



In (35), the same structural configuration is represented, except that subject DP is not a personal pronoun and has no [participant] feature that needs licensing. As finite  $T^\circ$  is an obligatory licenser, it merges with a complete  $\phi$ -probe.  $\pi$  probes but fails to find a [participant] feature and receives the default value. Then # probes and finds [plural] [collective] featured on subject DP. #-probe agrees with it and values its #-feature as [collective]. I assume that [#: collective] amounts to the number agreement on  $T^\circ$ .

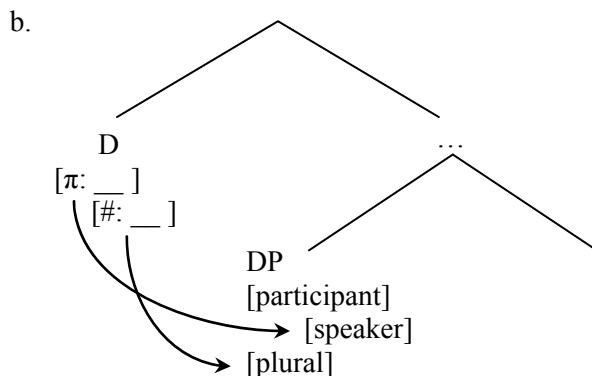
- (35) a. *Alar kil-de-lär.*  
 they come-PST-PL  
 'They came (together).'



In configurations where subject has only [plural] feature or no positive #-feature, no agreement on  $T^\circ$  will show up.

Now let us turn to ezafe configurations. I assume that possessive D merges with a complete  $\phi$ -probe only if there is a nominal with [participant] feature that need licensing via agree. So in (36), a secondary licenser is required in order to meet Person licensing condition (33). The derivation proceeds exactly as in (34), the  $\phi$ -features on  $D^\circ$  get valued as [ $\pi$ : speaker] [#: plural] and are spelt out as an agreeing ezafe marker *-bız* '1PL'.

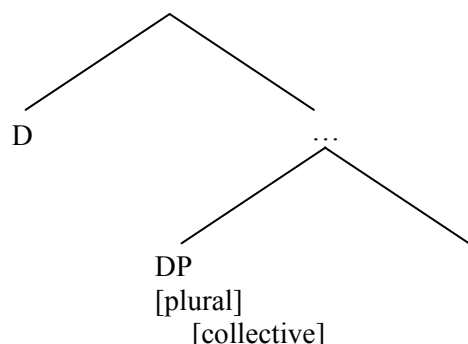
- (36) a. *bez-neŋ ukıtuçı-bız*  
 we-GEN teacher-1PL  
 'our teacher'



The difference between an obligatory licenser and secondary licensers becomes crucial in *ezafe* constructions with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessor (37). As it has no [participant] feature, no  $\phi$ -probe is merged with  $D^\circ$ . Accordingly, [plural] or [collective] features of the possessor never show up in possessive agreement.

- (37) a. *alar-nıŋ ukıtuçı-sı*  
 they-GEN teacher-3  
 ‘their teacher’

b.



At this point, one may wonder how the [participant] feature is licensed in other structural positions, namely, in the direct object position and in oblique positions, where no morphological exponents of person agreement are attested. I believe that these two cases are to be treated separately. The [participant] feature in direct objects is licensed via establishing morphologically invisible AGREE relation with the secondary licenser — transitive light verb *vTR*. For a [participant] feature in indirect objects (datives) and obliques (locatives and ablatives), I assume the analysis along the lines of [Béjar, Rezac 2003]. I believe that these complements are structurally more complex than accusatives and correspond to PPs headed by zero postpositions; another option is to consider dative, locative and ablative case morphemes as postpositions. These postpositions merge with  $\phi$ -probes when it is required to license the [participant] feature of their complements.

Two arguments supporting this analysis are as follows.

The first argument is morphological and comes from the possessive paradigm of Tatar nouns. As Table 3 shows, in the possessive declension attachment of dative, locative and ablative case affixes is mediated by an infixal *-n-* glossed here as OBL, following the convention in [Lyutikova et al. 2007]. Tatar grammars consider it as a part of case affixes used in possessive declension [Zakiev 1993: 50—53]. It is tempting to hypothesize, however, that this *-n-* is an exponent of an oblique (or even accusative) case assigned by dative, locative and ablative postpositions, as represented in (38).

Table 3

Possessive paradigm as compared with bare paradigm in Tatar

	‘village’	‘his/her/their village’
NOM	<i>awıl</i> village	<i>awıl-ı</i> village-3
GEN	<i>awıl-nıŋ</i> village-GEN	<i>awıl-ı-nıŋ</i> village-3-GEN
ACC	<i>awıl-nı</i> village-ACC	<i>awıl-ı-n</i> village-3-ACC
DAT	<i>awıl-ga</i> village-DAT	<i>awıl-ı-n-a</i> (< <i>awıl-ı-n-ga</i> ) village-3-OBL-DAT
LOC	<i>awıl-da</i> village-LOC	<i>awıl-ı-n-da</i> village-3-OBL-LOC
ABL	<i>awıl-dan</i> village-ABL	<i>awıl-ı-n-nan</i> village-3-OBL-ABL

- (38) a. *awıl-ı-n*  
 village-3-ACC  
 ‘his/her/their village (ACC)’  
 b. *awıl-ı-n-da*  
 village-3-ACC-P.LOC  
 ‘in his/her/their village’

However, this hypothesis, albeit very attractive, can hardly be maintained. Dative, locative and ablative case affixes differ from overt postpositions in their syntactic behavior. Compare (39a—b), where the overt postposition *belän* ‘with’ is exemplified. *Belän* can take a coordinate nominal structure as its complement, as (39b) demonstrates. As for a locative case affix, it cannot be attached to a coordinate structure where both conjuncts contain the oblique *-n-* (39d), although the word internal coordination is possible in Tatar (39e).

- (39) a. *kitap-lar belän häm дәftär-lär belän*  
 book-PL with and notebook-PL with  
 ‘with books and with notebooks’  
 b. [*kitap-lar häm дәftär-lär*] *belän*  
 book-PL and notebook-PL with  
 ‘with books and notebooks’  
 c. *šähär-e-n-dä häm awıl-ı-n-da*  
 city-3-OBL-LOC and village-3-OBL-LOC  
 ‘in his city and in his village’  
 d. \*[*šähär-e-n häm awıl-ı-n*]-*da*  
 city-3-OBL and village-3-OBL-LOC  
 ‘in his city and his village’  
 e. [*šähär-e häm awıl-ı*]-*n-da*  
 city-3 and village-3-OBL-LOC  
 ‘in his city and his village’

Another argument against this hypothesis is that in Tatar, some overt postpositions assign dative and ablative [Zakiev 1993: 326—330]. Therefore, I prefer the zero-postposition hypothesis for the dative, locative and ablative. The morphological argument then becomes weaker, but nevertheless it can be used as evidence that the three postpositional cases are morphologically different from the three grammatical cases — nominative, genitive and accusative.

The second argument supporting the postpositional analysis of oblique cases comes from the absence of PCC effects both in double object ditransitive constructions (DOCs) and in dative-nominative constructions (DNCs).

[Béjar, Rezac 2003] derives obviation of PCC effects in relevant configurations from the presence of an extra [ $\pi$ ] probe in contrast to PCC derivations. One way to get an extra [ $\pi$ ] Probe is to add a functional category such as a preposition that projects a shell embedding the argument and licensing its person feature via AGREE. Therefore, if the three oblique cases in Tatar are indeed PPs headed by phonologically empty postpositions, we expect that PCC effects will never arise with them.

This expectation is borne out. In both DOCs and DNCs any combination of pronouns is licit, and there is no evidence that nominative/accusative pronoun in such configurations undergo movement past the dative (which would independently obviate the PCC). This is shown in (40) — (41).

- (40) DOCs  
 a. *Alar-ga mine “jaña xezmätkär” di-p tanıştır-dı-lar.*  
 they-DAT I.ACC new colleague say-CONV present-PST-PL  
 ‘They presented me to them as a new colleague.’ [WCTL]  
 b. *Aña sine öjrät-mä-de-m meni äle?*  
 it.DAT you.ACC teach-NEG-PST-1SG Q yet  
 ‘Haven’t I taught you that yet?’ [WCTL]

- (41) DNCs  
 a. *Kem-ge min kiräk-men?*  
 who.DAT I necessary-1SG  
 ‘Who needs me?’ [WCTL]  
 b. *Alar-ga sin oçra-dı-η.*  
 they-DAT you meet-PST-2SG  
 ‘They met you by chance.’  
 c. *Aña min küren-gän-men.*  
 (s)he.DAT I be.visible-PF-1SG  
 ‘I was visible to her/him’ [WCTL]

Given this evidence, I conclude that [participant] feature of argument nominals is always licensed by establishing AGREE relation with a dedicated head. In subject, direct object and possessor positions, [participant] is li-

censed by finite  $T^\circ$ , transitive  $v^\circ$  and possessive  $D^\circ$ , respectively. In oblique arguments, [participant] is licensed by a (silent) postposition. Finite  $T^\circ$  is an obligatory licenser and thereby always merges with a complete  $\phi$ -probe. Other heads are secondary licensers and thereby merge with a  $\phi$ -probe only if an argument in their domain bears [participant] feature that needs licensing. This difference between  $T^\circ$  and other heads results in the fact that only finite verbs can agree in number with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominal.

Now let us turn to case assignment. As (31) states, Tatar case is a morphological reflex of another type of licensing, which I call Vergnaud-licensing. Only DPs are subject to Vergnaud-licensing, hence no case-marking appears on structurally deficient Small Nominals lacking DP-shell.

Since case-marking in Tatar is treated separately from  $\phi$ -agreement, different formal models of case assignment are compatible with the current analysis. In particular, along the Chomskyan model of case assignment by syntactic heads, an alternative configurational case assignment model can be considered.

In the modern Minimalist syntactic approach [Chomsky 2000; 2001], which inherits many features of the GB Case theory [Chomsky 1981; 1986], case is considered as an unvalued uninterpretable feature of a noun phrase that has to be valued in order to prevent the derivation from crashing. In the Chomsky-style model, case is assigned to a noun phrase by a dedicated case-assigning head. It is worth noting that this model of case assignment is couched in the feature-driven syntax: case assignment is a by-product of the AGREE relation between an active probe bearing unvalued  $\phi$ -features and an active goal bearing an unvalued case feature and valued  $\phi$ -features.

A competing approach dates back to the seminal paper of Alec Marantz [Marantz 1991]. The gist of this approach is that (morphological) case can be assigned to noun phrases not only depending on the governing heads, but also depending on the presence of other noun phrases (“case competitors”) in the same local domain. Marantz distinguishes four distinct kinds of case, forming a disjunctive Case realization hierarchy [Marantz 1991: 24]. This hierarchy determines the order in which the different kinds of case shall be assigned. First, lexically-governed case is assigned. Next, the rule of dependent case assignment applies. The dependent case rule requires a configuration where there are at least two caseless NPs in the clausal (or nominal) domain. If this requirement is met, these noun phrases enter into case-competition. In accusative languages, the lower NP is marked with the “dependent” accusative case, and in ergative languages, the higher NP is marked with the “dependent” ergative case. Finally, if neither of the previous rules applied to an NP, it receives the default case. It is important that the universal availability of the default case realization in Marantz’s system means that case assignment is set apart from licensing: case only interprets the syntactic structure, but does not filter it out.

As some adherents of the approach pursue the morphology-internal analysis of case issues [McFadden 2004; Bobaljik 2008], several attempts have been made to incorporate the appealing idea of the “dependent” case assignment into a more familiar syntactic scene. Thus, papers like [Bittner, Hale 1996; Baker 2014; 2015; Preminger 2011; Levin, Preminger 2015] explore various paths of implementing configurational case assignment within the “Case-as-licensor” model. It is important that even within narrow syntax, configurational case assignment is construed as independent from agreement of lexical or functional heads, i.e. AGREE operation of Chomskyan model. The relation between case and agreement is reverse: morphological case marking can influence the agreement process. Thus, Bobaljik proposes that agreement is case-discriminating, in the sense that only those DPs that bear a specific case are visible as goals for a probe looking for a source of valued  $\phi$ -features [Bobaljik 2008].

At first glance, the configurational case model, implemented into syntax and combined with DP-licensing function, seem more appropriate for our purposes, in that the Chomskyan model relies heavily on AGREE, which, as I argued above, affects only a subclass of case-marked nominals. Besides, configurational account of case assignment has been recently proposed for several Turkic languages, including Sakha and Turkish [Baker, Vinokurova 2010; Levin, Preminger 2015; Kornfilt, Preminger 2015; Baker 2015].

However, in Tatar, there are reasons to opt for the Chomsky-style case assignment model rather than for the Marantz-style configurational model. A number of arguments in favor of this decision are given in [Lyutikova, Ibatullina 2015]. Here, I present only two of them which concern accusative case assignment and compare conditions on accusative marking in Sakha and Tatar.

As [Baker, Vinokurova 2010] claims, accusative case assignment in Sakha is sensitive to the presence of another NP in the specific local domain: it is assigned in the clausal domain to the lower of the two caseless DPs. So accusative is a “dependent” case of the clausal domain. This analysis captures perfectly the important property of the Sakha clause syntax: accusative direct objects appear outside the VP (that is, strictly to the left of VP-level adverbials and indirect objects), whereas unmarked, or nominative, direct objects appear within the VP, in their base position (cf. (42)). When the definite direct object raises out of VP to avoid existential closure, it lands in the clausal domain of case competition and is assigned accusative in the presence of a still-caseless subject DP.

- (42) a. *Masha türgennik salamaat-(\*y) sie-te.*  
 Masha quickly porridge-(\*ACC) eat-PST.3SG  
 ‘Masha ate porridge quickly.’  
 b. *Masha salamaat-\*(y) türgennik sie-te.*  
 Masha porridge-ACC quickly eat-PST.3SG  
 ‘Masha ate the porridge quickly.’ (Sakha; [Baker, Vinokurova 2010: 602])

The crucial argument in favor of the Marantz-style accusative case assignment in Sakha comes from the dependent clauses with accusative subject like the one in (43). It appears that the availability of accusative does not depend on the presence of an accusative-assigning head in the main clause, since (43) contains an intransitive main verb; what really matters is the presence of another NP in the main clause, as (44) demonstrates.

- (43) *Keskil Aisen-y [kel-bet dien] xomoj-do.*  
 Keskil Aisen-ACC come-NEG.AOR.3SG that become.sad-PST.3SG  
 ‘Keskil became sad that Aisen is not coming.’ (Sakha; [Baker, Vinokurova 2010: 617])  
 (44) *Bügün munnjax-xa Masha-(\*ny) [ehiil Moskva-qa bar-ya dien] cuolkajdan-na.*  
 today meeting-DAT Masha-(\*ACC) [next.year Moscow-DAT go-FUT.3SG that] become.certain-PST.3SG  
 ‘It became clear today at the meeting that Masha’ll go to Moscow next year.’ (Sakha; [Baker, Vinokurova 2010: 619])

Unlike in Sakha, in Tatar accusative direct objects do not have to move out of their VP: accusative direct objects are perfectly grammatical in their base position (see section 2.2.2 and example (28). Therefore, accusative and unmarked direct objects in Tatar may belong to the same case competition domain, which makes configurational analysis problematic. Moreover, if subjects of embedded clauses are taken into account, we find accusative case assignment with transitive matrix verbs (45a) and no accusative case assignment with intransitive matrix verbs (45b–c). This is so regardless of whether the matrix clause contains a case competitor (45c) or not.

- (45) a. *Sin || Sine kil-er-señ dip kötä-m.*  
 you || you.ACC come-FUT-2SG that wait.PRS-1SG  
 ‘I’m waiting for you to come.’  
 b. *Sin || \*Sine kil-er-señ dip köt-el-ä.*  
 you || you.ACC come-FUT-2SG that wait-PASS-PRS  
 ‘It is expected that you would come.’  
 c. *Sin || \*Sine kil-er-señ dip şatlan-dı ul.*  
 you || you.ACC come-FUT-2SG that become.glad-PST (s)he  
 ‘(S)he is glad that you would come.’

Therefore, I conclude that configurational model of case assignment is not suitable for Tatar and stand by the traditional case assignment by (functional) heads model, albeit deprived of  $\phi$ -agreement as a prerequisite.

If  $\phi$ -agreement is dismissed as a motivation for case assignment, what can a mechanism of Vergnaud-licensing look like? It seems promising to apply the recent approach advocated in [Pesetsky 2013] and [Lyutikova 2015], which takes case morphology on the nominal as an exponent of a category feature of the governing head. To be more precise, we can hypothesize that a DP has an unvalued feature *uF* that receives valuation via agreement in syntactic category with the nearest c-commanding functional head. Then, genitive reflects valuation of *uF* by a possessive D, nominative — by a finite T, accusative — by a transitive *v*. Thus, these functional heads are involved in two licensing processes, but different features and therefore different classes of nominals are licensed via  $\phi$ -agreement and via syntactic category agreement.

The last question concerns the EPP feature and its relation with person licensing and Vergnaud-licensing. The best configuration to address this issue is the possessive construction, as it exhibits morphological exponents of both person licensing (agreement) and Vergnaud-licensing (case). As it turns out, movement to Spec, DP correlates with case, not agreement. Genitive possessors, be they 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person or not, invariably occupy the leftmost position in the DP. This indicates that the EPP is a (first-order) feature of a functional head rather than a (second-order) feature of a  $\phi$ -probe.

#### 4. Postpositional phrases: apparent counter-evidence

In this section, I deal with postpositional phrases headed by denominal postpositions that at first glance present a counter-example to the generalizations drawn in the previous sections. I show that this seeming refutation is imaginary and this phenomenon is due to mismatches in syntax-morphology interface.

A large class of Tatar postpositions are historically derived from nouns with locative semantics, e.g. *ara* ‘gap’ — *ara-da* (gap-LOC)/*ara-sı-n-da* (gap-3-OBL-LOC) ‘between, among’; *aldı* ‘front’ — *aldı-n-da* (front-OBL-LOC) ‘before’, *jan* ‘side’ — *jan-ı-n-a* (side-3-OBL-DAT) / *jan-ı-n-da* (side-3-OBL-LOC) ‘near, by’, etc. Not surprisingly, these postpositions form a kind of ezafe configuration with their complements, thus governing genitive (like in ezafe-3) or unmarked (like in ezafe-2) form and retaining person agreement:

- (46) a. *minem jan-ım-da*  
I.GEN side-1SG-LOC  
‘near me’  
b. *minem bakça-m-da*  
I.GEN garden-1SG-LOC  
‘in my garden’ (ezafe-3)
- (47) a. *bala-lar jan-ı-n-da*  
child-PL side-3-OBL-LOC  
‘near children’  
b. *bala-lar bakça-sı-n-da*  
child-PL garden-3-OBL-DAT  
‘in the kindergarten’ (ezafe-2)

The problem is that the distribution of genitive vs. unmarked form of the complement diverges from the distribution of genitive vs. unmarked form of the possessor in the ezafe constructions. [Zakiev 1993: 253] claims that all the pronouns, including 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns, 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns (*ul* ‘he/she/it’, *alar* ‘they’), interrogative pronouns (e. g. *kem* ‘who’), indefinite pronouns (e. g. *ber-kem* ‘noone’, *nərsə-der* ‘something’), reflexive and reciprocal pronouns (*üz* ‘self’, *ber-berse* ‘each other’) take the genitive affix, whereas all the nouns, including proper names, remain unmarked (nominative in the traditional terminological system). It appears that the distribution of the genitive is even more restricted. My search in the “Written corpus of Tatar” [WCTL] shows that only 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns and the 3.SG pronoun *ul* ‘(s)he, it’ are invariably used in the genitive form with this class of postpositions. Other types of pronouns show a tendency to be used in the unmarked form. The distribution of formal properties of different classes of pronouns in postpositional phrases is summarized in Table 4 for the postposition *janına* ‘near’.

Table 4

Case forms of pronouns in postpositional phrases headed by *janına* ‘near’ [WCTL]

	Genitive	Unmarked
<i>min</i> ‘I’	267	0
<i>sin</i> ‘thou’	191	0
<i>ul</i> ‘(s)he, it’	2344	(10) <sup>10</sup>
<i>alar</i> ‘they’	14	801
<i>üze</i> ‘himself/herself/itself’	41	372
<i>üzläre</i> ‘themselves’	1	103
<i>kem</i> ‘who’	0	44
<i>kemnär</i> ‘who (pl)’	0	9
<i>kajısbız</i> ‘which of us’	0	4

This state of affairs seem to contradict our previous generalization that DPs are obligatorily case-marked and that all the pronouns, as well as ezafe-3 nominals are DPs. Indeed, in examples like (48), it is unclear how the DP complement is Vergnaud-licensed since it bears no case marker.

- (48) a. *Min dä [DP alar] janına kil-de-m.*  
I EMPH they near come-PST-1SG  
‘I also approached them.’ [WCTL]  
b. *Tıjnak üz-lär-e [DP čit keşe-neŋ östäl-e] janına utır-mij-lar da.*  
modest self-PL-3 foreign man-GEN table-3 near sit.down-NEG.PRS-PL EMPH  
‘Being modest, they do not sit at someone else’s table.’ [WCTL]

<sup>10</sup> In these 10 examples, it is impossible to determine whether the unmarked pronoun is a postposition complement or a subject of the clause, so I put the number in parentheses.

I believe that the solution to this puzzle is that denominal postpositions are no longer nouns but form a separate syntactic category. They assign a specific “postpositional” case to their complements. Postpositional case is morphologically non-independent (cf. discussion on Russian accusative in [Zaliznyak 1973: 74]) and makes use of the two forms — genitive for personal pronouns and nominative for other DPs. Under this view, DPs in (48a—b) are case-marked with the postpositional case which is realized as a zero morpheme.

Two pieces of evidence support this analysis. First, consider emphatic pronominal constructions that consist of the personal pronoun and the emphatic reflexive pronoun. When used as intensifier, reflexive pronoun does not have to be bound, hence it is licit in any structural position, including the subject position. The internal shape of this construction, however, differs for nominative and other case forms. In the nominative construction, exemplified in (49a), both pronouns are nominative. In all other cases, the structure differs and the “oblique” variant of the emphatic pronominal construction obtains: the personal pronoun invariably comes in the genitive, regardless of the case assigned to the whole construction, and the reflexive pronoun bears the corresponding case affix (49b).

- (49) a. *Min / \*Minem üz-em bu xalät-ne añlij-m, trener-lar-ım da añlij...*  
 I / \*I.GEN self-1SG this situation-ACC understand.PRS-1SG coach-PL-1SG EMPH understand.PRS  
 ‘I myself understand the situation, my coaches understand it, too...’ [WCTL]  
 b. *Anı nişläp minem / \*min üz-em-nän sora-mij-lar ikän soñ?*  
 this.ACC why I.GEN / \*I self-1SG-ABL ask-NEG.PRS-PL AUX EMPH  
 ‘Why don’t they ask myself about it?’ [WCTL]

It turns out that in the context of denominal postpositions, the “oblique” variant of the emphatic pronominal construction is used, as shown in (50). Therefore, the complement of the postposition bears the oblique case, which differs from the subject’s nominative, although it may coincide with it morphologically.

- (50) *Bu bit minem / \*min üz-em öçen kiräk, räxmät sez-gä!*  
 this very I.GEN / \*I self-1SG for necessary thanks you-DAT  
 ‘This is very necessary for myself, thanks to you!’ [WCTL]

The second piece of evidence comes from coordinate constructions. In Tatar, coordinate noun phrases can share the case affix ([Zakiev 1992: 148]; cf. (51), as well as (39e) above).

- (51) a. *Ul bez-ne [rus tel-e häm ädäbijat-ı]-n-nan ukıta ide.*  
 (s)he we-ACC Russian language-3 and literature-3-OBL-ABL teach.IPF AUX.PST  
 ‘She taught us Russian language and literature.’ [WCTL]  
 b. *mädäniyat häm sängat-kä bitaraflık kür-sät-ü*  
 culture and art-DAT indifference see-CAUS-NML1  
 ‘showing indifference to culture and art’ [WCTL]

It is worth noting that if the two coordinate nominals represent different morphological contexts for a case affix, the form of the affix is chosen with respect to its morphological host, that is, in accordance with the last conjunct nominal. Thus, in (52a), the ablative case affix has the form *-dan*, which is used in non-possessive declension because it attaches to the nominal *algebra* ‘algebra’, which contains no possessive affix. In (53a), on the contrary, the ablative case affix is mediated by the oblique *-n-* and looks like *-nan*, because it attaches to the host containing the possessive affix.

- (52) a. *[rus tel-e häm algebra]-dan bul-gan imtixan-nar*  
 Russian language and algebra-ABL be-PART.PF exam-PL  
 ‘exams in Russian and algebra’ [WCTL]  
 b. *\*rus tel-e-dan bul-gan imitxan*  
 Russian language-3-ABL be-PART.PF exam  
 intended: ‘exam in Russian’  
 (53) a. *[matematika häm tatar tel-e]-n-nän sinau*  
 maths and Tatar language-3-OBL-ABL test  
 ‘test in maths and Tatar’ [WCTL]  
 b. *\*matematika-n-nan sinau*  
 maths-OBL-ABL test  
 intended: ‘test in maths’

Now let us consider coordinate structure consisting of a personal pronoun and a noun phrase as a complement of a denominal postposition, which would require genitive affix on the personal pronoun and unmarked



form of the noun. As I noted in section 2.2.2 above, case-marked and caseless forms cannot be coordinated in Tatar. Therefore, in examples (54) and (55) we observe the morphologically conditioned realization of the same case: if the host is a personal pronoun, the genitive form obtains; if the host is a noun, the whole coordinate structure looks unmarked.

- (54) a. *Min Marat häm sineŋ ara-gız-ga utıra-m.*  
 I Marat and you.GEN between-1PL-DAT sit.down.PRS-1SG  
 ‘I’ll sit between Marat and you.’  
 b. *Min sin häm Maratara-sı-n-a utıra-m.*  
 I you and Marat between-3-OBL-DAT sit.down.PRS-1SG  
 ‘I’ll sit between you and Marat.’
- (55) a. *Tapşırı-da mäktäb-ebez häm bez-neŋ turında söjlä-de-lär.*  
 TV.program-LOC school-1PL and we-GEN about tell-PST-PL  
 ‘In the TV program, they reported about our school and us.’  
 b. *Tapşırı-da bez häm mäktäb-ebez turında söjlä-de-lär.*  
 TV.program-LOC we and school-1PL about tell-PST-PL  
 ‘In the TV program, they reported about us and our school.’

To sum up, the puzzle presented in this section has a straightforward explanation if we assume that denominal postpositions assign a special postpositional case. If we try to maintain the traditional analysis and claim that denominal postpositions assign genitive/nominative, or even suppose that genitive/caseless forms vary in this context, the puzzling data presented in this section remain enigmatic.

## 5. Conclusions

In this paper, I presented a study of case and agreement phenomena in Tatar. I argued that the same mechanisms underlie case marking in different structural positions and that case can be viewed as a morphological exponent of Vergnaud-licensing — licensing of argument DPs by governing heads. I explored case assignment by denominal prepositions which seems to diverge from the generalization on case assignment drawn from the distribution of case-marked and caseless nominals in other structural positions and presented new arguments supporting the uniform analysis of case assignment coupled with a special morphological status of the syntactic case governed by denominal postpositions.

I also argued that person-number agreement in Tatar is a morphological reflex of a separate process, person licensing, which applies to 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronouns exclusively. The only structural configuration where 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominals can enter into AGREE relation is a subject-predicate configuration where number agreement is available. I claimed that this asymmetry reflects the contrast of obligatory and secondary licensors first proposed in [Bobaljik 1993] and reintroduced by Kalin [Kalin 2015].

This study has several implications, both language-specific and theoretically oriented. On the one hand, the proposed view on case and agreement in Tatar can hopefully contribute to deeper studies of these phenomena, especially in those structural configurations where no one-to-one correspondence between case and agreement is attested — e. g. finite embedded clauses, relative clauses, coordinate structures in different syntactic positions. On the other hand, the data presented in this paper provide a strong evidence against elimination of syntactic case from the system of licensing conditions governing well-formedness of syntactic representations. Neither can case marking be reduced to licensing some interpretable feature, be it person, number, animacy etc. via AGREE, nor is case marking a purely morphological phenomenon that only interprets syntactic structure but never filters it out. From a broader perspective, then, Tatar data seem to question the perspectives of an entirely interface-driven grammar.

## Abbreviations

1 — 1 <sup>st</sup> person	AUX — auxiliary
2 — 2 <sup>nd</sup> person	CONV — converb
3 — 3 <sup>rd</sup> person	COP — copula
ABL — ablative	DAT — dative
ACC — accusative	EMPH — emphatic particle
AOR — aorist	F — feminine
ATR — attributivizer	FUT — future

GEN — genitive  
 INDEF — indefinite  
 INF — infinitive  
 IPF — imperfective  
 LOC — locative  
 NEG — negation  
 NML1 — nominalization 1  
 NML2 — nominalization 2

OBL — oblique  
 PART — participle  
 PASS — passive  
 PF — perfect/perfective  
 PL — plural  
 PP — past participle  
 PST — past  
 Q — question particle  
 SG — singular

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## РЕЗЮМЕ

В статье исследуются падежное маркирование и согласование в татарском языке. Хотя эти феномены в значительной степени пересекаются, в статье делается утверждение, что они связаны с различными синтаксическими механизмами. Падеж рассматривается как морфологический экспонент лицензирования аргументных именных групп полной структуры управляющими вершинами. Лично-числовое согласование является рефлексом отдельного процесса, лицензирования признака лица, который затрагивает исключительно местоимения 1-го/2-го лица. Единственная структурная конфигурация, в которой именные группы 3-го лица могут контролировать согласование, — это предикативное согласование, где возможно согласование по числу. Эта асимметрия отражает контраст между обязательным лицензором лично-числовых признаков, который содержит каждая финитная клауза, и вторичными лицензорами, которые вводятся в синтаксическую структуру только в случае необходимости. Языковые данные, представленные в статье, свидетельствуют о необходимости теоретического разделения согласования и лицензирования именных групп; при этом, однако, падеж как синтаксический феномен должен быть сохранен в системе лицензирующих механизмов языка.

## SUMMARY

The paper presents a study of case assignment and agreement phenomena in Tatar. Although these processes overlap to the great extent, I argue that they are brought about by two distinct mechanisms. Case can be viewed as a morphological exponent of Vergnaud-licensing — structural licensing of argument DPs by governing heads. Person-number agreement in Tatar is a morphological reflex of a separate process, person licensing, that applies to 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns exclusively. The only structural configuration where 3<sup>rd</sup> person nominals can enter into agreement relation is a subject-predicate configuration where number agreement is available. This asymmetry reflects the contrast of obligatory licensors, which every finite clause contains, and secondary licensors, which are merged only when needed for convergence. The data presented in this paper provide a strong evidence for divorcing agreement from structural licensing, but against elimination of syntactic case from the system of licensing conditions governing well-formedness of syntactic representations.

**Ключевые слова:** синтаксический падеж, согласование, лицензирование именных групп, структура именной группы, дифференцированное маркирование аргументов, лицензирование лица, татарский язык

**Keywords:** syntactic case, agreement, DP licensing, noun phrase structure, differential argument marking, person licensing condition, Tatar

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