

Turkic genitive case and agreement asymmetries

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1 Introduction

Baker and Vinokurova (2010) and Baker (2015) present a two-modality approach to case assignment, in which different cases may be assigned in one of two ways: either configurationally, as in Marantz (1991), where case is assigned depending on its location and its relationship with other nominals in its domain, or assigned via agreement with functional heads, as in Chomsky (2000). In particular, they argue that the assignment of nominative and genitive case cannot be assigned configurationally based on agreement patterns in Sakha, a Siberian Turkic language.

In the spirit of Levin and Preminger (2015), I argue that needing to posit two different modalities of case is not necessary, and that their data can be accounted for with one. However, unlike Levin and Preminger (2015) who provide purely theoretical arguments in favor of their conclusion, I provide four empirical arguments for genitive case being assigned as an unmarked case (and, by extension, nominative) not just in Sakha, but other Turkic languages as well.

The first asymmetry I will present is based on the existence of the so-called *possessive-free genitives* (PFG) in Turkish, in which the head noun in a simple possessive structure such as ‘my cat’ lacks the possessive suffix, and therefore has no (at least overt) agreement, as seen in (1) below. As Öztürk and Taylan (2015) point out, this is not merely optional dropping of the possessive suffix; the PFG in (1b) is better analyzed as an adjunct rather than an argument:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------|----|-------------|
| (1) | a. | Ben-im kedi-m | b. | Ben-im kedi |
| | | 1SG-GEN cat-POSS.1SG | | 1SG-GEN cat |
| | | ‘my cat’ | | ‘my cat’ |

Another asymmetry I will discuss is the fact that in a few Turkic languages, the subject of a non-subject relative clause is morphologically unmarked (nominative) despite there being nominal agreement present. A non-subject relative clause (RC) is one in which something other than the subject is the target of relativization. I will attempt to provide an account of this in which the bare RC subject moves covertly rather than overtly. I give examples from Baker and Vinokurova (2010) in (2)-(3) below:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|----------|----------------|
| (2) | Julus aqa-ta | sie-bit | at-a |
| | Julus father-POSS.3SG | eat-PTPL | horse-POSS.3SG |
| | ‘the horse Julus’s father ate’ | | |
| (3) | Julus aqa-tı-n | sie-bit | at-a |
| | Julus father-POSS.3SG-GEN | eat-PTPL | horse-POSS.3SG |
| | ‘the horse Julus’s father ate’ | | |

Another datapoint that I will discuss is the presence of morphologically unmarked pronouns (nominative) in Turkic partitive subjects, such as *(biz) iki-miz* ‘the two of us,’ where the pronoun is optional, but the nominal agreement on the head numeral *iki* is not. Contrary to fact, agreement would assign genitive case to this pronoun inside the partitive subject. I argue that this can be accounted for if genitive case is assigned configurationally.

Finally, I introduce the problem of Turkic default agreement, in which complex possessors such as partitive subjects and adnominal pronouns (ex. ‘we Turks’) agree fully in finite clauses with matrix verbs, but do not agree with head nouns in simple possessive structures, relative clauses and elsewhere; in other words, when they receive genitive case in Turkic:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|----|--|
| (4) | a. | (Biz) iki-miz-in kedi
(1PL) two-1PL-GEN cat
‘the cat that belongs to the two of us’ | b. | biz Türk-ler-in kitab-ı
1PL Turk-PL-GEN book-3SG
‘the book that belongs to us Turks’ |
|-----|----|---|----|--|

I will provide an account of default agreement based on Chomsky (2001)’s weakened Phase Impenetrability Condition and the assumption that case, or KP, blocks agreement.

The data that will be presented in this paper is from several Turkic languages: Turkish, Kyrgyz, Sakha, Uzbek and Altai. The Turkish data was obtained through native speaker judgments from three different speakers, including myself, while the Kyrgyz, Sakha and Uzbek data was obtained from a single native speaker consultant for each, either in person or by Skype, and much of this was supplemented with data from the literature.

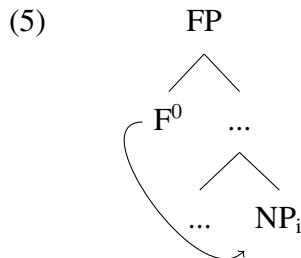
This paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I introduce the reader to the basic concepts that will be covered in this paper. Section 3 reviews Öztürk and Taylan (2015)’s arguments for the possessive suffix not merely being an agreement marker, and I discuss its consequences on the theories of case. Section 4 explores the distribution of case and agreement with Turkic non-subject RCs, concluding that even in Sakha under the Baker approach, D^0 does not always assign genitive case. Section 5 presents Turkic partitive subjects and default agreement involving these subjects, each of which present a different problem for the Baker and Vinokurova (2010) approach to case assignment. I provide an analysis and conclude in section 6.

2 Background

In this section, I provide the reader with an introduction to relevant issues in case theory, the properties of genitive case crosslinguistically and adnominal pronouns. In section 2.1, I discuss the two main theories of case in the literature: case via agreement and configurational case theory, and summarize Baker and Vinokurova (2010)’s approach to the genitive in Sakha. In section 2.2, I summarize Baker (2015)’s discussion of genitive case, and defend the view that the genitive even in Turkish and Sakha can be analyzed as an unmarked case. Section 2.3 introduces the reader to adnominal pronouns and default agreement in Finnish, providing the background for Turkic default agreement.

2.1 Two theories of case: how are nominative and genitive assigned?

The theory of case that this paper will argue against, at least for the assignment of genitive case, is one in which case assignment is a consequence of agreement.¹ Case is assigned to a noun phrase, NP, that is local to its probe, a functional head F^0 . If F^0 c-commands NP and is able to find an NP in its search domain, then it is able to assign its case to NP; this is shown in (5) below:



According to Baker and Vinokurova (2010), this case assignment is parasitic on the simultaneous ϕ -feature agreement between F^0 and NP. If there is no agreement, there is no case assignment.

I will argue that the assignment of genitive case is best captured under the configurational case approach, in which case is assigned based on the relationship between two factors: first, the location of the nominal relative to others in a clause, and the identity of the head that (c)-selects the nominal. Marantz (1991) defines four kinds of case in the following hierarchy:

- (6) Case realization disjunctive hierarchy (top to bottom)
- a. Lexical/oblique case: case determined by the lexical properties of an item. Ex. quirky case in Icelandic
 - b. Dependent case: assigned depending on the relationship between nominals in some domain. Ex. accusative and ergative
 - c. Unmarked case: case assigned automatically to any NP in a clause (nominative/absolutive) or any NP in an NP/DP (genitive)
 - d. Default case: assigned to any NP left unmarked for case

Default case should not be confused with unmarked case, for unmarked case refers to case which does not depend on other nominals within the domain to be assigned, nor is it lexically assigned. The term "unmarked" refers to the nominative and absolutive often being morphologically null crosslinguistically. For the purposes of this paper, we are only concerned with the unmarked case, as genitive can be a kind of unmarked case.

Given these two theories of case, some authors, such as Baker and Vinokurova (2010) and Baker (2015), have argued that both of these methods of assigning case exist crosslinguistically, and in some cases even in the same language, such as Sakha. Both argue that nominative and genitive case assignment cannot be accounted for in the Marantz (1991) approach, because nominative and genitive case appear only when a verb or a determiner respectively agrees with them.²

¹This paper is concerned only with morphologically observable case rather than abstract case; see Marantz (1991) on whether abstract case exists.

²For our purposes, I will focus only on how the genitive case is assigned in Sakha, which Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argue is assigned by agreement via functional heads. However, they argue that accusative and dative case are both assigned under the configurational case approach as a form of dependent case.

Some of their evidence is given in (7a)-(7b), where they are ruled out when there is no agreement on the head noun to assign genitive case:³

- (7) a. Aisen aqa-*(ta)
Aisen father
'Aisen's father.'
- b. Masha terilte-ni salaj-yy-*(ta)
Masha company-ACC manage-EV.NOML
'Masha's managing the company.' (Baker and Vinokurova, 2010, p. 634)

But as Levin and Preminger (2015) points out, we could assume that agreement itself is parasitic on case and derive the same results, following Bobaljik (2008). According to Bobaljik, case is assigned configurationally and postsyntactically, and agreement is a postsyntactic phenomenon. Agreement looks for case-marked nominals and the appropriateness of the target obeys the *Revised Moravcsik Hierarchy*, which is as follows: unmarked case \gg dependent case \gg oblique case. This is the opposite of Marantz's hierarchy above, ignoring default case. But for the purposes of this paper, I remain agnostic on agreement being postsyntactic.⁴

Only the unmarked cases, nominative and genitive, are responsible for agreement in Turkish and Sakha. Rather than saying case is parasitic on agreement, we could provide Levin and Preminger (2015)'s account of agreement in Sakha under the configurational case theory, in which the probes T^0 , D^0 or $Poss^0$ will search their c-command domains for a nominal bearing unmarked case and agree with it.

A final assumption I want to make is that nominative case does not project a KP layer, following Kornfilt and Preminger (2015), who argue that unmarked case is best represented as having no proper grammatical representation. Though their goal is ultimately (though it is not in the paper) to claim that even genitive case is caselessness, I must argue otherwise; I will try to show in section 5 that genitive case-marked nominals *do* project a KP layer while nominative nominals do not, given the differences in default agreement with adnominal pronouns.

2.2 The crosslinguistic properties of the genitive: which theory is right?

Though Baker and Vinokurova (2010) argues that genitive case in Sakha is better analyzed as assigned via agreement, Baker (2015) points out that in other languages it is more plausible to think of genitive as being an unmarked case. This is because languages such as Turkish and Sakha on one hand and Japanese and Tamil on the other have significantly different properties, and this might indicate something fundamental in the way their respective genitive cases are assigned.

Given these differences, Baker (2015) proposes that in Turkish and Sakha, genitive case is assigned via agreement, whereas in Japanese and Tamil it is assigned as an unmarked case. I will discuss these properties in this section, and conclude that the genitive in Turkish and Sakha may also be an unmarked case, with an assumption that has independent support.

³This is the case in Turkish as well for the most part, but the possessive suffix can actually be dropped in most contexts in Turkish. See section 3 for an argument against the Baker approach to genitive case assignment. However, the possessive suffix cannot be dropped in certain contexts, and the ϕ -features of the possessor must usually be reflected on the possessive suffix, with the exception of cases of default agreement that I will discuss in section 5.

⁴See Preminger (2014) an account in which agreement and case assignment are both syntactic.

Starting with Baker (2015)'s examples of Tamil in (8a)-(8b), he notes that the genitive in Tamil, *-ooṭa*, has a different exponent from the nominative which is null, the accusative *-e* and the dative *-ukku*. In addition, there is no agreement on the head noun, unlike Turkish and Sakha. Further, Tamil allows more than one genitive-marked NP inside the possessive structure:

- (8) a. vaṇṇaan-ooṭa viiṭu
 washerman-GEN house
 'the washerman's house'
 b. John-ooṭa Mary-ooṭa viiṭu
 John-GEN Mary-GEN picture
 'John's picture of Mary'

Tamil's possessive structures look a lot like Japanese, which also allow multiple genitives and there is no possessive suffix:

- (9) a. Itachi no karasu
 Itachi GEN crow
 'Itachi's crow'
 b. Akatsuki no Konoha no hakai
 Akatsuki GEN Konoha GEN destruction
 'Akatsuki's destruction of Konoha'

Baker (2015) points out that the genitive cannot be a dependent case in any of these languages, because if it were, then we would expect only the highest DP in the nominal to get marked genitive, but both are. On the other hand, this is not possible in Turkish or in Sakha, where there can only be a single genitive-marked NP in a possessive construction, as in (10):

- (10) *Zeynep-in Paris-in resim-i
 Zeynep-GEN Paris-GEN picture-3SG
 'Zeynep's picture of Paris'

According to Baker, this leaves two main possibilities as to how genitive case is assigned crosslinguistically. It may either be assigned by a functional head inside the nominal, perhaps by Poss⁰, as a consequence of agreement, or it could be a form of unmarked case which assigns genitive to any nominals in the Spec position in a functional projection of the noun.

If there is no possessive suffix and multiple genitive case-marked NPs are allowed in a nominal, as in Japanese and Tamil, we might expect it to be assigned as an unmarked case. By contrast, if agreement assigns genitive case, as a consequence it would only be able to assign it once, as in (10). In addition, we could see the reflex of this agreement in the form of a possessive suffix, as we saw above in Turkish and Sakha.

Of course, not all languages behave as simply as Japanese or Turkish do; English for example only allows one genitive-marked nominal in a possessive structure, but no agreement is present on the head noun:

- (11) a. *Mary's Kate's dog
 b. my dog

Hungarian on the other hand allows two kinds of possessive constructions, one in which the possessor is morphologically unmarked and the possessor follows the definite article, and another in which the possessor is dative-marked and precedes it:

- (12) a. a te csont-od
 the you.SG bone-POSS.2SG
 ‘your bone’
- b. János-nak a csont-ja
 John-DAT the bone-POSS.3SG
 ‘John’s bone’

Dékány (2014)

Both theories seem to be equally capable in accounting for both English and Hungarian. Taking English, under the agreement approach, we might say that nominal agreement in English is always null. Alternatively, if we say that genitive is an unmarked case in English, following Bobaljik (2008) we could assume that genitive case-marked NPs do not agree with head nouns in English. To block multiple genitive-marked NPs, we would need an independent reason to block multiple nominal specifiers in a possessive construction.

In other words, there seems to be a great deal of overlap and we might simplify our account of genitive case assignment by picking one approach over the other. In the spirit of Levin and Preminger (2015), I propose that genitive could be analyzed as an unmarked case even in Turkish and Sakha. The presence of the possessive suffix in the Turkic languages could be parasitic on genitive case assignment, rather than a consequence of agreement.

One problem remains: how do we derive the fact that Turkish and Sakha only allow one genitive per possessive construction? Recall that genitive case is assigned to all nominals in Spec,NP position in the configurational theory. If Turkic nominals only had a single specifier position, and Japanese nominals had more than one specifier position, this would also explain the facts.

Looking beyond nominal phrases, there is independent reason to think that Turkish clauses in general only allow one specifier per clause, as Kornfilt (1991) points out. In (13) below, *medeni ülkeler* ‘civilized countries’ and *erkekler* ‘men’ would have to be dative and genitive-marked respectively for the sentence to be grammatical:

- (13) * medeni ülke-ler erkek-ler ortalama hayat süre-si kısa
 civilized country-PL man-PL average life span-CMPD short
 ‘(Intended meaning) The life of men in civilized countries is short.’

On the other hand, Japanese clauses are well known for allowing multiple nominative-marked nominals; for example Miyagawa (1997) provides the sentence below:

- (14) Taro-ga musume-ga isya-ni natta
 Taro-NOM daughter-NOM doctor-DAT became
 ‘Taro, his daughter became a doctor.’

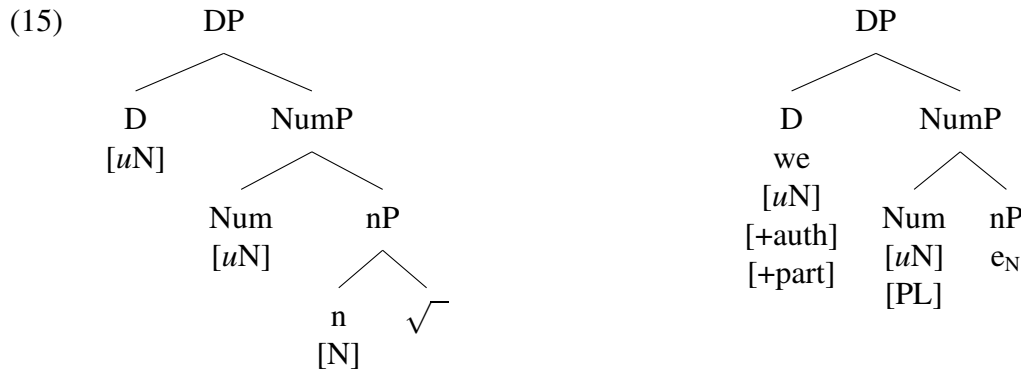
It is therefore unsurprising that multiple genitives are allowed in Japanese nominals. To recap, the genitive even in Turkish and Sakha can be analyzed as an unmarked case, with the independently supported constraint to block multiple specifiers in Turkish nominals.

2.3 Default agreement with adnominal pronouns

For Postal (1969), the pronoun in the adnominal pronoun construction, such as *we linguists*, takes a lexical NP as its argument. For Postal this was evidence that pronouns are determiners, as determiners also take lexical NPs as arguments, ex. *the linguists*. But since Panagiotidis (2015) and

Höhn (2017) this structure has become more complicated, who argue for the structure of adnominal pronouns in (15).

n^0 is a semantically null head which assigns nominal categories to complex roots in the Distributed Morphology framework. According to Panagiotidis (2015), the functional projections bear the uninterpretable categorial features of the lexical head at the bottom of the projection. This prevents functional heads appearing outside the extended projection of a lexical category. This is schematized in the left tree of (15):⁵



Panagiotidis (2015) also proposes that all pronouns have the structure above, with a phonetically null noun forming the lexical core of the noun; Höhn (2017) suggests that the n^0 itself is the silent head of a regular pronoun; e_N is the null head. An adnominal pronoun would be one where the root is occupied. In the case of full nouns, n^0 may merge to categorize them. But pronouns contain no root; e_N forms a maximal-minimal projection alone. The structure of a regular pronoun such as *we* is given on the right tree in (15), with the appropriately marked features.

Holmberg (2017) attempts to come up with an account of the aforementioned default agreement in Finnish and Hungarian, although he does not refer to it as default agreement. He notes that the pronoun in the adnominal pronoun (AP) does not reflect the case assigned to the entire pronoun; for example, in the possessive structures below, the possessive clitic must attach to the entire AP, and not the determiner which heads the possessor:⁶

- (16) a. * your children opinions
 b. ? you children's opinions

He notes that this possible in Finnish, however. First, he points out that Finnish has APs:

- (17) Me lapset voi-mme tulla mukaan
 we.NOM children.NOM can-1PL come along
 'We children can come along.'

⁵This will not be the structure of APs in head-final languages with prenominal APs that I will assume in Turkic; I concur with Höhn (2019) that the pronoun in this languages is better analyzed as a specifier or an adjunct. In addition, the top layer of the nominal construction in these approaches is a DP, which might be at odds with Bošković (2008), Bošković and Şener (2014) and Despica (2015)'s conclusion, among others, that Turkish (and likely the other Turkic languages) lack a DP layer. I will attempt to remain agnostic on this for the rest of the paper.

⁶Postal (1969)'s account of the AP construction argued that the pronoun in the AP took a lexical noun as its complement. If true, this raises problems for Abney (1987)'s account of the determiner being the head of an argument noun phrase, given that it should reflect the case assigned to the DP. However, discussing this further would go beyond the scope of the paper.

Importantly for our purposes, he notes that in a possessive construction in which the possessor is an adnominal pronoun, there cannot be agreement on the head noun; in Finnish the null form of the noun is the 3rd person singular form, as seen in (18a)-(18b). This is despite normal possessive structures in Finnish having obligatory or optional agreement, depending on the dialect, as in (18c). In addition, the pronoun of the AP has genitive case in (18a)-(18b):

- (18) a. teidän lapsien mielipitee(*-nne)
 you.GEN children.GEN opinions.3SG-(*2PL)
 ‘you children’s opinions’
- b. Meidän lapsien mielipiteitä(*-mme) ei oteta vakavasti.
 we.GEN children.GEN opinions.PAR.3SG(*-1PL) not take.PASS seriously
 ‘We children, our opinions are not taken seriously.’
- c. teidän mielipitee-nne
 you.GEN opinions-2PL
 ‘your opinions’

However, like Turkish, there is full agreement on the verb in the subject position of a sentence; in other words it has nominative case-marking, or caseless following Kornfilt and Preminger (2015):

- (19) Me lapset voi-mme tulla mukaan
 we.NOM children.NOM can-1PL come along
 ‘We children can come along.’

How do we account for there being default agreement with genitive case-marked APs but not with bare APs? An intuitive answer is to rely on the KP layer projected by the genitive case blocking agreement, and indeed, this is Holmberg’s answer. The nominative does not project a KP layer according to this account. However, this would have to give up the aforementioned project of Kornfilt and Preminger (2015) to deny KP projections to any kind of unmarked case.

In a nutshell, Holmberg proposes that KP blocks access to the ϕ -features of the pronoun, but the derivation does not crash and default agreement arises on the head noun. But this has the obvious problem of deriving default agreement even with genitive case-marked regular pronouns; Holmberg does not address this problem. Both regular and adnominal pronouns must be case-marked; Holmberg seems to suggest only APs are. However, evidence for the KP-account is seen in Holmberg’s evidence from Hungarian, which as mentioned prior has dative-marked possessors. Dative case-marking blocks agreement with adnominal pronouns, as seen in (20a):⁷

- (20) a. ?csak a ti gyerekeknek véleménye(*-tek) befolyásolja a
 only the you.NOM children.NOM opinion(*-POSS.2PL) influences the
 döntésünket.
 decision.ACC
 ‘It’s only you children’s opinion that influences our decision.’

But notice that coming up with an account of default agreement means we would have to assume Bobaljik (2008)’s framework in which agreement itself is parasitic on case; if case is parasitic on

⁷APCs are marginally possible with dative case-marked possessors in Hungarian, but not possible at all with bare possessors. Dative-marking is present on both the possessor and the pronoun, like Finnish.

agreement, there would not be a KP layer to block agreement to begin with.⁸ With this framework in mind, I will propose an account of Turkic default agreement in section 5.2, in which the difference between a regular and an AP is due to an additional Spell-Out domain blocking the ϕ -features of the adnominal pronoun, which is not present a regular pronoun.

3 Turkish possessive free genitives

Much of this section will be dedicated to summarizing the findings of Öztürk and Taylan (2015), though I interpret their results differently. In section 3.1 I present the three kinds of possessive structures in Turkish, and 3.2 goes over the argument vs. adjunct debate for possessors. In 3.3, I summarize Öztürk and Taylan (2015)'s arguments for possessive free genitives in Turkish being adjuncts. In 3.4, I provide a different analysis and discuss its consequences.

3.1 Turkish possessive structures

The first genitive case and agreement asymmetry in Turkic is one that, as far as I am aware, is only found in Turkish. Barker (1995) and Partee and Borschev (2003) among others have attempted to determine whether genitive-case marked NPs (genitives) have an argument or a modifier relation with the noun they co-occur with. Turkish is a particularly good language to investigate this, given that it has three kinds of possessive structures which can be differentiated.

The genitive-possessive (GP) in (22a) is used when there is a specific entity bearing a possessive relation to the head noun. This makes use of two suffixes: genitive case-marking on the possessor and the possessive suffix on the possessee. The possessive compound (PC, alternatively known in the literature as an *izafet* construction) in (22b) is used for possessors which are not specific.⁹ In this case, only the possessive suffix is present, with no genitive case-marking on the possessor, and the two nouns form a compound.¹⁰

- (22) a. Kedi-nin resim-i
 Cat-GEN picture-POSS.3SG
 'the cat's picture' Genitive-possessive

⁸But see section 5.3 for a potential answer to this.

⁹If we put aside the conclusion in Bošković (2008) and others that Turkish noun phrases lack a DP layer, then a natural way to distinguish between GPs and PCs is that GPs have a DP possessor but PCs have an NP possessor. Thus, only a DP possessor may receive genitive case-marking.

¹⁰In rare cases, a specific possessor that does not bear genitive case-marking may also form a compound. An example from Baker (2015) is given in (21), in which Baker takes *Paris*, which is modifying the head noun, to have nominative case given the lack of genitive case marking. However, I have added the adjective *iyi* 'good' between the two nouns to test for noun-noun compounding. An adjective cannot be placed after *Paris*, indicating that this is likely to be another case of noun-noun compounding even with a specific possessor.

- (21) Ali-nin Paris-(*in) (*iyi) resim-i
 Ali-GEN Paris-(*GEN) (*good) picture-POSS.3SG
 'Ali's (*good) picture of Paris.'

For further discussion on compounding in Turkish and tests to distinguish between GPs and PCs, the reader is referred to Kunduracı (2013).

- b. tavuk et-i
 chicken meat-POSS.3SG
 ‘chicken meat’ Possessive compound

The third and the main form which will be discussed in this section is the possessive-free genitive (PFG), represented in (23). In this structure, the possessor has genitive case-marking but the head noun lacks the possessive suffix:

- (23) Kedi-nin resim
 Cat-GEN picture
 ‘the picture of the cat’ Possessive-free genitive

Öztürk and Taylan (2015) contribute to this debate by arguing that, contra Kunderacı (2013), they are not merely a colloquial variant of GPs in which the possessive suffix is dropped. There are multiple contexts in which GPs are allowed but the PFG is not, depending on the semantic relation between the possessor and the possessee. More precisely, Öztürk and Taylan (2015) argue that in PFGs, the lack of the possessive suffix indicates that the possessor is an adjunct, while in GPs, the presence of the possessive suffix indicates that the possessor is an argument.

3.2 Argument vs. adjunct genitive case-marked NPs

Prior to discussing Turkish further, a background on the argument vs. adjunct debate for genitives will be provided. Vikner and Jensen (2002) distinguishes between four types of semantic relations in genitive constructions, as given in (24):

- (24) a. Inherent: Turkey’s *capital*, Mary’s *sister*
 b. Part-whole: Mary’s *nose*, Turkey’s *province*
 c. Agentive: Mary’s *lasagna* (that she baked), Mary’s *book* (that she wrote)
 d. Control: Mary’s *car* (that she owns), Mary’s *cat* (that she owns)

The inherent relations are the only ones which have a transitive structure, and this includes verb related nouns such as *destruction* or *death*, kinship nouns such as *sister* and relational nouns such as *age* or *employer*. According to this account, genitives can only combine with transitives, so they must be argumental and cannot be modifiers. The other relations therefore require type-shifting operators to become transitive in order to be semantically interpreted.¹¹

By contrast, Partee and Borschev (2003) argues that genitives in Russian may either be an argument if postnominal, or an adjunct if prenominal. This is based on the contrast between (25a)-(25b) and (25c)-(25d), which illustrates that the transitive relation between a victim and their murderer can only be expressed via a postnominal genitive, but not with a prenominal one. But (25d) is acceptable if referring to a murderer Petja hired:

- (25) a. portrait Mamy
 portrait.M.SG Mama.GEN.SG
 ‘Mama’s portrait’
 b. Mamin portret
 Mama..M.SG portret.M.SG
 ‘Mama’s portrait’

¹¹The reader is referred to Vikner and Jensen (2002) for more details.

- c. ubijca Peti
murderer.M.SG Petja.GEN.SG
'Petja's murderer'
- d. # Petin ubijca
Petja.M.SG murderer.M.SG
'Petja's murderer'

von Prince (2012) points out that Daakaka, an Austronesian language spoken in Vanuatu, also exhibits the adjunct vs. argument distinction in possessive constructions. There are two kinds of possessive constructions: in one, the morpheme (*a*)*ne*, which can make intransitive nouns transitive, allows for the possibility of an argument possessor. This is represented in (26); it has the usual meaning in which the bone is a part of the possessor's body.

- (26) Bosi ane vyanten ente
bone TRANS man that
'that man's bone' (which is part of his body)

Another construction is one with linker genitives, which are argued to introduce the possessor as a modifier, as in (27). This is because (27) is not preferred with the meaning in (26), which has a part-whole relation. Instead, it must refer to a bone that belongs to the man, for example one he collected from the corpse of an animal that he hunted in the past.

- (27) Bosi ∅-e vyanten ente
bone CL2-LINK.S man that
'that man's bone' (ex. from a dead animal)

von Prince (2012) suggests that constructions with argument possessors resemble individual-level predicates, which do not allow modification. In contrast, the constructions with modifier possessors resemble stage-level predicates, in that they connect two entities to some time in a discourse.

3.3 Turkish PFGs

The current hypothesis is that PFGs are adjuncts, while normal genitives are arguments. To provide evidence in favor of this, I will discuss several semantic tests, mainly from Öztürk and Taylan (2015), to draw a distinction between Turkish GPs and PFGs. First, I would like to point out that the contrast between (26) and (27) also applies to Turkish. For example, if we translate (27) into a PFG in Turkish, we see that it also cannot refer to a bone which is the part of the possessor's body, the same as in Daakaka:

- (28) # O adam-ın kemik
DEM man-GEN bone
'that man's bone' (which is part of his body, but possible otherwise)

In addition, the transitive relation between a victim and a murderer also cannot be expressed via PFGs, as seen in the contrast in (29). This is parallel to the Russian contrast given in (25c)-(25d), and acceptable if referring to a murderer the possessor hired:

- (29) a. Deniz-in katil-i
Deniz-GEN murderer-POSS.3SG
'Deniz's murderer'
- b. # Deniz-in katil
Deniz-GEN murderer
'Deniz's murderer'

These tests prior will be made clearer in the following discussion. Going back to the four relations given in (24) from Vikner and Jensen (2002), Öztürk and Taylan (2015) verifies that GPs are capable expressing each of them; all of these relations are provided with the GPs in (30).

- (30) a. Öğretmen-in hala-sı
teacher-GEN aunt-POSS.3SG
'The teacher's paternal aunt' inherent: kinship
- b. makale-nin başlıĝ-ı
article-GEN title-POSS.3SG
'the article's title' inherent: relational
- c. Bina-nın yık-ım-ı
building-GEN demolition-NOML-POSS.3SG
'the building's demolition' inherent: verb-related
- d. Çocuĝ-un burn-u
child-GEN nose-POSS.3SG
'the child's nose' part-whole: body part
- e. Araba-nın lastiĝ-i
car-GEN tire-POSS.3SG
'the car's tire' part-whole: autonomous, component part
- f. Masa-nın kenar-ı
table-GEN edge-POSS.3SG
'the edge of the table' part-whole: dependent, component part
- g. Çocuĝ-un şiir-i
child-GEN poem-POSS.3SG
'the child's poem' agentive
- h. Kadın-ın araba-sı
woman-GEN car-POSS.3SG
'the woman's car' control, (Öztürk and Taylan, 2015, p. 4-5)

This shows that GPs can express any semantic relation as long as the head noun allows it. On the other hand, much of these semantic relations cannot be expressed with PFGs. In particular, removing the possessive suffix, which turns the genitives in (30) into PFGs, is not possible when the genitive is inherently relational to the head nouns, as in (30a)-(30c). It is also not possible in (30e), in which the genitive is a dependent part-whole of the head noun. Otherwise, PFGs are possible; all of this is shown in (31) below.

- (31) a. *Öğretmen-in hala
teacher-GEN aunt
'The teacher's paternal aunt' inherent: kinship
- b. *makale-nin başlık
article-GEN title
'the article's title' inherent: relational
- c. *Bina-nın yık-ım
building-GEN demolition-NOML
'the building's demolition' inherent: verb-related

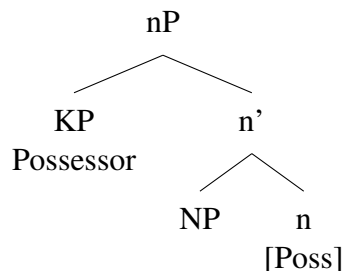
- d. Çocuğ-un burun
child-GEN nose
'the child's nose' part-whole: body part
- e. Araba-nın lastik
car-GEN tire
'the car's tire' part-whole: autonomous, component part
- f. *Masa-nın kenar
table-GEN edge
'the edge of the table' part-whole: dependent, component part
- g. Çocuğ-un şiir
child-GEN poem
'the child's poem' agentive
- h. Kadın-ın araba
woman-GEN car
'the woman's car' control, (Öztürk and Taylan, 2015, p. 5)

Öztürk and Taylan (2015) notes that the head nouns which are compatible with PFGs are those which require type-shifting operators in order to take a genitive as an argument in the system of Vikner and Jensen (2002), but PFGs cannot occur in cases in which the head noun must take a genitive that is an argument. This is evidence in favor of PFGs being adjuncts to the head noun. For further evidence, the reader is referred to Öztürk and Taylan (2015).

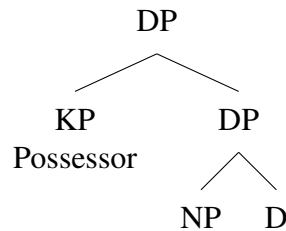
3.4 Theoretical Discussion

As mentioned prior, for Baker (2015), genitive case is assumed to be assigned by agreement by the functional head D^0 , or $Poss^0$ if Turkish lacks a D layer. Instead, Öztürk and Taylan (2015) suggest that the possessive suffix *Poss* is a valency marker on n^0 . *Poss* surfaces on n^0 , introducing an argument to *Spec,nP*. On the other hand, a PFG lacks *Poss*, and according to Öztürk and Taylan (2015) the genitive is introduced as a DP-level adjunct, similar to demonstrative adjuncts in Turkish.¹² These two structures are given in (32) below.

(32) a. GP structure



b. PFG structure



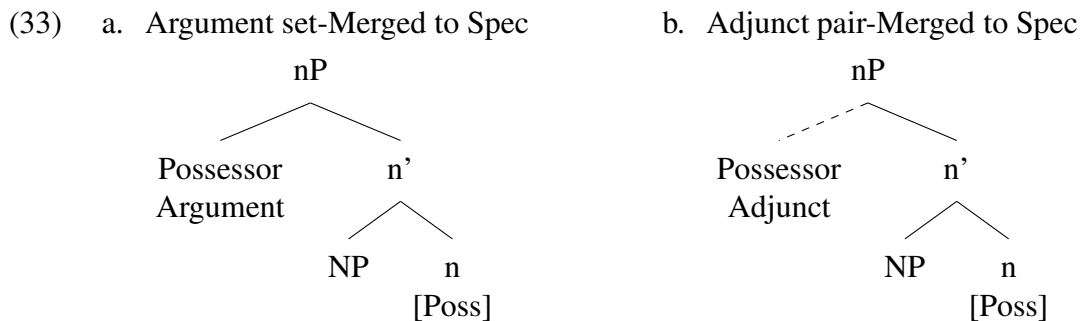
¹²They provide additional evidence that PFGs are as flexible in their ordering as demonstrative adjuncts in Turkish. For example, Bošković and Şener (2014) point out that both *Dem-Poss-NP* and *Poss-Dem-NP* are possible orders for nominal phrases in Turkish. Öztürk and Taylan (2015) points out that the order *Dem-Poss-NP* is restricted in certain contexts for GPs, but not restricted at all for PFGs (p. 19, (56)-(57)).

But this does not mean there is no agreement in GPs, given that we see that possessive suffixes change form based on the ϕ -features of the possessor. This just means that the valency marker Poss, when present, agrees with its possessor.

Though I maintain their conclusions that the argument-adjunct distinction for GPs and PFGs is correct, and that Poss is a valency marker, I will propose a slight simplification.¹³ I believe that the stipulation of GPs and PFGs having fundamentally different structures is unnecessary, and we can maintain this distinction if we maintain almost identical syntactic structures, if we have a way of blocking agreement with adjuncts.

Why should agreement not be possible with adjunct genitives? Chomsky (2004) attempts to derive Huang (1982)'s Condition on Extraction Domain (CED) effects, which forbids extraction from inside adjuncts. He suggests that adjuncts, unlike complements, are entered into the derivation through pair-Merge rather than set-Merge.¹⁴ Pair-Merged objects such as adjuncts are assumed to not be in the search domain of a probe. If agreement involves a probe with a search domain, then it is expected for agreement to not be possible with genitive adjuncts.

I propose two structures in (33) in which GPs and PFGs have almost identical structures, apart from the way in which the adjunct is pair-Merged, while the argument is set-Merged in the usual sense. The dashed line indicates the pair-Merged syntactic object:



In this approach, genitive case is assigned as an unmarked case to Spec,nP; this is why genitives can arise without agreement in PFGs. Poss can probe for agreement and therefore has a probe for ϕ -feature agreement, but it is also a valency marker, so that if an adjunct is present, it cannot appear overtly. The astute reader might wonder why there is no default agreement with PFGs.

I assume Preminger (2014)'s approach to agreement in which agreement is obligatory, but the lack of agreement does not lead to the derivation crashing. Here I must also explain why there is no default agreement with the adjunct possessor, either, and doing so is straightforward with the assumption that Poss is a valency marker. If there is no argument, then there is no possessive suffix, and default agreement cannot occur. In the case of Turkic default agreement, an argument is present, Poss is overt, and the default agreement arises.

¹³In sections 4 and 5 I will also maintain that Poss is a functional layer, and a valency marker at the same time. The data in section 5 in particular indicates Poss is not a phase head if the DP hypothesis is correct, but categorizing roots like n^0 are commonly assumed to be, for example in Embick and Marantz (2007).

¹⁴Chomsky (2004) defines set-Merge as follows, when two syntactic objects A and B are merged, the set $\{A, \{A, B\}\}$ is formed. This is by definition equivalent to $\langle A, B \rangle$. By contrast, pair-Merge of A and B forms $\{A, \langle A, B \rangle\}$. Pair-Merged objects are placed on a separate plane compared to set-Merged objects, and so cannot be in the search domain of a probe, deriving this aspect of the CED. Pair-Merge is simplified later in the derivation to set-Merge in order for phonetic linearization and late-insertion effects at the semantic interface.

However, whether the possessive suffix is an agreement marker or a valency marker is immaterial to whether agreement is assigned prior or after agreement. We can take the lack of (overt) agreement on PFGs to mean that no agreement has taken place at all. If case was assigned by agreement on the head noun, then genitive case should not have been assigned to an adjunct; PFGs in Turkish would be predicted to not exist at all, contrary to fact.

A potential counterargument is to claim that agreement is still present on PFGs, but merely invisible. This might be some kind of a default agreement, which arises due to the failure of the probe on the head noun to agree with the genitive adjunct. But there are a couple problems with this: first, default agreement is usually (if not always) 3rd person singular, *-(s)I* in Turkish. Second, as briefly mentioned in section 1 and to be further discussed in section 5, Turkish (and other Turkic languages), already exhibit default agreement with genitive-marked partitive subjects and adnominal pronouns, which is always 3SG.

Indeed, PFGs can never be partitives or adnominal pronouns, as shown in (34a)-(34b); partitives and APs are what trigger default agreement in Turkic. This shows that there is a contrast to be made between genuine lack of agreement, as in PFGs, and default agreement, which is a probing attempt that fails but does not lead to the derivation crashing:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|---|------|----|-------------------------------------|-------|
| (34) | a. | * İki-miz-in | kedi | b. | * biz Türk-ler-in | kitap |
| | | two.POSS.1PL-GEN | cat | | 1PL Turk-PL-GEN | book |
| | | ‘the cat that belongs to the two of us’ | | | ‘the book that belongs to us Turks’ | |

Therefore the presence of genitive case in PFGs is still unclear on the Baker (2015) account. I suspect the reason why (34a) and (34b) are impossible is due to the complex structure of these, which do not allow for adjunction. Regardless, the account presented here, where Poss is a valency marker, provides an easy explanation of why default agreement does not arise with PFGs.

Under the approach that agreement is parasitic on case, deriving the existence of PFGs is more straightforward. Suppose that even in the Bobaljik (2008) approach, whether or not agreement is syntactic or postsyntactic, it cannot look outside its search domain. Given that an adjunct is outside the search domain of the probe, the lack of agreement is unsurprising.

Further, we can stipulate that being pair-Merged is not a barrier for case to be assigned configurationally in the sense of Marantz (1991); even adjuncts pair-Merged to Spec,NP may also be assigned unmarked case, which is genitive. To recap, the existence of PFGs is much more straightforwardly accounted for if agreement is parasitic on case, and not the other way around.

4 Agreement in Turkic non-subject relative clauses

This section is structured as follows: I present the three basic types of Turkic non-subject relative clauses (RC) from Kornfilt (2005) in 4.1, in which agreement is always present with genitive case-marked RC subjects but never present with bare RC subjects. I present data contradicting this from Uzbek, Sakha and Altai in 4.2 in which agreement is present with bare RC subjects. In 4.3, I discuss why this is evidence in favor of agreement being parasitic on case; agreement on the head noun in Sakha and Uzbek would not be expected to assign nominative case.

4.1 The basics of Turkic non-subject relative clauses

It has been noted, for example in Kornfilt (2005), that if Turkic non-subject relative clauses have a nominative subject, there is no agreement, and if they have a genitive subject, agreement is present, on either the head noun or the RC predicate. I present evidence from multiple Turkic languages (Uzbek, Sakha and Altai) in which this is not the case; nominal agreement, whether on the head noun or the predicate in the RC, can license either unmarked case.

Kornfilt (2005) describes three main types of non-subject relative clauses in Turkic. Starting from modern standard Turkish, we find that agreement is always present on the RC predicate, the subject must be in genitive case, and it is right-headed. This is shown in (35).

- (35) Deniz-in ye-diğ-i tavuk döner
Deniz-GEN eat-FN-POSS.3SG chicken doner
'the chicken döner Deniz ate.'

It is important to note that this is nominal agreement; as seen in the previous section, the possessive suffix seen on the head noun in possessive structures was of the form *-(s)I* for 3rd person singular. Yet this agreement is on the RC predicate, and not the head noun.¹⁵

We also see another right-headed kind of RC in which the subject of the RC is nominative, and there is no agreement, on the head noun or on the RC predicate. Many Turkic languages exhibit this; two examples from Kyrgyz in (36a) and Altai are in (36b) below.

- (36) a. Biz jaz-gan kitep b. Bis kıçır-gan biçik
1PL write-PTPL book 1PL write-PTPL book
'the book we wrote' 'the book we wrote'

A third type, like the first, has a genitive-marked RC subject. It is also right-headed. But instead of agreement being marked on the RC predicate, agreement is marked on the head noun of the RC. I have made slight updates to (36a)-(36b) in (37a)-(37b) below; both Kyrgyz and Altai also have this type in addition to the type shown prior.¹⁶

- (37) a. Biz-din jaz-gan kiteb-ibiz b. Bis-ting kıçır-gan biçig-is
1PL-GEN write-PTPL book-POSS.1PL 1PL-GEN write-PTPL book-POSS.1PL
'the book we wrote' 'the book we wrote'

Kornfilt (2005) makes the observation that nominal agreement found on Turkic relative clauses is the same agreement that is used to mark possession on the head noun in possessive constructions. In addition, she makes the generalization that agreement is obligatory between a possessor and possessee in terms of ϕ -features in Turkic RCs. But before providing some challenges to these generalizations, I provide a summary of these common types seen above:

¹⁵Getting into this debate would go beyond the scope of the paper, but this has led some such as Aygen (2002) to argue for the existence of a null noun containing the RC predicate for agreement purposes. Alternatively, in Miyagawa (2011) and Kornfilt (2005), it is assigned as a lexical case by C^0 . It is immaterial for the purposes of this paper which account is correct.

¹⁶In my survey of the Turkic languages Turkish, Kyrgyz, Sakha, Uzbek, Altai, Uyghur and Kazakh, out of these basic types, it seems that type 2 and 3 are the most common types, and if a language as type 2 it often also has type 3. Type 1 seems to be the rarest. In addition, Kornfilt (2005) points out that Azeri and Old Turkic have type 2 while Tuvan and Turkmen have type 3. Azeri does not have type 3, however.

- (38) a. Type 1: Right-headed, subject of RC has genitive case, nominal agreement on the predicate of the modifier. Ex: Turkish and Altai.
 b. Type 2: The subject is in nominative, there is no overt agreement. Ex: Sakha, Altai, Old Turkic, Uzbek, Azeri, Kyrgyz and Uyghur.
 c. Type 3: Right-headed, subject of modifier clause in genitive case, the overt agreement is visible on the head noun. Ex: Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Uyghur, Sakha and Altai.

4.2 Other kinds of Turkic non-subject relative clauses

As noted in section 2.2, Baker and Vinokurova (2010) and Baker (2015) both attempt to draw a neat picture in which in Turkish and Sakha, D^0 assigns genitive case via agreement, while T^0 assigns nominative case. But the first challenge comes, surprisingly, from Sakha.

It is often claimed that the genitive in Sakha, by Johanson (1998) among others, that it doesn't exist. It is almost always syncretic with nominative case, as shown in (39a) where the possessor *Julus* is bare. The only case in which the genitive case marker /-n/ (which also changes the form of the vowel preceding it) appears is after a 3rd person possessive suffix, as in (39b).¹⁷ In addition, it is impossible to drop the genitive case marking after a third person possessive suffix:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|---------------------------|----|---------------------------|--------------|
| (39) | a. | Julus aqa-ta | b. | Julus aqa-tı-*(n) | aqa-ta |
| | | Julus father-POSS.3SG | | Julus father-P.3SG-GEN | father-P.3SG |
| | | 'Julus's father's father' | | 'Julus's father's father' | |

Baker and Vinokurova (2010) contradicts the usual wisdom on the genitive case in Sakha by suggesting that D^0 can assign only genitive case in Sakha, so that even in (39a), *Julus* has genitive case despite being bare. Genitive case is almost the same as in Turkish, with the only difference being that it is only pronounced after a 3rd person possessive suffix, and null otherwise.

One problem for this analysis is from Sakha relative clauses, in which genitive case marking is always optional, as shown with the contrast in (40)-(41):

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|----------|----------------|
| (40) | Julus aqa-ta | sie-bit | at-a |
| | Julus father-POSS.3SG | eat-PTPL | horse-POSS.3SG |
| | 'the horse Julus's father ate' | | |
| (41) | Julus aqa-tı-n | sie-bit | at-a |
| | Julus father-POSS.3SG-GEN | eat-PTPL | horse-POSS.3SG |
| | 'the horse Julus's father ate' | | |

As a result, one might be tempted to say that D^0 may also assign nominative case, given that the RC subject in (40) is bare despite agreement being present on the noun, but this would contradict the observation made in (39a)-(39b).

Baker and Vinokurova (2010) does note this, in which they claim that it is merely a "superficial morphological fact... related to the near total loss of genitive case inflection in Sakha" (footnote 22, p. 626). But if this were not a superficial morphological fact, and either unmarked case could be optionally assigned, this would be problematic for Baker's account. And we do find evidence contradicting the "superficial morphological fact" claim in Uzbek RCs.

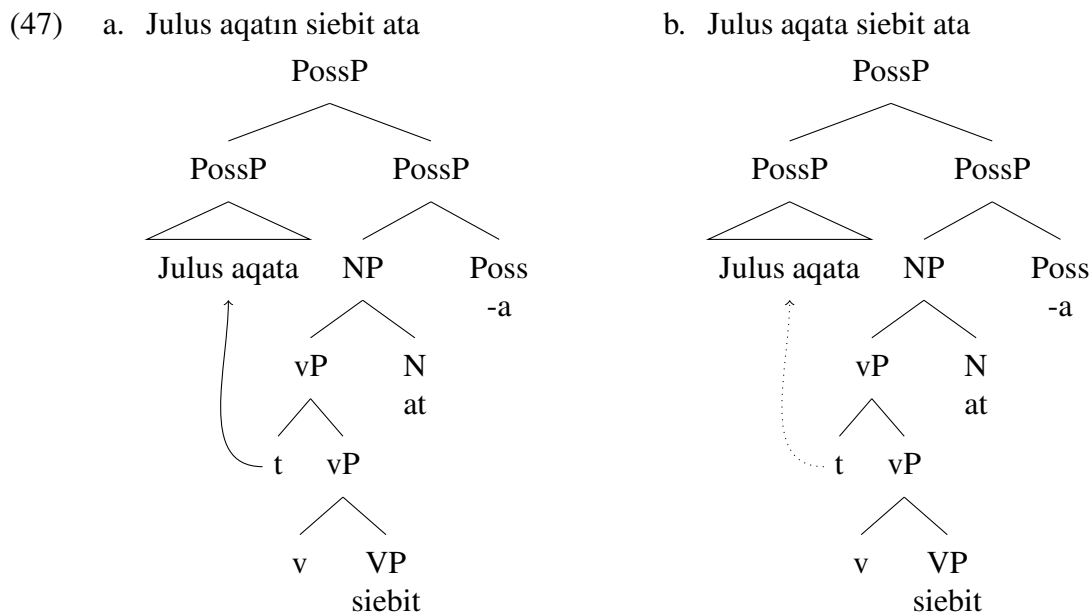
¹⁷It is null after a 1st or 2nd person possessive suffix.

Future research may reveal more types of Turkic RCs; it would not be surprising if there were languages with genitive RC subjects and no overt agreement.¹⁹

4.3 Deriving the optionality of unmarked case with possessor agreement

Given the optionality of genitive case in Uzbek, Altai and likely Sakha RCs, it is necessary to provide an analysis of why it is optional. Because the possessive suffix is never optional in Uzbek and Sakha, but the genitive case-marking is, we might claim that Spec,PossP is always occupied; in other words, these RCs always have a possessor.²⁰ I assume that nominative case is caselessness, following Kornfilt and Preminger (2015), so that nominative case need not be assigned.

With this, deriving the difference in which unmarked case is obtained on the RC subject is straightforward if we assume that overt movement of the RC subject to Spec,PossP in (47a) requires genitive case to be assigned, but covert movement in (47b) does not, and as a result the RC subject is left in the nominative, or bare. Here I have to make the assumption that covert movement takes place after case assignment, perhaps at LF purely for semantic purposes.²¹ I provide these derivations below in which the dotted line represents covert movement:



I follow Krause (2001), who argues that RCs in languages such as Turkish and Japanese in which

¹⁹Kornfilt (2005) notes that south Siberian Turkic languages such as Altai and Shor have RCs with genitive subjects and no overt agreement, and nominative subjects with overt agreement present. Though I was able to confirm the existence of the latter, I have not been able to find evidence of the existence of the former, in the literature or through fieldwork. I leave this open to future researchers to discover.

²⁰It would ultimately not be problematic for the central thesis of this paper, that genitive is an unmarked case in Turkic, if we assumed that type 4 RCs did not have a possessor. If so, rather than covert movement we can assume that the subject of the RC stays in the subject position of the RC predicate and may optionally move up to Spec,PossP. But it would be mysterious as to why the possessive suffix would be present at all in these RCs. Can Spec,PossP ever be left unoccupied? According to Griбанова (2019), the answer may be yes in Uzbek.

²¹Alternatively, if covert movement takes place before case assignment, as long as it remained invisible to unmarked case assignment to Spec,NP that would be satisfactory for the purposes of this analysis.

the subject receives genitive case are reduced; rather than being a CP they're reduced to a vP shell.²² However, I reject her assertion that nominative case needs to be assigned by T⁰, given the novel analysis of nominative case from Kornfilt and Preminger (2015). The reduced status of the relative allows for the movement of the RC subject to Spec,PossP.²³ In addition, the assumption is that overt movement to Spec,PossP (if present) is obligatory in other Turkic languages; what differentiates Uzbek, Sakha and Altai is that they allow optional covert movement.

This account predicts that, since RCs in Uzbek and Sakha always have a possessor, we could detect differences in interpretation between type 4 RCs on one hand, in which the subject of the RC is bare and the possessive suffix is present, and type 2 RCs, in which the subject is bare and the possessive suffix is not present. This prediction seems to be borne out.

As noted above, Kyrgyz has both type 2 and 3 RCs. Laszakovits (2019) demonstrates genitive RC subjects in Kyrgyz are interpreted as possessors, but bare RC subjects are not. Her analysis of Kyrgyz RCs is similar to mine, but bare RC subjects stay in their base-generated position, while they move up to receive genitive case. To justify covert movement in type 4 RCs, I will go over some of her tests and compare her data from Kyrgyz to Sakha. RC subjects in Sakha always seem to be interpreted as possessors, unlike in Kyrgyz.

Laszakovits (2019) notes that in Kyrgyz, genitive RC subjects are not appropriate when another referent is the actual possessor of the head noun; this contrast is seen in (48a)-(48b):

- (48) a. Sen oku-gan kitep meniki.
 2SG read-PTPL book mine
 'The book you read is mine.'
- b. # Sen-in oku-gan kiteb-ing meniki
 2SG-GEN read-PTPL book-POSS.2SG mine
 'the book you read is mine.'

This contrast does not exist in Sakha; such sentences are inappropriate with both bare and genitive RC subjects. Both options are represented in (49):

- (49) # En aqa-tı(n) sie-bit at-a miene.
 2SG father-POSS.3SG-GEN eat-PTPL horse-POSS.3SG mine
 'The horse that your father ate was mine.'

Laszakovits (2019) also notes that in Kyrgyz, quantificational genitive RC subjects distribute over the head noun, but bare ones do not, showing that genitive subjects distribute over bare ones. As such, the reading in which the genitive scopes out of the relative is inappropriate, though the bare RC subject is acceptable in (50) below:²⁴

- (50) Context: everyone shares a car.
 a. Ba:rı ayda-gan mašina buzuk.
 everyone drive-PTPL car broken

²²She notes that languages in which the RC subject can be genitive have certain properties in common: the relatives cannot host CP elements and the RC predicate lacks tense (or a TP layer). The reader is referred to Krause (2001) for further discussion.

²³But it should first move to Spec,nP, a phase edge as noted prior. I will argue in section 5.2 that a nominal cannot get assigned genitive case in Spec,PossP in Turkish; it must get it assigned from a Spec,nP position.

²⁴Though I do not provide the sentences here, the opposite is the case in a context such as *everyone has their own car*; the bare RC subject is dispreferred over the genitive one.

- ‘The car that everyone drives is broken.’
- b. # Ba:ri-nin ayda-gan mašina-sı buzuk.
 everyone-GEN drive-PTPL car-POSS.3SG broken
 ‘The car that everyone drives is broken.’

Unlike Kyrgyz, in Sakha such a context paired with the sentences in (51) is inappropriate regardless of whether or not the RC subject is bare or in the genitive:

- (51) Context: everyone shares a horse to eat.
- a. # Bari aqa-lar-(in) sie-bit at-a kuras.
 everyone father-POSS.3PL-GEN eat-PTPL horse-POSS.3SG rotten
 ‘The horse that everyone’s father ate is rotten.’

But the sentence above is appropriate in a context in which each father has their own horse, and not one they all share.

To recap, with the assumptions that covert movement precludes unmarked case assignment to Spec,NP in the configurational case approach and that nominative case is just caselessness, we can come up with a simple account of unmarked case assignment in Uzbek, Sakha and Altai RCs.

4.4 Theoretical Discussion

As mentioned prior, there is clear evidence that D^0 in certain Turkic languages doesn’t always assign genitive case; it may also assign nominative in certain Turkic languages. In addition, this must be sensitive to its environment (RC vs. simple possessive structure), because in each of these languages where this is possible, D^0 cannot assign nominative case to the possessor in simple possessive structures like *my cat*; it can only do so in RCs.

This is simple to account for if we assume that agreement is parasitic on case. If the RC subject bears genitive case, it then agrees with the head noun or the predicate, depending on which Turkic language it is. If the RC subject bears nominative case, it may still agree with the head noun if PossP is present. The main difference is that Uzbek, Sakha and Altai allow covert movement to Spec,PossP in which they do not get assigned genitive case and are left bare.

What might seem like a minor problem is the existence of type 2 RCs in languages such as Kyrgyz, in which there is no agreement with the head noun or the RC predicate, and the RC subject is bare. In addition, as seen in (52a)-(52b), agreement on the head noun—making a type 4 RC—is impossible with a bare RC subject in Kyrgyz:

- (52) a. Biz jaz-gan kitep
 1PL write-PTPL book
 ‘the book we wrote’
- b. * Biz jaz-gan kiteb-i
 1PL write-PTPL book-POSS.3SG
 ‘the book we wrote’

I suggest that what differentiates Turkic languages that allow type 4 RCs (Sakha, Uzbek) and those which do not is (Kyrgyz) is just that agreement must occur with a genitive case-marked RC subject in Kyrgyz, but it need not in these other Turkic languages.²⁵

²⁵But it would be possible to simplify this requirement if covert movement was just movement in the narrow syntax like overt movement, but the only difference was where the copied object was spelled out. Then covert movement could feed agreement. In that case, just the assumption that Sakha and Uzbek allow covert movement to Spec,PossP

Accounting for this is much more difficult in the Baker and Vinokurova (2010) approach in which case is parasitic on agreement. In the original account, D^0 was responsible for assigning genitive case and T^0 was responsible for assigning nominative case. Even in Sakha—the language Baker and Vinokurova (2010) studies—this does not seem to be the case, and D^0 may assign nominative case. This has the unintended consequence of deriving the ungrammatical possessive structure in Sakha in which the complex possessor is bare:

- (53) * Julus aqa-ta aqa-ta
 Julus father-POSS.3SG father-POSS.3SG
 ‘Julus’s father’s father’

One solution is provided by Gribanova (2019), although the cost is that some kind of configurational case theory would have to be assumed in addition to case assignment by agreement with functional heads, even for the assignment of genitive case, contra Baker and Vinokurova (2010). Gribanova builds a hybrid theory of case assignment based on evidence from Uzbek nominalized clauses, in which D^0 can assign unmarked case, either nominative or genitive, depending on the position of the subject of the nominalized clause. Similar to Uzbek RCs, the subject may optionally receive genitive case or be left bare in nominalized clauses, as in (54):

- (54) Men Hasan(-ning) bu kitob-ni o:qi-gan-(lig-)i-ni bil-a-mam.
 1SG Hasan-GEN DEM book-ACC read-PTPL-(NOML-)POSS.3SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG
 ‘I know that Hasan read this book.’

It would go beyond the scope of this paper to discuss her account in further detail, but Gribanova argues that bare subjects in Uzbek nominalized clauses stay in their base-generated position but can still receive unmarked case by agreement from D^0 , which becomes nominative because it is not in a Spec,NP position.²⁶ On the other hand, if the subject does move to a Spec,NP position, it again receives unmarked case from D^0 , but it becomes genitive instead.

This does provide a solution for the case assignment by functional heads approach, with the consequence of complicating our theory of case. One advantage of the approach I have provided here is that it is significantly simpler, relying purely on a configurational theory of case rather than both theories, and it seems to get the same empirical results, with one advantage. It does not imply a two-modality theory of case, as in Baker and Vinokurova (2010).

There is one area in which the approach here gets the correct empirical results while Gribanova’s theory makes the incorrect prediction: default agreement in Turkic RCs. For example, if a partitive subject is the subject of an RC in Kyrgyz, default agreement may be present on the head noun, as in (55) below:²⁷

- (55) ekö-ö-büz-dün jaz-gan kiteb-i
 two-NUM-1PL-GEN wrote-PTPL book-POSS.3SG

while Kyrgyz does not would be enough to derive all the differences. If covert movement is just LF-movement, then it cannot feed agreement. Whether or not agreement is syntactic or postsyntactic, in other words in the PF component, it cannot take place in the LF component.

²⁶This differs from my account in which I assume covert movement to a Spec,NP position instead if the subject is left bare. For the purposes of the central thesis of this paper, whether it moves covertly or not at all is not relevant, and it is an open question which account is correct. Gribanova (2019) provides numerous pieces of evidence that it does not move in Uzbek.

²⁷As will be discussed in the next section, Uzbek is the only Turkic language out of the Turkic languages covered here that does not have default agreement, so I am using Kyrgyz to demonstrate the same point.

‘the book the two of us wrote’

As I will argue in the next section, the presence of genitive case on the complex RC subject is what causes default agreement to arise; the probe on the head noun cannot agree with the RC subject due to its complex structure and default agreement arises on the probe. If this is correct, then Gribanova’s account, in which agreement assigns case, cannot derive this either. It would predict that full agreement must be required for genitive case assignment, contrary to fact.

5 Default agreement and partitive subjects

In this section, I go over the phenomenon of Turkic default agreement, providing an analysis for it which has consequences on the timing of case assignment, in addition to providing the structure of partitive subjects. In 5.1 I present novel data from partitive subjects and default agreement in several Turkic languages. 5.2 provides an analysis of this data based on an updated version of Holmberg (2017)’s analysis, and the structures of partitive subjects and adnominal pronouns. Section 5.3 discusses which theory of case assignment is better equipped at handling Turkic default agreement and agreement inside partitive subjects.

5.1 Turkic partitive subjects and default agreement

Turkic default agreement, which I have briefly mentioned in the preceding sections, occurs on head nouns with complex possessors like partitive subjects, for example (*biz*) *iki-miz* ‘the two of us,’ and adnominal pronouns, for example *biz Türkler* ‘we Turks.’²⁸ In the case of adnominal pronouns, the pronoun cannot be dropped, as in (56a). This is perhaps due to competition with the generic plural *Türkler* ‘Turks,’ which cannot mean *we Turks*, or perhaps because the adnominal pronoun is an adjunct rather than an argument, and it does not agree with the head noun.

On the other hand, the partitive subject construction (partitive) does have the possessive suffix on the numeral; this could indicate that there is agreement between the pronoun in the partitive and the numeral. Furthermore, only numerals can be the head noun in the partitive. An example of the partitive is given in (56b). These examples also show that full agreement is required in simple finite clauses, because the removal of the 1st person verbal agreement *-k* would lead to there being 3rd person agreement on it instead as it is null:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|--|----|--|
| (56) | a. | *(<i>Biz</i>) <i>Türk-ler kazan-dı</i> -(<i>k</i>) | b. | (<i>Biz</i>) <i>iki-miz kazan-dı</i> -(<i>k</i>) |
| | | *(<i>1PL</i>) <i>Turk-PL won-PST</i> -(<i>1PL</i>) | | (<i>1PL</i>) <i>two-POSS.1PL won-PST</i> -(<i>1PL</i>) |
| | | ‘We Turks won.’ | | ‘The two of us won.’ |

However, the pronoun in the partitive is usually dropped, ex. *iki-miz* ‘the two of us.’ I assume that it is always present but optionally null for two reasons: the ϕ -features on the possessive suffix have to come from somewhere—likely from a null pronoun in the partitive, as Turkish is a famous pro-drop language—and because in any context with a partitive, a pronoun can optionally be pronounced overtly, perhaps for emphasis purposes.

²⁸Default agreement with partitive subjects (but not adnominal pronouns) in Turkish was previously discussed in Ince (2008) and Aydın (2008). I have extended this to other Turkic languages, in addition to new data from Turkish default agreement.

The presence of nominal agreement with a bare pronoun in a partitive is troubling for Baker's analysis of genitive case assignment in Sakha, given that it would predict the partitive pronoun to have genitive case rather than nominative. A Poss⁰ under Baker's analysis should always assign only genitive case, but we see that it is bare. This is similar to the type 4 and 5 RCs that we have discussed in section 4, in which Poss⁰ seems to assign nominative case to RC subjects.

However, full agreement is never possible with complex possessors; this leads to default agreement, perhaps due to the presence of genitive case. This is shown in (57) below.

- (57) a. (Biz) iki-miz-in kedi-si c. Biz Türk-ler-in günah-lar-ı
 (1PL) two-1PL-GEN cat-3SG 1PL Turk-PL-GEN sin-PL-3SG
 'the two of us's cat' 'the sins of us Turks'
- b. * (Biz) iki-miz-in kedi-miz d. * Biz Türk-ler-in günah-lar-ımız
 (1PL) two-1PL-GEN cat-1PL 1PL Turk-PL-GEN sin-PL-1PL
 'the two of us's cat' 'the sins of us Turks'

This is not unique to simple PSEs; there are many other contexts in the Turkic languages in which genitive case is assigned, and genitive case still must be assigned. I give examples from several constructions in (58) below; full agreement is impossible in each of these:

- (58) a. İki-miz-in ye-diğ-i döner
 two-POSS.1PL-GEN eat-FN-3SG doner
 'the doner the two of us ate' Relative clause
- b. Zeynep iki-miz-in gel-me-si-ni isti-yor.
 Zeynep two-1PL-GEN come-INF-3SG-ACC want-PRES
 'Zeynep wants the two of us to come.' Inflected infinitival clauses
- c. Zeynep iki-miz-in gide-ceğ-i-ni söyledi.
 Zeynep two-1PL-GEN go-FUT-3SG-ACC said-PST
 'Zeynep said the two of us will go.' Nominalized clauses

Aydın (2008) argues that default agreement is always optional in finite clauses, based on his sentence below where the partitive is paired with *sadece* 'only':

- (59) Sekiz kişi paintball-a git-miş-ti-k ve sadece iki-miz daha-önce
 Eight person paintball-DAT go-EV-PST-1PL and only two-1PL before
 oyna-mış-tı(-k)
 play-EV-PST-(1PL)
 'Eight of us went to play paintball and only two of us had played before.'

We have already seen that it is not optional in the much simpler counterpart (56b), so there must be another factor at play. For the time being, assume that genitive case (KP) does block agreement. Rather, the reason default agreement is optional is perhaps because *sadece* is the head of an FocusP which can also block agreement, similar to KP. Indeed, there is evidence that *sadece* can block full agreement even in simple clauses, as shown by the contrast in (60):

- (60) a. * İki-miz Boston-a gitti.
 Two-1PL Boston-DAT go-PST.
 'The two of us went to Boston.'

- b. Sadece iki-miz Boston-a git-ti.
 Only two-1PL Boston-DAT go-PST.3SG.
 ‘Only the two of us went to Boston.’

The presence of *sadece* is not necessary; contrastive focus can also block agreement in finite clauses, where the presence of *sadece* is optional.

- (61) On kişi Harvard-a başvur-duk, ama (sadece) iki-miz Harvard-a kabul
 Ten person Harvard-DAT apply-PST, but (only) two-1PL Harvard-DAT accept
 edil-di.
 AUX-PST.3SG.
 ‘Ten of us applied to Harvard, but (only) two of us were accepted.’

Finally, if FocusP and KP can both block agreement, one prediction of this account would be that there could be blocking effects, causing default agreement, even with regular pronouns if they were covered with both a FocusP and KP. This prediction may be borne out, as shown in (62) but was not acceptable to all of the Turkish native speakers consulted. I will propose an analysis of default agreement in section 5.2 which could explain these facts is Focus is a phase head:

- (62) ? Sadece siz-in gide-ceğ-i-ni söyle-di.
 Only 2PL-GEN leave-FUT-3SG-ACC said-PST
 ‘He said only you_{PL} will go.’

Moving onto Sakha, Kyrgyz and Altai, default agreement is surprisingly optional with complex possessors. I provide illustrative examples of this with partitive subjects (63):²⁹

- | | | | | |
|---------|--|----|--|--------|
| (63) a. | eki-le-bis-ting biçig-i
two-NUM-1PL-GEN book-3SG
‘the two of us’s book’ | d. | ikki-em-mit aqa-bit
two-NUM-1PL father-1PL
‘the two of us’s father’ | Sakha |
| b. | eki-le-bis-ting biçig-is
two-NUM-1PL-GEN book-1PL
‘the two of us’s book’ | e. | ekö:-büzdün kiteb-i
two.NUM-1PL-GEN book-3SG
‘the two of us’s book’ | Altai |
| c. | ikki-em-mit aqa-ta
two-NUM-1PL father-3SG
‘the two of us’s father’ | f. | ekö:-büzdün kiteb-ibiz
two.NUM-1PL-GEN book-1PL
‘the two of us’s book’ | Kyrgyz |

This optionality in default agreement carries onto other contexts like relative clauses; examples from Altai, Sakha and Kyrgyz are given in (64a)-(64b), (64c)-(64d) and (64e)-(64f) respectively.

- | | | | |
|---------|--|----|---|
| (64) a. | ekilebistiñ kıcırgan biçig-i
‘the book the two of us read _{3SG} ’ | d. | ikkiemmit siebit ap- pit
‘the book the two of us read _{1PL} ’ |
| b. | ekilebistiñ kıcırgan biçig- is
‘the book the two of us read _{1PL} ’ | e. | ekö:büzdün cazgan kiteb- i
‘the book the two of us read _{3SG} ’ |
| c. | ikkiemmit siebit at- a
‘the book the two of us read _{3SG} ’ | f. | ekö:büzdün cazgan kiteb- ibiz
‘the book the two of us read _{1PL} ’ |

²⁹Due to space considerations I will omit default agreement in these languages with adnominal pronouns, but the agreement patterns are the same as with partitives in Sakha, Altai, Uzbek and Kyrgyz.

However, default agreement is impossible in Uzbek, as shown in (65a)-(65b), and this carries on to the relative clauses in (65c)-(65d):

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(65) a. * Ikki-miz-ning kitob-i
Two-1PL-GEN book-3SG
'the two of us's book'</p> <p>b. Ikki-miz-ning kitob-imiz
Two-1PL-GEN book-1PL
'the two of us's book'</p> | <p>c. * Ikki-miz-ning kör-gan kitob-i
Two-1PL-GEN saw-PTPL book-3SG
'the one the two of us saw'</p> <p>d. Ikki-miz-ning kör-gan kitob-imiz
Two-1PL-GEN saw-PTPL book-1PL
'the one the two of us saw'</p> |
|---|--|

To recap, the phenomenon of default agreement with complex possessors varies crosslinguistically. I provide a summary of the languages studied and their default agreement properties below:

- (66) a. Obligatory default agreement with complex possessors: Turkish, Hungarian, Finnish
- b. Optional default agreement with complex possessors: Kyrgyz, Sakha, Altai (likely Uyghur and Kazakh)³⁰
- c. No default agreement with complex possessors: Uzbek

I leave expanding this list open to future research.

5.2 Analysis

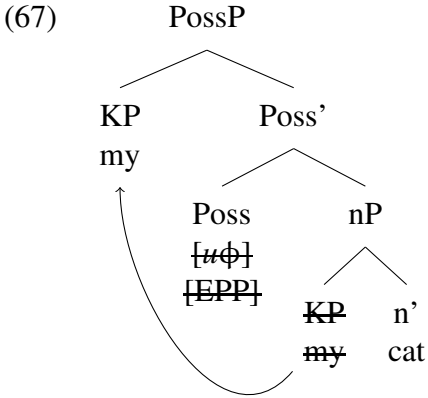
First, let us derive the obligatory agreement in Turkic with regular pronouns, and see what blocks agreement with adnominal pronouns and partitive subjects. I will argue that it can be derived with two ingredients: that agreement is parasitic on case and Chomsky (2001)'s weakened version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)—along with the phase status of K^0 and either D^0 or n^0 . I will provide two different solutions based on one accepts whether or not there is a D layer in the Turkic languages, in line with Bošković (2008), Bošković and Şener (2014) and Despic (2015)'s conclusion, in order to remain agnostic on this debate.³¹

I take for granted that possessive structures have the same basic structure as in Cardinaletti (1998), Delsing (1998), Alexiadou et al. (2007), and Holmberg (2017), among others, who argue that Poss is present as a functional projection containing the possessor in its specifier, as in (67). In line with Alexiadou et al. (2007) and Holmberg (2017), we can also assume that the possessor is base-generated in a Spec,nP position and moves up to PossP, as I schematize in (67). We see that genitive case has been assigned to the possessor in Spec,nP, in line with the configurational theory of case:³²

³⁰Here I list Uyghur and Kazakh as well despite not presenting data from these languages in the paper; not enough data was obtained to present here, but they seemed to behave in the same way as these other languages.

³¹See Türker (2019) in favor of Uzbek having a D layer. She points out that many of the tests in Bošković (2008) to establish whether a D layer is present or not actually fail in Uzbek (ex. left-branch extraction), and all of her tests also apply to Turkish.

³²This assumption is necessary in my account of Turkic default agreement if there is no D layer, which is commonly assumed to be a phase. However, if the Turkic languages do have a D layer, then we can say that their base position is Spec,PossP.



Let us derive agreement in a simple sentence such as *bizim kedimiz* ‘our cat.’³³ The structure of the regular pronoun was given in (15), but will be repeated in (69). The probe Poss is able to agree with the entire DP, given that it inherits the ϕ -features of Num via agreement, as in Höhn (2017). All ϕ -features are represented on the maximal projection of the nominal, DP.

However, KP does not inherit these ϕ -features, in line with Ackema and Neeleman (2018) who make the same point based on independent reasons. As Holmberg (2017) also points out, this assumption is required to block agreement with quirky case-marked nominals in Icelandic. Finally, note that there are two Spell-Out domains, which I have circled. K and D are both phases, so the two Spell-Out domains are DP and NP. However, only one of these Spell-Out domains is impenetrable, in line with Chomsky (2001)’s weakened PIC, defined below:³⁴

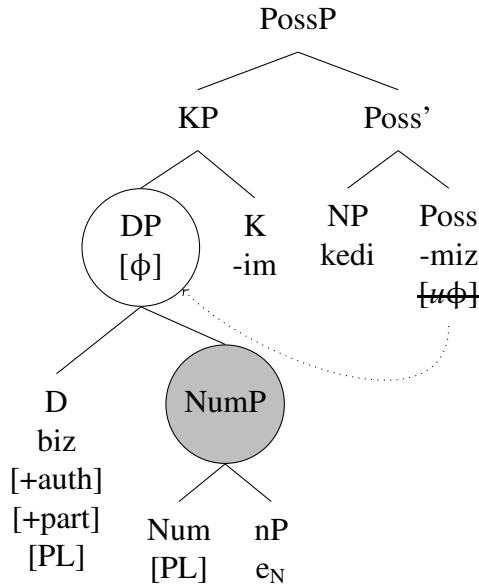
- (68) *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (weak):
 In phase A with head H, the domain of H is accessible to operations outside A only until the next (strong) phase head is merged.

When case is assigned, or K is merged, only NumP then becomes inaccessible to further operations. But D has already inherited the number features from NumP via agreement. The Poss probe agrees with its goal, DP; though DP is the Spell-Out domain of K, Poss itself is not a phase head, and it is therefore in its search domain. This structure is given in (69), in which the penetrable Spell-Out domain is circled but not gray, and the impenetrable is circled with gray:

- (69) Derivation of a generic possessive construction, ex. ‘*bizim kedi-miz*’

³³For the time being, I am assuming a D layer is present, but I will provide a solution without it later in this section. For the derivation of regular pronouns the presence of the D layer is immaterial.

³⁴Asarina and Hartman (2011) argue for independent reasons that the weakened PIC should be preferred over Chomsky (1998)’s stronger condition, showing that Uyghur genitive subject licensing in subordinate clauses would violate the stronger version of the PIC, but not the weakened one.



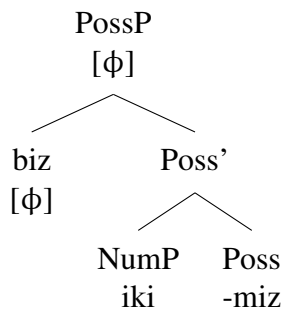
The derivation of default agreement is slightly different, but first I will provide the structures of APs and partitives in (70) and (71) respectively below. I concur with Höhn (2019) that the structure of adnominal pronouns in head-final languages such as Turkish with prenominal APs differs from that of the structure given in Höhn (2017), previously shown in (15).

It is not clear whether the structure in (15) would apply for the Turkic languages; Höhn (2019) points out that it would imply a disharmony between PPs and VPs and the fact that APs are head-initial. He also points out that, if adpositions are part of the extended nominal projection, we should expect the Final-Over-Final condition given in Sheehan et al. (2017) to rule out head-final PPs with head-initial DPs, or in another other words prenominal APs, as their complements.

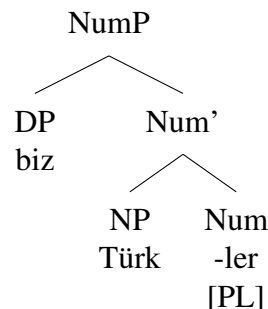
As such, I assume that in both partitives and APs, the pronoun is a specifier. Crucially, it cannot be an adjunct, as this would imply the lack of a possessive suffix, given the existence of PFGs as discussed in section 3. We have seen in section 3.4 that the possessive suffix as a result of default agreement can never be dropped, implying that the pronoun is never an adjunct.

I propose the pronoun in partitives is in Spec,PossP as it is the source of the non-optional agreement on the possessive suffix, as in (71). I also propose that the pronoun in APs is located in Spec,NumP given the plurality of the lexical NP in APs, as in (70).

(70) Partitive subject



(71) Adnominal pronoun



Two problems have to be addressed. First, the ϕ -features of the pronoun in the partitive construction get copied onto the possessive suffix. In that case, do the ϕ -features of the pronoun get

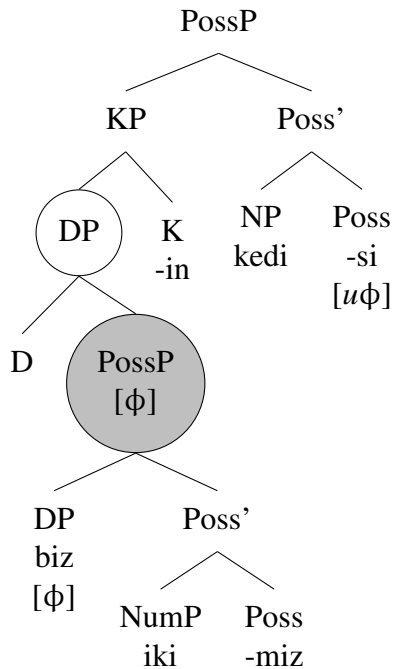
passed on from PossP to the maximal projection of the nominal phrase? The answer is no, and this is simple to show. For example, when PSeS with 1st person possessors agree with the matrix verb in Turkish, there is 3rd person singular agreement on the verb:

- (72) a. Benim kedim geldi.
'My cat came.'
b. * Benim kedim geldi-m.
'My cat came.'

Second, why is there no genitive case-marking on the pronoun in the partitive, despite being in Spec,PossP? If agreement is parasitic on case, the answer is straightforward; assume that genitive case can only be assigned in the Spec,nP shell in the configurational case theory. If the pronoun is base-generated in Spec,PossP, then it would not be able to receive genitive case; it has to be base-generated inside an nP shell.

With these ingredients, we can propose an account of default agreement that follows immediately if we assume a weakened version of the PIC. If the AP and the pronoun in the partitive are both unable to move to Spec,DP, then they would be outside of the search space of the outer Poss probe. Agreement with a regular pronoun was possible because the DP itself had ϕ -features to agree with. However, in both the partitive and AP construction, the bearer of ϕ -features has been Spelled-Out; the features do not pass on to DP, or whatever the maximal projection is. As a result, agreement is attempted, but it fails, triggering default agreement in the Preminger sense rather than the derivation crashing. This tree is shown in (73); the Spelled-Out domain is in gray:

- (73) Derivation of a partitive subject, ex. (*biz*) *ikimizin kedi-si*



Full agreement in finite clauses can be derived with the weakened version of the PIC. The phase head K is not present if, as I have assumed throughout this paper, that nominative case is caselessness, and it does not project a KP layer; T⁰ itself is not a phase head, as Citko (2014) shows, and it can therefore agree with the caseless matrix subject. In addition, the data from section 5.1 involving default agreement in finite clauses with *only* can also be derived if *only* is a phase head, and we have seen independent evidence for this conclusion.

These derivations rely on the assumption that DP is the maximal projection of the nominal phrase in Turkish; it would be preferable to eliminate it. If there were another phase head in the nominal layer, this would be straightforward. One way of doing so might be to assume that the pronoun bearing ϕ -features is base-generated deeper inside the nominal and stays there. Since Embick and Marantz (2007) the categorizing head n^0 has usually been considered to be a phase, and this would get the same results as the DP layer. However, one must assume that the pronoun is not at the edge of the nP phase, and deeper inside, so that it is not accessible to probing.

This account successfully derives default agreement in Turkish and Finnish. What remains is how to derive the optionality of default agreement in most other Turkic languages, and outright ban of default agreement in Uzbek. One can assume that the pronoun bearing ϕ -features obligatorily moves to a Spec,DP position in Uzbek, to a phase edge position so that it is able to agree with the outer Poss probe. This process may be optional in the other Turkic languages. However, I cannot eliminate the stipulatory nature of this proposal, and I leave this to future research.

5.3 Theoretical Discussion

I have already provided an account of Turkic default agreement under the configurational case theory and Bobaljik's framework that agreement is parasitic on case. The question that remains is whether the agreement approach to case assignment is able to derive Turkic default agreement, as well. There are two reasons the agreement approach seems unable to account for the facts seen here, and not just due to default agreement.

The lack of genitive case on the pronoun in partitives such as *biz iki-miz* 'the two of us' seems to be difficult to explain if case assignment is parasitic on agreement, given that nominal agreement bearing the ϕ -features of the pronoun is present on the numeral 'two,' and it has not assigned genitive case to the pronoun. The presence of nominative case on the partitive pronoun would not be possible to derive without further assumptions about environment-sensitive case assignment, as discussed in section 4.

By contrast, this is easy to derive under the Bobaljik (2008) if we simply assume, as is expected under the configurational case theory, that genitive case can only be assigned in an nP shell, and not in one of the outer projections of the extended nominal shell, such as PossP. The genitive case-marked NP may then move to Spec,PossP and to other Spec positions for semantic or EPP purposes.

Default agreement itself is difficult to account for without further assumptions in the Baker and Vinokurova (2010) account of genitive case assignment. The analysis relies on the presence of a KP layer, put on the possessor via configurational case assignment, blocking agreement in possessive structures; it happens prior to agreement, and is not parasitic on agreement. By contrast, there is nothing to block agreement under this account of case assignment, and default agreement seems impossible to derive.

One potential solution can be found by changing the nature of the operation Agree, which is responsible for agreement. Arregi and Nevins (2012), among others, splits the operation of Agree into two sub-operations, Agree-Link and Agree-Copy. Agree-Link is responsible for matching the probe with its goal, and Agree-Copy may copy features between the two Agree-Linked objects. Agree-Copy can happen either within the narrow syntax or postsyntactically, but Agree-Link can only happen in the former.

Further assume that the difference between default and full agreement is syntactic vs. semantic agreement; we can claim that the kind of agreement in finite clauses is semantic and not syntactic, but it must be syntactic in possessive structures. This might be due to the presence of the KP layer on the possessor. Once such account is provided by Smith (2015), who attempts to derive the difference in plural agreement between American and British English; semantic agreement is possible in British English but not American (*the committee are here*). This account could also provide an account of default agreement, if we stipulate that Agree-Link is responsible for assigning genitive case, but Agree-Copy, which happens later in the derivation, does not, and KP blocks Agree-Copy from copying semantic features; it copies syntactic features instead.

This account makes two incorrect predictions, however. First, the lack of genitive case on the pronoun in partitives such as *biz iki-miz* ‘the two of us’ remains problematic, given that Agree-Link has not assigned genitive case to the pronoun despite agreement. Second, it makes the incorrect prediction with polite pronouns in Turkish, which are syntactically plural but semantically singular. If agreement in Turkish finite clauses was semantic, we would expect agreement with polite pronoun matrix subjects to be semantic, which is contrary to fact; it is syntactic.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---|----|--|
| (74) | a. | Siz geldi-niz.
2PL came-POSS.2PL
‘You _{sg} came.’ (polite) | b. | Siz-in kedi-niz
2PL-GEN cat-POSS.2PL
‘Your _{sg} cat’ (polite) |
|------|----|---|----|--|

To recap, this account of default agreement and the existence of partitive subjects relies on the configurational case theory and the assumption that agreement is parasitic on case with no environment-sensitive stipulations; it is not clear how the Baker and Vinokurova (2010) approach would get the same results without further assumptions.

6 Conclusion

This paper has argued that the configurational theory of case can correctly derive four instances of genitive case and agreement asymmetries in the Turkic languages. I have argued that if case assignment is parasitic on agreement, it makes the wrong predictions in these instances. First, the existence of possessive-free genitives with no agreement seems difficult to explain. Second, relative clauses in many Turkic languages show nominal agreement with nominative subjects. Third, the lack of genitive case in partitive pronouns with nominal agreement is not expected, and finally, Turkic default agreement seems to require a KP layer prior to agreement to derive.

I have argued that these issues are difficult to solve without several additional stipulations. By contrast, accounting for these seems straightforward if case is assigned configurationally and drives agreement. I leave the question of whether there are other agreement and case asymmetries in Turkic open to future research. At the very least, this paper provides a great deal of novel data to an ongoing debate concerning the relationship between case assignment and agreement.

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