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CHAPTER 8

Possessives within and beyond NP

Two *ezafe*-constructions in Tatar*

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The paper considers possessives in two *ezafe*-constructions in Tatar, a language without articles. More specifically, possessives in the so-called *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 constructions are distinguished formally by the presence of the genitive case on the possessive and the agreeing form of the possessive marker on the head in *ezafe*-3, but not in *ezafe*-2. The two types of possessors appear in distinct structural positions in the elaborate structure of a noun phrase, though neither of them remains inside NP. The two types of possessives themselves are of different size: the possessive in *ezafe*-3 is a full-fledged DP, but the possessive in *ezafe*-2 is a Small Nominal (Pereltsvaig 2006).

1. Introduction

Trugman (2005, 2007) argued that all possessives are generated inside NP, but in overt syntax different types of possessives appear in distinct positions. Specifically, she contended that adjectival possessives in Russian formed with suffixes *-ov* and *-in* (e.g. *Adamov* 'Adam's', *Mašin* 'Masha's', *sosedov* 'neighbour's', *koškin* 'cat's') may appear in one of two positions in overt syntax, leading to distinct interpretations. In the lower

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position the possessive does not introduce a referent and may lead to an idiomatic interpretation, whereas in the higher position a possessive necessarily introduces a referent and therefore only a non-idiomatic interpretation is possible. For example, *adamovo jabloko* 'Adam's apple' may refer to a part of a man's anatomy (with a lower possessive) or to a certain fruit belonging to someone named Adam (with a higher possessive). Similarly, *anjutiny glazki* 'Anyuta's eyes' may refer to a type of flower (with a lower possessive) or to the eyes of Anyuta. Crucially, under this analysis the two structures correspond to exactly the same surface string.

In this paper, we explore possessive constructions in Tatar, a Turkic language spoken by approximately 5.3 million people chiefly in Tatarstan, Russia.[1] As is expected of a Turkic language, Tatar is a head-final language with SOV order in clauses, prenominal possessors, and postpositions. Moreover, it is an agglutinative, suffixing language. The various suffixal markers in Tatar are subject to vowel harmony, as well as an occasional nasal and/or voicing assimilation. There are six cases in Tatar, of which the accusative marked by the suffix *-nı/-n* and the genitive marked by the suffix *-nıŋ* are most relevant to this paper. Nominative is unmarked in Tatar; however, we do not assume that all instances of unmarked nominals correspond to syntactic nominative case.

With respect to Tatar possessives, we argue that they, too, – like Russian adjectival possessives, considered by Trugman – correspond to two structures, each with a distinct interpretation. However, unlike in Russian, where the two possessive structures correspond to identical surface strings, the two types of possessive constructions in Tatar – known as *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 – correspond to distinct surface strings.[2] Moreover, their interpretations partially overlap, which leads to difficulties of analysis (see Grashchenkov 2007). In this paper, we argue that the two types of possessives appear in distinct positions in overt syntax, and neither of them appears in [Spec,NP]. Moreover, we also argue that the possessors in *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 are also themselves of

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1. For the sake of consistency, we use data from one subdialect of the Mişär dialect spoken in the village of Kutlushkino; in what follows, we use the term "Tatar" to designate this specific subdialect. Unless otherwise indicated, all our data comes from Ekaterina Lyutikova's fieldwork conducted in 2011.

2. In what follows, we use the term "possessive" and "possessor" purely as convenient descriptive labels, although we ultimately show that *ezafe*-2 constructions do not express possession per se (Section 5 below). There exists another *ezafe* construction in Tatar, known as *ezafe*-1, which we will not discuss in this paper. The non-head element in *ezafe*-1 is a bare noun and the construction typically designates material:

> (i) altın   jezek
>   gold   ring
>   'gold ring'

different size: the possessor in *ezafe*-3 is a full-fledged DP, but the possessor in *ezafe*-2 is a Small Nominal (in the sense of Pereltsvaig 2006).

The rest of this paper is organized as follows: in Section 2 we describe the formal properties that distinguish the two *ezafe*-constructions under consideration. In Section 3, we argue that the possessors in those two constructions occupy distinct syntactic positions in overt syntax, neither of them appearing in [Spec,NP]. In Section 4 we argue that the possessors themselves contain a different amount of functional structure, specifically that possessors in *ezafe*-2 are smaller than those in *ezafe*-3 constructions. In Section 5 we consider the issues pertaining to the interpretation of the two possessive *ezafe*-constructions in Tatar. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. *Ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3: Formal properties

Unlike Russian possessives (Trugman 2005, 2007, 2008) or their English counterparts, the two possessive constructions in Tatar are distinguished formally by the case marking on the possessor and by the so-called *ezafe*-marker on the head noun (recall that possessors precede the noun in Tatar). To begin with the more complex *ezafe*-3 construction, its possessor is marked with the genitive suffix -*nıŋ* (though some pronominal possessors are not easily decomposable into the root and the genitive suffix), and its head carries an *ezafe*-3 suffix, which agrees with the possessor in person and number.[3] In the glosses here and below the *ezafe*-markers are glossed by the person/ number features that they express. Note that there is no number agreement in the third person; this is a general property of Tatar agreement:

(1) a. bez-*neŋ* papka-bız
         we-GEN folder-1.PL
         'our folder'

     b. bala-lar-*nıŋ* papka-sı
         child-PL-GEN folder-3
         'children's folder'

By contrast, in *ezafe*-2 the possessor is unmarked for Case and the head noun is marked with the *ezafe*-2 marker, which is homonymous with the *ezafe*-3 marker for the third person. As we discuss in more detail in Section 4 below, the possessor in *ezafe*-2 cannot be a first or second person pronoun, or any pronoun, for that matter.[4]

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3. For ease of reference, the genitive marking on *ezafe*-3 possessors is italicized throughout the paper.

4. Consequently, examples such as **bez papka-sı* (lit. 'we folder-3') are ungrammatical.

Therefore, it is impossible to tell *a priori* whether the *ezafe*-2 marker expresses agreement with third person, or does not express agreement at all. (Consequently, the presence or absence of the genitive marker on the possessor is the clearest way to distinguish the two constructions.) However, as we shall see below, assuming that the *ezafe*-2 marker expresses agreement with third person allows for a more straightforward account of a prohibition against its co-occurrence with the *ezafe*-3 marker. Therefore, throughout the paper we gloss the *ezafe*-2 marker as "3" for third person agreement.

(2)   bala-lar   papka-sı
      child-PL   folder-3
      'children's folder'

The two *ezafe*-constructions can be combined so that the head noun is modified by both types of possessives simultaneously:

(3)   a.   [ukučı-*nıŋ*   [däftär-lär   papka-sı]]
           student-GEN   notebook-PL   folder-3
           '{a/the} student's folder for notebooks'

      b.   *[ukučı-*nıŋ*   [däftär-lär   papka-sı-sı]]
             student-GEN   notebook-PL   folder-3-3
           intended: same as (a)

Note, however, that in such cases only one *ezafe*-marker can appear on the head. In the grammatical example above, we have only one *ezafe*-marker -(s)ı, which shows agreement with the third person. Two questions arise in this connection. First, is *-sı* in (3a) an *ezafe*-2 marker agreeing with *däftär-lär* 'notebooks' an *ezafe*-3 marker agreeing with *ukučı-nıŋ* 'student-GEN' (or perhaps both, in some sense)? Second, what prohibits the appearance of two *-sı* markers in (3b)? One could assume that some sort of morphophonological haplology restriction rules out two *-sı* markers in a row, much like a combination of two *si/se* clitics is excluded in Italian or Spanish: for example, in Italian, one of the *si* clitics is changed into *ci* (cf. Bonet 1995; Grimshaw 1997):

(4)   *Italian* (Grimshaw 1997: 180):
      a.   Ci si lava.
           ci   si washes
           'One washes oneself.'

      b.   *Si si lava.
            si   si washes
           intended: same as (a)

However, the incompatibility of two *ezafe*-markers in Tatar extends to cases where the two markers express different persons (and numbers) and so would not be homophonous. (Note that *ezafe*-2 possessors cannot be first or second person, as discussed in more detail below. Therefore, in the following examples *ezafe*-3 possessors are first

person; substituting second person *ezafe*-3 possessors or changing the number does not change the grammaticality patterns.)

(5) a. *[bez-*neŋ* [däftär-lär   papka-sı-bız]]
         we-GEN   notebook-PL folder-3-1PL
         'our folder for notebooks'

    b. *[bez-*neŋ* [däftär-lär   papka-bız-ı]]
         we-GEN   notebook-PL folder-1PL-3
         'our folder for notebooks'

Grammatical options for expressing 'our folder for notebooks' involve having either one of the two possible *ezafe*-markers. Example (6a) contains an *ezafe*-2 marker agreeing in third person with *däftär-lär* 'notebooks', but there is no *ezafe*-3 marker. By contrast, example (6b) contains an *ezafe*-3 marker agreeing in first person plural with *bez-neŋ* 'we-GEN', but there is no *ezafe*-2 marker.

(6) a. [bez-*neŋ* [däftär-lär   papka-sı]]
         we-GEN   notebook-PL folder-3
         'our folder for notebooks'

    b. [bez-*neŋ* [däftär-lär   papka]-bız]
         we-GEN   notebook-PL folder-1.PL
         'our folder for notebooks'

If we consider the more general picture, however, *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 markers are not equally omissible. Agreement with first/second person genitive possessors is generally optional: [5]

(7) bez-*neŋ*   papka (cf. (1a))
     we-GEN   folder
     'our folder'

But *ezafe*-3 marker expressing third person generally cannot be omitted:

(8) *ukučı-*nıŋ*   papka (cf. (1b))
      student-GEN folder
      intended: 'a/the student's folder'

By contrast, the *ezafe*-2 marker can be (or even must be) omitted in certain constructions, such as those involving an attributivizer *-lı* (more on which below):

(9) a. tatar   tel-le   bala-lar
         Tatar.person language-ATTR child-PL
         'Tatar-speaking children'

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5. Unlike in Turkish, where (according to an anonymous reviewer) an omission of the *ezafe*-3 agreement marker results in a difference in meaning, in Tatar examples with an *ezafe*-3 marker such as (1a) and those without such as (7) are synonymous.

b. tatar   tel-(*e)-le   bala-lar
    Tatar.person   language-*3-ATTR child-PL
    intended: same as (a)

c. tatar   tel-*(e)
    Tatar.person   language-*(3)
    'Tatar language'

Therefore, we conclude that the suffix *-sı* in cases like (3a) above is an *ezafe*-3 marker agreeing with *ukučı-nıŋ* 'student-GEN' rather than an *ezafe*-2 marker agreeing with *däftär-lär* 'notebooks'. Furthermore, we tentatively propose a Distributive Morphology-style explanation for the ungrammaticality of examples like (3b) and (5): only one set of person/number features can be expressed on a single head noun.[6,7] If the *ezafe*-3 possessor is first or second person, the option of not agreeing with the possessor (see (7)) can be instantiated, and the agreement with the *ezafe*-2 possessor is marked by the suffix *-sı*, as in (6a). Alternatively, agreement with the *ezafe*-3 possessor is expressed by a corresponding suffix (e.g. *-bız* in (6b)), in which case no overt marking of agreement with the *ezafe*-2 possessor is present.

Because *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 markers are in complementary distribution, one might question whether the two *ezafe* markers occur in the same structural position, and indeed whether the possessors too occur in the same structural position (an

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6.   A similar prohibition against two *ezafe* markers applies in Turkish, as noted in Kornfilt (1986), who explains it in terms of the Stuttering Prohibition, quite similar in spirit to the analysis we sketched out here. Specifically, the Stuttering Prohibition is a morphosyntactic rather than morphophonological condition that rules out sequences of morphemes expressing *phi*-features (whether the features are the same or different). Note that this analysis is not applicable, however, if the *ezafe*-2 marker is taken to not encode *phi*-features at all, a possibility we cannot exclude on independent grounds and which seems quite reasonable in light of our analysis in Section 5 below. For a further discussion see also Göksel (1997, 2008, 2013).

7.   A similar phenomenon is observed with respect to the plural suffix in another subdialect of Tatar, where the head of *ezafe*-3 can agree with the possessor in number:

(i)   bala-lar-*nıŋ*   ujınčık-lar-ı
      child-PL-GEN   toy-PL-3
      '(the) children's toy' OR '(the) children's toy*s*'

Note, however, that the following string is ungrammatical on the reading where one *-lar* expresses the plurality of the head noun and the other *-lar* expresses agreement with the plural possessor.

(ii)   *bala-lar-*nıŋ*   ujınčık-lar-ı
       child-PL-GEN   toy-PL-PL3
       '(the) children's toy' OR '(the) children's toys'

analysis in terms of adjunction or multiple specifiers would be a possibility). In the next section, however, we show that such alternative analysis is incorrect.

3. *Ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3: The position of the possessor

Let us consider whether the genitive marked possessors in *ezafe*-3 and unmarked possessors in *ezafe*-2 appear in the same structural position. Our first indication that this is not the case comes from the fact that the two types of possessors must appear in a particular order with respect to each other when they co-occur: the genitive possessor of *ezafe*-3 must precede the unmarked possessor of *ezafe*-2.[8]

(10) a. [ukučɪ-*nɪŋ* [däftär-lär   papka-sɪ]]
          student-GEN notebook-PL folder-3
          '{a/the} student's folder for notebooks'

     b. *[däftär-lär   [ukučɪ-*nɪŋ*   papka-sɪ]]
          notebook-PL   student-GEN folder-3
          intended: '{a/the} student's folder for notebooks'

This suggests that a genitive possessor in *ezafe*-3 occupies a higher structural position that an unmarked possessor in *ezafe*-2. This conclusion is further confirmed by the order of the two types of possessors with respect to modifiers such as adjectives. For the purposes of the present discussion, we will leave the rather complicated issue of the position where adjectives appear in Tatar and simply assume that a given adjective occurs in the same position in various nominals. Note that the genitive possessor of *ezafe*-3 must precede an adjective, while the unmarked possessor of *ezafe*-2 must follow an adjective.

(11) a. bala-lar-*nɪŋ* kük   däftär-lär-e
          child-PL-GEN blue notebook-PL-3
          '(the) children's blue notebooks'

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8. While the possessor in *ezafe*-2 or *ezafe*-3 may contain certain types of possessors, as discussed in detail in Sections 4 and 5 below, two possessors of the same type (i.e. two *ezafe*-2 possessors or two *ezafe*-3 possessors) cannot modify the same noun, further buttressing our claim that each type of possessor occupies a dedicated structural position:

(i) a. *bala-lar däftär-lär   papka-sɪ
          child-PL notebook-PL folder-3
          intended: 'a children's folder for notebooks'

     b. *ukučɪ-*nɪŋ* däftär-*neŋ*   papka-*sɪ*
          student-GEN notebook-GEN folder-3
          intended: 'a/the child's notebook's folder'

b. *kük bala-lar-*nıŋ* däftär-lär-e
   blue child-PL-GEN notebook-PL-3
   intended: the same as (a)

c. kük bala-lar däftär-lär-e
   blue child-PL notebook-PL-3
   'children's blue notebooks'

d. *bala-lar kük däftär-lär-e
   child-PL blue notebook-PL-3
   intended: same as (a)

From this, we conclude that the genitive possessor of *ezafe*-3 occupies a higher position, in which it acquires (depending on one's Case theory: "is assigned", "checks") the Genitive Case and triggers agreement in person and number on the head noun. In contrast, the unmarked possessor of *ezafe*-2 occupies a lower, Case-less position and does not trigger agreement. What could those positions be? In what follows, we identify the higher position as [Spec,DP] and the lower position as [Spec,PossP].

First we consider what position is occupied by the higher possessors of *ezafe*-3. To establish that, we consider *ezafe*-nominals occurring in the object position. An *ezafe*-3 object is obligatorily marked with accusative case. Although some direct objects in Tatar may remain unmarked, this option is not available for *ezafe*-3 objects.

(12) a. Marat Alsu-*nıŋ* kijem-e-*n* sat-ıp al-dı.
     Marat Alsu-GEN clothing-3-ACC buy-CONV take-PAST
     'Marat bought Alsu's clothing.'

   b. *Marat Alsu-*nıŋ* kijem-e sat-ıp al-dı.
     Marat Alsu-GEN clothing-3 buy-CONV take-PAST
     intended: the same as (a)

In this respect, *ezafe*-3 nominals contrast sharply with *ezafe*-2 nominals, which are subject to Differential Object Marking (DOM): *ezafe*-2 objects can either be marked accusative or remain unmarked:

(13) Marat kırsak-lı xatın-nar kijem-e(-*n*) sat-ıp al-dı.
     Marat belly-ATTR woman-PL clothing-3(-ACC) buy-CONV take-PAST
     'Marat bought (the) clothing for pregnant women.'

As we argued elsewhere (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2013), whether an object is marked accusative or is left unmarked depends on its structure: objects which are Small Nominals (i.e. less than a full-fledged DP) are unmarked.

(14) Marat kijem(-*ne*) sat-ıp al-dı.
     Marat clothing(-ACC) buy-CONV take-PAST
     'Marat bought (the) clothing.'

In contrast, DP objects must be marked accusative. For example, pronouns are not subject to DOM and must appear in the accusative form in the object position:

(15) a. Marat a-lar-*(nı) kür-de.
   Marat he-PL-ACC see-PAST
   'Marat saw them.'

   b. Ägär dä berer-kem-*(ne) kür-sä-ŋ miŋa äjt-er-seŋ.
   if EMPH INDEF-who-ACC see-COND-2SG I.DAT say-FUT-2SG
   'If you see someone, tell me.'

Similarly, proper names must be marked accusative and cannot be left Case-less.

(16) Alsu Marat-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Alsu Marat-ACC invite-PAST
   'Alsu invited Marat.'

Likewise, nominals containing strong quantifiers (*här* 'every', *ike… dä* 'both') or demonstratives (e.g. *bu* 'this') must have accusative suffix in the object position.

(17) a. Marat här birem-*(ne) čiš-te.
   Marat every problem-ACC solve-PAST
   'Marat solved every problem.'

   b. Marat ike birem-*(ne) dä čiš-te.
   Marat two problem-ACC EMPH solve-PAST
   'Marat solved both problems.'

   c. Marat bu mašina-*(nı) sat-ıp al-dı.
   Marat this car-ACC buy-CONV take-PAST
   'Marat bought this car.'

To recap, *ezafe*-3 nominals (but not *ezafe*-2 nominals) pattern with other DPs in that they are not subject to Differential Object Marking. Instead, they are obligatorily Accusative-marked in the object position. Therefore, we conclude that *ezafe*-3 nominals are structurally DPs, in line with Kornfilt's (1984) proposal for their Turkish counterparts. What makes *ezafe*-3 nominals a DP is the presence of the genitive possessor. Here, we follow a widely adopted view that Genitive Case is checked/assigned in [Spec,DP]. Therefore, we conclude that the genitive possessor in *ezafe*-3 appears in [Spec,DP] and the *ezafe*-3 marker appears in D⁰.

Let us now turn to the question of the position in which the unmarked possessors in *ezafe*-2 appear. Could it be that they appear in [Spec, NP] in overt syntax? Our answer is negative: we think that *ezafe*-2 possessors appear in a functional position above the NP level. As we show immediately below, in constructions where a bare NP is required, *ezafe*-2 nominals cannot occur as they are structurally "too big".

One such construction involves the attributivizer *-lı* (mentioned above in connection with (9)), which attaches to a nominal and makes it into an attributive modifier. Moreover, *-lı* cannot attach to just any kind of nominal (unlike, for example, another attributivizer in Tatar, *-gı*; see Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2013). More specifically, *-lı* has to attach to a bare NP; it cannot attach to full-fledged DPs.

(18)   *ul-lı   čaška
         it-ATTR   cup
        intended: 'a cup with it' (e.g. with a flower)

Moreover, the complement of the attributivizer *-lı* cannot contain the plural marker *-lar*, which leads us to conclude that the complement of *-lı* does not contain the NumP projection. As a result of this lack of NumP, the complement of the attributivizer *-lı* is number-neutral (cf. Pereltsvaig 2013). Note, however, that the complement of the attributivizer *-lı* is not a bare noun, as attributive modifiers are allowed.

(19)   a.   *kük   čäčäk-lär-le   čaška
               blue   flower-PL-ATTR   cup
               intended: 'a cup with blue flowers

        b.   kük   čäčäk-le   čaška
               blue   flower-ATTR   cup
               'a cup with a blue flower' OR 'a cup with blue flowers'

To recap, the complement of the attributivizer *-lı* is not a bare noun, but it does not contain functional projections such as DP or NumP. In other words, it must be a bare NP. We can now use it to test whether *ezafe-2* nominals are bare NPs and consequently if their possessors are in [Spec,NP]. As it turns out, *ezafe-2* nominals – complete with the *ezafe-2* marker – cannot appear as complements of the attributivizer *-lı*. This was shown in (9) above, repeated here for convenience; additional examples are provided in (20b-c) below.

(20)   a.   tatar   tel-(*e)-le   bala-lar (= (9b))
               Tatar.person   language-(*3)-ATTR   child-PL
               'Tatar-speaking children'

        b.   bala   fotografijä-(*se)-le kitap
               child   photo-3-ATTR   book
               'a book with/of a child's photo(s)'

        c.   tu-gan   bala-lar palata-(*sı)-lı   xastaxanä
               be.born-PTCP   child-PL hospital_room-3-ATTR   hospital
               'a hospital with a room for newborn babies'

Hence, we must conclude that *ezafe-2* nominals are structurally larger than a bare NP and that the possessor in them occupies some higher position. Moreover, the position of the *ezafe-2* marker outside the plural suffix *-lar*, in conjunction with the Mirror Principle (Baker 1985), indicates that the projection of *ezafe-2* is higher than the projection where the number marking occurs – NumP.

(21)   bala   däftär-lär-e
        child   notebook-PL-3
        'child's notebooks'

Another argument for analyzing *ezafe*-2 nominals as structurally larger than a NumP (i.e. as necessarily containing the NumP projection) comes from the fact that *ezafe*-2 nominals are not subject to number-neutrality, unlike bare nominals. Witness the following contrast:

(22)   a.   Min bala tabib-ı   ezli-m
             I   child doctor-3 look_for.PRES1SG
             'I am looking for a pediatrician.'
             #'I am looking for pediatricians.'

      b.   Min tabip   ezli-m
             I   doctor   look_for.PRES1SG
             'I am looking for {a doctor/doctors}.'

Munn (1995) uses the term "AgrP" for the projection that hosts the lower possessors outside the NP. However, in Tatar it is not clear whether the lower possessors of *ezafe*-2 trigger agreement on the head noun, as mentioned in Section 2 above. Therefore, it does not seem to us appropriate to use "AgrP" for the projection of *ezafe*-2. Instead, we will use the term "PossP" (for a lack of a better label), but it must be understood to be limited to *ezafe*-2 and not *ezafe*-3 possessives. Note also that Kornfilt (1984) reserves the label AgrP for the higher projection that hosts *ezafe*-3, which we call DP. Thus, the structures for the two *ezafe*-constructions we have arrived at so far are as follows (these structures will be modified below):

(23)   a.   *Ezafe-2:*
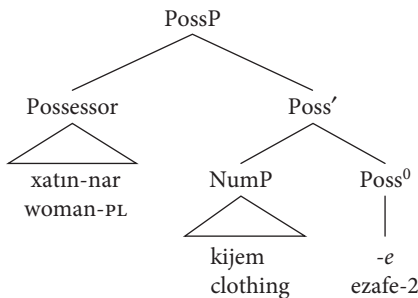
      b.   *Ezafe-3*
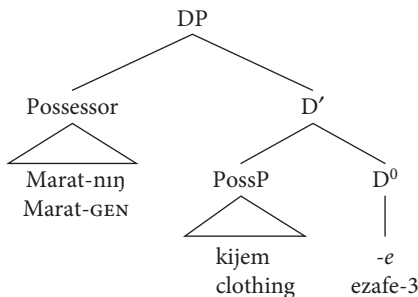
The more complex nominals with both *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3, such as those in (6) above (repeated here for convenience), have the structures schematized below.

(24)   a.   [bez-neŋ [däftär-lär   papka-sı]]   (= (6))
            we-GEN   notebook-PL folder-3
            'our folder for notebooks'

       b.   [bez-neŋ [däftär-lär   papka-bız]]
            we-GEN   notebook-PL folder-1.PL
            'our folder for notebooks'

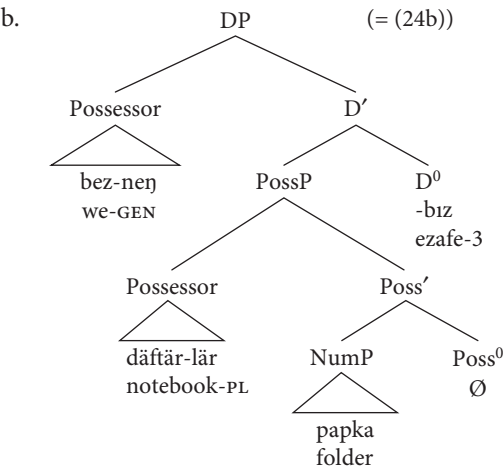(25)   a.   DP   (= (24a))
                         ┌────────┴────────┐
                    Possessor   D′
                    ╱───────╲   ┌────┴────┐
                  bez-neŋ   PossP   D⁰
                  we-GEN   ┌─────┴─────┐   Ø
                           Possessor   Poss′
                           ╱──────╲   ┌────┴────┐
                        däftär-lär   NumP   Poss⁰
                        notebook-PL ╱───╲   -sı
                                  papka   ezafe-2
                                  folder

       b.   DP   (= (24b))
                         ┌────────┴────────┐
                    Possessor   D′
                    ╱───────╲   ┌────┴────┐
                  bez-neŋ   PossP   D⁰
                  we-GEN   ┌─────┴─────┐   -bız
                           Possessor   Poss′ ezafe-3
                           ╱──────╲   ┌────┴────┐
                        däftär-lär   NumP   Poss⁰
                        notebook-PL ╱───╲   Ø
                                  papka
                                  folder
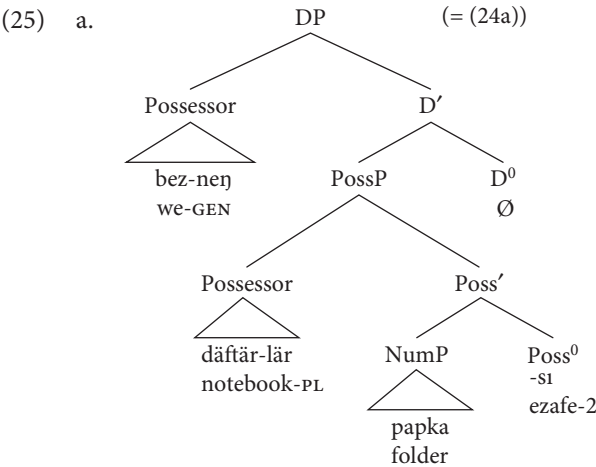
Note that so far we have said nothing about the structure of the possessors themselves. We turn to this issue directly in the following section.

4. *Ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3: The size of the possessor

In the previous section we showed that the *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 nominals differ in how much functional structure they require (PossP vs. DP) and consequently in the position of the possessor (in [Spec,PossP] vs. in [Spec,DP]). In this section, we show that the differences between *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 do not end there: not only do the possessors in the two constructions appear in different positions but they are also themselves of different functional "size". Specifically, the lower possessor in *ezafe*-2 is a Small Nominal, no bigger than PossP, whereas the higher possessor in *ezafe*-3 is a full-fledged DP.

First, consider the possessors in *ezafe*-2. They cannot be pronouns or proper names, which means that these possessors are smaller than a full-fledged DP (i.e. Small Nominals; cf. Pereltsvaig 2006).

(26) a. *min däftär{-em / -e }
          I   notebook{-1sɢ/-3 }
          intended: 'my notebook'

      b. *Marat däftär-e
           Marat notebook-3
          intended: 'Marat's notebook'

But while the possessors of *ezafe*-2 are not DPs, they are not bare nouns either: for example, they can be modified by adjectives or attributivizer constructions.

(27) kırsak-lı xatın-nar kijem-e
      belly-ᴀᴛᴛʀ woman-ᴘʟ clothing-3
      'clothing for pregnant women'

Moreover, possessors in *ezafe*-2 can contain the plural suffix *-lar* and are not subject to number-neutrality in the absence of the plural marker. Therefore, the possessor in *ezafe*-2 is at least as large as the NumP.

(28) a. bala-lar čäčäk-lär-e
          child-ᴘʟ flower-ᴘʟ-3
          'children's flowers'

      b. bala čäčäg-e
          child flower-3
          'child's flower' (# 'children's flower')

In fact, the possessor in *ezafe*-2 is even larger than a NumP, as it can be itself an *ezafe*-2 construction, which we have argued to be a PossP:

(29) [[bala-lar xastaxanä-se] tabib-ı]
         child-ᴘʟ hospital-3   doctor-3
      'a doctor in a children's hospital'

Thus, the possessor in *ezafe*-2 can be as "big" as PossP, but cannot contain the DP projection. In contrast, the possessor in *ezafe*-3 can be a full-fledged DP. For example, it can be a pronoun or a proper name.

(30)   a.   bez-*neŋ*   papka-bız
            we-GEN   folder-1PL
            'our folder'

       b.   Marat-*nıŋ*   däftär-e
            Marat-GEN   notebook-3
            'Marat's notebook'

Moreover, *ezafe*-3 can have a possessor which is itself an *ezafe*-3; in contrast, *ezafe*-2 cannot contain such a possessor.

(31)   a.   [[[ukučı-*nıŋ*]   däftär-lär-e-*neŋ*]   papka-sı]
              student-GEN   notebook-PL-3-GEN   folder-3
            'folder for student's notebooks'

       b.   *[[[ukučı-*nıŋ*]   däftär-lär-e]   papka-sı]
              student-GEN   notebook-PL-3   folder-3
            intended: 'folder for student's notebooks'

To recap, we have shown that the possessors in *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 differ in three ways: (a) their case marking (unmarked vs. Genitive); (b) their position ([Spec,PossP] vs. [Spec,DP]); and (c) their maximal size (PossP vs. DP). Elsewhere (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2013), we have argued that the third property listed above is the crucial one, and that the first two properties follow from it. Specifically, we argued that only DPs are subject to Case licensing and therefore must appear in Case positions (i.e. positions where their Case can be assigned/checked). Moreover, Small Nominals cannot appear in Case positions, under our analysis, as they cannot be assigned (i.e. checked for) Case. If Case is taken to be expressed by its own functional projection, KP, as we assume throughout this paper, the abovementioned Case licensing condition is reducible to selectional properties of K^0: it selects only DPs. This is then parallel to selectional properties of functional categories that form the "skeleton" of a clause: C^0 selects a TP, T^0 selects a *v*P, etc. Thus, the position of the two types of *ezafe*-possessors follows from their functional "size".

Furthermore, the differences in meaning between *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 also fall out of the different structural size of their possessors: a DP possessor in *ezafe*-3 obligatorily receives a referential interpretation (in the sense of "denoting an individual of type ⟨e⟩; Beaver 2013 calls this "determinate" rather than "referential" interpretation), whereas a Small Nominal possessor in *ezafe*-2 can be non-referential (or "indeterminate" in Beaver's terminology).[9] For example, the unmarked possessor in *ezafe*-2 in

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9.   Negative pronominals, such as 'nobody' and 'nothing', which are typically analyzed as non-referential, pattern with other pronouns in being DPs and appearing obligatorily in

(32a) can mean a book designed for children, such as one that has large font, pictures, etc.; crucially, the genitive possessor in *ezafe*-3 in (32b) cannot have that interpretation. In this respect, possessors in *ezafe*-2 in Tatar are not unlike lower possessives in English (Munn 1995) or in Russian (Trugman 2007). However, unlike lower possessives in Russian, *ezafe*-2 possessors can have a seemingly referential interpretation, yet as we discuss in Section 5 below, such apparently referential interpretation is actually pseudo-referential:

(32)   a.   bala-lar   kitab-ı
           child-PL   book-3

           'children's book' (i.e. a book belonging to some children or a book designed for children)

   b.   bala-lar-*nıŋ*   kitab-ı
           child-PL-GEN   book-3
           '(the) children's book' (i.e. a book belonging to some children)

The revised structures we propose for *ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3 are as follows:

(33)   a.   *Ezafe-2*:
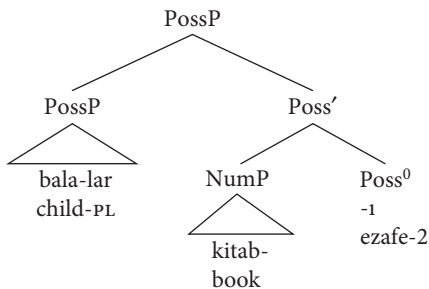
   b.   *Ezafe-3*:
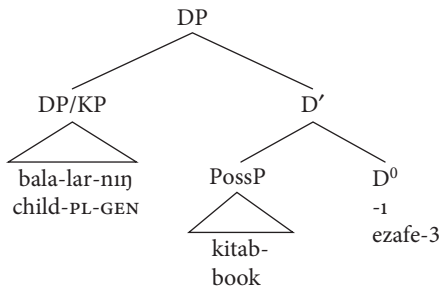
ezafe-3 rather than *ezafe*-2 constructions. However, this problem is not limited to Tatar; for example, in Russian *nikto* 'nobody' and *ničto* 'nothing' can also appear in typical referential DP positions, such as nominative-marked predicates (e.g. *On byl **nikto** i est' nikto* 'He was nobody. NOM and is nobody.NOM'). Therefore, we leave this issue outside the focus on this paper.

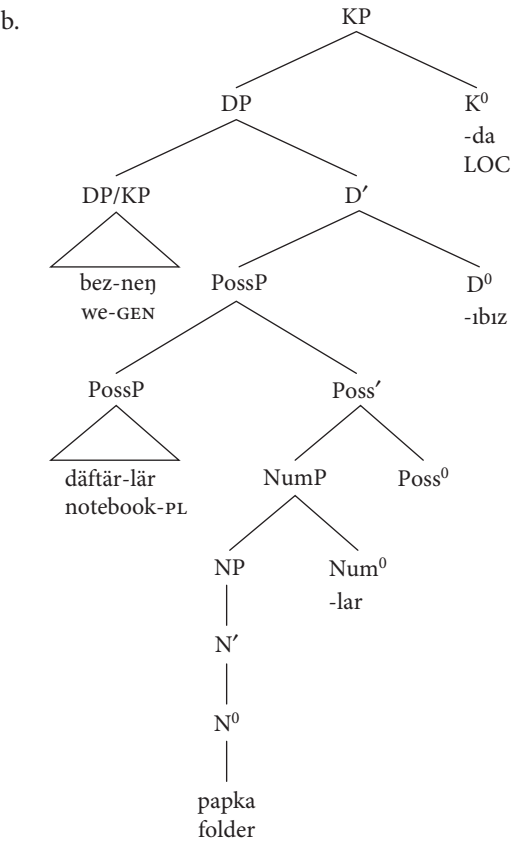A more complex nominal containing both types of possessors and a case marker for the locative is illustrated below:

(34) a. bez-*neŋ* däftär-lär   papka-lar-ıbız-da
          we-GEN   notebook-PL folder-PL-1.PL-LOC
          'in our folder for notebooks'

  b.

```
                                KP
                     ┌──────────────────────┐
                    DP                       K⁰
              ┌────────────┐                 -da
            DP/KP          D′                LOC
            ╱────╲     ┌────────┐
          bez-neŋ    PossP      D⁰
          we-GEN  ┌──────────┐  -ıbız
               PossP        Poss′
               ╱───╲    ┌─────────┐
           däftär-lär  NumP      Poss⁰
           notebook-PL ┌──────┐
                      NP      Num⁰
                      │       -lar
                      N′
                      │
                      N⁰
                      │
                    papka
                    folder
```

5. *Ezafe*-2 and *ezafe*-3: The interpretation of the possessor

So far, we have argued that *ezafe*-3 nominals are DPs, in which the genitive-marked possessor occupies [Spec, DP] at Spell-Out, while the *ezafe*-3 marker appears in D⁰. In contrast, we propose to analyze *ezafe*-2 nominals as PossPs (smaller than DP), in which the unmarked possessor occupies [Spec,PossP], while the *ezafe*-2 marker appears in Poss⁰. Now we shall turn to the twin issues of where the two types of possessors originate and what their possible interpretations are.

The analysis of DP possessors in *ezafe*-3 is straightforward: these possessors are merged in an NP-internal position (more on which immediately below), from which they move to [Spec,DP] to check (or "be assigned") Case.[10] Moreover, in [Spec,DP] an *ezafe*-3 possessor is able to check the *phi*-features of D^0, reflected in the agreeing form of the *ezafe*-3 marker. Since a Small Nominal lacking the DP projection cannot check the *phi*-features of D^0, it is guaranteed that only DP possessors can occur in *ezafe*-3 constructions, as we have shown above.

The analysis of *ezafe*-2 possessors is less clear-cut. So far we have maintained that these possessors appear in [Spec,PossP] at Spell-Out, but are they merged there? If not, where are they merged and why do they move to [Spec,PossP]? Though analyses and labels differ, previous researchers (Munn 1995; Trugman 2007; Alexiadou 2005; *inter alia*) usually took the lower possessor position (equivalent to our [Spec,PossP]) to be a derived position to which a possessor moves from an NP-internal position. This movement is triggered by the need to check Case (Alexiadou 2005 and the references cited therein) or to check agreement features (Munn 1995). However, neither of these approaches works for *ezafe*-2 possessors in Tatar as they are neither marked for case nor unambiguously trigger agreement on the head of the corresponding functional projection, $Poss^0$ (as mentioned in Section 2 above). Therefore, it is not clear what, if anything, would make *ezafe*-2 possessors move into [Spec,PossP].[11] Moreover, elsewhere we have argued (see Pereltsvaig 2006; Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2013) that Small Nominals are invisible for certain kinds of movement, so since *ezafe*-2 possessors are Small Nominals, it is expected that they do not move. Thus, we take an alternative route and propose that *ezafe*-2 possessors are merged in [Spec,PossP]. As it turns out, this analysis is also beneficial in explaining the interpretations of the two *ezafe*-constructions in Tatar, as we shall discuss immediately.

The contrast between *ezafe*-3 possessors, which are merged internally to the NP, and *ezafe*-2 possessors, which are not, translates into a difference in their thematic properties and thus their interpretations as well. Because an *ezafe*-3 possessor is merged in an NP-internal position, it receives a thematic role there, whereas an *ezafe*-2 possessor is generated outside the thematic domain of the noun. As a result, the interpretation of an *ezafe*-2 possessor cannot come from thematic relations (e.g. θ-role discharge,

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10. Alternatively, possessors (i.e. external arguments of nouns) are merged in [Spec,*n*P] (cf. Alexiadou 2005). Nothing in the analysis proposed below depends on this choice, as far as we can tell.

11. One could say that $Poss^0$ has a strong EPP feature, but this would simply couch the empirical observation that *ezafe*-2 possessors appear on the surface in [Spec,PossP] in technical terminology without providing any substantial explanation.

saturation, and the like). As for an *ezafe*-3 possessor, it can be merged in at least two NP-internal positions: in [Spec, NP], where it receives an external argument interpretation (i.e. Agent, Creator, or Owner), or as a complement to N[0], where it receives the internal argument interpretation.[12] For example, the genitive possessor in the following example can be interpreted as an external argument ('a/the photo taken by Alsu' or 'a/the photo that Alsu owns'), or an internal argument ('a/the photo that depicts Alsu').[13]

(35)   Alsu-*nıŋ*   fotografijä-se
       Alsu-GEN   photo-3
       'Alsu's photo'

So far, this analysis follows closely the structure proposed for Russian noun phrases with adnominal genitives by Engelhardt & Trugman (1998), Trugman (2007), except that we take the [Spec,DP] to be on the left rather than on the right, as Trugman (2007) does for reasons of word order in Russian nominals. Our analysis differs from that of Engelhardt & Trugman (1998), however, in that we think that Tatar nominals have only one case-licensing position. Unlike in Russian, the lexical head N[0] in Tatar is not able to inherently Case-mark another nominal. That nouns do not assign inherent case is a more general property of Tatar, where two nominals can be related either through an *ezafe*-construction of some sort or through the use of attributivizers (such as the attributivizer -*lı*, discussed above). This makes nominal structures with two DP arguments of a (non-process) noun impossible in Tatar. For example, a *picture*-noun cannot occur with two arguments expressed by proper names:

(36)   a.   *Alsu-*nıŋ*   Kazan Kremel-e(-*neŋ*)   fotografijä-se
             Alsu-GEN   Kazan   Kremlin-3(-GEN)   photo-3
             intended: 'Alsu's photo of the Kazan Kremlin'

       b.   *Kazan   Kremel-e-*neŋ*   Alsu(-*nıŋ*)   fotografijä-se
             Kazan   Kremlin-3-GEN   Alsu(-GEN)   photo-3
             intended: 'Alsu's photo of the Kazan Kremlin'

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12.   Following Trugman (2008), we do not draw a structural distinction between Agents/Creators and Owners, taking them to be merged uniformly in [Spec,NP]. One alternative would be to Merge Agents/Creators in [Spec,NP] and Owners in [Spec,*n*P] (see *fn.* 12 above). Furthermore, we set aside the various types of NP-adjuncts considered by Engelhardt & Trugman (1998) and Trugman (2008).

13.   Of course, inanimate genitive possessors receive the internal argument interpretation, since inanimate objects typically can neither own nor create other objects:

       (i)   Kazan   Kremel-e-*neŋ*   fotografijä-se
             Kazan   Kremlin-3-GEN   photo-3
             '{a/the} photo of the Kazan Kremlin' (i.e. a/the photo depicting the Kazan Kremlin)

The only grammatical way to express such meanings is by using a relative clause (bracketed in the example below). The suffix *-nıkı* is the possessor marker attaching to nominals in the predicate position (cf. English *mine* vs. *my*).

(37) a. Kazan Kremel-e-*neŋ* [Alsu-nıkı bul-gan] fotografijä-se
 Kazan Kremlin-3-GEN Alsu-PRED.POSS be-PTCP photo-3
 '{a/the} photo of the Kazan Kremlin which is Alsu's'

 b. Kazan Kremel-e-*neŋ* [Alsu ešlä-gän] fotografijä-se
 Kazan Kremlin-3-GEN Alsu make-PTCP photo-3
 '{a/the} photo of the Kazan Kremlin taken by Alsu'

In this respect, Tatar contrasts with Russian, which, as discussed in Engelhardt & Trugman (1998), allows non-process nominals with two arguments:

(38) fotografija Moskovskogo Kremlja turista Pupkina
 photo [Moscow Kremlin]-GEN [tourist Pupkin]-GEN
 'tourist Pupkin's photo of the Moscow Kremlin'

The ungrammatical Tatar examples in (36) contrast with grammatical examples such as (3a) and (6a) above; an additional example is given below:

(39) a. minem xatın kijem-em
 I.GEN woman clothing-1SG
 'my women's clothing'

 b. minem xatın kijem-e
 I.GEN woman clothing-3
 'my women's clothing'

The contrast in grammaticality between (36a) and (39) begs the question of what exactly the difference is between the two types of examples. In other words, why can't the ungrammatical examples like (36a) instantiate a structure where the external argument occupies [Spec,DP], whereas the internal argument occupies [Spec,PossP] (which is the structure we propose for (39))? Here we propose that the difference in grammaticality correlates with difference in the interpretation of the second, unmarked nominal: in example (36a) the second nominal ('Kazan Kremlin'), being a proper name, is necessarily a referential (i.e. "of type ⟨e⟩") DP and as such must be thematic (i.e. receive a θ-role). In contrast, the second possessor in (39) is not a proper name and therefore need not be a referential DP receiving a θ-role; it can be a non-thematic Small Nominal instead.[14] Let us first consider the derivation of the ungrammatical (36a). The two possessors are both DPs; let's assume hypothetically that they are both merged inside the NP: the internal

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14. These data suggest that DPs in Tatar are indeed obligatorily of type ⟨e⟩, contrary to Beaver's (2013) proposal, based on English.

argument 'Kazan Kremlin' in the complement position and the external argument 'Alsu' in the specifier position. However, only one of them, the external argument, can move into a Case position (i.e. [Spec,DP]), leaving the internal argument Case-less and thus failing a Case Filter, however formulated. The structure cannot be saved by moving the internal argument into [Spec,PossP] either because that is also a Case-less position.

The internal argument in (36a) is a proper name, which automatically makes it a DP, but the same problem arises with respect to any internal argument, whether or not it has an overt DP-level element of some sort. The problem, we contend, concerns the connection between argumenthood, referentiality, and the internal structure of a nominal. Following Longobardi (1994) and Pereltsvaig (2001, 2007a), *inter alia*, we think that in order to be an argument (that is, to receive a θ-role) a nominal must have a DP projection, which makes it subject to the Case Filter. Essentially, arguments must check (or "be assigned") Case. In Tatar noun phrases, only one argument nominal can be accommodated, as there is only one Case position, the [Spec,DP].

What then makes examples such as (39) above grammatical? We contend that in such examples the *ezafe*-3 possessor (here, *minem* 'I.GEN') is an external argument (merged in [Spec,NP] and moved into [Spec,DP]), but the *ezafe*-2 possessor (here, *xatın* lit. 'woman') is not an argument at all. The *ezafe*-2 possessor cannot be an argument because it is a Small Nominal rather than a DP. Semantically, it is of type ⟨e, t⟩ rather than of type ⟨e⟩. Not being a DP also allows the *ezafe*-2 possessor to circumvent the Case Filter and hence to appear in a Case-less position, the [Spec,PossP]. But not being a DP, the *ezafe*-2 possessor does not receive a θ-role either (consequently, it need not be merged in an NP-internal position). This begs the question of how the *ezafe*-2 possessor is interpreted if not via some form of θ-role assignment/discharge/saturation. We propose that it is interpreted not as an argument of the head noun, but as its modifier, which can denote a range of associations with the head.[15] In contrast with the English 'picture'-nominals, such as *Mary's drawing of children*, where *of children* is necessarily interpreted as the internal argument of *drawing*, the *ezafe*-2 possessor *balalar* 'children' in the example below can have a range of interpretations: the content of the drawing, the intended audience of the drawing, or even the style of the drawing (e.g. stickmen drawing):

(40)   Alsu-*nıŋ*   bala-lar   räsem-e
       Alsu-GEN   child-PL   drawing-3
       'Alsu's drawing of (the) children'
       OR: 'Alsu's drawing for (the) children'
       OR: 'Alsu's child-like drawing'

---

15.   Zakiev (1995: 156–157) summarizes the range of meanings of *ezafe*-3 expressions as "belonging" (in Russian, *prinadležnost'*) and that of *ezafe*-2 expressions as "relation" (in Russian, *otnošenie*), the terms which also emphasize the referential nature of *ezafe*-3 possessors vs. the non-referential, adjective-like nature of *ezafe*-2 possessors.

Thus, semantically, *ezafe*-2 possessors in Tatar are more akin to attributive adjectives in Russian, such as *sosedskij* 'neighbour-like', *starušečij* 'old woman-like', *košačij* 'feline', than to (adjectival) possessives, such as *sosedkin* 'neighbour's', *staruxin* 'old woman's', *koškin* 'cat's' (cf. Trugman 2007; Babyonyshev 1997: 200–204; Pereltsvaig 2007b: 79–80) or argumental genitives such as *sosedki* 'of neighbour', *staruxi* 'of old woman', *koški* 'of cat'. The semantic parallelism between *ezafe*-2 possessors and attributive adjectives is further highlighted by the fact that the interpretation of *ezafe*-2 possessors is dependent on encyclopedic knowledge. For instance, in (41) below, the *ezafe*-2 possessor can be interpreted as the author of the drawing or as the intended recipient. In the former case, the phrase means a 'drawing of the type drawn by children (i.e. simple shapes, stickmen, etc.)'. In the latter case, it means a 'drawing of the type drawn for children (e.g. illustration for a children's book, but not a cubist drawing)'. We must stress, however, that the interpretations of *ezafe*-2 possessors are never those of Agent or Goal argument, but are simply similar to the interpretations that these arguments receive.

(41)　bala-lar　räsem-e
　　　child-PL　drawing-3
　　　'(the) children's drawing'

The non-thematic (but rather encyclopedic-based) nature of *ezafe*-2 possessor interpretations is highlighted by the contrast between (41) and the following examples:

(42)　a.　bala-lar　kitab-ı
　　　　　child-PL　book-3
　　　　　'(the) children's book'

　　　b.　bala(-lar)　fotografijä-se
　　　　　hild(-PL)　photo-3
　　　　　'(the) child(ren)'s photo'

While the *ezafe*-2 possessor in all three examples is the same, it is interpreted differently. Unlike (41), where *balalar* 'children' is interpreted as the prototypical creator or the intended audience, as discussed above, in (42a) it receives the "intended audience" interpretation, whereas in (42b) it can be interpreted as the content of the photo (i.e. 'a photo of the type that depicts children', such as the type of photo of their children that parents send to relatives or post on Facebook, where children are smiling, posing, dressed up nicely etc.). Since it is hard to imagine a typical style of photos taken by children, this example does not naturally receive the interpretation where the children are the authors rather than the subject-matter of the photo. Going back to (39) above, *xatın* 'woman' here means 'a type [of clothing] made for a woman, or typically worn by a woman'. A cross-dressing male may own such a garment, as it need not belong to a woman. Once again, the *ezafe*-2 possessor expresses modification or property description rather than possession by an individual. Considerations of prototypicality exclude the interpretation of the *ezafe*-2 possessor in this example as denoting 'a type

[of clothing] made by women', as women are not typically limited to making a particular type of clothing.

The semantic parallelism between *ezafe*-2 possessors in Tatar and attributive adjectives in other languages such as Russian is further highlighted by the fact that *ezafe*-2 possessors in Tatar are often translated into Russian via an adjective, by both linguists and naïve native speakers alike. For example, speakers translate the examples in (39) into Russian as *moja ženskaja odežda* literally 'my woman.ADJ clothing'. Likewise, Zakiev (1995: 117–120) provides a number of examples of *ezafe*-2 in (literary) Tatar where the possessor is rendered in Russian as an adjective:

(43) a. xalık   džır-lar-ı
        people   song-PL-3
        'folk songs' (Russian: *narodnye pesni* lit. 'folksy songs')

      b. tau   čišmä-se
        mountain   creek-3
        'highland creek' (Russian: *gornyj ručeek* lit. 'mountainous creek')

      c. avgust   hava-sı
        August   air-3
        'August air' (Russian: *avgustovskij vozdux* lit. 'August-y air')

Additional examples from the Mišär dialect (Grashchenkov 2007: 85) are reproduced below.

(44) a. *ezafe*-3:
        kız-*nıŋ*   küz-lär-e
        girl-GEN   eye-PL-3
        '{a/the} girl's eyes'

      b. *ezafe*-2:
        mače   küz-lär-e
        cat   eye-PL-3
        'feline eyes'

Note also that Zakiev's examples of *ezafe*-2 in (43) and Grashchenkov example in (44b), as well as their Russian counterparts containing adjectival modifiers, entail some sort of prototypical relation, denoting 'songs typically created by the folk', 'a creek typical of a highland landscape', 'air typical of the month of August' (which can be hot, humid, or dry, depending on encyclopedic knowledge), or 'eyes typical of a cat'.

Yet despite their semantic similarity, *ezafe*-2 possessors cannot be analyzed syntactically as adjectives, for two reasons: first, attributive modifiers (fulfilling an adjectival function) are created out of nominals by attributivizers such as -*lı* (discussed above); second, the *ezafe*-2 possessor can trigger an *ezafe*-marker on the head, as in (39b).

To recap, with non-process nominals, only one DP argument of the noun can be expressed (in the form of the *ezafe*-3 possessor). If a second nominal is called for, it can only be a Small Nominal which is not an argument of the noun (i.e. does not receive a θ-role from the noun), is merged in [Spec,PossP], and remains Case-less. Note that this is possible because non-process nominals do not require that their arguments, particularly internal arguments, be overtly realized. The situation is different with process nominals (or nominalizations): for example, Grimshaw (1990: 50–51) notes that process nominals require the expression of their internal arguments, leading to the ungrammaticality of **The instructor's examination took a long time* and **The frequent expression is desirable*. Given the ungrammaticality of examples such as (36) above, we would expect nominalizations (with process nominals) to be impossible in Tatar; this prediction is not borne out by the facts, however. Transitive nominalizations containing what appears to be two arguments are possible and in fact common as the way to express embedded clauses; note that the nominalized embedded predicate contains an *ezafe*-3 marker agreeing with the genitive-marked external argument *sineŋ* 'your'.

(45)   min [sineŋ   alma aša-w-ıŋ-nı]   bel-ä-m.
       I   you.GEN apple eat-NOM-2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG
       'I know that you ate an apple/apples.'

If Grimshaw is correct in that a process nominal (here, 'eating') requires an internal argument alongside the external one, *alma* 'apple' must be the internal argument, but if so, in our analysis so far, it must be a DP and therefore in need of Case. However, we have shown that in non-process nominals only one Case position is available. We believe that the answer to this conundrum involves the attachment of the nominalizing suffix: in Tatar it attaches high, embedding therefore a significant portion of verbal structure. Indeed, nominalized embedded clauses in Tatar can contain accusative-marked objects or adverbs.

(46)   a.   min [sineŋ   alma-nı   aša-w-ıŋ-nı]   bel-ä-m.
            I   you.GEN apple-ACC eat-NOM-2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG
            'I know that you ate the apple.'

       b.   min [sineŋ   tiz-genä   /kajt-kač   uk
            I   you.GEN immediately/return-CONV   PTC

            alma-nı   aša-w-ıŋ-nı]   bel-ä-m.
            apple-ACC eat-NOM-2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG
            'I know that you {immediately/right away upon return} ate the apple.'

Examples with an unmarked embedded object such as (46), however, raise the question of whether the unmarked object is a Small Nominal or a DP whose functional

structure is not filled by overt elements. Given Grimshaw's claim that process nominals need an internal argument and our proposal that Small Nominals cannot be true arguments in that they cannot receive a θ-role, we would expect *alma* 'apple' in (46) to be a DP with a null D^0. This, however, goes against our proposal elsewhere (see Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2013) that unmarked objects of (non-nominalized) verbs are indeed Small Nominals:
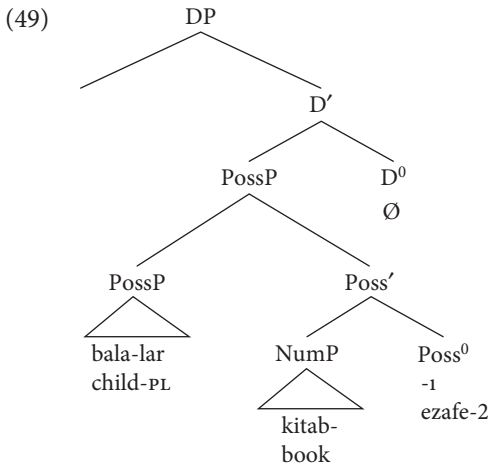
(47)　Marat　alma　aša-dı.
　　　Marat　apple　eat-PAST
　　　'Marat ate an apple/apples.'

Note another similarity between the unmarked objects in nominalizations, as in (46), and in verbal clauses, as in (47): in both cases, the object is not marked for number and is number-neutral (i.e. can be interpreted as either singular or plural). Thus, it appears that Small Nominals can combine with verbal roots *in lieu* of DP arguments, but the same is not possible with nominal roots. We believe that verbal roots can combine with Small Nominals via Restriction rather than Saturation (see Chung & Ladusaw 2004). However, this process is only possible with verbal roots but not with nominal roots. While space limitations do not allow us to delve into this fascinating issue deeper, we believe that the contrast between verbal and nominal roots in terms of their ability to combine with objects via Restriction, is akin to the contrast between verbal and nominal roots in terms of θ-role discharge, discussed in Baker (2003), Pereltsvaig (2001, 2007a). As discussed by these authors, verbs can discharge a θ-role directly, whereas corresponding nominal and adjectival predicates require a copula to facilitate the thematic discharge. Thus, we believe that the inability of nominal roots to combine via Restriction is part of a more general set of limitations in terms of what thematic operations are available to what kinds of roots.

　　One remaining issue concerns the possibility of seemingly referential interpenetration for *ezafe*-2 possessors, which we alluded to above. How can this interpretation be derived, if we are correct in analyzing *ezafe*-2 possessors as Small Nominals which cannot receive a θ-role and consequently are never arguments?

(48)　bala-lar　kitab-ı　(= (32a))
　　　child-PL　book-3
　　　'children's book' (i.e. a book belonging to some children or a
　　　book designed for children, e.g. with large font, pictures, etc.)

Recall that we analyze the whole *ezafe*-2 string as a PossP whose head is occupied by the *ezafe*-2 marker and whose specifier is occupied by the possessor. However, nothing prevents a merger of a null DP above this PossP:

(49)

```
                        DP
                       /  \
                          D′
                         /  \
                   PossP      D⁰
                  /    \       Ø
             PossP      Poss′
            /    \     /    \
      bala-lar   NumP     Poss⁰
      child-PL   /  \      -1
               kitab-    ezafe-2
               book
```

In this structure the null D^0 introduces a referential index, making the whole phrase referential. Under these circumstances, referentiality spread (not unlike definiteness spread, see Dobrovie-Sorin 2000 and the references cited therein) guarantees a seemingly referential interpretation of the possessor. Note that the same thing applies to Russian adjectives such as *sosedskij* 'neighbour-like', *starušečij* 'old woman-like', *košačij* 'feline'. Although their normal interpretation is non-referential, they can be interpreted in a seemingly referential fashion: for example, *košačij* 'feline' can describe a woman's eyes, yet *V temnote ja uvidel košačji glaza* (lit. 'in darkness I saw feline eyes') is most readily interpreted as stating the speaker saw eyes that actually belong to a cat. Unfortunately, space limitations prevent us from discussing this issue in more detail here.[16]

6.   Conclusions and significance

In this paper, we have considered two possessive constructions in Tatar, building on Trugman (2005, 2007). Unlike Russian, Tatar has two formally distinct possessive constructions. Moreover, unlike their Russian counterparts, Tatar nouns are not able to inherently Case-mark other nouns. However, the similarities between the two languages are even more striking: in both languages two structures are available in

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16.   This sort of referentiality spread is possible in direct object *ezafe*-2 nominals which are marked with the accusative case and impossible in direct object *ezafe*-2 nominals which are unmarked, exactly as predicted by our analysis (cf. Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2013) whereby accusative-marked direct objects are DPs, whereas unmarked objects are Small Nominals.

which the possessor occupies one of two hierarchically distinct positions. The higher possessors introduce a referent, are fully projected as DP and serve as the argument of the head noun. The lower possessors are non-referential, non-argumental Small Nominals which receive their interpretations by means other than thematic discharge/saturation. Consequently, the range of interpretation available for the lower possessor is wider than that of the higher possessor. In addition to proposing this specific analysis for Tatar possessive constructions, we make farther-reaching claims about the interaction of argumenthood, referentiality, syntactic structure, and Case. Moreover, like Helen Trugman, we use possessive constructions to argue for an elaborate functional architecture of noun phrases in a language without articles, rejecting the alternative hypothesis that noun phrases in languages without articles lack the DP projection (see Bošković 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, and especially Bošković & Şener 2012 on Turkish).

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