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## The cartography of syntactic structures in Tatar

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# The cartography of syntactic structures in Tatar

Thèse de doctorat présentée par

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Université de Genève

2023

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*"Tugan Tel" by G.Tukay (1910)*

*I tugan tel, i matur tel, ätkäm-änkämneñ tele!*

*Dönyada küp närsä beldem sin tugan tel arkılı.*

*"Mother Tongue"*

*Oh,sweet language,native language,dadd'ys,mummy's gentle word*

*with the help of yours so many things I'd known in the world.*

*unofficial Tatar national anthem translated by R.Buharayev*

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The fact that a human language is a very complex linguistic system which can nonetheless be mastered in a limited amount of time, lead Chomsky (1957) to creation and developement of his theory of *Generative Grammar (GG)*. One of the main hypothesis underlying this theory is that the grammatical knowledge a human being possesses is innate. This idea is supported by various observations: children, regardless of their individual intelligence and educational background, acquire grammatical competence of a particular language they are exposed to even if they do not have explicit instruction of grammatical rules and patterns (Chomsky 1988).

Another evidence is that despite the diversity of languages in the world, surprisingly, they appear to have quite similar representations, with structured set of universal properties, and clear restrictions on possible variation.

The intuitive knowledge of native speakers about their languages is a very rich source of information. Studying the properties of a particular grammar, we can ask questions about the existence of general unifying principles that regulate the operation of grammatical processes.

*...If from the analysis of a single language certain properties emerge which, plausibly, are not inductively determinable from the data available to the language learner, such properties have to be deductively connected to some inner property of the learner. Therefore, these properties tell us something on the structure of the mind and, to the extent to which they are specific to language, on the structure of Universal Grammar (UG) (Rizzi 2017).*

In this thesis, we try to explore the syntax of Tatar, offering detailed descriptions of its grammatical properties from a *Cartographic* framework, the underlying idea of which is to draw structural maps of clauses and other syntactic objects as precisely as possible (Rizzi 1997, 2001, Cinque 1999, 2002, Belletti 2004, Cinque & Rizzi 2008, 2010a and much related works). The goal of this thesis is to find the right structural maps for the different zones of the syntactic tree, namely for the Complementizer Phrase (CP), Inflectional Phrase (IP) and Determiner Phrase (DP). We will not propose an exhaustive discussion of the DP, TP, CP systems in Tatar, involving a highly articulated structure, but merely motivate an analysis within the cartographic approach, which seems to be very useful in dealing with such morphologically rich systems like Tatar. In our work, we will also follow the formalisms and the research style of the *Principles & Parameters/Minimalist tradition*.

We hope that the examination of the Tatar language will contribute to the better understanding of the nature of our innate, Universal Grammar and will show that the grammar of Tatar is much closer to other unrelated languages than we might imagine.

## 1.1 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is organized as follows: to begin with, I will first briefly present the theoretical framework providing the background of the concepts of GG, with particular reference to the Cartographic conception of clause structure that will be assumed in the subsequent chapters. The second chapter provides a concise description of the basic properties of the Tatar morphosyntax. The third chapter is devoted to the Tatar IP-field, including syntactic and morphological characteristics of the functional categories as *Tense/Aspect/Mood* (TAM) on the basis of declarative sentences in the light of Cinque's (1999) proposal on the functional structure of the clause. The fourth chapter concerns the *Left Periphery* (LP) of Tatar, showing the internal organization of the CP domain, originally proposed by Rizzi (1997). More precisely, we will investigate syntactic aspects of topic, focus and interrogative constructions in Tatar, assuming that each of the features that are intrinsic to the LP, is the realization of a head projecting within the C-system. Tatar examples will give further evidence in support of the cartographic analysis of clause structure. In the fifth chapter, we investigate the position of different sub-elements of DPs within the DP-internal cartography in Tatar. We illustrate that the architecture of the Tatar nominal structure implies a series of distinct hierarchically ordered functional projections that dominate the noun phrase (NP) and whose specifiers occupy the nominal modifiers such as determiners, possessors, demonstratives, numerals, a.o. The sixth chapter provides concluding remarks and the bibliography concludes the thesis.

## 1.2 The Theoretical Framework

In generative linguistic theory, the examination of every human language discovers a complex linguistic system operated by the *Principles and Parameters* approach of UG (mostly expressed within the *Government and Binding theory*), proposed by Chomsky (1981, 1986a). According to the *Principles & Parameters* model, all natural languages share universally available set of principles, the invariant component of languages (like  $\theta$ -theory, move  $\alpha$ , Case filter and Binding theory) and differ according to language-specific parameters, which account for language variation (cf. Chomsky, 1981b). This claim is supported by the *Uniformity Principle* which states:

- *In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances (Chomsky 2001).*

## 1.3 Government and Binding Theory (GB)

In the framework of *Government and Binding Theory (GB)*, Chomsky (1981) proposed four levels of syntactic representation as in Figure 1.1.

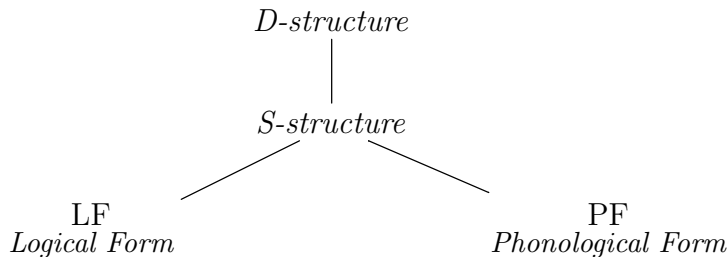


Figure 1.1:

The (inverted) *T-model* of GG reflects common assumptions about the architecture

of the grammar. *D(eep)-Structure (DS)* is a base level where lexical items are inserted in the process. This level is responsible for predicator-argument relations and thematic properties of the clause. *S(urface)-Structure (SS)* is a place where the movement operations, case assignments, as well as surface ordering of constituents taken to occur. *Logical Form (LF)* provides semantic interpretation of a sentence. Different operations like scope and operator-variable relations are applied at these level. *Phonological Form (PF)* is the locus of the interface with the phonology, where the morpho-phonological rules lead to the overt realization of *SS*.

*Government and Binding* framework has the highly modular design. Every module is independent from any other and regulate the internal structure of the sentence. *X'-Theory, Theta Theory, Case Theory, Binding Theory, Control Theory, Bounding Theory, Government Theory, Move  $\alpha$* .

In the *Government and Binding* framework two types of XP movement are proposed: (i) A - movement and (ii) A' - movement.

### **The X-bar theory**

Since Chomsky's (1970) *Remarks on Nominalisation*, it is assumed that phrases projected by different types of heads (i.e., NP, VP, AP, PP) have the same kind of structure. In classical GB, structure building is provided by *X-bar Theory* (later, in *Minimalism*, it was replaced by a more elementary operation of *Merge*), where X, a zero-level category, is a *head* (a noun, a verb etc.) projecting a structure like the one schematized in Fig. 1.2. The *head X* selects a *complement ZP* (like, for example, transitive verb selects a direct object), combines with it and forms an intermediate projection X'. The latter, in its turn, combines with YP, referred to as a *specifier* which expresses some other properties of the head and form XP, the *maximal projection*. This design generates recursive structures, inasmuch as complements and specifiers are

themselves phrases.

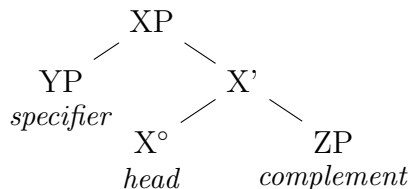


Figure 1.2:

Different kind of relations hold between elements in this syntactic representation. One of them is a dominance in which one node is higher in the structure than another node. For example, a specifier is the sister of  $X'$ . The complement is the sister of  $X^\circ$ .  $XP$  is the mother of the  $YP$  and  $X'$ , and  $X'$  is the mother of the  $ZP$  and  $X^\circ$ . The  $XP$  dominates all nodes ( $YP$ ,  $X'$ ,  $X^\circ$  and  $ZP$ ). Another important relation on a syntactic representation is a *c(onstituent)-command relation* (Chomsky 1986a) between a node  $X$  and a node  $Y$ , in which a node  $X$  does not dominate  $Y$  and every node that dominates  $X$  also dominates  $Y$ . For example,  $X$  c-commands  $ZP$  and, if  $ZP$  is another phrase, what is inside the  $ZP$ .

The template in Figure 1.2 also restricts movement operations, as for example, an element of the type  $X$  (head) must move to another position of the type  $X$  (head), whereas a constituent of the type  $XP$  must move to another position of the type  $XP$ .

The range of applications of X-bar theory, which initially covered only the lexical elements of the clause, later (Chomsky 1986) was extended to the functional elements as a  $CP$  (Rizzi, 1997) -  $IP$  (Cinque, 1999) -  $VP$  (Larson, 1988) structure and to nominal expressions (Abney, 1987), as illustrated in Figure 1.3.

Thus, the X-bar schema provided a uniform internal structure of all projections (Chomsky 1986).

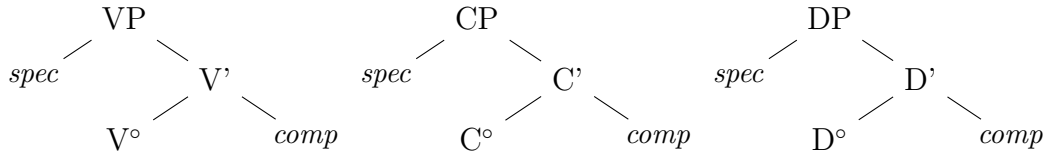


Figure 1.3:

**Theta Criterion** (or  $\theta$ -Criterion):

- Each argument is assigned one and only one theta role.
- Each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument.

According to this criterion, each predicate assigning a theta role should have a projected argument which takes this role. For example, a verb which assigns a theta role of agent to its subject should have a subject position.

**Move  $\alpha$**

a category  $\alpha$  can be moved anytime as long as it goes on to any position which c-commands the category's original position.

**Case Theory**

Every overt NP argument has to be case assigned or associated with a case position.

**Binding Theory** regulates the interpretation of three overt NP-types; anaphor, pronoun and R-expression, based on the following three principles (adapted from Haegeman 1994):

A: An anaphor (reflexive or reciprocal) must be bound in its binding domain. X binds Y iff

- (i) X c-commands Y;



(ii) X and Y are coindexed.

(1). They<sub>i</sub> seem to each other<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> to be intelligent].

B: A pronoun must be free (not bound) in its binding domain.

(2). John<sub>i</sub>'s brother saw him<sub>i</sub>.

(3). \*[John's brother]<sub>i</sub> saw him<sub>i</sub>.

C: an R-expression (e.g. a name, a variable) must be free (everywhere).

(4). John<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> is tired.

\*He<sub>i</sub> said that John<sub>i</sub> is tired.

Domain:  $\alpha$  is the domain for  $\beta$  iff  $\beta$  is the smallest IP (TP) containing  $\beta$  and the governor of  $\beta$ .

### **Empty Category Principle** (*the ECP*)

*The ECP*, first introduced in Chomsky (1981) and elaborated in Lasnik & Saito (1984), Chomsky (1986 a.o), relies on the idea that whenever an element is moved, a coindexed, empty element called a *trace* remains in the moved element's original position. The *traces* come from two types of movement - NP et wh. The first type of movement is always linked to the necessity of assigning the case or the theta role, so the NP movement is always directed towards the argumental position (*A position*). The second type moves the operators to a non argumental position ( $\bar{A}$  or  $A'$ ) which is *Spec,CP* (Rizzi, 1997). The  $A'$  movement is triggered by the scope assignment. Empty categories should be *properly governed* (Chomsky 1986a:17).<sup>1</sup> Traces of complements

---

1

A properly governs B iff A theta-governs B or A antecedent-governs B.

A theta-governs B iff A governs B and A theta-marks B.

are in the government domain of the verb, so they are theta governed (lexically governed). Subjects and adjuncts are not lexically governed, they have to be governed by an antecedent - an element it is coindexed with and c-commanded by (in case of movement, the moved element itself (Chomsky, 1986a; Aoun & Sportiche, 1983)).

The conceptual reason for the introduction of empty categories follows from the theoretical presupposition concerning the assignment of theta roles, particularly from the  $\theta$ -Criterion (Chomsky 1981).

### Kayne (1994)

In this work, we adopt the antisymmetry hypothesis from Kayne's theory of phrase structure. Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry hypothesis, based on the *Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA)*, states that the order *Specifier-Head-Complement (S-H-C)* is universal and all phrases in natural languages should follow the binary branching pattern as in Figure 1.4.

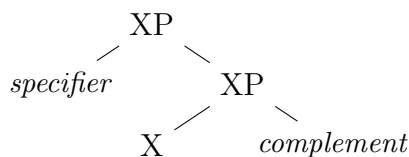


Figure 1.4:

Kayne's proposal aid to derive different properties of X-bar theory that we previously described. There is no intermediate level X' in this template. This leads to the rejection of right-adjunction structures and multiple specifiers, restricting theory of syntax, where the hierarchical structure determines the linear order. Namely, lin-

---

A antecedent-governs B iff A governs B and is coindexed with B.

earization proceeds on the basis of asymmetric c-command which is defined by Kayne as:

*X asymmetrically c-commands Y iff X c-commands Y and Y does not c-command X.*

One important consequence of this theory is that surface structures are derived by leftward movement from a universally available SVO basic structure. According to Kayne, the structure of SOV languages is obtained by moving V's complements out of the VP. He claims that:

*If UG unfailingly imposes S-H-C order, there cannot be any directionality parameter in the standard sense of the term. The difference between so-called head-initial languages and so-called head-final languages cannot be due to a parametric setting whereby complement positions in the latter type precede their associated heads. Instead, we must think of word order variation in terms of different combinations of movements (Kayne 1994; 47).*

## 1.4 Minimalism

In light of large empirical researches in comparative syntax initiated in the 80's, the *Principles and Parameters* approach to clause structure has been modified and found in modern generative linguistics his natural developpement in the *Minimalist Program (MP)* (Chomsky 1995 et seq.) and in the *Cartographic approach* (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999) to clause structure.

The essence of the *Minimalism* (Chomsky, 1995) is that language representations are minimal. *Minimalist Program* tries to minimize explanatory principles and limits the amount of theoretical concepts.

According to this approach, the human language apparatus consists of two main systems: computational system (a specific grammar) and the *Lexicon* (all lexical information of a specific language). The computational system of a language starts syntactic derivations by the selection of unordered elements (*Numeration*) from the *Lexicon*. This operation is called *Selection*.

The computational system generates a pair independent levels of representation: *PF* (phonological form) and *LF* (logical form) which are defined as the interface levels: A-P (articulatory-perceptual system) and C-I (conceptual-intentional system). *DS* and *SS* were abolished in favor of a more economical and simple theory, keeping the basic assumption of syntax essentially unchangeable. Syntactic operations relevant to PF continue till Spellout, from where the derivation is sent to the interfaces. The principle of *Full Interpretation* requires that PF and LF representations be made of only legitimate objects. A derivation is allowed only if it converges on both interface levels using as economical as possible number of operations. Otherwise, a derivation is said to crash. The Move operations that apply before Spellout are called *overt*, and those that apply after Spellout are called *covert* operations (as wh-movement, anaphor raising, a.o.).

*The minimalist T-model of the architecture of grammar:*

In classical *GB* structure building is provided by *X-bar Theory*. In *Minimalism*, structures are built recursively by the simple, universal and binary operation as *Merge* (Chomsky 1995).

*Merge* is an operation which takes two elements *A* and *B* (already constructed) and creates a new one consisting of the two:  $A, B \rightarrow \{A, B\}$  (Chomsky 2001). *Merge* always involves a selecting element and a selected element and it can be of two kinds: *External Merge* (*EM*) and *Internal Merge* (*IM*) (or Move). Chomsky (2005) suggests that *EM*

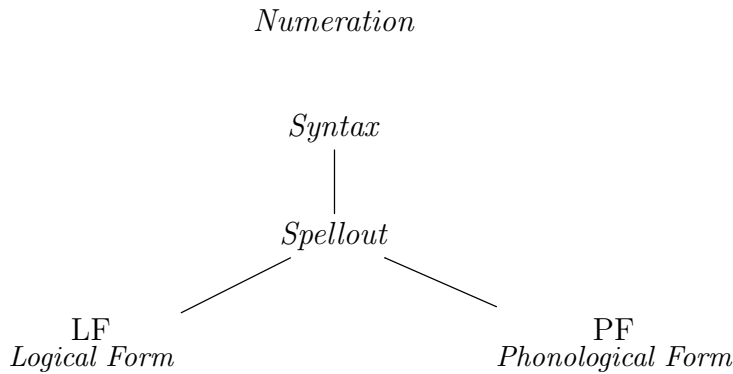


Figure 1.5:

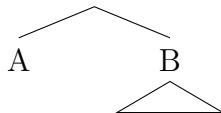
creates configurations for the expression of argumental semantics (for example,  $\theta$ -roles).

(i) (*EM*): A and B are independent syntactic objects (lexical elements, or structures already built by *Merge*)  $A \ B \rightarrow \{A \ B\}$  or  $A \ B \rightarrow \widehat{A \ B}$ .

*IM* creates configurations for the expression of scope-discourse related properties (for example, *Topic*, *Focus*..).

(ii) (*IM*): A is taken from within B and re-merged with B.

$[B \ \dots \ A \dots] \ [ \ A \ [ \ B \ \dots \ < A > \ \dots] \ ]$



In *Minimalism*, the notion of *government* of *GB theory* was deleted. *Case* is no longer assigned by a head, but is considered as feature matching between a *probe* and a *goal*, the operation known in *Minimalism* as *Agree*.

According to the *Minimalist assumption*, the lexicon is the locus where features are stored. A lexical item, which is the smallest meaningful unit should bear three types of specifications relevant for the syntax: - s(semantic) - selection features, - c(categorial or formal) - selection features and - search-related features. Chomsky (1995) suggests

that syntactic movement is a result of feature checking. The feature valuation takes place at a distance, through a c-command relation. The uninterpretable feature of a higher head should be checked (*the probe*) by searching down in its domain for an element with interpretable features (*a goal*). Uninterpretable features make a goal active, i.e. capable to implement an operation. Movement is morphologically driven.

According to recent versions of *Minimalism* (Uriagereka 1999, Chomsky 2001, Platzak 2001 a.o), the derivation proceeds strictly by phase. When the syntactic computation attains a phase, elements contained within it (apart a head and a specifier) cyclically move to *LF* and *PF* where they should be evaluated and interpreted. Chomsky suggests that *CP*, *vP* and *DP* are phases, while *TP* is not a phase. A phase head, or better its features, triggers all the operations.

Considering the important role of features in syntactic computation, Borer (1984), Chomsky (1995) put forward the idea that: *parametric variation between languages is restricted to morphosyntactic features of functional categories rather than lexical ones.*

### **Relativized Minimality**

Movement operations are subject to a constraint called *Relativized Minimality* (RM) (Rizzi 1990), where:

A local structural relation between X and Y is blocked by Z, if Z has the same structural type as X.

X... Z... Y... (Rizzi 1990)

Later, the "structural type" definition of RM was replaced by "feature type" (Rizzi 2004a), where feature typology is described as:

- a. Argumental: person, number, gender, case
- b. Quantificational: focus, wh, negation, etc.

- c. Modifier: evaluative, epistemic, negative, celerative, measure, etc.
- d. Topic

The features in the split CP domain are sensitive to syntactic principles like locality principles. Rizzi proposes that locality conditions constrain movement of elements of the same type and accounts for intervention effects that arise. To give an example, a topicalized element does not function as an intervener for wh-movement or focus-movement, or some types of adverbial modifiers block wh-movement across them while others do not. These type of movements are of the A' type, but locality conditions imposed on them are different. For instance, an intervening quantificational element blocks the movement of a quantificational constituent. Case driven movement of an argument is blocked by another argument requiring case. Rizzi argues that only topic does not affect movement of the other topic. The special behavior of topics is due to the fact that topics do not carry any positive feature specification relevant for Minimality, which are +/-Arg(umental), +/-Mod(ificational), +/-Q(uantificational), so, topics are neither argumental nor modificational or quantificational entities.

## 1.5 Cartography

While the *Minimalism* pays much attention to the computational engine of the Faculty of Language, putting special importance on the role of economy considerations in formal syntax, the *Cartographic approach* (Rizzi 1997, 2001, 2004, Cinque 1999, 2002, Belletti 2004, Cinque & Rizzi 2008 and much related work.)<sup>2</sup> to clause structure proposes “*to draw structural maps as precise and detailed as possible of syntactic configurations*” (Cinque & Rizzi 2008).

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<sup>2</sup>More about the cartographic study: <http://unige.ch/lettres/linguistique/syncart/repository/>

In 2013, Rizzi specified that “...such detailed maps would on the one hand lead to the discovery of the ultimate constituents of syntax, thus building the splitting approach on solid foundations, and on the other hand the structural maps would enter into deeper explanations of linguistic phenomena, and possibly would be useful in applicative domains, as reliable maps often are. So, one could imagine that a detailed structural cartography would be of help for first and second language acquisition research, the study of pathologies, computational applications, and the like.”

It should be pointed out that *Cartography* is a research topic which is not an alternative to *Minimalism* but a parallel and a natural development of it. Chomsky (1986) proposed that syntactic structures are based on three major layers, as VP, IP and CP<sup>3</sup>.

[<sub>CP</sub> ...C... [<sub>IP</sub> ...I... [<sub>VP</sub> ...V... ] ] ] (Chomsky1986)

Rizzi and Cinque (2016) in their turn, argue that “On the one hand, cartographic studies are fully consistent with and typically assume the elements of syntactic computations introduced by minimalist research... On the other hand, such labels as *C*, *T*, and *v* are sometimes explicitly considered abbreviations of richer cartographic structures in the minimalist literature (e.g., Chomsky 2001)”. Thus, for example, the CP zone is split into finer components.

[Force [Top\* [Int [Top\* [Foc [Top\* [Mod [Top\* [Q<sub>emb</sub> [Fin [IP ... ]]]]]]]]]]] (Rizzi & Bocci 2017)

The *cartographic* study is based on major assumptions about the grammar of *Minimalism* (the computational system), its architecture as well as derivational devices (movement operations). Following Kayne’s (1994) *Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA)*, cartographers consider heads and phrases as simple entities where projections

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<sup>3</sup>The vP is a lexical layer, IP is an inflectional layer and CP is a scope-discourse semantic’s layer.



are assumed to have specifier - head - complement configurations. One of the main assumption of cartography is “one morpho-syntactic property - one feature - one head” (Cinque & Rizzi 2010), where “each morphosyntactic feature corresponds to an independent syntactic head with a specific slot in the functional hierarchy”.

Shlonsky (2010), in the paper giving an overview of the cartographic program, writes that *“the feature-driven approach to syntax, the reliance on simple operations such as Merge, Project and Search pave the way to a research program whose goal is to draw up a precise inventory of features and discover their structural relations.”*

As concerns complex amalgam of features, they are result of a consequence of movement rules (particularly head movement) involving roots and affixes (Baker 1988, a.o.). This idea goes back to the *affix hopping* approach, put forward by Chomsky (1957) in his paper “Syntactic structures”, where he analyses verb affixation system in English. According to this view, the verbs are housed in the *Lexicon* in bare form and affix hopping transformation in syntax provides the verb by an appropriate morpheme and this new item is subject to further computation<sup>4</sup>.

The cartographic enterprise comes to light from such and further observations, as Pollock’s (1989)<sup>5</sup> and Belletti’s (1990) proposal to separate functional category Inflection (IP) on two distinct heads licensing their own projections: Tense (TP) and Agreement (AgrP), as well as Emond’s (1978) comparative approach to position of verbs with respect to adverbs and other elements in the clause, Chomsky’s (1993) splitting of AgrP on Agr-object (AgrO) and Agr-subject (AgrS).

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<sup>4</sup>Later, Chomsky (1993), proposed that the lexical item is drawn from the lexicon already inflected and it checks its features in the syntactic structure.

<sup>5</sup>*It is also known as Split Inflectional Hypothesis.*

## 1 Rizzi (1997)

Rizzi (1997), in his influential work "*The fine structure of the left periphery*", which paved the way to cartographic framework, analysing Romance and English complementizer domain (*CP*), otherwise known as *Left Periphery (LF)* of the clause, proposed that CP, delimited by *Force* (higher) and *Finiteness* (lower) system, is hierarchically ordered with Topic and Focus projections sandwiched between them. The Focus projection, in its turn, is squeezed between two Topics, as it shown in (1):

- (1). Force...Top(ic)\*...Foc(us)...Top(ic)\*...Fin(iteness)...IP (Rizzi 1997)

While *Force* encodes the features responsible for the selection of the type of the sentence (question, declarative, imperative, ...), *Finiteness* satisfies inflectional properties of the IP domain.

A main tenet of cartographic study is the *Criterial* approach (Rizzi 1997, 2004b) to scope-discourse semantics. The Left Periphery (LF) of a clause is populated by distinct functional heads hosting scope-discourse features (criterial probes) which attract phrases bearing matching features in their specifiers (criterial goals). Rizzi claims that criterial features cannot be checked in passing. Once an element has reached a criterial-position (associated with a particular interpretive property) it gets “frozen” in place and cannot move further.

### **Criterial Freezing:**

*An element satisfying a criterion is frozen in place.* (Rizzi 2004, 2006, 2010)

The “syntacisation” of scope-discourse semantics suggests that scope-discourse properties are uniformly expressed by tripartite structure “Spec-Head-Complement” in which the criterial heads give instructions to the interpretative systems (“interpret my Spec as topic and my complement as comment”, etc) in a transparent and uniform manner (Cinque & Rizzi 2010), as it shown in Fig 1.6 and 1.7.

TopicP: *The book, I read*

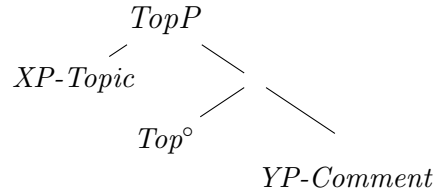


Figure 1.6:

FocusP: *THE BOOK, I read (not the newspaper)*

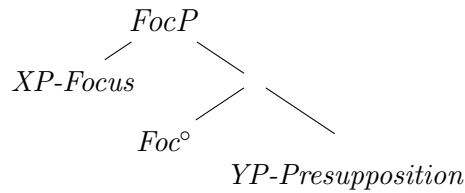


Figure 1.7:

The fact that in some languages criterial heads can be overtly realised by special elements (as in Japanese, Gungbe, Dutch varieties..) supports this structural approach to scope-discourse properties and suggests that scope-discourse features are very active in the syntactic computation of every natural language and are uniformly expressed. In Gungbe (2), (from Aboh 2003) the specifier and head positions of Topic and Focus projections are both realized:

- (2). Un sè [do [ dan lo yà [Kofi hu ì ]]]  
 “I heard that snake the Top Kofi killed it”.

Un sè [do [ dan lo wè [Kofi hu ]]]  
 “I heard that snake the Foc Kofi killed”.

During the last almost 25 years<sup>6</sup>, Rizzi’s (1997) split CP hypothesis was endorsed by extremely fruitful cross-linguistic analysis of the structure of the CP (Puskás 2000, Belletti 2004 a, 2004b, Rizzi 2004, Cinque 2002, Krapova & Cinque 2005, Cinque & Rizzi 2010, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Cruschina 2012, Bocci 2013, Beninca & Poletto 2004, Aboh 2004, Endo 2006, Durrleman-Tame 2008, Soare 2009, Rojina 2011, Hager-M’Boua 2014, Samo 2019 a.o.) and confirmed cartographic tenet that natural languages are assumed to share the same syntactic heads responsible for information structural notions but depending on the languages the criterial heads may be overt or null.

## 2 Cinque (1999)

By analogy with Rizzi’s split-CP hypothesis, Cinque (1999) suggests a fine-grained analysis of adverbs and adverbial position within IP. On the observation that certain adverbs obligatorily precede others, Cinque introduces a universal hierarchy of adverbs that is subject to the variability of structural positions and the scopal properties manifested by various kinds of adverbs (Ernst, 2000; Laenzlinger, 2000; Cinque, 2004; a.o.).

The examples in (3) - (5) show the fixed order of pairs of adverbs in different languages:

English (Cinque 1999, 33):

(3). John doesn’t *any longer* *always* win his games.

\*John doesn’t *always* *any longer* win his games.

Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian (Cinque 1999, 37):

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<sup>6</sup>See Rizzi & Cinque 2016, *The Annual Review of Linguistics*, 2 for an overview.

- (4). On *više* *uvijek* ne pobjedjuje.  
 he no longer always not win<sub>3sg</sub>  
 \*On *uvijek* *više* ne pobjedjuje.  
 he always no longer not win<sub>3sg</sub>

Italian (Cinque 1999, 34):

- (5). Gianni non vince *più* *sempre* le sue partite.  
 John doesn't win any longer always his games  
 \*Gianni non vince *sempre* *più* le sue partite.  
 John doesn't win always any longer his games

Cinque's (1999) cartographic work on adverbs changed thoroughly a traditional adjunction approach to modifiers. There are a number of linguists (Laenzlinger 1999, a.o) who propose a cross-linguistic analysis of adverbial modifiers and endorse "adverbs in specifiers" approach.

Another observation made by Cinque (1999, 2006) is that "*(i)n many cases a transparent specifier/head relation between a certain adverb class and the right-adjacent functional head is immediately recognizable*". So far, he proposes a universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections, where adverbs as unique specifiers of distinct maximal projections enter into a spec-head relation with a functional head in a regular one-to-one fashion. The assumption of local simplicity of configurations and relations means that a head is defined, in the perfect case, by a single morphosyntactic feature (Kayne 1994). In Cinque's (1999) model, every feature of every category projects a phrase even if it is expressed by a phonetically empty morpheme. As for complex conglomerates of features (e.g., a verb inflected for tense, mood and agreement), they are result of a consequence of movement operations (Rizzi 2013).

Cinque's (1999, 2006) universal hierarchy is schematized as:



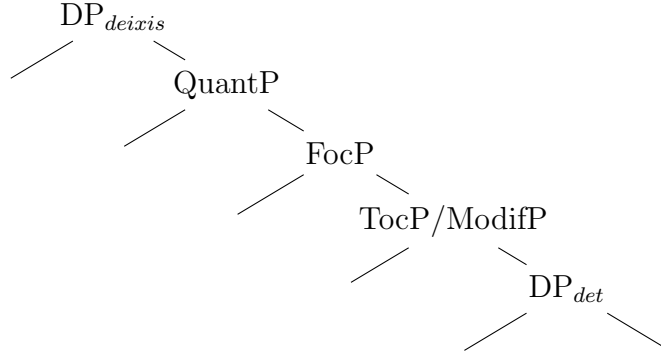


Figure 1.8:

projection for dedicated fronted adjectives in Romance, as it is exemplified in (6):

(6). C'est une SUPERBE nouvelle occasion (ex. Laenzlinger 2017)

This is a superb new occasion

“This is a SUPERB new occasion.”

The specifier of TopP hosts topicalized arguments and adjuncts, whereas the specifier of modifier projection is occupied by fronted non-focalized adjectives.

Laenzlinger, however, points out that it is difficult to establish the order among TopP, FocP and ModifP in nominal left periphery due to the poorness of information structure in nominal domain contrary to that of the clause.

Hence, the line of research that we adopt in our work is the highly articulated structure of the clausal cartography, according to which if some language has a particular functional head (and projection), then every other language obligatory possesses that head (and projection), irrespectively if it is overtly realized or not (Kayne 2005, Cinque & Rizzi 2008).

The study of Tatar CP, IP, DP domains within the framework of Cartography will be based on Cinque & Rizzi’s (2008) statement that “...the distinct hierarchies

*of functional projections dominating VP, NP, AP, PP, IP, etc., may be universal in the type of heads and specifiers that they involve, in their number, and in their relative order, even if languages differ in the type of movements that they admit or in the extent to which they overtly realize each head and specifier.”*

## 1.6 Morpho-Syntactic relations

One of the appealing points of the current generative linguistic research is that words have internal structures quit of the same kind as syntactic structures which makes difficult the difference of morphology and syntax as distinct domains.

We assume, following Holmberg and Roberts (2013) that given the fact that morphological differences between languages are easily recognisable, one can try to use them to detect abstract syntactic differences between languages, provided that morphological and syntactic structures are deeply interrelated.

Contrary to the earlier generative view (Chomsky 1965) of sentences as strings of morphemes, the *Lexicalist Hypothesis (LH)* (Chomsky 1970, 1995; Williams 1981, 2007; Anderson 1982; a.o.) made clear the distinction between syntactic and morphological rules, considering sentences as strings of words, and words as strings of morphemes. Under the *Lexicalist Hypothesis*, *lexicon* should provide syntax by well formed words. Chomsky’s (1995) formulated *Inclusiveness condition* states:

*“Any structure formed by the computation is constituted of elements already present in the lexical items selected for N(umeration)“.*

In our work we follow one of the best accepted correspondences at level of the word and at the level of phrase, expressed by Baker’s (1985) *Mirror Principle*:

*Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa).*



Another postulate on which we rely in this thesis is Cinque’s (1999) seminal work on the universal hierarchy, where the idea of the *Mirror Principle* was connected with the fully systematic crosslinguistic study of the relative order of the grammatical morphemes (free particles and bound suffixes) for the distinct mood, modality, tense, aspect and voice specifications.

Cinque supports Bybee’s (1985) typological observation that in agglutinating languages, affixes, when they are overtly realized as suffixes, manifest a fixed order among certain morphemes. For example, the relative order of Turkish suffixes, under the *Mirror Principle*, corresponds to the order of functional heads which looks like:

$$\text{Mood}_{\textit{speechact}} > \text{Mood}_{\textit{evaluative}} > \text{Mood}_{\textit{evidential}} > \text{Mood}_{\textit{epistemic}} > \text{Modality} > \text{T}_{\textit{Past}} > \text{T}_{\textit{Future}} > \text{Aspect} > \text{Voice} > \text{V}$$

(1). Oku-y-abil-ecek-ti-m

read-y-Mod-Fut-Past-1sg

*"I was going to be able to read /*

*I would be able to read"* (Cinque 1999: 54)

## 1.7 Clause structure

Before analyzing sentence structures in the Tatar language, we assume, following the general convention in the literature (Chomsky 1981, Haegeman 1997, Grohmann 2003, Laenzlinger 2005, among many others), that it can be divided into three areas, schematized in Fig. 1.9:

The lowest domain is the thematic domain where all arguments of the verb first merge (*EM*)<sup>7</sup>. This domain is identified as vP (Chomsky 1995). The middle domain,

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<sup>7</sup>Koopman and Sportiche (1991) claim that subject NPs are generated within the VP domain.

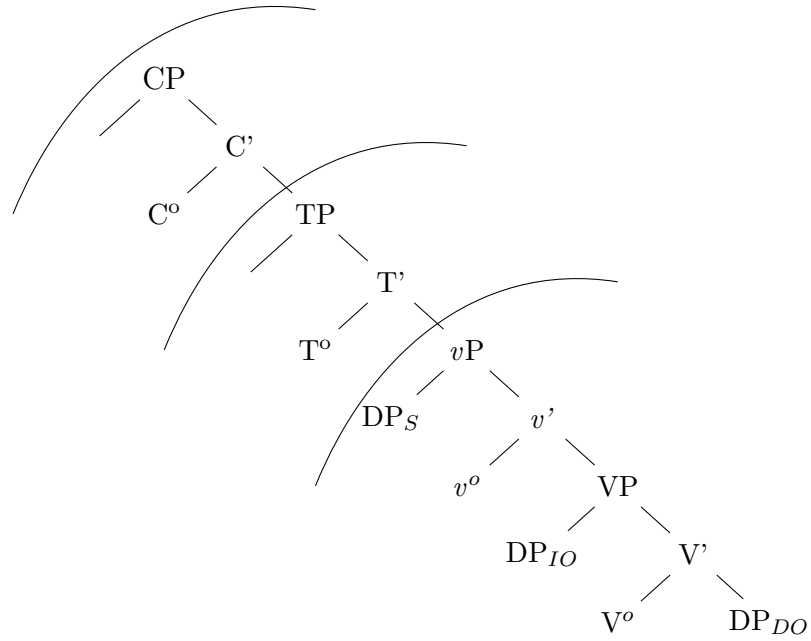


Figure 1.9:

corresponding to the minimalist TP, is composed of functional projections related to adverbs (Cinque 1994, 1999) and it also contains functional heads licensing Case and  $\phi$ -features under Agree. Traditionally, the left periphery of the clause, the CP is the domain where special semantically conditioned effects related to the illocutionary force of the clause are encoded by dedicated functional heads, *Top* and *Foc* (Brody 1990, Kiss 1998, Rizzi 1997, Puskás 1997, Aboh 2004, a.o.).

# Chapter 2

## The Tatar language

### 2.1 Introduction

The vast area of the world, called Russia, is populated by hundreds of large and small nations, with their own still existing native languages, cultures and history, one of which is *Kazan Tatars*<sup>1</sup>.

#### 1 Brief history of the language of Tatars

According to Zakiev (1997:357), Kazan Tatars, as a separate ethnic group, formed in the XV - XVI centuries in the bowels of the *Kazan Khanate* from the descendants of the population of the *Volga Bulgar*, with whom a significant part of *Mishars* (i.e. *Kipchaks of the Golden Horde*, including *Astrakhan Tatars*, as well as *Siberian Tatars*) gradually consolidated. Despite the later stratifications, Kazan Tatars inherited their main anthropological and ethnographic features from the Volga Bulgars.

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<sup>1</sup>Kazan is the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan Tatars are also referred to as Volga Tatars. Not to be confused with the Crimean Tatars, they are a different people.

Zakiev (1997) states that the ethnonym Tatars as a self-name was first adopted by *Mishars* (as one of the ethnic components of Kazan Tatars) in the second half of the XIXth century, and then by representatives of the middle dialect only at the beginning, in some places even in the 20s, of the XXth century. The main composition of the population of the *Kazan Khanate* inherited the self-name *Bulgars*, but the name *Kazan keshese* gradually spread (in Russian chronicles: *Kazantsi*). Before the official adoption of the ethnonym Tatars, the ethnonyms *Bulgars* and *Kazan keshese* (*Kazanlı*) were used as a self-name.

Zakiev (1997:359) points to three historical periods in the development of the Tatar spoken language. The first is the period of relatively independent development of the Volga-Bulgar and Kypchak languages, which lasted until the conquest of the Kazan Khanate by Russian Tsar Ivan the Terrible in 1552. In the second period from the 16th to the middle of the 20th centuries, a mixture of the languages of the middle dialect (*Kazanlı*) and Kypchak (*Mishar*) took place on a vast territory and a national spoken language was formed. The third period begins in the middle of the twentieth century, when the Tatar colloquial language is greatly influenced by the literary norm and the Tatar-Russian bilingualism.

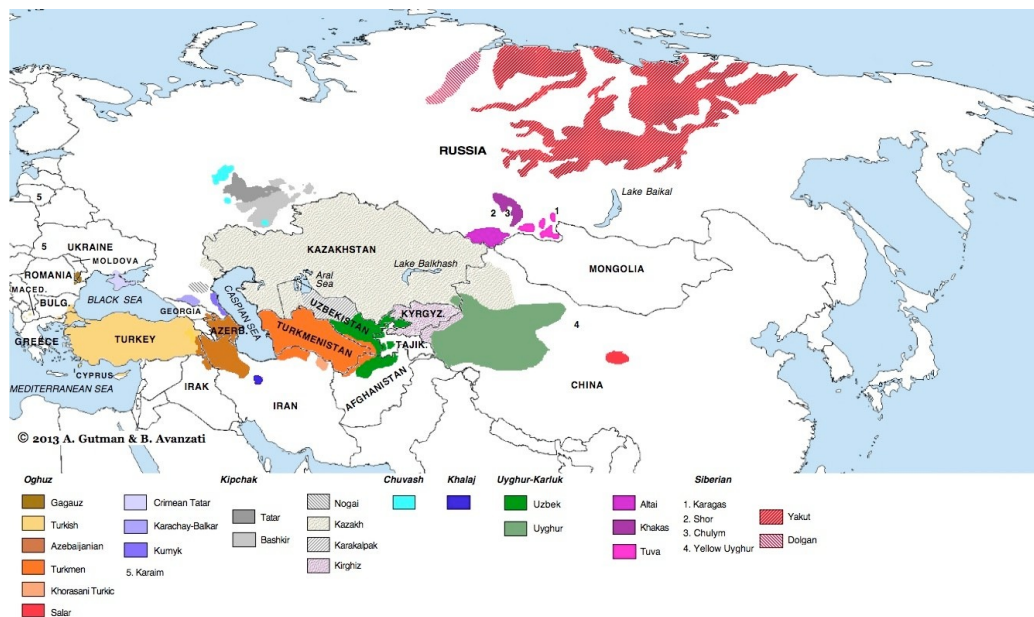
The Tatar language belongs to the *Kypchak* sub-branch of the Turkic language family. There are approximately thirty five Turkic languages in the world, spoken by Turkic people in an area that extends from Southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean to Siberia and Western China. However, there is no agreement in Turkological literature on the most adequate geographical area of the Turkic languages which are part of the *Altaic* family of languages. The term "*Altaic*"<sup>2</sup>, as the name for a language family, is however contested. Some linguists include in this group not only Turkic,

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<sup>2</sup>The group received its name after the Altai Mountains, a mountain range in Central Asia.

Mongolian, Tungusic, but also Finno-Ugric languages, based on shared features such as vowel harmony and agglutination.

### *Geographical distribution of turkic languages<sup>3</sup>*



The *Kypchak* languages (or *Northwestern* Turkic languages) are a major branch of the Turkic language family. They are spoken by more than 28 million people.

Tatar is spoken mostly in Tatarstan, with some numbers of speakers in Bashkortostan, Mari, Udmurtia, Mordovia, and in many other regions of Russia as well as in different former Soviet Union countries, such as Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Lithuania, Latvia and in other countries in the world. Tatar is the second language in the Russian Federation by the number of speakers and geographic distribution. By 2010, there are nearly 4,3 million first language

<sup>3</sup><http://www.languagesgulper.com/eng/Turkic.html>

speakers of Tatar in Russia, with the total number of speakers being approximately 6,5 million.

*The Republic of Tatarstan*<sup>4</sup>



During its history, the Tatar language was influenced not only by some related (Chuvash and other Turkic languages), but also by unrelated Finno-Ugric (Old Hungarian, Mari, Mordovian, Udmurt) languages of the Volga-Kama<sup>5</sup> and Ural regions, as well as by Russian, Arabic, Persian.

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<sup>4</sup><http://shininghappyypeople.net/blogs/kazan-2010.php/2010/05/18/where-is-tatarstan>

<sup>5</sup>Volga and Kama are names of two rivers in this region of Russia.

*Neighboring Finno-Ugric and Turkic republics of Volga region in Russia* <sup>6</sup>



Linguists, working on comparative study of Turkic and Finno-Ugric languages, assume that some features in the phonetic's domain <sup>7</sup> are the result of a complex relationship of Volga-Turkic languages with the Finno-Ugric languages. As a result, these features, on the one hand, unite the Volga-Turkic languages among themselves, and on the other hand, oppose them to other Turkic languages.

According to Zakiev (1995), in any language union there may be common phenomena dating back to the most ancient base language, which is especially noticeable in the Ural-Altaic language union of the Volga-Kama region. The syntactic structures in these languages basically coincide due to genetic commonality.

<sup>6</sup>[http://shininghappyypeople.net/blogs/kazan-2010.php/2010/05/18/where-is-tatarstanhttps://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/4teqputhe\\_six\\_republic\\_of\\_central\\_russias\\_middle\\_volga/](http://shininghappyypeople.net/blogs/kazan-2010.php/2010/05/18/where-is-tatarstanhttps://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/4teqputhe_six_republic_of_central_russias_middle_volga/)

<sup>7</sup>For example, changing the scale of vowels or interruption of vowels.

Zakiev points out that the study of the problem of the Volga-Kama language union is of great theoretical importance for recreating the objective history of all Eurasia. For example, it provides a real basis for refuting the myth of the Iranian-speaking *Scythians*, in particular, about the absence of Ural Finno-Ugric and Altaic Turkic components among the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*. Additionally, the problems related to the so-called “Great Hungary“ and its historico-geographical localisation cannot be solved without a thorough analysis of the possibility of mutual influence of the languages of the ancestors of the Hungarians and the people of the Volga-Kama language union.

According to Zakiev (1995), even in such geographically distant languages as the one of American Indians, traces of Turkic languages are visible very clearly. One of the proponents of this hypothesis is Abrar Karimullin (1995), who found in “*Annual report of Smitsonion Institution of 1871*”<sup>8</sup> an article of the american linguist Roehrig<sup>9</sup> where the languages of the Indians with Turkic languages are compared in view of common features. Karimullin (1995) notices that in another article Roehrig (1872) describes that he was particularly struck by the fact that the language of the Sioux Indians stands apart from the languages of the North American Indians, aborigines in relation to the people who settled there after the discovery of America in the 16th century. Based on a careful comparison of the vocabulary, the morphology, the phonetics and the syntax, Roehrig (1872) comes to the conclusion that “the Sioux or Dakota dialect can be attributed to the Ural-Altaic family of languages..“ and that “...in this family it is closest to the Turko-Tatar group,...the Sioux Indians of America are immigrants

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<sup>8</sup>Annual report of the Board of regents of Smitsonion Institution, shown the operations expenditures and condition of the institution for the year 1871. Washington, Government printing office, 1872.

<sup>9</sup>Frederic Louis Otto Roehrig (1819-1908), originally from Prussia, was a polyglot as well as a linguist and a doctor living in America. Having met the Indians, he was interested in their languages.



from “Great Asia“.

Karimullin’s (1995) scientific essay “The Proto-Turks and Indians of America“ is the result of his twenty years of research on lexical parallels between the ancient Mayan language, some American Indian languages and the Turkic languages, in particular, the modern Tatar language.

Another interesting fact, described, for example, by Gilazov in the article “The Tatar language as a “*lingua franca*“ in the Middle Volga and Ural regions“ is that “the Tatar language was a language of international communication in the Middle Volga and Ural in the XVII-XVIII centuries.“ He points out that the function of the Tatar language as *lingua franca* “...was due to the tradition that emerged in the Middle Ages, especially in the era of the Golden Horde (XIII-XV), when the formation of a unified literary language began.“ Gilazov cites Nuriyeva (2004), stating that at this time, on a vast territory, the so-called “Volga Turki“ arose a uniform language of literature and office work, which is considered a common parent language for many modern Turkic languages of Eurasia.

A continuation of this language was the language of the *Kazan Khanate*, defined by researchers as the Old Tatar language that existed until the end of the XIX - beginning of the XX centuries. The modern literary Tatar language was formed on its basis (Tumasheva, Usmanov, Hisamova 1977, a.o.). Gilazov, citing Hisamova (1999), points out that the Russian state, showing pragmatism, used the Old Tatar language in communicating with many Eastern countries. Hisamova (1999), having analyzed the numerous surviving diplomatic acts of the XVI-XVIII centuries, showed that Russian diplomatic correspondence with the embassies of India, Iran, China, the Ottoman Empire, the Crimea, the Nogai Horde, the Central Asian states was written in parallel in Russian and The Old Tatar languages. Also, in the early 70s of the XVII century, the

letters of the Russian tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, addressed to the Chinese Emperor Shen Zu, were written in Latin and Tatar. However, with the strengthening of international authority of the Russian state, the Tatar language gradually left the sphere of Russian eastern diplomacy (Hisamova, 1999).

## **2 Modern status of the Tatar language**

Even if nowadays the Tatar language is not yet endangered, its situation is a matter of concern. Despite the fact that since 1992, the Tatar language is one of the two official languages in the Republic of Tatarstan, after the adoption in 2013 by Tatarstan of a law on languages, the Russian federal center introduced amendments that excluded the possibility of passing exams in the Tatar language after graduating from schools and other educational institutions, as well as upon entering universities. Since then, in schools, there is a reduction of full teaching of all subjects in the Tatar language<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, there is the significant inequality of the Tatar language in the republic of Tatarstan compared to the Russian language.

According to the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, among more than 150 languages (and with dialects, more than 300) of the Russian Federation, only about 100 languages are involved in education. Guseinova & Zayni (2018) point out that among 89 languages that are studied in Russian schools, only 39 of them are used for teaching. The results of the all-Russian censuses of 2002 and 2010 showed that over 8 years, the number of Tatar-speaking Russians decreased by 1 million.

In 2017, after the statement of the Russian president about the inadmissibility of coercion to study non-native languages, the State Duma in 2018 adopted a law,

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<sup>10</sup>According to Svechnikov & Sergeeva (2008), only 53 % of Tatar children studying in their native language.

according to which, the state languages of the national republics, except Russian, ceased to be part of the compulsory school curriculum.

However, it is possible to preserve and develop national languages only by integrating them into science and the educational process. For almost a quarter of a century, the autonomous republic of Tatarstan of the Russian Federation has been raising the question of creating a national university in Tatarstan, where it would be possible to study all subjects in the Tatar language. To this day, for more than 5 million Tatar people, this is an unresolved issue.

The classic of the Tatar literature Gayaz Iskhaki in 1902 wrote a dystopian novel entitled “*Disappearance in two hundred years*“ about his concern for the preservation of the nation. Given the rate at which the Tatar language is disappearing in recent times, I think that Iskhaki’s prediction was too optimistic. However, Tatar, as a language of the indigenous people in Russia, deserves to be spoken, recognized and valued as much as possible in all areas of society. Karimullin (1997), in his book “The language is the guardian of the nation“, writes that “a nation cannot live without language, just as a human being cannot live without breathing“.

According to Generative Grammar tradition, every language deserves to be examined. Thus, the loss of any language will not contribute to our understanding of the universal principles and the linguistic constraints inherent to a particular language.

With respect to the modern literary Tatar language, it was developed under the influence of spoken Kazan Tatar since the middle of the 19th century. Writing was adopted from the Bolgar language V-XIV centuries (Khakimzyanov, 1978), which used the Orkhon script, before the 920s. Tatar has been written in a number of different scripts: in a variant of the Arabic alphabet until 1928, then it was replaced by Latin 1928-1939, and from 1939 Cyrillic script with some additional letters was imposed. The

oldest surviving Tatar texts date back at least to the middle of the 13th century<sup>11</sup>.

The Tatar language is divided up into the three main dialects: Central (Kazan), Western (Mishär), and Eastern (Western Siberia), which in their turn are also subdivided (Akhatov, G. 1984).

In this thesis, we examine the *Central (Kazan or Volga Tatar)* dialect while some varieties of Tatar may have more peculiarities, which we will not consider here.

## 2.2 Previous work on Tatar

The bibliography on Tatar linguistics is quite extensive which covers all levels of its linguistic system: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics.

The first comparative description of many phenomena of vocabulary, phonetics, word formation and grammar of the Turkic languages, which also includes the language of the Bulgars (ancestors of Kazan Tatars) was done by Turkic philologist Mahmud Kashgari “*Diwan lughat-al-Turk*“ (“Compendium of the languages of the Turks“) in 1072 - 1074 in Arabic.

The first descriptive studies on the Tatar grammar date back to the beginning of 19 century by such linguists as Giganov (1801), Khalfin (1809). Further development

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<sup>11</sup>In 1983, UNESCO celebrated the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founder of Bolgar-Tatar literature, poet Qol Ghali (1183-1236), who apparently died during the Chingiz Khan’s conquest in 1236 of the Volga city of Bolgar. His immensely long poem Qissa-i Yosif (Tale of Yosif) dated to 1212, recognized as a marvel of the Bulgarian literature, of the Eastern European Turkic history and is one of the best pieces of art of the 13<sup>th</sup> century forming the golden fund of the world’s epic poetry (Bukharayev & Matthews, 2000). In Tatarstan, there is a town, named Bolgar, which is also the administrative center, located in 140 kilometers from the capital Kazan.

of the study of the Tatar language is associated with the opening of the Kazan University in 1804 and the foundation in 1875 of the well-known Kazan language school and the Kazan Turkological school. Among the many scientists who worked there, one can name such researchers as Troyanskiy (1860), Faezhanov (1887), Nasiri (1895), Nugaybek (1911), Ibrahimov (1911), Validi (1920), Khangildin (1959), as well as Bogoroditskiy (1954), Baskakov (1960). Further development and formation of the Tatar grammatical theory within the framework of national linguistic traditions is associated with M. Zakiev, F. Ganiev, E. Tenishev, F. Khisamova, K. Zinatullina, F. Safiullina, R. Zamaletdinov, and many many others.

The significant reliable work on traditional Tatar grammar which guided us all along of this thesis is entitled “*Tatar Grammar*“, edited in three volumes by the group of linguists under the supervision of professor M. Zakiev in 1992 - 1995.

Generative Grammar, from the beginning of its development to the present day is primarily about syntax. This thesis is also inspired by the theoretical assumptions about the Tatar syntax of P. Grashchenkov, D. Ibatullina, E. Lyutikova, A. Pereltsvaig, S. Tatevesov among others whose linguistic studies are based on the Generative Grammar tradition.

## 2.3 Phonological Properties

The modern Tatar alphabet consists of 39 letters. There are 13 vowels, 9 of them are native Tatar and 4 vowels are used in the literary language, in Russian borrowings. Narrow and wide vowels are long, medium are short. Vowels are subdivided into 4 “soft“ and 4 “hard“ (or 4 front and 4 back) vowels. In Tatar, there is a *vowel harmony* rule, which is the process of vowel assimilation and means that the whole syllable can

be front or back, but cannot contain both. There is 28 consonants and each consonant has palatalized and non-palatalized phonetic variants. Most syllables in Tatar have a (C)V(C) structure which means that a vowel is preceded and followed by a final consonant. The Tatar language has a pitch accent which tends to fall on the last syllable.

## **2.4 Basic notions of Tatar morphosyntax**

### **1 Agglutinative language**

Typologically, Tatar is an agglutinative language represented by a highly rich synthetic morphology where multiple bound morphemes serve as a new word formation and this process is recursive.

Tatar words consist of suffixes (morphemes, markers), usually with a single meaning, joined to the right of a root morpheme (or a stem) in linear order so that a bound form can be a new stem for a new bounding. Suffixes follow various phonological harmony rules and significant consonant assimilation and elisions. Suffixation is very regular and used to express many syntactic categories like case, agreement, negation, modality, voice, tense, aspect and many syntactic processes like relativization, passivization, reflexivisation, causation, nominalisation, reciprocity.

Tatar distinguishes between derivational and inflectional suffixes. Inflectional suffixes show the connection of constituents in a sentence and indicate functional relations such as case, number, person, tense. As it was pointed by Anderson (1982):

”Inflectional morphology is what is relevant to the syntax.”

Derivational suffixes creates a new lexical item bound in meaning to the root mor-

pheme and sometimes they are category-changing. Inflectional suffixes follow derivational ones and accompanied by interrogative suffixes. Each lexical category has his own set of morphotactic rules (i.e. the order of suffixes).<sup>12</sup>

The formal elegance and transparency of the agglutinative technique of the Tatar morphology is illustrated by the following example (D. Suleymanov<sup>13</sup>):

(1). *Tatarçalaştırucılardagınıkılargamını?*

*"Is it those who (that) belong to those who (that) translate to Tatar",* consisting of

(2). Tatar -ça -laş -tır -u -cı -lar -da -gı -nı -kı -lar -ga -mı -ni  
           *N      Adv    V       V       N    N     Pl    Loc    N    N    Poss   Pl    Dir   Qy/n   Surp*

As we can see, the content of the word in Tatar is easily matched with its clear-cut morpheme boundaries. In example (2), each hyphenated morpheme carries one grammatical feature.

Due to linear recursivity of suffixing, one can form virtually unlimited number of word forms from one root. On the other hand, too long forms are unlikely to be used in speech. In spoken language, one mostly joins 2 or 3 and rarely 4 suffixes, while, in case of need for longer suffixing, preference is given to analytical forms. Nonetheless, the above example is a natural and correct inflection from the point of view of Tatar grammar.

In comparison to Indo-European languages that usually uses in word formations one or two affixes, Turkic languages, can contain a significant number of morphological

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<sup>12</sup>adapted from Davliyeva, 2011:

Noun Root / Derivational Suffix / Plural / Person / Case / Interrogative

Verb Root / Derivational Suffix / Negation /Tense / Person / Interrogative

Pronoun /Case /Interrogative Suffix

Adjective Root / Derivational Suffix / Interrogative Suffix

<sup>13</sup><http://kitap.net.ru/suleiman.php>

indicators, and thousands of forms can be formed from each stem. As Iskhakova (1972) states, cited in Makhmoudov (1982), the maximum number of inflectional forms that can be formed from one verb stem is 17947 for the Tatar language, 11390 for Turkish, and 13592 for Uzbek.

Later, in this work, we will observe, from the view point of the *cartographic approach* to phrases and clauses, how some of these little separate morphemes that are fused in Indo-European inflections may straightforwardly represent Cinque’s (1999) functional sequence of almost 40 categories which are rigidly ordered crosslinguistically.

## 2 Syntactic properties of a simple sentence

Like most other Turkic languages, Tatar is considered as a head-final language, in which the heads of phrases as a rule follow their complements. In the example (3), the noun *su* “water” follows its modifier *salkın* “cold”, the verb *eçü* “drink” follows its nominal complement *su*, and the inflection *-m* follows its verbal complement.

(3). Min salkın su eç-te-m.

I cold water drink<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I drank cold water.”*

Tatar has postpositions (N P) as in (4), in a typical SOV language and not prepositions, prenominal position of the genitive possessor (Gen N) as in (5), as well as verb-auxiliary (V Aux) sequence as in (6), contrary to auxiliary-verb as for example, in SVO language.

(4). Alsu teatr-ga äni-se **belän** bard-1.

Alsu theater<sub>Dat</sub> mother<sub>Poss</sub> with go<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“Alsu went to the theater with her mother.”*



(5). bakça-**nıñ** cäcäklär-**e**

gardend<sub>Gen</sub> flowers<sub>PlPoss</sub>  
 “the flower’s of the garden“

(6). Bıltır, bez Kazan-ga bar-gan **ide-k**.

last year we Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>Gerund</sub> be<sub>AuxPast1Pl</sub>  
 “Last year, we went to Kazan.“

All nouns and pronouns in a sentence are inflected for case and number. In (7), the subject *bala-lar* “children” is in the nominative case, and the direct object *jır-nı* is in the accusative case. Verbs are inflected for tense, person, number, mood, and voice; for example, *tıñ-lıy-lar* in (7) is in the present tense, 3rd person plural, indicative mood, active voice.

(7). Balal-ar jır-nı tıñ-lıy-lar<sub>Pres3Pl</sub>.

Children song<sub>AccDef</sub> listen  
 “Children are listening to the song.“

However, there may be no agreement in number when the subject is the pronoun *alar* - “they“ (8) or a noun in a plural form (9):

(8). Alar kit-te-lär. Alar kit-te.

They leave<sub>Past3pl</sub> They leave<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
 “They left.”

(9). Alma-lar peş-te.

Apple<sub>Pl</sub> ripen<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
 “Apples ripened.“

There are in Tatar two auxiliary verbs (copulas) - *bulu* - “be, become“ and *ide* - “be“. In copular sentences, they can occur in the future (10) (the verb *bulu* with the future suffix -*açak*) and past tense (11) (the copula *ide*), and necessarily absent in the present tense (12).

(10). Minem dust-ım yahşı keşe bul-açak.

My friend<sub>1sgPoss</sub> good men be<sub>Fut3sg</sub>  
*“My friend will be/become a good man.”*

(11). Minem dust-ım yahşı keşe ide.

My friend<sub>1sgPoss</sub> good men<sub>Pred</sub> be<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“My friend was a good man.”*

(12). Minem dust-ım yahşı keşe.

My friend<sub>1sgPoss</sub> good men<sub>Pred</sub>  
*“My friend is a good man.”*

In the general present, no tense marking is used, and agreement is expressed through a predicate-forming suffix that attaches to the nominal predicate, as in (13).

(13). (Min) yazuçı-**mın**.

I writer<sub>1Sg</sub>  
*“I am a writer.”*

In conversational Tatar, the suffixes of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons are added rarely, as in (13) and (14). If the subject is in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the overt predicate-forming suffix is not used at all, as in (15).

(14). (Sez) bähettle-**sez**.

You writer<sub>2Pl</sub>  
*“You are happy.”*

(15). Ul bähettle- $\emptyset$ .

(S)he happy<sub>3Sg</sub>  
*“(S)he is happy.”*

The verb phrase can include a variety of optional spatial or temporal adjuncts or complements. They can be either true adverbs, as in (16) or complements, created from noun phrases with oblique case suffixes or postpositions, as in (17).

(16). Min teatr-ga kiçä bard-ım.

I theater<sub>Dat</sub> yesterday go<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“Yesterday, I went to the theater.”*

(17). Minem ul-ım mäktäp-kä yör-iy.

my son<sub>Poss1Sg</sub> school<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“My son attends the school.”*

### 3 Pro-drop

In Tatar, as in many other Turkic languages, personal pronouns, functioning as subjects, can be dropped. Kornfilt (2003), in her studies of Turkish, states that “[b]ecause of the richly differentiated agreement system, subjects of both main and embedded clauses...can (and preferably do) remain unexpressed when interpreted as personal pronouns”.

Null pronominal subjects in Tatar can occur both in the main (19) and the embedded clauses (21), and they both necessarily agree with the number and person morphology on the verb, serving as the licenser of null subjects (Kornfilt 1984, Rizzi 1986, Roberts 2010).

(18). Sin kayda bul-dı-ñ ?

You where be<sub>Past2Sg</sub>  
*“Where have you been”?*

(19). *pro* Kibet-tä bul-dı-m.

(I) store<sub>SgDat</sub> be<sub>Past1Sg</sub>  
*“I was in a store.”*

(20). Alsu närsä äyt-te ?

Alsu what say<sub>Past3Sg</sub>

“*What Alsu did say ?* “

- (21). Alsu [ *pro* Kazan-da uk-ıy-sın dip ] äyt-te.  
 Alsu (you) Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> study<sub>Pres2Sg</sub> that say<sub>Past3Sg</sub>  
 “*Alsu said that you are studying in Kazan* “.

Assuming that this is a genuine case of an Italian-type “consistent“ null subject in Holmberg’s (2005) terminology, there is no incompatibility between *pro* and OV order (Roberts 2006).

Tatar also allows null objects, recoverable from the context, as it is exemplified in (23):

- (22). Sin hat-nı tap-tıñ-mı?  
 you letter<sub>Acc</sub> find<sub>Past2Sg</sub>  
 “*Did you find the letter?* “

- (23). (Min) (anı) tap-tı-m.  
 (I) (it) found

## 4 The negative marker

The negation of a verbal predicate in Tatar is formed by adding the negative suffix which is situated between voice suffixes and tense/ aspect/modality markers. The negation suffix has different allomorphs: *-ma/-mä*, *-m*. When verbs are in the past tense (24), in the future (25) or in the imperative mood (26), they have *-ma/mä* forms. If verbs are used in the present tense they get the suffix *-m* (27).

- (24). *kil-mä-de*  
 come-Neg-3sgPast  
 “*(S)he didn’t come.* “

- (25). *kil-mä-s* ((s)he will not come)

(26). *ukı-ma-gız* (don't read)

(27). *yarat-m-ıy-m* (I don't love)

There is in Tatar a free negation word *tügel* which selects for non-verbal categories (nouns, adjectives, participles etc.), it negates nominal sentences, as in (28).

(28). Ul    matur    tügel.

He    beautiful    not

“(S)he is not beautiful.”

In the example (29), *tügel* is used in nominal predicate with person and number markers.

(29). Ukı-tu-çı    tügel-men.

Teacher    not<sub>Poss1Sg</sub>

“I am not teacher.”

## 2.5 The verbal projection

In Tatar, as in any language, the verb is the core element of sentence structure. In generative grammar tradition, the verb, as a universal lexical category, denoting action, event, state or process, depicted by the sentence, is the head of the verb phrase (vP).

Looking at the vP-internal structure in Tatar, or in other words, base positions of the arguments of verbs, we assume that the argument structure of a predicate specifies the type of  $\theta$ -roles a verb selects, ensuring a link between the syntactic structure of a sentence and its semantic interpretation. The mapping of semantic information into the syntax is provided by the *projection principle*<sup>14</sup> and the *theta criterion* (Chomsky, 1981).

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<sup>14</sup>“Lexical information must be projected into syntax.”

In Tatar, as in other languages, there are at least three *types* of verb<sup>15</sup>, determined by its lexical structure, namely by the number of arguments the verb selects. These types are *intransitive* (one argument, *agent*), *transitive* (two arguments, typically *agent and patient*) and *ditransitive* (three arguments, *agent, patient and recipient*). In their turn, the arguments themselves of a verb can be of two types, *internal* and *external*, and the internal arguments can be either *direct* or *indirect*. The verbal predicate agrees with the subject in person and number, as illustrated in (2) by an intransitive, in (3) by a transitive and in (4) by a ditransitive verb, respectively.

(2). [ *Agent* Kunak ] kit-te.

Visitor leave<sub>Past3sg</sub>.

“The visitor is left.”

(3). [ *Agent* Bu keşe ] [ *Theme* hat ] yaz-a.

this man letter write<sub>Pres3sg</sub>

“This man writes a letter.”

(4). [ *Agent* Anıñ abi-se ] [ *Recipient* ulı-m-a ] [ *Theme* kitap ] bir-ä.

his grandmother son<sub>Poss1SgDat</sub> a book give<sub>Pres3sg</sub>

“His grandmother gives a book to my son.”

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<sup>15</sup>A morphological design of a Tatar verb is a quite complicated and remified system. A verb form which is given in some Tatar dictionaries is the infinitive in *-u/-ü*. We take this form of infinitive for easiness of farther formation of word, whereas there is another dictionary form of infinitive, for example, *kal-ır-ga* “to stay” which is more in use.

(1). a) *kal-u* (to stay)

b) *kil-ü* (to come)

To conjugate a verb in Tatar, we delete the ending *-u/-ü* from the infinitive and we attaches to this obtained root appropriate suffixes. A verb form without *-u/-ü* is also the 2nd person singular of the imperative: *uku* > *uk-ı!* (2nd p.sg.).

In our work, we follow Larson (1988), Chomsky (1993, 1995), Hale & Keyser’s (1993), a.o. the *VP-shell conception* of the verb’s projection, which aims to explain how to project argument structure that is encoded in the lexical entry of the verb.

It is argued that the verbal domain is made up of two layers: a VP layer, which is the projection of the lexical verb, say a verbal root and the  $vP^{16}$ , headed by a functional light verb  $v$  (“little  $v$ “) which assigns the external  $\theta$ -role. This “little  $v$ “ is associated with an abstract causative “light verb“ ( $v$ ). Internal arguments, direct and indirect objects, are generated in lower VP, in complement-VP and in Spec-VP positions respectively, as it is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

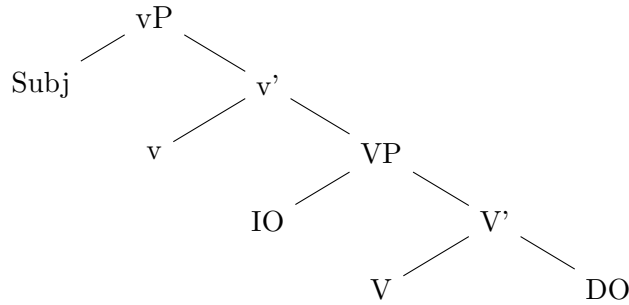


Figure 2.1:

We follow the conventional view that the thematic domain manifests a universal makeup, required by a thematic hierarchy (Larson 1988, Grimshaw 1990, Jackendoff 1990, Chomsky 1995, Baker 1997):

Agent > Beneficiary/Location > Theme<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>The reason to propose  $vP$  as a functional projection follows from Burzio’s (1986) generalization:  
*Abstract accusative case is assigned if and only if an external theta-role is assigned.*

<sup>17</sup>The “>“ signifies the c-commanding relation within  $vP$ .

We adopt also Baker’s (1988:46) *Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)* which reflects a correspondence between thematic roles and structural positions and states:

- Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure (Baker 1988:46).

Following Larson (1988), Grimshaw (1990), Jackendoff (1990), Chomsky (1995), Baker (1997), we assume that the internal micro-structure of the vP phrase and its semantic composition pave the way to the correct study of word order variations in a particular language.

## 1 The Voice

In traditional Tatar linguistics there is no consensus on the content and scope of the concept “*voice*“, since the verb displays a complex system of grammatical voices. In Tatar, the verbs in active voice do not have special markers. Other four voices: passive, causative, reflexive, reciprocal are represented by bound functional morphemes. For example, in (5) the voice meaning is expressed by morphological markers, whereas in English, the same meaning is expressed by anaphoric expressions such as *each other* and auxiliaries. The voice suffixes should attach directly to the verb stem preceding all other markers.

(5). Alarny kür-eş-ter-de-lär.

They<sub>Acc</sub> see<sub>Recip/CausPast3Pl</sub>

*They made them to meet each other.*

### Passive

The suffixes denoting the passive voice in the Tatar language are *-l, -ıl, -el*. They can be added to transitive and intransitive stems after all consonants except *-l*: *yazu*



(to write) > *yaz-ıl-u*. It usually makes a transitive verb an intransitive one. In the example (6), the verb expresses an involuntary action. According to Zakiev (1993: 170), this happens when, for example, the connection of a verb with a direct object is weakened.

(6). Köndez            jñel    *yaz-ıl-a*.

During the day    easy    written  
*“Easy to write during the day.”*

The passive suffix *-n* (*-ın, -en*), added to verbal stems ending in a vowel, has identical forms with reflexive.

(7). *saklau* (to preserve) > *sakla-n-u* (to be preserved);

*büläkläü* (to award) > *büläklä-n-ü* (to be award);

*-ın, -en* is attached to stems ending with the consonant *-l*:

(8). a) *belü* (to know) > *bel-en-ü* (be known);

b) *alu* (to take) > *al-ın-u* (to be taken);

### **Reflexive**

The reflexive suffix *-n* is used after a vowel-stem and *-ın, -en* after a consonant or a semi-vowel stem.

(9). a) *aldau* (to deceive) > *alda-n-u* (to be fooled)

b) *sertü* (to wipe) > *sert-en-ü* (to wipe oneself)

As we noted, the reflexive morpheme shares a form with the passive one.

(10). *aldau* (to deceive) > *alda-n-u* (to be fooled)

### **Reciprocal**

The reciprocal suffix *-ş* is added to a vowel stem and *-ış, -eş* to a consonant-stem or semi-vowel stem:

- (11). *söyläü* (to speak) > *söylä-ş-ü* (to speak each other)

### Causative

According to Zakiev (1993: 81), the causative form of the Tatar verb is exceptionally diverse. Among different kinds of causative suffixes the most common are (*-t*, *-tır/ter*, and *-dır/-der*) which are added to stems of transitive and intransitive verbs.

- (12). b) *yazu* (to write) > *yaz-dır-u* (to make write).

d) *basu* (to stand up) > *bas-tır-u* (to make stand up somebody), or  
(to put something vertically)

Voice suffixes can be combined with each other within a word form. For example, reflexive + causative:

- (13). *ki-en-der-ü* (to make someone dress oneself);

or reciprocal + causative:

- (14). *tan-ış-tır-dı-lar* (they made them acquainted with each other);

or the combinations of causative suffixes:

- (15). *yaz-dır-t-ır-dı* (he arranged for it to be written).

The order of voice markers in Tatar is *passive* > *causative* > *reciprocal* / *reflexive* > *V*<sup>18</sup>.

Assuming that voice suffixes are bound functional morphemes of derivational morphology, they will be not considered in our work along with morphemes bearing the features of TAM categories.

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<sup>18</sup>Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1985: 84) proposed the same sequence of suffixes in Turkish.

## 2 Synthetic and analytic verbs

In Tatar, the verb forms in terms of verbal features (TAM markers), can be realized either *synthetically* or *analytically*. A *synthetic* form combines a number of morphemes into a single verb, where one morpheme strictly matches to one feature. *Analytic* verb forms can be observed with complex tenses. For example, when an auxiliary verb (AV) *-ide* (to be) follows a main (lexical) verb, as in example (16).

- (16). Ul univesitet-ka bar-a ide.  
 (S)he university<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>Pres</sub> be<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“He was going to the university.”*

Another case of analytic verb forms in Tatar, as in other Turkic languages, is compound verb constructions. They are known in the literature as *Serial Verb Constructions* (SVC) (Baker 1989, Graschenkov 2012, a.o.). Serial Verb Constructions consist of a series of verbs presenting one event, sharing logical arguments and having the common phrasal stress. The verbal meaning of such constructions in Tatar is expressed by a lexical verb in a converb form <sup>19</sup>, followed by an auxiliary verb in a finite form, “*-p + V*“. The latter one can be used either as an autonomous lexical verb or as an auxiliary, expressing TAM features (Zakiev 1993, Graschenkov 2012, a.o. ). According to Ganiev<sup>20</sup>, Tatar has more than thirty auxiliary verbs (AV), functioning as serial verbs, while there are at least fifteen thousand simple ones. He says that by multiplying 30 auxiliary verbs with 15 thousand simple verbs, the number of complex or compound analytic verbs in Tatar is estimated at around 450 thousand. Ganiev notes that arbitrary such combinations of verbs are not always possible, because the

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<sup>19</sup>It is also a 2nd present gerund form (-ip, ep).

<sup>20</sup>[http://www.caravanarba.org/index.php/ru/ru-tatarstan/ru-langue-tatarstan/30-ru-riche-  
 langue-tatare](http://www.caravanarba.org/index.php/ru/ru-tatarstan/ru-langue-tatarstan/30-ru-riche-<br/>
  langue-tatare)

modifying verb can meet the lexical or semantic resistance of the main verb. For example, the Tatar verb *tashıru* (carry) expresses the significance of multiple actions, while the modifying verb *jibärü* expresses a single action, so that it makes no sense to join these two verbs. There are many such examples. To take into account the semantic resistance, one can consider instead of 30, say, only 5 modifying verbs and multiply them by 15 thousand simple verbs. This way, one still gets 75 thousand compound verbs. If we take 75 thousand compound verbs and 15 thousand simple verbs - we get 90 thousand verbs in the Tatar language, concludes Ganiev. The same modifying verb, depending on the context and on a compound it is connected with, can have several meanings. Here is the list of serial verbs in Tatar:

*Alu* - take; *atu* - shoot; *baru* - go; *betü* - end; *beterü* - finish; *birü* - give; *iörü* - walk; *kalu* - stay; *karau* - see; *kerü* - enter; *kilü* - come; *kitü* - go; *kuju* - place; *salu* - put; *toru* - stay; *töshü* - go dawn; *uzu* - pass; *utıru* - seated; *chıgu* - go out; *chıgaru* - take; *jazu* - write; *jatu* - lay down; *jibärü* - send; *jitü* - reach; *jitkerü* - accomplish.

When these verbs are used as regular verbs, they do not differ from other verbal items. If they function as auxiliaries, they express quite different meaning. Combined together, they present coordinated or multiple events. For example, in (17), the verb *iörü* - (walk) introduces the action duration.

(17). İlham        jırlap        yörde.

İlham   sing<sub>GerundPast</sub>   walk<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“İlham was singing. İlham sang while walking. İlham sang and walked.”*

In (18), the verb *karau* - (see) introduces the possibility, translated in English by the verb “try”.

(18). Ul        bu        eş-ne        eşläp        karıy.  
(S)he   this   job<sub>Acc</sub>   work<sub>GerundPast</sub>   see<sub>Pres3sg</sub>

*“He tries to do this job.”*

Graschenkov (2012) points out that these auxiliaries already existed in Old Turkic (the period of VII - XIII cc) a thousand years ago and had more or less the same forms and meanings as they have nowadays.

In this thesis, we will not deal with *Serial Verb Constructions*, leaving the discussion for future work. In the next chapter, we will focus on simple verbs, whose verbal inflection is both analytic and synthetic.

# Chapter 3

## The Tense Phrase

### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will try to map the Tatar *tense/aspect/mood* (*TAM*) system to Cinque's (1999, 2001) universal hierarchy of functional heads. Building upon Chomsky's (1995) feature-based approach, Cinque (1999) proposes that every feature of every category (tense, aspect or mood) projects a distinct phrase and only the appropriate head in every derivation will value substantive (interpretable) feature in *spec-head-configuration* with adverbs.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 3.2 presents the universal clausal architecture, as well the introduction to free and bound morphemes in Tatar; section 3.3 considers the behaviour of TAM inflectional suffixes in Tatar, their semantics and proposes the hierarchy of these morphemes in a clause according to Cinque's (1999) order of elements; in section 3.4, we introduce base positions of arguments in transitive and ditransitive constructions in Tatar; section 3.5 is the conclusion.

## 3.2 The clausal architecture

The Tense Phrase (TP), also known as Inflectional Phrase (IP) that sits on top of a VP, is a layer of richly articulated structure (Cinque 1999, Cinque & Rizzi 2016, a.o.), encoding among other things, information related to *tense/aspect/mood (TAM)* categories.

Within the Principles & Parameters (Chomsky 1981) approach to the clausal structure it was assumed that clauses are headed by an inflectional node expressing morpho-syntactic specifications of tense and agreement. Later, Pollock (1989), Belletti (1990), on the basis of comparative analysis of verb movement<sup>1</sup>, propose that the inflection node is made up of two separate functional heads for agreement (Agr) and tense (TP), as it is illustrated in Fig 3.1(b).

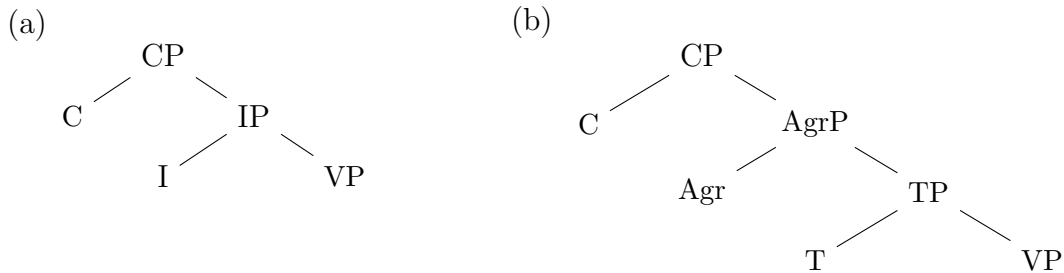


Figure 3.1:

After series of refined explorations of the functional structure of the sentence by numerous linguists, there was a proliferation of the functional elements assumed to constitute the spine of the clause. Cinque (1999), in his turn, suggests that the structure of the clause involves the rich cartographic representations. The highly articulated, rigid

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<sup>1</sup>Pollock's (1989) proposal for verb-movement distinguishes between tensed and infinitival clauses. In our work, we will deal with tensed clauses.

and universal IP model consists of about 30 inflectional heads and projections, situated between CP and VP, each expressing an elementary morphosyntactic property. Cinque (1999) makes this observation on the basis of fine-grained analysis of adverb positions and grammatical morphemes on a large variety of languages and notes that the order of adverbs can correspond cross-linguistically and match precisely the hierarchy of functional elements that include *tense*, *aspect*, *mood*, *modality*, *voice* markers in a regular one-to-one fashion, as shown by a juxtaposition of the two hierarchies in Fig. 3.2 (taken from Rizzi & Cinque 2016:150).

<b>a</b>	Mood <sub>speech act</sub>	<b>b</b>	AdvP <sub>speech act</sub> (frankly, ...)
	Mood <sub>evaluative</sub>		AdvP <sub>evaluative</sub> (oddly, ...)
	Mood <sub>evidential</sub>		AdvP <sub>evidential</sub> (allegedly, ...)
	Mod <sub>epistemic</sub>		AdvP <sub>epistemic</sub> (probably, ...)
	Tense <sub>past/future</sub>		AdvP <sub>past/future</sub> (then, ...)
	Mod <sub>necessity</sub>		AdvP <sub>necessity</sub> (necessarily, ...)
	Mod <sub>possibility</sub>		AdvP <sub>possibility</sub> (possibly, ...)
	Aspect <sub>habitual</sub>		AdvP <sub>habitual</sub> (usually, ...)
	Aspect <sub>delayed</sub>		AdvP <sub>delayed</sub> (finally, ...)
	Aspect <sub>predispositional</sub>		Aspect <sub>predispositional</sub> (tendentially, ...)
	Aspect <sub>repetitive</sub>		AdvP <sub>repetitive</sub> (again, ...)
	Aspect <sub>frequentative</sub>		AdvP <sub>frequentative</sub> (frequently, ...)
	Mod <sub>volition</sub>		AdvP <sub>volition</sub> (willingly, ...)
	Aspect <sub>celerative</sub>		AdvP <sub>celerative</sub> (quickly, ...)
	Tense <sub>anterior</sub>		AdvP <sub>anterior</sub> (already)
	Aspect <sub>terminative</sub>		AdvP <sub>terminative</sub> (no longer, ...)
	Aspect <sub>continuative</sub>		AdvP <sub>continuative</sub> (still, ...)
	Aspect <sub>continuous</sub>		AdvP <sub>continuous</sub> (always, ...)
	Aspect <sub>retrospective</sub>		AdvP <sub>retrospective</sub> (just, ...)
	Aspect <sub>proximative</sub>		Aspect <sub>proximative</sub> (soon, ...)
	Aspect <sub>durative</sub>		AdvP <sub>durative</sub> (briefly, ...)
	Aspect <sub>prospective</sub>		AdvP <sub>prospective</sub> (imminently, ...)
	Mod <sub>obligation</sub>		AdvP <sub>obligation</sub> (obligatorily, ...)
	Aspect <sub>frustrative</sub>		AdvP <sub>frustrative</sub> (in vain, ...)
	Aspect <sub>completive</sub>		AdvP <sub>completive</sub> (partially, ...)
	Voice <sub>passive</sub>		AdvP <sub>manner</sub> (well, ...)
	<b>Verb</b>		<b>Verb</b>

Figure 3.2:



As the fixed order of functional projections is determined by UG, Cinque predicts that every natural language should be compatible with it. The IP models of natural languages differ either by morphological markings or by the silent counterpart of the phrases they represent. Nevertheless, the determination of the whole functional sequence of the clause is a crucial empirical issue for cartographic studies (Cinque & Rizzi 2010, Rizzi 2013). Even if Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy is elaborated on the basis of evidence from Romance languages (Italian and French), we can find examples from various languages, including Turkish that is closely related to Tatar. In this chapter, we will try to provide direct evidence for the availability of Cinque’s (1999, 2001) model in the Tatar language.

## 1 Bound and free functional morphemes

In line with Cinque’s (1999) universal hierarchy of functional heads and the universal *spec-head-complement* order, coupled with leftward movements of heads (Kayne 1994), we assume that head-final languages as Tatar should reflect Baker’s (1985) *Mirror Principle* of head-initial languages as English. The difference between English and Tatar is that morphemes in English acts mostly as free functional morphemes, while in Tatar they are often bound functional morphemes. For instance, languages may express future tense differently: English, for example, for this purposes, uses a free morpheme (will), as in (1), whereas Tatar uses a bound morpheme (ačak), as in (2).

(1). They **will**<sub>Fut</sub> go<sub>Inf</sub> to the university tomorrow.

(2). Alar universitetka irtägä bar-**ačak**-lar.

They university<sub>Dat</sub> tomorrow go<sub>FutPl</sub>

“They will go to the university tomorrow.”

In Tatar, as in Turkish (Kornfilt 1984), subject agreement is represented as a suffix

agglutinated to the tense suffix. Hence, as exemplified in (2), the verb *baraçaklar* manifests split morphology for tense and agreement.

Concerning verb movement, we follow Mahajan (2003), Laenzlinger and Soare (2005) in the spirit of Koopman and Szabolcsi’s (2000) remnant movement and we assume that the verb in Tatar (probably, due to the richness of verb inflection) raises to  $v^o$  without leaving  $vP$ , and *remnant  $vP$*  undergoes movement (instead of *head-movement*) to the specifier of a functional head in the split inflectional domain. Following Baker (1985, 1988), as well as the antisymmetry hypothesis (Kayne 1994), we argue that in order to check *TAM* features associated with verbal morphology and merged as bound morphemes under the corresponding functional projections (Cinque 1999), a lexical item starts its way from the lower part of the clause. It then successively moves to higher inflectional morphemes, producing some kind of *pied-piping/snowballing/roll-up* effects (see Shlonsky, 2000; Aboh, 2004 a.o.)<sup>2</sup> when the entire subtree, after each intermediate position, serves to build up a complex word (Pearson 2000, Mahajan, 2000; Koopman & Szabolcsi, 2000; Belletti, 2004; Aboh, 2004; a.o.). Hence, inflected words are derived in Tatar by *remnant  $vP$*  movement that is strictly and locally “upwards” in the syntactic tree and agreement is then triggered under pied-piping. The remnant VP contains the traces of the already moved verb’s arguments, namely, subject and object to a higher Spec positions, preceding the finite verb.

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<sup>2</sup>The notion of “pied-piping” was first introduced by Ross (1967). Horvath (2017) claims: “whereby some particular movement operation T, designated to displace an element A, ends up moving some constituent B that properly contains A.” Cinque (2017) citing Horvath (2017) states that *Pied-piping* can be of two types: *whose-picture* pied piping and *pictures-of-whom* pied-piping. In the first one, A, the constituent that drives the movement, is the highest specifier of B, the larger constituent that moves. In the second type, A, the constituent that drives the movement, is the lowest phrase of B, the larger constituent that moves.

In order to see how the *Mirror Principle* works in Tatar, let us take the sentence as in (3) where the transitive verb *jırlau* “sing“, denoting a type of event involving two participants, is “intransitivized“ by adding the causative suffix *-t* , which introduces a causer of the event. This complex event-denoting predicate undergoes further movements to form a more complex head accompanied by the following morphemes<sup>3</sup>, each of which matches by a syntactic element as, V(erb), V(oice), T(ense), Neg, Agr(eement), Q(uestion).

- (3). Bala-lar      babay-nı      jırla-*t-tır-ma-gan-nar-mı* ?  
       child<sub>Pl</sub>    grandfather<sub>Acc</sub>    sing+*caus+caus+neg+past+plural+question*  
       “*Did not the children make grandfather sing?*“

The order of the Tatar example (3) is  $V > \text{Voice}_{Caus} > \text{Voice}_{Caus} > \text{Neg} > \text{Tense}_{Past} > \text{Agr/Num}_{Pl} > Q_{y/n}$ . Whereas in its English translation, a meaning is expressed by a string of words in the order:  $Q > \text{Tense}_{Past} > \text{Neg} > \text{Voice}_{Caus} > V$ . The derived structure of the Tatar sentence in (3) is shown in Fig 3.3.

The sentence in (3) is an example with a “*synthetic*“ verb which expresses the grammatical and lexical meaning by one word with the help of bound functional morphemes. Meanwhile, in Tatar, the verb can have “*analytic*“ forms when functional morphemes are realized as auxiliaries (*idem*) which follow main verbs (*äytü* - “tell“), as for example in the sentence (4).

- (4).      Anı      belsä,      sıña      äyt-er      idem.  
       that<sub>Acc3Sg</sub>    know<sub>Cond1sg</sub>    you<sub>Dat</sub>    tell<sub>FutPast1sg</sub>    be<sub>Past1s</sub>  
       *If I had known that, I would have told you.*

If in Tatar, the auxiliary verb surfaces independently of the main verb, as in the

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<sup>3</sup>A morpheme is the smallest meaningful element that cannot be divided further and each morpheme usually has a single meaning.

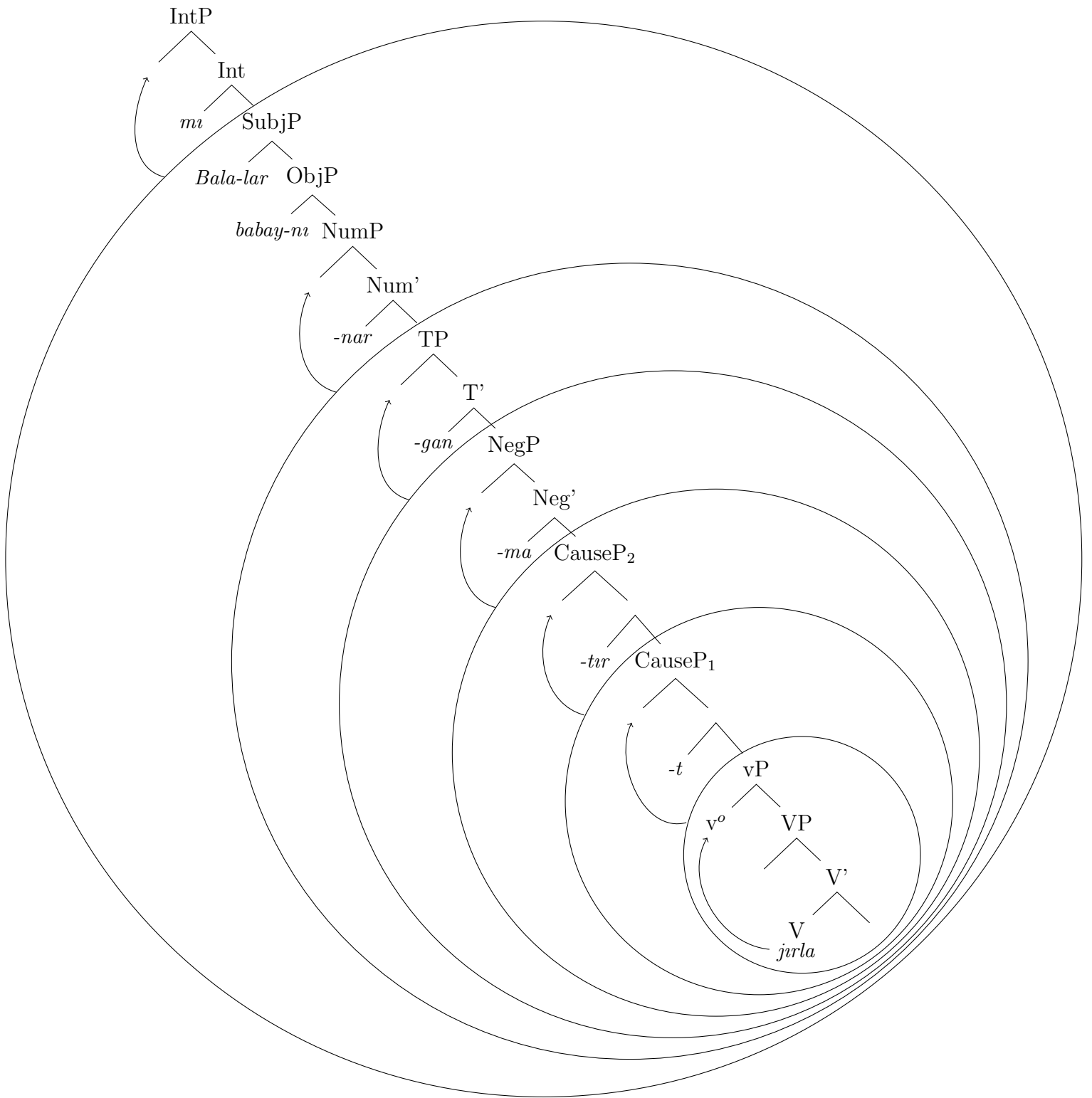


Figure 3.3:

examples (4) and (5), in Turkish, it can (or not) be cliticised to the root as in (6) (Kornfilt 1996).

- (5). al-açak ide-m  
           take<sub>Fut</sub> be<sub>Past1Sg</sub>  
       *“I had to take.”*

- (6). (a) gid-ecek-t-im    (b) gid-ecek i-di-m  
           go<sub>Fut Past1Sg</sub>        go<sub>Fut</sub>        be<sub>Past1Sg</sub>  
       *“I would go.”*

Besides the auxiliary verb “*ide*” - “be” (from the verb “i”), there is in Tatar another auxiliary “bul-” “be, become”. Both auxiliaries, like their Turkish counterparts, are in a hierarchical relation, where the former is higher than the latter (Göksel 2001, Kelepir 2007, Sag 2013, a.o.) which will be shown below.

In Tatar, bound functional morphemes co-occur with auxiliaries and only certain combinations of free and bound morphemes are allowed. According to Cinque (1999:58): *When some free morpheme happens to fill a particular functional head, thus interrupting the successive raising of a lower bound morpheme, the bound form is “closed off,” and any bound forms corresponding to heads higher than the free morpheme will require the insertion of an auxiliary.*

We will assume along the lines of Cinque (1999) that in Tatar, in “analytic” tenses, the (finite) auxiliary is merged in a TP-internal position. The main verb with the closing suffix undergoes vP remnant movement in a derived position according to Kayne’s (1994) leftward movements of elements to a functional head, endowed with an EPP feature<sup>4</sup>. Hence, the auxiliary verb with the “higher suffixes” will be to the right of the main verb, giving the order of elements V - Infl, as it is represented in Fig 3.4.

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<sup>4</sup>This derivation is partially adapted from Danckaert (2012) for Latin.

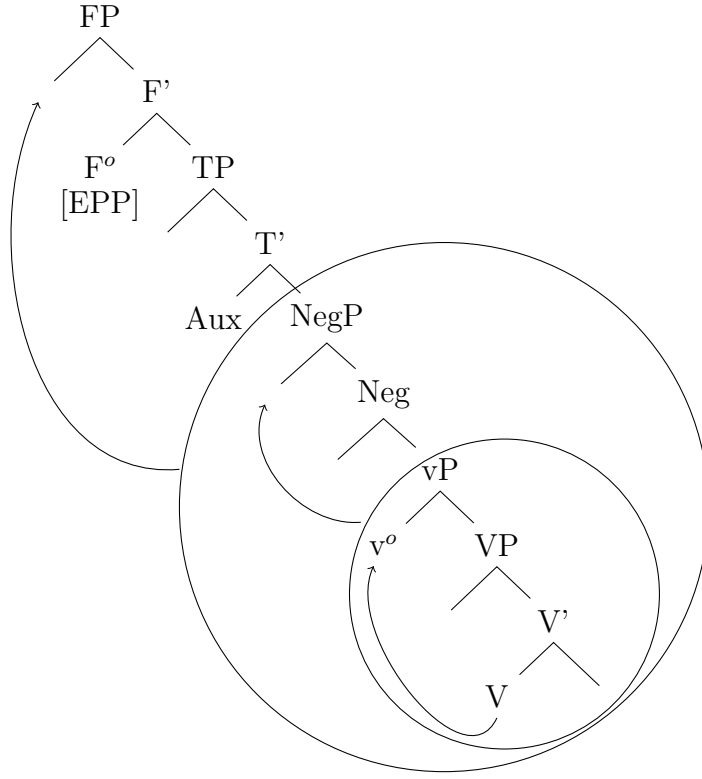


Figure 3.4:

### 3.3 Tense / Aspect / Mood

In this section, we will try to map the Tatar *TAM* system to Cinque's (1999, 2001) universal hierarchy of *tense/aspect/mood* functional heads.

#### Tense

The representation of temporal relations is cognitively fundamental and not language-specific (Moeschler, 1998). The linguistic literature has various terms of concepts tense and aspect. According to Cinque (1999), tense features are functional features

that are universally available in syntax. He points out that only one of the separate T<sup>o</sup>: T(Anterior), T(Future), and T(Past) heads per clause in the hierarchy can be activated: [ ... [ T1 *Past* ... [ T2 *Future* ... [ T3 *Anterior* ... V ] ] ]. Despite a very articulated IP domain, Cinque does not include such head as T<sub>Present</sub>, assuming that its interpretation is available if no other feature is specified<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, for our description of Tatar verbal morphology, we will define the present tense according to Zakiev (1993:102).

## Aspect

Cinque (1999:83), analysing the category of *aspect*, writes that :“Two quite different things fall under the term ”aspect,” which are often, though not always, kept separate in the literature. One is the internal structure of the event, or situation, as lexically expressed by the predicate and its arguments: whether it has a beginning or end, internal stages, etc. Vendler’s (1967) classical typology distinguishes among “activities“..., “states“..., “accomplishments“..., and “achievements“... The other refers to the particular way in which the speaker presents the event, or situation, through grammatical means - for example, as terminated (through the perfect aspect); as on-going (through the progressive aspect); as habitual (through the habitual aspect); and so on.“

Following Dahl’s (1985) and others differentiation between “lexical“ and “grammatical“ aspect, Cinque (1999) focuses rather on the several types of “grammatical“ aspects found in the languages of the world, as for example, progressive, completive, frequentative, etc.

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<sup>5</sup>Cinque (1999) in the note of the pp.202-03 mentions however that some languages, in fact, show present tense morphology co-occurring with, and higher than, T(Past) morphology (for example, the cases of Aleut and Malayalam).

Holmberg and Roberts (2013) define tense and aspect as two categories concerning temporal properties of the event or situation denoted by a sentence. Tense, according to the authors “...situates the event in relation to the time of utterance, (while) aspect concerns the temporal structure of the event itself... Thus, semantically, aspect has a narrower scope than tense, modifying the VP, while tense modifies the sentence. This is reflected in syntactic structure in that, where tense and aspect are encoded as independent words, aspect is below tense, hence closer to the verb.”

## **Mood**

Concerning “*mood*“, Cinque (1999:78) treats it together with “*modality*“, “suggesting a close link between the two, because: “the same category may be expressed via mood in one language and with a modal in another“.

Modal categories, according to Lyons (1977:452) are characterized by the speaker’s opinion or attitude toward the proposition. Following Cinque’s (1999, 2001) proposal, we will distinguish several types of mood and modals in Tatar, as for example, indicative/subjunctive (or realis/irrealis), speech act (declarative/interrogative, etc.), or evaluative and evidential, as well as epistemic modals from root modals (volition, obligation, ability, permission) etc.

## **TAM in Tatar**

Tense, aspect and mood are very related categories in Tatar. Zakiev (1993) points out that since the indicative mood is expressed by tense forms, tense affixes are also considered as grammatical indicators of tense. According to Kormushin (1988:372): “almost all common Turkic verbal forms are multifunctional, it is only a question of determining the leading function, as well as the degree of productivity of other func-



tions.“ We assume, following Cinque (1999, 2001) for Turkish<sup>6</sup> that a given morpheme can be ambiguous and may simultaneously denote tense, aspect and/or modality in the Tatar clausal map.

Taking a sentence like in (1), we can inform that the event happens in the past (tense), is accomplished (aspect), and that the speaker indicates that (s)he has not witnessed (evidential) action (mood). This example shows that the morpheme *-kan* carries the features of more than one TAM category.

(1). Alar      kiça      oçraş-kan-nar.

They   yesterday   met<sub>PastIndef/Pl</sub>  
*“Apparently, they met yesterday.”*

The relation between an adverb and TAM markers can be diagrammed as in Fig.3.5, where the past feature projects its own functional TP, where  $T^0$  is morphologically marked by *-kan* and the temporal adverb *kiça* “yesterday“ occurs in its Spec, creating a *spec-head* relation.

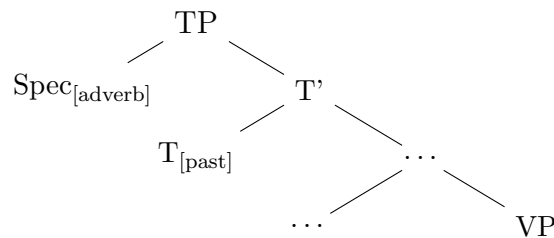


Figure 3.5:

According to Smith (2005), “Speech time is the central orientation point for language. The *present* time is located at *speech* time; the *past* precedes it, the *future*

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<sup>6</sup>In a paper written in 2001, Cinque specifically analyses the Turkish.

follows.“ In Tatar these three aspects of time are expressed by 9 forms of indicative mood (Zakiev 1993:100).

present : -a<sup>7</sup>

past : -*dı*; -*gan*; -*a ide*; -*gan ide*; *a -torgan ide*

futur : -*r*; -*açak*; -*açak ide*<sup>8</sup>

The present (-*a*), the definite past (-*dı*), the resultative past (-*gan*), the definite future (-*açak*), the indefinite future (-*r*) are synthetic (simple) forms, whereas all others are analytic (or complex) forms, constituted with the auxiliary (-*ide*).

## Agreement

Tatar distinguishes two main agreement paradigms, the verbal paradigm and the nominal one, with the regular stress on the final syllable in the former and the irregular one in the latter. Like in Turkish (Kornfilt 1997, Sezer 2001, Yu & Good 2000), we will name them the *k paradigm* and the *z paradigm* after the consonants of the first person plural markers.

(2).	the <i>z paradigm</i>	the <i>k paradigm</i>
1sg	-m (-mın/-men)	-m
2sg	-sın/-señ	-n
3sg	-	-lar/-lär (or 0)
1pl	-bız /-bez	<b>-k</b>
2pl	-sız/-sez	-gız/-gez
3pl	-lar/-lär (or 0)	-lar/-lär (or 0)

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<sup>7</sup>The ending of the 3rd person singular of present tense depends of the stem of the verb. If it ends with a consonant the suffix - *a/ä* is added, if it ends with a vowel we add -*yi/i*.

<sup>8</sup>All suffixes should change according to harmony vocalic rules.

The *k* paradigm is limited to simple past tense and the conditional mood. The *z* paradigm occurs with all tensed verb forms except in the simple past and the conditional. It can also be found on copular forms. The *z*-paradigm suffixes are derived from the personal pronouns (3).

(3).

Personal pronouns			
1sg	<i>min</i>	1pl	<i>bez</i>
2sg	<i>sin</i>	2pl	<i>sez</i>
3sg	<i>ul</i>	3pl	<i>alar</i>

The nominal agreement paradigm (*z* paradigm) also takes place on possessors or predicates of nominalizations (4).

(4).

Ul	kil-gän-ebez-ne	köt-ä.
S(he)	come <i>Prog1plAcc</i>	wait <i>Pres3sg</i>
“(S)he is waiting for our arrival”.		

As in Turkish (Kornfilt 1996, Kelepir 2003, Sezer 2001, a.o.), we consider the distinction between the two paradigms as the differentiation between “*true* tenses” (or “*genuine*” verbal forms) and *participial* tenses.

We assume that the belonging to *k*- or *z*-inflectional paradigms of subject agreement in Tatar is conditioned by the linearly nearest TAM morpheme that comes before the agreement. Hence, we can classify Tatar TAM morphemes according to which class of agreement paradigm they belong to (see Güneş 2020 for Turkish).

(5). **TAM<sub>K</sub> morphemes**

- ***dı*** (Past<sub>definite</sub>)      ex.: *bez bar-dı-k* (we went)
- ***sa*** (Conditional)      ex.: *bez bar-sa-k* (if we go)

**TAM<sub>Z</sub> morphemes**

- ***a*** (Present)      ex.: *bez bar-a-bız* (we go)
- ***r*** (Future<sub>indefinite</sub>)      ex.: *bez bar-ır-bız* (you will go)
- ***açak*** (Future)      ex.: *bez bar-açak-bız* (we will go)
- ***gan*** (Past<sub>resultative</sub>)      ex.: *bez bar-gan-bız* (we went)

In Tatar, inflectional morphemes, being manifestation of the I-zone, will be considered the morphological realization of some “I-features” that reveal TAM specifications, as for example, past, perfective, progressive, ability, etc. These functional morphemes may cooccur in a particular order under the *Mirror Principle* from which we can derive the hierarchical order by transitivity.

In the following sections, we will describe the functions of the inflectional suffixes in Tatar, their semantics and the inflectional categories they represent.

## 1 Simple tenses

In Zakiev (1993), the morphemes ***-a/-ä*** or ***-ıy/-i***<sup>9</sup> are considered as the present (*häzerge zaman*) tense suffixes, added to the root of the verb and followed by personal

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<sup>9</sup>The suffix “-a/-ä” is added to the consonant stem (for a back or front-vocalic verbs respectively).

- (6). *söyläş-ü* (to write) > *söyläş-ä* ((s)he writes)

“-ıy/-i” is added to the last consonant of the stem, if the root ends with a vowel (for a back or front-vocalic verbs respectively):

- (7). *uyl-a-u* (to think) > *uyl-ıy* ((s)he thinks)

inflections (of the *z-paradigm*).

The present tense morphemes are homogeneous to the first present gerunds (participles). Kormushin (1988) suggests that both of them are functionally specialized varieties of the same form, undoubtedly ascending to the Proto-Turkic language.

In the example (8), the verb *yaşıbez* has the morpheme *-i*, followed by the personal ending *-bez*. The event is presented by the speaker as “on-going, in process” at the time of the utterance through the progressive aspect (which is the imperfect aspect) (Cinque 1999, Dahl 1985 a.o.).

(8). Bez Bolgar şähär-en-dä yaş-i-bez.

We Bolgar city<sub>SgPossDat</sub> live<sub>Prog2Pl</sub>  
“*We are living in Bolgar city.*”

If we use this sentence in negative form, the negative suffix *-m*, which we assume to be hosted in a functional projection NegP, intervenes between the lexical verb and the progressive aspect.

(9). Ul Bolgar şähär-en-dä yaşä-m-i.

(S)he Bolgar city<sub>SgPossDat</sub> live<sub>NegProg3s</sub>  
“*(S)he is not living in Bolgar city.*”

Cinque (2017), based on Dowty (1979), Dahl (1985) a.o., defines progressive aspect as “an activity which takes place at a certain time point or interval contained within a larger time interval where the same activity takes place”.

The morpheme *-i* in the example (10) occurs with habitual meaning and this meaning is reinforced by the adverb *gadättä* “usually”.

(10). Rinat gadättä eşkä jäyäu yör-i.

Rinat usually work<sub>Dat</sub> on foot go<sub>3Sg</sub>  
“*Rinat usually goes to work on foot.*”

Cinque (1999) cites Comrie (1976a, 27ff) who describes habitual aspect as “a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time” (in fact, characteristic of the whole period), and explicitly distinguishes it from iterative or frequentative aspect, which indicates “the mere repetition of a situation.”

Cinque (2017) proposes to precisely define each aspectual category in order to predict its compatibility with different verb classes and adverbials. He points out that in different languages the same morphological form may express more than one aspectual meaning and that the same meaning (for example, *progressive* aspect) can be expressed by more than one form. This may be due to the fact that these aspects (as for example, the progressive, the habitual or the generic) plausibly have a common core meaning and differ with respect to one or more conditions, occupying different positions in the functional sequence of the clause (Cinque 1999).

The progressive aspect is semantically quite close to the continuative aspect. As we can see in example (11), this form also expresses continuative aspect. In Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy, the adverb “still” occupies the specifier position of the continuative aspect projection. In Tatar, the position of this adverb, as expected, matches with the  $Asp_{continuative}$  projection.

- (11). Sin   haman   tatarça   söyläş-ä-señ.  
           You    still     Tatar     speak<sub>2sg</sub>  
           “*You still speak Tatar.*”

Under the *mirror principle*, the underlying structures of (9) and (11) give in Tatar the order, as in (12).

- (12).  $Asp_{Continuative} > Neg > V$

Cinque (1999) notes that “still” is the positive counterpart of “no longer”, which is related to terminative aspect or “cessative”. Moreover, he adds: “we could take termi-

native and continuative to be two values (perhaps, marked and unmarked, respectively) of one and the same aspectual head“.

The adverb *bütän* - “no longer“ is used if the verb is negated and as a rule, it is negated with the *-mi* marker or its allomorphs.

(13). Sin      bütän      tatarça      söyläş-mi-señ.

You   no longer   Tatar      speak<sub>Neg2Sg</sub>  
*“You no longer speak Tatar.“*

The lexical verb *söyläş-ü* in (13), which is merged in vP, and inflection *-lär* are separated by negation particle *-mi*, which occupies NegP.

In the example (14), the suffix *-ıy* specifies the iterative (repetitive) aspect (Comrie, 1976) in cooccurrence with *ike tapkır* which sits in the Specifier of Asp<sub>Repetitive</sub> (two times) in Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy.

(14). Ul      ike tapkır      atna-sı-na      tennis      uyn-ıy.

(S)he   two times   week<sub>PossDat</sub>   tennis      play<sub>Iter3s</sub>  
*“(S)he plays tennis twice a week.“*

The progressive aspect can result in prospective aspect interpretation, which is noted in Cinque (1999) as “a point just prior to the beginning of an event“ (Frawley 1992, 322). In Tatar, the verb of movement (Zakiev 1993) can usually have the future reference and it can co-occur with prospective adverb, as in (15).

(15). Balalar,      häzer      stadion-ga      bara-bız.

Children,      now      stadium      go<sub>Prosp1Pl</sub>  
*“Children, we’ll now go to the stadium.“*

Cinque (1999) situates the adverb “now“ in the specifier position of the prospective aspect, its Tatar equivalent *häzer* is the overt realization of the specifier position of Asp<sub>Prospective</sub> as well.

When the verb is used in the negative question, the present form can indicate modality with the meaning of soft motivation.

(16). Şıgır' äytep kürsät-mi-sez-me? (from: Zakiev 1993:106)

poetry tell show<sub>Neg2PlQ</sub>  
*“Won’t you read poetry?”*

As we can observe from the examples above, the morphemes *-a/-ä* or *-ıy/-i* (which are considered as the present tense suffixes) are ambiguous with various functions and they may show tense, aspect and mood specifications at the same time.

The Tatar present tense can correspond to the Turkish present tense indicative on *-yor*. In Turkish literature, this morpheme is called “present” (Lewis 1967), “present progressive” (Kornfilt 1997), “imperfective”, “progressive and habitual” or even labelled as non-past form (Göksel & Kerslake 2005). Turkish possesses the second present form with the morpheme *-ar*, called “aorist” with “habitual and durative” interpretations (Kornfilt 1997, Lewis 1967, a.o.). The similar Tatar form refers to the indefinite future and it has lost its present connotation<sup>10</sup>.

### Future

The morphemes *-r*, *-ar/-är*, *-ır/-er* in positive form or *-mas/-mäs* in negative form, followed by personal inflections of the *z-paradigm*, show the *indefinite future* which is named in Zakiev (1993: 121) as “unknown future” (*bilgesez kiläçak zaman*) and refers to a time that follows the speech time.

(17). Yaz kil-**er**, karlar er-**er**, bozlar kiter-**lär**, tau bitläre acı-**lır**.

spring come<sub>FI.3Sg</sub> snow<sub>Pl</sub> melt<sub>FI.3Sg</sub>, ice go away<sub>FI.3Pl</sub> mountain faces open<sub>FI.3Pl</sub>  
*“Spring will come, the snow will melt, the ice will go away, and the mountains will open.”*

---

<sup>10</sup>There are however some residual forms which expresse present feature with stylistic function (Zakiev 1993).



The example in (17), taken from Zakiev (1993: 121), expresses actions which will follow the speech time and neutral in modal interpretation.

Kormushin (1988) states that the morpheme *-r* in Tatar, in its future uses, is accompanied by modal meanings of presupposition, the possibility of action, some uncertainty in its implementation, which is why this form is opposed to the *future categorical* (*-açaq*). Zakiev (1993) also associates this morpheme with futurity with assumption shades, possibility. This can be linked to epistemic modal interpretation. The verb in example (18) with the suffix *-ır* can co-occur with modal adverbs like *bälki* (maybe).

(18). Bälki oçraş-ır-bız.

Probably meet<sub>FutInd1Pl</sub>  
*“Probably we will meet.”*

As we can observe, the modal meaning “possibility” in the example above is realized twice: by the functional morpheme *-ır* which occupies a head position of Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy and by the modal adverb *bälki* which is base generated in the high TP, in the specifier position of Mod<sub>Epistemic</sub>. This example shows that the suffix *-r* can refer to a mood feature and at the same time to a tense feature.

The shade of the possibility of action arises with impersonal meaning of the verb, as in (19).

(19). Bügenge köndä tabigat’ne sakla-masa-k, irtägä soñ bul-ır  
 today’s days nature preserve<sub>NegFut1Pl</sub> tomorrow late be<sub>FutInd3Sg</sub>  
*“If we don’t preserve the nature these days, tomorrow will be late.”*

As adverb test is one of the main diagnostics for determining temporal features of the sentence (Cinque 1999), the temporal adverbial *irtägä* “tomorrow” and the marker *-r* of future indefinite determine the future temporal interpretation of (19).

One of the uses of the *-r* morpheme is that it expresses repetitive actions in the future (iterative or habitual aspect). Kormushin (1988:405) argues that this suffix refers to the present in the future, is a common action (imperfective aspect), repeated within the plan of the future. In this case, it has durative connotation, similar to present tense suffixes.

- (20). Här kön irtän künegülär yasa-r-min.  
 every day morning exercise<sub>IndefAccPl</sub> do<sub>FutInd1Sg</sub>  
*“Every day, in the morning, I will do exercises.”*

However, the *-r* morpheme can express categorical action, as in example (21).

- (21). Sin kitkäch, min siña hat yaz-ır-min.  
 You read<sub>when</sub> I you<sub>Dat</sub> letter<sub>Ind</sub> write<sub>FI1Sg</sub>  
*“When you leave, I will write you a letter.”*

In the example (22), the *-r* morpheme shows mood features as inducement (encouragement), usually in the second person singular form (Zakiev 1993: 122).

- (22). Anıñ kontsert-ı-na bar-sa-ñ, matur taviş-ı-n işet-er-señ.  
 his concert<sub>Poss3SgDat</sub> go<sub>Cond2Sg</sub>, beautiful voice<sub>Poss3Sg</sub> hear<sub>Fut2Sg</sub>  
*“If you go to his concert you will hear his beautiful voice.”*

When the verb is used in the negative question of the second singular or plural person, it describes soft requests.

- (23). Sez miña kiñäş bir-mäs-sez-me?  
 You me<sub>Dat</sub> advice give<sub>FutNeg2PQ</sub>  
*“Could’nt you give me un advice?”*

The indefinite future is often used in proverbs, expressing extended present tense, very close to timeless meaning. In the example (24), the negative form of the future indefinite is *mas* (ma+s(r)).

(24). Altın-kömeş jirdä yat-mas.

Gold-silver ground<sub>DatSg</sub> lie<sub>FutIndfNeg3sg</sub>  
*“Gold and silver do not lie on the ground.”*

Looking at these examples, we observe that the *-r* morpheme is multifunctional and ambiguous between future interpretation, imperfective aspect, repetitive aspect, mood feature.

The markers **-açaq/-äçäk**, **-yaçaq/-yäçäk** in positive form (25) and *ma-yaçaq/mä-yaçäk* in negative form (26) are indicators of **definite future** tense, also known as categorical (unambiguous) future tense (*kategorik kiläçak zaman*). Like the *indefinite future* considered above, this tense refers to a time that follows the speech time.

(25). İrtägä kino-ga bar-açaq-bız.

Tomorrow, cinema<sub>Loc</sub> go<sub>FutDef1pl</sub>  
*“Tomorrow we will go to the cinema.”*

(26). Ul eşlä-mä-yaçäk.

He do<sub>FutDefNeg3sg</sub>  
*“He will not do.”*

As it was shown by Cinque (2001) for Turkish, in Tatar too, *-açaq* in (27) may be ambiguous between two functions: it can be interpreted as a *future tense* (“will”) and as a *prospective aspect* (“be about to/almost”). In this case, they may be respectively located in different functional heads in Cinque’s hierarchy. The example (27) is adapted for Tatar from Yava (1980,89), cited in Cinque (2001, 27a).

(27). İrtägä yañgır yav-açaq.

Tomorrow rain fall<sub>Fut/Prosp</sub>  
*“Tomorrow it will/is going to rain.”*

Unambiguous reading of *-açaq* as *prospective aspect* is better seen when it co-occurs with the past auxiliary *-ide* as in (28), giving the structure under the *mirror*

*principle* as in (29) (see Cinque 2001, Jendraschek 2011, Kuram 2015, a.o. for the Turkish *AcAk* suffix).

- (28). Ilvira Kazan-nan kiçä kayta-yaçak ide.  
 Ilvira Kazan<sub>Abl</sub> yesterday come back<sub>PartFut</sub> be<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“Ilvira was going to come back from Kazan yesterday.”*

- (29). Mod<sub>Epistemic</sub> > T<sub>Future</sub> > Asp<sub>Prospective</sub> > V

According to Zakiev (1993) *-açak* is not characterized by a wealth of meanings but, as a part of periphrastic constructions, it can have different modal interpretations.

### Past

Tatar has two simple past tenses. The first one is realised with **-dı/-de, tı/-te** suffixes, followed by personal suffixes of the *k-paradigm*. This past tense is named in Zakiev (1993: 106) as the **categorical past** tense and the paradigmatic meaning of this form is described as “the expression of evident, whole, single event in the past”. Davliyeva (2011), Nasibullina (2008) name it as the **definite** past tense that “refers to the event the reality of which is without any doubt”.

This form corresponds to the Turkish -DI form (Kornfilt 1997, Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, Sag 2013, Kuram 2015 a.o.) and we argue that like in Turkish in (30), the form *-te* in (31) in Tatar has perfect aspect and definite past function of indicative mood. The speaker in this context directly witnessed the past event. This tense relates to events that precede the point of speech.

- (30). Hasan dün opera-ya git-ti (Kornfilt 1997: 337)  
 Hasan yesterday opera<sub>Datl</sub> go<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“Hasan went to the opera yesterday.”*

- (31). Marat kiçä opera-ga kit-te.  
 Marat yesterday opera<sub>Datl</sub> go<sub>Past3sg</sub>

“*Marat went to the opera yesterday.*“

In example (31), the past tense reading with *-tı* is enforced with a deictic past temporal adverbial *kiçä* “yesterday“ that is treated as a specifier of appropriate functional projection. It will be ungrammatical to use a future adverbial, as in (32).

(32). \*Marat irtägä opera-ga kit-te.

Marat tomorrow opera<sub>Datl</sub> go<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
 “*Marat went to the opera tomorrow.*“

We assume, following Sag (2013) for *-DI* form in Turkish that in Tatar (31), the morpheme *-dı* has a syntactic structure where it corresponds to the three functional heads, namely the perfective aspect (Asp), past tense (T), and indicative mood (M) in the Cinque’s (1999) hierarchical relation, as in Fig.3.6.

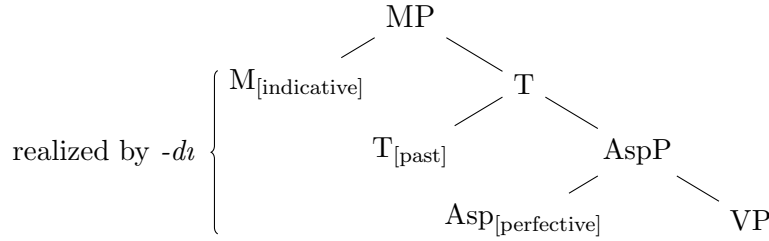


Figure 3.6:

The example (33) illustrates the present perfect function of *-dı* (see Sezer 2001:11) which co-occur with adverbial as *äle* “just“.

(33). Bez äle kayt-tı-k.

We just arrive<sub>PastPerf1Pl</sub>  
 “*We just arrived.*“

We assume that *äle* is used deictically to mean *a moment ago*, expressing “immediate past“ which is represented in Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy as *retrospective aspect*.

The definite past tense with *-dı/-de*, *tı/-te* markers has a wealth of meanings. If the verb expressing psychological state co-occurs with durative adverbs, like *ozak* - long, *yeş* - often, *gel* - constantly etc., the verb has *durative* aspect, as in the example (34), taken from Zakiev (1993: 107).

- (34). Änise            anı    koçaklap    ozak            yela-dı.  
 Mother<sub>Pos3s</sub>    him    hug<sub>Conv</sub>    a long time    cry<sub>PastDurat3sg</sub>  
*“His mother cried for a long time while hugging him.”*

The next use of this form can have an *iterative* aspect, as is shown in the example (35), drawn from Zakiev (1993: 108).

- (35). Maşına    uzgan            sayen            tuzan bolotı    kütärel-de.  
 Car<sub>Nom</sub>    pass<sub>PastInd</sub>    every time    dust cloud    rise<sub>PastIter3sg</sub>  
*“Every time a car passed, a cloud of dust rose.”*

According to Zakiev (1993:109): “ the polysemy of a form, its ability to express different meanings is associated with the ancient origin of this form, which was originally characteristic of expressing the most diverse actions in the past, that is, to have the meaning of preterite of western languages. The name *past categorical* represents opposition of this form with resultative past with *-gan/-gän* “.

The second simple past tense in Tatar is the **resultative past** (Zakiev 1993), also known as *evidential*, *reported or indefinite past*, realised with **-gan/-gän**, **-kan/-kän** suffixes, followed by personal inflections of the *z-paradigm*.

- (36). Sezneñ    balalar            üs-kän-när.  
 Your    children    grow up<sub>PastInd3Pl</sub>  
*“Your children have grown up “ (visibly).*

In example (36), the verb *üs-kän-när* denotes the result of an action and has perfect aspect interpretation. The speaker did not see for a time the children and now (s)he

notices the result that they have grown up. The suffix *-kän* in this example, in addition to perfect aspect, denotes an inferential past, i.e. the speaker could infer the truth of the statement from some evidence or indices (Zakiev 1993 for Tatar, Lewis 1967, 1982, Kornfilt 1997, a.o. for Turkish).

The suffix *-gan* has another interpretation, as in (37), when it is used to state objective reliable information, basing the knowledge on real documents (Zakiev, 1993: 112). In such context, the meaning of non-evidentiality comes to the fore.

- (37). Russiya Konstitutsiyasında Tatarstan respublikası дәülät bulıp tanıл-**gan**.  
 Russia Constitution Tatarstan republic<sub>Poss</sub> state be<sub>Con</sub> recognise<sub>Pas</sub>  
*“In the Russian Constitution, the republic of Tatarstan is recognized as a state.”*

Zakiev (1993) states that the semantic potential of the Tatar *-gan* form is wider than in some other Turkic languages, in which, along with the reported past tense, there is past subjective *-ıp* form<sup>11</sup> whose function, as well, is realized in Tatar by *-gan* form.

The form *-gan* is also a participial suffix (Zakiev 1993, Kormushin 1988, a.o.) functioning as a determinant (38), a complement (39), subject (40).

- (38). yaz-**gan** keşe  
 write<sub>Partic</sub> person  
*“person who wrote”*
- (39). Bez keşe-neñ yaz-**gan**-m kür-de-k.  
 We person<sub>Poss</sub> write<sub>ParticAcc</sub> see<sub>Past3pl</sub>  
*“We saw what wrote a person.”*
- (40). Keşe-neñ yaz-**gan**-ı döres.  
 person<sub>Poss</sub> write<sub>ParticPoss</sub> right  
*“What the person wrote is right.”*

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<sup>11</sup>This form exists also in some Tatar dialects (Zakiev 1993: 110).

We assume that the morpheme *-gan* in Tatar has a syntactic structure which includes the evidential mood, perfective aspect and past tense as Sag (2013) proposes for Turkish, following (Cinque 1999, 2001) and is represented in Fig.3.7.

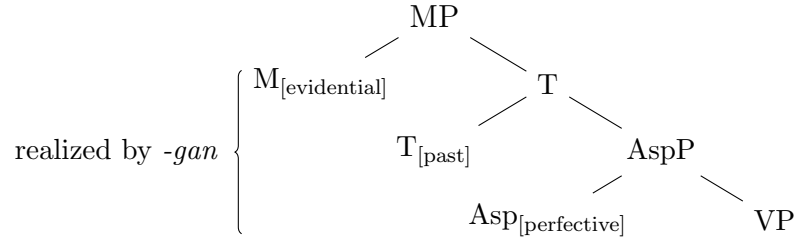


Figure 3.7:

## 2 Complex tenses

A single verbal complex may be composed of two or more verb stems each of which are separately marked for tense, aspect and modality.

The most largely used **analytic past tenses** are :

- (i) *-a ide*,
- (ii) *-gan ide*,
- (iii) *-a torgan ide*,
- (iv) *-açaak ide*,

In all these constructions, an auxiliary verb (AV) *-ide*<sup>12</sup> “be” with personal endings follows: (i) a main (lexical) verb in the 3rd person singular of the present tense (known as the first present gerund, originally a participle), (ii) a past participle of the main verb, (iii) an analytical present participle form *-a torgan*, (iv) a future tense participle.

<sup>12</sup>It is the past form of the auxiliary verb “to be”, its present form is *ikän*.



The auxiliary (insufficient) verb *-ide* is formed from the ancient verb *-i(r)* and the marker of the definite past tense *-de*. The *-ide* is also known as the past copula in Turkish literature (Kornfilt 1997, Göksel & Kerslake, 2005 for the analogous form *-(y)DI*). Sentences with these tense forms present an event viewed from past.

Let us consider the first analytical past tense construction **-a ide**<sup>13</sup> (*tāmamlanmagan ütkän zaman*) (not finished past tense), as in the example (41).

(41). Röstam eṣ-tän kayt-kanda Iskandar hat yaz-a i-de.

Rustam work<sub>Abl</sub> come<sub>when</sub> Iskandar a letter write<sub>Partic</sub> be<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“Iskander was writing when Rustam came home.”*

The predicate *yaza ide* (41) is expressed by the present participle of the lexical verb<sup>14</sup> (with progressive/continuous meaning) in combination with true past copula *ide*. The co-occurrence of progressive aspect form and the past perfect tense which precises that the action took place at a definite period in the past *Rustam kaytkanda* “when Rustam came home“, gives progressive interpretation. Zakiev (1993: 113) considers this tense as the extended present tense that expresses habitual, typical actions transported in the past. It is opposed to definite past tense (*-dı*) that describes an action as dynamic. The most often used verbs in such constructions are non terminative verbs.

In line with Cinque’s (1999) universal hierarchy of functional heads, Baker’s (1985, 1988) *mirror principle* and Cinque (2001), we assume that an outer suffix on the auxiliary verbs corresponds to a functional head higher than that corresponding to an inner suffix. We do not enter into discussion why some suffixes should adjoin auxiliary and not stack onto some inner suffixes, as for example in (41).

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<sup>13</sup>- *a/ä* or *-ıy/i* *ide*

<sup>14</sup>The suffix of the 3rd person singular present form is *-a*.

The order of suffixes (42), in the construction of the example (41), under the *mirror principle*, reflects the relative order of functional heads, as in (43).

$$(42). \quad V > \text{Asp}_{\text{Progressiv}} > T_{\text{Past}}$$

$$(43). \quad T_{\text{Past}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{Progressiv}} > V$$

The next analytical past tense construction is **-a torgan ide** (*kabatlauili ütkän zaman*) (repetitive past tense) in the example (44).

$$(44). \quad \text{Bala } \text{çakta}, \quad \text{äni} \quad \text{bezgä} \quad \text{äkiyat-lär} \quad \text{uk-ıy} \quad \text{tor-gan} \quad \text{i-de}.$$

During childhood, mother <sub>us<sub>Dat</sub></sub> fairly tales read<sub>PresPart</sub> stay<sub>PastPart</sub> be<sub>Past3Sg</sub>  
*“During childhood, my mother used to read us fairy tales.”*

The form *-a/-ıy torgan ide* is composed of the combination of analytical present participle *-a/-ıy torgan* and past copula *ide*. This compound tense describes an action which occurred habitually / repeatedly in the past. Zakiev (1993:120) points out that the *-ıy ide* construction also can manifest repetitive process in the past, but this will be its contextual use, as in (45). In such contexts both tenses are interchangeable.

$$(45). \quad \text{Bala } \text{çakta}, \quad \text{äni} \quad \text{bezgä} \quad \text{äkiyat-lär} \quad \text{uk-ıy} \quad \text{i-de}.$$

During childhood mother <sub>us<sub>Dat</sub></sub> fairly tales read<sub>PresPart</sub> be<sub>Past3Sg</sub>  
*“During childhood, my mother used to read us fairy tales.”*

The examples (44), (45) manifest the order of suffixes in (46), which under the mirror-image order of suffixes, reveals the relative order of functional heads shown in (47).

$$(46). \quad V > \text{Asp}_{\text{Progressiv}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{Repetitive}} > T_{\text{Past}}$$

$$(47). \quad T_{\text{Past}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{Repetitive}} > \text{Asp}_{\text{Progressiv}} > V$$

The next analytical past tense construction is **-gan ide** which is called (*aldan ütkän zaman*), the plusperfect.

- (48). Bez alarnı çakır-gan ide-k läkin alar bezgä kil-mä-de.  
 We them invite<sub>PastPart</sub> be<sub>Past1Pl</sub> but they us<sub>Dat</sub> come<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“We had invited them, but they didn’t come to us.”*

The sentence (48) contains two events, the first one occurs prior to another point in time which itself is in the past. Thus we are dealing with the pluperfect form of the predicate *çakır-gan ide-k*. Here, the past tense with the marker *-gan*, expressing perfect aspect in the past with respect to another past event, denotes an event as accomplished.

The sentence in (49), in addition to morphological suffixes of evidentiality as *-gan*, *-kan* also contains the particle *ikän*<sup>15</sup>. According to Zakiev (1993: 191), this particle, occurring with past tense verb with *-gan*, reinforces the meaning of non-witnessed (evidential) action.

- (49). Bezneñ kürşelär Ufadan kayt-kan-nar i-kän.  
 Our neighbors Ufa<sub>Abl</sub> return<sub>Res.Past3Pl</sub> Report  
*“It turns out that our neighbors have come from Ufa.”*

We suggest that the suffix *-kän* is quite ambiguous between a perfect aspect interpretation, a resultative aspect interpretation and a reportive Past<sup>16</sup>. We propose that under reportive interpretation, it is located in a functional head which is higher than if it is located in a head with the perfect aspect interpretation.

The *-dı/-tı* markers cannot co-occur with *ikän* particle.

- (50). Bezneñ kürşelär Ufadan \*kayt-tı-lar i-kän.  
 Our neighbors Ufa<sub>Abl</sub> return<sub>Res.Past3Pl</sub> Report

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<sup>15</sup>The auxiliary (insufficient) verb *ikän* is formed from the ancient verb *-i(r)* and the indefinite past tense marker *-kän* (Zakiev, 1993: 191). *Ikän* can have various functions in a sentence.

<sup>16</sup>Remember that this modal item is also the form of past resultative tense of the auxiliary verb *-ir* (to be) combined with the suffix *-kän*.

Intended reading: *“It turns out that our neighbors have come from Ufa.”*

Greed (2009), in her analysis of *ikän* in Tatar, proposes to term this particle as “evidential with indirect conclusion”.<sup>17</sup> Following Cinque (1999, 2001) for Turkish, we consider *ikän* in Tatar as a free particle of “evaluative” modality, which “expresses the speaker’s (positive, negative, or other) evaluation of the state of affairs described in the sentence”.

Greed (2009) points out that the Finnish language in order to express evidentiality also includes grammaticalised particles, as it shown in (51), taken from Greed (2009:21).

- (51). Flunssat ja kurkkukivut ovat kuulemma kaikonneet  
colds and sore.throats are it.is.heard disappear<sub>Pst.Ptcp</sub>  
*“Colds and sore throats have apparently disappeared.”*

The form **-açak ide** is considered in Tatar Grammar as the future in the past (*kiläçak ütkän zaman*) (Zakiev 1992: 124), which is a combined form of the definite future suffix *-açak* and the auxiliary *-ide*.

Let us consider the sentence (52).

- (52). Tänäfes ig’lan itel-de annarı kontsert bul-açak ide.  
pause announcement do<sub>PassivPast</sub> then concert<sub>Nom</sub> be<sub>Fut3Sg</sub> be<sub>Past</sub>  
*“There was a break then there had to be a concert.”*

The sentence (52) contains two events, where the reality or irreality of the event, expressed by the form *-açak ide* is considered in relation to the definite point in the past, not in the speech time. In this example, *kontsert bul-açak ide* (a concert had to

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<sup>17</sup>Greed (2009: 23) shows that a sentence with *ikän* can denote that: 1) the information has come via more people; 2) the speaker is not certain of the truthfulness of the statement; and 3) there may be a hint of surprise.

be) had to take place in the future with respect to the the event in the past of the first sentence.

Kornfilt (1997: 367) gives an example of *prospective* aspect interpretation of *-açak* for Turkish, which we adapt for Tatar. In the example (53), the suffix of genuine definite past *-dı* of the auxiliary follows the future participle suffix *-açak* which is not really considered as a tense marker but involving *prospective* aspect interpretation. The form *-açak ide* gives evidence for the order of functional heads under the mirror principle as in (54).

(53). Aydar işek-ne aç-açak ide.

Aydar door<sub>Acc</sub> open<sub>Fut/Prosp</sub> be<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“Aydar was about to open/almost opened the door.”*

(54).  $V > Asp_{Prospective} > T_{Past}$

In all the examples above with compound tense forms, we get acquainted with some functions of these forms, leaving the detailed description of their semantics and the inflectional categories they represent for future research.

The verbal agreement in all these analytical (compound) tenses in the 3rd person plural form can be expressed not only on the auxiliary but also on the participles, as shown in (55) and (56) respectively.

(55). Utkän elnı alar Kazan-da uk-ıy-lar ide.

last year they Kazan<sub>Loc</sub> study<sub>Part3Pl</sub> be<sub>Past3Sg</sub>  
*“They were studying in Kazan last year.”*

(56). Yoklar aldınnan alar kitap uk-ıy torgan-nar ide

sleep before<sub>Abl</sub> they book<sub>AccInd</sub> study<sub>Part3Sg</sub> stay<sub>Partic3Pl</sub> be<sub>Past3s</sub>  
*“Before to sleep, they used to read book.”*

In the negative form, the negative suffix *-mı* in (57) or *-ma* in (58) is adjoined to the participle.

(57). Min      ukı-mı-y      ide-m.

I      write<sub>PartNeg</sub>      be<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I had not read.”*

(58). Sin      yaz-ma-gan      ide-ñ.

You<sub>2sg</sub>      write<sub>ParticNeg</sub>      be<sub>Past2sg</sub>  
*“You had not written.”*

Cinque (1999), proposing the universal sequence of functional projections, admits that there are agreement and negation which can occur in more than one position and he writes : “AgrPs (rather, DP-related projections) and NegPs are generable in many different positions among the adverb-related functional projections. It is thus tempting to interpret such variation as stemming from a pure “spell-out“ option: whether a language lexicalizes a higher or lower Agr or Neg“ (Cinque 1999:127). Tatar examples give evidence that unlike other tense/aspect/mood markers which are located in their respective projections, agreement and negation may adjoin to various different functional heads.

### 3 Modality / Mood

Cinque (1999:54), comparing the Turkish evidence for Modality which is “lower“ than Tense with the evidence from Korean (also a head-final language) for Modality which is “higher“ than Tense, argues that their contrast “is only apparent“. On the basis of this observation, he proposes different modal types, according to their variable order with respect to T guiding to different interpretations: epistemic versus root modals (ability > permission). (Cinque 1999: 86) notes that “epistemic modality expresses

the speaker’s degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition (based on the kind of information he/she has)“. As for root modal, Cinque quotes Platzack (1979, 44) where it expresses “obligation, permission, volition or ability on behalf of an agent which usually, but not necessarily, is expressed by the ... subject of the sentence“.

In Tatar, a *compound verb construction*, composed of the present participle of the main verb and of the auxiliary verb *alu* (which loses its primary meaning “to take“) expresses the ability or possibility depending on context. Inflectional possibilities of the verb *alu* have almost no restrictions, except some forms of indirect moods (Zakiev 1993: 235). The following example (59) can be interpreted as an alethic modal, referring to “possibility“, or it can express the person’s ability to go.

(59). Min bar-a al-am.

I go<sub>Prog</sub> can<sub>Pres1Sg</sub>  
*“I can go.”*

The suffix of negation *-ma/-mı* can be added to the auxiliary, as in example (60), or to the verbal form, as in (61).

(60). Min bar-a al-ma-dı-m.

I go<sub>Part</sub> can<sub>PastNeg1Sg</sub>  
*“I was unable to go.”*

(61). Min bar-mı-y al-am.

He go<sub>PartNeg</sub> can<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“I might not go; it is possible that I do not go.”*

As we can observe, according to the position of the negative marker, two constructions not only differ in scope regarding to negation, but guide to different interpretations. The semantic contrasts between two versions of *alu* give evidence of the distinction between epistemic and root modals. If the modal auxiliary (60) precedes

the negative suffix, *alu* is interpreted as a “root“ modal, with the meaning of “ability“ or “permission“. When it follows the negation suffix, it refers to “possibility“. This means that the same *alu* occupies two distinct functional heads, one higher than the (-mi) negation, matching with the  $\text{ModP}_{Alethic}$ , and one lower, corresponding to either the  $\text{ModP}_{Ability}$  or  $\text{ModP}_{Permission}$  in Cinque’s (2001) hierarchy, or even  $\text{ModP}_{Possibility}$  in the Fig. 3.2.

Giving the pairwise order of negation marker and modal auxiliary and by transitivity, according to the *mirror principle* (Baker 1985, 1988), we suggest for Tatar the following order of functional heads:

$$(62). \quad \text{Mod}_{Alethic} > \text{NEG} > \text{Mod}_{Ability} \quad ( > V )$$

The modal auxiliary can enter into a wide range of combinations with other types of modality, tense and aspect markers. For instance, two *alu* auxiliaries can be found at the same time, separated by the negative suffix -mi:

$$(63). \quad \text{Min} \quad \text{bar-a} \quad \text{al-miy} \quad \text{al-am.}$$

I      go<sub>Part</sub>    can<sub>Neg</sub>    can<sub>Pres1Sg</sub>  
*“It is possible that I can not to go.”*

When the modal cooccurs with other morphemes, as for example, in *-ır ide* construction (64), the order of functional heads under the *mirror principle* provides evidence for the order in (65) of Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy, suggesting that  $T_{Past}$  is higher than  $T_{Future}$ , which in turn is higher than  $\text{Mod}_{Alethic}$ .

$$(64). \quad \text{Bu yul}, \quad \text{ul} \quad \text{biblioteka-da} \quad \text{ukıy} \quad \text{al-ır ide.}$$

This time, (s)he    library<sub>Dat</sub>    learn<sub>Partic</sub>    can<sub>Fut</sub> be<sub>Past</sub>  
*“This time, he could have learned at the library.”*

$$(65). \quad T_{Past} > T_{Future} > \text{Mod}_{Alethic} > \text{Asp}_{Progressive} > \text{Mod}_{Ability} \quad ( > V )$$



Another way to express ability is a construction, composed of the present participle of the main verb and of the auxiliary verb *belü* (which loses its primary meaning “to know”, as different light verbs), as in (66):

(66). Ilnur çañğı şua belä.

Ilnur ski ride<sub>Part</sub> know<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“Ilnur can ski”, meaning “Ilnur knows how to ski”.*

One of the way to express possibility in Tatar is the use of the compound verb construction like “-p + bul-”<sup>18</sup>, which is formed of the second present gerund of the main verb, ending on -p and the aspectual auxiliary *bulu* (to be).

(67). Monı eşläp bula.

This do<sub>GerundPast</sub> can<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“It is possible to do it.”*

(68). Monı eşläp bul-ma-dı.

This<sub>Acc</sub> do<sub>GerundPast</sub> can<sub>NegPast3sg</sub>  
*“It was impossible to do it.”*

## 4 Periphrastic constructions

In Tatar, there is an another auxiliary verb *bul-* “to be, to become” which together with a main verb constitute, so called, *periphrastic* (*tasvirlama*) constructions.<sup>19</sup> There are a large number of *periphrastic* forms that are the result of combinations of each verbal stem with various inflexional TAM suffixes and we will just give some examples of a vast list of such constructions.

Zakiev (1993: 127) points out that temporal characteristics have periphrastic constructions, in the first part of which are temporal basis, as in (69).

<sup>18</sup>This construction is also known as *auxiliary verb construction* (Grashenkov, 2012).

<sup>19</sup>Surely, it can be used as an autonomous lexical verb.

- (69).    *-gan*            *bul-*  
           *-a torgan*       *bul-*  
           *-r / -mas*      *bul-*  
           *-açak*           *bul-*  
           *-a*               *bul-*

Modal interpretations of periphrastic constructions occur when the main verb is infinitive, has a gerund form or is a future tense participle, or even when an auxiliary has non-indicative mood forms, as in (70).

- (70).    *-rga*            *bul-*  
           *-makçı*          *bul-*  
           *-p*               *bul-*  
           *-ası*            *bul-*  
           *-r / -mas*      *bul-*  
           *-açak*          *bul-*  
           *-gan*           *bul-*  
           *-gan*           *bul-sa*  
           *-r / -mas*    *bul-sa, a.o.*

The periphrastic forms as *-r/-mas bul-*, *-açak bul-* have temporal and modal interpretations, depending on temporal forms of the auxiliary verb *bul* - (Zakiev 1993: 127). They belong to two columns (69) and (70). For example, when the auxiliary verb *bul-* with the morpheme *-gan*, expressing evidential mood, perfective aspect and past tense co-occur with *-açak*, denoting future tense, it can have variable order with respect to each other:

*bul-gan -açak*,  
*-açak bul-gan*

When the future marker *-açak* follows the perfect marker *-kan*, the sentence is interpreted as future perfect, as in (71). It corresponds to Cinque's hierarchy where  $T_{future}$  is higher than  $Asp_{perfect}$ .

(71). Ul eşkä kitkänçe, kızı mäktäptän kayt-**kan** bul-**açak**.

(S)he work<sub>Dat</sub> lieve<sub>Part</sub> daughter school<sub>Abl</sub> come<sub>Perf</sub> be<sub>Fut</sub>  
*“Before (s)he goes to work, his daughter will be home from school.”*

If the order of these markers is reversed: *-açak bul-gan*, as in (72), it expresses the future in the past tense, close to the analytical past tense form *-açak ide*. In this case, the sentence will express evidential future in the past which corresponds to Cinque's:  $Mood_{evidential} > T_{future}$  order.

(72). Ul avılga kit-**äçäk** bul-**gan**.

(S)he willage<sub>Dat</sub> lieve<sub>Fut</sub> be<sub>Perf</sub>  
*“(S)he (evidently) would have gone to the village.”*

The forms *-açak bul-gan* and *-açak ide* differ in that the first one expresses the statement of fact of the action whereas the latter denotes dynamic action and by non-evidential / evidential meanings respectively.

The data in (71) - (72) give evidence for the structure in (73):

(73).  $Mood_{evidential} > T_{future} > Asp_{perfect}$

Among numerous periphrastic constructions (characterized by temporal-aspectual meaning), Zakiev (1993: 132) finds out four constructions which create regular oppositions with analytical past tense forms on the basis of definite/indefinite, evidential/non evidential meaning, as it is shown in Fig. 3.8.

	imperfect	pluperfect	multiple past	future anterior
Evidential	-a <i>ide</i> ;	-gan <i>ide</i> ;	a -torgan <i>ide</i> ;	-açaq <i>ide</i>
Non-evidential	-a <i>bulgan</i> ;	-gan <i>bulgan</i> ;	a -torgan <i>bulgan</i> ;	-açaq <i>bulgan</i>

Figure 3.8:

## 5 The hierarchy of *tense/aspect/mood* elements

We will continue to put together the pairwise relative order of several functional heads that we choose arbitrary and try to establish, by transitivity, “a single overall order of heads” (Cinque 1999) for the Tatar language.

The examples shown in (74) - (76) manifest the order of suffixes in (77), which under the *mirror principle*, reveals the relative order of functional heads shown in (78):

- (74). eṣ      eṣlä-n-ä  
           work    do<sub>PassProgr</sub>  
           “*work is being done*”

- (75). Sin    bu    eṣ-ne    eṣli      al-açaq    ideñ.  
           You   this   work<sub>Acc</sub>   do<sub>Progr</sub>   Modal<sub>Fut</sub>   Aux<sub>Past2sg</sub>  
           “*You would be able to do this work.*”

- (76). Sin    eṣlä-mä-deñ-me?  
           You   do<sub>Neg-Past-Q</sub>  
           “*Didn’t you work?*”

- (77). V - Pass - Prog / Mod - Fut - Past - Q

- (78). Mood<sub>SpeechAct</sub> > T<sub>Past</sub> > T<sub>Fut</sub> > Aspect<sub>Progressive</sub> / Modality > Voice > V

The evidential marker *-ikän* in (79) appears after Tense suffix *-açaq*, which, by the *mirror principle*, points out that it is located higher than the tense marker, giving the

order of functional heads as in (80).

- (79). Dusım            Rim-ga    bar-açak    ikän.  
          Friend<sub>Poss1sg</sub>   Rome<sub>Dat</sub>   go<sub>Fut</sub>        evid mark  
          “My friend, apparently, will go to Rome.”

- (80). Mood<sub>Evidentialt</sub> > T<sub>Fut</sub> > Aspect<sub>Progressive</sub> / Modality > Voice > V

Therefore, we can assume that in Tatar, the higher mood phrase dominates tense phrase and has the feature evidential. The next example (81) confirms this observation, specifying its position higher than past tense. In this example the lower ModP is occupied by ModP *ability*, showing the order of functional heads as in (82).

- (81). Ul            universitet-ta    ukıy            al-ma-yaçak    bul-gan    ikän.  
          (S)he   university<sub>Dat</sub>   study<sub>Progr</sub>   Aux<sub>AbNegFut</sub>   Aux<sub>Past</sub>   evid mark  
          “(S)he appeared not to be able to study at university.”

- (82). Mood<sub>Evidential</sub> > T<sub>Past</sub> > T<sub>Fut</sub> > NegP > Aspect<sub>Progressive</sub> / Modality  
          > Voice > V

As concerns the suffix *-sa/-sä* in Tatar, it can be a marker of MoodP *irrealis* or it can be used as a conditional complementizer. In the first case, it occupies the lower MoodP<sub>Irrealis</sub> head in Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy, because this suffix precedes T<sub>Past</sub> head, as in example (83).

- (83). Küp    tel-lär            bel-sä-ñ        ide,            eş    jñel-räk    tabır ideñ.  
          many   language<sub>Pl</sub>   know<sub>ModIrr</sub>   Aux<sub>Past</sub>   work    easy    find<sub>FutIrr</sub>   Aux  
          “If you knew a lot of languages you will have found the job more easily.”

The wish to know more languages is referred to the past which yields the *irrealis* conditional interpretation, as it is points out in (Zakiev 1992 :153).

In the case, where the marker *-sa/-sä* follows the reportive past suffix, as in sentence (84), it gives conditional interpretation in Tatar.

- (84). Sin    añä    bolay    kary torgan bul-sa-ñ,    ul    siña    açulana.  
           you   him   like that   look<sub>Part AuxPast AuxCond</sub> (s)he   you<sub>Dat</sub>   be angry  
*“If you are in the habit of looking at him like that, he will be offended.”*

In Tatar, as in Turkish (Kornfilt 1997, Cinque 2001), the marker *-sa/-sä*, depending on interpretation, can occupy different positions in Cinque’s model, where the conditional interpretation is higher than irrealis one.

Overall, after having studied the pairwise order of the different functional heads, we can come up by transitivity to the following single hierarchy of functional heads in Tatar with the mirror-image order, as in (85).

- (85). Mood<sub>Evaluative</sub> > Mood<sub>Evidential</sub> > T<sub>Past</sub> > T<sub>Fut</sub> > Mood<sub>Irrealis</sub> >  
       TP<sub>Anterieur</sub> > Mod<sub>Alethic</sub> > Asp<sub>Habitual</sub> > Asp<sub>Repetitive</sub> > Asp<sub>Frequentative</sub> >  
       Asp<sub>Celerative</sub> > Asp<sub>Terminative</sub> > Asp<sub>Continuative</sub> > Asp<sub>Perfect</sub> > Asp<sub>Progressiv</sub> >  
       Asp<sub>Prospective</sub> NegP > Mod<sub>Ability</sub> > Asp<sub>Resultative</sub> > Voice ( > V )

## 3.4 Base positions of arguments in Tatar

### 1 Arguments of transitive verbs

In this section, I will briefly explore the base positions of arguments in Tatar. As pointed out earlier in the chapter 2, the canonical word order in Tatar declarative sentence is SOV (*subject-object-verb*). In (1), we have the Tatar active clause with a verb phrase consisting of a transitive verb and two arguments. This sentence gives a natural answer to *out-of-the-blue* question as *“What happens?”*.

- (1). Bala<sub>Agent</sub>    kitap<sub>Theme</sub>    uk-ıy.  
           Child<sub>Nom</sub>    book<sub>Indef</sub>    read<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
*“The child reads a book.”*

The lexical core of the phrase is represented by VP, which consists of a verb (lexical V) *uku* and its complement *kitab*. In the course of the derivation of the sentence (1), the lower verb (lexical V) first merges with its internal argument *kitab*, bearing the  $\theta$ -role *theme*; and the higher verb (light verb *v*), which is an abstract element, and has in its specifier position the subject *bala* realizing the thematic role *agent*. According to VP-internal subject hypothesis (Koopman & Sportiche 1991), subjects are generated in the specifier of the verb phrase (Spec VP). As Tatar is the head-final language, the verb is in the last position.

Given the universal SVO hypothesis, we assume, following Kayne (1994, 1998), Cinque (1999, 2008), Hinterholz (2006) a.o., that all other word orders are derived syntactically through leftward movements. The SOV order in Tatar is straightforwardly accounted for in Kayne’s (2005) framework, where the subject and the object move out of the vP-shell to the Spec of a higher projection inside the Mittelfeld in order to check subject and object features of the appropriate functional heads. The subject moves to SubjP, the object raises to the low ObjP<sup>20</sup>. As for verb movement in Tatar, we tentatively assume that it raises to *v*<sup>o</sup>, without leaving vP. Then, the verb with moved object, i.e. the ObjP raises to the specifier of a functional head in the split TP-domain by roll-up movement (or pied-piping). The derivation is diagrammed in Figure 3.9.

Moreover, Tatar, as well as other Turkic languages, can have an alternative transitive sentence when a direct object has an accusative marker *-ni*, as in (2):

- (2). Bala<sub>Agent</sub> kitab**ni**<sub>Theme</sub> uk-ıy.  
 Child<sub>Nom</sub> book<sub>Def</sub> read<sub>3SgPres</sub>

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<sup>20</sup>In our work, we adopt the notations from Laenzlinger (2002): Subj is the head of Subj(ect)P which is the equivalent of the former AgrSP.

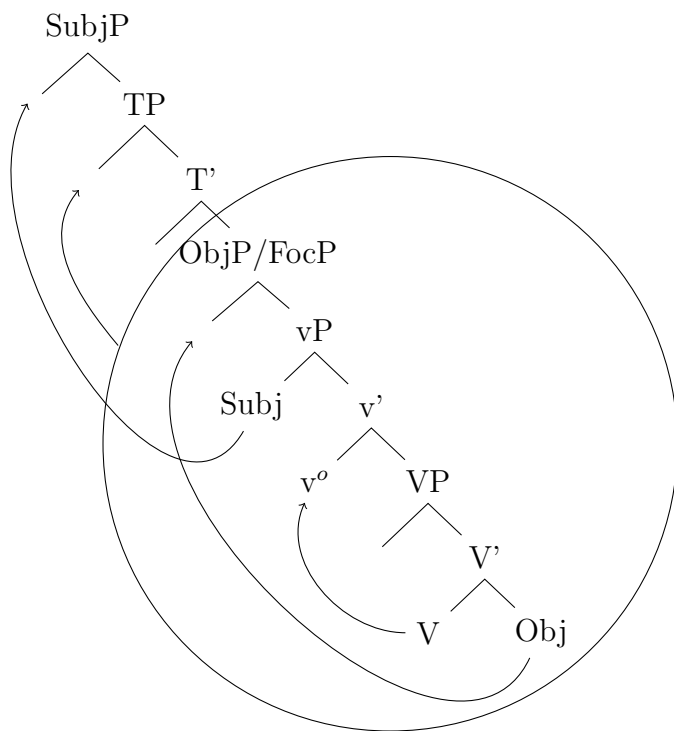


Figure 3.9:

*“The child reads the book.”*

The phenomenon, when a direct object comes with or without case marking is called *Differential Object Marking (DOM)* (Bossong 1985; Aissen 2003; von Heusinger, Klein and de Swart 2008; de Hoop, Malchukov 2007, a.o.).

The difference between two types of objects can be tested on the basis of adverb placement for determining base positions of arguments (Cinque 1999). We take the VP-boundary manner adverb, such as *tiz* “quickly” to illustrate the different positions in the structure of both objects. As shown in (3), the celerative adverb should precede



the unmarked accusative object *hat*, but an accusative marked object *hat-n* can follow or precede a celerative adverb (4).

- (3). Bala        tiz        kitap        \*tiz        uk-ıy.  
       Child<sub>Nom</sub>   quickly   book<sub>Acc/Ind</sub>   quickly   read<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
       *“The child reads a book quickly.”*

- (4). Bala        tiz        kitap**ı**        tiz        uk-ıy.  
       Child<sub>Nom</sub>   quickly   book<sub>Acc/Def</sub>   quickly   read<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
       *“The child reads the book quickly.”*

Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b) assume that in Tatar, accusative marked objects need not be VP-external unlike in other Turkic languages, such as Saha (5), where the unmarked object *salamaat* should stay in VP, whereas *salamaaty* which is marked for accusative case occurs before adverb.

- (5). Masha   salamaat\*(y)   turgennik   siete.        (Baker & Vinokurova, 2010:602)  
       Masha   porridge\*(<sub>Acc</sub>)   quickly   eat<sub>Past3s</sub>  
       *“Masha ate the porridge quickly.”*

Cinque (1999) for the comparable contrast in languages such as Italian and English proposes two positions inside IP for celerative adverbs (in zone which is higher than VP). Hence, in (3) the adverb is in the higher position and in (4) it is in the lower position. Then, however we need to understand how the object in (4) may precede the adverb, if it presumably stays inside of VP. Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b) suggest that the accusative marked object in (4) in Tatar can appear in VP if it presents new information (*rheme/focus*).

Zwart (1996), analysing Dutch language, observed, in his turn, that the scrambled<sup>21</sup> word order in this language is sensitive to discourse conditions, as “*definite-*

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<sup>21</sup>Scrambling, the term first introduced by Ross (1967), is the phenomenon of argument reordering in the clause.

ness/specificity effects“. He demonstrates this by the following sentences (6), (7).

(6). dat Jan gisteren een meisje gekust heft  
 that John yesterday a girl kissed has  
 ”...that John kissed a girl yesterday”

(7). dat Jan een meisje gisteren gekust heft  
 that John a girl yesterday kissed has  
 ”...that John kissed a (particular) girl yesterday”

The scrambled word order *SOAdV* in (7) is derived from the neutral order *SAdOV* as in (6). So, Zwart (1996) proposes that in Dutch, the object DP “*een meisje*“ (a girl) in (6) moves from the position where it has an existential reading, to the left of an adverb (7) to get a specific reading.

Among different solutions of the problem (*DOM*), proposed in the literature, there are *head incorporation* analysis (Baker 1988, Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Knecht 1986, Kornfilt 2003 a.o.), where an immediately preverbal bare noun forms a unit with a verbal head  $V^0$ , or *pseudo-incorporation* à la Massam (2001), where nominal element in these constructions is a phrase (NP) rather than a noun head. We will follow Danon (2006) (for Hebrew), Grashchenkov (2007); Keskin (2009); Pereltsvaig & Lyutikova (2014) (for Turkic languages), who propose to consider marked accusative objects as DP and unmarked objects as lacking the D-layer and occupying the internal NP position.

Our analysis is in line with the proposal of the existence of Topic and Focus positions in the low part of the clause, in the Mittelfeld or IP internal low area (Belletti, 2001, 2004; Ndayiragije 1996, 1999; Jayaseelan 2001, 2008, a.o.). If we take the example (2), repeated here as (8), on the basis of Cinque’s (1999) adverb test as in (4), we observe that the accusative marked object can be higher in the Tatar clausal *middle field*,

namely in ObjP/TopP.

- (8). Bala<sub>Agent</sub> kitap**ni**<sub>Theme</sub> uk-ıy. (SOV)  
 Child<sub>Nom</sub> book<sub>Def</sub> read<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
*“The child reads the book.”*

The Figure 3.10 represents the derivation of the sentence (8). Assuming the underlying order *specifier-head-complement* (Kayne 1994), a surface SOV order in Tatar is obtained by moving the subject and the object out of the VP to the SubjP and ObjP (TopP) positions respectively which are higher than FocP. The verb raises to  $v^o$ , without leaving vP and *remnant vP* undergoes movement to the specifier of a functional head in the split TP-domain.

Even if the base order of main sentence constituents in Tatar is by assumption SOV (subject-object-verb), whenever a direct object is overtly marked for the accusative case (8), each element can go to any position, resulting in other five orders of elements: OSV, OVS, SVO, VOS, VSO.

- (9). Kitap**ni** bala uk-ıy. (OSV)  
 Kitap**ni** uk-ıy bala. (OVS)  
 Bala uk-ıy kitap**ni**. (SVO)  
 Uk-ıy kitap**ni** bala. (VOS)  
 Uk-ıy bala kitap**ni**. (VSO)  
*“The child reads the book.”*

The position of constituents in clausal structure depends of its information status and of prosodic prominence (Safiullina, 1966, Zakiev 2002). We will discuss more topic and focus constructions in Tatar in the forth chapter.

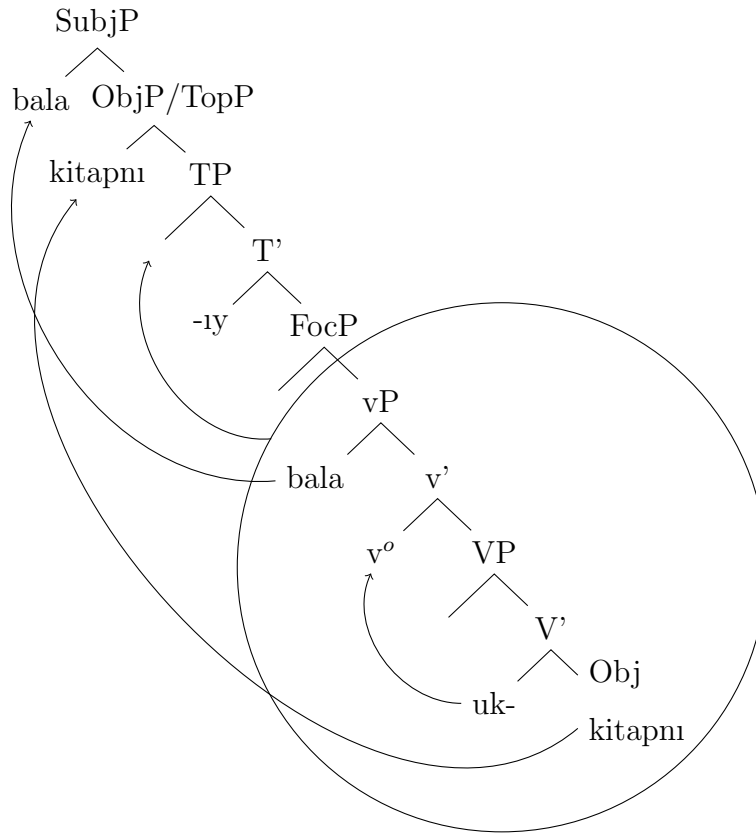


Figure 3.10:

## 2 Ditransitive constructions

As concerns the behaviour of arguments of ditransitive verbs in Tatar, we can observe that bare direct object must follow the indirect one (10), it cannot precede the latter, as in (11), in canonical word order:

- (10).    Anise *Agent*            kızına *Goal*            büläk *Theme*    bir-de.  
          mother<sub>Poss/Nom</sub>    daughter<sub>Poss/Dat</sub>    gift *Acc/Ind*    give<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
          “The mother gave a gift to her daughter.”

- (11). \*Anise            büläk            kızına            bir-de.  
          mother<sub>Poss/Nom</sub>   gift<sub>Acc/Ind</sub>   daughter<sub>Poss/Dat</sub>   give<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
          “The mother gave a gift to her daughter.”

The accusative marked direct object can be situated before or after the indirect one, but the example in (12), where the objects are in order (*Dat* - *Acc*) is preferred to the example in (13) (*Acc* - *Dat*):

- (12).            Anise            kızına<sub>Goal</sub>            büläkne<sub>Theme</sub>            bir-de.  
          mother<sub>Poss/Nom</sub>   daughter<sub>Poss/Dat</sub>   gift<sub>Acc/Def</sub>            give<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
          “The mother gave a gift to her daughter.”

- (13).            Anise            büläkne<sub>Theme</sub>            kızına<sub>Goal</sub>            bir-de.  
          mother<sub>Poss/Nom</sub>   gift<sub>Acc/Def</sub>            daughter<sub>Poss/Dat</sub>   give<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
          “The mother gave a gift to her daughter.”

Since Tatar is a scrambling language, the mutual ordering of internal arguments as theme, expressed by an accusative marked object and goal, which is in dative case, may interchange.

There are apparently a class of ditransitive verbs in Tatar which display a double object alternation quite different from the alternation manifested by English. In English, some ditransitives such as *give*, *send*, *present*, etc., have two distinct manifestations, as in (14) and (15):

- (14). John    gave    Mary<sub>Dat</sub>    the book<sub>Acc</sub>.  
          John    gave    the book<sub>Acc</sub>    to Mary<sub>Dat</sub>.

Seemingly identical thematic configurations are differently represented in syntax. The construction in (14) is known as the *double Object Construction* (DOC) and the construction (15) is the *prepositional dative construction*, where a dative argument is expressed by a PP.

Tatar lacks the English type *to-dative* construction and has only (DOC) with two DP arguments. Tatar distinguishes two types of (DOC). Following Öztürk (2005), Kahraman (2013) for Turkish, we assume that in the first *DOC*, the canonical order is (*Nom* - *Dat* - *Acc* - *V*), when the dative noun has a possessive interpretation, as it was shown in the example (12) above. The second canonical order of *DOC* constructions is (*Nom* - *Acc* - *Dat* - *V*) order, when the dative noun has a locative interpretation, as in example (16) and it is preferred to the sentence in (17).

(16). Riza     ul**ın**<sub>Theme</sub>     mäk<sub>Goal</sub>täpkä     iltä.

Riza    son <sub>3SgPossAcc</sub>    school<sub>Dat</sub>            take  
*“Riza accompanies his son to the school.”*

(17). Riza    mäk<sub>Goal</sub>täpkä     ul**ın**<sub>Theme</sub>     iltä.

Riza        school<sub>Dat</sub>        son <sub>3SgPossAcc</sub>    take  
*“Riza accompanies his son to the school.”*

Öztürk (2005), based on Miagawa and Tsujioka’s (2004) observation on Japanese double object constructions, suggests that Turkish as Japanese manifests two canonical word orders with two separate base positions for dative-marked goal arguments, namely, the low goal is interpreted as locative, while the high goal as possessive. Miagawa and Tsujioka (2004) point out that when the dative noun is an animate noun, it has a possessive interpretation while in the case of the dative noun is inanimate, it has a locative interpretation.

a) high goal <sub>possessive</sub> ... low goal <sub>locative</sub>... theme

b) high goal <sub>possessive</sub> ... theme ... low goal <sub>locative</sub> (from Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004:8)

According to Miagawa and Tsujioka (2004) for Japanese and Öztürk (2005) for Turkish, the different positions of dative internal arguments become more evident

when both dative marked goals appear in the same sentence. The Tatar examples in (18) confirm Japanese and Turkish base position proposals:

- (18). Alina Kamilägä Kazanga räsemne jibärde.  
 Alina Kamilä<sub>GoalPoss</sub> Kazan<sub>GoalLoc</sub> picture<sub>Acc/Def</sub> sent  
*“Alina sent Kamilä the picture to Kazan.”*

- (19). \*Alina Kazanga Kamilägä räsemne jibärde.  
 (20). Alina Kamilägä räsemne Kazanga jibärde.  
 (21). \*Alina räsemne Kamilägä Kazanga jibärde.

In examples (18) and (20), the internal argument (*theme*) *räsemne* (the picture) can occupy the positions to the right or to the left of the low goal *Kazanga* (to Kazan), nevertheless neither the low goal nor the theme can precede the high goal *Kamilägä* (to Kamila) as shown in (19) and (21) respectively.

As Öztürk (2005), Kural (1992) a.o., we consider that DO - IO asymmetries in Tatar can be related to hierarchical relations within the *binding* theory. Kural (1992) shows that word order permutations in Turkish are created by scrambling of DPs. As in Turkish, in Tatar, object scrambling exhibits the characteristics of A-movement, as in the example (22).

- (22). Kız-lar<sub>i</sub> berberlären<sub>i</sub> kür-gän-när.  
 girl<sub>Pl</sub> each other<sub>Acc</sub> see<sub>Past3Pl</sub>  
*“The girls saw each other.”*  
 (23). \*Berberlären<sub>i</sub> kızlar t<sub>i</sub> kürgännär.  
 each other<sub>Acc</sub> girls see<sub>Past3Pl</sub>  
*“The girls saw each other.”*

According to Kural, scrambling strictly interacts with the focus information of the sentence and in the presence of focus, scrambling displays A-bar properties. The Tatar

examples confirm that when there is a preverbal focused phrase (24), it is possible for an anaphor to reconstruct as in (25).

- (24). Kızlar<sub>i</sub> berberlären<sub>i</sub> KIÇÄ kürgännär.  
 girls each other<sub>Acc</sub> yesterday see<sub>Past3Pl</sub>  
*“The girls saw each other yesterday.”*

- (25). Berberlären<sub>i</sub> kızlar t<sub>i</sub> KIÇÄ kürgännär.  
 each other<sub>Acc</sub> girls yesterday see<sub>Past3Pl</sub>  
*“The girls saw each other yesterday.”*

Let see how it works in double object constructions in Tatar. In (*Nom - Dat - Acc - V*) order, the goal can bind the theme when goal precedes it (26).

- (26). Här kızga<sub>i</sub> büläg-en<sub>i/j</sub> birdem.  
 every girl<sub>Dat</sub> gift<sub>PossAcc</sub> give<sub>Past</sub>  
*“I gave every girl her gift.”*

Under A-movement when the theme precedes the goal, the theme cannot be bind by the goal, as in (27).

- (27). Büläg-en<sub>\*i/j</sub> här kızga<sub>i</sub> birdem.  
 gift<sub>PossAcc</sub> every girl<sub>Dat</sub> give<sub>Past</sub>  
*“I gave every girl her gift.”*

In the presence of focus, which exhibits A'- movement, the theme can be reconstructed into a position below the goal as in (28).

- (28). Büläg-en<sub>i/j</sub> här kızga<sub>i</sub> KIÇÄ birdem.  
 gift<sub>PossAcc</sub> every girl<sub>Dat</sub> yesterday give<sub>Past</sub>  
*“I gave every girl her gift yesterday.”*

As in Turkish (Öztürk 2005) and Japanese (Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004), this gives evidence that the goal with possessive interpretation in DOC in Tatar is higher than the theme.



Now, we take (*Nom - Acc - Dat - V*) basic order where the goal has a locative interpretation (29) rather than possessive one as in (26), and it is binded by the theme.

(29). Kitap- $n_i$  çanta-sı-na $_{i/j}$  sal-dı-m.

book<sub>DefAcc</sub> bag<sub>PossDat</sub> put<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I put the book in its/his(her) bag.”*

The A-scrambling of the goal does not allow the reconstruction, as it is shown in (30).

(30). çantasına $_{*i/j}$  kitap- $n_i$  saldım.

bag<sub>PossDat</sub> book<sub>DefAcc</sub> put<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I put the book in his(her)/\*its bag.”*

With the focus element in the sentence, the goal is allowed to reconstruct below the theme, as exemplified in (31).

(31). çantasına $_{i/j}$  kitap- $n_i$  KIÇÄ saldım.

bag<sub>PossDat</sub> book<sub>DefAcc</sub> yesterday put<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I put the book in his(her)/its bag yesterday.”*

These examples demonstrate that the basic order of arguments is (*Nom - Acc - Dat - V*), where the theme occupies the higher position in the structure.

As proposed in Öztürk (2005), we reverse the possessor-possessee relations as in (32), in order to see if the binding relations observed in the examples (29)-(31) are changed.

(32). Kitab- $n_i$  çanta-ga $_{*i/j}$  saldım.

book<sub>3PossAcc</sub> bag<sub>Dat</sub> put<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I put his/\*its book in the bag.”*

In the example (32), the goal cannot bind the theme. If this order is the result of A-scrambling of the theme over the goal like it is the case in (27), it would be possible

to save the reconstruction effect with the use of focus element as in (28). Despite the insertion of focused element in the structure as in (33), the theme cannot reconstruct into a position below the goal. This shows that in Tatar, as it was proposed for Turkish by Öztürk (2005), there is also a goal position below the theme.

- (33).    Kitab- $m_i$       çanta-ga- $a_{*i/j}$                       KIÇÄ                      saldim.  
                  book<sub>3PossAcc</sub>      bag<sub>Dat</sub>      yesterday put<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
                  “I put his/\*its book in the bag yesterday.”

In 2010, Kahraman, Sato and Sakai conducted a psycholinguistic experiment in order to test the word order preferences of ditransitives in comprehension in Turkish and arrive at the conclusion that Turkish native speakers read the (*Nom - Dat - Acc - V*) order faster when the dative noun had a possessor interpretation than that of (*Nom - Acc - Dat - V*) order. On the contrary, when the dative noun had a locative interpretation, the order (*Nom - Acc - Dat - V*) was read faster than the (*Nom - Dat - Acc - V*) order. The authors suggest that the thematic role of the dative noun has an impact on the comprehension easiness of ditransitives in Turkish.

In 2013, Kahraman provides further psycholinguistic evidence for the word order preferences of ditransitives in Turkish and test if the thematic role of the dative noun, which is related to animacy, has an impact on the word order preferences of ditransitives in Turkish in the production, as in the case of structure formation of Japanese ditransitives (Miyagawa and Tsujioka, 2004). Kahraman (2013) shows that the production order of the dative and the accusative nouns varied due to the thematic role of the dative noun, suggesting that two canonical word orders of ditransitives would psycholinguistically exist in Turkish. The result of this work is that the animacy of the dative noun has an impact on the word order preferences. Kahraman believes, however, that verb types and the animacy of the accusative noun might also have an impact

on the word order preferences in this language. As Tatar is the closely related language to Turkish, we leave the question whether all these factors play a role in the word order preferences in double object constructions for future research. However, the examination of different basic argument positions in DOC in Tatar gives evidence for hierarchical relations as it was earlier suggested for Turkish and Japanese:

high goal<sub>possessive</sub> ... theme ... low goal<sub>locative</sub> (Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004:8; Öztürk 2005:217)

The example (18), repeated for convenience in (34) represents well this hierarchy in Tatar.

(34). Alina Kamilä**gä** Kazan**ga** räsem**ne** jibärde.

Alina Kamilä<sub>GoalPoss</sub> Kazan<sub>GoalLoc</sub> picture<sub>Acc/Def</sub> sent  
 “Alina sent Kamilä the picture to Kazan.”

### 3 Paired functional projections

According to Cinque’s (1999) hypothesis, adverbs have fixed positions in the *middle field*. Following Laenlinger (2011), we assume that the basic order of a transitive sentence, involving the three adverbs in Tatar, will look as in (35).

(35). Ukuçılar bälki siräk uylamıyça javap birälär.

students probably rarerly without thinking answer give  
 “Students probably rarerly give the answer without thinking.”

When these three adverbs cooccur in the same clause, they comply with Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy of adverbs, based on their corresponding semantico-functional projections, namely Mode<sub>epistemic</sub> > Asp<sub>frequency</sub> > Voice<sub>manner</sub>. In Tatar, adverbs naturally occur between the subject and the object. When they are clause internal (below the

subject), they are in their root-merge position. The subject raises to SubjP<sup>22</sup>, the object moves to the specifier of an object projection, i.e. ObjP which is below VoiceP, as illustrated in Figure 3.11.

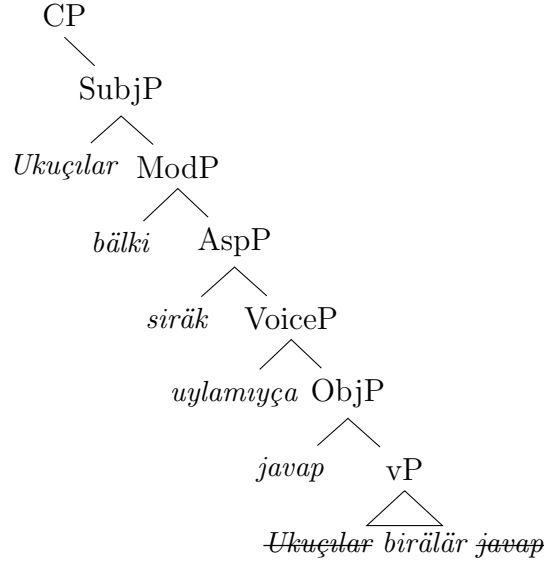


Figure 3.11:

However, the manner adverb can precede the aspectual adverb under focalization, as in the sentence (36).

- (36). Ukuçılar bälki UYLAMIYÇA siräk javap birälär.  
 students probably without thinking rarely answer give  
 “Students probably rarerly give the answer without thinking.”

This does not contradict Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy of adverbs because adverb of frequency is moved to a *middle field* focus position from its base position, as in Figure 3.12.

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<sup>22</sup>If the noun *ukuçılar* is interpreted as aboutness-topic of the sentence, SubjP is identified as Rizzi’s (2006), Rizzi & Shlonsky’s (2007) criterial subject position.

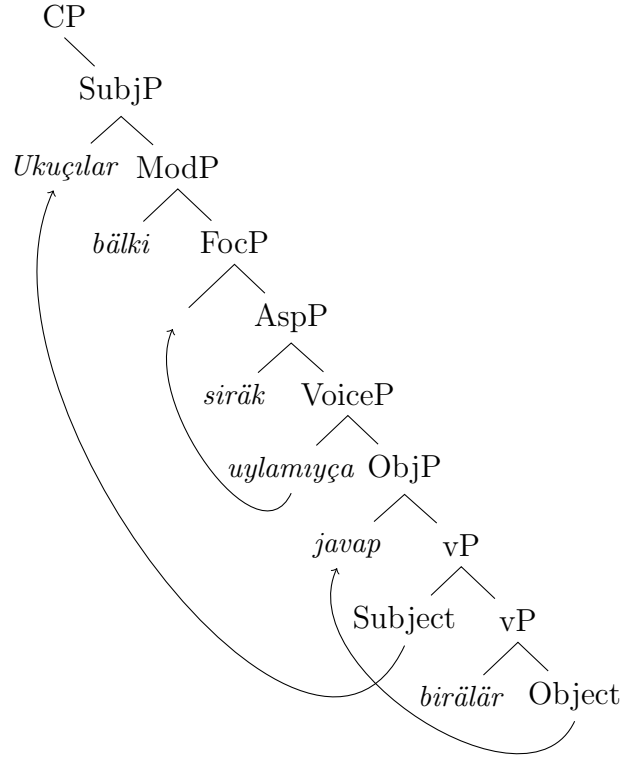


Figure 3.12:

Cinque (2017), in the article “*On the status of functional categories*“, revisit some aspect of the structure of the functional sequence of the clause in light of Kayne’s (2016) proposal that all heads are obligatorily silent.

With the basic idea of Cinque (1999) that AdvP is in the Spec of the projection, headed by the functional verb and taking into account the fact that in head-final languages (or constructions), a lower material can intervene between the AdvP and the corresponding functional head morpheme, Cinque (2017) assumes the existence of paired functional projections separated by a silent one, hosting moved constituents,

in order to derive the canonical word order of languages in terms of phrases, as it is shown in figure 3.13, adapted from Cinque (2017).

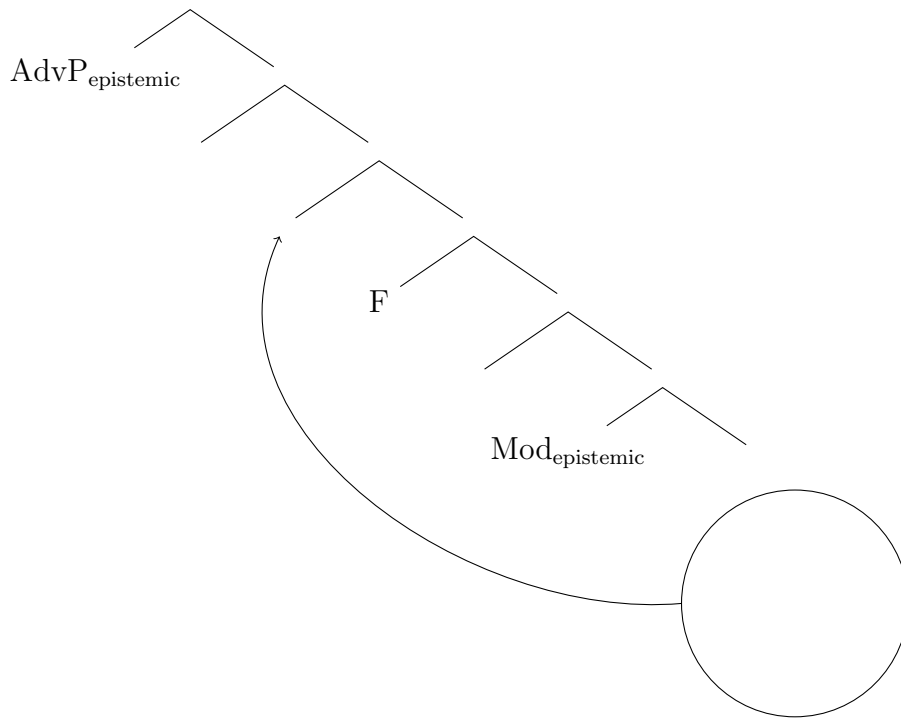


Figure 3.13:

In this structure, the lower paired projection represents the core functional notion, whereas the higher one an adverbial modification of the same functional notion. Languages may differ as to whether they lexicalize just the core functional projection or just the adverbial functional one, or both together.

Cinque (2017) points out that the relative position and scope of the different orders of the same elements in SVO (37) and SOV (38) languages is the same and they are derived from a common hierarchy (Fig 3.14) by blindly applying movement of the verbal projections with *pictures-of-whom* pied piping way.

(37).  $C^o \text{ Mod}^o \mathbf{V} \text{ AdvP}_{\text{manner}} \text{ AdvP}_{\text{epistemic}}$

(38).  $\text{AdvP}_{\text{epistemic}} \text{ AdvP}_{\text{manner}} \mathbf{V} \text{ Mod}^o C^o$

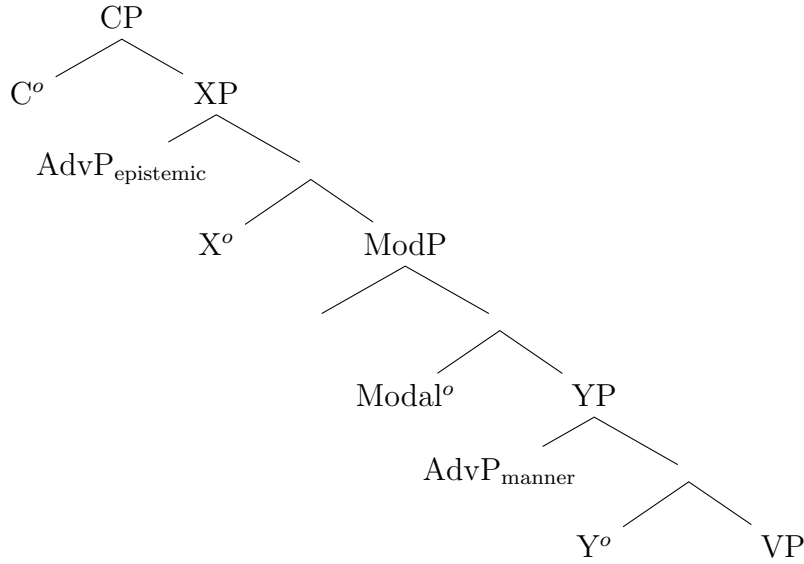


Figure 3.14:

Cinque (2017) suggests that in the ideal head-final word order type: all higher functional heads follow the lexical V(P) in the mirror image of the (hierarchical) order of Merge (with the higher more to the right), and phrasal specifiers (arguments, modifiers and circumstantials) precede V(P) in their order of Merge (with the higher more to the left). Let us take an illustrative fragment (39) of the extended projection of V(P) in SOV language, and its corresponding instance from Tatar, as in (40).

(39).  $\text{AdvP DP AdvP/PP } \mathbf{V(P)} \text{ Asp}^o/\text{Mod}^o \text{ T}^o C^o$

(40). Alar [ Ramil bälki imtihan-nı yaħşı tapşır-ır dip ] ömetlän-ä-lär.

They Ramil<sub>Nom</sub> probably exam<sub>Acc</sub> well pass<sub>FutInd</sub> Comp hope<sub>Pres3Pl</sub>

*“They hope that probably Ramil will pass well the exam.”*

The order in (40) can be derived as represented in Fig 3.15 through movement operations.

First, the complement DP is merged and following Cinque (2017), VP labels the dominating projection FP by percolating its label under the *pictures-of-whom* pied piping mode. Then VoiceP is merged and VP is attracted above it, after which VoiceP percolates its label to VP under the *pictures-of-whom* pied piping mode and moves giving the label to the new syntactic object as VoiceP.

Then, the non core adverbial projection paired with VoiceP, namely AdvP<sub>MannerVoice</sub> is merged and again VoiceP percolates its label under the *pictures-of-whom* pied piping mode.

At this point the functional projection ModP<sub>epistemic</sub>, selecting VoiceP is merged and VoiceP is attracted above it, after which ModP<sub>epistemic</sub> percolates its label to VoiceP followed by merger of the non core adverbial projection paired with it, AdvP<sub>epistemic</sub>. As soon as the higher CP is merged, ModP<sub>epistemic</sub> is attracted above it in the *pictures-of-whom* pied piping mode, followed by the percolation of the CP label and movement of CP with the *pictures-of-whom* pied piping mode.

The resulting derivation under the LCA yields the linear order in (38), repeated here as (41).

(41). AdvP<sub>epistemic</sub> AdvP<sub>manner</sub> DP V Mod<sub>epistemic</sub> C

### 3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we analysed the order of Tense/Aspect/Mood verbal suffixes of Tatar in the light of Cinque's (1999, 2001) rich IP model on the functional structure of the clause in the cartographic framework, adopted in this thesis.



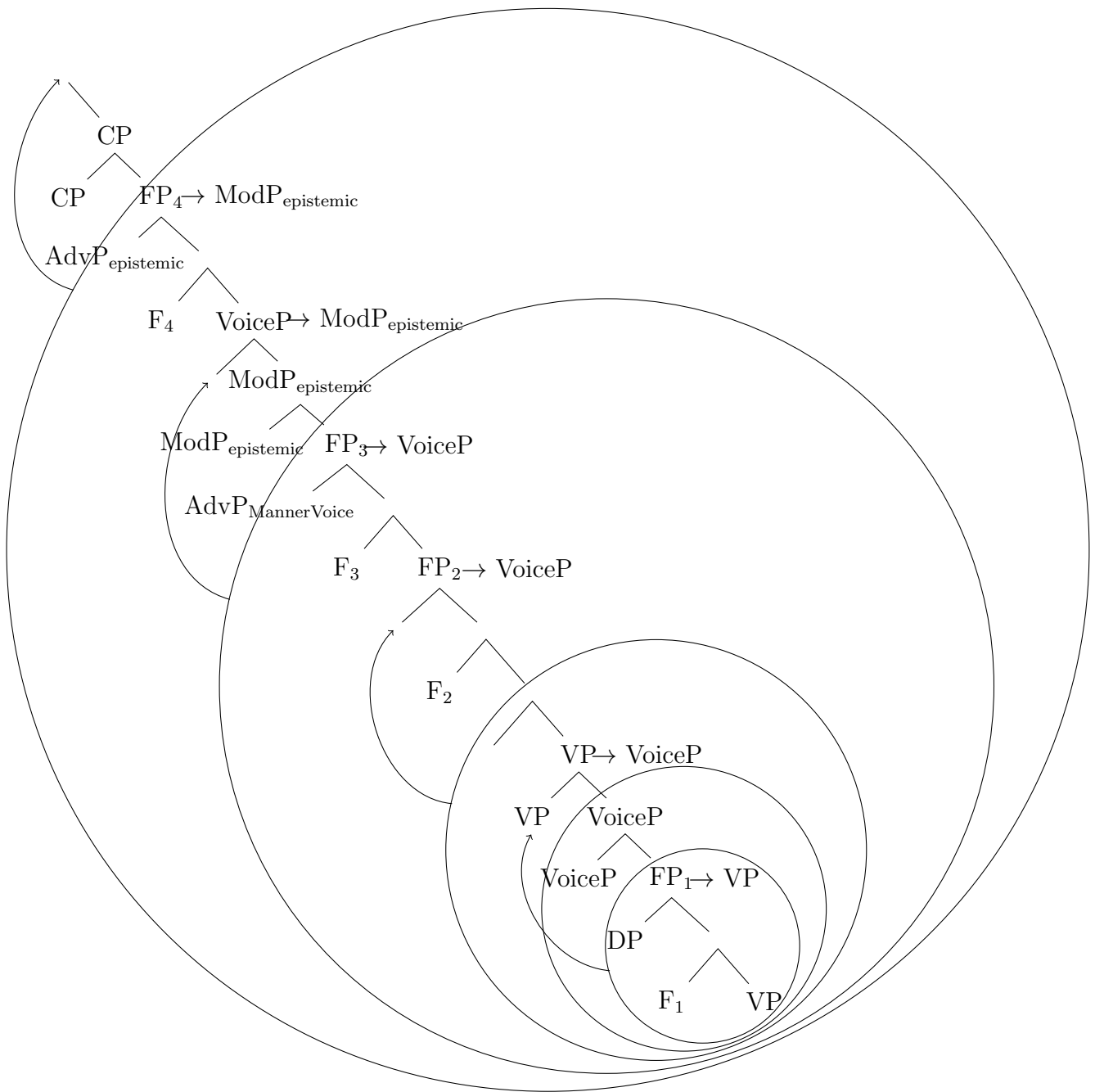


Figure 3.15:

Tatar inflectional morphemes, being syntactic categories and represented as parts of words are considered as the morphological realisation of some “I-features“ that reveal TAM specifications, as for example past, perfective, progressive, ability, etc. These functional morphemes may cooccur in a particular order under the *Mirror Principle* (Baker, 1985, 1988) from which we derived the hierarchical order of elements by transitivity. The data from Tatar, presented in this chapter, gives direct overt evidence for the matching between suffixes and the fixed hierarchy of functional projections proposed by Cinque (1999, 2001). Tatar examples presented in this chapter are thus compatible with the single overall order and look as in (1).

- (1). Mood<sub>SpeechAct</sub> > Mood<sub>Evaluative</sub> > Mood<sub>Evidential</sub> > T<sub>Past</sub> > T<sub>Fut</sub> >  
Mood<sub>Irrealis</sub> > TP<sub>Anterieur</sub> > Mod<sub>Alethic</sub> > Asp<sub>Habitual</sub> > Asp<sub>Repetitive</sub> >  
Asp<sub>Frequentative</sub> > Asp<sub>Celerative</sub> > Asp<sub>Terminative</sub> > Asp<sub>Continuative</sub> > Asp<sub>Perfect</sub> >  
Asp<sub>Retrospective</sub> > Asp<sub>Progressiv</sub> > Asp<sub>Prospective</sub> NegP > Mod<sub>Ability</sub> >  
Asp<sub>Resultative</sub> > Voice ( > V )

We then investigated base positions of arguments in Tatar in transitive and ditransitive sentences. Concerning the *Differential Object Marking* (DOM) phenomenon, we follow Pereltsvaig & Lyutikova (2014), who propose to consider marked accusative objects as DP and unmarked objects as lacking the D-layer and occupying the internal NP position.

The examination of different basic argument positions in *Double Object Construction* DOC in Tatar gives evidence for hierarchical relations as it was suggested for Turkish and Japanese by Öztürk (2005) and Miyagawa & Tsujioka (2004) respectively.

high goal<sub>possessive</sub> ... theme ... low goal<sub>locative</sub>

Assuming the underlying order Specifier-head-Complement (Kayne 1994), a surface SOV order in Tatar is obtained by moving Vs complements out of the VP. The

subject moves to Spec-SubjP, the object raises to Spec-ObjP. As for verb movement in Tatar, we tentatively assume that it raises to  $v^o$  without leaving vP, and *remnant vP* undergoes movement to the specifier of a functional head in the split TP-domain.

The last section deals with the new analysis of Cinque (2017) of some aspect of the structure of the functional sequence of the clause in light of Kayne's (2016) proposal that all heads are obligatorily silent. He proposes the existence of paired functional projections separated by a silent one, hosting moved constituents, in order to derive the canonical word order of languages in terms of phrases. According to Cinque (2017), the relative position and scope of different orders of the same elements in SVO and SOV languages is the same and they are derived from a common hierarchy by blindly applying movement of the verbal projections with, as concerns SOV languages, *pictures-of-whom* pied piping mode.

# Chapter 4

## The cartography of the left periphery

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will try to draw the cartography of *the left periphery (LP)* of the clause. Inspired by Rizzi's famous paper "*The fine structure of the left periphery*" (1997), as many other linguists, working on the relation between information structure and syntactic structure in different languages, we will show the internal organization of the complementizer system (CP) of Tatar. More precisely, we will investigate the inventory of functional projections in Tatar, assuming that each of the features that are intrinsic to the LP, is the realization of a head projecting within the C-system.

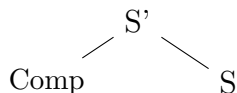
The chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.2 designs *Split CP Hypothesis* along the lines of Rizzi (1997). Section 4.3 outlines different types of finite embedded clauses, functioning as verb's complement in a matrix clause. Section 4.4 highlights syntactic particularities of ForceP and FinP in Tatar. Section 4.5 examines topic and focus

constructions in this language. Section 4.6 presents a description of interrogative constructions. Section 4.7 is the conclusion.

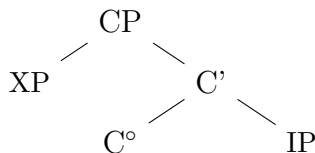
## 4.2 Theoretical background

The left periphery is a field, commonly associated with the clause (IP) external area, traditionally labeled CP, to which elements move for reasons of scope or discourse. Left peripheral constituents are usually associated with a special interpretation.

In the beginning of generative grammar project, Bresnan (1970) proposes to introduce a unitary Comp(ementizer) position for different kind of English complementizer particles, such as *that*, *whether*, *if*, *for*. The simple sentence with the complementizer formes a projection, labelled S'.



Later, Reinhart (1981), Bayer (1984) proposed different positions in the space above IP. With the advent of X-bar schema (Chomsky, 1986), the structure of S' is assimilated to the X'-format. C is now a functional head which selects an IP complement to form C'. C' in turn with a specifier results in a functional projection CP:



In 1997, on the basis of data of Romance and Germanic languages, Rizzi proposes to split up the CP domain on an array of discrete hierarchically ordered functional projections XPs with universal order. According to this system, the highest functional head ForceP of the C-space expresses the distinction between clause types, would it

be declarative, interrogative, exclamative, relative, etc. (Cheng 1991). The lowest functional head  $\text{Fin}(\text{iteness})P$  denotes properties related to tense, agreement and differentiates the finite and non-finite nature of the adjacent clause, IP. Between these heads, there are (recursive) Topic(s) and a unique Focus positions (when it is needed) related to the information structure of the clause.

The research strategy put forth in Rizzi (1997) is based on the assumption that the LP is an “interface“ between information structure and syntactic properties. The transparency of mapping of syntax to discourse requires that, for example, an element which occupies *Spec,TopP*, in narrow syntax should be interpreted as topic in the semantic component crosslinguistically, and vice versa. According to “criterial approach“ to scope-discourse semantics (Rizzi 1997, 2004), the functional heads, such as Q, Top, and Foc of the LP are criterial<sup>1</sup> and have a double function. In syntax, they trigger movement. As syntax “communicates” with interfaces as the PF and LF (sound and meaning), they trigger interpretive procedures for the proper assignment of scope-discourse properties at LF (Rizzi 2013), and the appropriate intonational contour at PF (Bocci 2012).

The initial map of the left periphery of the clause for Italian, proposed by Rizzi (1997) looks like in diagram 4.1<sup>2</sup>:

Rizzi (1997) observes that the Italian declarative complementizer *che* and infinitival complementizer *di* behave differently with respect to topic positions. In (1)<sup>3</sup>, a topicalized element occurs to the right of the complementizer *che* which is in Force but it must precede the *di* (2) in Fin, clearly showing, by transitivity, the ordering *Force* > *Top* > *Fin*.

---

<sup>1</sup>Criterial freezing: A phrase meeting a criterion is frozen in place (Rizzi 2006).

<sup>2</sup>The asterisk on TopP is the indication of recursiveness.

<sup>3</sup>Examples are taken from Rizzi (1997).

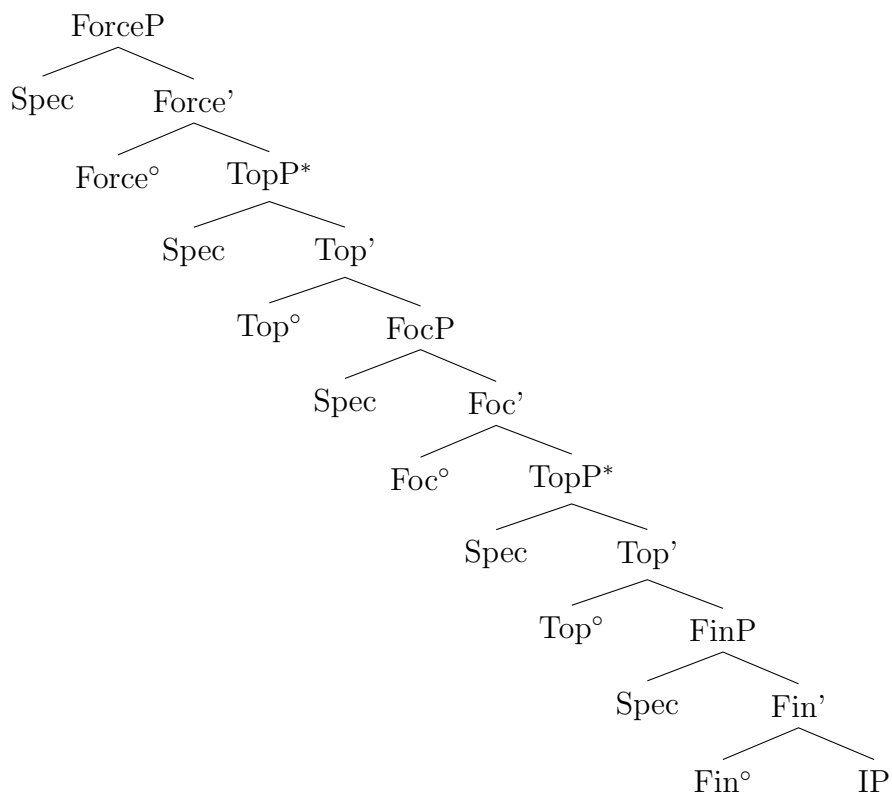


Figure 4.1:

(1). Ho deciso *che* questo libro<sub>Top</sub>, lo leggerò domani. (Rizzi 1997)

“I decided that this book, I will read tomorrow”

(2). Ho deciso questo libro<sub>Top</sub>, di leggerlo domani.

“I decided, this book, to read tomorrow”

Regarding the focused element *questo* as in (3), it should be “sandwiched” between

two topics: *a Gianni* on the left, and *domani* on the right, as exemplified in Rizzi (1997, ex. 37a), repeated here as (3).

- (3). Credo che a Gianni<sub>Top</sub>, QUESTO<sub>Foc</sub>, domani<sub>Top</sub>, gli dovremmo dire.  
 I believe that to Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, we should say

Later, on the examination of the declarative complementizer *che* and the interrogative complementizer *se* (if), which introduces Italian embedded yes/no questions, Rizzi (2001) extends the structure, entering there *Int(errogative)P* hosting *se* in the head position. The reason for the postulation of this projection is that while the complementizer *se* can be preceded, followed or surrounded by Topics (4), the complementizer *che* can just precede it (5).

- (4). Mi domando, a mio figlio, se, la macchina, gliela compreremo quest'anno  
 I wonder, to my son, if, the car, we will buy it to him this year  
 (Rizzi & Bocci, 2016)

- (5). Credo che a Gianni<sub>Top</sub>, avrebbero dovuto dir-gli la verità.

\*Credo, a Gianni<sub>Top</sub>, che avrebbero dovuto dir-gli la verità.

*"I believe that to Gianni, they should have said the truth to him."*

As a result, *che* and *se* occupy two different structural positions, with the former higher than the later. Moreover, the complementizer *se* must precede the focalized element, as in (6)<sup>4</sup>.

- (6). Mi domando se LA MACCHINA (\*LA MACCHINA se) gli potremmo regalare (non la moto)

I wonder if THE CAR/(\*THE CAR if) we could give to him (not the motorbike)

As these two complementizers never co-occur in Italian, Rizzi derives the order *che* > *se* by transitivity.

---

<sup>4</sup>See also the revision in Shlonsky and Soare 2011.



In order to support distinct positions of *che* and *se*, Rizzi, based on data taken from Plann (1982), considers the case of Spanish “reported questions“ where ForceP can co-occur with IntP (7).

- (7). Maria decía / preguntaba que si queríamos más sopa.  
 Maria said / asked that if we would like more soup  
*“Maria said/asked whether we wanted some more soup.”*

According to Rizzi, the difference between Italian and Spanish *se*-clauses is that in Spanish two heads can be concurrently lexicalized with order ForceP > IntP, whereas in Italian, if *se* is overtly realized, Force head contains a phonologically null clause typer.

Wh-elements like *perché* (why) are directly merged in the specifier of IntP (Rizzi 2001), followed by Topic and Focus projections. In 2004, Rizzi proposes another functional projection, called Modifier Phrase (ModP), for certain adverbials which are interpretively distinct from Topic and Focus. Moreover,  $QembP^5$  (for wh-elements in embedded contexts) occupies a low position in the LP. It is lower than Focus but possibly just before than FinP (Rizzi & Bocci, 2016).

Based on the distributions of different left peripheral elements, Rizzi (2001, 2004), Rizzi & Bocci, (2016) argue in favor of a more articulated structure of the LP:

- [illegible]

In the next sections, following the geometry of the syntactic tree, proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2001, a.o.) within the cartographic and crosslinguistic research of LP, we will give the evidence from the Tatar language in support of its articulated CP-domain.

<sup>5</sup>In Rizzi (2004a), this position was named Wh .

## 4.3 Sentential complementation system in Tatar

### 1 Embedded finite complement clauses

In this section, we will sketch different types of finite embedded clauses functioning as the complement of the verb in a matrix clause.

In Tatar, as in other Turkic languages, sentential complement clauses can be expressed by different kinds of subordination.

According to Zakiev (1993: 395), in modern Tatar literary language, constructions with intonational subordinations<sup>6</sup> occur more often than with subordinating conjunctions<sup>7</sup>.

Zakiev (1993: 395) states that in Turkic languages, intonational subordination was formed long before the emergence of conjunctive subordination. For example, in runic monuments (Turkic writing) of VIII century there were no embedded clauses with conjunctions, but constructions with **intonational subordination** occur very often.

In the example (1) from Tatar, the main and the complement clauses are separated by a pause or two dotes (:).

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<sup>6</sup>This intonation is called intonation of notification (kötterü intonatsiyası), or conjunction pause (Zakiev 1993: 395).

<sup>7</sup>As it is pointed out in TG (Zakiev 1993: 397): “the absence of conjunction has a psychological meaning. It does not allow you to make a gap between the parts of the sentence, introduces a moment of surprise and speed of the following events, brings the thoughts of the statement closer together and at the same time affects the feelings and will of the listener. The use of the conjunction changes the semantic content of the proposal, reduces its expressiveness and the strength of the impact” (here is my translation, G.K.)

- (1). Min khaterlim : min sezneñ belän Kazanda küreškän idem.  
 I remember (that) I you<sub>Poss</sub> with Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> meet<sub>Part</sub> be<sub>Aux1sg</sub>  
*“I remember I met you in Kazan.”*

The finite embedded clause in this example has conventional main/root clause order SOV in Tatar with the subject in the nominative case *min* (I) and the verb *küreşü* “meet” (in the pluperfect) with the auxiliary, bearing subject agreement markers of the verbal paradigm.

Very often, the main clause contains a demonstrative pronoun in the accusative case, as in example (2).

- (2). Min şunı khaterlim : min sezneñ belän Kazanda küreškän idem.  
 I that remember I you<sub>Poss</sub> with Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> meet<sub>Part</sub> be<sub>Aux1sg</sub>  
*“I remember I met you in Kazan.”*

This type of subordination is very close to other type of sentential complementation in Tatar. From the XVI - XVII centuries, the Tatar language widely uses ***ki*-clauses** (borrowed from Persian) to introduce the finite embedded clause (Zakiev 1992: 375).

The example (3) shows sentential complementation with the clause-initial complementizer *ki* for clauses in post-verbal position.

- (3). Min khaterlim ki, min sezneñ belän Kazanda küreškän idem.  
 I remember that I you<sub>Poss</sub> with Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> meet<sub>Part</sub> be<sub>Aux1sg</sub>  
*“I remember I met you in Kazan.”*

The whole sentence in these Indo-European type subordinate clauses exhibits SVO order. The *ki* can be considered in Tatar as in Turkish as “...the complementizer of a finite CP...and the clause to which *ki* is encliticized is analyzed as the matrix clause” (Griffiths & Güneş, 2014:200; Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005 a.o.).

*Ki* in (3) which is akin to the English complementizer *that* can be easily dropped, yielding a reproduction of the sentence in (1) without *ki*.

Zakiev (1992: 374) points out however that *ki* can establish various semantic relations between sentences, for example, a result as in (4) or a condition (5), as in Tatar nukrat-kistim dialect.

- (4). Marsel şundiý usal ki añardan bötenese kurka.  
 Marsel so angry that he<sub>Abl</sub> all be afraid *Pres3sg*  
*“Marsel is so angry that everybody is afraid of him.”*

- (5). Yerak kaçtıñ ki, ezlämim  
 away hid<sub>Past2sg</sub> that look for *PresNeg1sg* (from Zakiev 1992: 374)  
*“If you hid away I won’t look for you.”*

We will not consider constructions with *ki* in this thesis, because my personal impression is that nowadays *ki*-clauses are not very common constructions in the spoken Tatar language.

The third type of sentential complementation has the clause-final complementizer **di(e)p** in pre-verbal position.

In Tatar, typologically head-final language, a finite embedded clause, followed by the clause-final-type complementizer *dip*, precedes the main clause (6) as opposed to head-initial languages as English, Italian, French a.o., where the main clause followed by the complementizer (*that, che, que*) precedes the embedded clause.

- (6). [ Mondıy ozak öydä utır-ır-mın ] *dip* başıma da kitermädem.  
 this long home<sub>SgDat</sub> stay<sub>Fut1Sg</sub> that head<sub>Dat</sub> even bring<sub>Past1Sg</sub>  
*“It never even came to my mind that I would stay at home so long.”*

In (6), the subordinate clause which is embedded under a higher clause functions as an object of a main clause. The finite embedded clause (the complement clause),

as well as the main clause has a tensed verb bearing subject agreement markers of the verbal paradigm. Subjects of embedded and matrix clauses in (6) are not overt. If they are overt, they should be in the nominative case.

Finally, the main pattern of sentential complement clauses in Tatar like in many other Turkic languages, its fourth type, involves **nominalized clauses** (Zakiev 1992: 346). These clauses have a nominalized verb which is a verbal predicate with a subordinating suffix (labeled as a nominalizer) attached to it.

(7). [ Student-lar-nıñ küp uki-gan-ı ] -n yarat-am.

Student<sub>Pl-3pGen</sub> a lot study<sub>PP/Poss</sub> ] <sub>Acc</sub> love<sub>Pres1Sg</sub>  
*“I love that students study a lot”.*

In (7), the genitive-marked external argument *studentlar-nıñ* of the subordinate clause agrees in person and number with its predicate *uku* (study) bearing the nominalizing suffix *-gän*, the possessive suffix *-ı* and followed by the accusative case suffix *-n*. The case suffix on nominalised complement clause is assigned by the matrix verb *yaratu* “to love”. That is to say, the whole nominalized embedded clause receives the argument role of the direct object of the verb “to love” and is marked by the accusative case (George & Kornfilt 1981, Kornfilt 2001)<sup>8</sup>. The fully finite subordinate clause in (6) does not carry such case. Even if Tatar nominalized complement clauses lack a complementizer such as *that* in English subordinate clauses, they manifest the parallelism found in some languages of Indo-European style of complementation<sup>9</sup>.

The agreement between the subject and the verb in the embedded clause in (7) is parallel to the agreement in possessive NPs, as in example (8). The noun *student* in (8) also has genitive and the second noun *uku-lar* has possessive agreement. This

<sup>8</sup>Kornfilt (2001) defines such clauses in Turkish as argument clauses.

<sup>9</sup>Predolac (2017) states it for Turkish nominalized clauses.

possessive NP comparable to the English *poss-ing* construction (for example: *John's criticizing the book*. Borsley & Kornfilt 2000).

(8). Student-lar-nıñ uku-lar-ı

Student<sub>Pl-3pGen</sub> study<sub>Pl-3pPoss</sub>  
*“Student’s studies”.*

Contrary to the subject-predicate agreement with verbal paradigm as it is the case with the finite *dip* clause (6), the subject-predicate agreement in (7) is of nominal paradigm.

As a conclusion, Tatar shows the coexistence of different types of sentential complements. CP with initial complementizer appears to the right of the heads that select them (10), or with its zero realization (9), giving the order - [ V [ <sub>CP</sub> C ] ]. CP with final complementizers occur to the left of the heads that select them (11), yielding the order [ [ <sub>CP</sub> C ] V ]. Finally, one more model of complementation is nominalized clauses, situated to the right or the left of the heads that select them (12).

(9). Min ısan-am : [ sez matç-nı jıñ-är-sez ].

I believe you<sub>2Pl</sub> match<sub>SgAcc</sub> win<sub>Fut2Pl</sub>  
*“I believe that you will win the match.”*

(10). Min ısan-am ki [ sez matç-nı jıñ-är-sez ].

I believe that you<sub>2Pl</sub> match<sub>SgAcc</sub> win<sub>Fut2Pl</sub>  
*“I believe that you will win the match.”*

(11). Min [ sez matç-nı jıñ-är-sez ] dip ısan-am.

I you<sub>2Pl</sub> match<sub>SgAcc</sub> win<sub>Fut2Pl</sub> that believe<sub>Pres1Sg</sub>  
*“I believe that you will win the match.”*

(12). Min [ sez-neñ matç-nı jıñ-gän-egez-gä ] ısan-am.

I you<sub>2PlGen</sub> match<sub>SgAcc</sub> win<sub>NM2PlDat</sub> believe<sub>Pres1Sg</sub>  
*“I believe that you will win the match.”*

## 4.4 Identifying Force<sup>0</sup> and Fin<sup>0</sup>

### 1 Force<sup>0</sup>

#### Di(e)p-clauses

In this section, we will consider the properties of sentential embedding through verb of saying (*diyu* - “say”) - *di(e)p* - clauses.

As Zakiev states (1992), *dip* can establish different relations between main and subordinate clauses.

In many Tatar grammars, *dip* is recognized as a subordinator or a complementizer (Zakiev 1992, Khanina 2007, Podobryaev 2014).<sup>10</sup> *Dip* is the reduced variety of *diep* which historically represents the derived, converbial form of the verb of quotation *diyu* - “say”<sup>11</sup> and is created as any converb from appropriate verbs, as for example *biju* (dance) - *biep* (dancing), *jiju* (collect) - *jiep* (collecting) (Zakiev 1992, Khanina 2007, ...). It is also known as the second present gerundive form of *diyu*. So, *di(e)p* becomes a subordinator via the process of grammaticalization of the verb *diyu* - “say” and this is the unique verb that has this property.

Galiyeva & Elezarova (2019), who analyzed some aspects of grammaticalization of *dip*, based on Tatar national Corpus “Tugan Tel”<sup>12</sup>, observed that among various

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<sup>10</sup>Many Turkic languages have related words of Tatar *dip*, as for example, Turk *diye*, Kazakh *dep*, Kirgiz *dep*, Sakha *dien* etc.

<sup>11</sup>There are languages from different families which subordinators are derived from the verb “say”, as for example Hungarian “hogy”, Japanese “to”, Jamaican creole “se” a.o.

<sup>12</sup>As it is cited in <http://tugantel.tatar/>: Tatar National Corpus “Tugan Tel” is a linguistic resource of the modern literary Tatar language. The volume of the Corpus estimates 180,000,000 tokens (by December, 2018). The Corpus contains texts of different styles and genres. The Corpus has a system of grammatical annotation that is oriented at presenting all the existing grammatical word-forms.

forms of the verb *diju*, the most frequent form is *dip* with 47,6% of Corpus data which means 730839 instances of *dip*, followed by the verb in preteritum with 17,1% of uses.

The distribution of *dip* in the Tatar syntax is quite wide. In the example (1), the complementizer *dip* (which we gloss as “that”) indicates that the hearer thinks of the proposition expressed by its clause as a simple statement of facts. *Dip* points out that the matrix verb *uylau* (think) selects a sentential-complement with an illocutionary “force” which is declarative.

- (1). Aygul [ bala-lar bu kitap-nı ukıy-lar ] *dip* uyly.  
 Aygul child<sub>Pl</sub> this book<sub>Acc</sub> read<sub>Past3pl</sub> that think<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Aygul thinks that children read this book.”*

Thus, the C head in Tatar appears in the mirror image of the one found in English. The surface order of the sentence (1) is derived by rolling up the lower constituents into the specifier of the higher projections cyclically, as diagrammed in Fig 4.2.

One of the main functions of the complementizer *dip* is a quotative marker and “reports of indirect discourse“. According to Zakiev (1992), there are in Tatar, an analytical, and a synthetical ways to convert direct discourse into indirect one. An analytical way uses *dip* in order to link the embedded direct discourse with the matrix clause. In (2), we exemplify the sentence with the direct discourse, which is given in quotation marks and presents the exact words that the speaker utters, followed by *dip* and the matrix clause. The example (4) is a sentence with the indirect discourse which reports what another person has said or written in the words of a subsequent

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Grammatical annotation of a Tatar word includes the information about the part of speech of the word and a set of morphological features (parameters). Morphological annotating of Corpus texts is carried out using the module of two-level morphological analysis of the Tatar language implemented in the program tool PC-KIMMO. The search system of the Corpus enables for a search for lexemes, word forms and individual grammatical parameters.



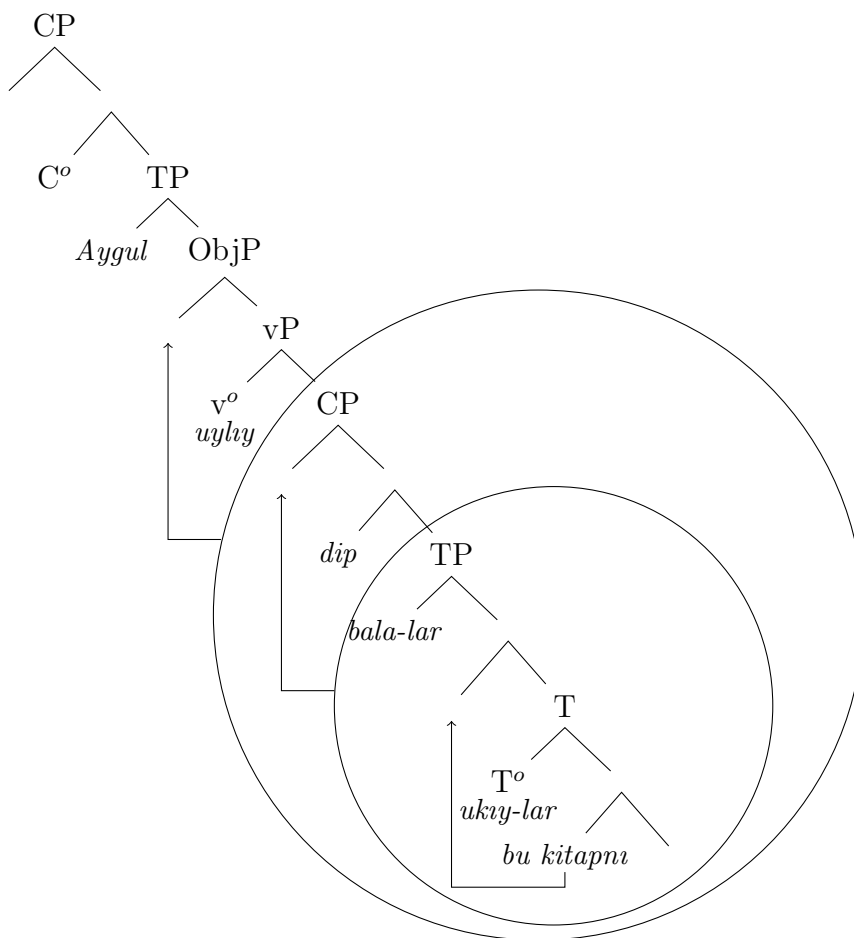


Figure 4.2:

reporter also followed by *dip* and the matrix clause. The following two sentences, taken from Zakiev (1992: 484), differ only by the subject which is nominative in (2)

and accusative<sup>13</sup> in (4).

(2). - **Ul** kiçä şähärgä kilgän, - *dip* söylädelär.

(S)he<sub>Nom</sub> yesterday city<sub>SgDat</sub> come<sub>Past</sub> that tell<sub>3PlPast</sub>  
*“It was told: - “S(he) came to the city yesterday.”*<sup>14</sup>

(4). [ **Anı** kiçä şähärgä kilgän ] *dip* söylädelär.

(S)he<sub>Acc</sub> yesterday city<sub>SgDat</sub> come<sub>Past</sub> that tell<sub>3PlPast</sub>  
*“It was told that s(he) came to the city yesterday.”*<sup>15</sup>

Let us now use a synthetical way to convert direct discourse of (2) into indirect one, as in example (5).

(5). [ **Anıñ** kiçä şähärgä kil-gän-e]-n söylädelär.

(S)he<sub>Gen</sub> yesterday city<sub>SgDat</sub> come<sub>gan3PossAcc</sub> tell<sub>3PlPast</sub>  
*“It was told that s(he) came to the city yesterday.”*

As we can observe, the subject in (5) is in genitive case and agrees in person and number with its predicate *kilü* (come) bearing the nominalizing suffix *-gän* and the

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<sup>13</sup>In Tatar, as in other Turkic languages, subjects of finite embedded clauses (4) can have *differential case marking* DCM (Podobryaev 2014). See, for example, George & Kornfilt (1981) about Turkish embedded subject DCM, Baker & Vinokurova (2010) for Sakha.

<sup>14</sup>We should notice however that embedded clause expressing direct discourse as in (2) can be introduced by the matrix verb *diyu* - “say” in different tense and aspect forms, as for example:

(3). - **Ul** kiçä şähärgä kilgän, - *didelär / digännär*

(S)he yesterday city<sub>SgDat</sub> come<sub>Past</sub> have told<sub>3PlPast/PastInd</sub>  
*“They told: - “S(he) came to the city yesterday.”*

<sup>15</sup>Keskin (2009: 32) in the analogous constructions of Turkish, considers that the subject of the embedded clause is assigned accusative case by the matrix verb. He points out that this construction is alternatively referred to as the exceptional case marking or raising to object construction in generative linguistics.

possessive suffix *-e*. The accusative case suffix *-n* on nominalised complement clause is assigned by the matrix verb “to tell”. The clause lacks a complementizer.

When *dip* is used as a quotative marker and indicates a report, it occurs generally with complements of verbs of saying other than *diju*, such as *äytü* (tell), *atau* (name), *endäşü* (address), *sorau* (ask), *söiläü* (tell), *kıçkıru* (shout), *östäü* (add), *pışıldau* (murmur), a.o.

(6). Sine Kazanga bara *dip* äytte ul.

You<sub>Acc</sub> Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>3SgPres</sub> that tell<sub>3PlPast</sub> (s)he  
 “(S)he told that you go to Kazan.”

If *dip* is used as a complementizer for propositions, it usually shows up in the CP complements of verbs of cognition, perception such as *uylau* “think“, *belü* “know“, *ömetlänü* “hope“, *añlau* “understand“, a.o.

(7). Bu säyahät sezgä kızıklı bulır *dip* belgän idek.

This travel you<sub>Dat</sub> interesting be<sub>3SgFut</sub> that know<sub>1PlPast</sub>  
 “We knew that this trip will be interesting you.”

As it is pointed out by Galiyeva & Elezarova (2019), combinations of *dip* with verbs of different semantic classes manifest that *dip* is most often related to speech act verbs that constitute 49,3% of constructions (186006 instances) and mental verbs with about 30% of constructions (112878 examples). The most frequent verbs of these two classes are *äytü* (say) and *uylau* (think). Combinations of *dip* with verbs of emotion constitute 6%, that is to say 22620 instances, with verbs of motion 5,63% and others. So, according to Galiyeva & Elezarova, the distribution of *dip* evidences that the main directions of development of grammaticalization of *dip* is its functioning as a quotative.

A similar phenomenon of transformation of direct discourse into indirect one is observed in Japanese (SOV language), considered by Saito (2010) where the comple-

mentizer *to*<sup>16</sup> follows a direct quotation, as in (8), while it marks an indirect discourse in (9).<sup>17</sup>

- (8). Hanako-ga, “Watasi-wa tensai da,” *to* itta/omotta (koto)  
H.-NOM I-TOP genius is to said/thought fact  
“(the fact that) Hanako said/thought, “I’m a genius.”
- (9). Hanako-ga [<sub>CP</sub> zibun-ga tensai da *to*] itta/omotta (koto)  
H.-NOM self-Nom genius is to said/thought fact  
“(the fact that) Hanako said/thought that she is a genius.”

According to Saito (2010), in Japanese, there is a division of labor between *to* which is a complementizer for paraphrases of direct discourse, as in (9) and *no* which is a complementizer for propositions, as in (10) drawn from Saito 2010, ex.25).

- (10). Taroo-wa [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Hanako-ga, soko-ni iru *no*] -o] sitteita  
T.- Top H.-NOM there-in is no-Acc knew  
“Taroo knew that Hanako was there.”

Saito’s observation is based on Plann’s (1992) analysis of Spanish complementizer *que*. Unlike Japanese, the Spanish *que* is ambiguous between complementizers for propositions (11) and for “paraphrases” of quotes (12).<sup>18</sup>

- (11). Sabía que corría  
knew<sub>3sg</sub> that run<sub>3sg</sub>  
“*He knew that he was running.*”
- (12). Dijo que a no molestarle  
said<sub>3sg</sub> that to not bother-him  
“*He said to not bother-him.*”

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<sup>16</sup>Saito notes that *to* heads the CP complements of typical bridge verbs.

<sup>17</sup>Examples are taken from Saito (2010, ex.10(a,b)).

<sup>18</sup>The examples (11), (12) correspond to examples 16(a) and 13(b) in Rivero (1994).

Tatar examples behave in these cases like Spanish, namely the complementizer *dip* is ambiguous between a complementizer for propositions and for “paraphrases” of quotes, as it is shown above in the examples (7) and (6) respectively.

Furthemore, *dip* can be also found in adverbial clauses specifying, for example, manner (13), reason (14), purpose (16), and is selected by verbs of motion, emotion a.o.

- (13). Sandugaçım sayrıy çut-çut *dip*, bezneñ ildän matur il yuk *dip*.  
 nightingale<sub>1Poss</sub> sing<sub>3SgPr</sub> çut-çut that ours country<sub>Abl</sub> beautiful country<sub>Nom</sub> not that  
*“Nightingale sings çut-çut, there is no more beautiful country than ours.”* (M. Sadri,  
 Tatar song)

- (14). Bülmägä saf hava kersen *dip* täräzäne açtım.  
 Room<sub>Dat</sub> fresh air enter<sub>3PSgImper</sub> that window<sub>AccDef</sub> open<sub>1SgPast</sub>  
*“I opened the window to let the fresh air enter into the room.”*<sup>19</sup>

- (16). Däreslär bulmadı *dip* kinoga kitte.  
 Class<sub>PlNom</sub> have<sub>3SgNegPast</sub> that cinema<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>3PlPast</sub>  
*“Having said there were no classes he went to the cinema.”*<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>There is an another way to express the reason of the subordinate clause by replacing *dip* with *öçen*:

- (15). Bülmägä saf hava kersen *öçen* täräzäne açtım.  
 Room<sub>Dat</sub> fresh air enter<sub>3PSgImp</sub> so that window<sub>AccDef</sub> open<sub>1SgPast</sub>  
*“I opened the window to let the fresh air enter into the room.”*

<sup>20</sup>The reason clause can be paraphrased by other constructions by adding the appropriate suffixes to the verb or suffixes + postpositions.

- (17). Däreslär bulmaganga kinoga kitte.  
 Class<sub>PlNom</sub> have<sub>NegNmzDat</sub> cinema<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>3PlPast</sub>  
*“Due to lack of lessons he went to the cinema.”*

Gündoğdu (2017), analyzing *diye* constructions in Turkish (which corresponds to *dip* constructions in Tatar), claims that there is no unified *diye*, but two different realizations: non-decomposable (lexicalized) *diye*, and another one that can be decomposed into *de+ye* (say+Optative). We leave open the discussion for future research whether Tatar uses the same strategy in realization of *dip* constructions and encodes various types of its realizations in appropriate heads, extending more the left periphery of the clause.

As it is shown in examples above, subordinate clauses with *dip* in Tatar are subject to selectional requirements imposed by selecting predicates. Within the declarative type of subordinate clauses, some predicates are compatible with quotations, others with propositions, another class of predicates prefers adverbial clauses. In this thesis, we will consider only *dip*-complement embedded clauses.

## 2 Fin<sup>0</sup>

### Nominalized complement clauses

In this section, we present the properties of sentential complement expressed by *nominalized* clauses.

Tatar distinguishes various types of nominalization constructions depending on their morphological, syntactic and semantic properties (Zakiev 1992: 346). In order to create nominalized clauses, Tatar uses different nominalizing suffixes, such as *-kan/-gan*, *-açaq/-äçäk*, *-u/-ü*, *-asi/-äse*.<sup>21</sup> As in Turkish (Kornfilt 2001, Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, Keskin 2009 a.o.), we distinguish in Tatar two types of nominalized complement embedded clauses: *factive* nominalization (indicative) and *action* nominalization

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<sup>21</sup>These suffixes have different vowel and consonant alternations.

(subjunctive)<sup>22</sup>.

Factive complement clauses in Tatar carry suffixes homogenous to the past indefinite tense suffixes -kan/-gan, as in (18), or to the definite future suffixes -açak/-äçäk as in (19) or else to the indefinite future suffix -ası, as in (20) (which is also known as “participle of necessity”). In Tatar, these nominalizations have a limited manifestation of tense. As it is pointed out by Borsley & Kornfilt (2000) for Turkish, in Tatar as well, they cannot be found with other *tense*, *aspect* or *mood* suffixes as it is a case with predicates in root clauses.

- (18). Gölnaz [ Ildar-nıñ Kazan-ga bar-gan-ı]-n bel-de- $\phi$ .  
 Gölnaz [ Ildar-*Gen* Kazan-*Dat* go-*gan/3sgPoss*]-*Acc* know-*Past3sg*  
*“Gölnaz had known that Ildar goes /is going /went/ to Kazan.”*
- (19). Gölnaz [ Ildar-nıñ Kazan-ga bar-açag-ı]-n išet-te- $\phi$ .  
 Gölnaz [ Ildar-*Gen* Kazan-*Dat* go-*acag/3sgPoss*]-*Acc* hear-*Past3sg*  
*“Gölnaz heard that Ildar will go to Kazan.”*
- (20). Gölnaz [ Ildar-nıñ Kazan-ga bar-ası]-n išet-te- $\phi$ .  
 Gölnaz Ildar-*Gen* Kazan-*Dat* go-*ası/3sgPoss*]-*Acc* hear-*Past3g*  
*“Gölnaz heard that Ildar will go to Kazan.”*

Concerning *action* nominalizations (21), (22), they bear suffixes -u/-ü. Zakiev (1992: 343) terms them as “primary action nominals”<sup>23</sup>. They are deprived of *tense* specifications and their event depend of the event time of the matrix verb.

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<sup>22</sup>As it is pointed out in Kornfilt (2001), in different analysis of Turkic subordination (Lewis 1967, Johanson 1998 a.o.), factive nominalizations are called participles or nominalizations, because they are formed by adding the suffixes (for Tatar, for example, -gan -gän, *G.K.*) to the stem of the verb. Action nominalizations are called non-factive or verbal nouns.

<sup>23</sup>“Secondary action nominals“ are formed from participles on -kan/-gan followed by the suffix -lik, for example, kil-gän-lek (coming).

- (21). Gölnaz [ Ildar-nıñ Kazan-ga bar-u-ı]-n bel-ä.  
 Gölnaz Ildar<sub>Gen</sub> Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> go-u/3sgPoss ]-Acc know<sub>Pres3g</sub>  
*“Gölnaz knows that Ildar goes to Kazan.”*
- (22). Gölnaz [ Ildar-nıñ Kazan-ga bar-u-ı]-n bel-äçäk.  
 Gölnaz Ildar<sub>Gen</sub> Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> go-u/3sgPoss ]-Acc know<sub>Fut3g</sub>  
*“Gölnaz will know that Ildar goes to Kazan.”*

The -kan/-gan and -u/-ü clauses have some properties of verbs, such as aspect, mode, repetivity and some properties of nouns, such as case, number, possessivity.

- (23). Gölnaz [ Ildar-nıñ bu jır-mı jır-la-gan-ı]-n yarat-a-ϕ.  
 Gölnaz Ildar<sub>Gen</sub> this song<sub>Acc</sub> sing-gan3sgPoss ] Acc like<sub>Pres3pl</sub>  
*“Gölnaz likes Ildar’s (way of) singing this song.”*

Zakiev (1992) points out that subjects of nominalized embedded clauses may have genitive case (standard form) or surface in the unmarked form. The following examples are taken from Zakiev (1992: 339).

- (24). Sin-eñ kayt-kan-ıñ-nı min belmä-gän idem.  
 You<sub>2sgGen</sub> come<sub>kan2sgPossAcc</sub> I know<sub>gan</sub> be<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I didn’t know that you had come.”*
- (25). Sin-eñ kayt-kan-nı min belmä-gän idem.  
 You<sub>2sgGen</sub> come<sub>kanAcc</sub> I know<sub>gan</sub> be<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I didn’t know that you had come.”*
- (26). Sin kayt-kan-nı min belmä-gän idem.  
 You<sub>2sgNom</sub> come<sub>kanAcc</sub> I know<sub>gan</sub> be<sub>Past1sg</sub>  
*“I didn’t know that you had come.”*

All three sentences differ by the agreement between the subject and the predicate. In (24), the subject agrees in person and number with its predicate bearing possessive



suffix. In (25), the predicate lacks a possessive suffix while the subject is in genitive. In (26), the subject has an unmarked form (which is nominative) and the predicate has no possessive suffix. All predicates are assigned accusative case.

A nominalized clause cannot remain without matrix clause and expressed apart. Even if a nominalized clause in Tatar usually is placed between a main clause and a subject, as in example (27), it can scramble anywhere in the sentence, contrary to *dip* clauses which always precede the matrix verb.

- (27). Lilia [Aygul-nıñ universitet-ta uki-gan-ı]-n bel-ä.  
 Lilia [Aygul-*Gen* university-*Dat* study-*gan/3sgPoss*]-*Acc* know-*Pres3sg*  
*“Lilia knows that Aygul is studying at the university.”*

When it is topicalized, it precedes the subject, as in (28).

- (28). [Aygul-nıñ universitet-ta uki-gan-ı]-n Lilia bel-ä.  
 [Aygul-*Gen* university-*Dat* study-*gan/3P*]-*Acc* Lilia knows  
*“That Aygul is studying at the university Lila knows.”*

A nominalized clause can even follow the matrix verb, as in (29).<sup>24</sup>

- (29). Lilia bel-ä [Aygul-nıñ universitet-ta uki-gan-ı]-n.  
 Lilia knows [Aygul-*Gen* university-*Dat* study-*gan/3sgPoss*]-*Acc*  
*“Lilia knows that Aygul is studying at the university.”*

According to Borsley & Kornfilt (2000), in Turkish: “The distribution of object nominalized clauses is identical to the distribution of overtly accusative-marked NPs, where both enjoy much greater freedom with respect to the positions of a clause in which they may occur”. The Tatar examples manifest the same distribution.

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<sup>24</sup>We consider post-verbal elements in Tatar as presupposed, as it is stated by George & Kornfilt (1981) for Turkish and not focused (Kural 1992).

## 4.5 Topics and Foci

In line with the cartographic approach to clause structure, there are specialized landing sites for CP internal “scope-discourse“ projections like Topic and Focus, sandwiched between Force and Fin. All movement operations to the criterial (final) positions are driven by criterial features, such as *focus*, *topic*, *wh*-features Rizzi (1997).

Tatar is a discourse-configurational language where word order variation are associated with certain interpretive effects which means that flexibility in its word order is triggered by *Information Structure* (IS) categories, such as foci and topics, among other things. According to Zakiev (1992), Safiullina (1997), Khismatova (2004) these pragmatic notions may be encoded in Tatar by syntactic, morphological or phonological means, as intonation. The main goal of this section is to investigate the syntactic distribution of topic and focus constituents in Tatar. We will examine their relative order with an eye to define the positions they activate in the articulated left periphery of the clause in Tatar.

### 1 Topicalisation

Among various definitions of the concept of topic in the literature (Reinhart 1982, Lambrecht 1994, Kiss 1998, Valduvi 1992 a.o), we follow the idea that topichood is related to aboutness relation (Reinhart 1982, Lambrecht, 1994), namely topic is an element what the rest of the sentence is about. In our work, we refer to Rizzi’s (1997: 264) definition of topic:

*“[a] topic is a preposed element characteristically set off from the rest of the clause by “comma intonation“ and normally expressing old information, somehow available and salient in previous discourse; the comment is a kind of complex predicate, an open*

sentence predicated of the topic and introducing new information.”.

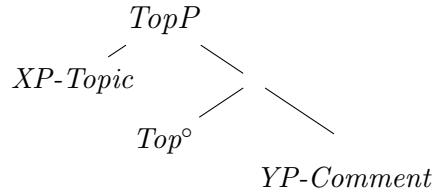


Figure 4.3:

The transparency of mapping of syntax to discourse requires that elements which occupy *Spec, TopP* have similar interpretation crosslinguistically. For example, Delfitto (2002: 61) points out that “*Topics are interpreted in essentially the same way in English topicalization and Italian CLLD.*”

The utterance in (1) exemplifies a topic-comment articulation, with the fronted constituent *il tuo libro* “your book” as the topic / old information and the clause as the comment / new information. According to Rizzi, topicalization of direct object in Italian, that is, *CLLD*, involves three linked elements: the left dislocated, the gap and the resumptive pronoun (1)<sup>25</sup>, contrary to focalized element which never involves the resumptive clitic (3).

- (1). [Il tuo libro], [<sub>Top</sub> [Gianni **lo** leggerà \_ domani.]]  
 Your book, Gianni will read it tomorrow  
 (topic = Il tuo libro; comment = Gianni lo leggerà domani)
- (2). \*Il tuo libro, Gianni leggerà \_ domani.  
 Your book, Gianni will read tomorrow
- (3). [IL TUO LIBRO, [<sub>Foc</sub> [voglio comprare \_ ]]] (,non il suo).  
 YOUR BOOK, I want to buy , (not his)

<sup>25</sup>The examples are taken from Rizzi & Bocci, 2017.

(focus = IL TUO LIBRO; presupposition = voglio comprare \_)

Cinque (1990), building on Chomsky (1977), proposes the obligatoriness of clitic resumption in (1), otherwise a gap not bound clause-internally would be interpretable as a variable. Since topic is not an operator, thereby a variable remains unbound. According to Rizzi, the topic is not quantificational, this is why in Italian, “*an empty category in object position has no legitimate status: it cannot be a variable, as there is no quantifier to bind it, nor can it fulfill the conditions of any other type of ec (PRO, pro or DP-trace)*” (Rizzi 1997: 292).

Contrary to Italian, English topicalized object does not involve a resumptive pronoun (4).

(4). This book, I will give \_ to John.

Rizzi (1997) following Cinque (1990), suggests that topicalized object in English is linked to an empty category (or a trace) in an IP internal argument position by a null operator NO (equivalent to the Italian clitic), which occupies the Spec of FinP, as illustrated in the example (5).

(5). This book<sub>*i*</sub>, NO I will give t<sub>*i*</sub>, to John.

Rizzi suggests that IP internal null element is licensed by an element “*inherently characterized as operator but different from quantificational operators in that it does not assign a range to its bindee; rather, the anaphoric operator seeks for an antecedent to which it connects its bindee*” (Rizzi 1997: 293).

Some languages confirm this analysis by doubling an overt counterpart of the NO in topicalization constructions. For example, Zwart (1997) examining Dutch construction in (6), observed that optional (*die*) element serves as an operator linking *Jan* to the IP-internal argument position.

(6). Jan die mag ik niet.

John that like I not  
*“John, I don’t like.”*

A universally non-quantificational status of TopP indicates that its Specifier cannot be occupied by operators [+q] which are sensitive to *Weak Crossover (WCO)* (Lasnik & Stowell 1991)<sup>26</sup>. Consequently, topics which create non-quantificational A'-chain and don't have any *WCO* effect (7), contrast with *focalization* (8) and *wh-movement*<sup>27</sup>.

(7). Gianni<sub>i</sub>, sua<sub>i</sub> madre lo<sub>i</sub> ha sempre apprezzato.

Gianni, his mother him has always appreciated  
*“Gianni, his mother has always appreciated.”*

(8). \*GIANNI<sub>i</sub> sua<sub>i</sub> madre ha sempre apprezzato.

GIANNI, his mother has always appreciated  
*“GIANNI his mother has always appreciated.”*

Another property which differentiates topic from focus is bare quantificational elements like (*no-one*, *all*, etc.). If they are not related to a lexical restriction within the DP, they cannot be topicalized (9), but they can easily be focalized (10).

(9). \*Tutto, lo ho visto.

everything, it have seen  
*“I have seen everything.”*

(10). TUTTO ho visto.

everything have seen  
*“I have seen everything.”*

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<sup>26</sup>WCO follows from the leftness condition: A wh-trace cannot be coindexed with a pronoun to its left (Haegeman, 1994:417).

<sup>27</sup>All examples from (7) to (11) are taken from Rizzi (1997).

Topic heads in Romance languages can be reiterated and freely occur in the LP (11), but in English, TopP is unique (12).

- (11). Gianni, la tua macchina, lo ho convinto \_ a comprarla \_  
 Gianni, your car, it convinced \_ to buy \_  
 “Gianni, your car, I convinced to buy”.

- (12). John, I convinced \_ to buy your car

- (13). Your car , I convinced John to buy \_

- (14). \*John NO, your car NO, I convinced \_ to buy \_

Rizzi explains the non reiteration of DP topics in English (14) by the *theory of locality* where the higher NO crosses the lower one, entailing a *Relativized Minimality* effect. Since Romance languages do not use null operators no such effect is found.

## 2 Topics in Tatar

In Tatar, depending on definiteness property, arguments are placed in different positions in the sentence. In Tatar, as in Turkish (Kornfilt 2003), overt case marking is a necessary condition for syntactic movement.

- (15). Răsem-**ne**<sub>iTop</sub> Rimma Ergin-ga t<sub>i</sub> birde.  
 drawing<sub>AccDef</sub> Rimma<sub>Nom</sub> Ergin<sub>Dat</sub> give<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
 “Speaking of the drawing, Rimma gave (it) to Ergin.”

In (15), the preposed topicalized element *răsemne* bears the accusative case *-ni/ne*, the case of the direct definite object of the verb *birde* (“gave”) corresponding to that assigned in the IP-internal position.

However, indefinite objects (bare objects) cannot move to the sentence initial position. In the example (16), the moved indefinite direct object *răsem* which has a default non-marked accusative case leads to its ungrammaticality.

- (16). \*Räsem<sub>iTop</sub> Rimma Ergin-ga t<sub>i</sub> birde.  
drawing<sub>AccIndef</sub> Rimma<sub>Nom</sub> Ergin<sub>Dat</sub> give<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Speaking of the drawing, Rimma gave (it) to Ergin.”*

One of the property of Tatar topic is that it does not yield WCO effect (17), unlike the focus constructions (18).

- (17). Rimma-**ni**<sub>i</sub> [pro<sub>i</sub> dus-lar-1] teatr-**ga** chakır-dı.  
Rimma<sub>Acc</sub> pro friends theatre<sub>Dat</sub> invite<sub>Sg</sub>  
*“His/her<sub>i</sub> friends invite Rimma<sub>i</sub> to the theatre.”*

- (18). \*RIMMA-NI<sub>i</sub> [pro<sub>i</sub> dus-lar-1] teatr-**ga** chakır-dı.  
Rimma<sub>Acc</sub> pro friends theatre<sub>Dat</sub> invite<sub>Sg</sub>  
*“His/her<sub>i</sub> friends invite RIMMA<sub>i</sub> to the theatre.”*

The topicalization of *Rimmanı* in (17) across the co-indexed pronoun is legitimated. Topic constructions in Tatar like in Italian and in English involve A' - movement without creating a quantificational operator-variable chain, as predicted by Rizzi's (1997) model.

Another point is that Tatar argumental topic cannot be “doubled” by an IP internal pronoun, as in (19) unlike topicalization of an argument as in Italian, which requires the presence of a resumptive clitic in the comment to refer back to it, as in example (1) above.

- (19). \*Räsem-**ne**<sub>Top</sub> Rimma Ergin-ga *anı* birde.  
drawing<sub>AccDef</sub> Rimma<sub>Nom</sub> Ergin<sub>Dat</sub> it give<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Speaking of the drawing, Rimma gave (it) to Ergin.”*

Neither Tatar can be related to English null operator strategy. English does not allow multiple topics, however, no such restriction is observed in Tatar. So, the question which arises is how to establish the relation between a Tatar LP topic and the IP-

internal argument position. In order to answer this question we will look at the third strategy, proposed by Puskás (2000) for Hungarian topic constructions. There is no clitic pronoun in Hungarian, and topic constructions do not involve a null anaphor operator. As an alternative, Puskás observes a relation between the realization of overt case on the Topic and the presence of a clitic, as well the availability of object *pro*.

According to Puskás (2000), in Hungarian (which is an *object pro drop* language), a null *pro* A-binds its trace in the base position, as it is exemplified in (20)<sup>28</sup>.

- (20). [<sub>TOP</sub>P Attila<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> [<sub>Q/FP</sub> minden embere [<sub>IP</sub> tiszteli *pro*<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>].]  
           Attila<sub>Acc</sub>          every          man<sub>Poss</sub>  respect<sub>Pres3Sg</sub>  
       *“All his men respect Attila.”*

The IP-internal null object (*pro*) is formally licensed by the functional head AgrO and is identified by the rich morphological feature of the moved element. This *pro* creates the non-quantificational A'-chain with the topical element.

Tatar, like Hungarian is a *pro-drop* language with morphological rich case system. Accordingly, it is able to identify object *pro* via case-marked topics, manifesting the Hungarian strategy. All the DPs in topic position in Tatar should bear inherent or structural case which allow them to be the identificational licenser of *pro*.

Aboh (2004), analysing topic constructions in Gungbe, argues that they necessarily involves preposing of the topical element to the left periphery with the topic marker *yà*. What is particularly interesting is that *yà* can be combined only with definite or specific (i.e., D-linked) DPs and only one topic can be associated with the topic marker *yà* as in (21)<sup>29</sup> where the topic *Kòfí* appears with the specific marker *ló*.

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<sup>28</sup>This example is from Puskás (2000), as (69).

<sup>29</sup>Example is from Aboh (2004), as (20d).



- (21). Kòfí      ló      yà      é      bí      xúgán      vǐ      cé      lé      kpó  
          Kofi   Spf<sub>[+def]</sub>   Top   3sg   intelligent   than   child   my   Num   all  
          *“As for the specific Kofi, he is more intelligent than all my children.”*

Aboh further suggests that no TopP recursion is possible in Gungbe. The topic marker *yà* is inserted in TopP where it encodes the feature [+topic].

Rizzi (2013) looks at topic or focus markers as independent criterial heads, rather than as case-like affixes attached to the topic or focus phrase. Adopting Rizzi’s (1997) structure for topics and assuming that movement of the topicalized constituent to the pre subject position in Tatar is motivated by the need of checking its [+topic] feature in a *Spec-Head* configuration as in Fig 4.3., we propose that accusative suffix *-nı/ne* is merged in Top<sup>0</sup> as the morphological realization of the feature [+topic].

### The Topicalisation of adjuncts

Tatar topic constructions may also involve certain adjuncts. The example in (22) illustrates preposing of PP (*kön ahırynda* “in the end of the day”).

- (22). Kön ahırında,    studentlar    kinoga    kit-te-lär.  
          day end<sub>Dat</sub>    students    movie<sub>Dat</sub>    go<sub>Past3pl</sub>  
          *“In the end of the day students went to the movies.”*

The example (23) shows the topicalized preposed DP which bears the inherent case assigned by the verb, namely it is the ablative case.

- (23). Kazan-nan    artist-lar    suklanıp    kayt-tı-lar.  
          Kazan<sub>Abl</sub>    artists    admiration<sub>Abl</sub>    come<sub>Past3pl</sub>  
          *“The artists have returned from Kazan with admiration.”*

Note that not all types of adverbs can be topicalized and placed in sentence initial position, only those that bear some properties of nouns, in a lexicalised forme. The

latter type of property consists generally of overt case morphology. We can see contrasts in the examples (24) and (25):

(24). \*Irtä Bulat mäktäp-kä kit-te.

early Bulat school<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>Past3sg</sub>

Intended reading: “*As for (going) early, Bulat went to school (early).*”

This adverb has a counterpart which is inflected for ablative case but otherwise has the same meaning:

(25). Irtän Bulat mäktäp-kä kit-te.

early<sub>Abl</sub> Bulat school<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>Past</sub>

“*As for early, Bulat went to school (early).*”

The topicalization of a temporal adverb is shown in (26).

(26). Irtägä Aynur hat jaza.

tomorrow<sub>Dat</sub> Aynur letter write<sub>Fut</sub>

“*It is tomorrow that Aynur will write a letter.*”

We can find similar contrasts with locational adverbials:

(27). \*Tışh Bulat cık-tı.

outside Bulat go out<sub>Past</sub>

“*As for outside, Bulat went (out).*”

(28). Tışhka Bulat cık-tı.

outside<sub>Dat</sub> Bulat go out<sub>Past</sub>

“*As for outside, Bulat went (out).*”

### 3 Multiple Topics

The LP of Tatar may be populated by more than one topical element. They can be freely ordered with respect to each other. Compare the ordering of the topics in (29)

(29). [ Büläk-ne ] [ Alsu-ga ] Ilham      kicä      bir-de  
          gift<sub>Acc</sub>      Alsu<sub>Dat</sub>      Ilham      yesterday      give<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“As for the gift, and as for Alsu, Ilham yesterday gave (it) to him.”*

(30). [ Alsu-ga ] [ büläk-ne ] Ilham      kicä      bir-de  
          Alsu<sub>Dat</sub>      gift<sub>Acc</sub>      Ilham    yesterday    give<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“As for Alsu, and as for the gift, Ilham yesterday gave (it) (to him).”*

(31). [ ForceP [ TopP\* [ TopP\* [ FocP [ ModP<sup>30</sup> [ TopP [ FinP [ IP ] ] ] ] ] ] ]

The comparative study of the left periphery gives empirical evidence for the recursion nature of Top head in CP from, for example, Abidji language (Hager-M'Boua (2014). In this language each topical element is followed by Top marker  $\acute{\epsilon}k\acute{\epsilon}$ , as in the example (32).

(32). kòfí<sub>i</sub>    ék'    òkókò<sub>j</sub>    é    ék'    t<sub>i</sub>    è    pìp'jé    nì<sub>j</sub>.  
Kofi<sub>i</sub>    Top    banana<sub>j</sub>    Def    Top    t<sub>i</sub>    Asp.Marker    peel.Res    PRON<sub>j</sub>  
*"Kofi, the banana, he peeled it."*

This kind of data gives strong support of cartographic analysis with multiple topics, each occurrence admitting a single specifier (Kayne 1994). However, there are some languages that propose different arrangement, where the topic position is unique as

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in Gungbe language, examined by Aboh (2004). Even if Gungbe (33) has only one Top head, it is followed by overt topical marker *yà*, optimally analyzed as independent criterial head, rather than as case-like affixe attached to the topic phrase (Rizzi & Bocci 2017).

(33). Un sè [do [ dan lo yà [Kofi hu ì .]]]

I heard that snake the Top Kofi killed it.

Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010), taking into account the fine interpretive properties of Topics depending on the position, propose to divide topic into three different types : *aboutness-shift*, *contrastive* and *familiarity* topics. In the next section we will examine the behavior of *contrastive topic* (CT).

### Contrastive topic

Despite different definitions of *contrastive topic* given in the relevant literature (Valluví 1992, Lambrecht 1994, Williams 1997, Molnár 2006, a.o.), it is traditionally viewed as an element related to a closed set of alternatives (Chafe 1976, Jackendoff 1972, Halliday 1967, Rooth 1992, Büring 1997, 2003), sharing more in common with focus having a specific accent (B-accent). According to Jackendoff (1972), in English, B-accent is characterized as L+H\* followed by a default low tone and a high boundary tone (L H%), whereas *contrastive focus* (CF) (A-accent) has a flat high tone (H\*), often followed by a default low tone.

Contrast is even viewed in the literature as a separate information structural phenomenon (Kiss 1998). Furthermore, Molnár (2006) proposes to include in Rizzi's (1997) split CP model a Contrastive projection immediately below ForceP. Such a projection supposes the left-most position of an element.

One of the diagnostic test, which we will use for identification of contrastive topic,

given in the literature is one of Buring's (2003), where he asserts that a contrastive topic gives an answer to a complex question, made up of multiple sub questions.

Let us take multiple wh questions in Tatar as in (34) and the answer in (37)<sup>31</sup>:

- (34). Kem niçek yeş aña kilä?  
 Who how often him comes?  
*“Who how often comes to his house?”*

This question can be split up in two sub questions as in (35) and (36).

- (35). Kem aña kilä?  
 Who him comes?  
*“Who comes to his place?”*
- (36). niçek yeş aña kilä-lär?  
 How often him comes?  
*“How often do we come to his place?”*

- (37). Ätise bik yeş kilä. Änise isä könnär jylytmyça kilä almy.  
 His father often comes. Mother<sub>Poss Top</sub> days warm<sub>NegPartic</sub> come<sub>PrPart</sub> Aux<sub>Neg3Sg</sub>  
*“His father comes often. His mother can not come until warm days are established.”*

In the answer (37), the topic *änise* (his mother) is contrasted to *ätise* (his father) of the previous sentence. Apart from a particular intonation, the topical constituent in (37) is followed by a special (discourse) particle *-isä*<sup>32</sup> which clearly induce a *contrastive topic* (CT) interpretation (Zakiev 1992). This particle assigns stress to the syllable preceding it. It can follow case markers and 1st or 2nd person pronouns and proper nouns.

<sup>31</sup>The example is taken from Zakiev (1992), p.243.

<sup>32</sup>Erguvanli (1984) notes that the topic marker *isa* is, morphologically, composed of the verb *i-* “be” and the conditional marker *-se*. She adds that Haiman (1978) shows that in many languages the contrastive-topic marker is somehow related to the conditional.

Let us consider the following Tatar examples with multiple topics.

- (38). Duslarına *isä* sayahattän ul büläklär alıp kayta ide

Friends<sub>Dat Top</sub> travel<sub>SgAbl</sub> he gifts<sub>Acc/Indef</sub> bring<sub>Past</sub>  
*“As for his friends, he used to bring presents from his travels.”*

- (39). Sayahattän *isä* duslarına ul büläklär alıp kayta ide

Travel<sub>SgAbl Top</sub> friends<sub>Dat</sub> he gifts<sub>Acc/Indef</sub> bring<sub>Past</sub>  
*“As for his travels, he used to bring presents to his friends.”*

As we can observe from the examples (38) and (39), the most salient topics have a definite dative or ablative case, they are put to the left of the topical marker *-isä* and are followed by all the others. Following Dyakonova (2009), we claim that this CT functions as a strong aboutness topic. Benincà & Poletto 2004, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) consider CT and *aboutness* topic as occupying two different projections within the CP. Dyakonova (2009) takes an opposite view (at least for Russian) and claims that a contrastive topic is a subtype of the aboutness topic. She argues that *in terms of structure, there is only one position for a strong topic which is taken by a [+about] DP which can, under certain conditions, attain contrastive interpretation.*

Given the fact that there is only one aboutness topic per clause and that a contrastive and an aboutness topic belong to the same type, it follows that there is only one contrastive topic per clause. The combination of two contrastive topics should be not possible, as it is illustrated by an example (40) from Tatar.

- (40). \*Duslarına *isä* sayahattän *isä* ul büläklär alıp kayta ide

Friends<sub>Dat Top</sub> travel<sub>SgAbl Top</sub> he gifts<sub>Acc/Indef</sub> bring<sub>Past</sub>  
*“As for his friends, as for his travels, he used to bring presents.”*

Taking into account the approach where TopP is recursive, this is quite surprising. The optional, non-recursive nature of *isä* shows resemblances with the Gungbe topic-

marker *ya*, which is also restricted to one occurrence and analysed by Aboh (2004) as  $\text{Top}^0$ .

Dyakonova (2009), in her analysis of Russian, claims that this language as well uses a discourse particle “-to” to disambiguously signal a contrastive topic, as in (41)<sup>33</sup>.

- (41). Mužčine-*to* [v takuyu bumagu] [podarok] ya bɪ ne stala upakovivat’.

Man<sub>Dat</sub> Top into such paper<sub>Acc</sub> gift<sub>Acc</sub> I Cl Neg Aux<sub>PastF</sub> pack<sub>Inf</sub>  
*“For a man, I would not pack a gift into such paper.”*

- (42). ??[V takuyu bumagu] mužčine-*to* [podarok] ya bɪ ne stala upakovivat’.

into such paper<sub>Acc</sub> man<sub>Dat</sub> Top gift<sub>Acc</sub> I Cl Neg Aux<sub>PastF</sub> pack<sub>Inf</sub>

- (43). ??[V takuyu bumagu] [podarok] mužčine-*to* ya bɪ ne stala upakovivat’.

into such paper<sub>Acc</sub> gift<sub>Acc</sub> man<sub>Dat</sub> Top I Cl Neg Aux<sub>PastF</sub> pack<sub>Inf</sub>

Russian, like Tatar allows only one CT topic per clause, as it is shown in (44).

- (44). \*Mɪ-*to* Novij God-*to* budem vstrečat’ doma.

We<sub>Top</sub> New Year<sub>Top</sub> will meat home<sub>Loc</sub>  
*“As for us, as for the New Year, we will celebrate it at home.”*

Dyakonova suggests that there are two types of topic projections within the CP in Russian: the leftmost *TopP* hosting a strong (contrastive) topic, and recursive *topPs* following *TopP* which serve as landing sites for weak topics (all other topics).

As stated by Dyakonova, we can assume that only *topP* aboutness is recursive, whereas *TopP* contrastive is subject to the uniqueness requirement for Tatar as well.

Kuno (1973), analysing Japanese topic constructions, suggests that topics should be followed by the topic marker *wa*. There are two kinds of *wa*: thematic and contrastive. Thematic topic appears in clause-initial position and is analyzed as aboutness topic whereas contrastive topic receives a focal stress and may remain in-situ. It is possible

<sup>33</sup>Examples are taken from Dyakonova (2009) as (14).

to join the marker *wa* to any phrase and have a contrastive topic interpretation, as exemplified in (45), in (46)<sup>34</sup>.

- (45). Taroo-*wa* (kyonen) sono hon-*o* katta  
 Taroo<sub>Top</sub> last year that book<sub>Acc</sub> bought  
 A. “*Speaking of Taroo, he bought that book.*” (*thematic*)  
 B. “*Taroo bought that book, but I don’t know about other people*” (*contrastive*)
- (46). Taroo-*ga* (kyonen) sono hon-*wa* katta  
 Taroo<sub>Nom</sub> last year that book<sub>Top</sub> bought  
 “*Taroo bought that book, but I don’t know about other books.*” (*contrastive*)

As pointed out by Saito (2010), in both of these examples, the topic can have contrastive interpretation, but only in (45) Taroo-*wa* has an additional thematic interpretation because it is in the initial position of a matrix clause. Concerning the *sono hon-wa* (that book) in (46), it can have an additional thematic interpretation when it is placed at the sentence-initial position. Saito (1985), Hoji (1985) argue that contrastive topic binds an A’-trace, while aboutness topic is base-generated in a left-peripheral position and coupled with a null resumptive pronoun<sup>35</sup>.

## 4 The Topicalisation of subjects in Tatar

As it was shown previously, in Tatar, definite objects are overtly case-marked whereas indefinite objects are not. Subjects in matrix clauses in Tatar have no case marking, except for subjects of embedded nominalized clauses, which are in genitive case, as in (49). Nevertheless, we can see the difference in the interpretation of subjects according to its position in the sentence, as in (47) and (48).

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<sup>34</sup>Examples are from Saito (2010), as (49).

<sup>35</sup>For an alternative view see Kuroda (1988), Sakai (1994).



(47). Irtägä        kunak        kilä.

Tomorrow,    guest    comes<sub>3sgPres</sub>  
*“Tomorrow, a guest / the guest comes.”*

(48). Kunak        irtägä        kilä.

Guest<sub>Top</sub>    tomorrow    comes<sub>3sgPres</sub>  
*“Tomorrow, the guest / \*a guest comes.”*

(49). [ Student-lar-niñ    küp    uki-gan-l ] -n        yarat-am.

Student<sub>Pl-3pGen</sub>    a lot    study<sub>PP/Poss</sub> ] <sub>Acc</sub>    love<sub>Pres1Sg</sub>  
*“I love that students study a lot.”*

Whereas *kunak* “guest” in (47) could have a definite or an indefinite interpretation, it could only be interpreted as definite in (48). We propose that in Tatar, an indefinite subject stays in the immediately preverbal Focus position whereas a definite subject must raise to the canonical (sentence-initial) subject position, to Spec SubjP, due to *EPP* reasons<sup>36</sup>.

According to Rizzi (2005, 2006) and Rizzi & Shlonsky (2007), there must be a “high” subject position acting as the fundamental “halting” position for A-movement. Rizzi (2004) claims that head positions of diverse A’-movements (topic, focus, heads of relative clauses...) are considered as “scope-discourse” positions that he names *criterial positions* (in the spirit of the “*Wh-Criterion*”).

*Criterial Freezing* principle makes an element available to the interface as soon as the element achieves a *criterial position*.

*A phrase meeting a Criterion is frozen in place.* (Rizzi 2006)

Subject movement is triggered by Rizzi’s (2005, 2006) topic-aboutness feature on Subj(ect)P, traditionally associated with Chomsky’s (1981) *EPP*. Similar to Topic,

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<sup>36</sup>The requirement that all clauses have subjects (Chomsky 1981).

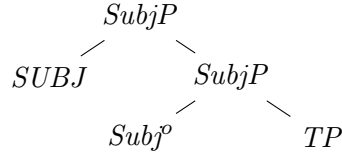


Figure 4.4:

which is a criterial position in the LP, the subject position (SubjP) is a criterial position. The reason for treating SubjP (or EPP) as a Criterion<sup>37</sup>, following Rizzi, is the fact that topic and subject have a common *aboutness* feature which attracts a nominal element to its Spec.

According to Rizzi (2006), there is clear evidence that a full functional unification of subject and topic is not possible. Topics unlike subjects must be D(iscourse)-linked. In subject-predicate configuration, the predicate says something about the subject, while in topic-comment configuration, the comment says something about the topic (Reinhart 1982).

In order to illustrate different positions of subjects and topics, let us take the following two utterances in Tatar. As we can observe from examples in (50) and (51), they are structurally ambiguous between two representations.

(50). [<sub>IP</sub> Marat bügen tennis uynadı.]

Marat today tennis played  
*“Marat played tennis today.”*

(51). [<sub>TopicP</sub> Marat [<sub>IPpro</sub> bügen tennis uyna-dı.]

Marat today tennis played  
*“As for Marat, he played tennis today.”*

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<sup>37</sup>Criterion is the requirement on the creation of a local Spec-head configuration (Rizzi 2006, 2007).

These two utterances correspond to two tonally different contours<sup>38</sup>. In the example (50), the subject and the adverb are not separated from the rest of the clause by an intonational pause and is fully felicitous when it expresses new information in out of the blue (“What happened?”) contexts, contexts in which a topic is not felicitous. In (51), the subject is given information about which a comment is made. The subject is topicalized and moves to the LP in Spec TopP. This clause would be felicitous in response to the appropriate question such as “*What about Marat? What did Marat do today?*”, where *Marat* is already introduced in the discourse.

In a *Non-null Subject language* like French, whether a subject is in subject or topic position is viewed by the presence of a resumptive subject clitic.

Let us compare two French sentences in (52) and (53).

- (52). [ *TopP* Jacques, [ *SubjP* il a rencontré Eva. ] ]  
                     Jacques,           he           met           Eva  
                     “*Jacques met Eva.*”

In this example, *Jacques* is in the topic position followed by the presence of a resumptive subject clitic in the French *Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)* construction (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1990 and related works).

In (53), *Jacques* is in subject position, i.e. Spec SubjP (see Rizzi 2005, 2006, 2007, Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007) where it is not clitic resumed. The residue of the predication is about the element in Spec SubjP, *Jacques*.

- (53). [ *IP* Jacques a rencontré Eva. ]  
                     “*Jacques met Eva.*”

In *Null Subject Languages (NSL)*, like Italian, according to Rizzi (2005, 2006), the

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<sup>38</sup>Zakiev (1992), Safiuliina (1966) point out that IS in Tatar is encoded by syntactic along with phonological means.

DP subject leaves its merge position (thematic position) and moves to the Spec SubjP position to check its  $\phi$ -features, while expletive or *pro* is used to formally satisfy the Rizzi & Shlonsky's *Subject Criterion* (2007), as represented in the example (54).

(54). Chi credi che [ *pro* verrà <sub>t</sub> ] ?

“Who do you think that will come ? “

According to Rizzi (1982) and much subsequent work, the wh element *chi* is not extracted from the *riterial position* (in the later term), but from a lower position, while the initial (riterial) position is filled by expletive *pro*.

In Tatar, which is a *null subject language*<sup>39</sup>, the distinction between preverbal subjects and subject topics is less obvious. We assume that the subject *Marat* moves to the SpecTopP whereas the riterial subject position SubjP is occupied by a null expletive, as in example (57).

(57). [<sub>TopP</sub> Marat [<sub>SubjP</sub> *pro* bügen tennis uyna-dı.]

Marat today tennis played

“As for Marat, he played tennis today. “

We will follow many Turkish linguists, such as Erguvanlı-Taylan 1984, Kornfilt 1997, among others who have analysed the *pro-drop* phenomenon in Turkish and like

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<sup>39</sup>Tatar is a pro-drop language, admittedly due to its rich paradigm of agreement morphemes. Subject pronouns can be omitted as in (56):

(55). Min öy-gä kait-tı-m.

I home<sub>Dat</sub> came<sub>1sgPast</sub>  
“I came home“.

(56). Öy-gä kait-tı-m.

home<sub>Dat</sub> came<sub>1sgPast</sub>  
“I came home“.

them, we argue that the subject pronom in Tatar is dropped only if it is not a newly introduced referent or there is no switch of the subject referent.

### Topicalisation in embedded clauses

Topicalization is not restricted to main clauses, but as pointed out in Frascarelli (2012), root and embedded clause do not have the same array of functional projections, we expect that some information structural categories would not appear in embedded CP.

### dip-embedded clauses

Let us take a sentence with a neutral embedded clause, as in (58).

- (58). Lilia [ Alina räs-em-ne töş-er-de] dip uyl-ıy.  
 Lilia Alina<sub>Nom</sub> picture<sub>Acc</sub> drew<sub>Past</sub> say<sub>Conv.Past</sub> think<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“Lilia thinks that Alina drew the picture.”*

In the example (59), the direct object *räs-em-ne* is moved from its base position but it remains in initial position of their own clause. It can not raise into the main clause, as it is exemplified in (60), the object *räs-em-ne* (picture) can not be the argument of the verb “think”.

- (59). Lilia [räs-em-ne Alina töş-er-de] dip uyl-ıy.  
 Lilia picture<sub>Acc</sub> Alina<sub>Nom</sub> drew<sub>Past</sub> say<sub>Conv.Past</sub> think<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“Lilia thinks that as for the picture, Alina drew (it).”*
- (60). \*Lilia räs-em-ne [ Alina töş-er-de] dip uyl-ıy.  
 Lilia picture<sub>Acc</sub> Alina<sub>Nom</sub> drew<sub>Past</sub> say<sub>Conv.Past</sub> think<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“Lilia thinks that as for the picture, Alina drew (it).”*

As concerns the position of the accusative marked embedded subject, it has been analyzed in Turkish by many linguists (Aygen 2002, Öztürk 2005, Kechriotis 2006,

Gürer 2015, a.o.). We follow Şener (2010), who proposes the optional movement of the accusative case marked subject to the Spec TopP at the left periphery of the embedded clause for certain discourse interpretive effects, as illustrated in (61).

- (61). Rinat sine Bolgar-ga kit-kän-señ dip uyla-dı.  
 Rinat you<sub>Acc</sub> Bolgar<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>Past2sg</sub> say<sub>Conv.Past</sub> think<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“Rinat thought that you went to Bolgar.”*

### Nominalized embedded clauses

Topicalization in nominalized embedded clauses in Tatar is the same as in finite clauses. Let us consider the sentence in (62).

- (62). Ul [Gulsina Marsel-nı kür-gän-en ] ayt-te.  
 he Gulsina Marsel<sub>Acc</sub> see<sub>PastPart.3sgPossAcc</sub> say<sub>Past</sub>  
*“He said that Gulsina saw Marsel.”*

None of the arguments of the embedded clause can be extracted out and placed at the beginning of the sentence, as shown in the sentences in (63).

- (63). \*Gulsina ul Marsel-nı kür-gän-en ayt-te.  
 \*\*Marsel-nı ul Gulsina kür-gän-en ayt-te.  
 \*\*kür-gän-en ul Gulsina Marsel-nı ayt-te.

However, the word order can be changed within the embedded clause for information structure reasons, as shown in (64), where the direct object of the embedded clause is topicalized and the subject is focused.

- (64). Ul [ Marsel-nı Gulsina kür-gän-en ] ayt-te.  
 he Marsel<sub>Acc</sub> Gulsina see<sub>PastPart.3sgPossAcc</sub> say<sub>Past</sub>  
*“He said that it was Gulsina who saw Marsel.”*

Moreover, the embedded clause itself can be fronted for topicalization purposes, as in (65).

- (65). [ Gulsina Marsel-ni kür-gän-en ] ul ayt-te.  
 Gulsina Marsel<sub>Acc</sub> see<sub>PastPart.3sgPossAcc</sub> he say<sub>Past</sub>  
*“Gulsina saw Marsel is what he said.”*

## 5 Focalisation

### Focus in main clauses

Among different definitions of focus in the literature (Rooth 1992, Kiss 1998, Belletti 2001, 2004, Büring, 2005, a.o.), we follow the idea that focus constituent is the most prominent element of an utterance, which typically introduces new information in neutral word order, and answers to *wh*-questions. In the Tatar example in (67), the object *alma* is the answer to the *wh*-question *närsä* “what” in (66).

- (66). Farit närsä aş-ıy?  
 Farit what eat<sub>Pres3Sg</sub>  
*“What Farit is eating ?”*
- (67). Farit alma aş-ıy.  
 Farit<sub>Acc</sub> alma<sub>Ind</sub> eat<sub>Pres3Sg</sub>  
*“Farit eats an apple.”*

We assume that in Tatar, as in Turkish (Kural 1993, Göksel & Özsoy 2000, İşsever 2003, Öztürk 2005, Arkan 2009, Şener 2010, Güner 2015, a.o.), Hungarian (Kiss 1998, Puskás 2000, a.o.), Romanian (Soare 2009), among other languages, the immediately preverbal position is the focus position. Kiss (1998) refers to this kind of focus in Hungarian as *presentational* (or *informational*) focus.

We will consider this low focus position in Tatar, similar to that proposed by Belletti (2001, 2004) for Italian subject inversion construction, as in (69), where the postverbal subject *Gianni* in a declarative sentence (which is an answer to the question in (68)), is derived by movement of this subject from its base Spec,vP position to a dedicated new information focus projection FocP, located just at the edge of vP, with further remnant vP movement to the left of the focalized subject.

(68). Chi ha telefonato?

who has called  
 “*Who called?*”

(69). Ha telefonato Gianni.

has called Gianni  
 “*Gianni called.*”

Analyzing the Tatar example as in (67), along the lines of Kayne’s antisymmetry hypothesis and the cartographic framework, we assume that the direct object *alma* carrying focus stress moves out of the VP to SpecFocP, which is associated with FocP<sub>NewInformation</sub> in the sense of Belletti (2001, 2004), Jayaseelan (2001, 2008). The subject *Farit* occupies Rizzi’s (2004) criterial Subject position which functions as *topic-aboutness*. The derivation of the sentence (67) “*Farit alma aşıy*” is diagrammed in Fig 4.5.

Any focalized element, including subjects or wh-phrases, can occupy this position. As shown by the response in (71), to the question in (70), the subject *Marat Safin* constitutes new information and occupies the immediately preverbal *presentational* (or *informational*) focus position.

(70). Australian Open-nı kem jñ-de?

Australian Open<sub>Acc</sub> who won  
 “*Who won the Australian Open?*”



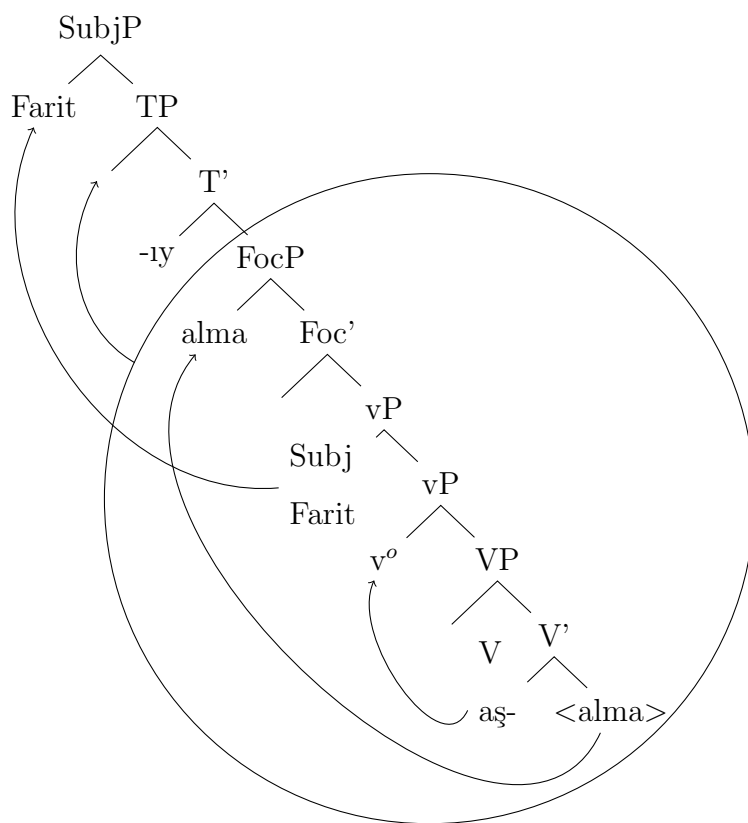


Figure 4.5:

- (71). Australian Open-nı Marat Safin jñ-de  
 Australian Open<sub>Acc</sub> Marat Safin won  
*“Marat Safin won the Australian Open.”*

The example in (73) shows the focalization of an adverb *irtägä* (tomorrow) in the immediately preverbal focus position.

- (72). Dinara Kazan-ga kayçan bar-a?  
 Dinara Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> when go<sub>3sg</sub>

“*When Dinara go to Kazan?*“

(73). Dinara Kazan-ga irtägä bar-a?

Dinara Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> tomorrow go<sub>3sg</sub>

“*Dinara goes to Kazan tomorrow.*“

### Contrastive focus

The immediately preverbal position in Tatar as in Turkish (Göksel & Özsoy 2000, İşsever 2003, Öztürk, 2005, a.o.) can be also associated with narrow contrastive focus, expressed by a heavy stress on it, as exemplified in (75).

(74). Minemçä, Rustam kitap-nı Alsuga birgän.

In my opinion, Rustam book<sub>Acc</sub> Alsu give<sub>PastInd</sub>

“*In my opinion, Rustam gave the book to Alsu.*“

(75). Rustam kitap-nı ALINA-GA birgän, Alsu-ga tügel.

Rustam book<sub>Acc</sub> Alina<sub>Dat/CF</sub> give<sub>PastInd</sub> Alsu<sub>Dat/CF</sub> not

“*Rustam gave the book to Alina, not to Alsu.*“

So, the subject in a preverbal position can carry either contrastive or noncontrastive focus. We assume by the term contrastive focus (CF) the idea that it presumes selection of a subset out of a closed set of alternatives (see Molnár 2006 and references herein about contrastiveness).

### Focus in LP

In addition to lower FocP projection, we distinguish a higher non-recursive FocP projection in the left periphery of the clause in the sense of Rizzi’s (1997: 264) focus-presupposition articulation who defines focus as: *the proposed element, bearing focal*

*stress, introduces new information, whereas the open sentence expresses contextually given information, knowledge that the speaker presupposes to be shared with the hearer.*

The focalized element should move to the CP-internal Spec, FocP position, in order to verify and satisfy the focus criterion. The left-peripheral focal head interpretes its Spec as “focus“ and its complement as “presupposition“, as it is diagrammed in Fig 4.6.

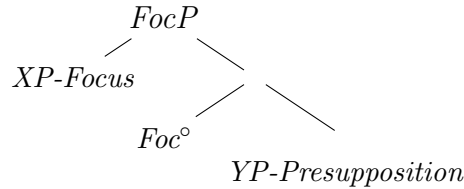


Figure 4.6:

Rizzi (1997); Kiss (1998); among others, label this position as identificational (or contrastive) focus, which is associated with “exhaustive identification“ and ...*represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds.* (Kiss, 1998:1)

The subject is the boundary indicator between the IP domain and the LP domain. The preposed element with focal stress which moves to the LP in (77) is considered to be an instance of A’ movement. As a result, focalization of the object (A’) *bu külmäk-ne* can cross the subject position *Rimma* (A) and reach Spec, FocP position in the left periphery in Tatar, as exemplified in (77).

- (76). Bu külmäk-ne Rimma sayla-gan.  
           this dress<sub>Acc</sub> Rimma choose<sub>PastIndef</sub>  
           “*Rimma chose this dress.*“

- (77). Yuk, BU KÜLMÄK-NE Rimma sayla-gan, monı tügel.  
 no, this dress *Acc* Rimma choose<sub>PastIndef</sub>, that not  
*“No, this dress Rimma chose, not that one.”*

According to Gürer (2015), unlike the alternative sets of discourse new constituents, at least one of the constituents in the alternative set of contrastive focus phrases should be given in the previous context.

However, as noted in Rizzi & Bocci (2017), the wide definition of the notion of contrastive focus in the literature (Rooth 1992, Krifka 2008 a.o.) does not capture the interpretive peculiarities of the left-peripheral focus. The authors follow Bianchi & Bocci (2012) and Bianchi (2013) in assuming that a mere contrast sometimes is not sufficient to license the LP focus, but it would be more appropriate to continue with a clause-final focus, as the example (79) from Italian shows<sup>40</sup>.

- (78). Maria era molto elegante ieri sera.  
 Maria was very elegant last night.

- (79). Si era messa un Armani, non uno straccetto da quattro soldi.  
 She wore an Armani dress, not a cheap dress worth four cents.

Nevertheless, utterances with a corrective meaning would be appropriate in LP, as exemplified in (81) .

- (80). Speaker A: L'altra sera a teatro, Maria si era messa uno straccetto da quattro soldi  
 Yesterday evening at the theatre, Maria wore a cheap dress worth four cents ...  
 (81). Speaker B: No, UN ARMANI si era messa.  
 An ARMANI DRESS she wore.

In Tatar, similar to what it was shown by Sener (2010) for Turkish, the corrective focus like informational focus, targets the immediately pre-verbal position, but it

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<sup>40</sup>The Italian examples are taken from Rizzi & Bocci (2017).

receives more prominent stress, as illustrated in (83).

- (82). Kiça Alina-nı kür-gän-señ şikelle teatr-da  
 Yesterday Alina<sub>Acc</sub> see<sub>PastEvid</sub> reportedly theatre<sub>Dat</sub>  
*“Reportedly, you saw Alina at theatre.”*

- (83). Yuk, KAMILA-NE kür-de-m, Alina-nı tügel.  
 No, Kamila<sub>Acc</sub> see<sub>PastDef</sub> Alina<sub>Acc</sub> not  
*“No, I saw Kamila, not Alina.”*

According to Rizzi (1997), there may be more than one topic element per clause but the proliferation of focus is impossible. This is borne out by the Tatar example where focalization of two elements as in (86) is excluded.

- (84). \*DÄFTÄR-NE ALSUGA birdem (Dinara tügel, kitapnı).  
 THE NOTBOOK<sub>Acc</sub> TO ALSU<sub>Dat</sub> give<sub>Past1sg</sub> Dinara not, the book  
*“THE NOTBOOK, TO ALSU I gave the, not to Dinara, the book.”*

Rizzi (1997) argues that an element cannot be at one and the same time focused and a component of the presupposed part. Consequently, focus recursion which necessarily yields this clash is ruled out in principle.

One of the properties of focus in Tatar is that it gives rise to *weak crossover* effect, as it is exemplified in (85).

- (85). \*RIMMANI<sub>i</sub> [pro<sub>i</sub> dusları] teatr-ga chakır-dı.  
 Rimma<sub>Acc</sub> pro friends theater<sub>Dat</sub> invite<sub>Sg</sub>  
*“His/her<sub>i</sub> friends invite RIMMA<sub>i</sub> to the theater.”*

The focalization of *Rimmani* across the co-indexed pronoun is not legitimated. Focus constructions in Tatar like in Italian and in English involve A' - movement with a quantificational operator-variable chain, as assumed by Rizzi's (1997) model.

As it is pointed out in Cinque (1990), Rizzi (1997), a.o, focus movement has the properties of *wh*-movement. Rizzi (1997: 272) argues that *If focus is quantificational*

and topic is not (...) the focalized element must bind a syntactic variable (a non-pronominal empty *X<sub>max</sub>* category in an *A*-position). This means that quantificational elements like (*no-one*, *all*, etc.) can be focalized, as in (86). This analysis is compatible with the proposal made for Italian, as in the example (87), taken from Rizzi (1997).

- (86). BÖTEN    närsä    t    eşlä-dem.  
           every        thing        do<sub>Past1Sg</sub>  
           “*Everything I did.*”

- (87). TUTTO        ho        fatto t.  
           everything    have    did  
           “*Everything I did.*”

The following example (89) is a sentence with a “broad scope focus” or “wide Focus”, answering to the question “*what happened ?*” (88), where the object is not an informational center in its own right, but rather incorporated into a larger IS unit in the way that all the sentence is a new information.

- (88). Närsä    bul-dı?  
           what    happen<sub>PastDef</sub>  
           “*What happened?*”

- (89). Bez    yaña        yort        satıp aldık.  
           We    new    house<sub>AccInd</sub>    buy<sub>Past3Pl</sub>  
           “*We bought a new house.*”

Another point is that focus phrases in Tatar cannot occupy the postverbal position, irrespectively whether NP’s are arguments or adjuncts, and the sentence as in (90) is ungrammatical.

- (90). \*Rustam    kitap-nı        birgän        ALINA-GA.  
           Rustam    book<sub>Acc</sub>    give<sub>PastInd</sub>    Alina<sub>Dat/CF</sub>  
           “*Rustam gave the book to Alina.*”

## C<sub>Top</sub> > C<sub>Foc</sub>

Let us see the behaviour of contrastive topic and contrastive focus in Tatar when they cooccur in the same sentence. The example in (92) is an answer to the context in (91) (following Sener's 2010 analysis).

- (91). Alsu turında närsä äytä-señ? Ul närsä kiçädä eç-te?  
*What about alsu ? What did she drink at the party ?*  
Alsu turında belmim, ämmä...  
*I don't know about Alsu, but...*

- (92). Dinara KIZIL VINO eç-te.  
Dinara red wine drink<sub>PastInd</sub>  
*"Dinara drank the red wine."*

- (93). \*KIZIL VINO Dinara eç-te.  
Dinara red wine drink<sub>PastInd</sub>  
*"Dinara drank the red wine."*

As we observe from the example (92), the subject *Dinara* is contrastive topic, whereas the object is contrastively focused which gives the grammatical sentence. If we reverse the order of the constituents as in the example (93), the structure becomes infelicitous. This indicates that contrastive focus should necessarily follow contrastive topic in Tatar.

In order to give more evidence for the behaviour of contrastive topic and contrastive focus in the same sentence, we will apply Neeleman & van de Koot's (2008) diagnostic with negative quantifier (see Sener 2010). So, if we replace contrastive focus and contrastive topic by a negative quantifier, we can notice that contrastive focus can be substituted by a negative quantifier, as shows the example (96) contrary to contrastive topic, yielding an ungrammatical reading, as in (95).

- (94). Alsu turında närsä äytä-señ? Ul närsä kiçädä eç-te?  
*What about alsu ? What did she drink at the party ?*  
 Alsu turında belmim, ämmä...  
*I don't know about Alsu, but...*

- (95). \*Berkeşe KIZIL VINO eç-mä-de.  
 Noone red wine drink<sub>NegPastInd</sub>  
*"Nobody drank the red wine."*

- (96). Dinara BER NÄRSÄ eç-mä-de.  
 Dinara nothing drink<sub>NegPastInd</sub>  
*"Dinara did not drink nothing."*

We can sum up that contrastive focus cannot move cross contrastive topic yielding the order  $CT > CF$ . This order is confirmed in Lahousse, K., Laenzlinger, C. & Soare, G. (2015) who based on analysis on some French corpus, propose the order  $CT > CF$  for French examples. In Italian, as well, a contrastive focus cannot move across a contrastive topic (Bianchi, V. & M., Frascarelli, 2010).

As in Turkish (Göksel & Özsoy, 2000), we can see that in Tatar a focus phrase cannot be preceded by wh-phrase. This is so, even if the focus phrase is placed in the immediately preverbal position, which assumed to be a focus position, as in (97), (98):

- (97). \*Kem SIŃA kil-de?  
 who TO YOU came<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*"Who came to you?"*

- (98). \*Kaida SIN uk-ıy-siñ?  
 where YOU study<sub>Pres2sg</sub>  
*"Where do you study?"*

When the focus phrase is placed before the wh-phrase as in the examples (99), (100), the sentence looks felicitous.



- (99). SIŃA kem kil-de?  
 TO YOU who came<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“Who came to you?”*
- (100). SIN kaida uk-ıy-sıñ?  
 YOU where study<sub>Pres2sg</sub>  
*“Where do you study?”*

We assume that fronted focus in (99), (100) could be an instance of contrastive focus. Hence, the contrastive focus in Tatar, as we can observe is higher in the structure than the new information focus, leading to the order of constituents  $CF > F$ . This statement can be reinforced by the Issever’s (2003) suggestion for Turkish that only contrastive focus is marked via prosody whereas new focus is marked via its syntactic position. Then, as we already determined the order  $CT > CF$ , by transitivity, the order of projections in Tatar may look as:  $CT > CF > F$ . However, when the focus is not a wh-question, focus and contrastive focus can not be overtly realized at the same time.

### Focalization in embedded clauses

Let us consider the embedded clause with focal element as the adverb “*irtägä*” in (101).

- (101). Sin miña [ New York-ka *irtägä* baram ] dip söyla-de-ñ.  
 You me<sub>Dat</sub> New York<sub>Dat</sub> tomorrow go<sub>Pres1sg</sub> that say<sub>Past2sg</sub>  
*“You told me you’re going to New York tomorrow.”*

The extraction of the focal constituent “*irtägä*” (tomorrow) from the embedded CP to main clause is not allowed because it cannot modify the main verb, as the example (102) illustrates.

- (102). \*Sin miña irtägü [ New York-ka baram ] dip söyla-de-ñ.  
 You me<sub>Dat</sub> tomorrow New York<sub>Dat</sub> go<sub>Pres1sg</sub> that say<sub>Past2sg</sub>  
 “\*You tomorrow told me you are going to New York.”

## 4.6 Interrogative phrases

### 1 Yes-no questions

In this section, we will examine the relative order of complementizer particles in order to define the cartographic structure of the Tatar left periphery.

#### *Q-particle in matrix clause*

Tatar is one of the wh-in-situ languages. Question formation strategies in Tatar are realised by wh-words or the yes/no marker *-mɨ*<sup>41</sup>. The yes/no marker *-mɨ*, which we call a question particle  $Q_{y/n}$ , introduces yes/no questions<sup>42</sup> in matrix and embedded contexts and characterized by special intonation (Zakiev 1992). The primary function of the question particle is to be a marker of sentential interrogation. The  $Q_{y/n}$  *-mɨ* transforms an assertive clause (1) into an interrogative one, as in example (2).

- (1). Rişat film kara-dı.  
 Rişat movie<sub>Acc</sub> watch<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
 “*Rişat watched the movie.*”
- (2). Rişat film kara-dı-**mɨ** ?  
 Rişat movie<sub>Acc</sub> watch<sub>3SgPast</sub>  $Q_{y/n}$   
 “*Did Rişat watch the movie ?*”

<sup>41</sup>The question particle attaches to the verb and undergoes vowel harmony.

<sup>42</sup>They are called yes/no questions because of their most evident answers.

In the literature, concerning yes/no questions, it is proposed that within the complementizer system there is a functional head that encodes the feature [interrogative] (Cheng 1991). Adopting Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry hypothesis and cartographic split-CP analysis of clause structure, I assume that the  $Q_{y/n}$  operator *-mı* is merged in the head of IntP (Rizzi 2001) and pied-pipes an entire clause TP to its specifier, as diagrammed in Fig 4.7. Accordingly, the Tatar  $Q_{y/n}$  particle scope over the proposition. This particle provides strong evidence of the existence of various particular positions in the left periphery, posited in Rizzi (1997, 2001).

According to Zakiev(1992: 275), in polar questions, when a question is formed by a wh-word, a logical accent is put on this word. If a question is formed by a question particle  $Q_{y/n}$  and question intonation, the question particle is adjoined to the verb and the word which is asked has a logical accent and occupies the position before the verb in literary language.

For example, in (3), *kiçä* (yesterday) has a logical accent, is placed in focus position just before the verb but the  $Q_{y/n}$  *-mı* is attached to the verb.

- (3). Ukuçı-lar lager-dan kiçä kayt-tı-lar-**mı**?  
 student<sub>Pl</sub> camp<sub>AbI</sub> yesterday return<sub>PastPl</sub>  $Q_{y/n}$   
*"Was it yesterday that the students returned from camp?"*

However, as it is pointed out in Zakiev (1992: 275), under the influence of Russian, in some dialects, there are cases when the polar question particle can be attached to different types of constituents and there is only one particle per clause.

- (4). Kızıl-**mı** külmäk bügen kiyaseñ?  
 red- $Q_{y/n}$  dress today wear<sub>2SgPres</sub>  
*"Is that the red dress you are wearing today?"*

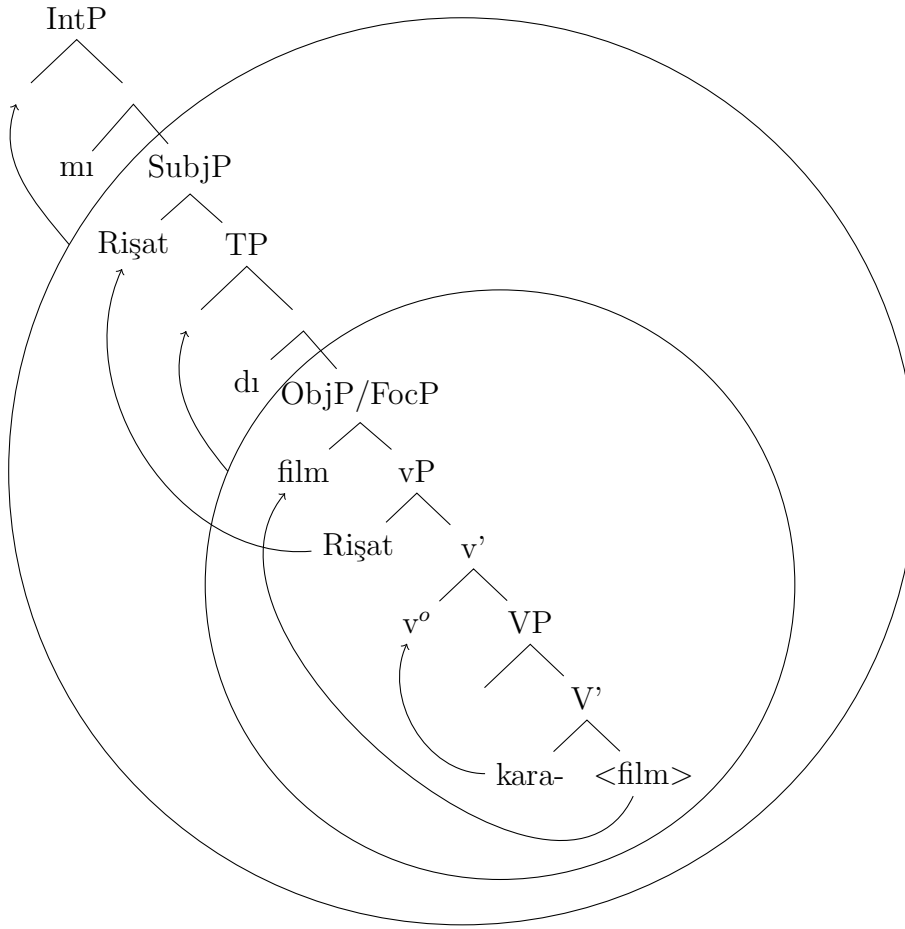


Figure 4.7:

(5). Bik-**me** ozak kötteñ mine ?

very-*Q<sub>y/n</sub>* long wait me<sub>Acc</sub>

*“Did you wait for me for a very long time? “*

So, like in Turkish (Kahnemuyipour & Kornfilt, 2011, Aygen, 2007 a.o), in spoken Tatar, *Q<sub>y/n</sub> -mi* can appear in yes/no questions at clause internal positions attached to the constituent it focuses.

Besides interrogative interpretation or a yes/no interpretation, **mi** is else a disjunction marker, as it is shown in (6).

- (6). Arkasi buylap su-**mi**, tir-**me** aga.  
 back<sub>3Poss</sub> along water-*Qy/n* sweat-*Qy/n* flow<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
*“Is that water **or** sweat running down its back.”* (taken from Zakiev 1992: 275)

This phenomenon is found in other languages as well. Jayaseelan (2008) argues that in Malayalam, an SOV language, -*oo* is the disjunction marker, as in (7) and also the question particle, as in (8).

- (7). John-**oo** Bill-**oo** Peter-**oo**  
*“John or Bill or Peter”* (Jayaseelan 2008, ex5a)

- (8). Mary wannu-**oo**  
 Mary came<sub>Q</sub>  
*“Did Mary come?”* (Jayaseelan 2008, ex5b)

In Japanese, *ka* functions as the question particle (9) and as a disjunction marker too (10).

- (9). Dare desu **ka** ?  
 who is <sub>Q</sub>  
*“Who is it?”* (Baker 1970, cited in Jayaseelan 2008)

- (10). John-**ka** Bill-(**ka**)-ga hon-o katta  
 John-<sub>Q</sub> Bill<sub>Q Nom</sub> books bought  
*“John or Bill bought books.”* (Kuroda 1965, cited in Jayaseelan 2008)

In Tatar, as in Turkish (Aygen, 2008), *Qy/n -mi* has a quantificational force. Moreover, the embedded clause, introduced by -*mi*, expresses a condition that is necessary for the accomplishment of the action indicated by the main clause (Zakiev 1993: 368).

- (11). Olimpiada başlan-dı-**mı**, böteneşe kariy.  
 Olympiad start<sub>3SgPast-Qy/n</sub> everyone watch<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
*“As soon as the olympic games start everyone watches.”*

***Q<sub>y/n</sub> in embedded clauses***

-*mı* > *dip*

In embedded yes-no questions, Tatar exhibits the co-occurrence of a declarative (“quotative”) complementizer *dip* and an interrogative one -*mı*, as it is exemplified in (12).

- (12). Gölnoz [<sub>CP</sub> İldar-nıñ apa-sı kayttı-**mı** **dip**] sora-dı.  
 Gölnoz<sub>Nom</sub> İldar-nıñ<sub>Gen</sub> sister<sub>3SgPoss</sub> came Q<sub>y/n</sub> that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Gölnoz asked whether İldar’s sister came.”*

This example supports Rizzi’s (1997, 2001) view that the Q<sub>y/n</sub> particle and the complementizer realize different positions (i.e., Force and Inter) within the complementizer system.

This is different from Italian embedded yes-no questions, which are introduced by *se* particle in the absence of *che*. Rizzi (2001), based on the indirect evidence provided by the respective ordering of these complementizers with a topic, assumes the presence of null Force head above Int. On the other hand, Saito (2010), discussing sequence of *to*, *ka*, and *no* complementizers in CPs (13), suggests that the Japanese right periphery is comparable to Italian with the addition of the highest C, *to* - a marker of “paraphrases” or “reports” of direct discourse, conforming the hypothesis of universal hierarchy of functional heads.

- (13). Taroo-wa [<sub>CP</sub> kare-no imooto-ga soko-ni ita **(no) ka (to)** minna-ni tazuneta  
 Taroo<sub>Top</sub> he<sub>Gen</sub> sister<sub>Nom</sub> there-in was no ka to all<sub>Dat</sub> inquired

*“Taroo asked everyone if his sister was there. (Saito 2010, ex. 41)”*

According to Saito (2010), *to* is the complementizer for “paraphrases” or “reports” of direct discourse, located in ForceP/Report, *ka* is the complementizer for questions, occupying IntP and *no* is the complementizer for propositions, placed in Fin, as shown in (14).

(14). [ ... [ ... [ ... [ *IP* ... ] Finite ] Int ] Force/Report ]  
**no ka to** (adapted from Saito 2010)

The linear order of Japanese is the mirror image of the one found in Italian, as a consequence of the head-final nature of Japanese. The Italian order is adapted from Rizzi (2001, 2017) in (15).

(15). [ Force/Report [ Int [ Finite [ *IP* ... ] ... ] ... ] ... ]  
           **che**           **se**       **di**

Saito (2010) also discusses the parallelism between Spanish and Japanese and argues that the Japanese *to* as the Spanish *que* expresses the reported character, while the head *ka* as the Spanish the [+Q] C expresses the interrogative force. According to Plann (1982), in Spanish, indirect questions are interpreted as “reported questions” only when the matrix verb (taking an indirect question) is a verb of saying or thinking, but not with verbs like forget, remember, etc.

Saito's (2010) analysis is directly applicable to Tatar. Tatar, being a SOV language, shows the same ordering of Force and Interrogative complementizers in the C-space as Japanese does for *ka*, *to* sequence. As Japanese complementizer *to*, in Tatar example (12), the complementizer *dip* takes questions and expressions of request as complements, the *m* marks the interrogative force, as Japanese *ka*. In Tatar, in interrogative embedded clause, both complementizers should be overtly realized. The delete of one of them leads to its ungrammaticality. For example, in (16) the presence

only of  $m_i$  is ungrammatical.

- (16). \*Gölnaz [CP Ildar-nıñ apa-sı kayttı-**mı** (**dip**) ] sora-dı.  
 Gölnaz<sub>Nom</sub> Ildar-nıñ<sub>Gen</sub> sister<sub>3SgPoss</sub> came<sub>Qy/n</sub> that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Gölnaz asked whether Ildar’s sister came.”*

If we take of from the sentence *dip*, we have the same result in (17).

- (17). \*Gölnaz [CP Ildar-nıñ apa-sı kayttı-(**mı**) **dip** ] sora-dı.  
 Gölnaz<sub>Nom</sub> Ildar-nıñ<sub>Gen</sub> sister<sub>3SgPoss</sub> came<sub>Qy/n</sub> that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Gölnaz asked whether Ildar’s sister came.”*

The list of matrix verbs which selects questions and requires the co-occurrence of  $m_i > dip$  looks like in (18):

- (18). *sorau* ‘ask’, *beleşü* ‘find out’, *soraşu* ‘ask’, *kıçkıru*<sup>43</sup> ‘shout’, *beläse kilü* ‘want to know’, *belmäü* ‘don’t know’, *uylau* ‘think’, *kızıksınu* ‘to be interested’, *khıyalllanu* ‘dream’, as in example (19).

- (19). [ [ Anıñ kebek bula al-ır-mın-**mı** ] **dip** ] khıyalllan-dım.  
*pro* s(he)<sub>Gen</sub> like be<sub>Prt</sub> ModalFut1Sg<sub>Qy/n</sub> that dream<sub>Past1Sg</sub>  
*“I imagined (what) if I could be like him/her.”*

On the other hand, the predicates in (20) are incompatible with  $m_i > dip$  sequence.

- (20). *äytü* ‘say’, *söyläü* ‘speak’, *añlau* ‘understand’,

The example in (21) shows that the matrix verb *äytü* ‘say’ does not permit  $m_i > dip$  sequence.

- (21). \*Gölnaz [CP Ildar-nıñ apa-sı kayttı-**mı** **dip** ] äyt-te.  
 Gölnaz<sub>Nom</sub> Ildar-nıñ<sub>Gen</sub> sister<sub>3SgPoss</sub> came<sub>Qy/n</sub> that say<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Gölnaz said whether Ildar’s sister came.”*

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<sup>43</sup>with the meaning: ask shouting



However, as we have observed earlier, *dip* alone can be introduced by predicates as *äytü* ‘say’, *söyläü* ‘speak’, *añlau* ‘understand’ and used in declarative sentences, as in (22).

- (22). Göl̄naz            [CP Ildar-nıñ    apa-sı            kayttı- **dip** ]    äyt-te.  
          Göl̄naz<sub>Nom</sub>    Ildar-nıñ<sub>Gen</sub>    sister<sub>3SgPoss</sub>    came    that    say<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
          “Göl̄naz said that Ildar’s sister came.”

So, *dip* as a complementizer, is insensitive to the force of its complement, i.e. whether its complement is declarative or interrogative. When *dip* determines embedded clauses as interrogative, it requires the presence of interrogative particle *mı*. In Tatar embedded yes/no questions, *mı* and *dip* clearly represent two distinct positions just like *se* and *che* in Italian (Rizzi 2001) or *ka* and *to* in Japanese (Saito 2010). We suggest that in Tatar, *mı* is hosted by the head of the IntP in the sense of Rizzi (2001), whereas *dip* occupies the head of ForceP. In view of the SOV order of the Tatar language, we assume that *dip* is generated higher than the question particle -*mı*, yielding the recursive CP structure as in (23) and the order *mı* > *dip*.

- (23). [CP [CP ... -*mı* ] *dip* ]

One should notice however that the interrogative force marker is not quite local to be selected by the verb. To resolve this problem, Rizzi (2001, 2013a) proposes to endow the Force head with the relevant interrogative feature after its agree-like Search relation with Int in order that the Force head is specified both as a report and as an interrogative.

The following example in (24) is a sentence with embedded yes-no question. The surface order of this sentence is derived by rolling up of the entire clause into the specifier of the higher projections cyclically. In the subordinate clause, the question marker -*mı* appears in sentence-final position even though it refers to the matrix clause. Fol-

lowing Rizzi (2001), Aboh & Pfau (2011), we suggest that the marker *-mi* is generated in the head of the IntP and attracts the proposition (FinP) into its specifier. Then, the pied-piped higher FinP embeds the matrix verb, introducing the embedded clause, as diagrammed in 4.8.

- (24). Dinara [<sub>CP</sub> Marat tennis uyna-dı-mı **dip**] kızık-sın-dı.  
 Dinara<sub>Nom</sub> Marat<sub>Nom</sub> tennis<sub>AccIndef</sub> play<sub>PastQy/n</sub> that interest<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
 “‘Dinara wondered if Marata played tennis?’”

Endo (2018), discussing non-standard questions as surprise, disapproval, etc., proposes that (Probe-Goal) Agree relation is regulated by feature-based Relativised Minimality (RM) (Rizzi 2004)<sup>44</sup>. He observes that in Japanese, various discourse particles (DiPs) around the Int particle **ka** can create various expressive meanings. The distribution of DiPs are regulated by *RM*. Endo (2018) states that the interveners like DiPs *sira/ne/yo/na* (Z), expressing the speaker’s mood, do not attest RM effect, because they do not belong to the same quantificational class of the Goal element **ka** (if) in the feature classification (26).

- (26). **ka**<sub>+Int</sub> Z to ] tazuneta  
 if Force<sub>+Int</sub> asked (adapted from Endo 2018)  
 Goal Probe

When the particle **na** is placed between *ka* and *to*, the speaker evaluates the proposition with worry, as notices Endo (2018).

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<sup>44</sup>See about RM in chapter “Minimalism”.

- (25). a. Argumental: person, number, gender, case  
 b. Quantificational: focus, wh, negation, etc.  
 c. Modifier: evaluative, epistemic, negative, celerative, measure, etc.  
 d. Topic

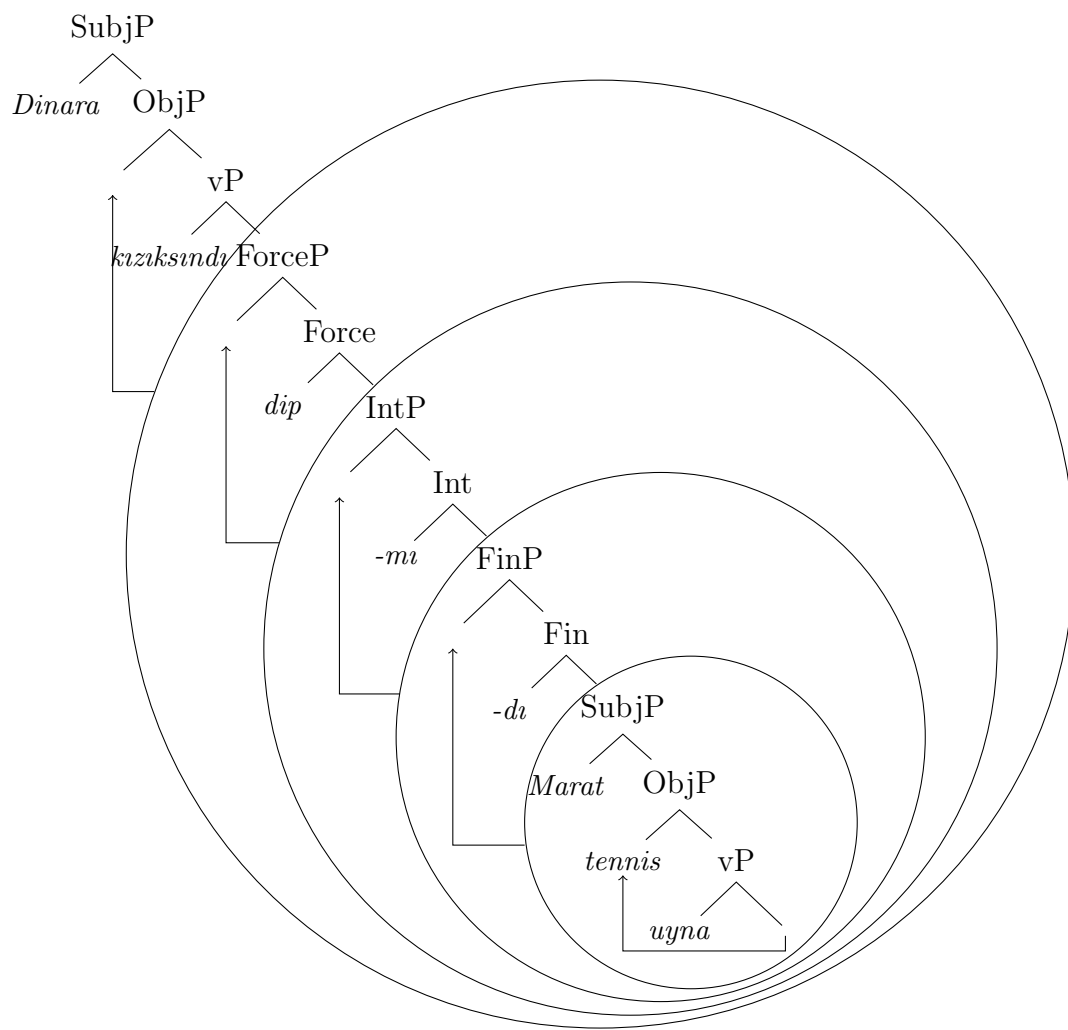


Figure 4.8:

- (27). Ame-ga huru **ka**<sub>+Int</sub> **na** to ] touta  
rain<sub>Nom</sub> fall if mood Force<sub>+Int</sub> asked  
“*I asked if it would rain.*”

- (28). **ka**<sub>+Int</sub> na<sub>+worry</sub> (adapted from Endo 2018)  
Goal <—— Probe

In Tatar, there are also different discourse elements, as *ikän*, *soñ*, *ällä*, *ni*, which can be used with Q<sub>y/n</sub> -*m*.

For example, when the modal particle *ikän*<sup>45</sup> intervenes between *m* > *dip* sequence, it weakens the question (Zakiev 1992: 274). It can carry an extra expressive meaning, evaluating the proposition as worry.

- (29). Gölnoz [CP Ildar-nıñ apa-sı kayttı-**mı** *ikän* **dip**] sora-dı.  
Gölnoz<sub>Nom</sub> Ildar-nıñ<sub>Gen</sub> sister<sub>3SgPoss</sub> came<sub>Qy/n</sub> mood that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
“*Gölnoz asked whether Ildar’s sister came.*”

Moreover, the ungrammatical sentence in (21), where the sequence *m* > *dip* is introduced by the main predicate *äytü*, can be judged as acceptable if *ikän* is inserted between them, as it is shown in example (30).

- (30). ? Gölnoz [CP Ildar-nıñ apa-sı kayttı-**mı** *ikän* **dip**] äyt-te.  
Gölnoz<sub>Nom</sub> Ildar-nıñ<sub>Gen</sub> sister<sub>3SgPoss</sub> came<sub>Qy/n</sub> that say<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
“*Gölnoz said whether Ildar’s sister came.*”

The discourse particle **soñ** after the Int element *m* enhances the question’s meaning, giving it a bright and emotional nuance (Zakiev 1992: 361). For example, in (31), as *Aygul already knew about Gölnoz that she wanted to be a writer, she asks if Gölnoz eventually became a writer.*

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<sup>45</sup>As we have noted before, *ikän* is considered as (insufficient) auxiliary verb, formed from the ancient verb *-i(r)* ‘be’ and the indefinite past tense marker *-kän*, having various functions in a sentence (Zakiev 1992: 80).

(31). Aygul [CP Gölnoz yazuçı bul-dı-**mı** soñ **dip**] kızık-sın-dı.

Aygul Gölnoz writer be<sub>3SgPast-Q</sub> mood that say<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Aygul was interested if Gölnoz became a writer.”*

In Tatar, it is possible to put three different discourse particles in a fixed order between the Int *mı* and Force *dip*, as in example (32).

(32). Aygul [CP Gölnoz yazuçı bul-dı-**mı** -ni soñ inde **dip**] kızık-sın-dı.

Aygul Gölnoz writer be<sub>3SgPast-Q-what</sub> mood yet that say<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Aygul was interested if Gölnoz finally became a writer.”*

In (32), the question pronoun **ni** attached to the Int *mı* expresses the question with shades of surprise, bewilderment (Zakiev 1993: 357). The discourse element *soñ* carries the expressive feature [+worry]. The discourse particle *inde* signals the degree of manifestation of the action (Zakiev 1993: 359). In this example, it emphasizes the high degree of duration.

Endo (2007, 2018) makes the proposal, that DiPs of the modal type are base-generated above vP according to Cinque’s hierarchy (1999). The surface order is derived by rolling up the lower elements into the specifier of the higher projection cyclically, as shown in (33), adapted from Endo (2018, ex. 57).

(33). Base Order: Modal 1 Modal 2 [ Modal 3 [vP subject ...predicate ]

Step 1: Modal 1 Modal 2 [ [vP subject ...predicate ] Modal 3 ]

Step 1: Modal 1 [ [ [vP subject ...predicate ] Modal 3 Modal 2 ] ] ]

Step 1: Speech-actP [ [ [ [vP subject ...predicate ] Modal 3 Modal 2 Modal 1 ] ] ] ]

After the preliminary description of Tatar discourse particles, we should expect the base-structure of these elements is the same as proposed by Endo (2018) for Japanese. Of course, more study within the cartographic approach in this zone with other DiPs is needed for Tatar, proposing a more finer and detailed structure for its left periphery.

## 2 Wh-questions

### Root interrogatives

In Tatar, a head-final *wh-in-situ* language, linearly speaking, a *wh*-word immediately occupies preverbal position, a position in which its non-interrogative equivalent with new information, or focused information (in the sense of Belletti 2001, 2004), emerges in a declarative sentence<sup>46</sup>.

As it is exemplified by the matrix questions in (34), (36), (38), (40) the *wh*-words are contiguous to V, regardless of whether they are arguments or adjuncts, the same as the counterparts of their answers (35), (37), (39), (41).

- (34). Sin-e **kem** yarat-a ?

you<sub>Acc</sub> who love<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
“*Who is loving you?*“

- (35). Min-e äni-em yarat-a.

I<sub>Acc</sub> mom<sub>1Poss</sub> love<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
“*My mom loves me.*“

- (36). Alar **närsä** ešli-lär ?

they what do<sub>3PlPres</sub>  
“*What are they doing?*“

- (37). Alar film töšer-ä-lär.

they film make<sub>3PlPres</sub>  
“*They making a film.*“

- (38). Sez **kayda** yaši-sez ?

you where live<sub>2PlPres</sub>  
“*Where do you live ?*“

---

<sup>46</sup>The same has been proposed for Turkish by Erguvanlı1984, Kural 1992, Kornfilt 1997 a.o.

(39). Bez Kazan-da yaşı-bez.

we Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> live<sub>2PlPres</sub>  
*“We are living in Kazan.”*

(40). Sin **niçek** yokla-dıñ ?

You how sleep<sub>2SgPast</sub>  
*“How did you sleep ?”*

(41). Min yakhşı yokla-dım.

I well sleep<sub>1SgPast</sub>  
*“I slept well.”*

As concerning multiple wh-questions, the example in (42) indicates that they are possible in Tatar.

(42). Kem kayda närsä ezli ?  
 who where what looks for  
*“Who where what looks for?”*

### The landing site of wh-phrases

Within the GB framework of GG, it has been assumed that in wh-movement languages (*wh-ex-situ*), as for example English, a wh-phrase moves from its postverbal object position to the higher one in order to agree with the head  $C^0$  which has [+wh] feature, leaving a coindexed trace in its base position, as it is exemplified by the grammatical sentence (43). In (44), the wh-constituent remains in its base position which leads to its ungrammaticality<sup>47</sup>.

(43). What<sub>*i*</sub> did you buy t<sub>*i*</sub> ?

(44). \* You bought what ?

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<sup>47</sup>English does not allow wh-in-situ strategy, except for echo questions and multiple wh-questions.

With regard to *wh-in-situ* languages, it was commonly assumed that it moves to its scope taking position in covert syntax (Rizzi 1990, 1997; Cheng 1991, Kiss 1998, a.o.).

In recent studies within the cartographic approach, Rizzi (1997, 2001) claims that wh-phrases do not occupy SpecCP under a unitary CP analysis. He comes to this conclusion on the basis of observation of interaction of Italian wh-phrases, focus phrases and topic elements. Rizzi (1997) notes that in Italian, focus phrases and wh-phrases move to the same position, namely FocP.

The sentences, taken from Rizzi (1997), show that in Italian a wh-phrase can co-occur with a topic, as in example (45), but it is banned with focus phrases in any order as it is illustrated in examples (46) and (47). Hence, focus and wh-constituents are mutually exclusive within the same sentence.

(45). A Gianni, che cosa gli hai detto?

*“To Gianni, what did you tell him ?”*

(46). \*A GIANNI, che cosa hai detto?

*“TO GIANNI, what did you tell ?”*

(47). \*Che cosa A GIANNI hai detto?

*“What TO GIANNI, did you tell ?”*

Puskàs (1996) argues that in Hungarian, fronted wh-phrases cannot co-occur with fronted focus phrases and that they compete for the same position, namely left-adjacent to the verb without being *wh-in-situ* language. In sentence (48), the wh-constituent *kit* “who” follows the topic *Emöke* and precedes the verb. The examples (49) and (50) are ruled out, because the focus and wh-constituents co-occur in any order before the verb.



- (48). Emöke kit lättot Zetàval ?  
 Emöke<sub>Nom</sub> who<sub>Acc</sub> see<sub>Past3Sg</sub> Zetàval  
 “Who did Emöke see with Zetàval ?”
- (49). \*EMÖKE kit lättot Zetàval ?  
 Emöke<sub>Nom</sub> who<sub>Acc</sub> see<sub>Past3Sg</sub> Zetàval  
 “Who did Emöke see with Zetàval ?”
- (50). \*Kit EMÖKE lättot Zetàval ?  
 who<sub>Acc</sub> Emöke<sub>Nom</sub> see<sub>Past3Sg</sub> Zetàval  
 “Who did Emöke see with Zetàval ?”

Additional evidence that wh-elements and focus phrases occupy the same position in Tatar follows from the interaction of these phrases with topics. In example (51), the wh-word *närsä* follows the topic element *restoranda*, as well as the focus element *pılau* in (52) follows the topic *restoranda*.

- (51). Kiğä restoranda **närsä** aşı-dı-gız ?  
 yesterday restaurant<sub>Dat</sub> what<sub>Foc</sub> eat<sub>2PlPast</sub>  
 “What did you eat yesterday at the restaurant ?”
- (52). Kiğä restoranda pılau aşı-dık.  
 yesterday restaurant<sub>Dat</sub> pilaf eat<sub>1PlPast</sub>  
 “Yesterday at the restaurant we ate pilaf.”

Adopting Kayne’s(1994) universalist hypothesis, that all the structures of the statements are of the underlying *specifier-head-complement* type and that this order is the result of movement of verb’s complements out of the VP to the left of the V head, we assume, following Rizzi (1997), Belletti (2004), Jayaseelan (2008), Soare (2009) that in Tatar, a matrix wh-phrase, being marked as [+ Focus], moves into Spec, FocP above vP.

In order to demonstrate the derivation of wh-phrase in Tatar, let us consider the example (53), where the wh-subject *kem* occurs to the left of the verb. Using labeled

bracketing, the structure of this example is represented in (54). The wh-word ‘who’ raises to Spec FocP, the verb’s complement *sine* ‘you’ in accusative case moves across the subject by the “VP-vacating” movement to the left of the Focus position. The derivation of the interrogative sentence (53) is diagrammed in Fig 4.9.

(53). Sin-e **kem** yarat-a ?

you<sub>Acc</sub> who love<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
 “Who is loving you?”

(54). .....[ *FocP wh-phrase* Foc<sup>0</sup> [ *vP V ...* ] ]

Jayaseelan (2008), analysing a movement of wh-phrase in Malayalam (SOV language), argues that it moves into an IP-internal position, namely to the Spec FocP just above vP. He explains this movement by the need of a question operator to access the wh-phrase in a theory, which incorporates a *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (Chomsky 2001)<sup>48</sup>.

Concerning wh-objects in Tatar, the animate/inanimate wh-objects are represented by bare wh-phrase *närsä* ‘what’ or an accusative case marked wh-phrase *närsä-ne* ‘what’ while the human wh-object is only represented by the accusative marked *kem-ne* ‘who’.

Using Cinque’s (1999) adverb’s test in identification of landing sites of wh-object phrases, we can notice that the caseless wh-object word *närsä* ‘what’ in (55), remains below the celerative aspect adverb *tiz* ‘fast’ yielding an indefinite reading. The accusative case marked wh-phrase *närsä-ne* ‘what’ in (56) moves to the left of the adverb *tiz*, having a specific [D-linked] interpretation (Enç, 1991).

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<sup>48</sup>The Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) states that only the head and the edge of a phase are visible to probe outside the phase.

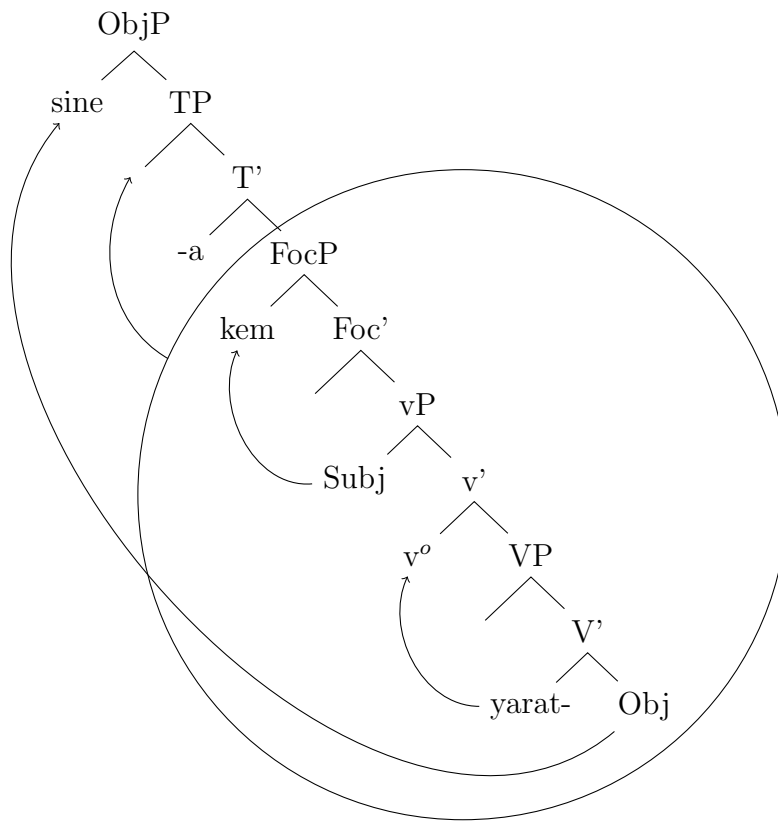


Figure 4.9:

(55). Gölnaz tiz **närsä** ukıy ?

Gölnaz fast what<sub>Indef</sub> reads  
*“What does Gölnaz read fast?”*

(56). Gölnaz **närsä-ne** tiz ukıy ?

Gölnaz what<sub>Specif</sub> fast reads  
*“What does Gölnaz read fast?”*

The examples (55), (56) show that the scrambling of the object wh-phrases in Tatar

target distinct positions within the sentence: the case marked wh-object is located higher (presumably in Foc+Top) than the caseless wh-object which is in a low FocP.

In the non-interrogative counterpart of the case of marked wh-object, the definite object in (57) represents given information and occupies ObjP/Topic position in the middle field in the sense of Belletti (2001, 2004), Jayaseelan (2001), a.o.

- (57). Gölnoz **kitap-nı** tiz ukıy.  
 Gölnoz book<sub>Specif</sub> fast reads  
 “Gölnoz reads the book quickly.”

We lean on Soare’s (2009) analysis of Japanese wh-phrases within the cartographic approach, who adopting the feature-driven view of short scrambling, i.e. scrambling in the *middle field*, following Miyagawa (2005), states that the *middle field* contains a high D-linked projection hosting scrambled wh-elements. Moreover, Soare (2009) proposes that in Japanese a wh-phrase can also target a position in the left periphery but in this case, it is not wh-movement but movement driven by topicality.

To give some examples, in Tatar, the wh-words which are arguments (58), (59) can be topicalized above subject position, but not adjuncts (61), (62), except the wh-word “why” (60), as it was noted by Akar (1990) for Turkish as well. In our analysis, we follow Rizzi (2001) who assumes that the wh-word *why* is base-generated in the specifier of IntP and is located higher than FocP.

- (58). **Kem-ne<sub>i</sub>** Lilia t<sub>i</sub> yarat-a.  
 Who<sub>AccSpec</sub> Lilia love<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
 “Who does Lilia love ?”
- (59). **Närsä-ne<sub>i</sub>** Lilia t<sub>i</sub> yarat-mı-y ?  
 Who<sub>AccSpec</sub> Lilia love<sub>3SgNegPres</sub>  
 “What does not Lilia like ?”

- (60). **Nigä** / **ni öçen**<sub>i</sub>      keşe-lär    bitlek-lär    t<sub>i</sub>    kiep yöri-lär ?  
 why / for what reason    men<sub>Pl</sub>      mask<sub>Pl</sub>              wear<sub>Part</sub> go<sub>3PlPres</sub>  
*“Why do people wear masks ?”*
- (61). \***Kayda**<sub>i</sub>    Lilia    t<sub>i</sub>    ukı-y.  
 Where      Lilia      study<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
*“Where does Lilia study ?”*
- (62). \***Niçek**<sub>i</sub>    Lilia    t<sub>i</sub>    ukı-y.  
 How      Lilia      study<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
*“How does Lilia study ?”*

However, wh-phrases, whether they are arguments or adjuncts, cannot occupy post-verbal positions, as shown in examples (63), (64).

- (63). \*Lilia    t<sub>i</sub>    yarat-a      **kem-ne**<sub>i</sub>.  
 Lilia      love<sub>3SgPres</sub>    who<sub>AccSpec</sub>  
*“Who does Lilia love ?”*
- (64). \*Lilia    t<sub>i</sub>    ukı-y      **niçek**<sub>i</sub>.  
 Lilia      study<sub>3SgPres</sub>    how  
*“How does Lilia study ?”*

This short surveillance of wh-elements in Tatar gives evidence that they may occupy distinct positions in the clause structure, favoring richer structure of LP, originally proposed by Rizzi (1997). We will leave analysis of the exact landing sites of various wh-elements for further researches.

### The interpretation of wh-words

In Tatar certain wh-words as *kem* ‘who’, *ni* ‘what’, *närsä* ‘what’ which are arguments or wh-words as *kaysı* ‘which’, *niçä* ‘how many’ have the same grammatical properties

as nouns (case, number, possessivity). In example (65), the wh-word *kem* ‘who’ after suffixation has the form *kemnäregezne* ‘which one of you’.

(65). Kazan-da **kem-när-e-gez-ne** yarat-tı-lar ?

Kazan<sub>Dat</sub> who<sub>Pl/Poss/2Per/Acc</sub> love<sub>Past3Pl</sub>  
*“Which one of you do they love in Kazan ?”*

Following Görgülü’s (2006) analysis of wh-words in Turkish, we state that in Tatar, wh-elements can be interpreted not only as interrogative elements but can be assigned various readings in the appropriate syntactic environments. The ambiguous interpretation of wh-words demonstrates that they are not really inherently quantificational elements but rather variables depending of the nature of the operator that binds the wh-word.

As in Turkish (Görgülü 2006), a wh-word in Tatar can function as an interrogative element, or as the negative quantifier in the non-interrogative reading, as the example (66) exemplifies.

(66). Aydar **närsä-ne** beler ?

Aydar what<sub>AccDef</sub> know<sub>3SgFutIndef</sub>  
*(i) “What does Aydar know ?”*  
*(ii) “Aydar would know nothing.”*

However, if the verb is marked with a tense / aspect marker other than the future indefinite as in (66), for example, past as in (67), (or future and present markers), the wh-word gets only interrogative interpretation.

(67). Alar **kemgä** ošan-dı-lar ?

They who<sub>Dat</sub> believe<sub>Past3Pl</sub>  
*(i) “Who did they believe ?”*  
*(ii)\* “They believed no one.”*

Another manifestation of ambiguity between the interrogative and the non-interrogative interpretation of wh-elements is the example of the pluralized wh-construction when in the scope of negation, as in (68).

(68). Alar **kayda-lar** yör-mä-de-lär ?

They where<sub>Pl</sub> gO<sub>NegPast3Pl</sub>

1. “Where did they not go ? “

2. (It seems) “They went everywhere ? “

Even if the verb in (68) is in the past form, the wh-word has ambiguous interpretation. In this sentence, which involves the adjunct wh-word *kayda* ‘where’, the presence of the plural marker on the wh-word licenses its interpretation as the universal quantifier. According to Görgülü (2006), this observation indicates about the interaction between NP-level and TP-level operators providing the universal quantifier reading of the wh-element<sup>49</sup>.

Adopting Cheng (1991, 1997), Aoun & Li (1993), Watanabe (1997), Aygen’s (1999) analysis of wh-phrases, Görgülü (2006) suggests that in Turkish, as in some other languages, a wh-word is interpreted as interrogative if it is bound by the phonologically null Qu(estion) operator, generated in the C-domain. If a wh-word is bound by the TP-level *gen(eric)*-operator, which presumably is base generated in the AspP, it gets the negative quantifier interpretation. Finally, when it is in the domain of the TP-level *gen(eric)*-operator and the negative operator, it is interpreted as the universal quantifier.

I will leave the analysis of the behaviour of wh-operators and their attractors in the clausal left periphery for future research.

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<sup>49</sup>The author refers to Chierchia (1998: 345), who discusses the status of plural marker as an operator.

## Wh-phrases in embedded clauses

As is the case in root clause in (69), the wh-element in embedded clause (70) appears to the immediate left of the verb. In both examples, the wh-phrase *närsä* follows the topical PPs *bu keşelär turında* and *bu kitap turında*. In embedded clause (70), the complementizer *dip* follows the wh-question, giving the order *wh > dip*.

- (69). Bu keşe-lär turında **närsä** uyly-sız ?  
 this person<sub>Pl</sub> about what think<sub>2SgPres</sub>  
*“What do you think of this people ?”*

- (70). Aygul [<sub>CP</sub> bu kitap turında **närsä** uyly-lar **dip**] sora-dı.  
 Aygul this book<sub>Acc</sub> about what think<sub>2PlPres</sub> that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Aygul asked what they think of this book.”*

The focus phrase *ätisenä* in embedded clause (71), like the wh-constituent in (70) resides in the same position, namely just before the verb.

- (71). Ildar [<sub>CP</sub> Gölnoz **ätisenä** şaltırat-tı **dip**] uyla-dı.  
 Ildar Gölnoz father<sub>PossDat</sub> call<sub>3SgPast</sub> that think<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Ildar thought that Gölnoz called his father.”*

A wh-phrase in embedded sentences, like in main clauses, compete for the same position as a focus-phrase. The examples in (72) and (73), show that the wh-element *kemgä* “whom” and the focus element *Gölnoz* are mutually exclusive, whatever their order is.

- (72). Ildar [<sub>CP</sub> \*GÖLNAZ **kemgä** şaltırat-tı **dip**] kızık-sın-dı.  
 Ildar Gölnoz whom<sub>Dat</sub> call<sub>3SgPast</sub> that wonder<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Ildar was interested whom Gölnoz called.”*

- (73). Ildar [<sub>CP</sub> \***kemgä** GÖLNAZ şaltırat-tı **dip**] kızık-sın-dı.  
 Ildar Gölnoz whom<sub>Dat</sub> call<sub>3SgPast</sub> that wonder<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Ildar was interested whom Gölnoz called.”*



In English, long-distance movement of a wh-phrase from declarative complement clauses to the matrix clause takes place successive-cyclically, as the example (74) illustrates.

(74). Who<sub>i</sub> do you think that Paul invited t<sub>i</sub>?

In the example (74), the object wh-word *who* is fronted from its position within the complement clause introduced by the complementizer *that* to the matrix clause.

The Tatar sentence in (75) is a well formed matrix question, where the wh-word appears immediately to the left of the embedded verb and the complement clause itself is in the canonical position, adjacent to the matrix verb.

(75). Ul    siña    [<sub>CP</sub> Lilia    **kemne**    çakırgan    **dip** ]    äyt-te (?)  
       he    you<sub>Dat</sub>    Lilia        who<sub>Acc</sub>    invite<sub>3SgPast</sub>    that    say<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
       *“Who did he say to you Lilia invited ?”*  
       *“He told you who Lilia invited.”*

In Tatar, as in Malayalam, proposed by Jayaseelan (2004), in order to indicate matrix scope of an embedded wh-phrase, the wh-word *kemne* “who” in accusative case, first moves into the FocP of the complement clause, and then the entire clause TP is pied-piped into the FocP of the matrix verb, as diagrammed in Fig 4.10.

Similar to Malayalam (Jayaseelan, 2004), an extraction of a wh-phrase from an embedded clause to the Focus position of the matrix clause is ungrammatical, because the Focus position of the matrix clause, as an “escape hatch” is unavailable in Tatar, as shown in (76).

(76). \*Ul    siña    [<sub>CP</sub> Lilia    çakırgan    **dip** ]    **kemne**    äyt-te ?  
       he    you<sub>Dat</sub>    Lilia        invit<sub>3SgPast</sub>    that    who<sub>Acc</sub>    say<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
       *“Who did he say to you Lilia invited ?”*

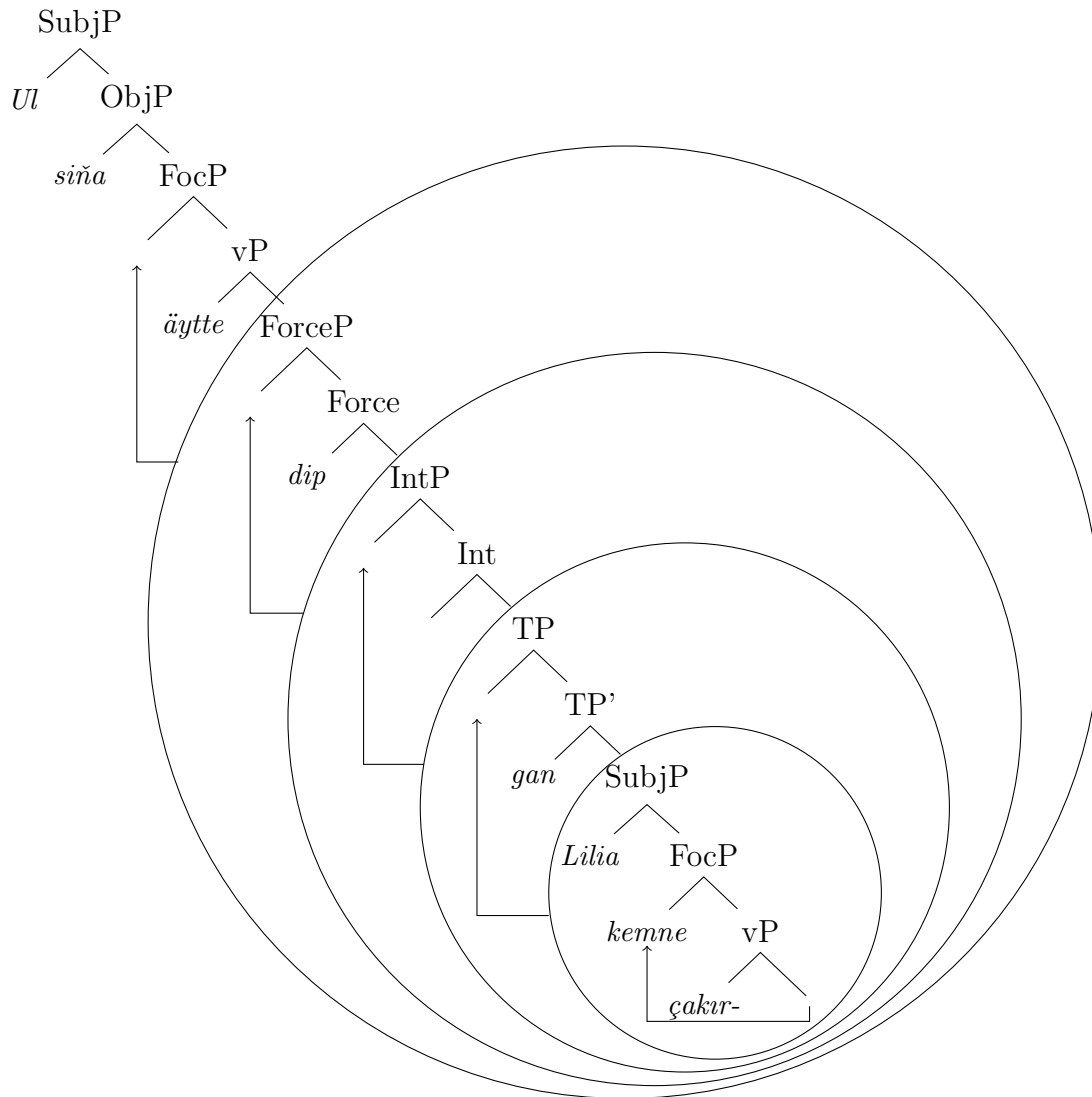


Figure 4.10:

If the embedded clause moves higher than FocP of the matrix clause, as in example (77), it can be interpreted only as an embedded question, but not good as a matrix

question.

- (77). Ul [CP Lilia **kemne** çakırgan **dip**] siña äyt-te.  
 he Lilia who<sub>Acc</sub> invit<sub>3SgPast</sub> that you<sub>Dat</sub> say<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
 \*“Who did he say to you Lilia invited ?”  
 “He told you who Lilia invited.”

As we can observe from the examples, the complementizer follows the wh-phrase in Tatar, yielding the order *wh* > *dip*.

### Wh-phrase and Q<sub>y/n</sub>

Under the current cartographic analysis of clause structure, it was set that question particles realize the head of InterP, whereas matrix wh-phrases move to the specifier of a FocP cross-linguistically (Rizzi 1997, 2001; Jayaseelan, 2004; Aboh 2004a, Soare 2009, a.o.). This statement indicates that yes/no operators and wh-operators activate different positions in the left periphery, namely InterP and FocP, accordingly.

Tatar wh-questions do not involve Q<sub>y/n</sub> -*mı* particle. They are in complementary distribution in the same configuration. If the former one appears in a sentence, the later one is disallowed in it and vice versa, as the example (78) shows.

- (78). \*Sin-e **kem** yarat-a-**mı**?  
 you<sub>Acc</sub> who love<sub>3SgPres-Q</sub>  
 “Who is loving you?”

Their co-occurrence however is restricted to echo-questions, as in Turkish (Aygen 2007). For example, (79) is an echo question of a wh-question, while (80) is an echo question of a yes/no question in Tatar.

- (79). Rustam **närsä-me** ešlä-de?  
 Rustam what-Q did<sub>3PlPres-Q</sub>

“*Rustam did what?*”

(80). Rustam **närsä** ešlä-de-**me**?

they what do<sub>3PlPres-Q</sub>

“*Did Rustam do what?*”

As noted earlier, in embedded yes / no questions, as in the example (81), the  $Q_{y/n}$  particle *-mi* can be followed by the complementizer *dip* and they are located in IntP and ForceP respectively, giving the order *-mi* > *dip*.

(81). Gölnoz [<sub>CP</sub> Ildar-nıñ apa-sı kayttı-**mı** **dip**] sora-dı.

Gölnoz<sub>Nom</sub> Ildar-nıñ<sub>Gen</sub> sister<sub>3SgPoss</sub> came  $Q_{y/n}$  that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>

“*Gölnoz asked whether Ildar’s sister came.*”

Looking at the interaction between a wh-phrase and the yes-no  $Q_{y/n}$  *-mi* in embedded clauses with *dip*, we observe that the  $Q_{y/n}$  *-mi* is forbidden from occurring in wh-questions, as it is exemplified in (82).

(82). \*Aygul [<sub>CP</sub> Lilia **närsä** tap-kan-**mı** dip] sora-dı?

Aygul Lilia what find<sub>PastInd</sub>  $Q_{y/n}$  that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>

“*Aygul asked what found Lilia.*”

If we try to apply Endo’s (2018) analysis of DiPs to wh questions in Tatar, we notice that when the question modal particle *mikän* intervenes between the predicate of embedded clause and the complementizer *dip*, the sentence becomes grammatical, as shown in (83).

(83). Aygul [<sub>CP</sub> Lilia **närsä** tap-kan mikän **dip**] sora-dı?

Aygul Lilia what find<sub>PastInd</sub>  $Q_{Modal}$  that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>

“*Aygul asked what found Lilia.*”

The  $Q_{y/n}$  *-mi* and the modal word *ikän* jointly forms *mikän* which encodes the worryness about the proposition. The contexte for the question (83) is that *Aygul knew that Lilia found something and now Aygul tries to figure out what did she find.*

The possibility of coexistence of the  $Q_{y/n}$  particle and a *wh*-word in echo-questions may give some indirect evidence of the availability of invisible question particle in other contexts where its presence leads to ungrammaticality. Maybe, other factors, such as the usage of various particles in a sentence help to make the  $Q_{y/n}$  particle visible.

The ungrammaticality of (82) is due to co-occurrence of the  $Q_{y/n}$  *-mı* and *wh*-word in the same configuration. The possibility of (83) in Tatar leads us to assume that the modal word *ikän* is situated in Rizzi's (2001) ModP projection and makes possible to the  $Q_{y/n}$  *-mı* to be overtly realized, yielding the order : *wh* > *-mı* > *ikän* > *dip*. The surface order of the sentence (83) is derived by rolling up the lower constituents into the specifier of the higher projections cyclically, as diagrammed in Fig 4.11.

As concerns *wh*-constituents in nominalized embedded clauses, they also can manifest ambiguous behavior between the interrogative and the non-interrogative interpretation, as the examples in (84) and (85) indicate.

- (84). Lilia [<sub>CP</sub> **kem-neñ** kitap ukı-gan-ı]-ñ belä.  
 Lilia who<sub>CP</sub> book<sub>Acc/Ind</sub> read<sub>PartPoss Acc</sub> know<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
*"Lilia knows who reads a book."*

- (85). Lilia [<sub>CP</sub> **kem-neñ** kitap ukı-gan-ı]-ñ belä?  
 Lilia who<sub>CP</sub> book<sub>Acc/Ind</sub> read<sub>PartPoss Acc</sub> know<sub>3SgPres</sub>  
*"Who does Lilia know that reads a book?"*

The difference of interpretations of clauses in (84) as declarative and in (85) as interrogative is due to the focal stress of the *wh*-word in (85) and intonation.

The overt  $Q_{y/n}$  particle *mı* in Tatar has the property of focusing the constituent under its immediate scope. An echo question of (85) as given in (86) has the focal stress on the *wh*-element with the same focus pattern as in (85).

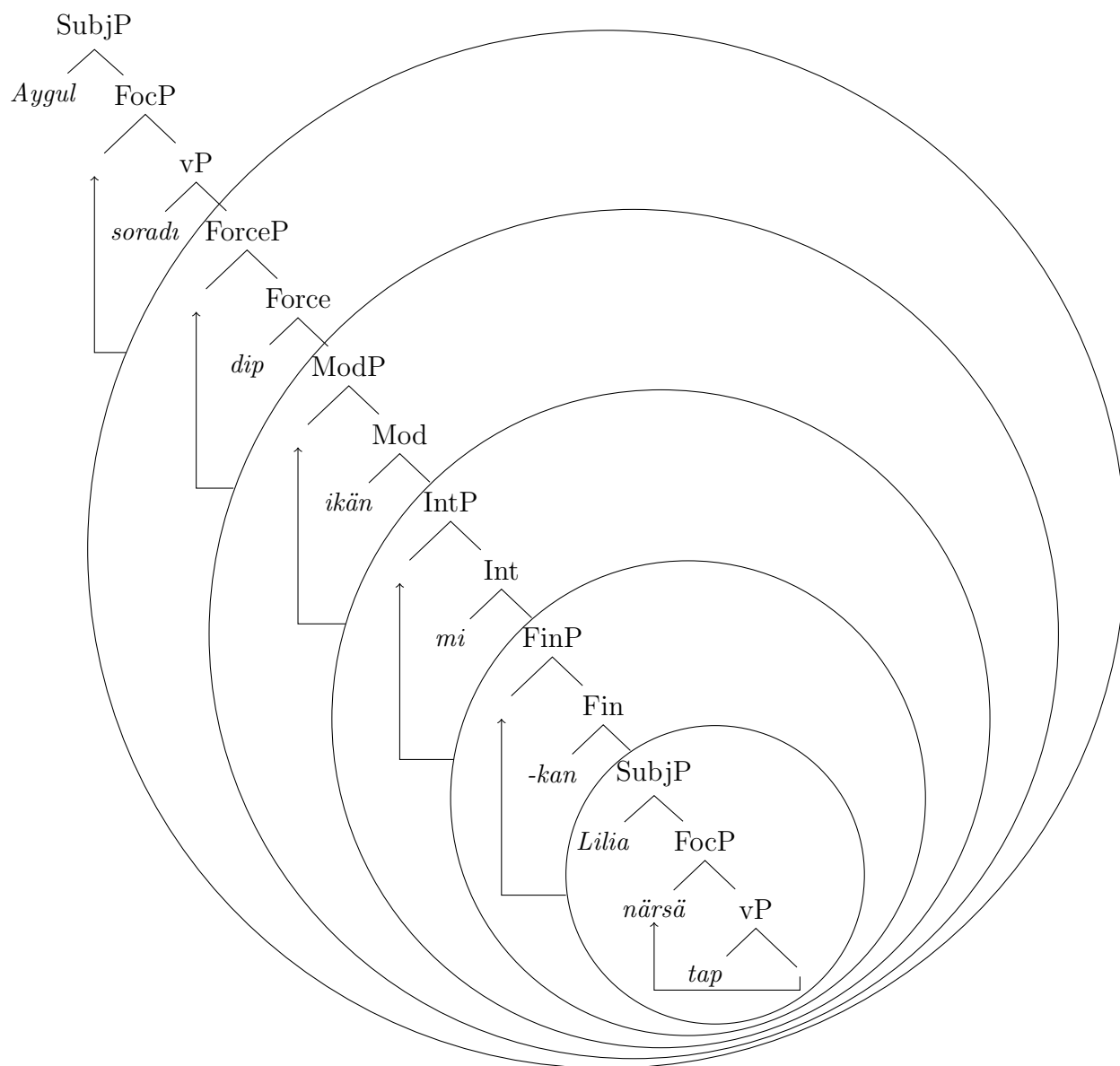


Figure 4.11:

- (86). Lilia [<sub>CP</sub> **kem-neñ-me** kitap uki-gan-ı]-ñ belä?  
 Lilia who<sub>Gen Qy/n</sub> book<sub>Acc/Ind</sub> read<sub>PartPoss Acc</sub> know<sub>3SgPres</sub>

“*Who does Lilia knows that reads a book?*”

The focal stress in (85) is a manifestation of the presence of a non-overt  $Q_{y/n}$  particle at a position where its overt counterpart would surface in an echo question, as is indicated by Aygen (2007) for Turkish too.

Another option for the presence of question particle and wh-element together in a sentence is to replace *närsä* “what” in (82) by *berär närsä* “something” and the sentence (87) looks grammatical too.

- (87). Aygul [<sub>CP</sub> Lilia **berär närsä** tap-kan-mı dip ] sora-dı?  
 Aygul Lilia something find<sub>PastInd</sub>  $Q_{y/n}$  that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
 “*Aygul asked what found Lilia.*”

The contexte for the question (87) is that *Aygul knew that Lilia was looking for something and now Aygul is interested if Lilia finally found it.*

## 4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the syntax of the left periphery (LP) of the clause in Tatar. After a brief outline of the various types of finite embedded clauses that function as verb’s complement in a matrix clause, we mostly concentrated on analysis of sentential complementation of di(e)p - clauses and nominalized complement clauses. Subordinate clauses with *dip* in Tatar are subject to selectional requirements imposed by selecting predicates. Within the *dip*-complement embedded clauses, we distinguish predicates that are compatible with quotations and with propositions. Among nominalized complement embedded clauses, we differentiate *factive* complement clauses and *action nominalizations*.

Describing the LP in Tatar, we likewise tried to identify *topic*, *focus* elements, *wh*-

*questions*, *yes-no* markers, assuming that each of the features that are intrinsic to the LP, is the realization of a head projecting within the C-system.

Topics in Tatar should move to the sentence initial position to gain the topic interpretation, whereas new information focus position is in the immediate periphery of the vP, known from Belletti (2001; 2004). Tatar explicitly illustrates that topic, contrastive topics, focus and contrastive focus activate different positions within the C-system. Furthermore, we observe that contrastive focus cannot cross contrastive topic, yielding the order  $CT > CF$ . This order is cross-linguistically confirmed, for example by French and Italian data. It is worth underlining that contrastive topic in Tatar may be accompanied by the non obligatory contrastive topical marker (*isä*), providing morphological evidence for the CTopP.

It has been also noticed that yes/no particles and wh-elements occupy different positions in the LP hierarchy, InterP and FocP, respectively. Moreover, Rizzi's split - CP architecture has also been enriched by Tatar data, showing that yes/no particle and the complementizer realize different positions in the structure. As the linear order of Tatar is the mirror image of the one, for example, found in Italian, the order of these projections will be  $Int > Force$ .

The Tatar data, examined therefore along the lines of Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry hypothesis, testifies that all movement operations are determined by information structure features of CP zone, and that they are strictly leftward. The surface order of elements in a sentence is derived by rolling up the lower elements into the specifier of the higher projection cyclically.

Based on the discussion so far, we attest that different constituents of the various projections examined are therefore hierarchically organised and support the hypothesis of an articulated LP in Tatar, as originally put forward by Rizzi (1997).



# Chapter 5

## The cartography of the noun phrase

### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate in detail the position of different sub-elements of DPs and their semantic and morpho-syntactic properties within the DP-internal cartography in Tatar.

Admitting the parallel traditionally made between the nominal domain and the clausal domain in modern generative syntactic research (Szabolcsi 1983, Abney 1997, Ritter (1991), Cinque 1994, Guisti 1995, Bernstein 2001, Laenzlinger 2005, Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007, a.o), we will illustrate that the architecture of the Tatar nominal structure implies a series of distinct hierarchically ordered functional projections that dominate the *noun phrase (NP)* and whose specifiers occupy the nominal modifiers such as determiners, possessors, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, quantifiers.

This chapter is organized as follows. In section 5.2, we present some theoretical background of the nominal domain and look at the internal structural parallelisms of

nominal and clausal domains. In section 5.3, we consider the Tatar noun phrase. First, we deal with deverbal noun phrases which represent different types of nominalizations. These constructions exhibit the mixed behaviour of both nouns and verbs. Then, we identify arguments of deverbal nominals. The section 5.4 deals with functional projections in nominal domain. First, we turn to the Case system, arguing for the existence of KP projection in Tatar. Then, we show how +/-definiteness is realized in nominals, followed by subsections about possessives, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers. We finish the analysis by proposing the ordering of elements in Tatar noun phrase. The last subsection 5.5 draws conclusions about nominal structure, provided by the Tatar data.

## 5.2 Theoretical background

### 1 DP projection

A *noun phrase* is a syntactic constituent which has as its head a noun, extended by diverse arguments and modifiers.

In fact, nominal expressions (*NE*) can be either simple, represented only by the nominal head, a noun (or any word functioning as a noun), or complex, consisting of a nominal head and pre- or postnominal modifiers. Abney's (1987) originally formulated split *DP hypothesis* represents the starting point for a finer representation of this complexity of *NE*. He proposes that the structure of the noun phrase includes the D(eterminer) projection filled by a lexical determiner,  $D^\circ$  (akin to *inflection*, the functional head of the clause) which selects an NP, a lexical category. As for the NP projection, it can take a complement, argument or adjunct. This is illustrated in Figure 5.1:

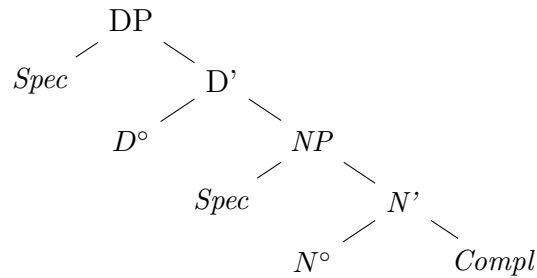


Figure 5.1: (Abney 1987)

This basic representation has been adopted in much of the subsequent work on nominal structure.

So, the range of applications of X-bar theory, which initially covered only the functional elements of the clause (Chomsky 1986), was extended by Abney (1987) to *NEs*, which were sensitive to a hierarchical structure with a lexical projection embedded in a functional structure. These observations led Abney (1987) to suggest that the DP (incorporated in the generalized X-bar format) is parallel to the IP and N-to-D movement has been considered as the nominal counterpart of V-to-I movement in the clausal domain (Ritter 1991) as in Fig 5.2.<sup>1</sup>

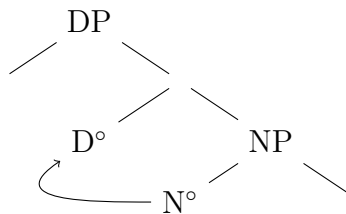


Figure 5.2:

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<sup>1</sup>There is however some asymmetry on movement operations between the noun phrase and the clause. For instance, they are more restricted in nominal domain.

Subsequent studies of different languages (Romance, Germanic, Semitic, Slavic a.o.) have revealed that the DP is quite a complex structure represented as an amalgam of discrete nominal projections (Szabolcsi 1983, Ritter 1991, Valois 1991, Cinque 1993, Bernstein 1993, Kayne 1994, Longobardi, 1994 a.o) than it was initially suggested by Jackendoff (1977) of an account of NP as  $[_{NP} \text{ Det } [_{N'} \text{ N}]]$ . The first manifestations of such a complexity were the identification of separate *DP*, *AgrP* (Szabolcsi 1983; Abney 1987), and *NumP* (Ritter 1991, 1992) above *NP*.

Different investigations concerned particularly the internal (hierarchical) structure of the DP and its structural properties, the types of movements that may be involved in the displacement of DP constituents, triggers and constraints on these movements. For example, Cinque (1994) and Longobardi (1994), argue that, parallel to  $V^0$ -movement operations in the clausal domain, there exist  $N^0$ -movement operations in the nominal domain. The exploration of the nominal projection, reminding of the analogy with inflectional one, expanded the descriptive possibilities of the noun phrase.

Recently, many researchers (Shlonsky, 2000; Zamparelli 2000; Ihsane and Puskás, 2001; Aboh 2004; Giusti 2005; Laenzlinger, 2005, Durlemnan 2008 a.o.), inspired by Rizzi's (1997) split CP hypothesis, applied the cartographic analysis to the architecture of the nominal domain (DP), where the noun phrase reveals some characteristics of the CP projection. Namely, Laenzlinger (2005) proposes that the higher DP functional projection (connecting the nominal expression to the discourse) is reminiscent of Rizzi's ForceP while the lower DP (expressing definiteness, indefiniteness, partitivity, and so on) resembles to his FinP.

## 2 Nominal/clausal parallels

There is some agreement in the GG literature (Abney 1997, Bernstein 2001, Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007, Grohmann 2003, Laenzlinger 2005, Wiltschko 2014, among many others) that deverbal nouns and clauses manifest clear parallels. For the purposes of this work, we will differentiate between event-denoting nominals (deverbal nouns) and object-denoting nominals.

If Lees (1960) assumes syntactic transformationalist analysis of deverbal nouns, Chomsky (1970), in a seminal paper *Remarks on Nominalisation*, argues for the *lexicist hypothesis* meaning that deverbal nouns and the related verbs share the same lexical structure. Grimshaw (1990) in turn, observes that a particular class of Ns and Vs apparently reveal an argument structure parallelism. He distinguishes three classes of deverbal nouns, as *complex event nouns* or *action/process nouns*, *simple events* and *result nouns*<sup>2</sup> (also called *referential nominals* or *N-nominals*). The distinction between them lies in the possibility of the former to have an argument structure and take obligatory arguments, while *result* nominals do not project a genuine argument structure.

According to Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou (2007), the external argument of complex event nouns is an *Event* argument (E) while it is a *Referential* argument (R) for result nominals. In a case of a *result* interpretation of nominals, the reading is akin to the reading of non-derived nominals (or object-denoting nouns).

In order to show the structural similarity between deverbal /derived nominals and clauses), let us take a clause as in (1) and a noun phrase as in (2):

- (1). Paul writes the book.
- (2). Paul's writing of the book.

---

<sup>2</sup>Result nouns can be either derived or non-derived.

Both examples have two arguments. In case of a clause (1), there is an external argument (*agent*) *Paul* and an internal argument (*theme*) *the book*. In the noun phrase (2), the deverbal noun *writing* selects an internal argument (*theme*) *the book* and an external argument (*agent*) *Paul*. In this structure, two arguments have two distinct markers of genitive: the external one has *saxon genitive* form (s), whereas the internal argument is embedded in a PP.

Following Chomsky (1970), the distribution of grammatical functions like subject and object in a noun phrase and in a clause is inherently the same. *Paul* functions as a subject of V / N, occupying the specifier position, located to the left of the head. *The book*, in turn, occupies the complement position of the head (i.e., V, N), appearing to the right of it and functioning as a direct object, see Fig. 5.3.

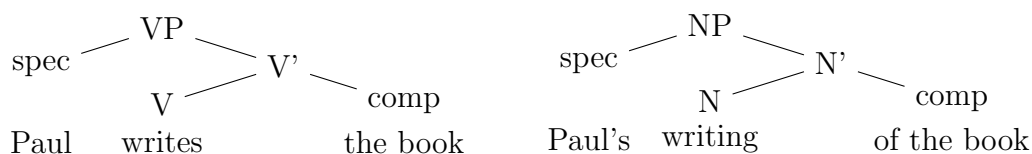


Figure 5.3:

Another clear parallelism between nominals and clauses is that both can undergo passivization (Lees 1960). An active sentence as in (1) after passivization looks like (3). The passive version of the nominalization construction of (2) looks like (4).

(3). The book was written by Paul.

(4). The book's writing by Paul.

According to Chomsky (1970), the phenomenon of passivization is a general rule of move NP, when the direct object NP moves to the subject position. This rule can be also applied to the nominal domain. In (4), the "passivized" nominal with

its *patient* (the book) moves to the *saxon genitive* position and *Paul* turns into an agentive *by*-phrase.

By analogy with adverbs in clausal domain (5) (Cinque 1999), attributive adjectives occupy the specifier positions of discrete functional projections within the nominal inflectional domain (6) (Cinque 1994, Scott 2002, Laenzlinger 2005 a.o.).

(5). Paul carefully writes the book.

(6). Paul's careful writing of the book.

One more similarity between the structure of clauses and the structure of nominals is that modifiers can be attached insight nominals (7) in just the same way as they are attached insight clauses (8).

(7). Paul's writing of the book in Paris.

(8). Paul writes the book in Paris.

Besides structural parallelisms of nominals and sentences, there are internal structural parallelisms of these categories. Abney (1987) in his seminal work gives an example of such a parallelism in Yupi'k language:

*"Yup'ik, a Central Alaskan Eskimo language, provides a textbook analysis of a language with AGR in the noun phrase. Nouns - even concrete nouns - agree with their possessors. The agreement they show is the same agreement morpheme which is found on the verb, sharing even the same suppletions."*

Szabolcsi (1983) in turn, argues that the agreement relationship between a possessor and N in a noun phrase in Hungarian is similar to the agreement which occurs between the subject and T in a finite clause:

(9). az en kalapom  
the I<sub>Nom</sub> hat<sub>1P.sg</sub>

(10). az te kalapod

the you *Nom* hat<sub>2P.sg</sub>

(11). a Mari kalapja

the Mari *Nom* hat<sub>3P.sg</sub>

These analysis justified the insertion of the functional heads AgrP and DP above NP.

According to Abney (1997), Kornfilt (1984), Turkish is another language which manifests agreement with the possessor on the possessee noun.

Based on a general agreement in the literature that there exists so-called (quasi-) parallelism of structures and transformations between the noun phrase and the clause, we consider clausal domain and nominal domain as a tripartite structure, which is represented in Fig. 5.4.

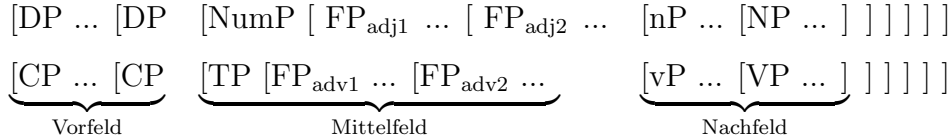


Figure 5.4: (*Laenzlinger, 2005:1*)

In the lowest layer (Nachfeld) all arguments of the verb/noun first merge. The intermediate layer (Mittelfeld) hosts case and  $\phi$ -features under Agree (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1989) and optional modifiers (adverbs or adjectives respectively) in the sense of Cinque (1994, 1999). Finally, the highest layer (Vorfeld), is the left periphery of the clause (Rizzi 1997) and of the noun phrase (Grimshaw's 2000 idea of extended projections).



### 5.3 The deverbal noun phrases in Tatar

Tatar has different kinds of nominalizers (nominal suffixes) that joining to verb bases (imperative form), form the deverbal nominal's head of an NP (Zakiev 1993, Graschenkov & Lyutikova 2008, a.o.). As it was already shown before, we distinguish, following Kornfilt (2001) for Turkish, factive and non-factive nominalized clauses.

Deverbal nominals are formed from all kinds of verbs: transitive, intransitive, derived, underived. The Tatar nominals may have voice markers (reflexive, reciprocal, causative, passive), tense / aspect / modality features, negation, nominal suffixes (case, possessive). They are inflected as any nouns<sup>3</sup>. The argument structure and meanings of deverbal nominals are mostly regular and predictable.

The most productive and regular suffix which derives nominalizations from verbs in Tatar is the *-u/-ü* suffix, added to the verb stem.<sup>4</sup>

- (1). kür (see) > kür-**ü** (vision);  
jimer (destroy) > jimer-**ü** (destruction).

It follows verbal markers, as for instance, aspect (2), voice (3), multiplicity (4):

- (2). kür (see) > kür-mä-**ü** (invisibility);  
(3). kür-*eş-ter* (made them to meet each other) > kür-*eş-ter*-**ü** (meeting);  
(4). bar (go) > bar-**u** (going) > bar-gala-**u** (going occasionally).

These event-denoting (process) nouns do not have mood and tense properties. Like nouns, they can be combined with *number-possession-case* suffixes, as is illustrated in (5):

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<sup>3</sup>Tatar, like Turkish appeals to nominalization for the embedding strategy. Nominalizations differ in morphological, syntactic and semantic features.

<sup>4</sup>This form was considered earlier in Tatar dictionaries and grammars as the base form of verbs.

(5). kait-u-lar-ıgız-ga

come back<sub>NM/Pl/Poss/Dat</sub>  
*“to your coming backs”*

The process nominals can also be created by joining the suffix *-lık/lek* to past participle forms (ended on *-gan/-gän*), as is illustrated in (6):

(6). bel-gän (knowing) > bel-gän-*lek* (that he knows);  
 bel-gän > bel-mä-gän-*lek* (ignorance, lack of knowledge);  
 kil-gän (who came) > kil-gälä-gän-*lek* (coming occasionally).

Verbal properties of these process nominals correspond to those of the previous group with one difference: they denote action, event not irrespective of time, but related to the past tense (Zakiev 1993), as it is exemplified in (7):

(7). Student-lar-nıñ monı bel-gän-leg-e-nä şakkat-tı-m.  
 student<sub>PlGen</sub> this<sub>Acc</sub> know<sub>PastPart/NM/Poss/Dat</sub> be amazed<sub>Past1Sg</sub>  
*“I was amazed that students knew/know that.”*

This may support the claim that nouns have the morphological evidence for postulating a Tense Phrase within the extended projection of N (Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007).

It seems that Tatar marks result (or object-denoting) nominals with suffixes *-(y/e)ş*, *-(y/e)m*, *-ma/mä*.

(8). tözel (built) > tözel-*eş* (building, construction);  
 aç (open) > aç-*ış* (discovery);  
 bel (learn) > bel-*em* (knowledge);  
 bül (divide) > bül-*mä* (room).

Nominals such as *bel-ü* (event-denoting / process noun) and *bel-em* (object-denoting or result noun) are derived from the same verb stem “*bel*” “know”. However, only

object-denoting nouns can appear in the existential sentence in Tatar (9), as it was proposed for English sentence by Grimshaw (1990), as in our example (9).

(9). Bu töple belem / \*belü.

(10). This is a deep knowledge / \*knowing.

The test with modifiers like *frequent* and *constant* allows to Grimshaw (1990) to distinguish telic and atelic behavior of predicates. For example, in (11), the noun *jñel-u*, derived from the verb “to gather“, expresses an event reading whereas the noun *jñel-ıŝ* “meeting, gathering“ (12) expresses result reading. As it shows the grammaticality of (11), only event-denoting nouns can be used with *frequency* modifiers, such as *yeŝ* in Tatar, alike English (Grimshaw 1990).

(11). duslarnıñ yeŝ jıyelui  
 friend<sub>Gen</sub> frequent gather<sub>NM/3pPoss</sub>  
 “friend’s frequent gathering“

(12). \*duslarnıñ yeŝ jıyelıŝ  
 friend<sub>Gen</sub> frequent gather<sub>NM</sub>  
 “friend’s frequent meeting“

One more test, proposed by Grimshaw 1990, is to give evidence that result nominals (14) can not take agent-oriented modifiers which require a conceived *agent* while it is possible with process nominals (13) even if the *agent* is not specified.

(13). konferenciya-nıñ akıllı oyeŝtı-ruı  
 conference<sub>SgGen</sub> smart organizatio-n<sub>NM/3pPoss</sub>  
 “smart organization of conference“

(14). \*akıllı oyeŝma  
 smart organization<sub>NM</sub>  
 “smart organization of conference“

## Arguments of deverbal nominals

Following Grimshaw (1990), Grascenkov & Lyutikova (2008), Laenzlinger (2011), we assume that in Tatar, event-denoting nominals have an argument structure and take obligatory arguments. Let us take an example (16) which is the nominalization construction of a simple transitive sentence like in (15).

- (15). Duşman şähär-ne jimer-de. / \*Duşman jimerde.  
enemy<sub>Nom</sub> city<sub>Acc</sub> destroyed / \*the enemy destroyed  
“*The enemy destroyed the city.*“
- (16). duşman-nıñ şähär-ne jimer-ü-e / \*duşmanmñ jimerüe  
enemy<sub>Gen</sub> city<sub>Acc</sub> destruction / \*enemy’s destruction  
“*enemy’s destruction of the city*“

The argument structure of the verbal phrase in (15) is preserved in its nominal counterpart in (16). In both examples the event is telic. The verb and event-denoting noun select an internal argument (*theme*) *şähär* (*the city*), expressed by the accusative suffix *ne* and an external argument (*agent*) *duşman* (*the enemy*), expressed by the genitive in nominalization construction<sup>5</sup>. As Tatar is a head final language, both arguments are in preverbal or prenominal positions respectively, i.e., the *theme* following the *agent*.

As we consider some parallelism between nominal phrases (nP) with clauses (vP) in Tatar, we assume that arguments externally merge in the thematic domain of the event nominals according to *Universal Thematic Hierarchy* (Jackendoff 1990, Grimshaw 1990, Baker 1997):

- *Agent* > *Experiencer* > *Goal/Source/Location* > *Theme/Patient*,

where the *agent* asymmetrically c-commands the *experiencer*, the *goal* or the *theme*.

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<sup>5</sup>However, the case assigning properties of the underlying verb is not preserved.

By analogy with the complex shell structure of VPs (vP-shell), the n/NP projection forms the predicative core (Radford 2000, Alexiadou 2001, a.o.), this is the domain where the arguments merge and their  $\theta$ -role is assigned. The external argument originates in Spec,nP where it receives the (possessive)  $\theta$ -role (see Giorgi and Longobardi 1991). The *agent* merges in a position higher than the *theme*, as it is represented in Figure 5.5:

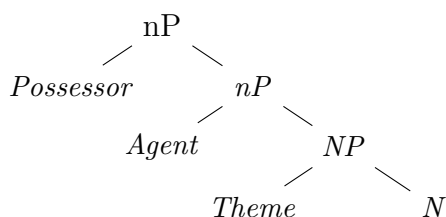


Figure 5.5:

Then, each argument evacuates the nP-shell, leaving the domain where it externally merges and reaches its respective *case*-related position (Laenzlinger & Soare 2005a).

In Generative theory, there is a common consensus that a verb stem, merging with a nominal affix by lexical rule, makes up the derived-nominal head of an NP (Chomsky 1970, Grimshaw 1990, a.o.). The "hybrid" derivation of these kinds of nominalizations then has the external syntax of NPs (they function as NPs in the clause), while their internal syntax shows verbal properties.

Some researches (Abney 1987, Borer 1994, Kornfilt 2001, Grashchenkov 2005, Keskink 2009, Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015b a.o.), on the basis of the presence of the verb properties of derived nominals, argue that under nominalization, the VP is embedded in DP.

As for the hierarchy of noun's complements (arguments or adjuncts) in Tatar, we

follow Laenzlinger’s (2005a,b) analysis of noun’s complements, based on Kayne’s (2002) analysis of verb’s complement outside the VP. The prenominal placement of the noun’s arguments and adjuncts reflects the hierarchy of their *middle filed* Case and P-related positions. The example (17) displays the neutral order of the noun’s complements and attributive adjective. The agentive Genitive argument precedes all other constituents. It is followed by locative argument with adjectival argument in Dative case, which in its turn, is followed by the attributive adjective, placed before the noun, as represented in (18)<sup>67</sup>.

- (17). Galim-när-neñ Kazan yanın-da-gı konferentsiya-dä yahşı fiker alıştır-u-ı.  
 Scientist<sub>PlGen</sub> Kazan near<sub>AdjAttrib</sub> conference<sub>Dat</sub> good idea exchange<sub>NmnlPoss</sub>  
*“A good discussion between scientists at the conference near Kazan.”*

- (18). Genitive > Adjective > Dative > Adjective > N

The reordering among these prenominal elements is possible for informational purposes.

In example (19), the deverbal noun *töşerü* (painting) has two arguments, the theme closer to the noun then agent and the manner adjunct between them.

- (19). balalarınñ kalām belän rāsem töşerüe  
 child<sub>PlGen</sub> pencil<sub>Inst</sub> with picture<sub>Acc</sub> painting  
*“children’s painting of a picture with pencil”*

As we can observe, in both examples (17) and (19), the genitiv argument neutrally precedes the prenominal adjective.

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<sup>6</sup>Laenzlinger relies to Cinque (2010, 2013), Kayne (2002), Krapova & Cinque’s (2005) hierarchy of Case- and P-related positions in the Mittelfeld for DP/PP-complements and DP/PP-adjuncts.

<sup>7</sup>This order slightly differs from Laenzlinger’s (2011) hierarchy of Tatar where the genitive case is not in the highest position.

As concerns object denoting nominals, they are defective theta-markers and they have a thematic structure different from the complex event nouns without having real arguments. Giusti (2015) claims that they can enter in an optional relation with another nominal expression that is interpreted via our knowledge of the world or from the context.

## 5.4 Functional projections

In Tatar, just like clausal functional projections are related with the presence of morphological markers of *tense*, *agreement*, *aspect* etc, morphological markers of the noun involve features like case, agreement, number for determining its own functional projections. Tatar, as other Turkic languages, lacks gender as a morpho-syntactic feature.

Given the agglutinative nature of the Tatar language, different kinds of bound functional morphemes appear to the right of the noun stems supporting Cinque’s (1999) observation that affixes (in agglutinating languages) when they are overtly realized as suffixes, display a fixed order among certain morphemes. The example shown in (1) manifests the order of suffixes *number-possession-case*, which under the Baker’s (1985) *mirror principle*, reveals the relative order of functional heads shown in (2).

(1). kul-lar-**ım**-**da**

hand<sub>Pl1PersPossLoc</sub>  
“in my hands”

(2). [<sub>CaseP</sub> -da [<sub>DP</sub> -ım [<sub>NumP</sub> -lar [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>N</sub> kul-]]]]]

We consider the order of morphemes in (2) presumably as a consequence of the NP movement across the functional morphemes. We propose an analysis for Tatar noun phrase in (1), through an “*nP-shell*” analysis (Grimshaw 1990, Laenzlinger

2011, a.o.) where by analogy with the complex shell structure of VPs (vP-shell), the n/NP projection forms the predicative core. After having first-merged, the NP *kul* (hand) raises to the specifier of NumP to adjoin plural marker *-lar* and then the entire NumP chunk makes a roll-up movement to the specifier of PossP in order to get the overt possesse agreement marker *-im*. Then, this chunk continues as snowballing / roll-up movement to the highest specifier of KP projection, getting the structural representation as in Fig. 5.6.

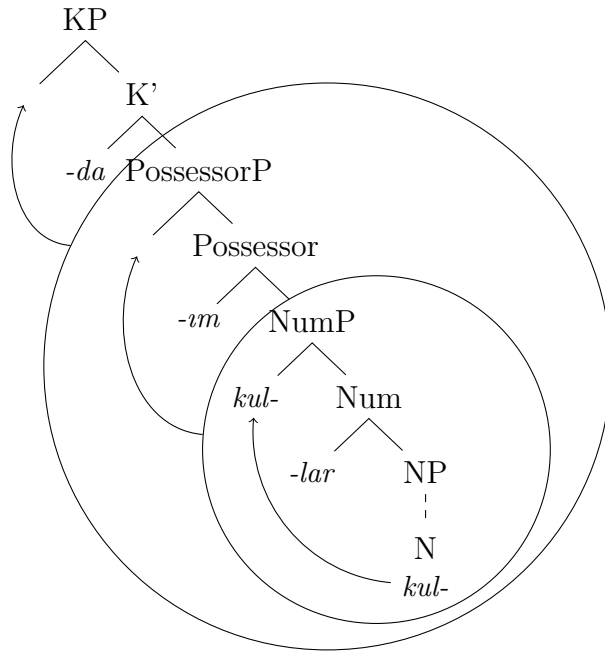


Figure 5.6:

The order *number-possession-case* is basically common to all Turkic languages, except Chuvash language (Johanson 1998) where the number suffix follows the possessive suffix, as in (3)<sup>8</sup>:

<sup>8</sup>Example taken from: <http://www.languagesgulper.com/eng/Chuvash.html>



(3). kil-**ěm-sen-cěn**

hous<sub>1SgPossPlAbl</sub>  
*“from my houses”*

In Tatar, the predicate marker *-dır* can be joined to those suffixes, as in (4).

(4). kul-**lar-ıñ-da-dır**

hand<sub>Pl2PersPossLoc</sub>  
*“They are in your hands.”*

## 1 Case

In Tatar, grammatical relations are associated with case marking, as in other morphologically rich languages (for example, Finnish, Hungarian, Latin, a.o.). Tatar traditional grammars distinguish 6 cases realized with morphological markers in the form of appropriate suffixes (Khangildin 1959, Zakiev 1992, Ganiev 2000 a.o.). The grammatical subject of clauses is related to the nominative case, the direct object to the accusative, the indirect object to the dative or another oblique case, possessors and the subjects of nominalized constructions to the genitive case.

(5). Min Rimmaga anıñ kitabın kaitaram.

I<sub>Nom</sub> Rimma<sub>Dat</sub> her<sub>Gen</sub> book<sub>PossAcc/Def</sub> return<sub>1SgPres</sub>  
*“I return to Rimma her book.”*

The Tatar case system is given in Table 5.1 below. Case morphemes are underspecified according to phonological processes.

In the late 1960th, some linguists, as Zakiev (1964), Ganiev (1970) propose an idea of multicases system of Turkic languages. Namely, Zakiev suggests to include to the list of six cases in Tatar, the affixes as: *-lı* (comitative), *-sız* “without” (caritive), *-ça*

Case	suffixes
Nominative	∅
Accusative	-nı/-ne/-n
Genitive	-nıñ/-neñ
Dative	-ka/-kä, -ga/-gä
Ablative	-tan/-tän, -dan/-dän, -nan/-nän
Locative	-ta/-tä, -da/-dä

Table 5.1:

(equative), *-day* “like this/that“ (similative), *-dagi*<sup>9</sup> (locative) based on the fact that these affixes establish a connection between the noun and other various words. Ganiev excludes from this list, the suffix *-ça* and proposes to add to the tatar casual system some postpositions as: *belän* “together with, by means of“, *öçen* “for, for the sake of, for the reason of, because of“, *kebek* “like, similar to“, *hakında* “about“, *buença* “according to“, *astınnan* “from“, *astına* “under“, *arkasında* “due to“, considering them as analytical cases. Later, Zaripov (1971), following Zakiev (1964) and Kiekbaev (1967) recognizes 19 casual forms: five of them are non-overt (zero form), six traditional forms, five others as *-lı*, *-sız*, *ça*, *-day*, *-dagi* are considered by most of researches as derivational, one more *-nıki* (“possessive“) (genitive attributivizer), another one *-gaça* and *-ıy*. Currently, in Tatar grammars, it is agreed to differentiate six cases.

In GG, *Case Theory*<sup>10</sup> regulates the distribution of overt nominal arguments in

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<sup>9</sup>Alfiya Galieva (Proceedings 2015): ...the affix of the locative attributive DAGI is an affix, intermediate between inflectional and word formative affixes. The affix may be used in rich variety of affixal chains and it favours denoting complicated relations between the objects of the world.

<sup>10</sup>One of the aims of the *Case Theory* is to make the arguments visible for  $\theta$ -role assignment (*Visibility Condition*, Chomsky 1988)

the clause. Chomsky's (1981, 1986a, i.a.) widely-adopted view on case<sup>11</sup> (following Rouveret and Vergnaud, 1980) is that phonologically overt NP must have abstract case<sup>12</sup>. He states that abstract case is either structural or inherent. The structural case is a manifestation of a *specifier-head* relation in *AgrP* whereas the inherent case is assigned by a lexical head (which is also associated with the semantic role, or  $\theta$ -role).

In "*Minimalism*", case is no longer assigned by a head, but is reviewed as feature matching between a probe and a goal. Chomsky (1995) considers case as the "uninterpretable feature par excellence"<sup>13</sup> on a head such as T (for nominative) or V (for accusative) which attracts a nominal element with the same uninterpretable case feature. The feature checking is generally done in *specifier-head* configuration, so that a nominal element which moves to a specifier position of dedicated head checks its case feature.

If we limit the examined material to six cases that are traditionally recognised in all modern Tatar grammars and divide them into structural and inherent, then, according to Lyutikova 2017, Graschenkov 2008, nominative, accusative, genitive cases will belong to the structural group, whereas dative, locative and ablative cases will enter into the inherent one.

In Tatar, as in Turkish (Sezer, 1991, Uzun 2000, Temürçü 2001, a.o.), inherent cases compared to structural cases have no alternative realisations, independently of their syntactic positions in active and passive voices.

In order to differentiate structural cases from inherent cases, we can use passivization test (Haider 1985, Woolford 2006). One of the main properties of the structural case is that it can change under various structural transformations (Sezer, 1991, Uzun

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<sup>11</sup>This assumption is named as *Case Filter* (Chomsky 1981).

<sup>12</sup>In generative syntax, abstract case is distinguished from morphological case.

<sup>13</sup>It does not have an interpretable counterpart.

2000, a.o.). In Tatar, for instance, the object *jırnı* (song), the accusative-marked theme argument in (6), under passivization<sup>14</sup> turns into the subject in nominative case as illustrated in (7) without changing its  $\theta$ -role. Nominative case in Tatar, like in Turkish has no morphological exponence.

- (6). Jırçı jırnı başkardı.  
 singer song<sub>Acc</sub> interpret<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“Singer interpreted the song.”*

- (7). Jır (jırçı tarafinnan) başkarıldı.  
 song<sub>Nom</sub> (singer side<sub>Abl</sub>) interpret<sub>3SgPassivePast</sub>  
*“Song was interpreted (by the singer).”*

When we apply the passivization test to deverbal noun constructions we observe that the accusative-marked object (theme) *balanı* (8) turns into the genitive marked subject (agent) *balanıñ* (9) in passive reading:

- (8). doktornıñ balanı kotkarı  
 doctor<sub>Gen</sub> child<sub>Acc</sub> saving<sub>DNposs</sub>  
*“doctor’s child saving”*
- (9). balanıñ (doctor tarafinnan) kotkarı  
 child<sub>Gen</sub> (doctor side<sub>Abl</sub>) saving<sub>DNposs</sub>  
*“baby’s saving (by a doctor)”*

When argument in Tatar have inherent case in active sentence, its morphological realisation under passivization remains unchanged.

- (10). Ber keshe dust-ı-na hat jibärde.  
 one men friend<sub>SgPossDat</sub> letter<sub>AccIndef</sub> send<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
*“A man send a letter to his friend.”*

---

<sup>14</sup>Passive verbs do not assign accusative case in Tatar.

- (11). Dust-1-**na** (ber keshe tarafinnan) hat jibärelde.  
 friend<sub>SgPossDat</sub> (one men side<sub>Abl</sub>) letter<sub>AccIndef</sub> send<sub>3SgPassivPast</sub>  
*“A letter to his friend was sent (by a man).”*

In (10), the benefactive argument is expressed by the indirect object with the dative case suffix. In passive voice (11), the same argument with the same  $\theta$ -role still have dative suffix.

If we use the same passivization test to nominalization constructions, we notice that unlike (9), where the structural accusative case changed into the genitive, in (12) inherently dative case-marked argument preserves its case marking:

- (12). dust-1-**na** (ber keshe tarafinnan) hat jibärelüe  
 friend<sub>SgPossDat</sub> (one men side<sub>Abl</sub>) letter<sub>AccIndef</sub> sending<sub>Nomin</sub>  
*“the sending of a letter to his friend (by a man)”*

Thus, we see that inherent cases in Tatar do not change the morphological marker despite their syntactic positions in active and passive voices unlike structural cases which have distinct suffixes in certain structural positions.

The example in (13) shows that the verb *kurka* - *be afraid* assigns ablative case to its complement, likewise, the postposition *soñ* - *after* in (14) requires the noun phrase to be in ablative case:

- (13). halık sugış-**tan** kurka  
 people<sub>Sg</sub> war<sub>Abl</sub> afraid<sub>SgPres</sub>  
*“People are afraid of war.”*

- (14). ike sägät-**tän** soñ  
 two hour<sub>SgAbl</sub> after  
*“after two hours”*

Tatar postpositions can assign various cases, as ablative in example (14) above, or dative as in (15).

- (15). mäktäp-**kä** taba  
           school<sub>SgDat</sub> towards  
           “*towards the school*”

Some of them assign more than one case. Postpositions like *öçen* (for, for the sake of, for the reason of, because of), *belän* (together with, by means of), *kebek* (like, similar to) assign the nominative (or absolute) case to objects which are NP headed by a noun as in (16), while NP objects, headed by personal or demonstrative pronouns, take the genitive case as in (17).

- (16). kunaklar-(*\*nıñ*) öçen  
           guest<sub>PlNom</sub> *\*Gen* for  
           “*for guests*”

- (17). bez-*neñ* öçen  
           we<sub>Gen</sub> for  
           “*for us*”

Sezer (1991), analysing the identical distinction in Turkish, proposes that this postpositional head uniformly assigns the same abstract genitive case which is morphologically realized in pronouns but not in lexical NPs.

The examples above are reminiscent of the abstract accusative case in English which is overtly realized only in pronouns, but is covert in full DPs:

- (18). a) for him  
        b) for John

One of the manifestation of alternation between case marking and zero realization of a case feature in Tatar, as in some other languages, is a phenomenon named *differential*

*object marking (DOM)* (Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003, de Swart 2007). For instance, in Tatar, in both constructions (19) and (20), the object is in accusative case but in (19) the direct object is marked by an object marker, while in (20) the object is morphologically bare:

(19). İlham Şakirov    halık        jır-**nı**            jır-la-dı.

İlham Şakirov    popular    song<sub>Acc/Def</sub>    sings<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“İlham Şakirov sang the popular song.”*

(20). İlham Şakirov    halık        jır-∅            jır-la-dı.

İlham Şakirov    popular    song<sub>Acc/Indef</sub>    sings<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“İlham Şakirov sang a popular song.”*

This case alternation is one of the evidence for postulating a separate relatively high functional head for case (Giusti 1995, 2015, Lyons 1999, Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007, a.o.), which sometimes is empty and is responsible for the realisation of definiteness feature on NPs.

Öztürk (2005), following Reuland & Siloni, Danon (2002), on her analysis of related Turkish *DOM*, states that the noun phrase, which checks off thematic accusative and has the referential property such as [animate], [human], [definite], [specific], must check these syntactic features by a structural case checker *K(ase)*.

Following Grashchenkov (2005), Lyutikova (2014), we propose that Tatar noun phrases are embedded under a KP layer, which means that a noun phrase moves into the specifier position associated with the case morpheme.

Tatar, being an agglutinative language with the morphologically rich case system, represents an interesting example for comprehension of interaction between case morphology on NP/DP and their interpretations as definite, referential, specific nominals (Kiebaev 1966, Serebrennikov 1971, Zakiev 1992, Lyutikova 2015, a.o.).

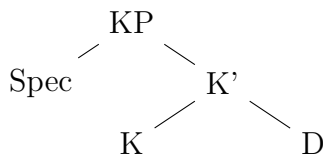


Figure 5.7:

## 2 +Def

It has been observed in diachronic studies that during the evolution of language, the decline of the case system in a language lead to the development of an article system (Osawa 1998, 2000). Hence, many modern languages with articles evolved from articleless languages. In these languages definite description is obtained through the merge of a lexical category Nominal and a functional category Determiner and the head D is responsible for the referential status of the nominal projection (Abney 1987, Longobardi 1994, a.o.). Longobardi (1994) states that *nominal expression (NE)* is an argument only if it is introduced by a category D.

According to modern insight of the structure of the noun phrase, definiteness is one of the semantic features that should be realized in a DP projection. Linguists usually relate the semantic content of definiteness to specificity, identifiability, familiarity, uniqueness, inclusiveness (Heim 1982, Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007, a.o.).

Tatar, like many other languages (Slavic, Turkish, Japanese, Chinese, most Niger-Congo a.o.), does not have articles of the Romance-Germanic type, but it does not exclude that definiteness exists in this language. There is a question as to whether languages that do not have articles still need a DP layer (Corver 1990, Chierchia 1998, Baker 2003, Bošković 2008, a.o.) or noun phrases are uniformly DPs across languages (Longobardi 1994, a.o.). Even if Tatar has no article system, following (Graschenkov



2007, Lyutikova 2015, Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015, Lyutikova & Ibatullina 2015 a.o.), we analyze Tatar noun phrases under the *Universal-DP Hypothesis* (Abney 1987).

The traditional Tatar grammar (Kiekbaev 1966, Zakiev 1995, Fattakhova 2015 a.o.) encodes distinction between definite versus indefinite objects via the presence versus absence of accusative case. The accusative case relies on a bipartite marking involving: *-ny/-ne* marking and zero realization of a case feature, as in the examples (19) and (20) above. The choice of the accusative suffix in (19) indicates that the speaker and the hearer share knowledge about what song Ilham sang. Hence, the speaker assumes that the referent of the noun phrase is identifiable to the addressee. In this context, it is not possible to use the indefinite object.

The definiteness feature is also sensitive to the position of the noun in the sentence. The scrambled word order is often described as “definiteness/specificity effects” (Zwart 1996, Diesing 1992, De Hoop, 1992; Delfitto & Corver, 1998, Laenzlinger, 1999). When an argument represents a specific reading it is typically situated in a scrambled position (remote from the final verb), whereas a non-specific reading is obtained when an argument is nearby the final verb. If we take the adverb of manner *tiz* (quickly), which demarcates the predicate domain (VP), the non-specific bare object must be in the scope of the adverb (21). Hence, it is inside the predicate domain, which is generally assumed to be under the scope of existential closure (Diesing 1992). The example in (22) shows that bare object cannot move. In both examples, the indefinite object is not case marked, the form of the noun is identical to the nominative.

- (21). Bu    bala    tiz    maksat                      aňly.  
           this child quickly problem<sub>Acc/Indef</sub> understands<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
           “*This child understands a problem quickly.*”

- (22). \*Bu bala maksat tiz aňly.  
 this child problem<sub>Acc/Indef</sub> quickly undertsands<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“This child understands a problem quickly.”*

As concerns the specific object, it may raise out of VP, as the example (23) demonstrates:

- (23). Bu bala maksat**nı** tiz aňly.  
 this child problem<sub>Acc/Def</sub> quickly undertsands<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“This child understands the problem quickly.”*

Even if the same object is in a position to the right of manner adverb (24), it is outside its VP-internal position and it cannot have an existential interpretation<sup>15</sup>:

- (24). Bu bala tiz maksat**nı** aňly.  
 this child quickly problem<sub>Acc/Def</sub> undertsands<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“This child understands the problem quickly.”*

Thus, overtly case-marked nominal expressions are necessarily interpreted either as kinds or as specific/definite<sup>16</sup>, but not as existentials.

As noted by several linguists (Heim 1982, Pesetsky 1987, Cinque 1990, Enç 1991, Diesing 1992 a.o), a specific or a definite argument has an already known or identified discourse referent, whereas a non-specific argument introduces a new or novel discourse referent. Enç (1991), based on her analysis of Turkish, claims that specifics are similar to partitives and impose one more restriction on the structure of the discourse domain:

*“Specificity involves linking objects to the domain of discourse in some manner or other. One acceptable way of linking is through [an] assignment function, by relating objects to familiar objects. Another acceptable way of linking is the subset relation,*

<sup>15</sup>See Lyutikova (2017) for alternative view: ACC-marked objects need not leave the VP.

<sup>16</sup>Chomsky (1995) proposed to consider D<sup>0</sup> as the locus of specificity.

which we have observed in covert and overt partitives.....The difference in linking of the two classes of specifics correlates with a difference in their distribution. Relational specifics such as a certain *N* do not presuppose existence, whereas partitive specifics do. As a consequence, relational specifics are allowed in existential sentences. “

In Tatar, as in Turkish (Erguvanli-Taylan 1984, Kornfilt 1984, Enç 1991, a.o.), a specific reading corresponds to:

(i) *referential reading*:

- (25). Min            äbi-neñ            bäleş-e\*(n)    jaratam  
           I            grandmother<sub>Gen</sub>    pie<sub>3SgPossAcc</sub>    like  
           “*I like grandmother’s pie.*“

In (25), the absence of the accusative suffix *-n* leads to the ungrammaticality.

(ii) *partitive reading*:

- (26). Rustam    studentlarnıñ    bişesen    belde.  
           Rustam    students<sub>PlGen</sub>    five<sub>AgrAcc</sub>    knew  
           “*Rustam knew five students.*“

(iii) *quantificational reading*:

- (27). Ul    ber (her)    kitapnı    ukıdı.  
           he    one (every)    book<sub>Acc</sub>    read  
           “*He read one (every) book.*“

Erguvanli-Taylan (1984), Enç (1991), Kornfilt (1997), a.o. suggest that the relevant notion behind the overt accusative marker in Turkish is not definiteness, but specificity.

Borer (1994) argues that in languages as Finnish and German, the case distinction between specifics and non-specifics may be realized as a distinction between accusative case and partitive case. She argues that there should be a lower specifier to which non-specifics move and the partitive case could be structurally assigned in that position.

With the cartographical idea that each semantic feature should be realized in a distinct functional projection, some researches, as Ihsane & Puskás (2001), Aboh (2004) proposed to consider specificity and definiteness features as two distinct projections in the DP layer.

### 3 -Def

Indefinite nominals in Tatar can be specific or non-specific. Each of them occur with the quasi-indefinite article “*ber*” - *one*, giving a (- DEF) reading to the singular form of the noun (Zakiev 1995). “*Ber*” is used also for the numeral meaning “one”.

In the following examples, objects are both indefinites; but, the object in (28) is non-specific and the one in (29) is specific:

- (28). Bala **ber** alma aşıy.  
 child an apple<sub>o/Indef</sub> eat<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“The child eats an apple.”*

- (29). Bala **ber** almanı aşıy.  
 child an apple<sub>Acc</sub> eat<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“The child eats the/a certain apple.”*

A specific direct object appears with the accusative marker, even if it is indefinite, as in (29) and this specific indefinite noun refers to a particular entity.

Oztürk (2004), based on scopal properties of indefinites in Turkish, points out that only overtly case-marked specific indefinites behave as indefinites of the type found in English. We can apply the same analysis for Tatar:

- (30). Här bala ber kitapnı ukıdı.  
 every child one book<sub>Acc</sub> read  
*“Every child read a book.”* [every>indefinite, indefinite>every]

$\forall > 1$ : “For every child, there is a book that (s)he read.”

$1 > \forall$ : “There is (certain) one book that every child read.”

(31). Här bala ber kitap ukıdı.

every child one book read

“*Every child read a book.*” [every>indefinite, \*indefinite>every]

(32). Här bala kitap ukıdı.

every child book<sub>Acc</sub> read

“*Every child did book-reading.*” [every>indefinite, \*indefinite>every]

In Tatar, as in Turkish, only accusative marked indefinites (30) allow both wide and narrow scope readings with respect to the universal quantifier. As concerns non-specific indefinites (31) and bare nouns (32) they do not take wide scope.

Thus, in Tatar, there is a four-way distinction of case-marked and non-case marked direct objects with different interpretations:

(33). Bala almanı aşy. (definite, specific)

Bala alma∅ aşy. (indefinite, non-specific)

Bala ber almanı aşy. (indefinite, specific)

Bala ber alma∅ aşy. (indefinite, non-specific)

“*The child eats the/eating/an/certain/ apple.*”

Different linguists tried to resolve the status of non-case-marked bare nouns, considering them as a special inherent/weak case (Belletti 1988; de Hoop 1996), or as exhibiting *head incorporation* (Baker 1988, Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Knecht 1986, Kornfilt 2003 a.o.) where an immediately preverbal bare noun forms a unit with a verbal head  $V^0$ , or *pseudo-incorporation* à la Massam (2001), where nominal element in these constructions is a phrase (NP) rather than a noun head.

Lyutikova 2014; Pereltsvaig & Lyutikova 2014, Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015b,

Lyutikova & Ibatullina 2015, in their studies of Tatar noun phrases, adopt analysis where caseless form lacks a DP layer and as a result lacks uninterpretable case feature (Danon 2006, Bianchi & Belletti 2014) and propose to distinguish nominals as full-fledged DPs and Small Nominals (SN) (in the sense of Pereltsvaig 2006).

They claim that some structural types of nominals (such as personal pronouns and *ezafe-3* constructions<sup>17</sup>) are DPs, others (bare N<sup>0</sup> and NP, as well as some NumP) are SNs. They analyse Tatar DOM as structurally determined, where the accusative case marker attaches to a DP, and unmarked objects are SNs, as shown in (34) and (35).

(34). İlham [DP jır]-**nı** jırly.

İlham song<sub>Acc</sub> sings<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“İlham sings the song.”*

(35). İlham [NP/NumP jır] jırly.

İlham song sings<sub>Pres3sg</sub>  
*“İlham sings a song/songs.”*

The object in (35) is ambiguous as to number. The speaker in this sentence does not refer to any particular song or songs, but informs of an activity, song-singing.

In order to show that *acc*-marked and unmarked objects (bare noun) in Tatar occupy structurally different positions Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b) give some evidences, as, for example, coordination constructions in (36), (37)<sup>18</sup>.

(36). \*Marat kitap-**nı** häm gazet satıp aldı.

Marat book<sub>AccDef</sub> and newspaper<sub>Indef</sub> buy-<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past</sub>  
*intended: “Marat bought a (certain) book and a newspaper.”*

In example (36) above, the first object is overtly marked by *accusative case*, the second one is unmarked form. When they are coordinated, it yields ungrammaticality.

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<sup>17</sup>possessive constructions

<sup>18</sup>These examples are taken from Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015b.

On the other hand, it is possible to coordinate the unmarked object with the *accusative*-marked one, if the later follows the former one. In this case, it involves phrasal case marking, as illustrated in (37):

- (37). Marat [kitap h m gazet]-**n ** sat p aldı.  
 Marat book and newspaper<sub>Acc</sub> buy-Conv take<sub>Past</sub>  
*“Marat bought a (certain) book and a (certain) newspaper.”*

This phenomenon, in the literature, is also known as “suspended affixation” (Kornfilt 1997, Hankamer 2008), where a single set of number, person, (possessor agreement), case suffixes manifests a conjunction of nominals, as illustrated in (38).

- (38). [Kitap h m d ft r]-l r-e-bez-**ne** jib r bez.  
 book<sub>Indef</sub> and newspaper<sub>PL/Poss/our/Acc</sub> buy-Conv take<sub>Past</sub>  
*“We send our certain books and certain newspapers.”*

Another evidence of structurally distinct positions of two kinds of objects, put forward by authors, comes from the fact that pronouns (39), proper names (40), or ezafe-3 constructions (41), as well as objects containing a strong quantifier, such as *h r* “every” or *ike... d * “both”, or a demonstrative *bu* “this” or * ul* “that” (42), must have the accusative marker.

- (39). Farid alar-\*(**n **)  ak rd .  
 Farid they<sub>Acc</sub> invit<sub>Past</sub>  
*“Farid invited them.”*
- (40). Marat Dinara-\*(**n **) j  nde.  
 Marat Dinara<sub>Acc</sub> win<sub>Past</sub>  
*“Marat won Dinara.”*
- (41). Lilia  bisene  b le e\*(**n**) yaratt .  
 Lilia grandmother<sub>PossGen</sub> pie<sub>PossAcc</sub> love<sub>Past</sub>  
*“Lilia loved the grandmother’s pie.”*

(42). Min bu universitet-\*(**nl**) beterdem.

I this university<sub>Acc</sub> finish<sub>Past</sub>  
*“I finished this university.”*

Öztürk (2005), following Taylan (1986), in her analysis of Turkish bare nouns, claims that they are phrasal categories of the type NP but not heads. In Tatar, as in Turkish, it is possible to coordinate two bare nouns, as in (47). Another evidence is that bare noun can be modified by an adjective (44) and by a participle (45).

(43). Rustam kitap häm gazet ukıdı.

Rustam book and newspaper read<sub>Past</sub>  
*“Rustam read a book and a newspaper.”*

(44). Rustam tatlı bal birde.

Rustam sweet honey give<sub>Past3Sg</sub>  
*“Rustam gave a sweet honey.”*

(45). Rustam iskerğan kitap taptı.

Rustam dilapidated<sub>Partic</sub> book find<sub>Past3Sg</sub>  
*“Rustam found a dilapidated book.”*

Öztürk (2005) points out that in Turkish there is the possibility to elide the verb under identity in the case of immediately preverbal bare nouns. This works for Tatar too, as in (46).

(46). Rustam çaj eçte kofe tügel.

Rustam tea drink<sub>Past</sub> coffee not  
*“Rustam drank tea, not coffee.”*

Öztürk (2005), based on Taylan’s (1986) examples, gives one more evidence in support of the claim that the verb and the bare noun are independent syntactic constituents. So, in Tatar, as in Turkish, it is possible to use focus particles such as *da/ta*,



*mi/me* between a bare nominal and the verb. The Tatar examples (47), (48) are adapted from Taylan' (1986) examples, cited in Öztürk (2005: 53a-c).

(47). Ali kitap ta ukıdı.

Ali book also read  
*“Ali also did book reading.”*

(48). Ali kitap-mı ukıdı?

Ali book - Q read  
*“Ali did book reading?”*

We will assume that Tatar specifics must have a DP shell. Nonspecifics, on the other hand, are NPs.

## 4 Possessives

The possessives are studied in Tatar grammars by many linguists as Zakiev (1992) Fattakhova (2015) a.o. In the framework of *Minimalism*, there are series of work done by Grashchenkov (2007), Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b) a.o. Traditionally, the Tatar possessive system (as in other Turkic languages) is represented by three types of possessive constructions, also known as *ezafe-1*, *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3*.

On of the argument of the identification of DP as the nominal counterpart of CP (Abney 1987) comes from agreement. Szabolcsi (1983) showed that in Hungarian, the agreement relationship between the possessor and the possessee in noun phrase is formally identical to the agreement relationship between a subject and a finite verb in clauses. Tatar, as well as Hungarian and other Turkic languages (Kornfilt 1984) manifests possessor agreement with the possessor on the possessee noun. As it is exemplified in (49), the possessee takes the third person possessive (*ezafe*) marker *-y/-e* (*-sy/-se* after vowels). The possessive marker indicates whether the possessor is 1<sup>st</sup>,

2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> person, singular or plural. The possessor has the genitive suffix *-nıñ*. This is the more complex *ezafe-3* construction.

- (49).   bakça-**nıñ**   cäcäklär-**e**  
           garden<sub>Gen</sub>   flowers<sub>PlPoss</sub>  
           “*the flower’s of the garden*”

In *ezafe-2* construction, the possessor has no case marking, but the head noun keeps, however, the possessive suffix of the third person, as in (50).

- (50).   bakça   cäcäklär-**e**  
           garden<sub>Sg</sub>   flowers<sub>PlPoss</sub>  
           “*garden’s flowers*”

As concerns *ezafe-1*, it is a construction of two bare nouns, usually denoting material (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015b), as illustrated in (51).

- (51).   ağaç   yort  
           tree<sub>Sg</sub>   house<sub>Sg</sub>  
           “*wooden house*”

*Ezafe-3* and *ezafe-2* constructions have different interpretations<sup>19</sup>. As convincingly recognized in Turkic literature, genitive case interacts with referentiality (Kornfilt 1997, 2003, Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015b, a.o.). In the example (49), the presence of genitive case has a referential (definite) interpretation of the possessor, whereas its absence in *ezafe-2* leads to a non-referential reading, as in (50).

Inspired by Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig’s (2015b) studies of possessive constructions in Tatar, we consider another issue with the derivations of *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* for Tatar examples. We propose an analysis for Tatar possessives through an “*nP-shell*” analysis (Grimshaw 1990, Graschenkov 2007, Laenzlinger 2011) where by analogy

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<sup>19</sup>See discussion of differences of two constructions in detail in Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b)

with the complex shell structure of VPs (vP-shell), the n/NP projection forms the predicative core, as represents Fig 5.8.

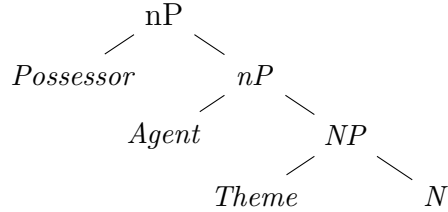


Figure 5.8:

The structural representations of examples (50) and (49) for *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* constructions are illustrated below in figures 5.9, 5.10 respectively. After having first-merged with N within the n/NP-shell, each argument evacuates the nP-shell to reach their respective *case*-related position. The possessor in (50) *bakça* (garden) raises to *KaseP* or *GenP* (in Fig 5.9), in order to check its case feature in the high portion of the *middle field*. As the possessor is unmarked for the genitive case, the head of GenP is empty. The theme *cäcäk* moves to the specifier of NumP to adjoin plural marker and then the entire NumP chunk makes roll-up movement to the specifier of PossesseeP in order to get the overt possesse agreement *-e* realisation, just below the GenP.

The structure in 5.10 differs from 5.9 by the overt realization of the genitive head by the suffix *-nıñ* on the possessor *bakça* (garden) of the *ezafe-3* construction of the example (49), repeated as (52) for convenience.

- (52). *bakça-nıñ cäcäklär-e*  
       gardend<sub>Gen</sub> flowers<sub>PlPoss</sub>  
       “the flower’s of the garden“

In a possessive construction with two nominal arguments, a possessor  $\theta$ -role is

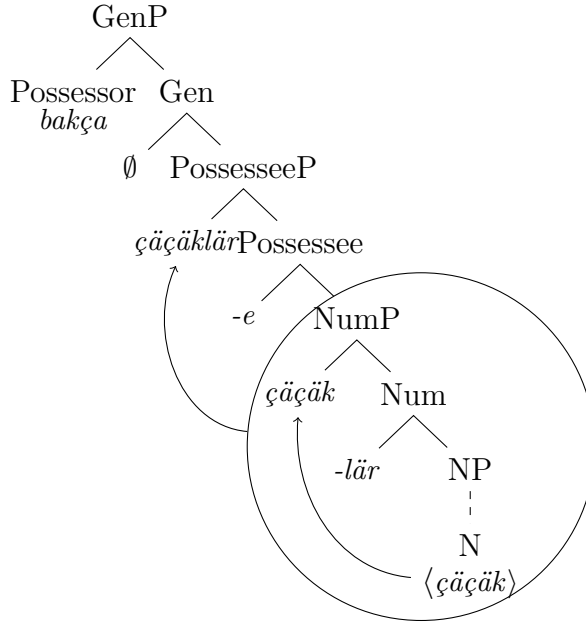


Figure 5.9:

assigned to the highest (external) genitive DP, while the lower (internal) argument stays unmarked:

- (53).      äbineñ          alma      bäleşe  
                 grandmother<sub>Gen</sub>   apple   pie<sub>3Sg</sub>  
                 “grandmother’s apple pie”
- (54).      \*almanñ          äbi          bäleşe  
                 apple<sub>Gen</sub>   grandmother   pie<sub>3Sg</sub>  
                 “grandmother’s apple pie”

If we would like to use more complex nominals with both *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* constructions, such as those in (55) and (56), we add one more functional projection (PossessorP). The first PossessorP projection which contains the roll-up moved NumP, undergoes successive roll-up movement and reaches the specifier position of the higher

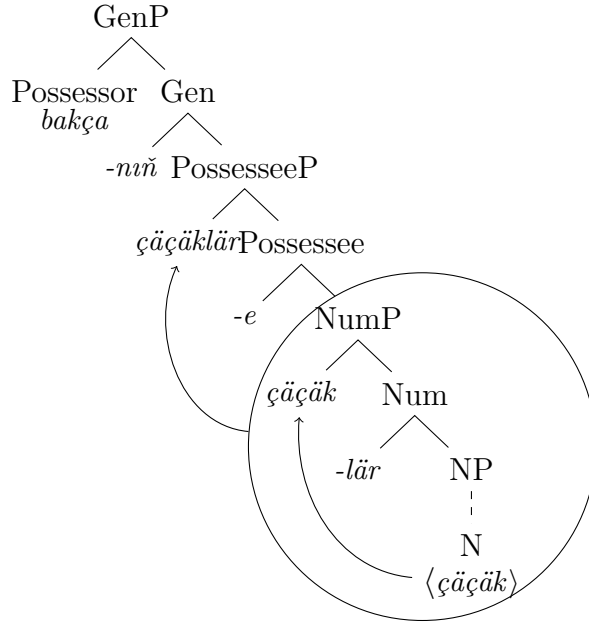


Figure 5.10:

PossessorP whose head position is empty. The structural representation of the example (55) is shown in figure 5.11.

- (55). [ sezneñ [ bakça-lar cäcäklär-e ] ]  
 you<sub>Gen</sub> garden<sub>Pl</sub> flowers<sub>PlPoss</sub>  
 “yours garden’s flowers”

The structural representation of the example (56) differs from the previous one by the overt realization of the highest PossessorP’s head position *-gez*.

- (56). [ sezneñ [ bakça-lar cäcäklär-e-**gez** ] ]  
 you<sub>Gen</sub> gardend<sub>Gen</sub> flowers<sub>PlPoss</sub>  
 “yours flower’s of the garden”

According to Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b), when *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* cooccur with adjectives, the bare possessor in *ezafe-2* (57) should follow the adjective, while

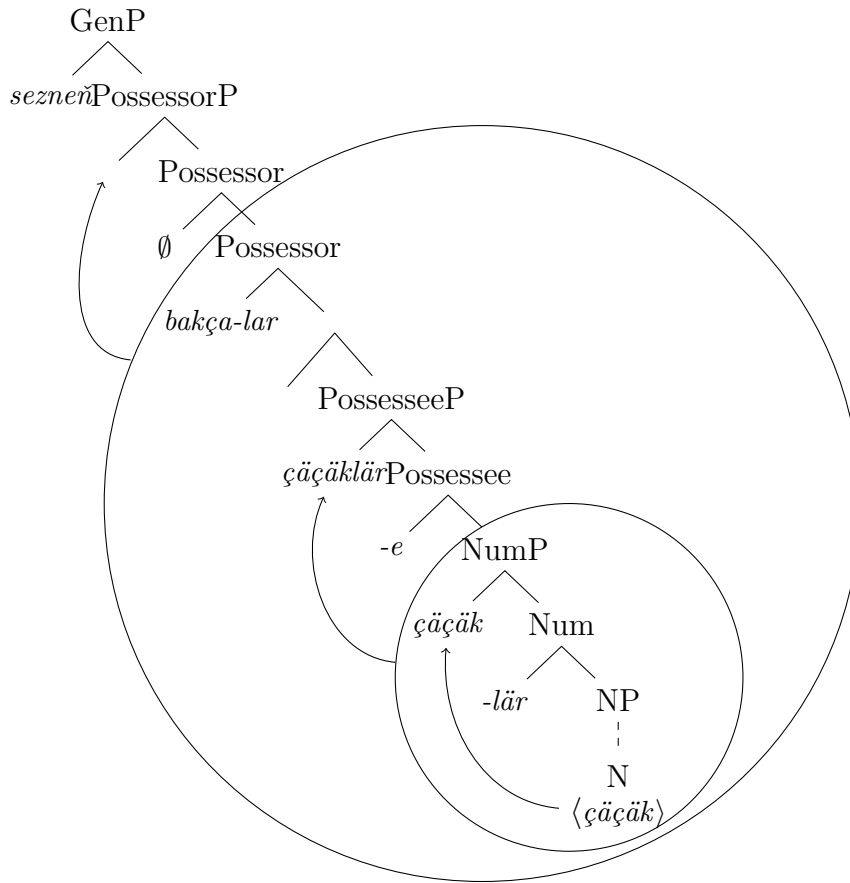


Figure 5.11:

the genitive possessor of *ezafe-3* precedes the adjective (58).

- (57).   matur       bakça       câcâklär-e  
          beautiful garden<sub>sg</sub> flowers<sub>plPoss</sub>  
          *“beautiful garden’s flowers”*

\* bakça matur câcâklär-e

- (58).   bakça-nın     matur       câcâklär-e  
          gardend<sub>Gen</sub> beautiful flowers<sub>plPoss</sub>  
          *“the beautiful flower’s of the garden”*

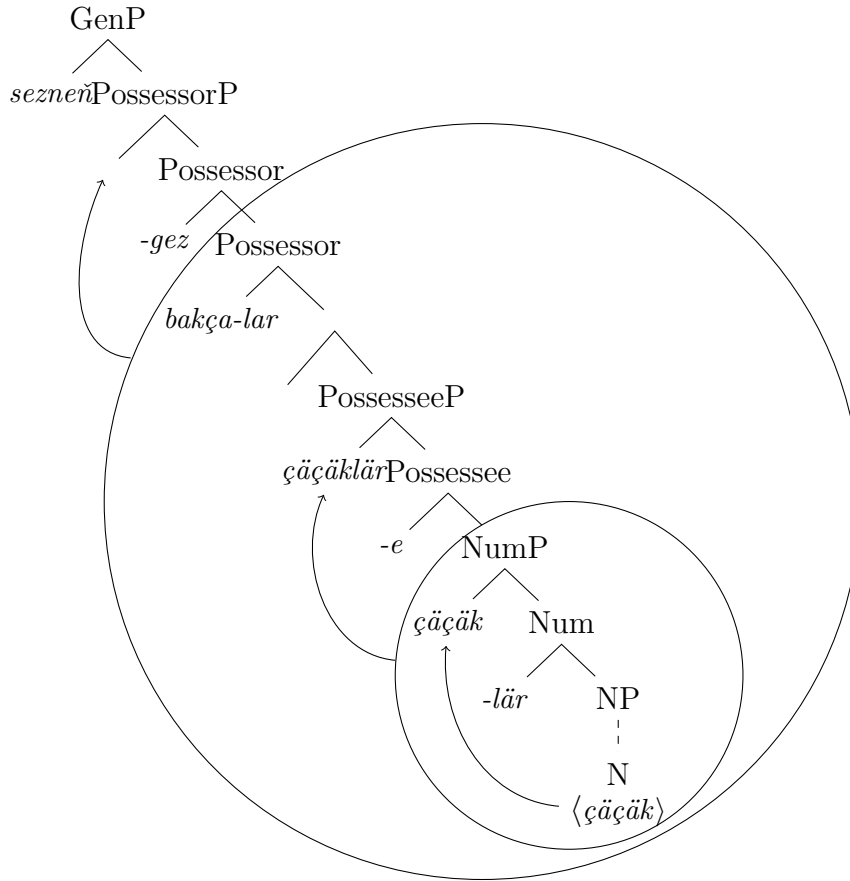


Figure 5.12:

\* matur bakça-**nın** câcâklâr-**e**

Another point is that the accusative suffix *-ne* can be added to *ezafe-3* construction, increasing the structure by one more projection, which we call *KP* projection, following Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b). This suffix occupies the head of *KP* projection and the whole sentence is marked by this morpheme. The tree diagram in 5.13 represents the example in (59).

- (59). [ sezneñ [ bakça-lar cäcäklär-**egez** ] ]- ne  
 you<sub>Gen</sub> gardend<sub>Gen</sub> flowers<sub>PlPoss</sub>  
*“yours flower’s of the garden”*

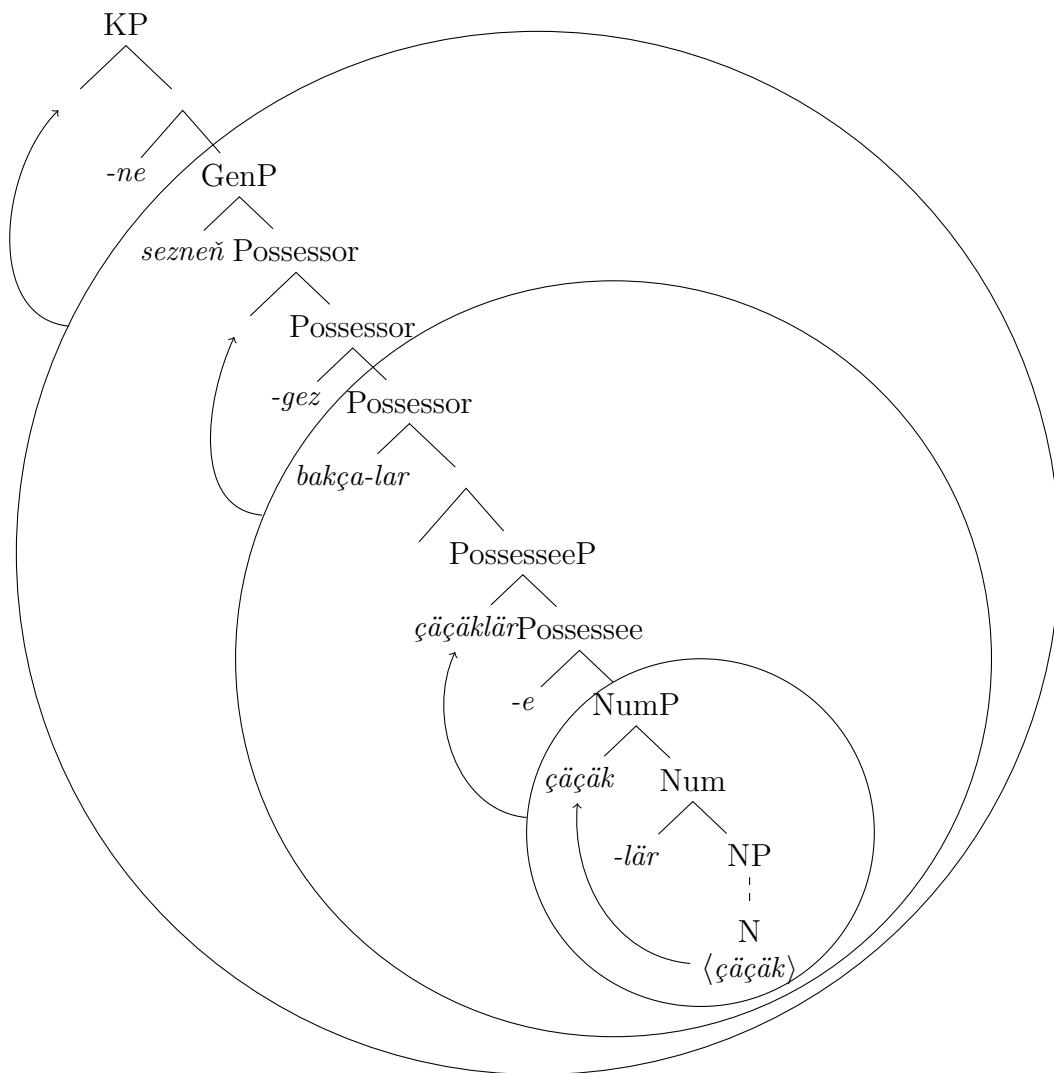


Figure 5.13:

In Tatar, in contrast to English, it is possible to put quasi-indefinite marker *ber*



between the possessor and the possessee which creates indefinite interpretation of the possessee (60) (Fattakhova 2015).

- (60). Min**em** ber sorav**ım** bar ide.  
 $\text{my}_{Gen}$  one question $_{SgPoss}$  have was  
 “*I had a question.*”

Following Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015b), Zakiev (1993), let us point out on some other properties of possessive constructions in Tatar. When the possessor of *ezafe-3* is 1st or 2nd person pronoun or a proper name, the possessee agrees in person and number features (61), but in 3rd person only in number (62).

- (61). min**em** kitab**ım**  
 $\text{my}_{Gen}$  book $_{SgPoss}$   
 “*my book*”

- (62). Alina**ıñ** kitap-lar-**ı**  
 $\text{Alina}_{Gen}$  book $_{PlPoss}$   
 “*Alina’s books*”

Usually, it is possible to omit *ezafe-3* marker of 1st and 2nd persons (63), but it is obligatory on the 3rd person (64).

- (63). min**em** kitap  
 $\text{my}_{Gen}$  book $_{Sg}$   
 “*my book*”

- (64). \*Alina**ıñ** kitap-lar-(**ı**)  
 $\text{Alina}_{Gen}$  book $_{Pl}$   
 “*Alina’s books*”

Genitive case cannot be omitted in the case of strictly referential possessors as pronouns or proper names.

(65). \*min(**em**) kitab**ım**  
my book<sub>SgPoss</sub>  
“my book”

(66). \*Alina(**nıñ**) kitap-lar-ı  
Alina<sub>Gen</sub> book<sub>Pl3Poss</sub>  
“Alina’s books”

*Ezafe-2* can have the plural marker or certain modifiers but cannot be a personal pronoun (67) or a proper noun (68).

(67). \*min kitab-ım-e  
my<sub>Nom</sub> book<sub>1/-3</sub>  
intended: “my book”

(68). \*Alina kitab-ı  
Alina<sub>Nom</sub> book<sub>-3</sub>  
intended: “Alina’s book”

The full paradigm of the possessive declension of *minem kitabım* (my book) in Tatar is shown in Table 5.2.

The possessive declension			
Singulier		Pluriel	
min <b>em</b>	kitab <b>ım</b>	bez <b>neñ</b>	kitabı <b>ız</b>
sine <b>ñ</b>	kitabı <b>ñ</b>	sez <b>neñ</b>	kitabı <b>ız</b>
aning	kitabı	alarmı <b>ñ</b>	kitabı

Table 5.2:

As we can notice from the table, the possessive pronouns are personal pronouns in

genitive case. The agreement marker on nominals in Tatar possessives looks like the agreement between the verb and the subject in person and number<sup>20</sup>.

The possessive marker should follow the number marker and precede the case suffix:

(69). Sineñ uñış-lar-ıñ-a suklanam.

Your<sub>Gen</sub> succes<sub>Pl-2PossDat</sub> admire<sub>1Pres</sub>  
*“I admire your succes.”*

The neutral order of elements in nominal possessive construction is that the possessee follows the possessor, whatever it is expressed by a full DP in genitive case, or by a pronominal form. However, when the possessee is stressed, we can have the reversed order (Zakiev 1993, Fattakhova 2015), as illustrated in (70).

(70). Kızım, Guzälem minem.

daughter<sub>Poss</sub> Guzäl<sub>Poss</sub> my  
*“Daughter, my Guzäl.”*

According to Szabolcsi (1994), possessive constructions are uniform. Some properties as animacy of the possessor, alienability of the possession, simple noun possessed, or deverbal nominal with an event structure make no difference. Thus, for example, Tatar possessives such as “balanıñ uençıgı” (the boy’s toy) and “şähärneñ jimerüe” (the destruction of the city) have identical morpho-syntactic structures.

## 5 Adjectives

Adjectives are typical modifiers of nouns. Tatar, as other Turkic languages (Kornfilt 1997, Göksel & Kerslake 2005), does not make a morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives. When adjectives are used attributively or predicatively, they do not show number or case suffixes.

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<sup>20</sup>As we already mentioned there is no gender marking in Tatar.

- (71). a) timer yul(-lar)      b) balalar bähette  
           iron road<sub>(Pl)</sub>                child<sub>Pl</sub> happy<sub>Sg</sub>  
           “railway(s)”                “children are happy”

Tatar adjectives may function as nouns and have plural and case suffixes, as well as possessive agreement suffixes (Zakiev 1992), manifesting quite generally nominal morphology, as in the example below:

- (72). Äyberneñ yañası    yahşı,    dusnıñ    iskese    yahşı. (Proverb)  
           thing<sub>Gen</sub>    new<sub>Poss</sub>    good    friend<sub>Gen</sub>    old<sub>Poss</sub>    good  
           “Objects are good when they are new, friends are good when they are old.”

In this example, the non-derived “pure” or descriptive adjectives *yaña* and *iske* function as arguments referring to objects and bearing possessive agreement suffixes.

Tatar has a rich system of derivational suffixes which productively create new derived adjectives from nominal stems. Some of these suffixes are:

- (73). (-lı/-le)                *sälät* - ability    >    *sälätle* - gifted  
           (-sız/-sez)            *akıl* - intellect    >    *akılsız* - unintelligent  
           (-çan/-çän)            *uj* - idea            >    *ujçan* - pensive  
           (-kı/-ke)                *kış* - winter        >    *kışkı* - winter-like  
           (-dagı/-däge)        *avıl* - village       >    *avıldagı* - belonging to a village

The above mentioned suffixes are also known in the literature as attributivizers. According to Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b), Grashchenkov 2007, attributivizing constructions in Tatar vary of the number of nominal structure licensed for embedding. Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b) propose to consider attributivizers as phrasal suffixes, taking nominals of different sizes. For example, the attributivizer -lı/-li in Tatar selects a bare N(P), as in (74).

- (74). koyaş-lı kön [NP.....]-lı N  
sunny day

The attributivizer (-dağ/-däge), which is composed of two markers (-da, as the locative marker and -gı, as a DP complement), selects a case marked DP, as in (75)

- (75). avılda-gı doktor [ [DP ]-Loc]-gı N  
village doctor

Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015b) analyse Tatar attributivizers -lı and -dağ, as projecting a Modifier Phrase (ModP).

In Tatar, there exist also degree compound adjectives (Zakiev 1992, Poppe 1963), created by simple reduplications, as *keçe-keçe* (small-small = “tiny little”), or by joining two adjectives (non derived and derived forms) as, for example, *çın küñelle* - (real mood = “very sincere”), or by combining rhyming words, as *zäp-zängär* (very blue) and many others.

### Adjectival hierarchy

There are crosslinguistic asymmetries as regards the order between adjective and noun. In Tatar, adjectives precede the head noun (Adj > N), as in (76):

- (76). Ul kızıl külmäk satıp aldı.  
She red dress buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
“She bought a red dress.”

- (77). \* Ul külmäk kızıl satıp aldı.  
he/she dress red buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>

In French, the order is N > Adj, as in (78):

- (78). Elle a acheté une robe rouge.  
\*Elle a acheté une rouge robe.

In English, the order is Adj > N, as in (79):

(79). She bought a red dress.

\*She bought a dress red.

As we can observe, Tatar pattern with English, not with French. These asymmetries in the order are attributed in the literature to N-movement analysis (Valois 1991, Cinque 1994, Bernstein 1993, Longobardi 1994, a.o.) of the French postnominal adjectives. If there is movement, the noun passes through adjectives. If there is no movement, the attributive adjective stays in its base-generated position, at the left of the noun (Cinque 1994).

The fact that adjectives in Germanic languages are heads, blocking N-movement, while the Romance adjectives are maximal projections, allowing their raising, makes claim Cinque (1994) that adjectives are all maximal projections, merged into a specifier position.

Laenzlinger (2005a,b), in his turn, prefers an NP-movement analysis of noun raising past the adjective(s) instead of an N-movement analysis. To account for the mirror-image order of postnominal adjectives in French, as in (80), he proposes that XP that moves, is NP or an extended projection of NP. In the first step of the derivation, a NP moves past the color adjective to the intermediate  $FP_{AgrP(NP)}$  (to check number and gender features). Then, this  $FP_{AgrP(NP)}$  moves past the quality adjective to a higher  $FP_{AgrP(NP)}$ , producing *pied-piping/snowballing or roll-up* effects (as in Shlonsky 2000; Aboh 2004 a.o.) as it is shown in (81).

(80). une voiture rouge magnifique

(81).  $[_{DP} [_{AgrP-NP} [_{AgrP-NP} [_{NP} \text{voiture} [_{FPcolor} \text{rouge} [_{FPquality}$   
magnifique [ ~~voiture~~ [ ~~rouge~~ [ ~~voiture~~ ]]]]]]

The difference between Romance and Germanic agreement is that in the former it is

checked in Spec-head configuration while in the later it is established under Chomsky's (2000) downward Agree operation<sup>21</sup>.

Laenzlinger (2005b) explains the systematically different interpretations that the same adjective has in prenominal versus postnominal position by the fact that French /Romance prenominal adjectives in the split-DP structure is the result of movement of adjectives to the left periphery of the nominal domain.

In Tatar, as it is exemplified in (82), attributive adjectives precede the noun (Adj > N), hence, we consider that they are base-generated above the noun (Cinque 1994) and the latter does not move past the adjectives.

- (82). iskitkeç      kızıl    maşına  
wonderful   red    car

One of the main properties of adjectives in Tatar is that they do not agree for case and number with the noun they modify, as shows the example (83).

- (83). iskitkeç      kızıl    maşına-lar  
wonderful   red    cars

- (84). \*iskitkeç -lär   kızıl -lar   maşına-lar  
wonderfuls    reds       cars

We follow Cinque's (1999, 2010) assumption that adjectives are located in specifier positions whose corresponding head is silent.

Following Cinque (1994), Laenzlinger (2005b, 2011), Scott (2002), we assume that Tatar manifests a hierarchy in the neutral order of the adjectives and that they merge as specifiers of intermediate functional projections between a higher FP and NP, in the *middle field* of the noun phrase. There are however some restrictions concerning the type of nouns that adjectives can modify, such as result or object nominals and

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<sup>21</sup>Strong agreement is not obligatory accompanied by movement.

complex event nominals. (85) illustrates Cinque’s (1994) adjective hierarchy for object denoting nominals.

(85).  $\text{Adj}_{\text{quantification}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{quality}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{size}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{shape}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{color}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{nationality}}$

Laenzlinger (2011), on the basis of comparative study of 14 languages within the cartographic framework, examines the placement and ordering of adjectives in the noun phrase. We support his claim that Tatar prenominal adjectives, modifying an object-denoting noun, display the hierarchy of semantically-related projections as QuantP > QualP > SizeP > ColorP > Nation.

Let see how the example in (86) is respected in the hierarchy in (87) and in the figure 5.14 in Tatar.

(86). *küpsan-lı matur zur zäñgär tatar yortları*

noumerous nice large blue Tatar houses

(87).  $[[DP[QuantPküpsanlı[QualPmatur [SizeP zur[ColorP zäñgär[NationP tatar[NP yortları]]]]]]]$

Thus, the adjective is left-branched with respect to the noun it refers to and multiple adjectives respect a particular order, required by the semantics of the adjectives. In the example above, the *nationality* adjective appears to be closer to the noun than the *color* adjective, which is lower than the *size* adjective, which in turn is lower than the *quality* adjective and the leftmost is the *quantificational* adjective.

Scott (2002) expanded the adjective-related functional projections for object-denoting nominals:

(88). ordinal > cardinal > subjective comment > evidential > size >

length > height > speed > depth > width > weight > temperature

> wetness > age > shape > color > nationality/origin > material

The Tatar example in (89) confirms the order in (88), where the adjective, denoting the material (*agaç* - “wood”), is the closest to N, as it is represented in (90).



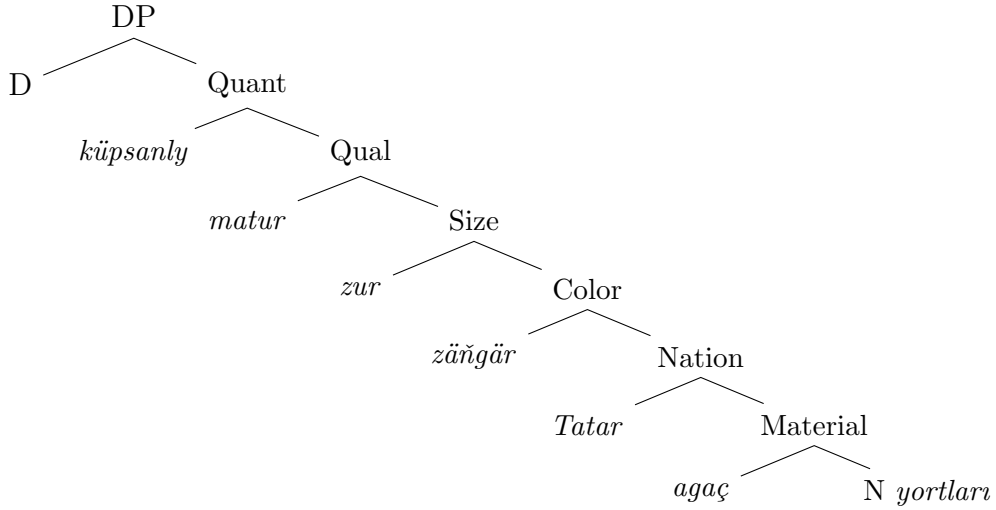


Figure 5.14:

- (89). *zur zäñgär tatar ağaç yortları*  
 large blue Tatar wooden houses

- (90).  $[[DP..[SizeP\ zur[ColorP\ zäñgär[NationP\ tatar[materialP\ ağaç[NP\ yortları]]]]]]]$

The material denoting adjective with a noun is also treated as ezafe-1 construction which is known in the literature as a compound noun (Lyutikova 2017, Zakiev 1993).

- (91). *enje alkalar*  
*perle<sub>sg</sub> earrings<sub>pl</sub>*

It cannot take any modifiers or the plural marker:

- (92). *\*bik enje alkalar*  
 very perle earrings

- (93). *\*enje(lär) alkalar*  
*perle<sub>pl</sub> earrings<sub>pl</sub>*

Morphologically some non-derived adjectives in Tatar are identical to adverbs. If these words modify nouns, as in (94), they are used as adjectives, if they modify verbs as in (95), they are used as adverbs.

- (94). *yahşı dāres, matur kön*  
           good lesson beautiful day

- (95). *yahşı ukıy, matur jırly*  
           well learn<sub>Pres3Sg</sub> beautifully sing<sub>Pres3Sg</sub>

Deverbal nouns are compatible with adverbial adjectives like “probable,” “frequent,” and “complete” which show a clear parallelism with the order of corresponding adverbials in the IP zone (Cinque 1999, Valois 1991). The hierarchy in (96) illustrates the adjective order for deverbal nouns, proposed by Cinque (1994).

- (96).  $\text{Adj}_{\text{speaker-oriented}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{subject-oriented}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{manner}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{thematic}}$

This hierarchy allows to set the scope properties of adjectives in terms of c-command relations (Cinque 1994) and corresponds to linear precedence.

- (97). *mömkın bulaçak duslık halıkara küreşü*  
           probable forthcoming friendly internationl meeting

- (98).  $[[DP \text{ [}_{\text{speak-orient}} \text{ mömkın [}_{\text{subj-orient}} \text{ bulaçak [}_{\text{manner}} \text{ duslık [}_{\text{thematic}} \text{ halıkara [}_{NP} \text{ küreşü]]]]]]]$

The clausal hierarchy, namely *Mode* > *TP* > *Voice* > *Manner* is maintained, as illustrated in Tatar example (97).

We suggest that the NP in both examples (86), (97) do not move to the NP position of any intermediate FP (+Adj) position.

### Adjective fronting

Prenominal adjectives can, in Tatar, undergo A-bar movement to a DP initial position. As it is observed for Turkish (Rijkhoff 1998), in Tatar too, when the adjective is in a

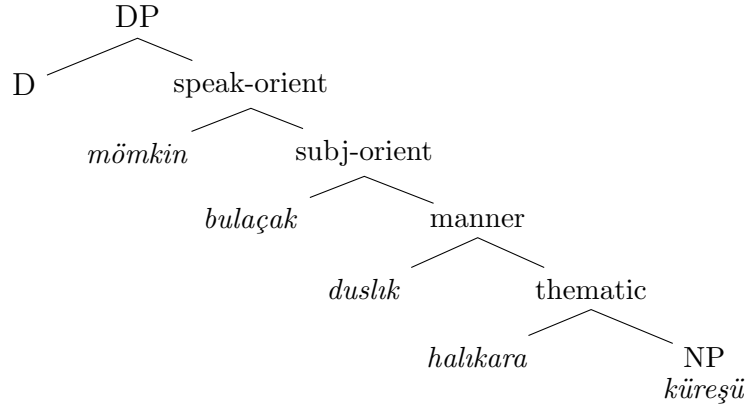


Figure 5.15:

position between the indefinite article/cardinal *bir* and the noun, it has a neutral (non-focus) reading (99). However, when the attributive adjective precedes the indefinite article/cardinal *bir*, it yields emphatic focus reading of the adjective (100) - (104).

- (99). Min **ber** matur ozyn ak çäçäkle jefäk külmäk satyp aldym.  
 I one beautiful long with white flowers silk dress buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>  
*“I bought a beautiful long with white flowers silk dress.”*
- (100). Min matur **ber** ozyn ak çäçäkle jefäk külmäk satyp aldym.  
 I beautiful one long with white flowers silk dress buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>
- (101). Min ak çäçäkle **ber** matur ozyn jefäk külmäk satyp aldym.  
 I with white flowers one beautiful long silk dress buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>
- (102). Min ozyn ak çäçäkle **ber** matur jefäk külmäk satyp aldym.  
 I long with white flowers one beautiful silk dress buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>
- (103). Min matur ozyn ak çäçäkle **ber** jefäk külmäk satyp aldym.  
 I beautiful long with white flowers one silk dress buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>

- (104). Min ozyn ak çäçäkle matur **ber** jefäk külmäk satyp aldym.  
 I long with white flowers beautiful one silk dress buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>
- (105). \*Min jefäk **ber** matur ozyn ak çäçäkle külmäk satyp aldym.  
 I silk one beautiful long with white flowers dress buy<sub>Conv</sub> take<sub>Past3sg</sub>

This observation raises the question as to whether such notions as focus and topic might be taken to be active within the nominal domain. In order to provide a coherent solution under the cartographic idea (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999), we assume, following Aboh (2004), Laenzlinger (2005), Cinque (2011) that adjective fronting in Tatar is triggered by focalization or topicalization in the left-peripheral nominal domain.

As we already mentioned previously, Laenzlinger (2005a,b) proposes that adjectives are first-merge in their root position above NP and the noun moves as NP (but not as a head) to the specifier of an agreement projection (i.e.  $FP_{NP-Agr}$ ) sandwiched between a higher  $DP_{deixis}$  (responsible for referential interpretation) and a lower  $DP_{det}$  (which checks agreement).<sup>22</sup> Hereinafter, the latter moves to the higher DP. An adjective for emphasis moves to a left-peripheral position.

The structure puts forth by Laenzlinger (2005a,b) looks like:

- (106). (QP) >  $DP_{deixis}$  > FocP > TopP/ModifP >  $DP_{det}$

According to Laenzlinger (2005a,b) and Cinque (2011), there is only one focus projection for dedicated fronted adjectives in Romance. The specifier of TopP in (106) hosts topicalized arguments and adjuncts, whereas the specifier of Modifier projection is occupied by fronted non-focalized adjectives.

Aboh (2004) illustrates that in Gungbe, fronted constituents as Topic and Focus associated with a left peripheral nominal position, project between D (Force) and Num

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<sup>22</sup> $DP_{deixis}$  and  $DP_{definiteness/determination}$  correspond to ForceP and FinP in Rizzi's split CP analysis.

(Fin).

As the Tatar examples show (100) - (104), it is possible to focalize almost all adjectives to the specifier of a left-peripheral focus projection, except material denoting adjective (105).

Laenzlinger (2017) however, points out that it is difficult to establish the order among TopP, FocP and ModifP in nominal left periphery due to the poorness of information structure in nominal domain.

## 6 Demonstratives

Demonstratives form a universal category, they are present in all languages. According to Giusti (1995, 2002), Diessel (1999), Lyons (1999), semantically, demonstratives are accountable for deictic interpretation of the nominal phrase, the property that distinguishes them from definite articles, while identifiability and referentiality are their common properties.

Lyons (1999) points out that “*deixis is the property of certain expressions and categories (including tense and grammatical person) of relating things talked about to the spatio-temporal context, and in particular to contextual distinctions like that between the moment or place of utterance and other moments or places, or that between the speaker, the hearer, and others.*” These kinds of contexts have the common term indexicals (Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007). As Giusti (2015) claims, demonstratives are indexicals that link the nominal expressions to the discourse.

As opposed to English demonstratives which have two way-deictic opposition *this/these* (proximal) and *that/those* (distal), Tatar demonstratives involve three values system, represented by five basic forms (Zakiev, 1993, Poppe 1963, Fattakhova 2015 a.o.):

*bu* and *şuşı* “this“ (proximal) are used to refer to items close to the speaker,

*ul* and *tege* “that” (distal) are used to refer to items furthest from the speaker,<sup>23</sup>  
*şul* - “that” (medial) is considered to be neutral.

The demonstratives *bu* and *ul* share the property to refer to objects that has been previously mentioned, whereas *şul* points to an object for the first time<sup>24</sup>.

Demonstratives in Tatar, as in other languages, have a double usage. They can be employed without an NP complement (intransitively: *this* (English), *ce* (French), *bu* (Tatar)), or with NP complement (transitively: *this article*). In the former case, the demonstrative is a pronoun, in the later, it is a determiner. If Tatar demonstrative modifies a noun, it is morphologically invariable (107) and is interpreted as carrying referential features with definite reading.

- (107). *bu kesä-dä*  
           *this<sub>Nom</sub> pocket<sub>Loc</sub>*  
           “*in this pocket*”

- (108). *bu tau-lar*  
           *this<sub>NomSg</sub> mountain<sub>Pl</sub>*  
           “*these mountains*”

When demonstrative (deictic or referential) is used intransitively (as strong pronoun or substituting a noun), it is inflected for number and case (109).

- (109). *moña oşanıç yuk*  
           *this<sub>Dat</sub> believe not*  
           “*there is no believe in it*”

Let see how the following demonstratives (110) are inflected for case and number from the Table 5.3.

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<sup>23</sup> *Ul* is also the form of the 3rd singular personal pronoun “he, she, it”.

<sup>24</sup> This is also observed for Turkish by Göksel & Kerslake 2005.

- (110). *bu* “this (one)” *bolar* “these”  
*ul* “that (one)” *alar* “those”  
*şul* “this (one)“, “that (one)” *şular* “these“, “those”

The demonstrative pronouns						
Case	Singular			Plural		
Nom	bu (this)	ul (that)	şul (this)	bolar (these)	alar (those)	şular (these)
Gen	moniñ	anıñ	şuniñ	bolarıñ	alarıñ	şularıñ
Dat	moña	aña	şuña	bolarga	alarga	şularga
Acc	moni	anı	şunı	boları	aları	şuları
Abl	monnan	annan	şunnan	bolardan	alardan	şulardan
Loc	monda	anda	şunda	bolarda	alarda	şularda

Table 5.3:

As it is seen from the table, the first letter *b* of the demonstrative pronoun *bu* in singular is changed on the *m*, the vowel *u* in singular and plural is changed on the *o*. The *l* in demonstratives *ul* and *şul* in singular is omitted. When declined, the first vowel of the *ul* - *u* in singular and plural is changed on the *a*. So, except nominative, we observe suppletive forms of *bu* and *ul* in all other cases.

The demonstratives in singular in ablative and locative cases function as adverbs: *monnan* - “from here“, *monda* - here, *annan* - from there, *anda* - there, *şunnan* from there, *şunda* - there.

Demonstratives in Tatar can also take the third person possessive suffixes *-sı/-ı*, *-se/-e*: *bu* - monı**sı** (this of his)<sup>25</sup>, *ul* - anı**sı** (that of his), *şul* - şunı**sı** (that of his),

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<sup>25</sup>There exists also the form *bı**sı***.

*tege* - *tegeſe* (that of his), *bolar* - *boları* (these of his) etc. and change in cases. This is represented in Table 5.4:

The demonstrative pronouns with possessive suffixes						
Case	Singular			Plural		
Nom	monı <b>ſı</b>	anı <b>ſı</b>	şunı <b>ſı</b>	boları	aları	şuları
Gen	monı <b>ſınıñ</b>	anı <b>ſınıñ</b>	şunı <b>ſınıñ</b>	boları <b>ınıñ</b>	aları <b>ınıñ</b>	şuları <b>ınıñ</b>
Dat	monı <b>ſına</b>	anı <b>ſına</b>	şunı <b>ſına</b>	boları <b>ına</b>	aları <b>ına</b>	şuları <b>ına</b>
Acc	monı <b>ſın</b>	anı <b>ſın</b>	şunı <b>ſın</b>	boları <b>ın</b>	aları <b>ın</b>	şuları <b>ın</b>
Abl	monı <b>ſınnan</b>	anı <b>ſınnan</b>	şunı <b>ſınnan</b>	boları <b>ınnan</b>	aları <b>ınnan</b>	şuları <b>ınnan</b>
Loc	monı <b>ſında</b>	anı <b>ſında</b>	şunı <b>ſında</b>	boları <b>ında</b>	aları <b>ında</b>	şuları <b>ında</b>

Table 5.4:

Tatar displays other various kinds of demonstratives as *andıy*, *mondıy*, *şundıy* (such, suchlike) used as adjectives, *bolay*, *şulay*, *tegeläy* (like this), *şulkadär* (as much) used as adverbs and many others.

Demonstratives in Tatar can be simple *bu*, *ul*, *şul*, *bolar*, *alar*, *şular* etc., or complex, accompanied by so-called prenominal reinforcers (deictic elements) *änä* (here), *menä* (there), as in (111).

- (111). *menä bu* (this here)    *menä bolar*    *änä bu* (that over here)  
*menä ul* (that there)    *menä alar*    *änä ul* (that over there)  
*menä şul* (this here)    *menä şular*    *änä şul* (that over there)

So, in Tatar, demonstratives, following their inflectional behavior, may refer to different categories: demonstrative pronouns, determiners, adverbs.

### The syntactic representation of demonstratives



There are different approaches in the literature about categorial nature of demonstratives cross-linguistically. In our analysis of Tatar demonstratives, we follow Giusti (1997), Brugé (2002) among others, who attribute specifier status to demonstratives.

In order to show the phrasal status of demonstratives, Giusti (1997) provides the following examples from Romanian:

- (112).    *acest   băiat   frumos*  
               this    boy    nice
- (113).    *băiatul    (acesta)   frumos*  
               boy-the    (this)    nice
- (114).    *frumosul băiat*  
               nice-the boy  
               “*this nice boy*“
- (115).    \**frumosul        acesta   băiat*  
               nice-the        this    boy  
               “*this nice boy*“

The example (113) shows that the demonstrative *acesta* is not a head, given that it does not block head movement (*băiat*), but rather a specifier, given that it blocks AP-movement (*frumosul*) in (115).<sup>26</sup>

The examples (116), (117) show that demonstratives in Tatar can appear in any order with respect to other prenominal modifiers.

- (116).    Num    >    Dem    >    Adj        >    N  
               ike            bu            matur        külmäk  
               two          this          nice        dresse<sub>Sg</sub>

---

<sup>26</sup>The definite determiner is enclitic in Romanian, attached to the noun, as in (113), if the adjective is prenominal, it is attached to the adjective.

“*this two nice dresses*“

- (117). Num > Adj > Dem > N  
           ike           matur       bu       külmäk  
           two         nice         this       dresse<sub>sg</sub>  
 “*this two nice dresses*“

These examples are marginal in an out-of-the-blue context, but are rather allowable in some context with proper intonation. Nevertheless, the demonstrative cannot follow the noun, as in (118).

- (118). \*ike matur külmäk bu  
           two nice dresse<sub>sg</sub> this

The fact that demonstrative in Tatar can be found in a lower position (117) confirms an assumption shared by many linguists that it was first inserted as the specifier of a functional category immediately above NP, with subsequent raising in Spec, DP in order to check its referential and deictic features (Brugé & Giusti 1996, Shlonsky 2004, Laenzlinger 2017, a.o.).

Tatar allows co-occurrence of the demonstrative and the possessive construction, which seems to show that they are specifiers of a different nature (as it was proposed in Giusti 2015).

## 7 Numeral Projection

“*ber*“-one

It is traditionally assumed in Turkic literature (Lewis 1967, Kornfilt 1997, a.o.) that the numeral *ber* “one“ is the realization of the indefinite article. Nevertheless, as observed previously, indefiniteness (-definite) in Tatar can be expressed by bare nouns. This would imply that indefiniteness feature can be realized or by empty D, or by *ber*.

Following Sezer 1991, Öztürk, among others for Turkish, we assume that in Tatar, as in other Turkic languages, *ber* can have the second realisation. The first one (119) is unstressed, follows adjective, modifying a noun and has the indefinite interpretation. The second one (120) is stressed and has the numeral meaning and like other numerals it can precede adjectives.

(119). Dinara kızı**k** ber kitap ukıdı.

Dinara interesting one book read<sub>Past</sub>

“Dinara read an inetersting book.”

(120). Dinara BER \*ber kızı**k** kitap ukıdı.

Dinara one interesting book read<sub>Past</sub>

“Dinara read one interesting book (not two).”

There is some debate in the literature about the non-determiner status of *ber*. Lyons (1999), for example, notes:

*Several writers report on what appears to be a diachronic change in progress in a number of languages previously not having a cardinal article: the increased use of the numeral one, generally with stress reduction, in indefinite noun phrases. In other words, these languages are gradually acquiring a quasi-indefinite cardinal article derived from the singular numeral; and in this early stage where the article is optional it is commonly restricted to specific indefinite use.*

It is generally accepted in the literature (Longobardi, 2001 a.o.), that there are no languages that lack a definite article but still have an indefinite one. On the other hand, there exist languages that do not have an indefinite article but have a definite one. In light of this fact, it is questionable if *ber* in Tatar is an indefinite article since Tatar has no definite articles.

Öztürk (2005) claims that the determiner status of *ber* is puzzling for the head

directionality parameter, because it always occupies the prenominal position, but Tatar as Turkish is a head final language.

(121). ber kaläm  
one/a pencil

(122). \*kaläm ber  
pencil one/a

Öztürk (2005) suggests to consider the stressed BIR as a VP level adverb, modifying the complex predicate, as in the example (120), repeated for convenience in (123).

(123). Dinara [ BER [ *CompPred* kızık kitap ukıdı.  
Dinara one interesting book read<sub>Past</sub>  
“*Dinara read one interesting book (not two).*“

The unstressed *ber*, according to Öztürk (2005) which modifies the NP just like any other adjective is considered as a predicate modifier.

In noun phrases, numerals are not inflected and precede nouns, the plural on the noun is omitted, as in (124).

(124). Ul ike kitap birä.  
S/he two flower<sub>Sg</sub> give  
“*S/he gives two flowers.*“

When ordinal numerals function as nouns, they can be inflected, as illustrated in (125).

(125). Min öy-lär-neñ ike-nçe-sen-dä tora-m.  
I house<sub>PlGen</sub> two<sub>Ord3SgPossLoc</sub> live<sub>Pres1Sg</sub>  
“*I live in the 2<sup>nd</sup> of the houses.*“

In Tatar, numerals can co-occur with demonstratives if the nominal is case-marked, as in (126), while the use of *ber* yields the ungrammaticality reading, as it is demonstrated in (127).

- (126). Dinara bu ike raketka-nı sayla-dı.  
 Dinara this two racket<sub>SgAcc</sub> choose<sub>Past</sub>  
*“Dinara has chosen those two rackets.”*

- (127). \*Dinara bu ber raketka-nı sayla-dı.  
 Dinara this one racket<sub>SgAcc</sub> choose<sub>Past</sub>  
*“Dinara has chosen this one racket.”*

*Ber* in Tatar patterns with other numerals:

- (128). yaşel ber kalām  
 green one/a pencil  
*“a/one green pencil”*

- (129). ber yaşel kalām  
 one/a green pencil  
*“a/one green pencil”*

- (130). yaşel biş kalām  
 five green pencil<sub>Sg</sub>  
*“five green pencils”*

- (131). biş yaşel kalām  
 green five pencil<sub>Sg</sub>  
*“five green pencils”*

In our analysis, *ber* would occupy the structural position of numerals, namely NralP, as in figure 5.16. This projection, situated between NP and DP.

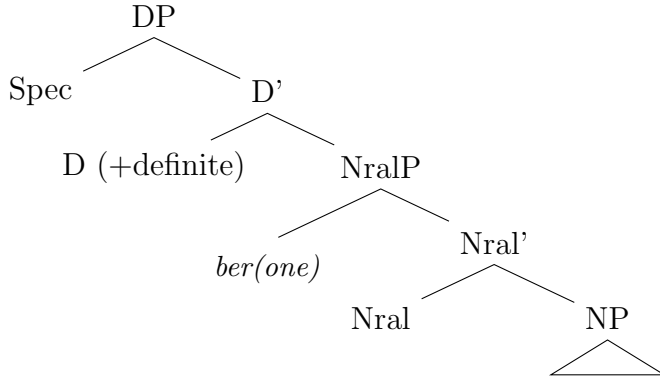


Figure 5.16:

## 8 Quantifier Phrase (QP)

There are two types of universal quantifiers, as for example, *här*, *härber* “every” occupying the object position in Tatar. Like other determiners, they occupy a prenominal position in the nominal domain and as the Turkish universal quantifier *her*, pointed out by Enç (1991), the Tatar universal quantifier *här* necessarily triggers case marking on noun phrases which it introduces, as shown in the example (132). The example (133) is ungrammatical because the noun phrase *äkiyat*, introduced by *härber* has no case marking.

(132). Alsu härber äkiyat-ne ukıdı.

Alsu every story<sub>Acc</sub> read<sub>Past</sub>  
 “Alsu read every tale.”

(133). \*Alsu härber äkiyat ukıdı.

When *här*, *härber* occurs with possessives, it should be situated before them, as the example in (134) shows.

(134). Härber halıknıñ tarihı-n belergä yahşı.  
 every people<sub>Acc</sub> history<sub>PossAcc</sub> know<sub>Inf</sub> good

*“It is good to know the history of every people.”*

If we take a noun phrase with different modifiers, the quantifier *härber*, functioning as modifier, should be placed in the highest position, before all other prenominal modifiers, as exemplified in (135), represented in (136).

- (135). Härber bu sin-eñ äyt-kän ike matur süz-eñ  
 Every this you<sub>Gen</sub> say<sub>Partic</sub> two beautiful word<sub>SgPoss</sub>  
*“each of these two beautiful words you said”*

- (136). Q > Dem > Rel. Clause > Num > Adj > Noun

## 9 Relative clauses

Due to their general head-final nature, Turkic languages exhibit left-branching, head-final relative clauses (Kornfilt 2000). Relative clauses are complex adjectival constructions that modify noun phrases. The most typical type of relative clause in Tatar is non-finite. They are participles, derived from the verbs with the help of suffixes -kan/-gan, -açak/-äçäk.

We distinguish in Tatar two types of nonsubject relative clauses RCs. In the first one, the RC subject is in the nominative case without overt subject agreement marker, as in the example (137).

- (137). Sin äyt-kän süz  
 You<sub>Nom</sub> say<sub>Partic</sub> word  
*“The word you said.”*

The subject of relative clauses appears in the genitive case, and the overt agreement marker shows up on the head noun, as in (138).

- (138). Sin-eñ äyt-kän süz-eñ  
 You<sub>Gen</sub> say<sub>Partic</sub> word<sub>Poss</sub>

*“The word you said.”*

According to Kornfilt (2008), the syntactic relation between an overt Agr marker and the DP whose  $\phi$ -features the marker expresses may be a nonlocal one. She proposes an explanation for this type of RC, where this nonlocal relationship derives from a local one, using a Kaynean derivation (Kayne 1994), couched in his Antisymmetry hypothesis.

Kornfilt (2008), analysing nonsubject relative clauses (RCs) in Turkic languages, shows that the derivation of RCs in right-headed languages is the same as in head-initial languages where RCs involve leftward movement of the “target” of relativization into Spec/CP; the CP, in turn, is the complement of the D in a DP but with one more additional step: the IP-complement of C moves to the specifier position of the higher DP; this might be a Dem(onstrative)P.

She claims that in subordinate nominalized clauses in this type of languages, the subject agreement marker is not the syntactic head of that clause. The head of that clause is the nominal Aspect/Mood phrase. What moves to the specifier position of the DP is a bare Aspect or Mood phrase. The agreement morpheme is stranded and cliticizes to the head of the relative clause, thus giving rise to constructions with the unexpected placement of subject agreement morpheme on the head of the relative clause.

We observe that in the examples (137) and (138) the participles behave as the modifier of the noun and appear necessarily before it.

If we insert a demonstrative, an adjective and a numeral in (139), they should appear in the following order: the demonstrative is before the relative clause, the numeral is after the relative clause but before the noun and finally the adjective is adjacent to the noun, as exemplified in (140).



- (139). Bu sin-eñ äyt-kän ike matur süz-eñ  
 This you<sub>Gen</sub> say<sub>Partic</sub> two beautiful word<sub>SgPoss</sub>  
*“these two beautiful words you said”*

- (140). Dem > Rel. Clause > Num > Adj > Noun

## 10 The ordering of elements in noun phrase

If we consider the order of demonstratives, numerals and adjectives with respect to the N in the *midfield* of the noun phrase in Tatar, we argue that it respects Greenberg’s Universal 20 (discussed in Cinque 2005) typological generalization which states that:

*When any or all of the items - demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective - precede the noun, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact opposite. (Greenberg’s (1963:111) Universal 20).*

- (141). Dem > Num > Adj > N  
 Bu ike matur külmäk  
 this two nice dresse<sub>Sg</sub>  
*“these two nice dresses”*

As we can observe, demonstratives are hierarchically higher than numerals and adjectives.

Between 24 possible permutations of these elements, only 13 are attested in the languages of the world. The mirror image of the Tatar order is realized in Gungbe (Aboh 2004).

- (142). N > Adj > Num > Dem  
 àgásá dàxó àtón éhè ló lɛ́  
 crabs big Nral Dem Spf<sub>Def</sub> Num  
*“These specific three big crabs”*

Tatar and Gungbe belong to two major patterns found in languages. Hawkins 1983, reformulating Greenberg’s hypothesis, stated:

*When any or all of the modifiers (demonstrative, numeral, and descriptive adjective) precede the noun, they (i.e., those that do precede) are always found in that order. For those that follow, no predictions are made, though the most frequent order is the mirror-image of the order for preceding modifiers. In no case does the adjective precede the head when the demonstrative or numeral follows. (Hawkins 1983)*

Assuming Kayne’s (1994) universal hypothesis that all languages are of the type *specifier-head-complement* (Hawkins 1983; Cinque 1994, 1996, 2005), we consider the postnominal order of elements as the result of successive NP-movement from a unique base order (*Dem Num A N*) leftward to the specifier or head of higher functional positions between  $D^0$  and NP<sup>27</sup>.

*Dem Num A N* is a neutral word order without topic, focus, contrast or semantic properties that license movement of elements.

In Tatar, the appearance of one or more lexical items after the noun gives ungrammatical reading:

(143). \*bu matur külmäk ike  
           this nice dresse<sub>sg</sub> two

(144). \*bu ike külmäk matur  
           this two dresse<sub>sg</sub> nice

If we consider the order of demonstratives, numerals and adjectives with respect to the N and possessives, following Bošković’s (2012) analysis of the same elements within Turkish noun phrases, we notice that Tatar respects the appropriate neutral order of this prenominal elements.

---

<sup>27</sup>Cinque (2005) suggests that only a constituent containing the head noun N can move.

Dem > Poss > (A) > Num > (A) > N

- (145). Bu Alsuniñ (yaña) ike (yaña) külmäge  
 This Alsu<sub>3SgPossGen</sub> new two new dress<sub>SgPoss</sub>  
*“these two new dresses of Alsu”*

Poss > Dem > (A) > Num > (A) > N

- (146). Alsuniñ bu (yaña) ike (yaña) külmäge  
 Alsu<sub>3SgPossGen</sub> that new two new dress<sub>SgPoss</sub>  
*“these two new dresses of Alsu”*

- (147). \* Poss > Num > Dem > A > N  
 \* Alsuniñ ike bu yaña külmäge

- (148). \* Num > Poss > Dem > A > N  
 \* Ike Alsuniñ bu yaña külmäge

- (149). \* Poss > A > Dem > Num > N  
 \* Alsuniñ yaña bu ike külmäge

- (150). \* A > Poss > Dem > Num > N  
 \* Yaña Alsuniñ bu ike külmäge

According to Bošković (2012), in Turkish, the hierarchical ordering of the demonstrative and the possessor is directly derived by the proposal that the possessor is an independent phase. Possessive is higher than numeral and adjective, but it can appear lower or higher than demonstrative. The Tatar examples presumably confirm this ordering, but we leave the detail discussion on different orderings of these elements for future research.

- (151). Dem > Poss > (A) > Num > (A) > N  
 Bu Alsuniñ (jaña) ike (jaña) külmäge

- (152). \* Dem > Num > Poss > A > N  
           \* Bu       ike       Alsunñ       jaña       külmäge
- (153). \* Num > Dem > Poss > A > N  
           \* Ike       bu       Alsunñ       jaña       külmäge
- (154). \* Dem > A > Poss > Num > N  
           bu       jaña       Alsunñ       ike       külmäge
- (155). \* A > Dem > Poss > Num > N  
           \* Jaña       bu       Alsunñ       ike       külmäge

## 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we proposed a cartographic analysis of the internal structure of the Tatar nominal domain from the perspective of the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987).

Nominal suffixes in Tatar respect Baker's (1985) *Mirror Principle* reflecting the hierarchy of functional projections within the DP layer.

The analysis of the Tatar prenominal elements shows that the architecture of the Tatar nominal structure represents a very rich system, involving a series of distinct hierarchically ordered functional projections that dominate the noun phrase (NP) and whose specifiers occupy the nominal modifiers such as determiners, possessors, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, quantifiers.

Possessive constructions as *ezafe-2* and the *ezafe-3* in Tatar differ according the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of their possessors. The main difference is that possessives in both constructions are distinguished by the presence or absence of the genitive case. Syntactically, when they cooccur with adjectives, genitive possessor of *ezafe-3* precedes an adjective while a bare possessor in *ezafe-2* should

follow it.

Attributive adjectives in Tatar precede the head noun ( $\text{Adj} > \text{N}$ ) and should respect some restrictions on the type of nouns that they modify. Tatar examples in (2) and (4) support Cinque/Laenzlinger/Scott's adjective hierarchy for object denoting nouns (1) and event-denoting nouns (3).

- (1).  $\text{Adj}_{\text{quantification}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{quality}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{size}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{shape}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{color}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{nationality}}$
- (2).  $[[\text{DP}[\text{SizeP zur}[\text{ColorP z\~a}\text{ñg\~a}r[\text{NationP tatar}[\text{materialP a}\text{ga}\text{ç}[\text{NP yortları}]]]]]]]$
- (3).  $\text{Adj}_{\text{speaker-oriented}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{subject-oriented}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{manner}} > \text{Adj}_{\text{thematic}}$
- (4).  $[[\text{DP} [\text{peak-orient m\~o}m\text{kin} [\text{subj-orient bula}\text{çak} [\text{manner du}\text{slık} [\text{thematic halıkara} [\text{NP k\~u}r\text{e}\text{ş}\ddot{u}]]]]]]]]]$

The focus projection of adjectives is generated to the left of the adjectival domain. The adjective having a particular emphasis moves to this position changing the neutral order of elements in the structure. Topical, quantificational and specific material are supposed to occupy higher positions within DP, which gives evidence for the existence of the left periphery in the nominal layer, established in Laenzlinger's (2005) structure in nominal domain, as in 5.17.

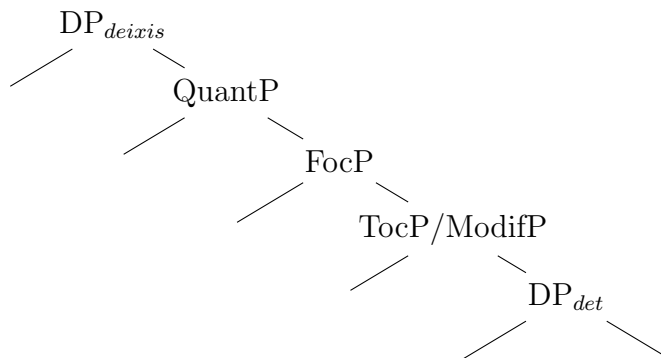


Figure 5.17:

We consider the order of morphemes presumably as a consequence of the NP movement across the functional morphemes. We propose an analysis for Tatar noun phrases through an “*n*P-shell “ analysis (Grimshaw 1990, Laenzlinger 2011, a.o.), where by analogy with the complex shell structure of VPs (vP-shell), the n/NP projection forms the predicative core. A lexical item starts its way from the lower part of the clause and successively moves to higher inflectional morphemes by roll-up movement (also known as snowball movement).

Based on a general agreement in the literature that there exists a so-called (quasi-) parallelism of structures and transformations between the noun phrase and the clause, we consider clausal domain and nominal domain as a tripartite structure. In the lowest layer (Nachfeld), all arguments of the verb/noun first merge. The intermediate layer (Mittelfeld) hosts Case and  $\phi$ -features under Agree (Pollock 1989, Belletti 1989) and optional modifiers (adverbs or adjectives respectively) in the sense of Cinque (1994, 1999). Finally, the highest layer (Vorfeld) is the left periphery of the clause (Rizzi 1997) and of the noun phrase (Grimshaw’s 2000 idea of extended projections).

We should however notice that the movement possibilities in the noun phrase are more restricted than in the clause. For example, the behaviour of adverbs in the clause is freer than the one of nominal modifiers in the noun phrase, which are always prenominal in Tatar. The left periphery in the clause is richer, in terms of structures and discourse properties, than in the noun phrase.

# Chapter 6

## Concluding remarks

This dissertation has offered the detailed description of grammatical properties of Tatar from the *Cartographic* framework, the underlying idea of which is to draw structural maps of clauses and other syntactic objects as precisely as possible (Rizzi 1997, 2001, Cinque 1999, Belletti 2004, Cinque & Rizzi 2008, 2010a and much related work).

This thesis is composed of six chapters. Before discussing syntactic properties of different projections of the syntactic tree in Tatar, in the first chapter, we have briefly presented the theoretical framework, providing the background of the concepts of GG, with particular reference to the Cartographic conception of clause structure. We suggest a partition of the clause into three domains, under the fundamental X-bar schema, and propose to analyse the *Left Periphery* (LP) (Rizzi 1997), *Inflectional Phrase* (IP) (Cinque 1999) and *Determiner Phrase* (DP) (Laenzlinger 2005) within the cartographic approach.

In Chapter 2, we have presented a concise description of the basic properties of the Tatar language: its morpho-syntactic relations, phonological properties, word order, pro-drop, negative marker, the verbal projection, the voice, synthetic and analytic

verbs.

In chapter 3, we analysed the order of Tatar *tense/aspect/mood* (*TAM*) verbal suffixes in the light of Cinque’s (1999, 2001) rich IP model and assume that the examples presented in this chapter give direct overt evidence for the matching between suffixes in Tatar and the fixed hierarchy of functional projections. Moreover, we show that this is compatible with the single overall order which looks like in (1).

- (1). Mood<sub>SpeechAct</sub> > Mood<sub>Evaluative</sub> > Mood<sub>Evidential</sub> > T<sub>Past</sub> > T<sub>Fut</sub> >  
 Mood<sub>Irrealis</sub> > TP<sub>Anterieur</sub> > Mod<sub>Alethic</sub> > Asp<sub>Habitual</sub> > Asp<sub>Repetitive</sub> >  
 Asp<sub>Frequentative</sub> > Asp<sub>Celerative</sub> > Asp<sub>Terminative</sub> > Asp<sub>Continuative</sub> > Asp<sub>Perfect</sub> >  
 Asp<sub>Retrospective</sub> > Asp<sub>Progressiv</sub> > Asp<sub>Prospective</sub> NegP > Mod<sub>Ability</sub> >  
 Asp<sub>Resultative</sub> > Voice ( > V )

Following Mahajan (2003), Laenzlinger and Soare (2005) in the spirit of Koopman and Szabolcsi’s (2000) remnant movement, we proposed an analysis of this surface word order in terms of *remnant vP* movement. We assume that the verb in Tatar (probably, due to the richness of verb inflection) raises to  $v^o$  without leaving *vP*, and *remnant vP* (containing the traces of the already moved verb’s arguments) undergoes movement to the specifier of a functional head in the split inflectional domain. Following Baker’s (1985, 1988) *Mirror Principle*, as well as Kayne’ (1994) antisymmetry hypothesis, in order to check *TAM* features, a lexical item starts its way from the lower part of the clause and successively moves to higher inflectional morphemes by roll-up movement (also known as snowball movement).

With regard to the CP domain in chapter 4, *topic*, *focus* elements, *wh-questions*, *yes-no* markers were analysed according to the general syntactic structure presented in Rizzi (1997, 2001). Topics in Tatar should move to the sentence initial position to gain topic interpretation, whereas new information focus position is in the immediate



periphery of the vP (Belletti 2001, 2004). Topic and contrastive topics, as well as focus and contrastive focus in Tatar activate different positions within the C-system. We also established that yes/no particle and the complementizer realize different positions in the structure. As the linear order of Tatar is the mirror image of the one, for example, found in Italian, the order of these projections will be Int > Force.

Inspired by Endo' (2018) paper, we discussed the behaviour of the interveners like discourse particles (DiPs) around the  $Q_{y/n}$  particle *-mı* and *wh* questions. We also tried to establish the order of different complementizers in Tatar sentence.

We observed that when the (DiPs) *ıkän* is situated in Rizzi's (2001) ModP projection, the order of elements in LP will look as *wh* > *-mı* > *ıkän* > *dip*. The surface order of the sentence (2)<sup>1</sup> is derived by rolling up the lower constituents into the specifier of the higher projections cyclically, as diagrammed in Fig 6.1.

- (2). Aygul [<sub>CP</sub> Lilia **närsä** tap-kan mikän **dip**] sora-dı?  
 Aygul Lilia what find<sub>PastInd</sub> Q<sub>Modal</sub> that ask<sub>3SgPast</sub>  
 "Aygul asked what found Lilia."

Chapter 5 focuses on the cartography of the noun phrase in Tatar. Assuming (quasi) parallelism between the clause and the noun phrase, we also propose to divide the structure of the nominal domain into three zones. The internal structure of the noun phrase in Tatar is examined depending on the positions of adjectives and nouns complements. This analysis shows that the architecture of the Tatar nominal structure represents a very rich system, involving a series of distinct hierarchically ordered functional projections that dominate the noun phrase (NP) and whose specifiers occupy the nominal modifiers such as determiners, possessors, demonstratives, numerals,

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<sup>1</sup>The appropriate contexte for the sentence in (2) is that *Aygul knew that Lilia found something and now Aygul tries to figure out what did she find.*

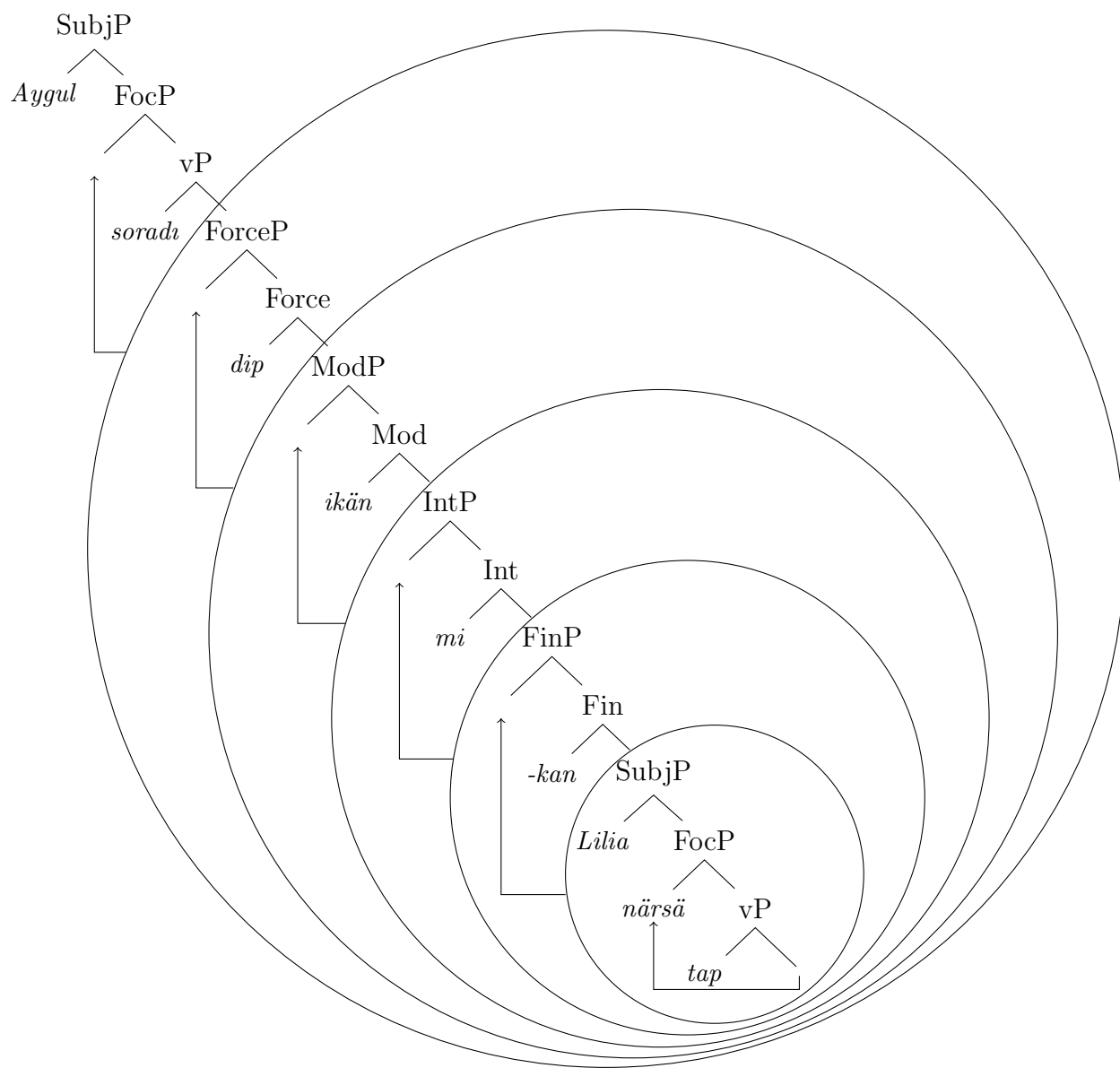


Figure 6.1:

adjectives, quantifiers.

Possessive constructions as *ezafe-2* and the *ezafe-3* in Tatar differ according to the

morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of their possessors. Attributive adjectives in Tatar precede the head noun (Adj > N) and should respect some restrictions on the type of nouns that they modify.

On the basis of an articulate DP-structure, rich in functional projections, we explored various types of DP- internal movement (cyclic, remnant and pied-piping XP-movement).

Drawing (quasi) parallelism between the verbal domain and the nominal domain, we observed however that the movement possibilities in the noun phrase are more restricted than in the clause with the conclusion that the left periphery in the clause in Tatar is richer, in terms of structures and discourse properties, than in the noun phrase.

We would like to finish with the words of Cinque (2017): “*Merge structure and derivational options admitted by UG may provide a plausible account of acquisition in that they yield a plausible account of how the child, on the basis of primary linguistic data can reconstruct the language particular options that derive his/her language*”.

Our analysis is consistent with the idea that a child knows that complex expressions in a language are organised vertically, and that there are possible movement operations (as *V*, *VP*, *remnant*, *pied-piping*, *snowballing*). Observing that snowballing movements are very common in the Tatar language, we assume that a child speaking Tatar only needs to learn these movements in order to obtain linear sequences of words in speech.

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