Лингвистика

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Towards a formal model of Differential Object Marking in Tatar

In this paper, we examine Differential Object Marking in Tatar building on Baker's recent classification of Differential Object Marking across languages as derived either via object shift (Hindi), pseudo-noun-incorporation (Tamil), or both (Sakha). We argue that the seemingly similar phenomenon in Tatar cannot be accounted for by either object shift or pseudo-noun-incorporation. Specifically, we show that accusative objects need not appear in the object-shifted, VP-external position either at Spell-Out or post-Spell-Out. Moreover, we demonstrate that unmarked objects do not appear in a special structural position, such as head-adjoined to the verb or PF-adjacent to the verb. Instead, we propose that the contrast between accusative and unmarked objects in Tatar correlates with the internal structure of the object: accusative objects are DPs whereas unmarked objects are Small Nominals. We enumerate the contrasts between full-fledged DPs and Small Nominals and show that unmarked objects fit the cross-linguistic profile of the latter.
Key words: Differential Object Marking, Tatar, extended noun phrase, case marking, formal models of Turkic languages

9

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К формальной модели дифференцированного маркирования объекта в татарском языке

В статье исследуется дифференцированное маркирование объекта в татарском языке в свете недавней классификации М. Бейкера, в соответствии с которой дифференцированное маркирование объекта в языках мира может деривироваться при помощи операции выдвижения объекта из глагольной группы (хинди), псевдоинкорпорации объекта (тамильский язык) или обеих операций (якутский язык). Утверждается, что поверхностно сходный феномен дифференцированного маркирования объекта в татарском языке не может быть объяснен ни выдвижением аккузативного объекта, ни псевдоинкорпорацией немаркированного объекта. В статье показано, что аккузативные прямые дополнения в татарском языке могут, но не обязаны передвигаться в позицию за пределами глагольной группы ни при озвучивании, ни при интерпретации. С другой стороны, немаркированные прямые дополнения также не связаны с особой структурной позицией, постулируемой для псевдоинкорпорированных дополнений, такой как позиция адъюнкта к глагольной вершине или позиция фонологического соположения с глаголом. В статье высказывается гипотеза, что контраст

между аккузативным и немаркированным дополнением в татарском языке коррелирует с внутренней структурой дополнения: аккузативные дополнения являются полными именными группами (DP), а немаркированные дополнения – именными группами малой структуры. Исчисление контрастов между полными именными группами и именными группами малой структуры показывает, что немаркированные дополнения полностью соответствуют межъязыковому профилю последних.

Ключевые слова: дифференцированное маркирование объекта, татарский язык, расширенная проекция именной группы, падежное маркирование, формальные модели тюркских языков

1. Introduction

Many languages exhibit Differential Object Marking (DOM) of the type where (direct) objects alternate between accusative and bare, illustrated below with examples from Hindi, Tamil, and Sakha (from [Baker, 2013]). Baker proposes that these seemingly similar phenomena derive from different sources including object shift (Hindi), pseudo-noun-incorporation, or PNI (Tamil), or a combination of the two (Sakha).

(1) a. Ram-ne   chitthi-ko   Anita-ko   ghejaa.
      Ram-ERG   letter-ACC   Anita-DAT   sent
      'Ram sent the letter to Anita.'

   b. Ram-ne   Anita-ko   chitthi   ghejii.
      Ram-ERG   Anita-DAT   letter   sent
      'Ram sent some / a letter(s) to Anita.'

(2) a. Maala   veegamaa   anda   pustagatt-e   vanganeen.
      Mala   quickly   the   book-ACC   bought
      'Mala bought the book quickly.'

(2) b. Maala   veegamaa   anda   pustagam   vanganeen.
        Mala   quickly   the   book   bought
        'Mala bought a book / books quickly.'

(3) a. Erel   kinige-ni   atyylasta.
        Erel   book-ACC   bought
        'Erel bought the book.'

    b. Erel   kinige   atyylasta.
        Erel   book   bought
        'Erel bought a book / books.'

In this paper, we consider Tatar, another language which has Differential Object Marking, expressed as a contrast between accusative and unmarked direct objects.[1] Differential Object Marking in Tatar is illustrated by the following examples, where the direct object *mašina* 'car' is either marked with the accusative suffix -*nı* or left bare:

(4) a. Marat   mašina-**nı**   sat-ıp   al-dı.
        Marat   car-**ACC**   sell-CONV   take-PST
        'Marat bought a (specific) / the car.'

    b. Marat   mašina   sat-ıp   al-dı.
        Marat   car   sell-CONV   take-PST
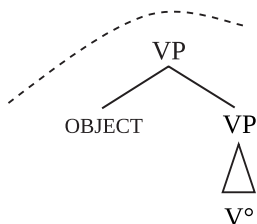   'Marat bought a car / cars.'

In what follows, we consider Baker's typology of DOM and argue that neither object shift (OS) nor pseudo-noun-incorporation (PNI) can account for the full range of facts concerning DOM in Tatar. We begin by considering the OS-based analysis in section 2 and show that although accusative objects may appear in the object-shifted position in Tatar, they need not do so. In section 3, we consider the PNI-based analysis of DOM and argue that although unmarked objects have some properties of PNI-ed nominals they do not exhibit the full range of PNI-associated properties. A much better candidate for PNI is the nominal element in light verb constructions (LVCs). In section 4, we propose an alternative analysis that takes the factor underlying the accusative-zero alternation to be the internal structure of the object rather than its position. Specifically, we argue that DP objects are accusative, while objects that lack the DP projection (i.e. Small Nominals, SNs, in the sense of [Pereltsvaig, 2006]) are unmarked. Section 6 concludes the paper.

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[1] Crucially, we do not assume every instance of morphologically unmarked nominal (*баш килеш*, [Zakiev, 1995]) to be syntactically Nominative; some are simply Caseless (cf. [Kornfilt, Preminger, 2015]).

2. Against "object shift" analysis of DOM in Tatar

According to Baker and Vinokurova [Baker, Vinokurova, 2010, p. 599–602], DOM in Sakha and Hindi reduces to a positional contrast: accusative objects are those that move out of the VP, whereas unmarked objects are those that remain inside that domain ([Merchant, 2009] and [Levin, Preminger, 2015] take a similarly positional approach to Case). Note that in Hindi, for example, this translates into a difference in positions between accusative and unmarked objects: the former must precede the indirect object, as in (1a) above, whereas the unmarked objects must follow the indirect object, as in (1b). According to Baker ([Baker, 2013, 2015]), movement of the direct object outside the VP brings it into the same spell-out domain as the subject, triggering the assignment of accusative case, which Baker proposes to analyze as an instance of dependent case in the sense of Marantz [Marantz, 1991]. The positional analysis is schematized below:

(5) a. unmarked objects   b. accusative objects
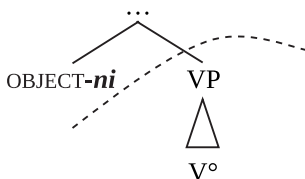
Baker extends this analysis to Turkish, so the question is whether the same analysis is also applicable to the closely related Tatar. We believe the answer to be negative. In particular, we think that although (6a) holds in Tatar (i.e. unmarked objects indeed behave as VP-internal), (6b) does not hold, that is, accusative objects in Tatar need not be VP-external. Unlike in Sakha, in Tatar accusative objects can occur below VP-level adverbs, such as *tiz* 'quickly'.

(6) a. Sakha
    Masha   **türgennik**   salamaat-**(#y)**   sie-te.
    Masha   quickly   porridge-ACC   eat-PST.3
    'Masha ate porridge quickly.'

   b. Tatar
    Marat   **tiz**   alma-**nı**   aša-dı.
    Marat   quickly   apple-ACC   eat-PST
    'Marat ate the apple quickly.'

The Sakha example above is grammatical only if the object is contrastively focused [Baker, Vinokurova, 2010, p. 602]. In Tatar, no contrastiveness is involved. Whether or not the accusative object occurs in VP is determined by information structure: VP-internal objects are interpreted as new information (Rheme). For example, (6b) above can be an answer to 'What did Marat do when he came home?' but not to 'What did Marat do with (the) apple?'.

In fact, accusative objects not only can occur inside the VP as marked by VP-level adverbs; they can also take either wide or *narrow scope* with respect to other quantificational elements, again in contrast to Sakha and Turkish. The following examples illustrate the two scope possibilities with respect to quantified subjects and negation. Crucially, each example can have the second interpretation, one where the accusative object has a narrow scope:

(7) a. Här   ukučı   [Tukaj-**nıŋ**   ike   šigır-e-***(n)**]   ukı-dı.
       every   student Tukay-GEN   two   poem-3-ACC   read-PST
       'Every student read two poems by Tukay.'
       $2 > \forall$: 'There are (certain) two poems by Tukay that every student read.'
       $\forall > 2$: 'Every student read (some) two poems by Tukay.'

    b. Marat   [Alsu-**nıŋ**   ber   fotografijä-se-***(n)**]   kür-mä-de.
       Marat   Alsu-GEN   one   photo-3-ACC   see-NEG-PST
       'Marat didn't see a photo of Alsu.'
       $\exists > Neg$: 'There is one photo of Alsu that Marat didn't see.'
       $Neg > \exists$: 'It is not the case that Marat saw any photo of Alsu.'

More importantly, accusative objects occurring VP-internally can take either wide or *narrow scope* with respect to quantificational elements inside or at the boundary of the VP, if the object occurs inside the VP at Spell-out (as marked by its linear position with respect to these elements). The possibility of the wide scope indicates that the VP-internal accusative object can undergo LF/covert movement, while the possibility of narrow scope means that accusative objects may stay inside VP throughout the derivation. Note that this is exactly the opposite of the Turkish facts – see [Baker, 2013], which claims that an accusative object "never has lowest scope with respect to adverbs in Turkish".[2]

(8) Marat   kabat-kabat   kitab-ı-**n**   ukı-dı.
    Marat   again-again   book-3-ACC   read-PST
    $\exists > RE$: 'Marat read the book again and again.' (same book, over and over)
    $RE > \exists$: 'Marat read a book again and again.' (a different book from a set)

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[2] Thanks to Jaklin Kornfilt for confirming the Turkish facts.

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

(9) Marat här bala-ga ike kitap-**nı** bir-de.
    Marat every child-DAT two book-ACC give-PST
    $2 > \forall$: 'Marat gave two books to every child.' (same two books)
    $\forall > 2$: 'Marat gave every child two books.' (different two books)

To summarize, we have shown that although accusative objects in Tatar can move to a VP-external position either overtly or covertly, they need not do so, contrary to the OS-based analysis of DOM, which we must consequently reject.

3. Is Tatar DOM a result of PNI?

While [Baker, 2015] takes object shift as an important source of DOM for some languages (Hindi, Sakha), he also shows that in other languages, such as Tamil, DOM must derive from some other source. Furthermore, he argues this alternative source for DOM to be pseudo-noun-incorporation (PNI). PNI is a term coined in [Massam, 2001] for constructions which have the semantic but not the morphological properties of noun incorporation [Baker, 1988, 2009; Borik, Gehrke, 2015]. Recently discussed examples of relevant constructions come from Hindi, Turkish, Hungarian, and Oceanic languages (note, however, that according to [Baker, 2013], Hindi data would be accounted for by object shift, not PNI). PNI-ed nominals, unlike purely incorporated ones, can contain more than just a bare noun: they may contain adjectival modifiers (as in Niuean), number markers (as in Hindi), etc. It is not clear, however, if PNI-ed nominals may contain any elements that are truly phrasal in nature, such as phrasal complements, complex adjectival modifiers, relative clauses (especially, non-restrictive relative clauses), and the like. Moreover, what all the PNI instances across languages have in common is that the PNI-ed nominals are reduced versions of those serving as regular arguments [Massam, 2009, p. 1088] and that they have the semantic properties of incorporated nominals: they are obligatorily non-specific, take only narrow scope [Bittner, 1994; Van Geenhoven, 1998], are semantically number-neutral [Dayal, 2007], and frequently form a predicate that names a conventional activity [Mithun, 1984, 1986]. Moreover, PNI-ed nominals cannot serve as antecedents of discourse anaphora. Finally, although in PNI cases "there is no true morphological incorporation, but there is a reduced or stripped nominal object phrase that forms a closer-than-usual relation with the verb" [Massam, 2009, p. 1087]. Just how close this "closer-than-usual relation with the verb" has to be, however, differs from one case study to another. According to [Baker, 2013], unmarked objects in Tamil form a head-adjunction structure

with the verb, and according to [Baker, 2011], the head noun of the unmarked object must be linearly adjacent to the verb at PF.

Given these definitional properties of PNI, let's now consider whether unmarked objects in Tatar are indeed PNI-ed. At first glance, the answer appears to be positive. Unmarked objects have some of the semantic properties associated with PNI. First, unmarked objects are obligatorily non-specific; they cannot have a partitive or anaphoric interpretation. For example, the sentence in (10) can only mean that I know some two girls, not two girls out of a given set; it is therefore not felicitous in the context of 'Several children entered the room'. Similarly, the sentence in (11) can express a general preference for dogs (e.g. over cats), but cannot be used anaphorically in the context of 'We have a cat and a dog'.

(10) Min ike   kız   bel-ä-m.
     I   two   girl know-PRS-1SG
     'I know (some) two girls.'

(11) Min kübesenčä et   jarat-a-m.
     I   more   dog   like-PRS-1SG
     'I like {a dog / dogs} more.'

Note also that the object in (11) is number-neutral (cf. [Pereltsvaig, 2013]); this is generally true of unmarked objects lacking an overt number marking, as shown in (12a, b). The number-neutrality, another property frequently associated with PNI-ed nominals, is possible only with unmarked objects; accusative objects are obligatorily interpreted as singular in the absence the plural suffix -*lar*, as shown in (12c).

(12) a. Marat   kızıl   alma   aša-dı.
        Marat   red   apple   eat-PST
        'Marat ate {a red apple / red apples}.'

     b. Marat   kızıl   alma-lar aša-dı.
        Marat   red   apple-PL eat-PST
        'Marat ate {*a red apple / red apples}.'

     c. Marat   kızıl   alma-nı   aša-dı.
        Marat   red   apple-ACC eat-PST
        'Marat ate {a/the red apple / *red apples}.'

Furthermore, like other PNI-ed nominals, unmarked objects can only take narrow scope with respect to other quantifiers or negation. For example, in (13) the object cannot take wide scope with respect to the quantified subject: this sentence cannot mean that there are a certain two books that every student read.

(13) Här   ukučı   ike   kitap   ukı-dı.
     every   student   two   book   read-PST
     ∀ > 2: 'For every student, there are two books that (s)he read.'
     *2 > ∀: 'There are (certain) two books that every student read.'

Nor can an unmarked object scope over an indirect object:

(14) Marat   här   bala-ga   ike   kitap   bir-de.
     Marat   every   child-DAT   two   book   give-PST
     ∀ > 2: 'Marat gave every child (different) two books.'
     *2 > ∀: 'There are (certain) two books that Marat gave to every
     child.'

Similarly, an unmarked object cannot scope over negation; the following sentence cannot mean that there are (certain) two books which Marat did not read.

(15) Marat   ike   kitap   ukı-ma-dı.
     Marat   two   book   read-NEG-PST
     Neg > 2: 'It is not the case that Marat read two books.'
     *2 > Neg: 'There are (certain) two books that Marat didn't read.'

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

(16) Marat   kabat-kabat   kitap   ukı-dı.
     Marat   again-again   book   read-PST
     RE > ∃: 'Marat read book(s) again and again.' (a different book each
     time)
     *∃ > RE: 'Marat read (the) book again and again.' (same book)

To recap so far, unmarked objects are obligatorily non-specific, take only narrow scope, and can be number-neutral; in these respects, unmarked objects pattern with other types of PNI-ed nominals. Unmarked objects differ from other types of PNI-ed nominals, however, in that they do not form a predicate that names a conventional activity. Moreover, unmarked objects behave differently from other cases of PNI with respect to discourse anaphora: unlike PNI-ed nominals, unmarked objects can support discourse anaphora.

(17) Sin   anarga   kitap   ala   ala-sıŋ.   Häm   a-nı
     you   that.DAT   book   take.IPFV can.PRS-2SG   and   that-ACC
     matur   it-ep   tör-ep   büläk   it-ergä   bula.
     nicely make-CONV   wrap-CONV gift   make-INF   be.PRS
     'You can buy him a book. You can wrap it nicely and give it
     as a gift.'

As for their syntactic position, like certain types of other PNI-ed nominals, unmarked objects tend to occur close to the verb; more specifically, they cannot be separated from the verb by an adverb or an indirect object:

(18) a. Marat   tiz   alma   aša-dı.
        Marat   quickly   apple   eat-PST
        'Marat quickly ate {an apple / apples}.'

    b. *Marat   alma   tiz   aša-dı.
        Marat   apple   quickly   eat-PST
        intended: same as (a)

(19) *Marat   ike   kitap   här   bala-ga   bir-de.
      Marat   two   book   every   child-DAT   give-PST
      intended: same as (14)

However, unmarked objects in Tatar cannot be analyzed as head-adjoined to the verb, as proposed by Baker for Tamil, for two reasons. First, unmarked objects in Tatar may contain material that is phrasal in nature. As noted in [Baker, 2013] for Tamil and other languages, unmarked objects may contain adjectival modifiers and/or the number/plurality marker:

(20) Marat   kızıl   alma-lar   aša-dı.
     Marat   red   apple-PL   eat-PST
     'Marat ate red apples.'

Besides simple adjectival modifiers and number/plurality markers, both of which can be potentially analyzed as head-adjoined to the noun, with the resulting complex head further head-adjoining to the verb, unmarked objects may be ezafe-2 nominals containing phrasal possessors which can only be analyzed as specifiers of some functional projection in the extended noun phrase. In the example below, the unmarked object is *kırsaklı xatınnar kijeme* 'clothing for pregnant women', which contains a phrasal possessor *kırsaklı xatınnar* 'pregnant women's'.

(21) Alsu   korsak-lı   xatın-nar   kijem-e   sat-ıp   al-dı.
     Alsu   belly-ATR   woman-PL   clothing-3   sell-CONV   take-PST
     'Alsu bought clothing for pregnant women.'

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

(22) Äti-se   Marat-ka   mašina   **büläk**   it-te.
     father-3   Marat-DAT   car   gift   make-PST
     'His father gave Marat a car as a gift.'

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

(23) a. Marat   bala-ga   jaŋa   kitap-**kına**   ukı-dı.
       Marat   child-DAT   new   book-EMPH   read-PST
       'The only thing that Marat did is read the child a new book.'
       OR: 'The only thing Marat read to the child is a new book.'

     b. Äti-se   Marat-ka   jaŋa   mašina   **büläk-kenä**   it-te.
       father-3   Marat-DAT new   car   gift-EMPH   make-PST
       'His father only GAVE Marat a new car as a gift.'
       NOT: #'His father gave Marat a new car only as a gift.'

Third, nominal components in LVCs cannot be antecedents for discourse anaphora (in contrast to unmarked objects which can; see (17) above). For example, 'it' in the following example is grammatical only if 'making the student to serve him' is its antecedent.

(24) Bu   keše   ukuči-nı   üz-e-nä   **xezmät**   it-ter-de.
     this   man   student-ACC   self-3-DAT   service   do-CAUS-PST
     #**Ul**   bik   awır   eš   i-de.
      it   very   difficult   matter   be-PST
     'This man made the student serve him. It (*service) was very
     difficult.'

Finally, nominal components in LVCs and unmarked objects behave differently in causative constructions. In causative constructions with

unmarked objects (as with accusative ones), the causee is marked ablative, whereas in causative constructions based on LVCs, the causee is marked accusative.

(25) a. Min   Marat-tan/*-nı   **kitap**   al-dır-dı.
         I   Marat-ABL/*-ACC   book   take-CAUS-PST
         'I made Marat take a book.'

     b. Min   Marat-tan/*-nı   **kitap-nı**   al-dır-dı.
         I   Marat-ABL/*-ACC   book-ACC   take-CAUS-PST
         'I made Marat take the book.'

     c. Däülät-kä   xezmät   it-mä,   **däülät-ne**/*-**tän**   xalık-ka
         state-DAT   service   do-NEG   state-ACC/*-ABL   people-DAT
         xezmät   it-ter.
         service   do-CAUS
         'Do not serve the state, make the state serve the people.'
         (www.corpus.tatar)

To summarize, we have shown that unmarked objects have some of the hallmark properties of PNI-ed nominals, but there are good reasons to believe that they are not PNI-ed in the sense of head-adjunction or PF-adjacency to the verb (cf. [Baker, 2011, 2013]), but rather that the nominal components of LVCs are PNI-ed. Thus, Tamil-style PNI cannot be the factor explaining the Tatar DOM patterns. If neither the movement of the accusative objects out of the VP, nor PNI/head-adjunction of the unmarked object can be relied on to account for the DOM pattern in Tatar, what is the explanation for this contrast? In the next section, we propose an analysis that relies not on the position of the object but on its internal structure, more precisely on the presence or absence of the DP projection in the extended structure of the object. In particular, we build on the observation that unmarked objects share some properties, particularly semantic ones, with other types of PNI-ed nominals without being head-adjoined to the verb, as we have shown above.

4. Structural analysis of DOM in Tatar

We propose that DOM in Tatar is best accounted for in terms of the internal structure of the direct object itself: accusative-marked objects are DPs, whereas unmarked objects are Small Nominals (in the sense of [Pereltsvaig, 2006]), that is, they lack the DP projection. If this hypothesis is correct, we expect that objects that clearly contain a DP projection, such as pronouns, proper names, nominals containing a strong quantifier (e.g. *här* 'every', *ike… dä* 'both') or a demonstrative (e.g. *bu* 'this', *šul* 'that'), are not subject

to DOM and can occur as direct objects only in the accusative form. This prediction is borne out:

(26) a. Marat a-lar-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Marat he-PL-ACC invite-PST
   'Marat invited them.'

  b. Alsu Marat-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Alsu Marat-ACC invite-PST
   'Alsu invited Marat.'

  c. Marat här bala-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Marat every child-ACC invite-PST
   'Marat invited every child.'

  d. Marat bu bala-*(nı) čakır-dı.
   Marat this child-ACC invite-PST
   'Marat invited this child.'

These facts are easily accountable for under the proposal put forward in this paper and elsewhere [Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig, 2015a, 2015b] that relates case marking of a nominal to its internal structure: whenever an overt DP-level element is present, the nominal must be a DP and therefore must be marked accusative, whereas in the absence of an overt DP-element, a nominal may be a Small Nominal and therefore left syntactically and morphologically caseless.

The second, related prediction of the analysis is that accusative objects must contain all the functional projections below DP, whereas unmarked objects may be as small as bare NPs, lacking even the functional projection encoding number, NumP (cf. [Pereltsvaig, 2013]). Therefore, we expect that accusative objects are never semantically number-neutral, whereas unmarked objects are number-neutral. This prediction is likewise borne out, as discussed above in connection to (12).

The third prediction, also borne out, is that unmarked objects must fit the profile of Small Nominals as identified in [Pereltsvaig, 2006] and summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Unmarked objects as Small Nominals

	Unmarked objects	Accusative objects
Individuated/specific/partitive/anaphoric interpretation	No	Yes
Wide scope wrt quantifiers/negation possible	No	Yes
Can control PRO	No	Yes
Can be antecedent of reflexive/reciprocal	No	Yes

The inability of unmarked objects to have individuated, specific, partitive, or anaphoric interpretation has been discussed above in connection with (10)–(11); this is one of the properties that unmarked objects share with other PNI-ed nominals. Their inability to take wide scope with respect to other quantified nominals, adverbs, or negation is likewise pointed out above (see the discussion surrounding (13)–(16) above).

Moreover, although unmarked objects can control *discourse* anaphora (as pointed out in connection to (17) above), they cannot control *syntactic* anaphora, that is, they cannot be controllers of PRO or antecedents of reflexives and reciprocals. This is true regardless of word order permutations, as shown for control in (27). Accusative objects, on the other hand, can be controllers of PRO. The contrast between unmarked and accusative objects in these examples confirms that the ungrammaticality of the unmarked objects is due to their inability to be antecedents of syntactic anaphora rather than some other independent factor such as the non-adjacency of the object to the verb in (27a), the cataphoric structure in (27b), or the postverbal placement of the infinitive in (27c).

(27) a. Marat   bala-lar-*(nı)   [PRO uk-ırga]   ӡibär-de.
       Marat   child-PL-ACC   study-INF   send-PST
       'Marat sent children to study.'

  b. Marat   [PRO uk-ırga]   bala-lar-*(nı)   ӡibär-de.
       Marat   study-INF   child-PL-ACC   send-PST
       'Marat sent children to study.'

  c. Marat   bala-lar-*(nı)   ӡibär-de   [PRO uk-ırga].
       Marat   child-PL-ACC   send-PST   study-INF
       'Marat sent children to study.'

A similar contrasts obtains with reflexives in (28): syntactic anaphora cannot take unmarked objects as antecedents, whereas accusative objects are grammatical as antecedents of reflexives. Once again, the contrast obtains regardless of the word order.

(28) a. Marat   bala-lar-*(nı)$_i$ üz-e-neŋ $_i$ tu-gan   kön-e-neŋ
       Marat   child-PL-ACC   SELF-3-GEN   be.born-PRT   day-3-GEN
       bäjräm-lär-e-nä   ӡibär-de.
       holiday-PL-3-DAT   send-PST
       'Marat sent children to their own birthday parties.'

  b. Marat   bala-lar-*(nı)$_i$ ӡibär-de   üz-e-neŋ $_i$ tu-gan
       Marat   child-PL-ACC   send-PST   SELF-3-GEN   be.born-PRT
       kön-e-neŋ   bäjräm-lär-e-nä.
       day-3-GEN   holiday-PL-3-DAT
       'Marat sent children to their own birthday parties.'

To recap, we hypothesize that DOM in Tatar derives from the distinction between DPs and Small Nominals: DP objects are marked accusative, whereas unmarked objects are smaller than a DP. Note further that the lack of the DP projection in unmarked objects is responsible for both their semantics and their inability to move from their base-generated position: not having the DP, these nominals are invisible for higher Probes that search for the [D] feature. This allows us to capture the similarities between unmarked objects and PNI-ed nominals in other languages/constructions without recourse to head-adjunction/PF-adjacency to the verb. The characteristic properties of unmarked objects are explained not by their movement to a verb-adjoined position but by their remaining in their base-generated position. It also allows us to draw an easy structural distinction between unmarked objects (in their base-generated position) and complements of LVCs (head-adjoined/ PF-adjacent to the verb). In other words, we draw a distinction not between two but between three kinds of "objects": (a) accusative objects, which are DPs, visible to higher Probes searching for the [D] feature, which consequently may appear either inside or outside the VP; (b) unmarked objects, which are Small Nominals, invisible to [D]-searching Probes, which consequently may appear only inside the VP; and nominal components in LVCs, which are bare nouns head-adjoined/PF-adjacent to the light verb. Note also that we do not take unmarked objects as assigned any type of syntactic Case: they are both morphologically and syntactically caseless, according to the analysis.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have shown that a distinction between DPs and Small Nominals is pervasive in Tatar, a language that lacks articles, contrary to the arguments of Bošković [Bošković, 2005, 2008, 2009] and Bošković and Şener [Bošković, Şener, 2014] that article-less languages lack the projection of DP altogether. In particular, we have argued that DPs must bear syntactic (and therefore, morphological) Case, whereas Small Nominals of varying sizes need not be Case-licensed and can therefore appear syntactically and morphologically caseless. In this respect, this analysis follows in the footsteps of [Kiparsky, 2008; Pesetsky, 2013], who also propose that Case works differently for NPs and DPs; however, the details of these three analyses differ significantly. We have argued that Differential Object Marking in Tatar is best analyzed as a reflex of this correlation between the functional structure of the object nominal and Case, and cannot be accounted for by OS- or PNI-based analyses, along the lines of [Baker, 2011, 2013, 2015] and [Baker, Vinokurova, 2010]. We have shown that accusative objects need not appear in the object-shifted, VP-external position either at Spell-Out or post-Spell-Out. Moreover, we have argued that unmarked objects do not

appear in a special structural position, such as head-adjoined to the verb or PF-adjacent to the verb. Instead, we explained their PNI-like semantic properties, as well as their low syntactic position (inside the VP throughout the derivation) by their lack of the DP projection, whose absence means that they have neither the semantics nor the mobility of full-fledged DPs.

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