

NOMINAL COORDINATION IN TATAR POSTPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND CASE VARIATION

Ekaterina Lyutikova

Anastasia Gerasimova

Lomonosov Moscow State University

Pushkin State Russian Language Institute

The study has been supported by RSF project #18-18-00462

Acknowledgements

- We thank our colleagues from the Institute of Applied Semiotics of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences

D.Sh. Suleimanov

O.A. Nevzorova

A.M. Galieva

who greatly helped in preparing the materials for the experimental study and finding respondents!

Tatar postpositions

Plain postpositions

e.g. *belän* 'with',
öçen 'for'

Denominal postpositions

historically derived from
nouns with locative semantic

e.g. *östendä* 'above'
janına 'to'

aldı 'front'

aldı -n -da

front -OBL -LOC

'before'

Differential case marking

The nominal in Tatar PPs demonstrates differential case marking:

- the choice between GEN and NOM case form is determined by the morphosyntactic class of the nominal

[Zakiev 1993; Lyutikova, Gerasimova 2019]

Unmarked / NOM

All nouns, including proper names.

GEN

Personal pronouns:

- 1st / 2nd person (*min* 'I', *sin* 'you')
- 3rd person (*ul* 'he/she/it', *alar* 'they')

Interrogative pronouns

(e.g. *kem* 'who', *nərsə* 'what')

Reflexive pronouns (*üz* 'self')

Differential case marking

With denominal postpositions this variation in case assignment is accompanied by presence/absence of the possessive agreeing *ezafe* marker on the postposition.

(1) a. **ezafe-less form**

<i>minem</i>	<i>arkada</i>	/ ? <i>anıŋ</i>	<i>arkada</i>	/ * <i>abıj</i>	<i>arkada</i>
I.GEN	because	/ (s)he.GEN	because	/ brother.NOM	because

b. **ezafe form**

<i>minem</i>	<i>arka-m-da</i>	/ <i>anıŋ</i>	<i>arka-sı-nda</i>	/ <i>abıj</i>	<i>arka-sı-nda</i>
I.GEN	because-1SG	/ (s)he.GEN	because-3	/ brother.NOM	because-3

‘because of me / because of her / because of brother’

Differential case marking

With personal pronouns denominal postpositions demonstrate person agreement:

- EITHER postposition has possessive agreeing ezafe marker, person and number agreement with complement

(2) *minem* *ald* **-lm** *-da*
I.GEN in front of -1SG -LOC

(3) *sez-nen* *ald* **-igiz** *-da*
YOU.PL-GEN in front of -2PL -loc

- OR there is default possessive agreeing ezafe marker on the postposition

(4) *kız-lar* *ald* **-in** *-da*
girl-PL in front of -3 -LOC

Three parameters of variation

For all postpositions

Unmarked / NOM

GEN

For denominal postpositions

Ezafe present

Ezafe absent

For denominal postpositions with ezafe

Person agreement

No person agreement

The reasons behind variation

- Denominal postpositions result from grammaticalization of relational noun.
- The complement and the relational noun form a possessive construction.
- Possessive construction demonstrates differential case marking.

ezafe-2 construction:

complement remains unmarked, ezafe marker present on the head

(4) *ukuči* *däftär-e*
student notebook-3
'student's notebook'

ezafe-3 construction:

complement is in GEN, ezafe marker is present on the head

(5) *ukuči-niŋ* *däftär-e*
student-GEN notebook-3
'student's notebook'

The reasons behind variation

[Zakiev 1993]:

- pronouns can only appear in ezafe-3, and not in ezafe-2

(6) *bez-nen* *mäktäb-ebez*

we-GEN school-1PL

(7) * *bez* *mäktäb-ebez*

we school-1PL

(8) *bez-nen* *mäktäp*

we-GEN school

'our school'

- unlike the ezafe-2 marker, the marker of ezafe-3 shows person and number agreement with the possessor

The reasons behind variation

[Zakiev 1993]:

- nominal phrases that are *ezafe-3* constructions can be embedded only in *ezafe-3* constructions and not *ezafe-2*

(9) *(a-lar-nın) küb-ese*

he-PL-GEN many-3

'many of them'

(10) *(bez-nen) in akıl-lı-bız*

we-GEN most mind-ATR-1PL

'the most clever of us'

(11) *kız-lar-nın kajısı-sı*

girl-PL-GEN which-2

'which girl'

- other types of nominal phrases can be present in both *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* constructions

The reasons behind variation

[Pereltsvaig, Lyutikova 2014; Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig, 2015; Lyutikova, Pereltsvaig, 2015; Lyutikova, 2017]:

- The difference lies in categorical status of the possessor.

Determiner Phrase (DP)

- appear in argumental positions
- express thematic relations
- is assigned case
- control possessive agreement

Possessive Phrase (PossP)

- require encyclopedic knowledge for interpretation
- does not need case to be licensed
- does not control possessive agreement

The reasons behind variation

Postpositional phrase

- GEN is assigned to pronouns

- (12) a. *minem* / **min* *öçen*
I-GEN / I for
'for me'
- b. *ata-m* / **ata-m-niŋ* *öçen*
father-1SG / FATHER-1SG-GEN for
'for my father'
- c. *Marat* / **Marat-niŋ* *öçen*
Marat / Marat-GEN for
'for Marat'

Possessive construction

- GEN is assigned to DP possessors

- (13) a. *minem* / **min* *mäktäb-em-dä*
I-GEN / I school-1SG-LOC
'in my school'
- b. **ata-m* / *ata-m-niŋ* *mäktäb-en-dä*
father-1SG / FATHER-1SG-GEN school-3-LOC
'in my fathers school'
- c. **Marat* / *Marat-niŋ* *mäktäb-en-dä*
Marat / Marat-GEN school-3-LOC
'in Marat's school'

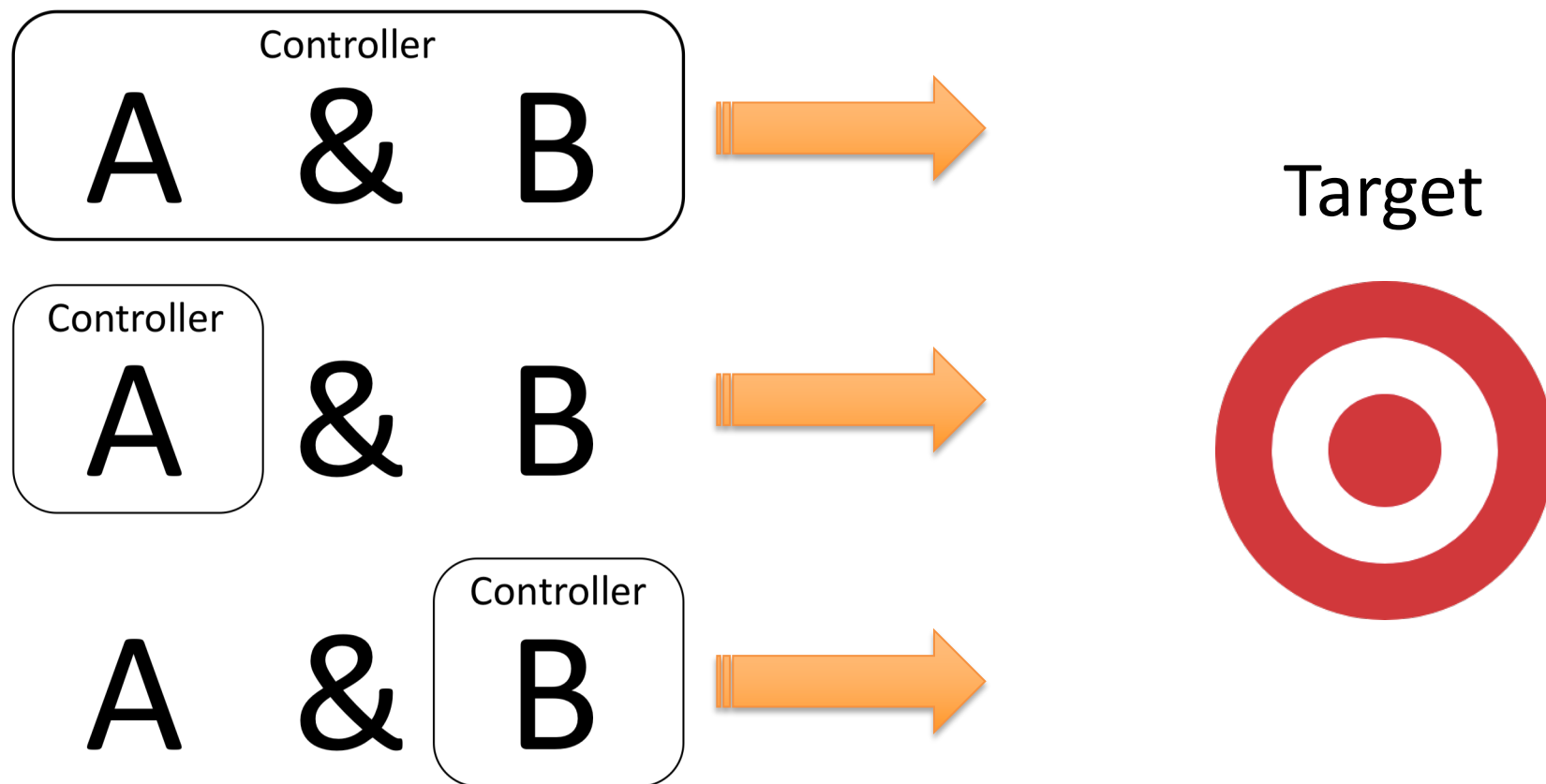
Research questions

- The derivational relation between denominal postpositions and corresponding nouns.
- The structure of the noun phrase might influence the case marking and agreement in postpositional phrases.

If two conjuncts belong to two different morphosyntactic classes:

- Do both conjuncts exhibit the same case?
- Which conjunct controls agreement of the possessive marker?

Nominal coordination and agreement



Experiment 1. Materials

min häm Marat 'me and Marat'

2x2 factorial design:

Type of postpositional construction:

Plain postpositions

Denominal postpositions

The order of conjuncts:

Personal pronoun

Proper Noun

Proper Noun

Personal pronoun

Experiment 1. Task

Provide case and agreement morphology for nominal coordination and postposition in brackets.

(14) Tanılğan dzırçı (sin häm Äxmet, arasında)
_____ utırdı.

‘The famous singer was sitting between you and Ahmet.’

Experiment 1. Participants

109 respondents.

(mean age: 23, SD 7; min 17, max 61; 85 females)

Sociolinguistic questionnaire:

90 out of 109

- born and living in The Republic of Tatarstan
- using Tatar on a daily basis

Experiment 1. Results

Log-linear analysis ($p = 0,001$)

Significant interaction of factors:

- Type of postpositional construction
- The order of conjuncts

Proper Noun

Personal pronoun

<i>Table 1</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
<i>Marat and me</i>	41	335	0	13
<i>Me and Marat</i>	180	7	142	25

Experiment 1. Results

Log-linear analysis ($p = 0,001$)

Significant interaction of factors:

- Type of postpositional construction
- The order of conjuncts

Proper Noun



NOM

Personal pronoun

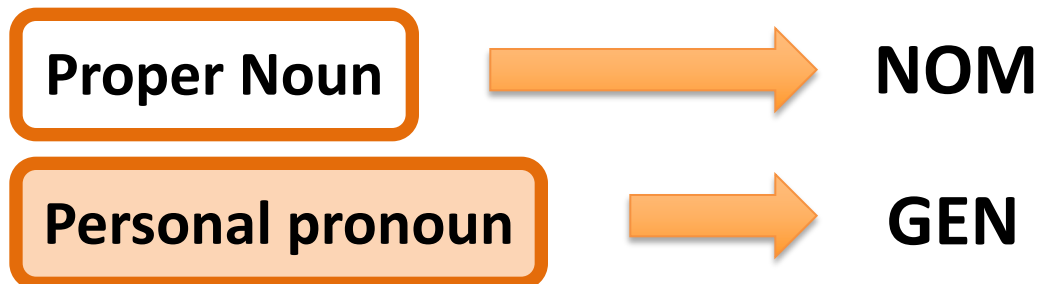
<i>Table 1</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
<i>Marat and me</i>	41	335	0	13
<i>Me and Marat</i>	180	7	142	25

Experiment 1. Results

Log-linear analysis ($p = 0,001$)

Significant interaction of factors:

- Type of postpositional construction
- The order of conjuncts



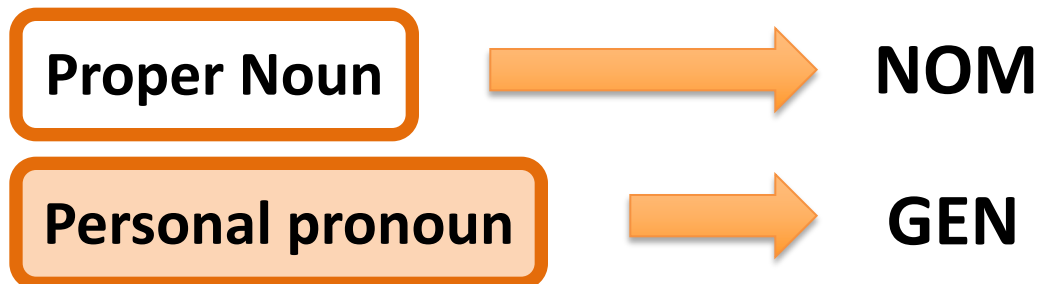
<i>Table 1</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
<i>Marat and me</i>	41	335	0	13
<i>Me and Marat</i>	180	7	142	25

Experiment 1. Results

Log-linear analysis ($p = 0,001$)

Significant interaction of factors:

- Type of postpositional construction
- The order of conjuncts



The opposite situation is almost impossible.

<i>Table 1</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
<i>Marat and me</i>	41	335	0	13
<i>Me and Marat</i>	180	7	142	25

Experiment 1. Results

The choice of the ezafe marker for the postposition:
3rd person singular agreement

<i>Marat and me</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
No agreement	1	36	0	3
1 st conjunct/default	21	111	0	9
2 nd conjunct	0	7	0	1
Coordination	0	2	0	0

<i>Me and Marat</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
No agreement	0	0	0	0
1 st conjunct	0	0	0	0
2 nd conjunct/default	64	7	102	25
Coordination	0	0	1	0

Experiment 1. Results

The choice of the ezafe marker for the postposition:
3rd person singular agreement

<i>Marat and me</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
No agreement	1	36	0	3
1 st conjunct/default	21	111	0	9
2 nd conjunct	0	7	0	1
Coordination	0	2	0	0

<i>Me and Marat</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
No agreement	0	0	0	0
1 st conjunct	0	0	0	0
2 nd conjunct/default	64	7	102	25
Coordination	0	0	1	0

Experiment 1. Results

The choice of the ezafe marker for the postposition:
3rd person singular agreement

<i>Marat and me</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
1 st conjunct/default	21	111	0	9

<i>Me and Marat</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
2 nd conjunct/default	64	7	102	25

**Is agreement controlled by the proper name
or is it the default agreement pattern?**

Experiment 2. Task

Evaluate the acceptability of sentences using a five-point Likert scale.

38 respondents.
(mean age: 24, SD 8; min 17, max 62; 30 females)

Experiment 2. Materials

min häm Marat 'me and Marat'
min häm sin 'me and you'

2x4x4 factorial design:

Type of postpositional construction:

Plain postpositions

Denominal postpositions

Case marking:

NOM NOM

GEN NOM

NOM GEN

GEN GEN

Agreement for postposition:

Experiment 2. Materials

2x4x4 factorial design:

Agreement for postposition:

Non-agreeing form

a. *minem häm sineŋ* ***arkada***
I.GEN and you.GEN because

1-2 person singular

b. *minem häm sineŋ ald* ***-ım*** *-da*
I.GEN and you.GEN. in front of -1SG -LOC

3 person singular

c. *minem häm sineŋ ald* ***-ın*** *-da*
I.GEN and you.GEN in front of -3 -LOC

1 person plural

d. *minem häm sineŋ art* ***-ıbız*** *-ga*
I.GEN and you.GEN. behind -3PL -DIR

Experiment 2. Results

Student t-test $p \ll 0,001$

		NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Plain postpositions	Marat and me	1,5	3,84	1,32	2,08
	me and Marat	3,05	2,11	3,11	1,84
Denominal postpositions	Marat and me	2,18	2,58	1,82	1,95
	me and Marat	1,84	2,21	1,84	1,79

Proper Noun



NOM

Experiment 2. Results

Student t-test $p \ll 0,001$

		NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Plain postpositions	Marat and me	1,5	3,84	1,32	2,08
	me and Marat	3,05	2,11	3,11	1,84
Denominal postpositions	Marat and me	2,18	2,58	1,82	1,95
	me and Marat	1,84	2,21	1,84	1,79

Proper Noun



NOM

Personal pronoun



NOM/GEN

Experiment 2. Results

Student t-test $p \ll 0,001$

<i>me and you</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
Non-agreeing form	1,42	2,08	1,89	2,89
2 nd conjunct	1,63	1,79	1,53	1,55
Default (3sg)	1,71	1,66	2	3,05
1 st conjunct	1,71	1,55	1,53	3
Coordination	1,34	1,97	1,76	3,5

**Agreement with
second conjunct**



Experiment 2. Results

Agreement with
second conjunct



The order of conjuncts determines the agreement pattern:

- agreement with the 1st conjunct is preferred.

New interpretation of Experiment 1 results:

<i>Marat and me</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
1 st conjunct/default	21	111	0	9

<i>Me and Marat</i>	NOM NOM	NOM GEN	GEN NOM	GEN GEN
2 nd conjunct/default	64	7	102	25

3rd person agreement is not agreement with the 2nd conjunct but the default agreement pattern instead.

Overall results

- 1st conjunct tends to be used in NOM
- but 1st / 2nd person pronouns are marked GEN

The case marking of the nominal and the choice of the ezafe marker for the postposition are interrelated:

- When the complement is GEN, postposition contains an ezafe marker that agrees with the complement.
- When the complement is NOM, the postposition shows no agreement with the complement.

The grammaticalization of denominal postpositions is not completed.

Thank you for your attention!

anastasiagerasimova432@gmail.com

Литература

- ⊙ Лютикова, Е. А., & Перельцвайг, А. М. (2015). Структура именной группы в безартиклевых языках: универсальность и вариативность. *Вопросы языкознания*, 3, 52–69.
- ⊙ Закиев, М.Ф. (1993). *Татарская грамматика. Т. 2: Морфология*. Казань: изд-во Казанского гос. ун-та.
- ⊙ Закиев, М.Ф. (1995). *Татарская грамматика. Т. 3: Синтаксис*. Казань: изд-во Казанского гос. ун-та.
- ⊙ Lyutikova, E. (2017). Agreement, case and licensing: Evidence from Tatar. *Урало-алтайские исследования*, 25:2, 25–45.
- ⊙ Lyutikova, E., & Pereltsvaig, A. (2015). The Tatar DP. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 60:3, 289–325.
- ⊙ Pereltsvaig A., & Lyutikova E. (2014) Possessives within and beyond NP: Two ezafe–constructions in Tatar. In by A. Bondaruk, G. Dalmi & A. Grosu (Eds.), *Advances in the syntax of DPs: Structure, agreement, and case* (pp. 193–219). Amsterdam: Benjamins.