

# Noun Phrases in Article-less Languages

## Uzbek and beyond

Lola Türker

John Benjamins Publishing Company

# Noun Phrases in Article-less Languages

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## **Volume 253**

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Lola Türker

International Burch University, Sarajevo

John Benjamins Publishing Company

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# Table of contents

List of tables	IX
List of abbreviations	XI
Preface	XIII
CHAPTER 1	
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Outline of the book	2
1.2 Overview of the Uzbek syntax	4
1.2.1 Head position	5
1.2.2 Pro-drop	5
1.2.3 Free word order	6
1.2.4 Interrogative sentence formation	7
1.2.5 Negation	8
1.3 The Uzbek noun phrase	9
1.3.1 Nominal inflections	9
1.3.1.1 Plural suffix <i>-lar</i>	12
1.3.1.2 Possessive suffix	14
1.3.1.3 Case	16
1.3.2 The genitive-possessive constructions	23
1.3.3 Components in the Uzbek noun phrase	24
1.3.3.2 Demonstratives	27
1.3.3.3 Pronouns	28
1.3.3.4 Universal quantifiers	31
1.3.3.5 Modifiers in the nominal phrase	32
CHAPTER 2	
<b>Perspectives on the DP-Hypothesis</b>	<b>39</b>
2.1 Introduction	39
2.2 The DP Hypothesis	39
2.3 Nominal Mapping Parameter and Uzbek	40
2.3.1 Uzbek and the Nominal Mapping Parameter	45

2.4	Parameterized DP-Hypothesis (Bošković, 2008, 2010)	51
2.4.1	How Uzbek fares with the Parameterized DP-Hypothesis	52
2.5	DP-approaches to article-less languages (Slavic and Turkic)	65
2.6	Summary of the chapter	70

## CHAPTER 3

<b>Determiners within the DP: Interpretation and architecture</b>		<b>73</b>
3.1	The article and the notion of “definiteness”	74
3.2	Case, D and referential properties of nominals	77
3.2.1	The interaction of case and referentiality	77
3.2.2	Case and indefinites	86
3.2.3	Universal quantifiers and case	91
3.3	Demonstratives and the notions of definiteness, reference and deixis	93
3.3.1	Position of Uzbek demonstratives within the DP	101
3.4	Summary of the chapter	105

## CHAPTER 4

<b>Functional projections within the nominal domain</b>		<b>109</b>
4.1	Small Nominals (Pereltsvaig, 2006)	111
4.1.1	Small Nominals in subject position	113
4.1.2	Small Nominals in object position	117
4.1.3	Small Nominals in other languages	119
4.2	Functional architecture of the nominal domain in Uzbek	123
4.2.1	Internal ordering of nominal suffixes as a reflection of functional architecture	124
4.2.2	Bare nouns in complex predicate constructions	125
4.2.3	Bare nouns in complex predicate constructions are Small Nominals	130
4.2.4	Small Nominals and DPs as complements of attributivizers	131
4.3	Arguments for fully projected KP in Uzbek	136
4.3.1	Possessors with and without genitive	144
4.3.1.1	Possessors without genitive – Izofa-2	146
4.3.1.2	Genitive marked possessors – Izofa-3	149
4.3.2	Differential Object Marking and referential properties of Uzbek nominal expressions	156
4.3.2.1	(In)definites and case	157
4.3.2.2	Differential Object Marking in Uzbek	159
4.4	Summary	165

CHAPTER 5	
Conclusion	167
References	169
Name index	179
Subject index	181





# List of tables

## CHAPTER 1

Table 1.1	Possessive, finite, converbial and pronominal agreement suffixes in Uzbek	11
Table 1.2	The Uzbek verb <i>qilmoq</i> 'to do' in the simple past	11
Table 1.3	Uzbek pronominal agreement suffixes on a non-verbal predicate, <i>talaba</i> 'student'	11
Table 1.4	Possessive paradigm	12
Table 1.5	The Uzbek verb <i>qilmoq</i> 'to do' in the present tense	12
Table 1.6	Case paradigm	16
Table 1.7	Demonstrative pronouns	27
Table 1.8	Personal pronouns	28
Table 1.9	Reflexive pronouns	28
Table 1.10	Interrogative pronouns	29

## CHAPTER 3

Table 3.1	Case and Number on Demonstrative Pronouns	99
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## CHAPTER 4

Table 4.1	Agreeing vs. non-agreeing subjects in Russian	116
Table 4.2	Nominal and verbal agreement paradigm	142



# List of abbreviations

A(P)	Adjective (Phrase)
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
Agr(P)	Agreement (Phrase)
AOR	Aorist
Arg	Argumental
Asp(P)	Aspect (Phrase)
ATTR	Attributivizer
AUX	Auxiliary
B/C/S	Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
Class(P)	Classifier Phrase
COMP	Complementizer
Conj(P)	Conjunction (Phrase)
COP	Copular
C(P)	Complementizer (Phrase)
CUM	cumulative
D(P)	Determiner (Phrase)
DAT	Dative
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
DIST	Distal
EXIST	Existential
FEM	Feminine Gender
Fin(P)	Finiteness (Phrase)
FN	Factive Nominalization
Foc(P)	Focus (Phrase)
FP	Functional Phrase
FUT	Future Tense
GEN	Genitive
INDEF	Indefinite
INF	Infinitive
Infl(P)	Inflection Phrase
INST	Instrumental Case
LBC	Left Branch Condition

LBE	Left Branch Extraction
LF	Logical Form
LOC	Locative
MASC	Masculine Gender
N(P)	Noun (Phrase)
NEG	Negative
NEU	Neuter
NFN	Non-factive nominalization
NMLZ	Nominalization
NOM	Nominative
Num(P)	Number Phrase
Obj	Object
OPT	Optative Mood
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive Voice
PDP	Parametrized DP-Hypothesis
Pred	Predicative
Perf	Perfective
PF	Phonological Form
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive / Possessor
PRES	Present Tense
PROX	Proximal
PST	Past
PTCP	Participle
Q(P)	Quantifier (Phrase)
RECP	Reciprocal Voice
SG	Singular
Spec	Specifier
Subj	Subject
Top(P)	Topic Phrase
T(P)	Tense Phrase
VN	Verbal Nominal
V(P)	Verb Phrase
XP	Maximal Projection

# Preface

This book investigates the internal structure of nominal expressions in Uzbek in the perspective of the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987), and justifies the view that the nominal domain in Uzbek can contain distinct functional projections above the lexical projection NP, including NumP, PossP, DP and KP. Given the ongoing debate involving opposing views on the structure of nominals in languages with and without the category of articles, Uzbek nominals represent a fertile ground to test the universality of the DP-hypothesis and to see whether it is possible to postulate functional layers in nominals of a language that does not have the category of definite articles. The research I have conducted allowed me to postulate several functional projections in Uzbek, among them DP, although Uzbek does not have a lexical item similar to the English definite article which is the most typical instantiation of the head D. In the chapters to follow, my primary objective is to investigate structural properties of Uzbek nominal expressions with the aim of contributing to this debate and to a better understanding of the structure of noun phrases in general, indicating the syntactic variation in this domain, and checking the validity of the DP-based hypotheses from the perspective of languages without articles.

My research on the syntax of nominal expressions originates from my previous works for which I am deeply grateful to a great many people. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Nadira Aljović for her insightful comments that incited me to view my research from various perspectives. My special thanks go to Nedžad Leko for offering me the most valuable support and for sharing his evaluative touch about my research.

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patience and support, and my sons Halid and Berkay for their unconditional love and for understanding me at times I was very busy with work. This book is dedicated to my family and all of my friends whose names I cannot mention due to space constraints.

## Introduction

This book presents a comprehensive investigation of nominal expressions in languages which lack the category of articles. It aims to present the inventory of functional categories in the nominal domain by analyzing the internal elements of nominal expressions and their semantic and morpho-syntactic properties. The main objective of this study is to argue for the existence of a layered functional structure of nominals, and the presence of, among other functional projections, the DP projection in languages that do not have articles.

In the perspective of the DP hypothesis, proposed by Abney (1987), the main difference between English and Uzbek is that the latter does not have the category of article(s) and allows the use of bare noun arguments in singular and plural. Thus, English noun phrases, as well as noun phrases in other languages with articles, have been analysed as involving a functional determiner head (D) selecting a noun phrase (NP) as its complement: [<sub>DP</sub> *the* [<sub>NP</sub> *house*]]. This implies that noun phrases in English are not maximally NPs, but rather DPs. The question of what noun phrases are in languages without articles has been a subject of much debate ever since Abney (1987). This debate has produced two opposite views. According to some scholars (e.g., Progovac, 1998; Leko, 1999; Rutkowski, 2002; Bašić, 2004; Pereltsvaig, 2007; Kornfilt, 1995, 2003), noun phrases are universally DPs (Universal DP-hypothesis), while others (e.g., Zlatić, 1998; Trenkić, 2004; Bošković, 2008, 2009, 2012; Despić, 2011) maintain that languages without articles do not have the DP at all, and that their noun phrases are simple NPs (Parametrized DP-Hypothesis). The second view has emerged as a result of the view, where this parametric variation is associated with the presence versus absence of overt articles in a given language.

My primary objective in this study is to investigate structural properties of Uzbek nominal expressions with the aim of contributing to this debate and to a better understanding of the structure of noun phrases in general, indicating syntactic variation in this domain, and checking the validity of the DP-based hypotheses from the perspective of languages without articles. The issues discussed include the internal hierarchy and the ordering of elements in Uzbek noun phrases, the status of Uzbek nominal inflections, with a special emphasis on the positioning of genitive possessors, as well as elements such as demonstratives, quantifiers, nominal



modifiers and adjectives within Uzbek noun phrases. Theoretically, the study contributes to the debate on the inventory of functional projections in the nominal domain in languages that lack articles. The study is mainly based on empirical evidence from Uzbek, which is then compared and contrasted to data from English, Romance languages with articles, Slavic and Turkic languages. The emphasis will also be given to the inventory of functional categories associated with interpretative meaning of nominal expressions, and how languages with articles and languages without articles elaborate various means to express this meaning in their syntax.

Furthermore, adopting the concept of Small Nominals (Pereltsvaig, 2006), the study argues for the existence of both fully projected nominals (KPs) and so-called Small Nominals, which may lack some or all functional projections. Thus, the study proposes that semantic and morphological properties of these nominals derive from their internal structure: the presence vs. absence of certain functional layers (notably DP and KP).

### 1.1 Outline of the book

The book is organized as follows. Section 1.2 presents a brief overview of the Uzbek syntax. It will discuss phenomena such as sentence structure, formation of interrogative and negative forms, head position, pro-drop, and word order. Furthermore, it will present a detailed discussion of Uzbek nominal expressions and elements that noun phrases may contain. With the purpose of describing the nominal inflection in Uzbek, this section discusses plural marking, possessive marking, and case marking on nominal expressions. It will describe fundamental morphological features of nominal expressions in Uzbek, an agglutinative language with various ways of expanding stems by adding many bound morphemes, which contribute to the expression of grammatical properties. Next, it will discuss the Genitive-Possessive constructions and outline their morphological and syntactic features. This section also introduces components of the nominal expressions, head elements and modifiers, such as adjectives, determiners, quantifiers, numerals and classifiers.

Chapter 2 discusses the most influential works associated with the structure of nominal expressions and outlines their implications for the Uzbek nominals. First I will discuss the Nominal Mapping Parameter (Chierchia, 1998), a semantic model which explores a cross-linguistic variation concerning the interpretation and distribution of bare nominals. Chierchia's Nominal Mapping Parameter predicts that bare nouns in different languages can be defined differently for the values of [argument] and [predicate], and these values express their potential to appear as arguments and/or predicates. Three possible types of bare nouns are

predicted to be [+arg, –pred], [–arg, +pred] and [+arg, +pred]. The importance of Chierchia’s proposal in connection with this study lies in the fact that it allows bare NPs to function as some kind of small nominal arguments (c.f. Stowell, 1991; Longobardi, 1994, 1996). Under this assumption, languages can vary with respect to what they “allow” their bare NPs to be, i.e., only arguments, only predicates, or both. I will discuss Uzbek data with respect to Chierchia’s proposal and show how Uzbek data fares with the Nominal Mapping Parameter.

Section 2.4 discusses the parameterized DP-hypothesis (Bošković, 2005, 2008), which establishes a series of systematic differences between languages with and without the category of articles. Building upon a number of works that develop non-universal-DP approaches to the structure of noun phrases (Fukui, 1988; Corver, 1992; Zlatić, 1997; Chierchia, 1998; Lyons, 1999; Willim, 2000 among others), Bošković proposes a DP/NP parameter. According to this parameter, a series of differences between languages with and without articles are explained due to the lack of the DP projection in languages without articles. Bošković argues for no-DP analysis and gives an extensive list of generalizations that distinguish between NP and DP languages, mainly pertaining to contrasts between Slavic languages with and without articles. With the purpose of checking Bošković’s generalizations, I will show how these generalizations fare with Uzbek data. Lastly, in the final section of the chapter, I will outline distinct DP-approaches to Slavic and Turkic languages, which assume that the DP layer is present in languages without articles as well, but the realization of the DP may show variation.

Chapter 3 focuses on the notion of definiteness and how it is realized in languages with and without the category of articles. The discussions include approaches that view the definite article as a quintessential occupant of the position D, and associate the category D with the definite article, or a structural position that assigns referentiality and argumenthood to its complement noun phrase. However, many languages lack the category of articles; yet they use other syntactic and semantic means to express definiteness/specificity. One such mechanism is case, and the interaction of case and referentiality is a well-attested phenomenon in many languages. In Uzbek, as well as in other Turkic languages, case morphology implies certain interpretations such as definiteness and specificity for noun phrases. The discussion about the interaction of case and referentiality in Uzbek will be given in the second part of this chapter. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss the category of demonstratives in Uzbek, which form a complex four-place system. It will illustrate that demonstratives can have deictic and anaphoric functions, and that their deictic nature shows variation according to the spatio-temporal relationship between the concerned entity and participants. The chapter will end with the positional analysis of demonstratives, and with the provisional hierarchical structure of Uzbek demonstratives within the noun phrase.

Chapter 4 will discuss the concept of Small Nominals (Pereltsvaig, 2006), and their cross-linguistic distribution. Building on the parallelism between the internal structure of clauses and noun phrases, Pereltsvaig (2006) introduces the notion of Small Nominals, and describes them as nominals which are not projected fully as DPs, but rather lack some or all functional layers. She draws a parallel between Small Nominals and Small Clauses, and argues that they both lack some or all functional projections. Namely, the former lack DP and the latter lack TP. Following Pereltsvaig's insights, I will show that some Uzbek nominals are Small Nominals, while others are fully projected nominals and contain DP and KP functional layers.

Moreover, based on the properties and distribution of genitive marked possessors and accusative marked objects in Uzbek, I will argue for an analysis positing a DP layer, with the head D hosting agreement marker. I will also show that the ordering of various nominal suffixes reflects a rich functional structure, involving not only a DP but also a projection of Number (NumP) and case (KP). Furthermore, I will show that a crucial semantic distinction between functionally rich nominal expressions and so-called Small Nominals correlates with referential properties of these structures. Specifically, fully projected nominals (containing Kase and Determiner projections) are specific and referential, while Small Nominals are non-specific and non-referential. I will propose a unified account to explain these arguments, which is based on the presence or absence of functional projections above NumP, including a DP projection.

Lastly, Chapter 5 will present a summary of the general findings of the study and draw conclusions.

## 1.2 Overview of the Uzbek syntax

Uzbek belongs to the family of Turkic languages including Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Kirghiz, Uygur, Sakha (also known as Yakut) and Chuvash. Uzbek is the official language of Republic of Uzbekistan, and spoken by more than 30 million native speakers living in Uzbekistan and other Central Asian countries. Uzbek belongs to Chagatai branch of Turkic language family and it has two main dialect groups, the southern and the northern dialects. Although various dialects of Uzbek are spoken in Uzbekistan, the norms of modern literary Uzbek have been established on the basis of Tashkent dialect for phonology and the Fergana dialect for morphology (Bodrogligeti, 2002). Uzbek has been influenced by languages such as Persian, Arabic and Russian, and has lost the typical Turkic feature of vowel harmony under the influence of Persian dialects. The literary language is uniform in all regions of Uzbekistan due to the advanced

educational system. The contemporary Uzbek alphabet is a Latin-based alphabet, which consists of 31 characters.

### 1.2.1 Head position

Uzbek shares certain morphological and syntactic properties with other Turkic languages. In like manner, Uzbek is a head-final language and all modifiers/specifiers always precede the head.

- (1) a. uzun qahraton bir qish  
 long severe a winter  
 ‘a long severe winter’  
 b. ancha sekin yuri-di  
 fairly slowly walk-PST  
 ‘(s/he) walked fairly slowly’

Head-final characteristic of the language is reflected in the unmarked SVO of the clause as well, where the verb is positioned at the end (2a). The unmarked word order is preserved in questions. The *wh*-phrase remains in its case-checking position and does not move to the sentence initial position (2b). Thus, languages like Uzbek that do not allow (overt) *wh*-movement are referred to as *wh*-in situ languages.

- (2) a. Keksa odam olma sot-di.  
 old man apple sell-PST  
 ‘(The) old man sold apples.’  
 b. Ali kim bilan gaplash-yap-ti?  
 Ali who with talk-PRES-3SG  
 ‘Who is Ali talking to?’

### 1.2.2 Pro-drop

Uzbek is a pro-drop language and it allows arguments to be dropped. The subject may be omitted if it is a pronoun. In cases of subject pro-drop, a finite verb with person and number agreement markers implies that there is a subject, which determines the verbal agreement.

- (3) a. Men kitob-lar-ni ol-di-m.  
 I book-PL-ACC take-PST-1SG  
 ‘I took the books.’  
 b. Kitob-lar-ni ol-dim.

In Uzbek, the subject of the matrix clause (4a), the subject of the complement clause (4b), as well as the (in)direct object (4c) may be dropped, i.e., the sentence may solely consist of a verb group.

- (4) a. Men sen ket-ding deb o'yla-dim.  
I you go-PST-2SG COMP think-PST-1SG
- b. Men [*pro* ket-di-ng deb] o'yla-di-m.  
I go-PST-2SG COMP think-PST-1SG  
'I thought that you left.'
- c. (Men) (uni) ko'r-di-m.  
(I) (him/her) see-PST-2SG  
'I saw him/her.'

In genitive marked possessive constructions, the pronominal possessor of the possessive noun may be omitted. This is because the pronominal possessor agrees with the possessed noun in person and number, a similar concordance we observed in the case of the subject and the verb agreement above (3–4).

- (5) a. Men-ing kitob-im  
I-GEN book-1SG.POSS  
'My book'
- b. kitob-im  
book-1SG.POSS

### 1.2.3 Free word order

Due to its rich morphological case marking, word order in Uzbek is quite flexible. Possible word order permutations are given in (6).

- (6) a. Ali bu kitob-ni Kamol-ga ber-di. -S DO IO V  
Ali this book-ACC Kamol-DAT give-PST.3SG  
'Ali gave this book to Kamol.'
- b. Ali Kamol-ga bu kitob-ni ber-di. -S IO DO V
- c. Bu kitob-ni Ali Kamol-ga ber-di. -DO S IO V
- d. Kamol-ga Ali bu kitob-ni ber-di. -IO S DO V
- e. Bu kitob-ni Kamol-ga Ali ber-di. -DO IO S V
- f. Kamol-ga bu kitob-ni Ali ber-di. -IO DO S V
- g. Ali bu kitob-ni ber-di Kamol-ga. -S DO V IO
- h. Bu kitob-ni Ali ber-di Kamol-ga. -DO S V IO
- i. Ali Kamol-ga ber-di bu kitob-ni. -S IO V DO
- j. Kamol-ga Ali ber-di bu kitob-ni. -IO S V DO
- k. Bu kitob-ni Kamol-ga ber-di Ali. -DO IO V S
- l. Kamol-ga bu kitob-ni ber-di Ali. -IO DO V S
- m. Ali ber-di bu kitob-ni Kamol-ga. -S V DO IO
- n. Ali ber-di Kamol-ga bu kitob-ni. -S V IO DO
- o. Bu kitob-ni ber-di Ali Kamol-ga. -DO V S IO
- p. Bu kitob-ni ber-di Kamol-ga Ali. -DO V IO S
- r. Kamol-ga ber-di Ali bu kitob-ni. -IO V S DO
- s. Kamol-ga ber-di bu kitob-ni Ali. -IO V DO S

In Uzbek, a phrase can be scrambled to a position before the subject, or to a post-verbal position. Following Taylan's (1984) tripartite structuring, we can mark sentence initial constituents as topic, immediately preverbal constituents as focus, and post-verbal constituents as background in Uzbek. These variations in word order are subject to different discourse interpretational effects, as shown in (7) below:

- (7) a. Men kitob-ni bola-dan ol-di-m.  
I book-ACC boy-ABL take-PST-1SG  
'I took the book from the boy.'
- b. Men bola-dan kitob-ni ol-di-m.  
I boy-ABL book-ACC take-PST-1SG  
'It is the book I took from the boy.'
- c. Kitob-ni men ol-di-m bola-dan.  
book-ACC I take-PST-1SG boy-ABL  
'It is I who took the book from the boy.'
- d. Ol-di-m kitob-ni bola-dan.  
take-PST-1SG book-ACC boy-ABL  
'I did take the book from the boy.'

If the object is not marked for case, it must occupy the immediately pre-verbal position<sup>1</sup> (8).

- (8) a. Bola-lar kitob o'qi-yap-ti.  
child-PL book read-PRS-3PL  
'Children are reading book(s).'
- b. \*Kitob bolalar o'qiyapti.

#### 1.2.4 Interrogative sentence formation

Yes/no questions in Uzbek are formed by attaching the particle *-mi* to the predicate/verb and it takes scope over the whole sentence. The particle follows both the tense suffix (9a) and the subject agreement marker (9b):

- (9) a. Kamol maktab-ga bor-di-mi?  
Kamol school-DAT go-PST-Q  
'Did Kamol go to school?'
- b. Ertaga maktab-ga bor-a-san-mi?  
tomorrow school-DAT go-FUT-2SG-Q  
'Will you go to school tomorrow?'

---

1. Refer to Chapter 4 for the discussion of syntactic and semantic differences between case marked and unmarked objects.

Alternative questions are made of two questions with contradictory predicates (10a) or with antonyms of predicates (10b).

- (10) a. Kamol maktab-ga bor-di-mi, bor-ma-di-mi?  
 Kamol school-DAT go-PST-Q go-NEG-PST-Q  
 ‘Did Kamol go to school or didn’t he?’
- b. Ali novcha-mi, pakana-mi?  
 Ali tall-Q short-Q  
 ‘Is Ali tall or short?’

Uzbek has a group of question words that are similar to English “*wh*-words”, and the most unmarked position for them is to the immediate left of the verb. However, another alternative can be to leave them in their original position (e.g., subjects in sentence initial position).

- (11) a. Bu olma-ni kim ol-di?  
 this apple-ACC who take-PST  
 ‘Who took this apple?’
- b. Kim bu olma-ni ol-di?  
 who this apple-ACC take-PST  
 ‘Who took this apple?’
- (12) Hasan nima-ni ol-di? - Object Question  
 Hasan what-ACC take-PST  
 ‘What did Hasan take?’
- (13) (bola-lar tomonidan) nima yoz -il -di? - Subject in passive  
 child-PL by what write-PASS-PST  
 ‘What was written (by children)?’
- (14) Ali nega/nima uchun kel-di? - Adverbs  
 Ali why/why come-PST  
 ‘Why did Ali come?’

### 1.2.5 Negation

In order to mark negation in sentences with verbal predicates, the negation suffix *-ma* is attached to the verbal root. The negation suffix *-ma* precedes the primary tense suffix, but it follows suffixes that mark the passives, reflexives, reciprocals and causatives.

- (15) a. Ali olma-ni ye-**ma**-di.  
 Ali apple-ACC eat-NEG-PST  
 ‘Ali did not eat the apple.’
- b. Olma-lar ye-yil-**ma**-di.  
 apple-PL eat-PASS-NEG-PST  
 ‘Apples were not eaten.’

- c. Bola-lar bir biri-ni ko'r-ish-**ma**-di.  
 child-PL each other-ACC see-RECP-NEG-PST  
 'Children did not see each other.'

In copular sentences negation is marked with the help of negative copula *emas*, a free morpheme to which subject agreement suffixes for the present tense can be attached.

- (16) a. (men) talaba emas -man  
 I student NEG.COP -1SG  
 'I am not a student.'
- b. (sen) sodiq emas -san  
 you faithful NEG.COP -2SG  
 'You are not faithful.'

Constituent negation is expressed by placing the negative copula *emas* after the constituent to be negated, which is then followed by the corresponding affirmative constituent.

- (17) Men bugun ish-ga emas bozor-ga bor-di-m.  
 I today work-DAT NEG.COP market-DAT go-PST-1SG  
 'I did not go to work today, (but) to the market.'

### 1.3 The Uzbek noun phrase

The purpose of this section is to present morphological and syntactic properties of Uzbek nominal phrases and elements that can be found in them: nominal inflections, the genitive-possessive constructions, elements of the Uzbek nominal structure, heads and modifiers, which include adjectives, determiners and numerals.

#### 1.3.1 Nominal inflections

Uzbek, like other Turkic languages, is an agglutinating language. This implies that these languages attach various bound morphemes to stems, which results in word formations and the expression of grammatical properties. The agglutinating nature of Turkic languages implies transparency in regular structures and makes it possible to easily identify and/or decompose the morphemes. It is a characteristic feature of Turkic languages to use morphological tools economically and avoid redundancy (Johanson, 1998). There is a nominal and verbal agreement paradigm and 3rd person singular forms are often unmarked. The order of suffixes is subject to rigid rules, and suffixes form distributional classes with respect to their ability to occur in relative positions within the word and their approximate distance to the stem. Suffixes, which modify the primary stem directly, are found immediately



after the stem, i.e., derivational suffixes precede inflectional suffixes. Each suffix added to the stem modifies the whole preceding stem.

- (18) a. *uy-lar-imiz-da* (Uzbek)  
 house-PL-1PL-LOC  
 ‘in our houses’
- b. *üy-lör-öm-dö* (Kirghiz)  
 house-PL-1SG-LOC  
 ‘in my houses’
- c. *iş-ler-i-ni* (Turkish)  
 affair-PL-3SG-ACC  
 ‘his/her affairs’

Every noun can be inflected for three features: number, possession and case. Number has two values: singular and plural, and the plural value is marked with the suffix *-lar*, the singular is unmarked. Unlike Turkish or other Turkic languages, Uzbek does not exhibit vowel harmony, and the only realization of the plural form is the suffix *-lar*.

So-called possessive suffixes indicate the person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) and the number (singular or plural) of the possessor. In fact, the suffix expresses agreement with the possessor nominal (placed before the head noun) in person and number. The order in which Uzbek nominal inflection suffixes appear on the stem is ‘number-possessive agreement-case’:

- (19) a. *bola-lar* -NUMBER  
 child-PL  
 ‘children’
- b. *sen-ing bola-ng* -POSSESSIVE AGREEMENT  
 you-GEN child-2SG.POSS  
 ‘your child’
- c. *bola-ga* - CASE  
 child-DAT  
 ‘to the child’

The number, possessive agreement and case suffixes can combine all in the same noun in this particular order, as in (20):

- (20) *bola -lar -ing -ga*  
 child -PL -2SG.POSS -DAT  
*bola NUMBER POSSESSION CASE*  
 ‘to your children’

There are four classes of agreement suffixes in Uzbek: possessive, pronominal, converbial, and finite (Gribanova, 2013, p. 7). These agreement suffixes are demonstrated in the Table 1.1 below:

**Table 1.1** Possessive, finite, converbial and pronominal agreement suffixes in Uzbek

	FIN		POSS		PRON		CONV	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	-m	-k	-(i)m	-(i)miz	-man	-miz	-man	-miz
2(formal)	-ngiz	-ngiz	-(i)ngiz	-(i)ngiz	-siz	-siz(lar)	-siz	-siz(lar)
2(informal)	-ngiz	-ngiz	-(i)ng	-(i)ngiz	-san	-siz(lar)	-san	-siz(lar)
3	∅	∅, -lar	-(i)i	-(s)i, -lari	∅	∅, -lar	-di	-di(lar)

The finite class of suffixes is used to express agreement with the subject in person and number of finite and purely verbal elements, such as verbs in conditional or simple past environments (Straughn, 2011). The Finite verb paradigm for the simple past tense of the verb *qilmoq* ‘to do’ is given in Table 1.2. The past tense suffix is *-di* and it is attached to the verb base (i.e., before the finite verb agreement suffix).

**Table 1.2** The Uzbek verb *qilmoq* ‘to do’ in the simple past

FINITE	SG	PL
1	qil-di-m	qil-di-k
2(formal)	qil-di-ngiz	qil-di-ngiz
2(informal)	qil-di-ng	qil-di-ngiz
3	qil-di-∅	qil-di-∅, qil-di-lar

The pronominal paradigm, so called because it morphologically resembles Uzbek pronouns, appears on non-verbal predicates: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, existentials, and deontics (Straughn, 2011), and expresses agreement with the subject in person and number. The pronominal paradigm is given in the Table 1.3.

**Table 1.3** Uzbek pronominal agreement suffixes on a non-verbal predicate, *talaba* ‘student’

PRONOMINAL	SG	PL
1	talaba-man ‘I am a student’	talaba-miz ‘We are students’
2(formal)	talaba-siz ‘You’re a student’	talaba-siz(-lar) ‘You are students’
2(informal)	talaba-san ‘You’re a student’	talaba-siz(-lar) ‘You are students’
3	talaba-∅ ‘He/she is a student’	talaba-∅(-lar) ‘They are students’

The possessive class of suffixes is similar to the finite class, but not identical morphologically. This class is in complementary distribution with the finite class. Namely, possessive suffixes only appear in the nominal and non-finite verbal

domains such as in possessive agreement and nominalized embedded clauses (Gribanova, 2013). While the finite class of suffixes appear only with finite and purely verbal elements, exactly in those contexts where the possessive agreement suffixes cannot appear. The possessive paradigm is given in Table 1.4 below:

**Table 1.4** Possessive paradigm

POSSESSIVE	SG	PL
1	kitob-im ‘my book’	kitob-imiz ‘our book’
2(formal)	kitob-ingiz ‘your book’	kitob-ingiz ‘your book’
2(informal)	kitob-ing ‘your book’	kitob-ingiz ‘your book’
3	kitob-i ‘his/her book’	kitob-lari ‘their book’

Lastly, the converbial class is almost identical to the pronominal class, with the exception of the third person inflection. Among other uses, the converbial class suffixes appear in the imperfective present/near future tense (Gribanova, 2013), and express subject-verb agreement. The converbial paradigm is given in the Table 1.5 below (the present/near future suffix *-a* appears closer to the verb base than the converbial agreement suffix).

**Table 1.5** The Uzbek verb *qilmoq* ‘to do’ in the present tense

CONVERBIAL	SG	PL
1	qil-a-man	qil-a-miz
2(formal)	qil-a-siz	qil-a-siz(-lar)
2(informal)	qil-a-san	qil-a-siz(-lar)
3	qil-a-di	qil-a-di(-lar)

### 1.3.1.1 Plural suffix *-lar*

The suffix *-lar* is used primarily to indicate nominal plurality and a noun with this suffix means ‘more than one N’.

- (21) a. bola-*lar*  
 child-PL  
 ‘children’
- b. kitob-*lar*  
 book-PL  
 ‘books’

The grammatical distinction between count and mass nouns is not clear in Uzbek. According to Beckwith (1998), Uzbek requires that nouns be specified in order

to be counted. However, nouns denoting non-discrete entities such as *suv* ‘water’ *havo* ‘air’, *musiqā* ‘music’ cannot be combined with the plural suffix *-lar*.

- (22) a. *Suv ich-di-m.*  
 water drink-PST-1SG  
 ‘I drank water.’  
 b. \**Suv-lar ich-di-m.*  
 water-PL drink-PST-1SG

When plurality is expressed by numerals and other quantifiers, the plural suffix *-lar* is excluded:<sup>2</sup>

- (23) a. *ikki kitob*  
 two book  
 ‘two books’  
 b. *bir necha olma*  
 a few apple  
 ‘a few apples’  
 c. \**ikki kitob-lar*  
 d. \**bir necha olma-lar*

Plural suffix *-lar* can also be attached to demonstratives (24a) and interrogative pronouns (24b) to form plural demonstratives and plural interrogative pronouns:

- (24) a. *bu-lar/ shu-lar*  
 this-PL/ that-PL  
 ‘these/those’  
 b. *kim-lar/ nima-lar*  
 who-PL/ what-PL  
 ‘who/what’ (referring to more than one person/thing)

The plural suffix *-lar* is homonymous with the honorific suffix *-lar*, which is used to express respect for somebody who is older or in a superior position than the speaker. That the two *-lar* suffixes are indeed distinct is clearly shown by their distinct positions with respect to other nominal inflections. Namely, the possessive suffix precedes the honorific suffix *-lar*, but follows the plural *-lar*. Consider the Examples (25a–b) below:

- (25) a. *opa -m -lar* (HONORIFIC)  
 sister -1SG.POSS. -PL  
 ‘my sister’

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2. More details about the use of *-lar* will be discussed in Chapter 2.

- b. opa *-lar* -im (PLURAL)  
 sister -PL -1SG.POSS  
 ‘my sisters’

A noun in Uzbek does not have to be marked plural to receive a plural interpretation. Under special circumstances (when functioning as an object and interpreted as non-specific), an unmarked noun can be unspecified for number, as in (26) below:

- (26) a. Olma ol-di-m.  
 apple buy-PST-1SG  
 ‘I bought an apple/apples.’  
 b. Ali kitob o‘qi-di.  
 Ali book read-PST  
 ‘Ali read a book/books.’

### 1.3.1.2 Possessive suffix

The possessive suffix encodes grammatical features of person and number reflecting the same features of the possessor (which can be covert or overt). In this sense, the possessive suffix can be viewed as an agreement suffix, copying the features of the possessor. The possessor generally corresponds to English possessive determiners or genitive nouns, but also to *of*-phrases. This is shown in (27) below:

- (27) a. Ali-ning uy-i  
 Ali-GEN house-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Ali’s house’  
 b. ular-ning uy-lari  
 they-GEN house-3PL.POSS  
 ‘their houses’  
 c. men-ing bir do‘st-im  
 I-GEN one friend-1SG.POSS  
 ‘a friend of mine’

The possessor can be a simple pronoun, noun, or a complex nominal expression (as in 28a-c) which can contain another embedded genitive possessor; the possessive agreement inflection appears on the ‘possessee’, i.e., on the head noun, interpreted as the entity possessed.

- (28) a. [xona-ning eshig-i]-ning qo‘l-i  
 room-GEN door-3SG-GEN handle-3SG  
 ‘the handle of the room’s door’  
 b. [Ali-ning do‘st-i]-ning kitob-i  
 Ali-GEN friend-3SG-GEN book-3SG  
 ‘a book of Ali’s friend’s’

- c. [men-*ing* do'st-im]-*ning* kitob-*i*  
 I-GEN friend-1SG-GEN book-3SG  
 'my friend's book'

Possessive suffixes are followed by case suffixes, as in (29). Note that in (25) they are not followed by any visible case inflection, and as such correspond to Nominative forms (see Section 1.3.1.3 below).

- (29) a. uy-*im-da*  
 house-1SG-LOC  
 'in my house'
- b. kitob-*ing-dan*  
 book-2SG-ABL  
 'from your book'
- c. uy-*i-ga*  
 house-3SG-DAT  
 'to his/her house'

The 3rd person singular possession marker *-(s)i* has a number of functions in addition to the regular functions it shares with other possessive suffixes:

i. it marks the head in compound nouns:

- (30) to'y marosim-*i*  
 wedding ceremony-3SG  
 'a/the wedding ceremony'

ii. it marks the head in partitive constructions:

- (31) bola-lar-dan ikki-*si*  
 child-PL-ABL two-3SG  
 'two of the boys'

iii. it forms pronominals from various word classes:

- (32) a. ichkari-*si*  
 inside-3SG  
 'the inside'
- b. yangi-*si*  
 new-3SG  
 'the new one'
- c. hamma-*si*  
 all-3SG  
 'all of them'

iv. it appears on the head noun in *Izofa-2* constructions<sup>3</sup> (possessive-modifying constructions without genitive marking):

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3. *Izofa-2* and *Izofa-3* possessive constructions will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

- (33) a. cho'l bitki-*si*  
 desert plant-3SG  
 'desert plant'
- b. bola-lar bog'cha-*si*  
 child-PL park-3SG  
 'children's park'

### 1.3.1.3 Case

In Uzbek, singular and plural nouns decline in six cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Locative and Ablative. Uzbek, like other Turkic languages, does not have inflectional classes of nouns (like gender classes in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Italian, etc.). This means that the same set of case suffixes can appear indiscriminately on all Uzbek nouns. Morphologically visible case marking exists for Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Locative and Ablative. The Nominative case is not morphologically overt. Each case is expressed with a distinct morphological suffix, i.e., there are no syncretic case markings. The function of case marking (or its absence) is to express the relationship between the nominal phrase to which it is attached and other constituents of the clause/sentence.

The case paradigm is shown in Table 1.6 below:

Table 1.6 Case paradigm

1. Nominative	Økitob	'book'
2. Accusative -ni	kitob-ni	'(the) book' (definite)
3. Genitive -ning	kitob-ning	'of (the) book' (of, belonging to)
4. Dative -ga	kitob-ga	'to (the) book' (to, into, towards)
5. Locative -da	kitob-da	'in (the) book' (in, at, on, by, with)
6. Ablative -dan	kitob-dan	'from (the) book (from, because of)

As seen in the Table 1.6, the Nominative case does not have an overt case morpheme, and it is a default subject case (Kornfilt, 1986). Nominative case marked noun phrases can function as one of the items listed below (the italicized elements in translations correspond to the boldfaced Nominative nominals in the examples):

- i. The subject of a finite verb in main or subordinate clauses

- (34) **Bola-lar-Ø** uxla-di.  
 child-PL sleep-PST  
 'The children slept.'

- (35) [Hamma kir-sin deb] eshik-ni och-di-m.  
 everyone enter-OPT.3SG COMP door-ACC open-PST-1SG  
 'I opened the door so that *everyone* could enter.'

ii. A subject complement (the present copula is invisible in Uzbek as in other Turkic languages)

- (36) Kamol-ning uka-si me'mor.  
 Kamol-GEN brother-3SG architect  
 'Kamol's brother is an architect.'

iii. A non-definite/non-specific or categorial **direct object**:<sup>4</sup>

- (37) Bu mavzu-da kitob(lar) yoz-di.  
 this subject-LOC book-PL write-PAST-3SG  
 'He wrote *books* on this subject.'

It is important to note here that traditional grammars view case unmarked direct objects in (37) as nominative. However, this study does not favor this traditional view because it goes against the differential object case marking view according to which overt versus covert morphological case marking in Turkic languages correlates with specific and non-specific readings. Under the traditional assumption that non-specific objects are nominative forms, the question then arises as to why they are obligatorily non-specific. Therefore, this study adopts the view that case of Small Nominals could be assumed to be a type of inherent/weak case in the sense of Beletti (1998) and de Hoop (1996). However, there have been proposals that certain nominal expressions can remain "caseless" without violating the Case Filter (Massam, 2001; Baker & Vinokurova, 2010; Pereltsvaig & Lyutikova, 2014; Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015). The consequence of such a view would be to postulate that these structurally poorer nominals have certain deficiency, both syntactic and semantic, such as narrow scope of case unmarked nominals in Uzbek. I will assume here, together with Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015), that Uzbek deficient nominals can remain caseless, and that this correlates with their distributional and semantic deficiency.

iv. The **complement** of certain postpositions (e.g. *uchun* 'for', *bilan* 'with', *kabi* 'like'):

- (38) a. Hamma narsa [vatan uchun]!  
 everything motherland for  
 'Everything is for motherland!'

---

4. The case marking of direct objects and their interpretation, as well as the link between the nominal functional structure and case morphology will be discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 4.



- b. [Qalam bilan] yoz-di-m.  
pencil with write-PST-1SG  
'I wrote with pencil.'

The Accusative case serves to indicate the direct object of a transitive verb. Overt accusative marking is obligatory if the object NP is interpreted as specific. Contrarily, when the accusative case marking is absent, the object is obligatorily interpreted as non-specific (Enç, 1991). This distinction for Uzbek is shown in (39 a–b):

- (39) a. Ali kitob-ni o'qi-di.  
Ali book-ACC read-PST  
'Ali read the book.'
- b. Ali kitob o'qi-di.  
Ali book read-PST  
'Ali read a book/books.'

If the direct object refers to a member or members of a group previously mentioned or implied, the object will be marked accusative (40). The accusative marked object can imply specific indefinite reference when another indefinite determiner is present.

- (40) Tokcha-da kitob-lar bor e-di.      Ikki kitob-ni oldim.  
shelf-LOC book-PL EXISTCOP-PAST two book-ACC take-PAST  
'There were books on the shelf. I took two [of the] books.'

The case marking of the object in (40) correlates with the interpretation of the sentence, i.e., the two books are included in the set established by the preceding utterance.

In Uzbek, there are two determiners that are equivalent to English 'some'; namely, *bir necha* and *ba'zi*. Although their contribution to the truth condition is the same, these two determiners show variation with respect to specificity meaning. The similarity between Uzbek *bir necha* and English 'some' lies in the fact that they can be used with either specific or non-specific meaning. Therefore, the accusative case is optional with *bir necha* (41). In contrast, *ba'zi* is always specific (always means 'some of the'), and the lack of case morphology on the noun it introduces results in ungrammaticality, as shown in (41b) below:

- (41) a. Ali Kamol-ga *bir necha* kitob-*ni* ber-di.  
Ali Kamol-DAT some book-ACC give-PST  
'Ali gave some of the books to Kamol.'
- b. Ali Kamol-ga *bir necha* kitob ber-di.  
Ali Kamol-DAT some book give-PST  
'To Kamol Ali gave some books or other.'

- (42) a. *Ba'zi kitob-lar-ni* bu tokcha-ga qo'y-di-m.  
 some book-PL-ACC this shelf-DAT put-PAST-1SG  
 'I put some of the books on this shelf.'
- b. \**Ba'zi kitob-lar* bu tokcha-ga qo'y-di-m.  
 some book-PL this shelf-DAT put-PAST-1SG  
 Intended: 'I put some of the books on this shelf.'

The Dative case is used to mark an indirect object interpreted as a beneficiary (43a). In addition, the dative case appears in adjunct noun phrases interpreted as the destination (43b) or target of an action (43c).

- (43) a. *Ali-ga* kitob ber-di-m.  
 Ali-DAT book give-PST-1SG  
 'I gave a book/books to Ali.'
- b. U *Toshkent-ga* jo'na-di.  
 s/he Toshkent-DAT leave.for-PAST  
 'S/he left for Tashkent.'
- c. *Piyola-ga*<sup>5</sup> choy quy-di-m.  
 cup-DAT tea pour-PST-1SG  
 'I poured tea into the cup.'

Nominalized clauses with dative case marking can be used as adverbials expressing purpose, as in (44).

- (44) [*Sen-i ol-ish*]-ga kel-di-m.  
 you-ACCtake-NMLZ-DAT come-PAST-1SG  
 'I came to take you.'

In Uzbek, postpositions assign case to their nominal complements. The Dative case is assigned by certain postpositions such as *qarab* 'towards', or *qadar* 'until' (45a), and by some adjectives such as *munosib* or *loyiq* 'suitable' (45b).

- (45) a. Dilbar [*maktab-ga qarab*] yo'l ol-di.  
 Dilbar school-DAT towards road take-PST  
 'Dilbar went towards the school.'
- b. Dilbar [*maqtov-ga loyiq*] ish qil-di.  
 Dilbar praise-DAT worth job do-PST  
 'Dilbar did a praiseworthy job.'

The Locative case is used to express physical or abstract location. A locative marked nominal phrase can serve as a time or place adverbial.

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5. Piyola is a special cup used to drink tea in Central Asian region.

- (46) a. Kamola **universitet-da** ish-lay-di.  
Kamola university-LOC work-PRES-3SG  
'Kamola works at (the) university.'
- b. O'sha **kun-lar-da** ahvol og'ir e-di.  
DEM day-PL-LOC situation difficult COP-PST  
'At that time the situation was difficult.'

The Locative case marking can also be used in compound adjectival modifiers within a larger nominal phrase, expressing some kind of attribute, such as size, shape, color, name or age.

- (47) a. [**besh metr uzun-ligi**]-da bir ilon  
five meter long-ADJ-LOC a snake  
'a snake five meters long'
- b. **ellik yosh-lar-da** bir ayol  
fifty age-PL-LOC a woman  
'a woman around fifty years old'

The Ablative case appears in nominals functioning as adverbials that denote concepts such as departure, separation, source, or cause.

- (48) a. Kamol **uy-dan** chiq-di.  
Kamol house-ABL leave-PST  
'Kamol left the house.'
- b. Siz **Buxoro-dan** e-di-ngiz.  
you Bukhara-ABL COP-PST-2SG  
'You were from Bukhara.'
- c. Biz **siz-dan** pul ol-a-miz.  
we you-ABL money take-PRS-2SG  
'We take money from you.'
- d. Bola **it-dan** qo'rq-di.  
child dog-ABL be.afraid-PST  
'The child was afraid of the dog.'

The Ablative case is a central element in comparative constructions. It can appear in a correlative relation with the suffix *-roq* 'more' (49a) or in some cases without it (49b).

- (49) a. Choy **qahva-dan** qimmat-roq.  
tea coffee-ABL expensive-more  
'Tea is more expensive than coffee.'
- b. **bol-dan** shirin  
honey-ABL sweet  
'sweeter than honey'

The Ablative case is also assigned by certain postpositions such as *oldin* ‘before’, *keyin* ‘after’ and *boshqa* ‘other than’ (50):

- (50) a. [Dars-dan keyin] hamma ket-di.  
class-ABL after everyone leave-PST  
‘Everybody left after class(es).’
- b. [Sen-dan boshqa] hech kim bil-ma-ydi.  
you-ABL other no who know-NEG-PRS  
‘Nobody other than you knows (it).’

An ablative case marked nominal phrase can function as a complement of a numeral in partitive constructions.

- (51) a. [O’rtoq-lar-im-dan bir-i] kel-di.  
friend-PL-1SG-ABL one-3SG come-PAST  
‘One of my friends came.’
- b. [Olma-lar-dan ikki-si] qizil.  
apple-PL-ABL two-3SG red  
‘Two of the apples are red.’

The Genitive case serves to mark the possessor. This is observed in (52a) where the genitive-marked nominal phrase is functioning as a possessor in so-called genitive-possessive construction. The genitive-possessive nominal in (52b) is used as the subject of an existential clause with the existential verb *bor* corresponding to the English verb ‘have’. The bold faced nominals in (52) are embedded in the genitive-possessive constructions and they function as modifiers of the head noun while being interpreted as possessors.

- (52) a. **Bu bola-ning** kitob-i qani?  
this boy-GEN book-3SG where  
‘Where is this boy’s book?’
- b. **Ali-ning** ikki opa-si bor.  
Ali-GEN two sister-3SG EXIST  
Lit: ‘There are two Ali’s sisters.’  
‘Ali has two sisters.’

Another very important function of the Genitive case is to mark the subject of non-finite clauses and certain types of relative clauses (Kornfilt, 1996; Gribanova, 2016).

- (53) a. [Ali-ning kel-ish-i]-ni istayman.  
Ali-GEN come-NMLZ-3SG-ACC want-PRS1SG  
‘I want [Ali to come].’

- b. [Siz-ning ayt -gan -lar -ing -iz] -ni eshit -di -m.  
 YOU-GEN say -PART -PL- 2PL.POSS-ACC heard-PST-1SG  
 ‘I heard [what you said].’

According to Kornfilt (2008, 2009), Genitive is a “differential” case marker of non-finite clause subjects in Turkish, Uyghur and in other related Turkic languages. The Genitive case indicates that the subject should receive a specific interpretation. Gribanova (2016) attests that genitive subjects in Uzbek appear in non-finite clauses and are differentially case marked. Specifically, non-specific subjects are not marked for Genitive, while specific subjects are marked genitive in non-finite clauses.<sup>6</sup> This is shown in (54) below:

- (54) Men **qiz-(ning)** bu kitob-ni  
 I girl-GEN this book-ACC  
 o’qi -gan -lig -i -ni bil -a -man.  
 read-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-3SG-ACC know-PRS-1SG  
 ‘I know that the girl read this book.’
- (55) Men bu kitob-ni, **qiz** (\*-ning) o’qi -gan -lig -i -ni bil  
 I this book-ACC girl-GEN read-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-3SG-ACC know  
 -a -man.  
 -PRS -1SG  
 ‘I know that a girl read this book.’

Gribanova (2016) observes that the availability of the genitive case depends on two factors: (1) on the low vs. high position within the embedded nominalized clause itself, and (2) on the external distribution of the clause containing the embedded subject. When these nominalized clauses function as arguments of nouns or verbs, they may have genitive subjects, and when they function as adverbials, they may not.<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, case suffixes occur with personal pronouns (56) and demonstrative pronouns (57). In case demonstrative pronouns<sup>8</sup> are in the plural form, the case suffix follows the plural suffix, i.e., the order of suffixes is the same as with nouns and other nominal phrases.

- (56) a. **men-ing** kitob-im  
 I-GEN book-1SG  
 ‘my book’

6. A detailed discussion of Gribanova (2016) and Uzbek genitive subjects will be provided in Chapter 3.

7. Details of this phenomenon will be discussed in Chapter 3.

8. Forms and functions of demonstratives will be presented in detail in Chapter 3.

- b. **u-ning** kitob-i  
s/he-GEN book-3SG  
'her/his book'
- c. Kitob-ni **sen-ga** ber-di-m.  
book-ACC you-DAT give-PST-1SG  
'I gave the book to you.'
- d. **Biz-dan** savol so'ra-di.  
we-ABL question ask-3SG  
'S/he asked us a question/questions.'
- (57) a. **Bu-ni** ista-y-man.  
this-ACC want-PRES-1SG  
'I want this (one).'
- b. **Shu-lar-ga** qara-di-k.  
that-PL-DAT look-PST-1PL  
'We looked at those.'

### 1.3.2 The genitive-possessive constructions

The genitive-possessive construction<sup>9</sup> is a composite phrase, which is made up of two noun phrases, i.e., one genitive embedded into another in the following way (58):

- (58) [<sub>KP</sub> [<sub>KP</sub> ...-Genitive] ...Noun- ...Case].

The first noun phrase bears the genitive case suffix, functions as a (prenominal) modifier-like element and denotes the possessor. The head noun carries an agreement marker expressing the person and number features of the genitive possessor (this agreement relation is the reason why the suffix is often referred to as a 'possessive' suffix; see the possessive paradigm in Table 1.4 above) and functions as the head of the composite structure, denoting the entity which is possessed (59):

- (59) a. [[Kamola-ning] oyi-si]  
Kamola-GEN mother-3SG  
'Kamola's mother'
- b. [[uy-ning] darvoza-si]  
house-GEN gate-3SG  
'the gate of the house'

---

9. I will discuss the detailed internal structure of this construction in Chapter 4, where I will also show their functional architecture. I will refer to these constructions as 'izofa-3', for the reasons that will become clear in Chapter 4.

Any case marking necessary to indicate the relation of the composite phrase to other constituents (e.g. object of a verb, adverbial) is attached to the head noun of the genitive-possessive construction, already featuring the possessive paradigm agreement suffix, as shown in (60):

- (60) Bu kitob-ni [Ali-ning do'st-i-dan] ol-di-m.  
 this book-ACC Ali-GEN friend-3SG-ABL take-PST-1SG  
 'I took this book **from** Ali's friend.'

The genitive-possessive construction can be embedded in a larger genitive possessive construction, and can function as the possessor constituent:

- (61) [[[Ali-ning] do'st-i-ning] ism-i-ni] bil-a-man.  
 Ali-GEN friend-3SG-GEN name-3SG-ACC know-PRS-1SG  
 Lit: 'I know the name of Ali's friend.'

Genitive possessive constructions are used as subjects in possessive existential sentences, as illustrated in (62). The genitive possessor and the noun head possessee correspond to the subject and object arguments of the verb *have* in English, respectively:

- (62) Siz-ning mashinan-giz bor-mi?  
 you-GEN car-2PL. existent-INT  
 'Do you have a car?'

Genitive-possessive constructions are also used in partitive constructions with numerals, as shown in (63):

- (63) Qiz-lar-imiz-ning bir-i shifokor.  
 daughter-PL-2PL-GEN one-3SG doctor  
 'One of our daughters is a doctor.'

### 1.3.3 Components in the Uzbek noun phrase

#### 1.3.3.1 *The head element*

The only obligatory element in Uzbek nominal expressions is the head noun, all other elements which appear in the nominal structure are some sort of modifiers. This means that Uzbek allows the use of bare nouns, i.e., nominals with no case and no determiners, to appear in argument positions.<sup>10</sup>

- (64) a. Kamola kitob o'qi-di.  
 Kamola book read-PST  
 'Kamola read a book or other.'

---

10. Bare nominals and their distributional properties will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.3.1.

- b. Ali muzqaymoq ye-di.  
 Ali ice-cream eat-PST  
 ‘Ali ate ice-cream.’

Nouns can be modified by various prenominal elements including adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, as shown in (65a–c) with the head shown in bold:<sup>11</sup>

- (65) a. **kitob**  
 ‘a/the book’  
 b. qiziqarli **kitob**  
 interesting book  
 ‘a/the interesting book’  
 c. bu qiziqarli **kitob**  
 this interesting book  
 ‘this interesting book’

All phrase internal modifiers precede the head, but they follow a fixed order. This ordering is shown in Examples (66) and (67) below:

- (66) a. bu qiziqarli yangi **kitob**  
 this interesting new book  
 ‘this interesting new book’  
 b. qiziqarli (\*bu) yangi (\*bu) **kitob**  
 interesting (\*this) new (\*this) book
- (67) a. bu besh qiziqarli yangi **kitob**  
 this<sup>12</sup> five interesting new book  
 ‘these five interesting new books’  
 b. \*besh bu qiziqarli yangi **kitob**  
 five this interesting new book  
 Intended: ‘Five of these interesting books.’

As seen in Examples (66)–(67), the demonstrative always precedes other modifiers such as adjectives or numerals, but it follows the genitive possessor, as in (68):

- (68) a. men-ing bu besh yangi **kitob**-im  
 I-GEN this five new book-1SG  
 Lit: ‘these five new books of mine’

11. Since prenominal genitive possessors, which also can precede the head noun in Uzbek, have been presented earlier in 1.4.2, I will focus here on other prenominal elements.

12. As will become clear later in 1.4.3.2, demonstratives are number-neutral, and whether they will correspond to this or these, depends on the number of the noun head.



- b. \*bu men-ing besh yangi kitob-im  
 this I-GEN five new book-1SG

The head noun is the locus of any inflectional suffixes that belong to the entire nominal phrase. This implies that there are no postnominal elements which belong to the nominal domain, and that noun suffixes mark the right edge of the noun phrase:

- (69) Bu go'zal shahar-lar-imiz-ni ziyorat qildi-k.  
 this beautiful town-PL-1PL-ACC visit do-PAST-1PL  
 'We visited these beautiful towns of ours.'

There are two word classes which can function as the head of a nominal expression: (a) nouns and (b) pronouns.

a. Nouns:

i. common nouns

ayol 'woman'

ko'cha 'street'

ii. proper nouns

Toshkent

Kamol

iii. noun compounds:

sopol tovoq 'ceramic plate'

tosh yo'l 'stone road'

yor-birodar 'friends and relatives'

oq-qora 'good and bad'

Noun compounds act as a single syntactic unit and inflectional suffixes appear on the rightmost element, as in (70):

- (70) a. Tosh yo'l-lar-imiz-ni qur-di-k.  
 stone road-PL-1PL-ACC build-PST-1PL  
 'We built our stone roads.'
- b. Sopol tovoq-lar-im-ni yuv-di-m.  
 ceramic plate-PL-1SG-ACC wash-PST-1SG  
 'I washed my ceramic plates.'

b. Pronouns

Personal pronouns such as *men* 'I', *sen* 'you', reflexive pronouns such as *o'zim* 'myself', *o'zi* 'himself/herself', indefinite pronouns *kimdir* 'someone' or *hamma*

‘all’, demonstrative pronouns such as *bu* ‘this’, interrogative pronouns such as *qaysisi* ‘which(one)’ can function as the head element in the nominal phrase.

- (71) a. *Kimdir/ hamma kel-di.*  
 someone all come-PST  
 ‘Someone/all came.’
- b. *Sen uxla-di-ng.*  
 you sleep-PST-2SG  
 ‘You slept.’

### 1.3.3.2 Demonstratives

Uzbek has a four-way distinction of demonstrative pronouns,<sup>13</sup> which are *bu* ‘this’, *shu* ‘that’, *u* ‘that’ (a more distant relation than *shu*), *o’sha* ‘that’ (the farthest from both the speaker and the hearer). Plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns are formed by adding the plural suffix *-lar*. However, when used prenominally, demonstratives do not feature any (plural or other) suffixes: they are uninflected like adjectives. The list of Uzbek demonstratives is given in Table 1.7 below:

Table 1.7 Demonstrative pronouns

Singular		Plural	
<i>bu</i>	‘this’	<i>bular</i>	‘these’
<i>shu</i>	‘that’	<i>shular</i>	‘those’
<i>u</i>	‘yonder’	<i>ular</i>	‘yonders’
<i>o’sha</i>	‘that’ (furthest)	<i>o’shalar</i>	‘those’ (furthest)

It is difficult to provide exact English equivalents of the four-way Uzbek demonstrative system, but it can be said that *u* is used to point to an item further away from the speaker compared to *shu*, and *o’sha* points to the farthest distance from both the speaker and the hearer. Since *u* is used with something distant but within the sight, its usage is similar to English ‘yonder’, while *o’sha* is the farthest in the spatio-temporal range, and can refer to entities which are not within the sight.

- (72) a. **bu-ni** ol-di-m.  
 DEM-ACC take-PST-1SG  
 ‘I took this.’
- b. **u-ni** ko’r-di  
 DEM-ACC see-PST  
 ‘S/he saw that.’

13. Demonstratives with respect to their functions will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

### 1.3.3.3 Pronouns

The category of pronouns in Uzbek includes pronoun types such as personal, reflexive, interrogative, negative and indefinite. This section will briefly outline morphological properties of Uzbek pronouns, their inflectional features such as person, number and case marking. It will start with the discussion of personal pronouns. The inventory of personal pronouns is given in Table 1.8 below.

**Table 1.8** Personal pronouns

PRONOUNS	SG	PL
1	men	biz
2(formal)	siz	siz(lar)
2(informal)	sen	siz(lar)
3	u	ular

As can be seen in the Table 1.8, Uzbek differentiates between formal and informal forms of the second person singular pronoun, namely, *sen* and *siz*. Some dialects also have a distinct plural form for informal ‘you’, which is *senlar* ‘you-PL’. Additionally, the plural suffix attaches to the 3rd person singular pronoun, in the same way as to nouns in the third person, to form 3rd person plural pronoun. In the 2nd person the plural suffix *-lar* is optional.

Reflexive pronominal forms are derived from *oʻz* ‘self’, and they can be inflected for number and case. The inventory of reflexive pronouns in Uzbek is given in Table 1.9 below:

**Table 1.9** Reflexive pronouns

REFLEXIVE	SG	PL
1	oʻzim	oʻzimiz
2(formal)	oʻzingiz	oʻzlaringiz
2(informal)	oʻzing	oʻzlaringiz
3	oʻzi	oʻzlari

Reflexive pronouns agree with their antecedent (73a). The antecedent is identifiable by the person-number agreement marker on the reflexive pronoun when the subject is null (73b).

- (73) a. Sen **oʻz-ing-dan** boshqa hech kim-ga ishon-ma-di-ng.  
 you self-2SG-ABL other no one-DAT trust-NEG-PST-2SG  
 ‘You did not trust anyone but yourself.’

- b. O'z-im-ga qara-ma-y-man.  
 self-1SG-DAT look-NEG-PRES-1SG  
 'I don't look after myself.'

Although the subject *men* 'I' is dropped in (73b), the agreement marker *-im* on the reflexive pronoun *o'zim* is indicating that the subject is 1st person singular. The antecedent of the reflexive pronoun is the subject of the local clause that contains the reflexive (74). When analyzed as an anaphor, *o'zi* 'self' can only refer to antecedents within its local domain (75).

- (74) a. Ali o'z-i-ni maqta-di.  
 Ali self-3SG-ACC praise-PST  
 Ali praised himself.  
 b. Ular o'z-lari kel-di-lar.  
 they self-3PL come-PST-3PL  
 'They came by themselves.'
- (75) Ali<sub>i</sub> [Zaynab<sub>k</sub>-ning o'zi-ni<sub>i/k</sub> yaxshi ko'r-ish-i]-i-ni  
 Ali Zaynab-GEN self-3SG-ACC good see-NMLZ-3SG-ACC  
 bil-a-di.  
 know-PRES-3SG  
 'Ali knows that Zaynab likes herself.'

The most common interrogative pronouns are *kim* 'who', *nima* 'what', *necha* 'how much/many', *qachon* 'when', *nimaga/nega* 'why' and *qaysi* 'which'. The list of interrogative pronouns is given in the Table 1.10 below.

Table 1.10 Interrogative pronouns

INTERROGATIVES	
kim (lar)	'who' (who-PL)
nima(lar)	'what' (what-PL)
qancha	'how much', 'how many'
necha(ta)	'how many'
qani	'where'
qayerda	'where'
qayerga/qayoqqa	'where to'
qayerdan/qayoqdan	'from where'
qaysi	'which'
qalay/qanday/qanaqa	'how'
nega/nimaga	'why'
nima uchun	'why', 'what for'
qachon	'when'

The word group containing the interrogative word typically occurs in the focus position of the sentence, i.e., immediately precedes the predicate of the clause. This is shown in (76):

- (76) a. Sinif-da [qancha o'quvchi] bor?  
classroom-LOC how many student EXIST  
'How many students are there in the classroom?'
- b. Sen qachon kel-di-ng?  
you when come-PST-2SG  
'When did you come?'
- c. Ali [qaysi kitob-ni] o'qi-di?  
Ali which book-ACC read-PST  
'Which book did Ali read?'
- d. Kim-ni ko'r-di?  
who-ACC see-PST  
'Who did s/he see?'

Collective pronouns are derived from *hamma*, *barcha*, *bari*, meaning 'all', and they carry person and number agreement suffixes.

- (77) a. **Hamma-miz** kel-di-k.  
all-1PL come-PST-1PL  
'We all came.'
- b. **Barcha** o'rn-i-dan tur-di.  
all seat-3SG-ABL stand-PST  
'They all got up from their seats.'

Indefinite pronouns can be formed with the prefix *alla-*, e.g., *allakim* 'somebody/someone', *allanima* 'something', or with the suffix *-dir* attached to the bases *kim* 'person', *nima* 'thing', *qanday* 'how', e.g., *kimdir* 'somebody', *nimadir* 'something', and *qandaydir* 'some'/'somehow'.

- (78) a. Boshliq **allakim-ni** chaqir-di.  
director someone-ACC call-PST  
'The director called someone.'
- b. Ali **nimadir** yashir-yap-ti.  
Ali something hide-PRES-3SG  
'Ali is hiding something.'

Negative pronouns are formed with the word *hech* 'no', combined with *kim* 'who' and produce forms such as *hech kim* 'nobody'/'anybody', *hech nima* 'nothing', 'anything', *hech biri* 'no one', *hech qaysi* 'none/any of'. Negative pronouns always occur with negative predicates, as in (79).

- (79) a. **Hech kim-ni ko'r-ma-di-m.**  
 nobody-ACC see-NEG-PST-1SG  
 'I saw nobody.'  
 Lit: 'I did not see nobody.'
- b. **Jahon hech nima-ni bil-ma-s.**  
 Jahon nothing-ACC know-NEG-AOR  
 'Jahon knows nothing.'  
 Lit: 'Jahon does not know nothing.'

A sentence which contains *hech kim* 'nobody' must also contain one of the negation markers. In our Example (79) above, it is the negative suffix *-ma*. This is true about all negative pronouns in Uzbek because Uzbek has negative concord, i.e., double negatives are allowed in this language. That is, negative pronouns are used in the environment of another negative, such as negative suffix *-ma* or existential negative marker *yo'q* 'not existent'. The contrary case results in ungrammaticality (80b)–(81b).

- (80) a. **Hech narsa-ni ol-ma-di-m.**  
 nothing-ACC take-NEG-PST-1SG  
 'I didn't take anything.'  
 Lit: 'I did not take nothing.'
- b. \***Hech narsa ol-di-m.**  
 nothing take-PST-1SG
- (81) a. **Uy-da hech kim yo'q.**  
 house-LOC no one not.existent  
 'There is no one in the house.'  
 Lit: 'There isn't no one in the house.'
- b. \***Uy-da hech kim bor.**  
 house-LOC no one EXIST

As can be seen by case inflections in (79) and (80), these pronouns act as nominal heads in being suffixed by nominal inflections in the same way as nouns.

#### 1.3.3.4 *Universal quantifiers*

Uzbek universal quantifiers<sup>14</sup> are *har* 'every', *hamma* 'everyone', *butun* 'the whole (of)', *har bir* 'each/every'. When universal quantifiers appear in object position, they have to be marked accusative (82–83). In (82) we can also see that they function as heads of noun phrases, while in (83) they appear as prenominal elements.

---

14. Universal quantifiers are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

- (82) a. **Hamma-ni** chaqir-di, faqat Ali-ni chaqir-ma-di.  
 everyone-ACC call-PST only Ali-ACC call-NEG-PST  
 'S/he called everyone, but didn't call Ali.'
- b. Sen-i **hamma-lar-i-dan** so'ra-di-m.  
 you-ACC all-PL-3SG-ABL ask-PST-1SG  
 'I asked all of them about you.'
- (83) a. **Har bir** bola-ga bir olma ber-di.  
 each child-DAT one apple give-PST  
 'S/he gave each child one/an apple.'
- b. Ali **harbir** kitob-ni o'qi-di.  
 Ali every book-ACC read-PST  
 'Ali read every book.'
- c. \*Ali **har bir** kitob o'qi-di.  
 Ali each book read-PST

### 1.3.3.5 *Modifiers in the nominal phrase*

Modifiers that may occur in a nominal phrase can be categorized into two groups: adjectivals and determiners.

Adjectivals<sup>15</sup> are words or constructions which attribute certain quality to the head of a noun phrase. Premodifiers in Uzbek vary from simple adjectives such as *katta* 'big', *eski* 'old', *baland* 'high', *go'zal* 'beautiful', to more complex structures and relative clauses. Adjectives do not show any agreement with the head noun (84).

- (84) a. keng ko'cha-lar  
 wide street-PL  
 'wide streets'
- b. sovuq havo  
 cold air  
 'cold air'

Uzbek adjectives are formally indistinguishable from nouns, but some derivational suffixes such as *-li*, the privative suffix *-siz* and *-dor* are specific to the category of adjectives. These suffixes form adjectives from nouns, as in (85) below:

- (85) a. zarar-li  
 harm-*li*  
 'harmful'

---

15. I will use adjectival (phrase) to refer to any linguistic structure that performs the function of an adjective.

- b. kuch-siz  
power-*siz*  
'powerless'
- c. rang-dor  
color-*dor*  
'colorful'

Intensification of adjectives is realized by reduplication, which corresponds to the English adverb 'very' (86a), and the comparative is formed by the suffix *-roq*, as in (86b):

- (86) a. issiq-issiq non  
hot-hot bread  
'very hot bread'
- b. baland-roq  
tall-COMP  
'taller'

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs of degree to indicate the degree of the attribute expressed by the adjective. Adverbs of degree, such as *juda* 'very' or *biroz* 'a little' refer to abstract notions of quantity, while the adverb *eng* 'most' is used for the formation of superlative forms (87):

- (87) a. [*biroz eski*] bir ko'ylak  
a little old a shirt  
'a somewhat old shirt'
- b. [*eng baland*] bino  
most high building  
'the highest building'

Complex modifiers show variation in their degree of complexity. They range from structures consisting of a noun and attributivizers<sup>16</sup> such as *-li* or *-siz* (88) to structures in (89) which have the internal structure of clauses to which a suffix is added (glossed as PART for **participle** in (89)). These adjectival clauses are equivalent to English relative clauses.

- (88) a. qaymoq-li non<sup>17</sup>  
cream-ATTR nan  
'nan with cream'

16. Following Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015), I will refer to these suffixes as attributivizers, the reasons for which will become clear in Chapter 4.

17. Nan- special kind of bread particularly made in Central Asia.



- b. balkon-siz uy-lar  
balcony-ATTR house-PL  
'houses without a balcony'
- (89) a. [men yoz-gan] xat  
I write-PART letter  
'the letter which I write/have written'
- b. [bosh-i-da do'ppi-si bo'l-gan] qiz  
head-3SG.POSS-LOC duppi-3SG.POSS be-PART girl  
'the girl who has a duppi<sup>18</sup> on her head'

Determiners form a small class of items, functions of which consist in specifying various restrictions on the potential referent of a nominal expression. Uzbek determiners can be classified into two groups: indefinite and definite, according to the referential status of the nominal phrase in which they occur.<sup>19</sup>

i. **Indefinite determiners**

- a. Indefinite *bir* 'a/an'
- b. Quantifiers:

---

<i>bir necha</i>	'a few', 'several'
<i>ba'zi</i>	'some'
<i>biroz</i>	'a little'
<i>ko'p</i>	'many' 'a lot of'
<i>ko'prog'i</i>	'most (of)'
<i>oz</i>	'not much', 'not enough'
<i>hich bir</i>	'no', 'any'
<i>har qanday</i>	'any'

---

Uzbek has a semantic rather than grammatical distinction between count and mass nouns, i.e., it easily shifts the meaning from mass to count. Either an indefinite *bir* 'a/an', or the plural suffix *-lar* can be used with almost any noun, but a noun does not carry *-lar* when it is used with certain quantifiers (90a). However, quantifiers like *ba'zi* 'some' and *ko'prog'i* 'most (of)' are almost always used with plural nouns (90b). Nouns denoting non-discrete entities such as *suv* 'water', *havo* 'air', *musiqa* 'music' cannot be combined with numerals or quantifiers like *necha* 'how many', *bir necha*

---

18. Duppi- traditional Uzbek head-wear.

19. Detailed discussion on the referential features of the nominal phrases is given in Chapters 3 and 4.

‘a few’, or *ko’p* ‘many’, unless it is clear from the context that counting implies to a conventional measure of the substance (90c).

- (90) a. *bir necha* /*ko’p* olma  
 a few many apple  
 ‘a few/many apples’
- b. *ba’zi* kitob-lar/ odam-lar/ orzu-lar  
 some book-PL/ person-PL/ dream-PL  
 ‘some books/people/dreams’
- c. Do’kon-dan *bir necha* suv ol.  
 shop-ABL a few water get  
 ‘Get a few[bottles of] water from the shop.’

c. Interrogatives

<i>necha</i>	‘how many’
<i>qancha</i>	‘how much’

ii. Definite determiners

a. Demonstratives<sup>20</sup>

<i>bu</i>	‘this/these’
<i>shu</i>	‘that/those’
<i>u</i>	‘yonder’
<i>o’sha</i>	‘that/those’ (farthest)

b. Universal quantifiers

<i>her</i>	‘every’
<i>butun/hamma</i>	‘all’

c. Interrogatives:

<i>qaysi</i>	‘which’
--------------	---------

d. Markers of identity or (exclusive) otherness

<i>huddi o’sha</i>	‘the same’
<i>narigi/boshqa</i>	‘the other’

20. A more detailed discussion of demonstratives will be given in Chapter 3.

Numerals are another kind of modifiers used in noun phrases. We can distinguish between cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals:

a. Cardinal Numerals

<i>nol</i> 'zero'	<i>yigirma</i> 'twenty'	<i>ming</i> 'a thousand'
<i>bir</i> 'one'	<i>o'ttiz</i> 'thirty'	<i>million</i> 'million'
<i>ikki</i> 'two'	<i>qirq</i> 'forty'	<i>milliard</i> 'billion'
<i>uch</i> 'three'	<i>ellik</i> 'fifty'	<i>trillion</i> 'trillion'
<i>to'rt</i> 'four'	<i>oltmish</i> 'sixty'	<i>kadrillion</i> 'quadrillion'
<i>besh</i> 'five'	<i>yetmish</i> 'seventy'	
<i>olti</i> 'six'	<i>saksan</i> 'eighty'	
<i>yetti</i> 'seven'	<i>to'qsan</i> 'ninety'	
<i>sakkiz</i> 'eight'	<i>yuz</i> 'a hundred'	
<i>to'qqiz</i> 'nine'		
<i>o'n</i> 'ten'		

The numerals from one to nine follow higher numerals and form the numerals from 11 to 99, and these follow any other higher numerals:

<i>o'n ikki</i>	(lit. ten two) 'twelve'
<i>yetmish uch</i>	'seventy-three'
<i>yuz qirq besh</i>	'one hundred and forty-five'
<i>ming yuz to'qsan to'qqiz</i>	'one thousand one hundred and ninety-nine'

b. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the suffix *-(i)nchi* to a cardinal numeral, for instance, *ikkinchi* 'second', or *yuz beshinchi* 'one hundred and fifth'.

- (91) a. *beshinchi qism*  
'the fifth part'
- b. *chap-dan ikkinchi uy*  
left-ABL second house  
'the second house on the left'

Cardinal numerals are usually used with *classifiers* such as *ta*, *dona*, *bosh*, *bog'* and *nafar*. Classifiers are function words that are used with noun and numeral combinations. The choice of the classifier depends on the features of the noun, such as [+/-animate] or [+/-human]. For example, *nafar* is used only with [+human] nouns, as in (92a), while *bosh* is used with [+animate] nouns (92b). *Dona* is used

with [–animate] entities (92c), while *bog* ‘bundle’ is used with entities, which can be measured in bundles, as in (92d):

- (92) a. besh *nafar* askar  
 five CL soldier  
 ‘five soldiers’  
 b. ikki *bosh* qo’y  
 two CL sheep  
 ‘two heads of sheep’  
 c. uch *dona* kitob/olma  
 three CL book/apple  
 ‘three books/apples’  
 d. bir *bog* beda  
 one CL clover  
 ‘a shief of clover’

The classifier suffix *-ta* has a less restricted distribution, it can be used with [+/-animate] and [+/-human]. Classifiers appear to the right of the numeral which requires them.

- (93) a. besh-ta kitob  
 five-CL book  
 ‘five books’  
 b. to’rt-ta bola  
 four-CL boy  
 ‘four boys’

There are two ways for a noun to appear with a numeral in Uzbek: either with a bare numeral (94a) or with a classifier (94b):

- (94) a. ikki kitob  
 two book  
 ‘two books’  
 b. ikki dona kitob  
 two CL book  
 ‘two books’

Classifiers can be used with both accusative marked direct objects and case unmarked objects.

- (95) a. Kamola ikki kitob o’qi-di.  
 Kamola two book read-PST  
 ‘Kamola read two books.’  
 b. Kamola ikki-ta kitob o’qi-di.  
 Kamola two-CL book read-PST  
 ‘Kamola read two books.’

- c. Kamola ikki-ta kitob-ni o'qi-di.  
Kamola two-CL book-ACC read-PST  
'Kamola read two of the books.'
- d. Kamola ikki kitob-ni o'qi-di.  
Kamola two book-ACC read-PST  
'Kamola read two (specific) books.'

As seen in (95c) the classifier *-ta* can express partitive meaning when used with accusative case marked noun.

To summarize, Uzbek nouns have three types of inflectional suffixes: the plural suffix *-lar*, the possessive (person-number) agreement suffix, and the case suffix. The noun phrase in Uzbek may contain a variety of elements modifying the head noun: adjectives, classifiers, demonstratives, numerals (cardinals and ordinals). Uzbek also allows bare nominals in argument positions, where a bare nominal denotes a noun not premodified by some adjectival or determiner element. Prenominal elements in Uzbek noun phrases include possessive nominals marked for genitive, demonstratives, quantifiers, classifiers and adjectives. Items other than nouns can head Uzbek noun phrases, too. More specifically, the head element of a noun phrase can be realized by personal and demonstrative pronouns or numerals, all of which can be suffixed by the usual nominal suffixes: the plural *-lar*, the possessive agreement suffix, and the case suffix.

# Perspectives on the DP-Hypothesis

## 2.1 Introduction

Chomsky's (1986) *Barriers* brought together significant advances in X-bar theory. In this work, Chomsky proposes that functional elements, such as complementizers and auxiliaries, in the same way like lexical elements such as nouns and verbs project to the phrasal level, i.e., have their own phrases. In other words, in the verbal domain, the VP is dominated by a number of functional projections, such as Complementizer Phrase (CP) and Inflection Phrase (IP), which constitute the "extended projection" of the verb (Grimshaw 1991). This extended analysis of X-bar theory is solely applied to the verbal domain in Chomsky (1986) and does not involve the nominal domain. That is, noun phrases were represented as NPs, and determiner elements such as definite articles were assumed to be generated in SpecNP. However, this representation of nominal expressions was in conflict with two aspects of the X-bar theory:

- i. the idea that not only lexical elements but also functional elements project to the phrasal level, determiners being a functional element;
- ii. the idea that specifier positions hosting phrasal categories is occupied by a head element, the determiner 'the'.

These issues are tackled in Abney's (1987) DP-Hypothesis, where he draws parallels between the nominal and verbal structures within the frame of the X-bar theory.

## 2.2 The DP Hypothesis

Abney's (1987) study of parallel structures in the nominal and verbal domain has yielded one of the most influential theories in generative grammar, which consists in proposing the existence of functional categories within the nominal domain. Since it was first proposed by Abney, the DP Hypothesis has been extensively supported by empirical evidence from a variety of languages with articles and the

DP (e.g., Szabolcsi, 1987; Pollock, 1989; Longobardi, 1994). The argumenthood of noun phrases has been shown to depend on the presence vs. absence of the functional layer DP.

However, given that there are many languages without overt determiners, the status of DP as a universal category has caused a lot of debate in the literature. Semantically, all languages possess certain means of expressing referentiality, regardless of the presence or absence of overt determiners or articles. The view that arguments should always be presented as DP constituents is thus challenged by the fact that bare nouns can occur freely in argument positions in languages without determiners/articles (e.g., Zlatić, 1998; Trenkić, 2004; Bošković, 2005, 2008, 2009; Despić, 2011). Often the rejection of the universal DP-hypothesis gets its inspiration in the work by Chierchia (1998), where the author explores the distribution of noun phrases without articles and proposes a semantic model to account for cross-linguistic variation regarding the interpretation and distribution of bare nominals. However, as I will show in the following section, Uzbek (and possibly other Turkic languages) does not fit into the same class as Slavic article-less languages. Instead, it patterns with Romance languages which have definite articles.

### 2.3 Nominal Mapping Parameter and Uzbek

Discussing the interpretation and distribution of bare nominals, Chierchia proposes a model of semantic variation in which nouns and their immediate lexical projection NP are defined by two semantic features, [+/-argument] and [+/-predicate]. The former expresses the noun's capacity to be used as an argument of a predicate (or the lack of this capacity); the latter expresses the second fundamental capacity of nouns to be used as predicates (or the lack of it). Chierchia's model concerns the interpretation of bare nouns, and kind denotation is essential for his view: if bare nouns can refer to kinds, then they can function as arguments without the DP layer. This reasoning is supported by the fact that kind denoting implies entities of an argumental type (represented as type *e* in formal semantics). If a language has bare nouns denoting kinds, then it will also have bare nouns as arguments. In this case, the presence of the DP layer is not required (c.f. Longobardi, 1994). The Nominal Mapping Parameter predicts that bare nouns in various languages can be defined differently for the values of [arg] and [pred]. Three possible types of bare nouns are: [+arg, -pred], [-arg, +pred], and [+arg, +pred]. Importantly, Chierchia's proposal implies that from semantics perspective (and contra the universal DP hypothesis views such as Stowell, 1991; Longobardi, 1994, 1996), it should not be impossible for bare NPs to function as some kind of small nominal arguments, parallel to small clauses (e.g., in ECM constructions). In other

words, languages may vary with respect to what they “allow” their bare NPs to be, i.e., only arguments, only predicates, or both.

Languages like Chinese have noun phrases which are [+arg, –pred] type. This implies that bare nouns in Chinese denote names of kinds, i.e., they are inherently of type *e* (argument type). In such a language, bare nouns will be allowed to appear freely as arguments thanks to their argumental nature. Consequently, it would be possible to say things like *Girl saw boy* without any constraints in this language. Moreover, in [+arg, –pred] languages, all nouns are mass due to the operator  $U^{21}$  which assigns to the predicate counterpart of a kind a *mass* denotation. Every noun is mass in such a language, and plural marking is absent, and thus there are no (morphological) alternations of the kind ‘girl/girls.’ Moreover, numerals cannot be combined directly with nouns; hence, classifiers will be required to signal an appropriate counting level. Chinese is viewed as a language which fits into this category. It does not distinguish morphologically plural nouns from singulars. It makes extensive and obligatory use of classifiers to individuate mass nouns. Chierchia summarizes the features of such languages as follows:

- (1) In [+arg, –pred] languages:
    - i. bare nouns can occur in argument positions;
    - ii. the extension of all nouns is mass and nouns refer to kinds (type *e*);
    - iii. there is no plural marking as pluralization cannot apply to masses;
    - iv. there is a generalized classifier system.
  - (2) Chinese
    - a. yi li mi  
one CL rice  
‘one grain of rice’
    - b. liangli mi  
two CL rice  
‘two grains of rice’
    - c. yi zhang zhuozi  
one CL table  
‘one piece of table’
    - d. liang zhang zhuozi  
two CL table  
‘two pieces of table’
    - e. wo kanjian xiong le.  
I see bear ASP  
‘I saw (some/the) bears.’
- (Chierchia, 1998, p. 354, Example (21))

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21. ‘U’- ‘cup’ -an operator converting a kind into its equivalent predicate in formal semantics



As seen in Chinese examples in (2), there is no plural marking on the noun, despite the presence of the numeral denoting plurality. Classifiers are required to individuate mass nouns, and bare nouns can appear in argument positions.

Chierchia's next language type is [-arg, +pred], where every bare noun is a predicate, i.e., of type <e,t>. Since predicates by definition are not allowed in argument positions, bare nominals are disallowed to appear as arguments in these languages. Therefore, they must be embedded under a D projection in order to function as arguments, i.e., an NP cannot be made into an argument without projecting a D. It is also possible for such a language to have a phonologically null D (e.g. Italian) under very restricted conditions, or a language may always require an overt D (e.g. French). Plural marking is active in such languages due to the mass/count distinction with respect to the extension of predicates. A typical example of this category is Romance languages, where bare arguments are introduced in the argument position with a determiner. Consider (3) below (bare nouns are in bold):

- (3) French
- a. \***Enfants** sont venus chez nous.  
'Kids have come by us.'
  - b. \*J'ai mangé **biscuits** dans mon lait.  
'I ate cookies with my milk.' (Chierchia, 1998, p. 355, Example (22a–b))

As seen by the ungrammaticality of examples in (3), French principally disallows bare arguments, i.e., a noun cannot function as an argument without being introduced by a determiner.

However, in certain languages the D can be phonologically null. In this type of languages, the structure is subject to licensing conditions, for example, by being close to a suitable head (see e.g. Rizzi, 1990). This implies that there may be languages similar to French that allow bare arguments, but only in positions governed by a lexical head. This is observed in languages such as Italian and Spanish, where the equivalent of French Example (3a) remains ungrammatical (4a), but the equivalent of (3b) is acceptable (4b):

- (4) Italian
- a. \***Bambini** sono venuti da noi.  
'Kids came by us.'
  - b. Ho preso **biscotti** con il mio latte.  
'(I) had cookies with my milk.' (Chierchia, 1998, p. 356, Example (23a–b))

Examples in (4) show a typical instance of subject-object asymmetry. Namely, a bare noun is not allowed in subject position in Italian, but it is allowed in object position. Semantically, Italian has the same type of NPs as French and needs to project D in order to turn NPs into arguments. In addition, since Italian is assumed

to have a phonologically null  $D^0$  (Longobardi 1994), this null  $D^0$  has to be licensed by a lexical verbal head. However, in the subject position, there is no available head to license a null  $D^0$ , and thus we have an ungrammatical structure in (4a).

This language type can be summarized as follows in Chierchia's model:

- (5) In a [-arg, +pred] language:
- i. bare nouns cannot occur in argument positions, as every noun is a predicate;
  - ii. bare nouns have to be introduced into argument positions by determiners;
  - iii. there is count/mass distinction. Thus plural morphology is available for count nouns.

Chierchia's system predicts one final language type, in which bare noun phrases are of type [+arg, +pred], i.e., NPs can freely function as predicates or arguments. More specifically, lexical NPs can denote either kinds or predicates, and the shift from one interpretation to the other is performed "semantically" – with the aid of type shifting operators. Thus, if a lexical NP is of an argumental type, it would have to be predicativized via the operator  $\cup$ , as a result of which the noun will get a mass denotation. In consequence, argumental type nouns are going to be mass nouns, and consequently, be able to occur as bare arguments. On the other hand, when a noun is required to function as a predicate type ( $\langle e, t \rangle$ ), it will have a set of atoms as its extension, by virtue of which it will have a count denotation.<sup>22</sup> This implies that in languages of this type, plural marking will be active and the singular/plural contrast will show up overtly. Likewise, because count nouns are predicates, singular bare nouns will not be allowed to occur as arguments. These languages will not allow us to say things like 'chair is in the room', where the bare noun 'chair' appears in an argument position. Nevertheless, since such a language admits argument and predicate as possible NP denotations, they are allowed to be freely shifted via the "down" operator ' $\cap$ '.<sup>23</sup> The operator ' $\cap$ ' applied to plural nouns will yield a kind denotation, and thus bare plural nouns will be allowed to appear in argument positions. These languages behave like Romance languages in certain aspects, and like Chinese languages in other aspects. The major characteristics of this type of languages can be summarized as follows:

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22. In formal semantics terms, mass nouns can be more economically obtained via the NP  $\Rightarrow$  argument option, where ' $\Rightarrow$ ' represents plural level-shifting (operator selecting a plural individual from a kind).

23.  $\cap$  – 'cap' -an operator converting a predicate into its equivalent kind.

- (6) In [+arg, +pred] languages:
- i. there is mass/count distinction (+arg nouns yield mass nouns, whereas +pred nouns yield count nouns)
  - ii. mass nouns can occur as bare arguments whereas singular count nouns require either type-shifters or overt determiners.
  - iii. Forming kinds via type-shifters from predicates is only possible for plurals, such that they can occur in argument positions.

English and most Germanic languages are canonical examples of this type of languages. Mass (uncountable) nouns can occur as arguments without determiners, while singular count nouns cannot:

- (7) a. I drank water.  
b. \*I drank waters.
- (8) a. I ate an apple.  
b. \*I ate apple.
- (9) a. Tables are in the corner.  
b. \*Table is in the corner.
- (10) a. I want one apple.  
b. I want two apple\*(s).

Alongside English-type languages, Russian and most other Slavic languages are classified in this category as well.

- (11) Russian
- a. Ja kupil khleb (\*khliby).  
'I bought bread (\*breads).'
  - b. Ja kupil 3 \*(batona) khleba.  
'I bought 3 \*(loafs) of bread.'
  - c. Na stole bylo neskolko \*(sortov) syra  
'on the table were several \*(types of) cheese'
  - d. V komnate byli malcik i devočka. Ja obratilsja k malciky.  
'In the room were a boy and a girl. I turned to the boy.'

(Chierchia, 1998, p. 361, Example 27)

As (11) shows, Russian makes mass/count distinction which is similar to English. In addition, as shown in (11d), the definite and indefinite interpretation of Russian count bare nouns depends on the context. This entails that since Russian lacks English type overt determiners, it uses covert type-shifters to enable the occurrence of bare count nouns in argument positions. Despite the fact that both English and Russian are [+arg, +pred] type languages, English uses overt morphological determiners to type-shift its count nouns into arguments, while Russian lacking overt determiners, performs type-shifting covertly. According

to Chierchia (1998), the difference between English and Russian stems from the fundamental principle ‘Don’t do covertly what you can do overtly’. English having overt determiners at its disposal uses them for type-shifting, whereas Russian resorts to covert type-shifters since there is no overt morphology available.

Chierchia’s typology of binary features [-/+argument] and [-/+predicate] is summarized in (12):

(12) Chierchia’s typology of binary features

	Predicate	Argument
Romance	+	-
Chinese	-	+
English	+	+
Slavic	+	+

### 2.3.1 Uzbek and the Nominal Mapping Parameter

Uzbek poses certain problems for the Nominal Mapping Parameter because it seems to fit into neither of the two categories of languages without articles: the Chinese type, or the Russian type. Firstly, unlike languages like Chinese, in Uzbek, plurality is marked morphologically (13a–b).

- (13) a. Bola kel-di.  
 child come-PST  
 ‘The child came.’
- b. Bola-lar kel-di.  
 child-PL come-PST  
 ‘The children came.’

However, in sentences with existential meaning, nouns may have transnumeral<sup>24</sup> usage, where transnumeral denotes that these nouns transcend number distinctions, referring to a singleton or a set of more objects.<sup>25</sup> Consider Example (14) below:

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24. Following Wiese (2012, p. 59) I refer to these nominals as transnumeral nominals, according to which number marking is not obligatory to indicate reference to more than one instance of the nominal concept. And the nominal can freely appear in argument position as a bare non-PLURAL noun phrase denote (Cf. Numeral nominals where number marking is compulsory to indicate more than one instance of the nominal concept, e.g. English).

25. See Massam (2012) for more detailed discussion of count and mass nouns across languages.

- (14) Quti-ning ich-i-da kitob bor.  
 box-GEN in-3SG-LOC book EXIST  
 a. 'There is a book in the box.'  
 b. 'There are books in the box.'

As seen in the translation of (14), the statement can be interpreted in two different ways. It may be the context which determines the number being specified (SG or PL), not the lexical item *per se*. The interpretation in (14b) can be given as an answer to the question: 'What is in the box?'

On the other hand, when the noun is marked for plural (15a), or its singularity is specified by *bir* (16), a number specific, not categorical, referent is established.

- (15) a. Qush-lar sayra-yap-ti.  
 bird-PL sing-PRES-3SG  
 '(The) birds are singing.'  
 b. \*Qush sayra-yap-ti.  
 Intended: 'Birds are singing.'
- (16) Bir qush sayra-yap-ti.  
 one bird sing-PRES-3SG  
 'A bird is singing.'

Uzbek could be assumed to belong to the category [+predicate, +argument], where case-marked bare nouns can appear in argument positions without any restriction and can have definite, kind, or existential meanings on account of being type-shifted by covert operators:  $\exists$  for existentials,  $\iota$  for definites and  $\cap$  for kinds. We have seen above that one such language is Russian. However, this line of reasoning does not apply to Uzbek because Uzbek case-marked bare nouns can have kind or definite interpretation, but not existential interpretation, i.e., type shifting is not possible.

- (17) a. Hasan qiz-ni ko'r-di.  
 Hasan girl-ACC see-PST  
 'Hasan saw the/ \*a girl.' (definite vs. existential)
- b. Jahon muzqaymoq-ni sev-a-di.  
 Jahon ice-cream-ACC love-PRES-3SG  
 'Jahon loves (the) ice-cream.' (generic, kind)

Furthermore, despite the fact that a case-marked nominal is placed in a position within the VP domain, which according to Diesing (1992) is the scope of existential closure, it is not possible for the case marked nominal to have an existential interpretation:

- (18) a. Kamol kitob-ni sekin sekin o'qi-di.  
 Kamol book-ACC slowly read-PST  
 'Kamol read the/(\*) book slowly.'

- b. Kamol sekin sekin kitob-ni o'qi-di.  
 Kamol slowly book-ACC read-PST  
 'Kamol slowly read the/(\*)a book.'

Given the data in (13) and (18), we can assume that covert type-shifters cannot be used with bare nouns in Uzbek if we take case marked nouns to be bare in the relevant sense. This implies that Uzbek is not a language of the Russian type, namely, [+predicate, +argument].

The last type of languages in Chierchia's system is the [+predicate, -argument] type, where the Romance languages belong. In this category of languages, all arguments are introduced by overt or covert determiners. Consider the French examples in (19), where generic examples are provided (kind or generic reference is induced by generic, non-episodic/individual level predicates):

- (19) a. Les dinosaurs sont une espèce éteinte. (French)  
 art.DEF.PL. dinosaur.PL. are art.INDEF.SG. species extinct  
 'Dinosaurs are an extinct species.'
- b. L'or est un metal précieux.  
 art.DEF.SG. gold is art.INDEF.SG. metal precious  
 'Gold is a precious metal.'
- c. Le chat est un animal domestique.  
 art.DEF.SG. cat is art.INDEF.SG animal domestic  
 'A(the) cat is a domestic animal.'

(Dobrovie-Sorin, 2005, p. 6, Example (1a–c))

As demonstrated in the French examples above, the definite article is obligatory with nouns which are used with generic and kind reference. Likewise, in episodic sentences as well, the noun with generic/kind interpretation must be introduced by the definite article, as in (20):

- (20) a. Les rats musqués ont été introduits en Europe  
 art.DEF.PL. muskrat AUX.PL. AUX.PASS. introduced in Europe  
 au XVIe siècle.  
 in 16th century  
 'Muskrats were introduced in Europe in the 16th century.'
- b. La pomme de terre est arrivé en France au  
 art.DEF. apple of ground AUX.SG. arrived.SG. in France in  
 XVIIIe siècle.  
 18th century  
 'The potato arrived in France in the 18th century.'

(Dobrovie-Sorin, 2005, p. 6, Example (1d–e))

Since Uzbek lacks definite articles, overt case marking correlates with kind and generic reference of nominals in Uzbek. Consider (21) and (22) below:

- (21) a. Jahon mushuk-lar-**ni** / muzqaymoq-**ni** yoqtir-a-di. (generic)  
 Jahon cat-PL-ACC/ ice-cream-ACC like-PRES-3SG  
 'Jahon likes cats/ice-cream.'
- b. \*Jahon mushuk / muzqaymoq yoqtir-a-di.  
 Jahon cat /ice-cream like-PRES-3SG
- (22) a. Graham Bell telefon-**ni** ixtiro qil-di. (kind)  
 Graham Bell telephon-ACC invent do-PST  
 'Graham Bell invented the telephone.'
- b. \*Graham Bell telefon ixtiro qil-di.  
 Graham Bell telephone invent do-PST

As shown in (21) and (22) above, case marking is obligatory whenever nouns express generic and kind reference. This implies that case morphology in Uzbek behaves like French (more generally, Romance) definite article. Both plural and singular nouns with case suffixes can have generic and kind interpretation in Uzbek. Likewise, in French singular definite and plural definite articles are both possible (see (19) above).

Moreover, Uzbek bare nominals share certain similarities with other Romance languages, such as Italian and Romanian. Namely, as pointed out by Chierchia (1998), Italian bare arguments are not compatible with individual level predicates even if they appear in lexically governed positions. This is illustrated in Italian examples in (23) below:

- (23) a. \*Linguisti sono bravi.  
 'Linguists are clever.'
- b. \*Leo odia gatti.  
 'Leo hates cats.'

Similar observations are made for Romanian, where generic interpretation is impossible with bare plurals, as in (24) below

- (24) \*Ion respecta *profesori*  
 John respects professors  
 'John respects professor.' (from Dobrovie-Sorin, 2005, p. 22, Example (30))

As shown in Romance examples in (24), the generic/kind interpretation is not possible unless nouns are introduced by the definite articles. Similarly, in Uzbek only nominals with case morphology are allowed with generic/kind meaning:

- (25) a. Jahon ustoz-lar-**ni** hurmat qil-a-di.  
 Jahon teacher-PL-ACC respect do-PRES-3SG  
 'Jahon respects teachers.'
- b. \*Jahon ustoz-lar hurmat qil-a-di.  
 Jahon teacher-PL respect do-PRES-3SG

- (26) a. Jahon mushuk-lar-**dan** qo'rq-a-di.  
 Jahon cat-PL-ABL be.afraid-PRES-3SG  
 'Jahon is afraid of cats.'
- b. \*Jahon mushuk-lar qo'rq-a-di.  
 Jahon cat-PL be.afraid-PRES-3SG

Uzbek examples show that both plural and singular nouns with case suffixes can be used with generic and kind interpretations. In this respect, Uzbek can be viewed as a language which does not allow bare nominals without morphological case marking to have generic and kind reference. Thus, case marking in Uzbek is parallel to overt determiners in Romance languages, i.e., the argumenthood of nominals is achieved by overt case marking. That being the case, Uzbek seems to fit into the category of Romance languages in Chierchia's typology.

Although Chierchia notes that Italian bare nominals are allowed to appear in argument positions, this possibility is severely restricted to certain contexts. An example of such usage is when bare nominals are governed by a lexical head like P or V. This is shown in (27) below with bare nominals in bold (from Chierchia, 1998, p. 48, Example 72):

- (27) a. Leo ha mangiato **patate**.  
 Leo PAST eat potatoes  
 'Leo ate potatoes.'
- b. Leo stermina **ratti**.  
 Leo exterminates rats
- c. Leo è andato da **amici**.  
 Leo PAST go to friend  
 'Leo visited friends.'

Similar observations are made for Romanian, where argumental bare nouns can be used only with existential (indefinite non-specific) meaning and always have narrow scope, as in (28):

- (28) Copii au vazut **filme**.  
 'The children saw movies.' (Dobrovie-Sorin, 2005, p. 22, Example 29)

The distribution of bare nominals in Italian and Romanian shares certain similarities with Uzbek bare nominals. Namely, Uzbek has bare nominals, i.e., nominals with no case and no determiners, allowed to appear in argument positions in certain contexts. One such instance involves Uzbek bare nominals in complex predicate constructions. This type of bare nominals are severely restricted in their distribution. Namely, they must appear immediately next to the verb and can have only indefinite non-specific reading.



- (29) a. Ali kecha **olma** ye-di.  
Ali yesterday apple eat-PST  
'Ali ate apples/an apple (or other) yesterday.'
- b. \*Ali **olma** kecha ye-di.  
Ali apple yesterday eat-PST
- (30) a. Ali ertalab **baliq** tut-di.  
Ali morning fish catch-PST  
'Ali caught fish in the morning.'
- b. \*Ali **baliq** ertalab tut-di.  
Ali fish morning catch-PST

In Uzbek, bare and caseless nominals take the narrowest scope with respect to other operators.

- (31) Jahon militsiya ko'r-moq-chi. [want>policemen]  
Jahon policeman see-INF-INTEN<sup>26</sup>  
'Jahon wants to see policemen.'
- (32) Jahon qayta-qayta quyon o'ldir-di. [repeatedly>rabbits]  
Jahon repeatedly rabbit kill-PST  
'Jahon killed rabbits repeatedly.'
- (33) \*Jahon militsiya top-ish-ga urin-yap-ti, Mayram ham  
Jahon policemen find-NMLZ-DAT try-PROG-3SG Mayram too  
u-ni top-ish-ga urin-yap-ti. [try>policemen]  
he-ACC find-NMLZ-DAT try-PROG-3SG  
'\*Jahon is trying to find policemen and Mayram is trying to find them too.'

Impossible interpretation: There are  $x$ ,  $x$  policemen, such that Jahon is trying to find them and Mayram is trying to find them too.

Possible interpretation: Jahon is trying to find  $x$ ,  $x$  a policeman (or other) and Maryam is trying to find  $y$ ,  $y$  a policeman (or other).<sup>27</sup>

Another example of bare nominals that can appear in argument position is a type of possessor, which also has a very restricted distribution. It can only have attributive-like interpretation and non-referential reading, and can only appear in possessive constructions called *Izofa-2*,<sup>28</sup> as in (34):

- (34) a. **qalam** quti-si  
pencil box-3.SG  
'a pencil box'

26. INTEN-Intentional Future

27.  $X$  and  $y$  can be interpreted as policemen (plural).

28. *Izofa-2* construction will be introduced and discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

- b. **tong** shabada-si  
 morning breeze-3.SG  
 ‘a morning breeze’

To sum up, the term *bare nominal* can be used to refer to Uzbek caseless nominals, singular or plural, appearing without any determiner-like elements. We have seen that Uzbek bare nominals cannot refer to kinds and that they have a narrow scope interpretation with respect to other quantifiers. Moreover, they cannot function as antecedents to pronominals and they have a very restricted distribution. Clearly then, Uzbek bare nominals cannot count as [+arg] in Chierchia’s system. When not introduced by elements with the “indefinite” meaning (like *bir*), they can have kind and generic reference, or in an appropriate context, they can be interpreted as definite. All these points lead to the conclusion that case marking in Uzbek has a type-shifting property similar to the definite determiner in Romance in that, it turns [+pred] nominals into [+arg] nominals. Uzbek does not entirely exclude bare nouns from argument positions, but as we will see in Chapter 3 and 4 in more detail, caseless bare nouns have a very restricted distribution and restricted referential properties. In conclusion, it turns out that Uzbek, a language without articles, does not fit into the same class as Slavic article-less languages. Instead, it patterns with Romance languages with articles. Significantly, Uzbek (and possibly, other Turkic languages) shows that languages without articles may share similar characteristics with languages from all three categories discussed in Chierchia’s Nominal Mapping Parameter. This is quite unexpected from the point of view of another approach with reference to the syntax of noun phrases, the Parameterized DP-Hypothesis (Bošković, 2008, 2010). This approach takes its roots in the DP-hypothesis and Chierchia’s idea that bare nominals in some languages do not need a functional layer (such as DP) to function as arguments. This approach will be discussed in the following section.

## 2.4 Parameterized DP-Hypothesis (Bošković, 2008, 2010)

The status of DP as a universal category has been one of the most debated topics in the literature concerning the structure of noun phrases in languages that lack articles. Based on data from various languages without articles, mainly Slavic, Bošković (2005, 2008, 2010) establishes a series of systematic differences between languages with and without articles. Building upon a number of works, which follow in various ways a non-universal-DP approach to the structure of noun phrases (e.g., Fukui, 1988; Corver, 1992; Zlatić, 1997; Chierchia, 1998; Lyons, 1999; and

Willim, 2000<sup>29</sup> among them), Bošković establishes DP/NP parameters. According to this, a series of differences between languages with and without articles are explained due to the lack of DP projection in languages without articles.

According to Bošković's analysis, NP is the topmost projection of the nominal domain in article-less languages. Other elements modifying the noun are adjoined to NP, and they agree with the noun in case, number and gender. Alternatively, Bošković allows multiple modifiers to be treated as multiple Specifier positions<sup>30</sup> of NP. He claims that, due to the lack of DP, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian possessors and demonstratives are NP-adjuncts. Bošković bases his analysis upon Chierchia's (1998) Nominal Mapping Parameter, according to which it is possible for [+arg] bare nouns to appear in argument positions without being topped by a functional projection DP. Bošković develops this idea further in a minimalistic spirit and claims that in languages without articles the DP is never projected.

In his 2005 article and subsequent work, arguing for the no-DP analysis, Bošković gives an extensive list of generalizations that distinguish between so-called NP and DP languages, mainly pertaining to contrasts between Slavic languages with and without articles.<sup>31</sup> In Bošković & Şener (2014), this analysis is extended to Turkish to show that Turkish fares with other NP languages. According to this analysis, numerals, adjectives, and possessors are all NP-specifiers/adjuncts in Turkish. In Chapter 3 and 4, I will propose a different analysis for Uzbek (and implicitly for Turkish), which posits multiple functional layers, projections of functional heads, where each nominal inflectional suffix corresponds to a functional head.

#### 2.4.1 How Uzbek fares with the Parameterized DP-Hypothesis

In this section, I will examine Uzbek nominals in the light of Bošković's generalizations. First, I provide the list of generalizations proposed by Bošković and state for each one whether it can be tested in Uzbek or not. Next, I will continue with the discussion of the generalizations that are applicable to Uzbek.

In (35) below, the list of NP/DP generalizations, as they appear in Bošković (2005, 2008, 2012) and Bošković & Şener (2014), are given:

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29. See also Trenkić, 2004; Despić, 2011, 2013; Marelj, 2011; Takahashi, 2011; Jiang, 2012; Talić, 2013; Cheng, 2013; Runić, 2014; Kang, 2014; Bošković & Şener, 2014; Zanon, 2015; Bošković & Hsieh, 2013, 2015.

30. In his (1995) book and subsequent work, Chomsky suggests that certain types of head may allow more than one specifier (e.g., a light verb with an external argument/subject as its inner specifier may attract a *wh*-expression to become its outer specifier).

31. Among Slavic languages, only Bulgarian and Macedonian have the definite article.

## (35) NP/DP Generalizations

- a. Only languages without articles may allow left-branch extraction out of TNPs<sup>32</sup> (not allowed in Uzbek).
- b. Only languages without articles may allow adjunct extraction from TNPs (not allowed in Uzbek).
- c. Only languages without articles may allow scrambling (testable).
- d. Multiple-wh fronting languages without articles do not show superiority effects (impossible to test, Uzbek is a wh-in situ language).
- e. Only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling (Uzbek does not have clitics, cannot be tested)
- f. Head-internal relatives display island sensitivity in languages without articles, but not in languages with articles (Uzbek does not have head-internal relatives, cannot be tested).
- g. Number morphology may not be obligatory only in TNPs of languages without articles (testable).<sup>33</sup>
- h. Polysynthetic languages do not have articles (irrelevant for Uzbek, which is not polysynthetic).
- i. Only languages with articles allow the majority reading of MOST (to be tested below).
- j. Languages without articles disallow negative raising (i.e., strict clause-mate NPI licensing under negative raising); those with articles allow it (to be tested below).
- k. Negative constituents must be marked for focus in article-less languages (cannot be tested).<sup>34</sup>
- l. The negative concord reading may be absent with multiple complex negative constituents only in negative concord languages with articles (to be tested).
- m. Radical pro-drop may be possible only in languages without articles (to be tested below).
- n. Elements undergoing focus movement are subject to a verb adjacency requirement only in languages with articles (cannot be tested in Uzbek because there is no relevant construction).

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32. Bošković uses the label TNP for ‘traditional Noun Phrase’ to avoid a possible ambiguity of the term ‘noun phrase’ which could imply NP alone or DP.

33. See the discussion about optionality vs. obligatoriness of number morphology provided in Section 2.3.

34. See Bošković (2012) for suggestions made regarding Turkish and other Turkic languages and a generalization concerning negative constituents. He notes that there is a complication with negative concord series, which contain *hiç* (borrowed from Persian), and it can be analyzed as *air one+ćiy*, an emphatic particle which is focus related.

- o. Inverse scope for S-O is unavailable in languages without articles (testable).
- p. Possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition only in languages with articles (to be tested below).
- q. The phenomenon of sequence of tenses is found only in languages with articles (Uzbek does not have the sequence of tenses and seems to fit into this generalization about article-less languages).
- r. Second position clitic systems are found only in languages without articles (Uzbek has no clitics; no conclusions can be drawn in this respect).
- s. Obligatory numeral classifier systems are found only in languages without articles. (Uzbek has no classifiers of the relevant type).<sup>35</sup>
- t. Only languages without articles may allow subject reflexives (subject reflexives are not allowed in Uzbek).

Let us start with generalizations (35a–b), which concern left-branch extraction and adjunct extraction. The fact of the matter is that Uzbek does not allow any extraction from noun phrases.<sup>36</sup> However, this does not mean that Uzbek does not belong to the “family” of languages without articles, i.e., Bošković and Şener’s (2014) NP family. Since the correlation is unidirectional, the absence of movement out of noun phrases does not necessarily imply that the language is a DP language. Generalizations (35d, e,f,r) are impossible to test in Uzbek, since the language has *wh*-in situ questions, and has neither clitics nor head-internal relatives. Another irrelevant or untestable generalization is (35h), which concerns polysynthetic languages, and Uzbek is not a polysynthetic language. Similarly, (35k) cannot be tested because Uzbek does not have relevant negative concord series (see also *fn* 34). Since Uzbek does not have the relevant type of focus movement, the generalization in (35n) is untestable as well. The generalization (35q) proposes that languages without articles (the NP languages) do not have the sequence of tenses, and Uzbek seems to fit in this category of languages since it lacks the sequence of tenses. As for the generalization concerning classifier use (35s), Uzbek classifiers are different from the obligatory Chinese classifier system; however, the generalization is unidirectional – the non-existence of obligatory classifiers in Uzbek does not have to imply that the language is a DP language. Finally, the generalization (35t) is unidirectional as well, i.e., the fact that Uzbek does not have subject reflexives does not imply that it is a DP language.

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35. See Section 2.3 for classifiers and their use in Uzbek.

36. In this study I am not going to discuss possible ways of restricting the extraction from nominals in Uzbek.

With respect to the generalization concerning scrambling (35c), it is important to note that in Uzbek, scrambling only applies to overtly case-marked nominals. Kornfilt (2003) makes similar judgments for Turkish, and she notes that case-marked arguments can freely scramble to any position within the clause, but scrambling of case unmarked arguments is disallowed. This is shown with scrambled accusative direct object in (36b) and the corresponding example without case marking in (37b). Scrambling, although restricted, seems to indicate that Uzbek is an NP language.

- (36) a. Ali kecha **yangi kitob-ni** o'qi-di.  
Ali yesterday new book-ACC read-PST  
b. Ali **yangi kitob-ni** kecha o'qi-di.  
Ali new book-ACC yesterday read-PST  
'Ali read the new book yesterday.'
- (37) a. Ali kecha **yangi kitob** o'qi-di.  
Ali yesterday new book read-PST  
'Ali read a/some new book yesterday.'  
b. \*Ali **yangi kitob** kecha o'-qi-di.  
Ali new book yesterday read-PST

The generalization (35g) concerns number morphology and suggests that number morphology may not be obligatory in article-less languages. Uzbek behaves as expected from NP languages.

- (38) Ali kecha kitob xarid qil-di.  
Ali yesterday book buy do-PST  
'Ali bought books/a book yesterday.'

Following Živanović (2008), Bošković argues that only article languages allow the majority superlative reading, while article-less languages disallow it (35i).

- (39) Slovenian  
Največ ljudi pije pivo. (Bošković & Şener, 2014, p. 6, Example (15))  
most people drink beer  
Plurality reading (PR): 'More people drink beer than any other beverage (though it could be less than half the people).'  
Majority reading (MR): \*More than half the people drink beer.'

According to Bošković & Şener (2014), English allows both plurality and majority reading, and so do article languages such as German, Dutch, Hungarian and Arabic.<sup>37</sup> Turkish and article-less languages such as Czech, Polish, Chinese, Hindi

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37. Examples from the mentioned languages to show this phenomenon are not provided by authors.

are listed among the languages where the majority reading is disallowed. The possible interpretation of the Turkish example in (40) is that events of beer drinking outnumbered events of drinking any other beverage.

- (40) Turkish  
 İnsanlar *en çok* bira iç-ti. (Bošković & Şener, 2014, p. 6, Example (17))  
 people-NOM most beer drink-past  
 ‘People drank beer the most.’

Ljutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015) challenge this view and argue that Russian, despite being an article-less language, allows the majority reading in naturally occurring example like in (41):

- (41) Russian  
 Počemu do six por bolšinstvo ljudej pjut koka-kolu,  
 why to this time most people drink Coca-Cola  
 nesmotrja na to, što vse davno znajut, što ona očen' vrednaja?  
 despite that all long.ago know that it very harmful  
 ‘Why do the majority of people drink Coca-Cola, although everybody has known for a long time that it is very harmful?’ (i.e., ‘Why do more than half the people drink Coca-Cola?’; not ‘Why do more people drink Coca-Cola than any other drink?’)<sup>38</sup>

(Ljutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015, p.292, Example 2)

Ljutikova & Pereltsvaig argue that sentences like (41), in fact, can only have the majority reading.<sup>39</sup>

In Uzbek, obtaining the majority reading and plurality reading depends on where *eng ko'p* ‘most’ appears in the clause. That is, when *eng ko'p* ‘most’ precedes the subject, it has the majority reading (42a), and when it precedes the object, it has the plurality reading (42b):

- (42) a. *Eng ko'p* odam choy ich-di.  
 most person tea drink-PST  
 ‘The majority of people drank tea.’

38. The explanations and emphasis are by the authors.

39. It has been pointed out to me that in BSC as well, the counterpart of the Russian example has only majority reading, i.e., it is the most salient interpretation (Aljović, pc).

e.g. Zašto najviše ljudi pije koka-kolu, iako znaju da je štetna?  
 Why most people drink coca-cola, even know that is harmful?

- b. Odam-lar *eng ko'p* choy ich-di.  
 person-PL most tea drink-PST  
 'People drank tea the most.'

Hence, whether Uzbek behaves as a DP or NP language depends on the position of MOST.

The generalization (37j) predicts that NP languages disallow clause-mate NPI-licensing under Negative Raising. Uzbek behaves accordingly (43):

- (43) Rayhon Ali-ni *kamida iki yil-dan beri*  
 Rayhon Ali-ACC at least two year-ABL since  
 ko'r-ma-di/ \*ko'r-di.  
 see-NEG-PST/ see-PST  
 'Rayhon hasn't seen Ali in at least two years.'
- (44) Ali [Rayhon-ni (\**kamida iki yil-dan beri*) Toshkent-ga ket-di]  
 Ali Rayhon-ACC at least two year-ABL since T.-DAT go-PST  
 deb o'yla-ma-ydi.  
 COMP think-NEG-PRES  
 'Ali doesn't think that Rayhon went to Tashkent in at least two years.'

The next generalization (35l) concerns the negative concord with complex negative constituents. According to Bošković (2012), negative concord reading is allowed to be absent with complex negative constituents only in DP languages, which otherwise may allow negative concord. Italian is such a language, in which negative concord reading ceases to be available with complex negative constituents, as shown in (45):

- (45) Italian  
 a. Non ho visto nessuno. (Negative Concord Only)  
 NEG have seen nobody  
 'I didn't see anybody.'
- b. [Nessuno studente] ha letto nessun libro. (Double Negation Only)  
 no student has read no book
- (46) Turkish  
 Hiçbir çocuk hiçbir kitab-ı oku-ma-di.  
 no child no book-ACC read-NEG-PAST  
 'No child read any book.' (Negative Concord/\*Double Negation)  
 (Bošković & Şener, 2014, p. 104, Example (7)–(8))

Bošković and Şener notes that Turkish allows only negative concord reading in similar configurations, and double negation reading is not allowed (46). This analysis holds for Uzbek, too, as seen in (47):



- (47) Hech qaysi o'quvchi hech qaysi mashq-ni yoz-ma-di.  
 no student no exercise-ACC write-NEG-PST  
 'No student wrote any exercise.' (Negative Concord/\*Double Negation)

The generalization (35m) maintains that radical pro-drop (i.e., the productive pro-drop of subjects and objects without being licensed by rich agreement morphology on the verb) is allowed only in article-less languages. According to Bošković, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Thai and Turkish belong in this group of languages, which allow radical pro-drop. However, Turkish, unlike other languages categorized in this group, is a language with very rich verbal morphology. Bošković acknowledges that Turkish allows subject pro-drop due to its subject agreement feature (Spanish-style subject pro-drop). However, Turkish also allows object pro-drop, although it lacks object agreement. The presence of object-drop in the absence of rich object agreement is the reason why Bošković considers Turkish as a radical pro-drop language. However, an alternative way of accounting for Turkish object pro-drop is presented by Neeleman and Szendrői (2008). The main argument proposed by Neeleman and Szendrői is that a language will allow radical pro-drop if its personal pronouns are agglutinating for case, number, and/or other nominal features. That is, the factor that determines whether radical pro-drop is allowed is the morphological characteristics of the pronominal paradigm. Moreover, radical pro-drop is only possible in languages with non-fusional (i.e., transparent) pronominal paradigm, and it is blocked by fusional case. Thus, languages allow pro drop to the extent their verbal agreement paradigm expresses the  $\varphi$ -features required for local recovery of the content of dropped arguments, and the morphological characteristics of the pronominal paradigm determine whether radical pro-drop is allowed or disallowed. Namely, a language which allows radical pro-drop has pronouns that either do not vary for case (48) or, if they do show variation, case morphology is agglutinating (49):

- (48) Chinese  
 Ta kanjian ta le. (no case)  
 he see he PERF  
 'He saw him.'
- (49) Japanese  
 Kare-ga kare-o setokusuru. (agglutinative case morphology)  
 he-NOM he-ACC persuade  
 'He persuades him.' (Neeleman & Szendrői, 2008, p. 332, Example (3)–(4))

Languages such as English or Italian, on the other hand, exhibit fusional case on their pronouns, and disallow radical pro-drop. This is evident in English, e.g., 'he' is the form fusing three morphological properties 3rd person singular masculine; hence, English does not allow omission of pronouns.

As mentioned earlier, Uzbek is an agglutinative language, and its agglutinative nature creates transparency in regular, easily separable morphological structures, where the content is easily matched with its decomposable structures. The same transparency applies to the pronominal paradigm, i.e., case-marking suffixes are clearly separated from the pronominal stem. Under Neeleman and Szendrői's analysis, radical pro drop should be allowed in Uzbek, and this prediction is borne out.

- (50) a. (Men-Ø) sen-i ko'r-di-m.  
 I-NOM you-ACC see-PST-1SG  
 'I saw you.'
- b. Sen-ga ular-ni k'orsat-di-m.  
 you-DAT they-ACC show-PST-1SG  
 'I showed them to you.'

Accordingly, radical pro-drop can be correlated with agglutinating and analytic morphology in DP, and thus seems to be allowed or disallowed due to independent reasons, rather than the presence or absence of DP in a certain language. Neeleman and Szendrői (2008) propose a structure for the spell-out rule of pronouns, which implies that the extended nominal projection consists of NP, dominated by DP, and DP is dominated by KP (i.e., Case Phrase).<sup>40</sup>

The motivation for KP is based on Weerman and Evers-Vermuel's (2002) argument that pronouns in most cases correspond to larger structures than D or N. The evidence to support this argument comes from the distribution of Dutch possessive pronouns. As demonstrated in (51a), regular possessive pronouns realize D, and the pronoun *mijn* 'my' is in complementary distribution only with the determiner *de* 'the' (not with any other material in the nominal domain). The next type of possessive pronoun in (51b), by virtue of its distribution spells out NP, and the third type spells out DP or KP (51c).

- (51) a. **Mijn**<sub>D</sub> mooie boek is gestolen. (Dutch)  
 my beautiful book is stolen  
 'My beautiful book has been stolen.'
- b. De **mijne**<sub>NP</sub> is gestolen.  
 the mine is stolen  
 'Mine is been stolen.'
- c. **Mijnes**<sub>DP/KP</sub> is gestolen.  
 mine is stolen  
 'Mine has been stolen.'

40. The DP hypothesis is based on Abney (1987) and motivation for KP is discussed in Bittner & Hale 1996; Neeleman & Weerman 1999, among others. Neeleman and Szendrői (2008) accept that there is cross-linguistic variation in the structure of the extended nominal projection, but they take KP and NP to be universal.

To sum up, on this account, phonetically null arguments are regular pronouns in syntax (i.e., not a special lexical element ‘pro’), which fail to be realized at the PF interface. In addition, languages that allow radical pro-drop have available spell-out rule for pronouns, as in (52):

$$(52) \quad [KP +p, -a] \Leftrightarrow \emptyset$$

Consequently, in languages with pronouns that are fusional for case (like English), radical pro-drop is impossible due to the fact that an overt pronominal forms a block for the zero spell-out rule by virtue of realizing a bundle of features. In languages where case is expressed in a morpheme which is independent from the stem, as in Japanese or Uzbek, radical pro-drop is expected to be possible, as the zero spell-out rule which gives rise to radical pro-drop is not blocked by the spell-out rules for overt pronouns.

Bošković’s next generalization concerns inverse scope (35o). According to this, inverse scope is unavailable in article-less languages for examples like in (53), while in DP languages there is a variation with respect to allowing/disallowing this interpretation. English, for instance, allows both interpretations, as in (53b) and (53c).

- (53) a. Someone loves everyone.  
 b. For each  $x$ ,  $x$  a person, there is  $y$ ,  $y$  a person, such that  $x$  loves  $y$ .  
 c. There is  $y$ ,  $y$  a person such that for each  $x$ ,  $x$  a person, it is true that  $x$  loves  $y$ .

Bošković and Şener (2014) present (54) to show that inverse scope is not available in Turkish, i.e., the object *her sandalye* ‘every chair’ cannot take scope over the subject *iki öğrenci* ‘two students’ (p. 107, Example 20).

- (54) iki öğrenci her sandalye-yi kır-mış  
 two student-NOM every chair-ACC crush-evidential. past  
 ‘Two students crushed every chair.’

Contrary to the claim this generalization makes, Uzbek allows both interpretations in the counterpart of English examples like (53). As shown in (55) below, the object *bir kitob* ‘one book’ can take scope over the subject *har talaba* ‘every student’.

- (55) Har talaba bir kitob-ni o’qi-di. (Uzbek)  
 every student one book-ACC read-PST  
 ‘Every student read one book.’  
 a. For each  $x$ ,  $x$  a person, there is  $y$ ,  $y$  a book, such that  $x$  read  $y$   
 b. There is  $y$ ,  $y$  a book such that for each  $x$ ,  $x$  a person, it is true that  $x$  read  $y$ .

According to the generalization (35p), only in DP languages, possessors may induce an exhaustivity presupposition, as in (56) from (Bošković & Şener, 2014, p. 4, Example 9–10).

(56) Zhangsan's three sweaters

(57) Zhangsan de [san jian maoxianyi] (Chinese)  
 Z DE<sub>POSS</sub> three CL sweater  
 'Zhangsan's three sweaters'

Bošković and Şener argue that English Example (56) has the presupposition 'Zhangsan has exactly three sweaters' while the exhaustivity presupposition is absent from the Chinese Example (57). Authors extend this analysis to languages such as Russian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Chinese, Japanese and Turkish and claim that these languages lack the exhaustive presupposition reading with their possessives. However, Kagan and Pereltsvaig (2011) and Pereltsvaig (2013) affirm that this generalization does not hold for Russian, and the exhaustivity presupposition depends on word order permutations. Specifically, if a possessor precedes a numeral, it triggers the exhaustivity presupposition (58a), but if a possessor follows a numeral, it does not (58b).

(58) Russian

a. Moi dva syna uže zakončili školu.  
 my.NOM two sons already finished school  
 'My two sons have already graduated from school.'

b. Dva moix syna uže zakončili školu.  
 two my.GEN sons already finished school  
 'Two of my sons have already graduated from school.'

(Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015, p. 291, Example (1a–b))

Pereltsvaig (2013) asserts that the sentence in (58b) can be used if the speaker has more than two sons and some of them are still in school, while the same does not hold true for (58a). Moreover, the possessive carries different case morphology in (58a) and in (58b), which means that it occupies distinct structural positions, which are not the result of a surface word order manipulation.<sup>41</sup>

41. If the different positions were the result of movement, the same case morphology would be expected.

Likewise, Aljović (2000, 2001) argues that the exhaustivity reading is available in B/C/S, and the variation in meaning depends on the ordering of the numeral and the possessive.<sup>42</sup>

- (59) Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
- a. pet njegovih sinova  
 five his.GEN.PL sons.GEN.PL  
 'five of his sons'
- b. njegovih pet sinova  
 his.GEN.PL five sons.GEN.PL  
 'his five sons' (Aljović, 2001, p. 134, Example (4b–c))

Uzbek exhibits similar word order permutations with a possessive and a numeral. Most importantly, it allows one of the word orders to have an exhaustive interpretation.

- (60) a. Men-ing ikki o'gl-im  
 1SG-GEN two son-1SG  
 'my two sons'
- b. O'gil-lar-im-ning ikki-si  
 son-PL-1SG-GEN two-3SG  
 'two of my sons'

As seen in (60a), the exhaustive reading of the possessors is possible in Uzbek, and in fact, this is the only reading available. In order to have a non-exhaustive (partitive) reading of the possessive, Uzbek has to use a partitive construction (60b), where the numeral acts as the head of the entire nominal expression.<sup>43</sup> Evidently, neither Uzbek nor B/C/S and Russian conform to the generalization (35p).

One of the arguments proposed by Bošković (2012) concerns violations of Binding Conditions B and C in NP languages like B/C/S, while in DP languages like English no such violations exist. Following Despić (2011), Bošković claims that in English, the possessor does not c-command out of the noun phrase; hence, the possessor inside the subject noun phrase is allowed to be co-indexed with the pronoun in the clause. On the other hand, according to Despić (2011) and Bošković

42. The original glosses for the examples in (99) are translated into English and simplified since the exact morphological glossing is not relevant for the point being made here. The B/C/S numeral in both examples assigns genitive case to the noun and its modifier.

43. In Chapter 4, we will see that such genitive marked possessors are noun phrases occupying a Specifier position of a nominal functional head responsible for the genitive case assignment.

(2012), this type of co-indexing is not allowed in B/C/S. This explanation holds true if only we assume that the possessor is an NP-adjunct, and not a specifier of a functional head. Consequently, due to the lack of DP in the language, the possessor is able to c-command out of the subject noun phrase. As shown in (61), English possessive is not able to c-command outside the nominal phrase because c-commanding is prevented by the presence of DP, and coreference between *his* and *Tarantino* obtains easily in (61a) and (61b). However, the same coreference is claimed to be impossible for B/C/S example in (62).

- (61) a. [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>His<sub>i</sub></sub> latest movie] really disappointed Tarantino<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. Tarantino<sub>i</sub>'s latest movie really disappointed him<sub>i</sub>.
- (62) a. \* [<sub>NP</sub> Kusturicin<sub>i</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> najnoviji film]] ga<sub>i</sub> je zaista razočarao.  
 Kusturica's latest movie him is really disappointed  
 'Kusturica's latest movie really disappointed him<sub>i</sub>.'  
 b. \* [<sub>NP</sub> Njegovi<sub>i</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> najnoviji film]] je zaista razočarao  
 his latest movie is really disappointed  
 Kusturicu<sub>i</sub>.  
 Kusturica  
 'His<sub>i</sub> latest movie really disappointed Kusturica.'  
 (Despić, 2011, p. 31)

Bošković (2012) claims that article-less languages such as Chinese, Japanese, B/S/C, Russian and Turkish<sup>44</sup> exhibit this type of binding violations. However, Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015) challenge Bošković's analysis and show that binding restrictions do not hold for Russian. As shown in (63) the possessive within the subject

44. Bošković & Şener's (2014, p. 9) Turkish Example (25a), given in (i) here is acceptable at least for some speakers (including myself) and it has no binding violations, while their (25b) is ungrammatical due to the overt pronoun *onun* 'his' without which the example is grammatical, and presents no violation in terms of binding (Example ii).

- (i) a. \* [Özpetek<sub>i</sub>-in film]-i o<sub>i</sub>-nu hayal kırıklığına uğrat-tı.  
 Ö.-GEN movie-3s.POSS he-ACC disappoint-PAST  
 'Özpetek's movie disappointed him.'  
 (Bošković & Şener, 2014, p. 9, Example 25)
- b. \* [o<sub>i</sub>-nun film]-i Özpetek<sub>i</sub>-i hayal kırıklığına uğrat-tı.  
 he-GEN movie-3s.POSS Ö.-ACC disappoint-PAST  
 'His movie disappointed Özpetek.'
- (ii) [film]-i Özpetek<sub>i</sub>-i hayal kırıklığına uğrat-tı.  
 movie-3s.POSS Ö.-ACC disappoint-PAST  
 'His movie disappointed Özpetek.'

noun phrase can be co-indexed with another nominal element in the clause without causing a binding violation.

- (63) a. Papina<sub>i</sub> pervaja kniga srazu sdelala ego<sub>i</sub> znamenitym.  
 dad's first book immediately made him famous  
 'Dad<sub>i</sub>'s first book immediately made him<sub>i</sub> famous.'
- b. Ego<sub>i</sub> pervaja kniga srazu sdelala papu<sub>i</sub> znamenitym.  
 his first book immediately made Dad famous  
 'His<sub>i</sub> first book immediately made Dad<sub>i</sub> famous.'
- (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015, p. 293, Example (6))

Apparently, contrary to Bošković, some speakers of B/C/S allow the same binding patterns as in Russian (63), as affirmed by data in (64):<sup>45</sup>

- (64) a. Tatina<sub>i</sub> prva knjiga odmah ga<sub>i</sub> je učinila slavnim.  
 dad's first book immediately him.CL.AUX made famous  
 'Dad's first book made him famous immediately.'
- b. Njegova<sub>i</sub> prva knjiga odmah je učinila tatu<sub>i</sub>  
 his first book immediately CL.AUX. made dad  
 slavnim.  
 famous  
 'His first book immediately made Dad famous.'

Lastly, let us consider Uzbek examples in (65) which show that in Uzbek as well, the possessive within the subject noun phrase (visible through the possessive agreement on the head noun in (65a) in bold), and the genitive marked noun in (65b) *Jahon-ning* can be co-indexed with another nominal element in the clause.

- (65) a. Ota-si<sub>i</sub> Jahon<sub>i</sub>-ni juda aqlli deb hisobla-ydi.  
 father-3SG Jahon-ACC very intelligent COMP consider-PRES.3SG  
 'His father considers Jahon very intelligent.'
- b. Jahon<sub>i</sub>-ning ota-si uni<sub>i</sub> juda aqlli  
 Jahon-GEN father-3SG him very intelligent  
 deb hisobla-ydi.  
 COMP consider-PRES.3SG  
 'Jahon's father considers him very intelligent.'

The data in (63)–(65) and Footnote 44 (ii) show Turkish, Uzbek, Russian and B/C/S in a different light. Namely, they pattern together but not as we would expect if their possessors were NP-adjoined (contra Despić, 2013 and Bošković & Šener, 2014).

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45. This was suggested to me by Nadira Aljović, p.c.

To summarize, although Uzbek seems to fare with a number of NP/DP generalizations and behave as expected from so-called NP languages, it is important to note that these generalizations may as well hold for independent reasons. In some cases, we have also seen that Uzbek behaves in the opposite way from what would be expected from an NP language (e.g., the exhaustivity reading of ‘most’). What is more important, a great number of Bošković’s (2012) generalizations cannot be tested for independent reasons like non-existence of categories or configurations in Uzbek. Furthermore, among the ones that can be tested, some can be confirmed by Uzbek data – such as generalizations concerning negative raising and majority reading. Others may be confirmed due to involving constructions and properties that can be attributed to independent factors (e.g., generalizations about radical pro-drop and inverse scope). Admittedly, this quick survey of Bošković’s (op.cit) generalizations cannot convincingly demonstrate that Uzbek is a language of the “NP type” or of the “DP type”, and thus cannot be used to argue against classifying Uzbek as either of these two categories. Nevertheless, my aim was to show that testing Uzbek leaves us in a state of indeterminacy, chiefly due to the impossibility of doing a considerable number of tests, and due to the existence of alternative and independent explanations of certain patterns attributed to the NP (article-less) nature by Bošković (op.cit) and Bošković & Şener (2014). Last but foremost, discussed data revealed controversial points regarding Uzbek (also Russian and B/C/S), i.e., Uzbek behaved as expected from DP languages. I will leave a more detailed investigation of Bošković’s (2012) generalizations to future research. In the following section, I will turn to the summary of other approaches that studied article-less languages.

## 2.5 DP-approaches to article-less languages (Slavic and Turkic)

According to Longobardi (2001), Slavic languages do not have definite or indefinite lexical articles, but they possess more complex determiner-like elements such as possessives, demonstratives and quantifiers. As such, they represent a type of language that allows all kinds of argument bare nominals. There are two main views about the structure of nominal expressions and the DP hypothesis regarding Slavic languages without articles. Some authors argue for the presence of functional layers above NP, including DP, despite the absence of the determiner category in these languages (primarily articles), while others correlate the absence of the determiner category with the absence of DP. One of the earliest proponents of a DP analysis in Slavic (i.e., B/C/S) is Progovac (1998) who provides evidence for the DP projection based on noun/pronoun asymmetries, where the nouns follow and pronouns precede intensifying adjectives.



## (66) Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

- a. I [samu Mariju] to nervira  
and alone.ACC Mary.ACC that.NOM irritates  
'That irritates even Mary.'
- b. ?\*I [Mariju samu] to nervira.  
and Mary.ACC alone.ACC that.NOM irritates
- c. I [nju samu] to nervira.  
and her.ACC alone.ACC that.NOM irritates  
'That irritates even her.'
- d. ?\*I [samu nju] to nervira.  
and alone.ACC her.ACC that.NOM irritates

(Progovac, 1998, p. 167, Example (7))

Progovac proposes that both nouns and pronouns are merged in the same position in (66), but pronouns move to a higher functional head, namely D, and appear before the adjective *samu* 'alone'. This analysis provides evidence for N-to-D movement in B/C/S, which has also been attested in a number of other languages (e.g. Ritter, 1991 for Hebrew; Longobardi, 1994 for Italian), and supports the view that the functional D is projected in article-less languages as well.

Leko (1999) maintains that there is a DP projection in B/C/S despite the lack of definite articles. According to Leko, there is no evidence of overt N-to-D raising in B/C/S (contra Progovac, 1998) and the DP head is usually empty, but it carries the referential features of the noun phrase. Despite the fact that B/C/S does not possess articles, definiteness can be expressed by means of two different forms of adjectives, indefinite and definite forms. Leko postulates a functional head Def for B/C/S, which determines the form of the adjective. If the feature of the Def head is specified [+Def], the definite form of the adjective will be used, the morphological form of which is checked in the Def head. Subsequently, Leko postulates DefP above AgrP, an immediate extended projection of NP, where gender, number and case agreement of adjectives are checked. Moreover, Leko argues for the existence of NumP where number features are located, and on top of NumP there is PossP, the specifier position of which is reserved for possessives. Finally, demonstratives, which precede all other pronominal adjectives and numerals, occupy the topmost projection, DP. Leko proposes the following structure of the DP for B/C/S: [DP [PossP [NumP [DefP [AgrP [NP]]]]]]. Following Giusti (1993, 1997), Leko proposes that demonstratives occupy the specifier position universally. This proposal is based on the fact that in many languages, demonstratives and possessives can co-occur with articles (e.g. Greek, Hungarian, Italian among others). Therefore, Leko asserts that Spec DP position in B/C/S is reserved for demonstratives (*ovaj* 'this', *taj* 'this/that', *onaj* 'that') or demonstrative phrases (*tamo onaj* 'that one over there'). Semantically, demonstratives may perform a similar function to the English article *the*, i.e., they express definiteness. Likewise, indefinite

determiners *neki* 'some' and *jedan* 'one, some' have a similar function to English *a/an* in that, they express indefiniteness. This analysis is supported by the same ordering restrictions as in the case of demonstratives (Leko, 1999, p. 240–241).

According to Despić (2015), there is a correlation between the crosslinguistic distribution of reflexive possessives and definiteness marking. Building on Reuland (2007, 2011), he argues that reflexive possessives are available only in languages that do not have definiteness marking or mark definiteness postnominally. Languages that have article-like definiteness marking, on the other hand, lack reflexive possessives. Based on these assumptions, Despić (2015) proposes a particular approach to reflexive binding, namely: (i) binding domains are stated in terms of phases, (ii) in addition to CPs and vPs, DPs are phases, and (iii) DP is not universal (p. 1). In a broader context, Despić emplaces his proposal within the phase theory and asserts that the syntactic representation of (in)definiteness is the most important factor in determining the phasehood status of nominal categories.

Among all Turkic languages, Turkish is the most widely studied language. There are proponents of DP projection in Turkish (e.g., Kornfilt 1991; Aygen 2003), and there are also opponents of this view (Öztürk 2005; Bošković & Şener 2014).

Aygen (2003) studies subject relativization in Turkish and argues that Turkish fills the D position through N-to-D movement. Subject relativization is a structure corresponding to relative clauses in English where the relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause (e.g. 'a child who went ...'). Turkish also has object relativization, corresponding to English relative clauses with a relative pronoun occurring as an object inside the relative clause (e.g. 'a child whom John saw'). In subject relativization structures, the verb has no agreement morphology, while in object relativization structures, the subject is in genitive case and the predicate verb agrees with this subject in person and number. Subject relativization is illustrated in (67a), and object relativization is illustrated in (67b) below:

- (67) a. [Ankara-ya gid-en] çocuk  
 Ankara-DAT go-REL child  
 'The child who goes/went to Ankara'
- b. [Hasan-in gör-düğ-ü] çocuk  
 Hasan-GEN see-REL-AGR child  
 'The child whom Hasan saw.' (Aygen 2003, p. 201, Example (1)–(2))

Aygen (2003) assumes that Turkish, being a language with no articles, fills the D position through N-to-D movement. She posits that subject relativizations are adjunctions to NP, while object relativizations are adjunction to DP.

Kornfilt (1991) argues for an extended functional structure of nominals in Turkish. She considers that Turkish gradually developed functional categories such as CP, IP, DP, and AgrP. Kornfilt asserts that these functional projections bring along new syntactic positions in the clausal and phrasal architecture of

contemporary Turkish, thus providing landing sites for movement operations. According to Kornfilt, functional projections are a novelty for Turkic languages, and some East Asian Altaic languages such as Sakha do not have certain functional projections. Kornfilt's diachronic data analysis shows that functional categories were absent in Old Turkic. By examining relative clauses in contemporary Turkish which are CPs, Kornfilt shows that in Old and Middle Turkic these structures were not CPs or even IPs, but possibly bare VPs. Kornfilt draws this conclusion on the basis of the fact that Old Turkic did not have agreement morphology. This comparison is shown in (68) for Modern Turkish and (69) for Old Turkic:

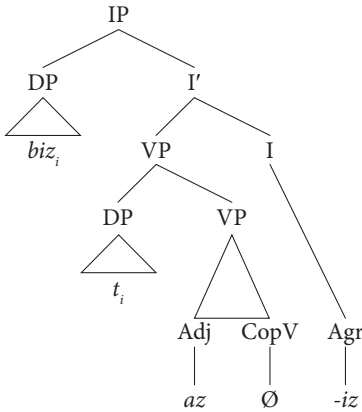
(68) *biz az-iz* (Modern Turkish)

*we few-1PL*  
'We are few'

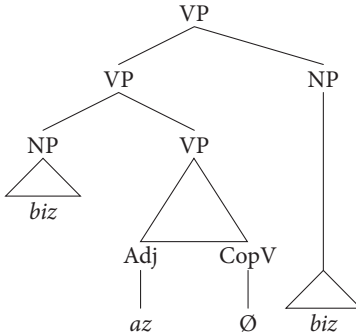
(69) *biz az biz* (Old Turkic)

*we few we*  
'We are few'

(70) a. Modern Turkish



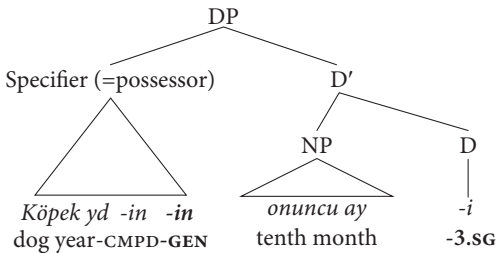
b. Old Turkic



Moreover, Kornfilt provides examples from possessive phrases to show that Modern Turkish has a structural case assigned to the phrase in a specifier, licensed by the functional head of the projection, while Old Turkic has a default case (nominative) and no functional element licensing it. This is demonstrated in (71a) for Old Turkic and in (71b) for Modern Turkish:

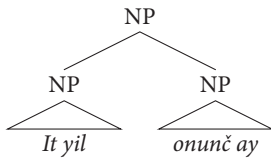
- (71) a. qaYan it yıl onunç ay alti otuz-ga uça bardı  
 khan dog year tenth month six thirty-LOC died  
 ‘The Kagan passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month on the Year of the Dog.’
- b. kağan köpek yıl-ın -ın onuncu ay-ın-ın  
 kagan dog year-3.AGR-GEN tenth month-3.AGR-GEN  
 yirmi altı-sın-da öl-dü.  
 26-3.AGR-LOC die-PST  
 ‘The Kagan passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month on the Year of the Dog.’

- (72) a. Modern Turkish



‘The tenth month of the Year of the Dog’

- b. Old Turkic



‘The tenth month of the Year of the Dog’

Kornfilt (2015) asserts that in Modern Turkish possessive phrases like (72a), the genitive case has to be checked via the  $\phi$ -feature agreement element (see also Kornfilt, 2003, 2006, 2000). In Old Turkic counterpart in (72b), on the other hand, the specifiers (possessors) of the possessive phrase are bare, i.e., there is no case element. Kornfilt proposes that in Old Turkic examples, bare nominals in specifier positions are in the nominative case, i.e., morphologically null, and the nominative is a default case in Old Turkic. Unlike Modern Turkish, possessive phrases in Old Turkic are bare NPs, which are not dominated by functional projections. Therefore,

there is no morpho-phonologically realized agreement morpheme and no overt genitive case. In this account, nominative does not need a licenser by virtue of being a default case. Based on the comparative analysis of Modern Turkish and Old Turkic possessor constructions, passive constructions and relative clauses, Kornfilt concludes that there is no real syntactic movement in Old Turkic, neither is subject marked for any dedicated case, except for the default case. Relative clauses in Old Turkic do not have any relativization morpheme on the predicate that would signal the type of the clause. In Modern Turkish, the placement of agreement markers on the predicate, and the presence of a special nominalization morpheme on the verb of the relative clause demonstrate the CP status of the clause.

A distinctive approach is followed in Pereltsvaig (2006, 2007, 2013) and Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2013, 2015) to analyze the syntactic structure of noun phrases in article-less languages. This approach is based on the idea that not only languages with articles, but also article-less languages can have functional projections above N. Building on the parallelism between the internal structure of clauses and noun phrases, Pereltsvaig (2006) introduces the category of Small Nominals and defines them as “nominals that are not projected fully as DPs, but rather lack some or all functional projections” (p. 1). She draws a parallel between Small Nominals and Small Clauses to show that both lack some or all functional projections, i.e., the former lack DP and the latter lack TP. The analysis of Small Nominals in Russian (Pereltsvaig, 2006) is extended to Tatar, a Turkic language, in Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2013, 2015). This study argues for a rich nominal functional structure and existence of both fully projected nominals and Small Nominals in Tatar. In Chapter 4, I will adopt this approach for my discussion of Uzbek nominals, and will present arguments to support the existence of Small Nominals and fully projected nominals in Uzbek, which in turn, will entail the projection of functional layers in a language that lacks the category of articles.

## 2.6 Summary of the chapter

To summarize, most of the work on the structure of nominal expressions has been based on Abney (1987) whose DP Hypothesis made it possible to reevaluate different aspects of nominal expressions. Abney’s proposal in favor of treating nominal structures in parallel with verbal structures has been supported by cross-linguistic empirical data. I have reviewed some morphological, syntactic and semantic motivations for the postulation of the functional layers in the nominal domain. With respect to morphological evidence, Abney discusses languages such as Yupik, Hungarian and Turkish, where the head noun agrees with the possessor in number and person, in the same manner the verb agrees with the subject. As for the syntactic

evidence, argument structure, cross-linguistic variation in word order, and head-movement phenomena provide ample evidence in support of the DP. Semantically, the DP/NP distinction is supposed to match the predicate/argument distinction. This view stems from the standard semantic analysis which treats bare nouns as type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ , i.e., as predicates, while treating the determiner as a type-shifter whose function is to yield an entity of type  $e$ , the type for arguments. Namely, a nominal expression can function as an argument only if it is introduced by the category D. Hence,  $[_{DP}[_D \text{ NP}]]$  is postulated to be the cross-linguistic structure for nominal expressions. These motivations will become relevant in the next two chapters where I adopt a DP-approach to the analysis of Uzbek nominals.

In the second part of this chapter, I have discussed Chierchia's (1998) Nominal Mapping Parameter and showed that the term "bare nominal" can be used to refer to Uzbek caseless nominals, singular or plural, appearing without any determiner-like elements. Moreover, we have seen that Uzbek bare nominals cannot refer to kinds; neither can they function as antecedents to pronominals. Additionally, they have a narrow scope interpretation with respect to other quantifiers or operators. It has been concluded then, that Uzbek bare nominals cannot count as [+arg] in Chierchia's system, and unless introduced by indefinite *bir*, they can have kind and generic reference. All these points have led to the conclusion that Uzbek case marking has a type-shifting property, similar to definite determiners in Romance. Namely, it turns [+pred] nominals into [+arg] nominals. Importantly, Uzbek does not entirely exclude bare nouns from argument positions, but as we will see in Chapter 3 and 4 in more detail, caseless bare nouns have a very restricted distribution and restricted interpretive (referential) properties. We have seen that Uzbek, a language without articles, does not fit into the same class as Slavic article-less languages, and instead, it patterns with Romance article languages. Significantly, in the example of Uzbek we have seen that languages without articles can fit in different categories predicted by Chierchia's Nominal Mapping Parameter.

The points made above with respect to Chierchia's analysis have led us to check yet another hypothesis, namely, Parameterized DP-hypothesis (Bošković, 2008, 2012). Primarily, we have seen that a great number of Bošković's (2012) generalizations could not be tested because relevant categories/structures do not exist in Uzbek. Although some generalizations have been confirmed by Uzbek data, other constructions and properties could be attributed to independent factors. I have concluded that this quick survey of Bošković's generalizations cannot definitively categorize Uzbek as a DP or NP language due to the impossibility of checking a considerable number of predictions, and possibility of alternative and independent explanations of certain patterns attributed to so-called NP languages.

Finally, I have finished this chapter by summarizing different approaches to Slavic and Turkic languages, which show variation in explaining the nominal domain.



## Determiners within the DP

### Interpretation and architecture

With the postulation of the DP-hypothesis, a special head D has been introduced to encode the referential properties of noun phrases. The category D has been correlated with a number of distinct syntactic and semantic properties such as being the locus of the definite article, a place to mark the semantic-pragmatic notion of (in)definiteness, a type-shifter, and the most relevant to our study, a case assigner.

The category D selects a noun phrase as its complement and projects DP. In some languages, for a noun phrase to function as an argument, it has to be introduced by a determiner, whereas a noun phrase without a determiner can only have predicative function. Given this, the functional head D is argued to establish the argumenthood of nominals. By virtue of being a natural locus of the definite article, the syntactic position or the category D and semantic effects created by the definite article have often been amalgamated. Because the definite article is a quintessential occupant of the position D, the association of D with the article is undeniable. However, assigning referentiality or argumenthood to a noun phrase is not a characteristic feature of the definite article alone. There are many languages which do not have a special category of articles, yet they express definiteness/specificity by means of other syntactic and semantic mechanisms. One such category is case, and the interaction of case and referentiality is a well-attested phenomenon in numerous languages. As it will be demonstrated in the second part of this chapter, this holds true about Uzbek as well. I will discuss the interaction of case with semantic notions of definiteness/specificity and referentiality in Uzbek, and label the case assigning functional head as D, which is instantiated by an agreement suffix in Uzbek. I will also present Uzbek demonstratives in the light of proposals regarding the semantics and syntax of demonstratives (Giusti, 1997, 2002; Lyons, 1999), and show that Uzbek demonstratives possess deictic and anaphoric usages, and that they are inherently definite (in the sense of Lyons, 1999).



### 3.1 The article and the notion of “definiteness”

As discussed in Alexiadou et al. (2007), the article is a subordinator, parallel to complementizers, which turns a noun into a referential expression. After being assigned referentiality, the noun phrase can be used as an argument of a verb or a preposition. Moreover, the article ‘grammaticalizes’ the semantic-pragmatic concept of definiteness, which is associated with the notions of uniqueness and identifiability. Due to its particular syntactic and semantic/pragmatic functions, and its essential role in the structure and interpretation of noun phrases, the article is analyzed as a head that projects its own functional category DP. This analysis is based on languages with overt morphological articles, and the definite article *per se* is viewed as the means of expressing definiteness and referentiality/argumenthood, rather than being one among other means of obtaining this semantic/pragmatic effect. Alexiadou et al. (2007) inquire into the questions whether argumenthood, referentiality, and definiteness are properties of the article itself or of the syntactic category D, which is typically instantiated by the definite article.

Giusti (1993, 1997, 2002) considers that the article is just a grammatical morpheme without a semantic content – which implies that definiteness, argumenthood and referentiality are attributable to the D and the DP. To support this argument Giusti (2002) provides examples from German, where articles are used to realize nominal  $\phi$ -features and case marking.

- (1) a. die Zubereitung \*(*des*) Kaffees (German)  
 the preparation of \*(the.GEN) coffee  
 ‘the preparation of coffee’
- b. Ich ziehe (\**den*) Kaffee \*(*dem*) Tee vor.  
 I draw \*(the.ACC) coffee \*(the-DAT) tea for  
 ‘I prefer coffee to tea.’
- c. Ich trinke gerne (\**den*) Kaffee.  
 I drink gladly \*(the.ACC) coffee  
 ‘I enjoy drinking coffee.’ (Giusti, 2002, p. 67)

The determiner is required with the genitive marked noun *Kaffees* in (1a) and dative marked *Tee* in (1b). By contrast, the accusative marked *Kaffee* in (1b) and (1c) does not require a determiner although there is no evident difference regarding the referential status of the nominal. Based on this data, Giusti proposes that the article is required simply to express the genitive or the dative case.

Additionally, Giusti indicates that in a number of languages with enclitic articles, the article is used to realize nominal features. She shows this with examples from Romanian (2), where the bound morpheme *-ul* is suffixed to nouns (or adjectives) in definite noun phrases, as well as indefinite pronouns and quantifiers. In

this usage, the suffix *-ul* functions as a feature marker for gender (masculine in the example), parallel to Italian suffix *-o* which is used for case (from Giusti, 2002, p. 68):

Rumanian	Italian	
un(*ul) băiat	un(*o) ragazzo	“a boy”
nici un(*ul) băiat	nessun(*o) ragazzo	“no boy”
am văzut pe un*(ul)	(ne) ho visto un*( o)	“I saw one”
N-am văzut pe niciun*(ul)	non (ne) ho visto nessun*( o)	“I saw none”
un*(ul) a spus că	un*( o) ha detto che	“Somebody said that ...”
Nici un*(ul) a spus că ...	un*(o) ha detto che	“Nobody said that ...”

Giusti’s further evidence to support the view that the article is devoid of descriptive content is based on the phenomenon known as double definiteness (i.e., determiner spreading). In this type of construction, noun phrases contain more than one token of the definite article (cf. Longobardi, 1994, 1996), as in (3) below (from Giusti, 2002, p. 61–62):

- (3) a. **to oreo to vivlio / to vivlio to oreo** (Greek)  
 the good the book / the book the good  
 ‘the good book’
- b. **djali imire / imir idjalë** (Albanian)  
 boy-the the-good / the good-the boy  
 ‘the good boy’
- c. **băiatul(ce)l frumos / frumosul băiat** (Romanian)  
 boy-the (the) good / good-the boy  
 ‘the good boy’

Based on data in (3), Giusti proposes that the article does not encode definiteness or referentiality as such, and one referent for each article cannot be maintained. Such instances of determiner spreading is considered to be an expletive use of the definite article,<sup>46</sup> where the definite article lacks interpretive content. Accordingly, Giusti postulates that in these constructions, the definite article plays a genuinely grammatical role; namely, it encodes agreement between the noun and its modifiers by bearing  $\phi$ -features and case features.

46. In languages like Greek proper names are used with the definite article, which is also considered to be a similar example of expletive articles. See Alexiadou et al. (2007) Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3 for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon.

In a similar vein, Alexiadou et al. (2007) point out that co-occurrence of the definite article with proper names and demonstratives in languages like Greek and Italian casts doubt on the role of the article as a definiteness/referentiality marker. The following data from Greek and Italian demonstrate this issue (4).

- (4) a. I Topsy irthe. (Greek)  
 the Topsy came  
 'Topsy came.'
- b. Il mio Gianni (Italian)  
 the my Gianni  
 'my Gianni'
- c. afti I ghata (Greek)  
 this the cat  
 'this cat' (Alexiadou et al., 2007, p. 78)

Alexiadou et al. (2007) affirm that proper names are inherently referential (Lyons, 1999) and 'rigid designators' (Kripke, 1972). As such, proper names can be used to directly refer to individuals in the world. In the Examples (4) above, the proper names are used with definite articles. Evidently, the definite article is not contributing to the definiteness or referentiality of the noun phrase since proper names are inherently referential. Therefore, articles used with proper names in languages like Greek are considered to be expletive articles.

Alexiadou et al. (2007) support the most important conclusion of Giusti's discussion and affirm that the definite article does not actually trigger referential interpretation, nor is it necessary for it. Therefore, it should not be considered as an item which bears the referential index of the noun phrase. This insight is confirmed by language-specific behavior of articles on the one hand, and a rather uniform cross-linguistic behavior and distribution of semantic indexicals and operators, such as demonstratives or quantifiers, on the other.

Giusti's (2002) account leads her to adopt the following view about articles and the structural position of D: the two are clearly distinct, with the category D being more abstract and independent from its most typical instantiation, the definite article. Giusti's view that D is the locus of case, and her proposal that case distinctions in a number of languages resemble the definite-indefinite distinction<sup>47</sup> will be pursued further in the following section. More specifically, I will show that case and referentiality are closely connected phenomena in Uzbek, and

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47. See also Lyons (1999) Chapter 9 for a detailed discussion of the historical emergence of definite articles as a result of the loss of case marking on nouns.

a noun phrase has to be assigned case in order to function as an argument and get a referentiality interpretation.<sup>48</sup>

### 3.2 Case, D and referential properties of nominals

The previous section summarized some important views that associate the category D with the assignment of referentiality to its complement noun phrase. Expanding on this, this section will show that in Uzbek and in Turkic languages in general, case morphology implies certain referential interpretations for noun phrases, which are absent in case unmarked nominals.

#### 3.2.1 *The interaction of case and referentiality*

The interaction of case and (in)definiteness has been observed in many languages such as Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish, where case marking interacts with definiteness/indefiniteness, specificity/non-specificity or even partitivity/non-partitivity interpretations.

(5) Hungarian

a. Ette a süteményt.  
ate-3SG-OBJ the pastry-ACC  
'He/She ate the pastry.'

b. Evett a süteményből.  
ate-3SG the pastry-PART<sup>49</sup>  
'He/She ate some of the pastry.'

(Lyons, 1999, p. 218)

Hungarian has both definite article and case. Case marking is used in partitive constructions like (5b) above, where the domain of partitivity is definite. Unlike Hungarian, Finnish uses elative and partitive contrast to distinguish between definite and indefinite domains, as in (6):

(6) Finnish

a. Ostin leipää.  
buy-1PS bread-PART  
'I buy bread.'

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48. Chapter 4 will discuss case assignment and referentiality interpretation of noun phrases in detail. Moreover, syntactic distinctions in terms of internal structure between case-marked and unmarked noun phrases, and their semantic distinctions in terms of interpretation will also be discussed.

49. PART- partitive case

- b. Ostin leivän.  
 buy-1PS bread-ACC  
 'I buy the bread.' (van Geenhoven, 1998)

The interaction between case and definiteness or referentiality meaning of noun phrases is attested in a number of other languages (see the discussion in Lyons, 1999, p. 200). Consider the examples from Old English (7), which had a rich case morphology and lacked determiners, Urdu (8), and Kannada (9):

- (7) Old English  
 a. wælstowe gewald  
 command battlefield-F-GEN  
 'command of the battlefield'  
 b. Oddan bearn  
 Odda-GEN-SG son-NOM-PL  
 'The sons of Odda' (Osawa, 1998)
- (8) Urdu  
 a. Adnaan-ne rotii paka-yii.  
 Adnan-MAS-ERG bread-FEM-NOM COOK-PERF-FEM-SG  
 'Adnaan made (a/the) bread.'<sup>50</sup>  
 b. Adnaan-ne rotii-ko paka-yaa.  
 Adnan-MAS-ERG bread-FEM-ACC COOK-PERF-MAS-SG  
 'Adnaan made a particular/the bread.' (van Geenhoven, 1998)
- (9) Kannada  
 a. Hari pustaka huduk-utt-idd-aane.  
 Hari book look.for-PPL-PROG-3PS  
 'Hari is looking for a/a particular book.'  
 b. Hari pustaaka-vannu huduk-utt-idd-aane.  
 Hari book-ACC look.for-PPL-PROG-3PS  
 'Hari is looking for a particular book.' (Lidz, 1999)

Turkish is another language where overt case morphology directly interacts with the definiteness interpretation of nominals (Sezer, 1972, 1991; Nilsson, 1985, 1986; Enç, 1991; Kornfilt, 1984, 1988, 1995, 1999; Taylan & Zimmer, 1994; Aygen, 1999, 2002; Kelepir, 2001; Öztürk, 2005). In Turkish, as well as in other Turkic languages (see Kornfilt, 2005), an accusative marked object is interpreted as definite

50. According to van Geenhoven (1998) the NOM marked noun like in (8a) can be interpreted as definite or indefinite depending on the context, while ACC marked noun (8b) is always specific/definite.

or specific, while an object not marked for case can only be interpreted as non-specific indefinite. This is seen in the contrast between (10a) and (10b).

- (10) a. Ali kitap oku-du. (Turkish)  
 Ali book read-PST  
 'Ali read a/some book(s).'
- b. Ali kitab-i oku-du.  
 Ali book-ACC read-PST  
 'Ali read the book.'

As indicated by the translation of (10b), the accusative marked object has specific (definite) reference, i.e., it denotes a particular referent presupposed to be familiar to both the speaker and the hearer, or unique in a specific context. While the object without case marking in (10a) is interpreted as 'any book/some book or other' or 'any books'.

As observed by Öztürk (2005, p. 27), Turkish accusative marked objects have a referentiality interpretation, and they can introduce a discourse referent which can serve as an antecedent for a pronoun (11a), while case unmarked object cannot (11b):

- (11) a. Ali kitap okudu. # Reng-i kırmızı-ydı.<sup>51</sup> (non-referential)  
 Ali book read. color-3PS red-PAST  
 'Ali read a/some book. It was red.'<sup>52</sup>
- b. Ali kitab-ı okudu. Reng-i kırmızı-ydı. (referential)  
 Ali book-ACC read color-3PS red-PAST  
 'Ali read the book. It was red.'

In the same manner, case marking interacts with specificity/definiteness reading of nominal expressions in Uzbek. Accusative marked objects have a referentiality interpretation, and they can serve as an antecedent for a pronoun. In (12a) below *olma* 'apple' is interpreted as non-specific indefinite, without a presupposition of existence, or as a weak indefinite in Milsark's (1974) terminology, while in (12b), *olmani* 'apple-ACC' is marked for accusative and is interpreted as definite. Also, consider the contrast between (13a) and (13b).

- (12) a. Hasan olma ye-di. (Uzbek)  
 Hasan apple eat-PST  
 'Hasan ate an/some apple.'

51. The symbol # stands for semantically odd, or contradictory.

52. The English translation does not express the unnaturalness of the continuation in the Turkish example since 'a/some' can imply a specific indefinite reference (a presupposition of a referent) in which case the noun phrases they introduce can act as antecedent for pronouns.

- b. Hasan olma-ni ye-di.  
 Hasan apple-ACC eat-PST  
 'Hasan ate the apple.'
- (13) a. Hasan olma ye-di. #Rang-i yashil edi. (non-referential)  
 Hasan apple eat-PST color-3PS green was  
 lit. 'Hasan ate apple. It was green.'
- b. Hasan olma-ni ye-di. Rang-i yashil edi. (referential)  
 Hasan apple-ACC eat-PST color-3PS green was  
 'Hasan ate the apple. It was green.'

Uzbek data in (13a) shows that case unmarked object *olma* 'apple' lacks referentiality, and thus it cannot function as an antecedent for the pronoun (null in (13)), identifiable by the 3rd person *-i* ending in *rang-i*). On the other hand, the accusative marked object in (13b) is referential in that, it implies a presupposition of existence (specificity) of its referent, and the familiarity of the referent (definiteness). Hence, it can function as an antecedent for the pronoun.

In earlier formulations of the DP hypothesis (e.g., Löbel, 1989, 1993; Giusti, 1993, 1995), D was postulated to host (in)definiteness, gender, number and case features. Additionally, Löbel (1994), following Lamontagne & Travis (1986, 1987), proposes that the nominal domain includes a Case Phrase (KP) which dominates DP. According to this view, DP is split between two categories: (i) a category that bears case features, (ii) a category which hosts the determiner and bears referential features [+/-definite]. Löbel's (1994) primary evidence for postulating a separate functional head for Case is related to the alternation between overtly case marked arguments and case unmarked arguments in languages like Turkish. Consider the contrasts in (14a, b, c):

- (14) a. Mete dün pasta-yi ye-di. (Turkish)  
 Mete yesterday cake-ACC eat-PAST  
 'Mete ate the cake yesterday.'
- b. Mete dün pasta ye-di.  
 Mete yesterday cake eat-PAST  
 'Mete ate cake yesterday.'
- c. \*Mete pasta dün ye-di.  
 Mete cake yesterday eat-PAST

In (14a), the object *pasta* 'cake' is marked with accusative suffix *-yi*, whereas in (14b) the object *pasta* appears without case marking. The case alternation correlates with specific versus non-specific interpretation of the nominal phrase. More importantly, Löbel observes that case marking not only concerns (non)specificity, but also obligatoriness of accusative marking when the object is not adjacent to the verb, as seen in ill-formedness of (14c). This is because accusative marked object appears higher in the structural tree, while case unmarked object has to appear within the VP domain.

Kornfilt (1995, 2003) discusses interaction between specificity and case in Turkish and notes that this phenomenon is well-attested with respect to accusative case (see e.g., Dede, 1986; Enç, 1991; Taylan, 1984; Nilsson, 1986). Additionally, Kornfilt (2003) notes that similar facts hold for other structural cases as well,<sup>53</sup> and only structural cases interact with specificity reading of nouns. Oblique cases,<sup>54</sup> on the other hand, are not sensitive to specificity, or are so only in more indirect, weaker ways. Based on accusative marked direct objects and genitive marked subjects of nominalized clauses, Kornfilt shows that there is a correlation between referential interpretation of nominals and case. She suggests that accusative and genitive cases are realized overtly on specific DPs,<sup>55</sup> while corresponding non-specific nominals do not bear overt case morphemes. Kornfilt outlines the behavior of arguments with structural cases with the following examples (from Kornfilt, 2003, p. 127):

- (15) a. Ahmet dün akşam *pasta-yı* ye -di.  
 Ahmet yesterday evening cake -ACC eat-PAST  
 ‘Yesterday evening, Ahmet ate the cake.’
- b. Ahmet [dün akşam yap -tığ-ım] *şahane pasta-yı*  
 Ahmet yesterday evening make-F.NOM-1SG fantastic cake-ACC  
 ye-di.  
 eat-PAST  
 ‘Ahmet ate the fantastic cake I made yesterday evening.’
- (16) a. (*Bir*) *arı -nın* bugün *cocuğ-u*  
 a bee-GEN today child-ACC  
 sok -tuğ-un]-u duy -du -m  
 sting-F.NOM-3SG-ACC hear-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I heard that the bee/a bee [+specific] stung the child today.’  
 (‘I heard that the bee/a certain bee stung the child today.’)
- b. [*Çocuğ-u* bugün (*bir*) *arı*  
 child-ACC today a bee  
 sok -tuğ -un]-u duy -du -m  
 sting-F.NOM-3SG-ACC hear-PAST-1SG  
 ‘I heard that today bees/a bee [-specific] stung the child’  
 (‘I heard that the child was stung by bees/a bee (or other)’).

53. In Turkish, structural cases are Accusative, Genitive, and Nominative (Kornfilt, 1997, 2003).

54. See Kornfilt (2003) for the detailed discussion of Oblique cases.

55. Under Kornfilt’s analysis, a specific DP is one whose reference is presupposed by the speaker and usually also by the hearer. I kept the original label DP as used by Kornfilt.



In (16a) the subject of the nominalized clause *arı* ‘bee’ is marked genitive, and thus interpreted as specific, while in (16b) it is not marked genitive in the position it appears in the clause, so it is non-specific.

Based on this data, Kornfilt proposes that non-specific direct objects and subjects without structural case are restricted to the immediate preverbal position, while their specific counterparts with overt case marking are not subject to such restriction. Kornfilt extends this generalization to nominative subjects of finite clauses, although this cannot be directly seen since nominative does not correspond to an overt morpheme in Turkish. Nevertheless, Kornfilt supports this point by data in (17) where the nominative subject *arı* ‘bee’ appears in the canonical, clause-initial position, and has a specific interpretation; in the presence of the indefinite marker *bir* ‘one/a’, the subject in (17b) receives a specific-indefinite reading.<sup>56</sup> In (18), the nominative subject *arı* appears before the verb, but follows the object. In this noncanonical position, it has a non-specific interpretation. While in (19), the subject is verb-adjacent and has non-specific indefinite reading due to the presence of indefinite determiner *bir* ‘a/one’.

- (17) a. *Arı* *çocuğ-u* *sok -tu.* (specific definite)  
 a bee child-ACC sting-PAST  
 ‘The bee [+specific] stung the child.’
- b. *Bir arı* *çocuğ-u* *sok -tu.* (specific-indefinite)  
 a bee child-ACC sting-PAST  
 ‘A bee [+specific] stung the child.’
- (18) *Çocuğ-u arı sok -tu.* (non-specific)  
 child-ACC bee sting-PAST  
 ‘Bees stung the child.’
- (19) *Çocuğ-u bir arı sok -tu.* (non-specific indefinite)  
 child-ACC a bee sting-PAST  
 ‘A bee [non-specific] stung the child.’  
 (The child was stung by a bee).

Kornfilt views specific subjects of the kind illustrated in (17) as having “strong” nominative case, whereas non-specific subjects as in (18) and (19) having a general “weak” structural case. According to Kornfilt, the notion of specificity is directly related to the presuppositions made by the speaker concerning the reference of certain DPs. As it is proposed in Kratze (1995) and Diesing (1992), subjects of stage-level predicates are VP-internal, while the complements of individual-level predicates are VP-external. Moreover, specific complements can scramble to a position outside the VP, while nonspecific complements must remain VP-internal

56. Without indefinite determiner, the subject is interpreted as definite (Kornfilt 2003).

(Diesing 1992). Kornfilt (2003) accepts Diesing's (1992) proposal and notes that in Turkish, non-presuppositional nominals remain within the VP, while presuppositional nominals are VP-external.

The interaction of case and referentiality in Uzbek is very similar to Turkish data discussed in Kornfilt (2003). Namely, noun phrases with overt structural case marking are (minimally) specific, while noun phrases without case marking are non-specific. Let us consider examples in (20) below. In (20a), the subject argument *ari* 'bee' is in the canonical subject position, where it has strong nominative case in Kornfilt's sense, and thus interpreted as specific. When *ari* 'bee' occupies a position other than clause-initial subject position, where it has a weak nominative case, it is interpreted as non-specific. The nominative case is not morphologically "visible" in Uzbek, and nominative subjects cannot be contrasted morphologically in relation to their (non-)specific counterparts. However, the contrast between the specific and non-specific interpretations of the subjects can be checked with respect to the position of the subject in the clause (20), or using a negative operator (21).

- (20) a. *Ari bola-ni chaq-di.* (specific definite)  
 bee child-ACC sting-PAST  
 'The bee [+specific] stung the child.'
- b. *Bola-ni ari chaq-di.* (non-specific)  
 child-ACC bee sting-PAST  
 'Bees stung the child.'
- (21) a. *Ari bola-ni chaq-ma-di.*  
 bee child-ACC sting-NEG-PAST  
 'The bee [+specific] didn't sting the child.'
- b. *Bola-ni ari chaq-ma-di (iskabtopar chaq-ti).*  
 child-ACC bee sting-NEG-PAST  
 'It wasn't bees who stung the child (possible implication: but mosquitos).'

In (21a), the subject *ari* 'bee' is interpreted as specific definite, and it takes wide scope over the negative operator. The sentence means that there is a certain bee X and as such X did not sting the child. In (21b), on the other hand, the subject does not appear in its canonical clause initial position, and it has a non-specific reading. Consequently, the sentence does not mean that there is a specific bee, which did not sting the child; rather the negation implies it was not bees (but something else, e.g., mosquitos) that stung the child.

Accusative marked direct objects in Uzbek have a specific interpretation, while case unmarked direct objects are non-specific. Case marked arguments are free to appear in different positions (22), while case unmarked direct objects are restricted to immediately pre-verbal position, as in (23a):

- (22) a. Ali [*yangi kitob-ni*] kecha kechqurun o'qi-di.  
 Ali new book-ACC yesterday evening read-PAST  
 'Ali read the new book [+specific] yesterday evening.'
- b. Ali kecha kechqurun [*yangi kitob-ni*] o'qi-di.  
 Ali yesterday evening [new book-ACC] read-PAST
- c. [*Yangi kitob-ni*] Ali kecha kechqurun o'qi-di.  
 new book-ACC Ali yesterday evening read-PAST
- (23) a. Ali kecha kechqurun [*yangi kitob*] o'qi-di.  
 Ali yesterday evening new book read-PAST  
 'Ali read a new book [-specific] yesterday evening.'
- b. \*Ali [*yangi kitob*] kecha kechqurun o'qi-di.  
 Ali new book yesterday evening read-PAST

Similar observations are made with genitive marked subjects of nominalized clauses, i.e., they can freely appear in various positions within the clause (24).

- (24) a. [Bugun (*bir*) *ari -ning*] bola-ni  
 today a bee-GEN child-ACC  
 chaq -qan -lig -i] -ni eshit-di -m.  
 sting-PST.PTCP-F.NOM-3SG-ACC hear-PAST-1SG  
 'I heard that today, the bee/a bee [+specific] stung the child.'
- b. [(*Bir*) *ari -ning*] bugun bola-ni  
 a bee-GEN today child-ACC  
 chaq -qan -lig -i] -ni eshit-di -m.  
 sting-PST.PTCP-F.NOM-3SG-ACC hear-PAST-1SG  
 'I heard that the bee/a bee [+specific] stung the child today.'

On the other hand, the subject of the nominalized clause is restricted to verb-adjacent position and has non-specific interpretation if it is not marked for genitive.

- (25) a. [Bola-ni bugun (*bir*) *ari*] chaq -qan -lig -i] -ni  
 child-ACC today a bee sting-PST.PTCP-F.NOM-3SG-ACC  
 eshit -di -m.  
 hear-PAST-1SG  
 'I heard that bees/a bee [-specific] stung the child.'
- b. \*[Bola-ni (*bir*) *ari*] bugun chaq -qan -lig -i] -ni  
 child-ACC a bee today sting-PST.PTCP-F.NOM-3SG-ACC  
 eshit-di-m.  
 hear-PAST-1SG
- c. \*[(*Bir*) *ari*] bola-ni bugun chaq -qan -lig -i] -ni  
 a bee child-ACC today sting-PST.PTCP-F.NOM-3SG-ACC

eshit -di -m.  
hear-PAST-1SG

Intended meaning for (25a) and (25b): ‘I heard that bees/a bee [-specific] stung the child.’

In the example of accusative marked direct objects and genitive marked subjects of nominalized clauses on the one hand, and case unmarked direct objects and subjects of nominalized clauses without genitive case on the other, we have observed that the former are specific and the latter are non-specific. By virtue of being specific, overtly case marked arguments can scramble to a position outside the VP, while non-specific arguments must remain inside the VP, in conformity with Kratze’s (1995) and Diesing’s (1992) analyses.

The interaction of genitive case and referentiality is widely studied and well-established in literature on Turkish syntax (Sezer, 1972; Hankamer & Knecht, 1976; Kornfilt, 1999, 2003; Aygen, 2002). Variation in referentiality interpretation of case marked and unmarked nominals is also studied in Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2013, 2015) for Tatar. Similarly, Uzbek data shows that, the presence of genitive case provides grounds for a referential (definite) interpretation of the possessor noun (26a), while its absence (26b) gives rise to a non-referential reading:<sup>57</sup>

- (26) a. Qalam-ning quti-si  
pencil-GEN box-3PS  
‘the box of the pencil’
- b. Qalam quti-si  
pencil box-3PS  
‘a box for pencils’

The difference between case marked and case unmarked arguments is not only semantic (i.e., referential versus non-referential), but also syntactic (i.e., structural). The structural differences between the two types of arguments are the main focus of Chapter 4. I will show that objects with accusative case and genitive-marked possessives are more complex nominals, including functional layers DP and Kase Projection (KP), while case unmarked objects and possessives are Small Nominals *à la* Pereltsvaig (2006). The main discussion of the Chapter 4 will include syntactic and semantic properties of Small Nominals and DP nominals in Uzbek, and their distinctive features in terms of their structural patterns and their representations.

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57. Genitive marked and unmarked possessive constructions in Uzbek will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

### 3.2.2 Case and indefinites

There are two morphological types of indefinites in Uzbek which correlate with either specific or non-specific interpretations; both types are formed with the indefinite determiner *bir* 'a/one'. The feature that distinguishes specific indefinites from non-specific indefinites is the presence of the accusative case morphology. As it has been observed by Enç (1991) for Turkish, indefinites in the object position are unambiguously specific or non-specific. Enç shows that the ambiguity is resolved by case marking, i.e., accusative marked NPs are always specific (27), while NPs without case are non-specific (28).<sup>58</sup>

- (27) Ali bir piano-yu kiralamak istiyor. (Turkish)  
 Ali one piano-ACC to-rent wants  
 'Ali wants to rent a certain piano.'
- (28) Ali bir piano kiralamak istiyor.  
 'Ali wants to rent a piano (implication: any piano will do).  
 (Enç, 1991, p. 5, Example (12)–(13))

Enç (1991) posits that in (27), the object can only be interpreted as having wide scope with respect to *istemek* 'to want', a propositional attitude verb: there is an X, X a piano, such that Ali wants to rent X. On the other hand, (28) means that Ali wants to rent a piano or other, i.e., the nominal *bir piano* 'a/one piano' does not presuppose the existence of any specific piano. This reading corresponds to the narrow scope of the object nominal with respect to the propositional attitude verb.

Similar contrast between specific and non-specific indefinites can be observed in Uzbek. Namely, *bir* + N + ACC will have specific meaning, while *bir* + N without accusative case is non-specific. Consider (29) below: the available interpretations are given in (a', a'') and (b', b'') for both (29a) and (29b). As can be seen, only one interpretation obtains depending on the presence vs. absence of case morphology on the head noun.

- (29) a. Kamola **bir ko'ylak-ni** sot-ib ol-moqchi. (Uzbek)  
 Kamola a dress-ACC buy-CVB take-FUT.3SG  
 a'. \*Kamola wants to buy some dress or other. (non-specific)  
 a'' There is x, x a dress, such that Kamola wants to buy x. (specific)
- b. Kamola **bir ko'ylak** sot-ib ol-moqchi.  
 Kamola a dress buy-CVB take-FUT.3SG  
 b' Kamola wants to buy some dress or other. (non-specific)  
 b'' \*There is x, x a dress, such that Kamola wants to buy x. (specific)

58. Enç (1991) notes that her analysis is different from Belletti's (1988) analysis, which discusses the correlation between case and the "definiteness effect". According to Belletti, the relevant semantic notion is definiteness, but Enç argues that it is specificity.

Determiners in Turkish are divided into two categories: weak and strong determiners (Enç, 1991). Weak determiners are *bir* 'a/one', numerals, and indefinite quantifiers such as *birkaç* 'several/a few', *birçok* 'many' and *az* 'few'. These determiners render case-marked noun phrases as specific indefinite and case unmarked noun phrases as non-specific indefinite. Hence, nominal expressions introduced by weak determiners such as *bir* 'a' or *birkaç* 'several/a few' contrast with nominals which require case morphology (e.g., universally quantifying nominals, proper names and pronouns), and are always interpreted as specific.

This classification proposed by Enç (1991) corresponds precisely to the classification given in Milsark (1974), which distinguishes between *weak determiners* and *strong determiners*. Milsark points out that nominals introduced by numeral determiners or determiners such as *a*, *some*, or *many* can be used in existential sentences, while definite noun phrases and universally quantifying nominals cannot.

- (30) a. There is a cow in the backyard.  
 b. There are many cows in the backyard.  
 c. There are fifteen cows in the backyard.
- (31) a.\* There is Elsie in the backyard.  
 b.\* There is her in the backyard.  
 c.\* There is every cow in the backyard

According to Milsark (1974), nominals allowed to appear in existential sentences contain determiners that can be either quantifiers or cardinality predicates, which he calls *weak determiners*. They contrast with quantificational, i.e., *strong determiners*, which are not allowed in existential sentences. He describes the distribution of the nominals with strong determiners with an argument that *there is* involves existential quantification, and hence it is incompatible with nominals which possess their own quantificational force. On the other hand, weak determiners are allowed in existential constructions by virtue of having non-quantificational interpretation.

Although Milsark's analysis into the duality of weak quantifiers is very important, Enç (1991) asserts that his categorization of the strong nominals as quantificational is problematic since this class includes names and pronouns, which are not on a par with quantifiers. Enç follows Keenan's (1987) analysis instead, which suggests that the nominals allowed in existential sentences have existential determiners. According to Keenan's analysis, English determiner *some* is apparently an existential determiner because it has the same truth condition in (32) and (33) below:

- (32) Some children are cranky.  
 (33) Some cranky children exist.

On the other hand, determiners like *most* and *every* are not existential. This is seen in data below, where (34a) and (35a) are not equivalent to (34b) and (35b), i.e., the examples in (b) do not entail the examples in (a).

- (34) a. Every child is cranky.  
b. Every cranky child exists.
- (35) a. Most children are cranky.  
b. Most cranky children exist.

The nominals defined as non-specific in Enç (1991) are precisely those nominals that are allowed to appear in existential sentences. Enç maintains that existential sentences assert existence, and thus specifics are generally excluded from such structures. Enç shows this in the example of two determiners in Turkish *birkaç* and *bazı*, which are equivalent of English *some*. These determiners are equal in their contribution to the truth condition, but they differ in terms of specificity. That is, *birkaç* is similar to English *some* in that, it can be either specific or non-specific, while *bazı* always denotes specificity (i.e., it means ‘some of the’). Therefore, in the object position, accusative case is optional for nominals introduced by the determiner *birkaç*, whereas nominals with *bazı* must appear with accusative case. This is shown in (36a–b) below:

- (36) a. Ali Zeyneb-e *birkaç* kitap/ kitab-i postaladı.  
Ali Zeyneb-DAT some book/ book-ACC mailed  
‘Ali mailed some book/some of the books to Zeynep.’
- b. Ali Zeyneb-e *bazı* \*kitap-lar/ kitap-lar-i postaladı.  
Ali Zeyneb-DAT some book-PL/ book-PL-ACC mailed  
‘Ali mailed some of the books to Zeynep.’

(Enç, 1991, p. 15, Example (47))

Moreover, given the restriction on quantified nominals in existential sentences (in the sense of Milsark, 1974 and Enç, 1991), noun phrases with the determiner *bazı* cannot appear in existential sentences (37), while the determiner *birkaç* is not subject to such a restriction (38).

- (37) \*Bahçe-de *bazı* çocuk-lar var.<sup>59</sup>  
garden-LOC some-NOM child-PL exist  
‘There are some of the children in the garden.’
- (38) Bahçe-de *birkaç* çocuk var.  
garden-LOC some child exist  
‘There are some children in the garden.’

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59. *Bazı çocuklar* ‘some children’ is in Nominative (which is null), and the reason of ill-formedness is not the absence of case, but the fact that strong determiner *bazı* cannot appear in existential sentences.

As seen in (37) the noun *çocuklar* introduced by *bazı* is not allowed in existential sentence, while it is perfectly grammatical in non-existential locative sentences (39).

- (39) Bazı çocuk-lar bahçe-de.  
 some child-PL garden-LOC  
 ‘Some of the children are in the garden.’

Uzbek has determiners *ba’zi* and *bir necha*, which correspond to Turkish *bazı* and *birkaç*. Both exhibit similar properties and requirements with respect to specificity and case marking of the head noun they introduce. Namely, *bir necha* patterns with English *some* and can be either specific or non-specific, whereas *ba’zi* is always specific. Therefore, accusative case marking with nominals in object position introduced by *bir necha* is optional (40a), while with *ba’zi* case marking is obligatory (40b).

- (40) a. Jahon Dilnoz-ga *bir necha* kitob/kitob-ni ber-di.  
 Jahon Dilnoz-DAT some book/book-ACC give-PST  
 ‘Jahon gave some books/some of the books to Dilnoz.’  
 b. Jahon Dilnoz-ga *ba’zi* \*kitob-lar/ kitob-lar-ni ber-di.  
 Jahon Dilnoz-DAT some book-PL/ book-PL-ACC give-PST  
 ‘Jahon gave some of the books to Dilnoz.’

Moreover, similar to English and Turkish examples above, (34) and (38) respectively, only non-specific noun phrases are allowed in existential sentences. Uzbek determiners *ba’zi* and *bir necha* show expected distributional restrictions: *ba’zi* is not allowed in existential sentences (41), while *bir necha* is not subject to this restriction (42).

- (41) \*Sinif-da *ba’zi* bola-lar bor.  
 classroom-LOC some child-PL exist  
 ‘There are some of the children in the classroom.’  
 (42) Sinif-da *bir necha* bola bor.  
 classroom-LOC some child exist  
 ‘There are some children in the classroom.’

The phenomenon observed in existential sentences is called the *definiteness effect* in syntactic (Safir, 1982; Belletti, 1988) and semantic literature (e.g., Higginbotham, 1987). However, Enç (1991) refers to this phenomenon as the *specificity effect*, arguing that the syntactic distribution of nominals can be explained in terms of specificity. She considers that specificity is distinct from definiteness and that the definiteness of noun phrases can be regulated by the determiner in languages like English, while specificity cannot. Enç maintains that the specificity of nominals is determined by an independent mechanism, which is partially restricted by the lexicon, and by that principle quantifiers are required to be specific. Additionally,



Enç (1991) proposes that although definiteness and specificity of noun phrases are interconnected, case marking in Turkish correlates with specificity, not definiteness. Definite noun phrases are specific, but specific noun phrases can be either definite or indefinite. What definiteness and specificity have in common is that both definites and specifics require their referents to be associated with previously established discourse referents. On the other hand, indefinites and non-specifics require their discourse referents not be associated with previously established discourse referents. According to Enç, what distinguishes definites and specifics is the nature of linking. Namely, the kind of linking relevant for definite nominals is the *identity* relation, which Enç calls *strong antecedent*. For specificity, the relevant linking is the *inclusion* relation, which Enç calls *weak antecedent*.

To reiterate, specificity involves a weaker relation (i.e., inclusion) than definiteness (i.e., identity) to already established referents. In this view, the relation between specificity and definiteness is straightforward: identity presupposes inclusion, but inclusion does not entail identity; the relation of identity is a part of the relation of inclusion. Names, pronouns, and definite descriptions are definite by virtue of establishing their referents through the relation of identity. All definites are specific because the identity relation presupposes the inclusion relation. Enç uses the example in (43) to illustrate this point:

- (43) *Five children* arrived late. *They* had missed their bus. (Enç, 1991, p. 9)

Enç notes that the pronoun *they* is definite and requires a strong coreferential antecedent: the reference of *they* is established through the relation of identity. Thus, the second sentence is felicitous only if the pronoun *they* is coindexed with *five children* and if both have the same reference. However, the inclusion relation holds whenever the identity or the proper inclusion relation holds. Correspondingly, *five children* is also a weak antecedent of the pronoun *they*, and thus the pronoun is specific. In this way, Enç is able to predict that there will be no non-specific definite nominal expressions: they are excluded because non-specific implies the absence of inclusion relation, while the relation defining definites relies on the relation of inclusion. One consequence of this is that all definite nouns in Turkish are expected to carry accusative case marking in the object position if case marking is to be correlated with specificity, which is borne out. Enç's analysis of case and definiteness/specificity in Turkish correctly applies to Uzbek. As shown in (44) and (45) below, proper names (44a), pronouns (44b), definite descriptions (44c) and nominals introduced by demonstratives (44d) always appear with accusative case marking, the absence of which results in ungrammaticality (45):

- (44) a. Kamola Oybek-ni ko'r-di. (Uzbek)  
 Kamola Oybek-ACC see-PST  
 'Kamola saw Oybek'

- b. Kamola u-ni ko'r-di.  
Kamola he-ACC see-PST  
'Kamola saw him.'
- c. Kamola bola-ni ko'r-di.  
Kamola boy-ACC see-PST  
'Kamola saw the boy.'
- d. Kamola o'sha uy-ni ko'r-di.  
Kamola that house-ACC see-PST  
'Kamola saw that house.'

(45) Kamola \*Oybek/ \*u/\*bola/ \*o'sha uy ko'r-di.

According to Enç (1991), partitives are necessarily specific, and thus the accusative case marking is obligatory with them. Namely, an indefinite partitive construction such as *two of the books* refers to a subgroup of the referents contained in the partitive, namely, *the books*. Enç's analysis is confirmed by Uzbek partitive constructions. This is shown in (46), where the superset nominal *bolalarning* 'the boys' carries a genitive suffix and the subgroup nominal *ikkisini* carries the agreement marker of the partitive construction. Accusative case is obligatory with partitives, as seen by ill-formedness of (46b) and (47b). In Uzbek, superset nominals in partitive constructions can be marked either genitive (46) or ablative case (47):

- (46) a. Zaynab bola-lar-ning ikki-si-ni tani-ydi.  
Zaynab boy-PL-GEN two-3SG-ACC know-PRES.3SG  
'Zaynab knows two of the boys.'
- b. \*Zaynab bola-lar-ning ikki-si taniydi.
- (47) a. Zaynab bola-lar-dan ikki-si-ni tani-ydi.  
Zaynab boy-PL-ABL two-3SG-ACC know-PRES.3SG  
'Zaynab knows two of the boys.'
- b. \*Zaynab bola-lar-dan ikki-si taniydi.

### 3.2.3 Universal quantifiers and case

Enç (1991) categorizes Turkish universal quantifier *her* 'every' as another determiner that obligatorily triggers case marking on noun phrases it introduces. When such noun phrases appear in the object position without accusative case, the structure is ill-formed.<sup>60</sup>

60. Nominative noun phrases in Turkish and in Uzbek do not have overt case morphology; thus, this contrast is not visible.

- (48) a. Doktor her hasta-yi muayene et-ti.  
 doctor every patient-ACC examine do-PST  
 ‘The doctor examined every patient.’  
 b. \*Doktor her hasta muayene etti.

Enç (1991) presents a well-founded answer to the question why universally quantifying nominals should be viewed as specific by suggesting that specifics are covert partitives. Additionally, Enç asserts that the specificity requirement, that all quantifiers are specific, holds for all natural languages.

When applied to Uzbek data, we observe that Enç’s analysis holds for universally quantifying noun phrases. Uzbek quantifier *har bir* ‘every’ requires case marking on noun phrases it introduces, as in (49)–(51):

- (49) a. Hasan [har bir **kitob-ni**] o‘qi-di.  
 Hasan every book-ACC read-PST.3SG  
 ‘Hasan read every book.’  
 b. \*Hasan har bir **kitob** o‘qi-di.
- (50) a. Bog‘bon [har bir **gul-ni**] sug‘or-di.  
 gardener every flower-ACC water-PST.3SG  
 ‘The gardener watered every flower.’  
 b. \*Bog‘bon har bir **gul** sug‘ordi.
- (51) a. O‘qituvchi [har bir **bola-dan**] imtihon ol-di.  
 teacher every child-DAT exam take-PST.3SG  
 ‘The teacher examined every child.’  
 b. \*O‘qituvchi har bir **bola** imtihon oldi.

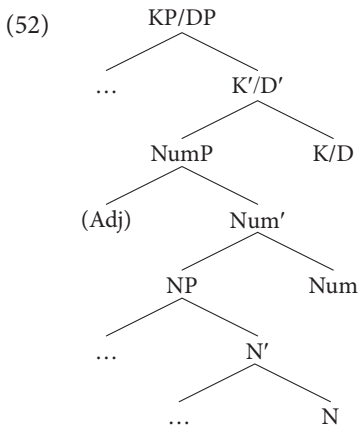
To summarize, we have seen that case marking is crucial to the syntax and semantics of nominal expressions in Uzbek, in much the same way as in Turkish nominals analyzed by Enç (1991). In Uzbek, overt case interacts consistently with definite and specific readings of nominal expressions. In indefinite nominals, accusative marking results in the specificity reading, while the absence of case marking correlates with non-specific reading and with the requirement for the object nominal to be adjacent to the verb.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the correlation between specificity/definiteness and overt case marking is observed in several types of nominals, such as proper names, pronouns, demonstrative and quantifying elements that appear within nominal expressions.

Presumably, the most important insight of this section is to argue that case marking in Uzbek shows properties associated with the category D in Giusti’s

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61. As discussed above in 3.2.1.

(2002) sense. Adopting Giusti's approach, under which the syntactic category D is disassociated from the category of articles, I propose that the case suffix in Uzbek corresponds to a functional head of the nominal domain, similar to the category D in other languages. The presence of this head is responsible for the interpretive properties of nominals such as specificity and definiteness. This is demonstrated in the tree diagram in (52) below. This view will be developed further in Chapter 4, where I will present additional empirical evidence showing that the presence of certain functional layers in Uzbek nominals correlates with their interpretive properties on the one hand, and their morphological and syntactic properties, on the other.



### 3.3 Demonstratives and the notions of definiteness, reference and deixis

Demonstratives are a universal category and unlike the definite articles, demonstratives exist in all languages. Demonstratives and definite articles share two properties: they form a closed class, and they lack descriptive content, which defines them as grammatical or functional categories. Nevertheless, Lyons (1999) suggests that demonstratives have slightly more descriptive content than the definite article due to their deictic features, and this content can be represented by the feature [DEM]. Relatively, Giusti (1997, 2002) notes that demonstratives have a distinctive semantic value and they express the deictic interpretation of the noun phrase.

As pointed out in Alexiadou et al. (2007), the distribution and function of the definite articles and demonstratives is similar: they are both elements which belong to the determination area within the noun phrase and are found within the domain of the head D at some stage of the syntactic derivation. Additionally, demonstratives can function in similar ways to articles in article-less languages

such as Polish, Latin or Japanese. For example, Polish has no definite article, but the demonstratives *ten* ('this' MASC), *ta* ('this' FEM), *to* ('this' NEUT) can be used with common nouns, with similar semantic effects to those produced by definite articles in languages such as English or Spanish (Maciejewska, 1996).

- (53) Polish  
 Kiedy kończysz *tę* swoją pracę? (Maciejewska, 1996, p. 4)  
 when finish-2SG this your work?  
 'When are you finishing off your work?'

A similar use of demonstratives is attested in Latin and Japanese as well. As seen in translations of (54), the italicized Latin noun phrase corresponds to a noun preceded by the definite article or an equal determiner in English. Similarly, in Japanese Example (55), the demonstrative *sono* is used as a definiteness marker for the noun *heya* 'room'.

- (54) Latin  
*Illa* die: sueniet *mea* qua: lu:gubria po:nam.  
 that day come-FUT-3SG my when mourning put-1SG  
 'The day will come when I will put aside my mourning.'  
 (Ovid, *Tristia* 4.2.73)

- (55) Japanese  
 Peter-to Mary-wa *sono* heya-ni odori-konda.  
 Peter and Mary-TOP that (the) room-into danced  
 'Peter and Mary danced into the room.'  
 (Based on Alexiadou et al., 2007, p. 162)

One important difference between the definite articles and demonstratives concerns their reference to kinds. Despite the fact that both the article and demonstrative are definite, only definite articles can be used to refer to a kind term. That is, *this dodo* in (56b) and *this mobile phone* in (58b) cannot refer to kinds (English examples are based on Alexiadou et al., 2007). We can observe a similar case in Uzbek examples in (57b) and (59b), where demonstratives cannot be used to refer to kinds.

- (56) a. The dodo is extinct.  
 b. #This dodo is extinct.
- (57) a. Dodo qush-i noyob-DIR. (Uzbek)  
 dodo bird-3 extinct-DIR  
 'The dodo is extinct.'  
 b. #Bu dodo qush-i noyob-DIR.  
 this dodo bird-3 extinct-DIR
- (58) a. The mobile phone has changed western culture.  
 b. #This mobile phone has changed western culture.

- (59) a. Uya-li telefon G'arb madaniyat-i-ni o'zgartir-di.  
 cell-ATTR phone west culture-3SG-ACC change-PST  
 'The mobile phone has changed western culture.'
- b. #Bu uya-li telefon G'arb madaniyat-i-ni o'zgartir-di.  
 this cell-ATTR phone west culture-3SG-ACC change-PST

As seen in examples above, demonstratives lack a generic reading. This might be due to the context dependent nature of demonstratives, i.e., their deictic content. Their use is relevant to the coordinates of the speaker and hearer in a given spacio-temporal context.

According to Lyons (1999), another characteristic denominator of both the definite article and the demonstrative is *identifiability*. He considers them both inherently definite, and as such, they serve to identify the referent. Lyons points out that *identifiability* connects demonstratives with the definite article, while *inclusiveness* is encoded only by the definite article.

- (60) a. Give me **the** plate.  
 b. Give me **that** plate.

In Example (60a), *the plate* entails that there is one plate, and it is clear for both the speaker and the hearer in that context which object is being denoted. On the other hand, in (60b) the meaning of *that plate* implies the possibility of more than one plate being involved and the demonstrative entails a contrast between the actual referent and other potential referents in the context. Namely, in the utterance *Give me that plate*, a hearer can determine which plate is intended, in contrast with *Give me a plate*, which does not involve any intended referent.

Nevertheless, Lyons (1999) posits that identifiability is only one segment of the semantic content of demonstratives. Demonstratives also belong to the group of words which express deixis, a property of particular expressions and categories of relating entities or individuals to the spacio-temporal context. Particularly, these contextual distinctions include the moment or place of the utterance and other moments or places, or the distinction between the speaker, the hearer and others. For example, demonstratives *this/these* and *that/those* are deictic by virtue of locating the referred entity to some reference point in the extralinguistic context. The contrast between *this/these* and *that/those* is associated with distance from the speaker, i.e., *this table* denotes something closer to the speaker than *that table*. The distance is not obligatorily spatial, it can also be temporal (e.g., *that year* referring to some past occasion, in contrast to *this year*, meaning the present year). Demonstratives *this* and *that* are often referred to as proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively. In this account, the deictic feature of demonstratives is interpreted in a twofold manner: [+/- proximal] or [+/- distal], with the speaker as the point of coordination. Moreover, this contrast can be related to the category

of person: *this* is used to refer to some entity associated with the speaker or a set of individuals including the speaker (1st person). While *that* is used where the referent is associated with a set including the hearer but not the speaker (2nd person), or a set including neither speaker nor hearer (3rd person).

- (61) a. Show me that (?this) letter you have in your pocket.  
 b. Tell her to bring that (?this) drill she has.

(Lyons, 1999, p. 18, Example (61)–(62))

These particular features and the deictic aspect of demonstratives can be observed in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian as well. B/C/S has a three-way system of demonstratives (the forms provided are in neuter singular): *ovo* ‘this’, *to* ‘that’, *ono* ‘that’. They are glossed as DEM1, DEM2 and DEM3, respectively, in Example (62) below. DEM1 is deictically related to the 1st person, which can be described as [+proximal, –distal] with respect to the speaker. DEM2 is deictically related to the 2nd person, which could be expressed as [–proximal, –distal] with respect to the speaker. DEM3 is deictically related to the 3rd person (neither speaker or hearer), which could be expressed as [–proximal, +distal], in Lyons’s (1999) system of deictic features.<sup>62</sup>

- (62) a. Pokaži mi to (?ovo, ?ono) pismo koje imaš  
 show.2SG 1SG.DAT.CL DEM2 (DEM1, DEM3) letter which have.2SG  
 u džepu.  
 in pocket  
 ‘Show me that letter that you have in your pocket.’
- b. Pokazao nam je ono (?to, ?ovo) pismo koje  
 showed.3SG 1PL.DAT.CL AUX DEM3 (DEM2, DEM1) letter which  
 je on imao u džepu  
 AUX he had in pocket  
 ‘He showed us that letter he had in his pocket.’
- c. Pokazao sam ti ovo (?to, ?ono) pismo koje  
 showed.1SG AUX. 2SG.DAT.CL DEM1 (DEM2, DEM3) letter which  
 imam u džepu.  
 have.1SG in pocket  
 ‘I showed you this letter that I have in my pocket.’

Lyons (1999) maintains that the main diacritic property which distinguishes demonstratives from the definite articles is the abstract feature [+/-DEM] and assumes that this feature is distinct from the deictic features. Lyons’s [+/-DEM] feature is similar to Hawkin’s (1978) matching constraint, where the hearer is

62. This view was suggested to me by Nadira Aljović (p.c.).

directed to match the referent of the DP with some entity which is identifiable/visible in the context, or which is familiar on the basis of the previous discourse. Lyons illustrates this difference by the contrast between the acceptable definite article and the unacceptable demonstrative in (63a) and (63b):

- (63) a. I got into the car and turned on the engine.  
 b. \*I got into the car and turned on this engine. (Lyons, 1999, p. 20)

- (64) a. Mashina-ga min-di-m va motor-ni yoq-di-m.  
 car-DAT get.in-PST-1SG and engine-ACC turn.on-PST-1SG  
 ‘I got into the car and turned on the engine.’  
 b. \*Mashina-ga min-di-m va bu  
 car-DAT get.in-PST-1SG and this  
 motor-ni yoq-di-m.  
 engine-ACC turn.on-PST-1SG

In (63a) the definite article is used to signal the requirement for the activation of the all-purpose knowledge that cars have engines and that they have only one. The use of demonstrative signals that the object is directly accessible to the hearer, without the necessity to do any inference associated with processing definite articles (Lyons, 1999, p. 21). The use of demonstrative is inappropriate in (63b) due to the lack of direct accessibility to the referent, ‘the engine’.

Similarly, in Uzbek examples in (64a), the accusative marked object *motor-ni* ‘engine-ACC’ is signaling all-purpose knowledge that cars have engines, and the demonstrative is inappropriate for the same reason as in the English Example (63b).

Lyons’s (1999) idea to replace spacio-temporal deixis by the abstract feature [DEM] stems from the assumption that demonstratives can be neutral with respect to spacio-temporal location. This usage of demonstratives is observed in a number of languages, including English. The demonstrative *that* is sometimes neutral in association with distance or person. In such cases it is used pronominally in reduced relative constructions. Likewise, in Uzbek examples in (67), I show that demonstratives can be neutral with respect to spacio-temporal location.

- (65) She prefers her biscuits to **those** I make.  
 (66) I want a coat like **that** described in the book. (Lyons, 1999, p. 19, Examples (63)–(64))

- (67) **Manovi** rasim-da-gi palto-dan ista-y-man. (Uzbek)  
 this picture-LOC-ATTR coat-ABL want-PRES-1SG  
 ‘I want a coat like this (described) in this picture.’



Uzbek demonstratives can be used to express identifiability and referentiality; that is, they serve to identify the referent, and to refer to it directly.

Similarly, French demonstrative *ce* is neutral with respect to denoting distance/proximity (Lyons, 1999, p. 19). Therefore, it can co-occur with the bound morphemes *-ci* and *-lá*; namely, deictic markers, which attach to the noun and bear information about distance (68):

- (68) **Ce** bateau-*ci* vs. **ce** bateau-*lá*  
 this boat-here      this boat-there

Examples (65)–(68) indicate that spatio-temporal deixis can be disassociated from the abstract property [DEM], which is taken to be a fundamental characteristic of demonstratives (Lyons, 1999).

With respect to their position, Uzbek demonstratives appear before the head noun and all other modifying elements such as adjectives or quantifiers, and the noun introduced by the demonstrative has a definite meaning.

- (69) **Bu/shu/u/o'sha/**                      kitob-ni    juda    yoqtir-di-m.  
**DEM1/DEM2/DEM3/DEM4** book-ACC    very like-PST-1SG  
 'I liked this/that book very much.'

Lyons' (1999) detailed analysis concerning particular features and deictic aspects of demonstratives is also relevant to Uzbek. The deictic nature of Uzbek demonstratives shows variation according to the spatio-temporal relationship between the concerned entity and participants. The demonstrative pronouns in Uzbek form a complex four-PLACE system, consisting of: *bu* 'this', *shu* 'that', *u* 'that', *o'sha* 'that'. They are glossed as DEM1, DEM2 and DEM3, and DEM4, respectively. DEM1 is deictically related to the 1st person, and it can be described as [+proximal, –distal] with respect to the speaker. DEM2 is deictically related to the 2nd person, [–proximal, –distal] with respect to the speaker. DEM3 and DEM4 are deictically related to the 3rd person (neither speaker nor hearer) and could be expressed as [–proximal, +distal] in Lyons's system of deictic features. However, Lyons's tripartite system cannot account for the difference between Uzbek DEM3 and DEM4.

English demonstratives *this* and *that* make a twofold distinction between demonstrative determiner and demonstrative pronouns, as in (70):

- (70) a. *This* book is old. *That* book is new. (determiner)  
 b. *This* is mine. *That* is hers. (pronoun)

These two functions of English demonstratives as in (70a–b) are also attested in Uzbek, where we can distinguish between demonstrative determiners and demonstrative pronouns.

(71) *Demonstrative determiner*

- a. *Bu* kitob eski.  
DEM1 book old  
'This book is old.'
- b. *U* kitob yangi  
DEM3 book new  
'That book is new.'

(72) *Demonstrative pronoun*

- a. *Bu* meniki.  
DEM1 mine  
'This is mine.'
- b. *U* seniki  
DEM3 yours  
'That is yours.'

Demonstrative pronouns in Uzbek can be marked for number and case. The number suffix appears closer to the base than the case suffix. The Table 3.1 below illustrates the number and case paradigms for the demonstrative *bu* 'DEM1'.

**Table 3.1** Case and Number on Demonstrative Pronouns

	Singular		Plural	
Nominative	<i>bu</i>	'this, these'	<i>bular</i>	'these'
Accusative	<i>bu-ni</i>	'this, these	<i>bular-ni</i>	'these'
Genitive	<i>bu-ning</i>	'of this, these'	<i>bular-ning</i>	'of these'
Dative	<i>bun-ga</i>	'to this, these'	<i>bular-ga</i>	'to these'
Locative	<i>bun-da</i>	'in this, these'	<i>bular-da</i>	'in these'
Ablative	<i>bun-dan</i>	'from this, these'	<i>bular-dan</i>	'from these'

Uzbek demonstratives can be combined with the deictic particle *mana* 'right here' and *ana* 'over there' to express various degrees of proximity. This is exemplified in (73):

- (73) a. *mana bu olma-lar*  
right here DEM1 apple-PL  
'these apples right here'
- b. \**bu mana olma-lar*  
DEM1 right here apple-PL
- c. *ana o'sha odam-lar*  
over there DEM4 man-PL  
'those people over there'

- d. \*o'sha ana odam-lar  
DEM4 over there people

The deictic particles *mana* and *ana* always precede the demonstrative, as shown by the ungrammatical orders in (73b) and (73d).

Demonstratives can be used with the derivational suffix *-day* 'like this/that', 'this/that way' (74a–c) and the suffix *-cha* 'as much as', 'this/that much' in order to form adverbs.

- (74) a. shun-*day* bir narsa  
DEM2-DAY a/one thing  
'something like that'
- b. bun-*day* qil-ma  
DEM1-DAY do-NEG  
'don't do like this'
- c. shun-*day* katta  
DEM2-DAY big  
'that big'
- d. Bu o'rmon-da qo'zoqorin bun-*cha* ko'p!  
DEM1 forest-LOC mushroom DEM1-CHA much/many  
'So many mushrooms in this forest!'

Additionally, demonstratives in Uzbek are very common with non-deictic usage, namely, anaphoric usage. Consider (75) and (76) below:

- (75) Har bir bola eng sevgan kitob-i-ni keltirdi va dars-da  
every child most favorite book-3SG-ACC brought and class-LOC  
**o'sha-ni** o'qidi.  
DEM4-ACC read  
'Every child brought his/her favorite book and read **it** in the class.'
- (76) Har bir bola eng sevgan kitob-i-ni keltirdi va dars-da  
every child most favorite book-3SG-ACC brought and class-LOC  
**o'sha kitob-ni** o'qidi.  
DEM4 book-ACC read  
'Every child brought his/her favorite book and read that book in the class.'

The demonstrative pronoun *o'shani* 'that' in (75) and the demonstrative determiner *o'sha* 'that' in (75) refer back to the expression *eng sevgan kitobi* 'his/her favorite book', i.e., to the discourse referent previously introduced to the domain of discourse. In such usage, the demonstrative acts like an anaphoric element interpreted as being bound by an antecedent. Concerning this usage, Lyons (1999) proposes that anaphora is a common non-deictic category involved in demonstrative systems, and the deictic feature of demonstratives [+/- PROX] seems to be used

for anaphoric reference in this context. In their anaphoric use, demonstratives can be regarded as markers of topichood. Lyons further notes that there are languages that have a special demonstrative for anaphoric usage (e.g. Romanian, Greek), but in others, it is the position of the demonstrative with respect to the noun that brings about the anaphoric interpretation.

To summarize, this section has discussed the status of demonstratives in Uzbek as elements signaling, in the first place, the identity of the referent instantly accessible to the hearer. We have also seen that Uzbek demonstratives are similar to demonstratives in other languages in that, they allow the pronominal function. In such usage, Uzbek demonstrative pronouns acquire nominal number and case inflections. They can also function as purely anaphoric elements, very similar to the definite article or 3rd person pronouns in English. Similar to demonstratives in other languages, Uzbek demonstratives cannot express reference to kinds.

### 3.3.1 Position of Uzbek demonstratives within the DP

Before the introduction of the Extended X-bar Theory (Jackendoff, 1977) both demonstratives and articles were assumed to belong to the class of determiners. Both were assumed to occupy the same structural position, i.e., the specifier of the NP. This assumption was based on the fact that English articles are in complementary distribution with demonstratives.

- (77) a. \*This/that the book is new.  
 b. \*The this/that book is new.

However, cross-linguistic empirical evidence convincingly points to a different conclusion. In many languages it is possible that the demonstrative and the article occupy distinct structural positions. The strongest evidence comes from languages which allow these two elements to co-occur, and thus imply that they must be distinct elements in distinct positions. Consider examples below.

- (78) a. *ez a haz* (Hungarian)  
 this the house  
 b. *ika n anak* (Javanese)  
 this the baby  
 c. *afto to vivlio* (Greek)  
 this the book  
 d. *omul acesta* (Romanian)  
 man-the this

(Alexiadou et al., 2007, p. 106, Example (59))

The examples above prove the point that if demonstratives can co-occur with articles, these two categories cannot compete for the same position. If we assume that

the definite article occupies the position D under the DP-hypothesis, what position do demonstratives occupy? In answering this question Alexiadou et al. (2007) point to the data in (79) which reveals a parallelism between demonstratives and the modifier *such* in English.

- (79) a. I did not expect *this* reaction.  
 b. I did not expect *such* a reaction.

(Alexiadou et al., 2007, p. 108, Example 63)

In English, the demonstrative *this* and degree modifiers like *such* have interpretative similarities in that, both point to an entity known from the discourse context. For instance, *such a reaction* can roughly be interpreted as ‘a reaction of this kind’. Building on similarity between *such*, *so* and the demonstrative, Alexiadou et al., (2007) propose that the demonstrative *this* occupies the SpecDP position.

In fact, the view which takes demonstratives to be located in the SpecDP is supported by substantial crosslinguistic evidence (e.g., Giusti, 1993, 1997; Lyons, 1999). The question that arises at this point is whether the leftmost position is the base position or a derived position for the demonstrative. A generally accepted assumption is that the demonstrative moves to the SpecDP from a lower position (see Giusti, 1997, 2002; Brugè, 2000, 2002; Brugè & Giusti, 1996; Panagiotidis, 2000; Grohmann & Panagiotidis, 2005; Shlonsky, 2004). This view is supported by data from a considerable number of languages where the demonstrative occurs in a lower position, and can be shown to raise to a higher position, presumably SpecDP. As can be observed in (80), the demonstrative may appear in the initial constituent position of DP or it may appear to the right of the head noun (shown in bold in examples).

- (80) a. acest **băiat** (frumos) al sau (Romanian)<sup>63</sup>  
 this boy nice of his  
 b. **băiatul** acesta (frumos) al sau  
 boy-the this nice of his

- (81) a. este **hombre** (Spanish)  
 this man  
 b. el **hombre** este  
 the man this

- (82) a. afto to **vivlio** (Greek)  
 this the book  
 b. to **vivlio** afto  
 the book this

(Alexiadou et al., 2007, p. 110, Example (68))

63. Alexiadou et al. (2007) takes this example from Giusti (2002, p. 71).

According to Brugè (1996), the ordering of demonstratives shown above can be explained if we assume that the demonstrative is generated in a lower specifier position and then raised to SpecDP. One possibility is that the demonstrative is first merged as the specifier of a functional category immediately above NP. Additionally, since the assumption is that D contains a [+DEF] feature, it needs to be associated with an overt element, i.e., lexicalized. This requirement may be fulfilled either by inserting a definite article in Spec DP (80b, 81b, 82b), or by raising the demonstrative to the same position (80a, 81a, 82a).

As for possible reasons why demonstratives move in languages like Romanian, and why demonstratives cannot co-occur with the definite article in some languages, Giusti (2002) provides an answer based on the following assumptions:

1. D has a referential feature and this referential feature needs to be associated with an overt element (i.e., lexicalized). This can be accomplished either in the head D itself or in its specifier.
2. “The interpretation of the noun phrase at LF is done in its highest Specifier position” (Giusti 2002, p. 56).
3. Demonstratives, as well as other maximal projections carrying referential features, must check their referential features in SpecFP<sub>max</sub>/Spec DP at some level of representation (and lastly by LF).

It is important to add that the third condition interacts with the first condition in that, the movement of the demonstrative to SpecDP satisfies the condition on the overt realization of the referential feature of D. Additionally, as pointed out in Lyons (1999), the defining characteristic of demonstratives is the feature [+DEM], which is checked by raising the demonstrative. The feature [+DEM] implies definiteness, so when the demonstrative gets to SpecDP, the entire nominal phrase is interpreted as definite.<sup>64</sup>

In the Romanian example in (83a), the demonstrative is in the specifier of the highest projection where it can check its features (see the bracketed structure in 83a'), while in (83b) it occupies SpecFP4 position. Since SpecFP4 is not the highest specifier, the demonstrative must move to SpecFPmax at LF in order to check

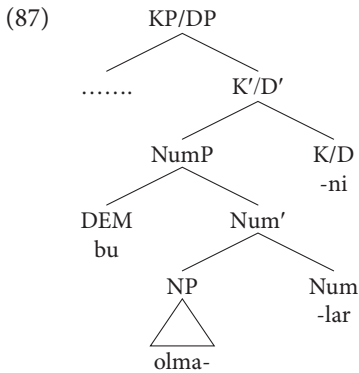
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64. Brugè (2000) suggests that the demonstrative has a feature [REF] which must be checked in the DP area. Depending on the strength/weakness of this feature Brugè predicts the following trichotomy of languages: if [REF] is strong the demonstrative will (always) be forced to move to SpecDP (e.g., English); if it is weak, the demonstrative will remain in situ, i.e., in the lowest specifier position according to Brugè and Giusti (1996) (e.g., Celtic, Hebrew); if it is either strong or weak, the demonstrative will either stay in situ or move to SpecDP (e.g., Greek, Romanian).



- b. \*ikki (**bu**) qizil (**bu**) olma
- (86) a. men-ing **bu** yangi qizil ko'ylak-lar-im  
 I-GEN DEM1 new red dress-PL-1SG  
 'these new red dresses of mine'
- b. \***bu** men-ing yangi qizil ko'ylak-lar-im  
 DEM1 I-GEN new red dress-PL-1SG

We have seen in Chapter 1 that plural marker *-lar* is the first suffix attached to the noun stem, and it is followed by other suffixes such as possessive and case suffixes. Based on this, I will assume that NumP, the locus of plural suffix, is projected above NP in Uzbek. In this account, Uzbek demonstratives will be located in the specifier position of NumP, or alternatively can be analyzed as adjoined to NumP. Moreover, given the assumption that the possessor occupies the Spec of a higher head which I provisionally call K/D, and if Uzbek demonstratives are assumed to be 'weak' in Brugè's (2000) sense (i.e., do not move), then they must be in some Spec or adjoined position below the Spec hosting the possessor (Spec DP/KP).<sup>66</sup> With respect to Uzbek noun phrase elements introduced so far, demonstratives are the leftmost elements, i.e., they precede the head noun and appear before descriptive adjectives. Given the head-final structure of Uzbek, I will assume that demonstratives are specifiers of NumP, as shown in (87).



### 3.4 Summary of the chapter

The main focus of this chapter has been on the most prominent studies of definiteness, and the role of the article in relation to definiteness and referentiality

66. I will reformulate this proposal in Chapter 4, where I will discuss *Izofa-3* and *Izofa-2* possessive constructions which will introduce new elements that can appear in Uzbek nominals.



of noun phrases. The second part of the chapter discussed the interaction of case morphology with referential properties of nominals in Uzbek. Final part of the chapter explored semantic, morphological and structural properties of Uzbek demonstratives.

Accepting the idea that semantic or pragmatic definiteness is universal, and the grammatical realization of definiteness is a language specific phenomenon, motivates to separate the category D and its properties from the morphological category of determiners (Giusti, 1992, 1997, 2002). Furthermore, the identification of Uzbek morphological case as a means of expressing the referential properties of nominals, motivated me to propose that case and nominal referentiality are very closely connected phenomenon in Uzbek. Specifically, noun phrases with overt structural case marking are (minimally) specific, while noun phrases without case marking are nonspecific.

Following Enç's (1991) analysis, I have shown that Uzbek determiners can be divided into two categories: weak and strong. The first category includes determiners such as *bir* 'a/one', numerals, and indefinite quantifiers such as *bir necha* 'several/a few', *ko'p* 'many', *oz* 'few/little'. On this account, weak determiners render case marked noun phrases as specific indefinite and case unmarked noun phrases as non-specific. Correspondingly, weak determiners contrast with elements such as universally quantifying nominals, proper names and pronouns, which are always interpreted as specific (or strong); the former can appear with nominals which are not case marked and interpreted as indefinite and non-specific, while the latter appear only with case-marked nominals and are interpreted as specific indefinite, or definite. Additionally, we have seen that the correlation between specificity/definiteness and overt case marking is attested in the example of proper names, pronouns and demonstratives, which must be marked for accusative case. These nominals are referential (specific indefinite, definite), whereas case unmarked indefinites are non-referential (non-specific indefinite).

Adopting Giusti's approach, under which the syntactic category D is disassociated from the category of articles, I have proposed that the case suffix in Uzbek corresponds to the functional head in the nominal domain, similar to the category D in other languages. The presence of this head, which I call K(ase)/D for the moment, is responsible for referential properties of nominals, i.e., specificity and definiteness.

Finally, in the last section I discussed the category of demonstratives in Uzbek, as elements that signal the identity of the referent instantly accessible to the hearer. Moreover, Uzbek demonstratives can function as pronominal elements, and as purely anaphoric elements, very similar to the definite article or 3rd person pronouns in English. With respect to their positioning within the nominal domain, Uzbek demonstratives follow the possessor, but precede the head noun and all

other modifiers such as descriptive adjectives and quantifiers. Based on the fact that Uzbek is a head-final language, I have proposed that demonstratives are not heads, but rather specifiers or adjuncts of NumP. And lastly, I proposed that Uzbek demonstratives are ‘weak’ in Brugè’s (2000) sense, i.e., they do not move, and thus they must be in some Spec or adjoined position below the Specifier hosting the possessor, Spec DP/KP.



## Functional projections within the nominal domain

There are three mainstream approaches in the literature concerning the functional domain of noun phrases, in particular, the presence/absence of the Determiner projection in languages that lack overt articles. One view, referred to as Parameterized DP-hypothesis here, argues that DP is not projected in languages which lack overt definite articles, and some of the main proponents of this approach are Bošković (2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2015), Bošković & Gajewski (2011), Despić (2011), and Trenkić (2004). According to another approach, the Universal DP hypothesis, the same syntactic structural analysis, i.e., the DP analysis is applicable to languages with and without articles (e.g. Leko, 1999; Progovac, 1998; Rutkowski, 2002, 2007). In other words, languages without articles can be analyzed as projecting the DP layer. One of the most recent approaches concerning the structure of noun phrases in article-less languages is taken in Caruso (2012), where she provides a syntactic analysis of Croatian nominal expressions in terms of the split DP hypothesis. She takes the definite adjectival inflection in Croatian to be the instantiation of Def<sup>0</sup>, showing parallelism between DP-languages and Croatian. A similar analysis is proposed by Aljović (2000, 2002, 2010) for B/C/S. She examines various morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of the long vs. short adjectival inflections (definite/indefinite distinction among adjectives) and proposes that NPs in B/C/S can be topped by functional projections, revealed by so-called long (descriptive) adjectives. However, not all nominal expressions contain functional projections above NP (NumP in Aljović's system); i.e., the nouns modified by so-called short adjectives are shown to involve structures that do not contain functional layers similar or parallel to DP (or KP). Aljović's analysis is similar to Small Nominal approach proposed in Pereltsvaig (2006, 2007, 2013), Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2013, 2015), according to which a DP layer can be present or absent depending on the size of the nominal structure. More specifically, a language may have fully projected DPs, as well as nominals that lack some or all functional projections. I will extend this analysis to Uzbek and examine the internal structure of Uzbek nominals focusing on the architecture of nominal functional projections from the perspective taken in Pereltsvaig (2006, 2007, 2013),

Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2013, 2015), which I will refer to as the Relativized DP-approach throughout this chapter.

The central objective of this chapter is to sketch a general structural frame of nominal expressions in Uzbek, with the main focus on so-called nominal(ized) clauses and noun phrases, and to establish a typology according to their internal structure. Theoretically, the study contributes to the argumentation on the inventory of functional projections in the nominal domain in languages that lack articles; more specifically, Turkic languages.

The chapter is organized as follows. In Section 4.1, I will introduce the notion of Small Nominals as proposed in Pereltsvaig (2006), and discuss what type of Uzbek nominal constructions may count as Small Nominals. The main objective of this chapter is to demonstrate that in Uzbek different types of nominal expressions contrast in the quantity of functional structure they project. In order to show this, Section 4.2 discusses the functional architecture of the nominal domain in Uzbek, and shows that nominals of different sizes can be attested in Uzbek. Namely, there are nominals we can categorize as Small Nominals, such as bare nouns in complex predicate constructions, or nominals that serve as complements of certain attributivizers. There are also larger structures that we can categorize as DP/KP, such as overtly case marked arguments. In Section 4.3, I provide arguments for the projection of DP in Uzbek based on two types of possessive constructions. The first type of possessive construction (*Izofa-3*) has an overtly marked genitive case possessor and the head noun of the construction shows person and number agreement with its possessor. While the second type of possessive construction (*Izofa-2*) has a case unmarked possessor and the head noun carries a suffix, which is a marker of *Izofa-2* possessive. I compare these two types of possessive constructions in terms of their internal structure, and argue that *Izofa-3* possessive constructions are “bigger” structures compared to *Izofa-2* constructions. In other words, I will show that these two types of possessive constructions differ with respect to the number of functional projections they may contain.

Another argument to support the projection of functional layers in Uzbek is provided in Section 4.3.2, which is based on differential case marking of direct objects. In Uzbek, direct objects may appear with or without accusative case, depending on some syntactic and semantic constraints. Based on their structural differences, I argue that case marked objects are larger structures and they contain more functional layers, while case unmarked objects lack all or some functional projections. Furthermore, I will argue that there is a parallelism in terms of morphological, syntactic, and semantic features between accusative-marked objects and genitive marked possessives on the one hand, and case unmarked possessives and direct objects on the other. Namely, both genitive marked possessives and accusative marked objects appear in case positions, carry morphological case, and

can be interpreted as specific definite or specific indefinite depending on the larger context they appear in. Additionally, they are free to move to higher positions by virtue of being visible to higher probes looking for D/K-feature elements. On the other hand, objects without accusative case and possessors without genitive case lack higher functional projections DP and KP. Neither can they move to case positions since they are invisible to D/K-searching higher probes. Consequently, they are frozen in their Merge positions, cannot check their referential features, and can only have non-referential and non-specific interpretation.

In order to account for syntactic and semantic parallelism between the two different syntactic environments, i.e., possessive constructions and direct object arguments, I argue that this is due to the size of the functional structure that a given nominal phrase contains. Specifically, nominals which project DP/KP layer manifest a particular set of morphological and semantic properties, whereas nominals which lack DP/KP projection share a different set of morphological and semantic properties.

#### 4.1 Small Nominals (Pereltsvaig, 2006)

Building on a parallelism between the internal structure of clauses and noun phrases, Pereltsvaig (2006) introduces the concept of *Small Nominals*, and defines them as “nominals that are not projected fully as DPs, but rather lack some or all functional projections” (p. 1). She draws parallels between Small Nominals and Small Clauses, pointing out that they both lack some or all functional projections; more specifically, the former lack DP and the latter lack TP. This parallelism was first pointed out by Abney (1987) in his DP-hypothesis, where N-to-D movement was viewed as the nominal equivalent of V-to-I movement in the clausal domain (Ritter, 1991).

Another similarity between the clause and the noun phrase is based on agreement features (Abney 1987). Based on data from various languages such as Yupik, Hungarian and Turkish, Abney attests that the possessed noun agrees with its subject in the same way the verb agrees with its clausal subject. Specifically, in Yupik, nouns agree with their possessor and carry the same agreement morpheme as the one attached to the verbs that agree with their subjects (1). Similar agreement patterns between the possessed noun and its subject are observed in Hungarian, too (2).

- (1) Yupik
- a. angute-t      kiputa-a-t  
 man-ERG.PL    buy-OM-SM  
 ‘the men bought it’



According to Ritter's analysis, the noun raises to Num to check its number features, and the affixation of plural marking on nouns is similar to the affixation of verbal tense and agreement markings.

Further investigation of the parallelism between clauses and nominals by Pereltsvaig (2006) has shed new light on the syntactic and semantic similarities between so-called Small Nominals and Small Clauses. One of the similarities pointed out in Pereltsvaig is that both Small Nominals and Small Clauses can appear in argument positions. Additionally, Small Clauses do not exhibit temporal reference, just as Small Nominals do not exhibit individual reference. By proposing the Small Nominal Hypothesis, Pereltsvaig rejects the commonly accepted viewpoint that all nominals in a certain language are of the same size, i.e., either DPs or NPs. Her analysis challenges the two main approaches that account for the structure of nominals cross-linguistically: the Universal DP-hypothesis and the Parameterized DP-hypothesis. According to the Universal DP-hypothesis, all argument nominals are projected as full DPs (e.g. Longobardi, 1994 for Italian; Matthewson, 1998 for Salish; Progovac, 1998, Leko, 1999 for B/C/S; Kallulli, 1999 for Norwegian). Supporters of the Universal DP-hypothesis do not limit this approach to article languages only, and they argue that it applies to all languages. The Parameterized DP-approach is adopted in Baker (2003), Bošković (2007), (2012) and (2013), Bošković & Gajewski (2011), Despić (2011) and Trenkić (2004) among others. This approach distinguishes between DP languages and NP languages, i.e., languages with overt determiners (e.g. English, Italian, Spanish) and languages without overt determiners (e.g. Russian, B/C/S, Turkish, Chinese and Korean). Pereltsvaig's (2006) approach is distinct in that, it makes a language-internal contrast between different kinds of nominals. Pereltsvaig argues that both NP and DP languages have Small Nominals as well as fully projected DPs. Notably, Small Nominals may occupy canonical argument positions, i.e., subject and object positions. This approach is going to be discussed in detail in the following section.

#### 4.1.1 Small Nominals in subject position

Pereltsvaig (2006) distinguishes between two types of subject noun phrases in Russian, and argues that they differ in terms of their internal structure. Despite their identical surface realization, these two types of subjects demonstrate distinct syntactic and semantic features. The first type of subject carries a referential interpretation, triggers agreement on the predicate, can function as an antecedent of the anaphor and serve as a controller of PRO. Contrastively, the second type of subject receives a non-referential interpretation, and it does not trigger agreement on the predicate. Neither can it function as an antecedent or as a controller



of PRO. Basing her analysis on the distributional and referential properties of the two types of subjects, Pereltsvaig argues that the first type of subjects are DPs, whereas the second type of subjects are Small Nominals. She shows this contrast in (5a-b) below:

## (5) Russian

- a. V etom fil'me **igrali** [pjat' izvestnyx akterov].  
 in this film played.PL five famous actors  
 'Five famous actors played in this film.'
- b. V etom fil'me **igralo** [pjat' izvestnyx akterov].  
 in this film played.NEUT five famous actors  
 'Five famous actors played in this film.'

(Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 438, Example, (3a-b))

In (5a), the bracketed subject *pjat' izvestnyx akterov* 'five famous actors' triggers plural agreement on the verb, while in (5b) it does not; the verb is in the 3rd person neuter form. Although both the agreeing and non-agreeing forms of the verb are asserted to be acceptable in (5 a-b), in some constructions the preference may be on one or the other form. Factors, which affect the choice of a certain verb form involve animacy of the subject, the choice of quantity expression and the form of the predicate. As shown in (6a), an animate subject triggers agreement on the predicate, while an inanimate subject in (6b) agrees in the default neuter 3rd singular form.

## (6) Russian

- a. Prošli neskol'ko čelovek.  
 passed.PL several people  
 'Several people have passed.'
- b. Prošlo neskol'ko minut.  
 passed. 3sgNeut several minutes  
 'Several minutes have passed.'

(Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 439, Example (4a-b))

Explaining further the distinctions between agreeing and non-agreeing subjects, Pereltsvaig remarks that only agreeing subjects are compatible with adjectives that express specificity, such as *opredelennye* 'certain' (7a), while non-agreeing subjects are incompatible with them (7b).

- (7) a. V Mariiinskom teatre tancevali [opredelennye  
 in Mariinsky theater danced.PL certain  
 pjat' balerin].  
 five ballerinas.

'A certain five ballerinas danced in the Mariinsky Theater.'

- b. \*V MariiNSkom teatre tancevalo [opredel'nyye  
 in Mariinsky theater danced.NEUT certain  
 p'jat' balerin].  
 five ballerinas  
 intended: 'A certain five ballerinas danced in the Mariinsky Theater.'

In addition to the interaction between the agreement patterns and referential interpretation, the two types of subjects differ in terms of control and anaphor binding. Only agreeing subjects can control PRO (8), and can function as antecedents of a reflexive or reciprocal anaphor (9).

- (8) Russian  
 [P'jat' banditov pytalis' / \*pytalos' [PRO<sub>i</sub> ubit' Džejms Bonda].  
 five thugs tried.PL / \*tried.NEUT to.kill James Bond  
 'Five thugs tried to kill James Bond.'

- (9) [P'jat' banditov] prikryvali / \*prikryvalo sebya ot pul'  
 five thugs shielded.PL / \*shielded.NEUT self from bullets  
 Džejms Bonda.  
 James Bond

'Five thugs shielded themselves from James Bond's bullets.'

(Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 444, Example (11)–(14))

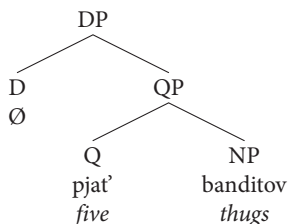
Lastly, agreeing and non-agreeing subjects are different in that, they pattern with different classes of pronominal elements. In the agreement configuration, the subject can be realized by personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns and interrogative pronouns. While in the non-agreeing configuration, numeral subjects like *p'jat' banditov* 'five thugs' pattern with *stol'ko* and *skol'ko*, 'that much/many' and 'how much/many'. This is shown in (10a-b) below:

- (10) a. [Oni] tancevali / \*tancevalo tango.  
 they danced.PL / \*danced.NEUT tango  
 'They danced tango.'
- b. Emu [stol'ko] ne nužno / \*nužny.  
 he.DAT that-much not needed.NEUT / \*needed.PL  
 He doesn't need that much.'

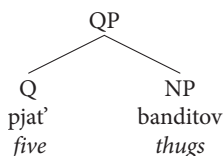
In order to explain these differences, Pereltsvaig (2006) proposes the Small Nominal Hypothesis, which postulates that the two types of subjects differ in their internal structure. According to this analysis, agreeing subjects are DPs, while non-agreeing subjects are Small Nominals (or QPs), i.e., they lack the DP projection. The two types of subjects are schematized as follows:

## (11) Small Nominal Hypothesis

## a. AGREEING SUBJECTS



## b. NON-AGREEING SUBJECTS



(Based on Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 448, Example (16)):

Correlations between DPs and Small Nominals are summarized in Table 4.1 below:

**Table 4.1** Agreeing vs. non-agreeing subjects in Russian

Contrast	Agreeing subjects	Non-agreeing subjects
Individuated interpretation	✓	*
Specific interpretation	✓	*
Partitive interpretation	✓	*
Non-isomorphic wide scope	✓	*
Controller of PRO	✓	*
Antecedent of anaphor	✓	*
Approximative Inversion	*	✓
Pronominal elements	Personal pronouns	stol'ko, skol'ko

(Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 448)

Pereltsvaig concludes that DPs are referential and they can select an individual referent. Small Nominals, on the other hand, cannot be referential, quantificational (in the sense general quantifiers are), nor can they have an individuated, specific, or partitive interpretation. By virtue of lacking the DP projection and their own reference, they cannot function as antecedents of reflexive/reciprocal anaphors or control PRO. The contrasted features apply not only to the subject arguments, but also to the object DPs and Small Nominals, as will be discussed in the following subsection.

## 4.1.2 Small Nominals in object position

As observed in Pereltsvaig (2006), Small Nominals can appear not only in the subject position, but also in the object position. More importantly, they are specifically selected by certain types of heads. One such head, which selects a Small Nominal is the perfectivizing cumulative prefix *na-*. This is shown in (12b), where the prefix *na-* on the verb obligatorily selects the genitive marked object (*čertežej* vs. \**čerteži*):

- (12) a. Džejms Bond skopiroval [čerteži]. (Russian)  
 James Bond copied blueprints.ACC  
 'James Bond copied (some/the) blueprints.'
- b. Džejms Bond nakopiroval [čertežej].  
 James Bond CUM.copied blueprints.GEN  
 'James Bond copied (many) blueprints.'
- (Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 456, Example (25a–b))

The object of the verb *nakopiroval* is marked genitive (12b), while the object of the verb *skopiroval* is accusative (12a). This contrast between (12a) and (12b) in terms of case marking stems from the assumption that the verb with the cumulative *na-* assigns genitive case to its noun complement, in a similar way as certain verbs in Russian assign the quirky genitive case. Pereltsvaig's approach accounts for these differences in terms of phrase structure rather than case theory. Particularly, she assumes that the cumulative *na-* always selects a QP, which accounts for the genitive case marking on the noun phrase inside the QP. In cases where no overt quantity expression is present (as in (12b)), the QP contains a null genitive-assigning Q. As for the case patterns, Q assigns genitive case to its NP complement regardless of the fact whether QP is overtly filled or not (this view is based on Pesetsky, 1982). As demonstrated in Example (13a), when an overt quantity expression is present, the quantity expression is marked accusative. This is similar to the case marking pattern with arguments of verbs without cumulative *na-* as in Example (12a) above. However, the NP inside the QP is marked genitive, which provides grounds for Pereltsvaig to argue that objects of the verbs with cumulative *na-* are minimally QPs. The Q element is marked accusative, as in (13a), genitive marking on overt Q is not allowed, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (13b).

- (13) a. Džejms Bond nakopiroval [<sub>QP</sub> džužinu čertežej]  
 James Bond CUM-copied dozen.ACC.SG blueprints.GEN  
 'James Bond copied a whopping dozen blueprints.'
- b. \*Džejms Bond nakopiroval [<sub>QP</sub> džužiny čertežej].  
 James Bond CUM-copied dozen.GEN.SG blueprints.GEN

To the question whether the objects of cumulative *na-* can be projected as DP or not, Pereltsvaig's response is negative. Since these nominals cannot include D-level elements such as demonstratives (14a), pronouns (14b), or proper names (14c), they cannot be DPs.

- (14) a. \*Džejms Bond napriglašal [etu džužinu krasotok].  
James Bond CUM-invited this-ACC dozen-ACC babes-GEN  
Intended: James Bond invited these dozen babes.
- b. \*Džejms Bond napriglašal [{nas / menja}].  
James Bond CUM-invited we/I-ACC  
Intended: James Bond invited {us / me} a lot.
- c. \*Džejms Bond napriglašal [{Ivanovyx / Ivanova}].  
James Bond CUM-invited Ivanovs.PL/ Ivanov.SG-ACC  
Intended: James Bond invited {the Ivanovs/Ivanov} a lot. (the Ivanovs-family/Ivanov-Mr.)
- (Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 456, Example (26a–c))

The Small Nominal Hypothesis is further supported by the evidence that Small Nominals exhibit a similar behavior both in subject and object positions. Namely, Small Nominal objects cannot have specific (15), or individual interpretation (16), cannot serve as controllers of PRO<sup>67</sup> (17), or function as antecedents of anaphors (18). Neither can they contain D-level elements.

- (15) a. Džejms Bond nasobiral opredelěnyx cvetov.  
James Bond CUM-picked certain.GEN flowers.GEN  
'James Bond picked lots of flowers of a certain kind.'
- b. \*Džejms Bond nasobiral opredelěnyye cvetov.  
James Bond CUM-picked certain.ACC flowers.GEN  
Intended: James Bond picked a certain large amount of flowers.
- (16) \*Džejms Bond naljubil [krasivyx ženščin].  
James Bond CUM-loved beautiful women-ACC  
Intended: James Bond loved many beautiful women.
- (17) \*On nasobiral sliv<sub>p</sub> [PRO<sub>p</sub> nespelymi].  
he CUM-picked plums.GEN unripe.INSTR  
Intended: He picked a lot of plums unripe.
- (18) a. \*Bond napriglašal [krasotok]<sub>i</sub> na dni roždenija [drug  
Bond CUM-invited babeson days birth-GEN.SG each  
drug]<sub>i</sub>.  
other-GEN  
Intended: 'Bond invited (many) babes to each other's birthdays.'

67. Here Pereltsvaig (2006) adopts a particular analysis of secondary predicates, according to which they involve a small clause with a PRO subject.

- b. Bond priglasil [krasotok]<sub>i</sub> na dni roždenija [drug druga]<sub>i</sub>.  
 Bond invited babes on days birth each other  
 ‘Bond invited {some/the} babes to each other’s birthdays.’

#### 4.1.3 Small Nominals in other languages

In addition to providing a detailed discussion of Small Nominals in Russian, Pereltsvaig (2006) also presents an indicative survey of languages that have structures similar to Small Nominals. For example, bare singulars in Norwegian (Kallulli, 1999; Borthen, 2003) are analyzed to fit the category of Small Nominals. Pereltsvaig gives the Example (19) below (from Borthen, 2003, p. 356) to illustrate this:

- (19) Jeg bruker ikke nakent nomen. (Norwegian)  
 I use not naked nominal.sg  
 ‘I do not use bare nominals.’

Examples like (19) are allowed in Norwegian, despite the fact that Norwegian has overt articles. Kallulli (1999) analyzes bare singulars as NPs, i.e., a (smaller) type of Small Nominal in Russian. Yet Small Nominals in Norwegian and Russian are similar: they are non-referential, incompatible with adjectives expressing specificity; they cannot function as controllers of PRO and they do not trigger agreement on the predicate.

Another important point to note is that Russian and Norwegian bare singulars cannot be analyzed as incorporated into the verb because they are not restricted to verb adjacent positions. Head incorporation à la Baker (1988) is a syntactic account whereby the head of a complement NP is incorporated into the V head to form a single lexical unit  $V^0$ . Baker (1988) unambiguously shows that this kind of incorporation is allowed for NPs that can be base-generated in the complement position. Theoretically, this type of head incorporation is possible in languages that are standardly taken to have DPs. Such nominals have a very restricted distribution and their existence in a language does not falsify the universal DP hypothesis in a significant way. Crucially, the bare nominals of the type discussed for Russian and Norwegian by Pereltsvaig seem not to fit into Baker’s type of noun-verb incorporation.

Pereltsvaig maintains that Small Nominals exist not only in Russian and Norwegian, but also in languages such as English (20), German (21), French (22), Italian (23) and Spanish (24). She further argues that Small Nominals are not only allowed, but also specifically selected as a complement of prepositions. In this respect, prepositions behave in a way that is similar to the way the cumulative prefix *na-* in Russian behaves.

- (20) English  
 The child goes **to school**, and her parents come **to** \*(the)school to pick her up.  
 (Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 475)

## (21) German

- a. Er bezahlte die Ware **mit Kreditkarte**.  
 he paid.for the product with credit-card  
 'He paid for the product by credit card.'
- b. Er wies sich aus **mit \*(einer) Kreditkarte**.  
 he identified himself with a credit-card  
 'He identified himself with a credit card.'

(McIntyre, 2001)

## (22) French

- a. Il est **en prison** pour ses terribles crimes.  
 he is in prison for his terrible crimes
- b. Il est **dans \*(la) prison** pour visiter sa femme la tueuse.  
 he is in the prison for to.visit his wife the murderess  
 'He is in the prison to visit his murderess-wife.'

## (23) Italian

- a. Gianni é **in prigionie**.  
 Gianni is in prison  
 'Gianni is in prison (as an inmate).'
- b. Gianni é **alla prigionie**.  
 Gianni is in. the prison  
 'Gianni is in the prison (as a visitor).'

## (24) Spanish

- a. Está **en prisión** por sus terribles crímenes.  
 is in prison for his terrible crimes  
 'He is in prison for his terrible crimes.'
- b. Está **en la prisión** para visitar a su mujer-asesina.  
 is in the prison for to visit to his wife-murderess  
 'He is in the prison to visit his murderess-wife.'

(Examples (22–24) are based on Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 475–476)

## (25) Norwegian

- a. Han ringte **fra telefonkiosk**.  
 he called from telephone-booth  
 'He called from a phone booth.'
- b. Han hoppet **fra \*(en) telefonkiosk**.  
 he jumped from a telephone-booth  
 'He jumped from a phone booth.'

(Borthen, 2003, p. 46)

As seen in the examples above, Small Nominals are used as complements of prepositions and as non-referential expressions. In some cases, a Small Nominal may be exclusively selected by a preposition. For instance, the French preposition *en* 'in'

selects only a Small Nominal complement, in contrast to *dans* ‘in’, which can take a structure bigger than a Small Nominal as its complement, i.e., a noun phrase including an article. The contrast can be seen when we compare Examples (22a–b) above and (26) below:

- (26) \*Il est **en la** prison.  
 he is in the prison  
 Intended: He is in the prison.

Nevertheless, in the same languages, there are also constructions which use articles. For example, in English, we have the expression *go to school* and *go to the school*. These two possible constructions have different meanings: the former implies going to school as a student, and the latter going to a school building with a different (not educational) purpose, for example, to visit someone. Similar differences are observed in Spanish *está en prisión* versus *está en la prisión*, or French *en prison* versus *dans la prison*. The examples without articles imply that if someone is *in prison* (English), *en prison* (French), *en prisión* (Spanish), they are there as convicts, prisoners, not as visitors or guardians. These constructions are referred to as Small PPs (i.e., Small Nominal complements of prepositions) in McIntire (2001), and they are restricted to ‘conventionalized interpretation’ due to their non-referential nature. This pragmatic restriction appears to be a distinctive feature of bare NPs in languages such as Spanish, English, or French.

To summarize this section, Pereltsvaig (2006) argues for the existence of Small Nominals, a type of nominals that lack all or some functional projections. These nominals can appear in argument (subject and object) positions, as well as function as complements of prepositions. Moreover, certain heads, such as Russian cumulative prefix *na-* or preposition *en* in French and Spanish, select exclusively Small Nominals as their complements. As regards their ordering within the clause, Small Nominals occupy the same syntactic slot as their DP counterparts (i.e., they are not subject to incorporation à la Baker, 1988). Nevertheless, Small Nominals show a number of characteristic features, which distinguish them from DPs. Small Nominals cannot have an individual and/or partitive interpretation, cannot be specific, cannot bind reflexives and reciprocals, neither can they control PRO.

Additionally, Pereltsvaig proposes that Small Nominals exhibit a range of properties which stem from their non-referential nature. This analysis is built upon the distinction between an unvalued and a fully valued set of  $\varphi$ -features. Namely, Pereltsvaig assumes that nouns have an unvalued set of  $\varphi$ -features, while DPs have a fully valued set of  $\varphi$ -features. In this analysis, Longobardi’s argument “D<sup>o</sup> introduces a referential index” is replaced with a new proposal that “D<sup>o</sup> values  $\varphi$ -features” (Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 495). Pereltsvaig’s argument provides grounds for the existence of Small Nominals, and offers a unified analysis of distinguishing



Small Nominals from DPs. Furthermore, this analysis reduces predicate agreement, control, and anaphor binding to matching  $\phi$ -features of the trigger/controller/antecedent with the matching features of the predicate/PRO/reflexive. This analysis offers an important insight that only DPs are fully referential (in accordance with Longobardi, 1994), which has significant empirical and theoretical consequences. From an empirical point of view, it allows us to explain the fact that a verbal projection can show parallelism with a nominal projection concerning referentiality due to the presence of the functional projection DP. In addition, from a theoretical standpoint, adopting Longobardi's view that only DPs are referential enables us to maintain the concept of 'functional architecture'. Building on this, Pereltsvaig further argues that her analysis allows the projection of only those functional categories which are semantically motivated, while abstaining from postulating functional categories which only serve to host moved elements and account for the correct word order.

Pereltsvaig (2006) points yet to another advantage of analyzing referentiality in terms of  $\phi$ -features, which consists in eliminating the notion of "referential index" (p. 495). Namely, building on the Inclusiveness Condition which "rules out ... indices" (Chomsky, 2000, pp. 113–114), it is proposed that syntactic computation can deal only with features, not indices (Chomsky, 1995, p. 228; 1998, p. 116). Within similar lines, Pereltsvaig (2001) develops the idea of conceptualizing the "referential index" as a D-feature (p. 184–185). In Pereltsvaig (2006) this idea is taken to the next level and "referential indices" are replaced with a set of  $\phi$ -features (p. 496).

The significance of Pereltsvaig's (2006) approach lies in contrasting DPs and Small Nominals, and thus providing explanations for a range of empirical facts which cannot be accounted for if all nominals in article-less languages are considered to lack the DP projection. Contrary to the arguments proposed for no-DP analysis of Slavic languages (e.g., Chierchia, 1998; Baker, 2003; Bošković, 2008, 2012, 2014; Willim, 1998, 2000), Pereltsvaig (2006) sides with Progovac (1998), Rappaport (1998, 2001, 2002), and Franks and Pereltsvaig (2004) who argue for the DP projection in Slavic languages. However, Pereltsvaig modifies/relativizes the universal DP view by providing arguments for the existence of nominal expressions of different sizes. In other words, Pereltsvaig allows for a possibility of the DP layer to be projected or not, i.e., to have fully projected DPs and to have nominals smaller than DP which function as arguments of verbs or prepositions. This distinction enables us to account for a series of empirical facts which could not be resolved if all nominal expressions in article-less languages were considered NPs.

With the purpose of extending Pereltsvaig's analysis to typologically distinct Turkic languages, I will apply the Small Nominal Hypothesis to Uzbek and check what type of nominals can be analyzed as Small Nominals and what type of constructions are fully projected DPs.

## 4.2 Functional architecture of the nominal domain in Uzbek

Numerous arguments have been proposed in favor of a richly structured nominal domain, including a range of functional categories above NP (e.g., Bowers, 1993; Adger, 2003; Cinque, 2005). According to Adger (2003), in English nominal functional categories include small *nP*, NumP, PossP, and DP. Furthermore, Löbel (1994) for German and Kornfilt (1995, 2003) for Turkish postulate another functional category above DP, namely, KP, which bears syntactic function K for Case.

A fairly distinctive approach is taken in Pereltsvaig (2006, 2007, 2013) to account for the structure of nominal expressions in Russian and other article-less Slavic languages. According to this approach “different syntactic constructions call for nominals of different sizes” (Pereltsvaig, 2006, p. 433). In other words, some nominals are fully projected as DPs, while others are Small Nominals, i.e., nominals which lack some or all functional projections. This approach is extended to Tatar, a Turkic language without articles, in Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2013, 2015). As a basis for their analysis, the authors take differentially marked objects (accusative marked and case unmarked objects), and so called *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* constructions in Tatar (see 4.3.1 for the detailed discussion). Contrasting the syntactic structure of *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* possessors, and accusative marked and case unmarked direct objects, Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig argue that arguments that appear with overt structural case, *ezafe-3* and accusative marked direct objects are DPs. Whereas, case unmarked possessive constructions, i.e., *ezafe-2* and case unmarked direct objects are Small Nominals *à la* Pereltsvaig (2006). Pursuing this analysis, I will present empirical evidence to support the argument that both DP nominals and Small Nominals can be found in Uzbek. First, in Section 4.2, I will discuss the order of nominal suffixes and show that this sequence reflects the array of functional projections within the nominal domain. After demonstrating the functional architecture of nominals in Uzbek, I move on to discuss two types of possessive constructions, namely, *Izofa-2* and *Izofa-3*. The first type contains a genitive marked possessive, and the second type contains a possessive without overt case marking. Based on distinctions in their case features, I will show that the former contains more functional structure and can be analyzed as DP/KP, while the latter shows the characteristics of Small Nominals. Along similar lines, I will contrast accusative marked direct objects and case unmarked objects and show that accusative marked objects are DP/KPs and case unmarked objects are Small Nominals. Moreover, I will show that overtly case marked possessives and direct objects on the one hand, and case unmarked possessives and case unmarked direct objects on the other, share certain morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties. The analysis of Uzbek data will also point to the distinction between two

functional heads, D and K, with K being the topmost functional head in Uzbek nominals.

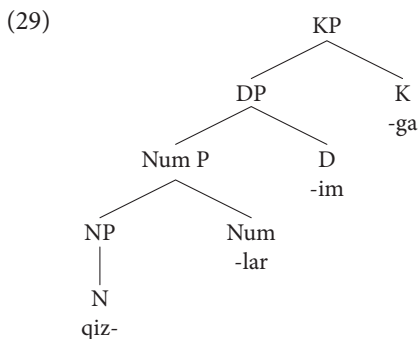
#### 4.2.1 Internal ordering of nominal suffixes as a reflection of functional architecture

As discussed in Chapter 1.4, Uzbek is an agglutinating language and the realization of suffixes are highly regular in this language. The standard spelling is basically morphological and it does not indicate phonological processes such as vowel harmony or assimilation processes affecting consonants. The plural ending *-lar* (c.f. Turkish *ler, -lar*)<sup>68</sup> is the first suffix attached to the noun root and is followed by the possessive suffix and the case suffix respectively. The order of suffixes within the nominal expression is very rigid and changing their positions results in ungrammaticality. Based on this evidence, Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015) postulate that rigid internal ordering of nominal suffixes in Turkic languages reflects the order of functional projections within the noun phrase. Their argument is based on Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle. Adopting this analysis, I propose (27) for Uzbek, which represents the order of suffixes in the nominal domain and potential functional heads which host these suffixes.

- (27) i. N (the noun root)  
 ii. Plural suffix *-lar* - in Num<sup>o</sup>  
 iii. Possessive agreement marker *-ning* - in D<sup>o</sup>  
 iv. Case suffix (e.g. DAT) *-ga* - in K<sup>o</sup>

Following (27), the word *qiz-lar-im-ga* 'to my daughters' would be analyzed as in (28) below (suffixes appear in the order right from the noun root due to head-final nature of Uzbek):

- (28) [<sub>KP</sub>[[[<sub>NP</sub>[<sub>N</sub>*qiz-*] *-lar*] *-im*] *-ga*]



68. Unlike Turkish, Uzbek does not exhibit vowel harmony.

As shown in the tree diagram in (29) above, the highest projection in the nominal domain is assumed to be the KP.

Nevertheless, following the Small Nominal Hypothesis (Pereltsvaig, 2006), I propose that not all functional layers are always projected in Uzbek. In other words, nominal constructions of different sizes, such as  $N^0$ , NP, NumP, DP, or KP can be projected depending on the larger syntactic context they appear in. Specifically, there are nominals as small as a bare noun that cannot even host a plural marker. One such example is the nominal element in complex predicate constructions, or nominal complements of so called attributivizers that will be discussed in Section 4.2.2.1. On the other hand, there are fully projected KPs, which contain DPs, such as accusative marked objects (Section 4.2.2) and genitive marked possessives (Section 4.2.3).

In the following sections, I will provide arguments for the projection of both types of nominals in Uzbek and postulate syntactic contexts where each type may occur. In the next section, I will start discussing immediately preverbal bare nouns which occur in complex predicate constructions.

#### 4.2.2 Bare nouns in complex predicate constructions

Preverbal bare nouns form complex predicate constructions in Uzbek, which can be divided into three types, as shown in (30 a-c) below:

- (30) a. Hasan *kitob oqi-di*. (unmarked)  
 Hasan book read-PST  
 'Hasan read a/some book.'
- b. Hasan *qovoq os-di*. (idiom)  
 Hasan face hang-PST  
 'Hasan got upset.'
- c. Hasan *sayohat et-di*. (light verb construction)  
 Hasan travel do-PST  
 'Hasan travelled.'

In all the examples given in (30) a bare, case unmarked noun immediately precedes the verb. In the following, I propose a unified analysis for the constructions in (30) and argue that these complex predicates are of the structure [NP+V]; i.e., consist of a lexical verb and a bare NP. To my knowledge, there is no literature dealing with syntactic analysis of complex predicate constructions in Uzbek. However, there is abundant literature on Turkish, a language closely related to Uzbek. Therefore, my analysis and discussions will be partially based on Turkish as *au fait*.

Turkish counterparts of (30) have been analyzed as instances of head-incorporation of nouns in the sense of Baker (1988) by Knecht (1986), Sezer (1991), Kornfilt (1995, 2003), Aydemir (2004) among many others. According to Baker's

incorporation analysis, (31a) and (32a) below are considered to be structures where immediately preverbal bare noun is incorporated into the V head and forms a new unit with it. The Examples (31b) and (32b) illustrate non-incorporated counterparts of (31a) and (32a), respectively:

- (31) a. Ali kitap okudu. (theme argument incorporation)  
 Ali book read  
 'Ali did book reading.'
- b. Ali kitab-ı okudu.  
 Ali book-ACC read  
 'Ali read the book.'
- (32) a. Köy-e doktor geldi.<sup>69</sup>  
 village-DAT doctor came  
 'Doctors came to the village.'
- b. Doktor köy-e geldi  
 doctor village-DAT came  
 'The doctor came to the village.'

(Examples from Öztürk, 2005, p. 32, Example (37)–(38))

The data in (31a) and (32a) have been interpreted to support the view that Turkish is a language which exhibits head incorporation. Mithun (1984) describes noun incorporation in Turkish as a morphological amalgamation of a noun stem and a verb stem to form an intransitive predicate. She argues that incorporated nouns bear no case markers, nor can they refer to specific entities. They do not establish discourse referents and they are unmarked for number or definiteness. Along similar lines, Sezer (1991), Taylan and Zimmer (1994), and Aydemir (2004) propose that noun incorporation takes place in the lexicon, as also indicated by the fact that incorporation takes place in idiom formation in Turkish, as in (33b):

- (33) a. Ali Ayşe-ye kitap verdi. (theme incorporation)  
 Ali Ayşe-DAT book gave  
 'Ali did book giving to Ayşe.'
- b. Ali Ayşe-ye kulak verdi. (idiom)  
 Ali Ayşe-DAT ear gave  
 'Ali listened to Ayşe attentively.'

(Examples from Öztürk, 2005, p. 34, Example (43a–b))

An alternative analysis of the data in (33) is provided in Knecht (1986) who argues that syntactic compounding underlies immediately preverbal bare nouns, and a bare noun head incorporates to the verb head to form a new verb. This analysis

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69. theme argument incorporation-unaccusative

is based on several empirical facts: (i) bare nouns cannot be displaced by focused constituents<sup>70</sup> (c.f. Fatoş in (34b) and (34d)), (ii) cannot be topicalized (35a) and (35d), and (iii) bare nouns cannot be postposed to the right of the verb (36a) and (36d).

(34) Turkish

- a. Fatoş dün **kitab-i** okudu.  
Fatoş yesterday book-ACC read  
'Fatoş read the book yesterday.'
- b. Dün **kitab-i** Fatoş okudu.  
yesterday book Fatoş read  
'It was Fatoş who read the book yesterday.'
- c. Fatoş dün **kitap** okudu. (incorporation)  
Fatoş yesterday book read  
'Fatoş did book reading yesterday.'
- d. \*Dün **kitap** Fatoş okudu.  
yesterday book Fatoş read  
Intended: It was Fatoş who did book reading yesterday.  
(Öztürk 2005, p. 34, Example (44))

As shown in (34d), bare nouns cannot be topicalized, i.e., separated from the verb by a focused constituent, while case-marked nouns can be topicalized, as in (34b). Therefore, topicalization requires case marking on the nouns, as shown in (35b):

- (35) a. Hasan-dan **para-yi** aldım.  
Hasan-ABL money-ACC took-1PST  
'I took the money from Hasan.'
- b. **Para-yi** Hasan-dan aldım.  
money-ACC Hasan-ABL took-1PST  
'The money, I took it from Hasan.'
- c. Hasan-dan **para** aldım.  
Hasan-ABL money took-1PST  
'I took money from Hasan.'
- d. \***Para** Hasan-dan aldım.  
money Hasan-ABL took-1PST  
Intended: \*Money, I took from Hasan.

70. Note that in Turkish, the immediate preverbal position is the focus position and the elements preceding the preverbal elements get a topic interpretation.

Finally, bare noun objects unmarked for case cannot be postposed to the right of the verb, as shown in (36a), while case marked nouns can be postposed (36b):<sup>71</sup>

- (36) a. \*Ali okudu **kitap**.  
Ali read book  
b. Ali okudu **kitab-i**.  
Ali read book-ACC  
'Ali read the book.'

Unlike the accounts which treat the combination of a bare noun + verb as an instance of lexical or syntactic incorporation, Taylan (1986) offers counter-arguments to the above analysis of the Turkish data in (34)–(36). She asserts that focus particles such as *da*, *bile* and *mi* can intervene between a bare noun object and the verb. This means that the noun and the verb do not form a morphologically complex predicate, which would act as a single morphological unit V<sup>o</sup>. This is exemplified in (37) below (as cited in Öztürk, 2005, p. 39, Example (53a-c)):

- (37) a. Ali kitap **da** okudu.  
Ali book also read  
'Ali also did book reading (in addition to magazine reading).'  
b. Ali kitap **mi** okudu?  
Ali book Q read  
'Ali did book reading?!'  
c. Ali kitap **bile** okudu.  
Ali book even read  
'Ali did even book reading.'

In addition to Taylan's (1986) and Öztürk's (2005) arguments against the head status of incorporated nouns in Turkish, I provide data from Uzbek to demonstrate that head-incorporation analysis does not hold for Uzbek either, and that a bare noun and the following verb are independent syntactic constituents. Firstly, I will show that focus particles such as *ham* (also), *hatto* (even) and question particle *mi* can intervene between the verb and the bare noun. This shows that the noun and the verb do not form a morphologically complex predicate which acts as a single morphological unit V<sup>o</sup>.

- (38) a. Ali kitob **ham** oqi-di.  
Ali book also read-PST  
'Ali also did book reading.'

71. In Turkish, postposition of the object nominal and preposing the verb creates the effect of focusing on the preposed element, in (36b) the verb.

- b. Ali kitob-*mi* oqi-di?  
 Ali book-Q read-PST  
 'Ali did book reading?!'

Further evidence, which shows that a verb and a noun in complex predicate constructions are independent syntactic units, is observed in verb ellipsis. The verb can be elided under identity of immediately preverbal bare nouns, as shown in (39) below:

- (39) Ali kitob o'qi-di, ro'znoma emas.  
 Ali book read-PST newspaper not  
 'Ali did book reading, not newspaper reading.'

More evidence against the morphological head-incorporation analysis is revealed by coordination. It is possible to coordinate the verb with another verb in the presence of one bare noun as in (40a), or a bare noun with another bare noun in front of a single verb, as in (40b).

- (40) a. Ali maktub o'qi-di va yoz-di.  
 Ali letter read-PST and write-PST  
 'Ali did letter reading and writing.'
- b. Ali kitob va ro'znoma o'qi-di.  
 Ali book and newspaper read-PST  
 'Ali did book-and-newspaper reading.'

Additionally, the noun in a complex predicate construction can be modified by an adjective, as shown in (41a), and by a participle, as in (41b):

- (41) a. Hasan [qiziq kitob] o'qi-di.  
 Hasan interesting book read-PST  
 'Hasan did interesting book reading.'
- b. Hasan [sotiladigan kitob] izla-di.  
 Hasan sell-participle book look.for-PST  
 'Hasan looked for a book to buy.'

The data discussed in (38)–(41) clearly indicate that immediately preverbal bare nouns are independent syntactic constituents. They do not form a morphologically complex head  $V^0$  via head-incorporation. This has been demonstrated by applying focus particle insertion (38), verb ellipsis (39), coordination (40) and modification (41). Hence, I conclude that immediately preverbal bare nouns in complex predicate constructions are phrasal complements of the verb head.

In the following section, I turn to analyze bare noun phrases in complex predicates from the perspective of the Small Nominal Hypothesis, discussed in Section 4.1 above.



### 4.2.3 Bare nouns in complex predicate constructions are Small Nominals

In Section 4.2.2 above, on the basis of nominal suffix ordering and Small Nominal Hypothesis, I have adopted that Uzbek noun phrases are maximally KPs,<sup>72</sup> and that noun phrases need not be always fully projected. In other words, I propose that various constructions make use of nominals of various sizes, ranging between NP to fully projected KP. I also follow Gribanova (2016) in labeling the functional projection under KP with the familiar label DP, the head of which hosts the possessive agreement suffix in Uzbek nominals. With the purpose of showing this variation in the size of nominal expressions, I firstly focus on immediately preverbal bare nouns in complex predicate constructions. In 4.2.2, I have demonstrated that in Uzbek, there are three types of immediately preverbal bare nouns, which are repeated in (42 a-c) for the sake of convenience:

- (42) a. Hasan *kitob oqi-di*. (preverbal bare noun)  
 Hasan book read-PST  
 'Hasan did book-reading.'
- b. Hasan *qovoq os-di*. (idiom)  
 Hasan face hang-PST  
 'Hasan got upset.'
- c. Hasan *sayohat et-di*. (light verb construction)  
 Hasan travel do-PST  
 'Hasan travelled.'

Within the GB framework, verbs inside complex predicates are referred to as light verbs, and their argument structure is assumed to have the form of X +Verb (see e.g. Grimshaw & Mester, 1988). Various definitions are offered to describe light verb constructions, and they are believed to exhibit cross-linguistic variation in terms of their argument structure (Bowern, 2004a, 2004b, 2006; Grimshaw & Mester, 1988; Butt & Geuder, 2001; Hale & Keyser, 1991, 1993, 2002). Uzbek makes extensive use of complex predicate constructions and the inventory of light verbs is extremely rich, including more than twenty verbs (Bowern, 2006, p. 11), such as *qil*, *et*, 'do', *tur* 'stand', *ol* 'take', *ber* 'give' and *qo'y* 'put'. Light verb constructions consist of a nominal element and a light verb such as *qil* or *et* which usually corresponds to English 'do'. Moreover, the nominal element in the complex predicate construction is so "small" in size that it cannot contain any suffixes. As shown in (43b), the nominal cannot be marked for plurality, nor can it carry case suffixes (43c). Furthermore, pronouns cannot be used in complex predicate constructions (43d), neither can they contain modifiers of any kind (43e). All these properties

72. I follow Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015) and Gribanova (2016) in referring to this projection.

of complex predicate construction are illustrated in the example of *sovg'a qilmoq* (lit: 'gift make').

- (43) a. Ona-si Samira-ga oltin uzuk **sovg'a** qil-di.  
 mother-3.SG Samira-DAT golden ring gift make-PST  
 'Her mother made a present of a golden ring to Samira.'
- b. \*Ona-si Samira-ga oltin uzuk(-lar)  
 mother-3.SG Samira-DAT golden ring-PL  
**sovg'a-lar** qil-di.  
 gift-PL make-PST  
 '\*Her mother made presents of golden rings to Samira.'
- c. \*Ona-si Samira-ga oltin uzuk **sovg'a-ni** qil-di.  
 mother-3.SG Samira-DAT golden ring gift-ACC make-PST  
 '\*Her mother made the present of a golden ring to Samira.'
- d. \*Ona-si Samira-ga oltin uzuk  
 mother-3.SG Samira-DAT golden ring  
**u/uni** qil-di.  
 it-NOM/it-ACC make-PST  
 '\*Her mother made it a present of a golden ring to Samira.'
- e. Ona-si Samira-ga oltin uzuk (**\*go'zal/\*bir/\*shunaqa**)  
 mother-3.SG Samira-DAT golden ring (beautiful/one/such)  
**sovg'a** qil-di.  
 gift make-PST  
 'Her mother made a beautiful/such a gift of a golden ring to Samira.'

As shown in (43b), the nominal element *sovg'a* 'gift' is structurally so small that it cannot contain even the plural marker *-lar*. If we adopt the idea that certain nominal expressions are "small" because they lack a number of functional layers and are possibly only a simple projection of the head N (NPs), we can predict the fact that the plural marker never appears on nouns in complex predicates: the plural suffix *-lar* is excluded because the nominal in the complex predicate is an NP which does not contain the functional layer where the plural suffix is generated, i.e., the Number head of the NumP. In the same vein, the nominal of a complex predicate cannot accommodate case suffixes (43c), modifiers (43e) or pronouns (43d) by virtue of lacking D and K level projections. If pronominals are referential and deictic by definition, I assume that they correspond to referential nominals which I take to contain at least the DP level.

#### 4.2.4 Small Nominals and DPs as complements of attributivizers

In the previous section, I have shown that Num/D/K-level elements cannot occur with nominal elements of complex predicate constructions. In this section, I show

that attributivizers, suffixes attached to nominal elements in order to form attributive modifiers, take nominals of different sizes as their complements. Uzbek has attributive suffixes such as *-li*, *-lik*, *-gi*, *-cha*, *-siz*, and *-dek*, which are used with a wide range of nominals to convey different meanings. For instance, the suffixes *-li* means ‘with’, *-dek* means ‘like/type’, *-gi* means ‘kind’ and *-siz* means ‘without’. Examples of attributivizer construction are given in (44) below:

- (44) a. qaymoq-**li** non  
cream-ATTR bread  
‘bread with cream’
- b. gul-**li** ro‘mol  
flower-ATTR scarf  
‘a scarf with flowers’ (*Lit.* flower patterned scarf)
- c. qish-**gi** kiyim  
winter-ATTR clothes  
‘winter clothes’
- d. umid-**siz** kishi-lar  
hope-ATTR person-PL  
‘hopeless people’
- e. dev-**dek** odam  
giant-ATTR man  
‘giant-like man’
- f. kech-**lik** osh  
evening-ATTR meal  
‘evening meal’
- g. besh kun-**lik** ta‘til  
five day-ATTR holiday  
‘a five-day holiday’
- h. O‘zbek-**cha** palov  
Uzbek-ATTR pilaf  
‘Uzbek(style) pilaf’

Uzbek attributivizers are phrasal suffixes which can take nominals of different sizes as their complement. Namely, there can be projections of different sizes depending on the type of attributivizers. Similar observations are made in Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015) for Tatar, a Turkic language closely related to Uzbek. Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig argue that certain attributivizers take fully projected DPs as their complements, while others take Small Nominals. On a similar note, I will show that nominal structures of different sizes, Small Nominals, KPs, DPs or NumPs, are selected by different types of attributivizers in Uzbek. As an example, I will compare attributivizers *-li* and *-gi* to demonstrate this contrast. Examples

(45) show that the attributivizer *-li* selects a Small Nominal as its complement. The complement cannot accommodate any D/K level elements such as demonstratives or pronouns.<sup>73</sup>

- (45) a. *gul-li*            *ro'mol*  
           flower-ATTR scarf  
           ‘a scarf with flowers’
- b. \**u-li*            *ro'mol*  
           it-ATTR scarf  
           Intended meaning: ‘a scarf with it’ (e.g. a flower / pattern)
- c. \**shu gul-li*        *ro'mol*  
           that flower-ATTR scarf  
           Intended meaning: ‘a scarf with **that** flower’

As a matter of fact, the nominal complement of *-li* is too small to accommodate the plural suffix. This justifies the view that the complement of *-li* does not project NumP which hosts the plural marker *-lar*, as shown in (46).

- (46) \**gul-lar-li*            *ro'mol*  
           flower-PL-ATTR scarf  
           Intended meaning: ‘a scarf with flowers’

Although the complement of *-li* cannot contain the plural marker, it allows adjectival modifiers, which indicates that the complement is an NP, rather than a bare nominal root (47), and that *-li* is a phrasal affix which does not attach to a lexical root but a phrase.<sup>74</sup>

- (47) a. [*qizil gul*]-*li*        *ro'mol*  
           red flower-ATTR scarf  
           ‘a scarf with a red flower/red flowers’
- b. [*uzun soch*]-*li*      *qiz*  
           long hair-ATTR girl  
           ‘a girl with long hair’

Based on the behavior of the attributivizer *-li* in (45)–(47), I propose that it takes a Small Nominal as its complement. This is seen more clearly when we compare *-li* with the attributivizer *-gi*. As seen in (48a), *-gi* can select a nominal which contains the plural suffix *-lar*, i.e., it contains (at least) a NumP. And Example (48b) shows that the suffix can also select a singular nominal as its complement, and

73. See Chapter 3.3.1 for the discussion of demonstratives and other D/K elements in Uzbek

74. At the same time, we can see that adjectives can attach to the smallest nominal projection in Uzbek:NP.

the interpretation of the attribute depends on the number feature of the nominal complement.

- (48) a. saroy-lar-da-gi xona-lar  
castle-PL-LOC-ATTR room-PL  
'rooms of (the)castles'
- b. saroy-da-gi xona-lar  
castle-LOC-ATTR room-PL  
'rooms of a/the castle' (not 'castles')

Moreover, the complement of the attributivizer *-gi* may also contain case marked nominal elements such as pronouns (49a), proper names (49b), nominals with possessive agreement marker (49c) and GEN marked possessives constructions (49d), all of which are analyzed as KPs (which contain DP) in this study.

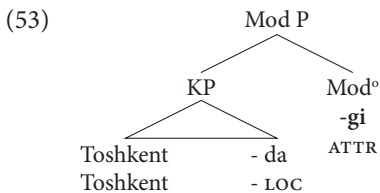
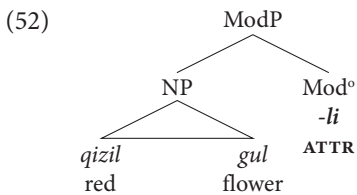
- (49) a. un-da-gi xona-lar  
it-LOC-ATTR room-PL  
'its (e.g.castle's) rooms'
- b. [Toshkent-da]-gi saroy-lar  
Tashkent-LOC-ATTR palace-PL  
'palaces of Tashkent'
- c. qo'shni-lar-imiz-da-gi vaziyat  
neighbor-PL-1PL-LOC-ATTR situation  
'situation in our neighbor's'
- d. Hasan-ning maktab-i-da-gi o'quvchi-lar  
Hasan-GEN school-3SG-LOC-ATTR student-PL  
'students of Hasan's school'

As observed in (48)–(49) above, the suffix *-gi* follows the locative case marker *-da*. Consequently, I propose that it selects a Locative KP complement in (48)–(49). Another important point is that *-gi* combines exclusively with Locative, which reveals its head status since such selectional restrictions and properties are standardly attributed to head elements. Its frequent collocation with the locative *-da* suffix is a reason why some traditional grammars analyze the two suffixes as a single suffix *-dagi* (Rahmatullayev, 2006, p. 225 for Uzbek; Zakiev, 1995, p. 126 for Tatar). However, we have seen in Example (44c) above that *-gi* can also occur without the locative suffix *-da*. When it does not select a locative KP, neither does it select a DP or a NumP (50b).

- (50) a. tong-gi shabada  
morning-ATTR breeze  
'morning breeze'
- b. \*tong-lar-gi shabada  
morning-PL-ATTR breeze

- (51) a. *tong-da-gi*                      *es-gan*                      *yoqimli shabada*  
 morning-LOC-ATTR blow-NMLZ pleasant breeze  
 ‘pleasant breeze that blows in the morning’
- b. *tong-lar-da-gi*                      *es-gan*                      *yoqimli shabada*  
 morning-PL-LOC-ATR blow-NMLZ pleasant breeze  
 ‘pleasant breeze that blows in the mornings’

In fact, the difference between *-gi* (46c) and *-da-gi* in (48)–(49) reveals the structural composition of the complement each attributivizers takes. Assuming that there is a correlation between the case marked nominals and their structural size, we can say that the “caseless” *-gi* (like *-li* in (45a)) takes a Small Nominal complement, and that the suffix *-da-gi* is in fact the same suffix *-gi* taking a “bigger-size” nominal; namely, a locative case marked KP, featuring the case suffix *-da*. As regards the phrase projected by these attributivizers, I adopt Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig’s (2015) analysis, and propose that Uzbek attributivizers project a ModP<sup>75</sup> and take nominals of different sizes as their complements depending on the attributivizer’s selectional properties. The syntactic representations of attributivizers *-li* and *-gi* are given in (52) and (53) respectively:



As seen in (52), the attributivizer *-li* selects a Small Nominal complement, a nominal which does not involve NumP, yet it allows adjectival modifiers. Following this analysis, adjectives in Uzbek seem to be attached to NPs or to multiple Specs.<sup>76</sup> However, I will not pursue this issue further in this study and leave it for future research.

75. I follow Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015) who use Rubin’s (1994) terminology to call this projection ModP = Modifier Phrase.

76. See footnote 74 on p. 133.

### 4.3 Arguments for fully projected KP in Uzbek

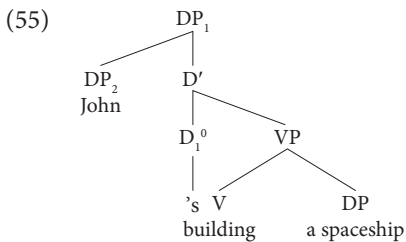
This section will provide further arguments to support the view that Uzbek has functional projections above NP, which need not be projected in all nominals. The main objective of this section is to extend Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig's (2015) analysis of so-called *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* possessive constructions in Tatar, and check the applicability of the approach to Uzbek.

Before I start discussing Uzbek possessives in more detail, I reassess the fundamental arguments for the DP-hypothesis as proposed for languages with articles in Abney (1987). Specifically, the Relativized DP-hypothesis (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015) implies that if a certain argument is taken as an evidence for the projection of DP in languages with articles, it undoubtedly supports the projection of DP in languages without overt articles as well.

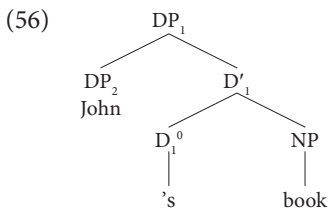
The most influential argument for the projection of functional category D is based on Abney's (1987) analysis of gerundive nominals in English.

(54) John's building a spaceship.

English gerundive nominals as in (54) demonstrate characteristics of both nouns and verbs. This mixed behavior of gerundives posed a problem for the standard X-bar theory because their exceptional and mixed features were not predictable. Abney's (1987) analysis made it possible to account for mixed behavior of gerundive constructions, and provided a structure to represent them, as in (55):



Moreover, Abney (1987) also proposes a structure as in (56) for English possessive constructions.



As seen in (55) and (56) both gerundives such as *John's building a spaceship* and noun phrases such as *John's book* have parallel structures, and both are topped by

the same functional head D. According to Abney's analysis, the possessive marker *ʔ* is in the head D position, and the possessor noun occupies the Spec DP position. This analysis has been extended to various types of nominalizations in both languages with and without articles (Ritter, 1991; Siloni, 1996, 1997 for Hebrew; Kornfilt, 2001, 2003 for Turkish).

Nominalized clauses in Turkic languages, like those in English or Hebrew, are constructed from a verbal root, and they are categorically embedded clauses (Kornfilt 2001, 2003 for Turkish; Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015 for Tatar). Examples of nominalized clauses are given in (57a) for Turkish (from Kornfilt, 2001, p. 187), in (57b) for Tatar (from Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015, p. 298), and in (57c) for Uzbek. The clauses are given in brackets with case suffixes attached to them (the phrasal suffix takes the nominalized clause as its complement):

- (57) a. [Ali-*nin* geçen akşam nehr-in kenar-in-da (Turkish)  
 Ali-GEN past evening river-GEN shore-3SG-LOC  
 koş-tuğ-un] -u gör-dü-m.  
 run-FN-3SG-ACC see-past-1SG  
 'I saw that Ali was running along the river the other evening.'
- b. min [Marat-*nıñ* kičä jırla-w-ı]-n bel-ä-m. (Tatar)  
 I Marat-GEN yesterday sing-FN-3-ACC know-PRES-1SG  
 'I know that Marat sang yesterday.'
- c. [Farhod-ning kecha kel-gan-lig-i]-ni (Uzbek)  
 Farhod-GEN yesterday come-PTCP-FN-3SG]-ACC  
 bil-a-man.  
 know-PRES-1SG  
 'I know that Ferhad came yesterday'

The verbal base of the nominalized clauses is revealed by the fact that they appear with accusative marked direct objects (*kitob-nı* 'book-ACC') as in (58a) and with adverbs (*allaqachon* 'already' / *yaqında* 'recently') as in (58b).

- (58) a. Men [sen-ing kitob-ni (Uzbek)  
 I you-GEN book-ACC  
 o'qi-gan-lig-ing]-ni bil-a-man.  
 read-PTCP-FN-2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG  
 'I know that you read the book.'
- b. Men [sen-ing allaqachon/ yaqında kitob-nı  
 I you-GEN already /recently book-ACC  
 o'qi-gan-lig-ing]-ni bil-a-man.  
 read-NOMIN-2SG-ACC know-PRES-1SG  
 'I know that you already/recently read the book.'



Besides their core verbal features, nominalized clauses also exhibit nominal properties. For example, they can function as arguments of the predicate in a matrix clause. This property of clauses is well-attested in languages such as English, where both finite and non-finite clauses can function as subjects and objects of verbs. However, the nominal character of an Uzbek nominalized clause is additionally signaled by case marking. This is observed in Turkish as well (Kornfilt, 1987, 2000, among others), where the nominalized clause is marked accusative when it functions as a direct object, like any typical nominal expression. And the subject of the embedded clause is marked genitive, as it is the case with a typical possessor, and genitive subjects always occur with material associable with DP (Kornfilt & Whitman, 2013).

(59) Turkish

Ben-**im** [Rembrandt-**ın** çiz-diğ-i] resm-im  
 I-GEN Rembrandt-GEN draw-FN-3.SG picture-1.SG  
 ‘my picture which Rembrandt drew’

(Kornfilt & Whitman, 2013, p. 66, Example (68))

Kornfilt (2001) also notes that Turkish distinguishes between “factive” (indicative) nominalized clauses (60a) and “non-factive” (subjunctive) nominalized clauses (60b) (FN stands for factive nominal suffix and NFN for non-factive nominal suffix in the glosses).

(60) a. [Ali-*nin* geçen akşam nehr-in kenar-ın-da koş-tuğ-un]-u  
 Ali-GEN past evening river-GEN shore-3SG-LOC run-FN-3SG-ACC  
 gör-dü-m. (Turkish)  
 see-past-1SG

‘I saw that Ali was running along the river the other evening.’

b. [Ali-*nin* nehr-in kenar-ın-da koş-ma-sın]-ı  
 [Ali-GEN river-GEN shore-3SG-LOC run-NFN-3SG-ACC  
 isti-yor-um.  
 want-PROGR-1SG

‘I want for Ali to run along the river.’

(Kornfilt, 2001, p. 187, Example (4a–b))

Likewise, we can make similar distinction between nominalized clauses in Uzbek, as in (61a–b). Factive and non-factive morphology appears as a suffix on the verbs, and such verbs can serve as a basis for nominalization, with the nominalizing suffix clearly applying to a verbal structure including subjunctive/indicative verbal projections.

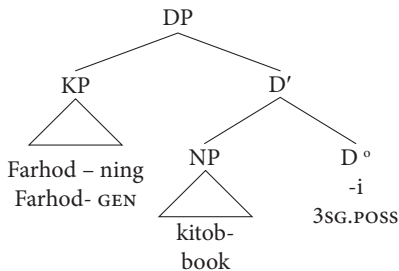
- (61) a. [Farhod-ning kecha kel-**gan**-i]-ni bil-a-man. (Uzbek)  
 Farhod-GEN yesterday come-FN-3SG-ACC know-prog-1SG  
 'I know that Farhod came yesterday.'
- b. [U-ning uy-ga kel-**ish**-i]-ni ista-y-man.  
 he-GEN home-DAT come-NFN-3SG-ACC want-AOR-1SG  
 'I want him to come home.'

As seen in (61) above, Uzbek distinguishes between factive and non-factive nominalized clauses. Factive nominalized clauses are formed with the suffix *-gan* + the possessive suffix (61a), and non-factive clauses are formed with the suffix *-ish* + the possessive suffix (61b). The subject of the nominalized clause is similar to the possessor in possessive constructions. More specifically, when we compare (62a) with (62b), we see that both the subject of the nominalized clause and the possessor of the possessive construction are marked genitive in Uzbek.

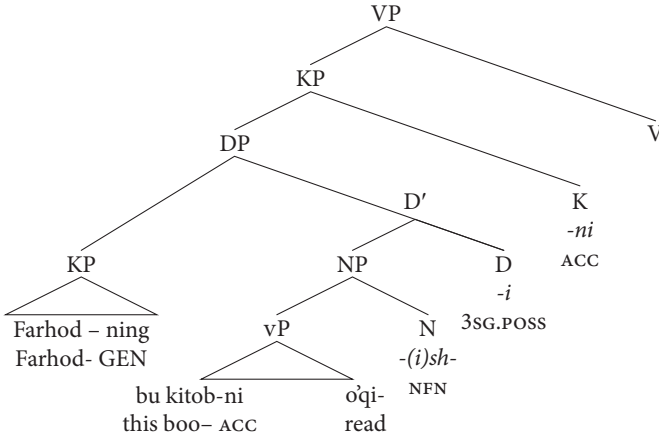
- (62) a. [Farhod-**ning** kitob-ni o'qi-sh-i]-ni  
 Farhod-GEN book-ACC read-NFN-3SG-ACC  
 'Farhod's reading of the book'
- b. Farhod-**ning** kitob-i  
 Farhod-GEN book-3SG  
 'Farhod's book'

As noted earlier, Abney's (1987) argument were based on similar data from English. Specifically, a noun phrase, regardless of the fact whether it is projected from a nominal or a verbal head, appears under the same functional projection DP, with the possessor occupying Spec DP. I adopt this view and analyze Uzbek data in (62a) and (62b) in the same vein, and propose the structure in (63) for possessive constructions and (64) for nominalized clauses. Following this analysis, both ordinary possessive nominals, and nominalized clauses are headed by the same projection DP.

(63) Possessive construction



## (64) Nominalized clause



Remember now that the DP-hypothesis for languages with overt articles is supported by the evidence of possessor-possessee agreement in languages such as Hungarian (Szabolcsi, 1983). Szabolcsi notes that in Hungarian the possessor agrees with the possessee in person and number (see (65a-b)), in the same way as the verb agrees with the subject. Szabolcsi argues that a nominal functional head (which Abney later calls D) instantiates the agreement between the possessor and the possessee, in the same way as the functional category (INFL/Agr) realizes the subject – verb agreement in clauses, as shown in (66a-b):

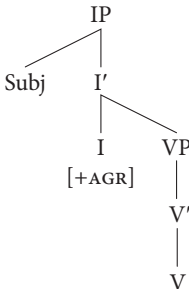
## (65) Hungarian

a. az én- $\emptyset$  vendég-e-m  
 the I-NOM guest-POSS-1SG  
 'my guest'

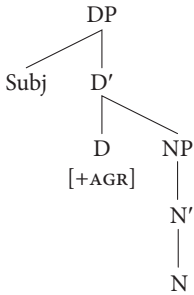
b. a te- $\emptyset$  vendég-e-d  
 the you-NOM guest-POSS-2SG  
 'your guest'

(Szabolcsi, 1983, p. 1)

## (66) a. Clause



## b. Noun Phrase



Turning back to Turkic languages now, it has been first observed and discussed by Kornfilt (1984) that Turkish possessor constructions establish agreement between the possessor and the possessed noun, as shown in (67):

- (67) a. *ev* (Turkish)  
the/a house”
- b. (*sen-in*) *ev-in*  
you-GEN house-2SG  
‘your house’
- c. (*o-nun*) *ev-i*  
s/he-GEN house-3SG  
‘her/his house’

As seen in Turkish examples, the possessor is marked genitive, and the second person singular suffix *-in* agrees with the possessor pronoun *senin* in 2nd person singular in (67b), and the 3rd person singular suffix *-i* agrees with the 3rd person singular possessor pronoun *onun* in (67c). This type of possessor agreement exists in other Turkic languages as well, and it is attested in Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015) for Tatar. As seen in (68a) below, the suffix *-m* in *balam* ‘child-1SG’ is showing agreement in person (1st) and number (singular) with the possessor 1st person singular pronoun *minem* ‘my’. A similar agreement pattern between the possessor pronoun and the possessed noun is seen in (68b).

- (68) a. *min-em* *bala-m* (Tatar)  
I.GEN child-1SG  
‘my child’
- b. *sin-eŋ* *bala-ŋ*  
you.GEN child-2SG  
‘your child’

Based on Tatar data in (68), Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015) argue that if the presence of possessor agreement supports the projection of DP in languages

with articles, the same argument should hold true for languages without articles as well.

In Uzbek, the possessor bears genitive case and possessive agreement suffixes are morphologically distinct for all persons and numbers. For example, 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural features are marked with distinct inflections. As shown in (69), the possessor pronouns are marked genitive (*u-ning* and *sen-ing*), and the suffixes *-si* and *-ng* realize agreement in the 3rd and 2nd person singular, respectively.

- (69) a. *u-ning aka-si* (Uzbek)  
 he-GEN brother-3SG  
 ‘my brother’
- b. *sen-ing<sup>77</sup> aka-ng*  
 you-GEN brother-2SG  
 ‘your brother’

Moreover, the agreement paradigm for nominals is different from the verbal agreement paradigm. The nominal and verbal paradigms are given in Table 4.2 below:

**Table 4.2** Nominal and verbal agreement paradigm

Verbal	Nominal
1SG -man	1SG -(i)m
2SG -san	2SG -(i)ng
3SG (- di)	3SG -(s)i
1PL -miz	1PL -(i)miz
2PL -siz	2PL -(i)ngiz
3PL -(di)lar	3PL -lari

In Uzbek, not only does nominal agreement differ morphologically from verbal agreement, but also it differs with respect to the case morphology of the subject. Specifically, nominal agreement assigns genitive case to the possessor subject, while verbal agreement assigns nominative case to the subject of the clause. Interestingly, nominal agreement licenses pro-drop in the same way as verbal agreement does. In Abney’s (1987) pre-minimalistic framework, this was viewed as a characteristic property of a true “AGR” (p. 35). In a subsequent work Kornfilt (1984) shows that in Turkish only those noun phrases which are marked by either

77. Genitive suffix *-ning* is realized as *-ing* in cases when the nominal stem it attaches to ends in sound /n/.

nominal or verbal “AGR” can be pro-dropped, i.e., the subject of the clause/sentence, the possessor, the objects of postpositions. Kornfilt implies that nominal agreement assigns genitive case (70) to the possessor, and that the genitive and the agreement inflection are mutually dependent, i.e., a noun phrase cannot bear genitive unless it agrees with the Nominal AGR. To put this view into the Minimalist view of agreement (the operation Agree), the possessor’s genitive marking would be a morphological reflex of a Goal’s feature (Genitive) being valued in the Agree relation with the Probe’s (D) uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features.

- (70) a. pasta-nın bir parça-sı  
 cake-GEN a piece-3SG  
 ‘a piece of cake’
- b. pasta-dan bir parça  
 cake-ABL a piece  
 ‘a piece of cake’
- c. \*pasta-nın bir parça
- d. \*pasta-dan/\*pastaØ bir parça-sı

The existence of English-type gerunds in Turkish is also discussed in Abney (1987), identified as “verbal nouns” and “nominalizations” (p. 36). Underhill (1976) categorizes these two types of clauses as *action* (verbal noun) and *fact* (nominalization) clauses according to their meaning. However, syntactically they are identical, i.e., the nominalizing suffix is attached to the verb stem, which is followed by nominal agreement and case markers, respectively. Both the finite verb and the nominalized verb retain their selectional properties regarding their complements, and can be modified by the same range of adjuncts. The only difference between them is that the subject of the nominalized clause is in genitive while the subject of the finite verb is nominative. Examples (71) from Abney (1987, p. 196, Example 206) show this:

- (71) a. Halil her dakika iş-im-e karış-ır  
 Halil-NOM every minute business-1SG-DAT interfere-3SG  
 ‘Halil constantly interferes in my business.’
- b. Halil-in her dakika iş-im-e karış-ma-sı  
 Halil-GEN every minute business-1SG-DAT interfere-ASP-3SG  
 ‘Halil’s constantly interfering in my business’
- c. Halil-in gel-diğ-in-i bil-iyor-um  
 Halil-GEN come-ASP-3SG-ACC know-PROG-1SG  
 ‘I know that Halil is coming’
- d. Kedi-ye yemek- Øver-me-diğ-iniz doğru mu?  
 cat-DAT food-ACC give-NEG-ASP-2PL true Q  
 ‘Is it true that you did not give food to the cat?’

Abney states that the structure of the Turkish gerund is an exact parallel of what the D-VP analysis proposes for the English Poss-ing structures. Additionally, the D-VP analysis parallels Kornfilt's (1984) analysis of Turkish gerunds, which provides strong arguments for the projection of D. Abney points out that the Turkish facts are particularly interesting because they show that there is AGR head in the nominal domain, which assigns genitive case, indicating that there may be a similar abstract AGR head in English, too. Moreover, the existence of possessive gerund-like nominals in Turkish shows that these constructions exist in other languages besides English. Abney analyzes the gerund-like construction in Turkish, also in English, as a mixed construction. That is, externally, it behaves like a noun phrase, whereas internally, it behaves like a verb phrase.

Here I would like to propose that the same parallelism concerning possessive constructions and agreement facts illustrated in (71) above can be captured by postulating one and the same projection, which I will call DP (adopting the label proposed by Abney, 1987) on top of Uzbek possessive nominals. However, DP in Uzbek is not the topmost nominal functional projection, as will be discussed below.

In the following section, I am going to introduce novel data from Uzbek and discuss two types of possessive constructions. The first type of possessive constructions is distinguished by the presence of the genitive case marking on the possessive, which I will call *Izofa-3* construction. While in the second type of possessive construction, the possessor is not marked genitive, which I will call *Izofa-2* construction. I will show that the two types of possessive constructions occur in distinct structural positions, and that they are of different sizes. Namely, the *izofa-3* is a KP, which embeds a DP, while the *izofa-2* is a Small Nominal, which lacks some or all functional projections above NP.

#### 4.3.1 Possessors with and without genitive

As discussed in 4.3 above, possessive constructions in Turkic languages have a genitive-marked possessor and the possessee noun carries a suffix expressing person and number agreement with the possessor. This is illustrated in (72) below (agreement markers in boldface).

- (72) a. u-ning aka-**si** (Uzbek)  
           s/he-GEN brother-3SG  
           ‘her/his brother’
- b. sen-ing aka-**ng**  
           you-GEN brother-2SG  
           ‘your brother’

In the second type of possessive constructions, the possessor is not marked genitive and the head noun carries the *izofa-2* marker *-(s)i*, which is homonymous with

the *izofa-3* marker for the 3rd person.<sup>78</sup> The two types of possessives are attested in Tatar (Zakiev, 1995; Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2013, 2015), which are referred to as *ezafe-2* and *ezafe-3* (73).

- (73) a. *ezafe-3*: (Tatar)  
 bala-lar-**niŋ** alma-sı  
 child-PL-GEN apple-3  
 ‘(the) children’s apple’
- b. *ezafe-2*:  
 bala-lar alma-sı  
 child-PL apple-3  
 ‘children’s apple’
- (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015, p. 300, Example (20a)–(b))

The possessive constructions *Izofa-2* and *Izofa-3* have not been elaborated in full in traditional grammars of Uzbek (e.g. Rahmatullayev, 2006; Sapayev, 2009), neither have they been classified according to the morphological and/or syntactic properties they possess. Instead, the term “*izofa*” is used to refer to constructions which consist of two juxtaposed nouns. Therefore, based on my analysis of Uzbek data, I will refer to the possessor constructions where the possessor appears without genitive case and the possessed noun has 3rd person singular suffix *-(s)i* as *izofa-2* constructions. Examples of Uzbek *izofa-2* constructions are provided in (74) below:

- (74) a. ko’klam fasl-i  
 spring season-3  
 ‘spring season’
- b. Toshkent shahr-i  
 Tashkent city-3  
 ‘Tashkent city’

The *izofa-2* constructions may consist of a proper noun + common noun as in (75), or a common noun + common noun as in (76).

- (75) [proper name + noun]  
 i. Muqimiy<sup>79</sup> teatr-i  
 Muqimiy theater-3  
 ‘Muqimiy theatre’
- ii. Nobel mukofot-i  
 Nobel prize-3  
 ‘Nobel Prize’

78. Therefore, the possessor in *izofa-2* cannot be a first or second person pronoun. For the sake of convenience, I gloss *izofa-2* marker with ‘3’ and *izofa-3* marker for 3rd person as ‘3sg’

79. Muqimiy is a famous Uzbek poet, and there is a theater named after him in Tashkent.



- (76) [common noun + noun]
- i. meva daraxt-i  
fruit tree-3  
'fruit tree'
  - ii. xo'jalik ish-lar-i  
agriculture work-PL-3  
'agricultural work'

The *izofa-2* examples in (75) and (76) have identical structure to Tatar *ezafe-2* constructions given in (73b) above. There are also constructions identical to Tatar *ezafe-3* (as in (73a)) in Uzbek. As pointed out earlier, the possessor in the *izofa-3* construction is marked genitive and the possessed noun shows full person and number agreement with the possessor (77).

- (77) a. Toshkent-ning ko'cha-lar-i  
Tashkent-GEN street-PL-3SG  
'the streets of Tashkent'
- b. kitob-ning muqova-si  
book-GEN cover-3SG  
'the cover of the book'

I am going to adopt Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig's (2015) terminology and refer to Uzbek possessive constructions in (77) as *Izofa-3* and those in (75) and (76) as *Izofa-2*. In the remainder of the chapter, I will show that the *izofa-2* and the *izofa-3* differ in terms of their internal structure. Particularly, I will argue that the *izofa-3* constructions are KPs, whereas the *izofa-2* constructions pattern with Small Nominals discussed in 4.1. Furthermore, I will show that the structure proposed by Bošković and Şener (2014) for Turkish noun phrases fails to account for certain properties of the *izofa-2* and *izofa-3* possessives. For example, Bošković and Şener cannot predict that a single nominal expression can appear with two possessors. By adopting the Relativized DP-hypothesis, on the other hand, I will be able to predict that genitive marked possessors of the *izofa-3* appear in SpecDP, while possessors of the *izofa-2* which lack genitive case appear in the Specifier of a lower functional projection, called PossP (Pereltsvaig & Lyutikova 2014). Additionally, by virtue of being a larger structure, the *izofa-3* constructions may embed the *izofa-2*.

#### 4.3.1.1 Possessors without genitive – *Izofa-2*

The two types of possessor constructions, the *izofa-2* and the *izofa-3*, exhibit differences in terms of morphological case marking (genitive vs. unmarked) of their subject (i.e., possessors), as well as in the relative position of the subject inside the *izofa* expression, which is revealed in relation to the positions of various modifiers. They also differ in their semantic interpretation, i.e., genitive marked possessors

are always referential, while case unmarked possessors are interpreted as non-referential (Öztürk, 2005), or as modificational (Pereltsvaig & Lyutikova, 2014). Moreover, the head noun exhibits different agreement markings: the *izofa-3* nominal head shows full person and number agreement, while the *izofa-2* head has a default 3rd person singular suffix. According to Pereltsvaig and Lyutikova (2014), the modificational nature of Tatar *ezafe-2* possessors are revealed by their translation, as shown in (78) below (for more examples see Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015 and references therein).

- (78) a. xalık dżır-lar-ı<sup>80</sup>  
 people song-PL-3  
 ‘folk songs’ (Tatar)  
 (Russian: *narodnye pesni* lit. ‘folksy songs’)
- b. tau čišmä-se  
 mountain creek-3  
 ‘highland creek’  
 (Russian: *gornyj ručëek* lit. ‘mountainous creek’)
- c. avgust hava-sı  
 August air-3  
 ‘August air’  
 (Russian: *avgustovskij vozdux* lit. ‘August-y air’)

Uzbek data in (79) provides further support for the view that *izofa-2* possessors exhibit modifying behavior. This is clearly seen in translations of the examples in (79):

- (79) a. cho’l bitki-si (Uzbek)  
 desert plant-3  
 ‘desert plant’
- b. kuz mavsum-i  
 fall season-3  
 ‘fall season’
- c. axborot xizmat-i  
 information service-3  
 ‘information service’
- d. xalq shoir-i  
 people poet-3  
 ‘folk poet’

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80. The examples in (78a-c) and their Russian translations are from Zakiev (1995, p. 117–120), as cited in Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig (2015, p. 302)

- e. savdo tarmogʻ-i  
 trade network-3  
 ‘trade/sales network’<sup>81</sup>

As pointed out earlier, Öztürk’s (2005) analysis of Turkish case unmarked possessors consists in saying that the absence of genitive case in the possessor element creates a non-referential reading, and the possessor forms a compound with the head noun (80).

- (80) a. kalem-in kutu-su (Turkish)  
 pencil-GEN box-3SG  
 ‘the box of the pencil’  
 b. kalem kutu-su  
 pencil box-3  
 ‘pencil box’

Öztürk (2005) further observes that genitive case is obligatory when the strictly referential possessors, such as pronouns or proper names are used.

- (81) a. Ben-\*(im) kalem-im (Turkish)  
 I-GEN pencil-1.SG  
 ‘my pencil’  
 b. Ali-\*(nin) kalem-i  
 Ali-GEN pencil-3.SG  
 ‘Ali’s pencil’

As also confirmed by Turkish data in (81), the referentiality interpretation of nominals interacts with their case marking. Possessor elements without genitive case are non-referential (80b), while possessors with referential reading are not allowed to appear without case marking (81a-b). This further validates the significance of case morphology in Turkish, where the genitive case of possessors, like the accusative case of direct objects, interacts with the referentiality of the nominal expression and forces a strictly referential meaning (Sezer, 1972; Kornfilt, 1999, 2003; Aygen, 1999, 2002).

Extending this analysis to Uzbek, I propose that the impossibility of accommodating the genitive suffix in the *izofa*-2 possessor can be predicted if we adopt

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81. B/C/S translations of (79a-e) also include an adjectival element corresponding to the “possessor” in these Uzbek *izofa*-2 structures: (79a) *pustinjska biljka* (desert(adj)-F.SG.NOM plant-F.SG.NOM), (79b) *jesenska sezona* (autumn(adj)-F.SG.NOM season-F.SG.NOM), (79c) *informacioni servis* (information(adj)-M.SG.NOM service-M.SG.NOM), (79d) *narodni pjesnik* (folk(adj)-M.SG.NOM poet M.SG.NOM), *trgovačka mreža* (trade(adj)-F.SG.NOM net-F.SG.NOM). N. Aljović, p.c.

the view that certain nominal expressions in Uzbek are Small Nominals, i.e., not fully projected noun phrases (KP), and by virtue of being a Small Nominal, the possessor of *izofa-2* can never show case morphology. We have already seen that Uzbek Small Nominals can be NPs or NumPs, which do not include a position where genitive case suffix is generated (KP). This is shown in examples below, where the *izofa-2* possessor can contain the plural marker *-lar* (82d), or adjectival modifiers (82e), but it cannot accommodate the genitive suffix (82a), or allow referential nominals (82b-c):

- (82) a. \*[kuz -ning] mavsum-i (genitive suffix)  
 fall-GEN season-3SG  
 ‘fall season’
- b. \*[u] kitob-i (ref. possessor: personal pronoun)  
 s/he book-1SG  
 Intended: ‘his/her book’
- c. \*[Ali] opa-si (ref. possessor: personal name)  
 Ali sister-3SG  
 Intended: ‘Ali’s sister’
- d. [homila ayol-lar] kiyim-i (modified plural poss.)  
 pregnant woman-PL clothing-3SG  
 ‘clothing for pregnant women’
- e. [teri kasallik-lar-i] tabib-i (izofa-2 possessor)  
 skin disease-PL-3.SG doctor-3SG  
 ‘a doctor of skin diseases’ (dermatologist)

To summarize, the properties observed for the *izofa-2* possessor follow naturally if we analyze it as a Small Nominal. Examples in (82) show that the *izofa-2* possessor cannot accommodate genitive case marking and D-level elements such as personal nouns or pronouns. Since it lacks case, it does not have a referential meaning, which is expected if we consider that overt case marking is associated with referential interpretation of nominals in Turkic languages. Nonetheless, the *izofa-2* possessor can contain plural suffix *-lar* and adjectival modifiers, which indicates that they are not NPs but minimally NumPs.

#### 4.3.1.2 Genitive marked possessors – *Izofa-3*

The possessive *izofa-3* construction, unlike *izofa-2* in (79) above, has a genitive possessor and the possessed noun exhibits person and number agreement with the possessor. Genitive marked possessors are interpreted as referential expressions and thus, proper names and pronouns are allowed to function as the *izofa-3* possessors (83a-b) (see also (73) for Tatar and (77) for Uzbek above).

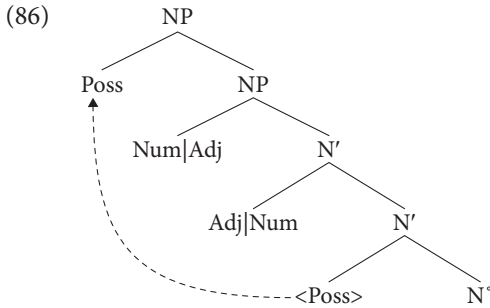
*Izofa-3* constructions also allow possessors featuring other D-level elements such as demonstratives and strong quantifiers such as *har biri* ‘every’, as in (83c-d), respectively.

- (83) a. [*men-ing*] kitob-im  
I-GEN book-2SG  
‘my book’
- b. [*Ali-ning*] opa-si  
Ali-GEN sister-3SG  
‘Ali’s sister’
- c. [*bu qiz-ning*] kitob-i  
this girl-GEN book-3SG  
‘this girl’s book’
- d. [*har bir*] qiz-ning kitob-i  
every girl-GEN book-3.SG  
‘every girl’s book’

By contrasting *Izofa-2* and *Izofa-3* constructions, we have observed that they differ in their internal ordering of elements. Adjectives and demonstratives follow the genitive marked possessor in the *izofa-3*, as in (84a) and (85c), while in the *izofa-2*, they appear before the possessor, as in (85a) and (85c). The contrary case results in ill-formedness (84b)–(85b).

- (84) a. Toshkent-ning **keng** ko‘cha-lar-i (izofa-3)  
Tashkent-GEN wide street-PL-3.SG  
‘Tashkent’s wide streets’
- b. \***keng** Toshkent-ning ko‘cha-lar-i  
wide Tashkent-GEN street-PL-3.SG
- c. Toshkent-ning **bu** keng ko‘cha-lar-i  
Tashkent-GEN this wide street-PL-3.SG  
‘Tashkent’s these wide streets’
- (85) a. **keng** Toshkent ko‘cha-lar-i (izofa-2)  
wide Tashkent street-PL-3  
‘some/any wide streets of Tashkent’
- b. \*Toshkent **keng** ko‘cha-lar-i  
Tashkent wide street-PL-3
- c. **bu** keng Toshkent ko‘cha-lar-i  
this wide Tashkent street-PL-3  
‘these wide streets of Tashkent’

These differences cannot be accounted for if we follow the analysis proposed by Bošković and Şener (2014) for article-less languages. According to their analysis, Turkish is an NP language, i.e., it never projects functional layers like DP in its nominal domain. Moreover, the possessor is merged as a complement of  $N^{\circ}$  and then moves to a higher, pre-adjectival (adjoined) position.



(Bošković & Şener, 2014, p. 117)

For another article-less language, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Bošković (2007) suggests that possessors can either precede or follow adjectives; their order permutations have semantic effects (87).

- (87) a. Jovanove bivše pantalone  
 John's former pants  
 b. bivše Jovanove pantalone

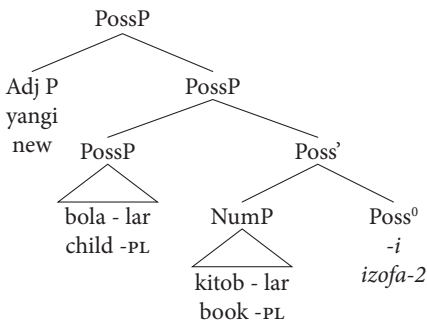
Bošković (2007) states that (87b) can only refer to pants John formerly owned, and (87a) refers to an object John possesses which used to be pants and has turned into something else (for example, shorts) now. However, according to Bošković and Şener (2014), the possibility that is available in B/C/S does not exist in Turkish. It is suggested that Turkish only allows the Poss>>A order and data in (88) is ambiguous between the interpretations (87a) and (87b). In order to account for different interpretations in Turkish, Bošković and Şener claim that the possessor element starts below A and moves to a position above adjectives, where it would reconstruct the meaning it shares with (87b). In addition, the meaning (87a) would correspond to the base generation position of the possessive. The movement is assumed to be obligatory with overt possessors, while *pro* possessors are assumed to stay in a lower position in Turkish.

- (88) Can-in eski pantolon-u  
 John-GEN former pants-3SG  
 'John's former pants'

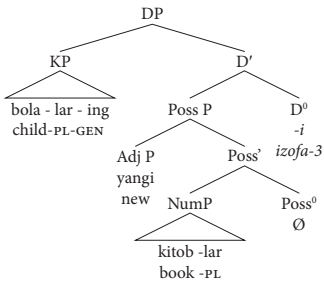
An important point to note is that, Bošković and Şener's (2014) analysis, i.e., moving the possessor from a lower position to a higher position, cannot account for two different agreement markers in two types of possessor constructions, *izofa-2* and *izofa-3*. If we assume that Agree between the possessor and the noun takes place immediately when the possessor enters the structure, i.e., in its lower position, the noun would acquire the *izofa-2* agreement marker. This would block any other Agree relation, i.e., the noun is predicted never to appear with the *izofa-3* agreement morphology. Furthermore, Bošković and Şener's approach fails to predict the referential and structural properties of Uzbek possessors in the *izofa-3* and *izofa-2* constructions. In fact, their movement analysis predicts that the two possessor types should have identical structure and interpretation, contrary to facts in (82) and (83) above. Finally, Bošković and Şener's analysis cannot predict the possibility of embedding *Izofa-2* construction within *Izofa-3* construction, the point to which I will turn in the remaining part of this section.

Adopting Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig's (2015) approach, I propose that the possessor with genitive case, *izofa-3*, is base-generated in SpecDP, while the possessor without genitive case, *izofa-2* is base generated in the Specifier of a lower functional projection, which I call PossP following Pereltsvaig & Lyutikova (2014).

- (89) a. *Izofa-2*  
 yangi bola-lar kitob-lar-i  
 new child-PL book-PL-3  
 'new children's books'
- b. Tree structure for *Izofa-2*



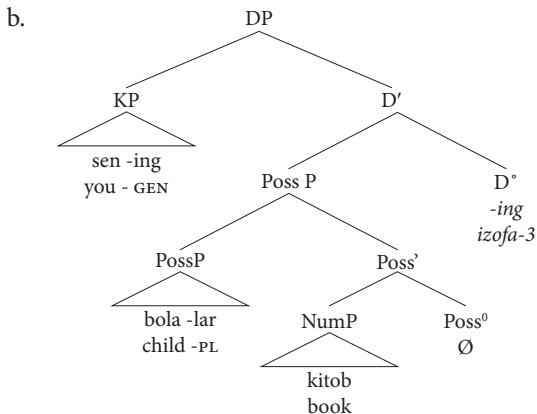
- (90) *Izofa-3*  
 bola-lar-ning yangi kitob-lar-i  
 child-PL-GEN new book-PL-3.SG  
 'the children's new books'

(91) Tree structure for *Izofa-3*

In the approach I take, the difference in structural complexity between the *izofa-2* and the *izofa-3* constructions implies that the possessor of the *izofa-3* construction is a fully projected nominal, which occupies SpecDP and it is case marked by D. The possessor in the *izofa-2* construction will never be case marked (for morphological case at least) since it never establishes an Agree relation with any D. The different case properties are confirmed by different referential properties of the two possessor types. We can now understand why *izofa-2* possessors must be Small Nominals themselves: they cannot be KP since their case feature (presumably in K) could not be valued by a case assigning head, which I assume to be D in the nominal domain. There is no case assigning head in the *izofa-2* structure, as seen in (89).

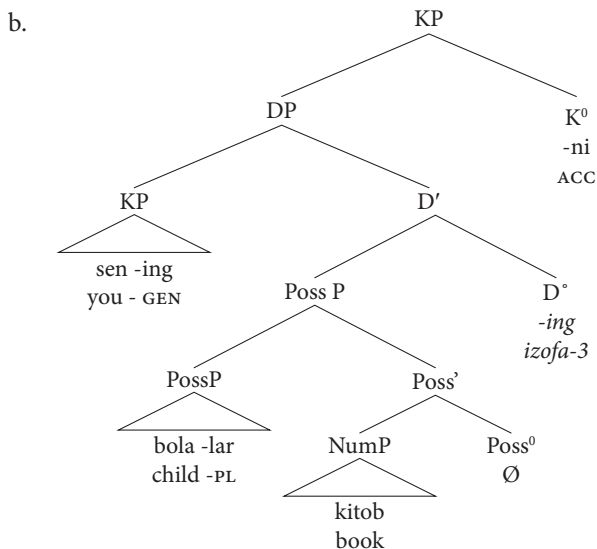
It is possible to create more complex nominals with the *izofa-2* and the *izofa-3* constructions. Namely, the *izofa-3* construction given in (92a) with its tree diagram in (92b) can be headed yet with one more functional projection, i.e., KP, as in (93b).

- (92) a. [sen-ing [bola-lar kitab-ing]] (*Izofa-3*)  
 you-GEN child-PL book-2.SG  
 'your children's book'





- (93) a. [sen-ing [bola-lar kitob-ing]] -ni  
 you-GEN child-PL book-2.SG-ACC  
 'your children's book'



Now let us analyze the data in (93). Here we have two possessors: *sen-ing* 'you-gen' and *bola-lar* 'child-PL'. The head noun has only one agreement (possessive) suffix *-ing*. The whole expression is a single nominal phrase, KP, as indicated by the case suffix on the head noun *-ni*. Additionally, the structure also reveals that the *izofa-2* construction (PossP) is embedded in the *izofa-3* construction. This embedding cannot be predicted by Bošković & Şener's (2014) analysis, as they predict a single possessor which could, in principle, be made pre-adjectival or post-adjectival by applying movement operations.

On the other hand, the Small Nominal approach adopted here can handle nominals like the ones in (93) easily: the *izofa-2* and the *izofa-3* are structures of different sizes and their possessors are different sized nominals as well. Namely, the *izofa-3* structures are larger structures and their possessors are fully projected nominals, KPs. The *izofa-2* construction is smaller in size and its possessor cannot be bigger than the *izofa-2* construction itself. In this way, I can predict that *izofa-3* can embed *izofa-2* but *izofa-2* nominal cannot embed *izofa-3* nominal. This is predicted by the hierarchy of KP and PossP, with KP being hierarchically superordinate to PossP in the nominal domain. On the other hand, the internal structure of *izofa-3* allows it to embed *izofa-2*, as well as *izofa-3* nominals. All the predictions are confirmed by the data provided in (94)–(95) below:

- (94) a. *Izofa-2* embedding *izofa-3* and *izofa-2*  
 \*<sub>[izofa-2]</sub> [<sub>izofa-3</sub> [o'quvchi-ning] qalam-lar-i ]]  
 student-GEN pencil-PL-3  
 quti-si] (as possessors)  
 box-3.SG  
 intended: 'a box for student's pencils'
- b. [<sub>izofa-2</sub> [<sub>izofa-2</sub> [o'quvchi] qalam-lar-i ]] quti-si]  
 student pencil-PL-3 box-3  
 'a box for student's pencils'
- (95) *Izofa-3* embedding *Izofa-3* and *Izofa-2*
- a. [<sub>izofa-3</sub> [<sub>izofa-3</sub> [o'quvchi-ning] qalam-lar-i-ning] quti-si] (as possessors)  
 student-GEN pencil-PL-3-GEN box-3.SG  
 'a/the box for the pencil's of a/the student'
- b. [<sub>izofa-3</sub> [<sub>izofa-2</sub> [o'quvchi] qalam-lar-i]-ning] quti-si]  
 student pencil-PL-3-GEN box-3  
 'a/the box for the/some student pencils'

To summarize, the two types of possessive constructions, *izofa-2* and *izofa-3*, differ in terms of morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties of their possessors, in terms of the agreement morphology that appears on the head noun of the entire construction, and the embedding possibilities restricted by their possessors. *Izofa-3* possessives have genitive possessors and trigger agreement realized as a suffix on the head noun (the possessee) which expresses agreement in number and person. *Izofa-2* possessives have possessors that cannot be marked for genitive; neither can their possessor be a first or second person pronoun, or any pronoun (e.g. \**biz kitob-i* 'we book-3'). This explains why the suffix *-(s)i* which appears on the head noun of the *izofa-2* possessor is homonymous with 3rd person possessive suffix and it does not change to agree in other persons. Thus, the suffix *-(s)i* is taken to be the *izofa-2* possessor marker here and not the genitive case assigner.

As for their syntactic properties, the two types of possessors appear in different positions with respect to adjectives: the genitive possessor of *izofa-3* precedes adjectives, while unmarked possessor of the *izofa-2* follows them. This difference can be captured successfully if we adopt the Relativized DP hypothesis (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015) and the distinction between Small Nominals versus DP/KP nominals. Under this view, genitive possessors of *Izofa-3* constructions could be located in the Specifier of DP, a projection that is hierarchically higher than the position of adjectives, while the unmarked *Izofa-2* possessor would be located in the Specifier of a lower functional projection, PossP, which is hierarchically lower than the positions of adjectives. The positions of the two possessors allow us to hypothesize that the highest position for attributive adjectives in Uzbek is between

DP and Poss. As for the semantic differences, *Izofa-3* possessors are referential, while *Izofa-2* possessors are non-referential and have non-specific indefinite reading. These properties also follow naturally if we adopt the view that DPs are more referential than Small Nominals (e.g., PossPs or NumPs). That is to say, the *izofa-2* (and the PossP itself) is expected to be non-referential because it does not contain DP or KP. Therefore, it seems that there is a correlation between the hierarchical structure and referential reading of nominals: specifiers of lower and less referential functional projections (PossP and NumP) cannot be occupied by nominals that are more referential (or larger than PossP/NumP). The fact that possessors of the *izofa-2* cannot be *izofa-3* constructions, which are analyzed here as being minimally DP, provides support for this argument. On the other hand, the specifiers of DP and KP can be filled with expressions that are referential themselves, which according to the model I adopt means that they are KPs by virtue of being case marked. Under this account, the relevant distinction can be that [Spec, PossP] or [Spec, NumP] are not positions where case (at least morphological case) can be assigned. Since the heads Poss and Num do not assign case to their specifiers, they cannot host referential nominals. On the other hand, SpecDP seems to be a position to which case is assigned by D, and consequently it can host a KP – a nominal that can express case overtly. In Uzbek, overt structural case is obligatory for the nominal to obtain its referentiality (as it has been discussed in detail in Chapter 3).

One more argument to support our analysis of *Izofa-2* nominals as Small Nominals comes from the fact that *Izofa-2* nominals can be used as case unmarked indefinite objects, while *Izofa-3* nominals cannot. In other words, *Izofa-2* nominals can function as accusative-marked or case unmarked direct objects, while *Izofa-3* must be marked accusative when they function as direct objects. This will be discussed in the Section 4.3.2.1 below, where we will see that the present analysis postulating nominals of different sizes can successfully be applied to differential case marking of objects in Uzbek.

#### 4.3.2 Differential Object Marking and referential properties of Uzbek nominal expressions

Differential object marking (DOM), a term first coined by Bossong (1985), refers to a linguistic phenomenon where direct objects are divided in two types depending on the meaning they carry and the morphological case markings they display. Turkish and other Turkic languages are known to exhibit DOM, i.e., distinguish two types of direct objects: accusative case marked and case unmarked objects (Sezer, 1972, 1991; Kornfilt, 1984, 1988, 1995, 2007; Enç, 1991; Aygen, 1999, 2002; Keleşir, 2001). A direct object which is marked for accusative is interpreted as specific (definite or indefinite), while an unmarked object is obligatorily non-specific (hence indefinite), as seen in Turkish examples below:

- (96) a. (ben) kitab-1 oku-du-m (definite specific)  
 I book-ACC read-PST-1SG  
 'I read the book.'
- b. (ben) bir kitab-1 oku-du-m (indefinite specific)  
 I a book-ACC read-PST-1SG  
 'I read a certain book.'
- c. (ben) bir kitap oku-du-m (indefinite non-specific)  
 I a book read-PST-1SG  
 'I read a book.'

(Kornfilt, 2007, p. 94, Example (1a-c))

One important point worth mentioning here is that the accusative marking correlates with specificity or specific reference, and not necessarily with definiteness (see e.g. Enç, 1991; Taylan, 1984; Kornfilt, 1984 for Turkish). In Turkish, a specific direct object can be marked accusative even if it is indefinite (introduced by indefinite determiner). In the following section, I will discuss the interaction of case and specificity/definiteness and will review the most relevant analyses (Sezer 1991; Kornfilt 1984, 1988, 1995, 2007; Enç 1991; Aygen 1999, 2002; Kellepir 2001).

#### 4.3.2.1 (In)definites and case

The indefinite reference of noun phrases can be of two types: specific and non-specific. Specific indefinite reference presupposes the existence of a referent, not necessarily introduced to the hearer, but certainly known to the speaker. Non-specific indefinite reference implies no presupposition of existence of a referent. Enç (1991) analyses the interaction of case marking and (non)specificity in Turkish and argues that case marked indefinite noun phrases are specific, while those that are not case marked are non-specific. (Non)specificity can be revealed through the interaction of indefinite noun phrases with operators, such as negation, quantifying adverbs, universal quantifiers, verbs like 'have to', and propositional attitude verbs like 'love' and 'like'. Specific indefinites are able to have wide scope over these operators, while non-specific indefinites must have a narrow scope with respect to the same operators. Specific indefinites are also called strong indefinites, non-specific indefinites are weak indefinites (originally proposed by Milsark, 1974). For example, in the sentence *Every student spoke to a professor from the English department*, the indefinite noun phrase 'a professor from the English department' can be interpreted as having a wide scope or a narrow scope with respect to 'every student', a universally quantified noun phrase. Thus, two interpretations of the sentence are available: (a) There is a professor from the ED such that every student spoke to him (wide scope, strong/specific indefinite); (b) For every student X there is a professor from ED Y such that X spoke to Y (narrow scope, weak/

non-specific indefinite). The English indefinite phrase ‘a professor from the ED’ does not change its form depending on these two interpretations. However, as Enç (1991) observes for Turkish, case marked indefinite objects are interpreted exclusively as strong/specific indefinites (97b), while unmarked object nominals are interpreted consistently as weak/non-specific indefinites (97a).

- (97) a. Her öğrenci bir kitap oku-du. (non-specific)  
 every student a book read-PST  
 ‘Every student read a book’
- b. Her öğrenci bir kitab-ı oku-du. (specific)  
 every student a book-ACC read-PST  
 ‘Every student read a specific book.’

Furthermore, Aygen (1999, 2002) and Kornfilt (2003) propose that all morphological cases, not only accusative, correlate with strong/specific interpretations of indefinites. As seen in (98), ablative case marked noun appears with an indefinite marker *bir* and it is interpreted as specific indefinite.

- (98) Ali bir köpek-ten kork-ma-dı.  
 Ali a dog-ABL get.afraid-NEG-PST  
 ‘Ali did not get afraid of a certain dog.’

Enç (1991) proposes that specificity reading comes from partitivity, which requires the hearer and the speaker to introduce the denotation of the noun phrase to the domain of discourse. Examples (99) from Enç (1991, p. 6) illustrate this point:

- (99) A: Odam-a birkaç çocuk girdi.  
 my-room-DAT several children entered  
 ‘Several children entered my room.’
- B: İki kız-ı taniyordum.  
 two girl-ACC I-knew  
 ‘I knew two girls (from the set of children that entered my room).’
- B’: İki kız taniyordum.  
 two girl I-knew  
 ‘I knew two girls.’

As seen above, (99B’) cannot be a natural continuation for (99A) since *iki kız* ‘two girls’ cannot refer to the previously established set by *birkaç çocuk* ‘several children’.

Öztürk (2005) observes (contra Keleş, 2001) that the narrow scope of specific indefinites is not as narrow as the narrow scope of non-specific nominals. She states that the narrow scope of case-marked indefinites is never narrow, but an “intermediate scope”, which she shows in a context with three students in class and the teacher assigning three novels to read, as in (100):

- (100) Her çocuk bir kitab-\*(1) okudu: John Romeo ve Juliet-i, Mary  
 every child one book-ACC read: John R & J-ACC, Mary  
 Moby Dick-i, Bill Pollyanna-yi.  
 MD-ACC, Bill P-ACC

'Every child read one book: John read R & J, Mary read MD and Bill read P'

Öztürk shows that in this context, the accusative case in *kitab-i* in (100) cannot be dropped even though the nominal has a narrow scope with respect to 'every child', since its omission generates a non-specific indefinite interpretation. Non-specific indefinites are taken to be non-referential under her account, and thus they are incompatible with such a context. She proposes that the interpretation created by the accusative case in (100) is the intermediate scope of specific indefinites, which is surely different than the scopeless reading of non-specifics. Öztürk's analysis parallels with Schwarzschild's (2002) analysis of indefinites, known as singleton indefinites. According to this approach, in (100), for every child there is a specific book (a singleton set) which that child read.

In summary, although they do not agree on the exact interpretation of case marked nominals, all of the approaches above seem to agree on the view that case marked indefinite objects in Turkish are somehow more referential than unmarked objects. The strongest evidence for this comes from the context where indefinite, case marked nominals interact with quantifiers and other types of operators, and are able to take wide scope.

#### 4.3.2.2 Differential Object Marking in Uzbek

Gribanova (2016) observes that Uzbek exhibits differential object marking in both main and embedded clauses, and differential subject marking occurs only with nominalized clauses. Similar to Turkish data discussed above (97)–(100), Uzbek objects inflected for the accusative case have specific reference, while unmarked objects are obligatorily non-specific. If specific nominals are indefinite, then they are interpreted as strong indefinites in the sense of Milsark (1974). In addition, if indefinites are not marked for case, they are interpreted as weak indefinites (see also Diesing, 1992). In this section, I will analyze both types of direct objects, case marked and unmarked, with the purpose of showing their referential and scopal differences. I will also discuss the internal ordering of elements within the clause exhibiting case marked and case unmarked direct objects. Consider Uzbek data in (101):

- (101) a. Ali bir kitob-ni o'qi-moqchi. (Uzbek)  
 Ali a book-ACC read-INT.FUT.3SG<sup>82</sup>  
 'Ali wants to read a (specific) book/one of the books.

82. INT.FUT stands for intentional future.

- b. Ali bir kitob o'qi-moqchi.  
 Ali a book read-INT.FUT.3SG  
 'Ali wants to read a/some book or other.'

As seen in (101a-b), overt case marking correlates with the possibility to have specific reading and wide scope of the nominal *kitob-ni*, while the absence of case marking correlates with the obligatory narrow scope reading of the nominal *kitob* with respect to the propositional attitude verb.

Concerning the syntactic analysis of differentially marked objects, Diesing (1992) proposes that the accusative marked object (i.e., presuppositional nominal) moves from its base position to a higher functional category above vP. This implies that the object has to move out of vP to check its case and referentiality features. Under Diesing's analysis, if only it is non-specific, the object remains in situ in its VP internal position. Objects without accusative case are VP internal (inside what Diesing refers to as Existential closure), and thus cannot take wide scope with respect to quantifiers or negation. This approach makes interesting and important predictions about the positions of case marked and unmarked objects.

One of the most influential analyses of differential object marking in Turkic languages is carried out by Baker and Vinokurova (2010) and Baker (2013) on Sakha, a Turkic language spoken in Yakutia. They take a positional approach to explain DOM in Sakha and propose that accusative objects are those that move out of VP, while case unmarked objects are those that remain inside the VP. According to Baker (2013), movement of the direct object outside the VP brings it to the same spell-out domain as the subject, triggering the assignment of accusative case. Baker suggests to analyze this phenomenon as an instance of dependent case *à la* Marantz (1991).

In Sakha, the difference in the structural position of the object is apparent in terms of the acceptable word order: unmarked objects cannot precede VP-boundary adverbs, accusative marked objects, on the other hand, are prohibited from following such adverbs, as in (102):

- (102) a. Masha salamaat-\*(y) türgennik sie-te. (Sakha)  
 Masha porridge-ACC quickly eat-PAST.3SG  
 'Masha ate the porridge quickly.'
- b. Masha türgennik salamaat-(\*y) sie-te.  
 Masha quickly porridge-ACC<sup>83</sup> eat-PAST.3SS  
 'Masha ate porridge quickly.'
- (Baker & Vinokurova, 2010, p. 606, Example (12a)–(b))

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83. ACC on 'porridge' only if contrastive focus

According to Baker and Vinokurova (2010), the distinction between accusative marked and unmarked objects corresponds to their derived syntactic position, and in order to capture the contrast between (102a) and (102b) above, they propose the following:

...if we assume that the locality domains in which case competition is evaluated are crucially phases in something like Chomsky's sense. There are two phases in an ordinary clause, CP and (let us assume) VP. The indefinite object stays strictly inside the VP phase, and so is never in the same domain as the subject, whose lowest position is Spec, vP. Since the object and the subject are the only NPs in their respective domains, neither is case-marked by the rules in (2).<sup>84</sup> In contrast, definite and specific objects undergo object shift, out of VP, to escape the domain of existential closure (Diesing 1992 and much related work). This movement places the object in the same phase as the subject. The two now count as case competitors, and accusative is assigned to the lower NP, the object.  
(Baker & Vinokurova, 2010, p. 606)

This approach explains the DOM in Sakha by Marantz-style configurational rules. Under this view, specific objects move out of the VP, and consequently get case marked. While non-specific objects must remain within VP, and thus remain case unmarked. Empirical support for the analysis and the view that syntactic movement and accusative marking are correlated is based on the interaction of case marking with word order involving adverbs.

On the other hand, concerning the position of adverbs, Cinque (1999) proposes that each adverb has its own distinct position within the clausal hierarchical structure, which does not vary in different clauses. Thus, adverbs can indicate if other elements in the clause are moving. This implies that the adverb *türgennik* 'quickly' occupies the same position in both (102a) and (102b). Following this, Baker and Vinokurova (2010) propose that different internal ordering between (102a) and (102b) results from the movement of the object NP in (102a), while the object NP in (102b) does not undergo the same movement operation.

Likewise, Baker (2013) studies positioning of direct object with respect to VP-adverbs in Turkish and demonstrates that Turkish adverbs follow accusative marked objects, but precede unmarked objects.

- (103) a. Ali kitab-ı hızlı okudu.  
Ali book-ACC quickly read  
'Ali read the book quickly.'

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84. (2) a. If there are two projections of distinct Ns in the same VP-phase such that N(P)1 c-commands N(P)2, then value any case feature of N(P)1 as dative.  
b. If there are two projections of distinct Ns in the same phase such that N(P)1 c-commands N(P)2, then value any case feature of N(P)2 as accusative.



- b. Ali hizli kitap okudu.  
 Ali quickly book read  
 ‘Ali did book reading quickly.’

On the other hand, Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2015) show that although in Tatar unmarked objects are VP-internal, accusative marked objects need not be VP-external. Unlike Turkish and Sakha, Tatar accusative objects can follow VP-boundary adverbs such as *tiz* ‘quickly’, as in (104):

- (104) Marat **tiz** *botka-nı* aša-dı. (Tatar)  
 Marat quickly porridge-ACC eat-PAST  
 ‘Marat ate porridge quickly.’  
 (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015, p. 303, Example (33))

Moreover, in contrast to Sakha and Turkish, accusative objects in Tatar can take either wide or narrow scope with respect to other quantificational elements.

- (105) a. Hār ukučı [Tukaj-**nıŋ** ike šigır-e-\*(n)] ukı-dı. (Tatar)  
 every student Tukay-GEN two poem-3-ACC read-PAST  
 ‘Every student read two poems by Tukay.’  
 2 > ∀: ‘There are (certain) two poems by Tukay that every student read.’  
 ∀ > 2: ‘Every student read (some) two poems by Tukay.’
- b. Marat [Alsu-**nıŋ** fotografija-se-\*(n)] kür-me-de.  
 Marat Alsu-GEN photo-3-ACC see-NEG-PAST  
 ‘Marat didn’t see a photo of Alsu.’  
 ∃ > Neg: ‘There is a photo of Alsu that Marat didn’t see.’  
 Neg > ∃: ‘It is not the case that Marat saw a photo of Alsu.’  
 (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015, p. 306, Example (34))

Based on data in (105), Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig propose that accusative object occurring VP-internally at Spellout can take either wide or narrow scope, and the possibility of narrow scope shows that the VP-internal accusative object can undergo LF movement. The possibility of narrow scope, on the other hand, means the accusative object may remain VP-internal throughout the derivation. Based on this, Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig conclude that Baker’s (2013) positional analysis would not be sufficient to explain the referential and scopal properties of nominal objects in Tatar.

Let us now turn to Uzbek and see what our data can reveal about the behavior of accusative marked objects. Similar to Turkish and Sakha, accusative objects may precede or follow the adverbs (106), while unmarked objects must follow them (107).

- (106) a. Ali kitob-ni sekin o’qi-di. (Uzbek)  
 Ali book-ACC slowly read-PST  
 ‘Ali read (the) book slowly.’

- b. Ali sekin kitob-ni o'qi-di.  
Ali slowly book-ACC read-PST  
'Ali slowly read the book.'
- (107) a. Ali sekin kitob o'qi-di  
Ali slowly book read-PST  
'Ali did book reading slowly.'
- b. \*Ali kitob sekin o'qi-di.

Baker and Vinokurova (2010) point to another syntactic context where accusative marking depends on the movement of object in ditransitive clauses. The object of a ditransitive verb interpreted as a goal is always marked dative, and the case of the theme object depends on its referential properties (specific or non-specific) and its position with respect to the goal object. When the theme object has no case marking, it has a non-specific indefinite reading and it must come after the goal; the accusative case marked theme, on the other hand, has specific or definite meaning and precedes the goal.<sup>85</sup>

- (108) a. Min Masha-qa kinige-(#ni) bier-di-m. (Sakha)  
I Masha-DAT book-ACC give-PAST-1SG  
'I gave Masha books/a book.'
- b. Min kinige-\*(ni) Masha-qa bier-di-m.  
I book-ACC Masha-DAT give-PAST-1SS  
'I gave the book to Masha.'

(Baker & Vinokurova, 2010, p. 13, (74a–b))

As Sakha examples demonstrate, accusative marked objects differ from case unmarked objects in their placement with respect to indirect objects. Accusative marked objects can precede or follow the indirect object (108a), while unmarked objects cannot precede the indirect object (108b).

Similar observations about differential object marking are made in Gribanova (2016) for Uzbek. In ditransitive constructions, accusative-marked direct objects may either precede or follow indirect objects (109), while the unmarked objects must appear in a verb-adjacent position (110). Gribanova (2016) also observes that only direct objects with accusative case marking can raise to a derived position above vP, while unmarked theme objects must stay inside the VP, i.e., follow the goal (dative) object.

- (109) a. Dilfuza ikki olma-ni bola-ga ber-di. (Uzbek)  
Dilfuza two apple-ACC child-DAT give-PST  
'Dilfuza gave the two apples/two of the apples to the/a child.'

85. This applies unless there is additional focus-driven movement involved.

- b. Dilfuza bola-ga ikki olma-ni ber-di.  
 Dilfuza child-DAT two apple-ACC give-PST  
 'Dilfuza gave (the) two apples to the/a child.'

- (110) a. Dilfuza bola-ga ikki olma ber-di.  
 Dilfuza child-DAT two apple give-PST  
 'Dilfuza gave the/a child two apples.'
- b. \*Dilfuza ikki olma bola-ga ber-di.  
 Dilfuza two apple child-DAT give-PST

The placement of VP-boundary adverbs is rather flexible in ditransitive constructions if the direct object is marked accusative (111a), while unmarked direct objects must follow the adverbs (111b):

- (111) a. Dilfuza (tezgina) ikki olma-ni (tezgina) bola-ga (tezgina)  
 Dilfuza (quickly) two apple-ACC (quickly) child-DAT (quickly)  
 ber-di.  
 give-PST  
 'Dilfuza quickly gave the two apples/two of the apples to the/a child.'
- b. Dilfuza bola-ga tezgina ikki olma ber-di.  
 Dilfuza child-DAT quickly two apple give-PST  
 'Dilfuza quickly gave two apples to the/a child.'

To summarize, we have seen that accusative marked objects in Uzbek can move out of VP either overtly (109a) or covertly (109b). Unmarked objects, on the other hand, remain VP-internal at Spellout. Given their scopal properties, they do not move to VP-external position at LF either. Unmarked objects cannot take wide scope with respect to quantifiers or negation. For example, (112) cannot mean that there are certain two books that every student read.

- (112) Har bola ikki kitob o'qi-di.  
 every boy two book read-PAST  
 $\forall > 2$ : 'For every boy, there are two books that he read.'  
 $*2 > \forall$ : 'There are (certain) two books that every boy read.'

In the same manner, an unmarked object cannot take scope over an indirect object (113), or negation (114).

- (113) Dilfuza har bola-ga ikki kitob ber-di.  
 Dilfuza every child-DAT two book give-PST  
 $\forall > 2$ : 'Dilfuza gave every child two books' (different two books)  
 $*2 > \forall$ : 'Dilfuza gave two books to every child.' (same two books)

- (114) Ali ikki kitob o'qi-ma-di.  
 Ali two book read-NEG-PAST  
 Neg > 2: 'It is not the case that Ali read two books.'  
 \*2 > Neg: 'There are (certain) two books that Ali did not read.'

The data in (113)–(114) show that only surface scope is available for unmarked objects.

To summarize, the two types of objects in Uzbek show differences in their positional possibilities: accusative marked objects can appear either VP-internally or VP-externally, while unmarked objects must appear only VP-internally. In addition, the two types of objects show variation with respect to their interpretational reading: accusative objects always have a referential reading, whereas unmarked objects are obligatorily non-specific. As for their scopal features, unmarked objects can only take narrow scope, while accusative objects can take wide scope over quantifiers and negation. The scopal contrasts between accusative marked and unmarked objects, as well as the restricted positions available to case unmarked objects in Uzbek, lend additional support for the Small Nominal, or the Relativized DP analysis (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig, 2015) adopted earlier for Uzbek nominals. This approach also draws parallels with Chierchia's (1998) analysis where bare nominals in a [+arg, –pred] language, if found as arguments, are expected to be heavily restricted. As we have seen here, the positioning and scopal properties of Uzbek case unmarked objects are severely restricted.

#### 4.4 Summary

The main focus of this chapter has been to discuss the concept of Small Nominals and to discuss their properties in comparison to fully projected nominals, DPs and KPs. We have seen that Small Nominals are attested cross-linguistically and exhibit same characteristics. For instance, we have seen that Small Nominals are non-specific, cannot control PRO, or bind reflexives/reciprocals, and do not trigger agreement.

Next, I have introduced and discussed data to show the functional architecture of the nominal domain in Uzbek, and demonstrated that the order of suffixes within the nominal expression is very rigid and changing their order results in ungrammaticality. With this evidence, I have adopted the view proposed by Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2013) that rigid internal ordering of nominal suffixes in Turkic languages reflects the order of functional projections within the noun phrase (based on Baker's 1985 Mirror Principle). Adopting this analysis, I have proposed a structure for Uzbek, which represents the order of suffixes and potential functional heads that host these suffixes.

Furthermore, I have proposed that by adopting the Small Nominal hypothesis for Uzbek, we can account for the behavior of nominals in complex predicate constructions. These nominals have properties of Small Nominals because they lack case marking and are non-referential in nature. With the purpose of supporting the view, that languages can have nominals of different sizes, I have shown that certain attributivizer suffixes (e.g. *-li*) specifically select Small Nominals as their complements, while other attributivizer suffixes (e.g. *-dagi*) select bigger structures, DP/KPs. The same view has been further supported by the behavior of two types of possessive constructions, *Izofa-2* and *Izofa-3*, and two types of direct objects, accusative marked and unmarked. The discussions led to the conclusion that *Izofa* constructions and direct objects share an array of morphological, syntactic and semantic properties. Particularly, genitive marked possessor of *Izofa-3* and accusative marked direct objects appear in a higher structural position. Namely, *Izofa-3* appears in [SpecDP], accusative objects appear in a position outside the VP domain. In addition, by virtue of being case marked, both of these constructions are referential expressions (specific/definite). On the other hand, both *izofa-2* possessors and unmarked objects lack case morphology, and they appear lower in their respective structural trees. Namely, the *izofa-2* possessors appear in [SpecPossP], and case unmarked objects appear in VP related position. By virtue of lacking case marking, the *izofa-2* possessors and case unmarked direct objects obligatorily have non-referential interpretation. These shared properties follow naturally from the Small Nominal approach that case unmarked *izofa-2* possessors and direct objects are Small Nominals in the sense of Pereltsvaig (2006) and Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2013, 2015), while genitive possessors of *izofa-3* and accusative direct objects are fully projected KPs.

The central idea consists in saying that *Izofa* possessors and direct objects can either be projected as KPs or as Small Nominals, i.e., maximally PossP. Since PossP is assumed to appear lower in the hierarchy of functional projections in the nominal domain, it will never contain DP or KP levels. On the other hand, *Izofa-3* and accusative marked objects bear morphological case marking, and thus must appear in Case positions and have referential/determinate interpretations.

## Conclusion

The main objective of this study was to analyze the internal structure of nominal expressions in Uzbek from the perspective of the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987), and justify the view that the nominal domain in Uzbek can contain distinct functional projections above the lexical projection NP, including NumP, PossP, DP and KP. Uzbek nominals represent a fertile ground to test the universality of the DP-hypothesis and to make an insightful contribution to an ongoing debate involving opposing views on the structure of nominals in languages with and without articles. The research I conducted allowed me to postulate several functional projections in Uzbek nominals, among them DP, although Uzbek does not have a lexical item similar to the English definite article, which is the most typical instantiation of the D head.

The question of what noun phrases constitute in languages without articles has been a subject of much debate ever since Abney (1987). This debate has produced two opposite views: the Universal DP-Hypothesis which assumes that noun phrases are universally DPs, and the Parameterized DP-Hypothesis which maintains that languages without articles do not have the DP at all.

Nonetheless, a recent and fairly distinctive approach proposed by Pereltsvaig (2006, 2007, 2013) and Lyutikova and Pereltsvaig (2013, 2015) argues that a DP layer can be absent or present in nominal expressions, and that the presence or absence of DP determines the size of the structure. I have examined the internal structure of Uzbek nominal expressions from this perspective, and showed that some Uzbek nominals are fully projected DP/KPs structures, while others are Small Nominals, i.e., lack some or all functional projections. My objective has been to show and argue for the presence of various functional layers in nominals in Uzbek, such as NumP, PossP, DP, and KP, correlated with the nominal suffixes. I have shown that the order of suffixes within the nominal expression is very rigid, and changing their positions results in ungrammaticality. In the light of this evidence, and following Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle, I have postulated that rigid internal ordering of nominal suffixes in Uzbek reflects the order of functional projections within the noun phrase. Adopting this analysis, I proposed a structure which represents the order of suffixes within the nominal domain, and potential functional heads which host these suffixes.

Next, I have argued for the existence of fully projected nominals, i.e., KPs and so-called Small Nominals (maximally PossP). I have discussed the idea of Small Nominals (Pereltsvaig, 2006), which is based on the syntactic and semantic similarities between clauses and nominals. I have argued that by adopting the Small Nominal hypothesis for Uzbek, we can account for nominals of different sizes in complex predicate constructions, nominal complements of certain attributivizer suffixes (e.g. *-li*), *izofa-2* possessors, and case unmarked direct objects.

*Izofa-2* and *Izofa-3* possessors and accusative marked and case unmarked direct objects have supported the view that there are nominals of various sizes. I have compared syntactic structure of *Izofa-3* and accusative marked objects on the one hand, and *Izofa-2* and case unmarked objects on the other. Their comparison led to important empirical observations: possessors inside the *Izofa* constructions, and case marked direct objects – share an array of morphological, syntactic and semantic properties. Particularly, genitive marked possessives, i.e., *Izofa-3*, and accusative marked direct objects appear in a higher structural position. Namely, *Izofa-3* appears in [SpecDP], accusative objects appear in a position outside the VP domain. In addition, by virtue of being case marked, both of these constructions are referential expressions (specific/definite). On the other hand, both *izofa-2* possessors and unmarked objects lack case morphology, and they appear lower in their respective structural trees. Namely, the *izofa-2* possessors appear in [SpecPossP], and case unmarked objects appear in VP related position. By virtue of lacking case marking, *izofa-2* and unmarked direct objects obligatorily have non-referential interpretation. They remain in their base positions, and they are invisible to D-searching external probes.

I have also discussed components of noun phrases in Uzbek, and provided an analysis of elements that can be found in Uzbek noun phrases, such as determiners, quantifiers, adjectives and other possible modifiers. I have tentatively positioned these elements with respect to major functional layers. Namely, adjectives appear between DP and PossP or lower, and demonstratives are in the Spec position of some functional projection below DP and above NumP. The analysis of Uzbek nouns within DP and Small Nominal approach, as has been presented in this study, allows us to analyze different syntactic phenomena within the nominal domain.

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# Name index

## A

- Abney, S.P. XIII, 1, 39, 59, 70,  
111–112, 136–137, 139–140,  
142–144, 167  
Adger, D. 123  
Alexiadou, A. 74–76, 93–94,  
101–102  
Aljović, N. XIII, 56, 62, 64, 96,  
104, 109, 148  
Aygen, G. 67, 148, 156–158

## B

- Baker, M.C. 113, 119, 121–122,  
124–125, 160–163, 165  
Beckwith, C. I. 12–13  
Belletti, A. 87  
Bittner, M. 59  
Borthen, K. 119, 120  
Bošković, Ž. 1, 3, 40, 51–58,  
60–65, 67, 71, 109, 113, 122,  
146, 151–152, 154  
Bossong, G. 156  
Bown, C. 130  
Brugè, L. 102–103, 105, 107

## C

- Caruso, Z. 109  
Chierchia, G. 2–3, 40–45,  
47–49, 51–52, 71, 122, 165  
Chomsky, N. 39, 52, 122, 161  
Cinque, G. 104, 123, 161

## D

- Despić, M. 63, 67  
Diesing, M. 46, 82–83, 85,  
159–161  
Dobrovie- Sorin, C. 47, 48, 49

## E

- Enç, M. 18, 78, 81, 86–92, 106,  
156–158  
Evers-Vermeul, J. 59

## F

- Franks, S. 122

## G

- van Geenhoven, V. 78

- Giusti, G. 66, 73–76, 80, 92–93,  
102–104, 106  
Gribanova, V. XIII, 10, 12, 21–22,  
130, 159, 163  
Grimshaw, J. 39, 130

## H

- Haegeman, L. 74–76, 93–94,  
101–102  
Hale, K. 59  
de Hoop, H. 17

## J

- Jackendoff, R. S. 101  
Johanson, L. 9

## K

- Kagan, O. 61  
Kallulli, D. 119  
Kripke, S. 76  
Kelepir, M. 78, 156–158  
Knecht, L.E. 127  
Kornfilt, J. XIII, 1, 16, 21–22, 55,  
67–70, 78, 81–83, 85, 123, 125,  
137–138, 141–144, 148, 156–158

## L

- Leko, N. XIII, 1, 66–67, 109, 113  
Lidz, J. 78  
Lobel, E. 80, 123  
Longobardi, G. 3, 40, 43,  
65–66, 75, 113, 121–122  
Lyons, C. 73, 76, 93–98, 101  
Lyutikova, E. 17, 33, 56, 61,  
63–64, 70, 85, 109–110,  
123–124, 130, 132, 135–137,  
141, 145–147, 152, 155, 162,  
165–167

## M

- Maciejewska, A. 94  
Marantz, A. 160–161  
Massam, D. 45  
McIntyre, A. 120  
Milsark, G. 79, 87–88, 157, 159

## N

- Neeleman, A. 58–59

## O

- Osawa, F. 77  
Öztürk, B. 67, 78–79, 126–128,  
147–148, 158–159

## P

- Pereltsvaig, A. XIII, 1–2, 4,  
17, 33, 56, 61, 63–64, 70, 85,  
109–111, 113–125, 130, 132,  
135–137, 141, 145–147, 152,  
155, 162, 165–168  
Progovac, L. 65–66

## R

- Rappaport, G. 121  
Reuland, E. 67  
Ritter, E. 66, 111–113, 137  
Rizzi, L. 42  
Rubin, E. 135

## S

- Schwarzchild, R. 159  
Sezer, E. 126  
Stavrou, M. 74–76, 93–94,  
101–102  
Straughn, C.A. 11  
Szabolcsi, A. 40, 112, 140  
Szendrői, K. 57–59

## T

- Taylan, E. E. 7, 78, 81, 126, 128, 157

## U

- Underhill, R. 143

## V

- Vinokurova, N. 160–161, 163

## W

- Weerman, F. 59  
Wiese, H. 45n24  
Whitman, J. 138

## Z

- Zakiev, M. Z. 145



# Subject index

## A

- AGR 66–67, 140
- Agree 143, 152–153, 155, 159
  - see also* AGR
- argument 2, 24, 38, 40–47,
  - 49–52, 58–59, 65, 71, 73–74,
  - 77, 83, 110, 113, 121, 123–124,
  - 126, 130, 136, 139, 142, 156
- external 52
- structure 130
- attributivizer 132–135, 166, 168

## B

- bare plural 43, 48
- Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian 16,
  - 52, 61–62, 66, 96, 104, 151

## C

- case 2–7, 10, 15–24, 28, 31,
  - 37–38, 40, 46–49, 51–52,
  - 55, 58–62, 66–67, 69–71,
  - 73–83, 85–94, 99, 101,
  - 105–106, 110–111, 117,
  - 123–128, 130–131, 134–135,
  - 137–138, 142–150, 152–163,
  - 165–166, 168
- default 69–70
- dependent 160
- morphological 6, 17, 106,
  - 147, 156, 158
- classifier 36–38, 41, 54
- complex predicate 49, 110, 125,
  - 128–131, 166, 168

## D

- dativ 16, 19, 74, 99, 161, 163
- definite XIII, 3, 16–17, 34–35,
  - 39–40, 44, 46–48, 51–52,
  - 65–66, 71, 73–79, 82–83,
  - 85, 87, 90, 92–98, 101–103,
  - 106, 109, 111–112, 156–157,
  - 161, 163, 166–168
- deixis 93, 95, 97–98
- demonstrative 22, 25, 27, 38,
  - 66, 92, 94–95, 97–103

- determiner 1, 4, 18, 38–39, 42,
  - 51, 59, 65, 71, 73–75, 80,
  - 82, 86–89, 91, 94, 98–100,
  - 109, 157
- definite 36, 51
- indefinite 34, 82, 86
- domain XIII, 1–2, 26, 29, 39,
  - 46, 52, 59, 70–71, 77, 80,
  - 93, 100, 104, 106, 109–111,
  - 123–125, 144, 151, 153–154,
  - 158, 160–161, 165–168
- functional 109
- DP- Hypothesis 39–40,
  - 109–112, 136, 140
- Differential Object Marking (DOM) 156

## E

- English 1, 18, 27, 35, 44–45,
  - 58, 60, 63, 67, 87, 94,
  - 97–98, 102, 119, 121, 136,
  - 138–139

## F

- French 42, 47–48, 98, 119–121
- functional XIII, 1–2, 4, 17,
  - 23, 39–40, 51–52, 62–63,
  - 65–70, 73–74, 80, 85, 93,
  - 103–104, 106, 109–112,
  - 121–125, 130–131, 136–137,
  - 139–140, 144, 146, 151–153,
  - 155–156, 160, 165–168

## G

- generics 47–49, 51
- genitive 1–2, 4, 6, 9, 14–16,
  - 21–25, 38, 62, 64, 67,
  - 69–70, 74, 81–82, 84–85,
  - 91, 99, 110–111, 117, 123,
  - 125, 138–139, 141–146,
  - 148–150, 152, 155, 166, 168
- Genitive Possessive Construction 24
- German 55, 74, 119–120, 123
- Greek 66, 75–76, 101–103

## H

- Hungarian 55, 66, 70, 77, 101,
  - 111–112, 140

## I

- idiom 125–126, 130
- incorporation 119, 121, 125–129
  - head- 125, 129
- indefinites 86, 90, 106, 157–159
  - narrow scope 47, 51, 86,
  - 157–159, 162
  - non-specific 79, 82, 86–87,
  - 157–159
- Italian 16, 42, 48–49, 57–58, 66,
  - 75–76, 113, 119–120
- Izofa 15, 23, 50, 105, 110, 123,
  - 144–150, 152–156, 166, 168

## K

- Kase Phrase (KP) 80
- kinds 40–41, 43–44, 46, 51, 65,
  - 71, 94, 101, 113

## L

- light verbs 130

## M

- movement *passim*
- LF movement 162
- N-to-D 66, 67, 111
- V-to-I 111
- wh- 5

## N

- Nominal Mapping
  - Parameter 2–3, 40, 45,
  - 51–52, 71
- nouns 2, 11–16, 22, 24–26, 28,
  - 31–32, 34, 36, 38–49, 51–52,
  - 65–66, 71, 74, 76, 81, 90,
  - 94, 109–113, 121, 125–131,
  - 136, 143, 145, 149, 168
- bare 2, 24, 40–44, 46–47,
  - 49, 51–52, 71, 110, 125–127,
  - 129–130

- count 42, 44  
 mass 12, 34, 43–44  
 numerals 2, 9, 13, 24–25, 34,  
 36, 38, 41, 52, 66, 87, 106
- O**  
 object drop 58
- P**  
 Parameterized DP  
   Hypothesis 3, 51, 52, 71,  
   109, 113, 167  
 Phase 67, 161  
 possessive 2, 6, 9–15, 21, 23–24,  
 38, 50, 59, 61–64, 69, 85,  
 105, 110–111, 123–124, 130,  
 134, 136–137, 139, 142,  
 144–146, 149, 151, 154–155,  
 166  
 possessor 6, 10, 14, 21, 23–25,  
 50, 61–63, 70, 85, 105–107,  
 110–112, 137–146, 148–155,  
 166  
 projection XIII, 1, 3–4, 39–40,  
 42, 52, 59, 65–67, 69–70,  
 85, 103, 109–112, 115–116,  
 122, 125, 130–131, 133,  
 135–136, 139, 141, 144, 146,  
 152–153, 155, 167–168  
 pronoun 5, 14, 28–29, 59,  
 62–63, 65, 67, 79–80, 90,  
 98–100, 141, 145, 149, 155  
   demonstrative 27  
   interrogative 29  
   personal 28  
   possessive 59  
   pro-drop 2, 5, 53, 58–60, 65,  
   142
- Q**  
 quantifier 91–92  
   indefinite 87  
   strong 150  
   universal 31, 35, 65, 91  
   weak 87  
 referentiality 3, 40, 73–80, 83,  
 85, 98, 105–106, 122, 148,  
 156, 160
- R**  
 Relativized DP  
   Hypothesis 146, 155  
 Romance 2, 40, 42–43, 45,  
 47–49, 51, 71  
 Russian 4, 44–47, 56, 61–65,  
 70, 113–117, 119, 121, 123,  
 147
- S**  
 Sakha 4, 68, 160–163  
 scope 7, 17, 46, 49–51, 54, 60,  
 65, 71, 83, 86, 116, 157–160,  
 162, 164–165  
 scrambling 53, 55  
 Slavic 2–3, 40, 44–45, 51–52,  
 65, 71, 122–123  
 Small Nominal 3, 40, 109, 113,  
 115–122, 125, 129–130, 133,  
 135, 144, 149, 154, 165–166,  
 168
- Spanish 42, 58, 94, 102, 113,  
 119–121  
 Specificity 3, 73, 77, 80–81,  
 89–90  
 suffix 7–8, 10–14, 16, 20, 22–24,  
 27–28, 30–34, 36–38, 52,  
 73, 75, 80, 91, 93, 99–100,  
 105–106, 110, 124, 130–131,  
 133–135, 137–139, 141–145,  
 147–149, 154–155  
 agreement 9, 11, 24, 130, 142  
 inflectional 26, 38, 52  
 nominal 124, 167
- T**  
 Tatar 4, 70, 85, 123, 132, 134,  
 136–137, 141, 145–147, 149,  
 162  
 Turkish 4, 10, 22, 52–53, 55–58,  
 60–61, 63–64, 67–70,  
 77–83, 85–92, 111, 113,  
 123–128, 137–138, 141–144,  
 146, 148, 151, 156–159,  
 161–162
- U**  
 Uzbek XIII, 1–12, 14, 16–19, 22,  
 24–25, 27–28, 31–32, 34,  
 37–38, 40, 45–57, 59–60,  
 62, 64–65, 70–71, 73,  
 76–77, 79–80, 83, 85–86,  
 89–94, 97–101, 104–107,  
 109–110, 122–125, 128, 130,  
 132–139, 142, 144–149, 152,  
 155–156, 159, 162–168

This book is a theoretically oriented, comparative study of noun phrases and their semantic and morpho-syntactic properties. This is the first study that provides a comprehensive analysis of the nominal structure in Uzbek, and compares it with corresponding structures in other article and article-less languages. Uzbek nominals represent a fertile ground to test the universality of the DP hypothesis and to make an insightful contribution to an ongoing debate about the functional architecture of the nominal domain in languages with and without articles. The study shows that the ordering of various nominal suffixes in Uzbek reflects a rich functional structure, involving not only DP but also KP. The work also discusses elements such as determiners, demonstratives, quantifiers and adjectives, and positioning of these elements within the nominal domain. This study is especially useful for researchers interested in theoretical linguistics, comparative syntax and typology.

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