POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN TURKISH: PPs IN DISGUISE

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The possession relation in Turkish is expressed by a structure called the genitive possessive construction (GP), where the possessor bears the genitive case and the possessee an agreement marker (1). There are two other related constructions in Turkish: (i) The possessive-free genitive construction (PFG) (2) and (ii) the genitive-free constructions, also known as the possessive compounds (PC) (Tooru 1996, Göksel&Kerslake 2005) as in (3):

(1) Kadın-**ın**   doktor-**u** (GP) **(2)** Kadın-**ın** doktor (PFG) **(3)** Kadın doktor-**u** (PC)
    woman-gen doctor-3ps.poss   woman-gen doctor   woman doctor-3ps.poss
    The doctor of the woman   The doctor of the woman   Women's doctor (gynecologist)

The aim of this paper is to analyze the semantic and syntactic functions of the two different markers, namely, the genitive (GEN) and the possessive agreement (POSS) observed in the structures in (1-3). We will specifically argue that GEN introduces a relation between two entities and a moment in time, as also observed in Daakaka by von Prince (2012), parallel to a stage-level interpretation. POSS, on the other hand, is not a regular agreement marker as has been proposed in the literature on Turkish (Kornfilt 1984, 1997, Özsoy 1994, Yükseker 1998, Arslan-Kechriotis 2006, 2009, Göksel 2009). We will claim that it is the morphological reflex of a complex head, which consists of a P head defining the semantics of the relation established between the two entities and the head of nP changing the category of PP into a nominal construction. Thus, we argue that POSS in constructions (1) and (3) implies the presence of a PP. The relation POSS is associated with unlike GEN has no temporal value, thus, is parallel to an individual-level interpretation.

In the literature on Turkish, GEN has always been associated with definiteness and specificity (Barker, Hankamer & Moore 1990, Erkman-Akerson & Özil 1992, among others). This semantic property of the genitive is well-illustrated in PFG constructions where the only marking is GEN as in (2). PFGs require specific discourse contexts, where the possessor has a presuppositional and a clearly defined referent. Therefore, the genitive noun in PFG's cannot be indefinite or quantified (4a-b) unlike GPs (5a-b). PFGs are incompatible with restrictive relative clauses (6a), while GPs are compatible. In terms of scope, they behave parallel to definite nouns, hence always take wide scope at the clausal level (7a), unlike GPs, which can also take narrow scope (7b):

(4) a. *Bir kız-ın ev   b. *Herkes-in   ev
     a   girl-gen house   everybody-gen house
(5) a. Bir kız-ın ev-i   b. Herkes-in ev-i
     a   girl-gen house-3ps.poss   everybody-gen house-3ps.poss
     A girl's house   Everybody's house
(6) a. *Uyu-yan kız-ın kitap   b. Uyu-yan kız-ın kitab-ı
     sleep-part girl-gen book   sleep-part girl-gen book-3ps.poss
                               The book of the girl who is sleeping
(7) a. Her kız ben-im iki soru-yu cevapla-dı.   (two>every, *every>two)
     every girl I-gen two question-acc answer-past
     Every girl answered the two (specific) questions of mine
   b. Her kız ben-im iki soru-m-u cevapla-dı.   (two>every, every>two)
     every girl I-gen two question-acc answer-past
     Every girl answered two questions of mine

The genitive noun in PFGs has an underspecified relation to the head noun, which needs to be defined by the discourse (8). Therefore, PFGs are not used in situations where the genitive

noun holds a specific relation to the head noun, such as location (9a-b) in space and time or a thematic relation as in result nominals (9c), which always require the possessive marker:

(8) Ali-nin araba

Ali-gen car

Ali's car (the car he owns/he likes/he saw in the gallery/he is related to in some way)

(9) a. İstanbul-un müze-ler-*(i)   b. Nisan-ın yağmur-lar-*(ı) c. Şişe-nin açacak-*(ı)

Istanbul-gen museum-pl-3ps.poss April-gen rain-pl-3ps.poss bottle-gen opener-3ps.poss

Istanbul's museums   Rains in April   The opener of the bottle

Such well-defined relations between the genitive and the head-noun are only expressible in the presence of POSS. We argue that Larson and Cho (2003)'s proposal that the relation between two nominals in possessive phrases is similar to the relations established by prepositions can also be extended to the constructions in (1) and (3) which involve POSS. The ambiguity observed in (10) below provides the main motivation for this proposal, which implies that to get the (i) reading at some point in the derivation the genitive and the head noun should both be within the scope of the adjective 'eski' assumed to be above the PP layer. We argue that it is the P head that defines the type of relation established between the genitive and the head noun. The PP is in turn embedded under an nP, which recategorizes it as nominal. When P head raises into n head, this is morphologically spelled out as POSS as shown in (11a).

(10) Ali-nin eski araba-sı   **(11)** a.

Ali-gen old car-3ps.poss

i.   Ali's former car

ii.   Ali's car which is old
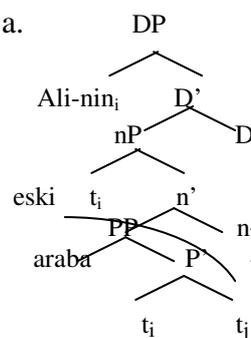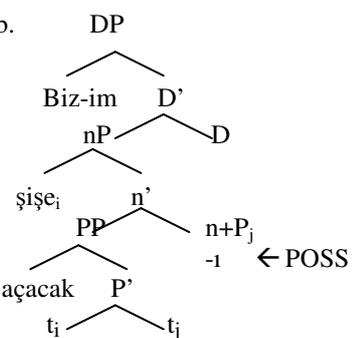
Thus we assume that in constructions which involve POSS morphology, there is always a specific interpretation for the relation betweeen the two nouns paraphrasable into an abstract postpositional relation. As illustrated by the PC examples in (12), the relation between the two nouns can be expressable by a preposition relation, e.g. *in/at, for, of, about,* etc.

(12) a. İstanbul müze-ler-i   b. Şişe açacağ-ı   c. Nisan yağmur-lar-ı

Istanbul museum-pl-3ps.poss   bottle opener-3ps.poss   April rain-pl-3ps.poss

Istanbul museums   Bottle opener   April showers/rains

The museums of Istanbul   Opener for bottles   Rains in April

In the structures in (11) above, we assume that the DP domain is the discourse related layer, where GEN comes into play. While the possessors starting from the PP domain can raise into this layer (11a), NPs which have no specific relation to the head noun as in PFGs can be directly merged into this structure at the DP level. (13) represents a PFG construction where the genitive pronoun is directly merged into Spec, DP, which embeds a PC involving a PP layer as depicted in (11b). Thus, while the PP defines the relation between the bottle and the opener, the genitive pronoun merged at the DP layer simply introduces an underspecified relation to the bottle opener, which needs to be specified by the discourse.

(13)   Biz-im şişe açacağ-ı

we-gen bottle opener-3ps.poss

our bottle opener

To conclude, while the Turkish GEN provides support for von Prince's linker genitive analysis for Daakaka, we propose a new account for the possessive marker in Turkish, where it is not a regular agreement marker but a reflex of the presence of a nominalized PP relation.