

## The genitive case with postpositions in Turkish

Aslı Kuzgun & Ümit Atlamaz\*

**Abstract.** There is a diverse set of postpositions in Turkish that take genitive marked complements. The genitive case found on these postpositional complements is idiosyncratic, suggesting that it is a lexical case rather than a structural one (Öztürk & Taylan 2016; Satik 2021; Kornfilt 1985; Baker 2015). The lexical genitive case exhibits distinctive behavioral patterns that we do not observe in the structural genitive case. That is, it is only overt on bare pronominals; otherwise, it is zero marked. The overt form of the lexical genitive case is syncretic with the structural genitive case. Through an analysis of these behaviors, we explore the relationship between the lexical and the structural genitive case.

**Keywords.** case; lexical case; syncretism; allomorphy; Turkish

**1. Introduction.** The genitive case in Turkish is found on possessors, subjects of nominalized clauses, and the complements of certain postpositions. It has been analyzed as the unmarked case of the nominal domain in Turkish (Öztürk & Taylan 2016; Satik 2021; Kornfilt 1985; Baker 2015). This means that the occurrence of the genitive case in these positions is structurally motivated. However, the genitive case we find on the complements of postpositions displays distinctive structural and behavioral properties that deviate from the unmarked analysis.

This paper investigates the unique characteristics of the genitive case with postpositions. First, we show that the genitive case on the complements of postpositions is idiosyncratic, as other postpositions assign different cases to their complements. Following this, we determine the genitive case with postpositions as a lexical case. Therefore, its assignment is not structurally motivated as the unmarked genitive case. Then, we present allomorphy patterns that are unique to the lexical genitive case. That is, the lexical genitive case is only overt on bare pronouns; otherwise, it is zero-marked. The overt allomorphs of the lexical genitive case are syncretic with the structural genitive case. In light of these key observations, we provide an analysis of the lexical genitive case by using the tools of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994). We argue that there is an [L] feature in morphosyntax that marks a case as a lexical case. Then, the feature specifications for the structural genitive case is [GEN] while the lexical genitive case is represented as [GEN,L]. The presence of an extra [L] feature in the morphosyntax establishes a subset-superset relationship between the structural and lexical genitive cases. This relationship accounts for the syncretism between the two cases. In addition, this distinction allows us to explain the unique allomorphy patterns of the lexical genitive.

**2. Genitive as a lexical case.** The postpositions *için* ‘for’, *gibi* ‘like’, *kadar* ‘as...as’, *-(y)la/ile* ‘with’, *hakkında* ‘about’ take genitive marked complements in Turkish (1). These postpositions do not form a semantic unit together, considering their meanings.

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|--------|---|----|---|
| (1) a. | sen-in için<br>you-GEN for<br>‘for you’ | b. | sen-in gibi<br>you-GEN like<br>‘like you’ |
|--------|---|----|---|

\* Authors: Aslı Kuzgun, Boğaziçi University ([asli.kuzgun@boun.edu.tr](mailto:asli.kuzgun@boun.edu.tr)) & Ümit Atlamaz, Boğaziçi University ([umit.atlamaz@boun.edu.tr](mailto:umit.atlamaz@boun.edu.tr)).

Moreover, these postpositions do not take genitive marked complements in other languages. As illustrated in examples (2) and (3) from German and Hungarian, respectively, the corresponding pre/postpositions in these languages do not assign the same case to their complements. For instance, the German preposition for 'for' takes an accusative marked complement, while the Hungarian preposition 'for' occurs with a dative marked complement.

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|---|---|
| <p>(2) a. für dich<br/>for you.ACC<br/>'for you'</p> <p>b. mit dir<br/>with you-DAT<br/>'with you'</p> <p>c. wie du<br/>like you-NOM<br/>'like you'</p> <p>d. so viele wie du<br/>as much as you-NOM<br/>'as much as you'</p> | <p>(3) a. naked<br/>for.you.DAT<br/>'for you'</p> <p>b. veled<br/>with.you.INS<br/>'with you'</p> <p>c. mint te<br/>like you.NOM<br/>'like you'</p> <p>d. mint te<br/>as.much.as you.NOM<br/>'as much as you'</p> |
|---|---|

(Vincze & Csirik 2010)

Additionally, the postpositions that take genitive marked complements in Turkish do not form a syntactic class. In other words, there is no a priori categorical or structural distinction between the postpositions that assign different cases to their complements. (4) shows that the postposition *sonra* 'after' takes ablative marked complements and *göre* 'according to' takes dative marked complements in Turkish.

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|---|--|
| <p>(4) a. sen-den sonra<br/>you-ABL after<br/>'after you'</p> | <p>b. san-a göre<br/>you-DAT according.to<br/>'according to you'</p> |
|---|--|

The examples above indicate that there is no semantic or syntactic motivation for these postpositions to occur with genitive marked complements. Therefore, the genitive case on the complements of postpositions in Turkish can be characterized as *idiosyncratic*. Its occurrence lacks syntactic or semantic consistency.

The case typology of Woolford (2006) identifies three types of cases: structural, inherent, and lexical. The structural case is assigned in certain syntactic configurations. Therefore, this type of case reflects structural consistency. The genitive case on possessors in Turkish provides an example of this type of case. Any NP at the Spec, DP will receive genitive case (Öztürk & Taylan 2016; Satik 2021; Miyagawa 1993; Aygen 2002). The inherent case reflects theta roles. This type of case is semantically consistent. An example of this type of case is the DP goals receiving the dative case. Lastly, there is the lexical case whose occurrence is not predictable. It is defined as idiosyncratic and lexically selected. Then, following the case typology of Woolford (2006), we determine the genitive case on the complements of postpositions as a lexical case.

**3. Diverging behaviors of the lexical genitive.** The lexical genitive case shows distinctive behaviors compared to the structural genitive case found on the possessors.

3.1. PRONOUNS VS NON-PRONOMINAL NPs. The postpositions *için* ‘for’, *gibi* ‘like’, *kadar* ‘as...as’, *-(y)la/ile* ‘with’, *hakkında*<sup>1</sup> ‘about’ occur with genitive marked complements as illustrated in (5). These include personal pronouns, plural personal pronouns, the WH pronoun *kim* ‘who’, and demonstrative pronouns.

- (5) a. ben-im için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkımda  
you-GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
‘for/like/as much as/with/about me’  
b. biz-im için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkımızda  
we-GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
‘for/like/as much as/with/about us’  
c. kim-in için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkında  
who-GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
‘for/like/as much as/with/about who’  
d. bu-nun için/gibi/kadar/-la/hakkında  
who-GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
‘for/like/as much as/with/about this’

This is in sharp contrast with non-pronominal NPs. (6) shows that common nouns and proper nouns cannot appear with the genitive marking when they are the complements of the relevant postpositions.

- (6) a. kitab-(\*in) için/gibi/kadar/-la/hakkında  
book-\*GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
‘for/like/as much as/with/about the book’  
b. Ayten-(\*in) için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkında  
Ayten-\*GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
‘for/like/as much as/with/about Ayten’

3.2. PRONOUNS VS INFLECTED PRONOUNS. Pronouns typically show genitive marking when combined with the relevant postpositions, as presented in (5). However, some pronouns can undergo further inflection, rendering the pronouns ungrammatical with genitive marking in the same contexts.

(7) demonstrates inflected pronouns as complements of the relevant postpositions. Here, the third person singular pronoun *o* is inflected with plural morpheme *-lar* to yield *on-lar* ‘they’. Similarly, the indeterminate WH-pronoun *kim* is derived as *kim-ler* ‘who all’ to indicate plurality. This additional plural morpheme results in ungrammaticality with lexical genitive marking.

<sup>1</sup> An anonymous reviewer finds the genitive marked expressions in (6) with the postposition *hakkında* ‘about’ acceptable. While we do not have the same judgment as the reviewer, we can see why such judgments can arise. The expression *hakkında* seems to be undergoing a change from a noun to a postposition. It can be analyzed as *hakk-in-da* ‘right-POSS-LOC’. In fact, the possessive part of the expression agrees with the pronouns as in (5-a) and (5-b), indicating that *hakkında* is potentially ambiguous between a noun and a postposition, on its way to become a postposition. Thus, the reviewer might be extending the noun structure to the examples in (6) and forming a genuine genitive-possessive construction where genitive is structural rather than lexical. In other words, the reviewer might be treating *hakkında* not as a postposition but a mere noun. The main reason why we believe *hakkında* is on its way to become a postposition is that its meaning does not appear to be compositional unlike ordinary genitive-possessive constructions. Plus, our judgments in (6) indicate that it is behaving like other postpositions that require genitives only on pronominals.

- (7) a. on-lar-(\*in) için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkında  
 they-PL-\*GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
 ‘for/like/as much as/with/about them’  
 b. kim-ler-(\*in) için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkında  
 who-PL-\*GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
 ‘for/like/as much as/with/about who’

Likewise, the double plural constructions combined with postpositions cannot carry genitive morphology with the same postpositions. In (8), the first and second person plural pronouns *biz* and *siz* are inflected with *-lar*, which gives rise to an honorific reading. This inflection creates the forms (*biz-ler* and *siz-ler*). The lexical genitive case is ungrammatical on these honorific marked pronouns, contrasting with their bare forms.

- (8) a. biz-ler-(\*in) için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkında  
 we-HON-\*GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
 ‘for/like/as much as/with/about us’  
 b. siz-ler-(\*in) için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkında  
 you.PL-HON-\*GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
 ‘for/like/as much as/with/about you’

Lastly, there are also pronouns with derivational morphology such as *kim-i* ‘someone’ and *kim-se* ‘anyone/no one’. These pronouns derive from *kim* ‘who’, which carries genitive marking with postpositions (5). These pronouns also become ungrammatical when they have additional morphology, as illustrated in (9).

- (9) a. kim-i-(\*nin) için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkında  
 who-POSS-\*GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
 ‘for/like/as much as/with/about someone’  
 b. kim-se-(\*nin) için/gibi/kadar/-le/hakkında  
 who-SE-\*GEN for/like/as.much.as/with/about  
 ‘for/like/as much as/with/about anyone’

Then, the lexical genitive case is only marked on the bare pronominals. Genitive morphology is not applied to non-pronominals and inflected pronouns when they are complements of postpositions.

3.3. DEMONSTRATIVES. The genitive marking behaviors of demonstratives inside postpositions are not uniform. *bu*, ‘this’ *şu* ‘that’ (medial/proximate), and *o* ‘that’ (distal/obviate) alternate between a genitive marked form and bare form when combined with the postpositions *kadar* and *gibi*. This alternation is not free and has semantic consequences.

(10) provides a context where the demonstrative is forced to have indexical semantics. That is, the demonstrative in this context is a directly referential rigid designator and remains the same in different world-time pairs as an indexical (Heim 2004). Indexicality is a canonical feature of pronouns Heim & Kratzer (1998). Then, in (10), the demonstrative *bu* functions as a pronoun that refers directly to the daffodils on the table. In this pronominal use, the genitive marking on the demonstrative is obligatory.

- (10) Context: There are daffodils in the room you are in with your friend. You want to buy yourself flowers like the daffodils in that room. You point to that daffodil and say:

- Bu-\*(nun) gibi çiçek-ler isti-yor-um.  
this-GEN like flower-PL want-PROG-1st.  
'I want flowers like this one.'

On the other hand, the demonstratives can also have non-indexical semantics. This is demonstrated in the context provided in (11) where the referent of *bu* 'this' can vary across different world-time pairs. This is because *bu* in this use is not a rigid designator. Therefore, *bu* cannot be considered a pronoun in this context. Importantly, (11) shows that the genitive marking is ungrammatical on the demonstrative when it does not function as a pronoun.

- (11) Context: 'Some flowers are resilient to dryness.'
- Bu-(\*nun) gibi çiçek-ler-e bu iklim-de rastlamak zor.  
this-(\*GEN) like flower-PL-DAT this climate- LOC come.across hard  
'It is hard to come across flowers like this in this climate'

The data from demonstratives shows that the lexical genitive case is exclusively marked on the pronouns. Furthermore, given that the demonstratives remain the same in both contexts and the only differing factor is their pronominal use, the alternation in genitive marking implies a sensitivity to a specific morphosyntactic feature associated with pronominals.<sup>2</sup>

3.4. PARTING WAYS. The observations above reveal that the lexical genitive case is only overt on bare pronouns. Non-pronominals and pronouns with additional morphology never show genitive marking when they are complements of postpositions.

However, the contrast between the pronouns and other NPs is not present with the structural genitive case. The genitive case on possessors has been analyzed as a structural case (Öztürk & Taylan 2016; Satik 2021; Kornfilt 1985; Baker 2015). This means that its assignment is subject to structural conditions and, therefore, it is not lexically selected.

(12) shows that the marking of the structural genitive case found on possessors does not alternate between the pronouns and non-pronominal NPs. Any possessor NP shows overt genitive marking regardless of its type.

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| <p>(12) a. kitab-in reng-i<br/>book-GEN color-POSS<br/>'the color of the book'</p> <p>b. Ayten-in kedi-si<br/>Ayten-GEN cat-POSS<br/>'Ayten's cat'</p> <p>c. bun-un reng-i<br/>this-GEN color-POSS<br/>'the color of this'</p> | <p>d. bun-lar-in reng-i<br/>this-PL-GEN color-POSS<br/>'the color of these'</p> <p>e. biz-im gurur-umuz<br/>we-GEN pride-3.PL<br/>'our pride'</p> <p>f. biz-ler-in gurur-u<br/>we-PL-GEN pride-3<br/>'our pride'</p> |
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The behavioral differences between the lexical and structural genitive case show that the alternation in genitive marking is specifically tied to the lexical genitive.

Another important note on the forms of the two cases is that when the lexical genitive is overt, it is syncretic with the structural genitive case. Notice that both the case marking on pos-

<sup>2</sup> A similar variation is observed in pronouns as well: *ben gibi* vs. *benim gibi*. While there is a meaning difference between the two uses, we admit that we cannot precisely characterize the difference and leave a detailed understanding of *ben gibi* for future work. We thank an anonymous reviewer who raised this issue.

sessors and on the complements of postpositions alternate between the forms *-(n)In* and *-im*. It is worth mentioning that despite sharing the same forms, the overall data shows that the lexical genitive case and the structural genitive case have different distributional patterns. This difference hints at their underlying structural properties.

**4. LGEN for the lexical genitive.** We have established that the genitive case in Turkish can be lexical or structural. While the structural genitive case is consistently assigned in a certain syntactic position and can be marked on all types of nominals, the lexical genitive case has distinct characteristics. It is idiosyncratic and only marked on pronouns. In this section, we address the differences between the two cases by introducing a LEX feature that is only present in lexical cases. Following from the presence of this extra LEX feature in the morphosyntax of the lexical genitive case, we name the lexical genitive as LGEN to highlight that it is a different case from the structural genitive case. We also use this distinction to account for the syncretism between the two cases, as well as to explain the unique behaviors of LGEN.

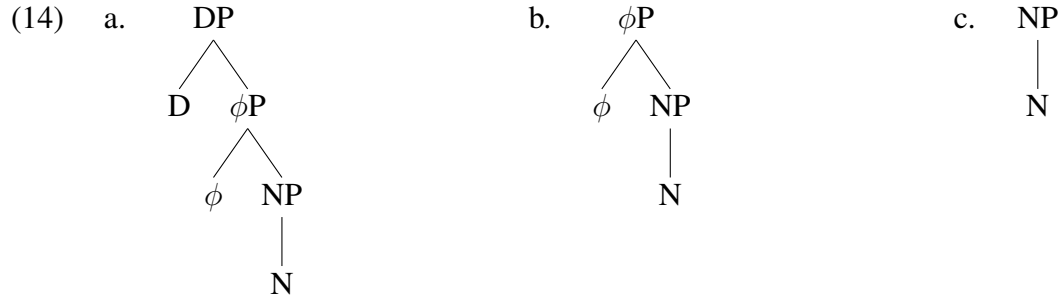
4.1. SYNCRETISM. The overt forms of the lexical genitive case are identical to the structural genitive case. Both cases are marked as *-im* on the first person pronouns and *-(n)In* elsewhere. Then, the two cases are syncretic. On the other hand, they are syntactically different from each other as one is lexical and the other is structural. In order to address these patterns, we first separate the lexical genitive from the structural one and name it LGEN.

(13) shows that LGEN is a morphosyntactically different case from the structural genitive. It has an extra LEX feature that marks it as a lexical case. The shared GEN feature in the feature representations of the two cases accounts for the syncretism. In addition, the extra LEX feature of LGEN allows us to explain its sensitivity to pronouns as this behavior is not present with GEN.

- (13) a. GEN = {GEN}  
 b. LGEN = {GEN, L}

**5. Structure of pronouns.** As mentioned earlier, LGEN is only overt on personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and the WH-pronoun *kim*. Based on this observation, we argue that the pronouns share a feature that distinguishes them from non-pronominal NPs. Here, we first provide a syntactic analysis of the pronouns in Turkish and show that they are syntactically no different than other referential expressions that cannot carry overt LGEN marking. Then, we will offer a feature geometric analysis of the Turkish pronouns and propose that the distinguishing factor lies in the morphosyntax of the pronouns.

5.1. SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE. In the classification proposed by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002), pronouns can be categorized into three types: pro-DP, pro- $\phi$ P, and pro-NP. Each type has distinct syntactic characteristics. Pro-DPs have the characteristics of R expressions in that they always occupy argument positions, and they cannot be bound. These pronouns have the syntax of a DP as shown in (14-a). Pro- $\phi$ Ps can occur as an argument or a predicate, and they display variable binding. These characteristics suggest they lack a D layer. (14-b) demonstrates the syntax for this type of pronoun. Lastly, pro-NPs show NP characteristics. They cannot occupy argument positions; they only function as predicates. Then, they have the syntax of an NP as illustrated in (14-c).



The example sentences with VP ellipsis in (15) show that the binding behavior of pronouns in Turkish aligns with that of R expressions. In all of the examples, the pronouns only allow “strict identity reading”. The unavailability of the sloppy reading shows that the pronouns cannot be bound. This suggests that Turkish pronouns have DP syntax.<sup>3</sup>

- (15) a. Ben<sub>i</sub> Ayten-in ben<sub>i</sub>-i gör-düğ-ü-nü bil-iyor-um, Alper de  
 I Ayten-GEN I-ACC see-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC know-PROG-1 Alper too  
 bil-iyor.  
 know-PROG.3  
 = ‘I know that Ayten saw me, and Alper knows that Ayten saw me.’  
 ≠ ‘I know that Ayten saw me, and Alper knows that Ayten saw him.’
- b. Sen<sub>i</sub> Ayten-in sen<sub>i</sub>-i gör-düğ-ü-nü bil-iyor-sun, Alper  
 you Ayten-GEN you-ACC see-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC know-PROG-2 Alper too  
 de bil-iyor.  
 know-PROG.3  
 = ‘You know that Ayten saw you, and Alper knows that Ayten saw you.’  
 ≠ ‘You know that Ayten saw you, and Alper knows that Ayten saw him.’
- c. O<sub>i</sub> Ayten-in on<sub>i</sub>-u gör-düğ-ü-nü bil-iyor, Alper de  
 s/he Ayten-GEN s/he-ACC see-NMLZ-3.POSS-ACC know-PROG.3 Alper too  
 bil-iyor.  
 know-PROG.3  
 = ‘She<sub>i</sub> knows that Ayten saw her<sub>i</sub>, and Alper knows that Ayten saw her<sub>i</sub>.’  
 ≠ ‘She<sub>i</sub> knows that Ayten saw her<sub>i</sub>, and Alper knows that Ayten saw him<sub>j</sub>.’

The syntactic structure of the pronouns in Turkish does not offer a distinctive property from the proper nouns. This indicates that the markedness restrictions of LGEN cannot be related to a syntactic feature of postpositions such as selection. Then, the sensitivity of LGEN hinges on a morphosyntactic feature shared by pronouns.

5.2. A FEATURE-BASED ANALYSIS. In order to establish a detailed structure of pronouns in Turkish, we use the pronoun features determined by Harley & Ritter (2002) and combine them with the typology of Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002).

Harley & Ritter (2002) provides a feature geometric analysis of pronouns. In this analysis, the  $\phi$  information is distributed into a hierarchy of features that are specific to pronouns. For instance, the first person pronoun is marked with the [speaker] feature, and the second person pronoun is marked with [addressee]. Both of these features represent the [participant] information,

<sup>3</sup> See Kuzgun (2023) for further arguments on Turkish pronouns having DP syntax.

which is determined by the discourse. In this approach, all features are privative; therefore, non-personal pronouns lack [participant] information.

The alternation of LGEN marking does not apply to discourse information. We have established that it is solely based on whether a nominal is a pronoun or not. Building on this observation, we take the [participant] feature of Harley & Ritter (2002) as a distinctive feature of pronouns. We argue that this [participant] feature marks nominals as pronouns. This feature is hosted in a PartP head which we assume is the highest projection in the make up of a pronoun. Thus, it corresponds to a DP (Determiner Phrase) since the pronouns show DP characteristics (Longobardi 2008). In addition, because [participant] is present in all and only the pronouns, it cannot separate the personal pronouns from the non-personal pronouns. Therefore, in our analysis, the [participant] feature is bivalent. The value of the bivalent [ $\pm$ participant] feature determines whether a pronoun is personal (i.e., first and second person pronouns) or not.

Table 1 represents the person pronouns in Turkish. Notice that the first and second person pronouns share *-en* form when they are singular and the *-iz* form when plural. The third person pronoun differs from the other two in two aspects. First, it is syncretic with the distal demonstrative pronoun in Turkish; second, its plural form is inflected with the regular plural morpheme *-lar*.

Person/Num	1st p.	2nd p.	3rd p.
SG	<i>ben</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>o</i>
PL	<i>biz</i>	<i>siz</i>	<i>on-lar</i>

Table 1. Person pronouns in Turkish

Moreover, the first and second person pronouns show semantic contrasts with the third person pronoun. The plurality of the first and second person pronouns has a different meaning than the plural of the third person pronoun. For example, the first person plural pronoun *biz* does not simply refer to more than one individual. Instead, it conveys the meaning of 'I and my associates'. Dékány (2021) addresses this issue for Hungarian pronouns by proposing the idea that the plural feature of the first and second person pronouns is associative. In her analysis, she posits the presence of an associative plural as a separate syntactic head. The singular pronouns are not specified with any number feature. We adopt a similar approach for Turkish pronouns in that the number features of the personal pronouns are different from the non-personal pronouns. In our analysis, we use [minimal] and [group] features to specify the number specification of the *personal* pronouns following Harley & Ritter (2002). These features are specific to personal pronouns. Thus, non-personal pronouns have their person information outside of the PartP.

Also, considering the morphological and semantic features of the third person pronoun, we assume that it is not a personal pronoun. Consequently, it lacks number specification in PartP, and its plural feature is realized in a separate head as *-lar*.

We have already established that the third person pronouns function as demonstratives. However, there is an intriguing similarity between the two paradigms. As we observed, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns share the *-en* and *iz* forms to express number. Therefore, the only distinction between the first and second person pronouns is the initial *b-* and *s-* sounds. Table 2 shows that the *b-s-o* pattern in personal pronouns reoccurs in demonstrative pronouns. To reflect this relation between the two paradigms, we use proximity features to differentiate be-

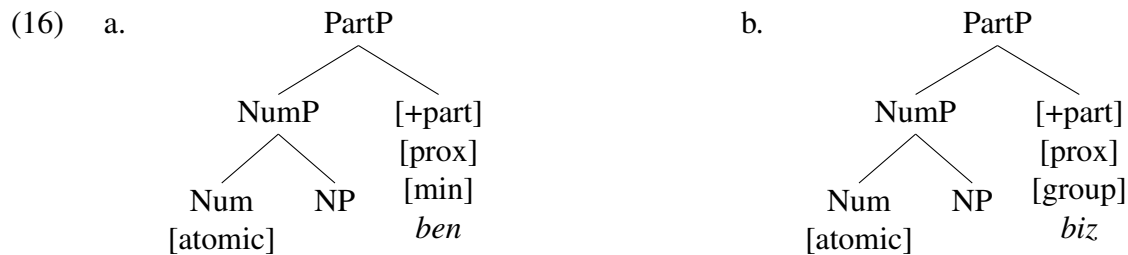


tween “persons” among the pronouns by following Dékány (2021).

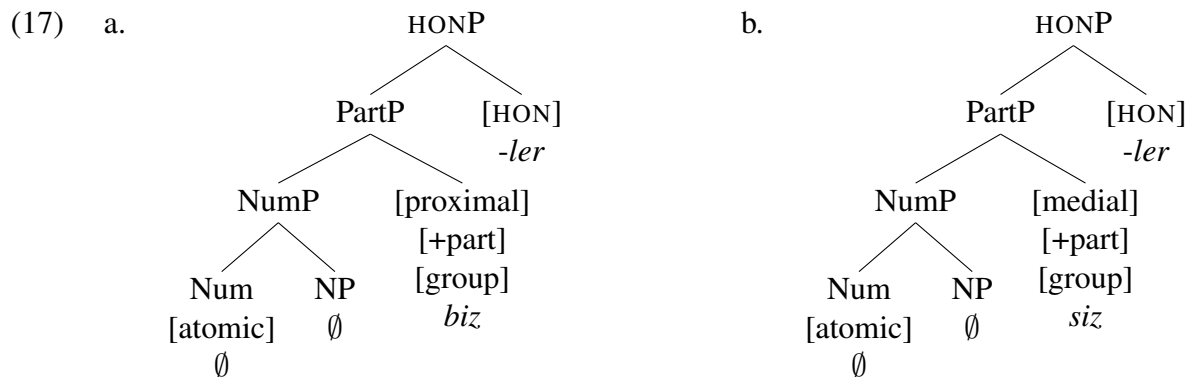
Prox./Num	Proximate	Medial	Distal
SG	<i>bu</i>	<i>şu</i>	<i>o</i>
PL	<i>bun-lar</i>	<i>şun-lar</i>	<i>on-lar</i>

Table 2. Demonstrative pronouns in Turkish

In light of these observations, we propose the structure in (16-a) for the first person singular pronoun “ben” and (16-b) for the first person plural pronoun “biz”. These structures show that both pronouns are marked as [+participant] as they are personal pronouns. The [prox] feature determines the person information. Finally, [min] feature is used to mark the first person singular pronoun as singular, while the [group] feature marks a plural personal pronoun. These specified number features prevent personal pronouns from having an additive meaning. We assume that pronoun structures have an NP root. The number information of this NP stays [atomic], indicating that it is singular, regardless of the number feature of the *personal* pronouns. This reflects the semantics of the plural personal pronouns.

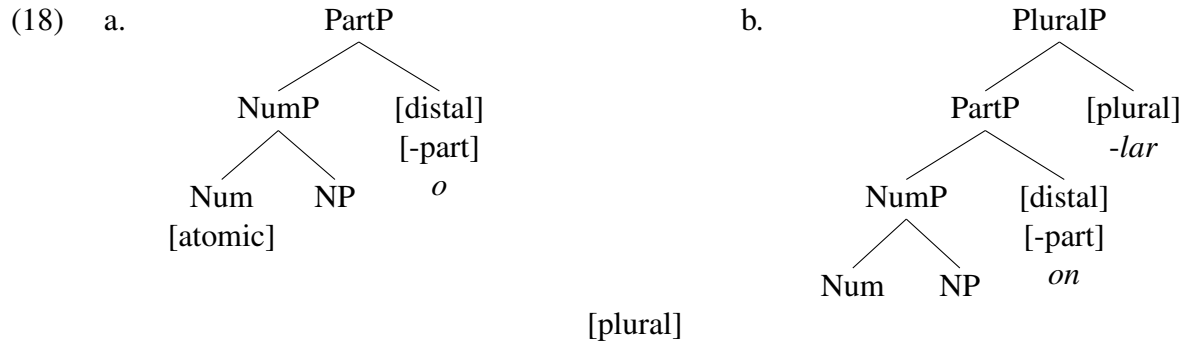


The plural personal pronouns *biz* and *siz* can be further inflected with *-lar* to form *bizler* and *sizler*. These double plural forms convey an honorific meaning. Therefore, we suggest the *-lar* in these constructions is the realization of HONORIFIC feature realized in a separate head. (17) illustrates this structure for *bizler* and *sizler*, respectively.



Paparounas & Akkuş (2022) provides a similar discussion on the structure of the double pronoun constructions in Turkish. In their analysis,  $\phi$  features of personal pronouns are located in the D head, and *-lar* realizes a separate Num head. Our analysis is in line with their proposal in that personal pronouns have their features specified in a bundle, and the additional *-lar* morphology requires a separate head.

(18) shows the structures for the distal demonstrative pronouns. These pronouns are specified as [-part] as they are non-personal (Sichel & Wiltschko 2021; Harley & Ritter 2002). [distal] feature marks the pronouns both as “third person” which is a person who is not in the discourse, and as the distal demonstrative in Turkish. The number information of the demonstrative pronouns is not specified in PartP. Therefore, their plural marker is realized in a separate plural head above the PartP as *-lar*.



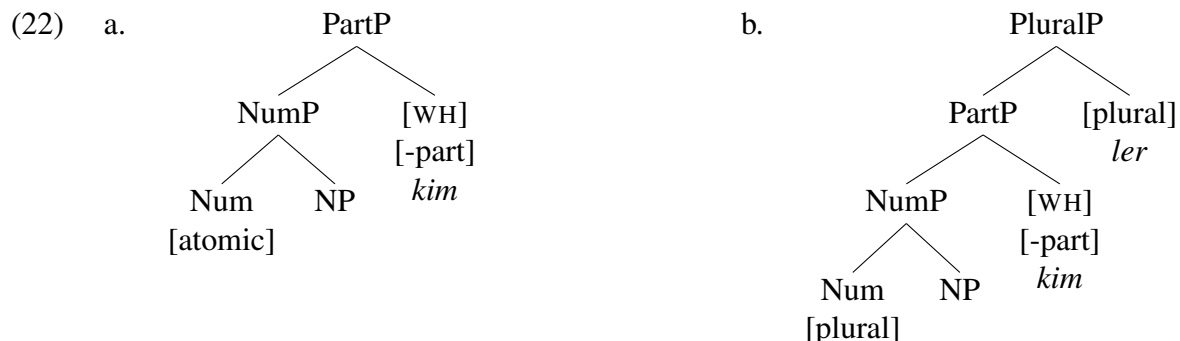
It is worth mentioning that the extra *n* in the plural demonstrative pronouns is always present when they are followed by a suffix. (19) provides other examples of this pattern.

- (19) a. **on-suz**  
s/he-without  
'without her/him'
- b. **bun-dan**  
this-ABL  
'from this'
- c. **şun-a**  
that-ACC  
'to that'

Both singular and plural demonstratives can function as pronouns. This suggests that both *o* and *on* must be the exponents of [distal, -part]. In order to address this issue, we argue that demonstratives show allomorphy in word final positions. (20) shows the relevant entries for the third person plural pronoun *bunlar* to illustrate this process.

- (20) Vocabulary Items:
- a. [plural]  $\longleftrightarrow$  *-lar*
- b. [prox, -part]  $\longleftrightarrow$  *bun*
- (21) Allomorphy Rule:
- a. [prox, -part]  $\longleftrightarrow$  *bu / ]<sub>N</sub>*

The WH-pronoun *kim* ‘who’ is also a non-personal pronoun. As a result, it does not have a number specification within the PartP. The plural of *kim* is *kimler*, which suggests its plural feature comes from the additional Pl head. (22) provides the relevant structures for *kim* and *kimler*.



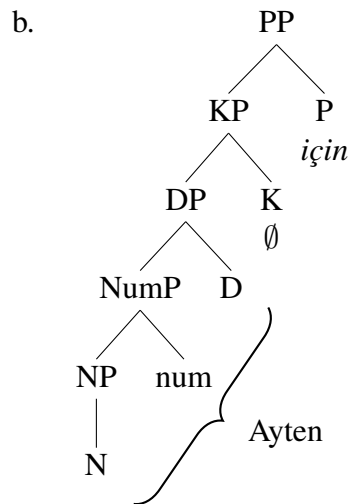
**6. LGEN allomorphy.** We established that the genitive case with postpositions is a lexical case called LGEN. This case is a different case from the structural genitive case. However, the two genitives show syncretism as a result of their shared GEN feature, as discussed above. We argue that LGEN is assigned by the relevant postpositions to their complements, and it is realized on a K head. The form of LGEN shows alternation depending on the type of the complement. It is only overtly marked on bare pronominals; non-pronominals and pronouns with suffixes are zero marked. Therefore, we suggest that the pronouns trigger allomorphy on LGEN.

We determined that all of the pronouns are specified with a  $[\pm\text{part}]$  feature in their structure. Since LGEN is only overt with pronouns, we propose the idea that this pronominal feature is responsible for the alternation of the LGEN. The data from demonstratives additionally support the idea that the difference between the non-pronominal NPs and pronouns is feature related as they can occur with LGEN only when they are pronominal. Then,  $[\pm\text{part}]$  feature as the common feature of pronouns must be the trigger of allomorphy.

LGEN is only overt if it is adjacent to  $[\pm\text{part}]$  feature. When  $[\pm\text{part}]$  is not present as in non-pronominals, or intervened by another syntactic head as in pronouns with suffixes, LGEN surfaces as zero. To explain this alternation, we offer an inward-sensitive local allomorphy account.

**6.1. LGEN WITH NON-PRONOMINALS.** Common and proper nouns do not have  $[\pm\text{part}]$  feature. Therefore, there is no  $[\pm\text{part}]$  feature to trigger allomorphy on LGEN. In this case, LGEN realizes as  $\emptyset$ . (23) provides an example phrase where a genitive assigning postposition takes a proper noun as a complement along with its structural representation. Here, LGEN surfaces in its elsewhere form.

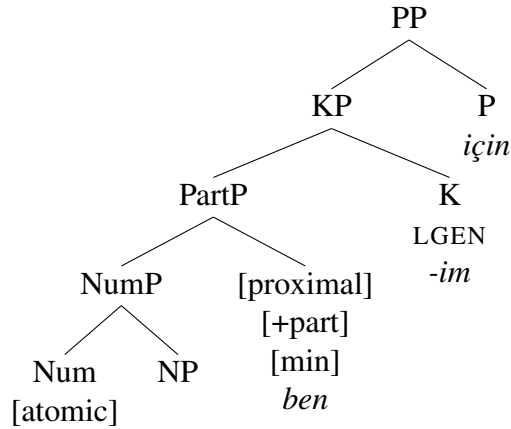
(23) a. Ayten- $\emptyset$  için  
Ayten-LGEN for  
'for Ayten'



**6.2. LGEN WITH PRONOUNS.** Pronouns are distinguished from other nominals with a  $[\pm\text{part}]$  feature. LGEN is only overt when this feature is present. For instance in (24-a), *için* 'for' combines with the first person pronoun, *ben*. The postposition assigns LGEN to its complement, and this time it is overtly marked as *-im*. (24-b) illustrates the relevant structure for this phrase.

(24) a. ben-im için  
I-LGEN for  
'for me'

b.



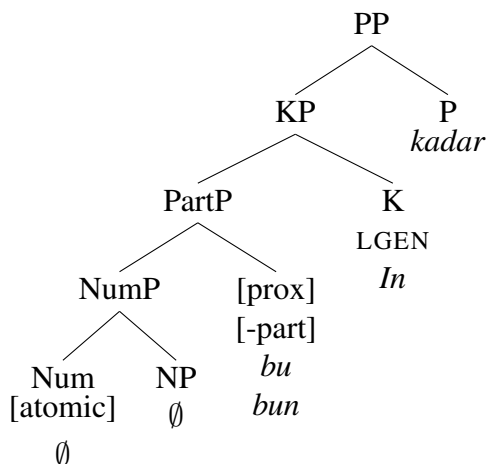
LGEN is located above the PartP. This means that, in order for LGEN to be triggered by the  $[\pm\text{part}]$  feature, the morphosyntactic information of the PartP must be accessible to the K head during Vocabulary Insertion (VI). On the other hand, insertion takes place in a bottom-up fashion. Therefore, at the time when LGEN enters VI,  $[\text{prox}, +\text{part}, \text{min}]$  is already matched *ben*. However, as the  $[\text{prox}, +\text{part}, \text{min}]$  and LGEN are adjacent to each other, the morphosyntactic information of *ben* is still accessible to LGEN during insertion at this point according to the recent applications of rewriting Bobaljik (2000).

Another approach for insertion is to divide the process into two steps offered by Svenonius & Bye (2012). In this system, VI is divided into two steps as L-match and Insert. L-match is an operation that determines the possible VIs for a terminal node based on morphological criteria. Therefore, there can be more than one candidate for a terminal after the L-match. After this process, Insert selects a VI to match based on phonological criteria.

In both cases, LGEN can access to the morphological information inside PartP. Under the account of Svenonius & Bye (2012), there will be just one candidate for *ben* and LGEN after L-match as they don't show phonological allomorphy. *-im* allomorph of LGEN is only present in first person pronouns. This suggests that it is conditioned by the  $[\text{+part}, \text{prox}]$  features. The demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, show phonological allomorphy, as shown in Section 5. Therefore, there will be two candidates for each node after L-match.

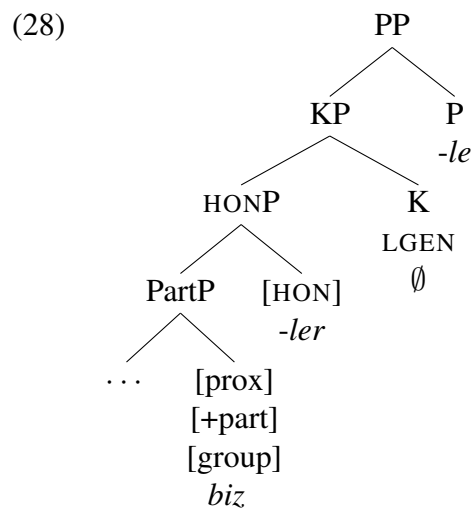
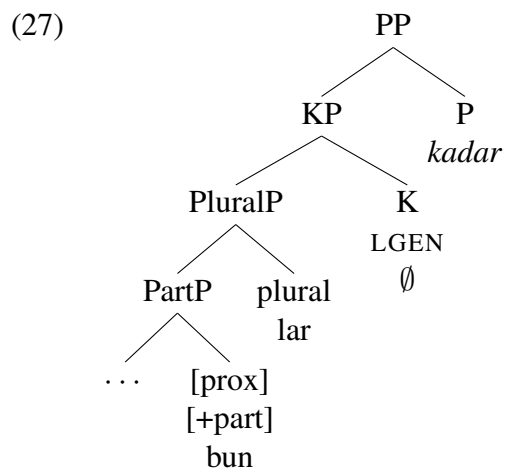
(25) represents the structure of a demonstrative pronoun after L-match. The demonstrative pronouns show phonological allomorphy as discussed in Section 5. Therefore, there are two candidates for  $[\text{prox}, -\text{part}]$ . Here, Insert selects *bun* to match  $[\text{prox}, -\text{part}]$  as the demonstrative is not in the word final position. LGEN directly matches *-in* as it is the only candidate after L-match. (26) provides the set of allomorphy rules for LGEN.

(25)



- (26) Allomorphy rules for LGEN
- a. LGEN  $\longleftrightarrow$  im / [+part, prox]\_\_\_
  - b. LGEN  $\longleftrightarrow$  In / [ $\pm$ part]\_\_\_
  - c. LGEN  $\longleftrightarrow$   $\emptyset$  / elsewhere

6.3. LGEN WITH COMPLEX PRONOUNS. Pronouns can be suffixed with additional morphology. When this happens, the suffix intervenes between the [ $\pm$ part] and LGEN. This blocks the allomorphy of LGEN. For instance, in case of *bunlar* ‘these’ the addition of the plural marker *-lar* creates an intervening head above the PartP. This head renders the morphosyntactic information of PartP inaccessible to LGEN. As a result, LGEN surfaces in its elsewhere form. This is illustrated in (27). Similarly, the honorific pronouns such as *bizler* has an intervening HON head between [+part,prox,group] and LGEN. Therefore, LGEN surface as zero due to intervention, even though [+part] is present in the structure as demonstrated in (28).



Other complex pronouns in Turkish provide additional support to the proposal that the allomorphy on LGEN is triggered by the [+part] feature under adjacency. For instance, *kimi* ‘some (people)’ and *biri* ‘someone’ are pronouns formed with overt possessive morphology. Since the possessive intervenes between LGEN and the pronouns, it blocks allomorphy and LGEN surfaces as  $\emptyset$  as shown in (29).

- (29) a. kim-i- $\emptyset$  için  
 who-3-GEN for  
 ‘for some (people)’
- b. bir-i- $\emptyset$  için  
 one-3-GEN for  
 ‘for someone’

Particularly, the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ can occur with or without possessive morphology, and LGEN surfaces as  $\emptyset$  in either case (30). A potential explanation for the zero form of LGEN on the bare anaphor would be that *-sI* occurs as  $\emptyset$  on *kendi* as İleri and Demirok (2023) shows that *-(s)I* has a  $\emptyset$  allomorph on the verbal paradigm. However, Deniz (2023) analyzes *kendi* as a bimorphemic anaphor. She shows that *kendi* consists of the bound root *kend-* and the possessive *-i*. Then, *kendi* also has additional morphology as *kendisi*, and this explains the reason why the allomorphy is blocked in (30-a).

- (30) a. kend-i- $\emptyset$  için  
self-3-GEN for  
'for herself'
- b. kend-i-si- $\emptyset$  için  
self-3-3-GEN for  
'for herself'

The fact that the bare forms of pronouns show overt LGEN morphology while their complex counterparts cannot provide evidence that LGEN is only overt when it is adjacent to a pronoun feature (i.e., [ $\pm$ part]). This supports our argument that LGEN has a  $\emptyset$  form, and the alternation is due to a local allomorphy process of LGEN. The non-pronominal NPs are not caseless when combined with postpositions; there is a  $\emptyset$  morpheme present.

**7. Conclusion.** In this paper, we investigate the nature of the genitive case that occurs with postpositions. We observe two key differences between the genitive case with postpositions and genitive case in other positions. First, we show that the genitive case with postpositions is lexical (Woolford 2006). The genitive case in other contexts, however, is assigned structurally (Öztürk & Taylan 2016; Satik 2021; Kornfilt 1985; Baker 2015). Second, the lexical genitive case is only marked on bare pronominals, while the structural genitive case does not show this sensitivity. Building on these observations, we propose that the lexical genitive case is morphosyntactically different from the genitive case in other positions.

The evidence for the lexical nature of the genitive case with postpositions comes from its idiosyncratic nature. The postpositions that assign genitive case to their complements (i.e., *için* 'for', *gibi* 'like', *kadar* 'as...as', *-(y)la/ile* 'with', *hakkında* 'about') do not form a semantic unit considering their meanings. They do not form a syntactic group either, as there are postpositions in Turkish that assign different cases to their complements. Moreover, these genitive assigning postpositions occur with other case marked complements in other languages. Therefore, we conclude that the genitive case in this context is idiosyncratic. There is no reason for the complements of these postpositions to have genitive marking. Thus, it must be lexically selected. This finding marks the first distinction of the genitive case with postpositions from the genitive case in other contexts where it is assigned consistently in a certain syntactic position.

The pronoun sensitivity of the lexical genitive case provides further evidence that the genitive case with postpositions and the genitive case in other contexts are different cases. The lexical genitive case is only marked on pronouns. Non-pronominal NPs cannot show genitive marking when they combine with postpositions. Crucially, the pronouns become ungrammatical with genitive marking in the same position when they are suffixed with additional morphology. This behavior of the lexical genitive case provides another contrast with the structural genitive case.

We account for these differences by offering a LEX feature that marks a case as lexical. This results in two different morphosyntactic representations for the genitive case in Turkish as  $K=[GEN]$  for the genitive case and  $K=[GEN, LEX]$  for the lexical genitive case (LGEN). We argue that the shared GEN feature is the source of syncretism between the two cases. On the other hand, the additional LEX feature of LGEN allows us to explain its distinct behaviour characteristics. Elaborating further on this distinction, we provide a local allomorphy account for LGEN. Under this account, we show that pronouns have a shared [ $\pm$ part] feature in their structure, and this feature triggers allomorphy on LGEN. When this feature is not present or not adjacent to the K head, LGEN surfaces as  $\emptyset$ .

With this study, we try to explain distinctive patterns between the structural and lexical variations of the genitive case in Turkish. We hope our findings to be useful in further studies on the syncretism between lexical and structural cases in other cases and languages.

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