

Structural account for the argument alternation: the case of Terek Kumyk nominalizations

Introduction: The Terek dialect of the Kumyk language (Kypchak < Turkic) presents a curious example of argument alternation. The contrast in (1) illustrates two possible case marking (ablative and dative) of the nominalized clause embedded under the verb *süjünmek* 'to be glad' with respect to the availability of the accusative and genitive nominalization subject.

- (1) a. *Men Alim-ni jashi get-gen-nen/-ge süjün-e-men.*
 I Alim-gen child leave-NMLZ-ABL/DAT be.glad-PRS-1SG
 'I am glad that Alim's child has left.'
- b. *Men Alim-ni jashi-n get-gen-nen/-*ge süjün-e-men.*
 I Alim-gen child-ACC leave-NMLZ-ABL/DAT be.glad-PRS-1sg
 'I am glad that Alim's child has left.'
- c. *Men Alim-ni jashi-ni get-gen-*(i)-nen/-*ge süjün-e-men.*
 I Alim-GEN child-GEN leave-NMLZ-3OBL-ABL/DAT be.glad-PRS-1SG
 'I am glad that Alim's child has left.'

Some notes on the analysis: In order to account for different case marking of the subject we partially assume the analysis of Tatar nominalizations from (Lyutikova and Grashchenkov 2008) and suggest that the nominalizer *-gen-* can take the TP-phrase, which explains how the nominative case is licensed to the subject of the nominalized clause. After (Bondarenko and Davis 2021) we propose that nominalizations with the genitive subject have a 'defective' T that cannot assign the nominative case (Chomsky 2001), which triggers the A-movement. Therefore the subject moves to the edge of the embedded clause and receives its case from the D-head (which is not present in contexts with accusative and nominative subjects, the diagnostics will be provided in the talk):

- (2) ...[_{DP} S_{GEN} [_{NP} [_{TP} t_S V-NMLZ-3OBL-ABL]]] V.

We suggest that dative nominalizations always contain a full-fledged TP-structure. It is supported by the fact that such nominalized clauses (but not the ones with the genitive subject) can describe the preceding action, thus they are localized in time (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993):

- (3) *Alim-ni jashi get-gen-ge men juhla-dy-m.*
 Alim-GEN child leave-NMLZ-DAT I sleep-PST-1SG
 'When Alim's child left, I fell asleep.'

In order to account for the contrast involving the accusative subject we propose two different structures for the contexts with *süjünmek*. In case of dative nominalizations the verb has no valence for a second argument and the nominalization is base-generated in the Spec-AppIP of the applicative head that is merged above the VP (Polinsky 2005) and licenses the inherent dative case (Woolford 2006). Such contexts lack the *vP*-structure and cannot assign the structural accusative case. The second *süjünmek* has an internal argument and assigns it a lexical ablative case. Along with the lexical case this verb can also assign a structural accusative case via functional *vP*-head. When the T-head is deficient, the subject of the nominalization is assigned the structural case via ECM (Chomsky 1986) (after the lexical case is assigned to the nominalization (Marantz 1991)). The structures are presented in (4).

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(4)

