

## Relative Clause Formation in Karachay-Balkar

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Karachay-Balkar (KB) non-subject relative clauses (RC) can surface in two different patterns. The subject bears genitive case, the head noun agrees in person, and number with the subject (1a) or the subject surfaces in nominative case, and the head noun is in bare form (1b).

- (1) a. [[Anton-u bol-ğan] cer-in-e] bar-ma-dı-ğız-mı  
Anton-GEN be-PTCP place-3SG.POSS-DAT arrive-NEG-PAST-2SG-QP  
'Did not you go to the place where Anton is?'
- b. [[biz bu sağıtta tespit et-ken] seksan segiz tukum] bar-t  
we at the moment identification make-PTCP eighty eight lineage exist-3SG  
'There are 88 lineages that we detected at the present time.'

The data is important in that a reduced structure is proposed for RCs with genitive case marked subjects but a full-fledged structure for the ones with nominative case marked subjects (Krause 2001, Hale 2002, Aygen 2006). For some other Turkic languages, Kornfilt (2015) suggests a reduced structure for RCs with nominative and genitive case marked subjects. Hence, KB presents a good testing ground for these assumptions. The genitive pattern is preferred in KB casual speech although native speakers report no interpretational difference between the two patterns. With 65 native speakers, we conducted a grammaticality judgement test in two steps including binding and adverbial placement data to find out how the two patterns in (1) differ from a syntactic and semantic perspective. The findings illustrate that RCs in KB do not include a TP and temporal interpretation is a side effect of AspP because future participle is acceptable with past adverbs as in (2) and vice versa.

- (2) Ahmat: "Why did not you come to bid me farewell?"  
Ayşat: [[Sen-i tünene İstanbul-ğa ket-erig-iñ-i] Ø] bil-me-y  
you-GEN yesterday İstanbul-DAT go-PTCP-2SG.POSS-ACC know-NEG-PROG  
e-di-m. Mañ-ğa kişi bir zat ayt-ma-ğan-dı.  
be-PAST-1SG I-DAT somebody a thing say-NEG-PAST-3SG  
'I didn't know that you were going to İstanbul yesterday. Nobody told me anything.'

Binding and CP level adverb placement tests indicate that RCs with genitive subjects lack a CP projection. When co-referentiality is forced between the subject in the relative clause and the matrix subject, only anaphoric binding is acceptable (3c-d) and pronominal binding yields unacceptability (3a-b). We take this as an indication of lack of CP and hence an opaque domain. This is in line with the findings in the literature in that RCs with genitive subjects signal the lack of a nominative case checking mechanism in the structure. The absence of CP phase, being the locus of all features, is the reason behind this defective nature. Additionally, CP level adverbs are not possible with RCs as in (4).

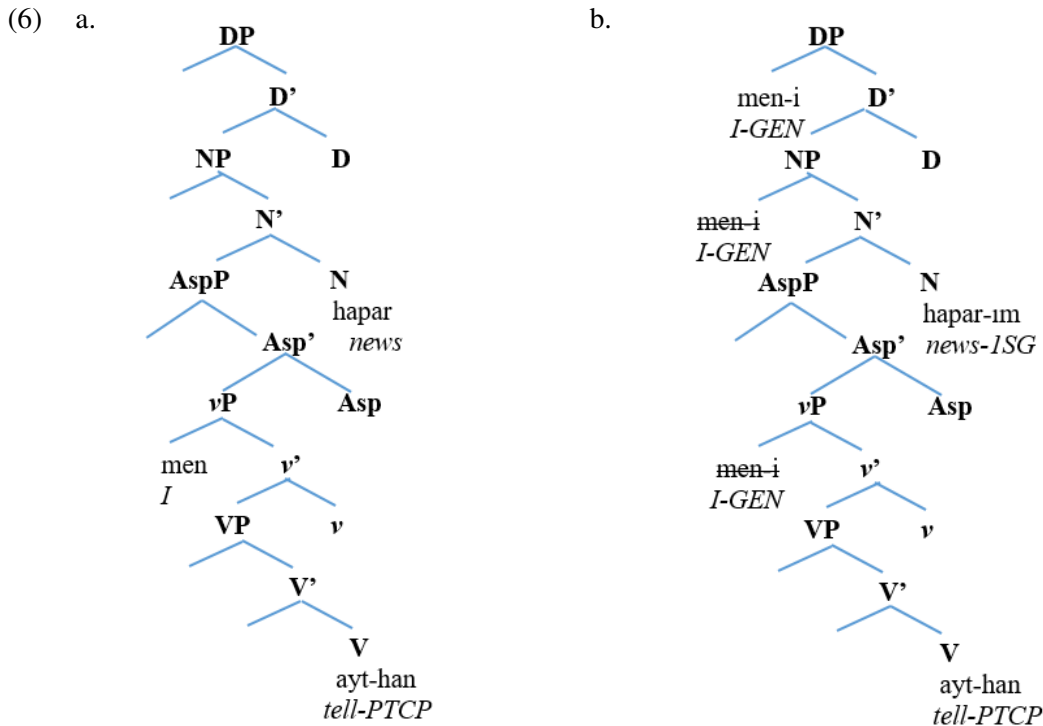
- (3) Ali bla nögeri Alp uvçuladıla. Bazar kün buv uvğa ketgendile. Ali bir buv uvlağandı.  
*Ali and his friend Alp are hunters. On Sunday, they went hunting. Ali hunted a deer.*
- a. \* Ali<sub>i</sub> [[ a-nı<sub>i</sub> uvla-ğan] buv-u] bla mahtan-a-dı.  
Ali he-GEN hunt-PTCP deer-3SG.POSS with boast-IMPF-3SG
- b. \* Ali<sub>i</sub> [[ ol<sub>i</sub> uvla-ğan] buv] bla mahtan-a-dı.  
Ali he hunt-PTCP deer with boast-IMPF-3SG  
'Ali boasted of the deer that he hunted.'
- c. Ali<sub>i</sub> [[ kesi<sub>i</sub> uvla-ğan] buv] bla mahtan-a-dı.  
Ali self hunt-PTCP deer with boast-IMPF-3SG
- d. Ali<sub>i</sub> [[ kesi-ni<sub>i</sub> uvla-ğan] buv-u] bla mahtan-a-dı.  
Ali self-GEN hunt-PTCP deer-3SG.POSS with boast-IMPF-3SG  
Literally: 'Ali boasted of the deer that himself hunted.'
- (4) \* Nasıbha Ayşat-nı (nasıbha) öt-ken sınav-ı bılay-da et-il-di.  
fortunately Ayşat-GEN pass-PTCP exam-3SG.POSS here-LOC make-PASS-PAST  
Intended reading: 'The exam that Ayşe fortunately passed was conducted here.'

The interesting point is that RCs with nominative subjects behave in exactly the same way, namely pronominal binding is not possible and CP level adverbs are not acceptable. Based on these diagnostic tests, we suggest that RCs with genitive and nominative subjects do not differ with regard to the structure. The

question raised at this point is what determines the distribution of genitive and nominative pattern in RCs then. The final diagnostic test provides an answer to this question. Adverbial placement test indicates that genitive subject moves out of the CP domain into DP domain because genitive pattern is judged as better when the subject precedes the temporal adverbial but this is not the case with nominative subjects.

- (5) a. Ol [[ Ayşat-nı har zaman bar-ğan] üy-ün-de] avuş-han-dı.  
 s/he Ayşe-GEN always go-PTCP house-3SG.POSS-LOC die-PAST-3SG  
 ‘S/he died in the house that Ayşe always went to.’

Genitive pattern is preferred when the referents of the genitive construction and the head noun are shared information by both the speaker and the hearer and hence we suggest that the movement to the DP domain is triggered by ‘definiteness’ feature as in (6b).



Finally, in the absence of definiteness feature, CP and TP projections, nominative case is licensed on the subjects as a default case as in (6a).

**References:** Aygen, Gülşat. 2006. Case and agreement in reduced versus full relative clauses in Turkic languages. In Semiramis Yağcıoğlu & Ayşen Cem Değer (eds.), *Advances in Turkish Linguistics*. İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları; 643–653. Hale, Ken. 2002. On the Dagur object relative: Some comparative notes. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 11 (2); 109–122. Kornfilt, Jaklin. 2015. Turkish relative clauses: How exceptional are they from a Central Asian Turkic perspective? In *Proceedings of the first Conference on Central Asian Languages and Linguistics (ConCALL) Volume 1*. Krause, Cornelia. 2001. On reduced relatives with genitive subjects. Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation, Cambridge, MA.