

Decomposing Turkish third person possessives: A Nanosyntactic approach

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Abstract. This paper provides a novel morphological analysis of third person possessive suffixes in Turkish, arguing for a decomposition where the final *n* in these suffixes should be reanalyzed as a distinct morpheme. This decomposition finds itself strong evidence from pronominals. It has been observed that Turkish pronominals consistently surface with a particle referred to in the literature as the *pronominal n* (Ergin 1989; Sultanzade 2014). I argue that the *-n* that follows third person possessives and the *pronominal n* are the same morpheme. Eryılmaz & Demirok (2025) provide an account for this morpheme in the framework of Distributed Morphology. Building on that work, I provide a Nanosyntactic analysis of this decomposition, which captures the data by utilizing the basic tools of Nanosyntax, namely the Lexicalisation Algorithm (De Clercq et al. 2025) and Superset Principle (Starke 2009).

Keywords. Turkish; possessives; morphology; Nanosyntax; Distributed Morphology

1. Introduction. Turkish third person possessive morphemes, especially their morphological properties, have been a topic of great interest in the literature (Arslan-Kechriotis 2006, 2009; Bošković & Şener 2014; Göksel 2009; Kornfilt 1985; Lewis 2000; Özsoy 1994). Crucially, these possessive morphemes have traditionally been considered to be *-(s)I(n)* and *-lArI(n)*, as shown in (1) (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:66).^{1 2} It has been argued that the final *n* is a part of these suffixes and is deleted word-finally, when there is no other suffix proceeding them.

- | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) a. | araba-sın-ı
car-3SG.POSS-ACC
'his/her/their car' | b. | araba-ların-ı
car-3PL.POSS-ACC
'his/her/their car(s)' |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|

Given this, one might come up with two potential analyses—either a morphophonological rule is employed to delete the final sounds of third person possessive suffixes or they have an allomorph used word-finally, such as *-(s)I* and *-lArI*. Either way, the deletion of the final /n/ in third person possessives calls for an explanation in terms of Turkish phonology. Turkish does not possess a phonological rule to delete root/suffix-final /n/ sounds word-finally, as illustrated in (2).

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (2) a. | <i>Root-final /n/</i>
aslan / *asla
lion.NOM / lion.NOM
'lion' | b. | <i>Affix-final /n/</i>
kitap-tan / *kitap-ta
book-ABL / book-ABL
'from the book' |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

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¹ Abbreviations: 3 = third person, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, DAT = dative, NOM = nominative, PART = participant, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, REF = referential, SG = singular, SPKR = speaker.

² Throughout the paper, I follow Turkish orthographic conventions, though some of them may differ from the standard IPA symbols. Following are their IPA counterparts: ü: [y], ö: [ø], ı: [ɯ], ç: [tʃ], c: [ç], ş: [ʃ].

In addition to this, the fact that the same /n/ sound surfaces even when it follows a consonant-initial suffix, as in (3), is clear evidence that the final /n/ cannot be a buffer sound resolving a vowel hiatus.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3) a. <i>Vowel-initial suffix</i>
teyze-sin- e
aunt-3SG.POSS-DAT
'to his/her aunt' | b. <i>Consonant-initial suffix</i>
teyze-sin- den
aunt-3SG.POSS-ABL
'from his/her aunt' |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

As there is no plausible phonological explanation for the disappearance of the final /n/ of possessive suffixes, this sound has been analyzed to be a part of these suffixes. Contrary to this view, I claim that the final /n/ sound of Turkish possessive morphemes is, in fact, a distinct morpheme, separate from the possessive suffixes. Accordingly, I propose the following decomposition in (4) for these morphemes.

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4) a. araba-sı-n-ı
car-3SG.POSS-n-ACC
'his/her car' | b. araba-lar-ı-n-ı
car-PL-3POSS-n-ACC
'his/her/their car' |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|

Türk & Caha (2021) provide a Nanosyntactic analysis of Turkish case morphology, focusing on the decomposition of the genitive marker *-nIn* into accusative plus genitive (*-nI-n*), and proposing a case containment account of Turkish case morphology. Building on this work, Oğuz & Kaiser (2024) likewise argue that the final *n* in third-person possessive constructions should be analyzed as an independent accusative morpheme in Turkish, and provide experimental evidence showing that native speakers morphologically decompose *-n* as a separate morpheme. By contrast, in the account proposed in this paper, the *-n* morpheme is not treated as an independent accusative marker, but rather as the overt realization of the D head.

The main goal of this paper is to offer an analysis for this decomposition in the framework of Nanosyntax (Caha 2009; Starke 2009). In addition, I also provide an alternative analysis for the same decomposition in the Distributed Morphology (DM) framework (Halle & Marantz 1993) to show that although both frameworks are capable of explaining the data, Nanosyntax achieves this readily by means of its core working mechanism, *Lexicalisation Algorithm* (De Clercq et al. 2025), without resorting to null morphemes. The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I present further evidence for the suggested decomposition of Turkish third person possessive morphemes. Section 3 sketches a possible DM analysis provided in Eryılmaz & Demirok (2025). In Section 4, I develop a detailed Nanosyntactic analysis along with a sample derivation of a plural nominal with the possessive marker. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Further evidence for decomposition. Table 1 below lays out Turkish third person possessive morphemes with all the case markers. One striking observation is that *-n* morpheme is only absent in nominative, whereas it surfaces before other case markers, regardless of whether the case marker is vowel-initial, such as the accusative marker, or consonant-initial, such as the locative marker.

CASE	his/her car,SG	his/her cars, PL
NOM	araba-sı	araba-ları
ACC	araba-sı-n-ı	araba-lar-ı-n-ı
GEN	araba-sı-n-ın	araba-lar-ı-n-ın
DAT	araba-sı-n-a	araba-lar-ı-n-a
LOC	araba-sı-n-da	araba-lar-ı-n-da
ABL	araba-sı-n-dan	araba-lar-ı-n-dan

Table 1. Turkish third person possessive morphemes with case paradigm

The claim that *n* should be reanalyzed as a distinct morpheme is further evidenced in the pronominal domain. In the literature, it has been observed that Turkic pronominal elements include a final *n* sound, which has been referred to as *pronominal n* (Sultanzade 2014; Ergin 1989). Table 2, which presents data on Turkish demonstrative pronouns in the nominative and ablative cases, reveals that the pronominal *n* and the *n* following third-person possessive suffixes surface in identical environments. In both cases, *-n* is systematically absent in the nominative case, whereas it surfaces in non-nominative contexts, such as ablative.

NOMINATIVE		ABLATIVE	
bu	‘this’	bu-n-dan	‘from this’
şu	‘that’	şu-n-dan	‘from that’
o	‘that (distal)’	o-n-dan	‘from that (distal)’

Table 2. Demonstrative pronouns in the nominative and ablative case

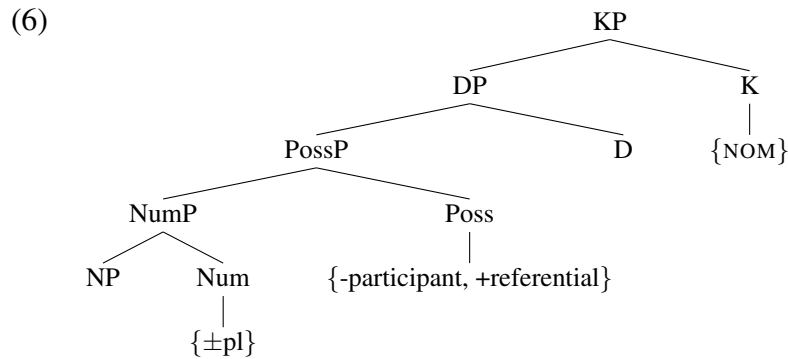
Based on these observations, I claim that the *pronominal n* and the *-n* morpheme I proposed in the decomposition of the third person possessives are, in fact, the same morpheme.³

3. An alternative account in Distributed Morphology. Assuming that *-n* is a distinct morpheme, the question is how its distribution can be modeled. One plausible account within the

³ An anonymous reviewer has pointed out that the same *n* morpheme also appears on items that are neither possessives nor demonstratives, as in (5). However, notice that *Çamlıca camii* is essentially a compound. As discussed extensively in the literature, Turkish N+N compounds also surface with a *-(s)I* marker (see Göksel 2009; Kharytonava 2011; Kunduracı 2013; Göksel & Haznedar 2007; Göksel 1988; Kornfilt 1985). Since *cami* ‘mosque’ is an Arabic loanword, it can underlyingly be analyzed as /çami?/. When a compound is formed with this noun, the compound marker attaching to it surfaces as *-i* due to the underlying glottal stop. Once this construction is established as an instance of N+N compounding, the lexical entry for the compound marker *-(s)I* must include a functional head responsible for compounding. Öztürk & Taylan (2016) attribute this function to an *n* head that is a valency marker, introducing an argument in its specifier. As for the *-n* morpheme, it can still be analyzed as the overt realization of the D head in the absence of nominative case (in Distributed Morphology terms), or lexicalising a [DP [D]] structure whenever the structure exceeds NomP (in Nanosyntax terms).

- (5) Çamlıca camii-**n-i** ziyaret et-ti-m.
 Çamlıca mosque-N-ACC visit do-PST-1SG
 ‘I visited the Camlica Mosque.’

tenets of the Distributed Morphology framework (Halle & Marantz 1993) is offered by Eryılmaz & Demirok (2025). In this account, they argue that nouns with possessive suffixes have the syntactic structure in (6).



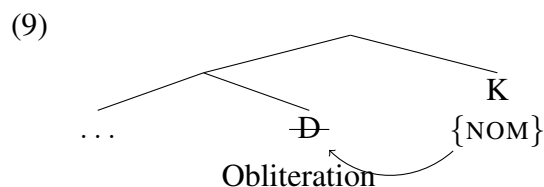
The claim is that this morpheme is the overt realization of D(eterminer) head in Turkish. More precisely, Turkish D head has two different contextual allomorphs, /-n/ and \emptyset . The contextual allomorphy rules for these two allomorphs are given in (7).

- (7) a. $D \leftrightarrow /-n/ / [-\text{participant}, +\text{referential}] ___$
 b. $D \leftrightarrow \emptyset$

The rule in (7a) ensures that D head is realized with /-n/ whenever there is another head bearing [-participant, +referential] features in its immediate context, such as the Poss head in (6). The null allomorph, on the other hand, is the elsewhere form, realizing D head in all other contexts (7b). However, these two rules are not enough to explain all the facts. Eryılmaz & Demirok (2025) also propose an Obliteration rule (à la Arregi & Nevins 2007), given in (8).

- (8) $D \rightarrow \emptyset / ___ \text{NOM}$
 (In the context of NOM feature, delete the D head.)

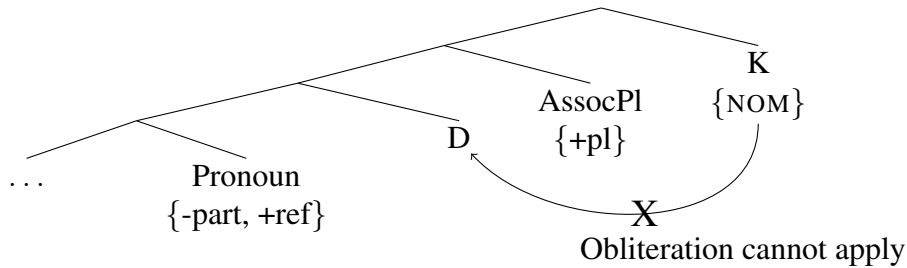
Essentially, this obliteration rule prevents the D head from being spelled out whenever there is structural adjacency between the D head and a K head bearing NOM feature. This accounts for the fact that -n never surfaces with nominative nouns inflected with a possessive suffix, as illustrated in (9).



As for plural demonstrative pronouns, such as *bu-n-lar* ‘these’, where -n surfaces although the pronoun is in the nominative case, they claim that plural morpheme with pronouns in Turkish is not additive, but associative, building on Dékány’s (2021) work on Hungarian pronouns. Since associative plurals are structurally higher than additive plurals, in an intervening position between

D and K heads (see İleri 2023), it prevents the application of the obliteration rule given in (8), as illustrated in (10). This explains why *-n* is able to surface despite the nominative case.

(10)



In summary, they show that the proposed decomposition can be captured within the Distributed Morphology framework by means of contextual allomorphy rules combined with an Obliteration rule. However, I argue that Nanosyntax provides a framework that captures the apparent distribution of this morpheme more straightforwardly, without resorting to any null morphemes.

4. Proposal: A Nanosyntactic account of the decomposition. In this section, I provide a detailed analysis for the distribution of *-n* morpheme in the Nanosyntactic framework, including both nouns with third person possessive suffixes and demonstrative pronouns. For this, first, I introduce the basics of the Nanosyntax in Section 4.1. In Section 4.2, I explain how subextraction works in detail. Then, in Section 4.3, I provide the necessary lexical items along with lexicalisation tables. Finally, in Section 4.4, I illustrate how lexicalisation algorithm successfully spells-out the distribution of *-n* morpheme with a sample derivation.

4.1. THE BASICS OF NANOSYNTAX. Nanosyntax, in its core, is a morphology model that relies on late-insertion. This means that, syntactic structures are mapped to surface forms only after they are built in the narrow syntax. Unlike DM, each feature is merged into a syntactic feature as a distinct functional head, projecting their own phrases. Assuming phrasal spell-out, language-specific lexical entries are capable of spelling out structures with multiple featural content. What is responsible for this matching to surface forms is controlled by what is called as *Superset Principle* (Starke 2009; De Clercq et al. 2025) in the Nanosyntactic framework, given in (11).

(11) *Superset Principle* (Starke 2009)

- a. A lexically stored tree matches a syntactic node iff the lexically stored tree contains the syntactic node.

Additionally, Starke (2018) proposes a universal spell-out algorithm, called *Lexicalisation Algorithm*, responsible for phrasal spell-out of the structures built in syntax. Phrasal spell-out happens in cycles and every successful spell-out begins a new cycle. De Clercq et al. (2025) provide a modified version of this algorithm, given in (12).

- (12) *Lexicalisation Algorithm* (De Clercq et al. 2025:18)
- a. Merge a feature F and lexicalise.
 - b. If fail, try a spec-to-spec movement and lexicalise.
 - c. If fail, try a movement of the complement of the newly inserted feature and lexicalise.
 - d. If fail, go back to the previous cycle, and try the next option for that cycle.
 - e. If fail, spawn a new derivation providing feature X and merge that with the current derivation, projecting feature X to the top node.

In addition to this, in the formulations in Starke’s 2022 seminar and Caha’s follow up 2023 seminar, it is stated that only labelled nodes can be targeted by movement (De Clercq et al. 2025). This is an important development to the algorithm in that it comes with a by-product, which is a type of evacuation movement called *subextraction*. De Clercq et al. (2025) formulate this as in (13), where (13) is the step responsible for subextraction.

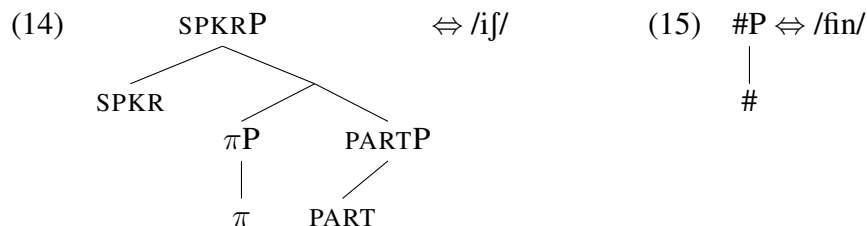
- (13) a. Merge F and lexicalise.
 b. If fail, evacuate the closest labelled non-remnant constituent and lexicalise.
 c. If fail, evacuate the immediately dominating constituent and lexicalise (recursive).
 (De Clercq et al. 2025)

4.2. HOW SUBEXTRACTION WORKS. As this new technology of subextraction is highly crucial to the analysis presented here, I briefly illustrate how it works, using the Friulian data discussed in De Clercq et al. (2025). Table 3 illustrates the present tense singular paradigm of Tualis Friulian verb *fini* ‘to finish’. This is a typical case of the infamous *ABA pattern (Bobaljik 2012) on the surface.

		<i>fini</i> ‘finish’
SG	1	fin-ij
	2	fin-ij-s
	3	fin-ij

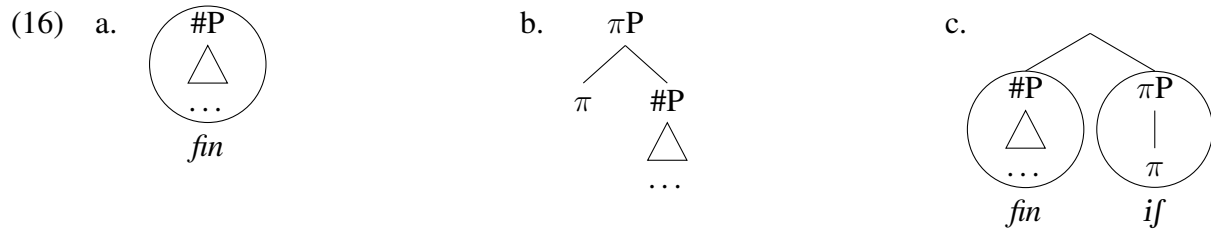
Table 3. Present tense singular paradigm of *fini* ‘to finish’ in Tualis Friulian

To derive this paradigm, De Clercq et al. (2025) suggest an entry with Complex Left Branch (CLB) for *if*, as in (14), whereas *fin* has a smaller entry lexicalising only the #P, as in (15).⁴

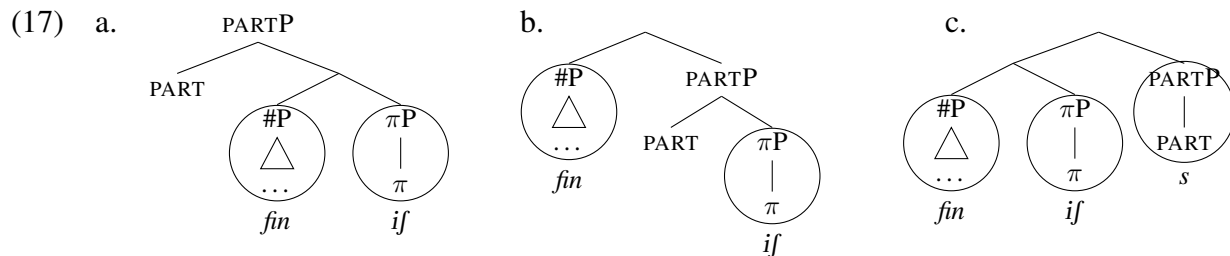


⁴ Here, the hash symbol (#) stands for *number*. In the Nanosyntactic framework, the difference between singular and plural forms is generally captured by merging an additional PL feature above the # (number) feature.

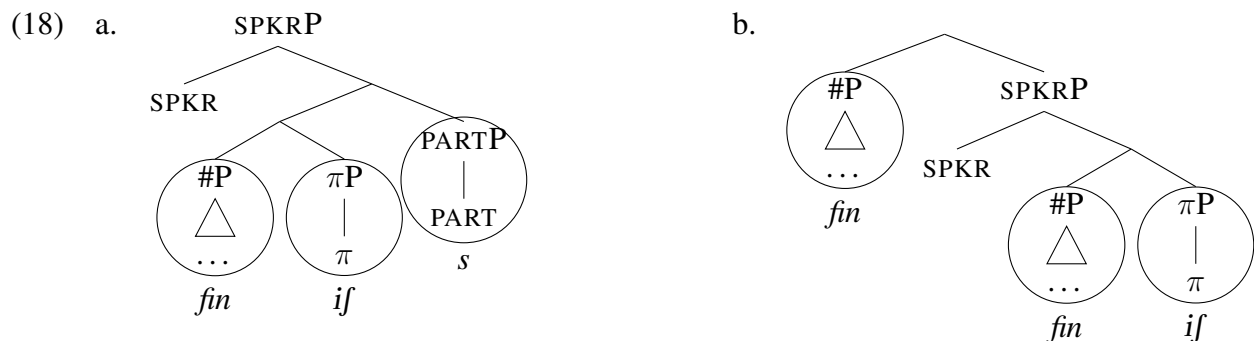
The derivation for the first person singular form *fin-if* starts with #P, as in (16a). The entry in (15) successfully lexicalises this structure. Then, the π (person) feature is merged on top of this structure, resulting in (16b). Since there is not an entry to lexicalise this structure, (13a) fails. Following (13), we evacuate the closest labelled non-remnant constituent (i.e., #P), yielding (16c). Again, #P is lexicalised by *fin* while π P is lexicalised as *if*, thanks to (11).



The derivation continues with merging PART feature to the structure in (16c), resulting in (17a). Since no entry can lexicalise this structure, (13a) fails. Following the algorithm, we apply (13b), resulting in (17b). Although both #P and π P can be lexicalised, there is no matching entry to lexicalise the whole structure. Therefore, the last step in (13) applies and we move the immediately dominating constituent, yielding (17c). Since every node is matched with a lexical entry, we successfully derive *fin-if-s*.

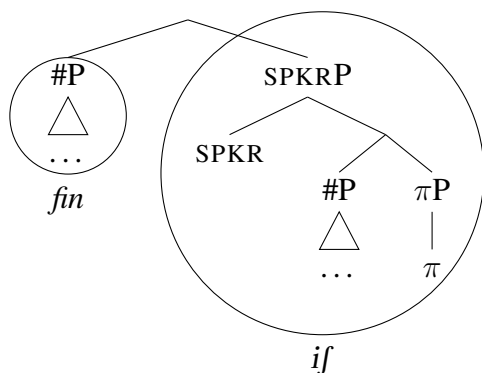


After that, SPKR feature is merged, as shown in (18a). This cycle is where subextraction becomes crucial. There is no entry matching the whole structure. Therefore, following the algorithm, we have to apply (13b) and extract the #P. Notice how this is different from a complement-to-spec movement. Instead of moving the entire complement of SPKR, only the #P is evacuated, thanks to the algorithm in (13). The resulting structure is shown in (18b).



The structure in (19) shows that the entire SPKRP is lexicalised as *if*, thanks to the Superset Principle. This derivation, in essence, summarizes how the subextraction algorithm works, allowing us to posit lexical entries with CLBs.

(19)



Having laid out the basic principles of Nanosyntax, now I move on to provide the lexical entries to capture the distribution of *-n* morpheme in Section 4.3.

4.3. LEXICAL ENTRIES. As mentioned Section 4.1, multiple features can be lexicalised by a single lexical item. Lexicalisation tables, like the one in Table 4, help us to see which features are lexicalised by which lexical items.

Surface Form	REF	#	PL	POSS	D	NOM	ACC	GEN	DAT	LOC	ABL
arabaları	araba	-lar	-sı								
arabalarını	araba	-lar	-sı	-n		-ı					
arabalarının	araba	-lar	-sı	-n			-ın				
arabalarına	araba	-lar	-sı	-n			-a				
arabalarında	araba	-lar	-sı	-n				-da			
arabalarından	araba	-lar	-sı	-n							-n

Table 4. Lexicalisation table for nouns with possessive morphemes

According to this table, the lexical item for the third person possessive morpheme *-(s)ı* crucially needs to contain both D and NOM features in its structure. For this, I provide the lexical entry in (20a). What is important about this entry is that, it can not only lexicalise the whole structure but also only the PossP, thanks to the Superset Principle. This is necessary for the lexicalisation of non-nominative nominals. As for the *-n* morpheme, I posit the lexical entry given in (20b), which only lexicalises a structure containing D feature.

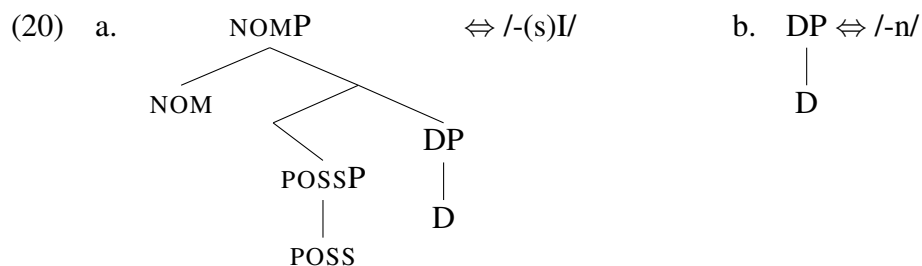
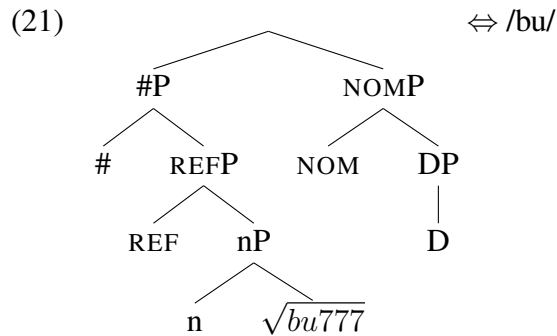


Table 5, on the other hand, summarizes which lexical items are responsible for the lexicalisation of which features for demonstrative pronouns. According to this table, a demonstrative pronoun, such as *bu*, needs to have an entry capable of lexicalising a structure up to and including NOMP. However, with other cases, the entry should also be able to lexicalise only the #P.

	REF	#	D	NOM	ACC	GEN	DAT	LOC	ABL
NOM	bu								
ACC	bu	-n		-u					
GEN	bu	-n		-in					
DAT	bu	-n		a					
LOC	bu	-n		-da					
ABL	bu	-n		-da					-n

Table 5. Lexicalisation table for singular demonstrative pronouns

The lexical entry in (21) is precisely capable of doing so. It is able to lexicalise not only the whole structure but also only the #P. This will allow the *-n* morpheme to surface whenever there is another case feature on top of NOM feature.



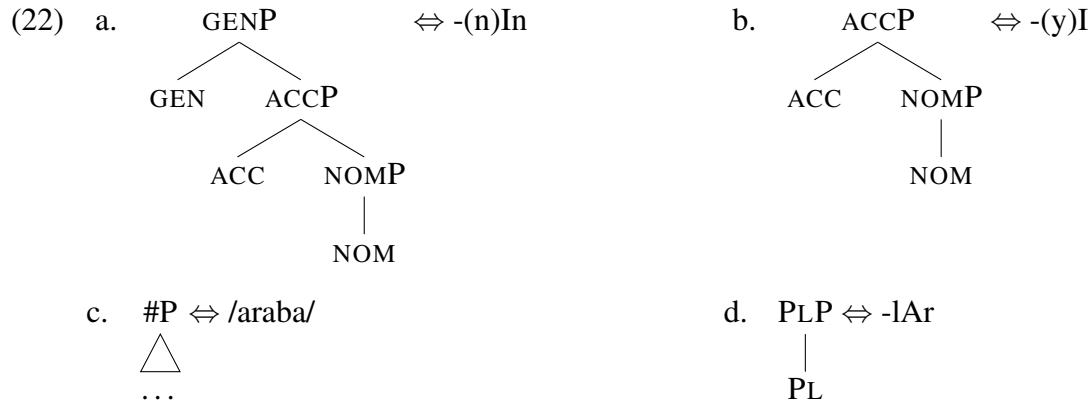
As for the plural forms of demonstrative pronouns, such as *bu-n-lar*, where *-n* morpheme surfaces despite being in nominative, I provide the Lexicalisation table in Table 6. Adopting an idea proposed by Dékány (2021) for the first and the second person pronouns in Hungarian, I argue that Turkish the plural marker *-lar* in pronouns functions as associative plural. This explains the reason why the *-n* morpheme precedes the plural marker with pronouns. Unlike pronouns, with bare NPs, the associative plural reading can only be obtained when the plural marker appears right after the possessive marker, which is limited to a subset of NPs (İleri 2023).

Surface Form	REF	#	D	ASSOCPL	NOM	ACC	GEN	DAT	LOC	ABL
bunlar	bu	-n		-lar						
bunları	bu	-n		-lar	-ı					
bunların	bu	-n		-lar	-ın					
bunlara	bu	-n		-lar	a					
bunlarda	bu	-n		-lar	-da					
bunlardan	bu	-n		-lar	-da					-n

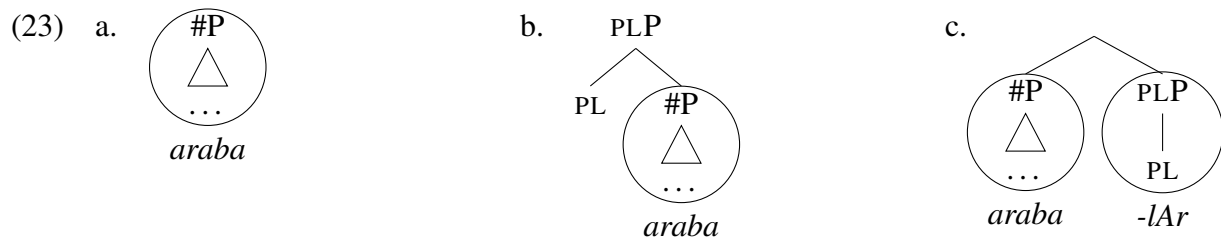
Table 6. Lexicalisation table for plural demonstrative pronouns

4.4. SAMPLE DERIVATION: PLURAL NOMINALS WITH THE POSSESSIVE MARKER. In order to illustrate how the Nanosyntactic machinery derives the proposed decomposition, I provide the derivation of the noun *araba-lar-ı-n-ı* ‘his/her/their cars (in accusative case)’. Before I provide a

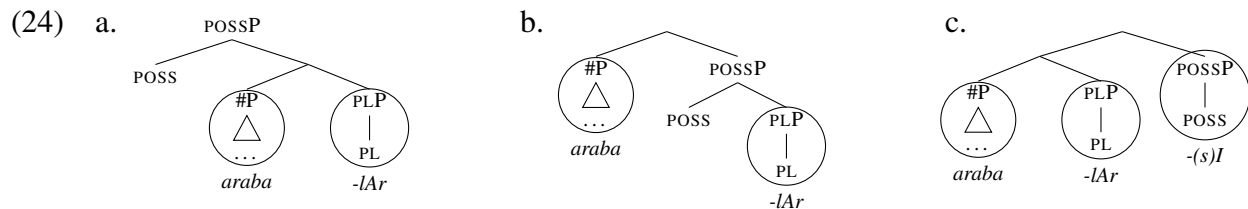
sample derivation with third person possessives and *-n* morpheme, I list the rest of the necessary lexical entries below in (22).



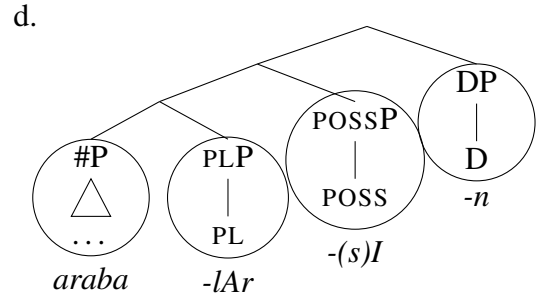
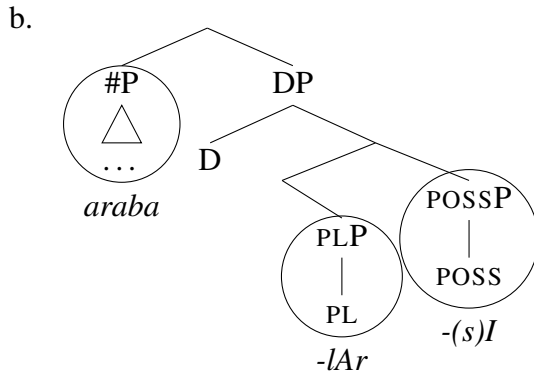
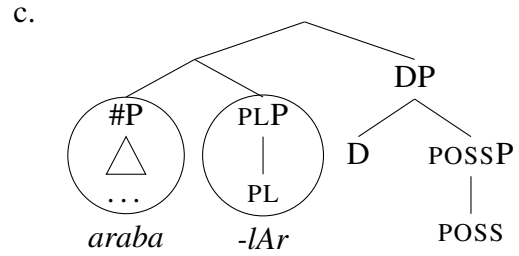
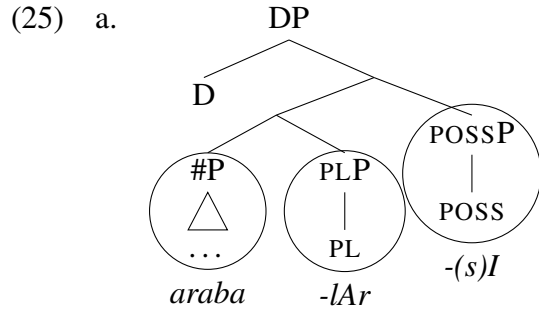
The derivation begins with $\#P$. The entry in (22c) can lexicalise the entire $\#P$ as *araba*, as in (23a). After that, we merge PL feature to (23a). However, since no entry can lexicalise this structure, the derivation fails, as in (23b). As a result, following (13), we evacuate the closest labelled non-remnant constituent, $\#P$. The resulting structure can be successfully lexicalised as *araba-lAr*, as in (23c).



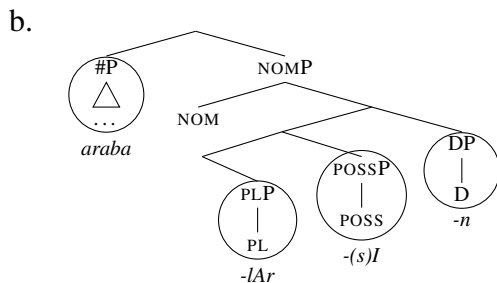
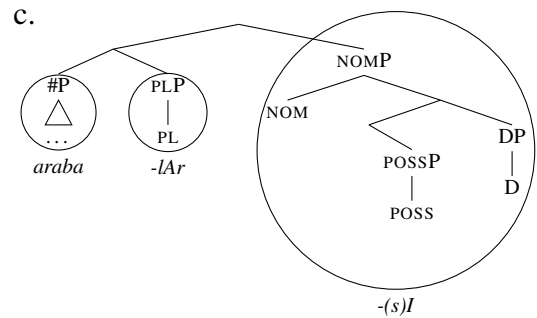
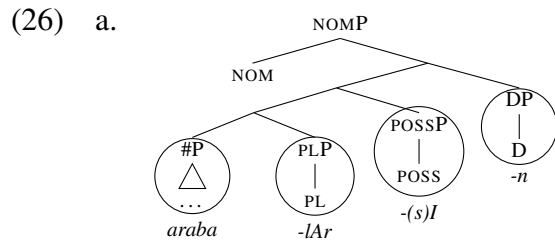
The derivation proceeds with merging POSS feature to the structure. Again, following (13), we first evacuate $\#P$ and try to lexicalise, as in (24b). Since this attempt fails, we move the immediately dominating constituent, yielding (24c). This results in a successful lexicalisation, where POSSP is lexicalised as *-(s)I*. Hence, we move to the next cycle.



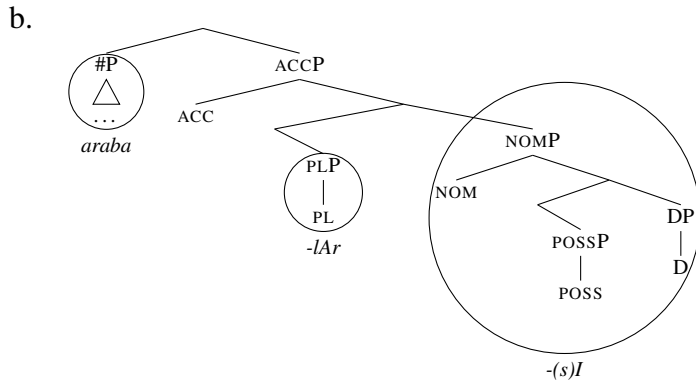
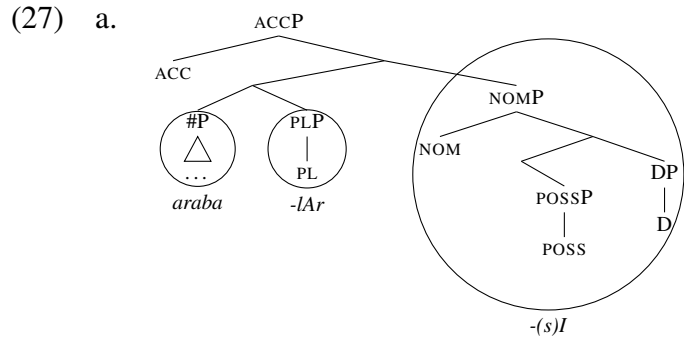
The new cycle begins with merging the D feature. Again, since (25a) cannot be lexicalised, we evacuate $\#P$, yielding (25b). However, both this subextraction and moving its immediately dominating constituent, as in (25c), cannot be successfully lexicalised. As a result, we move the next immediately dominating constituent, as (13c) is a recursive step in the algorithm. This result in successfully lexicalising the structure given in (25d). Notice that although *araba-lAr-(s)I-n* is not an attested form in Turkish, having an unattested surface form at an intermediate stage of the derivation does not lead to failure. What is crucial is that the desired output is derived at the end of the derivation, i.e., at the end of the final cycle, where all features have been merged.



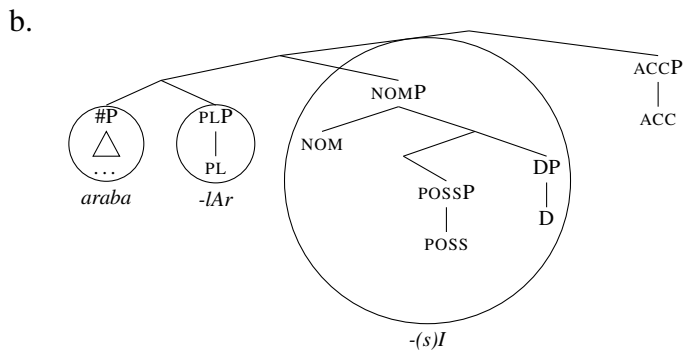
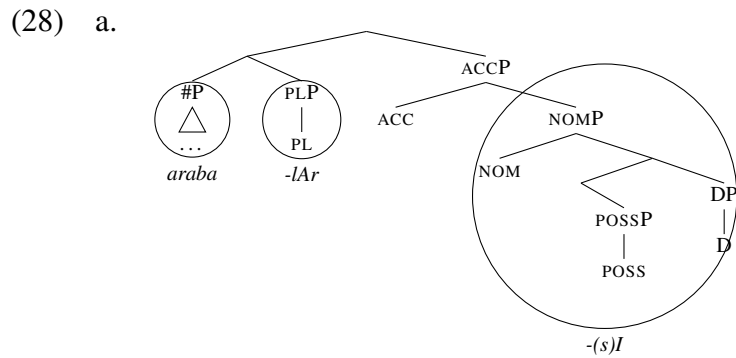
In the following cycle, NOM feature is merged. This cycle is where subextraction plays a crucial role. None of the entries we have can lexicalise the structure in (26a). Just like in the previous cycles, we first subextract #P, as shown in (26b). This, again, leads to failure due to lack of matching lexical entries. Then, we move the immediately dominating constituent, yielding (26c). This lexicalisation is, in fact, the desired outcome for nominative nominals inflected with the possessive marker. The Superset Principle ensures that the whole right branch can be lexicalised as $-(s)I$. Therefore, the machinery successfully derives the nominative *araba-lar-ı* ‘his/her/their car’.



Finally, ACC feature is merged to the structure. This cycle is where the derivation faces certain complications. As seen in (27a) and (27b), both lexicalising right after merging the feature and subextracting #P fails to successfully lexicalise the structures.

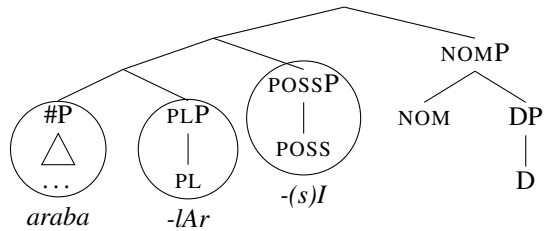


Due to this, we apply (13), that is evacuating the immediately dominating constituent, in a recursive fashion twice: first in (28a) and then in (28b). In both cases, the resulting structures cannot be successfully lexicalised due to the absence of matching lexical entries.



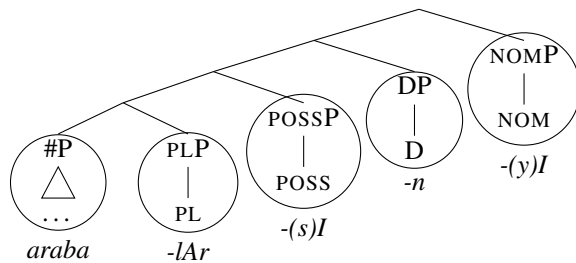
Therefore, as a last resort, we move onto the fourth step (12d) in the algorithm, which is also known as *Backtracking*. This allows us to return to the previous cycle, namely (26a), and to attempt the next option in this cycle. Since successful lexicalisation in that cycle was achieved by moving the non-labelled constituent [[#P] [PLP]], we now proceed to the next step, namely the extraction of the constituent that immediately dominates it. This is shown in (27). However, this structure is also failed to be lexicalised, due to the absence of any matching lexical entry to do so.

(29)



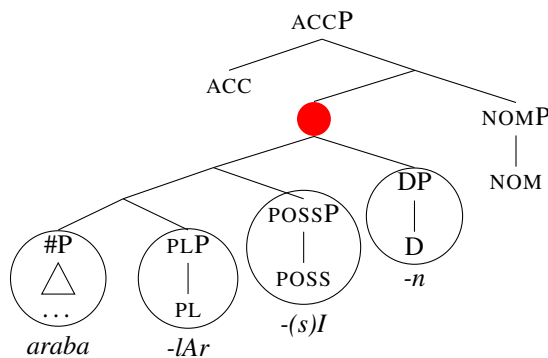
As a result, we move the last immediately dominating constituent in (26a), and try to lexicalise the resulting structure given in (30). Although this results in a successful lexicalisation, it is not the desired outcome. However, as mentioned above, having an undesired spell-out until the end of derivation does not lead the derivation to crash. In fact, this spell-out already gives us the accusative form of the noun, which is *araba-lar-l-n-l*. The only remaining step in finalizing the derivation is the merging of the ACC feature.

(30)



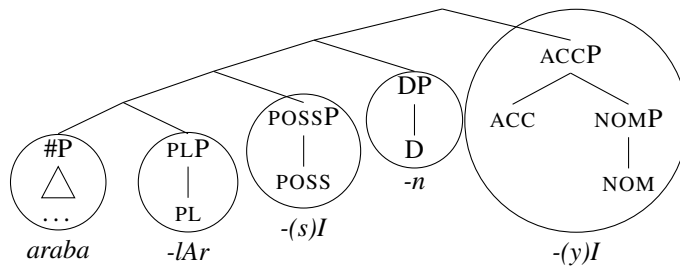
Merging the ACC feature to (30) yields the structure given in (31). At this point, both subextraction (13b) and evacuation of the immediately dominating constituents (13c) fail until when the constituent that is marked with a red circle in (31) is evacuated.

(31)



It is only when that constituent is evacuated that the structure will be lexicalised successfully as *araba-lar-ı-n-ı*, as shown in (32).

(32)



This concludes the sample derivation of *araba-lar-ı-n-ı*, showing how Nanosyntactic machinery can easily capture the distribution of the *-n* morpheme only using the Lexicalisation Algorithm, without referring to any null allomorphs.⁵

5. Conclusion. In this paper, I argue that the final /n/ sound of Turkish third person possessive suffix is a distinct morpheme by itself, suggesting that this morpheme should be decomposed as *-(s)ı* plus *-n*. A strong evidence to this decomposition I propose comes from demonstrative pronouns. When demonstrative pronouns are inflected with a case marker, this *-n* morpheme surfaces. This is even the case with plural demonstrative pronouns in the nominative case, such as *bu-n-lar*. To model the distribution of the *-n* morpheme, I first provide an alternative DM analysis by Eryılmaz & Demirok (2025). Although this analysis explains the distribution of this *-n* morpheme quite successfully, it necessarily makes use of null morphemes and an extra Obliteration rule. The Nanosyntactic analysis I argue for, on the other hand, captures the whole data readily using the core tool of Nanosyntactic framework, namely the Lexicalisation Algorithm.

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⁵ An anonymous reviewer has suggested that the derivation of plural demonstrative pronouns, which surface with the *-n* morpheme despite being in the nominative (e.g., *bu-n-lar*), be elaborated. Building on the assumption that plural marking is associative, the ASSOCPL feature is merged above the D feature. Crucially, as shown in Table 6, the lexical entry for the associative plural lexicalises not only the ASSOCPL feature but also the NOM one. Accordingly, its entry must be [NOMP [NOM] [ASSOCPL [ASSOCPL]]]. Given this entry, a form such as *bu-n-lar* is derived straightforwardly by applying the Lexicalisation Algorithm, including multiple instances of Backtracking, in parallel with the derivation presented in Section 4.4. Given the space limitations, the full derivation could not be included here.

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