

An Eclectic Analysis for Turkish Backward Gapping

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Goal. This paper proposes an eclectic analysis of Turkish Backward Gapping constructions, building on the observations made in Gürer and Göksel (2019).

Introduction. Backward Gapping (BG) in Turkish shows two patterns of agreement: a single verb agreeing with the final conjunct (1), and a single verb displaying plural agreement (2).

- (1) Sen uranyum-u ben de baryum-u onaylı-yor-**um**
you uranium-ACC I and barium-ACC approve-IMPF-1SG
'You (approve of) uranium and I approve of barium.'

- (2) Sen uranyum-u ben de baryum-u onaylı-yor-**uz**
you uranium-ACC I and barium-ACC approve-IMPF-1PL
'You (approve of) uranium and I approve of barium.'

Gürer and Göksel (2019) propose a multidominance (MD) analysis for both patterns, arguing that they differ in the position of the multiply dominated verb: when the verb is focused, it is base-generated in a position from which it c-commands both subjects (right-adjoined to the conjunction phrase), and shows plural agreement because of this position. When the verb is not focused, the authors propose that the multiply dominated verb is in-situ, i.e., it is inside both conjuncts. Since the verb does not c-command both subjects from this position, it shows singular agreement.

Problem. Singular agreement on the verb in (1) indicates that the functional head that enters agreement with the subject (T or Agr) is *not* shared between the conjuncts (if it were, it would agree with *both* subjects). This suggests that each conjunct has its own T/Agr head, which agrees with the subject of that conjunct. In comparison, plural agreement on the verb in (2) does not have the structure that can feed ATB-movement or ellipsis, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (3).

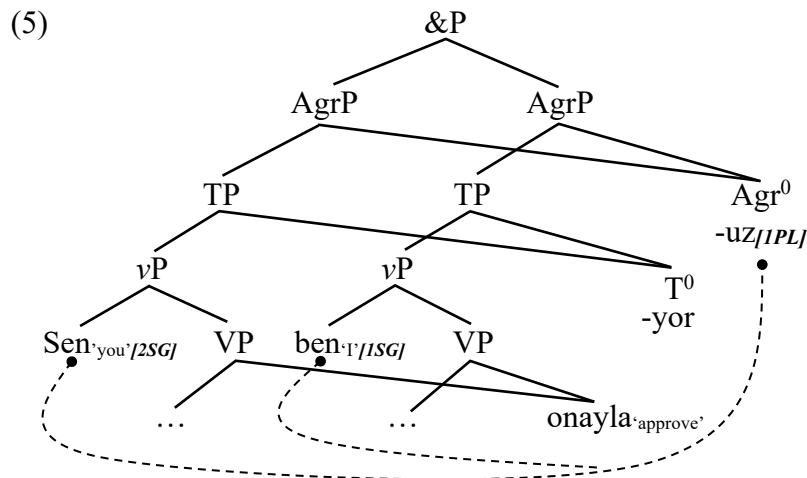
- (3) *Sen uranyum-u onaylı-yor-**um** ben de baryum-u onaylı-yor-**um**
you uranium-ACC approve-IMPF-1SG I and barium-ACC approve-IMPF-1SG
Int. 'You (approve of) uranium and I approve of barium.'

I thus conclude that in BG examples where the verb shows singular agreement (with the subject of the second conjunct) cannot involve MD, i.e., there is a conjunct in each verb. Meanwhile, plural agreement on the verb in BG constructions indicates MD (there is a single verb that agrees with both subjects).

Analysis. Following the eclectic RNR analysis of Barros and Vicente (2011), I propose an eclectic analysis for Turkish BG. I propose that singular agreement on the shared verb is the result of the elision of the verb in the initial conjunct (Ince 2009) (as shown in (4)).

- (4) Sen uranyum-u ~~onaylı-yor-sun~~ ben de baryum-u onaylı-yor-um
 you uranium-ACC approve-IMP-2SG I and barium-ACC approve-IMP-1SG
 ‘You (approve of) uranium and I approve of barium.’

Although the verbs carry different agreement morphology, ellipsis can tolerate these mismatches, as shown by e.g., Bosković (2004). To derive plural agreement, I follow the analysis of Grosz (2015) for summative agreement in RNR. Grosz explains the plural T in RNR configurations as a result of two unshared subject DPs entering ϕ -agreement with a shared T. This idea is applied to Turkish BG in (5), where a single Agr^0 agrees with two subjects.



Conclusion. I argued that different agreement patterns in Turkish BG constructions cannot be captured by a single analysis; instead, I proposed ellipsis as a mechanism that derives singular agreement on the verb and MD as a mechanism that derives plural agreement on the verb.

References

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