On Default Agreement in Turkish[1]

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In Turkish, complement clauses and possessive structures bear default agreement with Partitive Subjects/Possessors, unlike matrix clauses, whereas full agreement occurs in matrix clauses with both partitive and non-partitive Subjects because these phrases form a doubling structure with a *pro* which is selected due to selection of T(ense) in the lexical array, and it is the *pro* that agrees with Agr. Since non-matrix structures are defective because they do not have TP projection, Agr has to agree with the partitive Subject/Possessor since no *pro* forms a doubling structure with them. This shows that Turkish is a [-multiple agree] language, and that agreement and Case checking are independent operations.

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to contend an analysis for a **default agreement** phenomenon in Turkish, pointed out in Kornfilt (1985, 1991). Default agreement occurs with **partitive** phrases as Subjects in nominalized complement clauses (both inflected infinitival and non-infinitival) and possessive structures with partitive possessives, whereas **full** agreement occurs with non-partitives in the same structures and with partitive phrases as Subjects in **matrix** clauses.

2. Phenomenon

In this section, we will see structures where full/default agreement occur with Partitive Subjects/Possessors.

2.1 Full agreement

In matrix clauses where full agreement occurs with partitive phrases as Subjects. In ex. (1a), where there is a regular pronoun as Subject, full agreement occurs in matrix clauses. In the same way, full agreement occurs with partitive Subjects in matrix clauses, as in ex. (1 b-c):

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(1) a. Biz-Ø geleceğ-iz.
we-nom will.come-1p
'We will come.'

b. Sinema-ya **birkaçınız/ikiniz**-Ø gidecek-siniz.
cinema-dat a.few/two.of.you-nom will.go-2p
'A few/two of you will go to the theatre.'

c. Ödev-i **kendiniz**-Ø yapacak-sınız.
homework-acc yourselves-nom will.do-2p
'(You) yourselves will do the homework.'

2.2 Default agreement

In this part, we will see (a) nominalized non-infinitival complement clauses, (b) inflected infinitival structures, and (c) possessive structures where default agreement occurs with partitive Subjects but full agreement occurs with non-partitive Subjects.

In Nominalized non-infinitival complement clauses –where the Subject bears Genitive Case (unless non-specific), and the verb bears nominal agreement preceded by Tense/Aspect morphology-, full agreement occurs with non-partitive Subjects (ex. 2a), and default agreement occurs with partitive Subjects in the same structures (ex. 2b):

(2) a. Ahmet-Ø [**biz-im** geleceğ-**imiz**]-i söylemiş-Ø.
A. -nom we-gen will.come-1p-acc said-3s
'Ahmet (reportedly) said that we will come.'

b. Ahmet-Ø [hep/iki/kendi.miz-in geleceğ-i/*imiz]-(n)i
A. -nom all/two/self.of.us-gen will.come-3s/1p-acc
söylemiş-Ø.
said-3s
'Ahmet (reportedly) said that all/two of us/(we) ourselves will come.'

In inflected infinitival structures –where the Subject bears Genitive Case, and the verb bears the infinitival marker *–mA* followed by possessive agreement-, full agreement occurs with non-partitive Subjects, and default agreement occurs with partitive Subjects in these structures(3a vs. 3b):

(3) a. Ahmet-∅ [biz-im Ankara-ya gitme-miz]-i istiyor-∅.
A. -nom we-gen A. -dat going-poss1p-acc wants-3s
'Ahmet wants us to go to Ankara.'

b. Ahmet-Ø [hep/iki/kendi.miz-in gitme-si/***miz**]-(n)i istiyor-Ø.
A. -nom all/two/self.of.us-gen going-3s/1p-acc wants-3s
'Ahmet wants (us) all/two/ourselves to go to Ankara.'

In possessive structures –where the possessor bears Genitive Case, and the possessee bears possessive morphology-, full agreement occurs with non-partitive possessors (ex. 4a), whereas default agreement occurs with partitive possessors (ex. 4b):

(4) a. Biz-im/siz-in araba-mız/nız
we-gen/you-gen car-poss1p/poss2p
'our/your car'

b. Hepimiz/ikimiz-in araba-sı/*mız
all.of.us/two.of.us-gen car-poss3s/1p
'all of our/two of our car'

2.3 Interim conclusion

In summary, there is a contrast between partitive Subjects/Possessors vs. non-partitive Subjects/Possessors with respect to agreement in matrix versus complement clauses and possessive structures. In matrix clauses, **full agreement** occurs with both partitive and non-partitive Subjects. In complement clauses and possessive structures, **full agreement** occurs only with non-partitive Subjects/Possessors and **default agreement** occurs with partitive Subjects/Possessors. There are many other clauses structures such as adjunct and relative clauses where default agreement occurs with partitive Subjects. However, due to space limitations, I will not be able to put that data in this paper.

3. Analysis

I will first offer a structure for Partitive Phrases in Turkish in section 3.1. I will present my proposal to explain the default agreement phenomenon in section 3.2. Then, I will explain why **default agreement** occurs in complement clauses and possessive structures with partitive Subjects/Possessors in section 3.3, after which I explain how/why **full agreement** occurs in matrix clauses with partitive Subjects/Possessors in section 3.4.

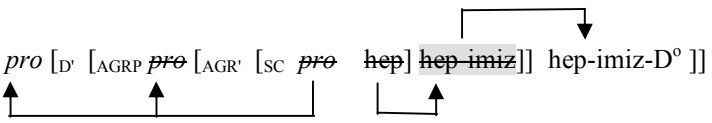
3.1 Structure of partitive phrases

Structures like *hep-imiz* (all of us), *birkaç-ınız* (some/a few of you), *çoğ-umuz* (most of us), *iki-niz* (both/two of you), (emphatic) reflexives such as *kendi-niz* ((you) yourself/ yourselves) are partitives (for partitives in Turkish see Enç (1991), Kornfilt (1996)).

I suggest that partitive phrases in Turkish are derived in the following steps:

A possessor/whole and a possessee/part merge under a Small Clause (see Uriagereka, to appear), which is selected by Agr^{o} (Step 1). The possessor/ whole moves to Spec, AgrP, and the possessee/part moves to Agr^{o} (Step 2). AgrP merges with a D(eterminer) head (Step 3). The Agr+Possessee moves to

D^o, and possessor moves to Spec, DP (Step 4). This is shown in the following tree diagram:

(5) 

If Agr+possessee did not move to D^o at all (as I. Cagri suggested to me), the D^o head would not have an index, and so, a partitive Subject would not bind (into) a complement:

(6) Hepimiz-$Ø_1$ kendimiz-den_1 sorumlu-yuz.
all.of.us-nom ourselves-abl liable-1p
'All of us are responsible for ourselves.'

3.2 Proposal

I contend that Turkish is a [-multiple agree] language. So, a head that has entered an agree relation with a head becomes an **opaque domain** and cannot enter any further agree relation with another head. Since the head of a partitive phrase has already entered an agree relation with a possessor DP-internally, it cannot enter into a further agree relation with an Agr^o. However, under this scenario, default agreement would be expected in matrix clauses, as well. To explain this, I will argue that it is not the partitive phrase that Agr^o agrees with.

In contrast to clausal/possessive structures with Genitive Subjects, matrix clauses and have a TP projection. When T^o is selected, another nominal element, *pro*, which gets the phi-features of the overt Subject DP –later in the derivation-, is also selected. *Pro* forms a **doubling** structure with the overt DP. The doubling structure merged in [Spec, *v*P] moves to [Spec, AgrP] –successive-cyclically-. *Pro*, being the head of the doubling structure, agrees with Agr^o. This is how full agreement occurs in these structures. As to the Nominative Case on Subjects in matrix clauses, I suggest that it is Default Case.

3.3 Default agreement

In this section, we will look at the non-matrix structures where default agreement occurs with partitive Subjects more closely, and explain why default agreement occurs in terms of their non-finiteness, which motivates non-selection of doubling-*pro* in their lexical array.

3.3.1 Embedded subjects in non-infinitival complement clauses

Since embedded Subjects bear Genitive Case, they might be similar to the example (7) in English; in other words, one can claim that the embedded Subject is in the matrix clause (ex. 8):[2]

(7) I think of John that he is a brilliant poet.

(8) . . . $\text{SUBJECT}_{\text{embedded}}\text{-GEN}_1$ [$_{\text{embedded clause}}$ $\text{pro}_1/\text{PRO}_1$ . . .] . . .

However, time adverbs take surface scope in Turkish (Aygen, 2000). In the following sentence, the time adverb *yarın* 'tomorrow' modifies the embedded clause, and it also precedes the embedded Subject:

(9) [yarın Mehmet-in biz-e geleceğ-in]-i sanıyor-du-m.
tomorrow M. -gen we-dat will.come-poss3s-acc thinking-pst-1s
'I thought that Mehmet was going to come (to visit us) tomorrow.'

If the embedded Subject *Mehmet-in* were in the matrix clause, then the adverb *yarın* would be in and modify the matrix clause. Then, this adverb would not be able to modify the embedded clause. Therefore, embedded Subjects are in the embedded clause, to which they are thematically belong.

3.3.2 No TP projection in complement clauses

I also argue that there is no TP projection in complement clauses (Aygen (2002), Kennelly (1996), Sezer (2001), Taylan (1988, 1996); for counter proposals, see Kornfilt (2006) and Kelepir (2007)):

(10) Non-infinitival complement clauses lack Tense Phrase projection.

The evidence for the lack of TP in complement clauses comes from time adverbs. Normally, past-time denoting adverbs do not occur with non-past tenses, and future-time denoting adverbs do not occur with Past Tense in matrix clauses:

(11) a. * Biz-∅ dün geleceğ-iz.
we-nom yesterday will.come-1p
'*We will come yesterday.'

b. * Biz-∅ yarın geldi-k.
we-nom tomorrow came-1p
'*We came tomorrow.'

However, in a setting where *Pazar* 'Sunday' follows *Cumartesi* 'Saturday' and both days precede the utterance time (Saturday<Sunday <Utterance Time), and the matrix event of saying occurs Saturday whereas the

[2] I am indebted to Juan Uriagereka for raising this question.

event in the complement clause occurs Sunday, the embedded verb bears the future-time denoting *–(y)AcAK* in the complement clause although the reference time of the event in the embedded clause is [+past]:

(12) Ahmet-∅ [Hasan-ın Pazar günü gel**eceğ**-in]-i
A. -nom H. -gen Sunday will.come-3s-acc
söylemişti-∅ Cumartesi.
said-3s Saturday
'Saturday Ahmet said that Hasan was going to come Sunday.'

In the same way, an expression denoting future time in a certain context such as *Cumartesi* 'Saturday' can occur with *–DI* in complement clauses, and the reference time of the event in the complement clause is [+future]:

(13) [I can make the following statement to a friend on Thursday, where Friday and Saturday are the following consecutive days]:
Cumartesi gün-kü gazete-de Başbakan-ın Amerika-ya
Saturday day-kI newspaper-loc prime.minister-gen A. -dat
Cuma günü gel**di**ğ-in]-i okuyacak-sın."
Friday day came-poss3s-acc will.read-2s
'You will read in Saturday's newspaper that the prime minister has come to the U.S. on Friday.'

So, since there is not a one-to-one correlation between so-called Tense markers and time adverbs in embedded clauses, I argue that there is **no Tense projection in non-infinitival complement clauses** in Turkish. Since both (12) and (13), the temporal value of the embedded clause is identical to that of the matrix clause, one could argue that there is T^o in these clauses that has to be co-indexed with the T^o of the matrix clause. However, the following example shows that the temporal value of an embedded clause can be distinct from that of the matrix clause:

(14) Ahmet-Ø [hergün 6-da kalktığ-ın]-ı söyle-di-Ø.
A. -nom everyday -loc got.up-3s-acc said-3s
'Ahmet said that he wakes up at 6 o'clock every day.'

In (14), the temporal value of the matrix clause is [+past], whereas that of the complement clause is [+nonpast]. So, there is no co-indexation relation between the temporal values of the embedded and matrix clauses, which argues against a null T^o in non-infinitival complement clauses.

Matrix clauses project both AspectP and TP (15a), but complement clauses cannot project both (15b) (see also Aygen (2002)). So, complement clauses –lacking TP projection- have only AspP projection. Then, phrasal structure of non-infinitival complement clauses is as in (16):

(15) a. Ben-Ø Ali-yle görüş-**ecek-ti**-m.
I-nom A. -comm meet-fut-pst-1s

'I was going to meet with Ali.'

b. * Hüseyin-Ø [ben-im Ali-yle görüş-**ecek-diğ**-im]-i biliyor-Ø.
H. -nom I-gen A. -comm meet-fut-pst-1s-acc knows-3s
'Hüseyin knew that I was going to meet with Ali.'

(16) $[_{CP} \ldots [_{AgrP} \ldots [_{AspP} \ldots [_{vP} \ldots$

3.3.3 Inflected infinitivals and possessive structures

Since inflected infinitivals and possessive structure never bear Tense/Aspect morphology, I take it that they never have TP/AspP projection (17a vs. 17a′, and 17b). The phrasal structure of infinitivals and possessives structures are as in (18a-18b), respectively:

(17) a. * sen-in tez-in-i bitir-diğ-in-i ist-iyor-um.
2s-gen thesis-poss2s-acc finish-di-comp-poss2s-acc want-prog-1s

a′. sen-in tez-in-i bitir-me-n-i ist-iyor-um.
2s-gen thesis-poss2s-acc finish-nomin-poss2s-acc want-prog-1s
'I want you to finish your thesis.'

b. ben-im araba-(*dı)-m
1s-gen car-di-poss1s
'my car'

(18) a. $\ldots [_{AgrP} \ldots [_{Agr'} [_{vP} \ldots]\ Agr^{o}]]$

b. $\ldots [_{DP} \ldots [_{D'} [_{AgrP} [_{Agr'} [_{SC}]\ Agr^{o}]]\ D^{o}]]$

3.3.4 Opacity of partitive phrases

I contend that a partitive phrase is an opaque domain in that the possessee/part has undergone an agreement relation/operation, Turkish being [-multiple agree] language.

(19) Turkish lacks [+multiple agree] property.

An AGREE relation with respect to a specific set of phi-features can occur only once in Turkish, in contrast to languages like Swahili (ex. 20), Arabic and Hindi where the Subject agrees with more than one element in the clause.

(20) Juma a-li-kuwa a-ngali a-ki-fanya kazi.
Juma sa-pst-be sa-still sa-prog-do work
'Juma was still working.'

(Carstens 2003:395)

In Subject-Verb agreement configuration, (T^o +)Agr^o agrees with the D head. However, in our case in (5) –schematized as in (21)-, there is an amalgam of D + Agr + Possessee/Part, which agrees with Agr. Since Agr + Possessee part has already had an agree relation, the whole amalgam cannot enter any further agree relation with the clausal Agr:

(21) $[_{DP}$ *possessor* $[_{D'} [. . .]$ *possessee* + Agr^o + D^o]]
OPAQUE DOMAIN

3.3.5 Default agreement with genitive partitive subjects

As to default agreement with Genitive Partitive Subjects, I contend the following analysis:

The partitive phrase –merged as Subject in Spec, *v*P- moves to Spec, Agr and satisfies the EPP property of Agr. The clausal Agr head can agree only with the partitive phrase since no doubling-*pro* is selected in the lexical array of the clauses/structures due to the fact that no T^o is selected in the same array. In other words, there is no *pro* –that forms a doubling structure with the Genitive Partitive Subject- that can agree with the clausal Agr. Since the partitive phrase is already an opaque domain, so Agr cannot enter an agreement relation with it:

OPAQUE DOMAIN
(22) $[_{AgrP} [_{Agr'} . . . [_{DP}$ Partititive Phrase$_{[+AGREE]}$] [. . .] Agr^o]]
AGREE BLOCKED

So, **default agreement** occurs as a last resort in these structures. The striking property of this phenomenon is that Partitive Subjects still get Genitive Case as non-partitive Subjects do in the same structures. This shows that Case Checking and Agreement are separate operations (contra Pesetsky&Torrego, 2001).

3.4 Full agreement

3.4.1 An architectural difference

To explain the asymmetry between matrix and non-matrix structures in this study with respect to default agreement with partitive Subjects/possessors, I contend that whenever a Tense head is selected as well as Agr head, a doubling-*pro* is also selected (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 1998).

I also assume that there is an A′-projection in Turkish in matrix clauses to which overt Subjects move, which is a common view with respect to null Subject languages (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998), and several papers in Ackema, P. et al. (2006)). I will call this A′-projection ΣP (similar to Uriagereka's FP (1995), Tenny & Speas' SAP (to appear)). It is a specific

position for Subjects, and different from TopicP (see Öztürk (2001) and Kornfilt (2003)).

The argument against the claim that overt Subjects occupy a TopicP comes from indefinites and quantifiers. Quantificational elements cannot occur in Topic position (ex. 23). However, quantificational elements can occur in Subject position in matrix clauses in Turkish (ex. 24):

(23) */?? Everyone$_1$/Someone$_1$, John talked to t_1.

(24) Birisi/Herkes-Ø parti-ye gel-di-Ø.
someone/everybody-nom party-dat come-pst-3s
'Someone/everybody came to the party.'

The difference between ex. (23) and ex. (24) clearly shows that overt Subjects in matrix clauses do not occupy a Topic position in Turkish.

3.5.3 Agreement with nominative subjects

The clausal architecture of matrix clauses I assume is as follows (ΣP optionally selected with Overt Subjects):

(25) $[_{\Sigma P}\ [_{\Sigma'}\ [_{AgrP}\ [_{Agr'}\ [_{TP}\ [_{T'}\ [_{AspP}\ [_{Asp'}\ [_{vP}\ \ldots\ ]\ Asp^{o}\ ]]\ T^{o}\ ]]\ Agr^{o}\ ]]\ \Sigma^{o}]]$

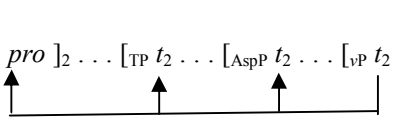
In this architecture, verbal agrement occurs with the *pro* element in the doubling structure, not with the overt Subject. Overt Subject and *pro* form a **doubling** structure by first-merging in matrix clauses (26a) (Uriagereka 1988, Torrego 1998, Boeckx 2003), after which this doubling structure checks/ receives a theta-role, merging in Spec, *v*P (26b):

(26) a. $[_{DP}\ [_{D'}\ [_{DP}$ Subject] *pro*]]

b. $[_{vP}\ [_{DP}\ [_{D'}\ [_{DP}$ Subject] *pro*]] $[_{v'}\ \ldots\ v^{o}\ ]]$

The doubling structure later raises to Spec, AgrP to satisfy the EPP property of the Agr head, going through successive-cyclic movement; and, I assume, *pro* is stranded in Spec, AgrP, and the overt Subject DP moves to Spec, ΣP:

(27) $[_{\Sigma P}$ SUBJECT$_1$ $\ldots$ $[_{AgrP}$ [t_1 *pro*]$_2$ $\ldots$ $[_{TP}$ t_2 $\ldots$ $[_{AspP}$ t_2 $\ldots$ $[_{vP}$ t_2



After the doubling structure moves to Spec, its head, *pro* needs to check its Case features against Agr^{o}, which can be valued as Nominative Case. However, that cannot be a configuration in which the overt DP in (27) to check Case because its head does not enter any agree relation with Agr^{o}. The null assumption being that a functional head checks only the Case of the nominal phrase with which it agrees, Case checking can occur only on the *pro*. So, there

is no way that the overt DP part of the doubling structure in (27) can check Case against Agr^{o}. The evidence comes from modifying adjectives. Unlike Latin, Russian, adjectives do not bear any Case at all in Turkish ex. (28):

(28) *pro* [akıllı-(*yı) çocuk-lar]-ı sev-er-im.
smart-acc kid-plu-acc like-aor-1s
'I like smart kids.'

In the following Russian example, on the other hand, Case appears on not only the head noun but also on the modifying adjective and numeral:

(29) [$_{PP}$ o [$_{DP}$ pjati (krasivyx) ženščinax]]
about five-loc beautiful-loc women-loc
'about five beautiful women'
(Franks & Pereltsvaig 2004)

So, one can argue that in Latin and Russian a functional head agrees with D^{o} and all other heads within DP, bearing [+multiple agree] property, and that functional heads, Agr^{o} in our case, in Turkish agrees with only D^{o} (amalgam) but no other head within DP, lacking [+multiple agree] property.

In brief, the Case on the overt Subject in (27) cannot be checked against Agr^{o}. One also could argue that the Case on overt subjects is not Nominative Case –keeping in mind that Nominative Case is null in Turkish-, but rather Null Case (*a. la.* Uriagereka (2006, forthcoming)). This would mean that Nominative Case is never assigned in Turkish and/or that Nominative Case is absent in Turkish. It would be very weird why Turkish lacks Nominative Case while it has all other Cases (Accusative, Dative, Ablative, Locative, etc.). The last possibility is that the Case on overt Subjects in matrix clauses is **Default Case** –possibly, Nominative Case as Default Case (Kornfilt 2006)-. I will assume that the Case on overt Subject in (27) is Nominative as Default Case, and the Subject gets it at Spec, ΣP.

The examples (30a-b) support the claims above. In this doubling-like structure *biz Türkler* 'we Turks', the pronominal element is in the same form in both matrix and embedded clauses. However, although *Türkler* 'Turks' bears Genitive Case in the embedded clause in (30b), its modifier *biz* 'us/we' does not bear Genitive Case. So, I conclude that the pronominal element bears Nominative Case as default Case in (30b).

(30) a. Biz-Ø Türk-ler-Ø çok çalış-ır-ız.
1s-nom Turk-pl-nom very work-aor-1s
'We Turks work hard.'

b. *pro* [Biz-Ø Türk-ler-in çok çalıştığını] bil-ir-sin.
we-nom Turk-pl-gen very worked know-aor-2s
'You know that we Turks work very hard.'

4. Conclusion

In this study, we looked at a 'default agreement' phenomenon in Turkish. We argued that since an ancillary *pro* element and an overt Subject never form a doubling structure in certain structures because the relevant structures are **defective** –lacking TP projection (and maybe ΣP)-, verbal/possessive agreement can only occur with overt (partitive) Subjects/Possessors[3]. So, with partitive Subjects **default agreement** occurs as a Last Resort.

Interestingly, Genitive Partitive Subjects/Possessors bear Genitive Case as do all other Genitive Subjects. In other words, Partitive Subjects can check their Case although they cannot AGREE with the Agr. This is evidence that Case-Checking and Agreement are separate operations, in contrast to Pesetsky & Torrego (2001).

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[3] Inevitably, *pro* can occur as the sole Subject/Possessor in these defective structures.

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