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Agreement with partitive quantifier in Turkish

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1. Introduction

This paper provides an analysis of the phenomenon of agreement with subject partitive quantifier in Turkish. The phenomenon of agreement with subject partitive quantifier involves different agreement properties contrary to canonical agreement in Turkish. The examples in (1) and (2) show that subject DPs in Turkish appear in Nominative Case only if the finite verb agrees in person and number features with the subject. As shown by the verb paradigm in the examples, the verb's agreement markers match the Nominative Subject's φ-features. As shown in the example (2), the verb's agreement marker can not match possessive φ-feature inside the DP, thus this shows that DPs are opaque domains in Turkish. However, despite the fact that the structures as seen in (3) are parallel to the structures as in (2), where there is partitive quantifier as subject, the verb's agreement marker agrees with the possessive φ-feature inside the DP.

(1) Biz ev-e git-ti-k
we.NOM home-DAT go-PAST-1PL[1]
'We went home'

(2) Arkadaş-ımız ev-e git-ti-Ø
friend-1PL.NOM home-DAT go-PAST-3SG
'Our friend went home'

(3) Hep-imiz ev-e git-ti-k
all-1PL.NOM home-DAT go-PAST-1PL
'All of us went home'

The aim of this paper is to investigate the relationship between CP-layer, Nominative Case valuation and φ-features from the Turkish perspective, taking this quirky agreement in account. Focus is given to the question as to whether CP-layer has any role in φ-feature checking in Turkish. It will be shown that φ-feature is on C head in finite clause in Turkish.

2. Some peculiarities of the agreement with partitive quantifier

As seen in (3), in Turkish finite root clauses, verb's agreement marker agrees with φ-feature inside the DP, but it has to be expressed clearly that in some cases, it agrees with the complete DP's φ-feature as seen in (4) which is parallel with the example (2)[2]. I refer to two types of agreement as "plural agreement" and "singular agreement" respectively.

(4) Üç kişi paintball-a git-miş-ti-k ve sadece iki-imiz daha önce
3 man paintball-DAT go-EV-PAST-1PL and only two-1PL.NOM before
oyna-mış-tı-Ø
play-EV-PAST-3SG
'We, three guys went to the paintball and only two of us have played it before.'

These two distinct options on the verb's agreement marker are also seen in finite embedded clauses as seen in (5).

(5) Ali [hep-imiz ev-e git -sin /-elim] isti-yor
Ali all-1PL.NOM home-DAT go -IMP.3SG/-OPT.1PL want-PRES
'Ali wants all of us to go home.'

However, this is not the complete picture. An interesting property of these structures is that in non-finite embedded clauses, only singular agreement is allowed. There are two main types of nominalization in Turkish: "factive" (i.e., indicative) and "non-factive" (i.e., subjunctive) types.[3] As shown in the examples (6) and (7), plural agreement is not allowed in both indicative and subjunctive nominalized clauses. Relative clauses share the same properties with the nominalized clauses, plural agreement with partitive subjects is also not allowed in relative clauses (see 8). This is also similar in the possessive NPs. As seen in (9), in these structures, only third person singular agreement is allowed.

(6) Ali [hep-miz-in ev-e git-tiğ -in /??-imiz]-i bil-iyor
Ali all-1PL-GEN home-DAT go-VN_{DIK}-3SG / ??-1PL-ACC know-PRES
'Ali knows that all of us went home.'

(7) Ali [hep-miz–in ev-e git-me-sin /??-miz]-i isti-yor
Ali all-1PL-GEN home-DAT go- VN_{MA}-3SG /??1PL-ACC want-PRES
'Ali wants for all of us to go home.'

(8) [hep-imiz-in bil-diğ-i /??-imiz] şey-ler
all-1PL-GEN know- VN_{DIK}-3SG / ??-1PL thing-s
'things that all of us know'

(9) hep-imiz-in ev -i/*-imiz
all-1PL-GEN house-3SG/*-1PL
'the house of all of us'

As for adjunct clauses, the types of adjunct clause make difference in respect to choosing of plural or singular agreement marker. There are two types of adjunct clauses: The first one is an indicative adjunct clause which allows both singular and plural agreement with a partitive quantifier subject, which is Nominative Case (as seen in 10) while the other, a subjunctive adjunct clause, does not allow plural agreement with a partitive quantifier subject which is in the Genitive Case (as seen in 11).

(10) [[Hep-imiz git-tiğ-i /-imiz] için] ders-ler iptal ed-il-di
all-1PL.NOM go-VN_{DIK}-3SG/-1PL because course-PL cancel-PASS-ABIL-PAST
'The courses are canceled because all of us went.'

(11) [[Hep-imiz-in gid-ebil-me -si /??-miz] için] çok para gerek-iyor
all-1PL.GEN go-ABIL-VN_{MA}-3SG/??-1PL for a.lot.of money need-PRES
'We need some money for all of us to be able to go.'

This data shows that plural agreement with partitive quantifier coexists with Nominative Case, but not with Genitive Case in Turkish. These show that there is a clear correlation between morphological Agreement and subject Case, the issue that was argued in previous literature (Chomsky, 1981; George and Kornfilt, 1981; Kornfilt, 2006).

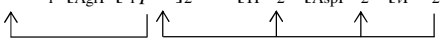
3. Previous proposals

Following the DP hypothesis proposed by Abney (1987), Aydın (2001, p. 264) accounted for the asymmetries in examples (2) and (3) by assuming that personal pronoun *pro* reside in the D node in partitive quantifiers. However, this explanation does not answer the question of why both plural and singular agreement is allowed in finite root clauses. On the other hand, it also cannot account for the reason why plural agreement is not allowed in non-finite embedded clauses.

Another explanation to this phenomenon is suggested by Ince (2007). He proposed that, in case of the plural agreement, as seen in (12), these phrases form a doubling structure with a *pro* and as seen in (13), *pro* is stranded in [Spec,AgrP], and the overt Subject DP moves to [Spec,ΣP] in finite root clauses.

(12) $[_{DP}\ [_{D'}\ [_{DP}\ \textit{hep-imiz}]\ \textit{pro}]]$

(13) $[_{\Sigma P}\ \text{SUBJECT}_i\ [_{AgrP}\ [t_i\ \textit{pro}]_2 \ldots\ [_{TP}\ t_2\ [_{AspP}\ t_2\ [_{vP}\ t_2 \ldots$



Ince (2007) contends that whenever a Tense head is selected, a doubling-*pro* is also selected. According to him, non-finite embedded structures are defective, because they do not have TP projection. Thus, since no *pro* forms a doubling structure, there is default agreement rather than plural agreement. However, although indicative adjunct clauses (see 10) share the same morphological properties with indicative nominalized clauses (see 6), both plural and default agreement occurs in the indicative adjunct clauses, contrary to indicative nominalized clauses. If defectiveness on T head triggered the default agreement, then only default agreement would occur in indicative adjunct clauses.

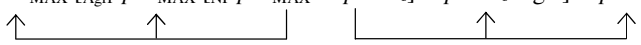
4. Proposal

4.1 Structure of partitive phrases

I assume that the structures like *hep-imiz* 'all of us', *bir-imiz* 'one of us', *kaç-ınız* 'how many of you' etc. are partitive phrases which have two materials: *[pro hep-imiz]*. This first material *pro* denotes a set of plural person. These constructions must denote a "proper subpart" of a larger set. Therefore, the structures like *bir-imiz, iki-miz, hep-imiz* presuppose that the group has more than one people. Following Zamparelli (1998), I assume that the first material in the partitive phrase contains "Maximal Operator" which picks out the supremum of the denotation of plural noun (*pro*): Max($[\![[_{NP}\ \textit{pro}]]\!]$). I suggest that these two materials begin as an NP as seen in (14). The first material *pro* contains the Maximal

Operator (pro_{MAX}) moves to [Spec,AgrP] and the material *hep-imiz* moves to Agr head. AgrP merges with a D head and the NP *hep-imiz* moves to D head, and pro_{MAX} moves to [Spec,DP].

(14) [$_{DP}$ pro_{MAX} [$_{AgrP}$ ~~pro_{MAX}~~ [$_{NP}$ ~~pro_{MAX}~~ ~~*hep-imiz*~~] ~~*hep-imiz*~~ Agr^0] *hep-imiz* D^0]

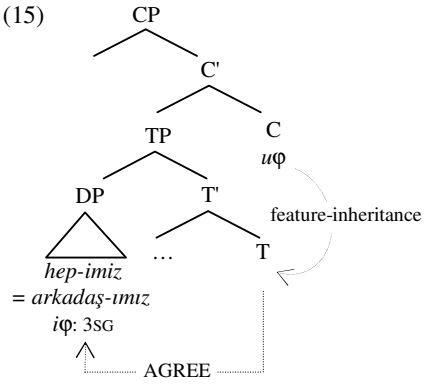


4.2 An account of the plural agreement

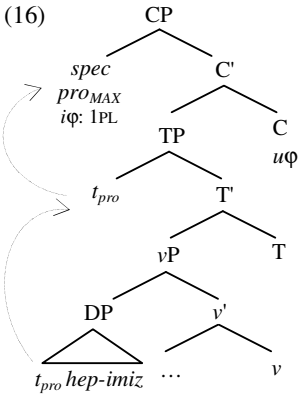
In the literature, it is argued that the head of a C is the locus not only of peripheral features relating to properties such as topic, focus and scope, but also of agreement features (e.g. Chomsky, 2008; Miyagawa, 2005, 2006). Evidence for C head being the locus of agreement feature in the literature also comes from the phenomenon of complementizer agreement (see Carstens, 2003; Kornfilt, 2004; Miyagawa, 2005).

We have seen earlier that finite clauses allow both singular and plural agreement with partitive quantifier subject. Before we focus on the plural agreement with partitive quantifier, let us first consider the derivation of canonical agreement where the verb's agreement marker can not match possessive φ-feature inside the DP as seen in (4). As depicted schematically in (15), The partitive quantifier checks a theta-role, merging in [Spec,*v*P], and then raise to [Spec,TP] for EPP reason. Chomsky (2007, 2008) has argued that all uninterpretable features belong to the phase heads. Therefore, only the phase heads yield all operations like Agree. The Agree-feature of the phase head (i.e., C) is transferred to its complement (i.e., TP) via a mechanism of feature-inheritance. Following this assumption, T in (15) is said to inherit φ-features from C so that it only operates as a Probe derivatively. Thus, T seek the interpretable φ-features of goal DP to establish agreement. This account of the derivation is not only acceptable for partitive quantifier subjects as *hepimiz* 'all of us', but also other ordinary possessive NPs as *arkadaşımız* 'our friend' as seen in (15). I assume, following Chomsky (1995, p. 278), that agreement relations are inherently asymmetric. In this example, the finite verb appears in the singular, just like the subject. In this case, probe's φ-features are defined by those of goal.

(15)



(16)



Let us now look at the finite root clauses, where plural agreement occurs with partitive quantifier subjects. Consider the derivation of (3) given in (16) under the present proposal. As indicated above partitive phrases have two materials. My proposal is that these constructions are derived from a source in which the first material of partitive phrase is contained in [Spec,DP] of the second material, as the possessor of the latter. I suggest that the operator *pro* on [Spec,DP] raises to satisfy the EPP property of the [Spec,TP]. As pointed out above, *pro,* the first element of the partitive phrase denotes the Maximal Operator which is the largest set as suggested by Zamparelli (1998). Namely, it has plural first person φ-feature. I propose that Maximal Operator *pro* moves to [Spec,CP]. Movement of this operator to [Spec,CP] is independently motivated by two factors: The first is that [Spec,CP] is typical operator position and the second is that there is φ-feature on C and *pro* has an interpretable φ-feature to check uninterpretable φ-feature on C. Thus, this movement to [Spec,CP] triggers Subject-Verb agreement by the use of Spec-Head agreement in CP[4].

4.3 Agreement with partitive quantifier in nominalized clauses

As indicated above, plural agreement is not allowed in both subjunctive and indicative nominalized clauses (see 6 and 7). Kornfilt (2006) proposed that subjunctive nominalized clauses are genuine DPs, namely, the functional shell dominating the VP has nominal rather than verbal features. According to her, such clauses have no CP, as the CP is a verbal functional projection. The evidence for the lack of CP in subjunctive clauses comes from the *wh*-questions and relative clauses: Subjunctive clauses can not be embedded *wh*-questions (as seen in 17), nor can they be relative clauses (as seen in 18).

(17) a. [opera-ya kim-in git-tiğ-in]-i sor-du-m
opera-DAT who-GEN go-VN_{DIK}-3SG-ACC ask-PAST-1SG
'I asked who went to be opera'

b. *[opera-ya kim-in git-me-sin]-i söyle-di-m
opera-DAT who-GEN go- VN_{MA}-3SG-ACC tell-PAST-1SG
Intended reading: 'I said who should go to the opera'
(Kornfilt, 2006:151)

(18) a. [Ali-nin e_i git-tiğ-i] $opera_i$
Ali-GEN go-VN_{DIK}-3SG opera
'The opera Ali went (to)'

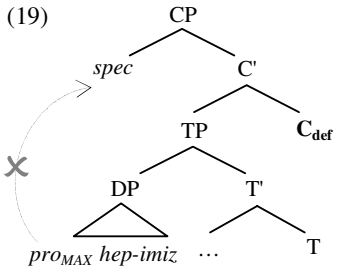
b. *[Ali-nin e_i git-me-si] $opera_i$
Ali-GEN go-VN_{MA}-3SG opera
Intended reading: 'The opera Ali should go (to)'
(Kornfilt, 2006:151)

If this is so, it is clear why plural agreement is not allowed in subjunctive nominalized clauses: As I proposed above, the Maximal Operator *pro* raises to adjoin [Spec,CP] to license plural agreement. Since nominalized subjunctive clauses have no CP, plural agreement is not allowed. This shows that the plural agreement with partitive quantifiers in Turkish occurs if and only if CP layer exists. This proposal also explains the reason why

plural agreement does not occur in possessive NPs (see 9). As a consequence of the lack of CP, in Turkish only singular agreement is licensed in possessive NPs.

However, as shown in (17) and (18), indicative nominalized clauses should have CP layer. Nevertheless plural agreement is not allowed. So, why and how does only singular subject get licensed in these structures? Kornfilt (2006) proposed that, in parallel to the "small *v*P", there can be a "small *n*P", in which subject Case gets checked. This *n*P shell provides such a type-shifting device that turns a categorically hybrid CP into a DP. Ulutaş (this volume) consider the phenomenon of "categorically hybrid CP" from a different angle: He started out with the assumption that C head has a defective counterpart. He proposed that C head in Turkish indicative nominalized clauses is defective and in parallel with Kornfilt (2006), he suggested a functional category, small *n* head, has a nominal nature and can check the subject Case. In line with Richards (2007), I assume that 'the defective C head' should be taken as the C head that does not bear a complete φ-probe. As a consequence of defectiveness on C head in nominal indicative clauses, the maximal operator pro can not raise [Spec,CP]. Hence, only singular agreement is licensed in nominal indicative clauses in Turkish:

(19)



4.4 An evidence from adjunct clauses

Alternatively, following the claim that there is no TP projection in complement clauses as proposed by various researchers[5], one could argue that the reason of non-occurrence of plural agreement in complement clauses is the lack of TP (see İnce, 2007). Since T head agrees in φ-features with the operator in [Spec,TP], they are not allowed plural agreement, which is the opposite of root clauses.

(20) [**TP** pro**1PL** [vP [DP t_{pro} hep-imiz] ev-e] git-ti-k] root clause

AGREE

(21) [**AspP** [DP pro_{1PL} hepimiz]**3SG**-in [vP [t_{DP} eve] git-tiğ-i] complement clause

AGREE

However, this claim is not supported by the data of indicative adjunct clauses. Although indicative adjunct clauses share the same morphology with the previously illustrated complement clauses (see 6), in these types of clauses, plural agreement is allowed as seen in (10). Thus, there seems to be no a one-to-one correlation between TP and plural agreement with partitive quantifiers. This suggests that my empirical claim that there is a

high correlation between CP and plural agreement with partitive quantifiers seems to be on the right track. As indicated above, there are two types of adjunct clauses in Turkish: indicative and subjunctive adjunct clauses. A number of researchers have argued in recent years that the internal structure of the two types of adjunct clauses is not identical: According to these studies, subjunctive adjunct clauses have no CP, they are genuine DPs, while indicative adjunct clauses are full CP (e.g. Aygen, 2002/2004)[6] or a special kind of functional projection, named Modifier Phrase (ModP) in line with claims made by Kornfilt (2006)[7]. In line with these studies, the reason of that plural agreement is not allowed in subjunctive adjunct clauses is that they are not full CP domains.

As for the indicative adjunct clauses (see 11), as indicated above, the internal structure of these clauses are different from subjunctive adjunct clauses. I assume that C head or complementizer-like heads (i.e., Modifier Phrase or Finite Phrase) bear a complete φ-probe in indicative adjunct clauses as proposed by Ulutaş (this volume)[8]. I propose that Maximal Operator *pro* moves to [Spec,CP] as such in finite root or finite embedded clauses. This movement to [Spec,CP] triggers Subject-Verb agreement via Spec-Head agreement in CP. Thus, according to this analysis, plural agreement with partitive quantifier coexists not only with Nominative Case, but with also non-defective C heads.

5. Overt pronouns in partitive quantifier subjects

Another piece of evidence supporting the claim that *pro* is overtly moved from within the [Spec,DP] of partitive quantifier comes from overt pronouns in partitive quantifier subjects. According to the approach that is proposed in this paper, *pro* in the structures like in (22) moves to [Spec,CP]; while *pro* in the structures like in (23) is inside the DP.

(22) *pro*$_i$ [t$_i$ kaç-ınız] on-u haklı bul-uyor-sunuz?
how.many-2PL.NOM he-ACC right find-PRES -2PL
'How many of you think that he is right?'

(23) [*pro* kaç-ınız] on-u haklı bul-uyor-Ø?
how.many-2PL.NOM he-ACC right find-PRES-3SG
Same translation as in the previous example

If the this analysis is on the right track, we expect that Genitive subject should not allowed in the structure with plural agreement but allowed in singular agreement in case of replacing empty category *pro* by overt pronoun. This is the case: As shown in (24), Genitive subject is not allowed in the structure with plural agreement. Since overt pronoun *siz* 'you' moves to [Spec,CP], it is Nominative Case[9]. On the other hand, in the structure with singular agreement, Nominative Subject is not allowed (see 25). In this structure, overt pronoun *siz* 'you' is [Spec,DP] and takes Genitive Case.

(24) siz$_i$/*siz-in$_i$ [t$_i$ kaç-ınız] on-u haklı bul-uyor-sunuz?
you.NOM/*GEN how.many-2PL he-ACC right find-PRES -2PL
'How many of you think that he is right?'

(25) [sizin /*siz kaç-ınız] on-u haklı bul-uyor-Ø?
you-GEN/*-NOM how.many -2PL he-ACC right find-PRES-3SG
Same translation as in the previous example

In non-finite complement clauses, where plural agreement is not allowed, Nominative Subject can not occur as seen in (26). Since C head in Turkish indicative nominalized clauses is defective in these type clauses, overt pronoun *siz* 'you' cannot move to [Spec,CP]. However, singular agreement with Genitive Subject is allowed in non-finite complement clauses as seen in (27).

(26) *Ben [siz_i [t_i kaç-ınız]-ın on-u haklı bul-duğ-u/-nuz]-u bil-iyor-um
I.NOM you.NOM how.many-2PL-GEN he-ACC right find-VN_{DIK}-3SG/-2PL-ACC know-PRES-1SG
Intended reading: 'I know, how many of you think that he is right.'

(27) Ben [[siz-in kaç-ınız]-ın on-u haklı bul-duğ -u/*-nuz]-u bil-iyor-um
I.NOM you-GEN how.many-2PL-GEN he-ACC right find-VN_{DIK}-3SG /*-2PL-ACC know-PRES-1SG
Same translation as in the previous example

Another evidence supporting the movement of Maximal Operator or overt pronoun to [Spec,CP] comes from the observation of partitive quantifiers in object position. DP structure is allowed in object position as seen in (29), while (28) is ungrammatical, since the overt pronoun does not move to [Spec,CP].

(28) *Ali siz kaç-ınız-ı haklı bul-uyor?
Ali.NOM you how.many-2PL right find-PRES
Intended reading: 'Ali thinks, how many of you are right?'

(29) Ali siz-in kaç-ınız-ı haklı bul-uyor?
Ali.NOM you-GEN how.many-2PL right find-PRES
Same translation as in the previous example

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I dealt with agreement with partitive quantifiers as subject. I showed that singular agreement occurs with partitive quantifiers as subjects in nominalized clauses and possessive NPs, whereas plural agreement occurs only in root clauses and indicative adjunct clauses in Turkish. I argued that Maximal Operator *pro* inside the partitive quantifier structure moves to [Spec,CP], if there is an accessible non-defective C, namely a C head that bear a complete φ-probe. As a result of this movement, plural agreement with partitive quantifiers occurs in Turkish. Therefore, it could be claimed that the agreement feature gets merged on C at least in root and indicative adjunct clauses in Turkish. This study does not cover subject Case licensing. However, the data shows that there is a clear correlation between subject Case and agreement in Turkish, as argued by Kornfilt (2006, p. 142).

Notes

1. Abbreviations used in the glosses are as follows: ABIL: ability, ACC: accusative case, DAT: dative case, EV: evidential, GEN: genitive case, IMP: imperative, NOM: nominative case, OPT: optative, PASS: passive, PL: plural, PRES: present, SG: singular, VN_{DIK}: verbal noun marker *–DIK*, VN_{MA}: verbal noun marker *–mA*.
2. I would like to note that the judgments presented in this paper are not based solely on my personal judgments. The data have been run through native speakers of Turkish. Here, speakers differ as to whether they find the sentences with plural agreement unacceptable. These differences are related to different dialects or it is due to contamination, namely the influence of a related form, adjunct clauses.
3. Note that the indicative (factive) nominalized clause as in (6) corresponds to the indicative root clause as in (i), while the subjunctive (non-factive) nominalized clause as in (6) corresponds to the subjunctive root clause as in (ii).

   (i) Ali [hep-imiz ev-e git-ti-k] bil-iyor
   Ali.NOM all.1PL.NOM house-DAT go-PAST-1PL know-PRES
   'Ali thinks that all of us went home'

   (ii) Ali [hep-imiz ev-e gid-elim] isti-yor
   Ali.NOM all.1PL.NOM house-DAT go-OPT.1PL want-PRES
   'I want (that) all of us should go home'
4. The phenomenon that verb can agree in φ-features with an operator in [Spec,CP] is also proposed by Bruening (2001) for participle agreement in Passamaquoddy. He claimed that the operator "values" the uninterpretable φ-features of the verb, which is spelled out as agreement morphology.
5. It has been argued in some literature that complement clauses in Turkish contain no TP projection (see İnce, 2008; Kennelly, 1996; Sezer, 2001; Taylan, 1988, 1996). However, Kornfilt (2006) argued that indicative nominalized clauses have TP projection.
6. Aygen (2002/2004) also proposed that *için* (in the meaning of 'so that') is a postposition in (11) but *için* (in the meaning of 'because of') is a Complementizer in (10).
7. Kornfilt (2006) proposed that adjunct clauses are merged as a special kind of functional projection, named Modifier Phrase (ModP), corresponding to CP for arguments. According to her, in adjunct clauses, the nominal Agr can be neither categorically licensed within the clause nor can it receive licensing from a higher *n*P-shell. No genuine nominal subject Case can be licensed, and default Case applies as a last resort operation.
8. Ulutaş (this volume) argued that on the basis of Split-CP analysis, the little *n* head selects a Force head, which defines the adverbial nature of the indicative adjunct clauses. On the other side, the Fin head bears a complete +φ-probe that the T head inherits eventually. Then the inheritance is from the little *n* head to the Force head, while another inheritance between the Fin and T heads on the other side obtains.
9. It is problematic that this overt pronoun needs to check its Case features against T head, because it has already received the Case from the head of the DP. This may be solved under two alternative assumptions: One is that overt pronoun did not receive the Case in the DP. On the basis of both plural and neutral agreement in the genitive-of-quantification in Russian, Franks (1995) argued that these agreement differences are directly related to fact that subjects are DPs or bare QPs. Accordingly, it can be proposed that the structures, where plural agreement occurs, have bare QPs –that is, lacking DP projection. The second assumption is that these constructions are a paradigm configuration for Multiple Case Assignment in Turkish (see Bejar & Massam, 1999 for details). Namely, a DP that receives Case in one structural configuration receives another Case in another structural configuration.

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