Binding through Agree in Turkish*†

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1 Background

Two perspectives on the status of Condition A (Chomsky 1981):

- Condition A should be reduced to Agree (Antonenko 2011, 2018; Bader 2011; Heinat 2009; Hicks 2009; Hornstein 2001, 2007; Kayne 2002; Kratzer 2009; Murphy and Meyase 2020; Quicoli 2008; Reuland 2001, 2006; Reuland 2011; Rooryck and Wyngaerd 2011; Zwart 2002).
- Condition A should be stated independently (Charnavel and Sportiche 2016; Charnavel 2019; Preminger 2019; Safir 2014).

Defenses of binding-as-Agree are often conceptually oriented (but see Murphy and Meyase 2020; Kratzer 2009: 191-193). Relatively little attention has been paid to an important empirical question:

(1) Does binding show the morphological reflexes of phi-agreement expected under Agree-based accounts?

Today: A *morphological* argument in favor of binding through Agree.

The gist: In the Turkish nominal domain, certain complex pronominals can agree only if they bind.

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[†]Glossing abbrevations: 1 = first person, 3 = third person, ABIL = abilitative, ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, DAT = dative, FNMLZ = factive nominalizer, GEN = genitive, NEG = negative, NOM = nominative, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, PST = past, SG = singular.

2 Generalization 1: Relativized case opacity

Crucial contrast: simplex pronouns vs Default-Triggering Nominals.

(see Paparounas and Akkuş 2020; cf. Ince 2008; Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Satık 2020)

DTNs:

- Anaphors (kendi- 'self', birbir- 'each other')
- Adnominal pronouns (biz Türkler 'we Turks')
- 'Partitives' (iki-miz 'two-1PL.POSS')
- Multi-plural pronouns (biz-ler 'we-PL')
- Coordinate pronouns (biz ve Leyla 'we and Leyla')

When in the subject position of a nominalized clause, pronouns agree, and DTNs normally do not:

- (2) Pronoun Nominalized clause
 Kemal [biz-im oraya git-tiğ- { imiz /*in }]-i san-dı-Ø.
 Kemal we-gen there go-fnmlz- 1pl.poss 3sg.poss -ACC think-pst-3sg 'Kemal thought that we went there.'
- (3) DTN Nominalized clause

 Kemal [biz-ler-in oraya git-tiğ- { *imiz / in }]-i san-dı-Ø.

 Kemal we-pl-gen there go-fnmlz- 1pl.poss 3sg.poss -ACC think-pst-3sg 'Kemal thought that we went there.'

The culprit for this asymmetry is the **genitive case**.

→ Striking evidence for this fact comes from an asymmetry between argument and adjunct nominalized clauses.

Kornfilt (2003): the subjects of factive nominalized clauses must be NOM if the clause is an adjunct.

- (4) a. Ben [Ali-*(nin) cam-1 kır-dığ-1 zaman]-1 bil-iyor-du-m.

 I Ali-GEN glass-ACC break-FNMLZ-3SG.POSS time -ACC know-PROG-PST-1SG

 'I knew when Ali broke the glass.' (argument)
 - b. Ben [Ali-(*nin) cam-1 kır-dığ-1 zaman] gerçeğ-i bil-iyor-du-m.
 I Ali glass-ACC break-FNMLZ-3SG.POSS time truth-ACC know-PROG-PST-1SG
 'I knew the truth when Ali broke the glass.' (Aygen 2007: 2) (adjunct)

When DTN subjects of nominalized clauses are NOM, they trigger full agreement.

'Because we cooked, I was unable to go to the concert.'

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(5) a.
          [ Biz-(*im) yemek pişir-diğ-imiz
                                                   1-den dolavı 1 konser-e
                             cook-fnmlz-1pl.poss -abl because concert-dat
                       food
             we
          gid-e-me-di-m.
          go-ABIL-NEG-PST-1SG
          'Because we cooked, I was unable to go to the concert.' (Kornfilt 2003: 151)
          [ Biz-ler-(*in) yemek pişir-diğ-imiz
                                                      ]-den dolayı ] konser-e
     b.
             we-ler
                          food
                                cook-fnmlz-1pl.poss-abl because concert-dat
          gid-e-me-di-m.
          go-ABIL-NEG-PST-1SG
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Generalization 1: Relativized case opacity

DTNs are opaque for agreement when marked with GEN.

3 Generalization 2: Binding enables agreement

A striking contrast: when a GEN-marked DTN binds an object reciprocal, it can agree with the verb.

- (6) Ali [biz-ler-in kitab-1 sev-diğ- { *imiz / in }]-i söyle-di-Ø. Ali we-pl-gen book-acc like-fnmlz- 1pl.poss 3sg.poss -acc say-pst-3sg 'Ali said that we like the book.'
- (7) Ali [biz-ler-in birbir-imiz-i sev-diğ- { imiz / in }]-i söyle-di-Ø. Ali we-pl-gen each.other-1pl.poss-ACC like-fnmlz- 1pl 3sg -ACC say-pst-3sg 'Ali said that we like each other.'

The same pattern obtains with reflexives, and with bound pronouns:

- (8) Ali [biz-ler-in kendi-miz-i sev-diğ- { imiz / in }]-i söyle-di-Ø. Ali we-pl-gen self-1pl.poss-acc like-fnmlz- 1pl 3sg -acc say-pst-3sg 'Ali said that we like ourselves.'
- (9) Ali [biz-ler-in tez-ler-imiz-i bitir-diğ- { imiz / in }]-i söyle-di-Ø. Ali we-pl-gen thesis-pl-1pl.poss-acc finish-fnmlz- 1pl 3sg -acc say-pst-3sg 'Ali said that we finished our theses.' (Jaklin Kornfilt, p.c.)

This interaction is local:

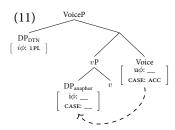
(10) Leyla [[bölüm başkanı-nın tez-ler-imiz-i oku-duğ-u]-na biz-ler-in Leyla department chair-gen thesis-pl-1pl.poss-acc read-fnmlz.poss -dat we-pl-gen mutlu ol-duğ-u /*ol-duğ-umuz]-u söyle-di-Ø. happy be-fnmlz-3sg.poss be-fnmlz-1pl.poss]-acc say-pst-3sg 'Leyla said that we were happy that the department chair read our theses.'

Generalization 2: Binding enables agreement

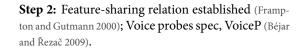
A GEN-marked DTN can only agree if it locally binds an anaphor or bound pronoun.

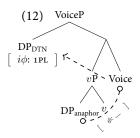
4 Analysis: binding as local phi-feature transmission

Step 1: Voice probes minimal pronoun (cf. Ahn 2015; Murphy and Meyase 2020).

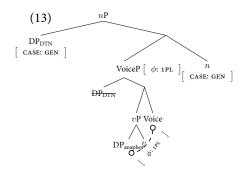


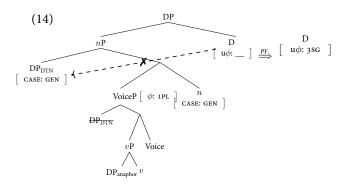
Step 3: Shared feature valued, with features percolating to VoiceP; DTN subject raises to receive GEN.



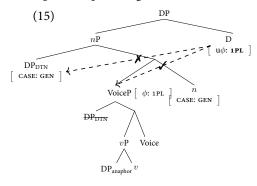


Step 4: A nominal probe D attempts and fails to Agree with the genitive-marked DTN (Preminger 2011). If no further probing occurs, D is empty at PF and receives default 3sg.





Step 5: If D probes again, it finds the 1PL features on VoiceP and gets valued.



5 Conclusion

- Turkish DTNs are opaque for agreement when marked with GEN...
- ...unless they bind, in which case they can agree.
- Implementation: Binding is local phi-feature transmission taking place before GEN assignment.
- At least in this case, binding and agreement seem to go hand-in-hand.

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