

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 abbreviations: 1 = first person, 3 = third person, ABIL = abilative, 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-ı kır-dığ-ı zaman]-ı 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-ı kır-dığ-ı 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.

- (5) a. [[**Biz-*(im)** yemek pişir-diğ-**imiz**]-den dolayı] konser-e
 we food cook-FNMLZ-1PL.POSS -ABL because concert-DAT
 gid-e-me-di-m.
 go-ABIL-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Because we cooked, I was unable to go to the concert.’ (Kornfilt 2003: 151)
- b. [[**Biz-ler-*(in)** yemek pişir-diğ-**imiz**]-den dolayı] konser-e
 we-LER food cook-FNMLZ-1PL.POSS -ABL because concert-DAT
 gid-e-me-di-m.
 go-ABIL-NEG-PST-1SG
 ‘Because we cooked, I was unable to go to the concert.’

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-ı 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.

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