



UNIVERSITY OF  
**CALGARY**

# Movement of Turkish Bare Direct Objects motivated by strong Accusative Case feature

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# Content

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- Introduction
  - The issue
- Literature review and weaknesses
  - Head Incorporation
  - Pseudo Incorporation
- An alternative approach (Two Object Position Hypothesis)
- Conclusion

# Introduction

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1a. Ali kitab-**i** oku- du.

Ali book-**ACC** read-PAST

'Ali read the book.'

1b. Ali kitap oku- du.

Ali book read-PAST

'Ali read a book/ books.'

A bare object= the grammatical object  
does not carry a case marker ("-i")  
does not follow a determiner (a/an)

# The issue

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-Ambiguous modification

Modifier such as *kötü* 'bad', *hızlı* 'fast', and *güzel* 'beautiful'

function as both Adjectives and Adverbs.

Before **nouns** -> Adj.

Before **verbs** -> Adv.

(Taylan, 1984)

# Ambiguous modification

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2a. Mehmet [*kötü* [*araba* kullanıyor]].

Mehmet bad car use-3S

“Mehmet drives badly.”

2b. Mehmet [[*kötü araba-yı*] kullanıyor].

Mehmet bad car-ACC use-3S

“Mehmet drives the bad car.”

# Existing Approaches

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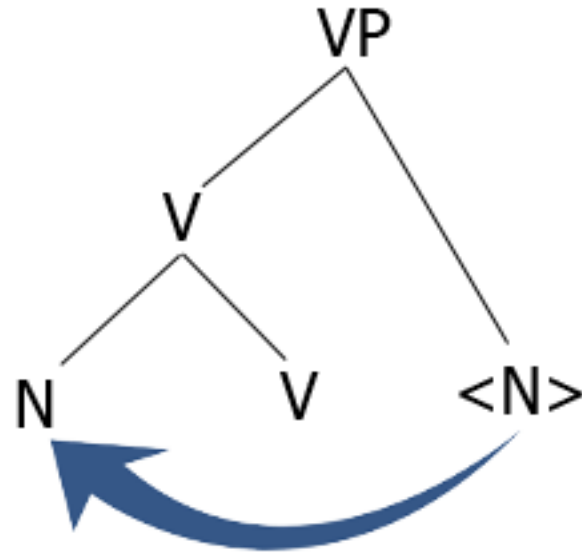
Head Incorporation - Kornfilt (1994), Aydemir (2004)

Pseudo-incorporation- Öztürk (2005), Kamali (2015)

# Head Incorporation

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Baker (1988) = Direct objects undergo head-to-head movement and incorporate into the verb



# Head Incorporation Approach

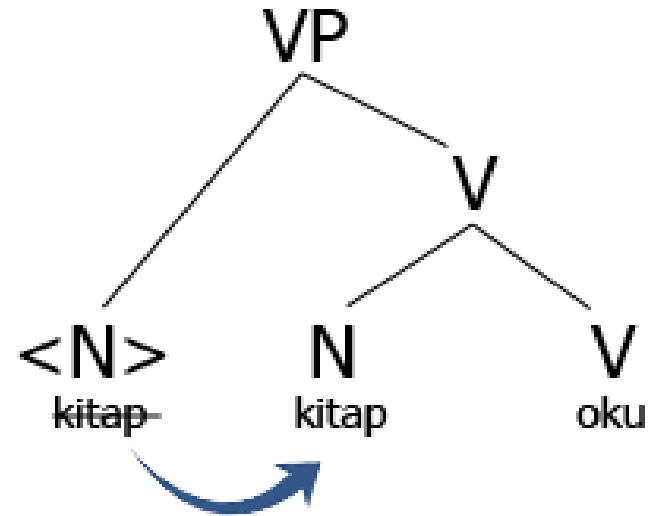
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Kornfilt (1994) & Aydemir (2004) : head-to-head movement, Baker (1988)

3a. Ali V [kitap oku- du].      N head incorporates into the V head

Ali    book read-PAST

“Ali read a book/ books.”





# Head Incorporation Approach

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- 1) The object (N) incorporates into the Verb.
- 2) Object Bare Ns are not syntactic elements, they never project to phrases.
- 3) As a result, the modifier *kötü* “bad” precedes the verb.

# Facts against Head Incorporation

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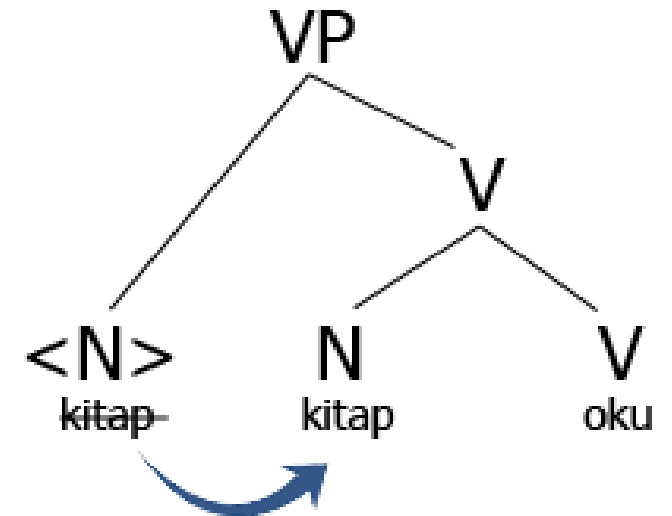
Head Incorporation Predicts: 1) N cannot be removed.

In fact:

4. Ali **kitab** **okudu**, sen de **oku**.

Ali book read-PST you also read

“Ali read book(s), you should also read/do so”



# Facts against Head Incorporation

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Head Incorporation Predicts:      2) N cannot be modified.

In fact:

5. Ali ekşi elma yedi.

Ali sour apple eat-PST

“Ali ate sour apple(s).”

(from Öztürk, 2005, p.216)

# Facts against Head Incorporation

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Head Incorporation Predicts:      3) BDOs are N heads, they are not Phrase levels.

In fact:

6. **Çay** **ve** **süt** içtim.

tea and milk drink-PST-1S

“I drank tea and milk.”

The object is an &P here (Kayne, 1994)

# Predictions of Head Incorporation Summary

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Incorporated nouns cannot be removed



Incorporated nouns cannot be modified



Incorporated nouns are Ns, not phrasal levels.



--- &P BOs

# Pseudo Noun Incorporation

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Massam (2001) = *non-referential* preverbal direct object acts as a single unit with the Verb

**NP** incorporates into the **Verb** and create a Complex Predicate.

Massam's Data from Niuean

7.Ne inu kofe kono a Mele.

PST drink coffee bitter ABS Mele

“Mary drank bitter coffee.”

(from Massam, 2001, p. 158)

# Pseudo Incorporation Approach

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Öztürk (2005): Pseudo Noun Incorporation is observed in Turkish

- BOs are NPs, rather than N heads.
- NP gets its theta-role and Case as usual.

# Facts against Pseudo Noun Incorporation

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Pseudo Noun Incorporation Predicts:

1) Incorporated Nouns cannot be referentially active.

In fact:

8. Dün ilk defa bira içtim. (onun) Tadı iğrençti.

yesterday first time beer drink-PST-1S it-GEN taste-AGR disgusting

“Yesterday, I drank beer for the first time. Its taste was disgusting.”

Kamali (2015) and Seidel (2017) also provide evidence for this.



# Facts against Pseudo Noun Incorporation

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Pseudo Noun Incorporation Predicts: 2) Incorporated Nouns cannot scramble without the verb.

In fact:

9. A: Aslanların boyu ne kadardır merak ediyorum.

lions-GEN length what much-COP wonder do-1S

“I wonder how tall lions are.”

B: Ben t<sub>i</sub> gördüm aslan<sub>i</sub>. 2 metre var.

I see-PST-1S lion meter exists

“The lion, I’ve seen it. About 2 meters.”

(from Kamali, 2015, p. 118, re-glossed)

# Predictions of Pseudo Noun Incorporation Summary

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Incorporated nouns cannot be referentially active ✘

Incorporated nouns cannot scramble ✘

Kamali (2015) agrees with these but still accepts Pseudo-incorporation of BDOs.

# Strong vs Weak ACC

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Kamali (2015) suggests:

- the objects with Weak ACC feature:

  - lack the ACC case morpheme,  
have a non-specific reading.

- the objects with Strong ACC feature:

  - carry the ACC case morpheme,  
have a specific reading.

# Pseudo Noun Incorporation Approach

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Kamali (2015) concludes:

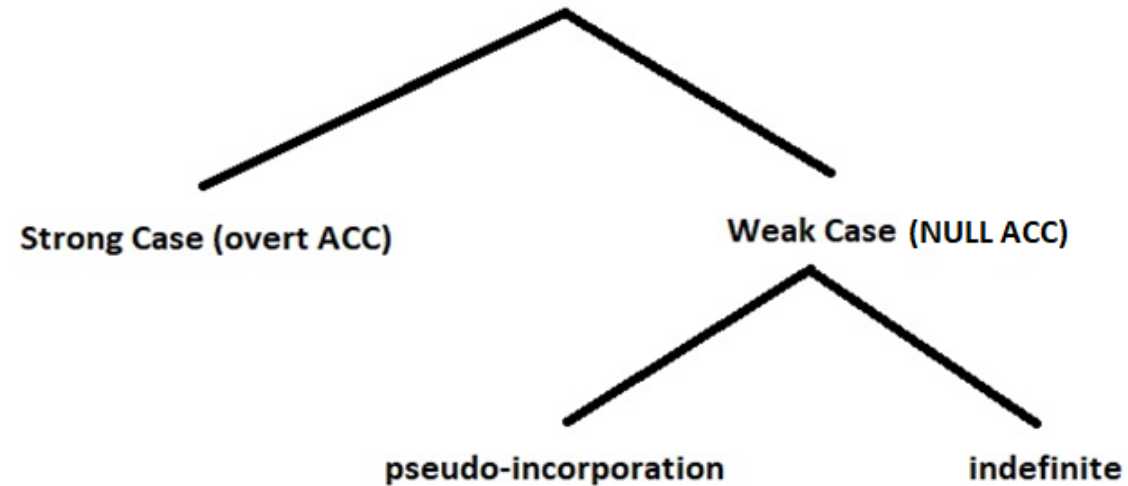
Weak ACC case leads to:

- 1) Pseudo-incorporation OR;
- 2) Non-specific reading

# Pseudo Noun Incorporation Approach

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Resulting taxonomy:



- This indeed makes the assumptions very *ad hoc* and impossible to fight against.

# What is the issue, again?

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Only difference btw. Bare Objects and Case-marked Objects:

Meaning difference with Ambiguous modifiers like *kötü* “bad” .

10a. Mehmet [*kötü* [*araba* kullanıyor]].

Mehmet bad car use-3S

“Mehmet drives badly.”

10b. Mehmet [[*kötü araba-yı*] kullanıyor].

Mehmet bad car-ACC use-3S

“Mehmet drives the bad car.”

So, is an Incorporation analysis necessary?

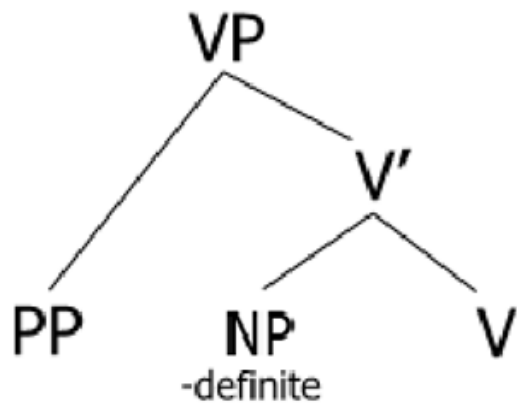
# Two Object Position Hypothesis (TOPH)

Karimi (2005) suggest:

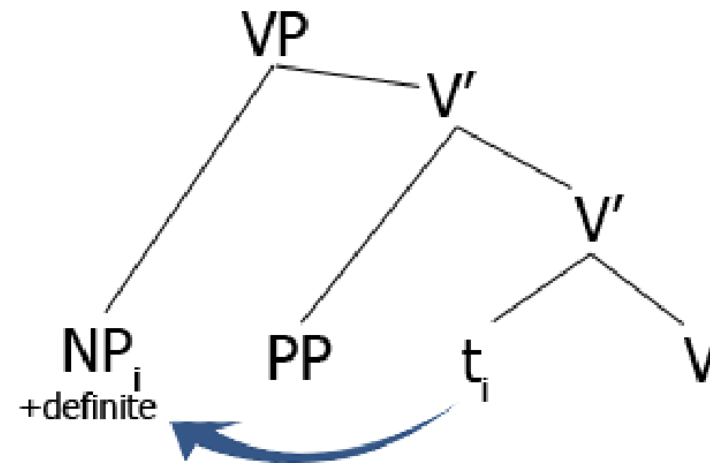
Two different positions for definite/ indefinite objects within the VP in Persian.

Two positions:

Tree A.



Tree B.



# TOPH in Turkish (specific vs non-specific)

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11a. Ben [VP *çok* [*çocuk* *sev-iyor-um*]].  
I *much* child[non-specific] love-PRES-1S  
“I like children a lot.”

11b. [vP Ben [v' *çocuk-u<sub>i</sub>* [VP *çok* [V' *t<sub>i</sub>* *sev-iyor-um*]]].  
I child[specific]-ACC *much* love-PRES-1S  
“I like the child (a specific child) a lot.”

11c. \*Ben [VP *çok* [V' *çocuk-u* *sev-iyor-um*]].  
I *much* child[specific]-ACC love-PRES-1S



# TOPH in Turkish (specific vs non-specific)

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12a. \*Ben [VP çok [sen-(i) sev-iyor-um]].

I much you[specific]-ACC love-PRES-1S

12b. [vP Ben [v' sen-i; [VP çok [V' t; sev-iyor-um]]].

I you[specific]-ACC much love-PRES-1S

“I love you so much.”

# Summary of TOPH in Turkish

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- 1) The direct object originates in the V complement position.
- 2) It moves to  $v'$  position to check Strong ACC feature.  
If it has weak ACC, it stays as V complement.

## Crucial:

The objects *originate* **between the Adverb and the Verb**.

They move higher to check Strong ACC and so they get the suffix.

Two Object Position Hypothesis (TOPH) (modified for Turkish)

a. [VP AdvP [VP NP[+ACC] V]]

b. [vP NP[+ACC\*] [VP AdvP VP [  $t_i$  V]]] (\* *implies strong feature.*)

# How does it help?

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13a. Mehmet [*kötü* [*araba* kullanıyor]].

Mehmet bad car use-3S

“Mehmet drives badly.”

13b. Mehmet [[*araba-yı*]<sub>i</sub> *kötü* t<sub>i</sub> kullanıyor].

Mehmet car-ACC bad use-3S

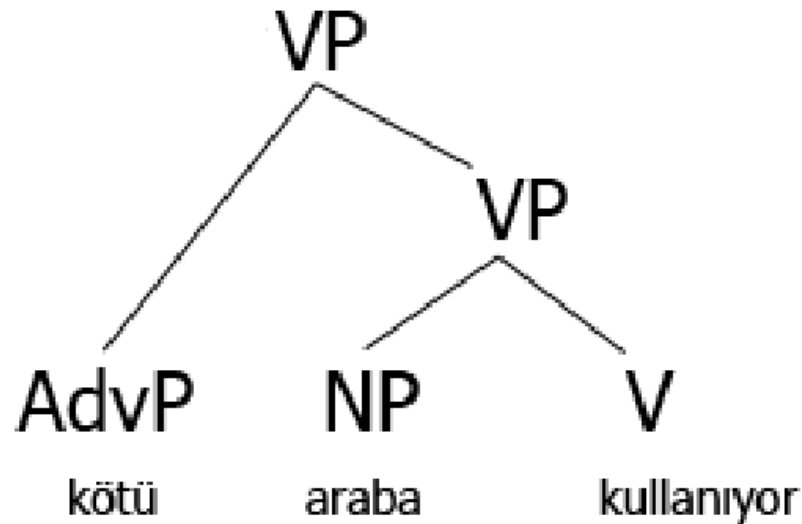
“Mehmet drives the car badly.”

13c. Mehmet [[*kötü araba-yı*]<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> kullanıyor].

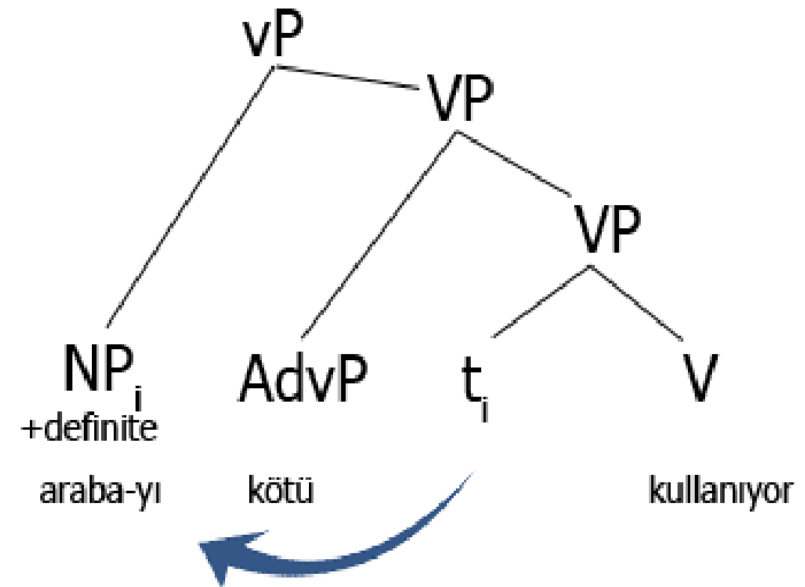
Mehmet bad car-ACC use-3S

“Mehmet drives the bad car.”

# Ambiguous modification in TOPH



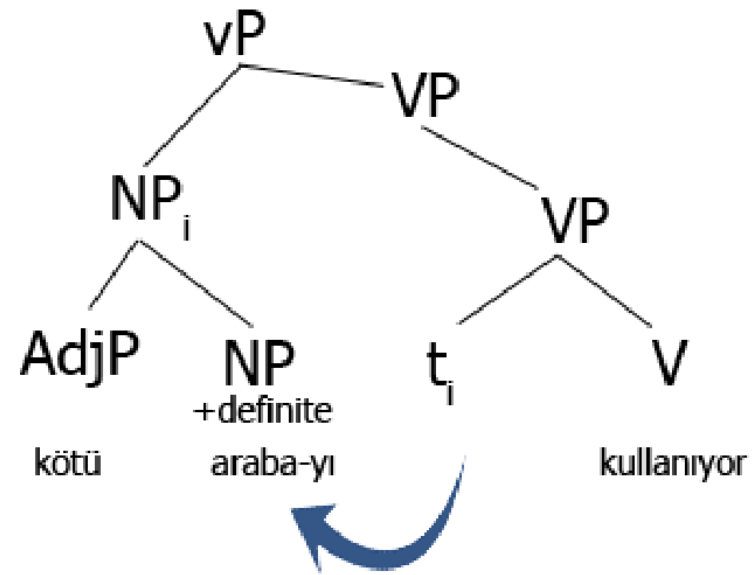
13a. Mehmet [**kötü** [araba kullanıyor]].  
Mehmet bad car use-3S  
"Mehmet drives badly."



13b. Mehmet [[araba-yı]<sub>i</sub> **kötü** t<sub>i</sub> kullanıyor].  
Mehmet car-ACC bad use-3S  
"Mehmet drives the car badly."

# Ambiguous modification in TOPH

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13c. Mehmet [[**kötü araba-yı**]<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> kullanıyor].  
Mehmet bad car-ACC use-3S  
“Mehmet drives the bad car.”

# Conclusions

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- The issue with the ambiguous modifiers could be well explained by adopting Karimi's (2005) TOPH to Turkish.
- TOPH is observed in Turkish, *Strong vs Weak ACC* feature leads to two different positions.
- Any incorporation analyses would be conceptually unnecessary.

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Thank you for your  
participation.  
Any questions?

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