

Movement of Bare Objects in Turkish

Martina Gračanin-Yüksek & Selçuk İşsever
Middle East Technical University & Ankara University

Abstract: Direct objects in Turkish may surface with or without overt case-marking. We refer to the object that lacks a case suffix as a bare object (BO). BOs differ from their case-marked counterparts in obligatorily receiving non-specific interpretation, and in being more restricted in the range of positions that they can occupy. We propose an analysis that explains both the distributional possibilities of BOs, as well as their non-specific reading. On our analysis, a BO undergoes movement for discourse-related reasons, but lacking a case-marker, it cannot move on its own; rather the BO pied-pipes the entire VP with it. By the time this movement happens, the VP contains only the BO, after the verb has vacated it on the way to T^0 . The non-specific interpretation of BOs follows from the fact that they always occupy a VP-internal position, rather than from the fact that they lack case-marking.

Keywords: bare object, case-marking, specificity, remnant VP movement, pied-piping, verb-raising, scrambling

Özet: Türkçede nesnelere durum eki almadan da gerçekleşebilmektedir. Çıplak nesne (ÇN) olarak adlandırdığımız, herhangi bir durum eki ile imlenmemiş nesnelere zorunlu olarak özgüllük-dışı yorum almaları ve bulunabilecekleri konumların çok daha sınırlı olması açısından durum eki alan karşıtlarından ayrılmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, ÇN'lerin dağılım olasılıkları ve özgüllük-dışı okumalarını açıklayan bir çözümleme önermekteyiz. Çözümlememize göre, ÇN'lere söylemsel nedenlerle taşıma işlemi uygulanmakta, ancak durum eki almadıklarından tek başlarına taşınmamaktadırlar; ÇN'lerin taşınması ancak EÖ'nün tümünü kuyruk-takmaları aracılığıyla gerçekleşebilmektedir. Eylem Z^0 'ye yükselmek üzere EÖ'yü terk etmiş olduğundan, bu taşımanın gerçekleştiği sırada EÖ yalnızca ÇN'yi

içermektedir. ÇN'lerin özgüllük-dışı okumaları ise durum eki almamalarından değil, daima EÖ-içkin bir konumu doldurmalarından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: çıplak nesne, durum-imleme, özgüllük, artık EÖ taşıması, kuyruk-takma, eylem-yükseltme, çalkalama

1. Introduction

The term “bare object” (BO) refers to a nominal that functions as the object of the verb, but is not overtly marked by a case-ending, as in (1).

- (1) Ali kitap okuyor.
Ali.NOM book read.PRES.PROG.3SG
'Ali is doing book-reading.'

In this paper we propose an analysis of sentences in Turkish which contain a BO in a non-canonical pre-verbal position (see examples (7)-(9)). This phenomenon needs an explanation because BOs normally do not seem to be able to undergo movement. For example, under passivization BOs give rise to impersonal passive constructions, shown in (2a), which indicates that they do not undergo case-driven movement. Case-marked objects, on the other hand, give rise to personal passive, as illustrated in (2b).

- (2) a. Odada kitap okundu.
room.in book read.PASS.PAST.3SG
'There was book-reading in the room.' (Öztürk, 2009: 341)
- b. Kitap odada okundu.
book.NOM room.in read.PASS.PAST.3SG
'The book was read in the room.' (Öztürk, 2009: 341)

BOs and case-marked objects exhibit a number of other differences as well. BOs, unlike their case-marked counterparts, necessarily receive a non-specific

interpretation (Enç, 1991; Erguvanlı, 1984; Kornfilt, 2003; Nilsson, 1986; Öztürk 2005, 2009). The difference in specificity is illustrated in (3):

- (3) a. Ali kitap okuyor.
 Ali.NOM book read.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘Ali is doing book-reading.’
 b. Ali kitabı okuyor.
 Ali.NOM book.ACC read.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘Ali is reading a specific book.’

Further, BOs do not establish discourse reference for pronouns, in contrast to case-marked objects:

- (4) a. Ali kitap okudu. *Rengi kırmızıydı.
 Ali.NOM book read.PAST.3SG color.POSS red.was
 ‘Ali did book-reading. Its color was red.’
 b. Ali kitabı okudu. Rengi kırmızıydı.
 Ali.NOM book.ACC read.PAST.3SG color.POSS red.was
 ‘Ali read the book. Its color was red.’ (Öztürk, 2005: 27)
- (5) *Dün filmi seyrettim, onu/onları sen de
 yesterday movie_i watch.PAST.1SG it.ACC_i/them.ACC_i you.NOM also
 seyretmelisin.
 watch.must.2SG
 ‘Yesterday I saw a movie, you should see it/them, too.’ (Aydemir, 2004: 468)

The fact that BOs are invisible to syntax with respect to binding and passivization (A-movement) seems to indicate that BOs cannot serve as syntactic arguments on their own (Aydemir, 2004; Öztürk, 2005, 2009). If this is correct, it is not surprising that they are unable to undergo movement. We would then expect BOs to be restricted only to the immediately pre-verbal position – the position where the direct object is externally merged into the structure and where it is theta-marked. However, we do find BOs in non-canonical positions as well, as illustrated in (6) through (9).

- (6) Ben yemedim pasta.
 I.NOM eat.NEG.PAST.1SG cake
 ‘I didn’t eat cake.’ (Öztürk, 2009: 339)
- (7) Kitap Ali okudu.
 book Ali.NOM read.PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali read a book/books.’ (Sezer, 1996: 238)
- (8) Kahve Ali de istemişti.
 coffee Ali.NOM also want.EVID.PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali too wanted coffee.’ (Uygun, 2006)
- (9) Elma (ben) çok yedim bugün.
 Apple (I.NOM) a-lot eat.PAST.1SG today
 ‘I ate apples a lot today.’ (İşsever, 2008: 100)

In these sentences BOs are dislocated from their canonical positions, and they are separated from their selecting verbs. Given the general inertness of BOs (which we arrived at in light of the data in (2), (4), and (5)), the challenge is to explain how they come to occupy their surface positions in (6) through (9). In this paper, we argue that word orders in these sentences are in fact derived by movement. However, in order to accommodate for the fact that a BO is not a syntactic argument and cannot as such undergo movement on its own, we propose that a BO, when it moves, pied-pipes the whole VP to its derived position. The fact that in the string the BO does not surface adjacent to the verb (in contrast to what a pied-piping analysis predicts) is due to the movement of the verb to a higher functional projection (T), which happens prior to the movement of the VP. Thus, when a BO moves, what it pied-pipes to its landing site is in fact a remnant VP. The fact that a BO and the verb can surface separated from one another (as in (6)-(9)) argues against proposals on which BOs are bare nouns incorporated into the verb (Aydemir, 2004; Knecht, 1986; Kornfilt, 2003; Mithun, 1984; Nilsson, 1986). Instead, BOs appear to have phrasal status, as argued in Arslan Kechriotis (2006), Erguvanlı (1984), and Öztürk (2005, 2009).

The paper is organized as follows: In section 2, we present our analysis and address its necessary components. In section 3 we present data from embedded clauses and show that the analysis accounts for the observed distribution of BOs. In section 4, we briefly discuss how our analysis bears on the relation between case-marking and specificity. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. The Analysis

In the literature, it has been widely noticed that in Turkish non-case-marked nominals resist movement. For example, Aydemir (2004), Çağrı (2005, 2009), and Kornfilt (2003) among others state that BOs must occupy the pre-verbal position.¹ The same claim is made in Öztürk (2005), but Öztürk (2009) allows for the movement of BOs (as in the example (6) above). İşsever (2003, 2006, 2008), Sezer (1996), and Uygun (2006) also report sentences that contain a displaced BO as grammatical.

As stated in the introduction, we attempt to capture the facts observed in (7) – (9) above by arguing that BOs do indeed undergo movement. İşsever (2006, 2008) proposes that BOs move from their canonical, pre-verbal position in order to check a discourse-related topic feature. However, as pointed out to us by an anonymous reviewer, a dislocated BO may also receive (contrastive) stress, as in (10), which indicates that topicality is not the only driving force behind the displacement of a BO (focus is indicated with small capitals here and throughout the paper).

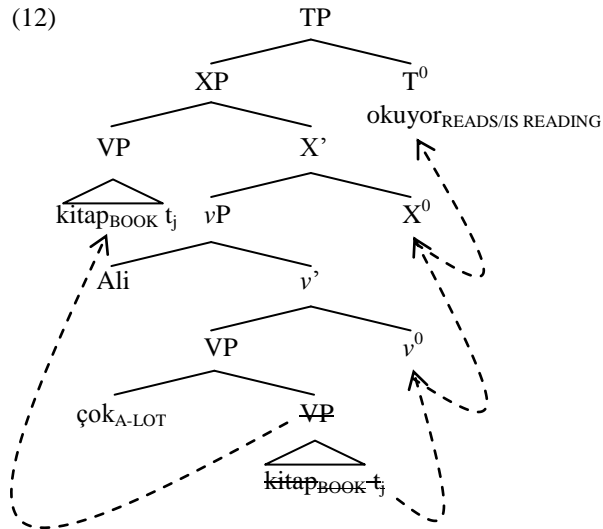
- (10) KİTAP Ali çok okuyor (gazete değil).
book Ali.NOM a-lot read.PRES.PROG.3SG newspaper not
'Ali reads books a lot (not newspapers).'

We thus conclude that the movement in question is a result of a discourse-related (topic or focus) feature and that it targets the specifier position of a functional head (X^0), which may take vP or TP as its complement.² X^0 enters the probe-goal relationship with the BO in order to check the uninterpretable discourse feature and attracts the BO to its specifier position. However, since the BO (which carries the interpretable discourse feature) does not function as a syntactic argument, it cannot move on its own. Consequently, the entire (remnant) VP is pied-piped to $[Spec, XP]$ (as a Last Resort operation). Thus, we propose the derivation in (12) to account for the word order observed in (11).³

In (11), the BO *kitap* 'book' precedes the subject *Ali*, while the verb is in the sentence-final position. The derivation proceeds as follows: upon the merger of the v^0 , the verb undergoes head-movement to adjoin to it. Next, the subject is externally merged into the $[Spec, vP]$, followed by the merger of the discourse feature-bearing head X^0 . In accordance with the Head-Movement Constraint (Travis, 1984), the

verb raises to X^0 , which also agrees with and attracts the BO. The BO moves to the specifier position of XP, pied-piping the entire remnant VP, which the verb has previously vacated. This gives rise to the illusion that the BO has moved on its own. Finally, the verb raises to T^0 .


- (11) *Kitap_i Ali çok t_i okuyor.*
 book Ali.NOM a-lot read.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘Ali reads books a lot.’
 ‘Ali does a lot of book-reading.’



The analysis in (12) relies on several assumptions, which we turn to next. First, the subject *Ali* remains in its original [Spec, vP] position. Öztürk (2002, 2005) argues that subjects in Turkish may, but do not have to raise to [Spec, TP]. We will assume then without further discussion that the subject in Turkish may occupy either a [Spec, vP] or [Spec, TP] position. This assumption becomes important in deriving sentences such as (13) below. In (13), the subject *Ali* precedes the BO *kitap* ‘book.’ The observed word order is derived as in (12), the only difference being the movement of the subject to [Spec, TP].

- (13) Ali_j kitap_i çok t_j t_i okuyor.
 Ali.NOM book a-lot read.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘Ali reads books a lot.’
 ‘Ali does a lot of book-reading.’

Another necessary ingredient of the analysis is the possibility of VP movement in Turkish. We take sentences such as the one in (14a), which contains an accusative case-marked object *kitabı* ‘book’, as evidence that VP movement is indeed possible in Turkish.

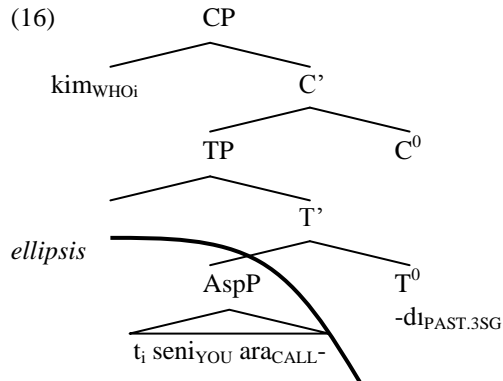
- (14) a. Kitabı okumasını Ali Ayşe’nin istiyor.
 book.ACC read.N.POSS.ACC Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN want.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘Ali wants Ayşe to read the book.’
 b. [_{VP} kitabı okumasını] Ali [Ayşe’nin __] istiyor.


Finally, in order for the VP that hosts the BO to be free of the verb by the time the movement to [Spec, XP] occurs, it must be the case that the verb in Turkish finite clauses undergoes movement to T⁰. İnce (2006) provides evidence to this effect, which comes from sluicing. He shows that in sluicing examples the sluiced *wh*-phrase may appear with the tense marker:

- (15) Dün seni biri aradı, ama **kim-di**
 yesterday you.ACC someone.NOM call.PAST.3SG but who-PAST.3SG
 bilmiyorum.
 know.NOT.PROG.1SG
 ‘Yesterday someone called you, but I don’t know who.’

İnce proposes that in Turkish, sluicing deletes the AspP, the complement of T⁰, as shown in (16)⁴. The past tense affix *-di*, which is generated under T⁰, is thus stranded by the deletion, and attaches to the only phonologically realized constituent, the *wh*-phrase (İnce’s work is also evidence for the proposal that deletion bleeds verb movement. For additional evidence for this claim see Craenenbroeck and Liptak, 2008). Together with İnce, we take this fact as evidence that verbal tense morphology in Turkish is base generated in T⁰. Consequently,

when the verb appears with the tense morphology in a finite clause, it must have moved to T⁰.



Another piece of evidence to the same effect comes from the placement of the adverbial marker *da* ‘also’. Consider the data in (17). What (17b) shows is that the adverbial marker, when it appears between the (case-marked) object and the inflected verb, may scope over the entire VP, rather than only over the object. The sentence in (17b) means “Ali also cleaned the windows” rather than “Ali cleaned also the windows.” This is expected if the verb is high (in T⁰), but the adverbial marker attaches to the edge of VP (since there is a copy of the verb within the VP, *da* takes scope over it). The ungrammaticality of (17c) shows that the adverbial marker, which marks the edge of the VP, cannot surface to the right of the verb. This suggests that the movement of the verb to T⁰ in Turkish finite clauses is obligatory.

- (17) a. Ali odayı topladı.
 Ali.NOM room.ACC tidy-up.PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali tidied up the room.’
- b. Camları da sildi.
 windows.ACC also clean.PAST.3SG
 ‘He also cleaned the windows.’
- c. *Camları sildi de.
 windows.ACC clean.PAST.3SG also

The analysis thus rests on three assumptions (the optional movement of the subject to TP, the possibility of VP movement, and the obligatory verb movement to T⁰ in Turkish finite clauses), which all seem to be independently motivated. However, it is the verb raising in Turkish finite clauses that allows for the fact that a displaced BO and the verb may surface separated from one another. In other words, regardless of the other two assumptions, if it were not the case that the verb raises to T⁰, the BO would always surface to the immediate left of the verb (both in canonical and non-canonical positions). The analysis thus makes the following prediction: if we have evidence that in a particular environment the verb remains within the VP, then in such an environment we should find no material intervening between a (displaced) BO and the verb. In the next section we test this prediction and show that it is borne out.

3. BOs in Nominalized Embedded Clauses

So far we have looked at the distribution of BOs in matrix finite clauses, and we have noted that a BO in such an environment may surface in non-canonical positions, and in particular, that it may be separated from the verb. We accounted for this by proposing that the BO undergoes discourse-feature-driven movement to the specifier of the head X⁰, pied-piping the entire VP along. Crucially, by the time this movement happens, the verb is no longer within the VP, having raised to T⁰.

Here we examine the distribution of BOs in nominalized embedded clauses (NECs). A BO that originates in a NEC may undergo movement to a position in the matrix clause. This is true of both of NECs derived by the action nominalizer *-mA*, illustrated in (18) and NECs derived by the factive nominalizer *-DIK*, illustrated in (19).

- (18) a. Ali [Ayşe'nin **kitap** okumasını] istedi.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN book read.N.POSS.ACC want.PAST.3SG
 'Ali wanted Ayşe to read a book/books.'
- b. **Kitap** okumasını Ali [Ayşe'nin __] istedi.
 book read.N.POSS.ACC Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN want.PAST.3SG
- c. Ali [**kitap** okumasını Ayşe'nin __] istedi.
 Ali.NOM book read.N.POSS.ACC Ayşe.GEN want.PAST.3SG

- (19) a. Ali [Ayşe'nin **kitap** okuduğunu] biliyor.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN book read.N.POSS.ACC know.PRES.PROG.3SG
 'Ali knows that Ayşe read a book/books.'
- b. **Kitap** okuduğunu Ali [Ayşe'nin __] biliyor.
 book read.N.POSS.ACC Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN know.PRES.PROG.3SG
- c. Ali [**kitap** okuduğunu Ayşe'nin __] biliyor.
 Ali.NOM book read.N.POSS.ACC Ayşe.GEN know.PRES.PROG.3SG

However, although a BO originating in a NEC may surface in the matrix clause, it is not the case that the verb and the BO may be separated from one another (in contrast to the situation in the matrix clauses). The permutations in (20) and (21) below are not acceptable.

- (20) a. *Ali [**kitap** Ayşe'nin __ okumasını] istedi.
 Ali.NOM book Ayşe.GEN read.N.POSS.ACC want.PAST.3SG
- b. ***Kitap** Ali [Ayşe'nin __ okumasını] istedi.
 book Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN read.N.POSS.ACC want.PAST.3SG
- (21) a. *Ali [**kitap** Ayşe'nin __ okuduğunu] biliyor.
 Ali.NOM book Ayşe.GEN read.N.POSS.ACC know.PRES.PROG.3SG
- b. ***Kitap** Ali [Ayşe'nin __ okuduğunu] biliyor.
 book Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN read.N.POSS.ACC know.PRES.PROG.3SG

We argue that (20) and (21) are ungrammatical because in these NECs the verb remains VP-internal. Evidence for this claim comes again from sluicing and the distribution of the adverbial marker *da* 'also.'

Sluicing in embedded clauses behaves very differently from the sluicing in matrix clauses. In particular, the sluiced *wh*-phrase in the embedded clause cannot surface affixed with the verbal morphology. This is shown in (22).

- (22) *Dün seni birinin aradığını biliyorum,
 yesterday you.ACC someone.GEN call.N.POSS.ACC know.1SG
 ama kim-**İNDİĞİNİ** bilmiyorum.
 but who-GEN.N.ACC not-know.1SG
 'I know that someone called you yesterday, but I don't know who.'

We take the ungrammaticality of (22) as an indication that the morphology which surfaces on the verb in a NEC is not stranded by ellipsis. As we discuss below, this suggests that the verb does not need to undergo raising in order to “pick it up.” Consequently, the verb remains VP-internal and is pied-piped to the landing site of the BO along with the entire VP.

Another piece of evidence against verb movement in NECs comes from the adverbial marker *da* ‘also,’ whose distribution in NECs differs from that in matrix clauses. In particular, as shown in (23) and (24), in a NEC *da* may surface to the right of the verb, which we saw in (17c) is impossible in matrix contexts.

- (23) a. Ali Ayşe'nin odayı toplamasını istedi.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN room.ACC tidy-up.N.POSS.ACC want.PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali wanted Ayşe to tidy up the room.’
 b. Camları silmesini de istedi.
 windows.ACC clean.N.POSS.ACC also want.PAST.3SG
 ‘He also wants her to clean the windows.’
- (24) a. Ali Ayşe'nin odayı topladığını biliyor.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN room.ACC tidy-up.N.POSS.ACC know.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘Ali knows that Ayşe tidied up the room.’
 b. Camları sildiğini de biliyor.
 windows.ACC clean.N.POSS.ACC also know.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘He knows that she also cleaned the windows.’

Although not perfect comparing to (24b), it is also possible for the adverbial marker to surface between the object and the verb, as in (25b), indicating that the verb in NECs optionally *may* raise to some higher position. This in turn predicts that (20) and (21) should be well-formed (on the verb raising analysis), contrary to fact.

- (25) a. Ali Ayşe'nin odayı topladığını biliyor.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN room.ACC tidy-up.N.POSS.ACC know.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘Ali knows that Ayşe tidied up the room.’
 b. ?Camları da sildiğini biliyor.
 windows.ACC also clean.N.POSS.ACC know.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘He knows that she also cleaned the windows.’

A reviewer points out that the grammaticality of (25b) sheds doubt on the entire argument that rests on the difference between NECs and matrix clauses in terms of verb raising. While the argument would have undoubtedly be stronger if (25b) were ill-formed, we do not believe that its well-formedness is as damaging to our analysis as it might seem. Let us examine in more detail the internal structure of NECs. Since the verb in such clauses appears with nominal morphology and the entire clause carries morphological case-marking, we assume, together with Kornfilt and Whitman (2011), that a NEC contains a nominalizing head n^0 (Marantz 1997), which hosts the nominal suffix (*-DIK* or *-mA*). The nominal head takes a verbal projection as its complement. We know that the nominalizing morpheme ends up suffixed on the verb. We would like to propose that n^0 enters an *Agree* relation with the verb it c-commands, but this agreement does not necessarily result in the head movement of the verb to n^0 . Rather, if nothing intervenes between the two, the nominal morphology ends up on the verb at the level of morphology (by means of Merger in the sense of Halle and Marantz (1993)). Thus, the verb remains low and the nominal morphology does not survive sluicing, as we saw in (22).

What happens then when *dA* is present in the structure? Göksel and Özsoy (2003, p. 1147) note that *dA* cannot be stressed and that “[i]t cliticizes to all types of syntactic phrases [...]”. We saw in (17c) that *dA* cannot cliticize onto a tensed verb. We thus conclude that (everything else being equal) *dA* for some reason cannot attach to a tensed TP. However, *dA* can cliticize onto the nominalized verb, as in (23b) and (24b). This possibility follows if *dA* can attach not only to VPs, but also to *n*Ps. If it attaches to the *n*P inside a NEC, the grammaticality of (23b) and (24b) follows straightforwardly. If on the other hand, *dA* attaches to the VP, it intervenes between the nominalizing head n^0 and the verb, thereby precluding the Morphological Merger between the two. In these cases, we believe, the verb exceptionally undergoes syntactic head movement to adjoin to the n^0 it agrees with, in order to provide a host for the nominal suffix. This Last Resort movement operation results in *dA* appearing between the object and the verb, as in (25b).

An analysis along these lines correctly captures the contrast between (17c) on the one hand and (23b)/(24b) on the other. It also accounts for the grammaticality of (25b). Incidentally, it also provides an explanation for the fact that in a NEC, the BO which serves as a host for *dA*, may in fact appear separated from the verb, as (26) shows.⁵ If our proposal is on the right track, in such cases, the movement of the BO to the exclusion of the verb is made possible by the fact that the discourse-

oriented feature (topic or focus) is hosted by *dA* (possibly in addition to its being present on the BO). Since *dA* is closer to the relevant head X^0 than the BO, locality considerations prevent the head to probe any further, and as a result it is *dA* which checks the X^0 's uninterpretable features. However, *dA* – being a clitic – needs a phonological host, and therefore pied-pipes the VP (which contains only the BO, since the verb had to move to n^0 as a Last Resort).

- (26) a. Ali Ayşe'nin ders çalışmasını istedi.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN course work.N.POSS.ACC want.PAST.3SG
 'Ali wanted Ayşe to study for the lesson.'
- b. Kitap da Ali onun okumasını istedi.
 book also Ali.NOM she.GEN read.N.POSS.ACC want.PAST.3SG
 'He wanted her to also do some book-reading.'

If it is true that the verb in NECs does not leave the VP, we have a natural explanation both for the well-formedness of (18b-c) and (19b-c), and for the ill-formedness of (20a-b) and (21a-b), none of which contain *dA*. Since the verb remains VP-internal, the only way for the BO to appear separated from the verb in these contexts is to undergo movement *out of* the VP. This, however, is impossible.

In this section we have seen that the analysis we proposed in Section 2 correctly predicts the distribution of displaced BOs in matrix as well as in embedded nominalized clauses, at the same time retaining the insight that BOs do not function as syntactic arguments on their own. In particular, we hope to have shown that the possible positions of the BO and the verb relative to one another depend on whether the verb does or does not raise out of the VP. This gives support to our proposal that the movement of the BO in fact involves the pied-piping of the entire VP.

4. Case-marking and specificity

In previous sections we saw that the analysis we propose derives the distribution of BOs both in matrix and in nominalized embedded clauses, correctly predicting when a displaced BO must and when it does not have to surface immediately adjacent to the verb. If the analysis is on the right track, it argues against proposals on which BOs are bare nouns incorporated into the verb (Aydemir, 2004; Kornfilt,

2003). Any account that analyzes BOs as incorporated nouns fails to predict the possibility that they can surface separated from the verb (in any environment).

If BOs are not bare nouns, they must have phrasal status (Arslan Kechriotis, 2006; Erguvanlı, 1984; Öztürk, 2005, 2009). So, why can't BOs then undergo movement on their own? Following Kornfilt (2003), who notes that in Turkish, overt case marking is a prerequisite for syntactic movement, we propose that BOs cannot move on their own because they are not overtly case-marked. The reason why BOs are not case-marked is that they are NPs, as argued by Arslan Kechriotis (2006), Erguvanlı (1984), and Öztürk (2005, 2009), and that they lack the higher functional structure, namely the DP and the KP layers.⁶ Thus, BOs cannot bear overt case morphology, which precludes them from undergoing movement on their own.

The claim that BOs are phrasal (albeit not case-marked), however, raises a question of why they are obligatorily interpreted as non-specific, in contrast to their case-marked counterparts. A reasonable hypothesis, argued for by Enç (1991), Erguvanlı (1984), Erkü (1982), and Kornfilt (1997) among others, would be to say that case-marking in Turkish is an exponent of specificity. In other words, if a direct object carries a feature [+ specific], this feature is spelled out as a case-marker. On the other hand, if a direct object carries no such feature, then the case-marker cannot be present (because the property that the case-marker is a reflex of is absent). Such a proposal correctly predicts that all BOs receive a non-specific interpretation. It also predicts that all case-marked objects are necessarily interpreted as specific (as argued for by Kennelly, 2003, fn. 2). This, however, we find too strong. In particular, we note that case-marking on a nominal does not always induce specific interpretation⁷. Rather, it seems to be the case, as argued extensively by von Stechow and Kornfilt (2005, p. 11), that “[t]he case suffix is a reliable indicator of specificity only if the direct object stands in the immediately preverbal position.” However, when the direct object is located in a non-canonical position, it may surface with a case marker, and yet be interpreted non-specifically. An example of this sort is given in (27) below. When (27b) is uttered in the context of (27a), the dislocated NP object *naz* ‘spite’ of the light verb is case-marked, but is nevertheless lacking the specific reading. This is evidence that case-marking and specificity do not always go hand in hand.

- (27) a. Ali naz yaptı.
 Ali.NOM spite do.PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali behaved spitefully.’
- b. Hayır, naz-**ı** HASAN yaptı, Ali değil.
 no spite-ACC Hasan.NOM do.PAST.3SG Ali.NOM not
 ‘No, it was HASAN who behaved spitefully, not Ali.’

What seems to be the case then is that the non-specificity of BOs is a consequence of the fact that they are always VP-internal (even though the entire VP may undergo movement). The fact that case-marked objects are interpreted as specific does not follow directly from their being overtly case-marked. Rather, overt case-marking makes it possible for an object to leave the VP, which may result in the specific reading, not available for VP-internal BOs.⁸

A question then arises as to what happens when a dislocated case-marked non-specific object, like the one in (27b), is linked to a theta-position within a NEC. As we have seen in Section 3, since in Turkish NECs the verb does not seem to raise out of the embedded VP, it is impossible for a non-specific BO to surface separated from the verb. However, if we are correct in claiming that overt case-marking is a prerequisite for a direct object to surface external to the VP, we expect that a dislocated case-marked non-specific object may be separated from the verb, even if the verb remains within the embedded VP. Examples (28b) and (29b) show that this prediction is borne out.

- (28) a. Ali Ayşe'nin naz yaptığını biliyor.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN spite do.N.POSS.ACC know.PRES.PROG.3SG
 ‘Ali knows that Ayşe behaved spitefully.’
- b. Hayır, naz-**ı** HASAN'ın yaptığını biliyor,
 no spite-ACC Hasan.GEN do.N.POSS.ACC know.PRES.PROG.3SG
 Ayşe'nin değil.
 Ayşe.GEN not
 ‘No, he knows that HASAN behaved spitefully, not Ayşe.’
- (29) a. Ali Ayşe'nin kitap okumasını istedi.
 Ali.NOM Ayşe.GEN book read.N.POSS.ACC want.PAST.3SG
 ‘Ali wants Ayşe to read a book/books.’

- b. Hayır, kitab-**ı** HASAN'ın okumasını istedi,
 no book-ACC Hasan.GEN read.N.POSS.ACC want.PAST.3SG
 Ayşe'nin değil.
 Ayşe.GEN not
 'No, he wants HASAN to read a book/books, not Ayşe.'

We conclude that in Turkish, case-marking is only indirectly related to specificity. Case-marking allows constituents to undergo movement, and movement allows direct objects to surface external to the VP, which seems to be a necessary, but not always sufficient condition for receiving specific interpretation.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we proposed an analysis of the distribution of BOs in Turkish. We started by observing that BOs can surface in non-canonical positions in a sentence. This is surprising, given that BOs seem to be invisible to syntactic operations such as A-movement or binding, i.e. they do not seem to be able to undergo movement. We proposed that when BOs surface in non-canonical positions, what is moved to this position is the entire VP, which by that moment in the derivation contains only the BO, the verb having vacated it in order to raise to T^0 . The movement of the BO is motivated by a discourse-related topic/focus feature, which we conjecture is checked in the specifier position of the XP (headed by a functional head which takes vP or TP as its complement). The analysis accounts for the distribution of BOs in both matrix and embedded nominalized clauses.

We also proposed that the non-specific interpretation of BOs follows not directly from the fact that they lack case-marking, but rather from the fact that they are necessarily VP-internal. We follow Kornfilt (2003) in proposing that in Turkish, case-marking is a prerequisite for a nominal constituent to undergo movement, which in turn may or may not result in the specific reading. We substantiated our claim by showing that case-marked objects that receive non-specific interpretation, unlike their bare counterparts, may surface separated from the verb even if they originate in nominalized embedded clauses. This is predicted by our analysis, given that the presence of a case marker allows for the object to undergo movement on its own, so the fact that the verb remains VP-internal in these environments no longer affects distributional possibilities of the direct object.

Notes

- ¹ Kornfilt (2003, fn.4) notes that BOs can only appear in a non-canonical position under specific discourse conditions, in which case they are most likely left dislocated, i.e. base-generated in the surface position.
- ² It is also possible that the BOs target the specifiers of different discourse-related projections, depending on their interpretation (topic vs. focus). Another view, brought to our attention by an anonymous reviewer, might be that the relevant discourse features are not located on separate functional heads, but are rather hosted by phase heads. Since our proposal is compatible with both views, we remain agnostic as to the exact position that the movement of BOs targets.
- ³ For concreteness, we adopt here the cartographic approach to information structure, advocated by Rizzi (1997, 2004), Cinque (1999, 2002), and Belletti (2003) among others. However, our proposal holds equally well if we adopt the view proposed, for example, by Neeleman and Van De Koot (2008), which dispenses with discourse-related functional projections and proposes instead that syntactic representations are associated with representation in the information structure via mapping rules, yielding particular discourse-related interpretations.
- ⁴ Considering the fact that Turkish is a *wh*-in-situ language, the *wh*-subject in (16) may also be analysed as occupying the [Spec, TP] position. However, since this would not change our analysis we are keeping with İnce's original proposal.
- ⁵ This is in line with Göksel and Özsoy's (2003, p.1149) observation that in "[...] cases in which dA is cliticized to a bare complement, the complement can occur sentence-initially."
- ⁶ For arguments in favor of KP, see Bittner and Hale (1996), among others.
- ⁷ For discussions against the direct relationship between case-marking and specificity in Turkish, see İşsever (2003) and Kornfilt (2003).
- ⁸ This implies that BOs and their case-marked counterparts, when they are immediately preverbal, do not in fact occupy the same position: BOs are internal to the VP, while case-marked objects are not. We refer the reader to Çağrı (2005, 2009), and İşsever (2008) for arguments in favor of this claim.

References

- Arslan Kechriotis, Z. C. (2006). *Case as an uninterpretable feature*. Ph.D. dissertation, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul.
- Aydemir, Y. (2004). Are Turkish preverbal bare nouns syntactic arguments? *Linguistic Inquiry* 35, 465-474.
- Belletti, A. (2003). Aspects of the Low IP area. In L. Rizzi (ed.) *The Structure of IP and CP. The cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bittner, M., & Hale, K. (1996). The structural determination of case and agreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27, 1-68.
- Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, G. (ed.) (2002). *Functional Structure in DP and IP; The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Craenenbroeck, J., & Liptak, A. (2008). On the interaction between verb movement and ellipsis. In C. B. Chang, & H. J. Haynie (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* (pp. 138-146). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Çağrı, İ. (2005). Minimality and Turkish relative clauses. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Çağrı, İ. (2009). Arguing against subject incorporation in Turkish relative clauses. *Lingua* 119, 359-373.
- Enç, M. (1991). The Semantics of specificity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 1-25.
- Erguvanlı, E. (1984). *The Function of Word Order in Turkish Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Erkū, F. (1982). Topic, comment and word order in Turkish. *Minnesota Papers in Linguistics and Philosophy of Language* 8, 30-38.
- Göksel, A. & Özsoy, S. (2003). *dA*: a focus/topic associated clitic in Turkish. *Lingua* 113, 1143-1167.
- Halle, M., & Marantz, A. (1993). Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection. In K. Hale & Keyser, S. J. (eds.), *The View from Building 20*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- von Heusinger, K., & Kornfilt, J. (2005). The case of the direct object in Turkish: Semantics, syntax and morphology. *Turkic Languages* 9, 3-44.

- İnce, A. (2006). Pseudo-slucing in Turkish. In N. Kazanina, U. Minai, P. Monahan, & H. Taylor (Eds.), *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics* 14 (pp. 111-126). College Park, MD: UMWPiL.
- İşsever, S. (2003). Information structure in Turkish: the word order-prosody interface. *Lingua* 113 (11), 1025-1053.
- İşsever, S. (2006). Türkçede takısız nesne adöbekleri ve çalkalama. *Dil Dergisi* 131, 42-56.
- İşsever, S. (2008). Nesne kaydırımı ve Türkçe. In Y. Aksan, & M. Aksan (Eds.), *XXI. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı Bildirileri* (pp. 98-107). Mersin: Mersin University Press.
- Kennelly, S.D. (2003). The implications of quantification for the role of focus in discourse structure. *Lingua* 113 (11), 1005-1088.
- Knecht, L. E. (1986). Subject and object in Turkish. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Kornfilt, J. (1997). *Turkish*. London: Routledge.
- Kornfilt, J. (2003). Scrambling, subscrambling, and case in Turkish. In S. Karimi (Ed.), *Word order and scrambling* (pp. 125-155). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kornfilt, J. & Whitman, J. (2011). Afterword: Nominalizations in syntactic theory. *Lingua* 121, 1297-1313.
- Marantz, A. (1997). No escape from syntax: Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own Lexicon. In Alexis Dimitriadis et al. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium: Penn Working Papers in Linguistics 4:2* (pp. 201-225). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Upenn Department of Linguistics.
- Mithun, M. (1984). The evolution of noun incorporation. *Language* 60, 847-893.
- Neeleman, A., & Van De Koot, H. (2008). The Nature of Discourse Templates. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* (pp. 137-189).
- Nilsson, B. (1986). Object incorporation in Turkish. In A. Aksu-Koç, & E. E. Taylan (Eds.), *Proceedings of ICTL* (pp. 113-128).
- Öztürk, B. (2002). Turkish as a non-pro-drop language. In E. E. Taylan (Ed.), *The Verb in Turkish* (pp. 239-259). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Öztürk, B. (2005). *Case, referentiality, and phrase structure*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Öztürk, B. (2009). Incorporating agents. *Lingua* 119, 334-358.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.) *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

- Rizzi, L. (2004). Locality and Left Periphery. In A. Belletti (ed.) *Structures and Beyond. The cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 3*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sezer, A. (1996). Türkçede sözdizimsel kısıtlamalar. *IX. Dilbilim Kurultayı Bildirileri* (pp. 236–263). Bolu: Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Travis, L. M. (1984). *Parameters and effects of word order variation*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Uygun, D. (2006). Scrambling bare singular nominal objects in Turkish. Paper presented at ICTL 13. Uppsala University, Sweden.

Martina Gračanin-Yüksek
martina@metu.edu.tr

Selçuk İşsever
selcuk.issever@gmail.com
issever@humanity.ankara.edu.tr