

1. Introduction and summary

This paper aims at studying DSM in Turkish (as a representative of the Turkic languages, which have very similar properties with respect to the relevant issues). These languages are interesting with respect to the topic(s) of this workshop, because they offer counterexamples to some typological/ statistic generalizations. There are at least two such generalizations:

1. DSM occurs primarily in ergative languages, whereas DOM is prevalent in accusative languages (Malchukov 2006). While examples of (partially) ergative languages with DOM (e.g. Hindi, cf. de Hoop & Narasimhan 2005 and 2007, among others) are relatively well known, it has been claimed that accusative Languages with DSM do not exist, or else that the relevant examples do not really reflect genuine DSM. Thus, Turkish/Turkic offers a challenge to the latter typological claim. (Note, however, that other languages, too, have been mentioned in this context, e.g. Malchukov 2006 on Korean.)
2. Parallelism rather than mirror-image markings in DSM versus DOM: Some functional approaches to DOM (and, more generally, to differential case marking), including some formalizations of functional approaches (e.g. Aissen 2003) have claimed that DSM should be the mirror image of DOM. The reasoning is as follows: The “function” of DOM is to differentiate objects from subjects. Furthermore, prototypical subjects are supposed to be animate, definite, specific etc. (i.e. have positive values with respect to whatever semantic features are relevant for the language in question), while prototypical objects are supposed to have opposite values with respect to such semantic features. An animate, definite, specific etc. object would not be prototypical, and would be similar to a prototypical subject. To distinguish a non-prototypical object from a prototypical subject, the non-prototypical object would carry overt case marking. A prototypical object, on the other hand, would be inherently different from a prototypical subject with respect to the relevant features and thus would not be overtly case-marked (in a DOM-language). By the same reasoning, prototypical subjects would not need to be distinguished from a prototypical object (in a “DSM-language”), but a non-prototypical subject (which would be non-animate, indefinite, non-specific etc.) would be so similar to a prototypical object that it would need to be distinguished by means of overt case marking. Hence, a mirror-image situation would arise in a language which has both DOM and DSM, with respect to overt case marking: An animate, definite, specific object would bear overt “object case”, while a subject with negative values for such features would bear overt “subject case”.

Turkish/Turkic, however, exhibits not a mirror-image situation in its DSM constructions, but rather a situation parallel to DOM: Prototypical subjects, i.e. specific subjects, do bear overt subject case, while non-prototypical, i.e. non-specific, subjects do not. This picture should have been reversed, if this instantiation of DSM were indeed a mirror-image with respect to DOM in the same language(s).

Yet another property of parallelism between Turkish/Turkic DSM and DOM concerns the ease with which the relevant constituent can move: In DOM-situations, the overtly (object-)case-marked object can move freely, while the “bare” object is typically limited to the pre-verbal position. Likewise, in DSM-situations, the overtly (subject-) case-marked subject can move freely, the bare subject is limited to the pre-verbal position, as well.

One question one could ask at this juncture is whether the Turkish/Turkic DSM shouldn't be analyzed as DAM (differential agent marking). However, this would be different from the DAM as proposed by de

* This is a somewhat updated version of Kornfilt (2008). I thank the organizers of this workshop for their encouragement to present this work, despite a number of logistic obstacles.

Hoop and Malchukov (2007) and Malchukov (2008), given that non-agents, i.e. derived subjects, also exhibit overt subject case, if they are specific.

3. It has been claimed (e.g. Coon & Preminger 2012 and references cited therein) that DSM (as mostly studied in ergative languages) is found in connection with features having to do with aspect (or TAM), or else with person features. The type of DSM found in Turkish/Turkic, however, relates to the same semantic features (mostly specificity) as DOM.
4. It has further been claimed that DSM adheres to Silverstein's (1976) animacy hierarchy. However, in Turkish/Turkic, both DOM and DSM adhere to specificity rather than to animacy. Animacy can play a secondary role, but only insofar as non-animate (or other items low on an animacy hierarchy) are likelier to be non-specific/non-referential.

While this paper's aim is mainly to illustrate these properties of DSM in Turkish/Turkic, it will also mention contexts where object and subject cases either have to, or cannot, be morphologically realized in certain syntactic contexts, and how such situations interact with DOM and DSM based on the semantic feature of specificity. It will be seen that the (im)possibilities dictated by the syntactic context overrides both DOM and DSM; i.e. syntax overrides semantics. At the same time, in this respect, too, we find parallelism rather than a mirror-image situation.

2. Differentiation based on semantic features

2.1. DOM based on semantic features

I start with DOM, as it is the phenomenon that is more widely known for Turkish, and will then turn to DSM:

(1) a	(ben) <i>kitab-t</i>	oku -du -m	(definite)
	I book-ACC	read-PAST-1.SG	'I read the book.'
(1) b	(ben) <i>bir kitap</i>	oku-du -m	(indef. non-spec.)
	I a book	read-PAST-1.SG	'I read a book.'
(1) c	(ben) <i>bir kitab-t</i>	oku -du -m	(indef. spec.)
	I a book-ACC	read-PAST-1.SG	'I read a certain book.'
(1) d	(ben) <i>kitab</i>	oku -du -m	(generic)
	I book	read-PAST-1.SG	'I read books' (i.e. 'I book-read')

This quadruplet shows that the relevant notion behind the overt Accusative marker is not definiteness, but specificity: A specific direct object bears Accusative marking, even if it is indefinite, as in (1c).

Similar facts concerning correlations between semantic features and overt case marking are found in a variety of languages (cf. Comrie 1975). The semantic features in question may be different from language to language; thus, other than specificity, one can find animacy or definiteness as the determining factors behind object case marking: whenever the relevant feature (or features) in a particular language have positive value, the object case marking shows up; whenever the relevant feature(s) has/have negative value, the object case marking is missing.

Comrie 1975, Silverstein 1976: the existence or absence of the *object* marker in question can be understood only in relation to the nature of the *subject*, as a means to differentiate between 1. non-archetypical objects and archetypical subjects, and 2. between non-archetypical objects and archetypical ones. In a Nominative/Accusative language, an "archetypical" direct object (i.e. a direct object which has *negative* values for the same features for which an archetypical subject has *positive* values) will not have any special case marking and will appear as though it were Nominative, because it will be inherently different from a typical subject (and thus won't need any marking to differentiate it from such a subject). If in such a language the Nominative case marker is a null morpheme (as it is in Turkish), an archetypical direct object won't carry overt case marking. In contrast, an "untypical" (i.e. definite and/or specific and/or animate) direct object in such a language would receive a special Accusative marker to set it apart from a typical subject.

This is indeed what we appear to find in Turkish, as illustrated in (1): the relevant semantic feature is specificity. The subject in these examples is indeed specific, and thus "archetypical", and it is in the Nominative. The direct object is specific in both (1a) and (1c), and thus is a non-typical direct object which therefore, under the approach just mentioned, needs to be differentiated both from an archetypical subject and from an archetypical object. Therefore, it bears a special case marker: *-(y)I*. In contrast, the direct object in (1b) and (1d) is non-specific and is thus a typical object. It therefore needn't be differentiated from the subject, and thus it shows up in the same shape with respect to case marking as the subject, namely without any case marking (and thus, at least apparently, in the Nominative).

I will show in the course of this paper that appearances notwithstanding, this functional approach to DOM, based on notions of archetypical subjects and objects, has to be abandoned — at least for languages such as Turkish, once DSM (in the descriptive sense) is considered, as well.

2. 2. DSM based on semantic features

In languages that have both DOM and DSM, approaches that are based on a functionalistic view that bases morphological marking on differentiating objects and subjects from their respective archetypes and from each other would predict that DSM should be the mirror image of DOM: An archetypical subject should have positive values for relevant features such as animacy, specificity etc. and should not bear any special, "differential" marking; however, an untypical subject that has negative values for the relevant features should bear such differential marking. (cf. Aissen (2003: 473))

But in Turkish, specific subjects are (in embedded nominalized clauses) morphologically marked (for Genitive), while non-specific ones are not. (In fully tensed clauses, the subject is in the Nominative, which is null; one could say that the Nominative is morphologically realized but not phonologically; however, for the purposes of this paper, I shall leave the Nominative aside.)

Johanson (1977: 1196) and Kornfilt (1984 and 1997: 215) note that if the subject is not in a position directly before the verb, it must get case, as in (2). Here the contrast between specific and non-specific is neutralized for many speakers. If the subject takes the position directly preceding the verb, Genitive case marking indicates specificity for most speakers, as illustrated by (3).

(2) [bir haydut-un köy -ü bas-tığ -ın]-ı duy-du-m
a robber-GEN village-ACC raid-FN-3.SG-ACC hear-PAST-1.SG
'I heard that a robber (specific for all speakers, and additional non-specific reading for some speakers) raided the village'

(3)a. [köy-ü bir haydut-un bas-tığ -ın] -ı duy-du -m
village-ACC a robber-GEN raid-FN -3.SG-ACC hear-PAST-1.SG
'I heard that a (certain) robber raided the village' (specific for all speakers)

(3)b. [köy -ü haydut bas-tığ -ın] -ı duy-du -m
village -ACC robber raid-FN-3.SG-ACC hear-PAST-1.SG
'I heard that robbers raided the village' (non-specific, generic reading as the only reading)

The following examples behave similarly:

(4)a. [yol -dan bir araba geç -tiğ -ın]-i gör-dü -m.
road-ABL a car pass -FN -3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG
'I saw that a car (non-specific, non-referential) went by on the road.' (The subject may be focused, but it does not have to be.)

(4)b. [yol -dan bir araba -nın geç-tiğ -ın] -i gör-dü-m.
road-ABL a car -GEN pass -FN-3.SG-ACC see-PAST-1.SG
'I saw that a car (indefinite, but specific) went by on the road.' (The subject is focused.)

- (4)c. [bir araba -nın yol -dan geç -tiğ -in] -i gör -dü -m.
 a car -GEN road-ABL pass -FN-3.SG-ACC see -PAST-1.SG
 'I saw that *a car* (indefinite, and specific *or* non-specific) went by on the road.'
- (4)d. *[bir araba yol -dan geç -tiğ -in] -i gör -dü -m.
 a car road-ABL PASS-FN-3.SG-ACC see -PAST-1.SG
 Intended reading: 'I saw that *a car* (indefinite and non-specific, non-referential) went by on the road.' Note the contrast with the grammatical (4a).

Similar facts hold in existentials—this is expected, as the "semantic" subjects are non-specific:¹

- (5)a. [Garaj -da beş araba(*-nın) ol-duğ -un]-u bil -iyor -um
 garage -LOC five car (*-GEN) be-FN -3.SG-ACC know-PRPROG -1.SG
 'I know that there are five cars in the garage.'
- (5)b. *[Beş araba garaj -da ol-duğ -un]-u bil -iyor -um
 five car garage -LOC be-FN-3.SG -ACC know-PRPROG-1.SG
 Intended reading: 'I know that there are five cars in the garage.'

The restrictions for case marking are very similar for the Genitive case suffix in embedded sentences and for the Accusative case suffix. The case suffix is obligatory in general if the DP is not to the immediate left of the verb, while in a position left-adjacent to the verb the case suffix signals (for most speakers, and as a primary reading) specificity, and its absence non-specificity.

In contrast with the predictions made by the relativistic, prototype-based approach to DOM and DSM, the observations from Turkish strongly suggest that the structural case markers (i.e. Accusative and Genitive) indicate specificity. These markers do not reflect a semantic difference from some expected form, but rather express overtly the semantic feature of specificity in a similar way for both objects and subjects.

3. Morpho-syntactic conditions on DOM and DSM and their neutralization

I propose the following morpho-syntactic conditions on DP/NPs in Turkish: 1. Turkish DP/NPs must have an *overt nominal head*; 2. When that head is realized as overt Agreement in apparently headless DP/NPs, it necessitates overt structural Case (probably due to the pronominal nature of Agreement, which therefore is likely to include default, *formal* specific features, independently from *semantic* specificity. Since such instances of structural Case are required by this formal condition, the expression of specificity is neutralized, and consequently a non-specific expression can be marked with overt structural Case.

I illustrate this phenomenon via partitive constructions in Turkish. Note that, as a side issue, this means that partitive expressions can be non-specific, *contra* Enç (1991); cf. Kornfilt (2001).

3. 1. Non-specific partitives with and without structural Case markers

3. 1. 1. "Neutralization" of DOM

It can be shown that subset expressions of partitive constructions can be non-specific (and lack Accusative marking), *even with specific supersets* (and that non-specific expressions can be partitive, i.e. can function as subset expressions in partitives):

- (6) Ali kadın -lar -dan iki kişi tanıyordu.
 Ali woman-PL -ABL two individual knew
 'Ali knew two (unspecified) individuals of the women.'

¹Together with the examples in (3), these facts suggest a Case-based analysis such as the one in Kornfilt (1984). Transposed into more recent approaches, this would mean that bare direct objects get their structural Case feature checked by *v*, while bare subjects get their structural case feature checked by T (=Tense and/or Agreement as a bundle of phi-features) in-situ, i.e. in their base-generated VP-internal position, under long-distance Agree.

- (7) Ali büro -ya çocuk -lar -dan iki kız al -acak
 Ali office -DAT child -PL -ABL **two girl** take-FUT
 'Ali will hire (any) two girls of the (group of) children'

Note that despite the semantic as well as syntactic partitivity of the underlined expressions, the constituents do not bear overt Accusative marking, and they are, indeed, non-specific. In other words, although the ablative superset part of the partitive is specific, the subset expression (which is the syntactic head of the partitive) is non-specific; therefore, just as expected, the partitive expression—a direct object in these examples—lacks Accusative (i.e. object) morphology.

A similar point can be made by illustrating "bare" ablative partitives: these are ablative partitives with phonologically unrealized heads:

- (8) Ali şarap **-tan** iç -ti
 Ali wine **-ABL** drink -PAST
 'Ali drank (*an unspecified amount*) of the wine'
- (9) Ali balık **-tan** ye -di
 Ali fish **-ABL** eat-PAST
 'Ali ate (*an unspecified amount*) of the fish'
- (10) Biz-de bu kitap **-tan** var/yok /kal -ma -dı
 we-LOC this book **-ABL** exist/Neg+exist/remain- NEG -PAST
 'We have/don't have *any* (copies) of this book; we don't have *any* (copies) of this book left'

Note that the subset of this expression is interpreted as being non-specific, despite the obvious partitivity of the expression.

Enç (1991): specificity is based on partitivity. Partitive expressions must be specific; therefore in Turkish, partitives which are direct objects must bear overt Accusative.

- (11) a. Ali kadın -lar-ın iki -sin **-i** tanı -yor -du
 Ali woman-PL-GEN two-AGR-ACC know -PROG -PAST
 'Ali knew two of the women'
- b. *Ali kadın-lar-ın iki-si tanıyordu (=E.'s 28)
- (12) a. Ali kadın -lar-dan iki-sin **-i** tanı -yor -du
 Ali woman-PL-ABL two-AGR-ACC know -PROG-PAST
 'Ali knew two of the women'
- b. *Ali kadın-lar-dan iki-si tanıyordu (=E.'s 29)

But we just saw (e.g. (6), (7)) that there can be partitives which are non-specific and which can lack overt Accusative.

Question: Correct reason for the ungrammaticality of (11b) and (12b)?

The appearance of the Accusative marking is due to formal reasons, e.g. to morphological requirements: the nominal agreement marking (in those constructions where it does show up, such as in certain partitive constructions that are direct objects) has to be followed by the Accusative in a transitive context. The agreement marking itself is an expression of specificity in general, as has been observed in the literature previously; the reason for this might be the pronominal features of the agreement morphology. However, this morphology can also conceal non-specificity when it appears in head-noun positions of nominal phrases—this in constructions when a *nominal* head is required but *no lexical (nominal) head is available*:

- (13) Kitap -lar -in iki -sin -i al,
 book - PL -GEN two -AGR (3.)-ACC buy
 geri -sin -i kutu -da bırak
 remainder -AGR (3.) -ACC box -LOC leave
 'Take (**any**) two of the books and leave the remainder [of the books] in the box'

- (14) Kitap -lar -dan iki -sin -i al,
 book -PL -ABL two -AGR (3.)-ACC buy
 geri -sin -i kutu -da bırak
 remainder -AGR (3.) -ACC box -LOC leave
 Same readings as in (13).

In these examples, the Accusative subset may be specific or, crucially, *non-specific* for both the Genitive partitive and the Ablative partitive construction (as shown by the English translations). The Accusative is obligatory in both constructions (for the non-specific reading as well as the specific reading), as shown in (15) and (16):

- (15) * Kitap -lar -in iki -si al,
 book -PL -GEN two -AGR (3.) buy
 geri -sin -i kutu -da bırak
 remainder -AGR (3.) -ACC box -LOC leave

- (16) * Kitap -lar -dan iki -si al,
 book -PL -ABL two -AGR (3.) buy
 geri -sin -i kutu -da bırak
 remainder -AGR (3.) -ACC box -LOC leave

Intended readings: Same as the non-specific readings in (13) and (14), for both examples.

Note that the Accusative marker is missing. Note also that these examples are ill-formed even under an intended non-specific reading of the partitive subset; thus, the missing Accusative leads to ill-formedness *independently from specificity*.

3. 1. 2. “Neutralization” of DSM

Similar facts also obtain for partitives that are subjects in (relevant) nominalized embedded sentences and which therefore should be marked with the Genitive:

- (17) [[Kitap-lar -in iki -sin -in] kaybol -duğ -un] -u
 book-PL-GEN two-AGR(3.) -GEN disappear-FN -3.SG-ACC
 bil -iyor -um (ama hangileri olduğunu bilmiyorum)
 know -PROG -1.SG
 'I know that (**any**) two of the books got lost (but I don't know which ones)'

- (18) [[Kitap-lar -dan iki -sin -in] kaybol -duğ -un] -u
 book-PL-ABL two-AGR(3.) -GEN disappear-FN -3.SG-ACC
 bil -iyor -um (ama hangileri olduğunu bilmiyorum)
 know -PROG -1.SG
 Same readings as in (17).

Just like the Accusative for direct objects, the Genitive is obligatory here for subjects, even for non-specific readings:

- (19) * [[Kitap-lar -in iki -si] kaybol -duğ -un]-u
 book -PL-GEN two-AGR(3.) disappear-FN-3.SG-ACC
 bil -iyor -um (ama hangileri olduğunu bilmiyorum)

know -PROG -1.SG

- (20) * [[Kitap-lar -dan iki -si] kaybol -duğ -un]-u
book-PL -ABL two -AGR(3.) disappear-FN-3.SG-ACC
bil -iyor -um (ama hangileri olduğunu bilmiyorum)
know -PROG -1.SG

Intended readings: Same as the non-specific readings in (17) and (18), for both examples.

I propose that the reasons for the ill-formedness of (15) and (16), as well as of (19) and (20) has nothing to do with the semantic feature of specificity per se. Rather, this ill-formedness is linked to the fact that in all of these examples, the third person singular agreement morpheme is required, due to the following constraint (which holds of Turkish, and probably a good number of other languages):

**(Constraint A) The Overt Nominal Head Constraint (ONHC):
NP/DPs must have an overt head, occupied by nominal features.**

We thus have in these examples an Agreement element which takes the place of a missing lexical N in head position; in other words, when an NP/DP lacks a lexical nominal head, an *Agr* morpheme shows up instead, motivated by the ONHC and, in turn, this morpheme requires an overt Case marker (i.e. Accusative or Genitive, depending on the object or subject status of the entire DP/NP).

To see this clearly, compare the Ablative partitive constructions, which do not exhibit an agreement morpheme when they have a lexical nominal head (such as in (6) and (7)) with (12a), (14), and (18), where the partitive phrase has no lexical head. The agreement morpheme shows up in the latter group only, and it is obligatory, as illustrated by (22b) and (23), where there is neither a lexical noun nor the expletive agreement morpheme to head the partitive phrase; note that even the presence of the appropriate Case marker cannot save these examples from being ill-formed.

The requirement of the overt agreement marker is similar to English, when a nominal NP/DP head like *one* is necessary:

- (21) I compared various models and bought the new *(one).

The Agreement element in (13) and (14) as well as in (17) and (18) functions as the morpheme *one* in English, i.e. the overt nominal head of the nominal phrase, and itself requires the overt structural case, whether Accusative or Genitive. Such examples are ill-formed without the Agreement morpheme, even when overt Case marking is present (as in (22 b)):

- (22) a. Çeşitli model -ler -i karşılaştır -dı -m ve
various model -PL -ACC compare -PAST -1.SG and
yeni -sin -i al -dı -m
new -AGR (3.) -ACC buy -PAST -1.SG
'I compared various models and bought the new (one)'
- (22) b. * Çeşitli model -ler -i karşılaştır -dı -m ve
various model -PL -ACC compare -PAST -1.SG and
yeni -yi al -dı -m
new -ACC buy -PAST-1.SG
'I compared various models and bought the new (one)'

The same is true for examples with the Genitive instead of Accusative.

Similar facts also obtain in partitive constructions with "bare" quantifier heads, where the Case marker is not sufficient to save the construction whose ill-formedness is due to lack of a nominal head:

- (23) a. *Kitap -lar -dan iki/iki -yi al -dı -m
 book -PL -ABL two/two-ACC buy -PAST -1.SG
 Intended reading: 'I bought two of the books'

The way to save such an example is to attach agreement morphology to the quantifier (again, the agreement morphology requires the appropriate structural Case marker):

- (23) b. Kitap -lar -dan iki -sin -i al -dı -m
 book - PL -ABL two -AGR (3.)-ACC buy -PAST -1.SG
 'I bought two of the books' (specific or non-specific)

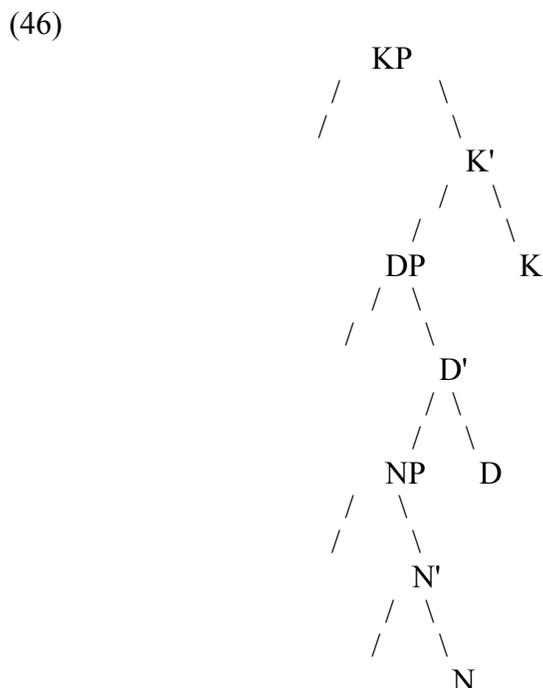
As the well-formed examples show, both of the structural Case markers (i.e. Accusative or Genitive) may conceal a non-specific reading.

Answer to the question of why Enç's examples are ill-formed: (11b) and (12b) are ungrammatical not because the partitive expressions are specific and thus need the Accusative, but rather because the partitive expressions in those examples don't have a *lexical* nominal head.

4. Sketch of Case in Turkish/Turkic

I now propose the following (sketchy) account for all the facts we have seen in this paper:

The PF module represents relevant semantic features by acting as an interpretive component of narrow syntax. Specificity features in Turkish (and perhaps, more generally, *any* semantic features relevant for differential Case marking in other languages) are encoded in the *D*-head of a DP phrase and are read off the *K*-head of a KP phrase by the PF-component. That *K*-head takes a DP (or *NumP*) as its complement, which, in turn, takes an NP as its complement:



When the NP/DP is specific, the *N*-head (and, in the absence of a lexical noun in this position, the *Agr* of an *AgrP* in the specifier position of the NP, as in some of our partitive examples) raises to *D*, and then to *K*. If the entire KP is licensed for structural (i.e. subject or object) Case syntactically, the contents of *K* will be "read" by the PF component as in need of *overt* Case; the syntactically licensed Case will be morpho-phonologically expressed.

When the NP is non-specific, there are two options:

1. there is no DP-layer, in which instance there is also no KP, and thus the N wouldn't have any functional heads to raise to — PF has no *K* to interpret; no structural Case is realized; this would be the situation for generic NPs without any determiner;
2. there is a determiner (which, in Turkish, would be in the specifier, rather than head, position of the DP), and the *D* hosts non-specific semantic features in its *D*-head; the *N* raises into *D*, is marked non-specific (by the features residing there), and therefore cannot raise to *K*. Since the *K* remains empty (or, in an alternative analysis, is not even realized when the *D* bears a non-specific feature), PF cannot read off a syntactically licensed structural Case, either. This would be the situation of non-specific NP/DPs with a determiner.²

For NP/DPs with *oblique/lexical* Case, I assume that the corresponding morphological case markers are lexically realized on the N, and are not a representation due to PF-interpretation of the syntactic structure. Thus, they can appear on an N which heads a specific *or* a non-specific NP.

5. Parallel DSM and DOM facts in other languages

de Hoop & Narasimhan (2005): Cases where in Hindi, too, subject and object case alternations appear to be driven by similar, rather than mirror-image, factors. Within an OT-approach. "Strong" objects are agent-like and undergo case-marking to distinguish them from subjects. "Strong" subjects, i.e. agents, are case-marked under the *identifying* function of case, i.e. identifying them as agents.

The identifying function is ranked higher in de Hoop & Narasimhan's OT approach than another constraint which requires that *syntactically* "unmarked" arguments, i.e. Nominatives, remain *morphologically* unmarked. These two constraints on subject Case determine the sensitivity of subject Case to different kinds of predicates (e.g. different lexical verbs, distinct aspects).

Can this approach work for Turkish?

The constraint ("Primary Argument Immunity Principle [PAIP]") that the "unmarked" primary argument should not be overtly marked (thus yielding the result that Nominative is null) would indeed work for root clauses and embedded verbal clauses.

However, this approach, even enriched with the notion of argument strength, would not work for the entire array of Turkish subjects, given the productivity of nominalizations with their Genitive (rather than Nominative) subjects, and given that Genitive subjects are not more agentive than their Nominative counterparts in verbal sentences:

(41)a. Ali kitab-ı oku -du
Ali[NOM] book-ACC read -PAST
'Ali read the book'

b. [Ali -nin kitab-ı oku -duğ -un] -u duy -du -m
Ali -GEN book-ACC read -FN -3.SG-ACC hear -PAST -1.SG
'I heard that Ali read the book'

²These two instances of non-specific NP/DPs lacking structural Case need to be distinguished from each other, because in the first instance, no pronoun can follow in the sentence or discourse that can refer to the bare NP, while in the second instance, a co-referential pronoun can follow (cf. Erguvanlı-Taylan 1984). This observation is easy to capture under the proposed analysis, if pronouns can refer to DPs, but not to NPs. This proposal rules out an incorporation analysis for the second type of construction (i.e. non-specific, indefinite NP/DPs), based on Baker's "Proper Head Movement Generalization (PHMG)", which rules out head movement from a lexical head to a functional head, and then "back" to a lexical head (cf. Baker 1996), contra Kornfilt (2003b). I leave the issue of incorporation out of the present paper.

Here, the Genitive subject of the embedded sentence in (41b) is not more prominent in any way than the Nominative subject of the root clause in (41a). The PAIP is thus overridden, not by argument strength (and thus by the identifying function of case marking), but by the syntactic requirement of marking the subject of a nominal clause (with a Case-licensing nominal agreement). That marking will have to be that of the nominal subject Case, i.e. the Genitive.

Repercussions for DOM: Note that both in (41a) and (41b), the object is Accusative. Even when the subject *is* (morphologically) marked, the object must be marked, as well (as long as it bears the semantic feature relevant for the particular language—here, specificity, in whatever way defined), although it doesn't have to be distinguished from the *subject* morphologically. If such an object is not marked with the Accusative, i.e. is bare, it can still be distinguished from the subject, due to the subject's Genitive marking.

Within such an approach: the object must be distinguished from other *objects* which are non-specific. In this approach: DOM effects are, at least primarily, identificational (just as semantically based DSM), rather than distinguishing. In essence similar to a non-OT approach, without a PAIP.

5. Conclusions

We have seen that Turkish (Turkic) challenges a number of proposed typological generalizations proposed in the literature with respect to DSM. Firstly, the mere existence of DSM in clear-cut accusative languages appears to be unexpected; a general formal approach that would make DSM just as “normal” as DOM in such languages is therefore needed. Secondly, the fact that in these languages, the properties of DSM are similar, i.e. parallel, to those of DOM rather than forming a mirror-image system has to be addressed. In those instances where, due to syntactic reasons, the contrasts in overt case marking on both subjects and objects expected under DSM and DOM, respectively, are neutralized, the reasons are similar, as well. Thus, a general account which treats subject and object case licensing in similar ways should be a good candidate to address both DSM and DOM, at least in languages as these, i.e. Accusative-Nominative languages which exhibit not only DOM phenomena, but also DSM effects.

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