

PSEUDO INCORPORATION OF AGENTS

Baker (1988) has shown that agents cannot undergo head-incorporation as incorporation is subject to Head-Movement-Constraint (HMC) as shown in Example 5a. Unlike internal arguments agents do not belong to the argument structure of verbs, but they are introduced externally by higher functional projections such as VoiceP (Kratzer 1994). Therefore, it is not possible to lower the agent head to incorporate into the verb head.

Turkish has been cited in the literature as a language which exhibits head-incorporation and the data given in Example 1 has been analyzed as a canonical case of head-incorporation of internal arguments (Mithun 1984, Nilsson 1987, Kornfilt 2003). In Turkish, however, contrary to the claims of Baker (1988), agents do undergo incorporation, as seen in Example 2 (Sezer 1991, Kornfilt 2003). This is a very productive phenomenon. Agent incorporation is also observed with [+human] agents both in the case of transitive and unergative constructions. See examples (2b) and (2c) respectively. This creates a problem for the head-incorporation analysis proposed for Example 1, since presence of incorporation data with agents clearly violates HMC and is strictly banned in languages discussed by Baker (1988).

In this study, unlike the claims of previous analyses of Turkish, we argue against the claim that there is head-incorporation in Turkish. We present a unified account of the data in (1-2) by proposing that what Turkish exhibit is not a case of head incorporation, but it is a case of pseudo-incorporation *a la* Massam (2001).

Massam (2001) proposes that as opposed to head-incorporation in other languages, pseudo-incorporation in Niuean involves base-generation of an object "NP" adjacent to the verb head, as shown in (3). The object NP, lacking functional projections such as DPs, cannot raise out of the VP and it undergoes predicate fronting yielding the VOS order, as opposed to the canonical VSO order in Niuean.

Immediately preverbal nouns in Turkish given in Examples (1-2) are also full phrasal categories. This is evidenced by coordination and modification facts illustrated in (4a) and (4b) respectively. It is possible to strand the noun *seftali* "peach" under coordination as in (4a) and also to modify the noun *elma* "apple" by an AdjP as shown in (4b). This implies that the NPs of concern in these examples are phrasal categories rather than N^0 s. Therefore, we conclude that there is no head-incorporation in Turkish unlike what has been claimed so far in the literature. In these constructions, a non-referential, number neutral NP is merged as the immediate sister of the lexical verb head and it forms a complex predicate with V^0 as [_{Comp Pred} NP+V].

We extend the pseudo-incorporation analysis by Massam (2001) proposed for internal arguments to agents. We argue that in languages with pseudo-incorporation the noun, which undergoes pseudo-incorporation, is not subject to any restriction in terms of theta roles. Both internal and external arguments can undergo pseudo-incorporation, as pseudo-incorporation is not subject to HMC. In pseudo-incorporation the verb head and the NP projected as its complement form a complex predicate, which is reanalyzed as V^0 in syntax. Note that we assume a Neo-Davidsonian model for the argument structure (Borer 2003). Therefore, the NP, which is the sister of the verb is not in a theta position and thus, it is unspecified for any theta roles in this position. The complement NP will be associated with specific theta roles when the verb complex [NP+V] undergoes head-movement into relevant theta role introducing functional heads e.g. vP, VoiceP, as shown in Example 5b. If a referential object NP is already merged into [Spec, vP] and no referential subject is available in [Spec, VoiceP], then the NP within the verb complex will be associated with the agent role, when the verb complex raises to Voice⁰. This association is mediated by the case checking mechanism. We argue that it is possible for the NP within the complex predicate to check off a case feature, since it is a phrasal nominal category. Via case-checking the NP within the verb complex becomes visible for theta role assignment, thus, it is interpreted as the agent.

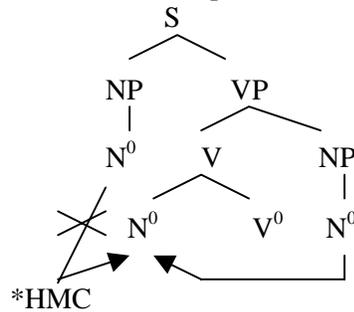
Agent incorporation has also been attested in languages such as Hungarian and Hindi (Farkas and de Swart 2002, Dayal 2003) which also use the pseudo-incorporation strategy, instead of head-incorporation. The cross-linguistic evidence also supports the claim by Baker (1988) that agents cannot undergo *head-incorporation*, yet, it also shows that it is possible to incorporate agents via pseudo-incorporation, a strategy which is not subject to HMC.

Examples:

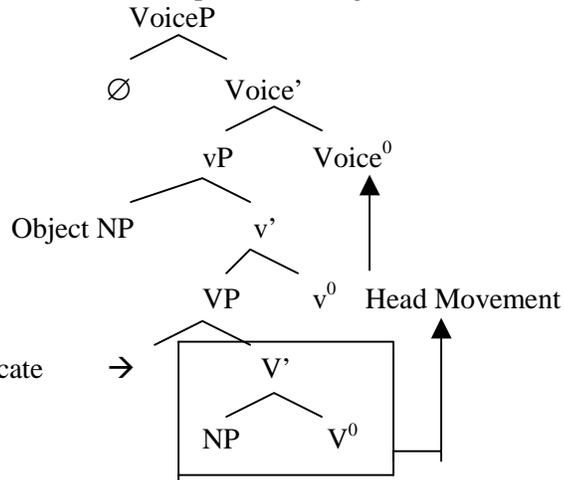
- (1) John elma ye-di. (apple:theme)
John apple eat-past
John did apple-eating
- (2) a. John-u ari sok-tu. (bee:agent)
John-acc bee sting-past
John got bee stung (Bee-stinging happened to John)
- b. John-u polis tutukla-di (police: agent)
John-acc police arrest-past
John got police-arrest (Police-arrest happened to John)
- c. Bahce-de cocuk oynu-yor. (child:agent)
garden-loc child play-prog
There are children playing in the garden (Child-playing is happening in the garden)
- (3) Ne inu kofe kono a Mele (Massam 2001:158)
pst drink coffee bitter abs Mele
Mary drank bitter cofee

- (4) a. John [_{NP}elma] ye-di, [_{NP}seftali] degil
John apple eat-past peach not
John did apple-eating, not peach-(eating)
- b. John [_{NP} [_{AdjP}yesil] elma] ye-di.
John green apple eat-past
John did green apple-eating

(5) a. Head-incorporation (Baker 1988)



b. Pseudo-incorporation of agents



Selected References:

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