

# THE SEMANTICS OF THE BARE NOUN IN TURKISH\*

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## ABSTRACT

The goal of this paper is to investigate the semantic properties of the bare noun in Turkish. In this paper, the term BARE NOUN refers to a noun phrase that consists only of a noun, without any modifying elements such as determiners, number marking, or case marking. The main argument of this thesis is that the bare noun is unique as compared to all other types of noun phrases in Turkish. As the following sections will illustrate, it is the only NP that is not specified for number, and it is the only NP that is obligatorily non-specific. I hypothesize that the fundamental difference between the bare noun and other NP types is that the maximal projection of the bare noun is a predicate, which is NP, whereas the maximal projection of other phrases is DP (Determiner Phrase).

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

In languages like English, count nouns may not appear in their bare form in a sentence. In most contexts, the following sentences are not possible in English:

- (1) \*Lou ate grape.
- (2) \*Harley loves to plant flower.
- (3) \*Rabbit ran across my lawn.

The only way that the sentences above can be considered grammatical is if the nouns *grape* and *flower* are interpreted somehow in a mass sense (for instance, if Lou ate a bowl of mashed grape), or if *Rabbit* is treated as a proper name, as in a fable. However, generally speaking, count nouns such as *grape*, *flower*, and *rabbit* cannot occur without either function words (such as determiners) or affixes (such as number marking). The addition of such elements renders the sentences in (1) through (3) grammatical:

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- (4) Lou ate **a** grape.
- (5) Harley loves to plant flowers.
- (6) **The** rabbit ran across my lawn.

In Turkish, however, nouns may appear in their bare form in sentences:

- (7) Hasan *şiiir* yaz-ar  
 Hasan poem write-AOR  
 “Hasan writes a poem/poems” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 266)

Noun phrases (NPs) such as *şiiir* in (7) will be referred to as bare nouns throughout this paper.<sup>1</sup>

This paper will proceed as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of the relevant literature and of Turkish grammar. Section 3 looks at the number values of the different types of NPs<sup>2</sup> in Turkish, with specific reference to the number of the bare noun, and also speculates on why not all nouns in Turkish may be unspecified for number. Section 4 investigates the types of meanings that are associated with specificity and definiteness, and it examines the properties of specificity for a number of different NP structures. Section 5 speculates on the possible correlation between general number and non-specificity in Turkish bare nouns from a typological point of view.

## 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The goal of this paper is to investigate the semantic properties of the bare noun in Turkish. In doing so, I will look at the particulars of the overall number system of Turkish, and the interaction between number and specificity in Turkish. The goal of this section is to give some background information on number in general and on the definition(s) of specificity, and to provide a basic overview of the elements of Turkish grammar that will be discussed in the sections to follow.

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, what is referred to as a “bare noun” may be modified by an adjective, while still possessing all of the properties of bare nouns that are outlined in the sections that follow.

<sup>2</sup> For purposes of this paper (Section 5 excluded), all noun phrases are referred to as NP, despite their proposed maximal projection.

## 2.1 ISSUES OF COUNTABILITY

The question of the number of Turkish nouns is fundamentally linked to larger questions about number in general. The purpose of this section is to highlight these general questions and the range of answers that may be given for them.

### 2.1.1 WHAT IS GENERAL NUMBER?

The first of these questions is: what is general number? The overall goal of this thesis is to argue that bare nouns in Turkish are general with respect to number. Yet what does it mean for something to be general, or to have general number? Before looking specifically at the definition of general number, it is important to define the semantic concept of generality.

Semanticists typically distinguish the following terms: AMBIGUITY and VAGUENESS (cf. Saeed 1997, p. 60). The term *ambiguity* is used to describe words with multiple distinct meanings, such as *pen*, which may refer to a writing instrument or an animal enclosure. On the other hand, *vagueness* refers to words for which the boundary of the word's extension is poorly defined. For instance, many adjectives may be described as vague because there are borderline cases for which it is unclear whether they are part of the adjective's extension or not. To elaborate, there is no definite boundary that makes something *tall* – a sixty story building may be described as *tall*, but so may a six foot tall man. For most semanticists, included in this definition of vagueness are words that are neutral with respect to a certain distinction. For example, the word *child* is not specified for gender; *child* may describe a female child or a male child. However, some semanticists (cf. Cruse 1986) distinguish the type of phenomenon exemplified by *tall* from that exemplified by *child*. The first type is referred to as vagueness, and the second type is referred to as GENERALITY.

Vagueness and generality, although often lumped together as one phenomenon, will be distinguished for the purpose of this paper. The concepts of ambiguity, vagueness, and in particular generality can be extended beyond that of lexical semantics to the following discussion of number.

GENERAL NUMBER describes something that is general with respect to a particular number distinction. This is not as straightforward as it may seem. Corbett (2000, p. 10) defines general number as a value that is “outside the number system”, or outside the range of values available for count nouns. In other words, general number describes those nouns that are neutral with

respect to the singular/plural (and in some languages also dual/trial/paucal) distinction. Consider the following examples from Bayso (Cushitic):

- (8) lúban foofe  
lion.GEN watched.1S  
“I watched lion” (it could be one, or more than that) (Corbett 2000, p. 11)
- (9) lúban-titi foofe  
lion.SG watched.1S  
“I watched a lion” (Corbett 2000, p. 11)
- (10) lúban-jaa foofe  
lion.PAU watched.1S  
“I watched a few lions” (Corbett 2000, p. 11)
- (11) lúban-jool foofe  
lion.PL watched.1S  
“I watched (a lot of) lions” (Corbett 2000, p. 11)

The noun in (8) has the property of general number; it is not marked as singular (9), paucal (10), or plural (11), and could be interpreted as any of these number values. While Corbett’s definition of general number can only be used with count nouns, Gil’s (1996, p. 55) definition of general number is different. He defines general number as something that is “unmarked with respect to the mass/singular/plural distinction.” He provides the following example from Vietnamese (Mon-Khmer):

- (12) Su’ ăn táo  
Su eat apple  
“Su ate apple/an apple/apples” (Gil 1996, p. 55)

According to Gil, the noun *táo* in (12) is general with respect to the count/mass distinction; it may be interpreted as mass, singular, or plural. It is possible to find examples that can be interpreted this way in Turkish, also. Consider the following:

- (13) Sam muz al-dı  
 Sam banana buy-PAST  
 “Sam bought a banana/bananas/banana” (AP)

The object of (13), *muz* may be interpreted as singular (“a banana”), plural (“bananas”), or mass (“(mashed?) banana”). However, for other nouns, this three-way distinction is not possible:

- (14) Mary zengin doktor bul-mak ist-iyor.  
 Mary rich doctor meet-INF want-PROG  
 “Mary wants to meet a rich doctor/rich doctors” (LB)

The object of (14), *zengin doktor*, can be interpreted as singular (“a rich doctor”) or plural (“rich doctors”), but it is difficult to conceptualize it in a mass sense (#“rich-doctor-mass”). In fact, even *muz*, which can in theory be interpreted as mass, is unlikely to be interpreted in this way in most contexts. Most nouns in Turkish behave similarly to the object of (14), in that they cannot be interpreted as singular, plural, and mass all at the same time. The difference between nouns such as *muz* and *doktor* is one of individuation. More highly individuated nouns are less likely to have mass interpretations. This is an issue that I will return to in Section 4.3.

Because of the impossibility or near-impossibility of interpreting nouns such as *doktor* as mass, I will adopt the tentative stance that bare nouns in Turkish behave similarly to *liban* in (8) and are general with respect to the singular/plural distinction. Therefore, I am assuming Corbett’s definition of general number rather than Gil’s. There is another point in Gil’s definition that deserves to be questioned. In addition to the Vietnamese example given in (12), Gil provides an English example that he claims is also an instance of general number:

- (15) Jimmy ate fish. (Gil 1996, p. 55)

Gil (1996) points out that the noun *fish* is ambiguous among mass, singular, and plural interpretations. Through what may be a historical accident or mere coincidence, the noun *fish* happens to have the same morphological form whether it is mass, singular, or plural. However, it is clearly not of the same type as nouns such as *táo* in (12) that are general with respect to countability. Unlike *táo*, which has only one interpretation, *fish* has three distinct interpretations with respect to number: singular, plural, or mass. It is morphologically irregular. Gil fails to distinguish ambiguity from generality, yet as mentioned above, this distinction is critical. Whether Turkish bare nouns are general or ambiguous with respect to number is an important question. Section 3.1 outlines a series of tests that can be used to determine the status of these nouns.

### 2.1.2 IS COUNTABILITY A PROPERTY OF NOUNS OR NOUN PHRASES?

The second question is whether countability is a property of nouns or of noun phrases. Both views have their strengths and weaknesses, some of which will be outlined here. Many (cf. Wierzbicka 1988) believe countability to be a property of nouns. Proponents of this view see the count/mass distinction as something that is inherent to the noun and is part of the lexicon. This is the view most widely assumed, so words such as *coffee* or *sugar*, for example, are described as “mass nouns” and *house* or *tree* are described as “count nouns.” This view is appealing because the real world referents of nouns do seem to have properties that make them more or less amenable to counting, or make them “count” or “mass.” For example, Corbett (2000, p. 79) notes the conceptual distinction between things like *water* and *book*, claiming that the referent of *water* can be divided and still be water, yet if the referent of *book* is divided, what remains is not book. Based on tests such as these, semantic features including [ $\pm$ bounded], [ $\pm$ internal structure] (cf. Jackendoff 1991) have been proposed that are said to determine the countability of the noun.

If countability is simply a property of nouns, how are sentences such as the following explained?

(16) I'd like a coffee please. (Corbett 2000, p. 81)

(17) There was dog all over the road. (Corbett 2000, p. 81)

In (16), a mass noun, *coffee* acts as a count noun, insofar as it is being used with a singular determiner *a* and has a singular interpretation. Conversely, in (17), the count noun *dog* has a mass interpretation. Corbett (2000, p. 81) calls this RECATEGORIZATION. Examples such as these may pose a potential problem for those who believe countability to be inherent to nouns. Recategorization, in this framework, must be conceptualized as a semantic shift, a process that redefines the inherent properties of the noun. The particulars of such a process would be difficult to define, and for this reason the notion of countability being a property of nouns is somewhat questionable.

However, this is not to say that countability is merely a property of NPs either. Those who believe that the count/mass distinction is a property of NPs see countability as part of syntax (cf. Allan 1980). From this point of view, all nouns can be thought of as unmarked with respect to countability, and depending upon what type of syntactic construction they occur in, they are conceptualized as count or mass. The following examples from English help to clarify this viewpoint:

(18) Hetty likes to gorge herself on cake. (Allan 1980, p. 546)

(19) Whenever Hetty gobbles down a cake, her diet ‘starts tomorrow’. (Allan p. 547)

The examples above show that the noun *cake* can occur in both count and mass contexts. The difference between the use of this noun in (18) and (19) is the structure of the NP in which it occurs. In (18), the NP is a bare noun, yielding a mass interpretation, and in (19), the NP has the indefinite article *a*, yielding a count interpretation. This contrast appears to demonstrate that countability is determined by the structure of the NP. However, although the contrast is straightforward for a noun such as *cake*, it is not as easily made for some other nouns. It is more difficult to think of contexts in which a noun like *person* could be used with a mass sense. Even the noun *dog*, which in (17) was used in a mass sense, seems somewhat forced in this interpretation. Because nouns like *person* or *dog* cannot easily be rendered as mass, it seems implausible that syntax alone could be responsible for determining countability.

Therefore, countability seems to be neither a property solely of nouns nor solely of NPs. Rather, following Allan 1980, Gil 1996, and others, I will adopt the perspective that countability is a matter of both semantics and syntax. Allan (1980, p.566) speaks of nouns showing

“...countability preference – insofar as some nouns more often occur in countable NPs, others in uncountable NPs, and still others seem to occur quite freely in both.” This view allows for syntax to partially determine whether something is count or mass, while still maintaining that the semantics of the noun does play a role. In Section 3.4, I will explore the idea that nouns not only show preference for being in mass or count contexts, but they also show preference for being used with general number or not.

## 2.2 DEFINING SPECIFICITY

Consider the following English sentence:

(20) I am looking for a book.

Upon reflection, most native speakers of English would agree that this sentence is ambiguous. The object NP *a book* may refer to a particular book, or it may be used for just any book. For instance, (20) may be followed up with either of the two sentences below:

(21) ...It has a blue cover.

(22) ...I want something to read on the bus.

I will say that for the sentence in (21) to follow (20), the object of (20) must be SPECIFIC. For (22) to follow (20), the object must be NON-SPECIFIC. From this isolated example, it seems clear what specificity is. However, despite the intuition that most speakers have regarding the difference between the specific and non-specific readings of a given sentence, specificity in linguistics seems to mean different things to different people.

### 2.2.1 SPECIFICITY AND SCOPE

For many semanticists, specificity is a matter of scope relations. The traditionally held view is that an NP is considered to be specific when it has wide scope over other operators in the sentence, such as quantifiers, negation, modals, or intensional verbs. In (20), for example, the NP *a book* is specific when it has scope over the intensional verb *look for*. This sentence can be reworded so that word order can reflect this scope relation:

(23) There is a book such that I am looking for it.

In contrast to this particular reading of (20), there is also the non-specific reading, in which the object NP has narrow scope.

While scope is indisputably related to specificity, not everyone agrees that specificity can be entirely explained with reference to scope phenomena. In fact, Enç 1991 (citing Hintikka 1986) notes some possible counterexamples to the claim that specific NPs always have wide scope:

(24) Each husband had forgotten a certain date – his wife’s birthday.

In (24), the object NP *a certain date* is considered specific by virtue of the adjective *certain*<sup>3</sup>, but the wide scope reading of this sentence is not the most natural interpretation:

(25) There is a certain date – Bob’s wife’s birthday – that each husband forgot.

For (25) to work at all, *Bob* must be some person previously referred to in the discourse, and every husband forgot Bob’s wife’s birthday. Of course, the more natural interpretation of (24) is as follows:

(26) For every husband, there is a certain date - his wife’s birthday - that he forgot.

In (26), the NP *a certain date* has narrow scope with respect to the universal quantifier. The fact that a specific NP can have narrow scope counters the claim that wide scope is the defining property of specificity.

### 2.2.2 SPECIFICITY AND FAMILIARITY

Another way of viewing specificity is in terms of familiarity with the referent. According to Heim (1982) and Kamp (1981) (cited in Enç 1991), definiteness is a matter of familiarity with

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<sup>3</sup> This is assuming that adjectives such as *certain* necessarily render an NP specific. Enç 1991 (pp. 18-22) provides a series of arguments for the viewpoint that NPs containing *certain* are always specific, including the fact that in Turkish, NPs in object position containing the adjective *belli* ‘certain’ are obligatorily used with the accusative case

the referent. Indefinite NPs always refer to referents that have not been previously introduced in the discourse. In other words, they are novel. Definite NPs are those that have been introduced previously; they are familiar. I suggest that this notion of familiarity can be extended to account for the three-way distinction between non-specifics, specific indefinites, and definites. The key is to look at which discourse participants the referent is familiar/novel to. Non-specific NPs can be viewed as those for which the referent is novel to both the speaker and the addressee. Specific indefinite NPs are those for which the referent is familiar to the speaker, but novel to the addressee. And definites are those for which the referent is familiar to both the speaker and the addressee. Consider the sentence in (27) (originally presented in (20) above):

(27) I am looking for a book.

For (27) to have a non-specific reading, the object NP *a book* must not be familiar to either the speaker or the addressee. In contrast, for (27) to have a specific indefinite reading, *a book* is known to the speaker but not to the addressee. Of course, by virtue of the indefinite determiner *a*, the object of (27) cannot be interpreted as definite. However, the object of (28) can:

(28) I am looking for the book.

In (28), the object NP is familiar to both the speaker and the addressee. Although somewhat anecdotal or informal in nature, this is a handy way of viewing specificity and definiteness.

### 2.2.3 SPECIFICITY AND DISCOURSE CONTEXT

Enç 1991 argues that specificity is matter of discourse context. For Enç, a specific NP is one with a “covert partitive” reading, introducing “into the domain of discourse individuals from a previously given set” (p. 6). An example helps to clarify what is meant by this. Consider the following sentence (modelled after Enç’s Turkish example on p. 6):

(29) I saw many dogs at the park.

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marker (which is only used with specific NPs). I will not outline the particulars of Enç’s arguments here, but for the sake of this paper I will adopt her perspective that NPs containing *certain* are always specific.

Now assume that (29) is followed by (30):

(30) I knew a golden retriever.

The NP *a golden retriever* can refer to one of the dogs at the park or not. If *a golden retriever* is included in the set of *many dogs*, then it has what Enç calls a covert partitive reading, and it is specific. If this NP is not included in previously mentioned set (of dogs), then it is non-specific. (Of course, as Enç points out, the specific reading is pragmatically more appropriate; why would (30) follow (29) if the golden retriever was not amongst the set of dogs introduced in (29)?)

As this example illustrates, differences in specificity can be correlated with differences in domains of discourse. Specific NPs are those that are included in a set of previously mentioned items, and non-specific NPs are those that are not. Of course, this notion of inclusion in a set does not mean that the specific NP must refer to fewer individuals than the aforementioned set. Consider the following examples:

(31) I saw **five dogs<sub>i</sub>** at the park. I knew **them<sub>i</sub>**.

(32) I saw **a dog<sub>i</sub>** at the park. I knew **the golden retriever<sub>i</sub>**.

The object NPs of the second sentences of (31) and (32) are specific according to Enç's definition. In (31), the set of dogs numbers five, and the object NP *them* is not only included in that set; it is equal to that set. In (32), the "set" has only one member, and the object NP *the golden retriever* is included to and equals that set.

Object NPs such as *them* and *the golden retriever* in (31) and (32) are not just specific; they are definite. Enç distinguishes definiteness from specificity on the basis of the relationship between the NP in question and its discourse antecedent. She notes:

"Both definites and specifics require that their discourse referents be linked to previously established discourse referents, and both indefinites and nonspecifics require that their discourse referents not be linked to previously established discourse referents. What distinguishes these notions is the nature of the linking" (p. 9).

Definites, Enç claims, have an identity relation to their discourse antecedents. In other words, the referent of a definite NP is exactly the same as the referent of its antecedent. For examples like (31) and (32), what this means is that *them* has the identical referent as *five dogs*, and *the golden retriever* has the identical referent as *a dog*.

Specifics, on the other hand, have an inclusion relation to their discourse antecedents. The referent of a specific NP, according to Enç, must be included in the set of referents of the antecedent. As was illustrated above, an identity relation is also an inclusion relation, and all referents identified with an aforementioned referent are also included in that aforementioned referent. In other words, all definites are specific.

Of course, the converse is not true. All specifics are not definite. For instance the referent of the object NP in (30), *a golden retriever* is included in, but not identified with, the referent of its discourse antecedent *many dogs*. Therefore, it is specific, but not definite. This is further confirmed by the presence of the indefinite article *a*. The NP in (30) can be described as “specific indefinite.” Thus, we see a three-way distinction when it comes to specificity/definiteness: non-specifics versus specific indefinites versus definites.

This section has shown that the distinction between non-specific, specific indefinite, and definite NPs can be defined in (at least) three different ways, as summarized in (33) below:

(33)

	Non-specific	Specific	
		Specific Indefinite	(Specific) Definite
Scope	NP has narrow scope	NP has wide scope over operators	Scopeless
Familiarity	Referent not known to speaker or addressee	Referent known to speaker but not addressee	Referent known to speaker and addressee
Discourse	Referent not previously introduced in discourse	Referent is included in, but not equal to, set of previously mentioned referents	Referent is equal to previously mentioned referents

Whether specificity is simply a matter of scope relations, speaker/addressee familiarity, or discourse context, or a complex of all three, is a question beyond the scope of this paper. For the purposes of this thesis, I will assume that each of these ideas has merit and perhaps all of them contribute to the complex notion of specificity. Section 4 will look in more detail at each of these notions of specificity in analyzing the contrast between non-specific, specific indefinite, and definite NPs in Turkish.

### **2.3 BACKGROUND ON TURKISH**

Turkish is an Altaic language spoken by over sixty million people worldwide. Largely an agglutinating language, Turkish forms words primarily through suffixation. A characteristic feature of Turkish is its vowel harmony. Many suffixes follow the rules of vowel harmony and therefore have different phonological realizations depending upon the backness and roundedness of the vowels in the root words to which they are attached. Turkish is an SOV language, and it generally follows the word order tendencies of head-final languages (cf. Dryer 1992). For example, Turkish has postpositions rather than prepositions, and attribute adjectives, numerals, and genitives all precede nouns.

#### **2.3.1 NP STRUCTURE**

Nouns in Turkish may be inflected for number (singular or plural) and case (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, or ablative). There is no grammatical gender in Turkish. Nouns may be modified by determiners, adjectives, numerals, or classifiers. The order of NP elements is given in (34):

(34) (Num) + (Clas) + (Adj) + (Art)/(Dem) + Noun + (Plural) + (Case)

Each of these elements will be discussed in greater detail in the sections that follow.

#### **2.3.2 PLURAL MARKING**

On Turkish nouns, plurality is marked by the suffix *-ler/-lar*. Unlike the plural in English, the Turkish plural is not obligatory in all contexts in which a plural referent is intended. Bare nouns

in Turkish may be interpreted as plural despite the fact that they are not modified by the plural suffix. Consider the following examples:

- (35) **Kitap** oku-du-m  
 book read-PAST-1S  
 “I read books” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 219)
- (36) **Arı** çocuğ-u sok-tu  
 bee child-ACC sting-PAST.3  
 “Bees stung the child” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 218)
- (37) Lokanta **garson** iş-e al-ıyor  
 restaurant server work-DAT take-PROG.3  
 “The restaurant is hiring servers” (LB)

In each of the examples above, an NP may refer to a plural entity without the plural suffix. Furthermore, when modified by numerals or certain quantifiers, the noun may have a plural interpretation despite the absence of the plural suffix:

- (38) beş çocuk  
 five child  
 “five children” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 265)
- (39) birçok çocuk  
 many child  
 “many children” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 266)

Note that each of the nouns in (35) through (37) (*kitap* ‘book’, *arı* ‘bee’, and *garson* ‘server’) vary with respect to their degree of animacy and/or individuation. For instance, *kitap* is inanimate, but *arı* and *garson* are animate. See Section 3.4 for more information on the interaction between animacy, individuation, and countability in Turkish.

The suffix *-ler/-lar* is not only found on nouns. It is also used to express plurality on verbs and on some pronouns. On verbs, the *-ler/-lar* suffix is used as the regular third person plural agreement marker, as in the following example:

- (40) Arkadaş-lar-ınız dün başka bir ev-e taşın-dı-lar  
 friend-PL-2P.Poss yesterday other ART house-DAT move-PAST-3P  
 “Your friends moved to another house yesterday” (Lewis 1953, p. 47)

Often, either the plural suffix on the noun or the agreement suffix is omitted. As for pronouns, the *-ler/-lar* suffix is found on third person and demonstrative pronouns, as the following paradigms illustrate (from Kornfilt 1997, pp. 281, 311):

(41a) Personal pronouns – nominative case

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>First person</b>	ben	biz
<b>Second person</b>	sen	siz
<b>Third person</b>	o	onlar

(41b) Demonstrative pronouns – nominative case

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>Proximal</b>	bu	bunlar
<b>Distal</b>	şu	şunlar
<b>Remote</b>	o	onlar

It is also used to express plurality of the possessor:

- (42a) dükkan-ı  
 shop-3S.Poss  
 “his/her shop” (Lewis 1953, p. 35)

(42b) *dükkan-ları*<sup>4</sup>  
 shop-3P.Poss  
 “their shop”

(Lewis 1953, p. 35)

The fact that plurality in Turkish is expressed on nouns, verbs, and by means of the same suffix calls into question the precise nature of the *-ler/-lar* suffix, and of the category of number in Turkish. Is this suffix truly comparable to, for instance, the plural *-s* in English, or does it carry out similar yet different functions? How does number in Turkish differ from number in English? These issues are the heart of this thesis, and it is questions such as these that will be investigated in later sections.

### 2.3.3 ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKING

Lewis (1953, p. 27) refers to the accusative case as the “definite objective” case, because the accusative case marker not only marks nouns as direct objects; it also appears to mark them for what he calls definiteness. (In fact, what Lewis calls definiteness is actually specificity. Cf. Enç 1991 for details on this distinction.) Compare the following:

(43) *Halil mektup yaz-dı*  
 Halil letter write-PAST.3  
 “Halil wrote a letter/letters”

(Underhill 1979, p. 51)

(44) *Halil mektub-u yaz-dı*  
 Halil letter-ACC write-PAST.3  
 “Halil wrote the/a certain letter.”

(Underhill 1979, p. 51)

The object of (43) is not marked with the accusative case marker, and it can be interpreted as either singular or plural. Either way, it is interpreted as non-specific. The object of (44), on the other hand, is marked with the accusative case marker *-u* and has only one interpretation; it is specific and it is singular. The accusative case marker appears to play a role not only in

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<sup>4</sup> This can also mean “his/her shops.” With this translation, *lar* expresses nominal plurality and *i* expresses third person singular possession.

specificity but also in number. This apparent connection between specificity and number will be further investigated in Sections 4 and 5.

### 2.3.4 DETERMINERS

In this section three main types of determiners in Turkish will be discussed – articles, demonstratives, and determiners used with plural nouns. With regards to articles, Turkish has only one. The indefinite article *bir* is homophonous with the numeral ‘one’, yet it occupies a different position in the NP, as the following examples illustrate:

(45) *bir çürük elma*  
 one rotten apple  
 “one rotten apple” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 275)

(46) *çürük bir elma*  
 rotten ART apple  
 “a rotten apple” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 275)

In (45), *bir* is a numeral, and it precedes the adjective *çürük*. However in (46), it is an article, and it follows the adjective. The indefinite article can be used with direct objects marked with the accusative case to yield a specific indefinite NP, as in the following example:

(47) *Ali bir piyano-yu kirala-mak ist-iyor*  
 Ali ART piano-ACC rent-INF want-PROG.3  
 “Ali wants to rent a certain piano” (Enç 1991, p. 4)

A second class of determiners in Turkish is the demonstrative class. There are three demonstrative determiners: *bu* (proximal), *şu* (distal), and *o* (remote). As determiners, demonstratives do not take number or case marking:

- (48) *Şu* kalem-i bul-du-m  
 this pen-ACC find-PAST-1S  
 “I found this pen” (Underhill 1979, p. 121)

However, when used pronominally demonstratives have the same number and case morphology as nouns:

- (49) Bugün şehir-e in-di-m ve *şun-lar-ı* al-dı-m  
 today downtown-LOC go-PAST-1S CONJ this-PL-ACC buy-PAST-1S  
 “Today I went downtown and I bought these things.” (Underhill 1979, p. 122)

The presence of a demonstrative determiner always makes an NP definite.

There are also a number of determiners that are used with plural nouns. One such example is the determiner *bazı*, which means “some,” as in the following example:

- (50) Dün bazı çok garip kitap-lar-ı oku-du-m  
 yesterday some very strangebook-PL-ACC read-PAST-1S  
 “Yesterday I read some very strange books.” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 277)

Note that in (50), the noun is modified by the plural suffix *-lar*. Kornfilt (1997, p. 266) notes that *bazı* requires the presence of the plural suffix. *Bazı* is like the English *some* in that it always makes an NP indefinite. However, while *some* in English may be specific or non-specific, *bazı* always makes the noun phrase specific. I will elaborate on this in Section 4.2.

### 2.3.5 NUMERALS AND CLASSIFIERS

Typically, nouns in Turkish are not marked for number when used with numerals:

- (51) iki çocuk  
 two child  
 “two children” (Lewis 1953, p. 50)

However, the plural suffix *-ler/-lar* may be used in numeral-noun constructions to indicate definiteness. Contrast the following:

(52) kırk harami  
forty thief  
“forty thieves” (Underhill 1979, p. 125)

(53) Kırk Harami-ler  
forty thief-PL  
“The Forty Thieves” (from the Ali Baba legends) (Underhill 1979, p. 125)

Similar examples can be found for the Seven Dwarves (*Yedi Cüceler*), the Chicago Seven (*Şikagolu Yediler*) and others (Underhill 1979, p. 125), indicating (at least) a tentative correlation between plurality and specificity. This correlation will be explored in more detail in later sections.

In many numeral-noun constructions, a classifier-like element precedes the noun. Classifiers used with mass nouns are similar to those found in English measure-word constructions:

(54) iki tutam tuz  
two pinch salt  
“two pinches of salt” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 272)

Unlike English, however, Turkish permits classifiers with some count nouns, also. There are a number of different classifiers that can be used with such nouns, but most often the classifier *tane*, which derives from the word for ‘grain,’ is used. Below are some typical examples:

(55) beş tane elma  
five CLAS apple  
“five apples” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 271)

(56) iki tane ağaç  
 two CLAS tree  
 “two trees” (LB)

(57) iki tane kelebek  
 two CLAS butterfly  
 “two butterflies” (LB)

The classifier *tane* may be used with less individuated or “less animate” nouns such as *elma* ‘apple’, *ağaç* ‘tree’, or *kelebek* ‘butterfly’, but with nouns that are considered more individuated or “more animate,” the classifier is not permitted:

(58) \*iki tane kedi  
 two CLAS cat  
 “two cats” (LB)

(59) \*iki tane profesör  
 two CLAS professor  
 “two professors” (LB)

As will be elaborated in Section 3.4 the distinction between less and more individuated/animate also plays a role in determining which nouns may have general number.

The fact that Turkish has classifier-like elements that are often used on count nouns like *elma* or *kelebek* suggests a similarity between Turkish and so-called “classifier languages” like Chinese or Vietnamese. This similarity (as well as others) is something that I will return to in Section 5.

### 3.0 GENERAL NUMBER IN TURKISH

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate some of the differences between the number of bare nouns and other NP structures in Turkish in order to highlight properties of the bare noun. As the following section will illustrate, the bare noun is the only NP structure that has general number.

The discussion is limited to NPs in direct object position, and to NPs of the following types (each given with an example):

(60) *Bare noun:*

**Kitap** al-dı-m  
book buy-PAST-1S  
“I bought a book/books” (LB)

(61) *Noun + Accusative case:*

**Kitab-ı** al-dı-m  
book-ACC buy-PAST-1S  
“I bought the book” (LB)

(62) *Article + Noun:*

**Bir kitap** al-dı-m  
ART book buy-PAST-1S  
“I bought a book” (LB)

(63) *Article + Noun + Accusative case:*

**Bir kitab-ı** al-dı-m  
ART book-ACC buy-PAST-1S  
“I bought a certain book” (LB)

(64) *Noun + Plural:*

**Kitap-lar** al-dı-m  
book-PL buy-PAST-1S  
“I bought books” (LB)

(65) *Noun + Plural + Accusative case:*

**Kitap-lar-ı** al-dı-m

book-PL-ACC buy-PAST-1S

“I bought the books”

(LB)

(66) *Indefinite Determiner + Noun + Plural:*

**Bazı kitap-lar** al-dı-m

some book-PL buy-PAST-1S

“I bought some books”

(LB)

(67) *Indefinite Determiner + Noun + Plural + Accusative case:*

**Bazı kitap-lar-ı** al-dı-m

some book-PL-ACC buy-PAST-1S

“I bought some books”

(LB)

Noun phrases in syntactic positions other than that of the direct object, or those containing demonstratives, other determiners, numerals, or other quantifiers are not included in this discussion. The behaviour of these other NPs will be left for future research.

### 3.1 TESTING GENERAL NUMBER IN TURKISH

The central claim of this section is that Turkish bare nouns are general with respect to the singular/plural distinction. There are a number of different factors that determine whether or not this claim is true. Each of these will be discussed separately in the subsections that follow.

#### 3.1.1 GENERALITY VS. AMBIGUITY

First, it must be determined whether Turkish bare nouns are in fact general, and not ambiguous. The tests I will use to determine this are modeled after the types of tests that are traditionally used to test for lexical ambiguity (cf. Zwicky and Sadock 1975, Cruse 1986). An example of a sentence used for testing lexical ambiguity is given in (68):

(68) Roger went to the bank and Simon did too.

Sentences such as (68) can be used to distinguish ambiguity from generality. The only acceptable interpretation of (68) is one in which Roger and Simon went to the same type of bank (either a financial institution or a river's edge). If one went to one type of bank and the other went to a different type of bank, the sentence is unacceptable. This restriction shows that the word *bank* is ambiguous. Words that are general do not have this same restriction on interpretation, as is shown in (69):

(69) Roger kicked the ball and Simon did too.

With respect to the property of “footedness,” the word *kick* is general. Whether Roger and Simon use the same foot (for example, left) to kick the ball, or different feet (for example, one uses left and one uses right), is simply irrelevant. This illustrates that the word *kick* is general, not ambiguous.

These types of tests can be extended to discussions of ambiguity versus generality with number. For example, in English there is no dual number. It is not the case that the English plural is ambiguous with respect to the dual-plural distinction; it can be considered general:

(70) Clark ate meatballs and Lou did too.

The sentence above is grammatical as long as both Clark and Lou ate more than one meatball. If Clark ate two meatballs, and Lou ate seven, then (70) is still grammatical, because the English plural is general with respect to the dual-plural distinction.

Similarly, my claim is that bare nouns in Turkish are general with respect to the singular-plural distinction. This may be tested by way of a coordinate structure, as in (71)<sup>5</sup>:

(71) Hem Roger hem de Simon elma al-dı  
 Both Roger both and Simon apple buy-PAST.3  
 “Both Roger and Simon bought an apple/apples”

---

<sup>5</sup> In Turkish, there is no structure equivalent to English VP deletion (as in (68) through (70)). However, the conjunction *hem...hem de* cannot be comitative ((71) cannot mean that Roger and Simon bought apples together), so it does serve the same purpose as VP deletion in English. Note that the “both...and” structure would also work in English for testing generality vs. ambiguity.

If the number of the object for each conjunct in (71) can be different, then this would mean that the bare noun is general and not ambiguous. This is an issue that I will return to later in this section.

### 3.1.2 TESTING ANAPHORA

If bare nouns in Turkish are general with respect to countability, then the possibilities for pronoun agreement with them should reflect this. Two-sentence discourses in which a pronoun may be co-referenced with the bare noun can test this. Because subject pronouns in Turkish are often null, the second sentence must contain a pronoun in object position that is co-referenced with the bare noun of the first sentence. Later subsections offer an elaborated discussion of these types of tests in Turkish.

## 3.2 GENERAL NUMBER IN TURKISH

### 3.2.1 NUMBER AGREEMENT WITH BARE NOUNS

One clear way of determining the number of the various NP structures in Turkish is to examine the anaphoric possibilities for each of these structures.<sup>6</sup> Pronouns in Turkish are obligatorily specified for number, and pronouns must agree in number with their antecedents, so the number of the pronoun(s) that can refer to an NP is a telltale sign of the number of that NP.

Subject pronouns in Turkish are often null, and therefore give no visible clues as to the number of their antecedents. Thus, in each of the examples below, I have used object pronouns. Consider the following examples:

- (72) Sam **muz<sub>i</sub>** al-d<sub>i</sub>.      **On-u<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam banana buy-PAST.3 3S-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought a banana. He put it in the refrigerator.” (AP, LB)

- (73) Sam **muz<sub>i</sub>** al-d<sub>i</sub>.      **Onlar-ı<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam banana buy-PAST.3 3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought bananas. He put them in the refrigerator.” (AP, LB)

<sup>6</sup> Another possible way of determining the number of NPs in Turkish is to look at number agreement on the verb. However, as was noted in Section 2.3.2, the plural agreement marker is often omitted, and therefore verb agreement cannot be considered a reliable way of checking the number of an NP.

In (72) and (73), the object of the first sentence is a bare noun, *muz*. The object pronouns of the second sentences refer back to this bare noun, and agree in number with it. However, there is one fundamental difference between these pronouns. In (72) the object pronoun is singular, and in (73) it is plural. This confirms that the bare noun *muz* may be interpreted as either singular or plural.

For other NP structures, discourse anaphora with both singular and plural pronouns is not possible. Consider the following:

- (74) Sam **bir muz<sub>i</sub>** al-d<sub>i</sub>.      **On-u<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam ART banana buy-PAST.3 3S-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought a banana. He put it in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (75) Sam **bir muz<sub>i</sub>** al-d<sub>i</sub>.      \***Onlar-ı<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam ART banana buy-PAST.3 \*3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought a banana. He put them in the refrigerator.” (LB)

The object NP of the first sentence in (74) and (75) consists of the indefinite article *bir* and a noun. In (74), the third person singular pronoun *onu* is co-indexed with this NP, and this is acceptable. In (75) however, the third person plural pronoun *onları* is co-indexed with the NP, and this is not acceptable. Only a singular pronoun can be co-indexed with the NP *bir muz* because this NP is obligatorily singular. Unlike the bare noun construction, the article + noun construction cannot yield a plural interpretation; it is restricted to a singular interpretation.

In contrast, the noun + plural construction is restricted to a plural interpretation. Consider the following:

- (76) Sam **muz-lar<sub>i</sub>** al-d<sub>i</sub>.      **Onlar-ı<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam banana-PL buy-PAST.3 3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought bananas. He put them in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (77) Sam **muz-lar<sub>i</sub>** al-di.      \***On-u<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam banana-PL buy-PAST.3 \*3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought bananas. He put it in the refrigerator.” (LB)

In (76), the plural NP *muzlar* is the antecedent for the plural pronoun *onları*, and in (77), it is the antecedent for the singular pronoun *onu*. Only (76) is possible. NPs marked with the plural suffix can only have plural anaphors; they are restricted to a plural interpretation.

Similarly, constructions consisting of the indefinite determiner *bazı* plus a noun plus the plural marker can only have plural interpretations. Consider the following:

- (78) Sam **bazı muz-lar<sub>i</sub>** al-di.      **Onlar-ı<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam some banana-PL buy-PAST.3 3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought some bananas. He put them in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (79) Sam **bazı muz-lar<sub>i</sub>** al-di.      \***On-u<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam some banana-PL buy-PAST.3 \*3S-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought some bananas. He put it in the refrigerator.” (LB)

The plural NP *bazı muzlar* can only be the antecedent for a plural pronoun such as *onları*. It cannot be the antecedent for with the singular pronoun *onu*. Therefore, this NP is obligatorily plural.

NPs consisting of a noun overtly marked for accusative case are also limited to only one interpretation. Consider the following examples:

- (80) Sam **muz-u<sub>i</sub>** al-di.      **On-u<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam banana-ACC buy-PAST.3 3S-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought the banana. He put it in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (81) Sam **bir muz-u<sub>i</sub>** al-di.      **On-u<sub>i</sub>** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam ART banana-ACC buy-PAST.3 3S-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought a certain banana. He put it in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (82) Sam **muz-lar-ı** al-dı. **Onlar-ı** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam banana-PL-ACC buy-PAST.3 3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought the bananas. He put them in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (83) Sam **bazı muz-lar-ı** al-dı. **Onlar-ı** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam some banana-PL-ACC buy-PAST.3 3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought some (certain) bananas. He put them in the refrigerator.” (LB)

Each of the first sentences in (80) through (83) has an object NP overtly marked for accusative case. In (80), the object NP consists solely of a noun *muz* plus the accusative case marker *-u* and it is the antecedent for the third person singular pronoun *onu*. The difference between (80) and (81) is the indefinite article *bir*. Despite this difference, both (80) and (81) are the antecedents for a singular pronoun and yield singular interpretations. In contrast, the object of both (82) and (83) is plural. In (82), the object is marked with the plural suffix *-lar*. In (83), there is also the plural determiner *bazı*. Both are antecedents for the third person plural pronoun *onları*. The object NPs in (80), (81), (82), and (83) have two things in common: they are all marked with the accusative case suffix, and they are each restricted to only one interpretation. The objects in (80) and (81) cannot be interpreted as plural, and the objects in (82) and (83) cannot be interpreted as singular, as the following examples demonstrate:

- (84) Sam **muz-u** al-dı. \***Onlar-ı** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam banana-ACC buy-PAST.3 \*3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought the banana. He put them in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (85) Sam **bir muz-u** al-dı. \***Onlar-ı** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam ART banana-ACC buy-PAST.3 \*3P-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought a certain banana. He put them in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (86) Sam **muz-lar-ı** al-dı. \***On-u** buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam banana-PL-ACC buy-PAST.3 \*3S-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST.3  
 “Sam bought the bananas. He put it in the refrigerator.” (LB)

- (87) Sam **bazi muz-lar-ı** al-dı. \***On-u**ı buzdolabın-a koy-du.  
 Sam some banana-PL-ACC buy-PAST.3 \*3S-ACC refrigerator-DAT put-PAST  
 “Sam bought some bananas. He put it in the refrigerator.” (LB)

NPs containing the accusative case marker can only be interpreted as either singular or plural, but not both. Similarly, NPs containing the indefinite article *bir* are obligatorily singular, and NPs containing the plural marker *-ler/-lar* are obligatorily plural. This is in stark contrast to bare nouns, which may be either singular or plural, and can be co-indexed with anaphors of either type. This suggests that bare nouns have a unique status in Turkish, compared with other NP types: they appear to exhibit general number. However, in order to determine whether this is truly the case, further investigation of the number of bare nouns is essential. This issue will be further explored in the following section.

### 3.3 GENERAL NUMBER OF BARE NOUNS

The preceding section demonstrated the fact that bare nouns in Turkish can be either singular or plural, but this does not necessarily mean that they are general with respect to the singular/plural distinction. Recall from Section 3.1 the distinction between generality and ambiguity. Words that are *general* are simply unspecified with respect to a particular distinction (in this case, the number distinction). On the other hand, words that are *ambiguous* are not unspecified but instead have two (or more) meanings.

Section 3.1 outlines a test that has been used to make the distinction between lexical ambiguity and lexical generality in English, such as “Roger went to the bank and Simon did too” (ambiguous) and “Roger kicked the ball and Simon did too” (general). Tests like these are not only applicable in English. For example, in Turkish, the word *kefe* has two meanings, “scale” and “hair glove” (used for grooming horses). The following sentence indicates that this word is ambiguous, not general:

- (88) Hem Sam hem de Lou kefe buldu-lar.  
 both Sam both and Lou *kefe* find-PAST-3P  
 “Both Sam and Lou found a *kefe*” (AK)

In (88), the subjects, *Sam* and *Lou* are conjoined via the coordination structure *hem...hem de*. Although the English translation may be misleading, this coordination structure does not indicate accompaniment.<sup>7</sup> In other words, it is not the case that Sam and Lou found a *kefe* together; rather they each found a *kefe*. This sentence is only grammatical if both Sam and Lou found either a scale or a hair glove. The construction in (88) cannot be used if Sam found a scale and Lou found a hair glove, or vice versa. What this indicates is that the noun *kefe* has two distinct meanings; it is ambiguous.

Similarly, the word *kasaba* has more than one meaning. It can mean “small town” or it can mean “pipe.” In the following example, *kasaba* is limited to having only one of those meanings.

- (89) Hem Sam hem de Lou güzel bir kasaba gör-dü.  
 both Sam both and Lou nice ART *kasaba* see-PAST.3  
 “Both Sam and Lou saw a nice *kasaba*” (AK)

For (89) to be considered grammatical, Sam and Lou must both have seen either a nice small town or a nice pipe. It cannot be the case that Sam saw a small town and Lou saw a pipe, or vice versa. Like *kefe*, *kasaba* is ambiguous.

In contrast with *kefe* and *kasaba*, the word *garson* “waiter/ess” is general (with respect to gender). This fact is demonstrated through the following example:

- (90) Hem lokanta hem de birahane yeni garson al-ıca-k-lar.  
 Both restaurant both and pub new server hire-PROG-3P  
 “Both the restaurant and the pub are hiring (a) new server(s).” (LB)

It does not matter what gender the servers are that the restaurant and pub hire for (90) to be considered grammatical. If the restaurant hires a male server (a waiter) and the pub hires a female server (a waitress), or vice versa, then (90) is still acceptable. What this indicates is that the word *garson* is not specified for gender. It is not the case that *garson* has two meanings (‘waiter’ and ‘waitress’), but rather that the distinction of gender does not play a role at all in this word’s meaning. *Garson* is general with respect to gender.

<sup>7</sup> The coordinate conjunction *ile* is used to indicate accompaniment (Kornfilt 1997, p. 115).

Coordinate structures have been demonstrated to be useful in distinguishing ambiguity from generality in lexical semantics. However, does this type of “test” work in distinguishing ambiguity from generality in number? Consider the following example from English:

(91) Both Jay and Carter saw the deer.

The NP *the deer* has multiple interpretations with respect to number. It can be used to refer to one deer (singular) or many deer (plural). Whether *the deer* is ambiguous or general is complicated by the fact that it is definite. The fact that the object NP *the deer* is definite makes it more difficult to make a judgment about the facts about number in (91). Perhaps a better test sentence is one with a genitive construction. Consider the following:

(92) Jay caught his deer, and Carter did too.

Now, imagine a scenario in which Jay owns five deer and Carter owns one, and all of the deer escape. Can (92) be used in such a context? I would argue that it cannot. I feel that because the NP *the deer* in (92) is used with reference to a plural entity (Jay’s five deer), it cannot also be used in the same sentence to refer to a singular entity (Carter’s one deer). Of course, I am willing to concede that judgments on sentences such as these are highly subjective, and my intuition could be contradicted by the intuitions of other English native speakers. For the purposes of this paper, I will assume that my judgment about (92) is accurate, and that *his deer*, having two distinct interpretations (singular or plural) is ambiguous with respect to number.

The list of examples like *the/his deer* in English is small, and it is not the case that most nouns can be either singular or plural when modified only by the definite article *the* or when placed in a genitive construction. Consider the following:

(93) Jay sailed **the/his boat**.

(94) Jay pet **the/his dog**.

(95) Jay ate **the/his apple**.

The object NPs in (93) through (95) have only one interpretation with respect to number: singular. Examples such as these (and the many more like them) suggest that NPs like *the deer* are exceptions to a general rule about singular-plural contrasts and plural formation in English. Therefore, NPs like *the deer* in English are fundamentally different from the bare nouns in Turkish, which are not exceptional in any way. This lends further strength to the claim I made in Section 2 regarding the status of English NPs such as *fish* (as in “Jimmy ate fish”) as ambiguous versus the status of bare nouns in languages like Vietnamese or Turkish as general. Not only do these types of NPs exhibit differences in behaviour in test sentences using coordination or VP deletion, but also English examples such as *fish* and *the deer* can be considered exceptions due to morphological irregularity, whereas Turkish bare nouns such as *muz* ‘banana’ can be considered regular patterns. The bare noun construction, and its ability to render both singular and plural interpretations, is not restricted to only certain nouns. This notion will be further explored in Section 3.4, which looks specifically at the behaviour of different classes of nouns in the bare noun construction.

The difference between exceptional examples like *the deer* in English and the regular pattern of bare nouns in Turkish lends weight to the notion that, unlike Turkish bare nouns, English NPs like *the deer* are ambiguous. Intuitively, it is more likely that something will be ambiguous with respect to a particular distinction (such as number, in this case) if the large majority of the expressions in the language systematically make that distinction. On the other hand, the fact that (nearly) all bare nouns in Turkish can be either singular or plural suggests that the singular-plural distinction is not important for bare nouns, or that they are general with respect to number.

This can be demonstrated by applying the same “test” that was used in distinguishing ambiguity from generality in lexical semantics in Turkish. Consider the following sentence:

- (96) Hem Sam hem de Lou muz aldı  
 both Sam both and Lou banana buy-PAST.3  
 “Both Sam and Lou bought banana” (FD)

The object in (96) is a bare noun, *muz*. As examples (72) and (73) indicated, this bare noun can be co-indexed with either a singular or a plural pronoun. This suggests that the bare noun *muz* is

either singular or plural. However, is it ambiguous or general with respect to the singular/plural distinction? If it is ambiguous, then only the following interpretations should be possible:

(96a) Sam bought one banana and Lou bought one banana

(96b) Sam bought more than one banana and Lou bought more than one banana

However, if the object NP *muz* is general, then the following readings should also be possible:

(96c) Sam bought one banana and Lou bought more than one banana

(96d) Sam bought more than one banana and Lou bought one banana

In fact, the sentence in (96) may yield any of the above readings in (a) through (d). What this indicates is that the bare noun *muz* is general with respect to the singular-plural distinction. The non-importance of number in the bare noun construction is further suggested by the following intuitions of native Turkish speakers:

- “If the amount is important then we put the amount. Both of them (Sam and Lou in 96) bought one or more bananas.” (AP).
- “This sentence can mean both (singular and plural); it doesn't pass information about the amount or the quantity of bananas bought...may be just one or more.” (FD)

It is clear from these statements and the varied interpretations of (96) that the bare noun *muz* does in fact exhibit the property of general number.

### 3.4 INDIVIDUATION, ANIMACY, AND GENERAL NUMBER

#### 3.4.1 WHICH NOUNS CAN BE GENERAL IN TURKISH?

The types of referents to which nouns refer in a language may differ in their ability to be used with general number. Many nouns behave like *muz* ‘banana,’ insofar as they yield “general number” interpretations. Consider the following examples:

- (97) **Tohum** al-dı-m.  
seed buy-PAST-1S  
“I bought (one or more) seed(s).” (LB)
- (98) Paige **kelebek** yakala-mak ist-iyor  
Paige butterfly catch-INF want-PROG.3  
“Paige wants to catch a butterfly/butterflies” (NH)
- (99) Mary **doktor** bul-mak ist-iyor.  
Mary doctor meet-INF want-PROG.3  
“Mary wants to meet a doctor/doctors” (LB)
- (100) Lokanta yeni **garson** ar-iyor.  
restaurant new server seek-PROG.3  
“The restaurant is looking for a new server/new servers” (LB)

In (97) through (100), the bare nouns *tohum* ‘seed’, *kelebek* ‘butterfly’, *doktor* ‘doctor’, and *garson* ‘server’ are all used with general number.<sup>8</sup> In each of these examples, the number of the noun is not specified; there may be one or more than one seed, butterfly, doctor, or server. Further evidence that these nouns are general is provided by the fact that they can be antecedents for either singular or plural pronouns. Consider the following:

- (101) **Tohum<sub>i</sub>** al-dı-m. Bahçe-de **on-u<sub>i</sub>** ek-ti-m.  
seed buy-PAST-1S garden-LOC 3S-ACC plant-PAST-1S  
“I bought a seed. I planted it in the garden.” (LB)
- (102) **Tohum<sub>i</sub>** al-dı-m. Bahçe-de **onlar-ı<sub>i</sub>** ek-ti-m.  
seed buy-PAST-1S garden-LOC 3P-ACC plant-PAST-1S  
“I bought seeds. I planted them in the garden.” (LB)

<sup>8</sup> It is important to note that each of these nouns does form its plural through the regular pluralization strategy (ie, *tohumler* ‘seeds’, *kelebekler* ‘butterflies’, *doktorlar* ‘doctors’, *garsonlar* ‘servers’). In other words, these words are not like English *fish* or *deer*, which are ambiguous between singular and plural readings.

In (101), the bare noun *tohum* is the antecedent for a singular pronoun, and in (102) it the antecedent for a plural pronoun. The bare nouns in (98) through (100) behave similarly with respect to anaphora.

However, it is not the case that all nouns in Turkish have general number when used in the bare noun construction. Consider the following:

(103) **Kitap<sub>i</sub>** al-mak ist-iyor-um. Arkadaş-ım-a **on-u<sub>i</sub>** ver-eceğ-im.  
 book buy-INF want-PROG-1S friend-1S.POSS-DAT 3S-ACC give-FUT-1S  
 “I want to buy a book. I will give it to my friend.” (FD, LB, NH)

(104) **Kitap<sub>i</sub>** almak ist-iyor-um. Arkadaş-ım-a **?onlar-ı<sub>i</sub>** ver-eceğ-im.  
 book buy-INF want-PROG-1S friend-1S.POSS-DAT 3P-ACC give-FUT-1S  
 “I want to buy a book. I will give them to my friend.” (FD, LB, NH)

In (103), the bare noun *kitap* ‘book’ is the antecedent for the singular pronoun *onu*, and in (104) it is the antecedent for the plural pronoun *onları*. While there is no question about the co-reference of *kitap* with a singular pronoun (as in 103)), whether *kitap* may be co-referenced with a plural pronoun or not (as in (104)) is unclear. For some speakers, (104) is acceptable, but only marginally so, and for others it is not at all acceptable. What this suggests is that *kitap* does not accept general number as readily as some other nouns, such as *tohum* or *kelebek*.

Other nouns are even less likely to be used with general number. Consider the following:

(105) Sam **ev<sub>i</sub>** bul-du. Lou Sam'a **on-u<sub>i</sub>** sat-tı.  
 Sam house find-PAST.3S Lou Sam-DAT 3S-ACC sell-PAST.3S  
 “Sam found a house. Lou sold it to him.” (FD, LB, NH)

(106) Sam **ev<sub>i</sub>** bul-du. Lou Sam'a **\*onlar-ı<sub>i</sub>** sat-tı.  
 Sam house find-PAST.3S Lou Sam-DAT \*3P-ACC sell-PAST.3S  
 “Sam found a house. Lou sold them to him.” (FD, LB, NH)

Like *kitap*, the bare noun *ev* ‘house’ may be the antecedent for the singular pronoun *onu*. However, when it comes to anaphora with the plural pronoun *onları*, the judgments are very clear: *ev* cannot agree with a plural pronoun. In other words, *ev* is always singular; it is not general.

One final example of this type is given in (107) and (108):

- (107) Lou **kişi**<sub>i</sub> bul-du. Lokanta-da **on-u**<sub>i</sub> gör-dü.  
 Lou person meet-PAST.3 restaurant-LOC 3S-ACC see-PAST.3  
 “Lou met a person. He saw him at a restaurant.” (LB)

- (108) Lou **kişi**<sub>i</sub> bul-du. Lokanta-da \***onlar-ı**<sub>i</sub> gör-dü.  
 Lou person meet-PAST.3 restaurant-LOC 3P-ACC see-PAST.3  
 “Lou met a person. He saw them at a restaurant.” (LB)

Why is it that some nouns in Turkish can have general number, while others cannot? How can the exceptions such as *kitap* ‘book,’ *ev* ‘house,’ and *kişi* ‘person’ be accounted for?

### 3.4.2 INDIVIDUATION

One possible explanation can be formulated in terms of individuation. Before looking at general number, however, let’s first look at another type of number distinction, specifically the count/mass distinction.

Within any given language, nouns differ in the ways in which they are counted. In most languages (Turkish included), there is a count/mass distinction. The distinction between count and mass nouns is a grammatical distinction. Count nouns are those that participate in the number system, those that can be singular, plural, or general. For instance, count nouns may occur with the indefinite article *bir* (as singulars) or the plural suffix *-ler/-lar* (as plurals). Mass nouns, on the other hand, are those that do not show number distinctions such as singular or plural, and cannot be used with *bir* or *-ler/-lar*.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the notion of “general number” is not relevant for mass nouns, because they do not have number at all.

<sup>9</sup> Recall from Section 2 that according to Corbett (2000) mass nouns may be “recategorized” as count nouns. Thus, in particular contexts, mass nouns could be used with the indefinite article or the plural suffix. Examples of “recategorization” are not relevant to this discussion.

The distinction between count and mass nouns is, at least in part, a reflection of the real-world properties of the items to which nouns refer. Items that are recognized as having individual importance or are seen as autonomous are more likely to be counted than those items that typically exist in homogeneous groupings. Put simply, the more individuated something is, the more that number matters for it. Individuation is typically associated with the count/mass distinction. Generally, count nouns are those that are highly individuated, whereas mass nouns are those that are less individuated. However, I would like to suggest that, although count/mass is a binary distinction, individuation can be regarded as a spectrum, ranging from items that are less to more individuated. (109) is a list of English nouns that serve as representative examples of this spectrum (leftmost items are less individuated):

(109) air, water, sugar, grass, seed(s), banana(s), book(s), house(s) <sup>10</sup>

This list lets us identify a number of interesting points. Firstly, taken as individual entities, the items to which the nouns in (109) refer get consistently bigger in size as the list moves from left to right. For instance, a drop of water is bigger than a “particle” of air (if it may so be called), a grape is bigger than a blade of grass, and a house is bigger than a book. Secondly, the leftmost items (*air, water, sugar, grass*) are mass nouns and rightmost items (*seed(s), banana(s), book(s), house(s)*) are count nouns. Wierzbicka (1988) also notes the apparent correlation between referent size and the count/mass distinction: “...stuffs consisting of bigger, more conspicuous individual entities are more likely to be viewed as ‘multiplicities’ and designated by plural nouns than stuffs consisting of small, less conspicuous entities,” (pp. 313-14).<sup>11</sup> She suggests that while all languages follow this general principle, the line between count and mass is drawn in different places along the spectrum in different languages. So, although *grass* is a mass noun in English, it may be a count noun in other languages, and conversely, while *seed* is a count noun in English, it may be a mass noun in other languages.

It is possible that the count/mass distinction isn’t the only grammatical distinction that is influenced by the real-world property of individuation. After all, there are eight nouns in (109),

<sup>10</sup> Excluded from this list are abstract nouns, for which semantic properties other than just size or shape determine their individuation. A discussion of these types of nouns is beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>11</sup> Of course, size is not the only factor that contributes to relative individuation. For a discussion of other real-world properties relating to individuation, refer to Wierzbicka 1988.

each individuated differently, and logically there could be eight grammatical distinctions reflecting this fact. More realistically, it is possible that in languages that have general number, the less individuated a count noun is, the more likely it is to have general number. In other words, it is more likely for nouns like *seed* or *banana* to exhibit general number than nouns like *book* or *house*.

### 3.4.3 ANIMACY

The preceding section offers a potential explanation for why nouns like *kitap* ‘book’ and *ev* ‘house’ cannot be used with general number. What this account does not consider are nouns like *kişi* ‘person,’ which as shown in (108), also cannot be used with general number, but nouns like *doktor* ‘doctor’ and *garson* ‘server’ can. The relevant distinction to consider here is animacy. Just as individuation can play a role in a noun’s ability to be general with respect to number, so can animacy. Corbett (2000), drawing on work by Smith-Stark (1974), claims that the more animate something is, the more likely it is to participate in the number system. He makes reference to the Animacy Hierarchy, given in (110) below (Corbett 2000, p. 56):

(110) speaker >> addressee >> 3<sup>rd</sup> person >> kin >> human >> animate >> inanimate  
 1<sup>st</sup> person 2<sup>nd</sup> person

The basic idea of the Animacy Hierarchy as it relates to number is that the leftmost items in the hierarchy are more likely than the rightmost items to exhibit number distinctions. The hierarchy predicts that if any nominals in a language are going to be involved in the number system, it will be those to the left side of the hierarchy. Conversely, if any nominals will not be involved in the number system (or will not exhibit number distinctions) then it will be those to the right side of the hierarchy. In other words, general number is most likely to occur with inanimate nouns, then animate (non-human) nouns, then human nouns, and so on. This explains why an inanimate noun such as *muz* ‘banana’ and a non-human animate noun such as *kelebek* ‘butterfly’ (see (98)) can be used with general number, but a human noun such as *kişi* ‘person’ cannot. Of course, the Animacy Hierarchy cannot completely predict which nouns can be used with general number and which cannot. Recall from (99) and (100) that the nouns *doktor* ‘doctor’ and *garson* ‘server’ can be used with general number, despite the fact that these nouns are high on the Animacy

Hierarchy.<sup>12</sup> This is not to say that the hierarchy is not a useful tool for accounting for the differences between nouns with respect to their ability to be used with general number. Rather, what this suggests, is that animacy is one of many distinctions that helps to determine the designation of different nouns to different categories.

#### 3.4.4 INTEGRATING THE HIERARCHIES

Animacy can be seen as something closely related to, or even an extension of, individuation. Intuitively, animate referents are more individuated than inanimate referents and human referents are even more individuated than animate non-human referents. Both the individuation spectrum and the animacy hierarchy have proven to be useful tools in explaining why some nouns may have general number while others cannot. Having said that, we must keep in mind the fact that these hierarchies cannot absolutely predict which nouns can behave in which ways. A lot of this appears to be arbitrary. For example, nothing about animacy or individuation can predict why *doktor* ‘doctor’ can have general number, but *kişi* ‘person’ cannot. Clearly, this is an issue that needs further investigation.

#### 3.5 CONCLUSION

This section highlighted the uniqueness of the bare noun construction as compared with other NP types, with respect to number. Section 3.2 demonstrated the fact that the bare noun construction is the only NP that has general number. In Section 3.3, it was shown that bare nouns are in fact general, and not ambiguous, with respect to number. This is not to say that all bare (count) nouns have general number. Section 3.4 speculated on the role that individuation and animacy might play in determining which nouns can be general and which cannot.

#### 4.0 SPECIFICITY IN TURKISH

Section 3 demonstrated the fact that the bare noun construction is the only NP type that has general number. What other semantic properties are unique to this construction?

The purpose of this section is to investigate specificity in Turkish NPs. In Section 4.1, I will focus on what it means for something to be non-specific, specific indefinite, or definite in Turkish in terms of the three different notions of specificity that were outlined in Section 2.2. In

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<sup>12</sup> I speculate that this may have something to do with the fact that they are names for occupations.

Section 4.2, I will analyze a variety of different NP types in order to determine whether they are non-specific, specific indefinite, or definite, using the three theories given in Section 4.1 as diagnostics of specificity.

Because a main purpose of this section is to look for semantic properties that are unique to the bare noun, the discussion will be limited to nouns that have the property of general number when in the bare noun construction. In other words, only count nouns that are lower on the individuation spectrum will be considered. The following discussion will illustrate the fact that the bare noun is not only the only NP that has general number; it is also the only NP that is obligatorily non-specific. The possible connection between general number and non-specificity will be explored in Section 5.

**4.1 DIAGNOSTICS OF SPECIFICITY**

In Section 2, it was noted that although most people have an intuition about what specificity is, there is disagreement amongst semanticists about how exactly to define this complex notion. Three related but different theories of specificity were outlined in Section 2.2, each with its own unique criterion for determining what makes something specific or non-specific. These criteria are summarized in the table in (111) below (originally presented as (33)):

(111)

	<b>Non-specific</b>	<b>Specific</b>	
		<b>Specific Indefinite</b>	<b>(Specific) Definite</b>
<b>Scope</b>	NP has narrow scope	NP has wide scope over operators	Scopeless
<b>Familiarity</b>	Referent not known to speaker or addressee	Referent known to speaker but not addressee	Referent known to speaker and addressee
<b>Discourse</b>	Referent not previously introduced in discourse	Referent is included in, but not equal to, set of previously mentioned referents	Referent is equal to previously mentioned referents

Each cell in (111) may be used as a diagnostic in determining whether a particular NP is non-specific, specific indefinite, or definite. The goal of this section is to demonstrate how each of these diagnostics may be used to determine the properties of different NPs in Turkish. For purposes of this paper, the three different notions of specificity (i.e. the three rows in the table) will be referred to as “scope specificity,” “familiarity specificity,” and “discourse specificity.” They will each be considered individually in the subsections that follow.

#### 4.1.1 SCOPE SPECIFICITY

In his work on English bare plurals, Carlson (1977) provides a number of sentences that may be used as diagnostics for determining the specificity of different NPs in terms of scope relations. Consider the following sentences (p. 421):

(112)#A dog was everywhere.

(113)Dogs were everywhere.

(114)#Some dogs were everywhere.

Carlson notes that, according to the traditional view (expressed in many descriptive grammars, for instance), (113) is the supposed plural of (112), but (112) and (113) have different interpretations. In (112), the NP *a dog* has wide scope over the universal quantifier, yielding the bizarre interpretation that the same dog was in every location. (113), however, is perfectly acceptable, because the NP *dogs* has narrow scope. The wide scope reading is not available for (112). This contrasts with (114), which is like (112) in that it has wide scope. In other words, the English NPs *a dog* and *some dogs* are specific in the sense of having wide scope and the NP *dogs* is non-specific because it has narrow scope. The scope properties of sentences (112), (113), and (114) can be represented by the formulas in (115), (116), and (117), respectively:

(115) $\exists x\text{-sg} (\text{Dog}(x) \wedge \forall y (\text{Place}(y) \rightarrow \text{At}(x,y)))$

(116) $\forall y (\text{Place}(y) \rightarrow \exists x (\text{Dog}(x) \wedge \text{At}(x,y)))$

(117) $\exists x\text{-pl} (\text{Dog}(x) \wedge \forall y (\text{Place}(y) \rightarrow \text{At}(x,y)))$

Turkish sentences modelled after sentences (112) through (114) could be considered good test sentences for looking at the scope properties of different NP structures in Turkish. Because the only natural interpretation for sentences of this structure is the narrow scope reading (as in (113)), only NPs that can have narrow scope will be acceptable here. Using scope as a diagnostic for specificity, NPs that can be used in “X were everywhere” sentences can be considered non-specific, whereas NPs that cannot be used in such sentences can be considered specific.

Because I am only looking at NPs in direct object position, the sentences will be reconstructed to place the NP in question in the direct object position, as in “I saw a dog/dogs/some dogs everywhere.” The interpretation of these sentences is the same as that for the ones in which the NP in question is in subject position: the narrow scope reading is the most natural reading, meaning something like “In every place, I saw one or more dogs.” The wide scope reading (“There were one or more dogs, such that I saw them everywhere”) is not as bizarre as the wide scope reading for the sentences with the NP in subject position, but it is still not as natural as the narrow scope reading. Thus, it is important not only to determine which NP types can occur in these sentences, but also which interpretation they have.

Another test of scope relations involves looking at sentences with intensional verbs such as “looks for” or “wants.” I will not go into the particulars of such tests here, because a number of examples are supplied through Section 4.2.

#### 4.1.2 FAMILIARITY SPECIFICITY

Consider the following sentences:

(118) Roman bul-mak ist-iyor-um.  
 novel find-INF want-PROG-1S  
 “I want to find a novel/novels” (LB)

(119) Bir roman-ı bul-mak ist-iyor-um.  
 ART novel-ACC find-INF want-PROG-1S  
 “I want to find a (certain) novel.” (LB)

- (120) Roman-ı bul-mak ist-iyor-um.  
 novel-ACC find-INF want-PROG-1S  
 “I want to find the novel.” (LB)

The sentences in (118) through (120) differ in terms of speaker/addressee familiarity. Envision a scenario in which the speaker is packing for a plane trip and wants to find some reading material to bring along. In this case, neither the speaker nor the hearer has a particular novel or set of novels in mind. What the speaker wants to find is non-specific. In this scenario, sentence (118), but not sentences (119) or (120), is appropriate. The NP *roman* is non-specific.

A second scenario could involve someone going to a bookstore to find a certain novel. When this person is unable to find the novel, they approach a clerk for assistance, and say “I want to find a novel.” In this case, the novel in question is known to the person looking for it, but not the clerk who is asked for assistance. Therefore, it is specific, but not definite, according to Familiarity Scope. In this context, sentence (119) is appropriate, and therefore the NP *bir romanı* is specific indefinite.

Imagine a third scenario in which two men are arguing about the content of a novel they both recently read. To prove his point, one of the men wants to read the other man a passage from the novel, but he cannot find it. In this context, both discourse participants know which novel is the subject of discussion, and only sentence (120), not sentences (118) or (119) is appropriate here. The NP *romanı* is definite.

#### 4.1.3 DISCOURSE SPECIFICITY

Recall from Section 4.1.2 that sentences (118), (119), and (120), which contrasted three NPs differing in terms of speaker/addressee knowledge. These sentences can also be compared using Enç’s (1991) notion of discourse context (i.e., Discourse Specificity). Imagine these sentences situated in a discourse context whereby (121) below precedes either (118) or (119), and (122) precedes (120):

- (121) Kütüphane-de çok kitap var  
 library-LOC many book EXIST.PRES  
 “There are many books at the library” (NH)

- (122) Kütüphane-de bir kitap var  
 library-LOC ART book EXIST.PRES  
 “There is a book at the library” (NH)

According to Enç, in this context, sentence (118) can only be used to refer to a novel not included in the many books at the library in (121). Therefore the NP *roman* is non-specific. Of course, (121) followed by (118) is a somewhat disjointed discourse, because the referent is not the same in both sentences. Sentence (119), on the other hand, can only be used to refer to one of the books mentioned in (121). Because *bir romanı* is included in, but not equal to, the many books in (121), it is specific indefinite. When (120) follows (122), it can only be used to refer to the same book that is mentioned in (122). In other words, the referents of (120) and (122) are identical, and therefore the NP *romanı* in (120) is definite.

This section demonstrated that the differences between non-specific, specific indefinite, and definite NPs in Turkish can be explicated in a number of different ways. The following section will look at the role that these varying notions of specificity play in different types of NPs.

#### 4.2 THE SPECIFICITY OF DIFFERENT NP TYPES IN TURKISH

Which types of NPs in Turkish may be non-specific, specific indefinite, or definite?

The purpose of this section is to use the diagnostics described in Section 4.1 in order to determine the specificity of different types of NP structures in Turkish. As in Section 3, the ensuing discussion is limited to the following NP types in direct object position:

- N (bare noun)
- N + ACC
- ART (*bir*) + N
- ART (*bir*) + N + ACC
- N + PL (*-ler/-lar*)
- N + PL (*-ler/-lar*) + ACC
- DET (*bazı*) + N + PL (*-ler/-lar*)
- DET (*bazı*) + N + PL (*-ler/-lar*) + ACC

In the subsections that follow, each of these NPs will be analyzed individually (in the order given above), in terms of each set of diagnostics in (111) (henceforth referred to as A, B, and C, where necessary). The goal of this analysis is to determine the possibilities for specificity for each NP type. In many cases, the diagnostics do not give a uniform description, and there are mismatches the results obtained by the different diagnostics. For example, whereas an NP may be always definite by one set of diagnostics, by another the same NP may be specific indefinite or definite. In these cases, I will not attempt to reconcile the mismatches, but will attempt to draw a very general conclusion in order to provide as clear a picture as possible. The main point that emerges from the following discussion is that the bare noun is the only NP that is always non-specific.

#### 4.2.1. BARE NOUNS

The goal of this section is to demonstrate that the bare noun in Turkish is obligatorily non-specific. Let's first consider the bare noun in terms of "Familiarity Specificity." Consider the following sentence (originally presented as (118)):

- (123) Roman bul-mak ist-iyor-um.  
 novel find-INF want-PROG-1S  
 "I want to find a novel/novels" (LB)

Recall from Section 4.1.1 that this particular sentence could be used in a context in which *roman* does not refer to a particular novel known to the speaker and addressee (as in the case of someone wanting reading material for a plane trip). Furthermore, as noted in Section 4.1.1, *roman* cannot be used to refer to a novel known to the speaker. In other words, *roman* is always non-specific.

Now let's consider the bare noun construction in terms of "Scope Specificity." Consider the following sentence:

- (124) Her yer-de köpek gör-dü-m  
 every place-LOC dog see-PAST-1S  
 "I saw dogs everywhere." (LB, NH, SK)

In (124), the bare noun *köpek* has narrow scope, and the sentence means something like “In every place, I saw one or more dogs.” In other words, the bare noun is non-specific. Furthermore, *köpek* cannot be interpreted as having wide scope, with a meaning like “There are one or more dogs that I saw everywhere.”<sup>13</sup> Because the bare noun obligatorily takes narrow scope, it is obligatorily non-specific.

Finally, let’s analyze the bare noun in terms of “Discourse Specificity.” Referring back to the bare noun *roman* in (123), recall from Section 4.1.1 that this NP cannot have what Enç calls a “covert partitive” reading. In other words, it cannot be included in or equal to a set of items previously mentioned in the discourse, such as the “many books at the library” of (121) above. Because it cannot have a covert partitive interpretation, the bare noun is non-specific, according to this diagnostic.

To summarize, according to all three sets of diagnostics, bare nouns are always non-specific.

#### 4.2.2. NOUN + ACCUSATIVE CASE

Unlike the bare noun, a noun marked with the accusative case marker is obligatorily specific. Lewis (1953) refers to the accusative case marker *-yi* as the definite objective case, because, he argues, NPs marked with this case are always definite. Enç (1991) and Kornfilt (1997), on the other hand, assert that NPs marked with accusative case are always specific. This section demonstrates that, according to all three sets of diagnostics, NPs of the type “N + ACC” may be either specific indefinite or definite, but they may never be non-specific. In other words, the accusative case makes the NP specific.

Consider the following example:

(125) *Kedi-yi al-mak ist-iyor-um.*

cat-ACC buy-INF want-PROG-1S

“I want to buy a (particular) cat.”

(LB)

According to “Familiarity Specificity,” the NP *kediyi* can be either specific indefinite or definite, but never non-specific. Minimally, *kediyi* must refer to a cat the speaker has in mind, but it can

<sup>13</sup> The only possible exception to this is if the noun *köpek* is interpreted in a mass sense. Then, the sentence in (124) means something like “There was dog-mass everywhere, such that I saw it.” As a mass noun, *köpek*, as well as other bare nouns, can be specific or non-specific.

also refer to a cat known to both the speaker and the addressee. However, *kediyi* cannot be used in a context where the speaker wants to buy “just any cat,” not one that is known. For example, this sentence may be uttered at a pet store, where the speaker has selected a particular cat for purchase, but not in a context where the speaker is simply considering purchasing a house pet.

The “N +ACC” structure is not only obligatorily specific according to “Familiarity Specificity”; it also obligatorily takes wide scope. Consider the following:

- (126) #Her yer-de köpeğ-i gör-dü-m.  
 every place-LOC dog-ACC see-PAST-1S  
 “I saw a dog everywhere” (LB, NH)

The sentence above is not ungrammatical, but it has somewhat of a bizarre interpretation. (126) cannot be interpreted to mean “In every place, I saw some dog or other.” Rather, the only interpretation of this sentence is something strange like “There is a dog that I saw everywhere.” In other words, the NP *köpeği* must be interpreted as having wide scope over the universal quantifier, and not as having narrow scope.

Finally, let’s consider “N + ACC” NPs in terms of “Discourse Specificity.” Assume that a discourse begins with one of the following sentences:

- (127) Dükkân-da beş köpek gör-dü-m.  
 store-LOC five dog see-PAST-1S  
 “I saw five dogs at the store.” (NH)

- (128) Dükkân-da beş köpek-le üç kedi gör-dü-m.  
 store-LOC five dog-CONJ three cat see-PAST-1S  
 “I saw five dogs and three cats at the store.” (NH)

- (129) Dükkân-da beş köpek-le bir kedi gör-dü-m.  
 store-LOC five dog-CONJ one cat see-PAST-1S  
 “I saw five dogs and a cat at the store.” (NH)

Sentence (125) (“I want to buy a certain cat”) may not follow (127). In (127), the only referents are a speaker and five dogs. No cats are mentioned. Therefore, any sentence referring to cats that follows (127) is introducing the cat(s) as a novel referent not previously mentioned in the discourse. In other words, the NP of any such sentence must be non-specific. Sentence (125) cannot follow (127) for this very reason; the NP *kediyi* is specific.

However, (125) may follow (128) or (129). When (125) follows (128), the NP *kediyi* in (125) is included in the referent of *üç kedi* in (128), and *kediyi* has the interpretation “one of the cats.” Because of this inclusion relationship, *kediyi* is specific. Because *kediyi* does not equal *üç kedi*, it is specific indefinite. When (125) follows (129), however, *kediyi* is not only specific; it is definite, because *kediyi* in (125) and *bir kedi* in (129) refer to exactly the same thing. Whether (125) follows (128) or (129), it is always specific.

To summarize, according to all three sets of diagnostics, NPs of the type “N + ACC” may be either specific indefinite or definite, but never non-specific.

#### 4.2.3 INDEFINITE ARTICLE *bir* + NOUN

Here is a case where the different sets of diagnostics do not yield exactly the same results for an NP type. Although the “Familiarity Specificity” and “Scope Specificity” diagnostics suggest that these types of NPs may be either specific or non-specific, Enç (1991) claims that NPs marked with the accusative case marker are necessarily specific, and that NPs (in object position) *not* marked with the accusative case marker are necessarily non-specific. Thus, according to Enç, NPs consisting of the indefinite article *bir* and a noun are always non-specific when in object position. She provides the following contrastive examples:

(130) Ali bir piyano kirala-mak ist-iyor.

Ali ART piano rent-INF want-PROG.3

“Ali wants to rent a piano”

(Enç 1991, p. 5)

(131) Ali bir piyano-yu kirala-mak ist-iyor.

Ali ART piano-ACC rent-INF want-PROG.3

“Ali wants to rent a (certain) piano”

(Enç 1991, p. 4)

Enç claims that the object of (131) is specific and the object of (130) is non-specific. According to her diagnostics, *bir piyano* in (130), and in fact all “*bir + N*” NPs, cannot be specific because they do not refer to something previously mentioned in a discourse context. While this may be true, the other diagnostics for specificity –speaker familiarity, and wide scope – may be met by “*bir + N*” NPs.

First, let’s consider “Familiarity Specificity.” Imagine a scenario in which a restaurant manager needs to hire new staff. The assistant manager is on vacation during the time in which the manager interviews candidates. When the assistant manager returns, he asks the manager, “who did you hire?” The manager may respond with (132), (133), or (134) below:

(132) *Bir kız iş-e al-dı-m.*  
 ART girl work-DAT take-PAST-1S  
 “I hired a girl” (LB)

(133) *Kız-ı iş-e al-dı-m.*  
 girl-ACC work-DAT take-PAST-1S  
 “I hired a girl” (LB)

(134) *Bir kız-ı iş-e al-dı-m.*  
 ART girl-ACC work-DAT take-PAST-1S  
 “I hired a girl” (LB)

Each of the sentences in (132) through (134) is acceptable here. In this context, the speaker (the manager) has a particular referent in mind, but the addressee (the assistant manager) does not. Therefore, the referent is specific indefinite. The objects of (133) and (134) both have the accusative case marker, and as Enç predicts, they may refer to specific referents in a discourse context. However, the object of (132) does not have an accusative case marker, and yet it can be used as a specific indefinite. Despite the fact that “*bir + N*” NPs do not meet the “Discourse” criterion for specificity, they do meet the “Familiarity” criterion. According to the “Familiarity” diagnostics, these types of NPs may be either non-specific or specific indefinite.

In addition, “*bir + N*” NPs meets the “Scope” criterion for both non-specificity and specificity. Consider the following example:

- (135) Her yer-de bir köpek gör-dü-m.  
 every place-LOC ART dog see-PAST-1S  
 “I saw a dog everywhere.” (LB, NH)

In (135), the NP *bir köpek* may have narrow or wide scope. This sentence can mean something like “In every place, I saw a dog,” in which there is a one-to-one mapping of places and dogs. This is the narrow scope interpretation, in which the NP is non-specific. However, (135) may also mean something like “There is a dog that I saw everywhere.” With this interpretation, the NP has wide scope, and is therefore specific. Like the “A-set,” this set of diagnostics yields a different range of interpretations than does “Discourse Specificity.”

Although there is a mismatch, I will assume that because specific readings are possible for “*bir + N*” NPs (at least according to some criteria), these NPs are not obligatorily non-specific. They may be non-specific or specific indefinite, but never definite.

#### 4.2.4 INDEFINITE ARTICLE *bir* + NOUN + ACCUSATIVE CASE

NPs containing the indefinite article *bir* are obligatorily indefinite (cf. Kornfilt 1997, p. 275), and NPs containing the accusative case marker are obligatorily specific (cf. Enç 1991). Thus, it makes sense that NPs containing both the indefinite article and the accusative case marker are obligatorily specific indefinite. In fact, according to all three diagnostics for specific indefinites, this is true. Recall sentence (134) from Section 4.2.3. In this example, the NP *bir kız* was situated in a context whereby the speaker had a particular referent in mind, but the addressee did not. Therefore, in terms of “Familiarity”, this NP meets the criteria for specific indefiniteness.

These types of NPs also meet the “Scope” criterion for specific indefiniteness. In other words, they can only have wide scope. Consider the following:

- (136) Her yer-de bir köpeğ-i gör-dü-m.  
 every place-LOCART dog-ACC see-PAST-1S  
 “I saw a dog everywhere” (LB, NH)

In (136), the NP *bir köpeği* has wide scope, and this sentence means something like “There is a dog that I saw everywhere.” The NP *bir köpeği* cannot have narrow scope; this sentence cannot mean, “In every place, I saw some dog or other.” Thus, (136) is an unusual sentence, and although grammatical, it is not very natural. This is because the NP *bir köpeği* is obligatorily specific.

NPs of the type “bir + N + ACC” are specific indefinite according to the “C” diagnostic, as well. Recall the sentence in (134), repeated here for convenience:

- (134) Bir kız-ı iş-e al-dı-m.  
 ART girl-ACC work-DAT take-PAST-1S  
 “I hired a (certain) girl” (LB)

The following sentence may precede (134):

- (137) Birçok kız bul-du-m.  
 several girl meet-PAST-1S  
 “I met several girls.” (LB)

In this context, *bir kız* is included in but not equal to the previously mentioned referent, *birçok kız*, and it means “one of the girls.” The sentence in (134) may *not* be preceded by:

- (138) Bir kız-ı bul-du-m.  
 ART girl-ACC meet-PAST-1S  
 “I met a (certain) girl.” (LB)

For (134) to follow (138) both would have the exact same referent. The fact that this isn’t possible indicates that the object of (134) cannot be definite. Because (134) can follow (137), but not (138), it is specific indefinite according to the “Discourse” diagnostics.

In summary, according to all three diagnostics, NPs of the type “bir + N + ACC” are always specific indefinite.

## 4.2.5 NOUN + PLURAL

As with the “*bir* + N” NPs discussed in Section 4.2.3, the “Discourse” diagnostics yield a different range of possibilities for “N + PL” NPs than the “Familiarity” and “Scope” diagnostics. According to Enç, NPs in object position that do not have an accusative case marker (such as “N + PL” NPs) never have the covert partitive reading. Let’s presume that this is true, and that according to the “Discourse” diagnostics, these types of NPs are never specific. Nevertheless, “N + PL” NPs do meet the “Familiarity” and “Scope” criteria for specificity. Consider the following English sentence:

(139) Mary wants to meet a doctor.

The object of (139) can be either specific or non-specific. It may refer to a particular doctor, whom Mary has in mind, or it may mean just any doctor. Similarly, it may have wide scope over the intensional verb *wanted*, or it may have narrow scope.

Carlson (1977) points out that when the object of (139) is pluralized, its ability to function as both a specific and a non-specific NP is lost. In (140), the bare plural object is only non-specific:

(140) Mary wants to meet doctors.

The only meaning of (140) is one in which *doctors* does not mean a particular set of doctors that Mary may have in mind, but just any doctors. Bare plurals in Turkish are not limited in this same way. Contrast (140) with (141) below:

(141) Mary doktor-lar bul-mak ist-iyor.

Mary doctor-PL meet-INF want-PROG.3

“Mary wants to meet (some)doctors”

(LB)

In (141), *doktorlar* may refer to a particular set of doctors that Mary has in mind, or it may mean just any doctors. In terms of the “Familiarity” of diagnostics, *doktorlar* (as well as other “N + PL” NPs) may be specific or non-specific.

In terms of scope relations, “N + PL” NPs may take either narrow or wide scope. The NP *doktorlar* in (141) may take narrow scope to yield a non-specific reading such as “Mary wants to meet doctors,” or it may take wide scope over the intensional verb to yield a specific reading such as “There are some doctors that Mary wants to meet.”

In summary, all three sets of diagnostics allow “N + PL” NPs like *doktorlar* to be non-specific. However, only two of three criteria for specificity (“Familiarity” and “Scope” but not “Discourse”) are met. In other words, two of the theories suggest that these NPs can be non-specific or specific, and the third suggests that they can only be non-specific. In terms of the overall goal of this section, what is important here is not reconciling the differences between the three sets of diagnostics, but rather determining the differences between bare nouns and other NP types such as “N + PL” NPs. Because these NPs can be specific, at least in some sense, they can be distinguished from bare nouns, which can never be specific.

#### 4.2.6 NOUN + PLURAL + ACCUSATIVE CASE

Kornfilt (1997) notes that NPs consisting of a noun modified by the plural marker and the accusative case marker are always interpreted as definite. She provides the following example:

- (142) Dün çok garip kitap-lar-ı oku-du-m  
 yesterday very strange book-PL-ACC read-PAST-1S  
 “Yesterday I read the very strange books.” (Kornfilt 1997, p. 276)

If Kornfilt’s analysis is accurate, this would truly be a puzzling fact. Section 4.2.2 demonstrated the fact that the accusative case marker always makes a singular NP specific, and that NPs of the type “N + ACC” may be either specific indefinite or definite. Section 4.2.5 demonstrated that “N + PL” NPs may be either non-specific or specific indefinite. Based on these facts, I would predict that “N + PL + ACC” NPs would be necessarily specific (because of the accusative case marker), but not necessarily definite. There are two questions that can be asked about Kornfilt’s analysis. First, is it accurate? Second, if it is accurate, how can it be explained?

In fact, according to the “Familiarity” of diagnostics, if an NP is classified as specific indefinite by virtue of being familiar to the speaker but **not** to the addressee, then NPs with the structure “N + PL + ACC” can be specific indefinite. Consider the following example:

- (143) *Postapul-lar-ı ar-ıyor-um.*  
 stamp-PL-ACC seek-PROG-1S  
 “I’m looking for (some particular) stamps.” (LB, NH)

Envision a scenario in which a stamp collector is looking for a particular set of stamps, and s/he wants to ask a store clerk whether they have the set in stock. In this scenario, the speaker has a particular referent in mind, but the addressee does not. The sentence in (143) may be used in this context, and therefore the NP *postapulları* may be specific indefinite. (Of course, in accordance with Kornfilt’s analysis, they may also be definite.)

In terms of scope relations, “N + PL + ACC” NPs behave similarly to other NPs with the accusative case marker. In particular, they always have wide scope. For instance, in (143), the NP *postapulları* always has wide scope over the intensional verb *arıyorum*, yielding a meaning such as “There are some stamps that I am looking for.” (143) can never mean “I am looking for stamps.” This NP is always specific. Furthermore, just like “N + ACC” NPs (see Section 4.2.3), these NPs are unusual in sentences of the form “I saw X everywhere.” Because the NP is specific, it has wide scope of the universal quantifier, yielding an interpretation like “There were some (particular) dogs that I saw everywhere.”

Finally, with respect to “Discourse Specificity,” “N + PL + ACC” NPs must have a covert partitive interpretation, and they are therefore always specific. The NP *postapulları* in (143) must refer to something previously mentioned in the discourse.

In summary, according to each of the three sets of diagnostics, NPs of the type “N + PL + ACC” are always specific.

#### 4.2.7 INDEFINITE DETERMINER *bazı* + N + PL

One might predict that NPs with the plural indefinite determiner (*bazı*) would behave the same way with respect to specificity as NPs with the singular indefinite determiner (*bir*). However, this is not the case. Recall from Section 4.2.3 that NPs such as *bir kız* may be either non-specific or specific indefinite. In contrast, the plural of this NP, *bazı kızlar*, can only be specific indefinite. Consider the following example:

- (144) Bazı kız-lar iş-e al-mak ist-iyor-um.  
 some girl-PL work-DAT take-INF want-PROG-1S  
 “I want to hire (certain) girls.” (LB, NH)

First, let’s consider this sentence in terms of the “Familiarity” criterion for specific indefiniteness. This sentence cannot be used in a context where the speaker wants to hire some girls, but s/he is not sure exactly who to hire. In other words, the speaker must have a specific referent in mind to use the NP *bazı kızlar*. *Bazı* differs from the English determiner *some*, which may be used in specific or non-specific contexts.<sup>14</sup>

In terms of the “Scope” diagnostics, the NP in (144) always has wide scope over the intensional verb, yielding a meaning such as “There are certain girls I want to hire.” The narrow scope reading is not available for the NP of (144). NPs with *bazı* are obligatorily specific and indefinite.

Finally, Enç (1991, p. 15) notes, NPs with *bazı* are always specific, and that NPs with this determiner always have a covert partitive meaning like “some of the X.”<sup>15</sup>

In summary, according to all three diagnostics, NPs of the type “*bazı* + N + PL” are specific indefinite.

#### 4.2.8 INDEFINITE DETERMINER *bazı* + N + PL + ACC

With respect to specificity, NPs consisting of the indefinite determiner *bazı* plus a noun modified by the plural marker and the accusative case marker behave exactly the same way as NPs consisting of *bazı* plus a noun modified only by a plural marker. In other words, NPs like *bazı kızlar* in (144) and *bazı kızları* in (145) are both necessarily specific indefinite:

- (145) Bazı kız-lar-ı iş-e al-mak ist-iyor-um.  
 some girl-PL-ACC work-DAT take-INF want-PROG-1S  
 “I want to hire (certain) girls.” (LB, NH)

<sup>14</sup> Note that there is another determiner *birkaç* (meaning “a few”) that may be used with specific or non-specific NPs, (cf. Enç 1991, p. 15).

<sup>15</sup> In fact, Enç claims that NPs with *bazı* cannot occur in object position without the accusative case marker. However, I found a number of counterexamples, such as *bazı kızlar* in (144).

### 4.3 CONCLUSION

The preceding sections of this section outlined the various ways in which the notion of “specificity” can be conceptualized, and the types of NPs in Turkish that can be non-specific, specific indefinite, or definite. The following table summarizes the specificity properties of the different NP structures discussed in Section 4.2:

(146)	Non-Specific	Specific Indefinite	(Specific) Definite
<b>Bare Noun</b>	✓	*	*
<b>N + ACC</b>	*	✓	✓
<b>bir + N</b>	✓	✓	*
<b>bir + N + ACC</b>	*	✓	*
<b>N + PL</b>	✓	✓	*
<b>N + PL + ACC</b>	*	✓	✓
<b>bazı + N + PL</b>	*	✓	*
<b>bazı + N + PL + ACC</b>	*	✓	*

In (146), checkmarks (✓) represent constructions that can occur with a particular interpretation, and asterisks (\*) represent constructions that cannot occur. For example, the bare noun can be non-specific, but it cannot be specific indefinite or definite. The chart allows us to draw a number of generalizations about specificity in Turkish:

- a. The bare noun is the only NP that is obligatorily non-specific
- b. All NPs with accusative case are obligatorily specific
- c. All NPs with *bir* are obligatorily indefinite
- d. All NPs with *bazı* are obligatorily specific indefinite
- e. Only NPs with zero determiner and accusative case are definite

It is worthwhile to note that not all of these generalizations hold true uniformly for all sets of diagnostics described in Section 4.1. In particular, if the “Discourse” of diagnostics had been used in isolation, then quite a different picture would emerge. Importantly, the bare noun would

not be the only NP to be obligatorily non-specific; “*bir* + N” and “N + PL” NPs would also be obligatorily non-specific. However, using at all three sets of diagnostics together allows us to highlight the fact that the bare noun is unlike other NP types in Turkish.

Section 5 speculates about the relationship between specificity and number in Turkish.

## 5.0 NUMBER AND SPECIFICITY IN TURKISH

Sections 3 and 4 outlined certain facts about number and specificity in Turkish, without explaining the relationship between the two. The goal of this section is to offer a very speculative account of the connection between number and specificity in Turkish.

### 5.1 A REVIEW OF THE FACTS

A quick summary of the crucial facts about number and specificity in Turkish is provided below:

- Bare nouns are the only NPs that have general number, and the only NPs that are obligatorily non-specific.
- Bare plurals are always plural, and may be specific or non-specific.
- Accusative case-marked NPs are always specified for number and are always specific.
- NPs with determiners such as *bir* or *bazı* are always specified for number and may be specific. (With *bazı* they are always specific).

### 5.2 A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION

The facts presented in Section 5.1 illustrate the fact that the bare noun is different from all other NPs in Turkish. In particular, the bare noun lacks the semantic properties of number and specificity that are present on other NPs. This difference may be accounted for syntactically. Just as the bare noun lacks semantic specification, it may similarly lack syntactic structure. Basically, what I would like to suggest is that the difference between bare nouns and other NPs may be attributed to a difference in their maximal projections and their syntactic roles. While the maximal projection of most noun phrases is (at least) DP, the maximal projection of bare nouns in Turkish is NP. The DPs are arguments, whereas the NPs are predicates. This hypothetical difference in syntactic structure can account for many of the semantic differences between the bare noun and other types of noun phrases. In the following subsections, I will compare the bare

noun with three other types of noun phrases: those with plural marking, those with determiners, and those with accusative case marking.

### 5.2.1 BARE NOUN VERSUS DET + N

First let's consider the difference between bare nouns and nouns with determiners. Two determiners were discussed in Sections 3 and 4, the indefinite article *bir* and its plural counterpart *bazı*. Recall the following examples:

(147) **Kitap** al-dı-m  
 book buy-PAST-1S  
 "I bought a book/books" (LB)

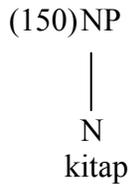
(148) **Bir kitap** al-dı-m  
 ART book buy-PAST-1S  
 "I bought a book" (LB)

(149) **Bazı kitap-lar** al-dı-m  
 some book-PL buy-PAST-1S  
 "I bought some books" (LB)

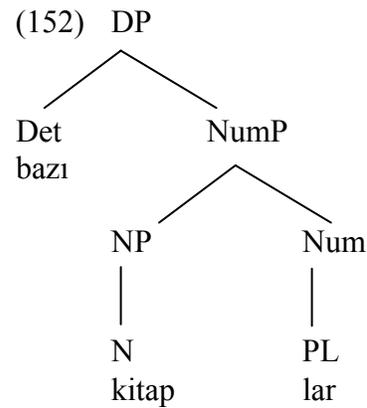
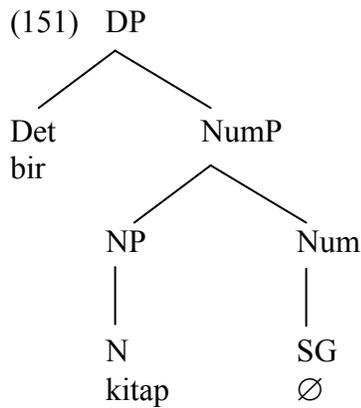
The objects of (148) and (149) have indefinite determiners, and they contrast with the bare noun in (147) in terms of both number and specificity. The object of (147) is not specified for number, but the objects of (148) and (149) are; *bir kitap* in (148) is singular, and *bazı kitaplar* in (149) is plural. Furthermore, while the bare noun in (147) is never specific, the noun phrase in (148) may be specific, and the noun phrase in (149) is always specific. Both of these differences can be attributed to differences in syntactic structure. NPs containing determiners project to the DP level, whereas the bare noun projects only to the NP level.

Following Ritter (1992), I will assume that there is an intermediate functional projection between the DP and the NP, namely NumP. The head of the NumP is responsible for number specification. DPs subsume the intermediate NumP level that is responsible for number specification. So, whereas bare nouns have no number, NPs with determiners, such as those in

(148) and (149), do have number. Furthermore, the determiners themselves are referential, allowing the noun phrases to be specific. The syntactic structure for the bare noun in (147) is given in (150) below:



Contrast (150) with (151) and (152), which are the syntactic structures for (148) and (149) respectively:



### 5.2.2 BARE NOUN VERSUS N + PL

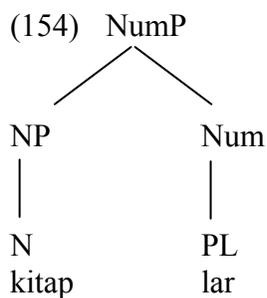
Next let's consider the difference between bare nouns and nouns with plural. Contrast (147) with (153) below:



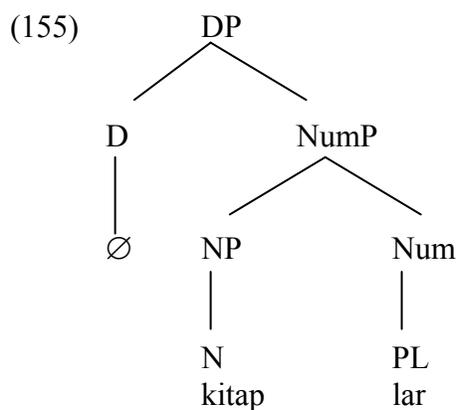
Recall that *kitaplar* may be specific or non-specific, and that (naturally) it is always plural. *Kitap* is always non-specific and is not specified for number.

As mentioned above, the fact that the bare noun has general number can be attributed to the fact that the bare noun does not project to NumP. Nouns with plural marking, on the other hand, are specified for number because they do project to a NumP. The plural marker, as the functional element responsible for number specification, is the head of this phrase.

To account for the fact that nouns with plural marking may be specific or non-specific, I would like to suggest that there are two different phrasal structures for “N + PL” phrases: one for non-specific phrases, and one for specific phrases. Non-specific “N + PL” phrases only project to the NumP level, as in (154) below:



In contrast, I would like to suggest that specific “N + PL” phrases project to the DP level despite the fact that no overt elements exist as the head of the DP. However, this is not to say that such functional elements do not exist. I would like to suggest that the determiner node for the (specific) DP in (153) is occupied by an empty determiner. Thus, the structure of (specific) *kitaplar* is as follows:



### 5.2.3 BARE NOUN VERSUS N + ACC

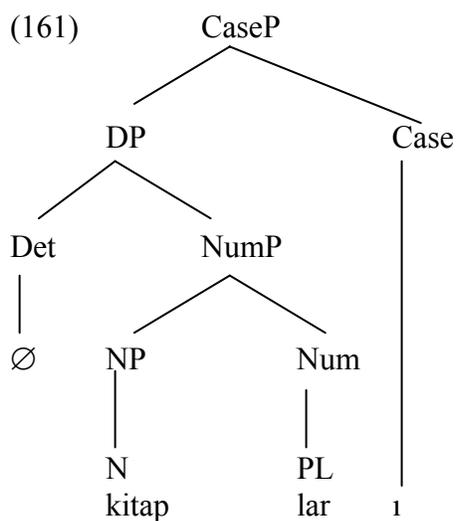
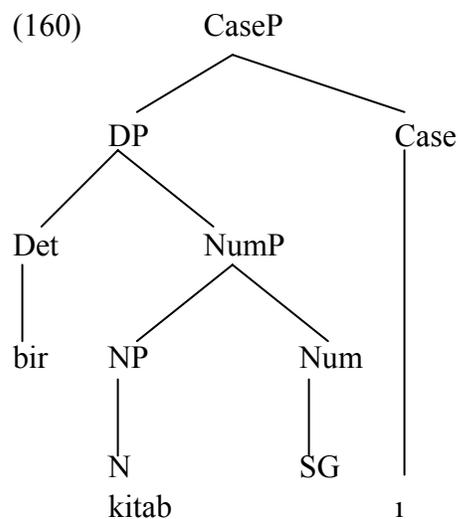
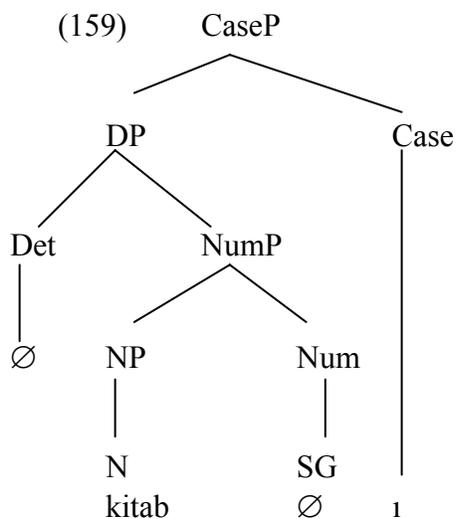
As outlined in Section 4, accusative-case marked nouns are always specific. They are also always specified for number. Recall the following examples:

(156) **Kitab-ı** al-dı-m  
 book-ACC buy-PAST-1S  
 “I bought a (certain) book” (LB)

(157) **Bir kitab-ı** al-dı-m  
 ART book-ACC buy-PAST-1S  
 “I bought a (certain) book” (LB)

(158) **Kitap-lar-ı** al-dı-m  
 book-PL-ACC buy-PAST-1S  
 “I bought (some) books” (LB)

Because case is assigned to arguments and not to predicates, accusative case is only ever present on DPs, not on NPs. (For purposes of notation, I will call the level at which case is assigned the CaseP.) For each of the object noun phrases in (156) through (158), it can be assumed that there is additional structure beyond that of just NP. In (157), it is clear that the phrase projects to DP because there the determiner *bir* is the head of this phrase. In (158), the plural marker projects to the NumP level, but there are no overt functional elements heading the DP, and in (156), no overt elements occupy the NumP or DP projections. However, like in (153)/(155), the determiner node for the DPs in (156) and (158) is occupied by an empty determiner. In terms of number, because there is a determiner element (overt or empty) in accusative-case marked noun phrases, these phrases project to the DP level, which subsumes the NumP level, allowing for number specification. It can be assumed that in such cases where the head of the NumP is not already filled (by the plural marker, for instance), then a default value (singular) will be filled in. This is why phrases of the type “N + ACC” (as in (156)) are always singular. The syntactic structures for (156), (157), and (158) are provided in (159), (160), and (161), respectively:



### 5.3 CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of this thesis, I have illustrated the fundamental properties of the bare noun, as compared with other types of NPs, in Turkish. Specifically, I have demonstrated that the bare noun is unique insofar as it is the only NP that has general number, and it is the only NP that is obligatorily non-specific. I have attributed the differences between the bare noun and other NPs to a difference in their syntactic structures. In short, I suggest that the maximal projection of a bare noun is NP, whereas other NPs project to either NumP or DP, and it is at these levels in the syntax that specificity and number are specified.

I have limited my analysis to NPs containing articles, plural marking, accusative case marking, or none of the above. NPs containing demonstrative determiners, numerals, or classifiers were not considered in this paper, and are certainly worthy of consideration in future research. In particular, the behaviour of classifiers could be more closely analyzed, in order to reach a more thorough understanding of the similarities and differences between Turkish and classifier languages like Chinese.

In many ways, Turkish appears to behave like a classifier language, such as Chinese. Like Turkish, Chinese has bare nouns that have general number. Furthermore, the distinguishing feature of classifier languages – classifiers – are obligatorily used in Chinese, and optionally used with both count and mass nouns (recall Section 2.3.5) in Turkish. However, there are some crucial differences between Turkish and Chinese. Unlike Chinese, for instance, Turkish has articles and number can be expressed on the noun, not just by way of classifiers. In this respect, Turkish seems to pattern more like a non-classifier language, such as English. Syntactically, in which category does Turkish fit? Is Turkish a Chinese-type or an English-type language, or a “hybrid” of the two? This question is one which deserves further consideration.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

1S.....	First Person Singular
1P.....	First Person Plural
2S.....	Second Person Singular
2P.....	Second Person Plural
3.....	Third Person
3S.....	Third Person Singular
3P.....	Third Person Plural
ACC.....	Accusative Case
Adj.....	Adjective
AOR.....	Aorist
ART.....	Article
Clas.....	Classifier
CONJ.....	Conjunction
DAT.....	Dative
Det.....	Determiner
Dem.....	Demonstrative
EXIST.....	Existential Predicate
FUT.....	Future Tense
GEN.....	General (Number)
INF.....	Infinitive
LOC.....	Locative Case
Num.....	Numeral
PAST.....	Past Tense
PAU.....	Paucal
PL.....	Plural
Poss.....	Possessive
PRES.....	Present Tense
PROG.....	Progressive
SG.....	Singular

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