

1) INTRODUCTION

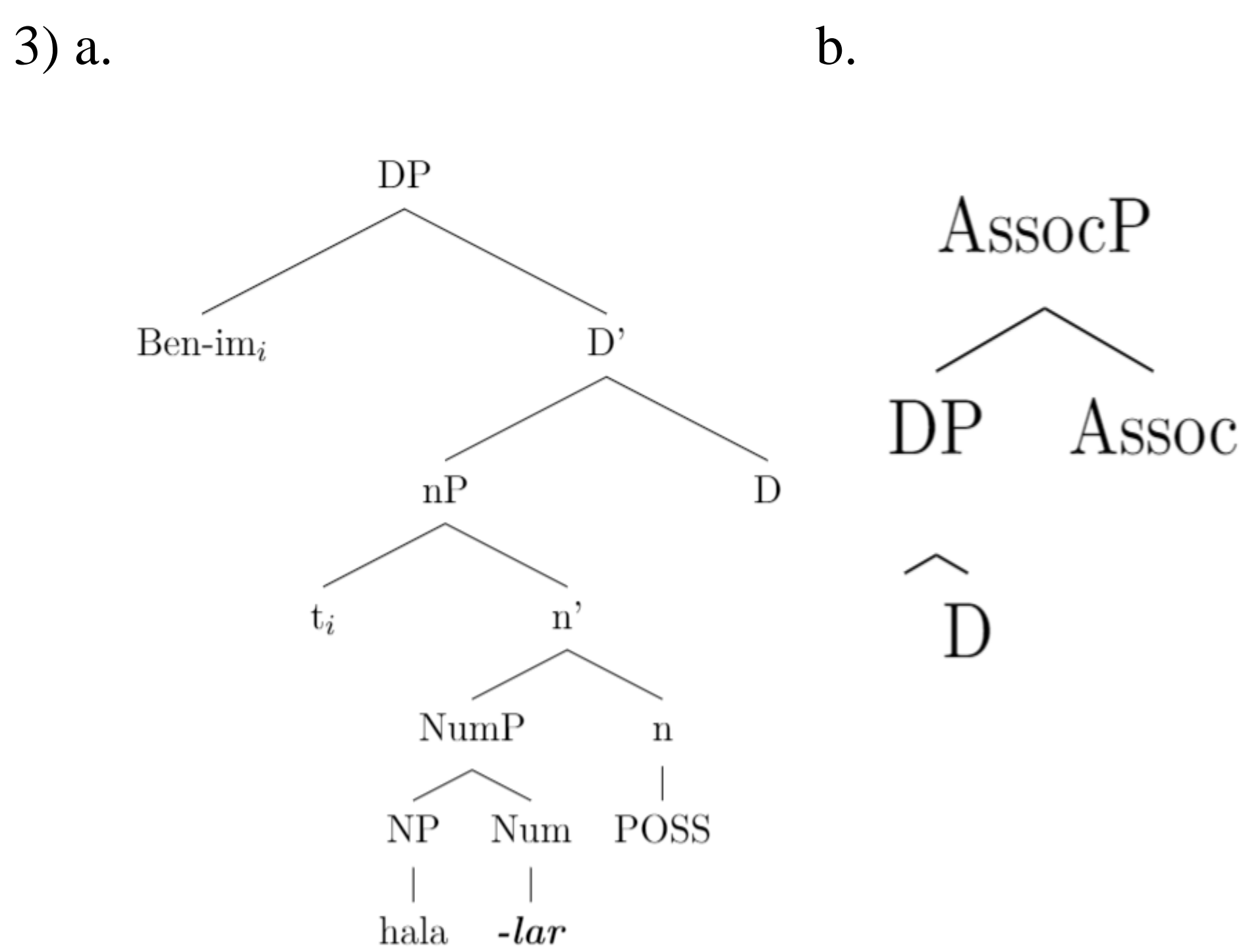
- 1) *Ahmet-ler*
Ahmet-PL
'Ahmet/Ahmet & his associate(s)'
 - 2) a. *hala-lar-ım* b. *hala-m-lar*
aunt-PL-1SG.POSS aunt-1SG.POSS-PL
'my aunts' 'my aunt&her associate(s)'
- (1) is ambiguous between the additive and associative *-lar*.
 - The position of *-lar* with respect to the possessive marker disambiguates the two readings as shown in (2) (Görgülü 2011).
 - I will discuss my assumptions, observations and facts that lead to the analysis in the section 6.

2) PROPERTY I

The two types of *-lar* must have distinct structures.

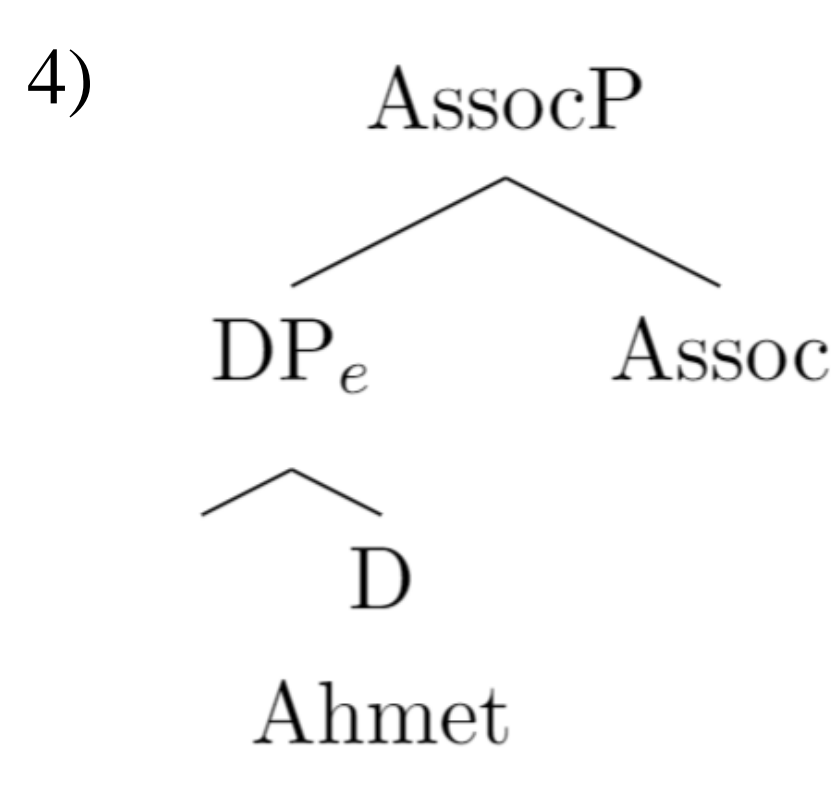
- **Assumption I:** The morphological markers reflect the order of the syntactic operations as in Baker's Mirror Principle (Baker 1983)
- **Assumption II:** Proper names are *DPs*.
- Then, the associative *-lar* has to be represented above the *DP* layer.
- If possessive constructions in Turkish are represented below the *DP* layer as proposed in Öztürk & Taylan (2016), then the additive plural must have a projection before the possessive operation applies immediately above the *NP* layer.

• **The additive *-lar*** **The associative *-lar***



Öztürk & Taylan (2016) (Görgülü 2011)
(Görgülü's representation will be slightly modified later)

3) PROPERTY II

- The associative *-lar* takes individuals as its argument (arguments in *De*).
 - *Ahmet-ler* 'Ahmet & his associate(s)'
- 4) 
- If that is correct, formations such as *hala-m* 'my aunt' has to be type-shifted from <e,t> to *e* by the *t* operator at the *DP* layer.
 - This is the case because the construction is incompatible with these nominals when they are used with quantifiers.
- 5) a. **[bir hala-m]-lar*
a aunt-1SG.POSS-PL
'an aunt of mine & her associate(s)'
- b. **[her hala-m]-lar*
each aunt-1SG.POSS-PL
'each of my aunts & their associate(s)'
- **Not all definite descriptions would work, though!!!**
- 6) a. **İstanbul-lar* b. **öğretmen-im-ler*
İstanbul-PL teacher-1SG.POSS-PL
- ❑ See section (4).

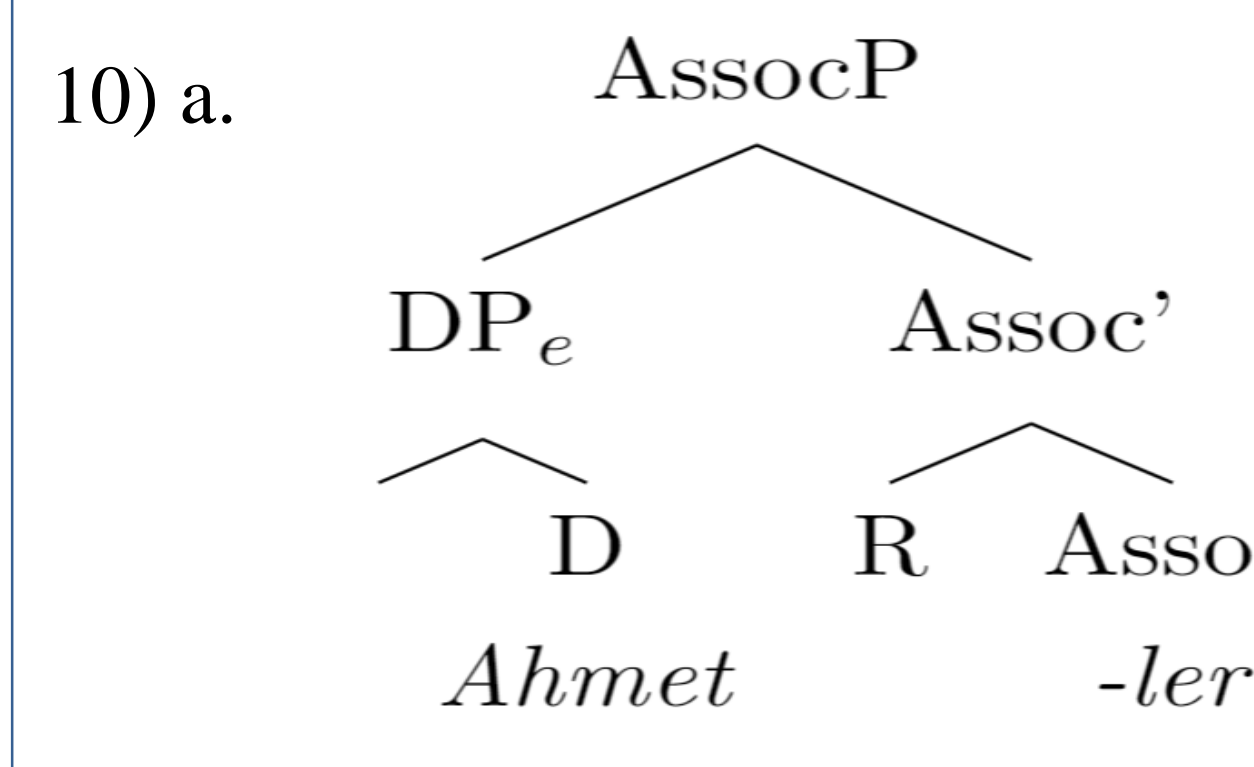
4) PROPERTY III

- The associative *-lar* must have a humanness presupposition over the individuals (focal referents as described in Görgülü (2011)) that it takes as its argument. (from (6a) and the rest of the data)
 - There is an interesting correlation between the type of relations that the associative plural can accommodate and the focal referents that it can take.
- 7) *Ahmet-ler*
'Ahmet & his friend(s), kin(s), neighbour(s), *teacher, *doctor etc.'
- 8) a. *arkadaş-ım-lar* 'my friend &her associate(s)'
b. *akraba-m-lar* 'my kin & her associate(s)'
c. *komşu-m-lar* 'my neighbour &her associate(s)'

5) PROPERTY IV

- The associative *-lar* must have an atomicity presupposition over its focal referents
- 9) a. **hala-lar-ım-lar*
aunt-PL-1SG.POSS-PL
'my aunts & their associate(s)'
- b. **[iki hala-m]-lar*
two aunt-1SG.POSS-PL
'my two aunts & their associate(s)'
- The relations should be structurally represented since not all relations are available (compare with Görgülü 2011)

6) PROPOSAL

- 10) a. 
- b. $\lambda f. \lambda x: f \in R: \{ [\text{friend}], [\text{kin}], [\text{associate}], [\text{neighbour}] \} \ \& \ x \text{ is atomic} \ \& \ x \text{ is human. } \iota Y$
s.t. $x < Y \ \& \ \forall z [z < Y \ \& \ z \neq x \rightarrow f(x)(z)=1]$
- ↓
{x+a+b...}

7) FURTHER REMARKS

- Following Nakanishi & Tomioka (2004), the outcome of the associative plurals is definite, for the input is a definite description.
 - The outcome of (10b) is a non-atomic individual. I expect it to be compatible with both collective and distributive predicates (contra Görgülü 2011).
- 11) a. *Hala-m-lar uzun.boylu.*
Aunt-1SG.POSS-PL tall
'My aunt & her associate(s) are tall'
- b. *Hala-m-lar toplan-di.*
aunt-1SG.POSS-PL gather-PAST
'my aunt & her associate(s) gathered'
- What seems to be a totally different syntactic and semantic operation may not be that different after all.
 - The associative plural takes a relation and an atomic individual and adds other individuals to the atomic individual through Link's sum operator (Link 1983). (*Ahmet+a+b...*).
 - The additive plural marker takes a set of individuals and returns a set of individuals containing both atomicities and pluralities (Sağ 2018). This means that the atomic individuals in the initial set are combined through the sum operator as in (12).

12) $[[\text{-IAR}]](\{a,b,c\}) = \{a,b,c, a+b, b+c, a+c, a+b+c\}$.

- The relationship between the two uses can be highlighted by deriving one from the other. A potential entry can be represented as follows (presuppositions ignored): $\lambda f. \lambda x. \text{MAX}([\text{-IAR}]]_{\text{add}} (\lambda y. y=x \text{ or } f(x)(y))$

8) CONCLUSION

- The layer that the associative plural operates on is structurally different from the additive *-lar*.
- It is used with proper nouns and the relations that are compatible with the construction in Turkish if those relations become definite descriptions by a type-shifting operator.
- It comes with an atomicity presupposition. Therefore, the focal referents of the construction have to be atomic in Turkish. However, the outcome is a non-atomic unique individual.
- This explains both collective and distributive readings one derives with the nominals having associative *-lar*.

References