

Revisiting Complex Predicate Formation in Turkish

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Abstract. This study aims to provide a novel analysis for light verb constructions in Turkish that are built by combining a nominal with the verbal element *et*. Building on the earlier insight that *et* can both be a light verb and a ‘heavy’ verb in the language, we provide a formally explicit Distributed Morphology analysis that substantiates the idea that the nominal that combines with *et* is variably either an uncategorized root or an NP. Our evidence for this split comes from the behavior of nominals in the case calculus and with respect to referentiality. Nevertheless, we propose a uniform analysis of *et* where it realizes an agentive verbalizer head, taking the locus of variation to be in the complexity of the verbalizer’s complement.

Keywords. argumenthood; light verb; verbalization; case; Distributed Morphology

1. Introducing the puzzle. In Turkish, the verbal particle *et*, categorized as either a light verb or a lexical verb in the literature (Göksel & Kerslake 2005; Key & Tat 2015; Kornfilt 1997; Öztürk 2005), is used productively to build complex predicates, serving as verbs. In these complex predicates, often called light verb constructions, a nominal immediately precedes *et*. An example is given in (1), where *muayene* is the nominal preceding *et*.

- (1) Nalan hasta-y₁ muayene **et**-ti.
 Nalan patient-ACC examination ET-PST
 ‘Nalan examined the patient.’

Here, *muayene* is taken to be a nominal given that it exhibits fully nominal properties, taking nominal plural marker and case when it does not occur along with *et*. Furthermore, it clearly cannot be used as a verb, being unable to receive a verbal tense marker, as shown in (3).

- (2) Doktor muayene-ler-i hızlıca tamamladı.
 doctor examination-PL-ACC quickly complete-PST
 ‘The doctor quickly completed the examinations.’
- (3) *Nalan hasta-y₁ muayene-di.
 Nalan patient-ACC examination-PST
 Intended: ‘Nalan examined the patient.’

Hence, the term “nominal” seems descriptively correct for a form like *muayene*. However, as it will shortly become clear, only a proper subset of “nominals” occurring along with *et* seems to be genuinely nominal when they occur with *et*. We will argue that the nominal *küfür* in (4), for instance, does exhibit NP-like behavior patterning with canonical objects whereas there is also a class of nominals like *muayene* that fail to exhibit NP-like behavior alongside *et*.

- (4) Nalan küfür **et**-ti.
 Nalan curse ET-PST
 ‘Nalan cursed.’

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The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we provide the empirical basis for classifying nominals used alongside *et* into two classes: root nominals and argument nominals. In section 3, we propose a Distributed Morphology analysis that provides an implementation of the root vs. argument split. Section 4 discusses further questions, testing this baseline analysis. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Justifying the Root vs. Argument split. In this section, we argue that nominal+*et* complexes must not be analyzed as having the same structural makeup, basing our argument on the behavior of nominals with respect to referentiality and visibility to case calculus. In particular, we show that the nominal preceding *et* can be an argumental NP, patterning with canonical objects, or can be an uncategorized root in the technical sense within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Harley 2014). The goal of this section is to lay out the core empirical data supporting this split without going into the technical aspects of the proposal, which will be fleshed out in Section 3.

2.1. REFERENTIALITY. Along with lexical verbs, Turkish argumental nominals can be used non-referentially or referentially (which correspond to an NP vs. DP distinction in Arslan-Kechriotis (2006)). For our purposes, accusative case suffices to demonstrate that an argumental nominal is referential, introducing or referring to a (token-level) discourse-referent (Enç 1991; Öztürk 2005).

- (5) a. İpek saatlerce/dikkatlice kitap oku-du.
İpek for hours/carefully book read-PST.
'İpek did book-reading for hours/carefully.' non-referential
- b. İpek kitab-ı saatlerce/dikkatlice oku-du.
İpek book-ACC for hours/carefully read-PST.
'İpek read the book for hours/carefully.' referential-definite

For Kornfilt (2003), *kitap oku-* in (5-a) is a case of head incorporation in the sense of Baker (1988). Öztürk (2005, 2009), on the other hand, argues that Turkish employs pseudo-incorporation in the same sense as Massam (2001), rather than head-incorporation. Regardless of the analysis of this pattern, the non-referential reading *is* available for objects in Turkish and tied to the absence of accusative case on a bare object NP.

Using this as a diagnostic test, we learn that a subset of nominals (when they are used in combination with *et*) cannot be referential, being unable to carry accusative case even in appropriate pragmatic contexts. For example, *park* in (6), *intihar* in (7) and *muayene* in (8) are such nominals, resisting referential uses when they are used in combination with *et*. We will refer to these nominals as Root-nominals (RN), in line with the analysis that we will propose for them in Section 3.

- (6) ??Nalan park-ı güzelce **et**-ti.
Nalan park-ACC properly ET-PST
Intended: 'Nalan did the parking properly.'
- (7) ??Katil intihar-ı plan-sız **et**-miş.
murderer suicide-ACC plan-without ET-EVID
Intended: 'The murderer committed the suicide without planning.'
- (8) ??Doktor muayene-yi dikkatlice **et**-ti.
doctor examination-ACC carefully ET-PST

Intended: ‘The doctor did the examination carefully.’

Two clarifications are in order here. First, it is not the case that RNs can *never* take accusative case. As illustrated in (9), RNs can take accusative case and be referential when they are *not* used along with *et*. Second, it is possible for many such nominals to take a complement when they are used along with *et*, which can be referential, as shown in (10).¹

- (9) a. İntihar-lar-1 engelle-me-ye çalış-ıyor-uz.
suicide-PL-ACC prevent-NMLZ-DAT try-IMP-1.PL
‘We are trying to prevent suicides.’
b. Doktor muayene-yi hızlıca tamamla-dı.
doctor examination-ACC quickly complete-PST
‘The doctor quickly completed the examination.’
- (10) Doktor hasta-yi muayene et-ti.
doctor patient-ACC examination ET-PST
‘The doctor examined patient.’

Contrary to RNs that cannot be referential when used alongside *et*, there is another group of nominals, which we will call Argumental-nominals (AN), that *can* be made referential in the context of *et*. The AN *iltifat* in (11) patterns with canonical arguments, i.e. arguments of lexical verbs in its capacity to refer to a certain, discourse salient member of a set, which is signalled by the accusative case in the language.

- (11) Bana bu iltifat-1 et-me-niz ben-i onur-lan-ıyor-uz.
3.PL.DAT this compliment-ACC ET-NMLZ-2.PL.POSS 1.SG-ACC honour-VBZ-CAUS-PST
‘I am honored that you gave me this compliment.’

In essence, we observe that ANs can be used non-referentially as in (12-a) or referentially as in (12-b), exhibiting a pattern of alternation on par with canonical direct objects, as shown in (13). Hence, we interpret the capacity of ANs to be non-referential or referential as a canonical argument behavior.

- (12) a. Bana küfür et-ti.
1.SG.DAT swear_word ET-PST
‘He swore at me.’
b. Bana o küfür-ü et-ti.
1.SG.DAT that swear_word-ACC ET-PST
‘He used that swear word at me.’
- (13) a. Nalan bana kitap oku-du.
Nalan 1.SG.DAT book read-PST
‘Nalan did book-reading for me.’
b. Nalan bana o kitab-ı oku-du.
Nalan 1.SG.DAT that book-ACC read-PST
‘Nalan read that book for me.’

¹ We make our assumptions about where the complement appears in the structure explicit in section 3.2. See in particular the structure in (32).

As further evidence for the contrast between RNs and ANs, let us briefly discuss relativization structures, as well. As shown in (14) relativization works by gapping the relativization site in Turkish, perfectly acceptable for referential objects.

- (14) [RC Merve-nin - oku-duğ-u] kitap öğretici-y-di.
 Merve-GEN GAP ET-REL-3.SG.POSS book instructive-AUX-PST
 ‘The book Merve read was instructive.’

As shown in (15) and (16), ANs *küfür* and *iltifat* can be relativized.

- (15) [RC Murat-ın - et-tiğ-i] küfür hepimiz-i
 Murat-GEN GAP ET-REL-3.SG.POSS swear.word all.of.us-ACC
 sinirlendir-di.
 make.angry-PST
 ‘The swear word Murat uttered made all of us angry.’
- (16) [RC Murat-ın - et-tiğ-i] iltifat hepimiz-i
 Murat-GEN GAP ET-REL-3.SG.POSS compliment all.of.us-ACC
 sevindir-di.
 make.happy-PST
 ‘The compliment Murat gave made all of us happy.’

RNs like *istifa*, *intihar* and *muayene*, on the other hand, fail to be relativized, as shown in (17), (18) and (19).

- (17) ??[RC Sevim-in - et-tiğ-i] istifa şirket-te ses getir-di.
 Sevim-GEN GAP ET-REL-3.SG.POSS resign company-LOC voice bring-PST
 Intended: ‘Sevim’s resignation resounded in the company.’
- (18) ??[RC Sevim-in - et-tiğ-i] intihar hepimiz-i üz-dü.
 Sevim-GEN GAP ET-REL-3.SG.POSS suicide all.of.us-ACC make.sad-PST
 Intended: ‘The suicide that Sevim committed made all of us sad.’
- (19) ??[RC Sevim-in - et-tiğ-i] muayene hızlıca bit-di.
 Sevim-GEN GAP ET-REL-3.SG.POSS examination quickly end-PST
 Intended: ‘The examination Sevim performed ended quickly.’

Hence, the ability to bear accusative case and the ability to undergo relativization provide converging evidence that ANs can be referential patterning with canonical objects while RNs fail to do so. In the next section, we turn to the case calculus and investigate how ANs and RNs behave within the case calculus.

2.2. VISIBILITY TO CASE CALCULUS. Case determination in Turkish appears to directly follow from ‘argument count’ (i.e. number of NPs), as predicted by Dependent Case-Theoretic approaches to case determination (Baker & Vinokurova 2010; Dikmen et al. 2023). This is most clearly seen in causativization configurations of lexical verbs where the number of arguments increases by one, affecting the output of the case calculus.

In (20-b), the embedded *causee* receives ACC given that there is a higher NP in the clause. More important for our purposes is that the *causee* cannot receive DAT, as shown in (20-c).

- (20) Intransitive verb
- a. Nalan sevin-di.
Nalan get.happy-PST
'Nalan got happy.'
 - b. Pelin Nalan-ı sevin-**dir**-di.
Pelin NalanACC get.happy-CAUS-PST
'Pelin made Nalan happy.'
 - c. *Pelin Nalan-a sevin-**dir**-di.
Pelin NalanDAT get.happy-CAUS-PST
Intended: 'Pelin made Nalan happy.'

The *causee* in transitive verbs, on the other hand, is DAT, as shown in (21-b). This is fully predicted if dependent DAT case is sensitive to the presence of another case contender, namely a caseless NP, below it.

- (21) Transitive verb
- a. Selim kitap oku-du.
Selim book read-PST
'Selim did book-reading.'
 - b. Pelin Selim-e kitap oku-**t**-tu
Pelin Selim-DAT book read-CAUS-PST
'Pelin made Selim do book-reading.'
 - c. *Pelin Selim-i kitap oku-**t**-tu
Pelin Selim-ACC book read-CAUS-PST
'Pelin made Selim do book-reading.'

Given that under causativization, the case on *causee* depends on whether there is an NP below it or not, causativization should allow us to detect whether the nominal preceding *et* is an AN or a RN. We therefore predict that: i) ANs must trigger DAT on the *causee* -as in (22), ii) RNs, being roots rather than nominals, are invisible to the case calculus, hence unable to trigger dative on the *causee* argument 'Nalan' in (23). In line with our predictions, *causee* arguments appear with different cases in causativized AN and RN configurations.²

- (22) Patron Nalan-a küfür et-**tir**-di.
boss Nalan-DAT curse ET-CAUS-PST
'The boss made Nalan curse.'
- (23) Patron Nalan-ı zorla istifa et-**tir**-di.
boss Nalan-ACC by force resign ET-CAUS-PST
'The boss made Nalan resign by force.'

Further evidence comes from examples where the nominal is a RN. If the RNs were visible to case calculus, DAT case would be expected to surface on the object NP. However, this is impossible, as shown in (24) and (25).

² We have noticed that there is speaker variation concerning *küfür*, with some speakers accepting ACC on the *causee*. This type of lexical variation is fully predicted under our analysis. We discuss the issue of structural flexibility in 4.2.

- (24) *Doktor **hasta-ya** muayene et-ti.
 doctor patient-DAT examination ET-PST
 Intended: ‘The doctor examined the patient.’
- (25) *Vale **araba-ya** park et-ti.
 valet car-DAT park ET-PST
 Intended: ‘The Valet parked the car.’

In the context of a RN, the object NP patterns with direct objects, being able to remain caseless and get pseudo-incorporated, as shown in (26) and (27).

- (26) Doktor bütün gün **hasta** muayene et-ti.
 doctor all day patient examination ET-PST
 ‘The doctor examined patients all day.’
- (27) Valeler bütün gün **araba** park et-ti.
 valets all day car park ET-PST
 ‘Valets parked cars all day.’

This is a pattern that is never available for objects that have another NP below them, as shown in (28). Hence, we have robust evidence that unlike ANs, RNs are genuinely invisible to the case calculus, being roots rather than NPs.

- (28) a. Kedi-ye fare kovala-t-tı-k
 cat-DAT mouse chase-CAUS-PST-1.PL
 ‘We made the cat chase mice.’
- b. *Kedi fare kovala-t-tı-k
 cat mouse chase-CAUS-PST-1.PL
 Intended: ‘We made cats chase mice.’

3. Proposal. In the previous section, we have provided empirical evidence in favor of splitting nominal+*et* constructions into two classes, based on the syntactic and semantic behavior of the noninals. In this section, we provide our basic theoretical assumptions and introduce the baseline proposal within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993).

3.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND. In modelling the two classes of nominal+*et* constructions in Turkish, we follow the influential Distributed Morphology account of roots in Harley (2014). According to this view, roots are uncategorized abstract entities. On par with morphosyntactic features like PLURAL or PAST, they are devoid of form and meaning. Rather, roots are individuated through an arbitrary (alpha-)numerical index which serves like an IP address in the mind. This index makes it possible to retrieve a form and a meaning from the relevant lists at the PF and LF interfaces.

Categorization is strictly syntactic and is achieved by functional heads such as adjectivizer, nominalizer and (flavours of) verbalizers. These functional heads are realized by exponents and the particular exponent to be used may depend on the root they combine with. Some of the allomorphs of adjectivizers and verbalizers in Turkish are given in Table 1. Here, the crucial idea that needs to be emphasized for readers unfamiliar with DM is that the roots themselves are not adjectives or nouns or verbs. For instance, if a particular root appears to be an adjective, it is because the relevant categorizer, i.e. the adjectivizer, has a null exponent in the context of that root.

$\sqrt{\quad}$	adjectivizer	en. (adjective)	v_{become}	en. (intransitive)
don	<i>-uk</i>	frozen	\emptyset	to freeze
kir	<i>-ik</i>	broken	<i>-il</i>	to break
dar	\emptyset	tight	<i>-al</i>	to tighten
geniş	\emptyset	wide	<i>-le</i>	to widen
hız	<i>-li</i>	fast	<i>-lan</i>	to speed up

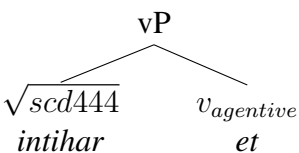
Table 1. Roots and Allomorphy

As discussed above, roots are simply indices that allow us to retrieve form and meaning. To exemplify, [donuk] is an adjective only because of the adjectivizer part of its structure. In this particular instance, this head happens to be realized as [uk] in the context of the root $\sqrt{frz102}$, whose realization is uniformly [don], i.e. it has no additional allomorph. On the other hand, the very same functional head that is responsible for adjectivization is null in the context of the roots $\sqrt{wide193}$ and $\sqrt{tght943}$ while it is realized as [li] in the context of the root $\sqrt{fast555}$ to yield [hızlı]. The allomorphs for the verbalizer v_{become} are more diverse, as shown in Table 1. While it can be null, it can also be realized as [il], [al], [le] and [lan] in the context of different roots.

3.2. A UNIFORM ANALYSIS FOR *et*. Recall that in Section 2, we have argued that the nominals occurring in combination with *et* are underlyingly different, differentiating between Root-nominals (RNs) and Argumental-nominals (ANs). The key finding was that while both RNs and ANs have fully nominal behavior outside their use with *et*, only ANs pattern like arguments in combination with *et*. RNs fail to be referential and are invisible to the case calculus with *et*, unlike ANs. This peculiar behavior of RNs is what justifies analyzing them as roots in the DM sense.³ Accordingly, an analysis where *et* is realizing the verbalizer on top of RNs comes out as the most natural account.

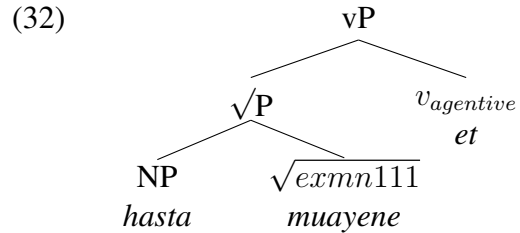
We provide the proposed structures for transitive and intransitive RNs occurring alongside *et* below. Notice that the NP in the transitive structure could remain in that position if it is pseudo-incorporated as in (31) or moves to a higher domain it is specific/definite, as proposed in earlier work (Baker & Vinokurova 2010; Nakipoğlu 2009, 2019; Öztürk 2005, 2009).

(29) ... intihar **et-ti**.
 suicide ET-PST
 ‘... committed suicide.’

(30) 

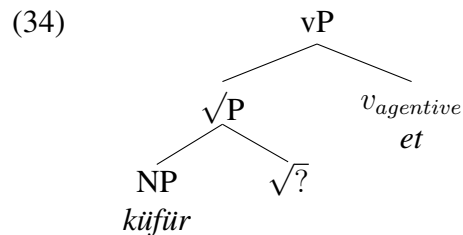
³ Our analysis departs from the proposal in Öztürk (2005, 2009) which takes what we are calling RNs to be NPs. We have shown using empirical tests that RNs do not have the status of an NP when they appear alongside *et*. As a matter of fact, Öztürk, too, takes these NPs like *muayene* to be special in that they fail to be referential and are exempt from theta-role assignment. We believe that these peculiar properties of RNs are better captured under the root analysis that we propose here, accounting for their differences from ANs.

- (31) ... hasta muayene et-ti.
 patient examination ET-PST
 ‘... examined patients.’

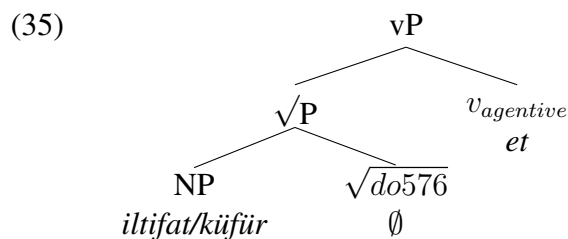


Let us now turn to the structure of nominal+*et* constructions where the nominal is an AN. The structure of these constructions is less obvious from the present perspective. We have shown that ANs are on par with canonical direct objects. Hence, the AN must occupy the position which the NP *hasta* occupies in (32). This is schematically shown in (34) for (33).

- (33) ... küfür/iltifat et-ti.
 ... curse/compliment ET-PST
 ‘... cursed/complimented.’



As shown in (34), given that *küfür* is an argumental NP, in essence the direct object, it is unclear what the verb is. There may be multiple implementations here. However, in an attempt to maintain the idea that *et* is uniformly a verbalizer, we propose that there is a root silent (i.e. phonologically null) in the context of the verbalizer realized by *et*. This in part translates into the DM context the earlier insight that *et* can additionally function like a heavy verb in the language. In (35), we provide the proposed structure where the root verbalized by *et* is $\sqrt{do576}$. It is phonologically null, as predicted by the vocabulary item in (36) that comes with an insertion condition. The structure captures complex predicates such as *iltifat et* ‘to compliment’ and *küfür et* ‘to curse’.



- (36) $\sqrt{do576} \leftrightarrow \emptyset / \text{_____ } v_{agentive}$

Also noteworthy is the fact that the root $\sqrt{do576}$ is subject to contextual allosemy, as well. In other words, along with different ANs, it can have different interpretations. To illustrate his basic idea, a non-exhaustive list is given in (37), where the ANs are shorthand for the indices their roots bear and the verbs in small caps are shorthand for semantic interpretations.

- (37) a. $\sqrt{do576} \leftrightarrow$ “UTTER” / **küfür, iltifat** _____
 b. $\sqrt{do576} \leftrightarrow$ “PERFORM” / **dans** _____

4. Some questions and answers.

4.1. ENCODING THE SPLIT BETWEEN ARGUMENT VS. ROOT-NOMINALS. We have shown empirical evidence for maintaining a split between Argument-nominals and Root-nominals. The puzzle is that these nominals *are* nominals outside their use with *et* while only a proper subset of them exhibit nominal properties when used alongside *et*. To illustrate the issue with an example, let us consider the nominal *intihar* in (38), which is demonstrably a root alongside *et* as evidenced by the data in (39) yet exhibits nominal behavior elsewhere, as evidenced by the data in (40).

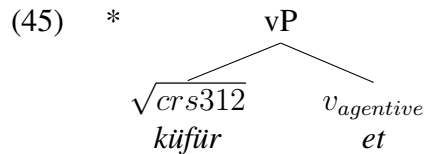
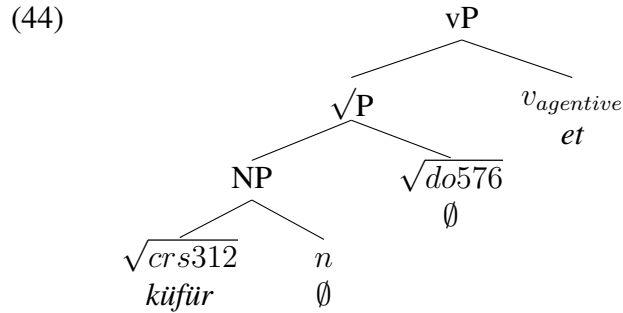
- (38) Katil intihar **et-ti**.
murderer suicide ET-PST
‘The murderer committed suicide.’
- (39) ??Katil intihar-**I** plan-sız **et-miş**.
murderer suicide-ACC plan-without ET-EVID
Intended: ‘The murderer committed the suicide without planning.’
- (40) İntihar-lar-**I** engelle-me-ye çalış-ıyor-uz.
suicide-PL-ACC prevent-NMLZ-DAT try-IMPF-1.PL
‘We are trying to prevent suicides.’

Given that *intihar* realizes a root but is a nominal elsewhere, there is an obvious question about what prevents it from serving as an AN alongside *et*. In other words, why does the structure of (38) have to be as in (41) but cannot be as in (42), where *intihar* is serving as an AN?

- (41)
-
- (42) *
-

The same question, this time in the reverse direction, must be raised for ANs. What would prevent an AN from being used as a RN? In other words, why does (43) have to have the structure in (44) but cannot have the structure in (45)?

- (43) Nalan küfür **et-ti**.
Nalan curse ET-PST
‘Nalan cursed.’



We take the latter case to signal that *küfür* simply is a noun, which translates to the DM context as a condition on insertion/pronunciation, the standard way of representing contextual allomorphy in DM. That is, the vocabulary entry for the nominal *küfür* needs to be as in (46-a), which allows a pronunciation for $\sqrt{crs312}$ only in the context of a nominalizer *n* head. Crucially, the list of vocabulary items must lack the elsewhere entry in (46-b). The absence of an elsewhere entry effectively prevents nominals that can only serve as ANs from occurring as RNs in the context of *et*. For example, in (45), the lexicon does not provide a way of pronouncing the root, crashing the derivation.

- (46) a. $\sqrt{crs312} \leftrightarrow /kyfyr/ / \text{ ______ } n$
 b. * $\sqrt{crs312} \leftrightarrow /kyfyr/$

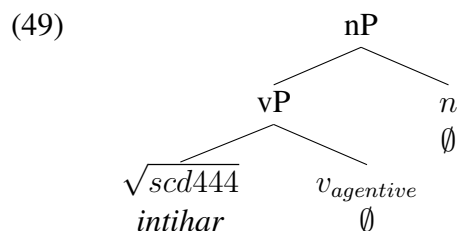
When we turn to RNs like *intihar* ‘suicide’ or *muayene* ‘examination’, the explanation why they cannot serve as ANs seems surprising given that they have fully nominal uses as in (47).

- (47) Doktor muayene-ler-i hızlıca tamamladı.
 doctor examination-PL-ACC quickly complete-PST
 ‘The doctor quickly completed the examinations.’

Given that RNs have a pronunciation under *v_agenitive*, we must have an entry that provides a pronunciation for RNs in the context of *v_agenitive*, as in (48).

- (48) $\sqrt{scd444} \leftrightarrow /intihar/ / \text{ ______ } v_{agenitive}$

As for the nominal uses of RNs, we argue that these nominals constitute eventive nominalizations, following Tat (2022). In other words, their internal structure necessarily includes the *v_agenitive* head below the nominalizing *n* head, as schematized in (49).



One piece of evidence for the idea that *v_{agentive}* is part of the structure of the nominal uses of RNs is that they can license an object with accusative case even when *et* is not part of the pronounced string, as shown in (50) and (51). Deverbals nouns, on the other hand, never allow accusative objects as shown in (52).

- (50) Bu şehir-i istila-ya aylarca hazırlan-mış-lar
 this city-ACC invasion-DAT for.months prepare-EVID-PL
 Lit: ‘They prepared for the invasion this city.ACC for months.’
 ‘They prepared for the invasion of this city for months.’
- (51) Bu hasta-yı muayene için ben görevlendir-il-di-m
 this patient-ACC examination for I assign-PASS-PST-1.SG
 Lit: ‘I was assigned for the examination this patient.ACC.’
 ‘I was assigned for the examination of this patient.’
- (52) Bu bina-yı {yık-mak, *yık-ım} için gel-di-ler.
 this building-ACC destroy-INF, destroy-*n* for come-PST-PL
 ‘They came for {destroying, *the destruction} this building.’

4.2. STRUCTURAL FLEXIBILITY. Our diagnostic tests have allowed us to diagnose two classes of nominals: RNs and ANs. Nevertheless, there are also nominals which exhibit flexibility under our tests.

Consider the nominal *dans* in (53). Given that under causativization, the causee is ACC rather than DAT, we can infer that it can pattern with RNs, being invisible to the case calculus. However, it is also possible to make this nominal referential, as shown by the examples in (54). In these examples, the nominal has an argument status.

- (53) İpek Furkan-ı dans et-tir-me-yi sev-er.
 İpek Furkan-ACC dance ET-CAUS-NMLZ-ACC like-AOR
 ‘İpek likes to make Furkan dance.’
- (54) a. Bu dans-ı et-mek çok zor ol-acak.
 this dance-ACC ET-INF very hard be-FUT
 ‘It will be very hard to perform this dance.’
 b. [_{RC} Merve-nin - et-tiğ-i] dans çok zor-du
 Merve-GEN GAP ET-REL-3.SG.POSS dance very hard--PST
 ‘The dance that Merve performed was very hard.’

As expected, when *dans* is an AN, it is visible to the case calculus, as shown in (55).

- (55) Furkan-a bu dans-ı et-tir-mek çok zor olacak.
 Furkan-DAT this dance-ACC ET-CAUS-INF very hard be-FUT
 ‘It will be very hard to make Furkan perform this dance.’

The nominal *dua* ‘prayer’ is another flexible nominal, at least for some speakers.⁴ Accordingly, we would expect both (56) and (57) to be grammatical for the same interpretation, i.e. the

⁴ For example, Kornfilt (2003) argues that the complex predicate *dua et* is an instance of head incorporation citing ‘*dua-ACC et*’ as an impossible form whereas Öztürk (2005) makes a different empirical claim arguing that ACC on *dua* is grammatical when a discourse renders it possible, providing a referential interpretation for it.

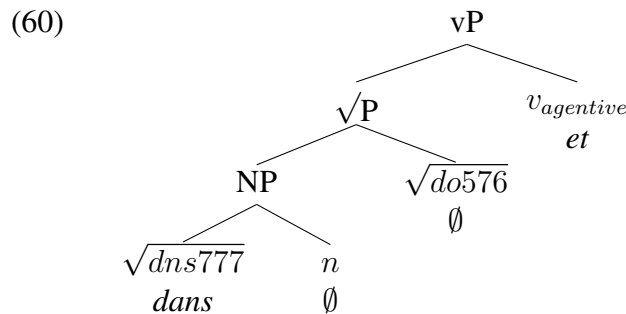
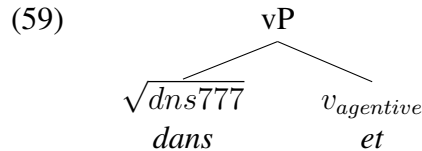
one where Furkan is the *causee*.

(56) Furkan-1 dua et-tir-di-k.
 Furkan-ACC prayer ET-CAUS-PST-1PL
 ‘We made Furkan pray.’

(57) Furkan-a dua et-tir-di-k.
 Furkan-DAT prayer ET-CAUS-PST-1PL
 ‘We made Furkan pray.’

We have already answered the question of how to encode the *non*-flexibility of ANs and RNs in the previous section. The flexibility could easily be accommodated if these flexible nominals have a pronunciation under both *n* and *v_{agentive}* as shown in (58). The availability of both of these entries ensures that both structure in (59) and the structure in (60) are well-formed.

(58) a. $\sqrt{dns777} \leftrightarrow /dans/ / \text{ ______ } v_{agentive}$
 b. $\sqrt{dns777} \leftrightarrow /dans/ / \text{ ______ } n$



4.3. A REMAINING ISSUE. Adopting a constructivist theory of word-formation, our proposal may be criticized, based on data like in (61) (Öztürk 2005, 2009). It appears that the placement of the Q morpheme does not distinguish between RNs on the one hand and the ANs and pseudo-incorporated objects on the other. It is indifferently placed right before the lexical verb or the inflected *et* verb regardless of the status of the nominal that precedes *et*.

(61) a. Şehr-i istila **m**i et-ti-ler?
 city-ACC invasion Q ET-PST-PL
 ‘Did they invade the city?’ RN+et

b. Sana küfür **m**ü et-ti-ler?
 you.DAT curse Q ET-PST-PL
 ‘Did they swear at you?’ AN+et

c. Kitap **m**i oku-du-lar?
 book Q read-PST-PL
 ‘Did they do book-reading?’ pseudo-incorporated object+lexical verb

If, for example, it were the case that the Q morpheme is placed before the RN but after the AN, that would have been a supporting piece of evidence for their different status in syntax. It would mean that RN and the verbalizer *et* are forming a morphological unit, unlike an AN used along with *et*. However, we argue that the fact that RNs and ANs look alike with respect to the placement of the Q morpheme is not at all a problem against our analysis.

We observe that when the object of an RN-built verb is pseudo-incorporated, the Q morpheme has to precede the RN, as shown in (62).

- (62) a. Doktor [hasta **m**i muayene et-ti]?
 doctor patient Q examination ET-PST
 ‘Did the doctor examine a patient/patients?’
 b. *Doktor [hasta muayene **m**i et-ti?]
 doctor patient examination Q ET-PST

Nevertheless, this is clearly part of a general *second-position* pattern we observe with respect to the attachment of the Q morpheme.⁵ As shown in (63), the *second-position* effect can also be seen when there is a bare adverb along with a pseudo-incorporated object.

- (63) a. Öğrenciler [hızlı **m**i kitap oku-du-lar]?
 students fast Q book read-PST-PL
 ‘Did the students do fast-book-reading?’
 b. Öğrenciler [kitap **m**i oku-du-lar]?
 students book Q read-PST-PL
 ‘Did the students do book-reading?’
 c. *Öğrenciler [hızlı kitap **m**i oku-du-lar]?
 students fast book Q read-PST-PL

We can even have a bare adverb along with a pseudo incorporated object with an RN-built verb. In this complex case, too, the *second-position* effect persists, as shown in (64) (Kamali 2011).

- (64) a. Bu doktor [hızlı **m**i hasta muayene ed-iyor]?
 this doctor fast Q patient examination ET-IMPF
 ‘Does this doctor do fast-patient-examination?’
 b. *Bu doktor [hızlı hasta **m**i muayene ed-iyor]?
 this doctor fast patient Q examination ET-IMPF
 c. *Bu doktor [hızlı hasta muayene **m**i ed-iyor]?
 this doctor fast patient examination Q ET-IMPF

While we cannot offer a particular implementation of what governs the placement of the Q morpheme (see Kamali 2011 for one), we will say a few words on why we do not think it jeopardizes our analysis. In our view, it is fairly clear that the mechanism to build complex morphological words cannot be blind to information in exponents. If the compiling of morphological words is at least in part post-syntactic, the Q morpheme’s ability to break a RN+*et* complex does not say much about their syntax *per se*. Rather, it merely gives us information about which adjacent

⁵ Note that the Q morpheme attachment we are talking about here is restricted to the so-called VP-focus cases. For example, to build a polar question, the Q-morpheme is always sentence-final.

exponents end up constituting morphological words.

What is clear is that RN, being a free form, is not forming an inseparable unit (i.e. a morphological word) along with the verbalizer on top of it. This is arguably because the verbalizer's exponence, namely *et*, is also a free form rather than an affix. There is another verbalizer in Turkish, which is the suffix *-la*. Some recent loanwords allow both verbalization by *-la* and *et*, as illustrated in (65).

- (65) a. Email **mi** forward *et-ti-n*?
email Q forward ET-PST-2.SG
'Did you forward an email/emails?'
b. Email **mi** forward-*la-dı-n*?
email Q forward-*v*-PST-2.SG
'Did you forward an email/emails?'

What is important here is that while the Q morpheme can break the RN+*et* complex, it cannot break the RN+*la* complex, as shown in (66). In other words, while there is no reason to believe that the two verbalizers (and hence the root status of their complements) differ in syntax, they behave differently with respect to whether they form a morphological word along with the root in their complement. This appears to be an outcome of the lexical information found in the exponents *et* and *-la*.

- (66) a. Email-*i* forward **mi** *et-ti-n*?
email-ACC forward Q ET-PST-2.SG
'Did you forward the email?'
b. *Email-*i* forward-**mi**-*la-dı-n*?
email-ACC forward-Q-*v*-PST-2.SG
'Did you forward the email?'

We hope to have provided enough evidence in favor of the idea that RNs are different from ANs in syntax, even though they may exhibit parallel behavior in morphology. We leave further investigation to a future occasion.

5. Conclusions. In this study, we have looked at the constructions employing the verbal particle *et* in Turkish. Evidence from referentiality, case calculus and relativization were used to diagnose what *et* is and what types of syntactic objects may complement it. While on the surface, many nominals seem to be able to complement *et*, we have argued that a proper subset of those nominals are actually roots devoid of categorical information. The fact that they can be used as nominals outside their use alongside *et* is explained by the fact that there is no way to pronounce them other than under a verbalizer, predicting that their nominal forms are really eventive and thus have richer structure, featuring a nominalizer on top of a verbalizer. We have also found a third class of nominals that are flexible, being able to serve as true NPs or roots when used along with *et*. We have attributed this to the peculiar fact that the Turkish lexicon provides pronunciations for such roots under both a verbalizer and a nominalizer.

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