

THE CHAIN OF PUZZLES: PRONOUNS, ANAPHORS AND
COMPLEMENTATION IN TURKISH

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COMPLEMENTATION IN TURKISH**

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ABSTRACT

THE CHAIN OF PUZZLES: PRONOUNS, ANAPHORS AND COMPLEMENTATION IN TURKISH

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This thesis investigates the properties of the null subject in Turkish. Referential possibilities of the null subject differ in the embedded subject position in clauses headed by the nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK*. The embedded and matrix subjects can be coindexed in *-DIK* clauses, while the coindexation of the subjects is impossible in *-mA* clauses. I propose that the differences in the coindexation of the null subject result from the difference in the syntactic structures of the embedded clauses. The subjunctive matrix verbs select the nominalizer *-mA* in the embedded clause, while the indicative matrix verbs select the nominalizer *-DIK*. The obligatory non-coreference of matrix and embedded subjects in *-mA* clauses is caused by the fact that *-mA* clauses do not have tense and constitute a non-phase CP. On the other hand, *-DIK* clauses have tense and are strong phase CPs. The defective CP in *-mA* clauses does not form a separate binding domain; thus, since the embedded and matrix subjects are in the same binding domain, their coindexation results in a violation of the Principle B of the Binding Theory giving rise to the obligatory disjoint reference. Since the phase CP in

–*DIK* clauses is a separate binding domain from the matrix clause, the embedded subject can be coindexed with the matrix subject. Given that the null subject in Turkish embedded clauses seems to be subject to the Principle B of the Binding Theory, it is concluded that it is pronominal in nature, i.e., that it is a null *pro*.

Keywords: null *pro*, pronouns, complementation, Binding Theory, phase



ÖZ

BULMACALAR ZİNCİRİ: TÜRKÇEDE ZAMİRLER, ARTGÖNDERİMLER VE TAMLAYICILAR

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Bu tez, Türkçede gizli öznenin (null subject) özelliklerini araştırmaktadır. Gizli öznenin gönderim olasılıkları, *-mA* ve *-DIK* isimleştiricileri (nominalizer) bulunan içe yerleşik tümcecikteki özne pozisyonlarında farklılık göstermektedir. *-DIK* cümlelerinde, içe yerleşik (embedded) tümceciğin ve ana (matrix) cümlelerin öznesi arasında eşgönderge (coindexation) mümkündür, oysa *-mA* cümlelerinde öznelerin eşgönderimli olması imkansızdır. Bu tezde gizli öznenin eşgöndergesel farklılıkların, *-mA* ve *-DIK* isimleştiricileri bulunan içe yerleşik tümceciklerin sözdizimsel (syntactic) yapılarındaki farklılıklardan kaynaklandığı öne sürülmektedir. İstek kipine sahip (subjunctive mood) ana cümle fiilleri, içe yerleşik tümcecikte *-mA* isimleştiricisini seçerken; bildirme kipine (indicative mood) sahip ana cümle fiilleri ise *-DIK* isimleştiricisini seçmektedir. *-mA* cümlelerinde ana ve içe yerleşik özne arasındaki zorunlu eşgönderimsizlik (non-coreference), *-mA* cümlelerinin zaman kipine (tense) sahip olmamaları ve bir faz TümÖ (complementizer phrase) oluşturmamaları nedeniyle ortaya çıkmaktadır. Diğer taraftan, *-DIK* cümleleri zaman

kipine sahip olup güçlü bir faz TümÖ'dür. -mA cümlelerindeki faz oluşturmeyan TümÖ, ayrı bir bağlama etkisel alanı (binding domain) oluşturmaz; dolayısıyla içe yerleşik tümceciğin ve ana cümlelerin özneleri aynı bağlama alanında yer aldığından, eşgönderge Bağlama Teorisi'nin B İlkesi'ni ihlal eder ve Dilek Kipi Zorunlu Eşgönderimsizlik (DKZE) (Subjunctive Disjoint Reference - SDR) etkisini doğurur. -DIK cümlelerindeki faz TümÖ, ana cümleden ayrı bir bağlama etkisel alanı oluşturduğundan, içeyerleşik özne teorik olarak ana cümle öznesi ile eşgönderimli olabilir. Türkçede içe yerleşik tümcelerdeki gizli özne, Bağlama Teorisi'nin B İlkesi'ne tabi olduğu için onun adıl (pronominal) doğaya sahip olduğu, yani bir gizli adıl olduğu sonucuna varılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: gizli özne, adıl, tamlayıcılar, Bağlama Teorisi, faz



To those who always had to try hardest

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LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The Complement (In)dependence Table for $-mA$ and $-DIK$ Complements.61



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

??	Almost Unacceptable
*	Syntactically Ill-formed
1	1 st Person
2	2 nd Person
3	3 rd Person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
Agr	Agreement
AgrP	Agreement Phrase
AOR	Aorist
CP	Complementizer Phrase
D	Determiner
DAT	Dative
DP	Determiner Phrase
EVID	Evidential
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
IMPF	Imperfective
IP	Inflectional Phrase
LF	Logical Form
LOC	Locative
MoodP	Mood Phrase
n	Nominal
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
Ø	Null Subject
PAST	Past

PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
SG	Singular
Spec	Specifier
SUBJ	Subject
T	Tense
TP	Tense Phrase
v	Little v / verbal
V	Verb
vP	Little v Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase

CHAPTER 1

1 INTRODUCTION

Pronouns and anaphors are studied widely in languages. Some languages like Japanese, Hindi, Greek, and Turkish do not require overt arguments, while others, like English, French, and German do not tolerate unpronounced arguments. Languages which do not require overt arguments are called *pro-drop languages* (Chomsky 1981). These languages often have a property of a “null subject” – the phenomenon when the subject of the sentence is unpronounced. In this thesis, I investigate the properties of the null subject in Turkish. In particular, I am interested in whether this null element has the properties that make it equivalent to the overt pronoun (such as, e.g., *o* ‘he/she/it’) or to some other anaphor (like the logophor, *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’). That the nature of the null subjects in Turkish is not clear becomes obvious in embedded clauses because the referential possibilities of the null subject in Turkish complement clauses headed by the nominalizers¹ *-mA*, typically associated with subjunctive mood (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1993, 1998; Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Kornfilt and Whittman 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018), are different than in complement clauses headed by the nominalizer *-DIK*, typically associated with the indicative mood (Csató 1990; Erguvanlı-Taylan 1993, 1998; Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Kornfilt and Whittman 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018).

1.1 The Research Questions and Proposal

The research questions of this thesis are the following:

- (i) What is the null subject in Turkish? Is it a null *pro* or a null *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’?

¹ Traditionally, in the literature, morphemes *-mA* and *-DIK* are called nominalizers (Lees 1965; Csató 1990; Erguvanlı-Taylan 1993, 1998; Aygen 1999; Kornfilt 2000, 2003, 2007; Keskin 2009; Kornfilt and Whittman 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018; Demirok 2019; Turgay 2021; among many others). In this thesis, I continue calling *-mA* and *-DIK* nominalizers for ease of exposition. I also sometimes refer to *-mA* clauses as “clauses headed by *-mA*” and to *-DIK* clauses as “clauses headed by *-DIK*”. However, following Predolac (2017), I believe that both *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses are CPs, headed by null C, and what is responsible is the nominal feature of the embedded clause is the feature composition of C ([+n, -v]). I consider *-mA* and *-DIK* to be mood markers.

- (ii) What causes the differences in the referential possibilities of (null) subjects in *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses?
- (iii) What are the syntactic structures of *-mA* and *-DIK* complement clauses?

In this thesis, I propose that referential possibilities of the null subjects in the embedded clause are tied to the syntactic structure of the embedded clause and the semantics of the matrix verb. The matrix verb selects either for subjunctive or indicative mood. The mood determines whether the embedded nominalizer is *-mA* or *-DIK*, and the syntactic structures of the embedded CPs result in differences between the referential possibilities of the embedded null subjects. In particular, I follow Predolac (2017, 2018) in proposing that the subjunctive embedded clause, headed by the nominalizer *-mA*, is not a phase, resulting in a phenomenon called the subjunctive obviation, more specifically the “Subjunctive Disjoint Reference” (SDR) effect (Kempchinsky 1987), which forces a disjoint reference of matrix and embedded subjects. On the other hand, the indicative embedded clause, headed by the nominalizer *-DIK*, is a strong phase, creating a separate binding domain from the matrix clause, therefore allowing coreferentiality between the matrix and embedded subjects. I follow Kanno and Nomura (2011) in assuming that the defective, non-phase CP makes the embedded clause transparent to syntactic operations from the matrix clause. Thus, the Subjunctive Obviation is caused because of the defective nature of CP. Analyzing the complement clauses headed by nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK*, I show that both the null subject and the overt pronoun are subjected to Principle B of the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). I conclude that the null subject is the null version of the overt pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’, contra Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) and Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023).

Before discussing the differences in coreferential possibilities in *-mA* and *-DIK* complement clauses and the reasons behind them, I present basic information about Turkish as a null subject language and about its complementation strategies.

1.2 Turkish as a Pro-Drop Language

In Turkish, null subjects are possible as long as the necessary discourse circumstances are met (Underhill 1976; Kornfilt 1984, 1994; Enç 1986; Özsoy 1987; Turan 1996; Gürel 2006; Gracanin-Yüksek, et al. 2017, among many others). The

sentence in (1) constitutes an example of Turkish, a pro-drop language, and the sentence in (2) constitutes an example of English, in which an overt subject is required:

(1) (Ben) gel -di -m.
(I) come-PAST-1SG
'I came.'

(2) *(I) came.

In Turkish, null subjects are identified locally by agreement morphemes on verbs. The data in (1) also shows that Turkish main clauses can have either null or overt subjects, and both are required to match the number and person morphology of the verb. Numerous studies on the null subject in Turkish state that the null subject is the null equivalent of the overt pronoun (e.g., *o* 'he/she/it') (Kornfilt 1984, 1987, 2018; Erguvanlı Taylan 1984; Özsoy 1987; Enç 1986; Turan 1996; Öztürk 1999; Altan 2013, among many others).² (3)a-f) show all the overt pronouns in Turkish.

(3) Overt Pronouns in Turkish:

- | | | |
|----|--------------|-------------|
| a. | <i>ben</i> | 'I' |
| b. | <i>sen</i> | 'you' |
| c. | <i>o</i> | 'he/she/it' |
| d. | <i>biz</i> | 'we' |
| e. | <i>siz</i> | 'you pl.' |
| f. | <i>onlar</i> | 'they' |

The overt pronoun in (4) and the null subject in (5) have the same interpretation.

(4) O zıpla-dı.
he/she/it jump-PAST.3SG
'He/she/it jumped.'

(5) Ø zıpla-dı.
he/she/it jump-PAST.3SG
'He/she/it jumped.'

Next, I briefly introduce the properties of Turkish embedded clauses headed by the nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK*.

² I would like to thank Duygu Sarısoy (p. c.) for her comment stating that not all of the cited works directly argue that the Turkish null subject and the overt pronouns are equivalent. Much of the literature often assumes that the null subject is the null pronoun. In particular, Enç (1986), Turan (1996), and Altan (2013) simply treat the Turkish null subject as the equivalent of the overt pronoun in English.

1.3 Properties of *-mA* and *-DIK* Clauses

In this thesis, the nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* are examined in terms of their syntactic and semantic properties. These suffixes attach to the embedded verb and create an embedded clause (see Underhill 1976; Kornfilt 1997, 2003, 2007; Göksel and Kerslanke 2005; Kornfilt and Whitmann 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018, for further discussions on the properties of *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses). The subject of the embedded nominalized clauses always bears genitive case. Also, the embedded subject agrees with the embedded verb, as shown in (6) for a *-DIK* nominalization and (7) for a *-mA* nominalization.

- (6) Kazım [Aysel'in uyu -duğ -u] -na inan -dı.
Kazım Aysel-GEN sleep-DIK -3SG.POSS-DAT believe-PAST
'Kazım believed that Aysel slept.'
- (7) Aysel [Kazım'ın uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -di.
Aysel Kazım-GEN sleep-MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
'Aysel wanted Kazım to sleep.'

As seen in the data, the embedded clause with the nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* bear case (dative in (6) and accusative in (7)), indicating that the embedded clause is nominal. The nominal nature of Turkish embedded clauses has been explained by positing a nominal category (DP) as the topmost layer in the embedded clause (e.g., Borsley and Kornfilt 2000; Kornfilt 2001; Göksu 2018), or by proposing that the embedded CP itself is nominal – headed by the C which has a [+n/-v] feature (e.g., Kornfilt 2003; Kornfilt 2008; Kornfilt and Whitman 2011; 2012 Predolac 2017, 2018). In Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, I discuss the syntactic and semantic properties of *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses in more detail.

1.4 The Coreferential Possibilities in *-mA* and *-DIK* Clauses

As stated previously, both *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses seem to behave in a similar way in terms of their case and agreement properties. Despite their similar features, the coreferential possibilities of the embedded subject in these clauses differ. Depending on the nominalizer, the null embedded subject has different coreferential possibilities, with the nominalizer *-DIK*, as shown in (8), where the null subject can be coreferential with the matrix subject, and with the nominalizer *-mA*, as in (9), where this coreference is impossible.

(8) Kazım_i [Ø_{i/k} uyu -duğ -u] -na inan -dı.
 Kazım sleep -DIK -3SG.POSS -DAT believe-PAST
 ‘Kazım_i believed that he/she_{i/k} slept.’

(9) Aysel_i [Ø_{*i/k} uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -dı.
 Aysel sleep -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted him/her_{*i/k} to sleep.’

Based on the contrast in (8) and (9), Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) argues that overt pronouns and null subjects do not have the same properties. Her arguments are based on the fact that null and overt subjects in embedded clauses comply with the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981) in different ways, and consequently have different referential interpretations. Similarly, Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023: 82) states that “the null pronominal *pro* and the overt pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’ are not the null and overt counterparts of the same pronominal. Their distributions are the same only in (in)direct object positions; in possessive phrases and subject positions, they vary in their referentiality.” The debate of what the null subject is and how it operates in Turkish is still current in the literature.

The remainder of the thesis is organized as follows: in Chapter 2, I discuss current proposals in the literature regarding the properties of null subjects in Turkish. I also explain why the current literature does not fully answer the question of why null subjects in embedded clauses headed by nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* have different referential possibilities, although both configurations involve a CP, as evidenced, for example, by the fact that the overt subject in both configurations bears genitive case, often associated with the presence of C (e.g., Kornfilt 2003; Aygen 2007; Kornfilt & Whitman 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018). I conclude that the syntactic properties of *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses selected by the matrix verbs are the determiners of the referential possibilities of their null subjects. In Chapter 3, I present my analysis: I propose that the matrix verb selects for the mood of the embedded clause, and the mood dovetails with different nominalizers: The indicative mood is instantiated by the nominalizer *-DIK*, which is associated with a *phase CP*, and this, in turn, creates a separate binding domain in the embedded clause, while the subjunctive mood is instantiated by the nominalizer *-mA*, which is associated with a defective, *non-phase CP*, so that the matrix and embedded clause form a single binding domain. This analysis leads me to propose that the null subject is the null *pro*: the referential possibilities of the null subject in *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses are explained by the Binding Theory in conjunction

with the Avoid Pronoun Principle (Chomsky 1981). Chapter 3 presents existing theories classifying and defining Turkish nominalizers and illustrates how the proposals contribute to the investigation of the null subject in Turkish. Chapter 5 is the conclusion.



CHAPTER 2

2 THE PROBLEM

The main problem that this thesis is about is illustrated in (8) and (9), and repeated in (10) and (11). The example (10) has a *-DIK* embedded clause with a null subject. The embedded subject in (10) is allowed to be coindexed with the matrix subject. On the other hand, the embedded *-mA* clause in example (11) also has a null subject, but, unlike the embedded subject in *-DIK* clauses, this embedded subject cannot be coindexed with the matrix subject.

- (10) Kazım_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ uyu -duğ -u] -na inan -dı.
Kazım sleep -DIK -3SG.POSS -DAT believe-PAST
'Kazım_i believed that she/he_{i/k} slept.'
- (11) Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{*i/k}$ uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -di.
Aysel sleep -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
'Aysel_i wanted him/her_{*i/k} to sleep.'

Since both sentences have a null subject, the different coreferential possibilities are surprising. What is even more surprising is that the coreferential possibilities of the embedded subject in the *-DIK* clause change in the presence of an overt pronoun.

As shown in (10), the null subject in the embedded clause headed by *-DIK* is allowed to refer to the matrix subject. By contrast, the data in (12) shows that the *overt* pronominal subject in the embedded clause headed by *-DIK* cannot corefer with the matrix subject.

- (12) Kazım_i [o -nun_{*i/k} uyu -duğ -u] -nu söyle -di.
Kazım s/he-GEN love -DIK -3SG.POSS -ACC believe-PAST
'Kazım_i said that she/he_{*i/k} slept.'

The change in coreferential possibilities of matrix and embedded subjects in the presence of the overt pronoun *o* 'he/she/it' is not observed in the embedded clauses headed by *-mA*. In sentence (11), the embedded null subject and the matrix subject are not allowed to be coindexed. Also, sentence (13) illustrates that the embedded *overt* subject and matrix subject are not allowed to be coindexed either. The data in (11) and

(13) show that the coreferential possibilities of null and overt subjects do not differ in *–mA* clauses, unlike what is observed in the embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *–DIK*.

- (13) Aysel_i [o -nun*_{i/k} uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -di.
 Aysel s/he-GEN sleep -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted him/her*_{i/k} to sleep.’

Many studies, like Kornfilt (1984, 1987, 2018), Erguvanlı Taylan (1984), Özsoy (1987), Enç (1986), Turan (1996), Öztürk (1999), and Altan (2013), among many others, proposed that the null subject is the null equivalent of the overt pronoun. Thus, the presence or absence of the overt pronoun should not change the meaning of an utterance. However, the data in (10) and (12) indicate that the coreferential possibilities of the embedded subject change in the presence of an overt pronoun in *–DIK* clauses.

Because of these differences in referential possibilities between the null and overt embedded subjects in the embedded clauses with the nominalizer *–DIK*, Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) proposed that the null subject is the null counterpart of the logophor *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’, rather than of the pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’. When the embedded subject is an overt *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’, as in (14), the embedded subject is free to refer back to the matrix subject, just as is the case with the null subject in (10).

- (14) Kazım_i [kendi-si -nin_{i/k} beğen -diğ -i] -ni söyle-di.
 Kazım self -3SG-GEN like -DIK -3SG.POSS -ACC say -PAST
 ‘Kazım_i said that s/he_{i/k} liked (it).’

Below, I present the details of Gürel’s proposal.

2.1 Gürel’s (2002, 2004, 2006) Proposal

Based on the different referential possibilities observed in the presence and absence of the overt subject in *–DIK* clauses, Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) proposes that in Turkish, the null subject and *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’ operate identically and that both *kendisi* and the null subject violate the Binding Principles (Chomsky, 1981) by having both “anaphoric and pronominal” attributes. Her studies focus on the idea that what is traditionally called a *pro* is actually the “null form” of the inflected reflexive (*kendisi* ‘self-3SG’) and not of the overt pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it.’

Gürel (2002: 73)³ builds on the fact that “(...) there is a contrast between overt and null pronouns in both referential and bound variable antecedent contexts in Turkish.” Gürel argues that the null subject, which is syntactically subject to fewer restrictions than the genderless pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’, has the properties of *kendisi*. She gives the following examples to support her point. As seen in (15), the embedded overt pronoun *o* and the embedded null subject in (16) do not have the same reference while the embedded null subject in (16) and the embedded logophor *kendisi* in (17) have the same distribution of the coreferentiality.

- (15) Elif_i [o -nun*_{i/k} kazan-acağ -ı] -nı söyle-di.
 Elif s/he-GEN win -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
 ‘Elif_i said (that) she*_{i/k} would win.’ (Gürel 2002: 73)
- (16) Elif_i [*pro*_{i/k} kazan-acağ -ı] -nı söyle-di.
 Elif win -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
 ‘Elif_i said (that) *pro*_{i/k} would win.’ (Gürel 2002: 73)
- (17) Elif_i [kendi-si -nin_{i/k} kazan-acağ -ı] -nı söyle-di.
 Elif self -3SG-GEN win -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
 ‘Elif_i said (that) (her)self_{i/k} would win.’ (Gürel 2002: 73)

Gürel’s proposal is couched in Turkish anaphoric system, which needs dome explanation given the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). Turkish has a tripartite anaphoric system consisting of pronouns (e.g., *o* ‘he/she/it’), anaphors (e.g., *kendi* ‘self’) and a less constrained anaphor *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’. This system has been studied by various researchers: Underhill (1976), George and Kornfilt (1981), Enç (1989), Cem Değer (1996), Kornfilt (1997a, 2001), Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006), Meral (2010), Gračanin-Yuksek, et al. (2017), Gračanin-Yuksek, et al. (2020), Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023), among many others. In what follows, I present major proposals from the literature.

As (18) shows, the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ in Turkish has to be locally bound, as required by Principle A of the Binding Theory (Underhill 1976; Enç 1989; Kornfilt

³ Gürel (2002) has the nominalizer -AcAK in her data. The main discussion here for the nominalizer -*DIK* is also relevant for the nominalizer -AcAK as these nominalizers are usually treated the same. The only difference between them is their temporal properties as explained in Chapter 4. -*DIK* clauses have [-Future] tense while -AcAK clauses have [+Future] tense. Other than the temporal properties, the nominalizers -*DIK* and -AcAK behave the same. Most importantly, the referential possibilities of the embedded subject in -*DIK* clauses are the same in -AcAK clauses. In the rest of the thesis, I use the nominalizer -*DIK* to argue against Gürel (2002).

1997a; Gürel 2002, Meral 2010, Gračanin-Yukse, et al. 2017; Dinçtopal-Deniz 2023 among many others).

- (18) Aysel_i kendi-ni_{i/*k} sever.
 Aysel self -ACC loves
 ‘Aysel_i loves herself_{i/*k}.’

In (19), we see that the pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’ has to be locally free, as per Principle B of the Binding Theory (Enç 1989; Kornfilt 1997a; Gürel 2002; Meral 2010, Gračanin-Yukse, et al. 2017; Dinçtopal-Deniz 2023, among many others).

- (19) Kazım_i o -nu_{*i/k} gör-dü.
 Kazım he-ACC see-PAST
 ‘Kazım_i saw him_{*i/k}.’

Finally, the logophor *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’ behaves both like a reflexive, as shown in (20) where it can be bound by the local subject, and like a pronoun, as shown in (21) where it has no binder in the sentence (Enç 1989; Kornfilt 1997a; Gürel 2002; Meral 2010; Gračanin-Yukse, et al. 2017; Dinçtopal-Deniz 2023, among many others).

- (20) Aysel_i kendi-si -ni_{i/k} sever.
 Aysel self -3SG-ACC loves
 ‘Aysel_i loves herself_i/him/her_k.’

- (21) Context: A client comes and asks for Mr. Kazım_i.

Kendi-si_i henüz gel -me -di.
 Self -3SG yet come-NEG-PAST
 ‘He_i did not come yet.’

Additionally, *kendisi* can also be bound long distance (Enç 1989; Kornfilt 1997a; Gürel 2002, Meral 2010; Gračanin-Yukse, et al. 2017; Dinçtopal-Deniz 2023 among many others), as shown in (22):

- (22) Aysel_i [Kazım’-ın_k kendi-si -ni_{i/k/j}
 Aysel Kazım -GEN self -3SG-3SG.POSS-ACC
 öv -me -si] -ni istedi.
 praise-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC wanted
 ‘Aysel_i wanted Kazım_k to praise her/him(self)_{i/k/j}.’

As *kendisi* is a logophor which is not subject to the binding theory, it is classified as an unconstrained element (Enç 1989; Kornfilt 1997a; Gürel 2002;

Gračanin-Yukse, et al. 2017; Gračanin-Yukse, et al. 2020; Dinçtopal-Deniz 2023). For example, Gračanin-Yüksek, et al. (2017: 1) explain Turkish anaphors as follows:

Turkish has a tripartite system that consists of the anaphors *o* ‘he/she/it’, *kendi*, ‘self.3SG’ and *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’. The syntactic literature on these anaphors has proposed that whereas *o* behaves like a pronoun and *kendi* behaves like a reflexive, *kendisi* has a more flexible behavior and it can function as both a pronoun and a reflexive. (Gračanin-Yüksek, et al. 2017: 1)

Given these properties of Turkish anaphoric system, Gürel bases her proposal on the notion that if the null subject was the null equivalent of the overt pronoun, the presence or absence of the overt pronoun would not make any difference in the coreferential possibilities. However, the data in (15) and (16) show that when overt pronouns and null pronouns are compared, they vary in their interpretive features and that the behavior of the null subject correlates with another overt pronominal, *kendisi*.

2.2 Against Gürel’s Proposal

A referential pronoun refers to an individual that is present in the pragmatic context while a coreferential pronoun refers to an individual that is presented in the linguistic context. Thus, contextual parameters play a role in the interpretation of sentences with referential and coreferential pronouns.

As mentioned above, Kornfilt (1984, 1987, 2018), Erguvanlı Taylan (1984), Özsoy (1987), Enç (1986), Turan (1996), Öztürk (1999), and Altan (2013) treat the null subject as the null version of the overt pronoun. If Gürel’s (2002, 2004) proposal that the null subject is the null version of *kendisi* is correct, then whenever a clause contains a null subject, it should be possible to replace it with an overt *kendisi* with no change in the interpretative possibilities. In particular, according to Gürel, the sentence in (23),⁴ with a null subject in the embedded clause, and the sentence in (24), with the overt *kendisi*, are predicted to have the same referential interpretation, contrary to fact.

- (23) Kazım_i [$\emptyset_{*i/k}$ kazan-ma -sı] -nı isti -yor.
 Kazım win -MA -3SG -ACC want-3SG.IMPF
 ‘Kazım_i wants him/her_{*i/j} to win.’

⁴ Due to the dialectal differences, some people may accept the coreference between the matrix and embedded subjects.

- (24) Kazım_i [kendi-si -nin_{i/k} kazan-ma -sı] -nı isti -yor.
 Kazım self -3SG-GEN win -MA -3SG-ACC want-3SG.IMPF
 ‘Kazım_i wants himself_i/him/her_k to win.’

The sentence in (23) shows that when the subject of the embedded *-mA* clause is not overt, its reflexive coreferential possibility is lost – namely, the null subject cannot corefer with the matrix subject, whereas in (24), where the embedded subject is *kendisi*, the reflexive coreferentiality is retained. Thus, based on the shifts in the referential and coreferential readings in embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *-mA*, the null subject cannot be the null version of *kendisi*.

Thus, while Gürel's data represented in (15), (16), and (17) show that the null subject cannot be an exact equivalent of an overt pronoun, the data in (23) and (24), with the nominalizer *-mA*, show that it cannot be an exact equivalent of *kendisi* either. It is observed that the null subject in the embedded clauses with *-AcAK* (and *-DIK*) and *kendisi* have the same referential properties. Similarly, the null subject in the embedded clauses with *-mA* and the overt pronoun *o* have the same referential properties as seen in (9) and (13) and repeated in (25) and (26):

- (25) Aysel_i [Ø_{*i/k} uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -di.
 Aysel sleep -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted him/her_{*i/k} to sleep.’
- (26) Aysel_i [o -nun_{*i/k} uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -di.
 Aysel s/he-GEN sleep -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted him/her_{*i/k} to sleep.’

Thus, in line with Dinçtopal-Deniz's (2023) conclusion, neither the overt pronoun nor *kendisi* seem to be equivalent to the null subject.

2.3 Other Proposals for the Problem

In the literature, there are other proposals as to why an overt embedded pronoun is not allowed to corefer with the matrix subject in embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *-DIK*, as we saw in (12), repeated here as (27).

- (27) Kazım_i [o -nun_{*i/k} uyu -duğ -u] -nu söyle-di.
 Kazım s/he-GEN love -DIK -3SG.POSS -ACC say -PAST
 ‘Kazım_i said that s/he_{*i/k} slept.’

Kornfilt (1991) proposes that the reason is the Avoid Pronoun Principle (APP) (Chomsky 1981). According to APP, the phonologically null pronoun is selected over the overt pronoun whenever possible.

(28) The Avoid Pronoun Principle: Avoid pronoun. (Chomsky 1981: 65)

Kornfilt argues that the APP in Turkish embedded clauses is related to agreement. According to Kornfilt, an overt pronoun is used in clauses with “weak agreement,” in which agreement does not specify all the pertinent features, which are number, person, and Case. Such “defective” agreement cannot license a null *pro*, so the use of the overt pronoun is required, but at the same time, the embedded clause is not a separate binding domain, which leads to the pronoun being locally bound if co-indexed with the matrix subject. This leads to a violation of the Principle B of the Binding Theory. According to Kornfilt’s account of the APP, in clauses with weak agreement, the purpose of an overt pronoun is to satisfy the Case feature. On the other hand, a phonologically empty pronoun (null subject) is used in clauses with “strong agreement”, in which person, number and Case are all expressed at the phonological level. Such agreement licenses the null *pro*, and also forms a separate binding domain from the matrix clause, thus allowing for the co-indexation between the matrix and embedded subjects.

Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023) states that Kornfilt’s explanation of the APP does not explain different coreferential possibilities observed in the embedded clauses with nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK*. According to Dinçtopal-Deniz, it is anticipated that in the embedded clauses in (29) and (30), agreement should be strong, because all the required components (number, person and Case) are expressed, and that, therefore, a null *pro* would be preferred to an overt pronoun. However, despite the strong agreement, both null and overt pronouns are possible.

(29) Ali_i [o_i -nun_{*i/k} / *pro*_{i/k} akıllı ol-duğ -u] -nu söyle-di.
 Ali she/he-GEN intelligent be-DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
 ‘Ali_i said (that) she/he_{*i/k} / *pro*_{i/k} is intelligent.’
 (Dinçtopal-Deniz 2023: 99)

(30) Ali Ayşe’ye_k [o_i -nun_{*i/k/m} / *pro*_{i/k/m} yalancı
 Ali Ayşe-DAT she/he-GEN liar
 ol -duğ -u] -nu söyle-di

be-DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST

‘Ali_i told Ayşe_k that she/he*_{i/k/m} / *pro*_{i/k/m} is a liar.’

(Dinçtopal-Deniz 2023: 99)

Dinçtopal-Deniz, thus, argues that the reference to agreement in the APP does not explain why the reference of overt and null subjects changes in the embedded clauses in (29) and (30) (see Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023) for further discussion).

Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023) follows Safir (2004) in the idea that there is a Weak Pronoun Competition (WPC). Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023: 101) states that “WPC selects the weakest pronoun as the optimal one to represent backgrounded, i.e., old, information.” She classifies the overt pronoun as a strong pronominal, which can shift the topic or introduce a new referent, while the null subject is a weak pronominal, which “can only refer to an antecedent previously mentioned in the context.” (p. 101) She concludes that the overt pronoun and null subject do not have the same properties in Turkish, so the null subject cannot be the null equivalent of the overt pronoun.

Unlike Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023), I propose that the null subject is, in fact, the null *pro*, and that the referential possibilities of the null subject in Turkish are tied to the choice of the nominalizer in the embedded clause: *-DIK* or *-mA*, which influences the syntactic make-up of the embedded clause. In the remainder of the thesis, I explore the syntactic and semantic properties of *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses in Turkish in order to be able to determine what the null subject is.

2.4 Summary of the Chapter

Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) states that if the null subject in Turkish is the null equivalent of the overt pronoun, the coreferential possibilities would not change when the subject is overt or null. She observes that in the embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *-AcAK* and *-DIK*, the coreferential properties of the embedded subject change when the subject is null or overt, as shown in (15) and (16), repeated in (31) and (32). She states that the coreferential possibilities of the embedded subject remain constant between *kendisi* and the null subject, as shown in (17), repeated in (33).

- (31) Elif_i [o -nun*_{i/k} kazan-acağ -ı] -nı söyle-di.
Elif s/he-GEN win -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
‘Elif_i said (that) she*_{i/k} would win.’ (Gürel 2002: 73)

- (32) Elif_i [*pro*_{i/k} kazan-acağ -i] -nı söyle-di.
 Elif win -ACAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
 ‘Elif_i said (that) *pro*_{i/k} would win.’ (Gürel 2002: 73)
- (33) Elif_i [*kendi-si* -nin_{i/k} kazan-acağ -i] -nı söyle-di.
 Elif self -3SG-GEN win -ACAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
 ‘Elif_i said (that) (her)self_{i/k} would win.’ (Gürel 2002: 73)

Gürel goes on to argue that, as the coreferential possibilities of embedded the null subject in (32) and embedded *kendisi* in (33) are the same, the null subject must be the null equivalent of the logophor *kendisi*. Her claims in this respect are plausible: the meaning shift is avoided when *kendisi* is assumed as the null subject. However, it has been shown in (23) and (24), and repeated in (34) and (35), that *kendisi* has different coreferential possibilities than the null subject in embedded *-mA* clauses: while overt *kendisi* can refer to the matrix subject, the null subject cannot.

- (34) Kazım_i [Ø_{*i/k} kazan-ma -sı] -nı isti -yor.
 Kazım win -mA -3SG-ACC want-3SG.IMPF
 ‘Kazım_i wants him/her_{*i/j} to win.’
- (35) Kazım_i [*kendi-si* -nin_{i/k} kazan-ma -sı] -nı isti -yor.
 Kazım self -3SG-GEN win -mA -3SG-ACC want-3SG.IMPF
 ‘Kazım_i wants himself/him/her_{i/k} to win.’

The absence of overt *kendisi* leads to the loss of the reflexive meaning and the presence of only the referential meaning. This means that *kendisi* cannot be the equivalent of the null subject in Turkish either, given that the possible coreferential and referential meanings are not identical in the presence versus the absence of *kendisi*.

In this chapter, we saw that neither the proposal that the null subject is equivalent to the logophor *kendisi* nor the proposal that it is equivalent to the overt pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’ is without problems. One way to explain why the coreferential possibilities of the embedded subject change is to look into the nature of the nominalizer. If the differences between the nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* can be found, the question why the coreferential possibilities of the embedded subject change can be tied to those differences. In the following chapter, I will propose an analysis of why the referential possibilities of the null subject differ in *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses. My proposal will rely crucially on the syntax of clauses headed by these nominalizers.

CHAPTER 3

3 ANALYSIS

Recall that the aim of this thesis is to determine the nature of the null subject in Turkish. This element has been argued to be the null version of an overt pronoun (Erguvanlı Taylan 1984; Kornfilt 1984, 1987, 2018; Özsoy 1987; Enç 1986; Turan 1996; Öztürk 1999; Altan 2013, among many others) and also the null version of an unconstrained anaphor *kendisi* (Gürel 2002, 2004, 2006). Given that pronouns and *kendisi* are subject to different binding principles, which determine what each can and cannot refer to, the question of why the null subject of an embedded *-DIK* clause can, but the null subject of an embedded *-mA* clause cannot corefer with the matrix subject is highly relevant to the topic. In this chapter, I first turn the question of the referential possibilities of embedded subjects in *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses.

3.1 Proposal

I propose that the difference in coreferential possibilities between the matrix and embedded subjects in sentences displayed in (36) with the nominalizer *-DIK* and (37) with the nominalizer *-mA* results from the nature of the embedded CP, which in turn depends on the semantics of the matrix verb, more specifically on its mood properties. I propose that the nominalizer *-DIK* is selected by matrix verbs with the indicative mood selectional properties while the nominalizer *-mA* is selected by matrix verbs with the subjunctive mood selectional properties.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|------|------|-----------|------|----------------|--------------------|------|
| (36) | Aysel _i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ | gel | -diğ | -i] | -ni | bil | -iyor | -du. |
| | Aysel | come | -DIK | -3SG.POSS | -ACC | know-IMPF-PAST | | |
| | 'Aysel _i knew that she _{i/k} came.' | | | | | | Indicative | |
| (37) | Aysel _i [$\emptyset_{*i/k}$ | gel | -me | -si] | -ni | iste | -di. | |
| | Aysel | come | -MA | -3SG.POSS | -ACC | want-PAST | | |
| | 'Aysel _i wanted her _{*i/k} to come.' | | | | | | Subjunctive | |

Following Predolac (2017, 2018), I propose that the reason for the impossible co-indexation between the embedded subject and the matrix subject in sentence (37)

is that the subjunctive mood of the embedded clause causes referential obviation between the matrix subject and the embedded subject, called the “Subjunctive Disjoint Reference (SDR)” effect caused by the phenomenon called subjunctive obviation (Kempchinsky 1987). Subjunctive obviation refers to the observation that, in the presence of subjunctive mood, the matrix subject and the embedded subject have obligatorily disjoint reference. I follow Predolac (2017, 2018) in attributing the differences in coreferential possibilities between the null embedded subject and the matrix subject in *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses, shown in (36) and (37), to their mood. Predolac proposes that the unavailability of reflexive referentiality (the coreference between the matrix subject and the null embedded subject) is due to the subjunctive obviation. The example in (38) presents a sentence with the subjunctive mood in Spanish, where the subjunctive obviation forces disjoint reference between the subjects of embedded clauses and matrix-embedded clauses.

- (38) pro_i deseaba [que $pro_{j/*i}$ quisiera [que $pro_{i/k/*j}$
 desire.IMPF.3SG that want.SUBJ.IMPF.3SG that
 lo acompañara en el viaje]]]
 him.ACC accompany.SUBJ.IMPF.3SG on the journey
 ‘She/He desired that she/he want (SUBJ) that she/he accompany (SUBJ) him
 on the journey.’ (Kempchinsky 2009: 1789)

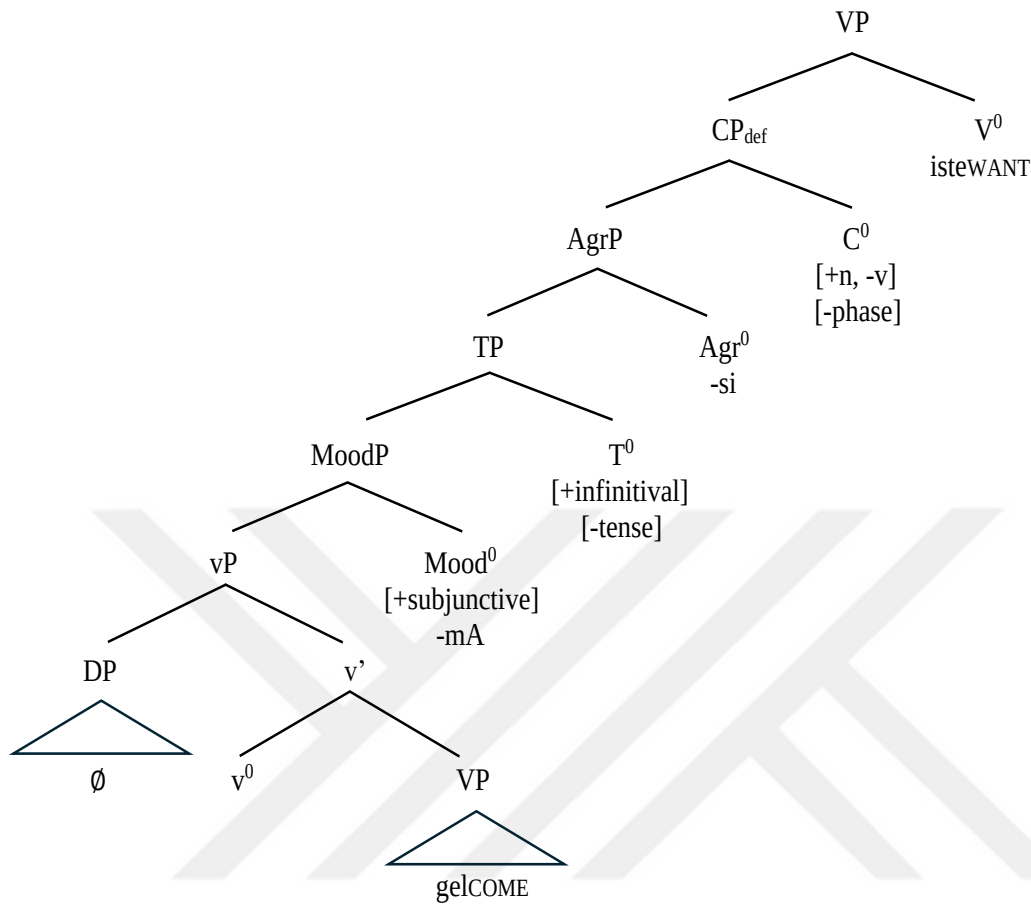
The Subjunctive Disjoint Reference effect is also observed in Turkish with subjunctive mood; the matrix subject, and the embedded subject in (37) have obligatorily disjoint reference. Yet, the SDR effect is not observed in sentences with indicative mood. As (36) indicates, the matrix subject and the embedded subject are allowed to corefer in the presence of an indicative matrix predicate *bil* ‘to know’.

I argue that the reason why this effect is observed in Turkish is because the matrix verbs that select subjunctive mood (*matrix subjunctive verbs*) select a complement clause with a [-tense] feature. The lack of tense in the complement clause dove-tails with a non-phasal CP, a CP whose head is not a phase head. Assuming that a binding domain coincides with a phase, in (37), there is only one binding domain, which is the entire sentence, as shown in (39). The tree diagram of the sentence is shown in (40)a-b).

- (39) [_{CPdef} [_{AgrP} [_{TP} [_{MoodP} [_{Subject} _{vP} ...]]]]]]]

- (40) a. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ gelmesi]ni istedi.
 ‘Aysel_i wanted her_{*i/k} to come.’

b.



As shown in the tree diagram above, the embedded clause has a defective CP layer, so the matrix and the embedded clause form a single binding domain. The embedded clause is merged as the complement of the matrix V. As the defective CP with [-tense] feature is not spelled out when the matrix subject is merged, Principle B of the Binding Theory disallows the coindexation between the matrix and embedded subjects. Consequently, the “Subjunctive Disjoint Reference (SDR)” effect (Kempchinsky 1987) is observed in subjunctive clauses. In line with Principle B of the Binding Theory, in sentence (37) coreferentiality is not allowed between the matrix subject and the null embedded subject: the null embedded subject would be locally bound by the matrix one if it were coindexed with it.

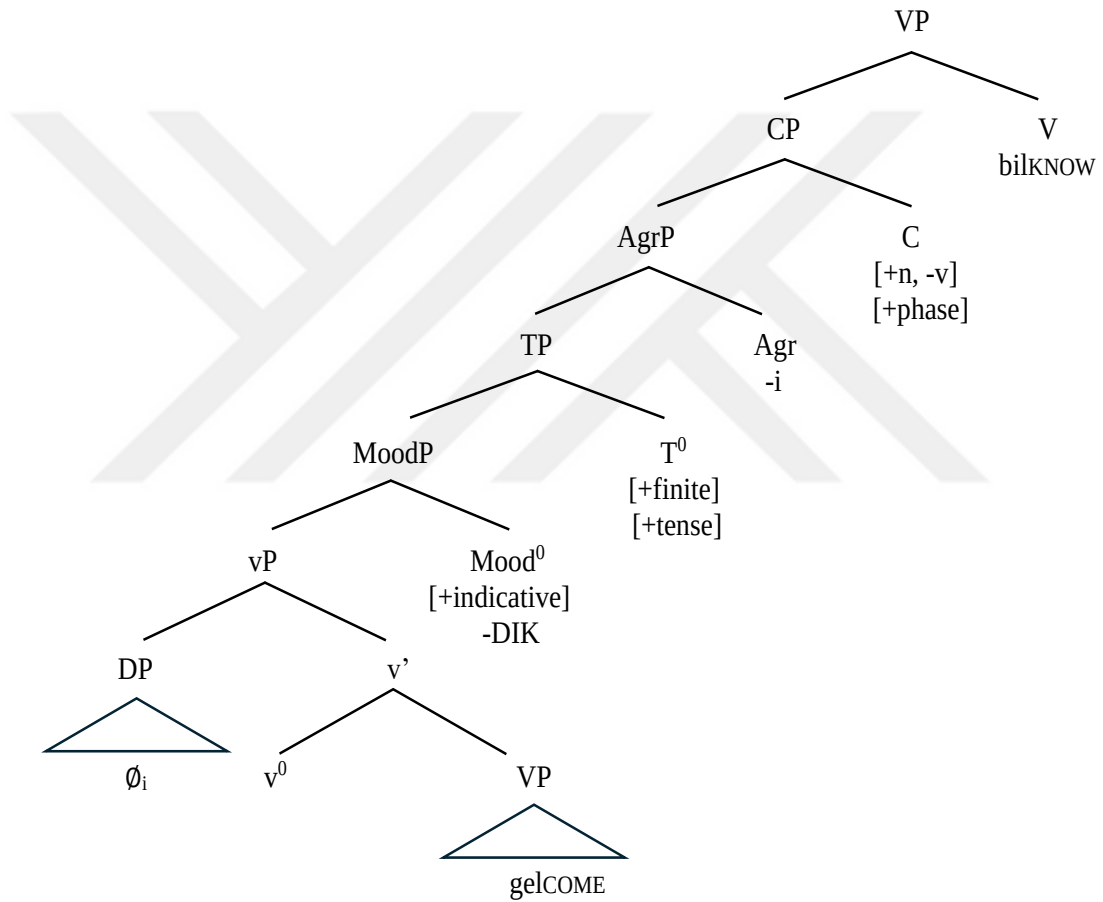
On the other hand, matrix verbs that select for indicative mood, like in sentence (36), select a complement CP with [+tense] feature, whose head is a phase head, heading a phasal CP. Therefore, there are two separate binding domains in sentence

(36), the matrix CP and the embedded CP. Thus, the coindexation between the matrix and the embedded subjects does not violate Principle B, since the null subject is free in its binding domain. This is illustrated in (41) in abstract, and the sentence is shown in (42)a-b).

(41) [CP [AgrP [TP [MoodP [Subject vP ...]]]]]]

(42) a. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ geldiğini] biliyordu.
 ‘Aysel_i knew that she_{i/k} had come.’

b.



Indicative mood phrases are headed by the nominalizer *-DIK*. The C head in a *-DIK* clause has Force and takes a finite TP with [+tense] feature as its complement. The embedded CP, thus, creates a phase. The embedded subject in [Spec vP]⁵ is

⁵ As Öztürk (2005: 140) states “[...] in Turkish subject NPs do not need to be raised to [Spec, TP], hence such a position does not need to be projected, as long as the verb raising checks off EPP.” I assume that subjects in Turkish do not (always) raise to [Spec TP] (Öztürk 2001, 2002) but remain in [Spec vP] (Öztürk 2005, Gracanin-Yüksek and İşsever 2011). Even if the assumption is not on the right track, the analysis would not change. That is, if the subject were in [Spec TP] it would still be spelled out by the time the matrix subject is introduced.

already spelled out by the time the matrix subject is merged. Thus, Principle B of the Binding Theory allows the coindexation between the matrix subject and the embedded subject.

Although this proposal is heavily influenced by Predolac (2017, 2018), it differs from their claims in the following ways: While Predolac argues that the difference in coreferential possibilities between *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses is caused by the phasehood of the C head in these clauses, the reasoning behind why *-mA* clauses lack a phasal C head and why *-DIK* clauses have a phasal C is not explained in detail. In my proposal, phasehood is tied to the temporal properties of the embedded clauses. Furthermore, unlike in Predolac's proposal, phasehood and Binding Theory are connected in this thesis. It is proposed that a phasal CP creates a boundary for binding, while a defective CP is transparent and does not act as a boundary. Additionally, the structures of the reflexive *kendi* 'self,' the logophor *kendisi* 'self-3SG,' and pronouns (both overt and null) are discussed in detail. Lastly, the structure of emotive factive predicates in Turkish is analyzed in this thesis. These elements distinguish the proposal from Predolac's work.

3.2 Arguments for the Proposal

In the literature, the differences between *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses have been attributed to the mood of the embedded clause (indicative, subjunctive), each associated with a different nominalizer: *-DIK* is often considered an indicative mood marker while *-mA* is considered a subjunctive marker (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1993, 1998; Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Kornfilt & Whitmann 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018). Semantically speaking, mood is classified based on the events' "epistemic commitment", that is, their hypothetical or real nature (Farkas 1992a; Mithun 1999; Palmer 2001; Bosque 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018, among many others). Indicative mood describes a situation that has a truth value, while subjunctive mood often describes hypothetical situations like wishes and desires. The following group of predicates are grouped under the indicative predicates: predicates of declaration, certainty, commissives and fiction verbs. The group of subjunctive predicates are desideratives, directives, permissives and inter-directives, and emotive factives (Farkas 1992a).

In Turkish, the distribution of indicative and subjunctive moods introduced by the matrix verbs is in line with Farkas' classification. While the matrix verbs selecting complement clauses with a subjunctive mood take *-mA* as the nominalizer, the matrix verbs selecting complement clauses with an indicative mood take *-DIK* as the nominalizer. Following Predolac (2017, 2018), I argue that the Subjunctive Disjoint Reference effect (Kempchinsky 1987) causes the differences in the coreferential possibilities exemplified in (36) and (37).

Both indicative and subjunctive embedded clauses are CPs. The difference between them is that the indicative CP is a phase with [+tense] feature while the subjunctive CP does not have any tense property.

Kanno (2008, 2010) and Kanno and Nomura (2011) follow Chomsky's (2008) framework while diagnosing phases. Following Chomsky, Kanno and Kanno and Nomura state that the presence of tense and agreement features on C is an indication of a phase, while the lack of either results in a defective, non-phase C. Kanno and Nomura (2011: 68) argue that "the syntactic transparency of subjunctives is captured by a phase-based approach outlined in Chomsky (2008). Subjunctive clauses are syntactically transparent because they do not have a tense feature on the non-phasal C." Consequently, the embedded T does not have [+tense] feature, which results in the absence of tense in the embedded CP.

The data in (43), with a past tense in the matrix clause, and (44), with a future tense in the matrix clause, show that subjunctive embedded clauses have no tense specifications of their own, rather the embedded clauses with subjunctive mood rely on the tense of the matrix clauses. In the example (43), the embedded event refers either to an earlier or to a later time than the matrix event while in the example (44),⁶ the embedded event necessarily takes place at a later time than the matrix event.

⁶ In subjunctive clauses, the term "tenseless" refers to the embedded clause's ability to carry either [+Future] or [-Future] tense, depending on the selection of the matrix verb. The temporal properties in subjunctive clauses are derived from the matrix verb. Even when the matrix sentence has a [+Past] tense, as in (142), the future tense can still be licensed, as shown in (i), where the embedded verb is modified by a future denoting adverb *yarın* 'tomorrow':

(i) Kazım [Aysel-'in yarın gel -me -si] -ni iste -di. **Subjunctive**
 Kazım Aysel -GEN tomorrow come-MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 'Kazım wanted Aysel to come tomorrow.'

- (43) Kazım [Aysel -'in gel -me -si] -ni iste -di. **Subjunctive**
 Kazım Aysel -GEN come-MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 'Kazım wanted Aysel to come.'
- (44) Kazım [Aysel_i -'in gel -me -si] -ni iste -yecek. **Subjunctive**
 Kazım Aysel -GEN come-MA -3SG.POSS-ACC want-FUT
 'Kazım will want Aysel to come.'

The CP in subjunctive clauses like those in (43) and (44) is not a phase because it does not bear [+tense] feature. Thus, it is transparent to operations from the matrix clause. When the matrix verb *iste* 'to want' merges with the embedded CP, the subject of the embedded clause is still accessible to operations from the matrix clause. For this reason, the SDR effect is observed in subjunctive clauses. As Principle B of the BT suggests, a pronoun must be free in its binding domain. Yet, in subjunctive clauses, the embedded CP and the matrix CP constitute only one domain causing ungrammaticality when the embedded subject and the matrix subject are coindexed as the lack of tense features results in a non-phasal embedded CP.

As Predolac (2017) states, unlike subjunctive embedded clauses, Turkish indicative embedded clauses bear tense properties independent of the matrix clause. Also, Knecht (1979), Kornfilt (2003), Kornfilt and Whitmann (2011, 2012), Predolac (2017, 2018), and Göksu & Öztürk-Başaran (2021) state that *-DIK* clauses have a [-Future] tense feature, they are not used for future situations. The embedded clause is always in [-Future] tense as shown in (45) and (46). The sentence in (45) shows an example where the event in the embedded clause has taken place at an earlier time than the matrix clause, and (46) shows that even when the matrix clause has future tense, the embedded clause still denotes a past event.

- (45) Kazım_i [Ø_{i/k} seçim -i kaybet -tiğ -i] -ni açıkla -dı.
 Kazım election-ACC lose -DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC declare-PAST
 'Kazım_i declared that he_{i/k} had lost the elections.' **Indicative**
- (46) Kazım_i [Ø_{i/k} seçim-i kaybet-tiğ -i] -ni açıkla -yacak.
 Kazım election-ACC lose -DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC declare-FUT
 'Kazım_i will declare that he_{i/k} lost the elections.' **Indicative**

In a similar fashion, the sentence in (47) shows that the embedded clause with *-DIK* does not have to be interpreted only in the past tense; here, it is in the present tense.

- (47) [Kazım-'in hep fırın -dan ekmek al -dığ -ı] -nı
 Kazım-GEN always bakery-LOC bread buy-DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC
 bil -iyor -um
 know-IMPF-1SG
 'I know that Kazım always buys bread from the bakery.'

Thus, the sentences in (45)-(47) show that *-DIK* cannot be interpreted in the future tense, but it can be interpreted in the past and present tense. This suggests that *-DIK* clauses have a [-Future] feature, as stated by Knecht (1979), Kornfilt (2003), Kornfilt and Whitmann (2011, 2012), Predolac (2017, 2018) and Göksu & Öztürk-Başaran (2021). To denote future events in the indicative embedded clauses, *-(y)AcAK* is used. (48) presents data denoting future tense in the embedded clause and (49) presents a sentence in which the matrix clause is in the past tense and the embedded clause is in the future tense.

- (48) [Kazım-'in başarılı ol -acağ -ı] -nı düşün-üyor -um.
 Kazım -GEN successful be-ACAK-3SG.POSS -ACC think -IMPF-1SG
 'I think (that) Kazım will be successful.'
- (49) [Kazım-'in gel -eceğ -i] -ni san -mış -tı -m.
 Kazım-GEN come-ACAK-3SG.POSS -ACC believe -EVID-PAST-1SG
 'I falsely believed that Kazım would come.'

As the data in (48) and (49) suggest, *-AcAK* clauses have the [+Future] tense feature. Encoding the [-/+Future] tense features, *-DIK* and *-AcAK* clauses have the tense property that is necessary for a phase. Consequently, the *-DIK* clauses have the phase CP, creating a separate binding domain from the matrix clause. In line with Principle B of the BT, the coindexation between the matrix and embedded subjects is allowed because the pronoun in the embedded clause is not bound in its binding domain, the embedded CP.

3.3 Predictions

Given that this proposal relies on the Principle B of the Binding Theory, it predicts that a null pronoun (*pro*) and overt pronoun would have the same coreferential possibilities. That is, in subjunctive clauses with a defective CP in the embedded clause, the coindexation between the matrix subject and the embedded pronominal subject will be disallowed under Principle B of the Binding Theory even when the embedded subject is an overt pronoun. On the other hand, indicative clauses with a

phase CP in the embedded clause will allow the coindexation between the matrix subject and the embedded pronominal subject in the same configuration. Principle B of the BT will not be violated in indicative clauses as the embedded and the matrix clause form two separate binding domains. Thus, it is expected for the pronoun in the embedded clause to be locally free and the sentence to be well-formed.

3.3.1 -mA clauses

In subjunctive clauses with the nominalizer -mA, the prediction of the proposal is borne out: neither the overt pronoun nor the null subject allows coindexation between the embedded subject and the matrix subject, as predicted by the Principle B of the BT. If coindexed with the matrix subject, the pronoun in the embedded clause is bound in its the binding domain. As shown in in (50), the null subject allows only disjoint reference. Similarly, in (51), the overt pronoun behaves the same as the null subject, and the coindexation between the embedded and matrix subjects is disallowed.

- (50) Aysel_i [$\emptyset$ _{*i/k} katıl -ma -sı] -nı iste -di. **Subjunctive**
 Aysel join -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted her_{*i/k} to join.’
- (51) Aysel_i [o -nun_{*i/k} katıl -ma -sı] -nı iste -di. **Subjunctive**
 Aysel s/he-GEN come -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted her_{*i/k} to join.’

In this respect, Turkish behaves like Russian (Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997), shown in (52), French (Farkas 1992a, Progovac 1993, 1994), shown in (53), and Portuguese (Raposo 1985 as cited in Constantini 2005), shown in (54), in that the SDR effect is observed with the overt pronoun in the subjunctive embedded clause in these languages as well.

- (52) Volodja_i xočet čtoby on_{*i/j} potseloval Nadju **Russian Subjunctive**
 Volodja wants that.subj he kissed Nadju.
 ‘Volodja wants that he_{*i/j} kiss Nadju.’ (Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997: 230)
- (53) Pierre₁ veut qu’il_{*1/2} parte. **French Subjunctive**
 Pierre₁ wants that he_{*1/2} leaves(subj)
 ‘Pierre₁ wants him_{*1/2} to leave’. (Progovac 1993a: 78)
- (54) [O Eduardo]₁ deseja que [o Manel]₂ queira que ele_{1/*2/3} compre
 [The Eduardo]₁ wishes that [the Manel]₂ wants(subj) that he_{1/*2/3} buy(subj)

a car new.
um automóvel novo.

‘Eduardo₁ wishes that Manel₂ wanted him_{1/*2/3} to buy a new car.’

Portuguese Subjunctive

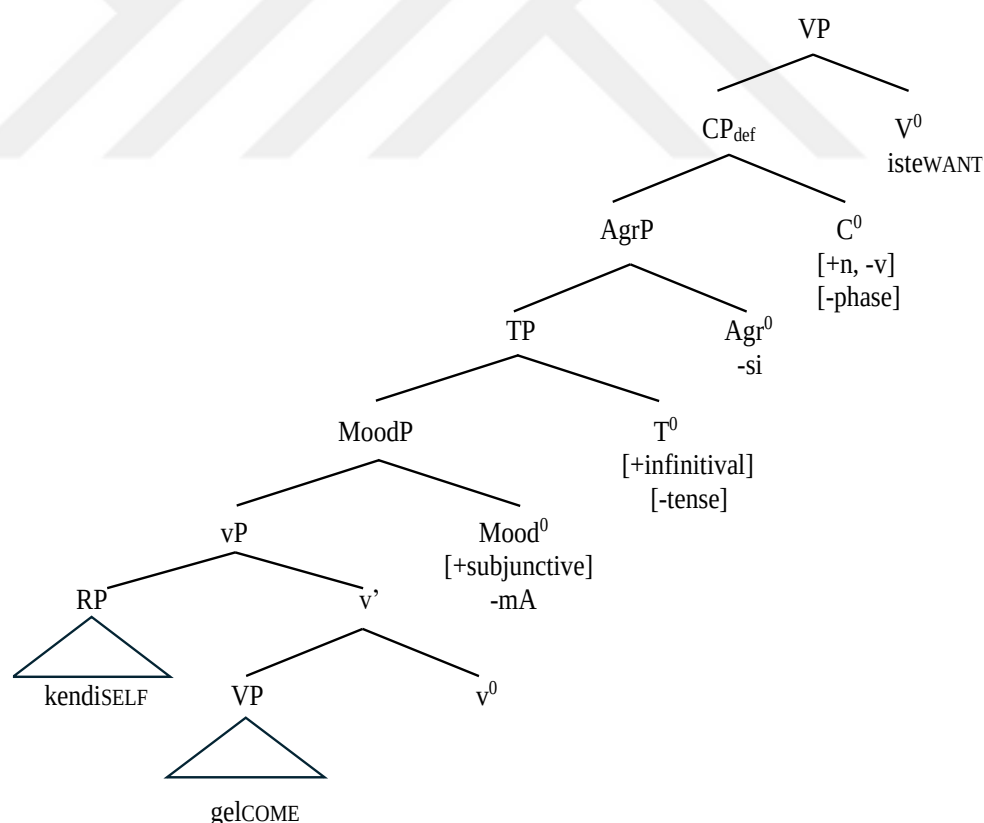
(Raposo 1985 as cited in Constantini 2005: 55)

3.3.2 The Structure of the Reflexive in *-mA* Clauses

Moreover, the proposal predicts that in subjunctive clauses, the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ is allowed in the subject position of the embedded *-mA* clause because it is bound in its binding domain under the Principle A of the BT. This prediction is borne out: the reflexive in (55) can be coindexed with the matrix subject.

- (55) a. Aysel_i [kendi -nin_i gel -me -si] -ni iste -di. **Subjunctive**
Aysel self -GEN come-MA-3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
‘Aysel_i requested that herself_i should come.’

b.



Suprisingly, the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ can also be coindexed with a referent in the context, as shown in (56)a-b).

(56) a. The context: Aysel is a teacher. Her student, Kazım, wants an extra point from Aysel to be able to pass the course. Another student Ali goes to Aysel and tells her that his friend Kazım wants some extra points. The teacher says that Kazım should come himself to talk about the matter.

- b. Aysel_i [kendi -nin_k gel -me -si] -ni iste -di. **Subjunctive**
 Aysel self -GEN come-MA-3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i requested him_k to come on his own.’

Given that *kendi* is subject to the Principle A of the BT, we would not expect to find it in the subject position, and especially not in the matrix subject position. As stated in Chapter 2, the reflexive *kendi* ‘self’ has to be bound and it is subject to Principle A of the BT. Thus, as the data in (57) shows, the unbounded subject position of the reflexive *kendi* results in ungrammaticality:

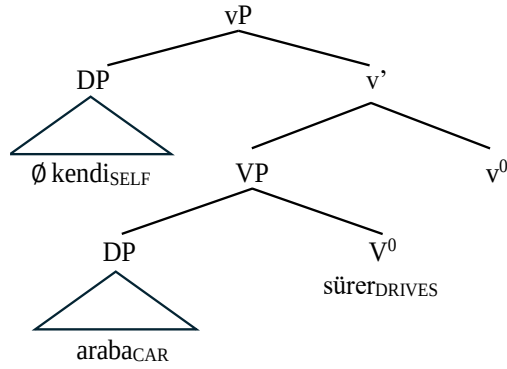
- (57) *Kendi araba sür -er.
 self car drive-AOR
 *‘Him/herself drives a car.’

Indeed, (57) is ungrammatical on the reading “He/she drives a car.” It is, however, grammatical on the reading “He/she drives a car on his/her own. (Nobody drives it instead of him/her.)”, illustrated in (58). Similarly, the meaning of the reflexive in (56) is different than in (55): the meaning of the reflexive in (56) is also “on one’s own, without the help or company of others” (Özsoy 1983; Kornfilt 1997; König & Siemund 2000; Göksel & Kerslake 2005).

I propose that this emphatic “on one’s own” reading arises when the phrase containing the reflexive is actually complex and also contains an antecedent, which locally binds the reflexive, as in the tree in (58) illustrating the vP.

The ungrammaticality in (57) on the non-emphatic reading occurs because the reflexive is unbound. When there is a null subject binding the reflexive, resulting in the emphatic reading, the sentence becomes grammatical, as illustrated in (58).

- (58) Ø_i kendi_i araba sürer.
 ‘S/he drives a car on his/her own’



The sentence is also grammatical when there is an overt subject binding the reflexive, as shown in (59).

- (59) Aysel_i kendi_i araba sür -er.
 Aysel self car drive-AOR
 ‘Aysel_i drives a car on her own_i.’

I propose that in (56), where the embedded subject is *kendi* and it refers to someone other than the matrix subject, and the special “on one’s own” meaning is present, the subject is actually a complex DP with a null *pro* in the specifier, which locally binds *kendi*. Since the null *pro* is subject to the Principle B of the binding theory, it cannot be bound by the matrix subject. Hence it refers to a contextually salient individual.

- (60) Aysel_i [Ø_k kendi -nin_k gel -me -si] -ni iste -di. **Subjunctive**
 Aysel self -GEN come-MA-3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i requested her_k to come on her own_k.’

This proposal works well also when the embedded subject is overt, as shown in (61). The data shows that when the embedded subject is overt, the intended meaning does not change. The reflexive in the embedded clause is bound by the overt subject in the embedded clause:

- (61) Aysel_i [Kazım-ın_k kendi -nin_k gel -me -si] -ni iste -di.
 Aysel Kazım-GEN self -GEN come-MA-3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i requested Kazım_k to come on his own.’ **Subjunctive**

The data in (61) shows that the proposal is on the right track since the embedded reflexive can be bound by a local null or overt subject.

3.3.3 The Logophor *Kendisi* ‘self-3SG’ in *-mA* Clauses

Besides pronouns and reflexives, Turkish also has a logophor *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’, which may be locally and long-distance bound but, unlike the reflexive *kendi*, does not require a binder; therefore, it is not subject to the Principle A of the BT. *Kendisi* is also not subject to the Principle B of the binding theory, unlike the pronouns. When the overt subject in the subjunctive embedded clause is the logophor *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’, the Subjunctive Disjoint Reference effect is not observed. Thus, in (63), where the overt subject of the embedded clause is *kendisi*, it can be coindexed with the matrix subject, as opposed to (62), repeated from (40), where the null subject cannot be coindexed with the matrix subject.

- (62) Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ gel -me -si] -ni iste -di. **Subjunctive**
 Aysel come-MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted him_{*i/k} to come.’
- (63) Aysel_i [kendi-si -nin_{i/k} gel -me -si] -ni iste -di. **Subjunctive**
 Aysel self -3SG.POSS-GEN come-MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted him(self)_{i/k} to come.’

The reason why the subjunctive obviation is not observed in sentences with an overt *kendisi* is that *kendisi* is an unconstrained logophor (Enç 1983). It is not subject to the Binding Theory; as shown in Chapter 2, it can refer to a local antecedent, as shown in (23) and repeated in (64), a long-distance antecedent, as shown in (25) and repeated in (65), and an extra-sentential antecedent, as shown in (24) and repeated in (66) (Enç 1989; Kornfilt 1997; Gürel 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006; Gracanin-Yüksek, et al. 2017; Dinçtopal-Deniz 2023, among many others).

- (64) Aysel_i kendi-si -ni_i sever.
 Aysel self -3SG-ACC loves
 ‘Aysel_i loves herself_i.’
- (65) Aysel_i [Kazım’-ın_k kendi-si -ni_{i/k}
 Aysel Kazım -GEN self -3SG-3SG.POSS-ACC
 öv -me -si] -ni istedi.
 praise-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC wanted
 ‘Aysel_i wanted Kazım_k to praise her/him(self)_{i/k}.’
- (66) Kendi-si_i henüz gel -me -di.
 Self -3SG yet come-NEG-PAST
 ‘He_i did not come yet.’

Since *kendisi* does not resist local binding, in (63) it does not violate Principle B under the coindexation with the matrix subject. To my knowledge, Russian, French, and Portuguese do not have an unbounded element like *kendisi*. As these languages do not have an unconstrained logophor, the loss of the SDR effect with the overt pronoun in the embedded clause is not observed in these languages.

3.3.4 Conclusion of -mA Clauses

The obligatorily disjoint reference between the matrix and embedded pronominal subjects is predicted by the proposal. The CP in the subjunctive embedded clauses does not have any temporal property, which is essential for creating a phase (Chomsky 2008; Kanno 2008, 2010; Kanno and Nomura 2011). The CP in subjunctive embedded clauses headed by -mA is thus a non-phasal, defective CP. The defective CP does not create a separate binding domain for the embedded subject. That is why we observe a disjoint reference between the matrix subject and an embedded pronominal (null or overt) subject, which must obey Principle B.

When it comes to the binding of the reflexive *kendi* and the logophor *kendisi* in the embedded clause, the proposal is still on the right track. First, -mA clauses allow the reflexive *kendi* in the subject position of the embedded clause, bound by the matrix subject. This is expected given that this configuration involves a single binding domain, and thus *kendi*, which is subject to the Principle A of the BT, is locally bound. Moreover, the reflexive *kendi*, although subject to Principle A, can be coindexed with an extra-sentential referent in the context, but only with the emphatic, ‘on one’s own’ reading; this is illustrated in (58). In these clauses, the emphatic interpretation of ‘on one’s own’ signals a more complex structure of the subject, which includes the null *pro*, co-referential with an extra-sentential antecedent, which super-locally binds the anaphor. Finally, due to the unbounded nature of *kendisi*, as shown in (63), the embedded subject *kendisi* can corefer with the matrix subject without violating Principle B. Thus, the absence of the SDR effect when *kendisi* is the embedded subject does not represent a counterargument to the proposal.

Next, I turn to embedded indicative –DIK clauses and the predictions that the proposal makes for overt pronouns, the reflexive *kendi* and the logophor *kendisi*.

3.3.5 -DIK clauses

For the embedded indicative clauses headed by the nominalizer *-DIK*, the proposal predicts that the coindexation between the matrix subject and the embedded pronominal subject should be allowed also when the embedded subject is overt. However, Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) shows that the coindexation between the matrix subject and the embedded subject is not allowed when the latter is an overt pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’, as shown in (68).

- (67) Aysel_i [Ø_{i/k} gel -diğ -i] -ni bil -iyor -du. **Indicative**
Aysel come-DIK-3SG.POSS -ACC know-IMPF-PAST
‘Aysel_i knew that she_{*i/k} came.’
- (68) Aysel_i [o -nun_{*i/k} gel -diğ -i] -ni bil -iyor -du. **Indicative**
Aysel s/he-GEN come-DIK-3SG.POSS -ACC know-IMPF-PAST
‘Aysel_i knew that she_{*i/k} came.’

This is unexpected: since in (68) the matrix verb selects an embedded clause that is a phase CP with the nominalizer *-DIK*, which forms a separate binding domain, the coindexation between the matrix and embedded subject does not violate Principle B of the BT. Thus, the fact that coreference between the matrix and embedded subjects is disallowed is surprising. However, the impossibility of the coreference between the matrix and embedded subjects in (68) can be explained by the Avoid Pronoun Principle (APP) (Kornfilt 1991, following Chomsky 1981), which requires the use of null pronoun (or PRO) instead of overt pronoun whenever possible.

3.3.5.1 Avoid Pronoun Principle

Pro-drop and non-pro-drop languages treat overt pronouns differently. The use of overt pronouns tends to be more constrained in pro-drop languages than in non-pro-drop languages as overt pronouns are marked and subject to both contextual and structural limitations. The Avoid Pronoun Principle (APP) (Kornfilt 1991, 2018, following Chomsky 1981) suggests that whenever the null subject is possible, it is selected over the overt pronoun. Following Kornfilt (1991, 2018), Enç (1986), Erguvanlı-Taylan (1986), Kerslake (1987), Koban (2011) Azar, et al. (2019), and Özge and Evcen (2020), I assume that the presence of an overt or null subject in *-DIK* clauses makes a difference because the overt pronoun is used to introduce a new topic or to change it. Also, in languages with null subjects, when the null subject is possible, the

use of an overt pronoun may create a “contrastive focus”. Thus, in the absence of an information-structural motive to use an overt pronoun, its use is disallowed. This is why in –*DIK* clauses the overt pronoun obligatorily has a disjoint reference from the matrix subject even though its use does not violate the Principle B.

Only when the right context is provided, the coindexation between the matrix and embedded overt pronouns is allowed in indicative clauses. In these contexts, the embedded overt pronoun is focused. The proposal correctly predicts that an indicative embedded clause with a phase CP, exemplified in (69)b), allows the coindexation between the overt embedded pronominal subject and the matrix subject when the right context is provided. For example, as Çınar and Çakır (2019) show, the coindexation between the matrix subject *Tolga* and the embedded subject *onun* ‘he/she/it.gen’ is possible in the following context.

- (69) a. The context: Dün akşam arkadaşım Tolga’nın iş çıkışı ek bir işte çalıştığını öğrendim. Bu habere çok şaşırdım.
(Yesterday evening, I learnt that my friend Tolga works in an additional job after work. This news was a surprise for me.)
- b. Tolga_i her fırsat -ta [o -nun_i para -ya **Indicative**
Tolga every occasion-LOC s/he-GEN money-DAT
ihtiyacı ol-ma -dığı-ı] -nı söylü-yor -du.
need -NEG-FN-3SG-ACC say -PROG-PAST.
‘On all occasions, Tolga_i said that he_i was not in need of money.’
(Çınar and Çakır 2019: 476)

However, the subjunctive embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-mA* cannot have coindexed subjects in the embedded and matrix clauses even if the context like the one above is provided. The Subjunctive Disjoint Reference effect persists in these cases, as shown in (70).⁷

- (70) a. The context: Dün akşam arkadaşım Tolga’nın iş çıkışı ek bir işte çalıştığını öğrendim. Bu habere çok şaşırdım. (Yesterday evening, I learnt that my

⁷ The example in (70) has been judged by 17 Turkish native speakers. Eleven of them reported that just because the context forces a coreferential interpretation, they can accept the sentence. Yet they stated that they do not like the sentence when the embedded and matrix subjects are coindexed. They preferred the reflexive *kendi* in the subject position of the embedded clause. Six of the speakers did not accept the sentence at all.

friend Tolga works in an additional job after work. This news was a surprise for me.) (Çınar and Çakır 2019: 476)

- b. ^{??}Tolga_i her fırsat -ta [o -nun_i para -ya **Subjunctive**
Tolga every occasion-LOC s/he-GEN money-DAT
ihtiyacı ol-ma -ma-sı] -yla övün-yor -du.
need -NEG-MA-3SG-with brag -PROG-PAST.
Lit. ‘On all occasions, Tolga_i was bragging about the fact that he_i was not in need of money.’ (Adapted from Çınar and Çakır 2019: 476)

My proposal suggests that the null subject in Turkish is the null *pro*, as argued by Kornfilt (1984, 1987, 2018), Erguvanlı Taylan (1984), Özsoy (1987), Enç (1986), Turan (1996), Öztürk (1999), and Altan (2013), among many others, and not a null *kendisi*, as proposed by Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006). Gürel based her proposal on the fact that the distribution of the embedded null subject parallels the distribution of overt *kendisi* and not that of an overt pronoun. I propose that the reason why an overt pronominal subject in the indicative embedded clause in (68) resists coreference with the matrix subject is the fact that the overt pronoun is used to introduce a new topic or change the topic, or create a contrastive focus. Given the right context, the overt pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’ in indicative embedded clause and the matrix subject *can* corefer while the coreference is *always* disallowed in subjunctive embedded clause.

3.3.6 The Structure of the Reflexive in -*DIK* Clauses

We have already seen in (8) above that the null subject of the embedded –*DIK* clause can corefer with the matrix subject. This is expected if –*DIK* clauses are phasal CPs, so the coindexation between the embedded null subject and the matrix subject does not violate the Principle B. However, somewhat unexpectedly, and similar to the subjunctive clauses, the subject of a –*DIK* clause can also be a reflexive *kendi*, as shown in (71) and (72). This is unexpected because if a null *pro* in the subject position of a –*DIK* clause is locally free (due to the phasal status of the embedded CP), then so is the reflexive *kendi*, which should lead to a violation of the Principle A of the Binding theory. And yet, the sentences are well-formed. It is, however, important to note that the use of *kendi* as the subject of an embedded –*DIK* clause necessarily gives rise to the ‘on one’s own’ reading, indicative of a complex subject that contains both the reflexive and its binder (presumably a null *pro*). The null *pro* may corefer with the matrix subject, as in (71), or it may refer to a contextually salient individual, as in (72).

(71) Aysel_i [Ø_i kendi-nin_i ev -i temizle-diğ -i] -ni söyle-di.
 Aysel self -GEN home-ACC clean -DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC say-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i saw that she_i cleaned the home herself.’ **Indicative**

(72) Aysel_i [Ø_k kendi-nin_k ev -i temizle-diğ -i] -ne emin.
 Aysel self -GEN home-ACC clean -DIK-3SG.POSS-DAT sure
 ‘Aysel_i is sure that she_k cleaned the home herself.’ **Indicative**

When *kendisi* is the subject of a *-DIK* embedded clause, as in (73), long-distance binding is possible: *kendisi* can be coindexed with the matrix subject, but it can also refer to a contextually salient individual (given that it does not require a binder). All of this is expected given the special status of *kendisi*.

(73) Aysel_i [kendi-si -nin_{i/k} kazan-dığ -ı] -na emin.
 Aysel self -3SG.POSS-GEN win -DIK-3SG.POSS-DAT sure
 ‘Aysel_i is sure that he/she_{i/k} won.’ **Indicative**

The coreferential possibilities of the logophor *kendisi* in the *-DIK* clauses is expected considering *kendisi*’s unbounded nature.

3.3.7 Conclusion of *-DIK* Clauses

According to the proposal, it is expected that the null embedded subject and matrix subject can corefer in clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* in the embedded clause. Since indicative matrix verbs select a CP with [+tense] feature, the indicative CP is a phase. The phase in the embedded clause creates a separate binding domain; thus, the embedded subject and the matrix subject end up in different binding domains. Their coindexation does not violate Principle B, unlike in *-mA* clauses, in which the embedded CP is defective.

The reason why the overt embedded pronominal subject and matrix subject cannot be coindexed in the indicative clauses is explained by the Avoid Pronoun Principle (APP) (Kornfilt 1991, 2018, following Chomsky 1981). Following APP, if the null subject is possible in pro-drop languages, using an overt pronoun may result in a "contrastive focus." Therefore, the use of an overt pronoun is prohibited unless there is a clear information structural reason to employ the overt pronoun. For this reason, the matrix subject and the overt pronoun in embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* typically have disjoint reference when no appropriate context is introduced.

Coindexation between the matrix and embedded overt pronouns in indicative clauses is permitted only in cases where the appropriate context is given, as shown in (69)b). However, even when the context is provided, the coindexation between the matrix subject and the embedded overt pronoun is degraded in subjunctive clauses, as shown in (70)b). The fact that the coindexation of the embedded overt pronoun and the matrix subject is acceptable in indicative clauses, but not in subjunctive clauses provides additional support for the proposal. As there is a separate binding domain in phasal CPs of indicative clauses, the coindexation does not violate Principle B, given the appropriate context. However, since there is no phase in the embedded CP in subjunctive clauses headed by the nominalizer *-mA*, there is no separate binding domain. So, even when the context is provided, the coindexation between the embedded subject and the matrix subject is not possible. The logophor *kendisi* does not seem to require any context to be coindexed with the matrix subject due to its unconstrained nature. It allows both joint and disjoint reference between the embedded and matrix subjects.

The proposal predicts that it should be impossible for the reflexive *kendi* to occupy the position of the embedded subject in *-DIK* clauses. *Kendi* ‘self’ cannot be bound by the matrix subject, since the embedded subject and the matrix subjects are not in the same binding domain and it cannot be bound by any other antecedent either. It is, therefore, surprising to find the reflexive bound by the matrix subject, as shown in (71) or by an extra sentential antecedent, as illustrated in (72). However, these sentences necessarily give rise to the emphatic ‘on one’s own’ reading, suggesting that *kendi* is super-locally bound by the null pronominal subject in the complex DP, and the null subject itself is free in reference.

3.3.8 Turkish Emotive Factives

That this proposal is on the right track is supported by the fact that some subjunctive complements do not show the SDR effect because of their temporal and volitional features. The volitional property of the predicate is a great determiner of the SDR effect (Bosque 2012): with volitional subjunctive complement clauses, the coreference between the matrix subject and embedded subject is impossible in Spanish according to Bosque (2012).

In Spanish, subjunctive obviation is also observed in “experiencer datives”, exemplified in (74). On the other hand, the cancellation of the obviation effect is seen in dative selected by emotive factive verbs (e.g. *sorprender* ‘surprise’), exemplified in (75) and other predicates selecting dative subjunctive, exemplified in (76) with the verb *esperar* ‘hope’. According to Bosque (2012), the reason why the subjunctive obviation effect in (75) and (76) is not observed is because the emotive factive predicates and dative subjunctive predicates have [-volitional] feature. The [-volitional] feature in (75) and (76) leads to the cancellation of the obviation effects.

- (74) Me_i gusta que $\{*pro_i/pro_j\}$ cante. **Experiencer Dative**
 ‘I like that s/he sings.’
- (75) Me_i sorprende que pro_i logre concentrarme con todo este ruido. **E. Factive**
 ‘It surprises me that I am able to concentrate in spite of all this noise.’
- (76) Pro_i espero que $\{pro_i/pro_j\}$ tenga suerte en el examen. **Dative Subjunctive**
 ‘I hope $\{I/s/he\}$ get lucky on the exam.’ (Bosque 2012: 389)

Bosque (2012) explains the cancellation of the subjunctive obviation in sentences with [-volitional] features by stating that verbs with [+volition] feature have “modal operator” in C^0 :

Kempchinsky (1987, 1990) claims that the extension of the binding domain for the pronominal follows from the idea that verbs of volition select for a modal operator in C^0 , which provides the subjunctive morphology. The subjunctive tense moves from I^0 to C^0 at LF so that the governing category for the embedded subject will be the matrix clause, rather than the subordinate clause.

(Bosque 2012: 390)

As Bosque explains, in Spanish, emotive factive predicates with [-volitional] features cancel the obviation effects⁸ and the paradigm of the predicates cancelling the

⁸ Bosque (2012) states that emotive factive predicates do not “systematically” cancel (or weaken) the subjunctive obviation in Spanish. He explains that particularly modal verbs, shown in (i), and passive sentences, shown in (ii), cancel the obviation:

- (i) Pro_i confío en que pro_i te $\{??ayude / pueda ayudar\}$.
 ‘I am confident that $\{I / it-he-she\}$ can help you.’
- (ii) Pro_i esperaba que pro_i $\{*se\}$ marchase pronto/ fuese elegido en la primera vuelta’.
 ‘S/he expected that s/he was going to $\{leave\}$ soon / be elected in the first round.’

obviation includes some other “subjunctive-taking predicates.” Example (77) illustrates the cancelled obviation with a Spanish subjunctive predicate *negar* ‘deny’.

- (77) Pro_i negó rotundamente que {pro_i/pro_j} la matara. **Subjunctive**
 ‘S/he flatly denied that s/he killed her.’ (Bosque 2012: 389)

The cancellation of the obviation effect is also observed in Portuguese (Marques 2018). Marques states that there are three conditions giving rise to obviation effects and lacking either of them results in the cancellation of the obviation effects. Those conditions are given in (78)a-c):

- (78)
- a. the embedded clause is the complement of a verb of volition, a directive, or a causative predicate;
 - b. the embedded clause is in the subjunctive;
 - c. the (entity referred by the) embedded subject is the agent in control of the embedded eventuality.
- (Marques 2018: 231)

The obviation effect is observed in the sentence illustrated in (79), where all three conditions are met. The coreference between the matrix and embedded subject is impossible.

- (79) [A Ana]_i {quis / pediu / conseguiu} que [pro]_{*i/j} abrisse a porta
 [the Ana]_i {wanted / asked / managed} that [she]_{*i/j} open-SUBJ the door
 ‘Ana {wanted / asked / managed} to open the door.’ **Portuguese**
 (Marques 2018: 231)

However, when one of the conditions in (78)a-c) is not present, the obviation effect is cancelled, as shown in (80), in which the embedded clause is not a complement of “a verb of volition, a directive, or a causative predicate.” (Marques 2018: 231). Thus, the sentence in (80) lacks one of the conditions in (78)a) (see Marques (2018) for further examples for the other conditions.).

- (80) [pro]_i Duvido que alguma vez [pro]_{i/j} escreva um livro **Portuguese**
 doubt that some time write-SUBJ a book
 ‘I doubt that I will ever write a book.’
 (Marques 2018: 231)

Similar to Spanish [-volitional] verbs and Portuguese subjunctive verbs not following all three conditions specified by Marques (2018) in (78)a-c), cancellation of the obviation effect is observed in Turkish, as well. As (81) shows, the coreference between the matrix and embedded subjects is allowed with the matrix emotive factive verbs, such as *kızmak* ‘to get angry’.

- (81) Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ yarışma -y₁ kaybet-me-si] -ne kız -d₁.
 Aysel competition-ACC lose -MA-3SG.POSS -DAT be.angry-PAST
 ‘Aysel was angry at losing the competition.’ **Emotive Factive**

Observing that Turkish is similar to other languages, like Spanish (Bosque 2012), Russian (Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997), French (Farkas 1992b, Progovac 1993, 1994), and Portuguese (Constantini 2005; Marques 2018) in the distribution of subjunctive and indicative mood, the piece of data in (82), where an emotive factive predicate *kız-* ‘get angry’ selects an indicative marker *-DIK* as well as the subjunctive marker *-mA* in (81), is surprising. Based on the literature on these languages, only the so-called subjunctive marker *-mA* should be allowed with emotive factive verbs. However, this is not observed in Turkish, as shown in (82). The indicative marker *-DIK* gives rise to the same meaning as the subjunctive marker *-mA* with the emotive factive predicate *kızmak* ‘to get angry’.

- (82) Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ yarışma -y₁ kaybet-tiğ -i] -ne kız -d₁.
 Aysel competition-ACC lose -DIK-3SG.POSS -DAT be.angry-PAST
 ‘Aysel was angry at losing the competition.’ **Emotive Factive**

The data in (81) and (82) indicate that emotive factive predicates, which typically select for subjunctive mood, allow both indicative and subjunctive complements in Turkish. Farkas (1992a) calls the possibility of either mood being selected by a single predicate a “mood shift.” She argues that some predicates allow mood shift and with these predicates, the semantics of the complement clauses determines the mood selection. There is no subcategorization of the matrix predicate for mood.

Mood shift is not encountered with other indicative predicates⁹ in (83)a-d), such as *emin* ‘be sure’, *hayal et-* ‘to dream’, *ilan et-* ‘to announce’ and *söz ver-* ‘to

⁹ Atlamaz (2024, p.c.) brought to my attention that in some of the dialects in Turkish, *bil-* ‘to know’ is found with *-mA* morpheme as illustrated in (i):

promise’. These predicates systematically select the nominalizer –*DIK*. Similarly, the subjunctive predicates in (84)a-c), such as *iste* ‘want’, *emret-* ‘to order’, *izin ver-* ‘to allow’, systematically select the nominalized –*mA*.

- (83) a. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ *kazanmasına / $\emptyset_{i/k}$ kazandığına] emin.
 Aysel win.MA.3SG.POSS.DAT win.DIK.3SG.POSS.DAT sure
 ‘Aysel was sure that he had won.’ **Certainty (Indicative)**

- b. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ *kazanmasını / $\emptyset_{i/k}$ kazandığını]
 Aysel win.MA.3SG.POSS.ACC win.DIK.3SG.POSS.ACC
 hayal etti
 imagined
 ‘Aysel imagined that he had won.’ **Fiction (Indicative)**

- c. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ *kazanmasını / $\emptyset_{i/k}$ kazandığını]
 Aysel win.MA.3SG.POSS.ACC win.DIK.3SG.POSS.ACC
 ilan etti
 announced
 ‘Aysel announced that he had won.’ **Declarative (Indicative)**

- d. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ *kazanmasına / $\emptyset_{i/k}$ kazandığına]
 Aysel win.MA.3SG.POSS.DAT win.DIK.3SG.POSS.DAT
 söz verdi
 promised
 ‘Aysel promised that he had won the competition.’ **Commissive (Indicative)**

- (84) a. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ *geldiğini / $\emptyset_{i/k}$ gelmesini]
 Aysel come.DIK.3SG.POSS.ACC come.MA.3SG.POSS.ACC
 istedi.
 wanted
 ‘Aysel wanted him to come.’ **Desiderative (Subjunctive)**

- b. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ *geldiğini_{i/k} / $\emptyset_{i/k}$ gelmesini_{i/k}]
 Aysel come.DIK.3SG.POSS.ACC come.MA.3SG.POSS.ACC
 emretti.
 ordered
 ‘Aysel ordered him to come.’ **Directive (Subjunctive)**

-
- (i) Ali yemek pişir-me -si -ni bil -iyor.
 Ali food cook-mA-3SG.POSS-ACC know-IMPF
 ‘Ali knows how to cook.’

This data would be surprising as *bil-* ‘to know’ is an indicative matrix verb selecting the nominalizer –*DIK* in the embedded clause. However, as Farkas (2024, p.c.) also suggested, the structure in (i) might not be a full complement clause with mood.

- c. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ *geldiğ_{i/k} / $\emptyset_{*i/k}$ gelmesin_{i/k}]
 Aysel come.DIK.3SG.POSS.DAT come.MA.3SG.POSS.DAT
 izin verdi.
 allowed
 ‘Aysel allowed him to come.’ **Permissive (Subjunctive)**

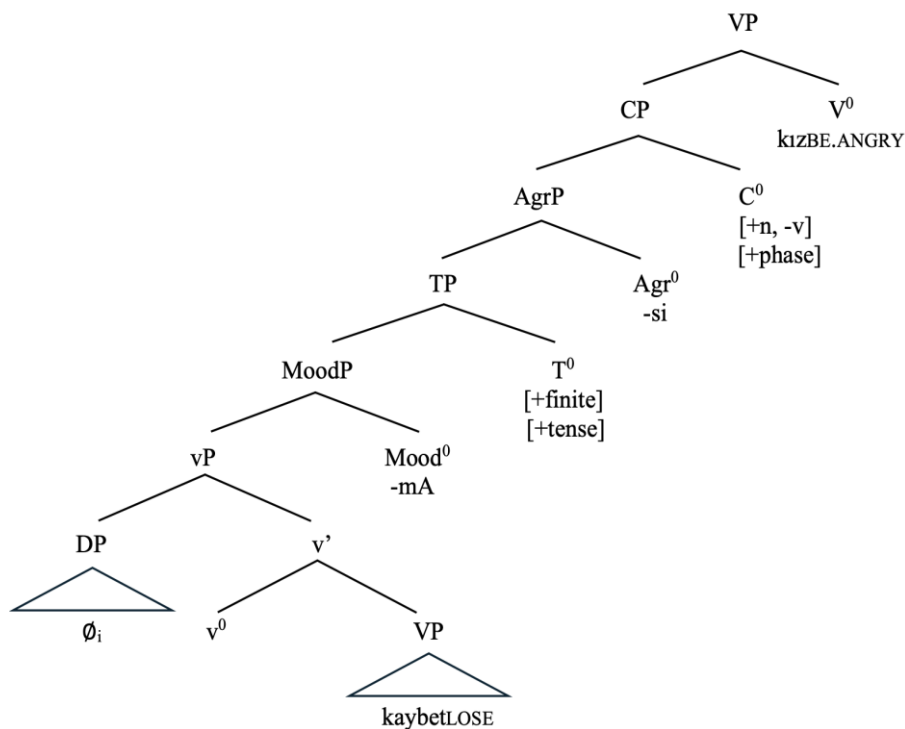
As seen in (83)a-d), indicative predicates do not allow the nominalizer *-mA* and allow coreferentiality between the matrix and embedded subject, while (84)a-c) show that subjunctive predicates do not allow the nominalizer *-DIK* and force coreferential obviation between the matrix and embedded subject. It can be concluded that with emotive factive predicates, the possibility of both *-mA* and *-DIK* sentences, observed in (81) and (82), is exceptional in Turkish. If emotive factives were true subjunctives, they would not select *-DIK* nominalizer, just like other subjunctive predicates (desideratives, directives, and permissives). If emotive factives were true indicatives, they would not select *-mA* nominalizers, just like other indicative predicates (certainty, fiction, declarative, and commissives). Then, Turkish emotive factive predicates may not select for the subjunctive mood unlike some Romance languages, like Catalan and Romanian. Rather, Turkish emotive factives allow mood shift. As Farkas proposes, the semantic interpretation of the sentence decides the mood. This theory would explain why in Turkish, emotive factive predicates allow both subjunctive *-mA* and indicative *-DIK*, making both (81) and (82) possible.

I propose that the reason why embedded clauses selected by emotive factives do not show the SDR effect with the subjunctive nominalizer *-mA* is that complements of emotive factives have [+tense] property. The semantic interpretations of the subjunctive in (81) and the indicative (82) are the same. Both (81) and (82) mean “Aysel was angry at losing the competition.” They have interpretations of a completed event as the event in the embedded clause has happened. The embedded clause has [-Future] tense feature, unlike a typical subjunctive sentence, which generally does not have an independent tense of its own. The feature of [+tense] is similar to what is observed in indicative CPs. Kanno (2008, 2010) and Kanno and Nomura (2011) follow Chomsky’s (2008) framework while diagnosing phases. They state that [+tense] and agreement¹⁰ features on C are the determiner

¹⁰ Agreement is always present in both *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses and its presence or absence does not seem to make a difference between a phasal and a non-phasal C head. That is why the agreement feature, discussed in Kanno and Nomura (2011), is not discussed here.

features of a phase, and the lack of either results in a defective, non-phase C. Kanno and Nomura (2011: 68) argue that “the syntactic transparency of subjunctives is captured by a phase-based approach outlined in Chomsky (2008). Subjunctive clauses are syntactically transparent because they do not have a tense feature on the non-phasal C.” Under the theory of phases introduced by Chomsky, the [+tense] feature in emotive factives with the nominalizer *-mA* is an indicator of a phase C head, unlike regular subjunctive embedded clauses with [-tense] features. The CP selected by emotive factive matrix verbs is a phase, and the complement of the predicate becomes opaque to operations of the matrix clause. In emotive factive *-mA* clauses, the spelled-out complement clause forms a separate binding domain, allowing for the reflexive coreferential possibility between the matrix and embedded subject. That is, the coindexation between the matrix subject and the embedded subject is available in emotive matrix predicates selecting the nominalizer *-mA*, as shown in (81). In conclusion, [+tense] feature in emotive factive matrix verbs is an indicator of a phase C head; the absence or presence of tense determines if the structure with subjunctive mood is a phase CP. The structure of a *-mA* clause embedded under an emotive factive verb *kız-* ‘get angry’ is shown in (85)a-b).

- (85) a. Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ yarışmayı kaybetmesine] kızdı.
 ‘Aysel was angry at losing the competition.’
 b.



As the data with Turkish emotive factive predicates show, the proposal that tense features are the determiner of the phasal C predicts correctly that complements of emotive factive matrix verbs should form a separate binding domain in the embedded clause, allowing coindexation between the subjects.



CHAPTER 4

4 PREVIOUS ANALYSES OF *-mA* AND *-DIK* CLAUSES

In Chapter 2, we saw that *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses behave differently when it comes to the referential possibilities of the embedded subject with respect to the matrix subject. The relevant examples are repeated here.

- (86) Kazım_i [Ø_{i/k} uyu -duğ -u] -na inan -dı.
Kazım sleep -DIK -3SG.POSS -DAT believe-PAST
'Kazım_i believed that s/he_{i/k} slept.'
- (87) Aysel_i [Ø_{*i/k} uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -dı.
Aysel love -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
'Aysel_i wanted him/her_{*i/k} to sleep.'

In this chapter, I will review previous analyses on the nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* and explain why they do not provide an answer for the puzzle of differential coreference possibilities of the embedded subject in *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses.

-DIK and *-mA* have been studied by many scholars resulting in various proposals as to their nature and properties. In Kornfilt (2003, 2007) and Kornfilt and Whittman (2011, 2012), the embedded factive nominalizer *-DIK* is associated with the indicative mood, while the embedded non-factive nominalizer *-mA* is associated with the subjunctive mood. Csátó (1990), Erguvanlı-Taylan (1993, 1998) and Predolac (2017, 2018) also labeled the nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* as indicative and subjunctive mood markers, respectively. Offering a different view, Lees (1965) and Kornfilt (1984, 1996) labeled *-DIK* as a factive nominalizer and *-mA* as an actional nominalizer. Following a similar path, Kornfilt (2003, 2007), Keskin (2009), and Kornfilt and Whittman (2011, 2012) classified embedded *-mA* clauses as headed by a non-factive nominalizer and embedded *-DIK* clauses as headed by a factive nominalizer. In more recent studies, the differences between *-mA* and *-DIK* complement clauses are attributed to the types of the verb in the matrix clause, which selects either *-mA* or *-DIK*. Demirok (2019) and Turgay (2021) stated that *-mA* clauses are selected by the

matrix verbs classified as the *event type verbs* while *-DIK* clauses are selected by the *proposition type verbs*. In a similar fashion, Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran (2021) following the Implicational Complementation Hierarchy by Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020) state that *-DIK* is selected by *proposition type* matrix verbs while *-mA* can be selected by *event or situation type* matrix verbs. In the earlier literature, Kural (1992, 1993) and Göksel (1996) analyzed *-DIK* as two morphemes: *-DI* as the past morpheme and *-K* as the complementizer. Similarly, Aygen (1999) followed the theory by stating that *-DIK* is a fused functional head in which the past morpheme *-DI* and the complementizer *-K* fuse to become only one morpheme as *-DIK*. Later, Aygen (2002, 2007) analyzed *-DIK* as a perfect aspect morpheme.

In this chapter, I will present why the current literature on *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses does not explain the coreferential differences in sentences like (86) and (87) above. 4.1 will inspect the proposal that *-DIK* and *-mA* are markers of indicative and subjunctive moods. Then, in section 4.2, I will discuss the proposal that *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses are factives and non-factives, respectively. In section 4.3, I will revisit *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses under the assumption that the matrix verb selects for events and situations (*-mA*) vs. propositions (*-DIK*), following the Implicational Complementation Hierarchy presented in Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020). Finally, in section 4.4, I will review the proposal that *-DIK* consists of two morphemes: past tense morpheme *-DI* and complementizer *-K*. We will see that none of the proposed accounts of the syntax and semantics of the nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* in the literature alone provide an explanation for the contrast in (86) and (87) above.

4.1 The Mood Account: Indicative vs. Subjunctive

The proposal in this thesis is the most similar with the mood account of *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses. Nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* are often referred to as an indicative mood marker and a subjunctive mood marker respectively (Csató 1990; Erguvanli-Taylan 1993, 1998; Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Kornfilt and Whitmann 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018). Indicative mood describes a situation that has a truth value, while subjunctive mood often describes hypothetical situations, like wishes and desires (Farkas 1992a; Mithun 1999; Palmer 2001; Bosque 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018, among many others). Kornfilt (2003, 2007) and Kornfilt and Whitmann (2011, 2012) group embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* under the category of *factives* as they

have truth values, and embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-mA* as *non-factives* because they are often found in clauses with irrealis events. Furthermore, these authors state that “nominalized embedded clauses” headed by nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* bear indicative and subjunctive moods in addition to their factive and non-factive natures. Erguvanlı-Taylan (1993, 1998) and Predolac (2017, 2018) also propose that embedded clauses with *-DIK* instantiate indicative mood and embedded clauses with *-mA* instantiate subjunctive mood although they do not discuss their factivity. As discussed in Chapter 3, section 2, embedded clauses with *-DIK* and embedded clauses with *-mA* can both be selected by matrix verbs that select for both factive and non-factive complements. Thus, differences between the two nominalizers cannot be attributed solely to factivity. The difference that is the most relevant for this thesis is the difference in the referential possibilities of the (null) embedded subject in clauses headed by *-DIK* and *-mA*: as Predolac (2017, 2018) states, subjunctive embedded clauses headed by *-mA* demonstrate the so-called “subjunctive obviation”, which creates an effect called “Subjunctive Disjoint Reference (SDR)” (Kempchinsky 1987). SDR disallows coindexation of the embedded subject with the subject of the matrix clause. No such restriction is observed in indicative embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *-DIK*.

In this subsection, I will first investigate whether embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* can be identified with the indicative mood and embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-mA* with the subjunctive mood. In this context, I will also discuss the subjunctive obviation, exemplified with Turkish data.

In syntax, the role of the mood has been frequently discussed. Many, if not all of the proposals group the subjunctive and indicative moods based on their dependent and independent nature, respectively (Quer 1998). Quer (1998: 5) characterizes subjunctive mood as the “dependent (finite) mood” while the indicative mood as “the independent mood par excellence.” He states that the distinction between the subjunctive and the indicative mood is traditionally based on “the view that subjunctive typically constitutes the mood of subordination, while indicative freely occurs in both main and embedded environments.” He goes on to say that the indicative mood possesses independent temporal properties while subjunctive mood has “defective” temporal interpretation, dependent on the main clause. The referential

differences of subjects in embedded clauses have been attributed to the defective tense features of subjunctive mood and independent tense features of the indicative mood (Quer 1998; Kanno 2008, 2010; Kanno and Nomura 2011; Predolac 2017, 2018).

The nature of indicative and subjunctive moods in Turkish and their compatibility with the nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* respectively is discussed by many scholars, like Csató (1990), Erguvanlı-Taylan (1993, 1998), Kornfilt (2003, 2007), Kornfilt and Whitmann (2011, 2012) and Predolac (2017, 2018). The main argument for defining the nominalizer *-mA* as the subjunctive marker and the nominalizer *-DIK* as the indicative mood marker is that the nominalizer *-mA* does not allow independent temporal interpretation; the tense of the *-mA* complement clause depends on the main clause. As the sentences in (88) and (89) show, the tense of the matrix clause determines the tense of the sentences. In (88), the embedded event can precede the time of speaking since the matrix event is in the past tense, but in (89), the embedded event cannot be in the past, it can only be in the future relative to the time of speaking since the matrix verb bears future tense. Thus, in (89) the embedded event depends on the tense of the matrix event.

- (88) Ali [Kazım-'ın iş -e git-me-si] -ni iste-di.
 Ali Kazım -GEN work-DAT go-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC want-PAST.3SG
 'Ali wanted Kazım to go to work.'

- (89) Ali [Kazım-'ın iş -e git-me-si] -ni iste -yecek.
 Ali Kazım-GEN work-DAT go-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC want-(Y)ACAK.3SG
 'Ali will want Kazım to go to work.'

The embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *-mA* do not seem to bear any temporal features. However, as shown in (90) and (91), and as discussed by Knecht (1979), Kornfilt (2003), Kornfilt and Whitmann (2011, 2012), Predolac (2017, 2018), and Göksu & Öztürk-Başaran (2021), embedded clauses headed by *-DIK* have [-Future] temporal properties. Even if the matrix clause has future tense, the embedded clause denotes a past event, as in (91).

- (90) Kazım [Ali-nin seçim -i kaybet-tiğ -i] -ni açıkladı.
 Kazım Ali-GEN election-ACC lose -DIK -3SG.POSS-ACC announced
 'Kazım announced that Ali had lost the election.'

- (91) Kazım [Ali-nin seçim -i kaybet-tiğ -i] -ni açıklayacak.
 Kazım Ali-GEN election-ACC lose -DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC will.announce
 'Kazım will announce that Ali lost the election.'

Based on the temporal properties of *-DIK* clauses and the lack thereof in *-mA* clauses, these nominalizers are grouped as indicative and subjunctive mood markers respectively (Csató 1990; Erguvanlı-Taylan 1993, 1998; Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Kornfilt and Whitmann 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018).

Grouping *-mA* clauses under subjunctives and *-DIK* clauses under indicatives, Predolac (2017, 2018) states that the referential possibilities of embedded subjects, shown in the introduction as (8) and (9), and repeated in (92) and (93), are restricted by Subjunctive Obviation, which is at work in the *-mA* clause in (93), but not in the *-DIK* clause in (92).

- (92) Kazım_i [Ø_{i/k} uyu -duğ -u] -na inan -dı.
 Kazım sleep -DIK -3SG.POSS -DAT believe-PAST
 ‘Kazım_i believed that he/she_{i/k} slept.’
- (93) Aysel_i [Ø_{*i/k} uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -di.
 Aysel sleep -MA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i wanted him/her_{*i/k} to sleep.’

Subjunctive Obviation is “the requirement that a pronominal subject of a subjunctive clause [...] be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject” (Avrutin and Babyonyshev 1997: 229). In many languages with mood distinctions, like Romanian, Spanish, and Italian (see Farkas 1992a, Kempchinsky 2009, Bosque 2012, Predolac 2017, and Turgay 2021, among many others), predicates of declaration (e.g., verbs of saying, like *say*), certainty (e.g., *know*), commissives (e.g., *promise*) and fiction verbs (e.g., *imagine*) are classified as indicative predicates, while desideratives (e.g., *want*), directives (e.g., *ask*), permissives and inter-directives (e.g., *allow*), and emotive factives (e.g., *regret*) are classified as subjunctive predicates (Farkas 1992a).

Kempchinsky (1987) states that the “Subjunctive Disjoint Reference” (SDR) effect is found in the embedded clause of the matrix predicate that selects for the subjunctive mood. Due to this effect, the coindexation between the matrix and embedded subjects is obviated, as shown in the Italian data in (94) with subjunctive mood in the embedded clause.

- (94) Gianni_i vuole che pro_{*i/k} legga il libro. **Italian**
 Gianni_i wants that pro_{*i/k} reads(subj) the book.
 ‘Gianni_i wants him_{*i/k}/her to read the book.’ (Constantini 2005: 74)

However, Italian example in (95) does not have the SDR effect as the matrix predicate *dire* ‘to say’ selects a complement clause with the indicative mood.

- (95) Gianni_i ha detto che pro_{i/k} leggerà il libro. **Italian**
 Gianni_i has said that pro_{i/k} will-read(ind) the book
 ‘Gianni_i said he_{i/k}/her will read the book.’ (Constantini 2005: 74)

Predolac (2017, 2018) states that the Subjunctive Obviation is observed in Turkish embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-mA*. She states that both clauses with the indicative mood marker *-DIK* and with the subjunctive mood marker *-mA* are full CPs with “an [+n/-v] feature in C that can only manifest itself through nominal agreement and nominal subject case (=genitive).” (Predolac 2017: 191)

Predolac goes on to say that the subjunctive obviation in *-mA* clauses obtains because the CP headed by *-mA* is not a phase. She states that *-mA* clauses have an extended binding domain, and they possess the “anaphoric nature of subjunctive mood” and do not bear any temporal (tense) features. My take on why the nominalizer *-mA* is not associated with a phase CP is that the absence of a phasal C is a direct consequence of the absence of tense, which results in there being a single binding domain in the sentence, and that domain comprises both the embedded and the matrix clause.

Classifying the nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* as mood markers is not without problems according to Demirok (2019) and Turgay (2021). These authors state that *-mA* clauses are not necessarily subjunctives, and *-DIK* clauses are not obligatorily indicatives, either.

Demirok (2019) states that *-mA* complementation cannot be grouped under subjunctive complementation because it does not always include “modal construal”. He states that *-mA* clauses simply mark event types. They have simple meanings without having the subjunctive mood. For example, the matrix predicate ‘to take n minutes’ is expected to be found with the indicative mood marker *-DIK* given that it selects an embedded clause with a truth value, but the data in (96) exemplifies that it can also select a *-mA* clause.

- (96) [Suzan-ın hata -y1 bul -ma-s1] iki dakika sür-dü.
 Susan-GEN mistake-ACC find-MA-3SG.POSS two minute last-PAST
 ‘For Susan to find the mistake took 2 minutes.’ (Demirok 2019: 139)

Similar to Demirok's example in (96), the embedded bracketed *-mA* clauses in (97) and (98) seem to have truth values. The example in (97) has *ol-* 'to be/happen' as the matrix predicate and (98) includes the matrix verb *mahvet-* 'to ruin'. Both bracketed clauses in (97) and (98) have truth values unlike typical subjunctive embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *-mA*.

- (97) [Kazım-ın hastalığ-ı yen-me-si] zor ol-du.
 Kazım -GEN illness -ACC win-MA-3SG.POSS hard be-PAST
 'It was hard for Kazım to get over the illness.'
- (98) [Kazım-ın yalan söyle-me -si] ilişkimizi
 Kazım -GEN lie tell -MA-3SG.POSS relationship1PL.POSS.ACC
 mahvet-ti.
 ruin -PAST
 'That Kazım told (a) lie ruined our relationship.'

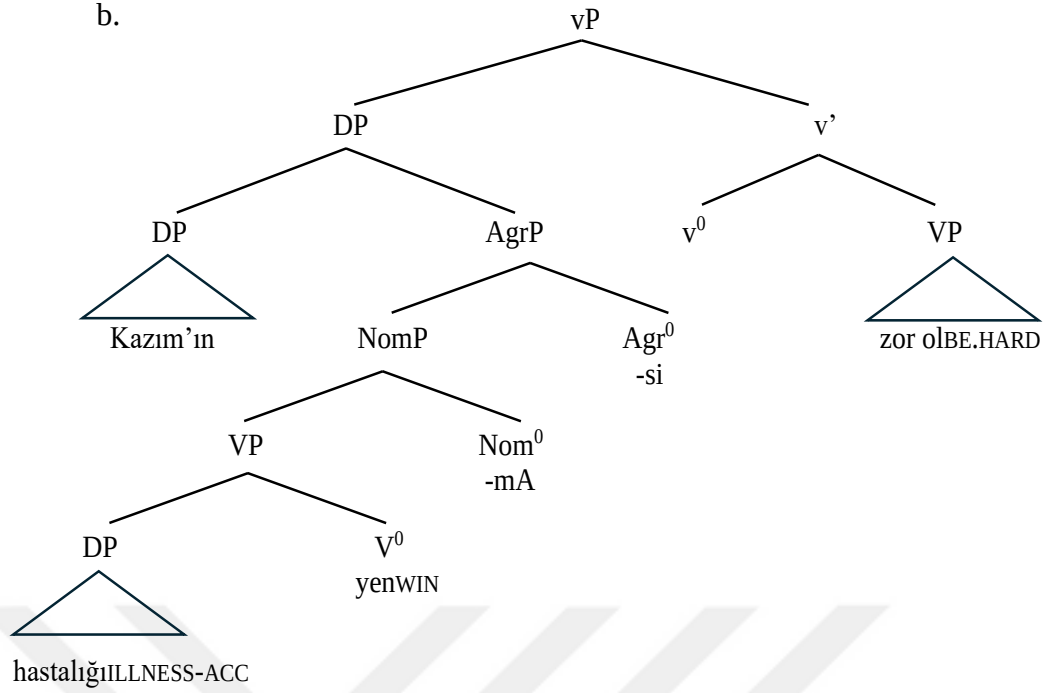
The verbs *ol-* and *mahvet-*, however, cannot be used with the indicative mood marker *-DIK* although indicative mood is expected to be found in clauses with truth values. As (99) and (100) show, the sentences are ungrammatical with the nominalizer *-DIK* in the embedded clause.

- (99) *[Kazım-ın hastalığ-ı yen-diğ -i] zor ol-du.
 Kazım-GEN illness -ACC win-DIK-ACC hard be-PAST
 Lit. 'It was hard for Kazım to get over the illness.'
- (100) *[Kazım-ın yalan söyle-diğ -i] ilişkimizi mahvetti.
 Kazım-GEN lie tell -DIK-ACC relationship.1PL.POSS.ACC ruined
 Lit. 'That Kazım told (a) lie ruined our relationship.'

Demirok proposes that the bracketed constituents do not have any mood. However, this may be because bracketed constituents in (96)-(100) are not complement clauses. Instead, these constituents function as subjects of the matrix clauses, rather than as complements of the matrix predicates. As such, the bracketed constituents in (96)-(100) might be DPs, rather than CPs. If this is correct, the bracketed constituent in (97) is looks like (101)b): it is not an embedded clause with a full CP, but a DP which embeds an AgrP and functions as the subject of the matrix clause.

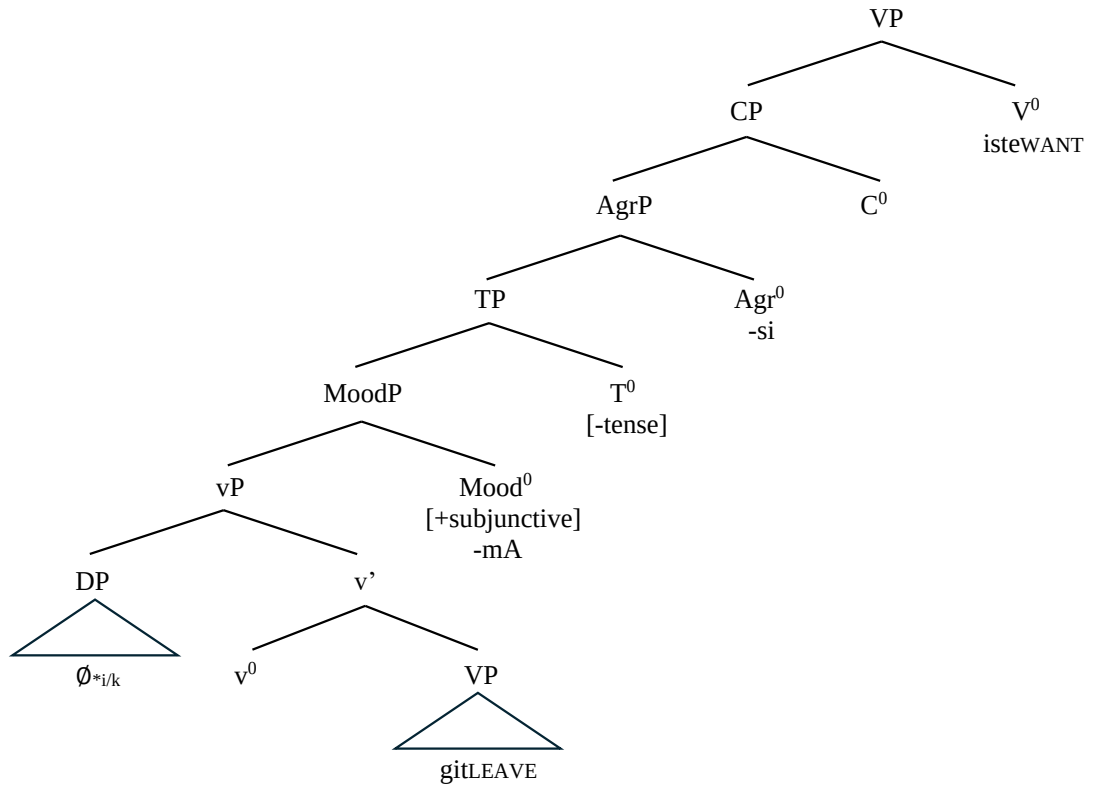
- (101) a. [Kazım'ın hastalığı yenmesi] zor oldu.
 'It was hard for Kazım to get over the illness.'

b.



On the other hand, when a *-mA* clause bears subjunctive mood, it is a CP, as in (102)b).

- (102) a. Aysel_i [$\emptyset$ *_{i/k} gitmesini] istedi.
 'Aysel wanted him/her*_{i/k} to leave.'
 b.



Similar to Demirok (2019), Turgay (2021) states that *-mA* nominalizations cannot be simply classified under the subjunctive mood. The author bases this claim on the fact that propositional attitude verbs like *inan-* ‘to believe’ and *düşün-* ‘to think’ cannot have a *-mA* clause complement. Instead, only clausal complements with *-DIK* are acceptable, as shown in (103) and (104).

- (103) [Mert-’in sen-i *anla -ma -sin -ı /
Mert-GEN you-ACC understand-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC
anla -dığ -ın -ı] san -m -ıyor -um.
understand-DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC think-NEG-IMPF-1SG
‘I do not think Mert understood you.’ (Turgay 2021:171)

- (104) [Mert-’in *gel -me -sin -e / gel -dığ -ın -e]
Mert-GEN come-MA-3SG.POSS-DAT come-DIK-3SG.POSS-DAT
inan -m -ıyor -um.
believe-NEG-IMPF-1SG
‘I do not believe Mert has come.’ (Turgay 2021:172)

However, the data in (103) and (104) are predicted by Farkas (1992a), who states that the predicates of certainty (e.g. *inan-* ‘to believe’ and *san-* ‘to believe/to think’ in Turkish) select indicative mood in the embedded clause. Thus, the well-formedness of *-DIK* complements in (103) and (104) is predicted on this account. Turgay (2021) bases his proposal on the idea that mood and factivity always go hand in hand, that is, when the clause is factive, the mood is indicative. However, factivity and mood seem not to be the same property.

In this section, I presented views found in the literature on whether nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* can be classified as indicative and subjunctive markers respectively. Erguvanlı-Taylan (1993, 1998), Kornfilt (2003, 2007), Kornfilt and Whitmann (2011, 2012), and Predolac (2017, 2018) state that *-DIK* and *-mA* nominalizers are markers of indicative and subjunctive mood respectively (see Csató 1990 for further discussion of *-DIK* bearing indicative mood). Kornfilt (2003, 2007) and Kornfilt and Whitmann (2011, 2012) attribute the indicative mood of *-DIK* and subjunctive mood of *-mA* to the factive nature of *-DIK* and non-factive nature of *-mA*. They state that embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* have truth values, while embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-mA* lack them. Predolac (2017, 2018) states that both *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses can be found in both factive and nonfactive sentences.

According to Predolac, the two nominalizers simply bear indicative and subjunctive moods without denoting factivity. She states that the use of subjunctive *-mA* in an embedded clause results in Subjunctive Obviation, which prohibits the coindexation of the embedded clause subject with the matrix clause subject. Under this proposal, embedded clauses with the nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* in (8) and (9) have different moods. Thence, they have different referential possibilities of embedded subjects. A matrix predicate selecting the subjunctive mood in the embedded clause results in the Subjunctive Disjoint Reference (SDR) effect (Kempchinsky, 1987) forcing the embedded subject and matrix subject to be disjoint in reference.

On the other hand, Demirok (2019) and Turgay (2021) argue against the *-DIK* and *-mA* being the markers of mood. Verbs like *ol-* ‘to be’, *mahvet-* ‘to ruin’ and *n dakika sürmek* ‘to take n minutes’ take an event that has happened or will happen, and according to Demirok (2019), they are expected to have embedded clauses with indicative mood. But in examples (96), (97) and (98), we saw that these verbs create fully grammatical sentences with the subjunctive mood marker *-mA*. As a matter of fact, these verbs produce ungrammatical sentences with the nominalizer *-DIK*, which is classified as an indicative nominalizer by Csató (1990), Erguvanlı-Taylan (1993, 1998), Kornfilt (2003, 2007), Kornfilt and Whitmann (2011, 2012), and Predolac (2017, 2018). Demirok (2019) also states that the embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-mA* do not always have modal construal. They are simply event predicates. Demirok’s arguments against the mood account may be explained by proposing that the *-mA* constituent in examples (96), (97) and (98) are simply DPs as the tree in (101b) illustrates, while complement clauses headed by the nominalizer *-mA* are as big as a CP as shown in (102b).

In addition to Demirok’s arguments, Turgay (2021) also states that propositional attitude verbs often select the indicative mood marker *-DIK* instead of the subjunctive mood marker *-mA*, as seen in sentences (103) and (104). Yet, according to Farkas (1992a), predicates of certainty (e.g., *inan-* ‘to believe’) and fiction verbs (e.g., *düşün-* ‘to think’) select an embedded clause with the indicative mood. Thus, the fact that the predicates like *inan-* ‘to believe’ and *düşün-* ‘to think’ in (103) and (104) select only the indicative mood marker *-DIK* is actually an argument for the mood account and not against it, as Turgay (2021) proposes.

In this thesis, I adopted the hypothesis that *-DIK* is an indicative mood marker and *-mA* is a subjunctive mood marker in Turkish and tied it to the temporal and phasal properties of the embedded clause in conjunction with the view that binding domains coincide with phases.

4.2 The Factivity Account: Factive vs. Non-Factive

In the earlier literature, *-DIK* is often referred to as factive nominalizer while *-mA* is referred to as action nominalizer (Lees 1965; Kornfilt 1984, 1996; Keskin 2009). In these works, factivity is linked to the presence and absence of a truth value in the embedded clauses (Turgay 2021). In the embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK*, speakers presuppose whether the action has happened or not. The example in (105) indicates that the mentioned event in the embedded clause happened at an earlier time than the matrix event. This sentence can also denote an occasional event, corresponding to the simple present tense in English.

- (105) [Siz -in gitar -ı çal-dığ -ınız] -ı duy -du -k.
 2PL-GEN guitar-ACC play-DIK -2PL -ACC hear-PAST-1PL
 ‘We heard you playing the guitar.’ (Keskin 2009: 16)

In this view, the action nominalizer *-mA* is not considered to head an embedded clause with a truth value. It simply denotes actions without any information whatsoever on its realization. Lees (1965) states that examples in (106) and (107) show a difference in the sense of truth commitment: the sentence with an embedded *-DIK* clause in (106) illustrates factive complementation while the sentence with an the embedded *-mA* clause simply denotes an action without referring to factivity.

- (106) [Adam-in vergi ver -diğ -i] belli.
 man -GEN tax pay-DIK-3SG.POSS obvious
 ‘It is obvious that the man pays his taxes.’ (Lees 1965: 113)
- (107) [Adam-in vergi ver -me -si] lazım.
 man -GEN tax pay-MA-3SG.POSS necessary
 ‘It is necessary for the man to pay his taxes.’ (Lees 1965: 113)

In the later literature, the differences between nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* are often attributed to their factive and non-factive nature, respectively (Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Kornfilt and Whittman 2011, 2012).

Kornfilt's, and Kornfilt and Whitmann's papers are in line with Lees (1965), Kornfilt (1984, 1996), and Keskin (2009) in the sense that embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* are used for incidents that happen occasionally or have happened; thus, they bear truth value. On the other hand, embedded *-mA* clauses are agreed not to bear any factivity. Therefore, they are referred to as non-factives.

In response to this view of *-DIK* as a factive nominalizer and *-mA* as a non-factive nominalizer, Predolac (2017, 2018), Kunduracı (2020), Demirok (2019), and Turgay (2021) argue that differences between *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses cannot be reduced simply to their factive and non-factive nature, given that either one can be found in both factive and non-factive embedded clauses. Sentences (108) and (96) repeated in (109) clearly show that the nominalizer *-mA*, commonly referred to as a non-factive nominalizer and claimed to appear in sentences without any truth value, is used in a sentence with a truth value, that is, in a factive embedded clause.

- (108) [Nevra-'nın git -me-sin] -e çok şaşır -dı -m.
 Nevra-GEN leave-MA-3SG.POSS-DAT very surprise-PAST-1SG
 'I am very surprised that Nevra left.'
 ⇒ Nevra left. (Kunduracı 2020 as cited in Turgay 2021: 166)
- (109) [Suzan-ın hata -yı bul -ma -sı] iki dakika sür-dü.
 Susan-GEN mistake-ACC find-MA -3SG.POSS two minute last-PAST
 'For Susan to find the mistake took 2 minutes.'
 ⇒ Susan found the mistake. (Demirok 2019: 133)

Similarly, the so-called factive nominalizer *-DIK* can be found in embedded clauses which have "hypothetical contexts" without any factivity (Turgay 2021). Sentence (110) illustrates a hypothetical context denoting a general instruction, without any denotation of factivity, contra Lees (1965), Kornfilt (1984, 1996), and Keskin (2009).

- (110) Belge [[imzala-n -dik -tan] sonra] teslim ed-il -ir.
 document sign -PASS-DIK-ABL after submission do-PASS-AOR
 'The document is submitted after it has been signed.' (Turgay 2021: 166)

On top of the fact that the nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* can be found in embedded clauses with or without truth values, they can also be selected by predicates selecting both factive and non-factive complements. The sentence in (111) shows an example of the nominalizer *-mA* in the embedded clause selected by a factive emotive

matrix predicate *heyecanlandırıcı* ‘(be) exciting.’ Similarly, the sentence in (112) illustrates the nominalizer *-DIK* in the embedded clause selected by a non-factive epistemic matrix predicate *san-* ‘believe’. Examples like this severely undermine the grouping of *-mA* as non-factive nominalizer and *-DIK* as factive nominalizer.

- (111) [Kazım-in ödül -ü kazan-ma -sı] heyecanlandırıcı.
 Kazım-GEN prize-ACC win -MA -3SG.POSS exciting
 ‘It is exciting that Kazım has won the prize.’
- (112) Kazım, [Aysel-’in gel -diğ -in] -i san -dı.
 Kazım, Aysel-GEN come -DIK -3SG.POSS -ACC guess -PAST
 ‘Kazım falsely believed that Aysel had come.’

Additionally, as Kornfilt (1984, 1997a), Kelepir (2001) and Predolac (2017, 2018) state, negative polarity items (NPIs) are generally licensed only in non-factive embedded clauses. In Turkish, as Predolac shows, factive embedded clauses do not license NPIs, regardless of the nominalizer (*-mA/-DIK*). This is illustrated in (113) and (114).

- (113) *[Kimse -nin gel -diğ -in] -i unut -ma -dı -lar.
 Nobody-GEN come-DIK-3SG.POSS -ACC forget -NEG-PAST-3PL
 Int. ‘They did not forget that anybody came.’ (Predolac 2018: 19)
- (114) *[Kimse-nin git-me-sin] -e kız -ma -dı -m.
 Nobody-GEN go-MA-3SG.POSS -ACC be.angry-NEG-PAST-1SG
 Int. ‘I did not get angry that anybody went.’ (Predolac 2018: 19)

However, NPIs are licensed in non-factive embedded clauses with both nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA*, as shown in (115) and (116). This again goes against the classification of *-DIK* as a factive nominalizer and *-mA* as a non-factive nominalizer.

- (115) [Kimse -nin gel -eceğ -in] -i san -mı -yor -um.
 Nobody-GEN come-ACAK -3SG.POSS -ACC believe-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘I don’t believe that anybody will come.’ (Predolac 2018: 19)
- (116) [Kimse -nin gel -me -sin] -i iste -mi -yor -um.
 Nobody-GEN come-mA-3SG.POSS-ACC want-NEG-PROG-1SG
 ‘I don’t want anybody to come.’ (Predolac 2018: 19)

To summarize, the nominalizer *-DIK* cannot be simply classified as a factive nominalizer, contra Lees (1965), Kornfilt (1984, 1996, 2003, 2007), Keskin (2009), and Kornfilt and Whittman (2011, 2012), given that it can be selected by matrix predicates that select embedded events without a truth value, as shown in (110). Also,

the embedded clause with the nominalizer *-DIK* can be found in sentences with non-factive matrix predicates like *san-* ‘believe’, as the example (112) clearly indicates. Additionally, assuming that NPIs are not licensed long-distance in factive embedded clauses, the evidence from NPI licensing in (113) and (115) indicates that the nominalizer *-DIK* can be found in non-factive embedded clauses.

Similarly, the nominalizer *-mA* cannot be grouped as a non-factive nominalizer, contra Kornfilt (2003, 2007) and Kornfilt and Whittman (2011, 2012) since it can denote factivity, as shown in (108) and (109). In addition to this, the data in (111) exemplifies an embedded clause with the nominalizer *-mA* selected by the factive matrix predicate *heyecanlandırıcı* ‘exciting.’ Finally, sentences in (115) and (116) show that NPI licensing is independent of the nominalizer (*-mA/-DIK*), and is instead related to the non-factivity of the matrix predicate.

Thus, it seems that classifying nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* as non-factive and factive respectively might not be the correct way of differentiating between these nominalizers. Consequently, the difference in the coreferential possibilities of embedded null subjects, shown in (8) and (9), cannot be caused by the (non)factivity of the nominalizers since both *-mA* and *-DIK* are selected by the factive and non-factive matrix predicates.

4.3 The Complementation Hierarchy Account

In the most recent literature, scholars attributed the differences between nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* to the types of matrix verbs that select these embedded clauses (Demirok 2019; Turgay 2021; Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021). Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran (2021) based their theory on Wurmbrand’s (2001, 2014) and Wurmbrand and Lohninger’s (2020) theories on degree of clause integration. Following Givón’s (1980) Binding Hierarchy, Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020) propose The Implicational Complementation Hierarchy (ICH), which is a semantic hierarchy correlating with the features of the morphosyntax of complement clauses. Wurmbrand and Lohninger propose the statement in (117).

- (117) There is a possibly universal implicational complementation hierarchy (ICH) which is defined semantically and detectable through a diverse set of morphological, syntactic and semantic properties.

(Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020: 3)

ICH is inspired by Givón's functional Binding Hierarchy, which states that the more influence the matrix subject has on the embedded subject, the higher the verb of the matrix clause is on the binding scale.

(118) Binding Hierarchy

The stronger the influence exerted over the agent of the complement clause by the agent of the main-clause verb, by whatever means, the higher is the main-clause verb on the binding scale.

(Givón 1980: 335, (5i) as cited in Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 1-2)

The semantic hierarchy introduced by the Binding Hierarchy correlates with the morphosyntax of complement clauses. Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020) utilize the Syntactic Coding Hierarchy in (119), proposed by Givón, to explain the correlation between syntax and semantics of complement clauses.

(119) Syntactic Coding Hierarchy

The higher a verb is on the binding scale the less would its complement tend to be syntactically coded as an independent/main clause.

(Givón 1980: 337, (11) as cited in Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 3)

Thus, the syntactic properties of the complement clause are related to the semantics of the selecting verb. Following this correlation between syntax and semantics, Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020) state that there is an “implicational clause-hood hierarchy” of the complements. According to their analysis, complement clauses can be classified based on their independence, transparency and integration into Class 1, Class 2, and Class 3. Class 1 is the most clausal (independent) class and Class 3 is the least clausal (the most dependent) complement.

Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020: 6) define “transparency” as the degree to which “the embedded clause is permeable for certain operations or dependencies”, and “integration” as the degree to which the embedded predicate is a fundamental component of the matrix predicate or integrated into it.

The list in (120) presents the independence properties of the complement clauses.

(120) Independence properties:

nominal case, structural object case, overt subject, independent subject interpretation, agreement, tense marking, finiteness, independent temporal interpretation, negation, syntactic domain effects, lack of transparency, indexical shift, clausal operators, lack of morphosyntactic integration of the embedded verb into the matrix predicate (e.g, incorporation, verb cluster, complex predicate formation)

(Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 42)

Depending on the kind of complement that a predicate selects, Wurmbrand and Lohninger propose three classes: predicates selecting for Proposition complements (Proposition predicates), those selecting for Situation complements (Situation predicates), and those selecting for Event complements (Event predicates).

Proposition matrix verbs select for the most independent, least transparent, and least integrated complement clauses (Class 1). Situation matrix verbs follow the proposition predicates: situations select less independent, more transparent, and more integrated complement clauses compared to proposition matrix verbs. Finally, event matrix verbs select the least independent, most transparent and most integrated complement clauses. This is shown in (121).

(121)

Most Independent						Least Independent
Least Transparent	Proposition	>>	Situation	>>	Event	Most Transparent
Least Integrated						Most Integrated

(Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 6)

Wurmbrand and Lohninger distinguish proposition matrix verbs and situation matrix verbs based on whether they assign or presuppose a truth value in the complement. They state that proposition complements can be assigned or presupposed truth values, while situations do not bear any truth value. Situations indicate eventualities with emphasis on other aspects of the content rather than the truth. Example (122) represents a proposition matrix verb selecting the most clausal complement while (123) presents a situation matrix verb type selecting the less clausal complement:

(122) Kazım admitted that he had stolen the missing locket from the museum.
→ Kazım had stolen the missing locket from the museum. **Proposition**

(123) Kazım agreed to surrender.
→ It is neither true nor false that Kazım surrendered. The speaker can assess the truth value based on the context. **Situation**

Wurmbrand and Lohninger give the predicates in (124)a) and (124)b) as examples of proposition and situation verbs respectively.

- (124) a. Proposition: admit, affirm, announce, assume, believe, claim, consider, discover, figure, find, forget (factive), imagine, know (factive), observe, say, suppose, tell (speech), wager
- b. Situation: agree, ask, choose, decide, demand, desire, know (modal), need, plan, promise, refuse, tell (imperative), want, wish
- (Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 6)

Wurmbrand and Lohninger also differentiate between proposition and situation matrix verb types based on their “temporal and aspectual interpretations.” Situation matrix verbs select complements without “speaker-oriented/discourse-linking parameters,” which do not have temporal properties of their own; they depend on the matrix clause in tense. Irrealis events without denoting tense are the most common events in the complements selected by the situation matrix verbs (Abusch 2004), as exemplified in (125).

(125) Kazım asked Aysel to marry him. **Situation**
→ The embedded infinitival clause does not bear a tense on its own. It is dependent on the matrix clause’s tense.

On the other hand, complements selected by proposition matrix verbs have temporal and aspectual interpretation in the embedded clause that are independent of the matrix predicate, as shown in (126).

(126) Kazım announced that he had married Aysel. **Proposition**
→ The complement clause had happened at an earlier time than the matrix clause. The embedded clause bears its own tense features.

A further distinguishing factor between the situation and proposition complement clauses is the perfective aspect. Wurmbrand and Lohninger state that situation complements can have a perfective aspect “in which the event time cannot be included in the reference time (because the latter is too short)” (Wurmbrand and Lohninger: 2020: 7), as in (127)b), while proposition complement clauses cannot have the perfective aspect, as shown in as in (127)a). Their data come from Serbian, Croatian, and Greek (see Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020 for further discussion and data in the relevant languages).

(127)

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------------------|
| a. | Jovan je tvrdio da čita | Serbian Proposition |
| | Jovan AUX claimed DA read.3.SG.PRS.IPFV | |
| | *pročita knjigu. | |
| | *read.3.SG.PRS.PFV book | |
| | ‘Jovan claimed to be reading the book.’ | |

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| b. | Jovan je odlučio da čita | Serbian Situation |
| | Jovan AUX decided DA read.3.SG.PRS.IPFV | |
| | pročita knjigu. | |
| | read.3.SG.PRS.PFV book | |
| | ‘Jovan decided to read the (entire) book.’ | |

(Todorović 2015, as cited in Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 8)

The third complement type that Wurmbrand and Lohninger identify is the complement clauses selected by the Event type matrix predicates. Events cannot have a temporal interpretation, like past and future. They must always be simultaneous with the matrix verbs’ tense. The sentence in (128) exemplifies that an event complement cannot be in a past construction.

(128) *Kazım finished to have built a home.

In this respect, Events are similar to Situations. Also, unlike in Proposition complements, non-progressive embedded predicates and perfective embedded predicates are allowed in event complements in Greek and Serbian (see Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020 for further discussion and data in the relevant languages). Example (129) shows a Serbian event complement with a non-progressive embedded predicate.

- | | | |
|-------|---|----------------------|
| (129) | Jovan je pokušao da pročita knjigu. | Serbian Event |
| | Jovan AUX tried DA read.3.SG.PRS.PFV book | |
| | ‘Jovan tried to read the (entire) book.’ | |

(Todorović: c., as cited in Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 10)

Some examples of event complement predicates from English are represented in (130), from Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020).

- (130) Event: avoid (implicative), begin, can, continue, fail, finish, forget (implicative), manage, may, must, start, stop, succeed, try
(Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 9)

In English, event complements are always non-finite clauses and cannot be finite embedded clauses, as shown by the contrast in (131)a-b).

- (131) a. *Kazım continued that he solved his exam. **Event**
b. Kazım continued to solve his exam. **Event**

Wurmbrand and Lohninger state that proposition and situation complements differ from event complements in the reference of the embedded subject: subjects of event complements must be controlled by the matrix clause subjects.

Situation class complements have a less strict form of control, and they often allow partial control, in which only some of the individuals referred to by the subject of the non-finite clause are controlled by the matrix subject (see Landau 2000, 2013, 2021 for further discussion of control).

Sentence (132) exemplifies that event complements do not allow partial control, while (133) shows that situation complements do. The intended meaning of both examples is that the chair plus his associates would gather in the castle.

- (132) *The chair tried to gather in the castle.
(Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 11)

- (133) The chair decided to gather in the castle.
(Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 11)

Wurmbrand and Lohninger's criteria of complement (in)dependence applied to $-mA$ and $-DIK$ clauses yield the following results in Table 1:

Table 1. *The Complement (In)dependence Table for -mA and -DIK Complements*

	-mA	-DIK
1. Nominative case	-	-
2. Structural object case	+	+
3. Overt subject	+	+
4. Independent subject interpretation	+ if there is a null subject (the only meaning)	+
5. Agreement	+	+
6. Tense marking	-	- (Independent Tense: +)
7. Finiteness	-	+
8. Independent temporal interpretation	-	+
9. Negation	+	+
10. Syntactic domain effects	- (NPIs, Principle B violation with a null subject in the embedded clause, Principle B violation with an overt subject in the embedded clause)	+ (No Principle B violation with a null subject in the embedded clause) - (NPIs, Principle B violation with an overt subject in the embedded clause)
11. Lack of transparency	-	- NPIs and overt subject + Null subject
12. Indexical shift	-	-
13. Clausal operators	-	+ (indirect questions in the embedded clause)

Similar to Wurmbrand and Lohninger's work, namely the Implicational Complementation Hierarchy (ICH), the idea that properties of complement clauses are governed by semantic considerations has been adapted to Turkish by Demirok (2019), Turgay (2021), and Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran (2021), who used it to classify -mA and -DIK clauses in Turkish.

Demirok (2019) states that, *-mA* clauses are predicates of events, and that they contain a free event variable. They make direct reference to events, which is why they behave like event complements, but their free event variable can be existentially closed, and in that case, their semantics is that of propositions. Thus, there is a certain flexibility in the distribution and interpretation of *-mA* clauses.

Demirok proposes that, since proposition type of complements can be “obvious or true,” *-DIK* complementation corresponds to propositions, as (134)a) shows. On the other hand, the sentence in (134)b) shows that event verbs obligatorily select *-mA* complements. When *-DIK* is used in event complements, it creates ungrammaticality, as shown in (134)c).

(134)

- a. [Suzan-ın hata -y1 bul -duğ-u] {ortada | doğru | biliniyor}.
 Susan -GEN mistake-ACC find-DIK-3SG.POSS {obvious | true | known}
 ‘That Susan found the mistake is {obvious | true | known}.’ **Proposition**
 (Demirok 2019: 133)
- b. [Kazım-ın ev -e gel -me -si] lazım. **Event**
 Kazım -GEN home-DAT come-MA-3SG.POSS necessary
 ‘It is necessary for Kazım to come.’
- c. *[Kazım-ın ev-e gel-diğ-i] lazım. **Event**
 Kazım-GEN home-DAT come-DIK-3SG.POSS necessary
 Int. ‘It is necessary that Kazım should come.’

In example (135), *-mA* complementation is also allowed with the proposition selecting predicate *doğru* ‘true.’ However, with a *-mA* embedded clause, the meaning of the sentence differs from a *-DIK* the embedded clause. The sentence in (135), with a *-mA* complement clause, does not indicate that the predicate in the embedded clause has happened. It simply means that the speaker approves Susan’s act.

- (135) [Suzan-ın hata -y1 bul-ma -sı] doğru. **Event**
 Susan -GEN mistake-ACC find-MA-3SG.POSS true.
 Intended: ‘Susan’s finding the mistake is the right thing.’
 (Demirok 2019: 133)

Demirok (2019) also shows that a *-mA* complement is allowed as the subject of a predicate like *harika bir olay* ‘be an amazing event’, as shown in (136), while a *-DIK* complement, being a proposition, is not allowed in this environment, as (137) shows.

- (136) [Suzan-ın hata -y1 bul -ma -sı] harika bir olay -dı.
 Susan-GEN mistake-ACC find-MA-3SG.POSS amazing a event-PAST
 ‘Susan’s finding the mistake was an amazing event.’ **Event**
 (Demirok 2019: 133)

- (137) *[Suzan-ın hata -y1 bul -duğ -u] harika bir olay -dı.
 Susan-GEN mistake-ACC find-DIK-3SG.POSS amazing a event-PAST
 Int. ‘That Susan found the mistake was an amazing event.’ **Proposition**
 (Demirok 2019: 133)

In favor of the claim that nominalizers *-DIK* and *-mA* clauses should be classified as *proposition* and *event types* of complements, Demirok also states that event-type matrix predicates like *n dakika sürmek* ‘to take n minutes’ select *-mA* clauses, as shown in (96) and repeated in (138)a), while these predicates are incompatible with *-DIK* clauses, as shown in (138)b).

- (138)
 a. [Suzan-ın hata -y1 bul -ma -sı] iki dakika sür-dü. **Event**
 Susan-GEN mistake-ACC find-MA -3SG.POSS two minute last-PAST
 ‘For Susan to find the mistake took 2 minutes. (Demirok 2019: 133)
 ⇒ Susan found the mistake.
 b. *[Suzan-ın hata -y1 bul -duğ -u] iki dakika sür-dü.
 Susan-GEN mistake-ACC find-DIK -3SG.POSS two minute last-PAST
 Lit. ‘*That Susan found the mistake took 2 minutes.’ **Proposition**
 (Demirok 2019: 133)

Furthermore, *-mA* complements can be transformed into quantified or definite event descriptions, or they can become propositions, by means of existential closure. By contrast, *-DIK* complements originate as propositions. Demirok states that pluralization and quantification is allowed in event type complementation, and it is not allowed in propositions. *-mA* complements are allowed to be pluralized, as shown in (139). As Demirok (2019: 146) states, “the pluralized *-mA* clauses denote definite event descriptions and presuppose the existence of a plurality of events that satisfy the relevant event description.”

- (139) [Kazım-’ın yalan söyle-me -ler]-i çok meşhur. **Event**
 Kazım-GEN lie say -MA-PL -ACC very common.
 ‘It is very common for Kazım to lie.’

The proposition matrix predicates selecting the nominalizer *-DIK*, on the other hand, do not allow the pluralization in the embedded clause, as exemplified in (140):¹¹

¹¹ The relative clause morpheme *-DIK* allows for the pluralization.

- (140) [Melis-in ev -i temizle-dik-[*ler]-i] ortada -ydı.
 Melis-GEN house-ACC clean -DIK-PL -3SG.POSS obvious-PAST
 ‘That Melis cleaned the house [intended: *many times] was obvious.’
Proposition (Demirok 2019: 136)

Turgay (2021) follows Demirok (2019) in classifying embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-mA* under event complements and embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* under proposition complements. Turgay states that bearing a truth value, *-DIK* clauses constitute an example of proposition complements. The lack of truth value in *-mA* clauses indicates event-type complementation. Turgay (2021: 172) also states that “the non-head position in compounds headed by proposition-denoting nouns, like *önerme* ‘proposition’, *bilgi* ‘information’, *gerçek* ‘truth’, is reserved for expressions that denote propositions”, as the data in (141) illustrates. Then again, “event- and state-denoting nouns like *olay* ‘event’, *durum* ‘state’ that head compounds, require a *-mA* form”, as the sentence in (142) shows.

- (141) Mert-‘in mezun {ol-duğ -u / *ol-ma -sı} **Proposition**
 Mert-GEN graduate be-DIK-3SG.POSS be-MA-3SG.POSS
 önermesi / bilgisi / gerçeği
 proposition/ information / truth
 ‘the proposition/information/fact that Mert graduated’ (Turgay 2021: 173)

- (142) Mert-‘in mezun {*ol-duğ -u / ol-ma -sı} **Event**
 Mert-GEN graduate be-DIK-3SG.POSS be-MA-3SG.POSS
 olay-ı / durum-u
 event-COMP state-COMP
 ‘the event/state that Mert graduates’ (Turgay 2021: 173)

Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran (2021) follow Demirok (2019) in classifying nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* based on the matrix verb types selection. They also follow Wurmbrand and Lohninger’s (2020) Implicational Complementation Hierarchy, which is based on dependency, transparency, and integration of the complement clause. Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran classify *-DIK* complements as selected by

-
- (i) [Merve-nin pişir-dik -ler-in] -i ye-di -k **Relative Clause**
 Merve-GEN cook-DIK-PL-3SG.POSS-ACC eat-PAST-1PL
 ‘We ate the things that Merve cooked.’ (Demirok 2019: 136)

Demirok (2019: 136) ties the plurality of (i) to the semantics: “nominal pluralization is able to semantically target objects of <v, st> [(15a), (15b)] as it ordinarily targets objects of type <e, st>.” See Demirok (2019) for further discussion.

proposition matrix verbs stating that “the embedded subjects of *-DIK* and *-AcAK* complements can be overt, receive genitive case, and agree with the embedded verb via possessive agreement. The embedded subjects also receive an independent interpretation from that of the matrix clause as they cannot be controlled.” (Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021: 1042)

Example (143) shows a *-DIK* clause with an independent overt subject and the subject bears a genitive case. In (144), the null subject in the embedded clause can co-refer with some salient referent in the context receiving an independent interpretation from the matrix subject.

- (143) Kazım_i [Aysel-’in kek-i pişir-diğ -i] -ni gör-dü.
 Kazım Aysel-GEN cake-ACC bake-DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC see-PAST
 ‘Kazım saw that Aysel baked the cake.’ **Proposition**
- (144) Kazım_i [Ø_{i/k} yemek-ler-i bitir -eceğ -i] -ne güven-iyor.
 Kazım food -PL-ACC finish-ACAK-3SG.POSS-DAT trust-IMPF.3SG
 ‘Kazım_i trusts that s/he_{i/k} will finish the food(s).’ **Proposition**

According to Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran, as shown in (145) and (146), with both passive and active matrix verbs, the embedded object can have structural accusative case in *-DIK* and *-AcAK* clauses, which is an indicator of independence. In a similar way, the embedded verb can be negated, as illustrated in (147).

- (145) Ali_i [Aylin_j-in o_i-nu sev-diğ/eceğ -in] -i bil -iyor.
 Ali Aylin-GEN he-ACC like-DIK/ACAK-3SG.POSS-ACC know-IMPF.3SG
 ‘Ali_i knows that Aylin_j liked/likes/will like him_i.’ **Proposition**
 (Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021:1043)
- (146) [Aylin_j-in o_i-nu sev-diğ/eceğ -i] biliniyor.
 Aylin-GEN he-ACC like-DIK-ACAK-3SG.POSS is.known
 ‘That Aylin_j liked/likes/will like him_i is known.’ **Proposition**
 (Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021:1043)
- (147) Ali_i [Aylin_j-in o_i-nu sev -me -diğ/eceğ -in] -i biliyor.
 Ali Aylin-GEN he-ACC like-NEG-DIK/ACAK-3SG.POSS-ACC knows
 ‘Ali_i knows that Aylin_j did/does/will not like him_i.’ **Proposition**
 (Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021:1043)

As an indicator of independence, Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran show that indirect *wh*-questions are also licensed in the embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* as exemplified in (148).

- (148) Kazım_i [Aysel-in kim -i seç -tiğ -in] -i sor-du.
 Kazım Aysel -GEN who-ACC choose-DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC ask-PAST.
 ‘Kazım_i asked whom Aysel_k has chosen.’ **Proposition**

Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran conclude that, allowing independent subject interpretation, independent tense interpretation, structural accusative case, and licensing indirect wh-questions on top of the lack of transparency, *-DIK* and *-AcAK* nominalizers in the embedded clauses head propositional complement clauses. Their categorization of *-DIK* and *-AcAK* nominalizers is in line with Demirok (2019) and Turgay (2021).

However, unlike Demirok and Turgay, who state that *-mA* complements are selected by event matrix verbs, Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran group *-mA* clauses under two complementation classes based on the matrix verb that selects them: situation complement *-mA* clauses and event complement *-mA* clauses.¹²

Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020) take the lack of transparency for A-movement as a property of propositions. Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran show that A-movement of an embedded object is impossible in *-DIK* and *-AcAK* clauses. They state that, as shown in (149), A-movement of the embedded object is unavailable in a sentence with a Long Passive structure:

- (149) Ben_i [t_i sev -il -*diğ/*eceğ]-e karar verildim.
 I like-PASS-DIK/ACAK-DAT was.decided
Lit. ‘I was decided that (I) was/will be liked.’
 (Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021:1043)

By contrast, in a Long Passive structure, A-movement of the embedded object is available in both event and situation types of complements with the nominalizer *-mA*; the relevant examples are in (150)a) and (150)b).

¹² The indexical shift is not available in any forms of complementation, namely propositions, situations, and events in Turkish as (i)a-c) present.

- (i) a. Kazım_i [ben-im*_{i/k} resim yap-tığ -ım] -ı gör-dü. **Proposition**
 Kazım I -GEN painting do -DIK-1SG.POSS-ACC see-PAST
 ‘Kazım_i saw that I*_{i/k} painted (a picture).’
 b. Kazım_i [ben-im*_{i/k} resim yap-ma -m] -ı dile -di. **Situation**
 Kazım I -GEN painting do -MA-1SG.POSS-ACC wish-PAST
 ‘Kazım_i wished that I*_{i/k} painted (a picture).’
 c. Kazım_i [ben-im*_{i/k} resim yap-ma -m -a / için] çalış-tı. **Event**
 Kazım I -GEN painting do -MA-1SG.POSS-DAT for try -PAST
 ‘Kazım_i tried for me*_{i/k} to paint (a picture).’

- (150) a. Ali_i [t_i kov-ul -ma]-ya karar verildi. **Situation**
 Ali fire-PASS-INF-DAT was.decided
Lit. ‘Ali was decided to be fired.’
- b. Ali_i [t_i kov-ul -ma]-ya çalışıldı. **Event**
 Ali fire-PASS-INF-DAT was.tried
Lit. ‘Ali was tried to be fired.’
- (Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021:1045)

As stated earlier, the licensing of embedded wh-questions is an indicator of independence. Unlike the most independent class, propositions, matrix clauses with situation and event complements with the nominalizer *-mA* cannot be statements when a wh-word is present in the embedded clause, as shown in (151)a) and (151)b). The sentences can only be interpreted as matrix questions. Thus, the data in (151)a) and (151)b) show that *-mA* complements are more dependent on the matrix clause than – *DIK* complements.

- (151) a. Kazım_i [ne yap-ma-m] -1 dile -di?/* **Situation**
 Kazım what do -MA-1SG.POSS-ACC wish-PAST
 ‘What did Kazım wish me to do? / *Kazım wished what I do.’
- b. Kazım_i [ne yap-ma-m -a / için] çalış-tı?/* **Event**
 Kazım what do-MA-1SG.POSS-DAT for try -PAST
 ‘What did Kazım try for me to do? / *Kazım tried for me what to do.’

Differentiating complement clauses selected by situation and event type matrix verbs, Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020) state that non-obligatory control verbs select situation class complements, in which partial control is allowed. Event-type matrix verbs, on the other hand, do not allow partial control in the embedded clause. They require obligatory control. Following this criterion, Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran show that matrix verbs like *öner-* ‘suggest,’ *karar ver-* ‘decide,’ and *iste-* ‘want’ allow partial control, as in (152). Thus, they are classified as situation-type verbs. On the other hand, verbs like *başla-* ‘start,’ and *çalış-* ‘try’ do not allow partial control, as shown in (153). That is why they are classified as event-type complements.

- (152) Kazım_i [PRO_{i+} bahçe-de toplan-ma]-yı öner -di. **Situation**
 Kazım garden-LOC gather-MA-ACC suggest-PAST
 ‘Kazım suggested to gather in the garden.’
- (153) *Kazım_i [PRO_{i+} bahçe-de toplan-ma -ya] başla-dı. **Event**
 Kazım garden-LOC gather-MA-ACC start-PAST
Lit. ‘Kazım started to gather in the garden.’

What is more, as Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran (2021: 1042) state, infinitival complementation in Turkish allows “optionally silent genitive embedded subject” in the embedded clause, which has an independent interpretation, as shown in (154) while event complementation does not allow the genitive embedded subject, as in (155).

- (154) Kazım_i [Aysel_k -'in / Ø_{*i/k} yemek ye-me -si] -ni öner-di.
 Kazım Aysel -GEN food eat-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC suggest-PAST
 ‘Kazım_i suggested that Aysel_k should eat (food).’ **Situation**
- (155) Kazım_i [PRO_i / *Aysel'in yemek ye-me]-ye başla-dı. **Event**
 Kazım Aysel -GEN food eat-MA-DAT start-PAST
 ‘Kazım started to eat (food).’ / *‘Kazım started Aysel to eat food.’

As Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran also state, another difference between situation class complements and event class complements is the time of the event in the embedded clause. The embedded event in situation class complements must follow the matrix event resulting in an irrealis mood in the embedded clause, as shown in (156).

- (156) Kazım_i [PRO_i gelecek hafta yemek yap -ma]-yı geçen gün öner -di.
 Kazım coming week food cook-MA-ACC past day suggest-PAST
 ‘In the past day, Kazım suggested cooking the following week.’ **Situation**

In opposition to situation class complementation, the event class predicate selecting the nominalizer *-mA* results in ungrammaticality when the embedded event follows the matrix event. The embedded event must happen at a simultaneous time with the matrix event in the event complement with *-mA*.

The sentence in (157)a) is ungrammatical with a future-denoting adverbial phrase *gelecek hafta* ‘coming week’ in the embedded clause. (157)b) shows that the ungrammaticality disappears without the future denoting adverbial phrase. It shows that the embedded clause event happens simultaneously with the matrix event.

- (157)
- a. *Kazım_i [PRO_i gelecek hafta yemek yap -ma] -ya geçen gün başla-dı.
 Kazım coming week food cook-MA-DAT past day start -PAST
 ‘In the past day, Kazım started to cook in the coming week.’ **Event**
- b. Kazım_i [PRO_i yemek yap -ma] -ya geçen gün başla-dı.
 Kazım food cook-MA-DAT past day start -PAST
 ‘In the past day, Kazım started to cook.’ **Event**

According to Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran, both event and situation complement clauses with the nominalizer *-mA* can be found with the structural case on the direct object with the active matrix verb as shown in (158)a) and (158)b).

- (158) a. Ali_i [PRO_i Aylin-i sev-me] -ye karar verdi. **Situation**
 Ali Aylin-ACC like-MA -DAT decided
 ‘Ali decided to like Aylin.’
- b. Ali_i [PRO_i Aylin-i sev-me] -ye çalıştı. **Event**
 Ali Aylin-ACC like-MA-DAT tried
 ‘Ali tried to like Ayla.’
- (Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021:1044)

However, only situation complements with the nominalizer *-mA* make available embedded accusative object when the matrix verb is passive, as shown in (159)a) and (159)b).

- (159) a. Aylin-i sev-me-ye karar verildi. **Situation**
 Aylin-ACC like-MA-DAT was.decided
Lit. ‘It was decided to like Aylin.’
- b. *Aylin-i sev-me -ye çalışıldı. **Event**
 Aylin-ACC like-MA-DAT was.tried
Lit. ‘It was tried to like Aylin.’
- (Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021:1045)

The data in (160) and (161) show that both situation and event matrix verbs selecting *-mA* complements can have negation in the embedded clause, as Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran also state.

- (160) Kazım [Ø*_{i/k} Aysel-i affet -me -me-si] -ni dile -di. **Situation**
 Kazım Aysel-ACC forgive-NEG-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC wish-PAST
 ‘Kazım_i wished him/her*_{i/k} not to forgive Aysel.’
- (161) Kazım_i [PRO_i Aysel-i gör-me -me] -ye devam et-ti. **Event**
 Kazım Aysel-ACC see-NEG-MA-DAT continue -PAST
 ‘Kazım_i continued not seeing Aysel_k.’

In conclusion, both situation and event types of matrix verbs selecting the nominalizer *-mA* allow negation on the embedded verb. They both allow A-movement out of the embedded clause. However, only situation type complements with *-mA* allow structural case for the object and independent subject interpretation in the embedded clause; event *-mA* cannot be present in such sentences. Moreover, situation

-mA allows independent temporal interpretation of the embedded clause, while event -mA does not.

In this section we saw that, as suggested by Demirok (2019), Turgay (2021) and Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran (2021), Turkish complement clauses with the nominalizer -DIK are selected by *proposition type* matrix verbs. The nominalizer -mA is selected by both *situation* and *event type* verbs. Some examples of matrix verbs from Turkish in proposition, situation and, event classes are given in (162)a-c).

(162)

- a. Proposition: *mutlu ol-* ‘be happy’, *bil-* ‘know’, *duy-* ‘hear’, *yap-* ‘do’, *de-* ‘say’, *söyle-* ‘tell’, *reddet-* ‘deny’...
- b. Situation: *planla-* ‘plan’, *öner-* ‘suggest’, *iste-* ‘want’, *dile-* ‘wish’, *söz ver-* ‘promise’, *talep et-* ‘demand’, *rica et-* ‘(kindly) ask’...
- c. Event: *başla-* ‘start’, *devam et-* ‘continue’, *bitir-* ‘finish’, *çalış-* ‘try’, *başar-* ‘succeed’, *dur-* ‘stop’...

Recall that the question I focus on in this study is how we can explain the referential possibilities of the embedded subject, which vary in -mA and -DIK embedded clauses in Turkish. The sentence in (163) includes a -mA complement clause. As seen in (163), the null subject in the embedded clause with the nominalizer -mA cannot be coindexed with the matrix subject *Aysel*.

- (163) Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{*i/k}$ gel -me-si] -ni iste-di.
Aysel come -MA-3SG.POSS-ACC want-PAST.
‘Aysel wanted him/her to come.’

However, the embedded clause with the nominalizer -DIK allows the null subject to be co-referential with the matrix subject *Aysel* as shown in (164).

- (164) Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ gel -diğ -i] -ni söyle-di.
Aysel come-DIK-3SG.POSS -ACC say -PAST.
‘Aysel said that s/he/herself came.’

Can the discussed Implicational Complementation Hierarchy explain this difference? Is the difference in the coreferential possibilities presented in (163) and (164) caused by the matrix clause complementation type?

According to the Binding Hierarchy proposed by Givón (1980), the more influence the matrix clause subject has on the embedded subject, the higher the matrix verb is on the binding scale, as shown in (118), and repeated in (165).

(165) Binding Hierarchy

The stronger the influence exerted over the agent of the complement clause by the agent of the main-clause verb, by whatever means, the higher is the main-clause verb on the binding scale.

(Givón 1980: 335, (5i) as cited in Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 1-2)

Typically, the influence of the matrix subject on the embedded subject manifests itself through obligatory coreference of the matrix and embedded subjects. Since the subject of the *-mA* clause cannot corefer with the matrix subject, but the subject of a *-DIK* clause can, at first glance it might seem that the matrix subject exerts more influence on the null subject of a *-DIK* clause. However, on a different view, it would appear that, following the Binding Hierarchy, the matrix subject has a stronger influence on the embedded subject in *-mA* clauses, shown in (163), since the embedded subject is not free in its reference. This means that *-mA* clauses are higher on the Binding Scale. According to the Syntactic Coding Hierarchy (Givón 1980), given in (119) and repeated in (166), if the matrix verb is higher in the Binding Scale, the complement clause is syntactically less independent.

(166) Syntactic Coding Hierarchy

The higher a verb is on the binding scale; the less would its complement tend to be syntactically coded as an independent/main clause. (Givón 1980: 337, (11) as cited in Wurmbrand and Lohninger 2020: 3)

This suggests that event complement clauses with the nominalizer *-mA* are the least independent clauses. Event complements are followed by situation complement clauses with the nominalizer *-mA*. The most independent clauses are *-DIK* complements, which allow embedded subjects to be free in reference, as shown in (164). Thus, event matrix verbs selecting event type complements with the nominalizer *-mA* are the highest on the binding scale. Accordingly, event matrix verbs select the most dependent complements. Event matrix verbs are followed by situation matrix

verbs. Situation matrix verbs are lower on the binding scale and they select less dependent complement clauses with the nominalizer *-mA*. The lowest type of matrix verbs are proposition matrix verbs selecting the nominalizer *-DIK* in the embedded clause. They select an embedded clause which is the most independent allowing coreferentiality between the matrix and embedded subjects. The schema in (167) shows Turkish nominalizers ordered based on the Binding Hierarchy proposed by Givón (1980):

(167)

Event <i>-mA</i> >> Situation <i>-mA</i> >> Proposition <i>-DIK</i>

Based on this order, a proposition complement clause with *-DIK* is expected to be the most syntactically independent complement and thus allow more coreferential possibilities. As seen in (168), the subject in the embedded clause with the nominalizer *-DIK* is allowed to be coindexed with the matrix subject or someone else salient in the context.

- (168) Aysel_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ para -y₁ çal -dığ -i] -n₁ reddet-ti. **Proposition**
 Aysel money-ACC steal-DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC deny -PAST
 ‘Aysel denied that s/he/herself stole the money.’

The situation complement with *-mA* is expected to be syntactically less independent than *-DIK* clauses. Agreement is an independence property as stated by Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020). We see in (154), repeated here in (169), that the embedded verb agrees with the embedded overt or null subject in a situation complement. However, the subject cannot be coindexed with the matrix subject. Thus, situation class complementation requires disjoint reference between the matrix subject and embedded subject.

- (169) Kazım_i [Aysel_k -’in / $\emptyset_{*i}$ yemek ye-me -si] -n_i önerdi. **Situation**
 Kazım Aysel-GEN food eat-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC suggested
 ‘Kazım_i suggested Aysel_k to eat (food).’

The embedded clause which is most dependent on the matrix clause is the event type complement with the nominalizer *-mA*. These clauses do not allow agreement between the subject and the verb in the embedded clause, as shown in (155) and repeated in (170).

- (170) *Kazım_i [Aysel_k -'in / Ø*_{i/k} yemek ye-me -si] -ne başla-dı. **Event**
 Kazım Aysel-GEN food eat-MA-3SG.POSS-DAT start-PAST
Lit. ‘*Kazım_i started Aysel_k to eat food.’

In this sentence, the embedded subject (*Aysel* or the null subject) and the embedded verb *ye* ‘eat’ agree; this results in ungrammaticality. However, if the embedded verb does not agree with the subject, the sentence is grammatical, as shown in (171).

- (171) Kazım_i [PRO_i yemek ye-me]-ye başla-dı. **Event**
 Kazım food eat-MA-DAT start-PAST
 ‘Kazım started to eat (food).’

The data in (171) suggests that event complementation is not allowed to have a subject-verb agreement within the embedded clause. Instead, the null subject in this type of complement clauses seems to be *PRO*, which is controlled by the subject of the matrix clause. Situation complementation, on the other hand, allows have subject-verb agreement within the embedded clause as this type of complementation is more independent syntactically and lower in the binding scale. Thus, in situation type of complement clauses, there is a null or overt subject and not *PRO*.

To summarize, the Binding Hierarchy, which strongly correlates with the Syntactic Coding Hierarchy, predicts that the semantics of the matrix verb dovetails with the syntactic (in)dependence of its complement. In Turkish, proposition matrix verbs select the nominalizer *-DIK*. Thus, *-DIK* complement clauses are syntactically the most independent embedded clauses in Turkish: the embedded subject of a *-DIK* complement clause is free in reference: It can be coindexed with the matrix subject or can refer to some other person salient in the context.

The next most independent complement clauses are *-mA* clauses, selected by situation type verbs. Situation complements with the nominalizer *-mA* allow subject-verb agreement within the embedded clause but disallow coindexation between the matrix and embedded subject. Event matrix verbs also select the nominalizer *-mA*. However, event type complementation with *-mA* results in the most dependent embedded clause and does not allow subject-verb agreement within the embedded clause. It only allows the embedded *PRO* controlled by the matrix subject to be the subject of the embedded clause.

If this theory can explain the different referential properties of the embedded subjects in *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses, the subjects of proposition, situation and event clauses should have the same referential properties within their complement types. In other words, all of the proposition type complements with the nominalizer *-DIK* should allow coindexation between the matrix and embedded subjects as they are the most independent complements, while situation type of complements should only have disjoint reference of the embedded and matrix subjects as they are less independent. Event type of complements should only have *PRO* in the embedded clause because they are the most dependent complement clauses. So, for example, the matrix verb *üzül-* ‘be sad’, which selects the *-mA* complement and allows both an overt and a null subject (unlike event complements) and requires subject-verb agreement in the embedded clause, should be categorized as a situation matrix verb. Situation complements, as seen in (169), are transparent to the operations from the matrix clause, and this results in an obligatory disjoint reference between the matrix and embedded subjects, in compliance with the Principle B of the Binding Theory. Yet, the data in (172) clearly shows that in this case, surprisingly, the coindexation between the matrix and embedded subject is allowed.

- (172) Aysel_i, [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ kek-i yak -ma -sı] -na üzül -dü. **Situation**
 Aysel cake-ACC burn-DIK-3SG.POSS -DAT be.sad-PAST
 ‘Aysel_i was sad to burn the cake.’

So, how is (172) different from typical situation complementation? Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020) state that situation complements do not bear any independent temporal properties. Instead, they are dependent on the tense of the matrix clause. Example (172) does not comply with this statement. The embedded clause in (172) denotes an event that necessarily happened before the time of utterance; thus, the embedded clause has [+Past] temporal property, unlike what is expected from a situation complement.

Furthermore, while proposition complements have or presuppose truth values, situation complements and event complements do not denote any truth value, as Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020) state. However, the embedded clause in (172), classified as a situation complements, does denote a truth value. The embedded event ‘burning the cake’ happened and is true. Thence, the event in the embedded clause is a completed event with a truth value. In fact, the embedded *-mA* clause (172) behaves,

for all intents and purposes, as a proposition complement. Given this, it cannot be maintained that *-mA* complements are *always* more integrated into the matrix clause and are *always* transparent to operations from the matrix clause. Hence, the coreferential differences in *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses cannot be attributed exclusively to different complement types, as proposed under the Implicational Complementation Hierarchy of Wurmbrand and Lohninger (2020). In this study, the adaptation of ICH to Turkish is not refuted, but it is shown that ICH alone does not answer the question why the coreferential possibilities of the embedded clauses with the nominalizers *-mA* and *-DIK* differ.

4.4 The Structural Size Account: *-DIK* as Two Morphemes

In the earlier structure, the differences between *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses are attributed to their structural sizes. According to Aygen (1999), embedded clauses do not bear tense morphemes in Turkish; they are nominal clauses with genitive subjects. However, while it may be true that *-DIK* clauses contain no overt tense marker, the example in (173), where the matrix verb is in the past tense, shows that the event in the embedded *-DIK* clause has happened at an earlier time than the event in the matrix clause (as well as earlier than the time of utterance). Namely, it bears a past meaning. In sentence (174), although the future tense is used in the matrix clause, the embedded clause, again, indicates that the event has happened at an earlier time than both the event in the matrix clause and the time of utterance. Thus, it also denotes a past event.

(173) Kazım [Aysel-in seçim -i kaybet-tiğ -i] -ni açıkladı.
 Kazım Aysel -GEN election-ACC lose -DIK -3SG.POSS-ACC declared
 ‘Kazım declared that Aysel had lost the election.’

(174) Kazım [Aysel-in seçim -i kaybet-tiğ -i] -ni
 Kazım Aysel -GEN election-ACC lose -DIK -3SG.POSS-ACC
 açıkla-yacak.
 declare-FUT.3SG
 ‘Kazım will declare that Aysel lost the election.’

Instead of the nominalizer *-DIK*, another nominalizer, *-AcAK*, is used to denote future events in embedded nominalized clauses, as shown in (175). The nominalizer *-AcAK* cannot be used with actions that happened earlier than the matrix clause events. Similar to sentence (174), (176) states that even if the matrix event is in the past, the embedded action refers to a later event than the matrix verb.

- (175) Kazım [Aysel-in seçim -i kaybed-eceğ -i] -nden emin.
 Kazım Aysel -GEN election-ACC lose -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ABL sure
 ‘Kazım is sure that Aysel will lose the election.’
- (176) Kazım [Aysel-in seçim -i kaybed-eceğ -i] -ni biliyordu.
 Kazım Aysel -GEN election-ACC lose -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC knew
 ‘Kazım knew that Aysel would lose the election.’

Given the data in (173)-(176), embedded clauses with *-DIK* denote *some* temporal properties, contra Aygen (1999). When *-mA* clauses are considered, we do not encounter any independent tense in the embedded clause, as it is seen in (177), where the matrix clause is in the past. Similarly, in (178), the tense of the matrix clause is future, and the embedded event still does not specify any independent tense.

- (177) Kazım [Aysel-in uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -di.
 Kazım Aysel -GEN sleep -MA-3SG.POSS-ACC want-PAST
 ‘Kazım wanted Aysel to sleep.’
- (178) Kazım [Aysel-in uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste-yecek.
 Kazım Aysel -GEN sleep-MA-3SG.POSS-ACC want-FUT
 ‘Kazım will want Aysel to sleep.’

Thus, *-mA* clauses do not have any embedded temporal properties regardless of the tense of the matrix verb. Considering this difference between *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses, Kural (1992, 1993) and Göksel (1996) propose that *-DIK* and *-AcAK* are not single nominalizing morphemes. Instead, they contain two morphemes: tense and nominalizer. For the case of *-DIK*, *-DI* is a past tense morpheme, which surfaces in matrix clauses as well, as shown in (179):

- (179) Kazım su iç -ti
 Kazım water drink-PAST.
 ‘Kazım drank water.’

According to Kural and Göksel, *-K* is a complementizer attached to *-DI*. For these authors, this is why data in (173) and (174) bear past meaning. Similarly, *-AcAK* is also the future tense marker, as shown in (180), which is where the futurity of embedded clauses in (177) and (178) stems from.

- (180) Kazım su iç -ecek
 Kazım water drink-FUT
 ‘Kazım will drink water.’

Thus, Kural (1992, 1993) and Göksel (1996) state that *-DIK* is composed of the past tense morpheme *-DI* and *-K* is a complementizer. Similarly, the future tense morpheme *-AcAK* gets *-K*, which is a complementizer morpheme.

Yet, this idea has been refuted by Aygen (2002) and Predolac (2017, 2018), given that *-DIK* does not always denote past tense. The data in (181) shows that the embedded clause denotes present tense while the matrix clause is in the past tense, although *-DI* cannot denote present tense in matrix clauses.

- (181) Aysel [Kazım-ın spor -u genellikle sabah yap-tığ -ı] -nı
 Aysel Kazım-GEN sport-ACC usually morning do -DIK-3SG.POSS-ACC
 söyle-di.
 said
 ‘Aysel said that Kazım usually does sports in the morning.’

Unlike the embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK*, the embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-AcAK* always denote a future time in the embedded clause relative to the matrix event, as exemplified in (182).

- (182) Aysel [Kazım-ın yemeğ-i dün yap-acağ -ı] -nı
 Aysel Kazım-GEN food -ACC yesterday do -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC
 söyle-miş -ti.
 say -EVID-PAST.3SG
 ‘Aysel said that Kazım would cook yesterday.’

Additionally, Predolac (2017) states that if *-K* is a complementizer attached to *-DI* and *-AcAK* and if *-K* sits in C^0 , *-DIK* and *-AcAK* cannot occur in the same sentence with other complementizers like *için* ‘because’ and *zaman* ‘when’, which are also in C^0 (following Lasnik and Saito 1991 and Aygen 2002). However, as the data in (183) and (184) clearly show, *-DIK* and *-AcAK* clauses are allowed with other complementizers.

- (183) [[Tolga-Ø kaybet-tığ -ı] için] hepimiz üzüldük.
 Tolga-NOM lose -DIK-3SG.POSS because we.all got.upset
 ‘Because Tolga lost, we all got upset.’ (Predolac 2017: 149)
- (184) [[Tolga-Ø kaybet-tığ -ı] zaman] hepimiz üzüldük.
 Tolga-NOM lose -DIK-3SG.POSS when we.all got.upset
 ‘When Tolga lost, we all got upset.’ (Predolac 2017: 159)

Considering that embedded *-DIK* clauses not only can denote past events but can also refer to a present event, as shown in (181), the nominalizer *-DIK* cannot be considered as the combination of the past tense marker *-DI* and the complementizer *-K*. Also, as seen in (183) and (184), *-DIK* and *-AcAK* can be found in sentences with *için* ‘because’ and *zaman* ‘when’, which are in C^0 ; this suggests that *-K* is not in C^0 , that is, it is not a complementizer. In conclusion, Aygen (2002) and Predolac (2017, 2018) argue that *-DIK* and *-AcAK* cannot be two different morphemes with a tense marker *-DI/-AcAK* and the complementizer *-K*. Instead, *-DIK* and *-AcAK* denote [+/-Future] feature rather than [+Past] and [+Future], respectively (Aygen 2002; Predolac 2017, 2018; Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021).

In this chapter, I presented an overview of previous proposals regarding *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses in Turkish. We saw that, although these proposals all bring valuable insights into the nature of these complement clauses, none is sufficient to explain the differences observed in the behavior of their null subjects, namely, the fact that the null subject of a *-DIK* clause can, but the null subject of a *-mA* clause cannot be coreferential with the matrix subject. My analysis builds on these previous insights and makes a step towards integrating them into a more comprehensive account of the observed facts.

CHAPTER 5

5 CONCLUSION

Turkish–*mA* and –*DIK* clauses are the most common complement clauses in the language. However, they differ in a number of properties, which has been investigated in a number of studies (Lees 1965; Kornfilt 1984, 1996, 2003, 2007; Csató 1990; Kural 1992, 1993; Erguvanlı-Taylan 1993, 1998; Göksel 1996; Aygen 1999, 2002; Keskin 2009; Kornfilt and Whittman 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018; Demirok 2019; Turgay 2021; Göksu and Öztürk-Başaran 2021, among many others). One of the most striking differences between these two kinds of clauses is the referential possibilities of their (null) subjects: In the embedded clause with the nominalizer –*mA*, the subject must refer to someone other than the matrix subject, *Aysel* in (185) (must have the referential meaning), while in (186), where the embedded clause is headed by the nominalizer –*DIK*, clearly both reflexive and referential meanings are possible.

- (185) *Aysel*_i [$\emptyset$ *_{i/k} gel -me-si] -ni iste -di.
Aysel come -mA-3SG-POSS-ACC want-PAST
'Aysel_i wanted him/her*_{i/k} to come.'

- (186) *Aysel*_i [$\emptyset$ _{i/k} gel -diğ -i] -ni söyle-di.
Aysel come-DIK-3SG-POSS -ACC say -PAST
'Aysel_i said that s/he/herself_{i/k} came.'

In this thesis, I proposed that the differences between the referential possibilities of the null embedded subject in (185) and in (186) are caused by the syntactic differences between the embedded clauses with the nominalizer –*DIK* and embedded clauses with the nominalizer –*mA*, which results in different outcomes of the application of the binding principles. Contra (Gürel 2002, 2004, 2006) and Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023), I follow Erguvanlı Taylan (1984), Kornfilt (1984, 1987, 2018), Özsoy (1987), Enç (1986), Turan (1996), Öztürk (1999), Altan (2013), among many others and propose that the null subject is the null equivalent of the overt pronoun, i.e., that it is the null *pro*. The difference in the referential possibilities of the subjects in embedded clauses headed by the nominalizers –*mA* and –*DIK* is caused by

the mood selection of the matrix verbs. The complements of matrix verbs selecting indicative mood in the embedded clause have the nominalizer *-DIK*, while the complements of matrix verbs selecting subjunctive mood have the nominalizer *-mA*. The reason why the null subject in the subjunctive embedded clause is not allowed to be coindexed with the matrix subject is the phenomenon called Subjunctive Disjoint Reference (SDR) effect (Kempchinsky 1987), as also proposed by Predolac (2017, 2018) as the Subjunctive Obviation (Farkas 1992).

I propose that the SDR effect in Turkish *-mA* clauses is caused by the lack of temporal properties in embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *-mA*. I follow Predolac (2017, 2018) in the notion that both indicative and subjunctive matrix verbs select full CPs, but the subjunctive matrix verbs select a non-phase CP with the nominalizer *-mA*. Indicative matrix verbs, on the other hand, select a strong phase CP with the nominalizer *-DIK*. As Kanno (2008, 2010) and Kanno and Nomura (2011) said (following Chomsky (2008)), [+tense] and agreement features are determiners of the phases. The lack of either feature results in a defective, non-phase CP.

Both indicative and subjunctive complements have agreement features. Yet, the subjunctive embedded clauses headed by the nominalizer *-mA* do not have any temporal features, which results in a defective, non-phase CP in the embedded clause. On the other hand, embedded clauses with the nominalizer *-DIK* have [-Future] tense, which results in a strong phase CP. A defective embedded CP, headed by the nominalizer *-mA*, does not form a separate binding domain. Thus, the embedded subject and the matrix subject are in the same binding domain, and their coindexation leads to a violation of the Principle B of the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981) because the embedded subject ends up being locally bound by the matrix subject. The null subject is concluded to be subject to the Principle B of BT. This in turn shows that the null embedded subject is pronominal in nature, i.e., that it is a null *pro*.

The proposal is supported by the data where the embedded subject is an overt reflexive (*kendi* ‘self’) and an unconstrained anaphor *kendisi* ‘self-3SG’. When the subject of the embedded clause is the reflexive *kendi*, it gives rise to an emphatic ‘on one’s own’ reading in both *-mA* and *-DIK* clauses. This is because the reflexive *kendi* can be embedded into a complex DP, which also contains a null *pro* binder. However, only in *-mA* clauses can *kendi* in the embedded subject position be interpreted simply

as coreferential with the matrix subject, suggesting that only *-mA* clauses make it possible for *kendi* to be locally bound by the matrix subject. When the subject of the embedded clause is *kendisi*, which is unconstrained by the binding principles, the embedded clause may be headed either by *-mA* or by *-DIK* without placing any referential restrictions on *kendisi*. Finally, I propose that the impossibility of having an overt pronoun *o* ‘he/she/it’ as the subject of the embedded *-DIK* clause is due to the Avoid Pronoun Principle (Kornfilt 1991, following Chomsky 1991), which says that a null pronoun is preferred to an overt one whenever possible.

The structure of anaphor *kendi* and logophor *kendisi* should be investigated more in future research to reevaluate their stand on the binding principles. Also, there is a need of independent evidence for the claim that phasehood is related to the binding domains. Lastly, more independent evidence for why *-DIK* complements are phases, and *-mA* clauses are not should be provided in the future research.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

BULMACALAR ZİNCİRİ: TÜRKÇEDE ZAMİRLER, ARTGÖNDERİMLER VE TAMLAYICILAR

1 GİRİŞ VE PROBLEM

Türkçe ana cümleler gizli ya da açık öznelerle sahip olabilir ve her iki tür öznenin de fiilin sayı ve kişi biçimbilgisi ile uyumlu olması gerekmektedir. Türkçedeki gizli özne ile ilgili pek çok çalışma, gizli öznenin açık zamirin (örneğin, o) gizli karşılığı olduğunu belirtmektedir (Kornfilt 1984, 1987, 2018; Erguvanlı Taylan 1984; Özsoy 1987; Enç 1986; Turan 1996; Öztürk 1999; Altan 2013, ve diğerleri). Adlaştıricılara (nominalizers) bağlı olarak, gizli özne içe yerleşik tümceciklerde farklı eşgöndergesel olasılıklarına sahiptir; bu durum, (1) örneğinde –*DIK* adlaştıricısı ile gizli öznenin ana cümle öznesi ile eşgönderimli olabildiği, ve (2) örneğinde –*mA* adlaştıricısı ile bu referansın mümkün olmadığı durumlarda gösterilmektedir.

- (1) Kazım_i [Ø_{i/k} uyu -duğ -u] -na inan -dı.
Kazım sleep -DIK -3SG.POSS -DAT believe-PAST
'Kazım_i believed that he/she_{i/k} slept.'
- (2) Aysel_i [Ø*_{i/k} uyu -ma -sı] -nı iste -di.
Aysel sleep -mA -3SG.POSS -ACC want-PAST
'Aysel_i wanted him/her*_{i/k} to sleep.'

Türkçede gizli öznelerin doğasının net olmadığı içe yerleşik tümceciklerde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Gizli öznenin eşgöndergesel olasılıkları, dilek kipi olarak sınıflandırılan –*mA* adlaştıricısını (Erguvanlı-Taylan 1993, 1998; Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Kornfilt ve Whittman 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018) içeren içe yerleşik tümceciklerde ve bildirme kipi olarak sınıflandırılan –*DIK* adlaştıricısını (Csató 1990;

Erguvanlı-Taylan 1993, 1998; Kornfilt 2003, 2007; Kornfilt ve Whittman 2011, 2012; Predolac 2017, 2018) içeren içe yerleşik tümceciklerde farklıdır. Bu tezde, Türkçedeki gizli öznenin özellikleri araştırılmaktadır. Özellikle, bu yapının açık zamir (örneğin, *o*) veya başka bir artgönderim (örneğin, logofor, *kendisi*) ile eşdeğer olup olmadığı tartışılmaktadır.

1.1 Araştırma Soruları

Bu tezin araştırma soruları şunlardır:

- (i) Türkçede gizli özne nedir? Gizli bir adıl mı yoksa gizli bir *kendisi* mi?
- (ii) *-mA* ve *-DIK* tümceciklerinde eşgönderimsel olasılıklarındaki farklılıklara ne neden olmaktadır?
- (iii) *-mA* ve *-DIK* adlaştırmacı ile kurulan tamamlayıcı cümlelerin sözdizimsel yapıları nelerdir?

2 LİTERATÜR TARAMASI

Türkçede gizli özne yaygın olarak açık özne *o*'nun gizli hali olarak nitelendirilir (Kornfilt 1984, 1987, 2018; Erguvanlı Taylan 1984; Özsoy 1987; Enç 1986; Turan 1996; Öztürk 1999; Altan 2013, ve diğerleri).

Ancak, (1) ve (2) arasındaki karşıtlığa dayanarak, Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) açık zamirler ile gizli öznelerin aynı özelliklere sahip olmadığını öne sürmektedir. Gürel açık özne *o* ve gizli öznenin içe yerleşik tümceciklerde farklı eşgönderimsel olasılıklarının olduğunu (3) ve (4) numaralı örneklerde göstermiştir. Öte yandan (5) numaralı cümlede gösterildiği gibi logofor *kendisi* ve gizli özne içe yerleşik tümceciklerde aynı eşgönderimsel olasılıklara sahiptir.

- (3) Elif_i [o -nun*_{i/k} kazan-acağ -i] -nı söyle-di.
Elif s/he-GEN win -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
'Elif_i said (that) she*_{i/k} would win.' (Gürel 2002: 73)

- (4) Elif_i [*pro*_{i/k} kazan-acağ -i] -nı söyle-di.
Elif win -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
'Elif_i said (that) *pro*_{i/k} would win.' (Gürel 2002: 73)

- (5) Elif_i [kendi-si -nin_{i/k} kazan-acağ -i] -nı söyle-di.
Elif self -3SG-GEN win -AcAK-3SG.POSS-ACC say -PAST
'Elif_i said (that) (her)self_{i/k} would win.' (Gürel 2002: 73)

Gürel'in argümanları, içe yerleşik tümcelerde gizli ve açık öznelerin Bağlama Teorisi'ne (Binding Theory) (Chomsky 1981) farklı şekillerde uyduğunu ve dolayısıyla farklı eşgöndergesel yorumlarına sahip olduğunu söylemektedir. Benzer şekilde, Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023), gizli özne ve açık zamir *o* aynı yapının gizli ve açık karşılıkları olmadığını söyler. Gürel gizli öznenin logofor *kendisi* ile aynı davrandığını öne sürmektedir. Ancak (6) ve (7) numaralı örneklerde içeyerleşik gizli özne ile *kendisi* aynı eşgöndergesel olasılıklara sahip değildir.

(6) Kazım_i [Ø_{*i/k} kazan-ma -sı] -nı isti -yor.
Kazım win -MA -3SG -ACC want-3SG.IMPF
'Kazım_i wants him/her_{*i/j} to win.'

(7) Kazım_i [kendi-si -nin_{i/k} kazan-ma -sı] -nı isti -yor.
Kazım self -3SG-GEN win -MA -3SG -ACC want-3SG.IMPF
'Kazım_i wants himself_i/him/her_k to win.'

(6) ve (7)'deki eşgönderge farklılıkları açıkça gizli öznenin *kendisi* olamayacağını göstermektedir. Türkçede gizli öznenin ne olduğu ve nasıl işlediği konusundaki tartışmalar literatürde halen günceldir.

3 ÖNERGE

Bu tezde içe yerleşik tümceciklerde gizli öznelerin eşgöndergesel olasılıklarının, içe yerleşik tümceciklerin sözdizimsel yapısı ve ana fiilin anlamsal içeriği ile bağlantılı olduğunu öne sürülmektedir. Ana fiil ya dilek kipi (subjunctive) ya da bildirme kipi (indicative) seçer. Kip, içeyerleşik adılaştırıcıların *-mA* mı yoksa *-DIK* mı olduğunu belirler. İçeyerleşik TümÖ'lerin (complementizer phrase, CP) sözdizimsel yapıları, içeyerleşik gizli öznelerin eşgöndergesel olasılıkları arasındaki farklılıkları sonuçlandırır. Özellikle, Predolac (2017, 2018) tarafından önerildiği gibi, *-mA* adlaştırmacı ile yönlendirilen dilek kipi içeyerleşik TümÖ'lerin bir faz olmadığını ve bu durumun "Dilek Kipi Eşgönderge Kaybı" (Subjunctive Obviation) olarak adlandırılan bir olguya yol açtığı önerilmiştir. Bu olgu, ana ve içeyerleşik öznelerin ayrı eşgöndergesini zorunlu kılar. Dilek kipine sahip TümÖ'lerde ana cümleden bağımsız bir zaman kipi bulunmamaktadır. Zaman kipinin eksikliği faz olmayan şeffaf bir içeyerleşik TümÖ'ye sebep olur. Öte yandan, *-DIK* adlaştırmacı içeren bildirme kipli içeyerleşik cümle, ana cümleden bağımsız bir zaman kipine sahiptir. Dolayısıyla

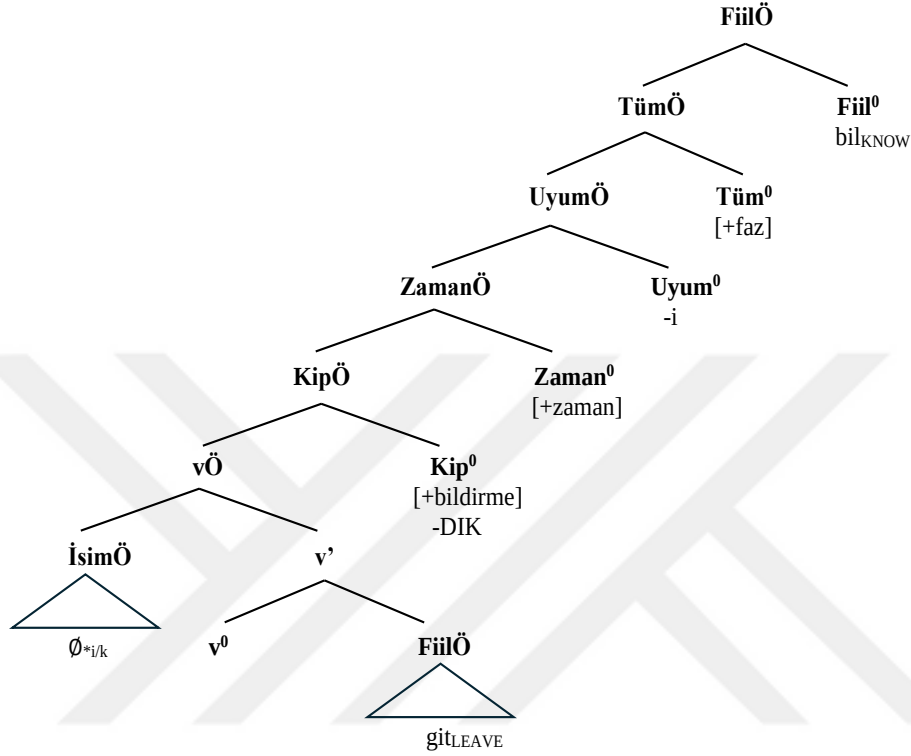
güçlü bir faz oluşturarak ana cümleden ayrı bir bağlama alanı yaratır. Bu nedenle ana ve içeyerleşik özneler arasında karşılıklı eşgöndergeye izin verir. Kanno ve Nomura'yı (2011) takip ederek, bağımsız zaman kipinin olmaması nedeniyle faz olmayan TümÖ'nün içeyerleşik cümleyi ana cümleden gelen sözdizimsel işlemler için şeffaf hale getirdiğini varsayıyorum. Sonuç olarak, "Dilek Kipi Zorunlu Eşgönderimsizlik (DKZE)" (Subjunctive Disjoint Reference, SDR) etkisi (Kempchinsky 1987), TümÖ'nün kusurlu doğası nedeniyle ortaya çıkmaktadır. *-mA* ve *-DIK* isimleştircileri içeren tamamlayıcı cümleleri analiz ederek, zamirsel doğaya sahip Bağlama Teorisi'nin B İlkesi'ne tabi olan gizli öznenin açık zamir o'nun gizli versiyonu olduğunu, Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) ve Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023) tezine karşı olarak sonuçlandırıyorum.

Dilek Kipi Zorunlu Eşgönderimsizlik, bir dilek kipli içe yerleşik tümcenin zamir öznesinin ana cümle öznesinden ayrı eşgöndermeli olması gerekliliği olarak tanımlanır (Avrutin ve Babyonyshev 1997). Romence, İspanyolca ve İtalyanca gibi kip ayırımları olan birçok dilde (Farkas 1992, Kempchinsky 2009, Bosque 2012, Predolac 2017 ve Turgay 2021 gibi) bildirme yüklemeleri (örneğin, *söylemek* gibi fiiller), kesinlik yüklemeleri (örneğin, *bilmek*), üstlenme yüklemeleri (örneğin, *söz vermek*) ve kurgu fiilleri (örneğin, *hayal etmek*) bildirme kipi seçen yüklemeler olarak sınıflandırılırken, dilek fiilleri (örneğin, *istemek*), yönlendirme yüklemeleri (örneğin, *sormak*), izin verme yüklemeleri (örneğin, *izin vermek*) ve olgusal duygu yüklemeleri (örneğin, *pışmanlık*) dilek kipi seçen yüklemeler olarak sınıflandırılır (Farkas 1992). Kempchinsky (1987), Dilek Kipi Zorunlu Eşgönderimsizlik (DKZE) etkisinin, dilek kipli ana yüklemelin içeyerleşik tümcesinde etki ettiğini belirtmektedir. Bu etkinin sonucunda, ana ve içeyerleşik özneler arasındaki karşılıklı eşgönderim engellenir.

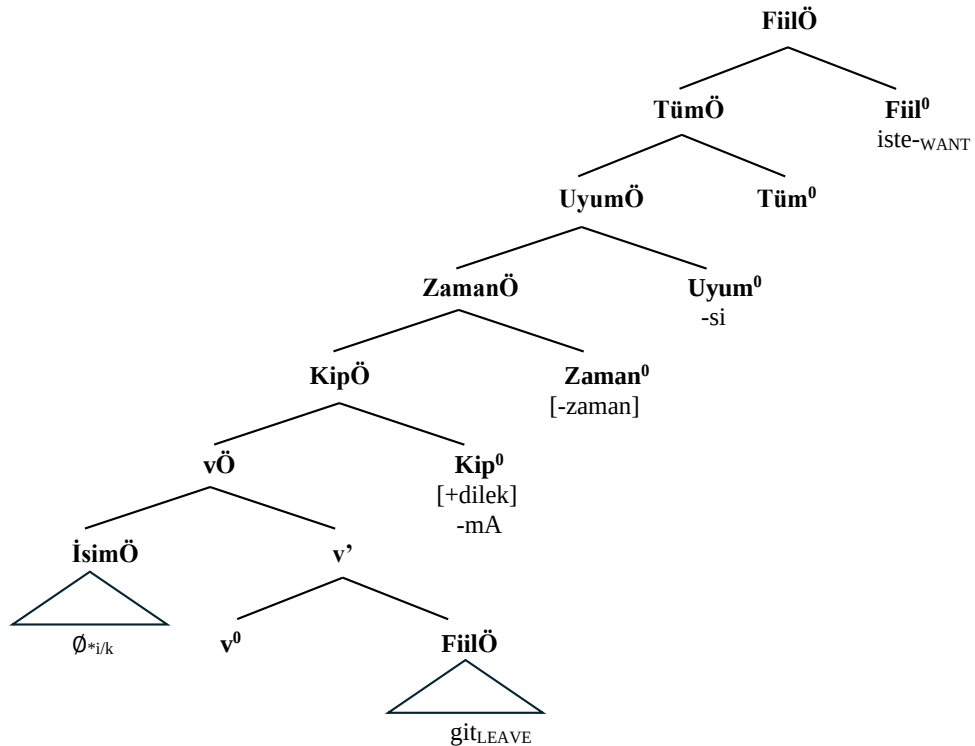
-mA adlaştırmacı içeren dilek kipli tamamlayıcı cümlelerin bir faz TümÖ'leri olmadığı önerilmektedir. DKZE etkisinin Türkçede gözlemlenmesinin nedeni, dilek kipli ana fiillerin [-zaman] özelliğine sahip bir tamamlayıcı cümle seçmeleri olduğu argümanını sunuyorum. Tamamlayıcı cümledeki bağımsız zaman kipinin eksikliği, faz olmayan bir TümÖ'ye yol açar; yani, *-mA* tümcecikleri faz olmayan bir TümÖ'ye sahiptir. Bir bağlama alanının bir faz ile örtüştüğü varsayılarak, *-mA* içeren içe yerleşik tümceciklerde içeyerleşik ve ana özneleri içeren yalnızca bir bağlama alanı vardır. Ancak, *-DIK* içeren içe yerleşik tümceciklerde içeyerleşik ve ana özneleri içeren iki

farklı bağlama alanı vardır. *-DIK* ve *-mA* kipleri içeren içe yerleşik tümceciklerin sözdizimsel ağaç diyagramları (8)a-b'de gösterilmiştir.

- (8) a. Ali_i [$\emptyset_{i/k}$ geldiğini] biliyor.
 Ali_i knows that s/he_{i/k} came.



- b. Ali [$\emptyset_{*i/k}$ gelmesini] istedi.
 Ali_i istedi him/her_{*i/k} to come.



-*mA* kipi içeren içeyerleşik tümceciklerdeki gizli öznenin aynı faz içerisinde bulunan ana özne ile zorunlu eşgönderimsizliği gizli öznenin Bağlama Teorisi'nin (BT) Kural B'sine tabi olduğu göstermektedir. Bu nedenle gizli öznenin bir zamir (pro) olduğu çıkarımı yapılmıştır.

4 SONUÇ

Bu tezde, içe yerleşik tümceciklerde gizli öznelerin eşgönderge olasılıklarının, içe yerleşik tümceciklerin sözdizimsel yapısı ve ana fiilin anlamsal içeriği ile bağlantılı olduğu öne sürülmektedir. Ana fiil içe yerleşik tümceciklerde ya dilek kipini (subjunctive) ya da bildirme kipini (indicative) seçer. Kip, içeyerleşik adlaştıracının –*mA* mı yoksa –*DIK* mı olduğunu belirler. İçeyerleşik TümÖ'lerin (complementizer phrase, CP) sözdizimsel yapıları, içeyerleşik gizli öznelerin eşgönderimdel olasılıkları arasındaki farklara yol açar. Predolac (2017, 2018) tarafından önerildiği gibi, –*mA* adlaştıracısı içeren dilek kipli içe yerleşik tümceciklerin bir faz (phase) olmadığını ve bunun sonucunda "Dilek Kipi Zorunlu Eşgönderimsizlik (DKZE)" (Subjunctive Disjoint Reference, SDR) etkisi (Kempchinsky 1987) olarak adlandırılan bir görüngünün ortaya çıktığını öne sürüyorum. Bu etki, ana ve içeyerleşik öznelerin zorunlu eşgönderimsizliğine (non-coreference) neden olur. Öte yandan, –*DIK* adlaştıracısı içeren bildirme kipine sahip içe yerleşik tümcecikler güçlü bir faz olup, ana cümleden ayrı bir bağlama alanı (binding domain) oluşturur ve bu nedenle ana ve içeyerleşik özneler arasında eşgönderime izin verir. Kanno ve Nomura'yı (2011) takip ederek, faz olmayan TümÖ'lerin içe yerleşik tümcecikleri ana cümleden gelen sözdizimsel işlemler için şeffaf hale getirdiğini varsayıyorum. Dilek Kipi Zorunlu Eşgönderimsizlik, TümÖ'nün şeffaf doğası nedeniyle meydana gelir. –*mA* ve –*DIK* adlaştıracılarını içeren tamamlayıcı cümleleri analiz ederek, hem gizli öznenin hem de açık zaminin Bağlama Teorisi'nin (Binding Theory) (Chomsky 1981) B İlkesi'ne tabi olduğu gösterilmektedir. Gürel (2002, 2004, 2006) ve Dinçtopal-Deniz (2023) tezine karşı olarak, gizli öznenin adıl doğası nedeniyle açık zamir *o*'nun gizli versiyonu olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

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