

TURKISH

Jaklin Kornfilt



London and New York

TURKISH

Turkish, the most prominent of the Turkic languages, is spoken by about 50 million people in Turkey and is the co-official language of Cyprus. This book is a comprehensive descriptive grammar of all components of Turkish grammar, with special emphasis on morphology and phonology.

Whilst Turkish has a number of properties that are similar to other languages of the same morphological and syntactic type, it has distinct and interesting characteristics which are given full coverage in this book.

Jaklin Kornfilt provides a wealth of examples for almost every issue addressed. These examples are drawn from different levels of vocabulary – contemporary and old, official and colloquial – and are accompanied by a detailed grammatical analysis and English translation.

Turkish is presented in a broad, universally intelligible linguistic framework which makes it accessible to linguists and non-linguists, native speakers and non-native speakers alike.

Jaklin Kornfilt is currently Associate Professor of Linguistics at Syracuse University. She is a native speaker of Turkish and has been involved in research on Turkish linguistics for the last twenty years, an area in which she has published widely.

Descriptive Grammars

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglo-centrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), no. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Routledge), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description and field-workers with an interest in theory.

Editorial statement

The aim of the Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available. However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

Bernard Comrie

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Jaklin Kornfilt



London and New York

First published 1997
by Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

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Printed and bound in Great Britain by
TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

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system, without permission in writing from the
publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the
British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data
Kornfilt, Jaklin.

Turkish / Jaklin Kornfilt.
p. cm. – (Descriptive grammars)
ISBN 0–415–00010–6 (hb)
1. Turkish language–Grammar.
I. Title. II. Series.
PL121.K65 1997
494'.3582421–dc21

97–2874
CIP

ISBN 0–415–00010–6 (hbk)

This book is dedicated to M. A. B.,
in friendship and gratitude.

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Preface

Turkish belongs to the Turkic language family and is the largest languages (in terms of number of speakers) in the Turkic family, and it accounts for some 40 per cent of the total number of speakers of Turkic languages. The main geographic locations of Turkic languages are: 1. Turkey (Turkish), 2. Azerbaidjan, a republic of the former USSR, and northwestern Iran (mainly Azerbaidjani), 3. the formerly Soviet Central Asia, Kazakhstan and southern Siberia (e.g. Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkmenian, Kirghiz) and 4. on the Volga (e.g. Tatar). One Turkic language (Yakut) is spoken in northern Siberia. In addition, there are substantial Turkic-speaking communities in northwestern China (Uighur and Kazakh).

The external genetic relationships of the Turkic family are controversial. The most widely accepted affiliation is with the Mongolian languages and the Tungusic languages, thus forming the Altaic family. Some more courageous hypotheses extend the Altaic family eastwards to include Korean, perhaps even Japanese, or northwards to include the Uralic family (and thus yielding an Ural-Altaic family).

Turkish is the official and dominant language of Turkey (Turkish Republic), where it is the native language of over 90 per cent of the population, i.e. some 50 million people. (The largest linguistic minority in the Turkish Republic is formed by Kurdish speakers, mainly in southeastern Turkey.) Turkish is also a coofficial language (together with Greek) in Cyprus, where it is spoken by about 19 per cent of the population. But the largest number of Turkish speakers outside Turkey, perhaps one million, is to be found in the Balkans, especially Bulgaria, but also in the former Yugoslavia (especially Macedonia) and in Greece, although in the last few years, the Turkish Republic has repatriated a number of these speakers, especially from Bulgaria.

There is no general agreement in Turkological literature on the most adequate geographic grouping of the Turkic languages; we shall go along with those sources that classify Modern Standard Turkish within a South-West (or Oğuz) group, together with Gagauz, Azerbaidjani and

Turkmenian, the latter forming the eastern subgroup called *Osman* (i.e. Ottoman), which would consist of the following dialects: Rumelian, Anatolian and South Crimean. Modern Standard Turkish represents a standardization of the Istanbul dialect of Anatolian.

There is no consensus on the ancestor language of this group, either. It seems established, however, that the language of the oldest documents (i.e. the Orkhun inscriptions and the Old Uighur manuscripts) is the ancestor of another group, namely of the Central Asiatic Turkic languages; the South-West languages are presumably descendants of the language of the 'Western Türküt' mentioned in the Chinese Annals.

The ancient languages of this group would be Old Anatolian (Selçuk) and Old Osman. These labels are misleading, however, and have more political and historical justification than linguistic motivation, since there are no clear-cut criteria to distinguish the languages they represent from one another; there might be more reason to distinguish Old Osman (which is usually claimed to extend until the fifteenth century, ending with the conquest of Constantinople) from Ottoman proper; but even there, there is no strong motivation for a strict cut-off point.

The first Anatolian Turkish documents date from the thirteenth century and show that the literary tradition of Central Asia was only very tenuously carried over by the Turkish people (who had been converted to Islam earlier) after invading Anatolia from the east in the late eleventh century. It is clear that these tribes were influenced heavily by both Persian and Arabic from the very beginnings of their settling down in Anatolia, given the higher prestige and developments of the culture and literature of these neighboring Muslim nations. The number of works in Turkish written by the Turks of Anatolia (as opposed to those written by them in Arabic and Persian and even Greek) greatly increased in the fourteenth century, together with the Selçuk period of feudalism in Anatolia. The gap between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries with respect to the lack of written documents can probably be explained by assuming that the Turkish leaders used Arabic and Persian, not finding a local Turkic language in their new surroundings and not having a strong literary tradition to fall back on. The latter would be true, given the fact that these Turkish tribes (who, to a large part, belonged to the Oğuz) were not among the culturally more advanced Turkic groups. Moreover, they were geographically separated at that time from the Central Asian centers of Turkic literature.

From the very beginning of its Anatolian period, Turkish was written in the Arabic script, until the Latin script was adopted in the course of the "writing reform" of 1928 (implemented in 1929), one of the various reforms introduced after the founding of the Turkish Republic with the aim of westernizing the country. (Some remarks on the currently used script can be found in the phonology chapter.) However, the Uighur script was also employed by the Anatolian Turks up to the fifteenth century, which might explain some features of the Arabic script as used by the Turks of that period and which differ from standard Arabic usage, e.g. vowels are written out in Turkish words. This point, incidentally, has often been brought up to motivate the "writing reform", arguing that the multiple ambiguities that arise in Turkish within a non-vocalized orthography made the Arabic system highly inadequate for Turkish.

In the literature written for scholarly, administrative and literary purposes, the Persian and Arabic components became so prevalent that Ottoman became a hybrid language, having lost some of its characteristic Turkic properties to the point of not being usable as a medium of communication common to all social classes. During the same time, however, there also was a considerable production of mystical literature and folk poetry which was written for the less educated classes, in the language used by those segments of the population, namely Anatolian Turkish as influenced very little by Persian and Arabic. These works are very close to the Modern Standard Turkish used in the Turkish Republic currently, and they can essentially be understood without too much difficulty. Among the authors of the court literature there were, from time to time, also some who called for a purification of the language and ultimately, starting in the eighteenth century, there was a general movement towards a language with native features.

The culmination of such movements was reached after the turn of the century. In 1909, a "Turkish Club" (*Türk Derneği*) was founded in Istanbul and started publishing a journal, proclaiming its aims for a simpler Turkish. Similar movements and journals followed soon and literary works written in a "purified" Turkish were produced (e.g. the works of Ömer Seyfettin and Ziya Gökalp). Conscious and systematic efforts to establish criteria for maintaining the vocabulary as well as the structural characteristics of Turkish were continued through the "War of Liberation" (after World War I) into the founding of the Republic and the reform movements. The language reform, which can be claimed to have

started with the "writing reform", should therefore be viewed within a tradition of a search for a national identity, combined with a general campaign for westernization. A Turkish Language Society was founded in Ankara, with the tasks of etymological research and creation of new words, the latter in accordance with the Turkish rules of word formation and using Turkic roots, where the "purification" of the language from Arabic and Persian vocabulary had created gaps which could not be filled with current synonyms. Although some of these new creations were judged to be just as foreign to the current colloquial language as the borrowed vocabulary and dropped out of usage almost as soon as they were introduced, the work of the Society can be judged to have been essentially successful in creating a widely understood language with a transparent morphological component and its own, typologically consistent syntax.

This book offers a descriptive grammar of Modern Standard Turkish. The data come from simple texts, from other grammar books (listed in the bibliography), and from my own intuitions, the latter checked against the intuitions of other Turkish speakers. In that context, I am very much indebted to Engin Sezer and Mehmet Yanılmaz. The presentation of the data, especially in the syntax chapter, might be unusual in that I often give ungrammatical examples (marked as such) to show what a given construction might have looked like, if it had existed, rather than simply say that a certain possibility, characterized by one of the leading questions, did not exist in the language. Another unusual feature of this book, and especially of the syntax chapter, is probably the fact that shadings of grammaticality or acceptability are noted, rather than reflecting an all-or-nothing approach.

In citing bound morphemes, I have followed some general Turkological practices. Capital letters denote archiphonemes whose missing feature values are predictable by general phonological rules. In the case of vowels, **I** stands for a [+high], **A** for a [-high] vowel before application of vowel harmony. In the case of consonants, a capital letter stands for a segment which will undergo syllable final devoicing, morpheme-initial voicing assimilation or intervocalic **k**-deletion. Symbols in parentheses denote affix allomorphy in those instances where the segment in question deletes after a "like" segment (i.e. a vowel after a vowel, a consonant after a consonant). The third person singular agreement suffix is null for finite verbs; I have not represented this null morpheme in the examples, nor have I glossed it.

theoretical) analyses which I have offered here are mostly based on my own previous work, as cited, and also on other scholars' work, also as cited. (The overview presented in this introduction owes the majority of its information to Kornfilt (1987), but it is not identical with that article.) Not always have I followed a traditional or majority point of view (wherever such a view did exist). The morphology and phonology chapters are a case in point in this context. The rule of syllable final obstruent devoicing or that of (high) vowel insertion are approaches followed by some generative phonologists, following in Lees's (cf. Lees (1961)) footsteps. The data covered by these rules have traditionally been assumed to be due to a rule of intervocalic voicing (of underlyingly voiced segments) and to a rule of vowel deletion, respectively. One major drawback of these traditional analyses is the fact that there are high numbers of exceptions to them, and that the rules would need to be morphologically conditioned (since, exception-ridden as they are, they would also have to be limited to certain word classes). Similarly, the morphological characterization of many affixes is different here from that found in many traditional works. I hope, however, that such characterizations are clear and consistent. I would like to hereby invite the readers of this book to inform me of any unclarities and/or inconsistencies that they may find.

The writing of this book has taken much longer than anticipated. One positive aspect of this is that there are thus more people to thank. For financial help and assistance during the preparation of this book, I am grateful to the ACLS for a fellowship in 1988 or recent recipients of the Ph.D., to the Institute of Turkish Studies for a research grant for faculty members during the same time, to the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen for a visitor's fellowship in the summer of 1989, to Syracuse University for research leaves in 1988 and 1993, to the Center for General Linguistics and Typology in Berlin for fellowships in the summer of 1994 and in the fall semester of 1995, and to the ASG (Research Group on Structural Grammar) of the Max Planck Society in Berlin for a one-month visiting fellowship in the fall term of 1996. I am grateful to Frank Heinsberg for his help in technical matters having to do with the electronic transmission of parts of this book during my stay in Berlin. I thank Manfred Bierwisch for making that fellowship possible. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Bernard Comrie for help, encouragement, and patience. I am certain that this book would have benefited immensely had I availed myself of his advice more than I was able to. I also would like to thank Alison Foyle and Miranda Filbee, editors at Routledge, for all their help with my many questions, and for

their patience. Finally, I thank Mark Brown for his expert help in editing and formatting the text and the examples, and for his moral support during these difficult years.

Jaklin Kornfilt, November 1996, Syracuse

List of abbreviations

∅	empty element
1.pl.	first person plural
1.pl.Opt.	first person plural optative
1.sg.	first person singular
1.sg.Opt.	first person singular optative
2.pl.	second person plural
2.pl.Imp.	second person plural imperative
2.sg.	second person singular
2.sg.Imp.	second person singular imperative
2.sg.Opt.	second person singular optative
3.pl.	third person plural
3.pl.Imp.	third person plural imperative
3.sg.	third person singular
3.sg.Imp.	third person singular imperative
3.sg.Opt.	third person singular optative
Abil.	abilitative
Abl.	ablative
Abs.N.	abstract noun
Acc.	accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Adv.	adverbializer
ANom	action nominal
Aor.	aorist
Ar.	Arabic
CAdv.	conjunctive adverb
Caus.	causative
CmpM	compound-marker
Coll.	collective
Com.	comitative
Com.Conj.	comitative conjunction
Compl.	complementizer
Cond.	conditional
Cop.	copula
Dat.	dative
DerAdj	derived adjective
DerCaus	derived causative
DerNom	derived nominal
DerRefl	derived reflexive
Dist.	distributive
e.o.	each other
Ep.Cop.	epistemic copula

FNom	factive nominal
FNomFut	future factive nominal
Fut.	future
Fut.ObjP	future object participle
Gen.	genitive
Ger.	gerundive
Imp.	imperative
Inf.	infinitive
Infer.Past	inferential past
Inst.	instrumental
intr.	intransitive
Loc.	locative
M.	middle
MAdv.	adverb of manner
N	noun
Nec.	necessitative
Neg.	negation
Neg.Aor.	negative aorist
Neg.Cop.	negative copula
Neg.Exist.	negative existential
Nom.	nominative
NP	noun phrase
ObjP	object participle
OInst.	old instrumental
Opt.	optative
Pass.	passive
Past	past
pl.	plural
Poss.Pr.	possessive pronoun
PP	postpositional phrase
PPart	past participle
Pr.Prog.	present progressive
PRO	anaphoric subject for infinitivals
Prof.	marker of profession
Prog.	progressive
Q	interrogative particle
Recip.	reciprocal
Refl.	reflexive
Rel.Cl.	relative clitic
Rep.MAdv.	repetitive adverb of manner
Rep.Past	reported past
S	sentence or clause
s.o.	someone

s.th.	something
SbjP	subject participle
sg.	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb order
TAdv.	temporal adverb
tr.	transitive
V	verb
Vbl.Conj.	verbal conjunction
VDeriv	derived (denominal) verb
VP	verb phrase

Ill-Formedness markers

*	Judged unacceptable by native speakers
??/*	Judged as being of borderline acceptability by some native speakers and as ill-formed by others
??	Judged as being of borderline acceptability by most native speakers
?(?)	Accepted by most native speakers but judged to be not perfectly grammatical
?	Accepted by all native speakers but judged to be less than perfect
(?)	Accepted by all native speakers and judged to be almost perfect
#	Semantically ill-formed

1. Syntax

1. 1. GENERAL PROPERTIES

1. 1. 1. Sentence types

1. 1. 1. 1. Direct speech versus indirect speech

Indirect speech in Turkish is represented in the form of a nominalized clause (as are most constituent clauses) and is introduced by a variety of verbs of saying, e.g. **söyle** 'say', **anlat** 'tell', **haber ver** 'notify':

- (1) a. Ahmet [dün sinema-ya git -tiğ -in -i]
Ahmet yesterday cinema-Dat. go -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
söyle -di
say -Past
"Ahmet said that he went to the movies yesterday"
- (1) b. komşu -lar [yarın seyahat -e
neighbor -pl. tomorrow trip -Dat.
çık -acak -ların -ı] **söyle** -di
go -Fut. -3.pl. -Acc. say -Past
"The neighbors said that (they) were going on a trip tomorrow"
- (2) a. (sen) [Ahmed-in dün sinema -ya
you(sg.) Ahmet -Gen. yesterday movies -Dat.
git -tiğ -in -i] biz -e **anlat** -ma -dı -n
go -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. we -Dat. tell -Neg. -Past -2.sg.
"You didn't tell us that Ahmet went to the movies yesterday"
- (2) b. (sen) [(siz -in) yarın seyahat -e
you(sg.) you(pl.) -Gen. tomorrow trip -Dat.
çık -acağ -ınız -ı] biz -e
go -Fut. -2.pl. -Acc. we -Dat.
haber ver -me -di -n
news give -Neg. -Past -2.sg.
"You didn't notify us that you were going on a trip tomorrow"

Since we shall discuss the properties of embedded clauses later in more detail, let us point out the main properties of the constituent clauses in the examples above: the subject of the embedded clause bears genitive case, the nominalized embedded verb exhibits nominal (rather than purely verbal) subject agreement markers (see sections 2. 1. 3. 6. 2. 1. and

2. 1. 3. 6. 6. 5.), and the whole embedded clause is marked with accusative case, since the clause is the direct object of the matrix verb.

Embedded clauses expressing direct speech, on the other hand, are not nominalized and have all the properties of a fully finite simple or matrix clause: the embedded subject is in the nominative case; the embedded verb can bear all tense and aspect distinctions and carries subject agreement markers of the verbal paradigm; such direct speech is introduced by the matrix verb **de** 'say' in a variety of tense and aspect forms:

- (3) a. Ahmet [(ben) dün sinema -ya git -ti -m]
 Ahmet I yesterday cinema -Dat. go -Past -1.sg.
de -di
say -Past
 "Ahmet said: 'I went to the movies yesterday' "
- (3) b. komşu -lar [(biz) yarın seyahat -e çık -acağ -ız]
 neighbor -pl. we tomorrow trip -Dat. go -Fut. -1.pl.
de -di -ler
say -Past -3.pl.
 "The neighbors said: 'We will go on a trip tomorrow' "
- (4) a. sen biz -e [Ahmet dün sinema -ya git -ti]
 you(sg.) we -Dat. Ahmet yesterday cinema -Dat. go -Past
de -di -n
say -Past -2.sg.
 "You said to us: 'Ahmet went to the movies yesterday' "
- (4) b. sen biz-e [(biz) yarın seyahat -e çık -acağ -ız]
 you(sg.) we-Dat. we tomorrow trip -Dat. go -Fut. -1.pl.
de -di -n
say -Past -2.sg.
 "You said to us: 'We are going on a trip tomorrow' "

When direct speech is followed by a finite verb other than **de**, the particle **diye** (originally an adverb derived from the verb **de**) must follow the quotation:

- (5) Ahmet [(ben) sinema -ya gid -eceğ -im] **diye** mırıldan -dı
 Ahmet I cinema -Dat. go -Fut. -1.sg. "saying" mutter -Past
 "Ahmet muttered 'I will go to the movies' "
- (6) sen biz-e [(biz) yarın seyahat -e çık -acağ -ız]
 you(sg.) we -Dat. we tomorrow trip -Dat. go -Fut. -1.pl.
diye söz ver -di -n
"saying" promise give -Past -2.sg.
 "You promised us: 'We are going on a trip tomorrow' "

Yet another type of directly quoted speech makes use of a syntactic pattern borrowed from Persian and used for subordination in general. The subordinated clause—here, the direct speech—is introduced by the subordination marker **ki** 'that':

- (7) a. sen biz-e de -di -n ki [Ahmet dün
 you(sg.) we-Dat. say -Past -2.sg. **that** Ahmet yesterday
 sinema-ya git-ti]
 cinema-Dat. go-Past
 "You said to us: 'Ahmet went to the movies yesterday' "

- (7) b. sen biz-e de -di -n ki [(biz) yarın
 you(sg.) we-Dat. say -Past -2.sg. **that** we tomorrow
 seyahat-e çık-acağ-ız]
 trip -Dat. go -Fut. -1.pl.
 "You said to us: 'We are going on a trip tomorrow' "

One further difference between indirect and direct speech is word order. The nominalized clause representing indirect speech can be placed anywhere in the sentence (although the basic position of that clause is to the immediate left of the matrix verb, as are all direct objects); in this respect, such clauses behave the same way as all other types of (morphologically Case-marked) noun phrases and nominalized clauses, as will be seen later on. The fully finite, non-nominalized clauses representing direct speech, however, may occur only to the immediate left of the matrix verb **de**; in other words, these "direct speech clauses" may not move away from their basic position, and nothing may intervene between them and the matrix verb (with the exception of a highly limited number of particles—e.g. the Yes/No question marker **mI**, the conjunction marker **DA**).

Yet another difference between indirect and direct speech is pragmatically based and not Turkish-specific, having to do with the person feature of the embedded subject. Depending on the person of the speaker and/or addressee of the matrix utterance, the subject of the direct speech will change its person feature in quoted speech, in ways familiar from English and illustrated by the examples above.

In the orthography, direct speech is marked in two ways: either by quotation marks within the main sentence, or in a new line, preceded by a dash. Here are some examples from the literature:

- (8) "Bak, bunu duysa sevinir" dedi Müfit.¹
 [bak bun-u duy -sa sevin -ir] de -di Müfit
 look this-Acc. hear-Cond. be happy-Aor. say -Past Müfit
 " 'Look, if he hears this, he will be happy', said Müfit."

Note that, as in English, the quotation can (but doesn't have to) precede everything else in the sentence, which has the effect of forcing the subject to postpose to a position after the verb.

- (9) Seviyordu nedense Fransızca dilini Petro.
 —Almanca da iyi ama Fransızca başka! diyordu.²
 sev-iyor -du neden-se Fransızca dil -in -i
 like-Prog.-Past why -Cond. French language-CmpM-Acc.
 Petro.
 Petro.
 Almanca da³ iyi ama Fransızca başka
 German -also good but French different
 di -yor -du.
 say-Prog. -Past

"For whatever reason, Petro liked the French language.
 He used to say: 'German is fine, too, but French is something else.' "

Note that with the second orthographic convention for quoted speech, i.e. where a dash is used to introduce the quotation, the following part of the main sentence is not set off visibly from the end of the quotation.

Finally, it is worth noting that where a lengthy dialogue of quoted speech is rendered in a text, not all utterances have to be marked by a form of the verb of saying. There can be pages of dialogue, where each utterance is marked only by one of the orthographic conventions, and where no material of the frame intervenes; here is an example of a short dialogue of this sort:

- (10) "... Eski yazılarına göz at, bir oku onları, hatırlayacaksın."
 "Hatırlamayacağım."
 "Hatırlayacaksın. ..." ⁴
 eski yazı -lar -ın -a göz at, bir oku onlar -ı,
 old writing-pl. -2.sg. -Dat. eye throw once read they -Acc.
 hatırla -yacak -sın
 remember -Fut. -2.sg.
 "Have a look at your old writings, read them, and you will remember."
 hatırla -ma -yacağ -ım
 remember -Neg. -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I won't remember."

hatırla -yacak -sın
 remember -Fut. -2.sg.
 "You will remember."

1. 1. 1. 2. Different types of interrogative sentences

1. 1. 1. 2. 1. Yes/No questions

Yes/No questions are formed by attaching the particle **mI**; this morpheme gets cliticized to the predicate of the sentence and then has the whole sentence in its scope:

(11) Ahmet sinema-ya git-ti **mi**?
 Ahmet cinema-Dat. go-Past -Q
 "Did Ahmet go to the movies?"

We shall see later, in section 1. 11., that the same particle can also attach to a smaller constituent, thus taking only that constituent into its scope and focusing on it.

The Yes/No question particle has been traditionally called a postclitic, for the following reasons: on the one hand, it clearly forms a phonological word with the stem it attaches to, since it undergoes word-level phonological rules like Vowel Harmony in accordance with the stem. On the other hand, while stress in Turkish is usually word-final, this particle is never stressed; rather, it "throws back", as it were, stress to the preceding syllable, thus behaving as though it were outside the word boundary.⁵ As shown in (11), the standard orthographic convention is to write the particle separately from the preceding stem (predicate or constituent), in spite of the fact that phonologically, it is part of the same word.

The position of the Yes/No question particle is after the tense suffix and before the (subject) agreement marker; however, if the verb is in the definite past, the particle will follow rather than precede the agreement marker. The following examples illustrate the position of this particle; more detailed information will be given in the morphology section:

(12) a. yarın sinema-ya gid -ecek **mi** -sın?
 tomorrow cinema-Dat. go -Fut. -Q -2.sg.
 "Will you go to the movies tomorrow?"

(12) b. bugün sinema-ya gid-iyor **mu** -yuz?
 today cinema-Dat. go -Pr.Prog. -Q -1.pl.
 "Are we going to the movies today?"

1. 1. 1. 2. 1. 1. Neutral Yes/No questions

All the examples given in the previous section are neutral with respect to the expected answer, i.e. whether the asker expects a "Yes" or a "No" for an answer. Note that all three examples in the preceding section have an affirmative verb, to which the question particle is attached. The verb could also be in the negative; consider, for example, (13)a and (13)b, which correspond to the examples in (12):

(13) a. yarın sinema-ya git-**mi** -yecek **mi** -sin?
tomorrow cinema-Dat. go-Neg. -Fut. -Q -2.sg.
"Won't you go to the movies tomorrow?"

(13) b. bugün sinema-ya git-**mi** -yor **mu** -yuz?
today cinema-Dat. go-Neg. -Pr.Prog. -Q -1.pl.
"Aren't we going to the movies today?"

Just as in English, such a question with a negative predicate expresses the previous presupposition of the asker that the action was going to take place, but that certain circumstances seem to suggest that those presuppositions were faulty. Hence, the asker needs a confirmation that the previous assumptions were correct, after all. The hope is that they are, but the answer might show that, instead, reality will be different, and the question has no realistic expectation of either a "Yes" or a "No".

1. 1. 1. 2. 1. 2. Leading Yes/No questions:

1. 1. 1. 2. 1. 2. 1. Expecting the answer "Yes"

The main way to ask a Yes/No question that invites the answer "Yes" is by making a statement and then appending a type of negative tag question to it, which is formed by the negative copula and the Yes/No question particle we have seen above:

(14) Ahmet dün sinema-ya git-ti, **değil mi**?
Ahmet yesterday cinema-Dat. go-Past, Neg.Cop. -Q
"Ahmet went to the movies yesterday, didn't he?"
(Literally: "... , isn't it so?")

(15) sen bun-dan böyle ders -ler-in -e çalış -acak-sın,
you(sg.) this-Abl. thus lesson-pl.-2.sg.-Dat. work-Fut. -2.sg.
değil mi?
Neg.Cop. -Q?
"You will be studying your lessons from now on, won't you?"
(Literally: "You will be studying your lessons from now on, isn't it so?")

The expected answers for (14) and (15) would be affirmative ones (i.e. ones confirming the positive statement), although they might turn out to be negative; thus, the asker would expect to get (16) and (17), respectively:

- (16) evet (, git-ti)
 yes go -Past
 "Yes, (he) went"
- (17) evet (, çalış -acağ -ım)
 yes study -Fut. -1.sg.
 "Yes, (I) will study"

In spite of these expectations, the response might be negative, depending on the circumstances:

- (18) hayır (, git-me -di)
 no go-Neg. -Past
 "No, (he) didn't go"
- (19) hayır (, çalış -ma -yacağ -ım)
 no study-Neg.-Fut. -1.sg.
 "No, (I) won't study"

Where the statement in this type of question is itself negative, the expected answer is one where that statement is confirmed:

- (20) Ahmet dün sinema-ya git-me -di, değil mi?
 Ahmet yesterday cinema-Dat. go-Neg. -Past, Neg.Cop. -Q
 "Ahmet didn't go to the movies yesterday, did he?"
 (Literally: "Ahmet didn't go to the movies yesterday, isn't it so?")

The expected answer would be something like:

- (21) doğru, git -me -di
 true go -Neg. -Past
 "True, he didn't go"
- (22) sen bun-dan böyle ders -ler -in -e
 you(sg.) this -Abl. thus lesson -pl. -2.sg.-Dat.
 çalış -ma -yacak-sın, değil mi?
 work -Neg.-Fut. -2.sg. Neg.Cop. -Q
 "You won't be studying your lessons from now on, won't you?"
 (Literally: "You won't be studying your lessons from now on, isn't it so?")

Similarly, the expected answer here would be:

- (23) doğru, çalış -ma -yacağ -ım
 true study -Neg.-Fut. -1.sg.
 "True, I won't be studying"

Here, then, the expected answer is one confirming the negative statement, although, depending on the situation, it might be positive, thus contradicting the statement.

1. 1. 1. 2. 1. 2. 2. Expecting the answer "No"

There is no systematic syntactic construction for questions expecting a contradictory answer; as we saw in the previous section, answers with the expectation of an affirmative answer can receive a felicitous contradictory answer, but there is no set type of question that is used when expecting such an answer.

1. 1. 1. 2. 1. 3. Alternative questions

Alternative questions consist of two questions with contradictory predicates; those predicates might consist of an affirmative (questioned) predicate and its negated (questioned) form, or of an affirmative (questioned) predicate and its (questioned) antonym.

Alternative question with negated predicate:

- (24) Ahmet sinema -ya git-ti **mi**, git-**me** -di **mi**?
 Ahmet cinema -Dat. go-Past -Q go-Neg. -Past -Q
 "Did Ahmet go to the movies or didn't he?"

- (25) Ahmet genç **mi**, **değil** **mi**?
 Ahmet young -Q Neg.Cop. -Q
 "Is Ahmet young or isn't he?"

Alternative question with antonym of predicate:

- (26) Ahmet genç **mi**, yaş-lı **mi**?
 Ahmet young -Q age-with -Q
 "Is Ahmet young or old?"

While the most general type of alternative questions involves alternative predicate questions as illustrated by the examples just given, it is also possible to form alternative questions by using constituent questions:

- (27) Ahmet Ayşe-yi **mi** sev -iyor, Zeyneb-i **mi**?
 Ahmet Ayşe-Acc. -Q love -Pr.Prog. Zeynep-Acc. -Q
 "Does Ahmet love Ayşe or Zeynep?"

- (28) Ahmet sinema-ya **mi** git-ti, tiyatro-ya **mi**?
 Ahmet cinema-Dat. -Q go-Past theater-Dat. -Q
 "Did Ahmet go to the movies or to the theater?"
- (29) sinema-ya Ahmet **mi** git-ti, Zeynep **mi**?
 cinema-Dat. Ahmet -Q go-Past Zeynep -Q
 "Did Ahmet go to the movies or Zeynep?"

As we see, alternative questions of this type attach the Yes/No question particle to the questioned constituent (which has to be to the immediate left of the verb, irrespective of its grammatical function), and a tag is attached to the main question. The tag usually has only the alternative offered, with the Yes/No question particle attached. It is possible to repeat the predicate, but this gives the utterance a flavor of stilted rhetoric.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. Question-Word questions

Turkish has a set of question words which correspond to "WH-words" in English; a representative list of these elements follows:

- (30) **kim** 'who'
ne 'what'
/nere/ 'where' (this morpheme can be used only in an inflected form in Modern Turkish; the inflection will consist of a Case or possessive Agreement suffix, or of a combination of the two; examples will be given in the next section.)
- hangi** 'which'
niye 'why'
neden 'why' (literally: 'what-Ablative', i.e. 'what for')
nasıl 'how'

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1. Elements of the sentence that can be questioned

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1. 1. Main clause

All elements of the main clause can be questioned. Before presenting examples, some remarks about the word order should be made.

It should be noted that, although Turkish is an SOV language, the basic word order is overridden by various other factors. For example, the most unmarked position for a WH-element is to the immediate left of the verb, irrespective of its grammatical relation. The second-best alternative is for the WH-element to be placed in its original position; for subjects, for example, this would mean that the second-best alternative would be

their basic, sentence-initial position. I have chosen to give the best-sounding, unmarked alternative for all examples in the text.

Subject in an active sentence:

(31) bu kitab -ı kim oku -du?
this book -Acc. who read-Past
"Who read this book?"

(32) Hasan-ı kim öl -dür -dü?
Hasan-Acc. who die -Caus. -Past
"Who killed Hasan?"

Subject in a passive sentence:

(33) (öğrenci-ler tarafından) ne oku -n -du?
student-pl. by what read -Pass. -Past
"What was read (by the students)?"

(34) (Mehmet tarafından) kim öl -dür -ül -dü?
Mehmet by who die -Caus. -Pass. -Past
"Who was killed (by Mehmet)?"

Direct Object:

(35) Hasan kim -i öl -dür -dü?
Hasan who -Acc. kill -Caus. -Past
"Whom did Hasan kill?"

(36) Hasan ne -yi /ne⁷ oku -du?
Hasan what -Acc. /what read-Past
"What did Hasan read?"

Indirect Object:

(37) Hasan kitab-ı kim-e ver -di?
Hasan book-Acc. who-Dat. give -Past
"To whom did Hasan give the book?"

Oblique Object:

(38) Hasan kim -den / ne -den⁸ kork -tu?
Hasan who-Abl. / what -Abl. fear -Past
"Of whom/what was Hasan afraid?"

Adverb:

(39) Hasan niye / niçin / neden kork -tu?
Hasan why / why / why fear -Past
"Why was Hasan afraid?/Why did Hasan get scared?"

We thus see that all main constituents of main sentences can be successfully questioned in WH-questions, i.e. "question-word questions". Let us now turn to embedded clauses.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1. 2. Subordinate clauses

All constituents of subordinate clauses—certainly of those that are arguments of the main predicate—can be questioned in the context of a main WH-question (embedded questions, which are arguments of either a root statement or of a root question, will be discussed in section 1. 1. 2. 2. 4.).

Let us first look at the most common type of subordinate clauses, namely at nominalized clausal complements of the main predicate:

- (40) (sen) [Ali -nin **nere** **ye** git-tiğ -in] -i
 you Ali -Gen. **where** **Dat.** go -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 duy -du -n?
 hear -Past -2.sg.
 "Where did you hear did Ali go?" (with the WH-element construed as an argument of the embedded verb "go", rather than of the main verb "hear")
- (41) (sen) [Zeyneb-i **kim-in** sev -diğ -in] -i
 you Zeynep-Acc. **who-Gen.** love -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 duy -du -n?
 hear-Past -2.sg.
 "Who did you hear loves Zeynep?"
- (42) (sen) [Ali -nin **kim** -i sev -diğ -in] -i
 you Ali-Gen. **whom-Acc.** love -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 duy -du -n?
 hear-Past -2.sg.
 "Whom did you hear does Ali love?"
- (43) (sen) [Ali-nin hapis -ten **niye** /**nasıl** kaç -tiğ -in] -i
 you Ali-Gen. prison-Abl. **why** /**how** escape-FNom-3.sg. -Acc.
 san -ıyor -sun?
 think -Pr.Prog. -2.sg.
 "Why/how do you think did Ali escape from prison?"
 (With the WH-element construed with the embedded verb)
- (44) (sen) [Ali -nin **nere** -**ye** git-me -sin] -i
 you Ali-Gen. **where** -**Dat.** go -ANom -3.sg. -Acc.
 isti -yor -sun?
 want-Pr.Prog.-2.sg.
 "Where do you want Ali to go?"
 (Literally: "Where do you want that Ali should go?")

- (45) (sen) [Ali-nin ev -in -i [kim -in için]
 you Ali-Gen. house-3.sg.-Acc. who -Gen. for
 sat -tiğ -in]-ı düşün -üyor -sun?
 sell-FNom -3.sg. -Acc. think -Pr.Prog.-2.sg.
 "For whom do you think did Ali sell his house?"
 (With the WH-element construed as the complement of the
 postposition in the embedded clause)
- (46) (sen) [Ali-nin ev -in -i [[kim-in faydalan-ma -sı]
 you Ali-Gen. house-3.sg.-Acc. who-Gen. benefit -ANom-3.sg.
 için] sat -tiğ -in] -ı düşün -üyor -sun?
 for sell -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. think -Pr.Prog.-2.sg.
 "For whose benefit do you think did Ali sell his house?" (Literally:
 "Who_i do you think Ali sold his house so that he_i should benefit?")

Note that here, the WH-element is a constituent, namely the subject, of a nominalized clause, which is itself the complement of a postposition (**için** 'for'). The whole postpositional phrase is a constituent of an embedded clause. We see that WH-questions can "reach into" very deep levels of embeddings.

Let us now turn to WH-questions "into" non-nominalized subordinate clauses.

- (47) Hasan [sinema-ya kim git-ti] san -ıyor?
 Hasan movies-Dat. who go-Past believe -Pr.Prog.
 "Who does Hasan think went to the movies?"
- (48) Hasan [sinema-ya kim -i⁹ git-ti] san -ıyor?
 Hasan cinema-Dat. who -Acc. go -Past believe -Pr.Prog.
 "Whom does Hasan think went to the movies?"
- (49) Hasan [kim -i sinema-ya git-ti] san -ıyor?
 Hasan who -Acc. movies-Dat. go -Past believe -Pr.Prog.
 Same translation as for (48).
- (50) Ali ev -in -i [[kim faydalan-sın] diye]
 Ali house -3.sg. -Acc. who benefit -3.sg.Opt.¹⁰ "saying"
 sat -ti?
 sell -Past
 "Who_i did Ali_j sell his_j house so that he_i should benefit?"

The only exception to the statement made earlier in this section, namely that all elements of a subordinate clause can be questioned with a WH-word, is the Indo-European type of subordination, borrowed into the language from Persian (cf. section 1. 1. 2.).

No matrix question can be formed by replacing any constituent of such subordinate clauses, as illustrated by the examples below, where a variety of embedded constituents are replaced by WH-words; note that in all of these examples, the WH-word is to be construed with the embedded verb.

- (51) *duy -du -n [ki [Ali nere -ye git-ti]]?
 hear -Past-2.sg. that Ali where -Dat. go-Past
 Intended reading: "Where did you hear that Ali went?"
- (52) *duy -du -n [ki [Ali kim-i sev -iyor]]?
 hear -Past-2.sg. that Ali who-Acc. love -Pr.Prog.
 Intended reading: "Whom did you hear that Ali loves?"
- (53) *duy -du -n [ki [Zeyneb-i kim sev -iyor]]?
 hear -Past-2.sg. that Zeynep-Acc. who love -Pr.Prog.
 Intended reading: "Who did you hear loves Zeynep?"
- (54) *zanned -iyor -sun [ki [Ali ev -in -den niye / nasıl kaç -tı]]?
 believe -Pr.Prog.-2.sg. that Ali home -3.sg.-Abl. why / how
 escape -Past
 Intended reading: "Why/how did you hear Ali ran away from home?"
- (55) *isti -yor -sun [ki [Ali nere -ye git-sin]]?
 want -Pr.Prog. -2.sg. that Ali where -Dat. go-3.sg.Opt.
 Intended reading: "Where do you want that Ali should go to?"

Needless to say, all of those constructions are grammatical as statements, i.e. without a WH-word; since we haven't seen any examples of this construction yet, I shall give a few crucial examples of this sort, corresponding to the ungrammatical questions above:

- (56) duy -du -m ki Ali sinema-ya git-ti
 hear-Past-1.sg. that Ali cinema-Dat. go -Past
 "I heard that Ali went to the movies"
- (57) duy -du -m ki Ali Zeyneb-i sev -iyor
 hear-Past-1.sg. that Ali Zeynep-Acc. love -Pr.Prog.
 "I heard that Ali loves Zeynep"
- (58) duy -du -n ki Zeyneb-i Ali sev -iyor
 hear-Past-2.sg. that Zeynep-Acc. Ali love-Pr.Prog.
 "I heard that Ali loves Zeynep"
 (**Ali** is focused and is adjacent to the embedded verb.)

- (59) zanned-iyor -um ki Ali ev -in -den helikopter-le
believe -Pr.Prog.-1.sg. that Ali home-3.sg. -Abl. helicopter-with
kaç -tı
escape -Past
"I believe that Ali escaped from home with a helicopter"
- (60) isti -yor -um ki Ali üniversite-ye git-sin
want -Pr.Prog.-1.sg. that Ali university-Dat. go-3.sg.Opt.
"I want that Ali should go to the university"

There is one more general type of subordination: adverbial clauses, which are marked with suffixes of various sorts. Some examples of productive types follow:

- (61) Hasan sahil yol -un -dan gid -erek ev -in -e
Hasan shore way -CmpM -Abl. go -MAdv. home-3.sg.-Dat.
doğru yürü-dü
towards walk-Past
"Going by way of the shore road, Hasan walked towards his home"
- (62) Hasan çarşı -ya uğra-yıp hemen ev -in -e
Hasan market -Dat. stop-Vbl.Conj. immediately home-3.sg. -Dat.
dön -ecek
return -Fut.
"Hasan will stop at the market and will immediately (thereafter) return to his home"
- (63) Hasan bar-lar-a gid-e gid-e biz-i
Hasan bar-pl.-Dat. go -Rep.MAdv.¹¹ go -Rep.MAdv. we-Dat.
unut -tu
forget-Past
"Constantly going to the bars, Hasan has forgotten (about) us"

As mentioned before briefly, there are also adverbial clauses that are complements of postpositions:

- (64) Hasan hep bar-lar-a git -tiğ -i için
Hasan constantly bar-pl.-Dat. go -FNom-3.sg. because
biz-i unut -tu
we-Acc. forget -Past
"Hasan has forgotten us because he has been going to the bars constantly"

It is possible to question out of all these nominalized clauses in order to form matrix questions, irrespective of whether these clauses are adverbial by virtue of the special suffixes on their predicates or by virtue of such clauses being the complements of postpositions:

- (65) a. Hasan **nere** -den gid-erek ev -in -e doğru
 Hasan **where** -Abl. go -MAdv. home-3.sg.-Dat. towards
 yürü-dü?
 walk-Past
 "Going via where did Hasan walk towards his home?"
- (65) b. Hasan **kim** -e rüşvet ver -erek seçim -i
 Hasan **who**-Dat. bribery give -MAdv. election-Acc.
 kazan -acağ -ın -ı düşün -dü?
 win -Fut. -3.sg.-Acc. think -Past
 "Bribing whom did Hasan think that he was going to win the election?"
- (66) a. Hasan **nere** -ye uğra-yıp ev -in -e dön -ecek?
 Hasan **where** -Dat. stop-VblConj. home-3.sg.-Dat. return -Fut.
 "Where will Hasan stop and immediately thereafter return home?"
- (66) b. Hasan **kim** -i döv-üp hapis -ten kaç -mağ -a
 Hasan **who** -Acc. hit -VblConj. prison-Abl. escape -Inf. -Dat.
 çalış -tı?
 try -Past
 "Whom did Hasan hit and try to escape from prison?"
- (67) Hasan **nere** -ye gid-e gid-e biz-i
 Hasan **where**-Dat. go -Rep.MAdv. go -Rep.MAdv. we-Acc.
 unut -tu?
 forget-Past
 "Where did Hasan go to repeatedly and forgot us?"
- (68) a. Hasan **nere** -ye git-tiğ -i için biz-i unut -tu?
 Hasan **where**-Dat. go-FNom-3.sg. **because** we-Acc. forget-Past
 "Hasan forgot us because he went where?"
- (68) b. Hasan **kim** -den kork-tuğ -u için ev -in -den
 Hasan **who**-Abl fear -FNom -3.sg. **because** home -3.sg.-Abl.
 çık -mı -yor?
 leave -Neg. -Pr.Prog.
 "Who_i does Hasan_j not leave his home because he_j is afraid of (him_i)?"

We have seen that in Turkish, most complements are nominalized; these have no subordinating conjunctions in the Indo-European sense. One might view the nominalization suffixes as markers of subordination, in which case the element next to these markers is the predicate, which cannot be questioned with a WH-element, but can be questioned with the Yes/No Question particle:

- (69) Hasan-in hep bar-lar-a git-tiğ -in -i mi
 Hasan-Gen. always bar-pl.-Dat. go-FNom -3.sg.-Acc. -Q
 duy -du -n?
 hear-Past-2.sg.
 "Did you hear that Hasan always goes to bars?"

Note, however, that the question particle follows the nominalization marker **-DIK**, the nominal agreement marker **-(s)In**, and the Accusative marker **-(y)I**, thus being outside the subordinated clause. It appears therefore that, at least morphologically, it is not possible to question exclusively the verbal sequence that is adjacent to the subordination marker and is clearly within the clause.

"Direct", i.e. non-nominalized complements have neither a subordination marker in the Indo-European sense (i.e. typically a free morpheme) nor in the Turkic sense (i.e. in form of a suffix on the predicate). Hence, for this type of complement, we cannot test whether an element next to a subordination marker can be questioned or not.

As for the Indo-European type of subordination, where a complement clause follows (rather than precedes, as in the Turkic type) the subordination marker, we have seen earlier that no element can be questioned out of such clauses; to question the element adjacent to the subordinating element is no better or worse than to question any other element out of such a clause:

- (70) a. *duy -du -n ki kim sinema-ya git-ti?
 hear-Past -2.sg. that who cinema-Dat. go-Past
 Intended reading: "Who did you hear went to the movies?"
- (70) b. *duy -du -n ki Hasan nere -ye git-ti?
 hear-Past -2.sg. that Hasan where-Dat. go-Past
 Intended reading: "Where did you hear that Hasan went?"
 (With the WH-element construed with the embedded verb.)

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1. 3. Various constituents of noun phrases can be questioned

Determiners:

Numerals:

- (71) Hasan dün kaç bardak şarap iç -ti?
 Hasan yesterday how many glass wine drink -Past
 "How many glasses of wine did Hasan drink yesterday?"

Deictics:

- (72) Hasan dün **hangi** kız-la dans -et -ti?
 Hasan yesterday **which** girl-with dance-do-Past
 "Which girl did Hasan dance with yesterday?"

Possessors in possessive NPs:

- (73) **kim** -in baba -sı tevkif ed-il -di?
who -Gen. father-3.sg. arrest do-Pass.-Past
 "Whose father was arrested?"

Modifiers:

- (74) Hasan **nasıl** bir kitap oku -du?
 Hasan **how** (of what sort) a book read -Past
 "What sort of a book did Hasan read?"

Heads:

The ability to question heads of NPs is heavily restricted. The only heads that can be easily and productively questioned are those in possessive NPs, i.e. those heads that are followed by morphology that expresses agreement with the possessor:

- (75) bina -nın **nere** -si yık -ıl -dı?
 building-Gen. **where**-3.sg. crumble -Pass. -Past
 "Where (i.e. which part) of the building fell down?"
- (76) Amasya-nın **ne** -si meşhur -dur?
 Amasya-Gen. **what**-3.sg. famous -is
 "What of Amasya is famous?"

The answer to such questions would be, in its shortest form, the inflected head noun; for (76), for example, it would be:

- (77) elma -sı
 apple -3.sg.
 "(Its) apples"

However, a head noun not inflected for possession cannot be questioned:

- (78) *Hasan çok güzel bir **ne** oku -du?
 Hasan very nice a **what** read -Past
 Intended reading: "What did Hasan read which was very nice?"
- (79) ??/*Hasan dün üç bardak **ne** iç -ti?
 Hasan yesterday three glass **what** drink -Past
 Intended reading: "Three glasses of what did Hasan drink yesterday?"

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1. 4. Questions out of postpositional phrases

We have mentioned earlier the free possibility of questioning out of clausal complements of postpositions. It is also possible to question NP-objects of postpositions; the case assigned by the postposition to its object is irrelevant in this respect:

(80) kız -in [kim-in kadar] çabuk koş-ar?
 daughter -2.sg. who-Gen. as much as fast run-Aor.
 "As fast as who does your daughter run?"

(81) Aylâ Erduran [kim-in gibi] keman çal -ar?
 Aylâ Erduran who-Gen. like violin play-Aor.
 "Like whom does Aylâ Erduran play the violin?"

(82) [nere -ye doğru] yürü-dü -nüz?
 where-Dat. towards walk-Past-2.pl.
 "Towards where did you walk?"

(83) salon -a [kim-den önce] gir -di -niz?
 hall -Dat. who-Abl. before enter-Past-2.pl.
 "Before whom did you enter the hall?"

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1. 5. Questions out of coordinate structures

It is in general not possible to question anything out of just one conjunct in a coordinate structure. Different types of conjunctions behave in slightly different ways in this respect. Note, for example, NP-conjunctions with the marker *ve*, borrowed from Arabic:

(84) Ahmet [balıĝ-ı ve sebze -yi] piş -ir -di
 Ahmet fish -Acc. and vegetable-Acc. cook-Caus. -Past
 "Ahmet cooked the fish and the vegetable(s)"

It is ungrammatical to question either one of the conjuncts, if the other is not questioned as well. However, where the second conjunct is questioned, the result is slightly better, presumably because the question word is closer to the verb; as we saw earlier, the pre-verbal position is the one preferred by WH-words:

(85) a. *Ahmet [ne -yi ve sebze -yi] piş -ir -di?
 Ahmet what-Acc. and vegetable-Acc. cook-Caus.-Past
 "Ahmet cooked what and the vegetable(s)?"

(85) b. ??/*Ahmet [balıĝ-ı ve ne -yi] piş -ir -di?
 Ahmet fish -Acc. and what -Acc. cook-Caus. -Past
 "Ahmet cooked the fish and what?"

A second type of NP-conjunction is a native construction, where the suffix **-(y)lA** is attached to the first conjunct:

- (86) Ahmet karı-sı -yla çocuğ -un -u çok
 Ahmet wife-3.sg.-Com.Conj.¹² child -3.sg.-Acc. very-much
 sev -er
 love-Aor.
 "Ahmet loves his wife and his child very much"

In this construction, questioning the first conjunct is completely ungrammatical, while questioning the second conjunct is quite acceptable:

- (87) *Ahmet kim -in -le çocuğ -un -u çok
 Ahmet who -Gen-Com.Conj. child -3.sg.-Acc. very-much
 sev -er?
 love-Aor.
 "Ahmet loves whom and his child very much?"
- (88) ?Ahmet karı -sı -yla kim -i çok sev -er?
 Ahmet wife-3.sg.-Com.Conj. who -Acc. very-much love -Aor.
 "Ahmet loves his wife and whom very much?"

Where the coordinate structure has whole sentences for conjuncts, nothing can be questioned out of one conjunct only, irrespective of whether this is the first or second conjunct, and irrespective of the grammatical relation of the questioned constituent.

Questioned subject:

- (89) *kim televizyon seyret-ti ve Mehmet sinema-ya git-ti?
 who TV watch-Past and Mehmet cinema-Dat. go-Past
 "Who watched TV and Mehmet went to the movies?"
- (90) *Ahmet televizyon seyret-ti ve kim sinema-ya git-ti?
 Ahmet TV watch-Past and who cinema-Dat. go-Past
 "Ahmet watched TV and who went to the movies?"

Questioned objects :

- (91) *Ahmet televizyon seyret-ti ve Mehmet ne oku -du?
 Ahmet TV watch-Past and Mehmet what read -Past
 "Ahmet watched TV and what did Mehmet read ?"
- (92) *Ahmet ne seyret-ti ve Mehmet gazete oku -du?
 Ahmet what watch-Past and Mehmet newspaper read-Past
 "What did Ahmet watch and Mehmet read the newspaper?"

Parallel constituents in the two conjuncts can be questioned simultaneously, however:

- (93) **kim** televizyon seyret-ti **ve kim** sinema-ya git-ti?
who TV watch-Past **and who** cinema-Dat. go-Past
 "Who watched TV and who went to the movies?"

While questions like that in (93) sound somewhat awkward due to the repetition of the question word, they are grammatical and are used in the appropriate situations.

In addition to the type of sentential conjunction employing the borrowed conjunction **ve**, there is a Turkic type, where no genuine conjunction is used—rather the sentence-initial topic of the second conjunct has the postclitic **DA** attached to it:

- (94) Ahmet televizyon seyret-ti, Osman **da**¹³ sinema-ya git-ti
 Ahmet TV watch-Past Osman **-and** cinema-Dat. go-Past
 "Ahmet watched TV and Osman went to the movies"

This topic needn't be a subject:

- (95) tiyatro-ya Ahmet git-ti, opera-ya **da** Osman (git-ti)¹⁴
 theater-Dat. Ahmet go-Past opera-Dat. **-and** Osman (go-Past)
 "As for the theater, Ahmet went (there); and as for the opera, Osman went (there)"

In this construction, nothing can be questioned in any one conjunct.

The sentence initial element cannot be questioned by itself:

- (96) ***kim** televizyon seyret-ti, Osman **da** sinema-ya git-ti?
who TV watch-Past Osman **-and** cinema-Dat. go-Past
 "Who watched TV and Osman went to the movies?"

- (97) *Ahmet televizyon seyret-ti, **kim de** sinema-ya git-ti?
 Ahmet TV watch-Past **who -and** cinema-Dat. go-Past
 "Ahmet watched TV and who went to the movies?"

As for non-topics, none can be questioned, either, thus confirming the coordinate nature of this construction:

- (98) *Ahmet **ne** seyret-ti, Osman **da** sinema-ya git-ti?
 Ahmet **what** watch-Past Osman **-and** cinema-Dat. go-Past
 "What did Ahmet watch and Osman went to the movies?"

- (99) *Ahmet televizyon seyret-ti, Osman **da** nere -ye
 Ahmet TV watch-Past Osman **-and** where -Dat.
 git-ti?
 go-Past
 "Ahmet watched TV and Osman went where?"

There are situations where one constituent in one conjunct seems to have been questioned successfully. This is when the questioned constituent is a subject and is (or rather appears to be) in the first conjunct:

- (100) **kim** televizyon seyret-ti **ve** gazete oku -du?
who TV watch-Past **and** newspaper read -Past?
 "Who watched TV and read the newspaper?"

I would propose that in such constructions, the subject is not contained in the first conjunct; rather, the coordinate structure consists of conjoined VPs, with the subject outside of the coordinate structure, which explains the ease with which that subject can be questioned.

A particle I shall call "Verbal Conjunction" (and which I shall at times simply gloss as 'and') conjoins VPs:

- (101) Ahmet yüz -ün -ü yıka **-yıp** diş -ler-in -i
 Ahmet face -3.sg.-Acc. wash **-Vbl.Conj.** tooth -pl.-3.sg.-Acc.
 fırçala-dı
 brush-Past
 "Ahmet washed his face and brushed his teeth"

Not surprisingly, the unique occurrence of the subject in such constructions can be questioned successfully, as illustrated in (102), which corresponds to (101):

- (102) **kim** yüz -ün -ü yıka **-yıp** diş -ler-in -i
who face -3.sg.-Acc. wash **-Vbl.Conj.** tooth-pl.-3.sg.-Acc.
 fırçala-dı?
 brush -Past
 "Who washed his face and brushed his teeth?"

While the verbal conjunction can conjoin only VPs and not sentences in root clauses (but see section 2. 1. 3. 6. 7), it can be used to conjoin both VPs and sentences that are embedded; in such constructions, the subject of two conjoined embedded VPs can be questioned (just as in the corresponding examples involving root VPs as in (102)); this is shown in (103). However, no constituent of an embedded sentential conjunction with the comitative conjunction can be questioned, as illustrated in (104)-

(107) (unless two parallel constituents in both conjuncts are questioned at the same time):

Embedded conjoined VPs and a questioned embedded subject:

- (103) (sen) [S **kim -in** [VP [VP yüz-ün -ü yıka -**yıp**]VP
 you(sg.) **who-Gen.** face-3.sg.-Acc. wash -**Vbl.Conj.**
 [VP diş -ler-in -i fırçala -dığ -ın -ı]VP]VP]S
 tooth -pl.-3.sg.-Acc. brush -FNom-3.sg.-Acc.
 duy -du -n?
 hear -Past -2.sg.
 "Who did you hear washed his face and brushed his teeth?"

Embedded conjoined Ss and a questioned embedded object in first conjunct:

- (104) *(sen) [S [S Ahmed-in **ne** -yi pişir -ip]S
 you(sg.) Ahmet-Gen. **what -Acc.** cook -**Vbl.Conj.**
 [S Mehmed-in balığ -ı ye -diğ -in -i]S]S
 Mehmet -Gen. fish -Acc. eat-FNom-3.sg.-Acc.
 duy -du -n?
 hear -Past -2.sg.
 "What did you hear that Ahmet cooked and Mehmet ate the fish?"

Embedded conjoined Ss and a questioned embedded object in second conjunct:

- (105) *(sen) [S [S Ahmed-in balığ -ı pişir -ip]S
 you(sg.) Ahmet -Gen. fish -Acc. cook -**Vbl.Conj.**
 [S Mehmed-in **ne** -yi ye -diğ -in -i]S]S
 Mehmet -Gen. **what -Acc.** eat-FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 duy -du -n?
 hear -Past -2.sg.
 "What did you hear that Ahmet cooked the fish and Mehmet ate?"

Embedded conjoined Ss and a questioned embedded subject in first conjunct:

- (106) *(sen) [S [S balığ -ı **kim -in** pişir -ip]S
 you(sg.) fish -Acc. **who-Gen.** cook -**Vbl.Conj.**
 [S ıstakoz-u Mehmed-in ye -diğ -in -i]S]S
 lobster -Acc. Mehmet -Gen. eat-FNom-3.sg.-Acc.
 duy -du -n?
 hear -Past -2.sg.
 "Who did you hear that cooked the fish and Mehmet ate the lobster?"

Embedded conjoined Ss and a questioned embedded subject in second conjunct:

- (107) *(sen) [S [S baliğ -ı Ahmed-in pişir -ip]S
 you(sg.) fish -Acc. Ahmet -Gen. cook -Vbl.Conj.
 [S ıstakoz-u kim-in ye-diğ -in -i]S]S duy -du -n?
 lobster-Acc. who-Gen. eat-FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear-Past-2.sg.
 "Who_i did you hear that Ahmet cooked the fish and Ø_i ate the
 lobster?"

Thus we see, once again, that nothing can be questioned out of a single conjunct in a genuine coordinate structure.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1. 6. More than one questioned element in the sentence

Questioning more than one constituent in a sentence is possible and rather common. Two as well as three questioned elements are found often:

- (108) kim ne yap-tı?
 who what do -Past
 "Who did what?"
- (109) kim nere -de ne yap-tı?
 who where -Loc. what do -Past
 "Who did what where?"

Even four and more elements can be questioned; however, such questions sound stylistically awkward, despite their grammaticality:

- (110) kim kim -e nere -de ne ver -di?
 who who -Dat. where -Loc. what give-Past
 "Who gave what to whom where?"

WH-questions can also be combined using both WH-elements that replace whole constituents and WH-elements that replace only part of a constituent, e.g. part of a noun phrase or a postpositional phrase:

- (111) kim araba -yı [hangi garaj -a] götür-dü?
 who car -Acc. which garage-Dat. take -Past
 "Who took the car to which garage?"
- (112) Ahmet ne -yi [kim-in gibi] çal -ar?
 Ahmet what -Acc. who-Gen. like play -Aor.
 "What does Ahmet play like who?"

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. Properties of the questioned element

As mentioned earlier, a questioned element may remain in place or move to the focus position to the immediate left of the verb. Details of the general behavior of WH-elements will be discussed and exemplified below under individual headings.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. 1. No change

Morphological Properties:

For all grammatical relations, the appropriate WH-word bears the same case marker as the corresponding full noun phrase; this is exemplified for the genitive, accusative and dative below and is true for all cases and all positions where WH-words are found:

Genitive subject of an embedded clause:

- (113) a. **Ahmed-in** sinema-ya git-tiğ -in -i duy-du -m
Ahmet-Gen. cinema-Dat. go -FNom-3.sg.-Acc. hear-Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that Ahmet went to the movies"

- (113) b. **kim -in** sinema-ya git-tiğ -in -i duy-du -n?
who-Gen. cinema-Dat. go-FNom -3.sg.-Acc. hear-Past -2.sg.
 "Who did you hear that went to the movies?"

Genitive possessor in a possessive noun phrase:

- (114) a. Ahmet öğrenci-ler-e **Chomsky-nin** kitab-ın -ı sat -tı
 Ahmet student-pl.-Dat. **Chomsky-Gen.** book-3.sg.-Acc. sell-Past
 "Ahmet sold the students Chomsky's book"

- (114) b. Ahmet öğrenci-ler-e **kim -in** kitab-ın -ı sat -tı?
 Ahmet student-pl.-Dat. **who-Gen.** book-3.sg.-Acc. sell-Past
 "Ahmet sold the students whose book?"

Accusative direct object:

- (115) a. Ahmet **anne -sin** -i ziyaret et -ti
 Ahmet **mother-3.sg.-Acc.** visit do-Past
 "Ahmet visited his mother"

- (115) b. Ahmet **kim -i** ziyaret et -ti?
 Ahmet **who -Acc.** visit do -Past
 "Whom did Ahmet visit?"

Dative indirect object:

- (116) a. Ahmet kitab-ı **anne -sin -e** ver -di
 Ahmet book-Acc. **mother-3.sg.-Dat.** give -Past
 "Ahmet gave the book to his mother"

- (116) b. Ahmet kitab-ı **kim** -e ver -di?
 Ahmet book-Acc. **who** -Dat. give-Past
 "To whom did Ahmet give the book?"

Dative directional object:

- (117) a. Ahmet yarın **İngiltere-ye** gid-ecek
 Ahmet tomorrow **England-Dat.** go -Fut.
 "Ahmet will go to England tomorrow"
- (117) b. Ahmet yarın **nere** -ye gid -ecek?
 Ahmet tomorrow **where** -Dat. go -Fut.
 "Where will Ahmet go tomorrow?"

As postpositional objects, WH-words retain the case of the corresponding full NP, as well. There is one detail of interest, however. Some postpositions taking objects that are morphologically unmarked for case mark pronominal objects with Genitive case:

- (118) a. Ahmet [Rubinstein gibi] piyano çal -ar
 Ahmet Rubinstein like piano play -Aor.
 "Ahmet plays the piano like Rubinstein"
- (118) b. Ahmet [ben-**im** gibi] piyano çal -ar
 Ahmet I -**Gen.** like piano play -Aor.
 "Ahmet plays the piano like me"

WH-words as objects of this class of postpositions behave like pronouns rather than full NPs in this respect, i.e. they are marked with the Genitive:

- (119) Ahmet [**kim** -in gibi] piyano çal -ar?
 Ahmet **who**-Gen. like piano play -Aor.
 "Like who does Ahmet play the piano?"

Another interesting property of WH-words in Turkish worth mentioning here is their ability to pluralize. Thus, if the speaker is rather certain that the entity questioned is plural, he or she can attach the suffix plural to the WH-word:

- (120) Ahmet [**kim** -ler gibi] piyano çal -ar?
 Ahmet **who** -pl. like piano play -Aor.
 "Like who(pl.) does Ahmet play the piano?"

(120) rather than the very similar (119) would be used, if the speaker thinks that Ahmet's playing style is similar not just to that of one person, but rather to a certain class of musicians (for example, students of a

certain piano teacher), but wants to inquire about the identity of that class.

Note that where a WH-word exhibits the plural suffix, the genitive case assigned by the postposition (cf. 119) cannot appear. However, in constructions where the genitive is not assigned by a postposition—in particular, in structures where the genitive is assigned to a possessor or to the subject of a nominalized clause, the genitive suffix remains after the pluralized WH-word:

- (121) Ahmet [**kim-ler-in** kitab -ın -ı] sat-tı?
 Ahmet **who-pl. -Gen.** book -3.sg.¹⁵-Acc. sell-Past
 "Whose(pl.) book did Ahmet sell?"

- (122) Ahmet [**kim-ler-in** sinema-ya git-tiğ -in -i] duy-du?
 Ahmet **who-pl. -Gen.** cinema-Dat. go -FNom-3.sg.-Acc. hear-Past
 "Who(pl.) did Ahmet hear went to the movies?"

Word-order properties:

WH-words can remain in the position of the corresponding non-question constituent, as all examples in this section show. This position is judged to be second-best by native speakers, after the preferred pre-verbal position, to be discussed further in section 1. 1. 2. 2. 3. For example, subjects, which are sentence-initial in Turkish in a non-scrambled sentence, may remain in that initial position when questioned:

- (123) **kim** Chomsky-nin kitab-ın -ı çal -dı?
who Chomsky-Gen. book-3.sg.-Acc. steal -Past
 "Who stole Chomsky's book?"

With respect to objects, it is difficult to determine what the basic order among the verbal complements is. Most native speakers judge the order with an accusative object preceding another complement of the verb to be more basic (in the sense that it is less marked pragmatically and with respect to the discourse). For example, in the following two examples, the direct object that precedes the verb directly in (125), is perceived to be focused, while the indirect object that precedes the verb directly in (124) may be interpreted as focused, but may also be interpreted as unmarked:¹⁶

- (124) Ahmet kitab-ı öğrenci-ler-e sat -tı
 Ahmet book-Acc. student-pl.-Dat. sell-Past
 "Ahmet sold the book to the students"

- (125) Ahmet öğrenci-ler-e kitab-ı sat -tı
 Ahmet student-pl.-Dat. book-Acc. sell-Past
 "Ahmet sold the book to the students"

Either object in either example can be replaced with a WH-word:

- (126) Ahmet kitab-ı kim -e sat -tı?
 Ahmet book-Acc. who-Dat. sell-Past
 "Ahmet sold the book to whom?"
- (127) Ahmet kim -e kitab-ı sat -tı?
 Ahmet who-Dat. book-Acc. sell-Past
 "Ahmet sold whom the book?"
- (128) Ahmet ne -yi öğrenci-ler-e sat -tı?
 Ahmet what -Acc. student-pl.-Dat. sell-Past
 "Ahmet sold what to the students"
- (129) Ahmet öğrenci-ler -e ne -yi sat -tı?
 Ahmet student-pl.-Dat. what-Acc. sell-Past
 "Ahmet sold the students what?"

In those examples where the WH-word is adjacent to the verb, we cannot tell whether that WH-word is in its basic position or has moved to the position adjacent to the verb by a kind of focus movement, since we cannot be completely sure of the basic position of the full NP objects.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. 2. Questioned element moved to initial position

In a subject-verb-object language like Turkish, the only situation where it is clear that a constituent has moved to sentence-initial position is when a non-subject precedes the subject.¹⁷ Such constructions are not very felicitous, although they are accepted by many speakers:

- (130) ?ne -yi Ahmet raf -a koy-du?
 what-Acc. Ahmet shelf-Dat. put -Past
 "What did Ahmet put on the shelf?"
- (131) ??nere -ye Ahmet kitab-ı koy -du?
 where -Dat. Ahmet book-Acc. put -Past
 "Where did Ahmet put the book?"

Such examples deteriorate further if there is a focused constituent. They are worst where a subject is in pre-verbal position, since, as mentioned before, a subject left-adjacent to the verb must be interpreted as focused¹⁸, while objects in that position do not have to be so interpreted:

- (132) ***ne** -**yi** raf -**a** Ahmet koy-du?
what-Acc. shelf-Dat. Ahmet put-Past
 "What did AHMET put on the shelf?"
- (133) ***nere** -**ye** kitab-ı Ahmet koy-du?
where -Dat. book-Acc. Ahmet put -Past
 "Where did AHMET put the book?"

Given these acceptability judgments as well as the very free word order of Turkish, the facts concerning sentence-initial WH-elements are best described as due to replacing scrambled¹⁹ sentence-initial objects by WH-elements (or by scrambling WH-elements from their original positions), rather than as results of a movement type specific to WH-elements. In languages where it is meaningful to refer to a specific WH-movement process (e.g. English), WH-elements move to a designated position (mainly sentence-initial). However, in Turkish, WH-elements do not have to move, and, if they do, they—as well as constituents that are not question words—can move to a variety of positions, not just to particular places in the sentence.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. 3. Questioned elements moved to pre-verbal position

The preferred position for any WH-element is the pre-verbal position. This is true for objects, whose basic position is close to the verb, for subjects, whose basic position is farther away from the verb, and for adverbial elements, whose basic position is mostly VP-initial:

- (134) dün sinema-ya **kim** git-ti?
 yesterday cinema-Dat. **who** go-Past
 "Who went to the movies yesterday?"
- (135) Ahmet dün sinema-da **kim-i** gör-dü?
 Ahmet yesterday cinema-Loc. **who-Acc.** see-Past
 "Whom did Ahmet see in the movies yesterday?"
- (136) Ahmet dün **nere -ye** git-ti?
 Ahmet yesterday **where -Dat.** go-Past
 "Where did Ahmet go yesterday?"
- (137) Ahmet dün Osman-ı **nere -de** gör-dü?
 Ahmet yesterday Osman-Acc. **where -Loc.** see-Past?
 "Where did Ahmet see Osman yesterday?"
- (138) Ahmet Osman-ı **ne zaman** gör -dü?
 Ahmet Osman-Acc. **what time** see -Past
 "At what time/when did Ahmet see Osman?"

As mentioned earlier in passing, the pre-verbal position is the focus position in Turkish sentences in general, and WH-elements clearly "want" to be focused.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. 4. Clefted WH-elements

Questioned elements may be the focused elements of a (pseudo-)clefted construction; however, as we have seen in this section, there are simpler ways to construct a WH-question. Some examples of (pseudo-)clefted WH-questions follow:

(139) *dün* *sinema-ya* *gid-en,* ***kim-di?***
 yesterday cinema-Dat. go -SbjP **who-Past**
 "Who was (the one) who went to the movies yesterday?"

(140) *Ahmed-in* *dün* *sinema-da* *gör-dük* *-ler-i,*
 Ahmet -Gen. yesterday cinema-Loc. see-ObjP -pl.-3.sg.
kim ***-(ler-)di?***
who ***-(pl.-)Past***
 "Who was/were those whom Ahmet saw yesterday in the movies?"

(Pseudo-)cleft constructions are formed by modifying the focus of the cleft, which becomes the predicate of a copular sentence, with a headless relative clause (see 1. 1. 2. 3. 6.).

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. 5. The questioned element forms the intonation nucleus

Since questioned elements are in the pre-verbal focus position, which always forms the intonational nucleus of the sentence, WH-elements do form the intonation nucleus within the intonational contour of the sentence. The phonetic correlates of the nucleus are relative loudness and relative (high) pitch. Under regular circumstances, the material following the nucleus (hence, in the case of WH-questions, the verb) exhibits a drop in pitch immediately after the focus. This drop is common to WH-questions as well as to statements that have a focused element. There is a difference, however: in statements, once the pitch has dropped, it remains level or drops further. In WH-questions, on the other hand, after the drop, the pitch raises again slightly, but without reaching the level of the nucleus.

Where a questioned constituent is not in the pre-verbal focus position, it will still constitute the intonation nucleus. In these instances, it is preferred for there not to be a focused constituent; i.e. the pre-verbal constituent is preferably not focused. Where there is such a focused

constituent, its pitch will be at most as high as that of the questioned element, but preferably slightly lower.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. 6. Other (non-) possibilities

Nothing else may happen to the questioned element; in particular, it may not be placed into post-verbal position, although it is possible for presupposed, backgrounded constituents to show up postverbally in colloquial style:

(141) a. Ahmet dün Osman-ı gör -dü **sinema-da**
 Ahmet yesterday Osman-Acc. see -Past **cinema-Loc.**
 "In the movies, Ahmet saw Osman yesterday"

(141) b. *Ahmet dün Osman-ı gör -dü **nere -de?**
 Ahmet yesterday Osman-Acc. see -Past **where -Loc.**
 "Where did Ahmet see Osman yesterday?"

The ungrammaticality of examples like (141)b is not surprising, since questioned elements are focused and can therefore not be backgrounded. The intonational facts further confirm this statement: backgrounded constituents are de-stressed, and the pitch falls considerably after the verb. Since questioned elements have to form the intonational nucleus, they cannot be accommodated within the intonationally low domain after the verb.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. 7. Elements moved along with the questioned element

We saw earlier that parts of phrases can be questioned, for example modifiers and determiners and postpositional objects. These parts of constituents cannot move to the focus position by themselves and take the remainder of their phrase with them:

(142) dün sinema-ya [**hangi** öğrenci] git-ti?
 yesterday cinema-Dat. **which** student go-Past
 "Which student went to the movies yesterday?"

(143) dün sinema-ya [**nasıl** bir öğrenci] git-ti?
 yesterday cinema-Dat. **how** a student go-Past
 "What kind of a student went to the movies yesterday?"

(144) dün sinema-ya [NP[S[PP **kim-in** gibi]PP piyano
 yesterday cinema-Dat. **who-Gen.** like piano
 çal -an]S bir öğrenci]NP git-ti?
 play -SbjP a student go-Past
 "A student who plays the piano like who went to the movies yesterday?"

Note that where the questioned element cannot be adjacent to the verb itself, it tries to get as close as possible to the verb of the main question. Since Turkish is a right-headed language, a questioned element which is a modifier within a larger phrase will be separated from the verb of the main question by the head of its constituent—and, if that constituent is itself a part of a larger phrase, by (at least) the head of that larger phrase.

This is illustrated by all of the three examples above. The last one, which is the most complex example of these three, shows that the WH-element, a postpositional object, causes the movement of the large subject NP of the main sentence to move to the left of the verb **gitti** 'went' of the main sentence.

The WH-element cannot leave its constituent, i.e. the postpositional phrase. Since, as we saw earlier, it cannot move to any postverbal position, it (**or** the postpositional phrase that contains the WH-element) cannot move closer to the root verb by crossing the embedded participle **çalan** 'playing'. Therefore, the WH-element remains in its place within the larger phrase; the only effect this element has is that of causing that phrase, i.e. the whole subject NP of the main clause, to move to the pre-verbal position of the root verb.

1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 2. 8. More than one questioned element

As we saw in section 1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1. 6., it is possible in Turkish to question more than one constituent in the same sentence. In such instances, all WH-elements "compete" for the pre-verbal position; hence, the preferred order is for all WH-elements to line up to the left of the verb:

- (145) manzara -yı **kim** **kim-e** göster-di?
 landscape -Acc. **who** **who-Dat.** show -Past
 "Who showed the landscape to whom?"

As we saw earlier, WH-elements can also remain in place; hence, the type of order seen in (145) is preferred, but it is not obligatory:

- (146) ?**kim** manzara -yı **kim-e** göster -di?
 who landscape-Acc. **who-Dat.** show -Past
 "Who showed the landscape to whom?"

We saw earlier, when discussing single questioned elements, that WH-elements that are objects tend not to precede subjects, and that they are

particularly bad when they precede a subject in focus position. This is true also where the focused subject is itself a WH-element²⁰:

- (147) ??/* manzara -y1 kim -e kim göster-di?
 landscape-Acc. who-Dat. who show -Past
 "Who showed the landscape to whom?"
- (148) *kim -e manzara -y1 kim göster-di?
 who-Dat. landscape-Acc. who show -Past
 "To whom did who show the landscape?"

1. 1. 1. 2. 3. Echo-questions

Echo-questions are very similar to the "regular" questions discussed in the previous sections. One salient difference is an intonational one. In both Yes/No and WH-questions, there is a marked drop in pitch after the intonational nucleus—this nucleus being the syllable preceding the Yes/No question particle in Yes/No questions and the WH-element(s) in WH-questions. In corresponding echo-questions, there is a much slighter drop in pitch after the nucleus.

1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 1. Yes/No echo-questions

There are a few types of Yes/No echo-questions.

One type is characterized by the addressee's repeating the whole utterance of the speaker and making a Yes/No question out of it, using the verb of quotation we saw in the first section:

- (149) Speaker A: Sinema-ya gid-iyor -um.
 cinema-Dat. go -Pr.Prog.-1.sg.
 "I am going to the movies."
 Speaker B: Sinema-ya gid-iyor -um mu de -di -n?
 cinema-Dat. go -Pr.Prog.-1.sg. -Q say -Past-2.sg.
 "Did you say 'I am going to the movies'?"

Another type consists of this same kind of "quotative" Yes/No question, but with the difference that only part of the original statement is repeated:

- (150) Speaker B: Sinema-ya mu de -di -n?
 cinema-Dat. -Q say-Past-2.sg.
 "Did you say '(I am going) to the movies'?"

It is also possible to leave out the quotative verb in the previous example, especially where some measure of incredulity is to be expressed:

- (151) Speaker B: Sinema-ya **mi**?
 cinema-Dat. -Q
 "(You are going) TO THE MOVIES?"
 (Implied: of all places!)

Note that in (149), however, the quotative verb cannot be omitted:

- (152) Speaker B: *Sinema-ya gid-iyor -um **mu**?
 cinema-Dat. go -Pr.Prog.-1.sg. -Q

The incredulity expressed in (151) can be intensified by starting the echo question with the WH-element **ne** 'what', thus introducing an element of an exclamation:

- (153) Speaker B: **Ne**, sinema-ya **mi**?
what cinema-Dat. -Q
 "What—(you are going) TO THE MOVIES?"
 (Implied: of all places!)

This way of introducing the Yes/No echo-question with an exclamational WH-element can be used with the types exemplified in (149) and (150), as well:

- (154) Speaker B: **Ne**, sinema-ya gid-iyor -um **mu de -di -n**?
what cinema-Dat. go -Pr.Prog.-1.sg. -Q **say-Past-2.sg.**
 "What—did you say 'I am going to the movies'?"

- (155) Speaker B: **Ne**, sinema-ya **mi de -di -n**?
what cinema-Dat. -Q **say-Past-2.sg.**
 "What—did you say '(I am going) to the movies'?"

1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 2. Question-word echo-questions

Depending on the original statement and the emphasis placed on particular constituents, there can be different types of question-word echo-questions. If clarification is sought about one constituent in the statement, a wide-spread way of asking an echo-question is to replace that constituent with the appropriate WH-element and have it follow by the quotative verb:

- (156) Speaker A: Sinema -ya gid -iyor -um
 cinema -Dat. go -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I am going to the movies."

Speaker B: **Nere -ye** de -di -n?
where -Dat. say -Past -2.sg.
 "Where did you say (that you are going)?"
 (i.e. "You said that you are going where?")

A less common way of asking such an echo-question (and one not accepted by all speakers) is to repeat the whole utterance in the frame of the quotative and to replace the constituent of inquiry with a WH-element:

(157) Speaker B: **Nere -ye** gid -iyor -um de -di -n?
where -Dat. go -Pr.Prog. -1.sg. say -Past -2.sg.
 "Where did you say 'I am going'?" (with the interpretation:
 "You said that you were going where?")

Where the original utterance is a question, other constituents in addition to the originally questioned element can be asked about in an echo-question:

(158) Speaker A: Ahmet pencere -yi **nasıl** kır -dı?
 Ahmet window-Acc. **how** break-Past
 "How did Ahmet break the window?"
 Speaker B: **Kim ne -yi nasıl** kır -dı?
who what-Acc. how break-Past
 "How did who break what?"

1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 3. Yes/No question echo-questions

There are no set ways of forming Yes/No question echo-questions. A polite way of asking such a question is illustrated in (159):

(159) Speaker A: Sinema-ya **mı** gid-iyor -sun?
 cinema-Dat. -Q go -Pr.Prog.-2.sg.
 "Are you going to the movies?"
 Speaker B: Efendi -m? Sinema-ya **mı** gid-iyor -um?
 sir -1.sg. cinema-Dat. -Q go -Pr.Prog.-1.sg.
 "I beg your pardon—am I going to the movies?"

A possible continuation for speaker B might be:

Hayır; tiyatro-ya gid-iyor -um
 no theater-Dat. go -Pr.Prog.-1.sg.
 "No; I am going to the theater."

1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. Question-word question echo-questions

Echo-questions of WH-questions are formed by attaching the Yes/No question particle after the WH-element, if the WH-element has replaced

a major constituent; if the WH-element stands for only part of a major constituent, the Yes/No question particle follows the head of the major constituent:

- (160) Speaker A: Yarın akşam **nere** -ye gid -ecek -sin?
 tomorrow evening **where** -Dat. go -Fut. -2.sg.
 "Where will you go tomorrow evening?"
 Speaker B: Yarın akşam **nere** -ye **mi** gid -eceğ -im?
 tomorrow evening **where** -Dat. -Q go -Fut. -1.sg.
 "Where will I go tomorrow evening?"

A possible continuation for speaker B:

- (161) Tiyatro-ya gid-eceğ-im.
 theater -Dat. go -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll go to the theater."
- (162) Speaker A: Orkestra -yı **kim** idare et -ti?
 orchestra -Acc. **who** conduct do-Past
 "Who conducted the orchestra?"
 Speaker B: Orkestra -yı **kim** **mi** idare et -ti?
 orchestra -Acc. **who** -Q conduct do-Past
 "Who conducted the orchestra?"
 Leonard Bernstein (idare et -ti).
 Leonard Bernstein conduct do-Past
 "Leonard Bernstein (did)."
- (163) Speaker A: Orkestra -yı [**hangi** şef] idare et -ti?
 orchestra -Acc. **which** conductor conduct do-Past
 "Which conductor conducted the orchestra?"
 Speaker B: Orkestra -yı [**hangi** şef] **mi** idare et -ti?
 orchestra -Acc. **which** conductor -Q conduct do-Past
 "Which conductor conducted the orchestra?"
 ("...Bernstein did.")
- (164) Speaker A: Bernstein Viyana-da [**kaç** konser] ver -di?
 Bernstein Vienna-Loc. **how many** concert give-Past
 "How many concerts did Bernstein give in Vienna?"
 Speaker B: Bernstein Viyana-da [**kaç** konser] **mi** ver -di?
 Bernstein Vienna-Loc. **how many** concert -Q give-Past
 "How many concerts did Bernstein give in Vienna?"
 ("... five.")

1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 5. Elements of the sentence subject to echo-questioning

All elements of the sentence that can be questioned can also be subject to echo-questioning.

1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 6. Multiple echo-questioning

As we saw earlier (cf. 1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 8.), there can be more than one WH-element in a clause, and thus multiple echo-questioning is possible with question-word echo-questions, as we saw in example (158), section 1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 2.

1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 7. Treatment of different elements in echo-questions

The treatment of different morphological elements in echo-questions is not different from that of corresponding non-echo questions discussed in sections 1. 1. 1. 2. 1. for Yes/No questions and 1. 1. 1. 2. 2. for WH-questions.

1. 1. 1. 2. 4. Answers**1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 1. Answers as a distinct speech act****1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 1. 1. Answers to Yes/No questions**

The most salient property of answers to Yes/No questions (as opposed to statements that are not answers to a previous question) is the use of introductory elements like **evet** 'yes', **hayır** 'no', **elbette** 'of course' and the like. Note, however, that this is an optional property of answers.

Another property of answers is that they tend to (but do not have to) omit those parts of the question that do not need an answer; this is a property common to answers to Yes/No questions and WH-questions. Thus, any one of the answers listed below to the following question are legitimate:

(165) Speaker A: Bu akşam sinema-ya gid-ecek mi-sin?
 this evening cinema-Dat. go -Fut. -Q -2.sg.
 "Will you go to the movies this evening?"

Speaker B: Evet.
 "Yes."

Or: Evet, gid-eceğ-im
 yes, go -Fut. -1.sg.
 "Yes, I will."

Or: Gid-eceğ-im
 go -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I will."

Or: Evet, gid-eceğ-im sinema-ya
 yes, go -Fut. -1.sg. cinema-Dat.
 "Yes, I'll go to the movies."

Or: Evet, gid-eceğ-im sinema-ya bu akşam²¹
 yes, go -Fut. -1.sg. cinema-Dat. this evening
 "Yes, I'll go to the movies this evening."

1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 1. 2. Answers to question-word questions

The answers to WH-questions are maximally parallel to the corresponding WH-questions. Thus, the focus of the answer must occupy the same position that the corresponding WH-element occupied in the corresponding question. Note, however, that this parallelism is often somewhat obscured by the fact that presupposed constituents tend to be omitted, as mentioned in the previous section. Hence, the parallelism can be observed only where the clausal structure (or at least some of it) is evident:

(166) Speaker A: Ahmet vazo -yu **nere** -ye koy -du?
 Ahmet vase -Acc. **where** -Dat. put -Past
 "Where did Ahmet put the vase?"

Speaker B: **Balkon** -a
balcony -Dat.
 "On the balcony."

Or: **Balkon** -a koy -du
balcony -Dat. put -Past
 "(He) put (the vase) on the balcony."

Or: Ahmet vazo -yu **balkon** -a koy -du
 Ahmet vase -Acc. **balcony** -Dat. put -Past
 "Ahmet put the vase on the balcony."

The last alternative in this example set is the most unusual one; repetition of material from the question is usually felt to be unnecessary and would thus be marked in the discourse; for example, this might signal impatience by speaker B, who is giving the answer, if, say, Ahmet and the vase had been the topics of the discussion previously, yet speaker A keeps asking questions about them or perhaps confounds them with another person and another object.

Although it is possible to postpose constituents to the right of the verb, the answer to a WH-question cannot have its focused element in a postposed position, since, as mentioned above, this position is for

backgrounded and/or presupposed constituents, while the foci of answers to questions cannot be presupposed.

1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 1. 3. Answers to echo-questions

Insofar as echo-questions require an answer, this will usually be similar to the answer for a corresponding "regular" question. The only instance where there is an important difference is where the utterance that triggered the echo-question was itself a question. In such an exchange (see section 1. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4.), speaker B, who asked the echo-question based on a question, may assume that he heard the original question after all and will go on with an answer to the original question. But if speaker B does not want to make any assumption about the form of the original question, speaker A will, in a sense, have to answer the echo-question by repeating his original question, possibly by asserting that the echo-question was appropriate; thus, example (160) (repeated below as (167)) might continue as in (168):

- (167) Speaker A: Yarın akşam nere -ye gid -ecek -sin?
 tomorrow evening where -Dat. go -Fut. -2.sg.
 "Where will you go tomorrow evening?"
 Speaker B: Yarın akşam nere -ye mi gid -eceğ -im?
 tomorrow evening where -Dat. -Q go -Fut. -1.sg.
 "Where will I go tomorrow evening?"

- (168) Speaker A: Evet, yarın akşam nere -ye gid -ecek -sin?
 yes tomorrow evening where -Dat. go -Fut. -2.sg.
 "Yes, where will you go tomorrow evening?"

In such an exchange, it is only then that speaker B will continue with the contentful answer to speaker A's original question:

- (169) Speaker B: Tiyatro-ya gid-eceğ-im.
 theater-Dat. go -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll go to the theater."

1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 2. Incomplete answers

As briefly mentioned in the previous sections treating questions, answers can, and very often are, incomplete in that they tend not to repeat those parts of the question that are obvious and known. It should be mentioned that in Turkish sentences more constituents can undergo elision in appropriate discourse than, say, in English. Elision in question-answer situations is particularly pervasive.

1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 1. Yes/No questions

1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 1. 1. Words for 'yes', 'no', 'maybe'

There are the following short reply forms:

- (170) **evet** 'yes'
 hayır 'no'
 belki 'perhaps'

These constitute the shortest possible answers to regular Yes/No questions. However, such minimal answers are considered impolite and are completely felicitous only as answers to copular Yes/No questions or, in verbal questions, where the focus of the Yes/No question is not the verb itself:

- (171) Masa-nın üst-ü temiz **mi**?
 table -Gen. top-3.sg. clean -Q
 "Is the top of the table clean?"

Evet.
 yes

- (172) Ahmet dışarı -ya **mı** çık -tı?
 Ahmet outside-Dat. -Q exit-Past
 "Did Ahmet go OUTSIDE?"

Evet.
 yes

Where the focus of such a question is on the verb, it is preferred to continue the answer, usually with an appropriate form of the verb; thus, a Yes/No question corresponding to (172), but with the question particle after the verb, could conceivably receive a minimal answer, but it would be much preferred if the answer also included the verb:

- (173) Ahmet dışarı -ya çık -tı **mı**?
 Ahmet outside-Dat. exit-Past -Q
 "Did Ahmet GO outside?"

Evet, çık -tı.
 yes, exit-Past
 "Yes, he did."

Other minimal answers often used are **elbette** 'certainly' and **tabii** 'of course'.

1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 1. 2. Incomplete replies to negative and other leading questions

Negative and other leading Yes/No questions rarely receive minimal answers, although they can, of course, receive incomplete answers. The usage of items like 'yes' and 'no' is quite similar to that found in English:

(174) pencere -yi aç -a -ma -z **mi** -sınız?
 window -Acc. open -Abil. -Neg. -Aor. -Q -2.pl.
 "Can't you open the window?"

hayır, aç -a -ma -m.
 no open -Abil. -Neg. -1.sg.
 "No, I can't."

Or: evet, aç -abil -ir -im.
 yes open -Abil. -Aor. -1.sg.
 "Yes, I can."

More examples of answers to leading Yes/No questions can be found in the earlier section 1. 1. 1. 2. 1. 2. 1.

1. 1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 2. Incomplete answers to question-word questions

The minimal answer to a question-word question will consist of the answer to the question word; given that Turkish has overt case markers, the answer will carry the appropriate case suffix:

(175) Hasan **nere** -**ye** git -ti?
 Hasan **where** -**Dat.** go -Past
 "Where did Hasan go?"

bahçe -**ye**.
 garden -**Dat.**
 "To the garden."

1. 1. 1. 3. Imperative sentences

The imperative sentence is mainly marked by the imperative form of its verb, which is the morphologically simplest, unaffixed form of the verbal stem (i.e. the form usually called **root** in traditional grammars). For example, the stem (or root) of the verb **gitmek** 'to go':

(176) **git** -**mek** "to go" (citation form)
go -**Inf.**

is **git**, and this is also its imperative form for the second person singular:

(177) git!
"Go!"

An imperative sentence, then, will consist of the imperative form of the verb and whatever (obligatory and optional) complements that verb might take:

(178) sinema-ya git!
cinema-Dat. go
"Go to the movies!"

(179) kitab-ı dolab -a koy!
book-Acc. cupboard-Dat. put
"Put the book into the cupboard!"

The subject is usually omitted, but it can be included for special emphasis, especially when there is a list of orders issued:

(180) sen sinema-ya git, sen de çamaşır yıka!
you cinema-Dat. go, you -and laundry wash
"You go to the movies, and you wash the laundry!"

1. 1. 1. 3. 1. Positive imperative sentences

The examples given in the previous section illustrate the positive form of imperative sentences in Turkish.

1. 1. 1. 3. 1. 1. Person-number combinations

The morphologically simplest form for imperatives illustrated above is used for a second person singular order-taker. The corresponding plural is formed by attaching the suffix **-(y)In** to the root:

(181) gid-in!
go -2.pl.Imp.
"Go! (2.pl.)"

(182) oku -yun!
read-2pl.Imp.
"Read! (2.pl.)"

In polite and/or official contexts, the form above is further expanded by the attachment of **-Iz**:

(183) gid-i niz!
go -2.pl.Imp.
"Go! (2.pl. or 2.sg.)" (Polite)

(184) oku -yunuz!
read-2pl.Imp.
"Read! (2.pl. or 2.sg.)" (Polite)

Note that in these polite forms, the addressee can be plural or singular; this is in line with the general use of the second person plural suffixes on verbs as a polite form for second person singular as well as plural.

In addition to second persons, orders can be given to third persons, as well. The verbal form for such third person imperatives is shared with a defective paradigm (often called the "optative" in traditional grammars—see also footnote 10) which consists of non-third person forms only (the third person form is obsolete). The third person suffix is **-sin**, and the third plural is formed (as in most verbal paradigms, as we shall see later) by suffixing the general plural affix **-lar** to the third singular form.

(185) Ahmet sinema-ya git-**sin**!
Ahmet cinema-Dat. go -3.sg.Imp..
"Ahmet shall go to the movies!"; or "Let Ahmet go to the movies!"

(186) Ahmet kitab-ı dolab -a koy-**sun**!
Ahmet book-Acc. cupboard-Dat. put -3.sg.Imp.
"Ahmet shall put the book into the cupboard!"; or "Let Ahmet put the book into the cupboard!"

(Note that the English translations are only approximate.)

All of the previous imperative examples have verbal predicates, as is the case in most imperatives. When an imperative has to be issued with a copular predicate, the stem of the auxiliary **ol-** 'be' has to be used, and the appropriate suffixes (if needed) will then be affixed to that verbal stem:

(187) yarın sabah erken-den bura-da ol -**unuz**!
tomorrow morning early -Abl. here-Loc. be -2pl.Imp. (polite)
"Be here tomorrow morning from early on!"

(188) Ahmet yarın sabah erken-den bura-da ol -**sun**!
Ahmet tomorrow morning early -Abl. here-Loc. be -3.sg.Imp.
"Ahmet should be here tomorrow morning from early on!"

1. 1. 1. 3. 1. 2. Degrees of imperative

The conversational impact of the forms given so far, i.e. of the formal imperatives, is rather harsh and impolite in non-official contexts and these forms are therefore avoided in general. There are many forms of polite requests that are used instead. Tone of voice can also be used to differentiate degrees of urgency; however, there are no formal means to mark degrees of the imperative.

1. 1. 1. 3. 2. Negative imperatives

Imperative forms are negated with the regular means of verbal negation, i.e. with the negative suffix **-mA**:

(189) git **-me** **-yin!**
 go **-Neg.** **-2pl.Imp.**
 "Don't go! (2.pl.)"

(190) oku **-ma** **-yin!**
 read **-Neg.** **-2pl.Imp.**
 "Don't read! (2.pl.)"

(191) Ahmet sinema **-ya** git **-me** **-sin!**
 Ahmet cinema **-Dat.** go **-Neg.** **-3.sg.Imp.**
 "Ahmet shall not go to the movies!"

(192) Ahmet kitab **-ı** dolab **-a** koy **-ma** **-sm!**
 Ahmet book **-Acc.** cupboard **-Dat.** put **-Neg.** **-3.sg.Imp.**
 "Ahmet shall not put the book into the cupboard!"

Note that the order between the negation marker and the imperative marker is such that the former precedes the latter; in other words, the imperative marker (with its person/number markers) is in the slot usually occupied by tense and/or aspect markers (with their respective person/number markers), as we shall see later on when discussing Turkish morphology.

In imperative sentences for second person singular order-takers, where, as we saw, the verbal root surfaces in its unaffixed form, the root is simply followed by the negative suffix; e.g.:

(193) git **-me!**
 go **-Neg.**
 "Don't go! (2.sg.)"

- (194) oku -**ma!**
read-**Neg.**
"Don't read! (2.sg.)"

1. 1. 1. 3. 2. 1. Person-number combinations for negative imperatives

As we just saw in the previous examples, negative imperatives can be formed for all person-number combinations for which positive imperatives are also possible.

1. 1. 1. 3. 2. 2. Different degrees of negative imperatives

The same remarks apply as those for positive imperatives (see section 1. 1. 1. 3. 1. 2.).

1. 1. 1. 3. 3. Other means of expressing imperatives

There is also a colloquial imperative form, rarely found in writing, but often used in the spoken language. This form is constructed by suffixing **-sAnA**²² for a non-polite order to second person singular addressee and **-sAnIzA** for a polite²³ order to a second person singular or plural addressee as well as for a non-polite order to a second person plural addressee:

- (195) sigara -nız -ı at -madan önce sön -dür -**senize!**
cigarette-2.pl.-Acc. throw-Adv. before go out -Caus.-**2.pl.Imp.**
"Do extinguish your cigarette before throwing it out!"

Other than their colloquial style, these forms have the property of implying that it was necessary to issue the order they express, because a contrary action preceded the utterance. For example, in (195), we infer that the addressee threw out at least one cigarette without extinguishing it. However, in the corresponding "regular" imperative discussed earlier, there is no such implication; a contrary action might, but does not have to, have preceded the utterance; if it hasn't, the utterance would just issue an order in general, for all instances of cigarette-smoking, independent of prior behavior.

In addition to these forms, there are a variety of ways of phrasing requests, as will be discussed below in section 1. 1. 1. 5.

All of the discussed imperative forms can be softened somewhat by introducing them with **lütfen** 'please'. It should be noted, however, that the colloquial imperative is rarely introduced by this form.

1. 1. 1. 4. Other distinct sentence-types

There are no other distinct sentence types for simple clauses; complex constructions involving subordination and coordination will be discussed in the following sections.

1. 1. 1. 5. Sentence-types used regularly in additional functions

Questions are often used as requests; the aorist is the tense used in such situations:

- (196) sinema-ya gel -ir mi-sin?
 cinema-Dat. come-Aor. -Q -2.sg.
 "Would you come to the movies?"

Such requests can be further softened by using the abilitative:

- (197) sinema-ya gel -ebil -ir mi -sin?
 cinema-Dat. come-Abil -Aor. -Q -2.sg.
 "Would you come to the movies?"
 (Literally: "Are you able to come to the movies?")

Both forms can be introduced by **lütfen** 'please', thus making them even more polite and also emphasizing their character as requests.

Yet another way of phrasing requests is by using the verbal form **rica et** 'request', with an appropriate subordinate clausal form:

- (198) ben -im -le sinema-ya gel -me -n -i rica
 I -Gen.-with cinema-Dat. come -ANom-2.sg.-Acc. request
 ed -er -im
 do-Aor.-1.sg.
 "I would like you to come along to the movies with me"
 (Literally: "I request your coming along to the movies with me")

These forms can be introduced by **lütfen** 'please', as well.

1. 1. 2. Subordination

1. 1. 2. 1. Markers of subordination

The most salient markers of subordination in Turkish are various "nominalization" markers which, attached to verbal stems, nominalize them; details will be discussed in subsequent sections (see, in particular, 1. 1. 2. 2. 6., 1. 1. 2. 3. and 1. 1. 2. 4.). Suffixes following such

nominalization markers will be those appropriate to nominals rather than verbals; e.g. nominal person agreement markers rather than verbal agreement suffixes; furthermore, Case suffixes, which are otherwise never attached to verbals, are also attached to such nominalized verbs. As we shall see later in the chapter on morphology (chapter 2), such nominalization markers occupy the position that corresponds to that of tense in fully finite verbs. Within the main clause, nominalized subordinate clauses occupy the position of a corresponding simple noun phrase and therefore will, within an unmarked word order pattern, always precede the main clause verb, since the basic word order is always verb final.

As mentioned briefly earlier, there is also another subordination pattern of very limited use in the modern standard language, borrowed from Persian. This pattern is marked by having a finite subordinate clause, introduced by the complementizer **ki**, follow the verb of the main clause:

- (199) isti -yor -um [ki yarn ben-im -le sinema-ya
 want -Pr.Prog.-1.sg. Compl. tomorrow I -Gen.-with cinema-Dat.
 gel -esin]
 come-2.sg.Opt.
 "I want you to come to the movies with me tomorrow"
 (Literally: "I want that you should come to the movies with me
 tomorrow")

A third pattern of subordination, limited to verbs of belief, has a subordinate clause immediately precede the main verb. The subordinate verb in this pattern is typically tensed, but lacks agreement morphology with the subordinate subject; that subject typically bears Accusative morphology (rather than the Genitive of a subject in a nominalized subordinate clause, or the Nominative of a main clause subject):

- (200) herkes [sen -i sinema-ya git-ti] san -iyor
 everybody you-Acc. cinema-Dat. go -Past believe-Pr.Prog.
 "Everybody believes you to have gone to the movies"

There are two subordination patterns that are, in different ways, related to this last type of construction.

The verbs of belief that enter the construction exemplified in (200) as well as the quotative verb **de** also take fully finite subordinate clauses, with verbal agreement and a nominative subject, and the subordinate clause immediately preceding the verb:

- (201) herkes [**sen** sinema-ya git-ti -n] san -iyor
 everybody **you(Nom.)** cinema-Dat. go -Past -**2sg.** believe-Pr.Prog.
 "Everybody believes that you to went to the movies"

It is also possible to regard a similar construction with the main clause verb **iste** 'want' as an instance of the pattern illustrated in (201). The syntactic pattern is exactly the same; however, instead of being tensed, the subordinated verb will be in the optative:

- (202) herkes [yarın ben-im -le sinema-ya gel -**esin**]
 everybody tomorrow I -Gen.-with cinema-Dat. come-**2.sg.Opt.**
 isti -yor
 want-Pr.Prog.
 "Everybody wants you to come along to the movies with me tomorrow" (Literally: "Everybody wants that you should come along to the movies with me tomorrow")

The second type of construction related to the pattern in (200) is found with verbs of sensory perception; the subordinate clause immediately precedes the main verb, the embedded subject is in the accusative, and the subordinate verb lacks agreement morphology; the array of tenses found on the subordinate verb is limited to the aorist (with the corresponding non-inflected predicate adjectives and nouns for non-verbal subordinate predicates) and to the "reported past" form with **-miş** in its adjectival, past participle function:

- (203) Ahmet [sen -i yer -de yat-ar] bul -du
 Ahmet you-**Acc.** floor-Loc. lie-**Aor.** find-Past
 "Ahmet found you lying on the floor"
- (204) Ahmet [sen -i çok zayıf-la -**muş**] bul -du
 Ahmet you-**Acc.** very slim -VDeriv -**PPart** find-Past
 "Ahmet found you to have lost a lot of weight"
- (205) Ahmet [sen-i çok zayıf] bul -du
 Ahmet you-**Acc.** very thin find-Past
 "Ahmet found you (to be) very thin"

Word order is, by and large, the same within subordinated clauses as the order found in main clauses. However, while the basic verb-final order can be changed easily in main clauses, at least in spoken, colloquial style, embedded clauses have to be verb-final, in the sense that subordinated constituents cannot follow the verb of their clause, unless they are placed at the very end of the main clause:

- (206) yarn ben-im -le sinema-ya gel -me -n -i
 tomorrow I -Gen.-with cinema-Dat. come-ANom-2.sg.-Acc.
 isti -yor -um
 want-Pr.Prog.-1.sg.
 "I want you to come to the movies with me tomorrow"
 (Literally: "I want your coming to the movies with me tomorrow")

While the word order within the embedded clause is rather free (cf. (207)), no subordinate constituent can be placed after the nominalized verb and before any following main clause material; if such a subordinated constituent has escaped its clause, the only position it can go to is the absolute end of the main clause:

- (207) sinema-ya ben-im -le yarn gel -me -n -i
 cinema-Dat. I -Gen.-with tomorrow come-ANom-2.sg.-Acc.
 isti -yor -um
 want-Pr.Prog.-1.sg.
 Translation essentially the same as in (206).
- (208) *ben -im -le yarn gel -me -n -i **sinema-ya**
 I -Gen.-with tomorrow come-ANom-2.sg.-Acc. **cinema-Dat.**
 isti -yor -um
 want-Pr.Prog.-1.sg.
 Intended reading: same as in (206).
- (209) ben-im -le yarn gel -me -n -i
 I -Gen.-with tomorrow come-ANom-2.sg.-Acc.
 isti -yor -um **sinema-ya**
 want-Pr.Prog.-1.sg. **cinema-Dat.**
 Translation essentially the same as in (206).

Crucially, the corresponding main clause need not be verb final:

- (210) ben-im -le yarn gel **sinema-ya**
 I -Gen.-with tomorrow come **cinema-Dat.**
 "Come to the movies with me tomorrow"

The relevant generalization must be that the verb has to be the final element in the subordinate clause, rather than a prohibition against subordinate material "scrambled" amongst main clause constituents. This can be seen from the behavior of subordinate coordinate structures. In main clause coordinate constructions, where the verbs of two conjuncts are identical, either the first or the second occurrence of the verb can be "gapped":

- (211) Ahmet uskumru-yu, Mehmet te ıstakoz-u **pişir-di**
 Ahmet mackerel-Acc. Mehmet -and lobster -Acc. **cook-Past**
 "Ahmet cooked the mackerel, and Mehmet the lobster"

- (212) Ahmet uskumru-yu **pişir-di**, Mehmet te istakoz-u
 Ahmet mackerel-Acc. **cook-Past** Mehmet -and lobster -Acc.
 "Ahmet cooked the mackerel, and Mehmet the lobster"

However, in a corresponding subordinate coordinate structure, the verb of the second conjunct (which marks the end of the subordination as a whole) cannot be gapped; only the first conjunct can lose its verb:²⁴

- (213) Ahmed-in uskumru-yu, Mehmed-in de istakoz-u
 Ahmet-Gen. mackerel-Acc. Mehmet -Gen. -and lobster-Acc.
pişir-diğ -in -i duy -du -m
cook-FNom-3.sg.-Acc. hear-Past-1.sg.
 "I heard that Ahmet cooked the mackerel, and Mehmet the lobster"

- (214) *Ahmed-in uskumru-yu **pişir-diğ** -in -i, Mehmed-in
 Ahmet -Gen. mackerel-Acc. **cook-FNom-3.sg.-Acc.** Mehmet -Gen.
 de istakoz-u duy -du -m
 -and lobster -Acc. hear-Past-1.sg.
 Intended reading: "I heard that Ahmet cooked the mackerel, and
 Mehmet the lobster"

After these general remarks, we now turn to specific subordination types.

1. 1. 2. 2. Noun clauses

We shall take the term "noun clause" to refer to clauses that have the same distribution as regular noun phrases, rather than as referring to any type of clause with a nominalized verb (e.g. modifier clause in relative clauses or adverbial clauses); these latter types will be discussed separately (cf. sections 1. 1. 2. 3. and 1. 1. 2. 4.).

1. 1. 2. 2. 1. Marking and position of noun clauses

As mentioned in section 1. 1. 2. 1., noun clauses are marked by "nominalization" markers as well as "nominal" agreement and case markers. The latter will be those appropriate to the thematic role and grammatical relation of the subordinate clause with respect to the verb of the main clause and will be the same as the case markers found on simple noun phrases in the same position and with the same thematic role.

As mentioned in the introduction to this section on subordination, noun clauses occupy the positions appropriate to their grammatical and thematic roles; thus, a noun clause which is a subject will be in initial

position of the main clause, given that the basic word order is SOV; a noun clause which is an object will be between the main subject and verb. Thus, compare the following examples, where a noun clause has been juxtaposed with a simple noun phrase:

Subject clause:

- (215) [Ahmed-in sinema-ya yalnız başına git-me -si]
 Ahmet -Gen. cinema-Dat. alone go -ANom-3.sg.
 ben -i çok üz -dü
 I -Acc. very sadden-Past
 "That Ahmet went to the movies by himself made me very sad"

- (216) Ahmet ben-i çok üz -dü
 Ahmet I -Acc. very sadden-Past
 "Ahmet made me very sad"

Object clause:

- (217) Zeynep [Ahmed-in sinema -ya yalnız başına
 Zeynep Ahmet -Gen. cinema -Dat. alone
 git-me -sin] -e çok üz -ül -dü
 go-ANom-3.sg. -Dat. very sad -Pass. -Past
 "Zeynep was very saddened by Ahmet's going to the movies by himself"

- (218) Zeynep bu haber-e çok üz -ül -dü
 Zeynep this news-Dat. very sad-Pass.-Past
 "Zeynep was very saddened by this news"

1. 1. 2. 2. 2. Types of noun clauses

There are basically two types of noun clauses, if we limit ourselves to argument clauses: those whose predicate is marked with a suffix which I am calling here an "Action Nominal", and those with a predicate which is marked with the "Factive Nominal" marker.²⁵ Some representative examples follow:

- (219) (ben) [Ahmed-in öl -**düğ** -ün] -ü duy -du -m
 I Ahmet -Gen. die-FNom-3.sg. -Acc. hear-Past-1.sg.
 "I heard that Ahmet died"
- (220) (ben) [Ahmed-in öl -**düğ** -ün] -ü gizli tut -tu -m
 I Ahmet -Gen. die-FNom-3.sg. -Acc. hidden hold-Past-1.sg.
 "I kept it a secret that Ahmet died"
- (221) (ben) [Ahmed-in öl -**me** -sin] -i iste -me -z -di -m
 I Ahmet -Gen. die-ANom-3.sg. -Acc. want-Neg.-Aor.-Past-1.sg.
 "I wouldn't have wanted for Ahmet to die"

- (222) (ben) [Ahmed-in öl -**me** -sin] -den kork-uyor -du -m
 I Ahmet -Gen. die-**ANom**-3.sg. -Abl. fear -Prog.-Past-1.sg.
 "I was afraid that Ahmet would die"

Since the choice of "Factive" versus "Action" morphology is largely determined by semantics, verbs enter two groups with respect to choice of complement type, depending on their own semantics. The examples just given illustrate this grouping.

Some verbs can, due to their semantics, allow for either type of complement; the meaning of the complement will then be different. Compare, for example, (222) and (223), which both have the matrix verb **kork** 'to fear, to be afraid of':

- (223) (ben) [Ahmed-in öl -**düğ** -ün] -den kork-uyor -du -m
 I Ahmet -Gen. die-**FNom**-3.sg. -Abl. fear -Prog.-Past-1.sg.
 "I was afraid that Ahmet had died"

The complement with the Action Nominal has a variant, the infinitive, when the subject of the complement is understood as identical with a matrix subject or object (choice of such a "controller" for the understood subordinate subject depends on the particular matrix verb). Thus, compare (222) with (224), where the matrix verb is the same and the subordinate subject is understood as identical to the matrix subject:

- (224) (ben) [öl -**mek**] -ten kork-uyor -du -m
 I die-**Inf.** -Abl. fear -Prog.-Past-1.sg.
 "I was afraid to die"

As an example for a non-subject matrix "controller" of the understood subordinate subject, consider (225):

- (225) (ben) Ahmed-i [kaç -**mağ**] -a zorla-dı -m
 I Ahmet -Acc. flee -**Inf.** -Dat. force-Past-1.sg.
 "I forced Ahmet to flee"

Given that the infinitive is a variant of the Action Nominal, it, too, can be in variation with the Factive Nominal, depending on the context:

- (226) lütfen [pencere -yi aç -**mağ**] -i unut -ma!
 please window-Acc. open -**Inf.** -Acc. forget-Neg.
 "Please don't forget to open the window!"
- (227) lütfen [pencere -yi aç -**tığ** -ın] -i unut -ma!
 please window-Acc. open-**FNom** -2.sg. -Acc. forget-Neg.
 "Please don't forget that you opened the window!"

1. 1. 2. 2. 3. Marking of indirect statements

Indirect statements are formed with a variety of (non-quotative) matrix verbs of saying and subordinate clauses that are nominalized with the Factive Nominal marker (see also section 1. 1. 1. 1.):

- (228) (sen) ban-a [Ahmed-in öl -**düğ** -ün] -ü
 you I -Dat. Ahmet -Gen. die -**FNom** -3.sg. -Acc.
 anlat-ma -dı -n
 tell -Neg.-Past-2.sg.
 "You didn't tell me that Ahmet had died"

1. 1. 2. 2. 4. Marking of indirect questions

Indirect Yes/No questions in Turkish are formed by conjoining the positive and negative form of the subordinate predicate, using the verbal conjunction marker **-(y)Ip** (which occupies the tense/aspect slot in the verb and cannot be followed by any agreement marker), and then nominalizing that coordinate structure with the Factive Nominal marker:

- (229) (sen) ban-a [Ahmed-in öl -**üp** öl -**me -diğ** -in] -i
 you I -Dat. Ahmet -Gen. die -**and** die -**Neg.** -**FNom**-3.sg. -Acc.
 sor-ma!
 ask-Neg.
 "Don't ask me whether Ahmet has died (or not)"

It is not possible to use this question to express leading questions of the type discussed in section 1. 1. 1. 2. 1. 2., nor is it possible to express alternative questions, since the difference between regular Yes/No questions and alternative questions is neutralized in this question, given that a subordinate alternative question construction is used for both options. In order to make such distinctions or to express leading questions, a quotative construction must be used. This is done by using the (originally adverbial) particle **diye**, derived from the quotative verb **de**; in this sense, quotative indirect questions are just one example of quotative indirect speech (see also section 1. 1. 1. 1., especially examples 5 and 6):

Leading question:

- (230) (sen) ban-a [Ahmet öl -dü, değil mi] **diye** sor-ma!
 you I -Dat. Ahmet die-Past Neg.Cop. -Q "saying" ask-Neg.
 "Don't ask me 'Ahmet has died, hasn't he?'"

Alternative question:

- (231) (sen) ban-a [Ahmet öl -dü mü, öl -me -di mi]
 you I -Dat. Ahmet die-Past -Q die-Neg.-Past -Q
diye sor-ma!
 "saying" ask-Neg.
 "Don't ask me 'Has Ahmet died or hasn't he?'"

The form of indirect WH-questions is the same as that of corresponding direct questions: the questioned constituent is replaced by the appropriate WH-element. All the types of constituents that can be questioned in this way in direct questions can also be questioned in indirect questions, including subordinate subjects:

- (232) Hasan ban-a [kim-in öl -düg -ün] -ü sor-du
 Hasan I -Dat. **who-Gen.** die-FNom-3.sg. -Acc. ask-Past
 "Hasan asked me who had died"

Only factive nominals can be used as subordinate questions; action nominals are excluded.

1. 1. 2. 2. 5. Marking of indirect commands

Indirect commands are marked by nominalizing the command with the action nominal form and using an appropriate matrix verb like **söyle** 'tell', **emret** 'command', etc.:

- (233) Ahmed-e [ben-i bekle-**me** -sin] -i söyle-di -m
 Ahmet -Dat. I -Acc. wait -**ANom**-3.sg. -Acc. tell -Past-1.sg.
 "I told Ahmet to wait for me (that he should wait for me)"

Differences in the person-number of the individuals addressed are expressed by means of the subordinate agreement marker on the nominalized predicate.

Negative indirect commands are expressed by simply attaching the negative marker onto the predicate, after the nominalization morpheme, and before the agreement suffix, which is the order of suffixes found in all nominalizations:

- (234) Ahmed-e [ben-i bekle -**me -me** -sin] -i söyle-di -m
 Ahmet -Dat. I -Acc. wait -**Neg.-ANom**-3.sg. -Acc. tell -Past-1.sg.
 "I told Ahmet **not** to wait for me (that he should **not** wait for me)"

Since direct polite commands tend to be expressed in form of questions (cf. section 1. 1. 1. 3.), a polite indirect command is formed by a

corresponding (Yes/No) indirect question of the form discussed in the previous section, or by a quotative construction; e.g. for (233), we could have the following polite quotative request:

- (235) Ahmed-e [ben-i bekle -r mi-sin?] diye sor-du -m
 Ahmet -Dat. I -Acc. wait -Aor. -Q -2.sg. "saying" ask-Past-1.sg.
 "I asked Ahmet 'would you wait for me?'"

1. 1. 2. 2. 6. Types of clauses and properties of nonfinite clauses

As discussed earlier, the most typical subordination type involves nonfinite (nominalized) clauses. This is true not only of the argument clauses that we have seen examples of, but also of modifier clauses in relative clause constructions (see section 1. 1. 2. 3. 1.) and of adverbial clauses, which might be somewhat closer to gerundive constructions in English; e.g.

- (236) [Ahmet ev -e git-medem] önce ben kendisi -yle
 Ahmet home-Dat. go -Adv. before I himself-with
 konuş-malı -yım
 talk -Nec. -1.sg.
 "Before Ahmet goes home (going home) I (will) have to talk to him"

1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 1. Lost and retained verbal categories in nonfinite constructions

As mentioned earlier, the nominalization markers occupy the morphological slot of tense/aspect morphemes of the fully finite verbs; therefore, those categories are lost in nonfinite clauses, with one exception that we saw above: since there is a special future tense marker in factive nominals (and, as we shall see in section 1. 1. 2. 3., in one type of adjective (participial) form used in relative clauses), the distinction between future/non-future can be made in such clauses. Otherwise, the subordinate clause takes on whatever tense/aspect values the main clause has.

Furthermore, mood cannot be expressed directly in nonfinite clauses, either, and various periphrastic ways to express such verbal categories have to be used instead. Since moods like the conditional, optative, imperative, and debitive are directly expressed as suffixes on the fully finite verbs, the loss of those categories is very clear. (For examples of suffixes expressing moods in finite verbs, see section 2. 1. 3.).

1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 2. Means for making the verb nonfinite

As illustrated in the previous sections, the verb is made nonfinite by replacing the tense/aspect and mood markers of the fully finite verb by a variety of nominalizing markers. The nonfinite forms used in argument clauses and some type of clauses that have modifier or adverbial status have such a marker as their word-final suffix; the two nominal forms that we have seen for argument clauses (with the exception of the infinitive marker) and one type of participial marker used in relative clauses are further suffixed by agreement morphemes, marking the nominalized verb for agreement in person and number with the subject. These agreement markers are different from corresponding forms used with fully finite verbs, however; agreement suffixes used with nonfinite verbs come from a "nominal" paradigm and are also used in possessive noun phrases of the sort 'John's book', to mark the head noun for agreement with the possessor (which can, in a sense, be regarded as the subject of the possessive noun phrase). Note also that the subject of a fully finite clause is in the nominative case, while the subject of a nonfinite clause (insofar as there is such a subject) is marked with the genitive suffix.

1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 3. Arguments that may be omitted in nonfinite clauses

In the type of nonfinite clause illustrated earlier, all the arguments are retained. As mentioned earlier, Turkish allows for rather free, discourse-conditioned omission of arguments, and, in this respect, subordinate clauses are not different from main clauses. Furthermore, Turkish is a so-called "Pro-Drop" language; i.e. the pronominal subjects of its finite clauses can be omitted rather freely, probably due to its rich agreement system. In this respect, nominalized clauses behave like fully finite clauses, which is not surprising, given that such nonfinite clauses have their own, rich, agreement system.

Infinitivals obligatorily omit their subjects. Some adverbial gerundive forms share this property; however, most such gerundive clauses do allow for subjects but also do allow for their omission. Examples for each type are given below:

Obligatory omission of subject:

- (237) Ahmet [çok çalış -**arak**] hedef-in -e ulaş -tı
 Ahmet very work-**Adv.** aim -3.sg.-Dat. reach -Past
 "Ahmet attained his goal by working a lot"

The adverbial clause cannot contain an overt subject:

- (238) *[Ahmet çok çalış-arak] Zeynep hedef-in -e ulaş -tı
 Ahmet very work-Adv. Zeynep aim -3.sg.-Dat. reach-Past
 Intended reading: "Zeynep reached her goal while/because Ahmet worked a lot"

Optional omission of subject:

- (239) [Ahmet ev -e dön -ünce] Zeynep okul -a gid-ebil -di
 Ahmet home-Dat. return-Adv. Zeynep school-Dat. go -Abil.-Past
 "When Ahmet returned home, Zeynep was able to go to school"

- (240) Ahmet [ev -e dön -ünce] hemen yemeğ-in -i
 Ahmet home-Dat. return-Adv. immediately food -3.sg.-Acc.
 ye -di
 eat-Past
 "When Ahmet returned home, he immediately ate his food"

1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 4. Changes in the arguments

As mentioned earlier, the retained subjects of nominalized clauses are in the genitive case in general. However, in some of the adverbial gerundives shown in the previous section, the retained subject can be in the Nominative, as seen in (239).

Other than this change in the case on the subject, all arguments are retained in nonfinite clauses without change.

1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 5. Inserted morphological material

Other than the Genitive case and the nominalization morphemes themselves, no morphological material is inserted into nonfinite clauses. In this respect, Turkish differs from languages like English, where prepositions like *of* (as in: *the conquest of Rome*) are inserted before arguments, especially before direct objects. In Turkish, the original case markers on the arguments found in finite clauses are retained in the corresponding nonfinite clauses; this is true even for the Accusative case; e.g.

- (241) [Ahmed -in Mehmed -i öldür -me -sin] -den
 Ahmet -Gen. Mehmet -Acc. kill -ANom -3.sg. -Abl.
 kork -uyor -um
 fear -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I am afraid that Ahmet might/will kill Mehmet"

1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 6. Adverbials in nonfinite clauses

Adverbials can be present in nonfinite clauses and are not changed into adjectives or any other category; consider the following corresponding finite/nonfinite pairs, where the adverbs are retained unchanged:

- (242) Ahmet **çabucak** okul -a doğru yürü -yor -du
 Ahmet **very fast** school -Dat. towards walk -Prog. -Past
 "Ahmet was walking very fast towards school"
- (243) [Ahmed -in **çabucak** okul -a doğru
 Ahmet -Gen. **very fast** school -Dat. towards
 yürü -düğ -ün] -ü ben -a sen anlat -tı -n
 walk -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. I -Dat. you tell -Past -2.sg.
 "You told me that Ahmet was walking very fast towards school"
- (244) Ahmet bütün iş -ler -in -i **yavaşça** yap -ar
 Ahmet all task -pl. -3.sg. -Acc. **slowly** do -Aor.
 "Ahmet does all his work slowly"
- (245) [Ahmed -in bütün iş -ler -in -i **yavaşça**
 Ahmet -Gen. all task -pl. -3.sg. -Acc. **slowly**
 yap -tığ -ın] -ı duy -du -m
 do -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that Ahmet does all his work slowly"

The adverbs used in these examples were chosen because they are formally, overtly, adverbs rather than adjectives or nouns that are used as adverbs (of which Turkish has a large number, in finite as well as nonfinite clauses); therefore, the point that adverbs do not change their shape in nonfinite clauses could be made more convincingly using such formally explicit adverbs. This is true for manner adverbials as well as adverbs of time and place.

1. 1. 2. 3. Adjective clauses (relative clauses)

1. 1. 2. 3. 1. Marking of adjective clauses

The native relative clause construction has a modifier clause that immediately precedes the head noun; this modifier clause ends in a participial form, with a choice between two basic suffixes. The choice between these two participle suffixes has been the topic of some traditional as well as early generative work on Turkish grammar. The suffixes in question are **-An** and **-DIK**, the latter followed by Agreement morphology in Modern Standard Turkish. These suffixes are the

rightmost element of the modifier clause (since Turkish has SOV word order):

(246) [Ø_i okul -a gid -en] adam_i
 Ø school -Dat. go -SbjP man
 "the man who goes/went to school"

(247) [adam -ın Ø_i git -tiğ -i] okul_i
 man -Gen. Ø go -ObjP -3.sg. school
 "the school that the man goes/went to"

An important article where an attempt has been made to determine the choice between the suffixes in question is Underhill (1972); the observations reported there, together with a few additional ones, form the basis of the account in Hankamer and Knecht (1976)—the most exhaustive study of this topic so far. The facts are as follows:

"Subject Relativization" with -An:

"Target of relativization" is the subject of the modifying clause:

(248) [Ø_i balıĝ -ı yi -yen] adam_i
 Ø fish -Acc. eat -SbjP man
 "the man who eats/ate the fish"

"Target of relativization" is the possessor of a "possessive NP" which is the subject of the modifying clause:

(249) [[Ø_i oĝl -u] balıĝ -ı yi -yen] adam_i
 Ø son -3.sg. fish -Acc. eat -SbjP man
 "the man whose son eats/ate the fish"

"Target of relativization" is a constituent of a Sentential Subject:

Subject of a Sentential Subject:

(250) [[Ø_i balıĝ-ı ye -me -si] biz -i şaşırt -an] adam_i
 Ø fish -Acc. eat-ANom -3.sg. we -Acc. surprise-SbjP man
 "the man whose eating the fish surprised us"

"Target of relativization" is the object of a Sentential Subject:

(251) [[adam-ın Ø_i ye -me -si] biz -i şaşırt -an] balık_i
 man -Gen. Ø eat-ANom -3.sg. we -Acc. surprise-SbjP fish
 "the fish that the man's eating (it) surprised us"

"Target of relativization" is the (oblique) object of an "Impersonal Passive":

- (252) a. [\emptyset_i Ankara otobüs-ün -e bin -il -en] durak_i
 \emptyset Ankara bus -CmpM-Dat. board-Pass. -**SbjP** stop
 "the stop where the Ankara bus is boarded"
- (252) b. [\emptyset_i bu durak -tan bin -il -en] otobüs_i
 \emptyset this stop -Abl. board-Pass. -**SbjP** bus
 "the bus which is boarded from this stop"

"Target of relativization" is the object of a clause with a non-specific subject:

- (253) [\emptyset_i keçi -ler gir -en] bahçe_i
 \emptyset goat -pl. enter -**SbjP** garden
 "the garden which goats entered"

"Target of relativization" is the possessor of a "possessive NP" which is an object of a clause with a non-specific subject:

- (254) [[\emptyset_i iç -in -e] keçi -ler gir -en] bahçe_i
 \emptyset inside -3.sg. -Dat. goat -pl. enter -**SbjP** garden
 "the garden into which goats entered"

In all other circumstances and contexts, the combination of **-DIK** and Agreement marking is used, whereby the Agreement encodes the features of person and number of the subject of its clause. We have seen one example of its usage in (247), where the target of relativization was a directional object; an additional example is given in (255)a:

- (255) a. [adam -m \emptyset_i ye -diğ -i] balık_i
 man -**Gen.** \emptyset eat -**ObjP** -3.sg. fish
 "the fish that the man eats/ate"

"Target of relativization" is the subject of a Sentential Object:

- (256) [(ben -im) [adam -ın \emptyset_i ye -diğ -in -i]
 I -**Gen.** man -**Gen.** \emptyset eat -**FNom** -3.sg. -**Acc.**
 san -**diğ** -**im**] balık_i
 believe -**ObjP** -1.sg. fish
 "the fish that I believe the man eats/ate"

"Target of relativization" is the possessor of a "possessive NP" which is a non-subject:

- (257) [(ben-im) [\emptyset_i oğl -un -a] balık ver -diğ -im] adam_i
 I -**Gen.** \emptyset son-3.sg.-Dat. fish give -**ObjP** -1.sg. man
 "the man who I gave fish to his son"

Descriptively speaking, the "-**DIK** strategy" is "the elsewhere case". The "-**An** strategy" is chosen in the following instances:

- A. When the target of relativization is a subject or part of a larger subject;
- B. When the target of relativization is a non-subject in a construction where there is no surface subject bearing a thematic role; this situation is found with impersonal passives, with existentials, and whenever the subject is non-specific and has to remain to the immediate left of the verb rather than in its regular, sentence-initial position.

There is also a borrowed pattern for relative clauses, with the modifier clause following the head noun. This is a pattern borrowed from Persian; this type of relative clause construction employs the general borrowed pattern for subordinated clauses (cf. 1. 1. 2. 1.). The modifier clause is fully finite and is introduced by the complementizer **ki**; e.g.

- (258) bir adam [**ki** çocuk-lar-ın -ı sev -me -z] yalnız
 a man **that** child -pl.-3.sg.-Acc. love -Neg.-Aor. alone
 yaşa-malı-dır
 live -Neg.-Ep.Cop.
 "A man who does not love his children must live alone"

While the borrowed subordination pattern with the complementizer and the fully finite subordinate clause is still used, if much less rarely than before the language reform, this pattern has fallen into disuse for relative clause usage.

A third type of relative clause construction (and one which is rarely, if at all, discussed under that heading) is a kind of correlative construction. From a semantic point of view, it is akin to free relatives (as illustrated by the English translation of the example below). From a structural point of view, one of its peculiarities is that its head noun is not a full lexical nominal, but rather a pronoun:

- (259) ben [Chomsky **ne** yaz -ar -sa] **on** -u oku -r -um
 I Chomsky **what** write-Aor.-Cond. **that** -Acc. read-Aor.-1.sg.
 "I read that which Chomsky writes"

Two additional properties of this construction are: 1. the Conditional morpheme on the embedded clause, and 2. the fact that the constituent in the modifying clause that is semantically linked to the head is a WH-element. Further, the verb of the modifying clause is fully finite, i.e. it exhibits the full array of tenses, as opposed to the more general native

relative clause pattern, where we have nominalization markers instead of tenses, as discussed above. Nevertheless, there is a shared property between these two constructions: the head follows the modifying clause.

1. 1. 2. 3. 2. Restrictive versus nonrestrictive relative clauses

There is no formal distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses in Turkish. The general, right-headed pattern with the nominalized subordinate clause can have either function.

It should be noted that the borrowed, left-headed pattern with the finite clause and the complementizer is used somewhat more often as a nonrestrictive relative clause, compared to its lack of use as a restrictive relative clause. This might be due to the fact that as a nonrestrictive relative clause, this kind of subordinate construction can function as a parenthetical (and hence as a general type of subordination), while this function is ruled out for a restrictive relative clause.

The right-headed, correlative construction has only restrictive meaning.

1. 1. 2. 3. 3. Position of the head noun

In the native patterns, the head always follows the modifier clause, while in the borrowed pattern, the head noun always precedes the clause.

1. 1. 2. 3. 4. The element in the relative clause corresponding to the head noun

1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 1-2. Preserved or replaced

In the most productive pattern, the relativized element is never preserved in full; in very complex relative clauses, it can be replaced by an inflected form of a pronoun which serves elsewhere in the language as a (long-distance) reflexive pronoun; e.g.

- (260) ?[[\emptyset_i kendisin -ij sev -en] kadın_i intihar ed -en] adam_j
 \emptyset him(self) -Acc. love-SbjP woman suicide do-SbjP man
 "the man who the woman who loves (him) committed suicide"

While a regular personal pronoun can also have this "logophoric" or "resumptive" function, it is less felicitous than the long-distance reflexive.

In "simple" relative clauses of this productive pattern, there is always a gap in the position of the relativized element, as we saw previously.

In the left-headed pattern, when the relativized constituent is a subject in its own, i.e. the modifying, clause it is omitted. This is illustrated by example (258) above. If the relativized constituent is a non-subject, it is replaced by a pronoun—again, with the long-distance reflexive preferred over the regular personal pronoun:

- (261) [bir çocuk; [ki [baba -sı kendisin-i; sev -me -z]]]
 a child that father-3.sg. him(self)-Acc. love-Neg.-Aor.
 katil ol -ur
 murderer become -Aor.
 "A child whose father does not love him becomes a murderer"

Finally, in the "correlative" construction with the pronominal head, the relativized constituent in the subordinate clause must be replaced by an interrogative element.

1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 3. Deleted

In the most general case, the relativized element is deleted, as seen in the examples of the previous subsections of 1. 1. 2. 3.

1. 1. 2. 3. 5. Movement of relative pronoun

If there is a relative pronoun (rather than a gap), it tends to stay in its original position. If it moves, it does so according to the same criteria that determine movement of any constituent in discourse, since Turkish is very word-order free; in other words, there is no special type of movement, limited to relative clauses. In the correlative construction, the interrogative element obeys the constraint placed on these elements in all contexts, namely that their preferred position is immediately pre-verbal.

1. 1. 2. 3. 6. Headless relative clauses

Turkish does have headless relative clauses, which basically consist of the modifier clause without the head noun; thus, corresponding to the headed (255)a, repeated here for the convenience of the reader, we have the corresponding (255)b as a headless relative clause (\emptyset indicates the head position which is not filled with lexical material):

(255) a. [adam-ın Ø_i ye -diğ -i] **balık_i**
 man -Gen. Ø eat-ObjP-3.sg. **fish**
 "the fish that the man eats/ate"

(255) b. [adam-ın Ø_i ye -diğ -i] Ø_i
 man -Gen. Ø eat-ObjP-3.sg. Ø
 "what the man eats/ate"

(255)c illustrates the usage of a headless relative clause in a sentence:

(255) c. [adam-ın ye -diğ -in] -i al -dı -m
 man -Gen. eat-ObjP-3.sg. -Acc. take-Past-1.sg.
 "I took what the man eats/ate"

The basic structure of headless relative clauses is the same for the general pattern as well as for the correlative construction, as illustrated by the examples in the next subsection. However, the left-headed construction must have an overt head and is otherwise ungrammatical. The meaning of a free relative can be obtained with this construction by replacing the head with a quantified interrogative element:

(262) [her **kim_i**[ki [baba -sı **kendisin -i** sev -me -z]]]
 each **who** that father-3.sg. **him(self) -Acc.** love-Neg.-Aor.
 katil ol -ur
 murderer become-Aor.
 "Whoever whose father does not love him becomes a murderer"
 (i.e. "Whoever is not loved by his father becomes a murderer")

This pattern seems to be limited to heads that have the feature [+human].

1. 1. 2. 3. 6. 1. Special marking of headless relatives

Headless relative clauses are not marked in any special way; either type of participial morphology found in the general, nominalized pattern of headed relative clauses can be found as headless relatives, as well:

(263) [adam-ın Ø_i ye -**dik** -ler-i_i]
 man -Gen. Ø eat -**ObjP** -pl.-3.sg.
 "those (things) which the man eats/ate"

(264) [Ø_i para -y_i ver -**en_i**]
 Ø money-Acc. give-**SbjP**
 "(the person) who gave the money"

When the -**DIK**-type of participial form (i.e. the ObjP) needs to be used, it is preferred to use it with a plural morpheme (whenever appropriate) in

headless relative clauses. The reason is probably because **-DIK** is also the general factive nominalization morpheme, and when it is used without the plural marker the distinction between a headless relative clause and a regular subordinate factive clause is neutralized, leading to confusion and unclarity. The attachment of the plural marker reveals the nominal nature of the relative clause.

Headless relative clauses marked with the **-AN**-type of participial form (i.e. the SbjP) are less restricted, since this participial form is limited to relative clauses and therefore cannot be confounded with any other marker.

As for the correlative construction, the pronominal head can be omitted, and the semantics of free relatives are thus obtained:

- (265) ben [Chomsky **ne** yaz -ar -sa] oku-r -um
 I Chomsky **what** write-Aor.-**Cond.** read-Aor.-1.sg.
 "I read whatever Chomsky writes"

1. 1. 2. 3. 7. Elements that can be relativized

Almost all elements can be relativized; going back to section 1. 1. 1. 2. 2. 1, all elements that were shown to be questioned there can be deleted when entering a relative clause construction. Objects of postpositions that do not carry agreement provide a counterexample to this generalization; e.g.:

- (266) Ahmet [okul -a **doğru**] git-ti
 Ahmet school-Dat. **towards** go-Past
 "Ahmet went towards the school"

- (267) *[Ahmed-in [Ø_i **doğru**] git-**tiğ** -i] okul_i
 Ahmet -Gen. Ø **towards** go -**ObjP**-3.sg. school
 "the school which Ahmet went towards"

Two more contexts preclude relativization: relativization out of a relative clause (unless the "gap" left behind is identified by an agreement marker), and relativization out of a sentential subject, if that sentential subject is an infinitive.

Relativization out of a relative clause:

- (268) *[[Ø_i Ø_j sev -**en**] kadın_i intihar ed-**en**] adam_j
 Ø Ø love-**SbjP** woman suicide do-**SbjP** man
 Intended reading: "the man who the woman who loves (him)
 committed suicide"

This type of ungrammatical relative clause provides the context for replacement of the relativized element with a reflexive pronoun, as we saw in 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 2. Note that here, the most deeply embedded clause has a participial form without agreement.

Relativization out of an infinitival sentential subject:

- (269) *[[\emptyset_i yüz -mek] güzel ol-an] deniz_i
 \emptyset swim-Inf. nice be-SbjP sea
 Intended reading: "the sea which it is nice to swim in"

1. 1. 2. 3. 8. Other elements moved with the relativized element

Since there is no movement found in relative clauses that is confined to, or typical for, this construction, there are also no elements that are moved along with the relativized element; in general, when part of a constituent moves for discourse reasons, the remainder of the constituent moves, as well; however, this is nothing special to relative clauses and relativized elements.

1. 1. 2. 3. 9. Nonfinite relative clauses

As discussed in 1. 1. 2. 3. 1., the most general native pattern of Turkish relative clauses involves nonfinite, participial modifier clauses that are marked with two different kinds of participial suffixes.

It should be noted that there is no special order in such participial clauses. The modifier clause cannot be separated from the head noun of the relative clause construction; however, within the modifier clause itself, word order is as free as in any other kind of clause. The arguments that are retained are not changed at all. The relativized element which, as stated earlier, is mostly deleted, is deleted along with its case suffix. No morphological material (e.g. postpositions, new cases etc.) is inserted into the nominalized modifier clause. Since the participial suffix occupies the morphological slot of the tense in the corresponding finite verb, the tense of such participial clauses is neutralized and is interpreted as non-future, without any further differentiation. In order to express finer distinctions, periphrastic constructions with auxiliaries and/or adverbs are used; e.g. one example we saw earlier, namely:

- (270) [adam-ın \emptyset_i ye -diğ -i] balık_i
 man -Gen. \emptyset eat -ObjP -3.sg. fish
 "the fish that the man eats/ate"

can be interpreted either as present or past. In order to emphasize the present tense, an appropriate adverb would have to be added:

- (271) [adam-ın Ø_i **şu an** -da ye -diğ -i] balık_i
 man -Gen. Ø **this moment** -Loc. eat -ObjP -3.sg. fish
 "the fish that the man is eating at this moment"

If the past tense needs to be emphasized, either an appropriate adverb expressing the past will be used, or a periphrastic construction expressing perfective aspect will be employed, or both:

- (272) [adam -ın Ø_i **geçen gün** ye -diğ -i] balık_i
 man -Gen. Ø **past day** eat -ObjP -3.sg. fish
 "the fish that the man ate the other day"

- (273) [adam -ın Ø_i ye -miş ol -duğ -u] balık_i
 man -Gen. Ø eat -PPart be -ObjP -3.sg. fish
 "the fish that the man has eaten"

Note that the past participle expresses perfective aspect.

Exactly the same means can be used by the **-An**-strategy.

In order to express future tense, the two "relativization strategies" with respect to participle choice employ different means.

The "**-ObjP**-strategy" replaces the suffix **-DIK** with the future tense marker **-AcAk**:

- (274) [adam-ın Ø_i yi -**yeceğ** -i] balık_i
 man -Gen. Ø eat -Fut.ObjP -3.sg. fish
 "the fish that the man will eat"

The "**-An**-strategy" employs a periphrastic construction with the auxiliary **ol** 'be, become', to which the **-An** is attached; the main verb surfaces with the future tense marker:

- (275) [Ø_i balığ-ı yi -**yecek** ol -an] adam_i
 Ø fish -Acc. eat -Fut. be -SbjP man
 "the man who will be eating the fish"

1. 1. 2. 4. Adverb clauses

The term 'adverb clause' in this work will be taken to mean "a subordinate clause that functions in the same way an adverb or adverbial phrase does in a simple sentence". Therefore, many of the

examples presented in this section would, from a strictly categorial point of view, be classified as nominalized clauses that are (in most, but not all, instances) the complements of a variety of postpositions. They are discussed under the present heading from a functionalistic point of view. Furthermore, there also are subordinate clauses that are marked with suffixes reserved for adverbial use. The predicates of such clauses are referred to by a variety of labels in different works; e.g. Lewis (1975) calls these "gerunds". Traditional Turkological works call these forms "converbs". Given the large number of adverbial clause types, only the most widely used ones will be listed.

1. 1. 2. 4. 1. Marking of adverbial clauses and their position relative to the superordinate clause

Most adverbial clauses are marked for nominalization in ways that are, by and large, similar to the nominalization properties of subordinate complement clauses. The two main nominalization strategies, namely that of marking the verb of the subordinate clause with either **-DIK** (the factive nominal) or with **-mA** (the action nominal) are found here, too:

- (276) [[Margaret Thatcher istifa et-tiğ -i] için]
 Margaret Thatcher resignation do-FNom-3.sg. because
 üzül -dü -k
 sadden-Past-1.pl.
 "We were saddened because Margaret Thatcher stepped down"

- (277) [[müdür -ün tatil -e çık-ma -sın] -dan sonra] ofis
 director-Gen. vacation-Dat. go -ANom-3.sg. -Abl. after office
 kapan-dı
 close -Past
 "After the director went on vacation, the office closed"

Note that the nominalized subordinate clauses precede the postposition, as expected, and that they bear the case marking selected by the respective postposition elsewhere:

- (278) bu kitab-ı [Ahmet için] al -dı -m
 this book-Acc. Ahmet for buy-Past-1.sg.
 "I bought this book for Ahmet"

- (279) [ara -dan sonra] ev -e dön -dü -k
 intermission-Abl. after home-Dat. return-Past-1.pl.
 "After the intermission, we returned home"

The postposition **için** 'for' (which, just like its English counterpart, can also be used in the sense of 'because') does not assign any (overt) case.

This is true both when it governs a simple noun phrase, as in (278), or a (nominalized) clause, as in (276). Similarly, the postposition **sonra** 'after' assigns the ablative both when it governs a simple noun phrase, as in (279), and when its complement is a (nominalized) clause, as in (277).

Further, these nominalized clauses bear the same nominalization morphemes that we saw earlier in subordinate complement clauses, namely, **-DIK** (the factive nominal) and **-mA** (the action nominal), either one of which appears in the slot of the tense morpheme of a fully finite verb. The Genitive marking of the subject in a subordinate clause is also exhibited by these adverbial clauses; however, while this is a consistent property of adverbial clauses with **-mA**, it shows up only rarely on adverbial clauses with **-DIK**. As illustrated in (276), in most of those latter instances, the subject of a subordinate adverbial clause with **-DIK** has no overt case marking, thus differing both from adverbial clauses with **-mA** and from nominalized clauses (irrespective of the morphology they bear) which are complements of verbs (rather than of postpositions).

In some instances, the nominalized adverbial clause can be marked by just a case marker, without a postposition. In these instances, the case marker functions as a constant, inherent cue as to the nature of the adverbial clause (e.g. "cause", "comparative" etc.) and is not assigned by the verb of the superordinate clause (as it would be in subordinate complement clauses):

- (280) [[müdür tatil -e çık-tığ -ın] -dan] ofis kapalı
 director vacation-Dat. go -FNom-3.sg. -Abl. office closed
 "Because the director went on vacation, the office is closed"

The gerundive adverbial clause modifies the predicate of the main clause directly, without the intermediary of a postposition or of some other category:

- (281) [[müdür tatil -e çık-ma] ofis -i kapa -dı -k
 director vacation-Dat. go -Ger. office-Acc. close-Past-1.pl.
 "When the director went on vacation, we closed the office"

In an unmarked word order, all types of adverbial clauses are placed at the beginning of the main sentence. However, given the general flexibility of word order in Turkish, the adverbial clause can surface in any position, even post-verbally. In these gerundive adverbial clauses, the subject does not bear any case marking, as illustrated in example (281). In most instances, however, gerundive adverbial clauses have no overt subject.

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. Specific clause types

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 1. Time

The most general way of expressing time specifications by means of a subordinate clause is by using the noun **zaman** 'time' in the manner of a postposition, following the subordinate clause nominalized with **-DIK**:

- (282) [[müdür tatil -e çık-tığ -1] zaman] ofis
 director vacation-Dat. go -FNom-3.sg. time office
 kapa -n -ır
 close-Refl.-Aor.
 "When the director goes on vacation, the office closes"

Note that, in line with the general characterization of adverbial clauses in the previous section, the subject of the subordinate clause does not carry any overt case marking.

Another productive way of forming time expressions by means of adverbially used subordinate clauses is simply to form relative clauses, headed by a variety of time expressions like **gün** 'day', **gece** 'night', **sabah** 'morning', etc. For example:

- (283) [[müdür -ün tatil -e çık-tığ -1] gece]
 director-Gen. vacation-Dat. go -FNom-3.sg. night
 ofis yan -dı
 office burn-Past
 "The night the director went on vacation, the office burned down"

Note that here, the subject of the subordinate clause does exhibit Genitive marking, as is usual with regular relative clauses. It should be noted, however, that this distinction between genuine adverbial clauses and relative clauses used in the same function is not a black-or-white one; many native speakers use the two constructions in free variation in this particular function. The suffix **-DIK** expresses both present and past; the difference can only be deduced from the context. The future is expressed by the corresponding factive nominalizer **-(y)AcAK**.

Other adverbials include subordinate clauses headed by **sonra** 'after', **önce** and **evvel** 'before', and **beri** 'since':

- (284) [[müdür tatil -e çık-tık] -tan sonra] ofis yan -dı
 director vacation-Dat. go -FNom -Abl. after office burn-Past
 "After the director went on vacation, the office burned down"

- (285) [[müdür tatil -e çık-ma] -dan **önce/evvel**] ev -in -i
 director vacation-Dat. go -Neg. -Abl. **before** home-3.sg.-Acc.
 ara -dı -m
 seek-Past-1.sg.
 "Before the director went on vacation, I called his home"
- (286) [[müdür tatil -e çık-tık] -tan **beri**] ofis kapalı
 director vacation-Dat. go -FNom -Abl. **since** office closed
 "The office has been closed (ever) since the director went on vacation"

Note that there is no agreement morpheme on either one of the last three examples. For the factive nominalizer **-DIK** (cf. 284 and 286), this is unusual, since this morpheme is otherwise always followed by agreement.

The subordinate clause illustrated in (285) is unusual in its entirety. Not only does it lack agreement, it exhibits an unusual morpheme on its predicate: the negative morpheme **-mA** (which, however, does not negate the predicate semantically in this usage). This is not the nominalization marker **-mA**, which looks, at first glance, identical. This can be seen by the fact that the word accent in examples like (285) immediately precedes **-mA**, as it always does before the negative marker. As we shall see in the phonology and morphology chapters of this book, word accent in Turkish falls, in general, on the last syllable of the word. However, morphemes which are exceptional in this regard not only cannot be stressed when they are word-final, but they also are "opaque", in the sense that they block stress from being assigned in the regular fashion when they are in non-final position in the word, as in (285). Word accent then falls on the immediately preceding syllable, as is the case here. The regular nominalization marker **-mA**, in contrast, is regular in this respect. Note also that in (284), the subject of the subordinate clause is not marked with the Genitive, something which is an exceptionless property of nominalized **-mA**-clauses in general. Thus, the construction illustrated in (285) lacks two of the salient properties exhibited by nominalized clauses: nominal agreement marker on the predicate, and Genitive marker of the subject. However, it does bear the third typical property of nominals: the subordinate clause carries a case marker.

It should be pointed out that examples like (284) and (286), i.e. the adverbial clauses selected by **beri** 'since', **önce** and **evvel** 'before', and **sonra** 'after' also have alternatives of the regular sort:

- (287) [[müdür -ün tatil -e çık-ma -sın] -dan sonra/önce]
 director-Gen. vacation-Dat. go -ANom-3.sg. -Abl. **after/before**
 ofis yan -dı
 office burn-Past
 "After /before the director went on vacation, the office burned down"
- (288) [[müdür tatil -e çık-tığ -ın] -dan beri] ofis
 director vacation-Dat. go -FNom-3.sg. -Abl. **since** office
 kapalı
 closed
 "The office has been closed (ever) since the director went on vacation"

What is unusual here is (287): instead of the factive **-DIK**, we have here **-mA**. No explanation will be offered here for this surprising alternation.

The adverbial construction with **önce/evvel** 'before' also offers the alternative of simply dropping the postposition, leaving the ablative-marked adverbial clause by itself; note also that the factive **-DIK** is replaced by the negation marker **-mA** (and not the action nominal **-mA**, which we can tell by the exceptional, preceding stress):

- (289) [[müdür tatil -e çık-ma] -dan] ev -in -i
 director vacation-Dat. go -Neg. -Abl. home-3.sg.-Acc.
 ara -dı -m
 seek-Past-1.sg.
 "Before the director went on vacation, I called his home"

A few further types of adverbial clauses that are not complements of postpositions follow:

- A compound form, consisting of the singular aorist of a verb, immediately followed by the negated form of the same verb, with the meaning of *as soon as*:

- (290) a. [müdür gid-er git-me -z] memur -lar
 director go -Aor. go-Neg.-Neg.Aor. employee-pl.
 iş -lerin -i bırak -tı -lar
 work-3.pl. -Acc. leave-Past-3.pl.
 "As soon as the director left, the employees left their work"

Note that this form is not inflected for subject agreement and thus does not alternate with changing values of person and number features for subjects:

- (290) b. [ben gid -er git -me -z] memur -lar
 I go -Aor. go -Neg. -Neg.Aor. employee -pl.
 iş -lerin -i bırak -tı -lar
 work -3.pl. -Acc. leave -Past -3.pl.
 "As soon as I left, the employees left their work"

• The suffix **-dikçe**, which means *as* or *as long as* when used with verbs denoting continuous action:

- (291) [burs -un devam et -tikçe] yoksulluk
 fellowship -2.sg. continue -as poverty
 çek -me -z -sin
 suffer -Neg. -Neg.Aor. -2.sg.
 "You won't suffer poverty, as long as your fellowship continues"

The same suffix, used with verbs denoting repeated action, means *whenever*:

- (292) [Ankara -ya dön -dikçe] her taraf -ın -ı
 Ankara -Dat. return -**whenever** each side -3.sg. -Acc.
 değiş -miş bul -ur -um
 change -Past find -Aor. -1.sg.
 "Whenever I return to Ankara, I find it completely changed"

• The suffix **-(y)ken** means *while* and is a cliticized form of the unbound morpheme **iken**, with the same semantics; the cliticized version is preferred in contemporary Turkish; this morpheme attaches to verbs as well as to predicate adjectives and nominals:

- (293) [müdür tatil -de -yken] ofis -i ara -ma -dı -m
 director vacation -Loc. -**while** office -Acc. seek -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "While the director was on vacation, I did not call the office"

• Finally, as an essentially direct translation of the English *when*, Turkish has the suffix **-(y)ınca**, which is attached to verbal stems. As is also true for the last two forms, this suffix replaces tense and aspect markers, and, just like the previous three forms, cannot occur with agreement:

- (294) [müdür /ben tatil -e çık -ınca] herkes
 director /I vacation -Dat. go -**when** everybody
 ev -in -e git -ti
 home -3.sg. -Dat. go -Past
 "When the director/I went on vacation, everybody went home"

This same type of adverbial clause, when it occurs as the complement of **kadar** 'as much as' and marked with the Dative, means *until*:

- (295) [[ben tatil -e çık-ınca -ya] **kadar**] kimse
 I vacation-Dat. go -when-Dat. **until** nobody
 ev -in -e git-me -di
 home-3.sg.-Dat. go -Neg. -Past
 "Nobody went home until I went on vacation"

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 2. Manner

The suffix most used to denote manner is **-(y)ArAk**:

- (296) ben [etraf -ım -a bak -**arak**] yür -ür -üm
 I around-1.sg.-Dat. look -**MAdv.** walk-Aor.-1.sg.
 "I walk, looking around (myself)"

The negation of this form is **-mAdAn**, which is a combination of the negative suffix **-mA** and the ablative **-dAn**:

- (297) ben [etraf -ım -a bak -**madan**] yür -ür -üm
 I around -1.sg.-Dat. look -**without** walk-Aor.-1.sg.
 "I walk without looking around (myself)"

This formation has the same shape as the time adverbial meaning *before*, exemplified in (289).

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 3. Purpose

The postposition **için** 'for' takes as a complement either an infinitival clause (when matrix and subordinate subjects are co-referential) or a subordinate clause with the action nominalizer **-mA**, where the subjects are not co-referential; the meaning of the construction is *in order to*:

- (298) Hasan kitab-ı [[san -a ver -**mek**] **için**] al -dı
 Hasan book-Acc. you-Dat. give-Inf. **for** buy-Past
 "Hasan bought the book in order to give (it) to you"

- (299) Hasan kitab-ı [[san -a ver -**me -m**] **için**] al -dı
 Hasan book-Acc. you-Dat. give-**ANom-1.sg.** **for** buy-Past
 "Hasan bought the book in order for me to give (it) to you"

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 4. Cause

The same postposition **için** 'for', when it takes a subordinate clause with the factive nominalizer **-DIK**, means *because*:

- (300) Hasan [[kitab -ı san -a ver -diğ -im] için]
 Hasan book -Acc. you -Dat. give -FNom -1.sg. for
 çok kız -dı
 very angry-Past
 "Hasan got very angry because I gave the book to you"

The same meaning is obtained by dropping **için** and suffixing the ablative suffix **-DAn** to the factive subordinate clause:

- (301) Hasan [[kitab -ı san -a ver -diğ -im -den]]
 Hasan book -Acc. you -Dat. give -FNom -1.sg. -Abl.
 çok kız -dı
 very angry -Past
 "Hasan got very angry because I gave the book to you"

Yet another way to express the same meaning is by using the postposition **dolayı** 'because' with the ablative construction illustrated in the previous example:

- (302) Hasan [[kitab-ı san -a ver -diğ -im -den] dolayı]
 Hasan book-Acc. you-Dat. give -FNom-1.sg.- Abl. because
 çok kız -dı
 very angry -Past
 "Hasan got very angry because I gave the book to you"

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 5. Condition

The basic conditional adverbial construction involving a nominalized subordinate clause is illustrated by the following example:

- (303) Hasan [[kitab-ı san -a ver -diğ -im] takdir -de]
 Hasan book-Acc. you-Dat. give -FNom -1.sg. case -Loc.
 çok kız -acak
 very angry -Past
 "Hasan will get very angry if (in case) I give you the book"

Another type of conditional is formed by the postclitic copular morpheme sequence **-(y)-sA**, which corresponds to the unbound copular morpheme sequence **i-se**; both mean 'if'. Like all postclitics, this morpheme undergoes Vowel Harmony, but it is exceptional with respect to word stress, which is placed on the syllable preceding the suffix; the suffix follows the tense suffix and precedes the subject agreement suffix:

- (304) Hasan [kitab-ı san -a ver -ir -se-m] çok kız -acak
 Hasan book-Acc. you-Dat. give-Aor.-if -1.sg. very angry-Past
 "Hasan will get very angry if I give you the book"

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 6. Result

There is no special adverbial result construction. Purpose and cause constructions are used to express the relevant semantics.

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 7. Degree

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 7. 1. Comparative clause

The postclitic **-sA**, which we saw in its function as a conditional in subsection 1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 5., can also be used in comparatives. It is attached to either an infinitival (when the subject of the main clause and that of the infinitival are the same) or to an action nominalization (when the two subjects are different); in either case, **-sA** in this usage is immediately preceded by the ablative suffix **-DAn**:

- (305) [[geç kal -mak -**tan** -**sa**] hiç git -me -meğ -i]
 late stay -Inf. -**Abl.** -**rather** never go -Neg. -Inf. -Acc.
 tercih ed -er -im
 prefer -Aor. -1.sg.
 "Rather than be late, I prefer not going at all"

- (306) [[Ali -nin geç kal -ma -sın -**dan** -**sa**] hiç
 Ali -Gen. late stay -ANom -3.sg. -**Abl.** -**rather** never
 git -me -me -niz -i] tercih ed -er -im
 go -Neg. -ANom -2.pl. -Acc. prefer -Aor. -1.sg.
 "Rather than for Ali to be late, I prefer for you (pl.) not to go at all"

The "buffer" consonant **y**, which usually shows up after vowels, will never surface in this usage, since it always follows the ablative suffix, which ends in a consonant. Here, too, **-sA** undergoes Vowel Harmony and causes word stress to fall on the immediately preceding syllable. In this usage, **-sA** is never followed by subject agreement. Moreover, in this usage, an option using a non-postclitic, free morpheme (i.e. **ise**) instead of the postclitic does not exist.

In addition to the construction with **-sA**, it is also possible to use comparative expressions like **az** 'little; less than' and **fazla** 'more; more than', together with a nominalized clause to which the ablative suffix is attached:

- (307) bu sebze -ler [[gerek -tiğ -in -den] az]
 this vegetable-pl. necessary-FNom-3.sg.-Abl. less than
 piş -miş²⁶
 cook-Infer.Past
 "These vegetables have cooked less than required"
- (308) bu sebze -ler [[gerek -tiğ -in -den] fazla]
 this vegetable-pl. necessary-FNom-3.sg.-Abl. more than
 piş -miş
 cook-Infer.Past
 "These vegetables have cooked more than required"

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 7. 2. Equative

The equative expression **kadar** 'as much as' is used instead of the comparative expressions illustrated in the previous two examples:

- (309) bu sebze -ler [[tam gerek -tiğ -i] kadar]
 this vegetable-pl. exactly necessary-FNom-3.sg. as much as
 piş -miş
 cook-Infer.Past
 "These vegetables have cooked exactly as much as required"

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 8. Place

There are no special adverbial clause constructions to express place. Clausal adverbial expressions for this meaning are either regular relative clauses headed by locative expressions such as **yer** 'place', **taraf** 'side; direction; part' etc., or they are correlative constructions containing case-marked WH-expressions for place like **nere-** 'where'; the only noteworthy feature of the latter construction is that its verb is formally a conditional:

- (310) kuğu-lar -ı [göster-diğ -in yer -de] gör-dü -m
 swan -pl. -Acc. show -ObjP-2.sg. place-Loc. see-Past -1.sg.
 "I saw the swans in the place that you showed (me)"
 ("I saw the swans where you showed me")
- (311) Hasan [nere -ye git -miş -se] ora -da kal -dı
 Hasan where -Dat. go -PPart -Cond. there -Loc. stay -Past
 "Hasan stayed wherever he went"

1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 9. Concessive

Concessive clauses are formed by a conditional verb followed by **DA**:

- (312) kitab-ı [iste -se -m de] bitir -e -me -m
 book-Acc. want-Cond.-1.sg. -and/even finish-Abil.-Neg.-1.sg.
 "I cannot finish the book even if I wanted to"

1. 1. 2. 4. 3. Nonfinite possibilities

With the exception of the constructions using postclitics (which attach to tensed forms), the majority of the adverbial constructions illustrated in this section are nonfinite, in the sense that they are nominalized. However, in most instances, we saw that these nominalizations are essentially similar to the nominalization properties of subordinate complement clauses. These properties have been discussed in section 1. 1. 2. 2. 6.

1. 1. 2. 5. Sequence of tenses

In those constructions where the subordinate clause is fully tensed, that clause is independent from the tense of the main clause. The same is essentially true for the factive nominal **-DIK/-AcAK**. There are no rigid sequencing requirements for the tenses. In subordinate clauses headed by the action nominal **-mA**, the infinitive marker **-mAK**, and those headed by markers like **-(y)IncA** and **-(y)ArAK** without overt reflexes of tense, the subordinate clause is interpreted as within the domain of the tense in the main clause.

1. 2. STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

1. 2. 1. *Internal structure of the sentence*

1. 2. 1. 1. Copular sentences

1. 2. 1. 1. 1. Copular sentences with nominal complement

Copular sentences with nominal complements are formed by suffixing tense and (subject-)agreement morphemes onto the predicate nominal. For the general present, no tense marking is used, and only the agreement morphemes show up:

- (313) (ben) satıcı -y -im
 I seller -Cop.-1 sg.
 "I am a seller"

Glossing the palatal glide as **Cop.** (and thus analyzing it as a copula) is provisional, as will be explained in the next section.

1. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1. Form and obligatoriness (vs. optionality) of the copula

Note that the **y**, which is glossed as 'Cop.' in example (313), is deleted if the preceding segment is a consonant:

- (314) (ben) öğretmen-im
I teacher -1.sg.
"I am a teacher"

The same alternation is found with predicate adjectives, too, as we shall see shortly. This segment is traditionally analyzed as a "linking consonant", which is inserted between vowels in such copular sentences. This insertion is very restricted, since not all vowels are separated by a **y**—not even at morpheme boundaries, and not even always preceding the agreement suffix. As a matter of fact, when a suffix begins with a vowel, that vowel will delete after another one:

- (315) kitab-ı oku -muş -um
book-Acc. read-Rep.Past -1.sg.
"I am said to have read the book"

versus:

- (316) kitab-ı oku -du -m
book-Acc. read-Past-1.sg.
"I read the book"

From comparison with other tenses, it is clear that the agreement suffix for first person singular is **-Im**, as illustrated in (315). Note that the vowel of that suffix drops after a preceding vowel, as illustrated in (316). However, if there were a general phonological rule of **y**-insertion between vowels, even a rule restricted to morpheme boundaries, we would expect to get:

- (317) *kitab-ı oku -du -y -um
book-Acc. read -Past-y -1.sg.
"I read the book"

Therefore, the rule of **y**-insertion has to be restricted, namely to morpheme boundaries in copular sentences.

While this is the most satisfactory account for the copular sentences in the present tense, it is more insightful to posit the existence of a copular morpheme in the past tenses, for the conditional, and for the adverbial construction using **-(y)ken**.²⁷

For expressing the past, either the regular past tense suffix **-DI** or the reported past suffix **-mİş** are attached to the predicate nominal (the latter expressing unwitnessed present or past in this usage; cf. 2. 1. 3. 4. 9.), with the **y** alternating according to the same conditions as just discussed for the present tense. Agreement suffixes follow the tense suffixes, as in constructions with verbal predicates:

- (318) (ben) satıcı **-y** **-dı** **-m**
 I seller **-Cop.-Past** **-1.sg.**
 "I was a seller"
- (319) (ben) öğretmen **-di** **-m**
 I teacher **-Past-1.sg.**
 "I was a teacher"
- (320) (ben) satıcı **-y** **-miş** **-im**
 I seller **-Cop.-Rep.Past** **-1.sg.**
 "I was / am a seller (so they say)"
- (321) (ben) öğretmen **-miş** **-im**
 I teacher **-Rep.Past-1.sg.**
 "I was / am a teacher (so they say)"

Note the presence of the connective **y** here, as well. In these instances, a putative insertion rule for **y** is phonologically implausible, since the **y** is followed by a consonant rather than a vowel. Instead, this segment could be analyzed as part of the agreement suffix in the preceding examples. However, the **y** is not found with the agreement suffixes in sentences with verbal predicates—not even in the same environments:

- (322) (ben) oku **-r** **-um** ***okur-yum**
 I read **-Aor.-1.sg.**
 "I read"
- (323) (ben) oku **-muş** **-um** ***oku-muş-yum**
 I read **-Rep.Past-1.sg.**
 "I am said to have read"

Given that the agreement suffixes in sentences with copular and fully verbal predicates are otherwise identical, positing the **y** as part of agreement morphemes in copular sentences would mean missing an important generalization about agreement, namely that it is the same for verbal and copular predicates. Analyzing this **y** as a separate copular morpheme is therefore the most insightful and general direction to take. (For a discussion of the palatal glide and its analysis as the copula in forms other than the present tense, as well as for some motivation for analyzing this glide as an inserted "buffer consonant" in the

present/aorist tense in copular constructions, the reader is referred to Kornfilt (1996).)

An additional argument for positing **y** as the copula comes from language change. Until as recently as the early years of the Republic, the tense and agreement suffixes in copular sentences were "carried" by the free morpheme 'i' in the past tenses:

- (324) (ben) satıcı **i** -di -m
I seller **Cop.**-Past-1.sg.
"I was a seller"
- (325) (ben) öğretmen **i** -di -m
I teacher **Cop.**-Past-1.sg.
"I was a teacher"
- (326) (ben) satıcı **i** -miş -im
I seller **Cop.**-Rep.Past-1.sg.
"I was/am a seller (so they say)"
- (327) (ben) öğretmen **i** -miş -im
I teacher **Cop.**-Rep.Past-1.sg.
"I was/am a teacher (so they say)"

In a change that first affected colloquial levels and then more formal stylistic levels (including the written language), these inflected copular forms became postclitics, attaching themselves onto the preceding word, and with the copular **i** turning into the glide **y**; where the **y** was preceded by a consonant, it dropped. The free inflected copular forms are found, albeit rarely, in current written Turkish, too. Thus, analyzing the putative "connective **y**" in copular sentences as the copula morpheme offers historical and synchronic insights.

This last argument, coming from independent inflected forms, doesn't carry over to the present tense, because during the recent time periods just mentioned, no free inflected copular forms were found for the present tense. (As a matter of fact, Turkish text grammars of the language, e.g. Gencan (1971), posit an abstract verb 'i' for copular sentences.)

Let us now return to predicate nominals and the various tenses they can occur with in copular sentences.

The future tense cannot be formed in the same way as the present and past; instead, a periphrastic form with the auxiliary verb **ol** 'to be, to

become' is used, to which the future tense suffix and the respective subject agreement suffixes are attached:

(328) (ben) satıcı ol -acağ -ım
 I seller be/become -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I will be/become a seller"

(329) (ben) öğretmen ol -acağ -ım
 I teacher be/become-Fut. -1.sg.
 "I will be/become a teacher"

Due to the suppletive character of this formation, the resulting construction is systematically ambiguous between 'be' and 'become'.

The auxiliary stem **ol-** can, then, be regarded as a suppletive form of the copula.

Another, much more limited, suppletive form for the copula is **-Dir**. This suffix is used in sentences with both verbal and copular predicates and has two functions: 1. used at a formal, even official, stylistic level, to express emphatic certainty; 2. used at all levels (but perhaps preferred colloquially), to express inferred probability. The following example illustrates these functions:

(330) bölüm başkanı dekan ol -muş -tur
 department head dean become-PPart -Ep.Cop.
 "The department head has become a dean"

If this example is found, for example, in an administrative bulletin or is uttered by a university official, this would be an example for the first usage just described. However, if no such news has been announced, but if a colleague has found the department chair's office empty and has seen the person settled in the dean's office instead, that colleague is likely to utter the same example, which would then illustrate the second usage. Examples like (330), then, are systematically ambiguous between the two functions just discussed, when they either have verbal predicates or are copular and have a non-present tense/aspect marker. (It should also be noted that, in both these usages, the suffix **-Dir** can show up with all persons, but it is preferred for third person, singular as well as plural.)

However, where a copular sentence is in the present tense and has a third person subject, the **-Dir** suffix takes on a third function, namely that of the copula:

- (331) bölüm başkanı aynı zaman-da dekan-**dır**
department head same time -Loc. dean -**Cop.**
"The department head is, at the same time, a dean"

While the "emphatic, official certainty" reading and the "inference" reading are available here, too, the main reading is that of a simple declarative. In just the context of the present tense copular sentences with third person subjects, then, **-Dir** is a suppletive form of the copula.

In just this usage, **-Dir** is optional. This is the only place where any form of the copula is optional; otherwise, the copula is obligatory. In other words, where the phonological conditions allow for the copula to show up, it must show up.

1. 2. 1. 1. 1. 2. Marking of the predicate noun

As illustrated in the previous section, the predicate noun is marked by the tense and subject agreement suffixes, in that order. If the predicate noun ends with a vowel, the first suffix to mark the predicate noun is a **-y**, analyzed in this work as the copula for the non-present tenses. In the future tense, a suppletive, periphrastic formation is used, and the predicate noun is not marked morphologically at all.

1. 2. 1. 1. 1. 3. Order of the constituents

The constituent order is exactly the same as that seen in "regular" sentences with verbal predicates. Since Turkish is an SOV-language (with 'V' to be understood more generally as "predicate" and 'O' more generally as any kind of object as well as adjuncts), the order will be subject-adjuncts/objects-predicate nominal+copula+inflection markers.

This canonical order is, however, open to permutations in actual usage. Again, this is true of copular sentences as well as of sentences with verbal predicates.

1. 2. 1. 1. 2. Copular sentences with adjectival complement

1. 2. 1. 1. 2. 1. Form and obligatoriness (vs. optionality) of the copula

The copula that shows up with adjectival complements has exactly the same properties as the copula that is used with nominal complements—in its regular form, in the distribution of **-y**, and in its suppletive forms **ol** and **-Dir**; therefore, for specific aspects of the construction, subsections of

the previous section on copular sentences with nominal complements can be consulted. A few examples are offered here:

Present tense:

(332) (ben) kirli -yim
I dirty-1.sg.
"I am dirty"

(333) (ben) temiz-im
I clean -1.sg.
"I am clean"

Past tenses:

(334)	(ben) kirli -y -di -m I dirty- Cop. -Past-1.sg. "I was dirty"	(ben) kirli -y -miş -im I dirty- Cop. -Rep.Past-1.sg. "I am said to be/have been dirty"
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(335)	(ben) temiz-di -m I clean -Past-1.sg. "I was clean"	(ben) temiz-miş -im I clean -Rep.Past-1.sg. "I am said to be/have been clean"
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Non-cliticized copular forms with adjectives:

(336)	(ben) kirli i -di -m I dirty Cop. -Past-1.sg. "I was dirty"	(ben) kirli i -miş -im I dirty Cop. -Rep.Past-1.sg. "I am said to be/have been dirty"
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(337)	(ben) temiz i -di -m I clean Cop. -Past-1.sg. "I was clean"	(ben) temiz i -miş -im I clean Cop. -Rep.Past-1.sg. "I am said to be/have been clean"
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Future tense with suppletive form **ol**:

(338) ben kirli **ol** -acağ-ım
I dirty **be**-Fut. -1.sg.
"I shall be/become dirty"

(339) ben temiz **ol** -acağ-ım
I clean **be**-Fut. -1.sg.
"I shall be/become clean"

Since this suppletive form means 'become' elsewhere, such examples are systematically ambiguous between 'be' and 'become', similar to the corresponding constructions with copular predicate nominals. Since this is a free morpheme, it is irrelevant whether the preceding stem ends in a vowel or in a consonant.

1. 2. 1. 1. 2. 2. Marking of the predicate adjective

Similar to predicate nominals and as illustrated by the examples in the previous section, the predicate adjective is marked by the tense and subject agreement suffixes, in that order. If the predicate adjective ends with a vowel, the first phoneme following the predicate adjective is a **y**, analyzed in this work as the copula for the non-present tenses. In the future tense, a suppletive, periphrastic formation involving the free morpheme **ol** is used, and the predicate adjective is not marked morphologically at all.

1. 2. 1. 1. 2. 3. Order of the constituents

Just as in copular sentences with predicate nominals, the constituent order for copular sentences with predicate adjectives is exactly the same as that seen in "regular" sentences with verbal predicates. Since Turkish is an SOV-language (with 'V' to be understood more generally as "predicate" and 'O' more generally as any kind of object as well as adjunct), the order will be subject-adjuncts/objects-predicate adjective+copula+inflection markers.

This canonical order is, however, open to permutations in actual usage. Again, this is true of copular sentences as well as of sentences with verbal predicates.

1. 2. 1. 1. 3. Copula sentences with adverbial complement

Since almost any adjective may modify a verb in Turkish, i.e. may be used adverbially, we shall look at those copular constructions which have adverbial complements in a non-trivial, clearly marked sense.

Copular sentences with genuine adverbial complements are more restricted than those with nominal and adjectival complements. Constructions corresponding to copular sentences in English with locative adverbials have predicate nominals in the Locative case:

(340) (ben) bura-**da** -yim
I here -**Loc.**-1.sg.
"I am here"

(341) (ben) iş -**te** -yim
I work-**Loc.**-1.sg.
"I am at work"

Further, copular sentences with morphologically marked adverbs as complements are possible, where the subject of the sentence typically consists of a verbal noun:

- (342) Hasan-in konuş -uş -u yavaş -ça -dır
 Hasan-Gen. talk -DerNom -3.sg. slow -ly -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan's (manner) of speaking is slow"

Furthermore, repeated adjectives or nouns may also serve as adverbs, and those can also be complements of the copula:

- (343) Hasan-in konuş -uş -u yavaş yavaş -tır
 Hasan-Gen. talk -DerNom -3.sg. slow slow -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan's (manner) of speaking is slow"

Inflection for past tenses is the same as seen previously for nominal and adjectival complements:

- (344) Hasan-in konuş -uş -u yavaş -ça -y -dı
 Hasan-Gen. talk -DerNom -3.sg. slow -ly -Cop. -Past
 "Hasan's (manner) of speaking was slow"

- (345) Hasan-in konuş -uş -u yavaş yavaş -tı
 Hasan-Gen. talk -DerNom -3.sg. slow slow -Past
 "Hasan's (manner) of speaking was slow"

Again, as seen previously for the other complement categories, the future tense is expressed by a suppletive, periphrastic construction involving the auxiliary *ol* 'be, become':

- (346) Hasan-in konuş -uş -u yavaş yavaş ol -acak
 Hasan-Gen. talk -DerNom -3.sg. slow slow Cop. -Fut.
 "Hasan's (manner) of speaking will be/become slow"

1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 1. Form and obligatoriness (vs. optionality) of the copula

The form of the copula when taking adverbial complements is exactly the same as when taking nominal or adjectival complements; the reader is therefore referred to sections 1. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1. and 1. 2. 1. 1. 2. 1. , so as to avoid repetition. The same is also true about the obligatoriness versus optionality of the individual forms.

1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 2. Marking of the complement adverbial

Similar to predicate nominals and adjectivals, and as illustrated by the examples in the previous subsection, the predicate adverb is marked by

the tense and subject agreement suffixes, in that order. However, in those constructions where the subject typically consists of a verbal noun, the agreement will be third person and therefore null. If the predicate adverb ends with a vowel, the first phoneme following the predicate adverb is a **y**, analyzed in this work as the copula for the non-present tenses. In the future tense, a suppletive, periphrastic formation involving the free morpheme **ol** is used, and the predicate adverb is not marked morphologically at all.

1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 3. Order of the constituents

Just as in copular sentences with predicate nominals and adjectivals, the constituent order for copular sentences with predicate adverbs is exactly the same as that seen in "regular" sentences with verbal predicates. Since Turkish is an SOV-language (with 'V' to be understood more generally as "predicate" and 'O' more generally as any kind of object as well as adjunct), the order will be subject-adjuncts/objects-predicate adjective+copula+inflection markers.

This canonical order is, however, open to permutations in actual usage. Again, this is true of copular sentences as well as of sentences with verbal predicates.

1. 2. 1. 1. 4. Copular sentences without overt copula

1. 2. 1. 1. 4. 1. Expression of normal verbal categories (e.g. tense)

Turkish does express normal verbal categories like (past) tense and subject agreement in copular sentences, even where there is no overt copula.

1. 2. 1. 1. 4. 2. Means of expressing verbal categories without an overt copula

1. 2. 1. 1. 4. 2. 1. Verbal affixes affixed to the complement element

As discussed in detail in section 1. 2. 1. 1. 1. on copular sentences with nominal complements and further illustrated in sections 1. 2. 1. 1. 2. on copular sentences with adjectival complements and section 1. 2. 1. 1. 3. on adverbial complements of copular sentences, the two morphologically simple past tenses (i.e. the simple past suffix **-DI** and the reported past suffix **-mİŝ**) are affixed to the complement element and are followed by subject agreement suffixes belonging to the verbal (rather than nominal) paradigm:

- (347) (biz) öğretmen **-di** **-k**
 we teacher **-Past** **-1.pl.**
 "We were teachers"
- (348) (biz) öğretmen **-miş** **-iz**
 we teacher **-Rep.Past** **-1.pl.**
 "We are said to have been teachers"

1. 2. 1. 1. 5. Conditions for omission of the BE-copula

A characterization of the conditions for omission of the BE-copula depends on the analysis of the palatal glide *y*, which shows up after a predicate nominal, adjective or adverbial that has a stem-final vowel; this glide precedes the tense suffix if there is one, and the agreement suffix if there is no tense:

- (349) (biz) satıcı **-y** **-dı** **-k**
 we seller **-Cop.** **-Past** **-1.pl.**
 "We were sellers"
- (350) (biz) satıcı **-y** **-iz**
 we seller **-Cop.** **-1.pl.**
 "We are sellers"

In section 1. 2. 1. 1. 1. on copular sentences with nominal complements, we gave reasons for analyzing the glide as the copula, rather than as part of the tense or agreement affixes or as the result of a phonological insertion rule. Under this analysis, the conditions for the omission of the copula are phonological: the copula is omitted after a stem-final consonant. This is true for all persons and for all (non-periphrastic) tenses, i.e. the past tenses and the present tense. However, the glide never shows up for the least marked form, i.e. present tense, third person singular.

Under an analysis that views the palatal glide either as the result of insertion or as part of either the tense or the agreement suffixes, Turkish would simply not have an overt copula at all—with the exception of *-Dir* in its purely copular function, which is optional for the third person present tense and stylistically marked for other persons.

1. 2. 1. 1. 6. Different types of copula

The copular constructions that were discussed in the previous sections are used for the functions of "defining", "identity", and "role". However,

there is a distinct form, the free verbal morpheme **ol**, whose basic meaning is 'become'; we thus have contrasts of the following sort:

(351) (biz) satıcı -y -dı -k
 we seller -**Cop.** -Past -1.pl.
 "We were sellers"

(352) (biz) satıcı **ol** -du -k
 we seller **become** -Past -1.pl.
 "We became sellers"

This free morpheme is used as a suppletive form for tenses for which there is no regular copular form—essentially the future tense. In such constructions, the use of **ol** is ambiguous between that of a regular copula and that of 'become':

(353) (biz) satıcı **ol** -acağ -iz
 we seller **be/become** -Fut. -1.pl.
 "We will be/become sellers"

1. 2. 1. 2. Verbal sentences

1. 2. 1. 2. 1. Verbs without subjects

Unless a new referent is being introduced in the discourse or there is an intended switch of referents (cf. Enç (1986), Erguvanlı -Taylan (1986)), pronominal subjects are typically omitted. This is facilitated by the presence of rich agreement morphology, where there are distinct forms for all combinations of the relevant features of "person" and "number"; this is true of verbal as well as of copular sentences.

(354) bu akşam ne yap -acak -sınız?
 this evening what do -Fut. -2.pl.
 "What will (you) do this evening?"

(355) sinema-ya gid -eceğ -iz
 cinema-Dat. go -Fut. -1.pl.
 "(We) will go to the movies"

Turkish has no dummy subjects.

1. 2. 1. 2. 2. Verbs without direct objects

Just as in English and other well-studied languages, Turkish has transitive and intransitive verbs, the former taking direct objects, the latter not:

Transitive verb:

- (356) Hasan kitab -ı oku -du
 Hasan book -Acc. read -Past
 "Hasan read the book"

Intransitive verb:

- (357) Hasan uyu -du
 Hasan sleep -Past
 "Hasan slept"

However, the distinction between these two classes is less distinct than in English, since direct objects (as well as other parts of speech) can be freely omitted (with the omission the preferred option when it is allowed), when either the discourse or the pragmatic situation permit such omission, i.e. if the discourse referent of the omitted object has been uttered previously, or if the pragmatic situation makes the referent clear:

- (358) A. Kitab -ı bit -ir -di -n mi?
 book -Acc. finish -Caus. -Past -2.sg. -Q
 "Did you finish the book?"
- B. Hayır, bit -ir -e -me -di -m
 no finish -Caus. -Abil. -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "No, I couldn't finish [it]"

It should be noted, however, that direct objects can be omitted somewhat less freely than subjects, given that verbs carry no morphological object agreement markers.

Another factor that contributes to the blurred distinction between transitives and intransitives is the fact that verbs used transitively in general can occur with cognate objects more freely than their equivalents in English:

- (359) Hasan güzel bir uyku uyu -du
 Hasan beautiful a sleep sleep -Past
 "Hasan slept a wonderful sleep"

Thus, in different ways, both transitive and intransitive verbs in Turkish can be said to be able to occur with or without objects.

However, unaccusative verbs cannot occur with direct objects:

- (360) su kayna -dı
water boil -Past
"The water boiled"

1. 2. 1. 2. 3. Indirect object

There is a category of indirect object in Turkish. It is marked by the Dative case, expressed by the suffix **-(y)A**.

- (361) Hasan kitab -ı Ali -ye ver -dı
Hasan book -Acc. Ali -Dat. give -Past
"Hasan gave the book to Ali"

Indirect objects can be omitted under similar discourse and pragmatic conditions as direct objects:

- (362) A. Ali -ye gazete -yi mi ver -dı -n?
Ali -Dat. newspaper -Acc. -Q give -Past -2.sg.
"Did you give the newspaper to Ali?"
- B. Hayır, kitab -ı ver -dı -m
no book -Acc. give -Past -1.sg.
"No, I gave the book (to him)"

1. 2. 1. 2. 4. Other verbal arguments

Other verbal arguments are locational (marked with **-DA**), the benefactive dative and the dative of direction (both marked with the regular dative suffix **(y)A**), the ablative (marked with **-DAn**), the partitive (marked with the ablative suffix **-DAn**), and the instrumental (marked with the suffix **-lA**). All of these are subject to optional omission, given the kind of discourse and pragmatic conditions mentioned for direct and indirect objects.

1. 2. 1. 2. 5. Combination of arguments

Turkish does not have double subject constructions (as opposed to languages like Japanese and Korean), nor does it have double (direct) object constructions. Furthermore, given the previously mentioned discourse-based optionality of arguments in general, it is rarely the case that all of the possible arguments should co-occur; however, all combinations are possible in principle.

1. 2. 1. 2. 6. Order of constituents

The unmarked order for the combination of verb, subject, and direct object is SOV, i.e. subject–direct object–verb. However, Turkish is a so-called free word order language; therefore, this order can change in a rather unrestricted fashion, depending on considerations of focus (the position to the immediate left of the verb), topic (sentence-initial position), and presupposition (positions following the verb).

As for the other constituents mentioned in subsection 1. 2. 1. 2. 4. , it is less clear that there is any unmarked order. Overall, the subject must precede all other arguments in an unmarked order, and the verb must be final. Native speakers tend to agree that locational arguments precede other objects; there also seems to be a (less strong) tendency to prefer the order direct object–indirect object–verb to the order indirect object–direct object–verb, when the order is unmarked. Otherwise, no strong tendencies for unmarked orders can be formulated.

1. 2. 1. 3. Adverbials

1. 2. 1. 3. 1. Types of adverbials

1. 2. 1. 3. 1. 1. Adverbs

Almost any adjective may be used as an adverb:

- (363) Hasan **iyi** çalış -ır
 Hasan **good** work -Aor.
 "Hasan works well"

Nouns can also be used as adverbs, but this is much more restricted than adjectives used in this way. When used adverbially, nouns are usually in the nominative case, and they function as temporal, locational or measure adverbials:

- (364) ev -im üniversite-den **iki mil** öte -de -dir
 house-1.sg. university-Abl. **two mile** away-Loc.-Ep.Cop.
 "My house is two miles away from the university"

There are some foreign adverbs; these are formed from Arabic nouns with the Arabic suffix **-en**. Since this suffix is exceptional in rejecting word stress, the word stress is never final in these adverbs, but rather is always on the penultimate syllable:

- (365) Hasan vazo -yu **kaza** -en kır -dı
 Hasan vase -Acc. **accident** -"ly" break -Past
 "Hasan accidentally broke the vase"

There is also a morphologically distinct class of adverbs, derived from adjectives or nouns by the suffix **-CA**. This suffix derives manner adverbs from adjectives, and a variety of adverbial types from nouns:

- (366) Hasan gömleğ -i **iyi** -ce yıka -dı
 Hasan shirt -Acc. **good** -"ly" wash -Past
 "Hasan washed the shirt well"
- (367) Hasan **çocuk** -ça hareket et -ti
 Hasan **child** -"ly" action do -Past
 "Hasan acted childishly"
- (368) Hasan Ali -den **yaş** -ça büyük -tür
 Hasan Ali -Abl. **age** -"wise" big -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is older than Ali [bigger age-wise]"

1. 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. Postpositional phrases

Adverbial expressions can be formed by using postpositional phrases. Some examples follow:

- (369) Hasan piyano -yu [Rubinstein **gibi**] çal -ar
 Hasan piano -Acc. Rubinstein **like** play -Aor.
 "Hasan plays the piano like Rubinstein"
- (370) Hasan opera -ya [saat beş -ten **önce**] git -ti
 Hasan opera -Dat. hour five -Abl. **before** go -Past
 "Hasan went to the opera before five o'clock"

1. 2. 1. 3. 1. 3. Cases of noun phrases

There are no cases specific to noun phrases used adverbially. However, noun phrases discussed in subsection 1. 2. 1. 2. 4. as "other" arguments of verbs, i.e. noun phrases that are neither subjects, direct objects, nor indirect objects, and are marked with the instrumental/comitative, the ablative/partitive, the locative, and the directional dative can be viewed as adverbial, cased noun phrases.

1. 2. 1. 3. 1. 4. Adverbial clauses

Turkish has both finite and non-finite adverbial clauses. These have been discussed in detail in section 1. 1. 2. 4. and its subsections.

1. 2. 1. 3. 2. Positional possibilities

The unmarked position for adverbs of all types is to immediately precede the word they modify. However, given the flexible word order of Turkish, this statement is valid for unmarked orders only; adverbs are particularly free in their positioning.

1. 2. 1. 3. 3. Obligatory nature of adverbials

From a syntactic point of view, adverbials are never obligatory in any construction. Their occurrence is determined by pragmatic and discourse-related reasons.

1. 2. 2. Adjective phrases

1. 2. 2. 1. Operational definition of adjective phrases

Let us define an adjective phrase as any string which ends in an adjective. The problem of using this definition as a generally valid operational definition in Turkish lies in the difficulty of drawing a clear distinction between adjectives and nouns. Most adjectives can also be used as nouns, i.e. they can occur in typical nominal contexts: they admit affixation with plural and case suffixes as well as nominal (possessive) agreement suffixes, and the indefinite article **bir** 'a' can precede them:

(371) yaşlı 'old'
 yaşlı -lar -a
 old -pl. -Dat. "to the old ones"

(372) hasta 'sick'
 bir hasta
 a sick "a sick person, a patient"

Lewis (1975) states that the only large class of adjectives which are not used as nouns are those formed with the Turkish derivational suffixes **-sİ**, **-(I)msİ**, **-(I)mtrak**, and **-(s)Al**, the Arabic **-î**, and the Persian **-ane** and **-varî** (all of those suffixes by which adjectives are derived), as well as recent borrowings from European languages like **demokratik** and **kültürel**. Thus, a constituent ending (within an unmarked word order) with a word clearly marked morphologically as an adjective is an adjective phrase.

Lewis (1975) further states that, if the permissibility of putting a word in the comparative and superlative is taken as the criterion of an adjective,

large numbers of nouns will be excluded from usage as an adjective. Hence, a sequence which is a candidate for classification as an adjective phrase must end in a word which is either in the comparative or superlative, or which could appear in either one of these forms.

Further, the criterion of the ability of a string to function as a modifier of a noun can be used to identify the string as an adjective phrase, if the last word of the string cannot be clearly identified as an adjective by virtue of the first two criteria. Thus, we have a conjunction of three operational definitions: two definitions which refer to the formal properties of a string's last word as an adjective (i.e. 1. whether that word is derived by any of the listed derivational suffixes or falls within a short list of borrowings and 2. whether that word can be placed in the comparative and superlative), and one definition which refers to the possible syntactic context of the string, i.e. its ability to function as the modifier of a noun (and hence to precede it) within a noun phrase.

1. 2. 2. 2. Arguments of adjectives

Turkish has adjectives that take arguments. The possibility of omitting arguments of adjectives is governed by the same discourse related and pragmatic considerations mentioned earlier in connection with verbal predicates.

1. 2. 2. 2. 1. Adjectives occurring in subjectless sentences

As discussed earlier in section 1. 2. 1. 1. on copular sentences, predicate adjectives are inflected via the copula. This makes it possible to omit the subjects of sentences with predicate adjectives just as easily as to omit subjects in verbal sentences.

1. 2. 2. 2. 2. Adjectives with direct objects

It appears that adjectives cannot take arguments in the accusative, i.e. direct objects. For example, the verb **kıskan** 'envy' takes an accusative object; however, the related adjective **kıskanç** 'envious' cannot:

(373) Hasan Ali -yi **kıskan** -ıyor
 Hasan Ali -Acc. **envy** -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan envies Ali"

(374) *Hasan **Ali** -yi **kıskanç**
 Hasan **Ali** -Acc. **envious**
 Intended reading: "Hasan is envious of Ali"

1. 2. 2. 2. 3. Adjectives with indirect objects

Turkish has adjectives with indirect objects, marked with the dative as usual:

- (375) koca -sın -a sadık
 husband -3.sg. -Dat. loyal
 "loyal to her husband"

1. 2. 2. 2. 4. Adjectives with other kinds of arguments

In comparative constructions, adjectives take an ablative argument:

- (376) ipek -ten hafif
 silk -Abl. light
 "lighter than silk"

Further, adjectives can take locatives, directional ablatives as well as datives:

- (377) ev -im -de gizli
 house -1.sg. -Loc. hidden
 "hidden in my house"

- (378) ev -im -den uzak
 house -1.sg. -Abl. far
 "far from my house"

- (379) ev -im -e yakın
 house -1.sg. -Dat. near
 "close to my house"

1. 2. 2. 2. 5. Combinations of arguments

Possible combinations of arguments in adjective phrases are more limited than in verbal sentences. Possible combinations are essentially restricted to two arguments, with the second argument usually an ablative of comparison or an ablative of direction:

- (380) ev -im -e iş -im -den yakın
 house-1.sg.-Dat. work -1.sg. -Abl. close
 "closer to my home than to my work"

- (381) ev -im -de komşu -lar -dan gizli
 house-1.sg.-Loc. neighbor -pl. -Abl. concealed
 "hidden in my home from the neighbors"

1. 2. 2. 2. 6. Order of the constituents in combinations of arguments

When arguments are combined in adjective phrases, the ablative argument is last in an unmarked word order; however, given the general flexibility of word order in Turkish, other orders are possible given the usual discourse and pragmatic conditions on marked word orders.

1. 2. 2. 3. Types of adverbials that can modify adjectives

1. 2. 2. 3. 1. Adverbs

Adverbs can modify adjectives:

(382) **çok** güzel bir kitap
very nice a book
 "a very nice book"

(383) **hâlâ** güzel bir kadın
still beautiful a woman
 "a still beautiful woman"

1. 2. 2. 3. 2. Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases can modify adjectives:

(384) [ben -im **kadar**] yorgun bir insan
 I -Gen. **as much as** tired a person
 "a person as tired as me"

(385) [hastalığ -ın -a **rağmen**] başarılı bir insan
 illness -3.sg. -Dat. **despite** successful a person
 "a person successful despite his illness"

1. 2. 2. 3. 3. Cases of noun phrases

Cased noun phrases that modify adjectives are more properly analyzed as arguments of adjectives and have been discussed under that heading in sections 1. 2. 2. 2. 2., 1. 2. 2. 2. 3., and 1. 2. 2. 2. 4.

1. 2. 2. 3. 4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses cannot directly modify adjectives; however, postpositional phrases that have (mostly nominalized) clauses as complements can modify adjectives. In other words, adverbial clauses (functionally defined) can modify adjectives indirectly, via a postposition. Examples are given in the following two subsections.

1. 2. 2. 3. 4. 1. Finite adverbial clauses

Most subordinate clauses in Turkish are nominalized or gerundive and thus not fully finite. Nevertheless, some of these clauses are tensed and can be used adverbially (via a postposition):

- (386) [[güzellik yarışma -sın -da ödül al -acak] kadar]
 beauty contest -CmpM-Loc. prize get -Fut. as much as
 güzel bir kız
 pretty a girl
 "a girl pretty to the point of getting a prize at a beauty contest"

- (387) [[güzellik yarışma-sın -da ödül al -mıŝ] kadar]
 beauty contest -CmpM-Loc. prize get-PPart as much as
 mutlu bir kız
 happy a girl
 "a girl happy as though she had gotten a prize at a beauty contest"

It should be noted, however, that these subordinate clauses are not genuinely finite, although they are not nominalized, and despite their tense markers. All simple tenses, with the exception of the past tense, can function as modifying participles, and it is this usage that we find here. In this function, the suffix which otherwise denotes the reported (or inferential) past marks a past participle. As a matter of fact, the simple past cannot occur in these clauses used adverbially:

- (388) * [[güzellik yarışma -sın -da ödül al -dı] kadar]
 beauty contest -CmpM-Loc. prize get -Past as much as
 mutlu bir kız
 happy a girl
 Intended reading: "a girl happy as though she had gotten a prize at a beauty contest"

1. 2. 2. 3. 4. 2. Nonfinite adverbial clauses

Nonfinite clauses, used adverbially, can modify adjectives via a postposition:

- (389) [[herkes -in san -dıđ -in -dan] daha] başarılı
 everybody-Gen. believe -FNom -3.sg.-Abl. more successful
 bir insan
 a person
 "a person more successful than anybody believed"

Direct modification of adjectives by adverbial clauses does not appear to be possible.

1. 2. 2. 3. 5. Relative order of adverbial and adjective

The adverbial precedes the adjective that it modifies, as illustrated by the previous examples.

1. 2. 2. 4. Order of adjective, argument(s) and adverbial(s) when all present

The unmarked order is: argument(s) -adverbial(s) -adjective, when all three types are present:

- (390) [koca -sın -a çok sadık] bir kadın
 husband -3.sg. -Dat. very loyal a woman
 "a woman very loyal to her husband"

1. 2. 3. Adverbial phrases

1. 2. 3. 1. Operational definition for the adverbial phrase

A useful operational definition would be to say that the adverbial phrase is a constituent which modifies either a verb or an adjective. Thus, such a definition is contextual and not purely formal, since the class of adverbs is not clear cut: almost any adjective can be used adverbially. Hence, the adverbial phrase might be headed by a word which, in a different syntactic context, would serve as an adjective. However, there are certain types of words that are clearly marked as adverbs (e.g. adverbs derived from adjectives or nouns by the suffixes **-cA** or **-cAsInA** or from verbs by suffixes like **-(y)ArAk**, **-(y)IncA**); constituents headed by any of those adverbials would be formally defined as adverbial phrases.

1. 2. 3. 2. Adverbials that can modify adverbials

1. 2. 3. 2. 1. Adverbs

Adverbs constitute the most productive category that can modify adverbs. These are mostly adverbs denoting degree like **çok** 'very', **daha** 'more', **biraz** 'a little':

- (391) lütfen biraz **daha** yavaş yürü!
 please a little **more** slow walk
 "Please walk a little more slowly!"

1. 2. 3. 2. 2. Postpositional phrases

A restricted number of postpositional phrases can modify adverbials; these are in general those used in comparative constructions:

- (392) Hasan [Ali **kadar**] hızlı koş -ar
 Hasan Ali **as much as** fast run -Aor.
 "Hasan runs as fast as Ali"

1. 2. 3. 2. 3. Cases of noun phrases

Noun phrases marked with the ablative can modify adverbials in comparative constructions:

- (393) Hasan [Ali **-den** hızlı] koş -ar
 Hasan Ali **-Abl.** fast run -Aor.
 "Hasan runs faster than Ali"

1. 2. 3. 2. 4. Adverbial clauses

Similarly to modification of adjectives, adverbs cannot be modified by adverbial clauses directly, but only indirectly, through the intermediary of a postposition. In other words, postpositional phrases containing adverbial clauses can modify adverbs in comparative constructions.

- (394) Hasan [[Ali-nin söyle-diğ -i] **kadar**] hızlı koş -ar
 Hasan Ali-Gen. say -FNom-3.sg. **as much as** fast run-Aor.
 "Hasan runs as fast as Ali said (he did)"

1. 2. 3. 3. Relative order of modifying and modified adverbials

In the unmarked case, modifying adverbials precede modified adverbials.

1. 2. 3. 4. Restrictions on particular types of adverbials modifying particular types of adverbials

We saw in the previous subsections that adverbials modifying adverbials are restricted to comparative constructions.

1. 2. 4. *Postpositional phrases*

1. 2. 4. 1. **Operational definition for the postpositional phrase**

Constituents whose last element is a postposition are postpositional phrases. Postpositions are relatively easy to diagnose. Most postpositions are independent morphemes that assign case to their nominal complement; some cliticized postpositions also assign case. Thus, most postpositions can easily be distinguished from adjectives, since the latter do not assign case. Those postpositions that do not assign overt case are nevertheless distinguishable from adjectives by their semantics.

1. 2. 4. 2. **Postpositional phrases and their arguments**

1. 2. 4. 2. 1. **Postpositions without arguments**

The only postpositions that can occur without arguments appear to be some that are used as time adverbials like **önce** 'before' and **sonra** 'after'. In their use as "adverbs", i.e. when without arguments, they mean 'first' and 'later', respectively:

(395) dün **önce** iş -e git-ti -m, **sonra** sinema-ya
 yesterday **first** work-Dat. go-Past-1.sg. **later** cinema-Dat.
 "Yesterday I first went to work and afterwards to the movies"

Interestingly, both of these elements assign the ablative to their respective arguments when they are used as postpositions.

1. 2. 4. 2. 2. **Postpositions with more than one argument**

These occur only in comparatives and equatives.

1. 2. 4. 2. 3. **Postpositions with arguments other than noun phrases**

Postpositions can occur with clausal complements; these can be either nominalized or tensed. Examples can be found in the sections on adverbial clauses, i.e. in section 1. 1. 2. 4. and in section 1. 2. 1. 3.

1. 2. 4. 2. 4. **Possibilities for stranding postpositions if their noun phrase is moved**

Genuine postpositions (also referred to as "primary postpositions" in Lewis (1975)) cannot be stranded. This holds true for attempting to

strand a postposition when its complement is moved as well as for potentially stranding it by eliding its complement via discourse-based "deletion" or by forming a relative clause (which involves a "gap" in the place of the relativized constituent).

However, it is possible to strand "secondary postpositions" (cf. Lewis (1975)). These are actually nouns which are used as postpositions; they do not assign any case to their respective arguments and either are themselves assigned case by the verbal predicate of the sentence, or else carry an inherent case (in contrast to genuine postpositions, which cannot be case marked). The first type of secondary postpositions are locational; the second type ranges over a variety of meanings. These nouns enter possessive "compounds" with their respective arguments.

Example for the first type of secondary postpositions:

- (396) Hasan [kitab -in iç -in] -e bak -tı
 Hasan book -Gen. **inside** -3.sg. -Dat. look -Past
 "Hasan looked into the book (into the inside of the book)"

Stranding the secondary postposition by relativizing its argument:

- (397) [Hasan-in [Ø iç -in] -e bak -tığ -ı] kitap
 Hasan-Gen. Ø **inside** -3.sg. -Dat. look-ObjP-3.sg. book
 "The book that Hasan looked into"

Note that the genitive assigned to the argument of the "secondary postposition" is not due to the postposition itself, but rather to the possessive agreement marker which agrees in person and number with the argument. This can be seen by the fact that the very same case and agreement facts pertain in regular nominal possessive constructions where the head noun does not have any function as a postposition.

The arguments of these postpositions are usually not marked with the genitive when they are full lexical nouns; such marking occurs only when the argument is a pronoun. The stranding possibility in this example is marked for discourse deletion (stranding by relativization is possible, as well):

- (398) Hasan ban -a [(on -un) hakk -in -da]
 Hasan I -Dat. **he** -Gen. "about" -3.sg. -Loc.
 bir fikra anlat -tı
 an anecdote tell -Past
 "Hasan told me an anecdote about him"

In both instances, stranding the secondary postposition is possible, because the person and number features of the moved, gapped or elided argument are encoded on the postposition via the agreement suffix. Since primary postpositions do not carry any agreement with their argument, they cannot be stranded.

1. 2. 4. 3. Elements that can modify postpositions

Strictly speaking, postpositions cannot be modified in general. However, the two postpositions which can be used without arguments (cf. subsection 1. 2. 4. 2. 1.), i.e. **önce** 'before' and **sonra** 'after', as well as the postposition **evvel** 'before' which cannot be used without an argument can be modified.

1. 2. 4. 3. 1. Adverbs modifying postpositions

The above-mentioned set of postpositions can be modified by a very limited set of adverbs like **çok** 'a lot' and **(bir)az** 'a little':

(399) Hasan **biraz** önce git -ti
Hasan **a little** before go -Past
"Hasan left a little (while) ago"

1. 2. 4. 3. 2. Postpositional phrases modifying postpositions

Postpositions cannot be modified by postpositional phrases.

1. 2. 4. 3. 3. Cases of noun phrases modifying postpositions

Cased noun phrases governed by postpositions (cf. section 2. 1. 5. 1.) can be viewed as instances of cased noun phrases "modifying" (in a wider sense) postpositions. Just one representative example follows:

(400) Hasan Ali **-den önce** git -ti
Hasan Ali **-Abl. before** go -Past
"Hasan left a little before Ali"

1. 2. 4. 3. 4. Adverbial clauses modifying postpositions

Postpositions can occur with clausal complements; these can be either nominalized or tensed. Examples can be found in the sections on adverbial clauses, i.e. in section 1. 1. 2. 4. and in section 1. 2. 1. 3.

1. 2. 4. 3. 4. 1. Finite adverbial clauses

Tensed clauses can occur with certain postpositions that do not assign overt case, e.g. **gibi** 'like' and **kadar** 'as much as':

(401) [küçük dağ -lar -ı yarat -mış] **gibi**
 small mountain -pl. -Acc. create -PPart **like**
 "As though (he/she/it) had created the small mountains"
 (said about conceited people)

(402) [yarışma -yı kazan -acak] **kadar** (güzel)
 competition -Acc. win -Fut. **as much as** beautiful
 "As much (beautiful) as to win the competition"

1. 2. 4. 3. 4. 2. Nonfinite adverbial clauses

Most postpositions that occur with noun phrases can also occur with nonfinite, fully nominalized clauses; e.g.

(403) dün iş -im -e [[çocuk -lar okul -a
 yesterday work -1.sg. -Dat. child -pl. school -Dat.
 git -tik -ten] **sonra**] git -ti -m
 go -FNom -Abl. **after** go -Past -1.sg.
 "Yesterday I went to work after the children had gone to school"

However, adverbial clauses whose verbal heads are marked with a gerundive (or "converb") suffix, which lack agreement marking with the subject, and which can modify adjectives and verbs without the intermediary of a postposition (e.g. **-(y)ArAk**, **-(y)IncA**, **-DIkçA**; cf. section 1. 2. 3. 4. and 1. 1. 2. 4. on adverbial clauses) cannot modify postpositions in general. One of the rare counterexamples to this generalization is **-(y)IncA**, when it is marked with the dative case, modifying **kadar** 'until':

(404) [[çocuk -lar ev -e gel -ince -ye] **kadar**]
 child -pl. house -Dat. come -when -Dat. **until**
 iş -e gid -e -me -di -m
 work -Dat. go -Abil. -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "I couldn't go to work until the children had come home"

When marked with the dative as in (397), the postposition is obligatory in this construction.

Other possibilities are illustrated below:

-mA-dAn, modifying **önce** 'before':

- (405) [[çocuk -lar ev -e gel -me -den] önce]
 child -pl. house -Dat. come -Neg. -Abl. before
 iş -e gid -e -me -di -m
 work -Dat. go -Abil. -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "I couldn't go to work before the children had come home"

The postposition is optional here.

Similar forms not discussed earlier, because they are used rarely:

-An-A, modifying **kadar** 'until':

- (406) [[çocuk -lar ev -e gel -en -e] kadar]
 child -pl. house -Dat. come -Ger. -Dat. until
 iş -e gid -e -mi -yeceğ -im
 work -Dat. go -Abil. -Neg. -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I won't be able to go to work until the children will come home"

The postposition is obligatory in this construction.

-(y)AlI, modifying **beri** 'since':

- (407) [[çocuk -lar ev -e gel -eli] beri] iş -e
 child -pl. house -Dat. come -Ger. since work -Dat.
 gid -e -me -di -m
 go -Abil. -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "I couldn't go to work until the children had come home"

The postposition is optional in this construction.

1. 2. 4. 3. 5. Relative order of postposition and modifier

The postposition must follow its modifier.

1. 2. 4. 4. Postpositions that can govern more than one case

Postpositions can govern only one case at a time.

The only postposition that allows for an alternation of cases appears to be **kadar**. When it is used in a comparative construction, it means 'as much as' and assigns the nominative to its argument when it is fully lexical, and the genitive when it is pronominal:

- (408) çocuk -lar [[ben -im] kadar] yemek ye -di -ler
 child -pl. I -Gen. as much as food eat -Past -3.pl.
 "The children ate as much food as I"

When the same postposition is used in locative or temporal constructions, with the meaning of 'as far as' or 'until', it assigns the dative:

- (409) [[bu akşam -a] kadar] iş -im -i bitir -eceğ-im
 this evening -Dat until work -1.sg.-Acc. finish-Fut. -1.sg.
 "I will finish my work by this evening"

1. 2. 4. 4. 1. Determination of choice of case

This alternation is determined by the semantics of the postposition rather than by the verb.

1. 2. 5. Noun phrases (nominal constituents)

1. 2. 5. 1. Operational definition for the noun phrase

Noun phrases are constituents whose last word is a noun and which bear case markers in syntactic contexts where overt case is assigned, i.e. where they function as complements of verbs and of postpositions.

1. 2. 5. 2. Types of modifiers occurring in noun phrases

1. 2. 5. 2. 1. Adjective

Adjectives are the typical modifiers of nouns:

- (410) güzel kadın
 beautiful woman
 "the beautiful woman"

1. 2. 5. 2. 2. Relative clause

Relative clauses can function as modifiers in noun phrases:

- (411) [iş -in -e gid -en] kadın
 work -3.sg. -Dat. go -SbjP woman
 "the woman who is going to work"

1. 2. 5. 2. 3. Possessive "adjective"

Such adjectives are derived from nouns via the suffix -II and have one of the following three main types of meaning:

1. 'possessing the object or quality indicated by the stem':

- (412) akıl 'intelligence' akıl -lı 'possessing intelligence; intelligent'
resim 'picture' resim -li 'possessing pictures; illustrated'

2. 'possessing the object or quality indicated by the stem to a high degree':

- (413) hız 'speed' hız -lı 'having high speed; rapid'
yaş 'age' yaş -lı 'having a high age; old'

3. 'belonging to a place or institution':

- (414) Ankara 'Ankara' Ankara -lı 'person living in Ankara'
üniversite 'university' üniversite -li 'university student'

1. 2. 5. 2. 4. Article

Turkish does not have a definite article, but it does have an indefinite article: **bir** 'a'. While this is the same word as the numeral meaning 'one', the position of the article is different from that of the numeral: the article follows any adjective in the noun phrase and immediately precedes the noun, while the numeral is phrase-initial:

- (415) **bir** güzel, olgun elma
one nice ripe apple
"one nice ripe apple"

- (416) güzel, olgun **bir** elma
nice ripe an apple
"a nice, ripe apple"

1. 2. 5. 2. 5. Demonstrative "adjective"

There is a three-way distinction in the demonstrative system:

- (417) bu 'this' (close to the speaker)
şu 'that' (further away from the speaker)
o 'that', 'yonder' (furthest from the speaker)

1. 2. 5. 2. 6. Quantifiers

Numerals and other quantifiers precede the noun, when they are used as modifiers; however, in partitive constructions (where they are used as nouns), they follow the noun:

- (418) üç elma
three apple
"three apples"

- (419) **bazı** elma -lar
some apple -pl.
 "some apples"
- (420) elma -lar -ın **üç** -ü
 apple -pl. -Gen. **three** -3.sg.
 "three of the apples"
- (421) elma -lar -ın **bazı** -lar -ı
 apple -pl. -Gen. **some** -pl. -3.sg.
 "some of the apples"

1. 2. 5. 2. 7. Adverbials

Adverbials occur in noun phrases either as modifiers of adjectives in simple noun phrases, or as modifiers of verbs in nominalized clauses:

- (422) **çok** olgun bir elma
very ripe an apple
 "a very ripe apple"
- (423) [Hasan-ın **çok** konuş -ma -sı] ben-i kız -dır -dı
 Hasan -Gen. **very** talk -ANom-3.sg. I -Acc. angry-Caus.-Past
 "Hasan's talking a lot angered me"

1. 2. 5. 2. 8. Emphatic words

There is no general system of emphasis. There are emphatically used reflexive pronouns, which will be discussed in the section on reflexives. Emphatic focus is marked by word order and high pitch.

1. 2. 5. 2. 9. Comparative /superlative /equative structures

Comparative constructions within noun phrases function like adverbs modifying adjectives. The member of the comparison introduced by 'than' in English is marked with the ablative and precedes the noun:

- (424) Hasan -**dan** genç bir erkek
 Hasan -**Abl.** young a man
 "a man younger than Hasan"

The superlative is constructed by using **en** 'most' before the adjective:

- (425) **en** genç erkek
most young man
 "the youngest man"

The equative is expressed by using the postposition **kadar** 'as much as':

- (426) Hasan **kadar** genç bir erkek
 Hasan **as much as** young a man
 "a man as young as Hasan"

1. 2. 5. 2. 10. Intensive adjectives

An interesting feature of modifiers in Turkish is the existence of intensive adjectives (as well as of—less commonly—adverbs). These are formed by an exceptional morphological feature: while Turkish morphology is suffixing in general, intensive adjectives are formed by prefixation. The prefix consists of the first syllable of the stem; the last consonant of that syllable is replaced by one of the following consonants: **m**, **p**, **r**, or **s**. The determination of that consonant remains a still-unresolved problem in Turkish phonology. Some examples follow:

- (427) boş 'empty' bomboş 'utterly empty'
 uzun 'long' upuzun 'very long'
 temiz 'clean' tertemiz 'very clean'

1. 2. 5. 3. More than one occurrence of modifier subtypes

There can be a number of adjective modifiers in a noun phrase, and the same is true for relative clauses. There is no preferred order among various types of adjectives. When both adjective and relative clause occur as modifiers, the unmarked order is: relative clause-adjective-noun. In such instances, when the adjective precedes the relative clause instead, an intonational break is inserted between these two modifiers.

1. 2. 5. 4. Inadmissible combinations of modifier types

Most combinations of modifier types are permitted. However, demonstratives and quantifiers cannot co-occur with the indefinite article.

1. 2. 5. 5. Order of the head and the various modifiers

In the unmarked word order, the head noun of the noun phrase is always the last constituent in a noun phrase. There is the following preference among the various subtypes of modifiers, when they co-occur:

Demonstrative -relative clause -(quantifier) -adjective -(indefinite article)
-noun

1. 3. COORDINATION

1. 3. 1. Means used for coordination

1. 3. 1. 1. Means used for coordinating sentences

1. 3. 1. 1. 1. And-coordination

There are essentially three ways to coordinate sentences: 1. by simply stringing the coordinated sentences one after another, without using any coordination marker; 2. by using the unbound conjunction marker **ve** 'and', borrowed from Arabic, between two conjoined sentences (or between the last two, if there are more than two conjuncts); 3. by attaching the coordination postclitic **DA**²⁸ to the first constituent of the second conjunct, if only two sentences are conjoined, and to the first constituent of the last conjunct, if more than two sentences are conjoined. Examples for each type follow:

(428) Hasan iş -in -e git -ti, Ali ev -in -e
Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. go -Past Ali house -3.sg. -Dat.
dön -dü, ben park -ta kal -dı -m
return -Past I park -Loc. stay -Past -1.sg.
"Hasan went to work, Ali returned home, I stayed in the park"

(429) Hasan iş -in -e git -ti, Ali ev -in -e
Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. go -Past Ali house -3.sg. -Dat.
dön -dü **ve** ben park -ta kal -dı -m
return -Past **and** I park -Loc. stay -Past -1.sg.
"Hasan went to work, Ali returned home, and I stayed in the park"

(430) Hasan iş -in -e git -ti, Ali ev -in -e
Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. go -Past Ali house -3.sg. -Dat.
dön -dü, ben **de** park -ta kal -dı -m
return -Past I **-and** park -Loc. stay -Past -1.sg.
"Hasan went to work, Ali returned home, and I stayed in the park"

The postclitic **DA** can also function in a similar way as **ve**, i.e. as a conjunction marker placed between the coordinated sentences (and, true to its nature as a postclitic, cliticizing onto the preceding word, i.e. the last word of the conjunct); in this function, it doesn't just have the meaning of 'and', but also has a variety of shadings of meaning determined by the context:

- (431) önce iş -im -i bitir -eyim **de** sinema -ya
 first work -1.sg. -Acc. finish -1.sg.Opt. **-and** cinema -Dat.
 gid -eyim
 go -1.sg.Opt.
 "Let me finish my work first and (then) go to the movies"
 ("...so that I can go to the movies")
- (432) New York -a git -ti -n **de** Empire State
 New York -Dat. go -Past -2.sg. **-and** Empire State
 Building -i gör -me -di -n!
 Building -Acc. see -Neg. -Past -2.sg.
 "You went to New York and (yet) did not see the Empire State
 Building!" ("How could you go to New York and not see the Empire
 State Building!")

There is yet another way to coordinate sentences; this is restricted to nominalized clauses when conjoining full clauses with each other; in fully finite sentences, only the predicate phrases can be coordinated in this way; in other words, the subject of the coordinated sentences must be understood to be the same, and the second conjunct must lack an overt subject:

- (433) [Hasan -ın iş -e gid -ip Ali -nin ev -e
 Hasan -Gen. work -Dat. go **-and** Ali -Gen. home -Dat.
 dön -düğ -ün -ü] duy -du -m
 return -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that Hasan went to work and Ali returned home"

In this type of coordination, the conjunction suffix replaces the nominalization, agreement and case markers of the first conjunct. In fully finite sentences, however, the conjuncts cannot have different subjects:

- (434) *Hasan iş -e gid -ip Ali ev -e dön -dü
 Hasan work -Dat. go **-and** Ali home -Dat. return -Past
 "Hasan went to work and Ali returned home"

Instead, this pattern is used in fully tensed sentences to conjoin clauses where the second conjunct lacks a subject:

- (435) Hasan iş -e gid -ip ev -e dön -dü
 Hasan work -Dat. go **-and** home -Dat. return -Past
 "Hasan went to work and returned home"

Here, the conjunction suffix replaces the tense and agreement morphemes of the first conjunct.

1.3.1.1.2. But-coordination

Words like **fakat** or **ama**, both meaning 'but', are placed between the conjoined sentences:

- (436) Hasan iş -e git-ti, **fakat** Ali ev -e dön -dü
 Hasan work-Dat. go -Past **but** Ali home-Dat. return-Past
 "Hasan went to work and Ali returned home"

1.3.1.1.3. Or-coordination

Words like **veya** or **(ve)yahut** are placed between the conjuncts:

- (437) Hasan iş -e git-ti **veya** Ali çarşı -ya çık -tı
 Hasan work-Dat. go -Past **or** Ali market-Dat. go out-Past
 "Hasan went to work or Ali went shopping"

Another pattern for or-coordination uses the discontinuous morpheme **ya ... ya**; each occurrence is placed sentence-initially:

- (438) **ya** Hasan iş -e git -ti **ya** (da) Ali
either Hasan work -Dat. go -Past **or** (-and) Ali
 çarşı -ya çık -tı
 market -Dat. go out -Past
 "Either Hasan went to work or Ali went shopping"

1.3.1.1.4. Other types of sentence coordination

A few additional productive patterns of sentence coordination are illustrated below:

hem ... hem (de) 'as well as':

- (439) **hem** Hasan iş -e git -ti, **hem** (de) Ali
"both" Hasan work -Dat. go -Past **as well as** (-and) Ali
 çarşı -ya çık -tı
 market -Dat. go out -Past
 "Hasan went to work AND Ali went shopping"

ne ...ne(de) 'neither nor'

- (440) **ne** Hasan iş -e git -ti, **ne** (de) Ali
neither Hasan work -Dat. go -Past **nor** (-and) Ali
 çarşı -ya çık -tı
 market -Dat. go out -Past
 "Neither did Hasan go to work nor did Ali go shopping"

1.3.1.2. Number of coordinators

1.3.1.2.1. One coordinator for each conjunct

The only coordination patterns where there are as many occurrences of coordinators as there are conjuncts are instantiated by the constructions with the repeated morphemes **ya**, **hem**, and **ne**, as illustrated in the previous subsection.

1.3.1.2.2. One less coordinator than the number of conjuncts

With the exception of the coordinators in but-coordination, the repeated coordination morphemes and the postclitic **DA**, when it appears after the first constituent of a last conjunct (cf. patterns of and-coordination), all other coordinators illustrated above can be repeated as many times as there are conjuncts, with the exception of after the last conjunct. Thus, in all such examples, there would be one less coordinator than the number of conjuncts.

- (441) Hasan iş -in -e git-ti **ve** Ali ev -in -e
 Hasan work-3.sg.-Dat. go -Past **and** Ali house-3.sg.-Dat.
 dön -dü **ve** ben park-ta kal -dı -m
 return -Past **and** I park-Loc. stay-Past-1.sg.
 "Hasan went to work and Ali returned home and I stayed in the park"

However, this is not the stylistically preferred pattern; the preferred option is discussed in the next subsection.

1.3.1.2.3. One coordinator irrespective of the number of conjuncts

For most coordinators, the preferred pattern is to have one coordinator irrespective of the number of conjuncts; for some, like the coordinators in the but-coordination and the postclitic **DA** in the and-coordination, it is the only option:

- (442) Hasan iş -in -e git-ti, Ali ev -in -e dön -dü,
 Hasan work -3.sg.-Dat. go -Past Ali house-3.sg.-Dat. return -Past
 ben **de** park-ta kal -dı -m
 I **-and** park-Loc. stay -Past-1.sg.
 "Hasan went to work, Ali returned home and I stayed in the park"

1. 3. 1. 3. Means used for coordinating the major categories of the sentence

Coordination of noun phrases is similar to that of sentences in many respects; e.g. simple stringing of noun phrases without a coordinator and coordination by means of the free morpheme **ve** are both possible:

- (443) Hasan, Ali, Zeynep dün sinema-ya git-ti -ler
 Hasan Ali Zeynep yesterday cinema-Dat. go -Past-3.pl.
 "Hasan, Ali, and Zeynep went to the movies yesterday"
- (444) Hasan (**ve**) Ali **ve** Zeynep dün sinema-ya git-ti -ler
 Hasan **and** Ali **and** Zeynep yesterday cinema-Dat. go -Past-3.pl.
 "Hasan (and) Ali, and Zeynep went to the movies yesterday"

As with the coordination of sentences, it is preferred to use **ve** only once, between the two last conjuncts, where there are more than two conjuncts; however, this coordinator can also be used between all conjuncts; again, just as in its usage with sentences, it cannot be used after the last conjunct.

The usage of the postclitic **DA** is somewhat different when conjoining noun phrases, as compared to its usage with sentences. When conjoining noun phrases, it cannot be used just after the second noun phrase (or one of its constituents); rather, it attaches to both noun phrases (or all noun phrases, if more than two are conjoined):

- (445) Hasan **da** Ali **de** Zeynep **de** dün sinema-ya
 Hasan **-and** Ali **-and** Zeynep **-and** yesterday cinema-Dat.
 git-ti -ler
 go -Past-3.pl.
 "Hasan and/as well as Ali and/as well as Zeynep went to the movies yesterday"

In this usage, **DA** has, in addition to the simple coordination meaning of 'and', the shading of 'as well as'. This same meaning is also expressed by the repeated **hem**, which we also saw as a sentence coordinator:

- (446) **hem** Hasan, **hem** Ali, **hem** (de) Zeynep
as well as Hasan **as well as** Ali **as well as** (-and) Zeynep
 dün sinema-ya git-ti -ler
 yesterday cinema-Dat. go -Past-3.pl.
 "Hasan as well as Ali (and) as well as Zeynep went to the movies yesterday"

The sentential coordination marker **-(y)Ip** cannot be used in nominal coordination, since it is restricted to verbs. On the other hand, there is a nominal coordinator which cannot be used with finite verbs: **-(y)lA** (and its non-cliticized, more rarely used version **ile**). This coordinator is limited to two conjuncts:

- (447) Ali **-yle** Zeynep dün sinema-ya git-ti -ler
 Ali **-and** Zeynep yesterday cinema-Dat. go -Past-3.pl.
 "Ali and Zeynep went to the movies yesterday"

This coordinator is a truly nominal marker; it cannot be used with adjectives when they function as modifiers rather than as nouns (while all other nominal coordinators can be so used), nor can it coordinate participles (again, in their adjectival usage), nor gerundives (converbs). It also cannot be used to coordinate subordinate nominalized clauses with the "factive" nominalizer **-DIK**. However, it can be used with clauses nominalized via the "action" nominalizer **-mA**, as well as with infinitival clauses marked with **-mAK**.

- (448) [Ali-nin dün sinema-ya git-me -si] **-yle**
 Ali-Gen. yesterday cinema-Dat. go -ANom-3.sg. **-and**
 [Hasan-in ev -e dön -me -sin] -e
 Hasan-Gen. home-Dat. return-ANom-3.sg. -Dat.
 şaş -tı -m
 surprise-Past-1.sg.
 "I was surprised at Ali's going to the movies yesterday and Hasan's returning home"

There is no "but-coordination" for noun phrases; however, "or-coordination" is constructed using the same coordinators as sentence coordination, namely using **veya** or **ya ... ya**:

- (449) Ali **veya** Zeynep dün sinema-ya git-ti
 Ali **or** Zeynep yesterday cinema-Dat. go -Past
 "Ali or Zeynep went to the movies yesterday"
- (450) **ya** Ali **ya** (da) Zeynep dün sinema-ya git-ti
either Ali **or** (-and) Zeynep yesterday cinema-Dat. go -Past
 "Either Ali or Zeynep went to the movies yesterday"

Furthermore, **ne ... ne** 'neither nor' is also used with noun phrases:

- (451) **ne** Ali **ne** (de) Zeynep dün sinema-ya git-ti
neither Ali **nor** (-and) Zeynep yesterday cinema-Dat. go -Past
 "Neither Ali nor Zeynep went to the movies yesterday"

All the nominal coordinators (with the exception of **-yla**) can also be used to coordinate adjective phrases and adverb phrases. In addition,

"but-coordination" for these phrases is possible, as well, and is constructed in the same way as in sentences:

(452) güzel **fakat** kıskanç bir insan
 beautiful **but** jealous a person
 "a beautiful but jealous person"

(453) Hasan yavaş **fakat** iyi çalış -ır
 Hasan slowly **but** well work -Aor.
 "Hasan works slowly but well"

1. 3. 1. 4. Means used for expressing coordination and accompaniment (comitative)

The nominal coordinator **-(y)LA** mentioned in the previous section is the same marker used to express accompaniment and sometimes referred to as the comitative:

(454) Hasan Ali-**yle** opera-ya git-ti
 Hasan Ali-**with** opera-Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan went to the opera with Ali"

However, while **-(y)LA** as a comitative marker is identical phonologically and morphologically to the corresponding coordination marker, its syntactic properties are different (cf. Kornfilt (1990)). In its function as a conjunction marker, it appears between the conjuncts and cliticizes onto the first conjunct, as we saw previously; thus, corresponding to (454), we would have the following coordination structure:

(455) Hasan-**la** Ali opera-ya git-ti -ler
 Hasan-**and** Ali opera-Dat. go -Past-3.pl.
 "Hasan and Ali went to the opera"

As illustrated in (454) and (456), in its function as a comitative marker, **-(y)LA** cliticizes onto the second noun phrase in the unmarked word order. Secondly, where the conjunction of noun phrases has the subject relation in a sentence, the coordinate structure triggers plural agreement on the predicate, as illustrated in (455) and (457); in contrast, where there is a singular subject noun phrase with a comitative noun phrase as in (454) and (456), the subject agreement on the predicate must be singular. Thirdly, a coordinate noun phrase as in (455) cannot be broken up by moving either one of the conjuncts, as illustrated in (457). However, in a comitative construction, as in (454), both the comitative noun phrase and other noun phrases can be freely moved around, as can be seen in (456).

Comitative construction:

- (456) Hasan opera -ya Ali -yle git -ti
 Hasan opera -Dat. Ali -with go -Past
 "Hasan went to the opera with Ali"
 ("It was Ali with whom Hasan went to the opera")

Coordinate construction:

- (457) *Ali opera -ya Hasan -la git -ti -ler
 Ali opera -Dat. Hasan -and go -Past -3.pl.
 Intended reading: "Hasan and Ali went to the opera"

1. 3. 1. 5. Structural parallelism required between coordinated elements of the same category

Full sentences can be coordinated rather freely, without structural parallelism being necessary, as long as there is a reasonable semantic context that would include the meaning of all conjuncts. However, coordination of reduced sentences requires a certain amount of parallelism. For example, coordination of sentences with the suffix -(y)Ip requires that the subject of the two conjuncts cannot be different, and that both verbs be either active or passive (although otherwise active and passive verbs can be coordinated, as we shall see shortly):

- (458) Hasan sabah iş -e gid-ip akşam ev -e dön -er
 Hasan morning work-Dat. go -and evening home-Dat. return-Aor.
 "Hasan goes to work in the morning and returns home in the evening"

Parallelism in terms of the same number of arguments or objects with the same case marking is not necessary, however:

- (459) Hasan iş -ten dön -üp para -sın -ı
 Hasan work -Abl. return -and money -3.sg. -Acc.
 karı -sın -a ver -di
 wife -3.sg. -Dat. give -Past
 "Hasan returned from work and gave his money to his wife"

In coordination of fully tensed sentences, it is not possible to conjoin a Yes/No-question with a constituent question, while such coordination is possible in a subordinated, nominalized construction:

- (460) *Hasan nere -ye git-ti ve Ali Ankara-dan mı dön -dü?
 Hasan where-Dat. go -Past and Ali Ankara-Abl. -Q return-Past
 "Where did Hasan go and did Ali return from ANKARA?"
 ("Where did Hasan go and was it Ankara that Ali returned from?")

- (461) Ayşe, [Hasan-in nere -ye git-tiğ -in -i ve
 Ayşe Hasan-Gen. where-Dat. go -FNom-3.sg.-Acc. and
 Ali -nin Ankara-dan mı dön -düğ -ün -ü] sor -du
 Ali -Gen. Ankara-Abl. -Q return-FNom-3.sg.-Acc. ask-Past
 "Ayşe asked where Hasan went and whether Ali returned from
 ANKARA" ("Ayşe asked where Hasan went and whether it was
 Ankara that Ali returned from")

Nominalized subordinated clauses must be of the same nominalization type to be coordinated with each other. In any event, the possibility of nominalization mismatch would occur only in those rare instances where a verb allows for either type:

- (462) ??/*[[Hasan -in Ankara -ya git -tiğ -in -i]
 Hasan -Gen. Ankara -Dat. go -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 ve [Ahmed -in Adana -ya dön -me -sin -i]]
 and Ahmet -Gen. Adana -Dat. return -ANom -3.sg. -Acc.
 say -Past -1.sg.
 söyle -di -m
 "I said that Hasan went to Ankara and for Ahmet to return to Adana"

Noun phrases must have the same case when coordinated. This restriction would follow in general from the fact that conjoined noun phrases would be governed by the same case assigner, i.e. the same verb or postposition. However, in the rare instances where different cases can be assigned by the same governor, noun phrases with different cases cannot be coordinated; if they are, the result is either totally ungrammatical or at least very awkward:

- (463) ??/*iş -e ve iş -ten dön -ecek-ler
 work-Dat. and work-Abl. return-Fut. -3.pl.
 "They will return to and from work"

- (464) *Hasan ve ev -e kadar yürü -dü -m
 Hasan and home-Dat. as much as/as far as walk -Past -1.sg.
 "I walked as far as Hasan and home"
 (Intended reading: "I walked as far as Hasan did and as far as home")

Furthermore, it is not possible to coordinate two direct objects if one is specific and the other is non-specific, as a result of which one will be overtly marked with the accusative suffix and the other will not. Either both direct objects must be marked for accusative case, or neither must be so marked:

- (465) a. Hasan dün akşam kitab-ı **ve** gazate -yi
 Hasan yesterday evening book-Acc. **and** newspaper-Acc.
 oku -du
 read-Past
 "Hasan read the book and the newspaper yesterday evening"
- (465) b. Hasan dün akşam kitap **ve** gazate oku -du
 Hasan yesterday evening book **and** newspaper read-Past
 "Hasan read books (non-specific) and newspapers (non-specific)
 yesterday evening"
- (465) c. *Hasan dün akşam kitab-ı **ve** gazate oku -du
 Hasan yesterday evening book -Acc. **and** newspaper read-Past
 "Hasan read the book and newspapers (non-specific) yesterday
 evening"

1. 3. 1. 5. 1. Coordination of adjectives and participial constructions

Coordination of adjectives and participial constructions is possible in general. However, certain types of participles enter such coordinations more readily than others. Participial constructions whose predicate is marked by the participial suffix **-(y)An**, i.e. constructions that correspond to English relative clauses modifying subjects, parts of subjects, and any noun phrase in impersonal constructions, conjoin with adjectives much more successfully than participials marked with **-DIK** and that modify non-subjects:

- (466) ??[[genç] **ve** [erkek-ler-in beğen-**diğ** -i]] bir kadın
 young **and** man -pl.-Gen. like **-ObjP**-3.sg. a woman
 "a young woman whom men like"
 ("a young and men's liking woman")
- (467) [[genç] **ve** [erkek-ler-ce beğen-il -**en**]] bir kadın
 young **and** man -pl.-by like **-Pass. -SbjP** a woman
 "a young woman liked by men"
 ("a young and by-men-liked woman")

1. 3. 1. 5. 2. Coordination of nouns and nominalized constructions

Nouns and nominalized constructions can be coordinated in general, where such coordination is semantically meaningful. The result is stylistically somewhat awkward but not ungrammatical:

- (468) [[son dedikodu-lar-ı] **ve** [Hasan-ın karı -sın -ı
 last rumor -pl.-Acc. **and** Hasan-Gen. wife-3.sg.-Acc.
 boşa -**diğ** -in -ı]] duy -du -m
 divorce-FNom -3.sg.-Acc. hear-Past-1.sg.
 "I heard the latest rumors and that Hasan divorced his wife"
 ("I heard the latest rumors and Hasan's divorcing his wife")

1. 3. 1. 5. 3. Coordination of various different types of adverbials

Different types of adverbials cannot be coordinated; the two following examples illustrate the fact that manner and time adverbials and manner and place adverbials cannot be coordinated. The same holds true for other types, as well.

- (469) *Hasan mektub-u [çabuk **ve** dün] yaz -dı
 Hasan letter -Acc. fast **and** yesterday write-Past
 "Hasan wrote the letter fast and yesterday"

- (470) *Hasan mektub-u [çabuk **ve** oda -sın -da] yaz -dı
 Hasan letter -Acc. fast **and** room-3.sg.-Loc. write-Past
 "Hasan wrote the letter fast and in his room"

Not only is there a restriction against coordinating adverbs of different types, but such different adverbs also block the coordination of verb phrases in which they are contained:

- (471) *Hasan [[mektub-u çabuk] **ve** [ödev -in -i
 Hasan letter -Acc. fast **and** homework-3.sg.-Acc.
 oda -sın -da]] yaz -dı
 room -3.sg. -Loc. write -Past
 "Hasan wrote the letter fast and his homework in his room"

Coordination of verb phrases is permitted, however, if the adverbs are of the same type:

- (472) Hasan [[mektub-u çabuk] **ve** [ödev -in -i yavaş]]
 Hasan letter -Acc. fast **and** homework-3.sg.-Acc. slowly
 yaz -dı
 write -Past
 "Hasan wrote the letter fast and his homework slowly"

1. 3. 1. 5. 4. Coordination of active and passive verbs

Coordination of active and passive verbs is possible:

- (473) Hasan [sev -di **ve** sev -il -di]
 Hasan love -Past **and** love -Pass.-Past
 "Hasan loved and was loved"

1. 3. 1. 5. 5. Verb categories that cannot be coordinated with each other

It is awkward to coordinate some verb categories, e.g. agentive verbs with non-agentive verbs (e.g. unaccusative verbs):

- (474) *Hasan koş -tu ve pis kok -tu
Hasan run -Past and bad smell -Past
"Hasan ran and stank"

Furthermore, coordinated verbs must all be tensed (but the tenses can differ), or they must all be nominalized; cross-category matching is not possible. Moreover, tensed and conditional verbs cannot be coordinated, either, nor can tensed verbs and verbs in the imperative or optative be coordinated.

1. 3. 2. *Elements that can(not) be omitted under identity in coordination of sentences*

1. 3. 2. 1. **Elements that can be omitted under identity in coordination of sentences**

All major categories can be omitted under identity in coordination of sentences. Particularly, noun phrases with the same grammatical function (e.g. subjects, objects) are preferably omitted in the second conjunct:

Omission of the subject noun phrase:

- (475) Hasan araba-yı yıka -dı ve ev -i süpür-dü
Hasan car -Acc. wash -Past and house -Acc. sweep-Past
"Hasan washed the car and swept the house"

Omission of an object noun phrase:

- (476) Hasan ıstakoz-u pişir-di, Ali de ye -di
Hasan lobster-Acc. cook-Past Ali -and eat-Past
"Hasan cooked the lobster and Ali ate (it)"

Verbs can also be omitted under identity:

- (477) Hasan ıstakoz-u pişir-di, Ali de balıĝ-ı
Hasan lobster -Acc. cook-Past Ali -and fish -Acc.
"Hasan cooked the lobster and Ali (cooked) the fish"

As (477) shows, it is possible to omit the verb in the second conjunct. However, while noun phrases, when omitted at all, must be omitted in the second conjunct rather than in the first, verbs, when omitted at all, are preferably omitted in the first conjunct; thus, (477) illustrates a possible, but less preferred option. The preferred option is shown in (478):

- (478) Hasan ıstakoz -u, Ali **de** balıĝ -ı pişir -di
 Hasan lobster -Acc. Ali **-and** fish -Acc. cook -Past
 "Hasan (cooked) the lobster and Ali cooked the fish"

More surprisingly, some morphological elements can also be omitted under identity; these are agreement suffixes on all predicates, secondary tense morphemes in complex tenses, the copula as well as tense and agreement suffixes attached to the copula in adjectival and nominal predicates. Where such morphological deletion occurs, it must take place in the first conjunct:

- (479) (biz) araba -yı yık -ıyor **ve** aynı zaman -da
 we car -Acc. wash -Pr.Prog. **and** same time -Loc.
 çalış -ıyor **-du -k**
 work -Prog. **-Past -1.pl.**
 "We were washing the car and were working at the same time"

1. 3. 2. 2. Elements that cannot be omitted under identity in coordination of sentences

Primary tense/aspect markers cannot be omitted under identity in sentence coordination. For instance, in the previous example, the suffix for present progressive is identical in the two conjuncts, yet it cannot be omitted. Further, suffixes for negation, passive, for the reflexive, the reciprocal and the causative cannot be omitted under identity, either.

While noun phrases can be omitted in sentence coordination in the second conjunct, they cannot be omitted in the first conjunct. Furthermore, although verbs can be omitted under identity in either the first or the second conjunct, they cannot be omitted in the second conjunct, if the whole coordinate construction is embedded, and if the coordination is not in absolute sentence final position; in other words, omitting the verb of the second conjunct in an embedded coordination is not possible, if material from the matrix clause follows. In the following two examples, omission of the verb under identity in an embedded coordinate structure is first illustrated for omission in the first conjunct and then for omission in the second conjunction; the second omission leads to ungrammaticality:

- (480) [Hasan -ın ıstakoz -u, Ali -nin **de** balıĝ -ı
 Hasan -Gen. lobster -Acc. Ali -Gen. **-and** fish -Acc.
 pişir **-diĝ -in -i**] duy -du -m
 cook **-FNom -3.sg. -Acc.** hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that Hasan (cooked) the lobster and Ali cooked the fish"

- (481) * [Hasan -m ıstakoz -u pişir -diğ -in -i,
 Hasan -Gen. lobster -Acc. cook -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 Ali -nin de balıĝ -ı] duy -du -m
 Ali -Gen. -and fish -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that Hasan cooked the lobster and Ali (cooked) the fish"

1. 3. 3. *Elements that can(not) be omitted under identity in coordination of major categories*

1. 3. 3. 1. Noun phrases

In coordinating noun phrases, demonstratives as well as modifiers like adjectives and relative clauses can be omitted in the second conjunct, but they cannot be omitted in the first conjunct:

- (482) **bu değer -li** vazoz -lar ve heykel -ler
this value -with vase -pl. and statue -pl.
 "these valuable vases and statues"
 ("these valuable vases and these valuable statues")

On the other hand, certain inflectional categories like the suffixes for plural, possessive agreement, and case can be omitted under identity in the first conjunct, but not in the second conjunct:

- (483) vazoz ve heykel -ler -im -i sat -tı -m
 vase and statue -pl. -1.sg. -Acc. sell -Past -1.sg.
 "I sold my vases and statues" (Omitted elements:
 plural, 1.sg. and accusative suffixes in the first conjunct)

Furthermore, there are certain ill-understood restrictions that govern the possibilities for omitting suffixes at the same time. For example, it is possible to omit the plural, possessive and case suffixes simultaneously, as illustrated in (483). However, to omit just the possessive and case suffixes, leaving behind the plural suffix, is ungrammatical:

- (484) *vazoz -lar ve heykel -ler -im -i sat -tı -m
 vase -pl. and statue -pl. -1.sg. -Acc. sell -Past -1.sg.
 Intended reading: "I sold my vases and statues"
 (Omitted elements: 1.sg. and accusative suffixes in the first conjunct)

Omitting just the case suffix on the first conjunct and leaving behind the plural and possessive agreement markers has an intermediate status between the two last examples:

- (485) ?(?)vazo -lar -ım ve heykel -ler -im -i sat -tı -m
 vase -pl. -1.sg. and statue -pl. -1.sg. -Acc. sell-Past -1.sg.
 "I sold my vases and statues"
 (Omitted element: accusative suffix in the first conjunct)

1. 3. 3. 2. Adjective phrases

Adverbial modifiers in adjective phrases can be omitted under identity in the second conjunct, but not in the first conjunct:

- (486) **çok** güzel ve eski
 very beautiful and old
 "very beautiful and old" ("very beautiful and very old")
- (487) güzel ve **çok** eski
 beautiful and **very** old
 "beautiful and very old"
 (Cannot mean: "very beautiful and very old")

1. 3. 3. 3. Adverb phrases

Just as in adjective phrases, modifiers in adverb phrases can be omitted under identity in the second conjunct, but not in the first conjunct:

- (488) **çok** yavaş ok -ur ve yaz -ar
 very slow read -Aor. and write -Aor.
 "reads and writes very slowly"
 ("reads very slowly and writes (very slowly)")
- (489) ok -ur ve **çok** yavaş yaz -ar
 read -Aor. and **very** slow write -Aor.
 "writes very slowly and reads"
 (Cannot mean: "both reads and writes very slowly")

1. 4. NEGATION

1. 4. 1. Means of sentence negation

In sentences with verbal predicates, the negation suffix **-mA** is placed before the (simple, primary) tense suffix, following suffixes like the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, and causative suffixes if they occur, and the verbal root otherwise:

- (490) Hasan kitab -ı oku -**ma** -dı
 Hasan book -Acc. read -**Neg.** -Past
 "Hasan didn't read the book"

In copular sentences with nominal or adjectival predicates, a negative copula is used. This is the free morpheme **değil**, to which certain inflectional forms can be attached. These inflections are: subject agreement suffixes for the present tense; the simple past suffix and the agreement suffixes, in that order, for the simple past; and the conditional suffix, followed by agreement suffixes, for the present conditional; for the negation of locational expressions, either **değil** or, more colloquially, the negative existential **yok** can be used, with the same morphological properties; for expressing negation of possession, only **yok** is used:

- (491) a. (ben) hasta **değil** -im
 I sick **Neg.Cop.** -1.sg.
 "I am not sick"
- (491) b. (ben) ev -de **değil** -im
 I home -Loc. **Neg.Cop.** -1.sg.
 "I am not at home"
- (491) c. (ben) ev -de **yok** -um
 I home -Loc. **Neg.Exist.** -1.sg.
 "I am not at home" ("I don't exist at home")
- (491) d. (ben -im) araba -m **yok**
 I -Gen. car -1.sg. **Neg.Exist.**
 "I have no car"
- (492) a. (ben) hasta **değil** -di -m
 I sick **Neg.Cop.** -Past -1.sg.
 "I was not sick"
- (492) b. (ben) ev -de **değil** -di -m
 I home -Loc. **Neg.Cop.** -Past -1.sg.
 "I was not at home"
- (492) c. (ben) ev -de **yok** -tu -m
 I home -Loc. **Neg.Exist.** -Past -1.sg.
 "I was not at home" ("I didn't exist at home")
- (492) d. (ben -im) araba -m **yok** -tu
 I -Gen. car -1.sg. **Neg.Exist.** -Past
 "I had no car"
- (493) a. (ben) hasta **değil** -se -m
 I sick **Neg.Cop.** -Cond. -1.sg.
 "If I am not sick"
- (493) b. (ben) ev -de **değil** -se -m
 I home -Loc. **Neg.Cop.** -Cond. -1.sg.
 "If I am not at home"

(493) c. (ben) ev -de **yok** -sa -m
 I home -Loc. **Neg.Exist.** -Cond. -1.sg.
 "If I am not at home" ("If I don't exist at home")

(493) d. (ben -im) araba -m **yok** -sa
 I -Gen. car -1.sg. **Neg.Exist.** -Cond.
 "If I have no car"

For other forms like the past conditional, the inferential/reported past, and the inferential/reported conditional, the respective suffixes are placed on the negative copula and are followed by agreement suffixes; e.g. for the inferential/reported past, we would have:

(494) (ben) hasta **değil** -miş -im
 I sick **Neg.Cop.** -Rep.Past -1.sg.
 "I am/was reported not to be sick"

There is one further use of **değil** which is widely used colloquially and less so in the written language, namely one where it occurs after sentences with verbal predicates. In this usage, the negative copula is placed after the verbal predicate which bears tense suffixes, but no agreement markers. The agreement markers are suffixed onto the negative copula instead:

(495) (ben) iş -im -i bırak -acak **değil** -im
 I work -1.sg. -Acc. leave -Fut. **Neg.Cop.** -1.sg.
 "I shall not leave my job"
 ("It is not (the case) that I shall leave my job")

Occurrence of these negative elements does not lead to changes in the rest of the sentence in general. However, their occurrence allows for the occurrence of the negative counterparts of certain quantified expressions, e.g. **hiçkimse** 'nobody', **hiçbir şey** 'nothing', which cannot appear without a negative predicate:

(496) (ben) bugün **hiçbir** şey yap -ma -yacağ -ım
 I today **no** thing do -Neg. -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I shall do nothing today"

Note that the corresponding positive quantified expression can also appear with a negative predicate, but with a different meaning:

(497) (ben) bugün **her** şey -i yap -ma -yacağ -ım
 I today **every** thing -Acc. do -Neg. -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I shall not do everything today"

1. 4. 2. *Constituent negation*

Constituent negation is expressed by placing the negative copula **değil** after the constituent to be negated, and then have the corresponding affirmative constituent follow:

- (498) (ben) bugün iş -e **değil**, maç -a git -ti -m
 I today work-Dat. **Neg.Cop.** match-Dat. go -Past -1.sg.
 "I went not to work today, (but) to a game"

The sequence consisting of the negated constituent and the corresponding affirmative constituent is placed preferably immediately preceding the verb, i.e. in the focus position:

- (499) bugün maç -a Hasan **değil**, Ali git -ti
 today match -Dat. Hasan **Neg.Cop.** Ali go -Past
 "It is not Hasan who went to the game today, but Ali"

Example (499) shows this generalization more clearly than (498), since the object would be placed before the verb in any event; but the negated subject in the latter example would ordinarily precede the object, but in this construction, the sequence consisting of negated subject–affirmative subject is preferably placed after the object.

1. 4. 3. *More than one negative element in a sentence*

When there is more than one negative element in a sentence, for example a negative predicate and at least one more negative element like a negative quantified element (i.e. a negative polarity item) as illustrated in (496), the result is negative and not positive, as can be seen from the translation. However, when we have two negative predicates in the construction illustrated in (500), i.e. where there is the negative copula after a tensed verb, and where the tensed verb is itself negative, the result is positive:

- (500) (ben) bugün maç -a git -me -yecek **değil** -im
 I today match -Dat. go -Neg. -Fut. **Neg.Cop.** -1.sg.
 "It is not the case that I will not go to the games today"
 ("I shall go to the games today")

1. 4. 4. *Negation elements and their position in coordinated structures*

Sentences do not have to agree with respect to negation in order to be coordinated, and whether they do or don't agree, the placement of negation elements in each conjunct is independent. Negation elements

are also independent from the coordinator and are neither optionally nor obligatorily attracted to the coordinator:

- (501) (ben) bugün maç -a git -**me** -yeceğ -im,
 I today match -Dat. go -**Neg.** -Fut. -1.sg.
 eş -im **de** ev -de kal -acak
 spouse -1.sg. -**and** home -Loc. stay -Fut.
 "I will not go to the games today, and my spouse will stay at home"

1. 4. 5. *Negation of a verb in a subordinate clause expressed by the negation of the verb of a higher clause*

Negation of a higher verb can "reach into" a lower clause, but this is a restricted possibility. Among nominalized clauses, subordination marked with the "Action Nominal" -**mA** as well as with the infinitive marker -**mAK** is transparent in this respect, while nominalization marked with the "Factive Nominal" -**DIK** is somewhat opaque in this respect (depending on syntactic and pragmatic context and different native speaker judgments), and subordination involving fully finite, tensed clauses is fully opaque:

- (502) Hasan [**kimse** -nin maç -a git -me -sin -i]
 Hasan **nobody** -Gen. match -Dat. go -ANom -3.sg. -Acc.
 iste -**me** -di
 want -**Neg.** -Past
 "Hasan didn't want for anybody to go to the game"
 ("Hasan wanted for nobody to go to the game")
- (503) Hasan [**hiçbir** yer -e git -mek] iste -**me** -di
 Hasan **not any** place -Dat. go -Inf. want -**Neg.** -Past
 "Hasan didn't want to go anywhere"
 ("Hasan wanted not to go anywhere")
- (504) ??/*Hasan [**hiçbir** yer -e git -tiğ -in -i]
 Hasan **not any** place -Dat. go -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 söyle -**me** -di
 say -**Neg.** -Past
 "Hasan didn't say that he went anywhere"
- (505) *Hasan [kız -ı **hiçbir** yer -e git -sin]
 Hasan daughter -3.sg. **not any** place -Dat. go -Inf.
 iste -**me** -di
 want -**Neg.** -Past
 "Hasan didn't want that his daughter should go anywhere"

In the fully grammatical examples (502) and (503) with the transparent subordinate clauses, the verb in the embedded clause is negative (although not marked as such) in two senses: the examples have an

interpretation in which the embedded verb is indeed understood as negative (as illustrated by the readings in parentheses), and the negative polarity item, which usually needs a clause-mate negative verb as a licenser, is in fact licensed in these examples.

1. 5. ANAPHORA

In this discussion, the term *anaphoric* will be used to express a co-reference relationship between a given constituent and another constituent. In this sense, this term is understood in a broader sense than in some theoretical models, for example in the Government and Binding approach (cf. Chomsky (1981) and related work).

1. 5. 1. *Means of expression of anaphora*

There are essentially four ways to express anaphoric relationships in Turkish: by deletion (using this term in a general sense, to mean non-utterance of constituents, and not necessarily deletion of structural positions), by using personal pronouns, by using reflexive pronouns, and by a special suffix that attaches to a limited set of constituent types. A fifth type is used much more loosely, by employing "epithets".

1. 5. 1. 1. Deletion

Perhaps the most widely used means of anaphoric relations in Turkish is via ellipsis. Ellipsis is very free and does not even require the utterance of an antecedent; if the pragmatic situation makes the reference of a constituent clear, that constituent can be elided. For example, suppose a setting where speaker A is looking for his glasses. Speaker B finds them, holds them up and says:

(506) bul -du -m!
find -Past -1.sg.
"I found (them)!"

Here, the direct object has been elided. It should be noted that direct objects are not marked on the verb or elsewhere in the sentence. "Discourse deletion" such as in the example described, where the reference of the elided constituent is made clear either by the situation or by previous mention in the discourse is a very general phenomenon.

1. 5. 1. 2. Deletion if the anaphoric element is marked on the verb

The only element in the sentence which is marked on the verb is the subject; this is done by means of agreement morphology. Similarly, within noun phrases, the possessor is marked on the head noun, also by means of agreement morphology. While subjects and possessors can be elided under the same conditions as any other constituent (i.e. discourse utterance and/or pragmatic antecedence), they can be deleted even more freely. In other words, even where there has been no previous mention of an antecedent, or where no pragmatic reference has been set up, a dialogue can be started by a sentence without an overt subject or by a sentence that contains noun phrases without overt possessors:

- (507) Ø [Ø kız -ların-ı] Ankara-ya yolla-mış -lar
 Ø Ø daughter-3.pl. -Acc. Ankara-Dat. send-Rep.Past-3.pl.
 " They supposedly sent their daughter to Ankara "

Here, the reference of 'they' might not be clear, if the discourse or the pragmatic situation did not include such clarification. As a matter of fact, the speaker who utters (507) might be asked to provide such a referent. Nevertheless, (507) is grammatical, and it is clear that both the subject of the sentence and the possessor of the direct object are to be understood as 'they', i.e. the third person plural. However, the object of the same sentence cannot be omitted with the same ease:

- (508) ??/* komşu -lar Ø Ankara -ya yolla -mış -lar
 neighbor -pl. Ø Ankara -Dat. send -Rep.Past -3.pl.
 " *The neighbors supposedly sent to Ankara "

A dialogue cannot be started with a sentence like (508), without setting up the referent of the direct object via a previous discourse or a clear-cut pragmatic setting.

1. 5. 1. 3. Ordinary personal pronoun

There is a paradigm of personal pronouns in Turkish which can be used for expressing anaphoric relationships. However, the use of personal pronouns is not quite as extensive as that found in languages like English. Personal pronouns are stylistically (but not grammatically) preferred for use in referring to humans. Whenever possible, elision of a constituent is preferred. This is true particularly for the elision of subjects and possessors, whose elision is even freer than that of other constituents, as we saw earlier. Thus, usage of ordinary personal pronouns is more wide-spread for non-subjects and non-possessors.

Pronouns are, however, used for subjects and possessors, if a switch in discourse-topic occurs (cf. Enç (1986)), or if these constituents are contrastively emphasized:

- (509) **ben** iş -e git-ti -im, halbuki **o** maç -a git-ti
 I work-Dat. go -Past-1.sg. however **he** match-Dat. go -Past
 "I went to work, however he went to the games"

1. 5. 1. 4. Reflexive pronoun

Turkish has reflexive pronouns. These are mainly used to express reflexive relationships, i.e. those where the action is directed toward a "self", mostly the subject's. The antecedents of reflexive pronouns must, in general, be within the clause. A detailed discussion of reflexive pronouns is presented in section 1. 6.

1. 5. 1. 5. Special anaphoric pronoun

The reflexive pronoun **kendi**, when inflected for either the third person singular (**kendisi**) or the third person plural (**kendileri**), can be used not just as a genuine reflexive pronoun, to express a reflexive relationship, but also in the way of a personal pronoun. In this usage, this inflected reflexive pronoun is mostly found expressing anaphoric relationships across clauses, or as a resumptive pronoun, to "save" long-distance extractions like those found in relativizations out of relative clauses. These pronouns are limited to human referents.

- (510) Ahmet_i [biz -im on -u_i /**kendi** -sin -i_i iş -ten
 Ahmet we -Gen. he -Acc. /**self** -3.sg. -Acc. work -Abl.
 at -ma -mız -a] çok şaş -tı
 throw -ANom -1.pl. -Dat. very astonish -Past
 "Ahmet was very surprised that we fired him"
- (511) (?)[[Ø_i **kendi** -sin -e_j çiçek ver -en] adam -ın_i
 Ø **self** -3.sg. -Dat. flower give -SbjP man -Gen.
 birdenbire öl -düğ -ü] kadın_j
 suddenly die -ObjP -3.sg. woman
 "the woman such that the man who gave flowers to her died suddenly"

While examples like (511) are far from perfect, they are nevertheless acceptable, while omitting the resumptive pronoun would make them totally ungrammatical. It should further be noted that the regular personal pronoun cannot be used as a resumptive pronoun, while it can be so used to express anaphoric relationships across clauses, as illustrated in (510).

The reflexive pronoun, inflected for third person, can also be used as a kind of honorific, when referring to a person of high office or to whom honors must be bestowed for any reason. In that usage, the reflexive can be inflected for third person plural even where the referent is singular.

One interesting difference between the reflexive as a (special) pronoun and its usage as a genuine reflexive is that, in the latter use, reflexives usually cannot be subjects, while in their pronominal use they are not so restricted and can occur as subjects.

1.5.1.6. Other means

A variety of nominal expressions can be used as "epithets" in serving as anaphors. These are typically generic nouns like **adam** 'man', **herif** (vulg.) 'guy', **kadın** 'woman', **kız** 'girl', **çocuk** 'child' etc.:

- (512) Hasan -dan_i mektup bekli -yor -um ama **adam_i**
 Hasan -Abl. letter wait -Pr.Prog. -1.sg. but **man**
 bir türlü yaz -mı -yor
 one kind write -Neg. -Pr.Prog.
 "I am expecting a letter from Hasan_i but the guy_i is just not writing"

Moreover, there is a particle **ki(n)** that serves anaphoric functions. It attaches to nouns or pronouns in the genitive (creating a possessive pronoun) or locative, or to certain adverbials (mostly of time and place), creating an appropriate pronoun. In some sense, it functions like a relative pronoun. Some examples follow:

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (513) | Hasan -in
Hasan -Gen.
"Hasan's" | Hasan -in - ki
Hasan -Gen. - Rel.CL
"the one belonging to Hasan" |
| (514) | oda -da
room -Loc.
"in the room" | oda -da - ki
room -Loc. - Rel.CL
"the one in the room" |
| (515) | bugün
today
"today" ("this+day") | bugün - kü
today - Rel.CL
"the one of today" |
| (516) | önce
before
"before" | önce - ki
before - Rel.CL
"the former" |

(517)	sonra	sonra	-ki
	later	later	-Rel.Cl.
	"later"	"the latter"	

This cliticized anaphoric element does not undergo Vowel Harmony, but it does receive word-level stress. (The only stems that do trigger Vowel Harmony are **gün** 'day' and **dün** 'yesterday'.)

1. 5. 2. *Structural and directional restrictions on anaphoric expressions*

Given the word order freedom of Turkish, there are almost no directional restrictions on anaphoric relationships (with the exception of coordinate structures, where the antecedent must precede an anaphoric expression, when these elements are in different conjuncts); at best, these are secondary. However, there are hierarchical restrictions: the antecedent of the anaphoric expression must, as a rule of thumb, be higher than the anaphoric expression from a structural point of view. For example, an anaphoric expression in a superordinate clause cannot enter an anaphoric relationship with an antecedent which is in a subordinate clause, especially if it also precedes the antecedent; similarly, an anaphoric expression which is a constituent of a sentence cannot have an antecedent which is a subconstituent of another constituent; e.g. in example (518) below, it is not possible to switch the anaphoric expression and its antecedent.

1. 5. 2. 1. *Within the clause*

Elided, co-referential constituents within one clause are possible, and so are genuine reflexives; as a matter of fact, the latter must, in general, be clause-mates. The former is illustrated by the following example:

(518)	a.	komşu	-lar _i	[	Ø _i	kız	-ların	-ı	]	Ankara	-ya
		neighbor	-pl.		Ø	daughter	-3.pl.	-Acc.		Ankara	-Dat.
		yolla	-miş			-lar					
		send	-Rep.Past			-3.pl.					
		"They supposedly sent their daughter to Ankara"									

The latter is illustrated in the following example:

(519)	Hasan _i	kendin	-den _i	nefret	ed	-er
	Hasan	self	-Abl.	hate	do	-Aor.
	"Hasan hates himself"					

The order between anaphoric expression and antecedent can be switched, but the hierarchical relationship cannot:

- (518) b. [\emptyset_i kız -ların -ı] komşu -lar_i Ankara -ya
 \emptyset daughter -3.pl. -Acc. neighbor -pl. Ankara -Dat.
 yolla -muş -lar
 send -Rep.Past -3.pl.
 "The neighbors_i supposedly sent their_i daughter to Ankara"
- (518) c. * \emptyset_i [komşu -lar-ın_i kız -ların-ı] Ankara -ya
 \emptyset neighbor-pl.-Gen. daughter-3.pl. -Acc. Ankara -Dat.
 yolla -muş -lar
 send -Rep.Past -3.pl.
 Intended reading: "*They_i supposedly sent the neighbors' _i daughter to Ankara"

1. 5. 2. 2. Between coordinate structures

All of the previously mentioned anaphoric forms are possible between the coordinate structures, with the exception of true reflexives. Interestingly, and perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, this is possible even for the suffixed form **ki(n)**:

- (520) Hasan -ın kitabın -ı oku -du -m ama
 Hasan -Gen. book -Acc. read -Past -1.sg. but
 Ali -nin -kin -i oku -ma -dı -m
 Ali -Gen. -Rel.Cl. -Acc. read -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "I have read Hasan's book but I haven't read Ali's (one)"
- (521) opera -da Hasan -ı_i gör -dü -m ama
 opera -Loc. Hasan -Acc. see -Past -1.sg. but
 \emptyset_i /on-u_i /kendi -sin -i_i tanı -ya -ma -dı -m
 \emptyset /he-Acc. / himself-3.sg. -Acc. recognize-Abil.-Neg.-Past-1.sg.
 "I saw Hasan_i at the opera but couldn't recognize him_i"

An example like (521) is ungrammatical when a true reflexive shows up in the position of the other anaphoric elements:

- (522) *opera-da Hasan -ı_i gör -dü -m ama kendin -i_i
 opera-Loc. Hasan -Acc. see -Past -1.sg. but self -Acc.
 tanı -ya -ma -dı -m
 recognize -Abil. -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "*I saw Hasan at the opera but couldn't recognize himself"

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, direction is important for anaphoric relations in coordinate structures across the boundaries of conjuncts: the antecedent has to precede the anaphoric expression.

1. 5. 2. 3. Between superordinate and subordinate clauses

1. 5. 2. 3. 1. In the order superordinate clause-subordinate clause

When the antecedent is in a superordinate clause that precedes a subordinate clause which contains the anaphoric expression, essentially all types of anaphoric relationships are possible, with some restrictions which will be mentioned individually.

In such a constellation, a null anaphoric expression in the subordinate clause is possible only if it is a subject or a possessor, but not if it is any other kind of constituent. In other words, discourse-based elision as a means of anaphoric expression is not possible, if the antecedent is "too close" in some sense, i.e. if it occurs within the same syntactic structure as the anaphoric expression, even if it is in a different clause. However, subjects and possessors are "encoded" via agreement elements on the predicate and the possessed noun respectively and can thus be deleted in a process independent from discourse deletion, as we saw earlier in section 1. 5. 1. 2.; that process is obviously allowed when the antecedent is within the same structure.

- (523) Hasan_j Ali -ye_i [Ø_{i/j} iş -e
 Hasan Ali -Dat. Ø work -Dat.
 al -in -acağ -in -ı] söyle -di
 take -Pass. -Fut. -3.sg. -Acc. say -Past
 "Hasan told Ali that he would be hired"

We see here that the deleted anaphoric expression, which is the subject of the subordinate clause, can refer either to the subject or the indirect object of the superordinate clause.

- (524) Hasan_j Ali -ye_i [Ø_j *Ø_i/*kendin -i_i iş -e
 Hasan Ali -Dat. Ø Ø / self -Acc. work -Dat.
 al -acağ -in -ı] söyle -di
 take -Fut. -3.sg. -Acc. say -Past
 Intended reading: "Hasan_j told Ali_i that he_j would hire him_i"

Here, we see that, while the null subordinate subject is permissible in its anaphoric relationship with a superordinate constituent, the elided subordinate object cannot enter such a relationship. Furthermore, the reflexive anaphor can also not enter such a relationship across clause boundaries, true to its nature as an element restricted to clause-mate antecedents.

On the other hand, personal pronouns and the special, inflected reflexive pronoun can occur in the subordinate clause, when the antecedent is in a preceding superordinate clause:

- (525) Hasan_j Ali -ye_i [Ø_j on -u_i /kendi -sin -i_i
 Hasan Ali -Dat. Ø he -Acc. /self -3.sg. -Acc.
 iş -e al -acağ -ın -ı] söyle -di
 work -Dat. take -Fut. -3.sg. -Acc. say -Past
 "Hasan_j told Ali_i that he_j would hire him_i"

In the examples we saw here, the subordinate clause is nominalized. Furthermore, it does not truly follow the superordinate clause (since it precedes its predicate), but rather follows the superordinate constituents that act as (potential) antecedents to the anaphoric expressions within the subordinate clause. There is also a construction of limited use, where the subordinate clause truly follows the superordinate clause and is fully finite and tensed; this is a pattern borrowed from Persian:

- (526) Hasan_j Ali -ye_i de -di ki
 Hasan Ali -Dat. say -Past that
 [Ø_j on -u_i /kendi -sin -i_i iş -e al -acak]
 Ø he -Acc. /self -3.sg. -Acc. work -Dat. take -Fut.
 "Hasan_j told Ali_i that he_j would hire him_i"

We see that the facts of anaphoric relationships illustrated previously by nominalized clauses hold here, too: a deleted subordinate subject can be anaphoric to a preceding superordinate constituent, and a pronominal as well as a special anaphoric pronoun which is a subordinate non-subject can serve as an anaphoric expression to a preceding superordinate constituent.

Here, too, it is impossible to find a deleted or reflexive anaphoric expression as a subordinate non-subject:

- (527) *Hasan_j Ali -ye_i de -di ki [Ø_j Ø_i /kendin -i_i
 Hasan Ali -Dat. say -Past that Ø Ø /self -Acc.
 iş -e al -acak]
 work -Dat. take -Fut.
 Intended reading: "Hasan_j told Ali_i that he_j would hire him_i"

Another fact which is the same in both complex constructions is the fact that the subordinate subject, in order to function as an anaphoric expression, must be deleted. A personal pronoun as well as the special anaphoric pronoun in that position would have to refer to a discourse antecedent outside of the complex construction (although some speakers

do accept the latter element as a possibility). A true reflexive is not possible in that position.

In none of these examples is it possible to switch anaphoric expressions and their respective antecedents, i.e. it is impossible to have the anaphoric expressions be "higher" structurally than their antecedents.

1. 5. 2. 3. 2. In the order subordinate clause–superordinate clause

Word order is very free in Turkish. Nominalized subordinate clauses can be moved as freely as simple noun phrases. Thus, the nominalized subordinate clauses in the previous subsection can be moved to the beginning of the superordinate clause, and consequently, the anaphoric expressions contained within the subordinate clause come to precede the superordinate antecedents. Grammaticality does not change with respect to the original word order: deletion as an anaphoric device is still possible only for subjects and possessors, while personal pronouns and the special anaphoric pronoun can appear as non-subjects.

Considering subordinate clauses whose original position precedes the superordinate clause, we must first of all discard the fully finite clause pattern borrowed from Persian, whose position is fixed following the main clause. As for nominalized clauses, the facts we find are similar to those we have seen with respect to the reverse order:

- (528) [Hasan -in on -u_i /kendi -sin -i_i iş -ten
 Hasan -Gen. he -Acc. /self -3.sg. -Acc. work -Abl.
 at -ma -sı] Ali -yi_i çok üz -dü
 throw -ANom -3.sg. Ali -Acc. very sadden -Past
 "That Hasan fired him_i saddened Ali_i very much"

Here, too, replacing the personal pronoun or the anaphoric pronoun with a deleted element or with the true reflexive leads to ungrammaticality. Thus, these facts are the same as those we saw for the reverse order between subordinate and superordinate clauses. There is one difference, however: exchanging the anaphor for the antecedent is possible in our example:

- (529) [Hasan -in Ali -yi_i iş -ten at -ma -sı]
 Hasan -Gen. Ali -Acc. work -Abl. throw -ANom -3.sg.
 on -u_i /kendi -sin -i_i çok üz -dü
 he -Acc. /self -3.sg. -Acc. very sadden -Past
 "That Hasan fired Ali_i saddened him_i very much"

The grammaticality of examples like (529) seems to pose a problem for our generalization that anaphoric expressions cannot be structurally higher than their antecedents. This problem is only apparent, however, if precedence is also considered as a secondary criterion, as we did previously; the anaphoric expressions do not precede their antecedent here.

1. 5. 2. 4. Between different subordinate clauses

- (530) Hasan [Ayşe -nin_i Ali -yle evlen -me -sin -i]
 Hasan Ayşe -Gen. Ali -Com. marry -ANom -3.sg. -Acc.
 [Ø_i /kendi -sin -in_i /on -un_i aslında Ali -den
 Ø /self -3.sg. -Gen. /she -Gen. actually Ali -Gen.
 nefret et -me -sin -e] yor -du
 hate do -ANom -3.sg. -Dat. interpret -Past
 "Hasan explained Ayşe's getting married to Ali by her actually hating Ali"

In this constellation, the facts are somewhat different. The two types of overt pronouns, otherwise unavailable as anaphors in subordinate subject position, now are available, as well. The facts are similar to those in coordinate structures, in that precedence does play a primary role here: the anaphors must precede the anaphoric expressions. It should be added that for non-subject anaphoric expressions, deletion is unavailable in these structures, just as in the previous examples.

1. 5. 2. 5. Between different sentences

All the types of anaphoric expressions that we saw previously can be used between different sentences, with the exception of true reflexives; the antecedents must precede the anaphoric expressions.

- (531) Ahmet Bey_i üst -ümüz -e yeni taşın -dı.
 Ahmet Mr above -1.pl. -Dat. recently move -Past
 Ø_i /kendi -si_i /??o_i çok hoş bir insan
 Ø /self -3.sg. / he very nice a person
 hepimiz on-u /kendi-sin -i /Ø/*kendin-i /bu beyefendi
 we-all he-Acc./self -3.sg.-Acc./Ø/ self -Acc./this gentleman
 adam -ı hemen çok sev -di -k
 man -Acc. immediately very like -Past -1.pl.

"Ahmet Bey has recently moved above us. He is a very nice person.
 We all got to like him /this gentlemanly man immediately"

The anaphoric particle **ki(n)** can also be used across sentences:

- (532) Ahmet kitab -in -i_i bitir -miş.
 Ahmet book -3.sg. -Acc. finish -Rep.Past
 Ben ben -im -kin -i_i henüz bitir -me -di -m
 I I -Gen. -Rel.Cl. -Acc. yet finish -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "Ahmet is said to have finished his book. I haven't finished mine yet."

Note, incidentally, that in this discourse, the second sentence has an overt subject pronoun. In this context, the pronominal anaphor cannot be deleted, despite the fact that it is encoded on the verb via agreement. This is because of the switch in discourse topic mentioned earlier in this section. The discourse topic has switched from 'Ahmet' to 'I', hence the impossibility of deleting the new topic.

1. 5. 3. *Elements located next to complementizers*

Turkish has only a few complementizers; the main subordinating conjunction is **ki** 'that', which we saw earlier. The others are morphologically related to it: **çünkü** 'because', **sanki** 'as though', **halbuki** 'although', **mademki** (or **madem**) 'since, considering that', and **keşki** 'would that'. All the above anaphoric processes that can apply in a configuration where the antecedent is in the preceding superordinate clause and the anaphoric expression is in the subordinate clause can apply to an element located next to the complementizer; the following example is representative for all processes in this configuration:

- (533) Ahmet_i bil mi -yor -du **ki** [Ø_i /kendi -si_i
 Ahmet know -Neg. -Prog. -Past **that** Ø /self -3.sg.
 iş -in -den at -ıl -acak]
 work -3.sg. -Abl. throw -Pass. -Fut.
 "Ahmet didn't know that he was going to be fired"

1. 6. REFLEXIVES

1. 6. 1. *Means for expressing reflexivity*

1. 6. 1. 1. *Invariable reflexive pronoun*

The invariable reflexive element **kendi** is used as an adjectival modifier and means 'own':

- (534) **kendi** telefon -um
own telephone -1.sg.
 "my own telephone"

- (535) **kendi** telefon -un
own telephone -2.sg.
 "your(sg.) own telephone"

1. 6. 1. 2. Variable reflexive pronoun

The same reflexive element, when inflected with the possessive agreement suffixes, forms reflexive pronouns:

- | | | | |
|-------|--|---|--|
| (536) | kendi -m
self -1.sg.
"myself" | kendi -n
self -2.sg.
"yourself" | kendi
self
"himself" |
| | kendi -miz
self -1.pl.
"ourselves" | kendi -niz
self -2.pl.
"yourselves" | kendi -leri
self -3.pl.
"themselves" |

Note that the reflexive is not inflected for the third person singular. There is, in fact, a form where such inflection is attached to the reflexive: **kendi-si**. Although some speakers do use this form as the reflexive pronoun in the function of a reflexive pronoun for the third person singular, this usage is limited; furthermore, it is against normative standards maintained by purists (cf. Lewis (1975)). However, this form (and its plural **kendileri**) does have wide usage as a pronoun with no reflexive or emphatic sense; for a discussion, see the previous subsection on anaphoric expressions.

It should further be noted that in the usage as a reflexive pronoun, the uninflected form **kendi** can precede the inflected form, emphasizing the reflexive function:

- (537) a. (siz) kendi -niz -i tenkit et -me -yin
 you(pl.) self -2.pl. -Acc. critique do -Neg. -2.pl.Imp.
 "Don't criticize yourselves!"
- (537) b. (siz) **kendi** kendi -niz -i tenkit et -me -yin
 you(pl.) **self** self -2.pl. -Acc. critique do -Neg. -2.pl.Imp.
 "Don't criticize yourselves (yourselves)!"

1. 6. 1. 3. Verbal affix

Turkish also has a verbal suffix for the reflexive function: **-(I)n**:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------------------------|---------|--------------------|
| (538) | giy- | 'to put on, to wear' | giy-in- | 'to dress oneself' |
| | tara- | 'to comb s.o. or s.th.' | tara-n- | 'to comb oneself' |
| | yıka- | 'to wash s.o. or s.th.' | yıka-n- | 'to wash oneself' |

This suffix is not very productive; there are only a certain number of such reflexive verbs which are related to the corresponding simple verbs in a transparent fashion.

1. 6. 2. *Scope of reflexivity*

The scope of reflexivity is, in general, restricted to the clause. This generalization is strict when the reflexive element is a verbal suffix. When the reflexive element is the unbound reflexive pronoun, the same generalization holds for most speakers. Even for more permissive speakers, a reflexive non-subject must have its antecedent in the same clause. Such permissive speakers differ from less permissive ones in allowing genitive-marked subjects of nominalized subordinate clauses to have antecedents in higher clauses:

- (539) Ahmet_i [**kendin** -in_i iş -ten
 Ahmet **self** -Gen. work -Abl.
 at -ıl -acağ -ın -dan] kork -uyor
 throw -Pass. -Fut. -3.sg. -Abl. fear -Pr.Prog.
 "Ahmet_i is afraid that he_i will be fired"
 ("Ahmet is afraid that himself will be fired")

Less permissive speakers don't allow the reflexive element to occur as a subject; hence, they don't allow for antecedent-reflexive relationships to cross clausal boundaries.²⁹

There are syntactic contexts where it appears that, even for non-permissive speakers, a reflexive element in a subordinate clause (both when a verbal suffix and the unbound reflexive pronoun) has an antecedent in a superordinate clause. This is when the actual antecedent, which is in the same clause as the reflexive, is itself an anaphoric element and has been deleted (as discussed in 1. 5. 1. 1. and 1. 5. 1. 2.). Examples for each type of reflexive follow:

- (540) (biz) Ahmed -e_i [Ø_i daha güzel
 we Ahmet -Dat. Ø more nice
 giy -in_i -me -sin -i] söyle -di -k
 wear -Refl. -ANom -3.sg. -Acc. say -Past -1.pl.
 "We told Ahmet_i that he_i should dress (himself_i) better"

- (541) (biz) Ahmed -e_i [Ø_i **kendin** -i_i daha fazla
 we Ahmet -Dat. Ø **self** -Acc. more much
 sev -me -sin -i] söyle -di -k
 like -ANom -3.sg. -Acc. say -Past -1.pl.
 "We told Ahmet_i that he_i should like himself_i more"

Furthermore, it would also appear that reflexive (non-subject) elements in a subordinate infinitival clause can find an antecedent in a superordinate clause; however, if we assume that here, too, the subject of the infinitival clause is hidden or deleted, we can say that the antecedent of the reflexive element is in the same clause:³⁰

- (542) Ahmet_i [Ø_i **kendin-i**_i daha fazla sev-meğ-e] çalış-ıyor
 Ahmet Ø **self** -Acc. more much like-Inf. -Dat. try -Pr.Prog.
 "Ahmet is trying to like himself more"

1. 6. 3. *Intraclause reflexivity where the reflexive element is a verbal affix*

1. 6. 3. 1. The possible syntactic functions of the antecedent

1. 6. 3. 1. 1. Subject only

Only subjects can act as antecedents to the reflexive element, when that element is a verbal affix.

Apparent exceptions to this generalization are posed by causative verbs:

- (543) (ben) çocuğ -u_i giy -**in**_i -**dir** -di -m
 I child -Acc. wear -**Refl.** -**Caus.** -Past -1.sg.
 "I caused the child to dress (himself)"

The status of such examples within the context of our discussion depends on the analysis of causative verbs. If we assume that causative constructions are actually complex sentences, with a clause that has a simple verb as a predicate embedded within the causative superordinate clause, our generalization still holds:

- (544) (ben) [çocuğ -u_i giy -**in**_i] -**dir** -di -m
 I child -Acc. wear -**Refl.** -**Caus.** -Past -1.sg.
 "I caused the child to dress (himself)"

Under this analysis, **çocuk** 'child' is the subject of the subordinate clause. Its accusative case marking, unusual for a subject, is the result of collapsing the two clauses into one, thus making the original subordinate subject into a direct object of the derived, complex causativized verb. However, we would assume that the reflexive relationship is determined within the subordinate clause, before the unification of the two clauses.

1. 6. 4. *Positional possibilities of the reflexive pronoun within the clause*

The reflexive pronoun can appear in a variety of positions. These will be illustrated in detail in the following section, numbered 1. 6. 5.

A few general remarks are in order here, however. As mentioned earlier, one position the reflexive pronoun cannot occur in, at least for non-permissive speakers, is the position of subject. Even for permissive speakers, the restriction against reflexive nominative subjects appears to be stricter than the restriction against genitive subjects. For non-permissive speakers, the reflexive pronoun cannot appear as the genitive-marked possessor in possessive noun phrases, either. This last restriction will be important when considering some of the relationships studied in the next section, whenever modifiers of noun phrases will be examined. Possessors will be excluded from consideration as possible sites for the reflexive pronoun, given the restriction against them that we just mentioned. Instead, the non-alternating reflexive element with the meaning 'own' will be examined in its capacity as modifier.

1. 6. 5. *Specific relations between antecedent and reflexive, where the reflexive element is not a verbal affix*

1. 6. 5. 1. *Antecedent: subject, reflexive: direct object*

(545) ben_i kendi -m -i_i sev -er -im
 I self -1.sg. -Acc. like -Aor. -1.sg.
 "I_i like myself_i"

1. 6. 5. 2. *Antecedent: subject, reflexive: modifier of direct object*

(546) ben_i [kendi_i iş -im -i] kimse -ye bırak-ma -m
 I self work -1.sg. -Acc. nobody -Dat. leave-Neg.-1.sg.
 "I don't leave my own work to anybody (else)"

1. 6. 5. 3. *Antecedent: subject, reflexive: indirect object*

(547) ben_i bu kitab -ı kendi -m -e_i ver -di -m
 I this book -Acc. self -1.sg. -Dat. give -Past -1.sg.
 "I gave this book to myself"

1. 6. 5. 4. *Antecedent: subject, reflexive: modifier of indirect object*

(548) ben_i bu kitab-ı [kendi_i kardeş -im -e] ver -di -m
 I this book-Acc. self sibling -1.sg. -Dat. give-Past-1.sg.
 "I gave this book for my own brother/sister"

1. 6. 5. 5. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: indirect object (adposition-marking)

This does not exist. However, if benefactives are considered a type of indirect object, then it is possible to find reflexive pronouns as objects of postpositions, functioning as indirect objects in that sense:

- (549) ben_i bu kitab-ı [kendi -m_i için] al -dı -m
 I this book-Acc. self -1.sg. for take -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for myself"

1. 6. 5. 6. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: modifier of indirect object (adposition-marking)

This does not exist. However, in the spirit of the remark in 1. 6. 5. 5., if benefactives are considered indirect objects, then we can consider the following example as representative for reflexives as modifiers of indirect objects as postpositional objects:

- (550) ben_i bu kitab-ı [kendi_i baba -m için] al -dı -m
 I this book-Acc. self father-1.sg. for take-Past-1.sg.
 "I bought this book for my own father"

1. 6. 5. 7. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: a copular complement

- (551) ?ben_i kendi -m_i -im
 I self -1.sg. -1.sg.
 "I am myself"

Such constructions are possible, but many speakers dislike them.

1. 6. 5. 8. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: a modifier of a copular complement

- (552) ben_i [kendi_i düşman -ım] -ım
 I self enemy -1.sg. -1.sg.
 "I am my own enemy"

1. 6. 5. 9. Subject antecedent, reflexive: subject-complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 10. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: modifier of subject-complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 11. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: object-complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 12. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: modifier of object-complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 13. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: object of adjective

(553) Hasan_i kendin -den_i emin
 Hasan self -Abl. sure
 "Hasan is sure of himself"

1. 6. 5. 14. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: modifier of object of adjective

(554) Hasan_i [kendi_i kanı -sin -dan] emin
 Hasan self wife -3.sg. -Abl. sure
 "Hasan is sure of his own wife"

1. 6. 5. 15. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: agent in passive / pseudopassive / impersonal

Impersonal constructions in Turkish have no agent phrases. Passive constructions do have agent phrases in which the agent noun phrase shows up as the object of an inflected postposition, marked with ablative case:

(555) Ali [Hasan taraf -ın -dan] öv -ül -dü
 Ali Hasan side -3.sg. -Abl. praise -Pass. -Past
 "Ali was praised by Hasan"

Many speakers reject reflexive pronouns as agents in such constructions, although it is possible to encounter such examples:

(556) ??/*Ali_i [kendi_i taraf -ın -dan] öv -ül -dü
 Ali self side -3.sg. -Abl. praise -Pass. -Past
 "Ali was praised by himself"

Another, more limited way of expressing the agent in passives is via the suffix **-CA**. Reflexives can occur with limited success in this syntactic context:

- (557) [Ali-nin_i ne kadar suç -lu ol -duğ -u]
 Ali-Gen. what much guilt -with be -FNom -3.sg.
 kendin -ce_i de bil -in -ir
 self -by -too know -Pass. -Aor.
 "How much Ali is guilty is known by him, as well"

1. 6. 5. 16. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: modifier of agent of the above

This is possible for all speakers:

- (558) [Ali -nin_i ne kadar suç -lu ol -duğ -u] kendi_i
 Ali -Gen. what much guilt -with be -FNom -3.sg. self
 karı -sın -ca da bil -in -ir
 wife -3.sg. -by -too know -Pass. -Aor.
 "How much Ali is guilty is known by his own wife, as well"

- (559) Ali_i [kendi_i karı -sı taraf -ın -dan] öv -ül -dü
 Ali self wife -3.sg. side -3.sg. -Abl. praise -Pass.-Past
 "Ali was praised by his own wife"

1. 6. 5. 17. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: element in other adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)

- (560) Hasan_i kitab -ı [kendin -e_i göre] yorumla -dı
 Hasan book -Acc. self -Dat. according to interpret -Past
 "Hasan interpreted the book according to himself"

1. 6. 5. 18. Antecedent: subject, reflexive: modifier of element as in 1. 6. 5. 17.

- (561) Hasan_i kitab -ı [kendi_i hoca -sın -a göre]
 Hasan book -Acc. self teacher -3.sg. -Dat. according to
 yorumla -dı
 interpret -Past
 "Hasan interpreted the book according to his own teacher"

1. 6. 5. 19–1. 6. 5. 36. Modifier of subject as antecedent, reflexive: as in 1. 6. 5. 1–1. 6. 5. 18.

Such reflexive relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 37. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: subject

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 38. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: modifier of subject

This does exist.

- (562) [kendi_i kardeş -i] Hasan -i_i çok sev -er
 self sibling -3.sg. Hasan -Acc. very love -Aor.
 "His own brother/sister loves Hasan very much"

1. 6. 5. 39. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: indirect object

This constellation does exist, but it is very limited:

- (563) Hasan Ayşe -yi_i ayna -da kendin -e_i göster -di
 Hasan Ayşe -Acc. mirror -Loc. self -Dat. show -Past
 "Hasan showed Ayşe to herself in the mirror"

1. 6. 5. 40. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: modifier of indirect object

- (564) Hasan Ayşe-yi_i ayna -da kendi_i anne -sin -e göster-di
 Hasan Ayşe-Acc. mirror-Loc. self mother-3.sg.-Dat. show -Past
 "Hasan showed Ayşe to her own mother in the mirror"

1. 6. 5. 41. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: indirect object (adposition-marking)

As stated in 1. 6. 5. 5. , there are no clear-cut indirect objects with adposition-marking in Turkish. However, if benefactives are viewed as indirect objects, it is possible to say that Turkish does have adpositional indirect objects. These can be reflexives and can have direct object antecedents:

- (565) Hasan ben-i_i Ankara-ya [kendi -m_i için] gönder -di
 Hasan I -Acc. Ankara-Dat. self -1.sg. for send -Past
 "Hasan sent me to Ankara for myself"

1. 6. 5. 42. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: modifier of indirect object (adposition-marking)

Such constructions exist, with the caveat expressed in the previous subsection.

- (566) Hasan ben-i_j Ankara-ya [kendi_j anne -m için] gönder-di
 Hasan I -Acc. Ankara-Dat. self mother-1.sg. for send -Past
 "Hasan sent me to Ankara for my own mother"

1. 6. 5. 43. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: a copular complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 44. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: a modifier of a copular complement

The existence of such relationships depends on how certain complex constructions are analyzed, where we find complex verbal predicates whose main verbs are either sensory perception verbs or verbs of belief. An example is given below:

- (567) ben [sen -i öğretmen] bil -ir -di -m
 I you -Acc. teacher believe -Aor. -Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe you to be a teacher"

These constructions can have reflexives as modifiers of the predicate nominal:

- (568) ben [sen -i_j kendi_j abla -n] bil -ir -di -m
 I you-Acc. self elder sister-2.sg. believe-Aor.-Past-1.sg.
 "I used to believe you to be your own elder sister"

If we view these predicate nominals to be the complements of a hidden copula, then we can say that a direct object can be the antecedent of the modifier of a copular complement, as in examples like (568).

However, if we analyze these constructions as complex constructions, with the clause boundaries of the subordinate clause as marked by the brackets, then the accusative-marked noun phrase will be a subject. If so, examples like (568) will be yet another illustration of constructions illustrated in subsection 1. 6. 5. 8. , where the antecedent of a reflexive copular complement is a subject. In that case, we would have to say that it is not possible in Turkish for a direct object to function as the antecedent of a reflexive which is the modifier of a copular complement.

1. 6. 5. 45. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: subject-complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 46. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: modifier of subject-complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 47. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: object-complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 48. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: modifier of object-complement

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 49. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: object of adjective

The existence of such relationships depends on the considerations outlined in subsection 1. 6. 5. 44. It is possible to have constructions as the following:

- (569) ben [sen -i_i [kendi -n -den_i emin]] bil -ir -di -m
 I you-Acc. self -2.sg.-Abl. sure know-Aor.-Past-1.sg.
 "I used to believe you to be sure of yourself"

If, in accordance with what was said previously, the noun phrase with the accusative case marking is viewed as the direct object of the main clause, then (569) illustrates a direct object, functioning as the antecedent of a reflexive object of an adjective. However, if the outer brackets mark the clause boundaries of a subordinate clause, then the accusative-marked noun phrase is a subject rather than a direct object. In that case, direct objects cannot function as antecedents of reflexive objects of adjectives.

1. 6. 5. 50. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: modifier of object of adjective

- (570) ben [sen -i_i [kendi_i karı -n -dan emin]]
 I you -Acc. self wife -2.sg. -Abl. sure
 bil -ir -di -m
 know-Aor.-Past-1.sg.
 "I used to believe you to be sure of your own wife"

As we see, this is possible, with the caveat expressed in the previous subsection about the status of the accusative-marked noun phrase as a possible subordinate subject rather than as a direct object.

1. 6. 5. 51. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: agent in passive / pseudopassive / impersonal

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 52. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: modifier of agent of the above

(571) ben [Hasan -i_i [kendi_i karı -sı taraf -ın -dan]
 I Hasan -Acc. self wife -3.sg. side -3.sg. -Abl.
 öl -dür -ül -dü] bil -iyor -du -m
 die -Caus. -Pass. -Past believe -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe that Hasan was killed by his own wife"

Again, the relationship of this subsection's heading depends on whether the accusative-marked noun phrase is analyzed as a direct object or as a subordinate subject. If the former, the relationship exists, as illustrated by example (571). If the latter, the relationship does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 53. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: element in other adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)

This relationship exists, but it is limited, mostly to causative verbs or lexicalized causatives:

(572) Hasan ben -i_i kendi -m -le_i barış -tır -dı
 Hasan I -Acc. self -1.sg. -with make peace -Caus. -Past
 "Hasan made/helped me make peace with myself"

1. 6. 5. 54. Antecedent: direct object, reflexive: modifier of element as in 1. 6. 5. 53.

(573) Hasan ben-i_i kendi_i eş -im -le barış -tır -dı
 Hasan I -Acc. self spouse-1.sg.-with make peace-Caus.-Past
 "Hasan made/helped me make peace with myself"

1. 6. 5. 55. Antecedent: modifier of direct object, reflexive: subject

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 56. Antecedent: modifier of direct object, reflexive: modifier of subject

This does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 57- 1. 6. 5. 72. Antecedent: modifier of direct object, reflexive: as in 1. 6. 5. 3–1. 6. 5. 18.

Such relationships are not possible with true reflexives, but, if at all, only with the inflected third person **kendisi** and **kendileri**. These are, as we saw earlier, special pronouns and not genuine reflexives.

1. 6. 5. 73–1. 6. 5. 74. Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reflexive: subject and modifier of subject, respectively

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 75. Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reflexive: direct object

As in the reverse relationship, where the antecedent is a direct object and the reflexive is an indirect object, such a relationship exists, but is very limited:

(574) ben ayna -da Hasan -a_i kendin -i_i göster -di -m
I mirror -Loc. Hasan -Dat. self -Acc. show -Past -1.sg.
"I showed himself to Hasan in the mirror"

1. 6. 5. 76. Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reflexive: modifier of direct object

(575) ben ayna -da Hasan -a_i kendi_i kız -in -i
I mirror -Loc. Hasan -Dat. self daughter -3.sg. -Acc.
göster -di -m
show -Past -1.sg.
"I showed his own daughter to Hasan in the mirror"

1. 6. 5. 77–1. 6. 5. 88. Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reflexive: as in 1. 6. 5. 7–1. 6. 5. 18.

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 89–1. 6. 5. 90. Antecedent: modifier of indirect object (cased), reflexive: subject or modifier of subject, respectively

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 91–1. 6. 5. 92. **Antecedent: modifier of indirect object (cased), reflexive: direct object or modifier of direct object, respectively**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 93–1. 6. 5. 104. **Antecedent: modifier of indirect object (cased), reflexive: as in 1. 6. 5. 7–1. 6. 5. 18.**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 105. **Antecedent: indirect object (adpositional), reflexive: subject and respectively**

This relationship does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 106. **Antecedent: indirect object (adpositional), reflexive: modifier of subject**

As stated earlier in this section, and as we shall also see in section 1. 7. on reciprocals, such a relationship can be said to exist only if benefactives are viewed as a type of indirect object.

- (576) kendi_i anne -si ben -ce Hasan_i için
 self mother -3.sg. I -according to Hasan for
 parmağ -ın -ı bile oyna -t -ma -z
 finger -3.sg. -Acc. even move -Caus. -Neg. -Neg.Aor.
 "According to me, his own_i mother would not even lift her finger for Hasan_i"

1. 6. 5. 107–1. 6. 5. 108. **Antecedent: indirect object (adpositional), reflexive: direct object and modifier of direct object, respectively**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 109–1. 6. 5. 120. **Antecedent: indirect object (adpositional), reflexive: as in 1. 6. 5. 7–1. 6. 5. 18.**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 121–1. 6. 5. 136. **Antecedent: modifier of indirect object (adpositional), reflexive: as in 1. 6. 5. 105–1. 6. 5. 120.**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 137–1. 6. 5. 140. **Antecedent: copular complement, reflexive: subject or modifier of subject, or element in adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 141–1. 6. 5. 144. **Antecedent: modifier of copular complement, reflexive: subject or modifier of subject, or element in adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 145–1. 6. 5. 152. **Antecedent: subject-complement or modifier thereof, object complement or modifier thereof, reflexive: subject or modifier of subject**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 6. 5. 153. **Antecedent: adjectival object, reflexive: subject**

This relationship does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 154. **Antecedent: adjectival object, reflexive: modifier of subject**

This relationship does exist:

(577) [kendi_j karı -sı] [Hasan -a_i sadık]
 self wife -3.sg. Hasan -Dat. loyal
 "His own wife is loyal to Hasan"

1. 6. 5. 155–1. 6. 5. 156. **Antecedent: modifier of adjectival object, reflexive: subject or modifier of subject**

These relationships are not possible.

1. 6. 5. 157. **Antecedent: agent of passive, reflexive: subject**

This relationship is not possible.

1. 6. 5. 158. **Antecedent: agent of passive, reflexive: modifier of subject**

This relationship does exist, although examples that illustrate it are not perfect; however, they are acceptable:

- (578) ?[kendi_i kız -1] [Hasan_i taraf -ın -dan]
 self daughter -3.sg. Hasan side -3.sg. -Abl.
 köle ol -arak sat -ıl -dı
 slave be -Ger. sell -Pass. -Past
 "His own_i daughter was sold by Hasan_i as a slave"

1. 6. 5. 159–1. 6. 5. 162. **Antecedent: agent in passive, reflexive:
 indirect object (cased) or modifier of cased
 indirect object, or adpositional indirect object
 or modifier of adpositional indirect object**

Of all these relationships, only the last one is possible, but even that relationship is not judged perfect by native speakers; furthermore, this is possible only if benefactives are viewed as indirect objects:

- (579) ?Zeynep [Hasan_i taraf -ın -dan]
 Zeynep Hasan side -3.sg. -Abl.
 [kendi_i ev -i için] al -ın -dı
 self home -3.sg. for buy -Pass. -Past
 "Zeynep was bought by Hasan for his own home"

1. 6. 5. 163. **Antecedent: agent in passive, reflexive: element in
 adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier**

This relationship exists, but its instantiations are not perfect:

- (580) (?)bu söylenti [Hasan_i taraf -ın -dan]
 this rumor Hasan by -3.sg. -Abl.
 [kendin -e göre] yorumla -n -dı
 self -Dat. according to interpret -Pass. -Past
 "This rumor was interpreted by Hasan according to himself"

1. 6. 5. 164. Antecedent: agent of passive, reflexive: modifier of element in adpositional phrase

- (581) bu söylenti [Hasan_i taraf -ın -dan]
 this rumor Hasan by -3.sg. -Abl.
 [[kendi_i fikir-ler-in -e] göre] yorumla -n -dı
 self idea-pl.-3.sg.-Dat. according to interpret-Pass.-Past
 "This rumor was interpreted by Hasan according to his own ideas"

1. 6. 5. 165. Antecedent: modifier of agent of passive, reflexive: subject

This relationship is not possible (at least not for the majority of speakers, for whom reflexives are not possible as subjects in the nominative case).

1. 6. 5. 166. Antecedent: modifier of agent of passive, reflexive: modifier of subject

This relationship does exist, although some speakers don't accept such examples under the reflexive relationship as indicated:

- (582) ??[kendi_i kız -ı] bile [Hasan -ın_i baba -sı
 self daughter -3.sg. even Hasan -Gen. father -3.sg.
 taraf -ın -dan] köle ol -arak sat -ıl -dı
 side -3.sg. -Abl. slave be -Ger. sell -Pass. -Past
 "Even his own_i daughter was sold by Hasan's_i father as a slave"

1. 6. 5. 167–1. 6. 5. 170. Antecedent: modifier of agent in passive, reflexive: indirect object (cased) or modifier of cased indirect object, or adpositional indirect object or modifier of adpositional indirect object

None of these relationships is possible.

1. 6. 5. 171. Antecedent: modifier of agent in passive, reflexive: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier

This relationship does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 172. Antecedent: modifier of agent in passive, reflexive: modifier of element in adpositional phrase

This relationship does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 173. Antecedent: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier, reflexive: subject

This relationship does not exist.

1. 6. 5. 174. Antecedent: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier, reflexive: modifier of subject

This relationship exists, but its instantiations are not perfect:

(583) [kendi_i kız -ı] [Hasan -a_i göre]
 own daughter -3.sg. Hasan -Dat. according to
 dünya -nın en iyi şarkıcı -sı -dır
 world -Gen. most good singer -CmpM -Ep.Cop.
 "His own_i daughter is according to Hasan_i the best singer in the world"

1. 6. 5. 175–1. 6. 5. 192. Antecedent: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier, reflexive: as in 1. 6. 5. 1–1. 6. 5. 18.

None of these relationships is possible.

1. 6. 5. 193–1. 6. 5. 212. Antecedent: modifier of an element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier, reflexive: as in 1. 6. 5. 173–1. 6. 5. 192.

None of these relationships is possible.

1. 6. 6. Reflexive relations within nominalized clauses

Nominalized clauses in Turkish are similar to fully finite clauses from the point of view of internal structure. Hence, with respect to reflexive relationships, they exhibit no deviations from the possibilities discussed in the previous sections on finite structures, with the exception of one property, mentioned briefly before: reflexive pronouns as nominative subjects of fully finite clauses are impossible for most speakers. Reflexive pronouns as genitive subjects of nominalized clauses are also impossible for many speakers, but are allowed by some speakers. However, for those permissive speakers, the antecedent of such a genitive reflexive subject has to be in a superordinate clause rather than in the same clause as the subject:

- (584) ??Hasan_i herkes -e [kendin -in_i iş -ten
 Hasan everybody -Dat. self -Gen. work -Abl.
 at -ıl -dığ -ın -ı] anlat -tı
 throw out -Pass. -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. tell -Past
 "Hasan told everybody that he (himself) was fired"

1. 6. 7. *Reflexive relations within ordinary noun phrases*

Reflexive relations within ordinary noun phrases can exist in possessive noun phrases, between a possessor of the head noun and a reflexive modifier of that same head noun:

- (585) Hasan -in_i kendi_i kız -ı
 Hasan -Gen. self daughter -3.sg.
 "Hasan's own daughter"

1. 6. 8. *Reflexive structures without any overt antecedent*

In general, it is impossible to have reflexive forms without overt antecedents; true reflexives (as opposed to elements which look morphologically similar to reflexives but are actually special personal pronouns, like the inflected third person singular and plural forms **kendisi** and **kendileri**) cannot have discourse or pragmatic antecedents.

However, even true reflexives may appear to lack overt antecedents, as in the following example:

- (586) ?**kendi** hakk -ım -da -ki söylenti çok garip
self about -1.sg. -Loc. -Rel.Cl. rumor very strange
 "The rumor about myself is very strange"

It should be noted that the postposition is inflected for possessive agreement. These postpositional phrases are best analyzed as possessive phrases whose possessor pronoun is deleted; this non-overt possessor functions as the antecedent of the reflexive. The previous example should therefore be represented as follows:

- (587) ?Ø_i **kendi**_i hakk -ım -da -ki söylenti çok garip
 Ø **self** about -1.sg. -Loc. -Rel.Cl. rumor very strange
 "The rumor about myself is very strange"

As a matter of fact, such noun phrases do also exist with an overt possessor as antecedent, especially in contrastive contexts:

- (588) (?)**ben-im_i** **kendi_i** hakk -ım -da -ki söylenti çok garip
 I -Gen. self about-1.sg.-Loc.-Rel.Cl. rumor very strange
 "The rumor about myself is very strange"
 ("The rumor about my own aboutness is very strange")

There are also postpositional phrases without an inflected postposition which can function as modifiers in a noun phrase. It is also possible to find reflexives without an overt antecedent in such constructions. In such instances, the reflexive itself must be inflected, and there must be an antecedent in the clause (outside the noun phrase); that antecedent might itself be a deleted anaphoric element:

- (589) (**ben_i**) **kendi** -m -e_i dair bir söylenti duy -du -m
 I self -1.sg. -Dat. about a rumor hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard a rumor about myself"

1. 6. 9. Other uses of reflexive forms

1. 6. 9. 1. Reflexive pronoun as emphatic pronoun

Reflexive pronouns may serve as emphatic pronouns:

- (590) (ben) bu kitab -ı **kendi** -m yaz -dı -m
 I this book -Acc. **self** -1.sg. write -Past -1.sg.
 "I wrote this book myself"

In this usage, only subjects may serve as antecedents to the reflexive pronouns. The reflexive pronouns must be inflected and must agree with their antecedent in the features of person and number. As emphatic elements, they occur in the special position of emphasized elements, namely in pre-verbal position.

1. 6. 9. 2. Reflexive verb-form as detransitivizer

The reflexive verb-form **-(I)n** does serve as a detransitivizer; however, since it is restricted in its use (only a small number of verbs can show up with that suffix), this form is not a general detransitivizer in the language (in contrast to the passive suffix, for example, which is, indeed, a general detransitivizer). Thus, we find the following contrasts:

- (591) (ben) çocuğ -u yıka -dı -m
 I child -Acc. wash -Past -1.sg.
 "I washed the child"

- (592) (ben)_i kendi -m -i_i yıka -dı -m
 I self -1.sg. -Acc. wash -Past -1.sg.
 "I washed myself"
- (593) (ben)_i yıka -n_i -dı -m
 I wash -**Refl.** -Past -1.sg.
 "I washed myself"
- (594) *(ben) kendi -m -i yıka -n -dı -m
 I self -1.sg. -Acc. wash -**Refl.** -Past -1.sg.
 Intended reading: "I washed myself"

1. 7. RECIPROCALLS

1. 7. 1. Means for expressing reciprocal relations

1. 7. 1. 1. Invariable reciprocal pronoun

In contrast to the reflexive, there is no invariable reciprocal pronoun in Turkish.

1. 7. 1. 2. Variable reciprocal pronoun

The reduplicated numeral **bir** 'one', inflected with the appropriate possessive suffix, functions as a reciprocal pronoun. Since the meaning of reciprocity involves mutual action, reciprocal pronouns must be plural. They comprise the following elements:

- (595) birbir-imiz
 e.o. -1.pl. "our each other"
- birbir-iniz
 e.o. -2.pl. "your each other"
- birbir-leri
 e.o. -3.pl. "their each other"³¹

Just like any noun inflected for third person plural, the reciprocal third person plural pronoun can also be inflected for third person singular instead (i.e. **birbiri** instead of **birbirleri**), when the antecedent is overt; this option is less preferred, however. An example for reciprocal pronouns follows:

- (596) (siz) birbir -iniz -i tenkit et -me -yin
 you(pl.) e.o. -2.pl. -Acc. critique do -Neg. -2.pl.Imp.
 "Don't criticize each other!"

1. 7. 1. 3. Verbal affix

Turkish also has a verbal suffix for the reciprocal function: **-(I)ş**:

(597)	öp-	'to kiss'	öp-üş-	'to kiss each other'
	anla-	'to understand'	anla-ş-	'to understand each other'
	döv-	'to beat'	döv-üş-	'to fight each other'

Just like the verbal reflexive, this suffix is not very productive; there are only a certain number of such reciprocal verbs which are related to the corresponding simple verbs in a transparent fashion. There are a number of verbs that exhibit the reciprocal suffix as well as reciprocal semantics, but which are not related to an existing simple verb in contemporary Turkish; e.g. **konuş** 'talk, converse'; **mektuplaş** 'correspond' (**mektup** 'letter'; but there is no ***mektupla**).

1. 7. 2. Scope of reciprocal relations

The scope of reciprocal relations is, just as that of reflexivity, restricted in general to the clause. This generalization is strict when the reciprocal element is a verbal suffix. When the reciprocal element is the unbound reciprocal pronoun, the same generalization holds for most speakers. Even for more permissive speakers, a reciprocal non-subject must have its antecedent in the same clause. Permissive speakers differ from less permissive ones in allowing genitive-marked subjects of nominalized subordinate clauses to have antecedents in higher clauses; as a matter of fact, the occurrence of genitive reciprocal subjects with antecedents in superordinate clauses is spread more widely than comparable reflexive subjects:

(598)	?işçi	-ler _i	[	birbir	-lerin	-in_i	iş	-ten	
	worker	-pl.		e.o.	-3.pl.	-Gen.	work	-Abl.	
	at	-ıl		-ma	-sın	-dan	] kork	-uyor	-lar
	throw	-Pass.		-ANom	-3.sg.	-Abl.	fear	-Pr.Prog.	-3.pl.
	"The workers _i are afraid that each other _i will be fired"								

Less permissive speakers don't allow the reciprocal element to occur as a subject; hence, they don't allow for antecedent-reciprocal relationships to cross clausal boundaries.³²

There are syntactic contexts where it appears that, even for non-permissive speakers, a reciprocal element in a subordinate clause (both when a verbal suffix and the unbound reciprocal pronoun) has an antecedent in a superordinate clause. This is when the actual antecedent,

which is in the same clause as the reciprocal, is itself an anaphoric element and has been deleted (as discussed for reflexives in 1. 5. 1. 1. and 1. 5. 1. 2.). Examples for each type of reciprocal follow:

- (599) (biz) çocuk-lar-a_i [Ø_i öp -üş_i -me -me -lerin -i]
 we child -pl. -Dat. Ø kiss-**Recip.**-Neg.-ANom-3.pl. -Acc.
 söyle-di -k
 say -Past-1.pl.
 "We told the children_i that they_i shouldn't kiss each other_i"

- (600) (biz) çocuk -lar -a_i [Ø_i birbir -lerin -i_i
 we child -pl. -Dat. Ø e.o. -3.pl. -Acc.
 öp -me -me -lerin -i] söyle -di -k
 kiss -Neg. -ANom -3.pl. -Acc. say -Past -1.pl.
 "We told the children_i that they_i shouldn't kiss each other_i"

Furthermore, it would also appear that reciprocal (non-subject) elements in a subordinate infinitival clause can find an antecedent in a superordinate clause; however, if we assume that here, too, the subject of the infinitival clause is hidden or deleted, we can say that the antecedent of the reciprocal element is in the same clause:³³

- (601) hasta -lar_i [Ø_i birbir-lerin-i_i daha fazla sev-meğ-e]
 patient-pl. Ø e.o. -3.pl.-Acc. more much like-Inf. -Dat.
 çalış-ıyor -lar
 try -Pr.Prog.-3.pl.
 "The patients are trying to like each other more"

1. 7. 3. *Intraclause reciprocal relations where the reciprocal element is a verbal affix*

1. 7. 3. 1. The possible syntactic functions of the antecedent

1. 7. 3. 1. 1. Subject only

Only subjects can act as antecedents to the reciprocal element, when that element is a verbal affix.

Apparent exceptions to this generalization are posed by causative verbs, where the antecedent is accusative, i.e. the antecedent appears to be a direct object rather than a subject:

- (602) (ben) [Hasan-la Ali-yi]_i tanı -ş_i -tır -dı -m
 I Hasan-and Ali-Acc. know -**Recip.**-Caus.-Past-1.sg.
 "I introduced Hasan and Ali to each other"
 ("I made Hasan and Ali know each other")

The status of such examples within the context of our discussion depends on the analysis of causative verbs. The reader is referred to section 1. 6. 3. 1. 1. , where the corresponding construction for reflexives is discussed.

1. 7. 4. *Positional possibilities of the reciprocal pronoun within the clause*

The reciprocal pronoun can appear in a variety of positions. These will be illustrated in detail in the following section, numbered 1. 7. 5.

A few general remarks are in order here, however. As mentioned earlier, one position the reciprocal pronoun cannot occur in, at least for non-permissive speakers, is the position of subject. Just as is the case for reflexive pronouns, even for permissive speakers, the restriction against reciprocal nominative subjects appears to be stricter than the restriction against genitive subjects. For non-permissive speakers, the reciprocal pronoun cannot appear as the genitive-marked possessor in possessive noun phrases, either. In contrast with the positional possibilities of the reflexive pronoun, discussed in sections 1. 6. 4. and 1. 6. 5, reciprocal pronouns are somewhat more acceptable as genitive subjects; this is true even for less permissive speakers.

In the examples of the following section, examples with reciprocal genitive subjects as modifiers will be flagged with question marks, thus indicating their less-than-perfect status.

1. 7. 5. *Specific relations between antecedent and reciprocal, where the reciprocal element is not a verbal affix*

1. 7. 5. 1. *Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: direct object*

(603) biz_i birbir -imiz -i_i sev -er -iz
 we e.o. -1.pl. -Acc. like -Aor. -1.pl.
 "We_i like each other_i"

1. 7. 5. 2. *Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: modifier of direct object*

(604) ?(?) biz_i [birbir -imiz -in_i iş -in -i]
 we e.o. -1.pl. -Gen. work -3.sg. -Acc.
 kimse -ye bırak -ma -yız
 nobody -Dat. leave -Neg. -1.sg.
 "We don't leave each other's work to anybody (else)"

It should be noted that this is one of the instances where the reciprocal pronoun is in the genitive, which is something a number of speakers don't accept. When these constructions are accepted at all, the agreement morpheme on the head (whether the head is a possessed noun in a possessive noun phrase as in this example, or a nominalized verb in a subordinate clause) is a constant third person singular suffix, irrespective of the person and number features of the subject or possessor.

1. 7. 5. 3. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: indirect object

(605) biz_i bu kitab -ı birbir -imiz -e_i ver -di -k
 we this book -Acc. e.o. -1.pl. -Dat. give -Past -1.pl.
 "We gave this book to each other"

1. 7. 5. 4. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: modifier of indirect object

(606) biz_i bu kitap -lar -ı [birbir -imiz -in_i
 we this book -pl. -Acc. e.o. -1.pl. -Gen.
 kardeş -ler -in -e] ver -di -k
 sibling -pl. -3.sg.³⁴-Dat. give -Past -1.pl.
 "We gave these books to each others' siblings"

1. 7. 5. 5. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: indirect object (adposition-marking)

This does not exist. However, if benefactives are considered a type of indirect object, then it is possible to find reciprocal pronouns as objects of postpositions, functioning as indirect objects in that sense:

(607) biz_i bu kitap -lar -ı [birbir -imiz_i için] al -dı -k
 we this book -pl. -Acc. e.o. -1.pl. for take -Past -1.pl.
 "We bought these books for each other"

1. 7. 5. 6. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: modifier of indirect object (adposition-marking)

This does not exist. However, in the spirit of the remark in 1. 7. 5. 5., if benefactives are considered indirect objects, then we can consider the following example as representative for reciprocals as modifiers of indirect objects as postpositional objects:

- (608) biz_i bu kitap -lar -ı [birbir -imiz -in_i
 we this book -pl. -Acc. e.o. -1.pl. -Gen.
 çocuk -lar -ı için] al -dı -k
 child -pl. -3.sg. for take -Past -1.pl.
 "We bought these books for each others' children"

1. 7. 5. 7. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: a copular complement

- (609) #biz_i birbir -imiz_i -iz
 we e.o. -1.pl. -1.pl.
 "We are each other"

Where such an utterance would be sensible semantically, this construction would be grammatical.

1. 7. 5. 8. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: a modifier of a copular complement

- (610) biz_i [birbir-imiz-in_i düşman -lar -ı] -y -dı -k
 we e.o. -1.pl.-Gen. enemy -pl. -3.sg. -Cop.-Past-1.pl.
 "We were each others' enemies"

1. 7. 5. 9. Subject antecedent, reciprocal: subject-complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 10. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: modifier of subject-complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 11. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: object-complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 12. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: modifier of object-complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 13. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: object of adjective

- (611) biz_i birbir -imiz -den_i emin -iz
 we e.o. -1.pl. -Abl. sure -1.pl.
 "We are sure of each other"

1. 7. 5. 14. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: modifier of object of adjective

- (612) ??(?)biz_i [birbir-imiz-in_i iyi niyet -in -den] emin -iz
 we e.o. -1.pl.-Gen. good intention-3.sg.-Abl. sure -1.pl.
 "We are certain of each others' good intentions"

1. 7. 5. 15. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: agent in passive/pseudopassive/impersonal

Impersonal constructions in Turkish have no agent phrases. Passive constructions do have agent phrases in which the agent noun phrase shows up as the object of an inflected postposition, marked with ablative case:

- (613) Ali [Hasan taraf-ın -dan] öv -ül -dü
 Ali Hasan side -3.sg. -Abl. praise -Pass. -Past
 "Ali was praised by Hasan"

Many speakers reject reciprocal pronouns as agents in such constructions, although it is possible to encounter such examples:

- (614) ?/*öğrenci -ler_i [birbir -ler_i taraf -ın -dan]
 student -pl. e.o. -3.pl. side -3.sg. -Abl.
 öv -ül -dü -ler
 praise -Pass. -Past -3.pl.
 "The students were praised by each other"

1. 7. 5. 16. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: modifier of agent of the above

This is possible for all speakers:

- (615) [öğrenci-ler-in_i ne kadar suç -lu ol -duk -ları]
 student-pl.-Gen. what much guilt-with be-FNom-3.pl.
 birbir-lerin-in_i çocuk-lar -ın -ca da bil -in -ir
 e.o. -3.pl.-Gen. child -pl. -3.sg. -by -too know-Pass.-Aor.
 "How much the students are guilty is known by each others'
 children, too"

- (616) öğrenci-ler_i [birbir-lerin-in_i çocuk -lar -ı taraf -ın -dan]
 student-pl. e.o. -3.pl.-Gen. child -pl. -3.sg. side -3.sg. -Abl.
 öv -ül -dü -ler
 praise-Pass.-Past-3.pl.
 "The students were praised by each others' children"

1. 7. 5. 17. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: element in other adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)

- (617) öğrenci-leri bu yalan-lar-ı [birbir -leri hakkında]
 student-pl. this lie -pl.-Acc. e.o. -3.pl. about
 söyle -di -ler
 tell -Past -3.pl.
 "The students told these lies about each other"

1. 7. 5. 18. Antecedent: subject, reciprocal: modifier of element as in 1. 7. 5. 17.

- (618) öğrenci-leri bu yalan-lar-ı [birbir-lerin-ini çocuk-lar -ı hakkında] söyle -di -ler
 student-pl. this lie -pl.-Acc. e.o. -3.pl.-Gen. child -pl. -3.sg.
 about tell -Past -3.pl.
 "The students told these lies about each others' children"

1. 7. 5. 19–1. 7. 5. 36. Modifier of subject as antecedent, reciprocal: as in 1. 7. 5. 1–1. 7. 5. 18.

Such reciprocal relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 37. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: subject

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 38. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: modifier of subject

This relationship does exist, but it is far from perfect.

- (619) (?)[birbir-lerin-ini kardeş-ler -i] öğrenci-ler-imiz-i çok
 e.o. -3.pl.-Gen. sibling-pl. -3.sg. student-pl.-1.pl.-Acc. very
 sev -er
 love-Aor.
 "The siblings of each other like our students very much"

1. 7. 5. 39. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: indirect object

This constellation does exist, but it is very limited:

- (620) Hasan öğrenci-ler-i ayna -da birbir -lerin-e göster-di
 Hasan student-pl.-Acc. mirror-Loc. e.o. -3.pl. -Dat. show -Past
 "Hasan showed the students to each other in the mirror"

1. 7. 5. 40. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: modifier of indirect object

- (621) Hasan öğrenci-ler-i_i ayna -da birbir-lerin-in_i
 Hasan student-pl.-Acc. mirror-Loc. e.o. -3.pl.-Gen.
 anne -ler -in -e_i göster-di
 mother-pl. -3.sg. -Dat. show -Past
 "Hasan showed the students to each others' mothers in the mirror"

1. 7. 5. 41. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: indirect object (adposition-marking)

As stated in 1. 7. 5. 5. , there are no clear-cut indirect objects with adposition-marking in Turkish. However, if benefactives are viewed as indirect objects, it is possible to say that Turkish does have adpositional indirect objects. These can be reciprocals and can have direct object antecedents:

- (622) Hasan öğrenci-ler-i_i Ankara-ya [birbir-leri_i için] gönder-di
 Hasan student-pl.-Acc. Ankara-Dat. e.o. -3.pl. for send -Past
 "Hasan sent the students to Ankara for each other"

1. 7. 5. 42. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: modifier of indirect object (adposition-marking)

Such constructions exist, with the caveat expressed in the previous subsection.

- (623) (?)Hasan öğrenci-ler-i_i Ankara-ya [birbir -lerin -in_i
 Hasan student-pl.-Acc. Ankara-Dat. e.o. -3.pl. -Gen.
 anne -ler -i için] gönder -di
 mother -pl. -3.sg. for send -Past
 "Hasan sent the students to Ankara for (the sake of) the mother of each other"

1. 7. 5. 43. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: a copular complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 44. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: a modifier of a copular complement

The existence of such relationships, just as of such relationships in reflexive constructions (and discussed in 1. 6. 5. 44.), depends on how certain complex constructions are analyzed, where we find complex

verbal predicates whose main verbs are either sensory perception verbs or verbs of belief. An example is given below:

- (624) ben [sen -i öğretmen] bil -ir -di -m
 I you -Acc. teacher believe -Aor. -Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe you to be a teacher"

These constructions can have reciprocals as modifiers of the predicate nominal:

- (625) ben [siz -i_i birbir -iniz -in_i kardeş -i]
 I you(pl.) -Acc. e.o. -2.pl. -Gen. sibling -3.sg.
 bil -ir -di -m
 believe -Aor. -Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe you to be each others' sibling"

If we view these predicate nominals to be the complements of a hidden copula, then we can say that a direct object can be the antecedent of the modifier of a copular complement, as in examples like (624).

However, if we analyze these constructions as complex constructions, with the clause boundaries of the subordinate clause as marked by the brackets, then the accusative-marked noun phrase will be a subject. If so, examples like (624) will be yet another illustration of constructions illustrated in subsection 1. 7. 5. 8. , where the antecedent of a reciprocal copular complement is a subject. In that case, we would have to say that it is not possible in Turkish for a direct object to function as the antecedent of a reciprocal which is the modifier of a copular complement.

1. 7. 5. 45. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: subject-complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 46. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: modifier of subject-complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 47. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: object-complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 48. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: modifier of object-complement

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 49. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: object of adjective

The existence of such relationships depends on the considerations outlined in subsection 1. 7. 5. 44. It is possible to have constructions such as the following:

- (626) ben [siz -i_i [birbir -iniz -den_i emin]] bil -ir -di -m
 I you(pl.)-Acc. e.o. -2.pl.-Abl. sure know-Aor.-Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe you to be sure of each other"

If, in accordance with what was said previously, the noun phrase with the accusative case marking is viewed as the direct object of the main clause, then (626) illustrates a direct object, functioning as the antecedent of a reciprocal object of an adjective. However, if the outer brackets mark the clause boundaries of a subordinate clause, then the accusative-marked noun phrase is a subject rather than a direct object. In that case, direct objects cannot function as antecedents of reciprocal objects of adjectives.

1. 7. 5. 50. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: modifier of object of adjective

- (627) (?)ben [siz -i_i [birbir -iniz -in_i çocuk -lar -ın -dan emin]]
 I you-Acc. e.o. -2.pl.-Gen. child -pl. -3.sg. -Abl. sure
 bil -ir -di -m
 know -Aor. -Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe you to be sure of each others' wife"

As we see, this is possible, with the caveat expressed in the previous subsection about the status of the accusative-marked noun phrase as a possible subordinate subject rather than as a direct object.

1. 7. 5. 51. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: agent in passive / pseudopassive / impersonal

- (628) (?)ben [onlar -ı_i [birbir -leri_i taraf -ın -dan] öp -ül -dü]
 I they -Acc. e.o. -3.pl. side -3.sg.-Abl. kiss-Pass. -Past
 bil -iyor -du -m
 believe -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe that they were kissed by each other"

Again, the relationships characterized by this and the next subsection's headings depend on whether the accusative-marked noun phrase is analyzed as a direct object or as a subordinate subject. If the former, these relationships exist, as illustrated by examples (628) and (629). If the latter, these relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 52. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: modifier of agent of the above

(629) (?)ben [onlar-ı_i [birbir-lerin-in_i çocuk-lar -ı taraf-ın -dan]
 I they -Acc. e.o. -3.pl.-Gen. child -pl. -3.sg. side -3.sg.-Abl.
 öp -ül -dü] bil -iyor -du -m
 kiss-Pass.-Past believe -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe that they were kissed by each others' children"

1. 7. 5. 53. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: element in other adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)

This relationship exists, but it is limited, mostly to causative verbs or lexicalized causatives:

(630) Hasan onlar-ı_i birbir-leri -yle_i barış -tır -dı
 Hasan they -Acc. e.o. -3.pl.-with make peace-Caus.-Past
 "Hasan made/helped them make peace with each other"

1. 7. 5. 54. Antecedent: direct object, reciprocal: modifier of element as in 1. 7. 5. 53.

(631) Hasan biz-i_i birbir -imiz -in_i çocuk -lar -ı -yla
 Hasan I -Acc. e.o. -1.pl. -Gen. child -pl. -3.sg. -with
 barış -tır -dı
 make peace-Caus.-Past
 "Hasan made/helped us make peace with each others' children"

1. 7. 5. 55. Antecedent: modifier of direct object, reciprocal: subject

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 56. Antecedent: modifier of direct object, reciprocal: modifier of subject

This does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 57–1. 7. 5. 72. **Antecedent: modifier of direct object, reciprocal: as in 1. 7. 5. 3–1. 7. 5. 18.**

Such relationships are not possible with reciprocals.

1. 7. 5. 73. **Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reciprocal: subject**

This relationship does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 74. **Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reciprocal: modifier of subject**

(632) birbir -lerin -in_i hoca -lar -ı öğrenci -ler -e_i ödül
 e.o. -3.pl. -Gen. teacher -pl. -3.sg. student -pl. -Dat. prize
 ver -di -ler
 give -Past -3.pl.
 "Each others' teachers gave prizes to the students"

1. 7. 5. 75. **Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reciprocal: direct object**

As in the reverse relationship, where the antecedent is a direct object and the reciprocal is an indirect object, such a relationship exists, but is very limited:

(633) ben ayna -da öğrenci -ler -e_i birbir -lerin -i_i
 I mirror -Loc. student -pl. -Dat. e.o. -3.pl. -Acc.
 göster -di -m
 show -Past -1.sg.
 "I showed each other to the students in the mirror"

1. 7. 5. 76. **Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reciprocal: modifier of direct object**

(634) (?)ben ayna -da öğrenci -ler -e_i birbir -lerin -in_i
 I mirror -Loc. student -pl. -Dat. e.o. -3.pl. -Gen.
 kız -lar -ın -ı göster -di -m
 daughter -pl. -3.sg. -Acc. show -Past -1.sg.
 "I showed each others' daughters to the students in the mirror"

1. 7. 5. 77–1. 7. 5. 88. **Antecedent: indirect object (cased), reciprocal: as in 1. 7. 5. 7–1. 7. 5. 18.**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 89–1. 7. 5. 90. **Antecedent: modifier of indirect object (cased), reciprocal: subject or modifier of subject, respectively**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 91–1. 7. 5. 92. **Antecedent: modifier of indirect object (cased), reciprocal: direct object or modifier of direct object, respectively**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 93–1. 7. 5. 104. **Antecedent: modifier of indirect object (cased), reciprocal: as in 1. 7. 5. 7–1. 7. 5. 18.**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 105. **Antecedent: indirect object (adpositional), reciprocal: subject and modifier of subject**

This relationship does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 106. **Antecedent: indirect object (adpositional), reciprocal: modifier of subject**

As stated earlier in this section and in section 1. 6. on reflexives, such a relationship can be said to exist only if benefactives are viewed as a type of indirect object.

- (635) ?(?)birbir -lerin -in_i hoca -lar -₁ ben -ce
 e.o. -3.pl. -Gen. teacher -pl. -3.sg. I -according to
 öğrenciler_i için parmak -ların -₁ bile
 students for finger -3.pl. -Acc. even
 oyna -t -ma -z
 move -Caus. -Neg. -Neg.Aor.
 "According to me, each others' _i teachers would not even lift their
 fingers for the students_i"

1. 7. 5. 107–1. 7. 5. 108. **Antecedent: indirect object (adpositional), reciprocal: direct object and modifier of direct object, respectively**

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 109–1. 7. 5. 120. Antecedent: indirect object (adpositional), reciprocal: as in 1. 7. 5. 7–1. 7. 5. 18.

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 121–1. 7. 5. 136. Antecedent: modifier of indirect object (adpositional), reciprocal: as in 1. 7. 5. 105–1. 7. 5. 120.

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 137–1. 7. 5. 140. Antecedent: copular complement, reciprocal: subject or modifier of subject, or element in adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 141–1. 7. 5. 144. Antecedent: modifier of copular complement, reciprocal: subject or modifier of subject, or element in adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 145–1. 7. 5. 152. Antecedent: subject-complement or modifier thereof, object complement or modifier thereof, reciprocal: subject or modifier of subject

These relationships do not exist.

1. 7. 5. 153. Antecedent: adjectival object, reciprocal: subject

This relationship does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 154. Antecedent: adjectival object, reciprocal: modifier of subject

This relationship does exist:

(636) [birbir -lerin-in; asker -ler -i] [subay -lar-a; sadık]
 e.o. -3.pl.-Gen. soldier -pl. -3.sg. officer-pl.-Dat. loyal
 "Each others' soldiers are loyal to the officers"

1. 7. 5. 155–1. 7. 5. 156. Antecedent: modifier of adjectival object, reciprocal: subject or modifier of subject

These relationships are not possible.

1. 7. 5. 157. Antecedent: agent of passive, reciprocal: subject

This relationship is not possible.

1. 7. 5. 158. Antecedent: agent of passive, reciprocal: modifier of subject

This relationship does exist, although examples that illustrate it are not perfect; however, they are acceptable:

- (637) ?[birbir -lerin -in_i asker -ler -i] [subay -lar_i
 e.o. -3.pl. -Gen. soldier -pl. -3.sg. officer -pl.
 taraf -ın -dan] köle ol -arak sat -ıl -dı
 side -3.sg. -Abl. slave be -Ger. sell -Pass. -Past
 "Each others'_i soldiers were sold by the officers_i as slaves"

1. 7. 5. 159–1. 7. 5. 162. Antecedent: agent in passive, reciprocal: indirect object (cased) or modifier of cased indirect object, or adpositional indirect object or modifier of adpositional indirect object

Of all these relationships, only the last one is possible, but even that relationship is not judged perfect by native speakers; furthermore, this is possible only if benefactives are viewed as indirect objects:

- (638) ?köle -ler [subay-lar_i taraf-ın -dan] [birbir-lerin-in_i
 slave-pl. office -pl. side -3.sg.-Abl. e.o. -3.pl. -Gen.
 ev -ler -i için] al -ın -dı
 home -pl. -3.sg. for buy -Pass. -Past
 "The slaves were bought by the officers for each others' homes"

1. 7. 5. 163. Antecedent: agent in passive, reciprocal: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier

This relationship exists, but its instantiations are not perfect:

- (639) ?(?)bu söylenti [gazeteci -ler_i taraf -ın -dan]
 this rumor journalist -pl. by -3.sg. -Abl.
 [birbir -lerin -e_i göre] yorumla -n -dı
 e.o. -3.pl. -Dat. according to interpret -Pass. -Past
 "This rumor was interpreted by the journalists according to each
 other"

1. 7. 5. 164. Antecedent: agent of passive, reciprocal: modifier of element in adpositional phrase

- (640) bu söylenti [gazeteci -ler_i taraf-ın -dan] [birbir -lerin-in_i
 this rumor journalist -pl. by -3.sg.-Abl. e.o. -3.pl. -Gen.
 fikir-ler-in -e] göre] yorumla-n -dı
 idea-pl.-3.sg.-Dat. according to interpret-Pass.-Past
 "This rumor was interpreted by the journalists according to each
 others' ideas"

1. 7. 5. 165. Antecedent: modifier of agent of passive, reciprocal: subject

This relationship is not possible (at least not for the majority of speakers, for whom reciprocals are not possible as subjects in the nominative case).

1. 7. 5. 166. Antecedent: modifier of agent of passive, reciprocal: modifier of subject

This relationship does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 167–1. 7. 5. 170. Antecedent: modifier of agent in passive, reciprocal: indirect object (cased) or modifier of cased indirect object, or adpositional indirect object or modifier of adpositional indirect object

None of these relationships is possible.

1. 7. 5. 171. Antecedent: modifier of agent in passive, reciprocal: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier

This relationship does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 172. Antecedent: modifier of agent in passive, reciprocal: modifier of element in adpositional phrase

This relationship does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 173. Antecedent: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier, reciprocal: subject

This relationship does not exist.

1. 7. 5. 174. Antecedent: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier, reciprocal: modifier of subject

This relationship exists, but its instantiations are not perfect:

- (641) ?(?) [birbir-lerin -in_i kız -lar -ı]
 e.o. -3.pl. -Gen. daughter -pl. -3.sg.
 [keman -cı -lar -a_i göre] dünya-nın en
 violin -Prof. -pl. -Dat. according to world -Gen. most
 iyi şarkıcı -lar -ı -dır
 good singer -pl. -CmpM -Ep.Cop.
 "Each others_i daughters are according to the violinists_i the best
 singers in the world"

1. 7. 5. 175–1. 7. 5. 192. Antecedent: element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier, reciprocal: as in 1. 7. 5. 1–1. 7. 5. 18.

None of these relationships is possible.

1. 7. 5. 193–1. 7. 5. 212. Antecedent: modifier of an element in adpositional phrase or adverbial case-marked modifier, reciprocal: as in 1. 7. 5. 173–1. 7. 5. 192.

None of these relationships is possible.

1. 7. 6. *Reciprocal relations within nominalized clauses*

Nominalized clauses in Turkish are similar to fully finite clauses from the point of view of internal structure. Hence, with respect to reciprocal relationships (just as those discussed for reflexive relations in section 1. 6.), they exhibit no deviations from the possibilities discussed in the previous questions on finite structures, with the exception of one property, mentioned briefly before: reciprocal pronouns as nominative subjects of fully finite clauses are impossible for most speakers. Reciprocal pronouns as genitive subjects of nominalized clauses are also impossible for many speakers, but are allowed by some speakers. However, for those permissive speakers, the antecedent of such a

genitive reciprocal subject has to be in a superordinate clause rather than in the same clause as the subject:

- (642) ??/*memur -lar_i herkes -e [birbir-lerin-in_i iş -ten
 employee -pl. everybody-Dat. e.o. -3.pl.-Gen. work-Abl.
 at -il -diğ -in -i] anlat-tı -lar
 throw out-Pass.-FNom-3.sg.-Acc. tell -Past-3.pl.
 "The employees told everybody that each other were fired"

1. 7. 7. *Reciprocal relations within ordinary noun phrases*

Reciprocal relations within ordinary noun phrases cannot exist, in contrast to reflexive relations (cf. section 1. 6. 7.), unless we view the relationship between the genitive reciprocal (for those speakers who accept them) in possessive noun phrases and the possessive agreement suffix on the head noun as a kind of reciprocal relationship:

- (643) birbir -lerin -in kız -lar -ı
 e.o. -3.pl. -Gen. daughter -pl. -3.sg.
 "each others' daughters"

1. 7. 8. *Reciprocal structures without any overt antecedent*

In general, it is impossible to have reciprocal forms without overt antecedents; reciprocals (just like true reflexives, as stated in 1. 6. 8.) cannot have discourse or pragmatic antecedents.

However, reciprocals may appear to lack overt antecedents, as in the following example:

- (644) birbir -leri hakk -ın -da -ki dedikodu-ları çok garip
 e.o. -3.pl. about-1.sg. -Loc. -"one" gossip -pl.+3.pl. very strange
 "Their gossip about each other is very strange"

It should be noted that the head noun is inflected for possessive agreement. These noun phrases with postpositional phrases as modifiers are best analyzed as possessive phrases whose possessor pronoun is deleted; this non-overt possessor functions as the antecedent of the reciprocal, thus requiring agreement for a third person plural possessor.³⁵ The previous example should therefore be represented as follows:

- (645) Ø_i birbir-leri_i hakk -ın -da -ki dedikodu-ları çok garip
 Ø e.o. -3.pl. about-1.sg.-Loc.-Rel.Cl. gossip -pl.+3.pl. very strange
 "Their gossip about each other is very strange"

As a matter of fact, such noun phrases do also exist with an overt possessor as antecedent:

- (646) onlar -in_i birbir -leri_i hakk -ın -da ki
 they -Gen. e.o -3.pl. about -1.sg. -Loc. -Rel.Cl.
 dedikodu -ları çok garip
 gossip -pl.+3.pl. very strange
 "Their gossip about each other is very strange"

1. 7. 9. *Other uses of reciprocal forms*

1. 7. 9. 1. **Reciprocal pronoun**

Reciprocal pronouns have no other uses.

1. 7. 9. 2. **Reciprocal verb-form as detransitivizer**

The reciprocal verb-form **-(I)ş** does serve as a detransitivizer; however, since it is restricted in its use (only a small number of verbs can show up with that suffix), this form is not a general detransitivizer in the language (in contrast to the passive suffix, for example, which is, indeed, a general detransitivizer). Thus, we find the following contrasts:

- (647) [Hasan -la Zeynep]_i birbir -lerin -i_i öp -tü -ler
 Hasan -and Zeynep e.o. -3.pl. -Acc. kiss -Past -pl.
 "Hasan and Zeynep kissed each other"
- (648) [Hasan-la Zeynep]_i öp -üş_i -tü -ler
 Hasan-and Zeynep kiss-**Recip.**-Past-pl.
 "Hasan and Zeynep kissed each other"
- (649) *[Hasan-la Zeynep]_i birbir-lerin-i_i öp -üş -tü -ler
 Hasan-and Zeynep e.o. -3.pl. -Acc. kiss-**Recip.**-Past -pl.
 Intended reading: "Hasan and Zeynep kissed each other"

1. 7. 9. 3. **Other uses of reciprocal forms**

The verbal reciprocal suffix has a second general use, also limited to certain verbs. In that non-reciprocal (but related) use, the complex verb has plural subjects that are understood to act separately, but whose actions are somehow related. For example:

- (650) kuş -lar uç -tu
 bird-pl. fly-Past
 "The birds flew"

When this simple verb is used, the action is understood to be performed together. Contrast this with the morphologically complex verb with the reciprocal suffix (albeit not used with a reciprocal meaning here):

- (651) kuş -lar uç -uş -tu
 bird -pl. fly -Recip. -Past
 "The birds flew about"

Here, the birds flew every which way, rather than together. However, the actions are simultaneous.

Furthermore, there are some verbs that exhibit the sequence **-(y)Iş**, but which do not correspond to simple verbs in transparent ways, and which do not have a reciprocal meaning. For example:

- (652) gel- 'to come' gel -iş- 'to develop'
 dola- 'to wind' dola -ş- 'to wander around'
 yat- 'to lie' yat -iş- 'to subside, to calm down'

1. 8. COMPARISON

1. 8. 1. *Means to express comparison*

1. 8. 1. 1. **Comparative element associated with the parameter of comparison, and a comparative particle associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison**

Turkish has no comparative construction where a comparative particle is associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison, with the exception of the construction for correlative comparison, for which the reader is referred to subsection 1. 8. 6.

1. 8. 1. 2. **Comparative element associated with the parameter of comparison, and a case associated with the noun forming the standard of comparison**

The most widely used comparative construction in Turkish is the one exemplified below for copular constructions and for verbal predicates, respectively:

- (653) sen ben -den (daha) iyi bir insan -sın
 you I -Abl. more good a person -2.sg.
 "You are a better person than me"

- (654) sen ben **-den** (**daha**) sık koş -ar -sın
 you I **-Abl.** **more** often run -Aor. -2.sg.
 "You run more often than me"

The ablative case is suffixed to the noun forming the standard of comparison. The adverb **daha** 'more' is often used, but it can be omitted.

The same properties hold of comparisons meaning 'less ... than':

- (655) sen ben **-den** (**daha**) **az** iyi bir insan -sın
 you I **-Abl.** **more** **little** good a person -2.sg.
 "You are a less good person than me"

- (656) sen ben **-den** (**daha**) **az** sık koş -ar -sın
 you I **-Abl.** **more** **little** often run -Aor. -2.sg.
 "You run less often than me"

The adverb **daha** 'more' cannot be omitted, however, if the standard of comparison is itself omitted:

- (657) bu ev **daha** yeni, öteki **daha** büyük
 this house **more** new, the other (one) **more** large
 "This house is newer, the other one is larger"

1. 8. 2. *Elements omitted under identity between the comparative clause and the clause it is subordinate to*

When the comparative clause has its (nominalized) verb intact, any element (or number of elements) can be omitted under identity with a corresponding element (or number of elements) in the superordinate clause:

- (658) Hasan_i Ankara -da [Ø_i Paris-te Ø_j
 Hasan Ankara -Loc. Ø Paris-Loc. Ø
 git -tiğ -in -den] fazla konser -ej git -ti
 go -FNom -3.sg. -Abl. more concert -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan went to more concerts in Ankara than he went to in Paris" or:
 "Hasan did more concert-going in Ankara than he did in Paris"
- (659) Hasan san -aj [ben -im Ø_i Ø_j ver -diğ -im -den]
 Hasan you -Dat. I -Gen. Ø Ø give -FNom -1.sg. -Abl.
 fazla kitap_j ver -di
 more book give -Past
 "Hasan gave you more books than I gave (you)"

- (660) Hasan san -a_i [ben -im Ali -ye /san -a_i Ø_j
 Hasan you -Dat. I -Gen. Ali -Dat. /you -Dat. Ø
 ver -diğ -im -den] fazla kitap_j ver -di
 give -FNom -1.sg. -Abl. more book give -Past
 "Hasan gave you more books than I gave Ali/you"

1. 8. 3. What elements cannot be omitted under identity between the comparative clause and the clause it is subordinate to

Essentially all elements can be deleted in this context³⁶. However, when the nominalized verb is deleted under identity with the verb of the superordinate clause, only one noun phrase must remain and receive the ablative case which is indicative of the comparison. If more than one noun phrase remains, or if what remains is not a noun phrase, the result is bad. Thus, the verb in (659) can be deleted successfully, yielding (661); however, the verb in (660) cannot be deleted; the utterance that would result, namely (662), is unacceptable:

- (661) Hasan san-a_i [ben-den Ø_i Ø_j Ø_k] fazla kitap_j ver_k -di
 Hasan you-Dat. I -Abl. Ø Ø Ø more book give -Past
 "Hasan gave you more books than I (gave) (you)"

- (662) *Hasan san -a_i [ben-im Ali-den /sen-den_i Ø_j Ø_k]
 Hasan you-Dat. I -Gen. Ali-Dat./you-Dat. Ø Ø
 fazla kitap_j ver_k -di
 more book give -Past
 Intended reading: "Hasan gave you more books than I (gave) Ali/you"

Examples such as (662) are ungrammatical, as well, if the original case marker (in this instance, the dative) remains unchanged on the second noun phrase of the subordinate clause.

1. 8. 4. What elements must be omitted under identity between the comparative clause and the clause it is subordinate to

In continuation of the discussion in the previous subsection (1. 8. 3.), we can say that if the subordinate verb is deleted, all constituents in the subordinate clause which are identical to corresponding constituents in the superordinate clause must be deleted as well. The only remaining constituent must be a noun phrase which constitutes the standard of comparison.

Furthermore, if the subject of the subordinate clause is identical to the subject of the superordinate clause, it is usually deleted even where the clause is not reduced, i.e. where the subordinate verb is not deleted. The

special anaphoric pronoun **kendisi** or **kendileri** can be used for third person singular or plural subjects, respectively, and the regular personal pronouns for other persons can be repeated; however, deletion is preferable:

- (663) Hasan_i san-a [Ø_i/kendisin -in_i Ali-ye /ban -a Ø_j
 Hasan you-Dat. Ø /himself -Gen. Ali-Dat. /I -Dat. Ø
 ver -diğ -in -den] fazla kitap_j ver -di
 give -FNom -3.sg. -Abl. more book give -Past
 "Hasan gave you more books than he gave Ali/me"

1. 8. 5. Differences between the two types of comparative structure: comparative particle plus reduced comparative clause, and postposition plus standard of comparison

There are no differences between these two types. As the discussion in the two previous subsections, namely 1. 8. 3. and 1. 8. 4., makes clear, once a comparative clause is reduced in the sense of losing its verb, it must be further reduced until it consists only of the standard of comparison. The marker of both comparative clause and standard of comparison is the same, namely the ablative marker **-DAn**; consequently, after clause reduction, there is no difference at all between the reduced clause and the comparative phrase.³⁷

1. 8. 6. Correlative Comparison

Correlative comparison is formed in Turkish by using the conditional form of the verbal or copular predicate, followed by the regular tensed verb. In addition, a correlative "frame" is added: **ne kadar fazla** 'how much more' before the conditional predicate, and **o kadar fazla** 'that much more' before the finite predicate:

- (664) ne kadar fazla çalış -ır -sa -n
 what much more work -Aor. -Cond. -2.sg.
 o kadar fazla kazan -ır -sin
 that much more win -Aor. -2.sg.
 "However much more you work that much more you will win/earn"

1. 9. EQUATIVES**1. 9. 1. *Means to express equatives*****1. 9. 1. 1. Equative element associated with the parameter of equation, and an equative particle associated with the equative clause or standard of equation**

The equative construction in Turkish is very similar to the comparative construction. The syntactic properties of the two constructions are quite parallel; the morphological markers are different, however.

Turkish has no equative construction where an equative particle is associated with the equative clause or standard of equation, with the exception of the construction for correlative equation, for which the reader is referred to subsection 1. 9. 6.

1. 9. 1. 2. Equative element associated with the parameter of equation, and a case associated with the noun forming the standard of equation

The most widely used equative construction in Turkish is the one exemplified below for copular constructions and for verbal predicates, respectively:

(665) a. sen ben -im kadar iyi bir insan -sın
 you I -Gen. as much as good a person -2.sg.
 "You are a person as good as me"

(665) b. sen ben -im kadar sık koş -ar -sın
 you I -Gen. more often run -Aor. -2.sg.
 "You run as often as me"

The genitive case is suffixed to the pronoun forming the standard of equation; if the standard of equation is a full noun, there is no overt case marker.

1. 9. 2. *Elements omitted under identity between the equative clause and the clause it is subordinate to*

When the equative clause has its (nominalized) verb intact, any element (or number of elements) can be omitted under identity with a corresponding element (or number of elements) in the superordinate clause:

- (666) Hasan_i Ankara-da [Ø_i Paris-te Ø_j git -tiğ -i]
 Hasan Ankara-Loc. Ø Paris-Loc. Ø go -FNom -3.sg.
 kadar konser -ej git -ti
 as much as concert -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan went to as many concerts in Ankara as he went in Paris" or:
 "Hasan did as much concert-going in Ankara as he did in Paris"
- (667) Hasan san -a_i [ben-im Ø_i Ø_j ver -diğ -im]
 Hasan you-Dat. I -Gen. Ø Ø give -FNom -1.sg.
 kadar kitap_j ver -di
 as much as book give -Past
 "Hasan gave you as many books as I gave (you)"
- (668) Hasan san -a_i [ben -im Ali -ye /san -a_i Ø_j
 Hasan you -Dat. I -Gen. Ali -Dat./you -Dat. Ø
 ver -diğ -im] kadar kitap_j ver -di
 give -FNom -1.sg. as much as book give -Past
 "Hasan gave you as many books as I gave Ali/you"

1. 9. 3. What elements cannot be omitted under identity between the equative clause and the clause it is subordinate to

Essentially all elements can be deleted in this context. However, when the nominalized verb is deleted under identity with the verb of the superordinate clause, only one noun phrase must remain and be followed by the postposition **kadar** 'as much as' which is indicative of the equation. If more than one noun phrase remains, or if what remains is not a noun phrase, the result is bad. Thus, the verb in (667) can be deleted successfully, yielding (669); however, the verb in (668) cannot be deleted; the utterance that would result, namely (670), is unacceptable:

- (669) Hasan san-a_i [ben-im Ø_i Ø_j Ø_k] kadar kitap_j ver_k-di
 Hasan you-Dat. I -Gen. Ø Ø Ø as much as book give-Past
 "Hasan gave you as many books as I (gave) (you)"
- (670) *Hasan san-a_i [ben-im Ali-ye /san-a_i Ø_j Ø_k] kadar
 Hasan you-Dat. I -Gen. Ali-Dat./you-Dat. Ø Ø as much as
 kitap_j ver_k -di
 book give -Past
 Intended reading: "Hasan gave you as many books as I gave
 Ali/you"

1. 9. 4. What elements must be omitted under identity between the equative clause and the clause it is subordinate to

In continuation of the discussion in the previous subsection (1. 9. 3.), and similarly to the statement made about comparatives in subsection 1. 8. 3.,

we can say that if the subordinate verb is deleted, all constituents in the subordinate clause which are identical to corresponding constituents in the superordinate clause must be deleted as well. The only remaining constituent must be a noun phrase which constitutes the standard of equation.

Furthermore, if the subject of the subordinate clause is identical to the subject of the superordinate clause, it is usually deleted even where the clause is not reduced, i.e. where the subordinate verb is not deleted. The special anaphoric pronoun **kendisi** or **kendileri** can be used for third person singular or plural subjects, respectively, and the regular personal pronouns for other persons can be repeated; however, deletion is preferable, just like in comparative constructions:

- (671) Hasan_i san-a [Ø_i /kendisin -in_i Ali-ye /ban -a Ø_j
 Hasan you-Dat. Ø /himself -Gen. Ali-Dat. /I -Dat. Ø
 ver -diğ -i] kadar kitap_j ver -di
 give -FNom -3.sg. as much as book give -Past
 "Hasan gave you as many books than he gave Ali/me"

1. 9. 5. Differences between the two types of equative structure: equative particle plus reduced equative clause, and postposition plus standard of equation

There are no differences between these two types. As the discussion in the two previous subsections, namely 1. 9. 3. and 1. 9. 4., makes clear, once an equative clause is reduced in the sense of losing its verb, it must be further reduced until it consists only of the standard of equation. The marker of both equative clause and standard of equation is the same, namely the postposition **kadar** 'as much as'; consequently, after clause reduction, there is no difference at all between the reduced clause and the equative phrase.

1. 9. 6. Correlative Equation

Correlative equatives are formed in Turkish by using the conditional form of the verbal or copular predicate, followed by the regular tensed verb. In addition, a correlative "frame" is added: **ne kadar** 'how much' before the conditional predicate, and **o kadar** 'that much' before the finite verb:

- (672) ne kadar çalış -ır -sa -n o kadar kazan -ır -sın
 what much work-Aor.-Cond.-2.sg. that much win -Aor.-2.sg.
 "However much you work you will win/earn that much"

- (673) Ali **ne** kadar çirkin-se karı -sı o kadar güzel
 Ali **how much** ugly -Cond. wife-3.sg. **that much** beautiful
 "However much Ali is ugly his wife is beautiful to that extent"

1. 10. POSSESSION

1. 10. 1. *Construction of sentences expressing possession*

There are essentially two ways of expressing possession: a phrasal construction (more specifically, a possessive noun phrase) and a clausal construction.

The possessive noun phrase places the possessor in the genitive case, and the possessed element as the head of the construction. Suffixed to that head is the possessive agreement suffix, agreeing with the possessor in person and number:

- (674) a. (ben) [Hasan-**m** kitab-**ın**] -1 oku -du -**m**
 I Hasan-**Gen.** book-**3.sg.** -Acc. read-Past -1.sg.
 "I read Hasan's book"

- (674) b. (sen) [(biz -**im**) kitab-**ımız**] -1 oku -du -n mu?
 you we-**Gen.** book-**1.pl.** -Acc. read-Past -2.sg. -Q
 "Have you read our book?"

In such possessive noun phrases, the relationship between the grammatical possessor and the possessed can be of true ownership, or of a more metaphorical relationship; in this example, this could be one of authorship.

The clausal expression of possession is related to the phrasal construction and corresponds to the English 'to have':

- (675) Hasan-**m** çok eski bir kitabı **var**
 Hasan-**Gen.** very old a book **exist**
 "Hasan has a very old book"

As also pointed out in Lewis (1975), constructions like the one in (675) do not mean, e.g. 'A very old book of Hasan's exists', but rather 'Hasan has a very old book'.

The negative counterpart of the existential verb **var** is **yok**, and that verb can also be used to negate clausal possession:

- (676) Hasan-**ın** hiçbir kitab-ı yok
 Hasan-**Gen.** no-one book-Acc. **Neg.Exist.**
 "Hasan has no books at all"

1. 10. 2. *Differences between the expression of alienable and inalienable possession*

The basic patterns of alienable and inalienable possession are the same. However, there are some differences between them that come to light in certain syntactic contexts.

One such context is the one just discussed for the meaning of 'to have'. In that construction, the possessor noun phrase marked with the genitive can be separated from the possessed element with the agreement suffix by syntactic material (e.g. arguments and modifiers) when the possession is alienable; such separation is not (or is less) acceptable when the possession is inalienable:

Alienable possession:

- (677) Hasan-**ın** garaj -da beş araba-sı var
 Hasan-**Gen.** garage-Loc. five car -3.sg. exist
 "Hasan has five cars in the garage"

Inalienable possession:

- (678) ??/*Hasan-**ın** alçı -da bir kol -u var
 Hasan-**Gen.** plaster-Loc. one arm -3.sg. exist
 Intended reading: "Hasan has one arm in a cast"

It should be noted that (678) is completely acceptable under a reading where the possession is alienable, for example where Hasan possesses an arm not attached to his body, and that unattached arm is in a cast.

In order to express the intended reading in the possessive construction illustrated in (678), a copular construction has to be used instead:

- (679) Hasan-**ın** bir kol -u alçı -da
 Hasan-**Gen.** one arm -3.sg. plaster -Loc.
 "Hasan has one arm in a cast" ("One arm of Hasan is in a cast")

The generalization appears to be that the possessive noun phrase cannot be separated where the relation between possessor and possessed is inalienable.

The second syntactic context where the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession becomes clear is a construction where a

subordinate clause is not nominalized, i.e. where the embedded predicate is fully tensed; for most speakers, the embedded verb lacks subject agreement morphology. The subject of such a subordinate clause can be marked with accusative case and behaves in a number of respects like a direct object of the superordinate clause. An example of this construction follows:

- (680) ben [sen-i opera-ya git-ti] san -iyor -du -m
 I you-Acc. opera-Dat. go -Past believe -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I believed you to have gone to the opera"

Where the subject of such a tensed subordinate clause is a possessive noun phrase, the possessor can "raise" to become the subject of that subordinate clause. This can be seen by the accusative marking on the possessor (which, as we just saw, is marked with the genitive otherwise):

- (681) (ben) [Hasan -ı [diş -i] ağrı -yor]
 I Hasan -Acc. tooth -3.sg. hurt -Pr.Prog.
 san -iyor -du -m
 believe -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I believed Hasan to have a toothache"
 ("I believed Hasan to have his tooth hurting")

If, in this subordination construction, the possessive noun phrase is left intact, the possessed element will be interpreted as being disembodied:

- (682) #(ben) [[Hasan-ın diş -in -i] ağrı -yor]
 I Hasan-Gen. tooth -3.sg. -Acc. hurt -Pr.Prog.
 san -iyor -du -m
 believe -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I believed Hasan's tooth to hurt"

Here, Hasan's tooth would somehow be hurting on its own, without Hasan himself necessarily feeling the pain. It is exactly this latter construction which is used for alienable possession:

- (683) (ben) [[Hasan -ın ev -in -i] yan -dı]
 I Hasan -Gen. car -3.sg. -Acc. burn -Past
 san -iyor -du -m
 believe -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I believed Hasan's house to have burned down"

While it is possible to find instances of "possessor raising" (as illustrated in (681)) in alienable possession, that construction is decidedly odd:

- (684) (ben) [Hasan-ı [ev -i] yan -dı] san -ıyor -du -m
 I Hasan-Acc. car-3.sg. burn-Past believe -Prog. -Past-1.sg.
 "I believed Hasan's house to have burned down"
 ("I believed Hasan to have had his house burn down")

1. 10. 3. Differences between the expression of temporary and permanent possession

There is no systematic distinction between the expression of temporary and permanent possession in Turkish. Such distinctions must be drawn by periphrastic means rather than by systematically distinct constructions of grammar.

1. 10. 4. Differences in the expression of possession relative to persons, animals, and things

Just as in the expression of temporary versus permanent possession, there is no systematic distinction between the expression of possession relative to humans, animals, and inanimate entities.

1. 10. 5. Differences in the expression of present and past possession

Where possession is expressed by means of a possessive noun phrase, the time reference is expressed by the tense marking on the predicate of the sentence, and the possessive noun phrase is not formally affected. Where such a noun phrase is itself the nominal predicate of a copular sentence, the copular tense suffixes are attached to that noun phrase in the same way in which they are attached to any nominal predicate:

- (685) a. [Hasan-ın vazo-su] kırık
 Hasan-Gen. vase-3.sg. broken
 "Hasan's vase is broken"
- (685) b. [Hasan-ın vazo-su] kırık -tı
 Hasan-Gen. vase-3.sg. broken-Past
 "Hasan's vase was broken"
- (686) a. dükkân-da gör-düğ -üm, [Hasan-ın vazo-su] -dur
 shop -Loc. see-ObjP-1.sg. Hasan-Gen. vase-3.sg. -Ep.Cop.
 "What I saw in the shop is Hasan's vase"
- (686) b. dükkân-da gör-düğ -üm, [Hasan-ın vazo-su] -y -du
 shop -Loc. see -ObjP-1.sg. Hasan-Gen. vase-3.sg. -Cop.-Past
 "What I saw in the shop was Hasan's vase"

Where possession is expressed by the clausal construction that uses the existential verb (but in the possessive meaning), time reference of

possession is expressed via tense morphology on the verb. Concerning attachment of tense morphology, the existential verb is treated like the general copula, both in its affirmative and its negative versions. This means that for the present tense, there is no tense suffix, while for the past tense, either the simple past suffix **-DI** or the reported past suffix **-mİş** are attached:

(687) Hasan-ın çok eski bir vazo-su var
 Hasan-Gen. very old a vase-3.sg. exist
 "Hasan has a very old vase"

(688) Hasan-ın çok eski bir vazo-su var **-dı**
 Hasan-Gen. very old a vase-3.sg. exist **-Past**
 "Hasan had a very old vase"

1. 11. EMPHASIS

1. 11. 1. *Expression of sentence emphasis*

We will interpret the term "sentence emphasis" to mean the intensification of a complete utterance within the discourse.

1. 11. 1. 1. *Noncontradictory emphasis*

The main systematic way of expressing sentence emphasis is by repetition of a complete utterance within a discourse; however, such a complete utterance will be syntactically truncated. This is because a complete sentence will indeed be awkward to repeat. However, as we saw in section 1. 5. on anaphora, a variety of constituents can be omitted under discourse ellipsis, and the remainder can be repeated for emphasis; for example:

(689) Speaker A: Dükkân-a git-ti -n mi?
 shop -Dat. go-Past-2.sg. -Q
 "Did you go to the store?"

Speaker B: Git-ti -m, git-ti -m.
 go -Past-1.sg. go -Past-1.sg.
 "I did, I did" ("Went, went")

There are other, less systematic ways of expressing emphasis, which use lexical means. For example, **elbette** 'most certainly, decidedly' is often used. In the above discourse, speaker B can also reply:

- (690) Speaker B: **Elbette** git -ti -m
 certainly go -Past -1.sg.
 "I most certainly did go"

1. 11. 1. 2. **Contradictory emphasis**

Contradictory sentential emphasis employs the same means as noncontradictory emphasis:

- (691) Speaker A: Dükân-a git -me -di -n, (değil mi?)
 shop -Dat. go -Neg. -Past -2.sg. Neg. -Q
 "You didn't go to the store (is that not so?)"

Speaker B: Git -ti -m, git -ti -m.
 go -Past -1.sg. go -Past -1.sg.
 "On the contrary, I did go" ("Went, went")

Less systematic alternatives, for example the same one as illustrated in (690) for noncontradictory emphasis are also available:

- (692) Speaker B: **Elbette** git -ti -m
 certainly go -Past -1.sg.
 "I most certainly did go"

1. 11. 2. *Expression of constituent emphasis*

1. 11. 2. 1. **Constituent emphasis: a. noncontrastive, b. contrastive**

1. 11. 2. 1. 1. **Stress/Accent**

Both noncontrastive and contrastive constituent emphasis is expressed by strong stress and high pitch, but more so for contrastive emphasis than noncontrastive emphasis. The main difference is that noncontrastive emphasis is marked, in addition to stress and pitch, also by placement of the emphasized constituent in immediate pre-verbal position; contrastive constituent emphasis, on the other hand, can be marked by that same additional pre-verbal placement, as well, but does not need to be. In other words, stress and pitch marking for contrastive constituent emphasis is sufficient.

- (693) kitab-ı Ali-ye Hasán ver -di
 book-Acc. Ali-Dat. Hasan give -Past
 "HASAN gave the book to Ali"

Turkish has SOV word order as its basic pattern. In (689), the subject follows the direct and indirect object and is placed pre-verbally. It also carries stress and high pitch. In this example, the subject can carry either

contrastive or non-contrastive emphasis. However, the subject in this example can also exhibit stress and high pitch in positions other than the immediate pre-verbal one, in which case its emphasis must be contrastive:

- (694) kitab-ı Hasán Ali-ye ver -di (... Mehmet değil)
 book-Acc. Hasan Ali-Dat. give-Past Mehmet Neg.
 "HASAN gave the book to Ali (and not Mehmet)"

1. 11. 2. 1. 2. Particle

There is no particle whose sole and systematic function it is to express emphasis. However, there are certain particles that have, in addition to their primary function, also the function of expressing emphasis.

The most widely used one among such particles is the Yes/No question particle **mİ**. While this particle can function as a marker of sentential interrogation, it can also have just one constituent in its scope; in this latter instance, the secondary function of this particle is to mark constituent emphasis:

- (695) a. kitab-ı Hasán **mİ** Ali-ye ver -di ?
 book-Acc. Hasan -Q Ali-Dat. give -Past
 "Did HASAN give the book to Ali?"

- (695) b. kitab-ı Ali-ye Hasán **mİ** ver -di ?
 book-Acc. Ali-Dat. Hasan -Q give -Past
 "Did HASAN give the book to Ali?"

Word order is less important here than in utterances where constituent emphasis is not marked by a particle as in those seen in the previous subsection (1. 11. 2. 1. 1.).

In addition, there are certain emphatic particles corresponding to the English adverbials **even** and **only**. These are all free morphemes, and their primary function is to modify verbs or constituents in a vague quantificational sense:

- (696) kitab-ı Ali-ye **sadece** Hasán oku -du
 book-Acc. Ali-Dat. **only** Hasan read-Past
 "Only HASAN read the book to Ali"

- (697) Hasan kitab-ı **sadece** Ali-yé oku -du
 Hasan book-Acc. **only** Ali-Dat. read-Past
 "Hasan read the book only to ALI"

(698) Hasan kitab-ı Ali-yé **bile** oku -du
Hasan book-Acc. Ali-Dat. **even** read-Past
"Hasan read the book even to ALI"

(699) Hasán **bile** kitab-ı Ali-ye oku -du
Hasan **even** book-Acc. Ali-Dat. read-Past
"Even HASAN read the book to Ali"

While the particles **sadece** and **sırf**, both with the meaning 'only', precede the constituents they emphasize, the particle **bile** follows the emphasized constituent.

1. 11. 2. 1. 3. Movement (without dislocation) of the emphasized element to:

1. 11. 2. 1. 3. 1. Initial position

There is no movement of the emphasized constituent to initial position. While there can be emphasized constituents in initial position as illustrated in (699), those are constituents, e.g. subjects, whose original position is initial.

1. 11. 2. 1. 3. 2. Final position

Again, there is no movement of the emphasized constituent to final position. In this SOV language the final element, i.e. the verb, can be emphasized. This can be done by accent and high pitch only, or by placement of a particle of emphasis. However, no movement to final position is involved.

1. 11. 2. 1. 3. 3. Pre-verbal position

Movement to pre-verbal position does exist, as illustrated by examples like (693), (695), and (696), where the subject, otherwise sentence-initial, is found in pre-verbal position.

1. 11. 2. 1. 4. Clefting

Turkish is a null subject language. In other words, subjects can be omitted in fully tensed, finite sentences. As in other such languages, Turkish lacks pleonastic elements like the English *it* and *there*. As a consequence, Turkish has no genuine cleft constructions.

1. 11. 2. 1. 5. Pseudoclefting

Turkish does have pseudocleft constructions which are used for purposes of emphasis. These are formed by making the emphasized constituent into a predicate nominal of a copular sentence. The subject of that copular sentence consists of a free (headless) relative clause:

- (700) [sinema-ya gid-en] Hasan-dı
 cinema-Dat. go -SbjP Hasan-Past
 "Hasan was the one who went to the movies"
- (701) [sinema-da gör-dük -ler -im] öğrenci-ler-im -di
 cinema-Loc. see-ObjP-pl. -1.sg. student-pl.-1.sg. -Past
 "My students were the ones whom I saw at the movies"

In these pseudocleft constructions, the emphasized constituent, i.e. the predicate nominal, bears stress and high pitch.

1. 11. 2. 1. 6. Dislocation

While Turkish does have dislocation constructions, those are not used to express emphasis.

1. 11. 2. 1. 7. Other possibilities

The options discussed above exhaust the possibilities of constituent emphasis.

1. 11. 2. 1. 8. Possible combinations of 1. 11. 2. 1. 1–7.

As mentioned previously, the combination of placement in pre-verbal position and of stress/high pitch exists. One also commonly finds the combination of stress/high pitch with question particle attachment, or emphatic particle placement or pseudoclefting. In addition to these combinations of two means of emphasis, combinations of three or more methods exist, too. For example, a constituent with an emphatic particle can also be questioned and moved to pre-verbal position, while at the same time exhibiting stress and high pitch:

- (702) kitab-ı Ali-ye sadece Hasán mı oku -du?
 book-Acc. Ali-Dat. only Hasan -Q read-Past
 "Did only HASAN read the book to Ali?"

Finally, a pseudocleft combining all the above properties is possible, as well:

- (703) kitab-ı Ali-ye oku -yan sadece Hasán mı -y -dı?
 book-Acc. Ali-Dat. read-SbjP only Hasan -Q -Cop.-Past
 "Was the one who read the book to Ali only HASAN?"

1. 11. 2. 2. Elements that can be emphasized by the various means listed above

1. 11. 2. 2. 1. 1. Noun phrase

Noun phrases can be emphasized by all the various means listed above. As a matter of fact, all the examples above illustrate emphasized noun phrases.

1. 11. 2. 2. 1. 2. Adjective (a) predicative, (b) attributive

With the exception of pseudoclefting, all other means of emphasis illustrated for noun phrases earlier can be used for emphasizing adjectives. The following example illustrates three of those simultaneously:

- (704) komşu -nuz sadece şirín mı -y -dı?
 neighbor -2.pl. only cute -Q -Cop. -Past
 "Was your neighbor only cute?"

The predicative adjective is emphasized by means of accent and high pitch; in addition, it is preceded by an emphatic particle and followed by the Yes/No question particle. By acting as a phonological host to the copula, the predicative adjective can also be said to occupy the typical position for emphasized constituents, namely the pre-verbal position.

Another restriction about predicative adjectives concerns the emphatic particle **bile** 'even', which follows the emphasized constituent. By virtue of its status as a free morpheme, it cannot enter the word formed by the combination of the adjective and the inflected copula and must follow the predicate, as it does verbal predicates, as well:

- (705) komşu -nuz şirín -di **bile**
 neighbor -2.pl. cute -Past **even**
 "Your neighbor was even cute"

In its attributive use, the adjective can be stressed only contrastively. The general, unmarked stress pattern in a noun phrase with an adjectival modifier calls for the head noun to be stressed. In addition to emphasis via stress and high pitch, the adjective as modifier can be emphasized by a preceding emphatic particle:

- (706) **sadece** yaşlı komşu -nuz şirin -di
only old neighbor -2.pl. cute -Past
 "Only your OLD neighbor was cute"

Neither the Yes/No question particle nor the emphatic particle **bile** 'even' can follow the adjective directly and intervene between adjective and head noun. Rather, these particles must follow the head noun. The fact that the adjective rather than the head noun or the whole noun phrase is emphasized is shown by the stress/high pitch on the adjective:

- (707) yaşlı komşu -nuz **bile** şirin -di
 old neighbor -2.pl. **even** cute -Past
 "Even your OLD neighbor was cute"

- (708) **sadece** yaşlı komşu -muz mu şirin -di?
only old neighbor -1.pl. -Q cute -Past
 "Was only our OLD neighbor cute?"

Pseudoclefting as a means of emphasis is not available for modifying adjectives.

1. 11. 2. 2. 1. 3. Verb

Verbs can be emphasized by placing stress and high pitch on them as well as by means of emphatic particles. Pseudoclefting as an emphatic device for main verbs is not available.

- (709) Hasan kitab-ı **sadece** al -dı (fakat oku -ma -dı)
 Hasan book-Acc. **only** buy-Past but read-Neg. -Past
 "Hasan only BOUGHT the book (but didn't read it)"

Having the emphatic particle **bile** 'even' follow the verb has a novel effect. Where this makes semantic sense, **bile** means 'already' rather than 'even' in that context:

- (710) Hasan kitab-ı al -dı **bile**
 Hasan book-Acc. buy-Past **already**
 "Hasan has already bought the book"

It is as though the meaning of 'even' were related to the tense rather than to the stem of the verb.

1. 11. 2. 2. 1. 4. Adverbial

All means of emphasis are available to all types of adverbial, with the exception of pseudoclefting:

Manner adverbial:

- (711) Hasan sadece çabúk mu çalış -ır?
 Hasan only fast -Q work -Aor.
 "Does Hasan work only FAST?"

Time adverbial:

- (712) Hasan iş -e erkén mi git -ti?
 Hasan work -Dat. early -Q go -Past
 "Did Hasan go to work EARLY?"

Adverbial of location:

- (713) Hasan sadece dışarı mı çık -tı?
 Hasan only outside -Q go out -Past
 "Did Hasan only GO OUT?"

1. 11. 2. 2. 2. 1. Constituents of main clause

All the examples offered in this section so far have dealt with emphasizing constituents of main clauses. All main categories can be emphasized by a variety of means and their combinations.

1. 11. 2. 2. 2. 2. Constituents of subordinate clauses

As we saw earlier, the main pattern of subordination in Turkish involves nominalized clauses. Other than having a nominalized verb, these clauses are completely similar to fully finite clauses. Therefore, all the means of emphasis discussed for main clause constituents can be used for the constituents of nominalized subordinate clauses, as well. There are two exceptions to this generalization. One concerns **bile** 'even', which can attach to the nominalized verb in its original meaning of 'even', rather than with the meaning of 'already' when used with main verbs (cf. example 705):

- (714) (ben) Hasan-ın kitab-ı al -dığ -ın -ı **bile**
 I Hasan-Gen. book -Acc. buy-FNom-3.sg.-Acc. **even**
 bil -mi -yor -du -m
 know -Neg. -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I didn't even know that Hasan had bought the book"

The second difference is the attachment of the Yes/No question particle **mI** to the embedded verb. While that particle can attach to subordinate constituents of nominalized clauses just as it does to constituents of main clauses, it cannot attach to nominalized verbs and still emphasize the verb as a subordinate particle; rather, it becomes a main clause particle. This means that if it does attach to the nominalized verb, the main clause is interpreted as a Yes/No question; however, the nominalized verb can still be interpreted as an emphasized constituent (the other reading is that the whole subordinate clause is questioned and emphasized):

- (715) (sen) Hasan-**in** kitab-**ı** al -**diğ** -**ın** -**ı** **mI**
 you Hasan-Gen. book -Acc. buy-FNom-3.sg. -Acc. -Q
 bil -mi -yor -du -n?
 know-Neg.-Prog. -Past-1.sg.
 "Didn't you know that Hasan had BOUGHT the book?" or:
 "Didn't you know that Hasan had bought the book?"

In order to emphasize a verb of a subordinate clause in such a way that only the subordinate clause or its verb are questioned, the nominalized verb is coordinated with its negated counterpart, using the coordination suffix **-(y)Ip** that we encountered in section 1. 3.:

- (716) (ben) Hasan kitab-**ı** al -**ıP** **ál** -**ma** -**diğ** -**ın** -**ı**
 I Hasan book-Acc. buy -**and** buy -Neg. -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -mi -yor -um
 know-Neg.-Pr.Prog.-1.sg.
 "I don't know whether Hasan bought the book or not"

Where the second conjunct of the coordinated nominalized verb bears stress and high pitch, the whole coordinated verb (and not just the negated verb) is emphasized. Where that verb does not bear special stress, there is no constituent emphasis.

As for the limited patterns of subordinate finite clauses, they also have available to them all the means of emphasizing constituents in the main clause (stress/high pitch, emphatic particles), with the exception of attaching the Yes/No question particle. This is because the verbs that can take finite clauses as subordinate complements are not interrogative verbs. The only way of constructing such a pattern nevertheless is via quotations, using the quotational form **diye** 'saying' (cf. the sections on direct and quoted speech and on interrogative sentences; these are 1. 1. 1. 1. and 1. 1. 1. 2., respectively):

- (717) Hasan [okul -a s3n mi git-ti -n] **diye** sor-du
 Hasan school-Dat. you -Q go -Past -2.sg. **saying** ask-Past
 "Hasan asked: 'Did YOU go to school?' "

Here, three strategies are employed to emphasize the subject of a finite subordinate clause: stress/high pitch, cliticizing of the Yes/No question particle, and pre-verbal placement.

1. 11. 2. 2. 2. 3. Constituents of the noun phrase

In a noun phrase, only the head noun can be stressed non-contrastively; while all other constituents can also bear stress and high pitch, the emphasis will be contrastive.

Furthermore, emphatic particles cannot intervene between an adjectival modifier and the head noun. Those emphatic particles that precede the emphasized constituent can otherwise be used, as long as they do not show up between adjective and head noun. On the other hand, those particles (e.g. **bile** 'even' and **mI** 'Q') that follow the constituent can appear only after either the possessor, if there is one, or after the head noun:

- (718) [Hasan-ın **mi** sadece 3n g3zel eser -in -i]
 Hasan-Gen. -Q only most beautiful work -3.sg. -Acc.
 beğen -di -n?
 like -Past -2.sg.
 "Did you like only HASAN's MOST beautiful work?"
 ("Was it Hasan who you only liked the most beautiful work of?")

1. 11. 2. 2. 2. 4. Constituents of coordinate constructions

All strategies of constituent emphasis are available in coordinate constructions, as long as they are applied in a parallel fashion:

- (719) [uskumru -yu **sadece** Has3n piş -ir -di],
 mackerel -Acc. **only** Hasan cook -Caus. -Past
 [istakoz -u da **sadece** Al3 ye -di]
 lobster -Acc. -and **only** Ali eat -Past
 "Only HASAN ate the mackerel and only ALI ate the lobster"

Here, the subjects of both conjuncts have undergone placement in pre-verbal position, they are both preceded by an emphatic particle, and they both bear stress and high pitch.

Pseudoclefting can also apply, as long as it applies in both conjuncts:

- (720) [Ahmed -in piş -ir -diğ -i, uskumru],
 Ahmet -Gen. cook -Caus. -ObjP -3.sg. mackerel
 [Hasan -in da ye -diğ -i, ıstakoz -du]
 Hasan -Gen. -and eat -ObjP -3.sg. lobster -Past
 "What Ahmet cooked was (a) mackerel, and what Hasan ate was (a) lobster"

1. 11. 2. 2. 2. 5. More than one constituent simultaneously

More than one constituent can, in general, not be emphasized felicitously in a simple sentence. However, if different strategies of emphasis are employed, the result is acceptable:

- (721) kitab -ı **mı** Ali -ye **Hasán** ver -di?
 book -Acc. -Q Ali -Dat. **Hasan** give -Past
 "Did HASAN give the BOOK to Ali?"
 ("Was it the BOOK that HASAN gave to Ali?")

- (722) kitab -ı **bile** Ali -ye **Hasán** ver -di
 book -Acc. **even** Ali -Dat. **Hasan** give -Past
 "HASAN gave even the BOOK to Ali"
 ("It was HASAN who gave even the BOOK to Ali")

1. 11. 2. 2. 3. Where movement is involved in emphasis:

1. 11. 2. 2. 3. 1. Is a copy of the emphasized element left behind?

In constructions of emphasis involving movement (to pre-verbal position) no copy of the emphasized element is left behind.

1. 11. 2. 2. 3. 2. Is a proform of the emphasized element left behind?

In constructions of emphasis involving movement (to pre-verbal position) no proform of the emphasized element is left behind.

1. 11. 2. 2. 3. 3. Is a particle left behind?

In constructions of emphasis involving movement (to pre-verbal position) no particle is left behind; if a constituent is emphasized by using both a particle and by placement in pre-verbal position, the particle undergoes placement together with the emphasized constituent.

1. 11. 2. 2. 3. 4. Is nothing left behind?

In constructions of emphasis involving movement (to pre-verbal position) nothing is left behind. This is true for each word class and constituent type.

1. 11. 3. *Focus of a Yes/No question*

As discussed in the previous subsection 1. 11. 2. 1. 2., the focus of a Yes/No question is indicated by attaching the Yes/No question particle **mI** to it. Additional pre-verbal placement of that constituent is often found (unless the focused element is the verb itself), but this is not necessary:

(723) **ıstakoz** -u Hasán **mı** ye -di?
 lobster -Acc. Hasan -Q eat -Past
 "Did HASAN eat the lobster?"

1. 12. TOPIC

1. 12. 1. *Means of indicating the topic of a sentence*

1. 12. 1. 1. Indicating the topic of a sentence by a particle

Turkish has no topic particle.

1. 12. 1. 2. Indicating the topic of a sentence by movement, without dislocation, to:

1. 12. 1. 2. 1. Initial position

Topics are indicated in Turkish by movement to initial position:

(724) **ıstakoz** -u Hasan Ali -ye ver -di
 lobster -Acc. Hasan Ali -Dat. give -Past
 "(Speaking of) the lobster, Hasan gave (it) to Ali"

In this example, the topic is **ıstakoz-u** 'the lobster-Acc.', whose original position is pre-verbal; however, as a topic, the constituent has undergone movement to initial position. Note that no copy or proform is left behind in the original position.

1. 12. 1. 3. Indicating the topic of a sentence by dislocation to:

1. 12. 1. 3. 1. Initial position

There is no general, systematic topicalization pattern with dislocation in Turkish. However, there is a construction that comes close to such productive patterns in other languages; this is illustrated by the following example:

- (725) **Ali-ye_i gel -ince,** Hasan kendi -sin -i_i /on -u_i
 Ali-Dat. come -when Hasan self -3.sg. -Acc. /he -Acc.
 Ahmed -e gönder -di
 Ahmet -Dat. send -Past
 "As for Ali_i, Hasan sent him_i to Ahmet"

In this construction, the topicalized element is initial and bears the non-alternating case marking for dative, which is the case assigned by the verb **gel** 'come'. That verb appears in this construction in its converb form (cf. section 1. 2. 1. 3. 1. 4. on adverbial clauses). A proform of the dislocated constituent appears in the sentence and bears the case marking appropriate to that position, which, in example (725), is the accusative.

1. 12. 1. 4. Indicating the topic of a sentence by verb agreement

This pattern of topicalization is not found in Turkish.

1. 12. 1. 5. Indicating the topic of a sentence by other means

The discussions above exhaust the means of topicalization in Turkish.

1. 12. 2. *Elements that can be topicalized*

1. 12. 2. 1. Major categories that can be topicalized

1. 12. 2. 1. 1. Noun phrase

Noun phrases are the archetypical constituents that can be topicalized. All of the examples in this section (1. 12.) on topics have topicalized noun phrases.

1. 12. 2. 1. 2. Adjective

Predicative adjectives cannot be separated from the copula. As for moving to initial position together with the copula, this appears to be possible; however, just as in any verb-initial sentence in Turkish, the better analysis is one where all other constituents move to the right of the predicate, rather than one where the predicate moves to initial position (cf. also sections 1. 12. 2. 1. 3. and 1. 14.).

Attributive adjectives cannot be topicalized.

1. 12. 2. 1. 3. Verb

As discussed in the previous paragraph concerning predicative adjectives, it is possible to have utterances in Turkish where the verbal predicate is in initial position. However, it is more appropriate with the facts to analyze such utterances as the result of moving all other constituents to the right of the predicate, rather than as the result of moving the predicate to initial position. This point will be discussed further in section 1. 14. Let us note at this point that one reason for the proposed analysis is the fact that genuine topics, whether by dislocation or not, do not bear the high pitch typical for emphasized constituents. Initial predicates, however, typically bear such high pitch.

1. 12. 2. 1. 4. Adverbial

Genuine verb phrase adverbials can be topicalized and placed in sentence initial position only if they consist of noun phrases used adverbially or if they bear some properties of nouns, albeit in a lexicalized fashion. The latter type of property consists generally of overt case morphology. Note, for example, the following contrasts:

Temporal adverbial:

- (726) ***erken** Hasan iş -e git -ti
 early Hasan work -Dat. go -Past
 Intended reading: "As for (going) early, Hasan went to work (early)"

This adverb has a counterpart which is inflected for ablative case but otherwise has the same meaning:

- (727) **erken -den** Hasan iş -e git -ti
 early -Abl. Hasan work -Dat. go -Past
 "As for early, Hasan went to work (early)"

Similar contrasts can be found with locational adverbials:

(728) ?? **dışarı** Hasan çık -tı
outside Hasan go out -Past
 "As for outside, Hasan went (out)"

(729) **dışarı -ya** Hasan çık -tı
outside -Dat. Hasan go out -Past
 "As for outside, Hasan went (out)"

1. 12. 2. 2. Constituents of larger domains (of main and subordinate clauses, noun phrases, coordinate structures) that can be topicalized

1. 12. 2. 2. 1. Constituents of main clause

All the examples offered in this section so far have dealt with topicalizing constituents of main clauses. We saw that only noun phrases or categories with nominal properties like case marking can be topicalized (where nothing is said about specific means of topicalization, both strategies, i.e. with and without dislocation, are meant where "topicalization" is mentioned).

1. 12. 2. 2. 2. Constituents of subordinate clauses

Constituents of finite as well as nonfinite clauses can be topicalized, as long as they remain in initial position of their own clause:

Nonfinite subordinate clause:

(730) herkes [**kitab-ı** Hasan -ın al -dığı -ın -ı]
 everybody **book-Acc.** Hasan -Gen. buy -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor
 know -Pr.Prog.
 "Everybody knows that as for the book, Hasan bought (it)"

Finite subordinate clause:

(731) herkes [**kitab-ı** Hasan al -dı] bil -iyor
 everybody **book-Acc.** Hasan buy -Past know -Pr.Prog.
 "Everybody knows that as for the book, Hasan bought (it)"

Speakers differ concerning movement across clause boundaries. While some speakers do not allow for topicalization of subordinate constituents so as to appear in initial position of the main clause, some others do; there seems to be a range of judgments between these two extreme positions:

Nonfinite subordinate clause:

- (732) ?**kitab-ı** herkes [Hasan -in al -dığ -ın -ı]
book-Acc. everybody Hasan -Gen. buy -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor
 know -Pr.Prog.
 "As for the book, everybody knows that Hasan bought (it)"

Finite subordinate clause:

- (733) ?**kitab -ı** herkes [Hasan al -dı] bil -iyor
book -Acc. everybody Hasan buy -Past know -Pr.Prog.
 "As for the book, everybody knows that Hasan bought (it)"

1. 12. 2. 2. 3. Constituents of the noun phrase

In a noun phrase, only the possessor can be topicalized with any success:

- (734) ?**Hasan -in** herkes en güzel eser -in -i
Hasan -Gen. everybody most beautiful work -3.sg. -Acc.
 beğen -di
 like -Past
 "As for Hasan, everybody liked (his) most beautiful work"

There are constructions where it appears as though the possessed noun has been topicalized (with its determiner and its modifiers, if it has any), with the possessor typically following the verb:

- (735) ?**en güzel eser -in -i** herkes beğen -di
most beautiful work -3.sg. -Acc. everybody like -Past
 Hasan -in
 Hasan -Gen.
 "As for (his) most beautiful work, everybody liked (it), Hasan's"

However, such constructions are best analyzed as the topicalization of the whole possessive noun phrase, followed by postposing the possessor (cf. section 1. 14.).

1. 12. 2. 2. 4. Constituents of coordinate constructions

Possibilities of constituent topicalization otherwise available in simple sentences are available in coordinate constructions, as long as they are applied in a parallel fashion:

- (736) [**uskumru** -**yu** Hasan piş -ir -di],
mackerel -**Acc.** Hasan cook -**Caus.** -**Past**
 [**ıstakoz** -**u** da Ali ye -di]
lobster -**Acc.** -and Ali eat -**Past**
 "As for the mackerel, Hasan ate (it) and as for the lobster, Ali ate (it)"

1. 12. 2. 2. 5. More than one constituent simultaneously

More than one constituent can be topicalized simultaneously:

- (737) **kitab** -**i** **Ali** -**ye** Hasan **dün** ver -**di**
book -**Acc.** **Ali** -**Dat.** Hasan yesterday give -**Past**
 "As for the book, and as for Ali, Hasan gave (it) (to him)
 YESTERDAY"

The adverb **dün** 'yesterday' is in pre-verbal position and is emphasized, while the subject **Hasan** is not. We infer from these facts that the subject is in its original, sentence initial position. Therefore, the two constituents that precede the subject must both be topicalized.

1. 12. 2. 3. Where movement is involved in topicalization:

1. 12. 2. 3. 1. Is a copy of the topicalized element left behind?

In constructions of topicalization involving movement (to sentence initial position) no copy of the topicalized element is left behind, irrespective of whether dislocation is involved or not.

1. 12. 2. 3. 2. Is a proform of the topicalized element left behind?

In constructions of topicalization involving movement (to sentence initial position), a proform of the topicalized element is left behind only in dislocation. This copy consists of a regular personal pronoun (preferably for animate topics, although it can be found for inanimate topics, as well, and for human topics that are not a third person) or of the special anaphoric pronoun **kendisi** or **kendileri** for human third person singular or plural topics, respectively; cf. section

1. 12. 1. 3. 1.

1. 12. 2. 3. 3. Is a particle left behind?

No particle is left behind under topicalization, irrespective of whether dislocation is involved or not.

1. 12. 2. 3. 4. Is nothing left behind?

In constructions of topicalization involving movement (to sentence initial position) nothing is left behind. This is true for topicalization with or without dislocation. As we saw earlier, only noun phrases or noun-like elements can be topicalized; thus, no other syntactic categories need to be considered here.

1. 12. 3. *Obligatoriness or optionality of topicalization*

From the point of view of sentence grammar, topicalization is optional, since there are sentences with or without topicalization. However, from the point of view of discourse, topicalization of a given constituent might be obligatory; e.g. if the speaker wants to set up a discourse topic and stay with it through a number of sentences, then the sentence initial position of that discourse topic would be obligatory.

1. 13. HEAVY SHIFT

1. 13. 1. *Processes in the language by which structures consisting of a head with either a large number of adjuncts, or one or more complex adjuncts are optionally or obligatorily moved to some given position in the sentence*

"Heaviness" or length of a constituent does not play a any role in Turkish in triggering movement processes.

1. 14. OTHER MOVEMENT PROCESSES

1. 14. 1. *Any other processes involving movement of an element from one position to another*

In addition to placement of constituents in pre-verbal position for emphasis and placement in sentence initial position for topicalization, there exists a process of movement to sentence final position, following the verb. This is done when the speaker presupposes that the hearer shares knowledge of the constituent in question. This process of moving nominal constituents (i.e. regular noun phrases and nominal adverbials) to the right is sometimes referred to in the literature as "backgrounding" (cf. Erguvanlı-Taylan (1984)):

(738) Ali -ye kitab -ı ver -di Hasan
 Ali -Dat. book -Acc. give -Past Hasan
 "(He) gave the book to Ali, Hasan"

Such postposed constituents do not represent afterthoughts, and they are not separated from the verb by a pause. Phonologically, their most salient property is that they carry particularly low pitch; the intonation contour of the sentence undergoes a sudden drop after the verb.

Any noun phrase can undergo this movement process, and multiply postposed constituents are possible:

- (739) kitab -₁ ver -di **Hasan Ali -ye**
 book -Acc. give -Past **Hasan Ali -Dat.**
 "(He) gave the book (to him), Hasan to Ali"

"Heaviness" of the postposed constituents in terms of length or number of adjuncts is irrelevant in this movement process; "light" constituents as in (738) and (739) can move rightwards with the same ease as "heavy" constituents, provided the discourse conditions are appropriate for that movement, i.e. the reference of the moved constituent is presupposed in the discourse.

Constituents of subordinate clauses can undergo this process, too. However, they cannot be placed before constituents of a superordinate clause:

- (740) *[[kitab -₁ ver -diğ -in -i] **Hasan -in**
 book -Acc. give -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. **Hasan -Gen.**
 Ali -ye] bil -iyor -um
 Ali -Dat. know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 Intended reading: "I know that (he) gave the book (to him), Hasan to Ali"

Such subordinate constituents can move rightwards, if they move to the very end of the complex construction and are placed following the verb of the superordinate verb:

- (741) [[kitab -₁ ver -diğ -in -i] bil -iyor -um]
 book -Acc. give -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. know -Pr.Prog.-1.sg.
 Hasan -in Ali -ye
 Hasan -Gen. Ali -Dat.
 "I know that (he) gave the book (to him), Hasan to Ali"

Another possibility is for the whole subordinate clause to be placed after the main verb, as a result of the very process under discussion. This is possible for nominalized clauses only and not for subordinate finite clauses, a restriction which is not surprising, since only nominal constituents can be moved in this way in general, as mentioned in the

beginning of this subsection.³⁸ Once the whole clause is thus moved, its own constituents can also move rightwards:

- (742) [bil -iyor -um] [kitab -ı ver -diğ -in -i]
 know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg. book -Acc. give -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
Hasan -ın Ali -ye
Hasan -Gen. Ali -Dat.
 "I know that (he) gave the book (to him), Hasan to Ali"

1. 15. MINOR SENTENCE TYPES

Because of the wide possibilities of discourse ellipsis applying to a variety of syntactic categories, even to verbs, it is difficult to distinguish in Turkish regular sentences from minor sentence types. One clear criterion for minor sentence types would be that an utterance used as a main sentence exhibit a form otherwise reserved for a subordinate clause. Such a form is the infinitival form of verbs. Indeed, infinitival clauses can be used as minor sentences:

- (743) erken -den iş -e git -mek ...
 early -Abl. work -Dat. go -Inf.
 (Ne kadar garip bir fikir!)
 what how much strange a idea
 "To go to work early... (What a strange idea!)"

The portion of the discourse in parentheses is not necessary for the first part to be uttered successfully, without a superordinate clause.

It should be noted that the portion in parentheses is itself truncated; it lacks a subject and an overt verbal element. However, that portion is best analyzed not as a minor sentence type, but rather as a sentence with discourse ellipsis. The subject is interpreted as an anaphoric pronoun, referring to the preceding minor sentence. The missing verb is a copula whose overt instantiation in the present tense for a third person singular subject is optional and is usually omitted.

Infinitivals used as minor sentences often also exhibit the Yes/No question particle which is attached at the very end of the utterance, having the whole sentence in its scope:

- (744) erken -den iş -e git -mek mi?
 early -Abl. work -Dat. go -Inf. -Q
 (Ne kadar garip bir fikir!)
 what how much strange a idea
 "To go to work early? (What a strange idea!)"
 (i.e. "You are suggesting to go to work early?")

Another minor sentence type is one involving the abilitative form of a verb, when the subject agreement inflection is omitted and there is no overt subject:

- (745) ne yap -**malı**?
 what do -**Abil**
 "What to do?" ("What is there to be done?" "What should one do?")

1. 16. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS FOR WORD CLASSES

1. 16. 1. *Noun*

Nouns are words which can receive case suffixes in appropriate contexts, which can exhibit plural morphology, which (where it is appropriate semantically) can be preceded by the indefinite article **bir**, which can function as objects of postpositions and of verbs and which can exhibit nominal (i.e. possessive) agreement marking in possessive noun phrases. (See also section 1. 2. 5. on noun phrases.)

1. 16. 2. *Pronoun*

Pronouns belong to closed sets of lexical items. There is the set of simple personal pronouns, the set of demonstrative pronouns, the set of reflexive pronouns, a special sort of reflexive that functions as a special anaphoric pronoun, and the set of reciprocal pronouns. Pronouns can act as proforms for noun phrases, can be the objects of postpositions and verbs and can take on case morphology. Hence, any word that belongs to any of the mentioned closed sets of words and exhibits appropriate syntactic and morphological behavior is a pronoun.

1. 16. 3. *Verb*

Verbs are words that take on particular kinds of inflectional suffixes (e.g. subject agreement suffixes from the verbal paradigm; the suffix for the progressive, which in Turkish can appear on verbs denoting states as well as actions; the infinitival suffix -**mA**K for their citation form) and whose bare stems can be used as imperatives.

1. 16. 4. *Adjective*

It is difficult to offer an operational definition for adjectives in Turkish, because most of them can be used as nouns, as well, and where they are so used, they satisfy the definitional criteria of nouns:

- (746) ihtiyar 'Adj.: old; N: the old one'
 bir ihtiyar 'an old one; an old person'
 ihtiyarlar 'old ones; old people'

However, as mentioned in Lewis (1975), there are some adjectives which are not used as nouns. Those are adjectives formed with the following suffixes: the Turkish suffixes **-sI**, **-(I)msI**, **-(I)mtrAk**, and **-(s)Al**, the Arabic suffix **-î**, the Persian suffixes **-ane** and **-varî**, and recent borrowings from European languages, e.g. **demokratik**, **kültürel** etc. Some examples follow:

- (747) sarı -mtrak bir yeşil
 yellow -ish a green
 "a yellowish green"

- (748) toplum -sal bilim -ler
 society -'ial' science -pl.
 "social sciences"

Further, adjectives are words that can be put in the comparative and superlative, while nouns cannot be used in this way.

1. 16. 5. *Postposition*

Postpositions form a closed class of words (albeit a relatively large one); hence, postpositions are words that belong to that class.

Furthermore, in terms of systematic properties, postpositions are relatively easy to diagnose. Most postpositions are independent morphemes that assign case to their nominal complement; some cliticized postpositions also assign case. Thus, most postpositions can easily be distinguished from adjectives, since the latter do not assign case. Those postpositions that do not assign overt case are nevertheless distinguishable from adjectives by their semantics.

1. 16. 6. *Numeral/Quantifier*

The following cardinal numerals will give the reader an idea of the numerals:

bir	1	on iki	12	kırk	40
iki	2	on üç	13	elli	50
üç	3	on dört	14	altmış	60
dört	4	on beş	15	yetmiş	70
beş	5	on altı	16	seksen	80
altı	6	on yedi	17	doksan	90
yedi	7	on sekiz	18	yüz	100
sekiz	8	on dokuz	19	bin	1 000
dokuz	9	yirmi	20	bir milyon	1 000 000
on	10	yirmi bir	21	bir milyar	1 000 000 000
on bir	11	otuz	30	sıfır	zero

As these examples show, complex numerals are formed simply by sequencing the appropriate numerals; e.g. **yirmi bir**: 21 = 20, 1.

Other quantifiers (e.g. **bütün** 'all', **her**, **herbir** 'each') do not show uniform behavior with respect to syntactic and morphological properties (e.g. triggering plural marking on the head noun they modify, agreement marking on the predicate of the sentence if they are in a subject noun phrase etc.) and need to be studied individually.

1. 16. 7. Others

1. 16. 7. 1. Adverbs

Most adverbs in Turkish are not formally distinguished from adjectives; almost any adjective can be used adverbially. However, there are certain types of words that are clearly marked as adverbs. These are adverbs derived from adjectives or nouns by the suffixes **-cA** or **-cAsInA** or from verbs by suffixes like **-(y)ArAk**, **-(y)IncA**). Thus, any word carrying one of these suffixes is an adverb. Some examples follow:

(749) Hasan yavaş **-ça** yür **-ür**
 Hasan slow **-ly** walk **-Aor.**
 "Hasan walks slowly"

(750) Hasan iste **-mi** **-yerek** otur **-du**
 Hasan want **-Neg.** **-ly** sit **-Past**
 "Hasan sat down without wanting to"
 ("Hasan sat down not-wantingly")

2. Morphology

2. 1. INFLECTION

2. 1. 1. *Noun Inflection*

2. 1. 1. 1. Means to express syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases

2. 1. 1. 1. 1. Bound affixes

Bound affixes, more specifically case suffixes, are the most productive way to express syntactic functions of noun phrases. Traditional Turkish grammarians (e.g. Gencan (1971)) of Turkish recognize five cases: the nominative (sometimes also called the absolute) for subjects, the accusative (sometimes also called objective) for direct objects (including derived causative direct objects which are original subjects of intransitive verbs), the dative for indirect objects (including derived causative indirect objects of transitive verbs), for benefactives, and for directional arguments with the semantic functions of goal, the locative for locational arguments, and the ablative for directional arguments with the semantic function of source, of object of comparison, or for partitive semantics. A number of grammarians also recognize the genitive as a case for subjects of nominalized clauses, in addition to being a means for expressing the function of a noun phrase as possessor in possessive noun phrases. The suffixes in question are as follows:

(751)	Nominative / absolute	-Ø ³⁹
	Accusative / objective	-(y)I
	Dative	-(y)A
	Locative	-DA
	Ablative	-DAn
	Genitive	-(n)In

An example where each one of these cases is used at least once follows:

- (752) Ahmet [[Ali -**nin** gazete -**yi** Oya -**ya**
 Ahmet(Nom.) Ali -**Gen.** newspaper -**Acc.** Oya -**Dat**
 büro -**da** ver -**ip**] [sen -**in** iş -**ten**
 office -**Loc.** give -**and** you -**Gen.** work -**Abl.**
 konser -**e** gid -**eceğ** -**in**]] -**i** bil -**iyor**
 concert -**Dat.** go -**FNomFut** -**3.sg.** -**Acc.** know -**Pr.Prog.**
 "Ahmet knows that Ali will give the newspaper to Oya in the office
 and (that) you will go from work to the concert"

The first noun phrase, **Ahmet**, is the subject of the superordinate, fully finite, clause and is therefore in the nominative case. **Ali** is the subject of the nominalized subordinate clause and is thus marked for genitive case. **Gazete** is the direct object of the transitive verb **ver-** 'give' in the first conjunct of the subordinate coordinate structure and is therefore marked for accusative case. **Oya** is the indirect object of the same verb and is therefore marked for dative case. **Büro** 'office' is a locative object in that same conjunct and is thus marked for locative case. In the second conjunct, **iş** 'work' is a directional object that denotes 'source of action or motion' and is therefore marked for ablative case, while **konser** 'concert' is the "target of motion" and is thus marked for dative case. The whole subordinate coordinate structure is the direct object of the verb **bil** 'know'; as a nominalized clause, it must bear case, just like any argument which is a simple noun phrase; hence, the subordinate clause exhibits accusative case marking.

Accusative versus dative marking of causativized subjects are illustrated below:

- (753) a. Hasan uyan -**dı**
 Hasan wake up -**Past**
 "Hasan woke up"
- (753) b. (ben) Hasan -**ı** uyan -**dır** -**dı** -**m**
 I Hasan -**Acc.** wake up -**Caus.** -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 "I woke Hasan up" ("I made Hasan wake up")
- (754) a. Hasan bavul -**u** taşı -**dı**
 Hasan suitcase -**Acc.** carry -**Past**
 "Hasan carried the suitcase"
- (754) b. (ben) Hasan -**a** bavul -**u** taşı -**t** -**tı** -**m**
 I Hasan -**Dat.** suitcase -**Acc.** carry -**Caus.** -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 "I made Hasan carry the suitcase"

When the noun phrase is non-specific and is either a direct object or the subject of a subordinate nominalized clause, the accusative and the

free morpheme; thus, we conclude that it is somewhere in between the two and call it a clitic.

2. 1. 1. 1. 4. Postpositions

Agent phrases in passives are expressed by a postposition: **tarafından**:

- (757) araba Hasan -a Ali taraf -ın -dan sat -ıl -dı
 car Hasan -Dat. Ali side -3.sg. -Abl. sell -Pass. -Past
 "The car was sold to Hasan by Ali"
 ("The car was sold to Hasan from the side of Ali")

The object of comparison and the object of equation are expressed with the help of postpositions, as well.

The object of comparison is marked with the ablative case and the (optional) postposition **daha** 'more':

- (758) Ayşe Ali -den (daha) genç
 Ayşe Ali -Abl. more young
 "Ayşe is younger than Ali"

The object of equation is marked with the postposition **kadar** 'as much as':

- (759) Ayşe Ali kadar zeki
 Ayşe Ali as much as intelligent
 "Ayşe is as smart as Ali"

Semantic functions like "benefactive", "purpose" and "concessive" are also expressed by means of postpositions; the reader is referred to section 2. 1. 1. 4. for those.

2. 1. 1. 1. 5. Word order

Word order does not express the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases in general. As we saw in sections 1. 11., 1. 12., and 1. 14., word order in Turkish is dictated by discourse considerations. However, there are some instances where word order does interact with the syntactic and semantic functions of the noun phrase, albeit indirectly. This happens when a noun phrase is non-specific and therefore cannot be suffixed with the accusative case marker when it is a direct object; similarly, a non-specific noun phrase cannot bear a genitive case suffix when it is the subject of an embedded nominalized clause. In both instances, these "bare" noun phrases must be immediately pre-verbal

and cannot be moved away from that position. It should be noted that the same relationship between non-specificity and restriction on positioning holds also of subjects of main clauses, as well. No case suffix is being omitted in this instance, however, since nominative case is not expressed overtly in any event. Examples of each type follow:

Non-specific subject of finite clause (otherwise in the nominative case):

- (760) köy -ü haydut -lar bas -mış
village -Acc. robber -pl. raid -Rep.Past
"Robbers are said to have raided the village"

Non-specific direct object (otherwise in the accusative case):

- (761) Hasan çocuğ -un -a her akşam bir hikâye oku -r
Hasan child -3.sg. -Dat. each evening a story read-Aor.
"Hasan reads a story to his child every evening"

Non-specific subject of nominalized clause (otherwise in the genitive case):

- (762) [köy -ü haydut bas -tiğ -in] -ı duy -du -m
village -Acc. robber raid -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear-Past-1.sg.
"I heard that robbers raided the villlage"

We might then say that a noun phrase without overt case marking in immediate pre-verbal position is either a subject or a direct object, if it is non-specific. The syntactic context and the semantics of the utterance are going to determine which one of these possibilities is realized.

2. 1. 1. 1. 6. Derivational processes

The suffix **-CA**, deriving adverbs from nouns, can be used to express agents:

- (763) bu gerçek herkes -çe bil -in -ir
this truth everybody -by know -Pass. -Aor.
"This truth is known by everybody"

This suffix means 'in the manner of' in general and is used to derive adverbs from either nouns or adjectives:

- (764) erkek 'man'
erkek-çe 'in the manner of a man; in a manly fashion'
- (765) açık 'open; frank'
açık-ça 'in an open, frank manner; openly, frankly'

2. 1. 1. 1. 7. Other means

The means listed above are the ones used to express the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases.

2. 1. 1. 1. 8. Combinations of the above

Combinations of the above means are found where postpositions are used, since those assign case to their objects. For example, the comparative postposition **daha** 'more' assigns the ablative, the concessive postposition **rağmen** assigns the dative, and the equation postposition **kadar** and the purpose and benefactive postposition **için** assign the genitive case to their object when it is pronominal. Examples for all of these can be found in 2. 1. 1. 2. and in 2. 1. 1. 4.

2. 1. 1. 2. Expression of specific syntactic functions

2. 1. 1. 2. 1- 2. 1. 1. 2. 3. Subject of intransitive verb, transitive verb, and of copular construction

Subjects of intransitive verbs, of transitive verbs, and of copular constructions are all marked in the same way: they are all in the nominative case when they are the subjects of a fully finite, tensed clause, and they are usually in the genitive case, when they are the subjects of a nominalized subordinate clause (cf. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1.). Example (752) illustrates the nominative subject of a transitive verb, the genitive subject of a transitive verb and the genitive subject of an intransitive verb. Nominative case is not marked overtly in Turkish. The genitive is marked via a suffix: **-(n)In** for third person, **-(I)m** for first person, and **-(I)n** for second person. Thus, the genitive is unusual among all case suffixes in changing its shape for different person features of the noun it attaches to. The subject of certain adverbial nominalized clauses bearing the factive nominalization marker is unusual in that it carries no case suffix at all (cf. 1. 2. 1. 3. 1. 4.).

The same case marking is found on the subject of a copular construction:

(766)	ben	hasta	-yim
	I (Nom.)	sick	-1.sg.
	"I am sick"		

- (767) [ben -im hasta ol -duğ -um] -u
 I -Gen. sick be -FNom -1.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor mu -sun?
 know -Pr.Prog. -Q -2.sg.
 "Do you know that I am sick?"

Here, we see an illustration of the nominative subject of a finite copular construction and of the genitive subject of a nominalized subordinate copular construction.

Whether a subject is the agent or not as the subject of a transitive or intransitive verb is irrelevant for its shape or marking. Rather, as also mentioned in 2. 1. 1. 1. 1. and in 2. 1. 1. 1. 5., what is relevant is whether the noun phrase in question is specific or not and whether it is incorporated into the verb or not. By the latter term, I mean the fact that generic noun phrases become completely part of the verb, forming a complex verb. While this is more generally found with direct objects, it is also found with subjects:

- (768) çocuğ -u arı sok -tu
 child -Acc. bee sting -Past
 "Bees stung the child" ("The child was bee-stung")

Such incorporated nouns cannot be marked with the genitive suffix:

- (769) [çocuğ -u arı sok -tuğ -un -u] duy -du -m
 child -Acc. bee sting -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that bees stung the child"
 ("I heard that the child was bee-stung")

Non-specific noun phrases with either an indefinite article or a numeral determiner cannot be marked with the genitive, either. For most speakers, a genitive-marked embedded subject is interpreted as specific:

- (770) a. [çocuğ -u bir arı sok -tuğ -un -u] duy -du -m
 child -Acc. a bee sting -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear-Past-1.sg.
 "I heard that a bee [non-specific] stung the child"
- (770) b. [çocuğ -u bir arı -nın sok -tuğ -un -u] duy -du -m
 child -Acc. a bee-Gen. sting-FNom-3.sg.-Acc. hear-Past-1.sg.
 "I heard that a bee [specific] stung the child"

There are some speakers, however, who do accept subordinate subjects with genitive marking under a non-specific reading, as well, as long as the article or determiner allows a non-definite, non-specific reading.⁴⁰

It should be noted that non-agentive subjects are likelier to be realized as non-specific or generic noun phrases than are agentive subjects. This is why it is possible to have the impression, after some superficial observation of relevant data, that agentivity plays a role in overt case marking. However, more careful observation shows that the decisive factor is specificity rather than agentivity.

2. 1. 1. 2. 4. Direct object

The direct object bears accusative case marking (i.e. the suffix **-(y)I**), unless it is either non-specific or generic and incorporated. In those latter instances, the direct object bears no overt case marking:

(771) a. (ben) kitab -**i** oku -**du** -**m**
 I book -**Acc.** read -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 "I read the book"

(771) b. (ben) bir kitap oku -**du** -**m**
 I a book read -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 "I read a book [non-specific]"

(771) c. (ben) kitap oku -**du** -**m**
 I book read -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 "I read books [non-specific/generic]"

Some verbs assign oblique cases to their objects. These objects might correspond to direct objects in English; e.g. the verb **nefret et** 'hate' assigns ablative case to its object, the verb **bin** 'mount, ride' and **yardım et** 'help' (among a number of others) assign dative case:

(772) Hasan ben -**den** nefret ed -**er**
 Hasan I -**Abl.** hate -**Aor.**
 "Hasan hates me"

(773) Hasan at -**a** bin -**er**
 Hasan horse -**Dat.** ride -**Aor.**
 "Hasan rides horses"

(774) Hasan ban -**a** yardım et -**ti**
 Hasan I -**Dat.** help -**Past**
 "Hasan helped me"

Whether a direct object is assigned accusative or oblique case is determined by the governing verb. Whether a direct object that would otherwise receive accusative case carries the corresponding suffix or not is determined by its specificity. (Note, incidentally, that oblique case

suffixes are always attached, even where the direct object is non-specific; this is illustrated in example (773).)

It is irrelevant for the expression of the direct object function whether the subject of the clause is expressed as a free or as a bound element or if the subject remains unexpressed. An example for each of these syntactic contexts is given:

- (775) Hasan kitab -1 oku -du
 Hasan book -**Acc.** read -Past
 "Hasan read the book"
- (776) kitab -1 oku -du -m
 book -**Acc.** read -Past -1.sg.
 "I read the book"
- (777) [bu kitab -1 oku -mak] çok zor
 this book -**Acc.** read -Inf. very difficult
 "To read this book is very difficult"

2. 1. 1. 2. 5. Indirect object

The indirect object is expressed by attaching the suffix for dative case to it:

- (778) Hasan kitab -1 Ali -ye ver -di
 Hasan book -**Acc.** Ali -**Dat.** give -Past
 "Hasan gave the book to Ali"

2. 1. 1. 2. 6. Object of comparison

The object of comparison is marked with the ablative case suffix **-DAn**:

- (779) Hasan ben -den (**daha**) zeki
 Hasan I -**Abl.** (**more**) intelligent
 "Hasan is more intelligent than I"

The object of comparison may also be followed by the comparative element **daha** 'more'. This usage has an intensifying effect; the postposition is optional, however. For detailed discussion of comparative constructions, the reader is referred to section 1. 8.

2. 1. 1. 2. 7. Object of equation

The object of equation is followed by the postposition **kadar** 'as much as':

(780) a. Hasan ben-**im** **kadar** zengin
 Hasan I -**Gen.** **as much as** rich
 "Hasan is as rich as I"

(780) b. Hasan Ali **kadar** zengin
 Hasan Ali **as much as** rich
 "Hasan is as rich as Ali"

When the object of this "equational" postposition is a pronoun as in (780)a, it is marked with the genitive case suffix. When it is a full lexical noun as in (780)b, it bears no case marker.

For detailed discussion of the equative construction, the reader is referred to section 1. 9.

2. 1. 1. 2. 8. Other objects governed by verbs

In section 2. 1. 1. 2. 4. we saw some possibilities for cases other than the accusative being assigned to noun phrases which would correspond to direct objects in English. In section 2. 1. 1. 1. 1. we saw that cases other than the accusative are assigned to noun phrases that function as the indirect object or as directional objects, e.g. the locative case is assigned to objects designating a location, the ablative case is assigned to objects expressing the source of a motion, the dative case is assigned to objects that express the target of a motion. In addition to those, there is the instrumental "clitic", whose status as a case marker is not recognized by most traditional grammars of Turkish. An example follows:

(781) Hasan pencere -yi baltá-**yla** kır -dı
 Hasan window-Acc. axe -**with** break-Past
 "Hasan broke the window with (an) axe"

This cliticized instrumental marker has also a counterpart which is a free morpheme: **ile**. Thus, the previous example would be as follows when the free morpheme is used instead:

(782) Hasan pencere -yi baltá **ile** kır -dı
 Hasan window-Acc. axe **with** break-Past
 "Hasan broke the window with (an) axe"

When the free morpheme cliticizes onto the noun phrase, its vowel becomes a palatal glide after a stem-final vowel, and it drops after a stem-final consonant. The clitic becomes part of the phonological word with respect to Vowel Harmony, as illustrated in (781), where the original front vowel /e/ becomes [a], due to the backness of the

preceding vowels in the stem. However, the cliticized instrumental is exceptional with respect to word stress. Turkish has word-final stress in general, but, as can be seen in (781), stress must precede the instrumental; in other words, for stress assignment purposes, the instrumental suffix behaves as though it were outside the domain of the phonological word.

2. 1. 1. 2. 9. Complement of copular construction

The complements of copular constructions directly precede the copula, if the copula is expressed overtly. Otherwise, such complements are simply placed at the end of the sentence, thus behaving as any predicate in this verb-final language. For detailed discussion and examples, the reader is referred to section 1. 2. 1. 1., and in particular to subsection 1. 2. 1. 1. 1. 2.

2. 1. 1. 2. 9. 1. Defining

(783) kare bir çeşit dikdörtgen -dir
 square a kind rectangle -Ep.Cop.
 "The square is a kind of rectangle"

2. 1. 1. 2. 9. 2. Identity

(784) bu kişi **Hasan** -dır
 this person **Hasan** -Ep.Cop.
 "This person is Hasan"

2. 1. 1. 2. 9. 3. Role

(785) Hasan **subay** -dır
 Hasan **officer** -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is an officer"

2. 1. 1. 2. 9. 4. Other copular verbs

The English 'become' is expressed in Turkish as **ol**, a free morpheme. The complement of **ol** surfaces in its bare form, like the complement of the regular copula; i.e. such complements have no case marking, nor are they followed by any postposition:

(786) Hasan **subay** ol -du
 Hasan **officer** become -Past
 "Hasan became / has become an officer"

2. 1. 1. 2. 10. Subject complement

Constructions like the English 'I was made **king**' can be productively expressed in two distinct ways in Turkish. The first one would be by simply using the verb **ol** 'become', illustrated in the previous subsection:

- (787) (ben) **dekan** ol -du -m
 I **dean** become -Past -1.sg.
 "I became / have become dean"

The second construction involves using abstract nouns as complements, marked with the dative case suffix, and the passive form of the verb **ata** 'appoint':

- (788) (ben) **dekan -liğ** -a ata -n -dı -m
 I **dean -Abs.N.** -Dat. appoint -Pass. -Past -1.sg.
 "I was appointed dean" ("I was appointed to the deanship")

2. 1. 1. 2. 11. Object complement

Similarly to the constructions with subject complements, constructions like the English 'we made him **king**' can be productively expressed in Turkish via two distinct ways. The simpler construction involves the verb **yap** 'do', with the complement in its bare form:

- (789) ben -i **dekan** yap -tı -lar
 I -Acc. **dean** do -Past -3.pl.
 "They made me dean"

The second pattern involves the abstract noun construction we saw in the previous subsection, with the active form of the verb **ata** 'to appoint' and the abstract noun in the dative case:

- (790) ben -i **dekan -liğ** -a ata -dı -lar
 I -Acc. **dean -Abs.N.** -Dat. appoint -Past -3.pl.
 "They appointed me dean" ("They appointed me to the deanship")

2. 1. 1. 2. 12. Objects governed by adjectives

- (791) Zeynep [koca -sın -a sadık] -tır
 Zeynep husband -3.sg. -Dat. loyal -Ep.Cop.
 "Zeynep is loyal to her husband"

- (792) kız -ım [ben -den fark -lı] -dır
 daughter -1.sg. I -Abl. difference -with -Ep.Cop.
 "My daughter is different from me"

- (793) Hasan [eş -in -den emin] -dir
 Hasan spouse -3.sg. -Abl. sure -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is sure of his spouse"

It appears that some adjectives assign case to their objects. This is always an oblique case (as the dative and ablative in the examples above); adjectives cannot assign accusative. For example, an adjective that might be expected to assign accusative case (due to its morphological relationship to a transitive verb) is **kıskanç** 'jealous, envious', related to the transitive verb **kıskan** 'to envy':

- (794) Hasan Ali -yi kıskan -ır
 Hasan Ali -Acc. envy -Aor.
 "Hasan envies Ali"

Notice that this verb is transitive; it assigns accusative case to its direct object. The related adjective is not transitive in the same sense; it cannot assign accusative case (nor any other case):

- (795) *Hasan Ali -yi kıskanç -tır
 Hasan Ali -Acc. envious -Ep.Cop.
 Intended reading: "Hasan is envious of Ali"

2. 1. 1. 2. 13. Agent in passive/pseudopassive/impersonal constructions

Impersonal constructions cannot have agents in Turkish. Agents in passive constructions are marked in two different ways. They are either followed by the postposition **tarafından**, which is inflected for person and number and bears ablative case marking, or they are marked with the suffix **-CA**, which derives adverbs. For examples, the reader is referred to subsections 2. 1. 1. 1. 4. and 2. 1. 1. 1. 6., respectively.

2. 1. 1. 2. 14. Topic

Topics in Turkish are not marked morphologically; they are expressed via word order only. For more detailed discussion, the reader is referred to section 1. 12.

2. 1. 1. 2. 15. Emphasized element

Emphasis per se has no morphological expression. It is expressed via preferred word order (more specifically, emphasized elements are preferably placed to the immediate left of the verb) as well as via phonetic stress and high pitch. However, there are certain particles (e.g. the Yes/No question particle and certain quantificational emphatic

particles), whose secondary function is to emphasize (focus) an element that they either follow or precede. For discussion and examples, the reader is referred to section 1. 11., and, in particular, to subsection 1. 11. 2. 1. 2.

2. 1. 1. 3. Nonfinite or nominalized verbs

Morphological marking of noun phrases is essentially the same for finite and for nominalized verbs. This is true even for accusative marking of the direct objects of nominalized verbs, which might be surprising, considering that in many languages, nominalized verbs lose their ability to mark their direct object for accusative case. The differences between finite and nonfinite verbs in terms of expressing syntactic functions are as follows:

1. The subjects of fully finite clauses are in the nominative case, while the subjects of nonfinite or nominalized verbs are in the genitive case (cf. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1. and 2. 1. 1. 2.). The few exceptions to the latter generalization are found with the subjects of certain nonfinite adverbial clauses whose subjects are not marked for any case (and hence could be said to be in the nominative case). For discussion and examples for this last point, the reader is referred to section 1. 1. 2. 4. on adverb clauses.

2. Certain nominalizations allow for their direct object to be marked in the genitive rather than in the accusative:

(796) a. Türk -ler -in İstanbul -u feth -i
 Turk -pl. -Gen. İstanbul -**Acc.** conquest -3.sg.⁴¹
 "The conquest of İstanbul by the Turks"
 ("The Turks' conquest [of] İstanbul")

(796) b. İstanbul -**un** (Türk -ler taraf -in -dan) feth -i
 İstanbul -**Gen.** Turk -pl. side -3.sg. -Abl. conquest -3.sg.
 "The conquest of İstanbul (by the Turks)"
 ("İstanbul's conquest [by the Turks]")

3. There also is a construction involving what I have called action nominalization and certain main clause predicates, where the direct object of the nominalized subordinate clause surfaces in the genitive case rather than in the accusative case:

(797) a. [bu parça -**yı** çal -mak] kolay -dır
 this piece -**Acc.** play -Inf. easy -Ep.Cop.
 "It is easy to play this piece"

- (797) b. [bu parça **-nün** çal -ma -sı] kolay -dır
 this piece **-Gen.** play -ANom -3.sg. easy -Ep.Cop.
 "It is easy to play this piece" ("This piece's playing is easy")

In the "regular" infinitival construction, there is no subject, and the infinitival morpheme is not followed by any agreement suffix. In the corresponding construction with the action nominal, the original direct object appears to have become a subject; it is marked with the genitive case suffix, usually reserved for subjects of nominalized clauses, and the nominalization suffix on the verb is followed by the third person singular suffix, obviously agreeing with the syntactic subject.

2. 1. 1. 4. Nonlocal semantic functions

2. 1. 1. 4. 1. Benefactive

The benefactive function is usually expressed by using the postposition **için** 'for':

- (798) a. bu kitab -ı sen -in **için** al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. you -Gen. **for** buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for you"

- (798) b. bu kitab -ı Hasan **için** al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. Hasan **for** buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for Hasan"

This postposition assigns the genitive case to its pronominal object, as illustrated in (798)a; however, there is no case on a full lexical object of this postposition, as can be seen in example (798)b.

Benefactives can also be expressed, in the manner of indirect objects, by attachment of the dative case suffix:

- (799) bu kitab -ı Hasan **-a** al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. Hasan **-Dat.** buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for Hasan"

2. 1. 1. 4. 2. Source

The semantic function of source is expressed by the ablative case:

- (800) bu haber -i Hasan **-dan** duy -du -m
 this news -Acc. Hasan **-Abl.** hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard this news from Hasan"

- (801) bu kitab -ı kütüphane **-den** al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. library **-Abl.** take -Past -1.sg.
 "I took this book from the library"
- (802) ağaç **-tan** bir elma çal -dı -m
 tree **-Abl.** an apple steal -Past -1.sg.
 "I stole an apple from the tree"

While the source function in sentences is expressed by using the ablative case as illustrated in the three examples above, it cannot be expressed in the same way within a noun phrase. There, the function of source is expressed via compounds or possessive noun phrases:

- (803) fıçı bira -sı
 barrel beer -CmpM
 "Draft beer" ("Beer from the barrel")
- (804) keçi -nin yün -ü
 goat -Gen. wool -3.sg.
 "Wool from/of a/the goat"

2. 1. 1. 4. 3. Instrumental

- (805) a. kapı -yı bir çekiç **-le** kır -dı -m
 door -Acc. a hammer **-with** break -Past -1.sg.
 "I broke the door with a hammer"
- (805) b. kapı -yı anahtar **-la** aç -tı -m
 door -Acc. key **-with** open -Past -1.sg.
 "I opened the door with a key"

The instrumental function is expressed by using the instrumental clitic **-(y)lA** (or its free counterpart **ile**). For further discussion, the reader is referred to subsections 2. 1. 1. 1. 3. and 2. 1. 1. 2. 8.

2. 1. 1. 4. 3. a. Negative instrumental

The negative instrumental is expressed by using the suffix **-siz**:

- (806) a. kapı -yı çekiç **-siz** kır -dı -m
 door -Acc. hammer **-without** break -Past -1.sg.
 "I broke the door without a hammer"
- (806) b. kapı -yı anahtar **-siz** aç -tı -m
 door -Acc. key **-without** open -Past -1.sg.
 "I opened the door without a key"

Note that the indefinite article must be omitted when the suffix for the negative instrumental function is used.

2. 1. 1. 4. 4. Comitative

The suffix for the comitative is the clitic suffix **-(y)lA** (or its free counterpart **ile**), which is the same morpheme as that used for the instrumental and for nominal coordinate constructions:

- (807) (ben) konser -e Hasan **-la** git -ti -m
 I concert -Dat. Hasan **-with** go -Past -1.sg.
 "I went to the concert with Hasan"

For differences between coordination and the comitative, the reader is referred to section 1. 3. 1. 4.

2. 1. 1. 4. 4. a. Negative comitative

There are two productive ways to express the negative comitative. One is the same as for the negative instrumental, i.e. by attaching the suffix **-slz**:

- (808) (ben) konser -e Hasan **-slz** git -ti -m
 I concert -Dat. Hasan **-without** go -Past -1.sg.
 "I went to the concert without Hasan"

The second way of forming a negative comitative is by using a negated pattern for nominalized adverbial clauses (cf. 1. 1. 2. 4. and 1. 1. 2. 4. 3.) with the verb **ol** 'be, become':

- (809) (ben) konser -e Hasan **ól -ma -dan⁴²** git -ti -m
 I concert -Dat. Hasan **be -Neg. -Abl.** go -Past -1.sg.
 "I went to the concert without Hasan"
 ("I went to the concert without [there] being Hasan")

The word-level stress is marked in the example to illustrate the fact that the suffix **-mA** used in this pattern is not the action nominalization suffix but rather the negation suffix which is exceptional with respect to stress assignment in not allowing word-final stress assignment by forcing stress to be assigned to the preceding syllable.

2. 1. 1. 4. 5. Circumstance

Where the circumstance expressed is of a more inherent kind, the suffix **-II** is used:

- (810) tek kol **-lu** bir adam
 unique arm **-with** a man
 "a man with one arm" ("a one-armed man")

Where the circumstance expressed is of a more superficial kind, a relative clause is used which is constructed on a sentential possessive (cf. 1. 10. 1.) or on a copular construction:

- (811) [güzel elbise -ler -i] ol -an bir kadın
 nice dress -pl. -3.sg. be -SbjP a woman
 "a woman with nice dresses" ("a woman who has nice dresses")

- (812) [elbise -ler -i güzel] ol -an bir kadın
 dress -pl. -3.sg. nice be -SbjP a woman
 "a woman with nice dresses" ("a woman whose dresses are nice")

These two constructions involving relative clauses can also be used for expressions of inherent circumstance.

2. 1. 1. 4. 5. a. Negative circumstance

For negation of inherent circumstance, the same suffix is used as for the negative instrumental and the negative comitative: **-sİz**:

- (813) kol **-suz** bir adam
 arm **-without** a man
 "a man without arms" ("a non-armed man")

For negation of all circumstance, but in particular for negation of superficial circumstance, the relative clause constructions we saw in the previous subsection are negated:

- (814) [güzel elbise -ler -i] ol **-ma** -yan bir kadın
 nice dress -pl. -3.sg. be **-Neg.** -SbjP a woman
 "a woman without nice dresses"
 ("a woman who doesn't have nice dresses")

- (815) [elbise -ler -i güzel] ol **-ma** -yan bir kadın
 dress -pl. -3.sg. nice be **-Neg.** -SbjP a woman
 "a woman without nice dresses" ("a woman whose dresses aren't nice")

2. 1. 1. 4. 6. Possessive

The productive expression of possession is by using possessive noun phrases:

(816) a. ben **-im** kitab **-ım**
I **-Gen.** book **-1.sg.**
"my book"

(816) b. Hasan **-ın** kitab **-ı**
Hasan **-Gen.** book **-3.sg.**
"Hasan's book"

The possessor is marked with the genitive case suffix, while the possessed head noun of the phrase bears nominal agreement suffixes that alternate for the person and number features of the possessor, as can be seen in the examples in (816). Note that the genitive suffix itself changes slightly with the person features of the possessor that it attaches to.

For expression of possession at the sentential level, the existential verb **var** 'there is' is used, together with the possessive noun phrase:

(817) a. ben **-im** çok kitab **-ım** **var**
I **-Gen.** many book **-1.sg.** **there-is**
"I have many books"

(817) b. Hasan **-ın** çok kitab **-ı** **var**
Hasan **-Gen.** many book **-3.sg.** **there-is**
"Hasan has many books"

For a discussion of this latter structure, the reader is referred to section 1. 10. 1. That section also includes a discussion of alienable-inalienable and present-past possession, both of which are expressed syntactically rather than morphologically. There is no distinction made between temporary and permanent possession, with the exception of the circumstance construction discussed in 2. 1. 1. 4. 5., if that construction is viewed as a type of possessive.

2. 1. 1. 4. 7. Possessed

The possessed element is marked with nominal possessive agreement suffixes which alternate according to the person and number of the possessor, as illustrated in the previous subsection.

Any distinction between alienable and inalienable possessedness is syntactic rather than morphological; the reader is referred to section 1. 10. 1. for a discussion.

2. 1. 1. 4. 8. Quality

To express quality, the same constructions as for the expression of circumstance can be used:

(818) Hasan anlayış -**lı** bir insan -dır
 Hasan understanding -**with** a person -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is a person with understanding"

(819) Hasan anlayış -**ı** ol -an bir insan -dır
 Hasan understanding -3.sg. be -SbjP a person -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is a person with understanding"
 ("Hasan is a person who has understanding")

In addition, it is possible to use a periphrastic construction involving a compound headed by the noun **sahip** 'owner':

(820) Hasan anlayış **sahib** -**i** bir insan -dır
 Hasan understanding **owner** -**CmpM** a person -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is a person with understanding"
 ("Hasan is an understanding-owning person")

2. 1. 1. 4. 8. a. Negative quality

Negative quality is expressed in ways similar to negative circumstance, i.e. either with the suffix **-sız** or via negated relative clauses:

(821) Hasan anlayış -**sız** bir insan -dır
 Hasan understanding -**without** a person -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is a person without understanding"

(822) Hasan anlayış -**ı** ol -**ma** -yan
 Hasan understanding -3.sg. be -**Neg.** -SbjP
 bir insan -dır
 a person -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is a person without understanding"
 ("Hasan is a person who doesn't have understanding")

(823) Hasan anlayış **sahib** -**i** ol -**ma** -yan
 Hasan understanding **owner** -**CmpM** be -**Neg.** -SbjP
 bir insan -dır
 a person -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is a person without understanding"
 ("Hasan is not an understanding-owning person")

2. 1. 1. 4. 8. b. Reference quality

This concept is expressed by using a possessive noun phrase:

- (824) Hasan -in şeref -i
 Hasan -Gen. honor -3.sg.
 "Hasan's honor"

2. 1. 1. 4. 9. Quantity

This is expressed by attaching the suffix **-LIK** to a numeral or to a quantity expression.

- (825) bin ton -luk bir gemi
 thousand ton -DerAdj a ship
 "a ship of a thousand tons"

2. 1. 1. 4. 9. a. Reference quantity

- (826) bir kilo şeker
 one kilo(gram) sugar
 "one kilogram of sugar"

Note that, in contrast to the previous example, the quantity expression is bare, without any suffixation.

2. 1. 1. 4. 10. Material

This is expressed by suffixing the ablative case marker to the noun denoting the material:

- (827) tuğla -dan bir ev
 brick -Abl. a house
 "a house of bricks"

It is also possible, however, to use the noun denoting material in the manner of a modifying adjective, leaving it bare, without suffixation:

- (828) tuğla ev
 brick house
 "a house of bricks"

This construction is slightly different from the instrumental:

- (829) bu ev tuğla -yla yap -ıl -miş -tir
 this house brick -with make -Pass. -PPart -Ep.Cop.
 "This house is made with bricks"

In this instance, the house would be built using bricks, but presumably some other material would be used, as well. In contrast, the construction

employing the ablative case as well as the construction employing no suffixation at all denote exclusive use of the material in question.

2. 1. 1. 4. 10. a. Negative material

This notion is expressed by using the negative suffix **-sIz**, which we also saw in its use as a negative instrumental, comitative, circumstance and quality marker:

- (830) tuğla **-sIz** ev
 brick **-without** house
 "the house without bricks"

This construction is slightly different from the instrumental:

- (831) bu ev tuğla **-sIz** yap -ıl -mış -tır
 this house brick **-without** make -Pass. -PPart -Ep.Cop.
 "This house is made without bricks"

2. 1. 1. 4. 11. Manner

This is expressed by using the instrumental pattern:

- (832) Hasan Ayşe -yi heyecan **-la** kucakla -dı
 Hasan Ayşe -Acc. enthusiasm **-with** embrace -Past
 "Hasan embraced Ayşe with enthusiasm"

The same concept can also be expressed periphrastically, using the suffix **-İ** that otherwise expresses circumstance and quality, and the noun **şekil** 'shape, kind' in the locative case:

- (833) Hasan Ayşe -yi heyecan **-lı** bir **şekil** **-de**
 Hasan Ayşe -Acc. enthusiasm **-with** a **kind** **-Loc.**
 kucakla -dı
 embrace -Past
 "Hasan embraced Ayşe in an enthusiastic manner"

2. 1. 1. 4. 11. a. Negative manner

The negative suffix **-sIz** 'without' is used here, as well:

- (834) Hasan Ayşe -yi heyecan **-sIz** kucakla -dı
 Hasan Ayşe -Acc. enthusiasm **-without** embrace -Past
 "Hasan embraced Ayşe without enthusiasm"

- (835) Hasan Ayşe -yi heyecan -sız bir şekil -de
 Hasan Ayşe -Acc. enthusiasm -without a kind -Loc.
 kucakla -dı
 embrace -Past
 "Hasan embraced Ayşe in a manner lacking enthusiasm"

2. 1. 1. 4. 12. Cause

There are three productive ways to express cause, two of which involve the ablative case suffix. The first pattern consists of simply suffixing the ablative case suffix to the noun phrase denoting a cause:

- (836) susuzluk -tan bitkin
 thirst -Abl. exhausted
 "exhausted from thirst"

The second pattern uses, in addition to suffixation with the ablative case marker, the postposition **dolayı** 'because':

- (837) susuzluk -tan dolayı bitkin
 thirst -Abl. because exhausted
 "exhausted because of thirst"

The third pattern involves the inflected postposition **yüzünden** 'because of', which actually consists of **yüz** 'face', **-ün**, the third person singular possessive agreement marker, and **-den**, the ablative suffix. This postposition takes bare objects:

- (838) Hasan yüzünden geç kal -dı -k
 Hasan because of late remain -Past -1.pl.
 "We were late because of Hasan"

2. 1. 1. 4. 13. Purpose

This function is expressed by using the postposition **için** 'for, in order for':

- (839) bu kitab -ı iş -im için kullan -dı -m
 this book -Acc. work -1.sg. for use -Past -1.sg.
 "I used this book for my work"

This postposition is the same one used for the benefactive function; cf. 2. 1. 1. 4. 1.

2. 1. 1. 4. 14. Function

The most productive expression of this notion is by using the adverbial gerundive form of the verb **ol** 'be, become':

- (840) (ben) çay -ı ilâç ol -arak kullan -ır -ım
 I tea -Acc. medicine **be** -MAdv. use -Aor. -1.sg.
 "I use tea as medicine"

2. 1. 1. 4. 15. Reference

This notion is expressed by either one of two postpositions: **hakkında** (inflected for third person singular and the locative case) or the somewhat antiquated **dair**, both meaning 'about'; the latter postposition assigns the dative, while the former assigns the genitive to pronominal objects while taking bare objects that are fully lexical:

- (841) a. Hasan ban -a bu olay **hakkında** bir fıkra
 Hasan I -Dat. this incident **about** an anecdote
 anlat -tı
 tell -Past
 "Hasan told me an anecdote about this incident"

- (841) b. Hasan ban -a bu olay -a **dair** bir fıkra
 Hasan I -Dat. this incident -Dat. **about** an anecdote
 anlat -tı
 tell -Past
 "Hasan told me an anecdote about this incident"

2. 1. 1. 4. 16. Essive

The same construction used for expressing the notion of function (cf. 2. 1. 1. 4. 14.) is used here, as well:

- (842) (ben) Boston -da gazeteci ol -arak bulun -du -m
 I Boston -Loc. journalist **be** -MAdv. was -Past -1.sg.
 "I was in Boston as a journalist"

2. 1. 1. 4. 17. Translative

One of the constructions used for object complements of copular constructions (cf. 2. 1. 1. 2. 11.) is also used here within the gerundive construction used for the essive:

- (843) ben -i Boston -a gazeteci ol -arak yolla -dı -lar
 I -Acc. Boston -Dat. journalist be -MAdv. send -Past -3.pl.
 "They sent me to Boston as a journalist"

2. 1. 1. 4. 18. Part-whole

This notion is expressed by using the regular possessive noun phrase construction (cf. 2. 1. 1. 4. 6.):

- (844) a. köpeğ -in kafa -sı
 dog -Gen. head -3.sg.
 "the head of the dog"
- (844) b. ağac -ın gövde -si
 tree -Gen. trunk -3.sg.
 "the trunk of the tree"

2. 1. 1. 4. 19. Partitive

2. 1. 1. 4. 19. 1. Partitive numeral

There are two constructions involving the partitive numeral. They share the property of exhibiting the numeral in head (i.e. final) position of the construction; the preceding nominal is in the genitive case in one construction and in the ablative case in the other. In the genitive construction, the head numeral is suffixed with a nominal agreement marker⁴³:

- (845) a. çocuk -lar -ın iki -si
 child -pl. -Gen. two -3.sg.
 "two of the children"
- (845) b. elma -lar -ın iki -si
 apple -pl. -Gen. two -3.sg.
 "two of the apples"

In the ablative construction, the numeral can also form the head of the construction by itself, as in the genitive construction; this is shown in (846)a and (846)b:

- (846) a. çocuk -lar -dan iki -si
 child -pl. -Abl. two -3.sg.
 "two of the children"
- (846) b. elma -lar -dan iki -si
 apple -pl. -Abl. two -3.sg.
 "two of the apples"

Here, too, the numeral is followed by nominal agreement suffixes.

In addition, the ablative construction has a second version where the ablative element modifies a classifier-like element; for persons, this will be **kişi** 'person', and for non-animates, this element is **tane** 'item'. This is illustrated in (846)c and (846)d:

(846) c. çocuk -lar -dan iki kişi
 child -pl. -Abl. two person
 "two of the children"

(846) d. elma -lar -dan iki tane
 apple -pl. -Abl. two item
 "two of the apples"

This construction involving classifiers has no agreement markers and is not available where the modifier is marked with the genitive rather than the ablative case.

2. 1. 1. 4. 19. 2. Nonpartitive numeral

(847) a. iki çocuk
 two child
 "two children"

(847) b. iki elma
 two apple
 "two apples"

The nonpartitive numeral, in contrast to the partitive numeral, precedes the noun it modifies; in other words, the nonpartitive numeral is a modifier rather than a head.

2. 1. 1. 4. 19. 3. Partitive quantifier

(848) a. çocuk -lar -ın bazı -ları
 child -pl. -Gen. some -3.pl.
 "some of the children"

(848) b. çocuk -lar -dan bazı -ları
 child -pl. -Abl. some -3.pl.
 "some of the children"

The partitive quantifier, just like the partitive numeral, forms the head (which is phrase-final) of the construction and carries a nominal agreement suffix.

2. 1. 1. 4. 19. 4. Nonpartitive quantifier

(849) a. bazı çocuk -lar
 some child -pl.
 "some children"

(849) b. biraz /bir miktar peynir
 a little /an amount cheese
 "some cheese"

The nonpartitive quantifier, just like the nonpartitive numeral, precedes the noun it quantifies and is thus not a head of the construction, in contrast to the partitive quantifier.

2. 1. 1. 4. 19. 5. Partitive negative quantifier

(850) a. çocuk -lar -ın hiçbir -i
 child -pl. -Gen. no+one -3.sg.
 "none of the children"

(850) b. çocuk -lar -dan hiçbir -i
 child -pl. -Abl. no+one -3.sg.
 "none of the children"

(850) c. çocuk -lar -dan hiçbir kişi
 child -pl. -Abl. no+one person
 "none of the children"

The partitive negative quantifier has a structure quite parallel to the partitive quantifier construction: the nominal is either in the genitive or in the ablative, and the negative quantifier forms the head of the construction and is suffixed with a nominal agreement marker. In addition, the ablative construction may have a classifier-like element follow the numeral, in which case no agreement suffix shows up.

2. 1. 1. 4. 19. 6. Nonpartitive negative quantifier

(851) a. hiç -bir çocuk
 no -one child
 "no children"

(851) b. hiç peynir
 no cheese
 "no cheese"

The nonpartitive negative quantifier, just like its non-negative counterpart, precedes the nominal element it modifies. The negative

quantifier for count nouns differs slightly from the negative quantifier for mass nouns: it includes **bir** 'one'.

2. 1. 1. 4. 20. Price

- (852) bu kitab -ı beş dolar -a al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. five dollar -Dat. buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for five dollars"

The usual pattern for prices is to place the constituent designating the price in the dative case.

2. 1. 1. 4. 21. Value

- (853) a. bu masa -nın değer -i beş dolar -dır
 this table -Gen. value -3.sg. five dollar -Ep.Cop.
 "This table's value is five dollars"

- (853) b. bu masa beş dolar değer -in -de -dir
 this table five dollar value -3.sg. -Loc. -Ep.Cop.
 "This table has the value of five dollars"

- (853) c. beş dolar -lık bir masa
 five dollar -DerAdj a table
 "a table of five dollars"

2. 1. 1. 4. 22. Distance

- (854) iki mil yürü -dü -m
 two mile walk -Past -1.sg.
 "I walked for two miles"

The expression for distance is bare, without suffixes or particles.

2. 1. 1. 4. 23. Extent

- (855) a. beş yüz metre yüksek -liğ -in -de
 five hundred meter high -DerNom -CmpM -Loc.
 bir bina
 a building
 "a building five hundred meters high"

- (855) b. beş yüz metre uzun -luğ -un -da bir çit
 five hundred meter long -DerNom -CmpM -Loc. a fence
 "a fence five hundred meters long"

The notion of extent is expressed by a nominal compound in the locative case; the case marker is preceded by the compound marker. The

compound is headed by a derived nominal which consists of a dimensional adjective and the derived nominal marker **-IK**. The modifier of the compound is a measure expression.

2. 1. 1. 4. 24. Concessive

In addition to the construction illustrated in 1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 9., the concessive is expressed by the postposition **rağmen**, which assigns the dative case to its object:

- (856) Hasan yağmur -a rağmen konser -e git -ti
 Hasan rain -Dat. despite concert -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan went to the concert despite the rain"

2. 1. 1. 4. 25. Inclusion

- (857) a. Hasan dahil herkes gel -di
 Hasan including everybody come -Past
 "Everybody came, including Hasan"
- (857) b. Hasan dahil ol -mak üzere herkes gel -di
 Hasan included be -Inf. being everybody come -Past
 "Everybody came, Hasan included"

2. 1. 1. 4. 26. Exclusion

Two widely used patterns to express exclusion are illustrated below. The first pattern, using **hariç** 'excluding', follows the bare term of exclusion. The second pattern, using **başka** 'other (than)', follows the term of exclusion placed in the ablative case:

- (858) a. Hasan hariç herkes gel -di
 Hasan excluding everybody come -Past
 "Everybody came, excluding Hasan"
- (858) b. Hasan -dan başka herkes gel -di
 Hasan -Abl. other everybody come -Past
 "Everybody but Hasan came" ("Everybody came, other than Hasan")

2. 1. 1. 4. 27. Addition

The clearest way to express addition is by using the somewhat antiquated adverbial **ilâveten**, which is a borrowing from Arabic:

- (859) Hasan -a ilâveten üç kişi gel -di
 Hasan -Dat. additionally three person come -Past
 "Three people came in addition to Hasan"

Some of the patterns otherwise expressing exclusion can also be used:

- (860) Hasan **-dan başka** üç kişi (daha) gel -di
 Hasan **-Abl. other** three person (more) come -Past
 "Three people came in addition to Hasan"
 ("Other than Hasan, three (more) people came")

2. 1. 1. 4. 28. Vocative

Turkish has a vocative particle **ey**, corresponding to the English **O**. However, this particle is used only in poetry and in exalted speech:

- (861) ey Türk genç -liğ -i!
 O Turkish young -DerNom -CmpM
 "O Turkish youth!"

In colloquial speech, the vocative is expressed by shifting the word accent to the previous syllable:

- (862) a. garsón 'waiter'
 (862) b. gárson! "Waiter!"

A third way of expressing the function of the vocative is by using the third person singular agreement suffix in empathy with someone else (to whom the agreement suffix refers). For example, a mother might address her husband as follows in the presence of her child:

- (863) baba -sı!
 father -3.sg.
 "His/her father!"

None of these forms is obligatory.

2. 1. 1. 4. 29. Citation form

The nominative singular is the general citation form for nouns. Titles for humans precede the full name (i.e. given name and surname) or the surname alone in citation (and address) forms:

- (864) a. Profesör /Doktor/Bay Hasan Kaya
 "Professor/Doctor /Mr Hasan Kaya"
 (864) b. Profesör /Doktor/Bayan Ayşe Kaya
 "Professor/Doctor /Ms Ayşe Kaya"

The citation (and address) form for personal names alone is different in that it follows the name; it also exhibits different items:

(865) a. Hasan Bey
Hasan sir
"Mr Hasan"

(865) b. Ayşe Hanım
Ayşe lady
"Ms Ayşe"

2. 1. 1. 4. 30. Label form

The citation and address forms for full names illustrated in the previous subsection are used as label forms, as well. For shop fronts, the appropriate professional designation can precede the name:

(866) a. Çilingir Hasan Kaya
"Locksmith Hasan Kaya"

(866) b. Terzi Ayşe Kaya
"Tailor/seamstress Ayşe Kaya"

2. 1. 1. 5. Local semantic functions

Local semantic functions of the sort studied in this section are expressed in Turkish by a variety of means: case suffixes, postpositions, adverbially used nominalized forms of verbs ("converbs") and combinations thereof. For many of these functions there are a number of periphrastic expressions, without there being any one obvious lexical item.

2. 1. 1. 5. 1. General

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
Locative case	Dative case	Ablative Case	Secondary postposition
-DA	-(y)A	-DAn	yan (side)
'at'	'to'	'from'	'past'

(867) a. kitap masa **-da**
book table **-Loc.**
"The book is on the table"

(867) b. Hasan üniversite **-de** oku -yor
Hasan university **-Loc.** study -Pr.Prog.
"Hasan studies at the university"

- (867) c. Hasan kapı **-da**
 Hasan door **-Loc.**
 "Hasan is at the door"
- (868) Hasan Ankara **-ya** git **-ti**
 Hasan Ankara **-Dat.** go **-Past**
 "Hasan went to Ankara"
- (869) Hasan Ankara **-dan** gel **-di**
 Hasan Ankara **-Abl.** come **-Past**
 "Hasan came from Ankara"
- (870) kilise **-nin** yan **-ın** **-dan** geç **-ti** **-m**
 church **-Gen.** side **-3.sg.** **-Abl.** pass **-Past** **-1.sg.**
 "I went past the church"

2. 1. 1. 5. 2. Proximate

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
yan -ın -da side-3.sg.-Loc.	yan -ın -a side-3.sg.-Dat.	yan -ın -dan side-3.sg.-Abl.	yan -ın -dan side-3.sg.-Abl.
yakın -ın -da near-3.sg.-Loc.	yakın -ın -a near -3.sg.-Dat.	yakın -ın -dan near -3.sg.-Abl.	yakın -ın -dan near -3.sg.-Abl.
bitiş <i>ğ</i> -in -de adjacent-3.sg.-Loc. 'near (to)'	bitiş <i>ğ</i> -in -e adjacent-3.sg.-Dat. 'near'	bitiş <i>ğ</i> -in -den adjacent-3.sg.-Abl. 'from near'	bitiş <i>ğ</i> -in -den adjacent-3.sg.-Abl. 'near'

- (871) ev **-im** kilise **-nin** yan **-ın** **-da**
 house **-1.sg.** church **-3.sg.** side **-3.sg.** **-Loc.**
 "My house is next to the church"
- (872) (biz) kilise **-nin** yan **-ın** **-a** taşın **-acağ** **-iz**
 we church **-Gen.** side **-3.sg.** **-Dat.** move **-Fut.** **-1.pl.**
 "We will move near the church"
- (873) Hasan kilise **-nin** yan **-ın** **-dan** gel **-iyor**
 Hasan church **-Gen.** side **-3.sg.** **-Abl.** come **-Pr.Prog.**
 "Hasan is coming from near the church"
- (874) Hasan kilise **-nin** yakın **-lar** **-ın** **-dan**
 Hasan church **-Gen.** near **-pl.** **-3.sg.** **-Abl.**
 geç **-erek** biz **-e** gel **-ecek**
 pass **-MAdv.** we **-Dat.** come **-Fut.**
 "Hasan will come to us, passing near the church"

Note that the version using **yakın** 'near' can be used either in the singular or in the plural.

2. 1. 1. 5. 3. Interior

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
iç -in -de inside-3.sg.-Loc. 'in(side)'	iç -in -e inside-3.sg.-Dat. 'in(to)'	iç -in -den inside-3.sg.-Abl. 'out of'	iç -in -den inside-3.sg.-Abl. 'through'
(875)	kilise -nin iç -in -de church -Gen. interior -3.sg. -Loc.	mozaik var mosaic exist	"There are mosaics inside the church"
(876)	kilise -nin iç -in -e church -Gen. inside -3.sg. -Dat. gir -e -me -di -k enter -Abil. -Neg. -Past -1.pl.		"We were unable to enter inside the church"
(877)	kilise -nin iç -in -den çık -a -ma -dı -k church -Gen. inside -3.sg. -Abl. exit -Abil. -Neg. -Past -1.pl.		"We were unable to come out of the church" ("We were unable to leave the inside of the church")
(878)	kilise -nin iç -in -den geç -erek bahçe -ye church -Gen. inside -3.sg. -Abl. pass -MAdv. garden -Dat. çık -tı -k exit -Past -1.sg.		"We entered the garden, going through (the inside of) the church"

2. 1. 1. 5. 4. Exterior

At rest	Motion to	
(hemen) dış -in -da (immediately) outside-3.sg.-Loc. 'outside'	(hemen) dış -in -a kadar (immediately) outside-3.sg.-Dat. up to 'up to'	
Motion from	Motion past	
(hemen) dış -in -dan (immediately) outside-3.sg.-Abl. 'away from'	(hemen) dış -in -a (değ -erek) (immediately) outside-3.sg.-Dat. (touch-MAdv.) 'past'	
(879)	mezarlık kilise -nin (hemen) dış -in -da cemetery church -Gen. immediately outside -3.sg. -Loc.	"The cemetery is (immediately) outside the church"
(880)	araba kilise -nin (hemen) dış -in -a car church -Gen. immediately outside -3.sg. -Dat. kadar gid -ip dur -du up to go -and stand -Past	"The car drove up to the outside of the church and stopped"

- (881) araba kilise -nin (hemen) dış -ın -dan
 car church -Gen. immediately outside -3.sg. -Abl.
 hareket et -ti
 motion do -Past
 "The car started from (the immediate outside of) the church"
- (882) araba kilise -nin (hemen) dış -ın -a
 car church -Gen. immediately outside -3.sg. -Dat.
 değ -erek geç -ti
 touch -MAdv. pass -Past
 "The car passed by, touching the (immediate outside of the) church"

2. 1. 1. 5. 5. Anterior

At rest

ön -ün -de
 front -3.sg.-Loc.
 'in front of'

Motion to

ön -ün -e
 front-3.sg.-Dat.
 'to the front of'

Motion from

ön -ün -den
 front-3.sg.-Abl.
 'from the front of'

Motion past

ön -ün -den (geç -erek)
 front-3.sg.-Abl. (pass-MAdv.)
 '(passing) in front of'

- (883) mezarlık kilise -nin ön -ün -de
 cemetery church -Gen. front -3.sg. -Loc.
 "The cemetery is in front of the church"
- (884) araba kilise -nin ön -ün -e gid -ip
 car church -Gen. outside -3.sg. -Dat. go -and
 dur -du
 stand -Past
 "The car drove up to the front of the church and stopped"
- (885) araba kilise -nin ön -ün -den hareket et -ti
 car church -Gen. front -3.sg. -Abl. motion do -Past
 "The car started from the front of the church"
- (886) araba kilise -nin ön -ün -den geç -erek
 car church -Gen. front -3.sg. -Abl. pass -MAdv.
 yol -un -a devam et -ti
 way -3.sg. -Dat. continue -Past
 "The car continued on its way, passing in front of the church"

2. 1. 1. 5. 6. Posterior

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
arka -sın -da back-3.sg. -Loc. 'behind'	arka -sın -a back-3.sg.-Dat. 'behind'	arka -sın -dan back-3.sg.-Abl. 'from behind'	arka-sın -dan back-3.sg.-Abl. 'behind'
(887)	mezarlık kilise -nin cemetery church -Gen.	arka -sın -da back -3.sg. -Loc.	"The cemetery is in back of the church"
(888)	araba kilise -nin car church -Gen.	arka -sın -a back -3.sg. -Dat.	gid -ip dur -du go -and stand -Past "The car drove up to the back of the church and stopped"
(889)	araba kilise -nin car church -Gen.	arka -sın -dan back -3.sg. -Abl.	hareket et -ti motion do -Past "The car started from the back of the church"
(890)	araba kilise -nin car church -Gen. yol -un way -3.sg.	arka -sın -dan back -3.sg. -Abl. -a devam et -ti -Dat. continue -Past	geç -erek pass -MAdv. "The car continued on its way, passing in back of the church"

2. 1. 1. 5. 7. Superior

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
üzer -in -de above-3.sg.-Loc. 'above/over'	üzer -in -e above-3.sg.-Dat. 'above'	üzer -in -den above-3.sg.-Abl. 'from above'	üzer -in -den above-3.sg.-Abl. 'over'
(891)	lamba masa -nın lamp table -Gen.	üzer -in -de above -3.sg. -Loc.	"The lamp is above the table"
(892)	lamba -yı masa -nın lamp -Acc. table -Gen.	üzer -in -e above -3.sg. -Dat.	as -tı -m hang -Past -1.sg. "I hung the lamp above the table"
(893)	lamba masa -nın lamp table -Gen.	üzer -in -den above -3.sg. -Abl.	yer -e düş -tü floor -Dat. fall -Past "The lamp fell from above the table onto the floor"
(894)	uçak ada -nın plane island -Gen. yol -un way -3.sg.	üzer -in -den above -3.sg. -Abl. -a devam et -ti -Dat. continue -Past	geç -erek pass -MAdv. "The plane continued on its way, passing above the island"

2. 1. 1. 5. 8. Superior-Contact

The item **üzer-** 'above', used in the previous subsection, can also be used in the sense studied in the present subsection. Conversely, the item **üst** 'top, top surface' can also be used in the sense of 'above', appropriate to the previous subsection.

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
üst -ün -de top-3.sg.-Loc. 'on'	üst -ün -e top-3.sg. -Dat. 'on(to)'	üst -ün -den above -3.sg.-Abl. 'off'	üst -ün -den above -3.sg.-Abl. 'over'
(895)	sürahi masa -nın üst -ün -de pitcher table -Gen. top -3.sg. -Loc. "The pitcher is on the table"		
(896)	sürahi -yi masa -nın üst -ün -e koy -du -m pitcher -Acc. table -Gen. top -3.sg. -Dat. put -Past -1.sg. "I put the pitcher on the table"		
(897)	sürahi masa -nın üst -ün -den yer -e düş -tü pitcher table -Gen. top -3.sg. -Abl. floor -Dat. fall -Past "The pitcher fell from the top of the table onto the floor"		
(898)	örtü -yü masa -nın üst -ün -den çek -erek tablecloth -Acc. table -Gen. top -3.sg. -Abl. pull -MAdv. silkele -di -m shake -Past -1.sg. "I pulled the tablecloth from (along) the table and shook (it)"		

2. 1. 1. 5. 8a. Surface

The two lexical items **üzer-** 'above' and **üst** 'top', illustrated in the two previous subsections, also mean 'top surface' and can thus be used for the purposes of the present subsection, as well.

2. 1. 1. 5. 9. Inferior

At rest	Motion to
alt -ın -da under-3.sg.-Loc. 'below/under'	alt -ın -a under-3.sg.-Dat. 'below/under'
Motion from	Motion past
alt -ın -dan under-3.sg.-Abl. 'from under'	alt -ın -dan (geç -erek) under-3.sg.-Abl. (pass-MAdv.) 'under'

- (899) halı masa -nın alt -ın -da
carpet table -Gen. under -3.sg. -Loc.
"The carpet is on the table"
- (900) halı -yı masa -nın alt -ın -a
carpet -Acc. table -Gen. underside -3.sg. -Dat.
koy -du -m
put -Past -1.sg.
"I put the carpet under the table"
- (901) köpek masa -nın alt -ın -dan üst -üm -e
dog table -Gen. underside -3.sg. -Abl. top -1.sg. -Dat.
sıçra -dı
leap -Past
"The dog leapt on me from under the table"
- (902) gemi köprü -nün alt -ın -dan geç -erek
ship bridge -Gen. under -3.sg. -Abl. pass -MAdv.
yol -un -a devam et -ti
way -3.sg. -Dat. continue -Past
"The ship continued on its way, passing under the bridge"

2. 1. 1. 5. 10. Inferior-Contact

There is no set expression to express inferior contact. The constructions of the previous subsection would need to be used, along with verbs like *değ* 'touch'; e.g.

- (903) gemi köprü -nün alt -ın -a değ -di
ship bridge -Gen. under -3.sg. -Dat. touch -Past
"The ship touched the underside of the bridge"

2. 1. 1. 5. 11. Lateral

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
yan -ın -da side-3.sg.-Loc. 'beside'	yan-ın -a side-3.sg.-Dat. 'beside'	yan -ın -dan side-3.sg.-Abl. 'from beside'	yan -ın -dan (geç -erek) side-3.sg.-Abl. (pass-MAdv.) 'past'

Examples similar to those seen in 2. 1. 1. 5. 2. can be used to illustrate:

- (904) ev -im kilise -nin yan -ın -da
house -1.sg. church -3.sg. side -3.sg. -Loc.
"My house is next to the church"
- (905) (biz) kilise -nin yan -ın -a taşın -acağ -ız
we church -Gen. side -3.sg. -Dat. move -Fut. -1.pl.
"We will move next to the church"

(906) Hasan kilise -nin yan -ın -dan gel -iyor
 Hasan church -Gen. side -3.sg. -Abl. come -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is coming from next to the church"

(907) Hasan kilise -nin yan -ın -dan geç -erek
 Hasan church -Gen. side -3.sg. -Abl. pass -MAdv.
 biz -e gel -ecek
 we -Dat. come -Fut.
 "Hasan will come to us, passing next to the church"

2. 1. 1. 5. 12. Lateral-Contact

There is no set expression for the notion of lateral contact. A variety of periphrastic constructions can be used, usually involving the verbs **değ** or **dokun** 'touch'; e.g.;

(908) rehber duvar -a değ -erek yürü -dü
 guide wall -Dat. touch -MAdv. walk -Past
 "The guide walked touching (alongside) the wall"

2. 1. 1. 5. 13. Citerior

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
bu taraf	bu taraf-a	bu taraf-tan	bu taraf-ta
this side	this side -Dat.	this side -Abl.	this side -Loc.
'on this side of'	'to this side of'	'from this side of'	'on this side of'

(909) ev -im kilise -nin bu taraf -ın -da
 house -1.sg. church -3.sg. this side -3.sg. -Loc.
 "My house is on this side of the church"

(910) (biz) kilise -nin bu taraf -ın -a taşın -acağ -ız
 we church -Gen. this side -3.sg. -Dat. move -Fut. -1.pl.
 "We will move to this side of the church"

(911) Hasan kilise -nin bu taraf -ın -dan gel -iyor
 Hasan church -Gen. this side -3.sg. -Abl. come -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is coming from this side of the church"

(912) Hasan kilise -nin bu taraf -ın -da yürü -yor
 Hasan church -Gen. this side -3.sg. -Abl. walk -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is walking on this side of the church"

This notion is often expressed periphrastically for the sake of clarity, modifying the word **taraf** 'side', to make clear the relation to a vantage point; typically, this is done by constructing a relative clause modifying **taraf** 'side'. One example corresponding to (909) is given below:

- (913) ev -im kilise -nin biz -e bak -an
 house -1.sg. church -3.sg. we -Dat. look -SbjP
 taraf -ın -da
 side -3.sg. -Loc.
 "My house is on the side of the church closer to us (looking at us)"

2. 1. 1. 5. 14. Citerior-Contact

There is no set expression for this notion. Periphrastic constructions using the adjective **bitişik** 'adjacent, contiguous; attached' can be used, along with the constructions illustrated in the previous subsection. Examples for such combinations, corresponding to (909) and (913), are offered below:

- (914) ev -im kilise -nin bu taraf -ın -ın
 house -1.sg. church -3.sg. this side -3.sg. -Gen.
 bitişik -in -de
 adjacency -3.sg. -Loc.
 "My house is adjacent to this side of the church"

- (915) ev -im kilise -nin biz -e bak -an
 house -1.sg. church -3.sg. we -Dat. look -SbjP
 taraf -ın -a bitişik
 side -3.sg. -Dat. adjacent
 "My house is adjacent to the side of the church closer to us (looking at us)"

2. 1. 1. 5. 15. Ulterior

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
öte -sin -de beyond-3.sg.-Loc. 'beyond'	öte -sin -e beyond-3.sg.-Dat. '(towards) beyond'	öte -sin -den beyond-3.sg.-Abl. 'from beyond'	öte -sin -den beyond-3.sg.-Abl. 'beyond'

- (916) ev -im kilise -nin öte -sin -de
 house -1.sg. church -3.sg. beyond -3.sg. -Loc.
 "My house is beyond the church"

- (917) (biz) kilise -nin öte -sin -e taşın -acağ -ız
 we church -Gen. beyond -3.sg. -Dat. move -Fut. -1.pl.
 "We will move to beyond the church"

- (918) Hasan kilise -nin öte -sin -den gel -iyor
 Hasan church -Gen. beyond -3.sg. -Abl. come -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is coming from beyond the church"

- (919) Hasan kilise -nin öte -sin -den geç -erek
 Hasan church -Gen. beyond -3.sg. -Abl. pass -MAdv.
 biz -e gel -ecek
 we -Dat. come -Fut.
 "Hasan will come to us, passing beyond the church"

2. 1. 1. 5. 16. Ulterior-contact

At rest

öbür yan-ın -da
 other side-3.sg.-Loc.
 karşı -sın -da
 across-3.sg.-Loc.
 'on the other side of / across'

Motion to

öbür yan -ın -a
 other side-3.sg.-Dat.
 karşı -sın -a
 across-3.sg.-Dat.
 'across'

Motion from

öbür yan -ın -dan
 other side-3.sg.-Abl.
 karşı -sın -dan
 across-3.sg.-Abl.
 'from across'

Motion past

öbür yan -ın -da(n)
 other side-3.sg.-Loc./(-Abl.)
 karşı -sın -da(n)
 across-3.sg.-Loc./(-Abl.)
 'on the other side of'

- (920) ev -im kilise -nin karşı -sın -da
 house -1.sg. church -3.sg. across -3.sg. -Loc.
 "My house is across from the church"
- (921) (biz) kilise -nin karşı -sın -a taşın -acağ -ız
 we church -Gen. across -3.sg. -Dat. move -Fut. -1.pl.
 "We will move across the church"
- (922) Hasan kilise -nin karşı -sın -dan gel -iyor
 Hasan church -Gen. across -3.sg. -Abl. come -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is coming from across the church"
- (923) Hasan kilise -nin karşı -sın -dan geç -erek
 Hasan church -Gen. across -3.sg. -Abl. pass -MAdv.
 biz -e gel -ecek
 we -Dat. come -Fut.
 "Hasan will come to us, passing across the church"

2. 1. 1. 5. 17. Medial (2)

At rest

ara -sın -da
 interval-3.sg.-Loc.
 'between'

Motion to

ara -sın -a
 interval-3.sg.-Dat.
 'between'

Motion from

ara -sın -dan
 interval-3.sg.-Abl.
 'from between'

Motion past

ara -sın -da
 interval-3.sg.-Loc.
 'between'

- (924) bahçe kilise -yle ev -imiz -in ara -sın -da
 garden church -and house -1.pl. -Gen. interval -3.sg. -Loc.
 "The garden is between the church and our house"
- (925) kalem -i kitap -la daktilo -nun
 pencil -Acc. book -and typewriter -Gen.
 ara -sın -a koy -du -m
 interval -3.sg. -Dat. put -Past -1.sg.
 "I put the pencil between the book and the typewriter"
- (926) Hasan kilise -yle ev -imiz -in ara -sın -dan
 Hasan church -and house -1.pl. -Gen. across -3.sg. -Abl.
 çıka -gel -di
 exit -come -Past
 "Hasan appeared suddenly between the church and our house"
- (927) Hasan bahçe -yle plaj -ın ara -sın -da
 Hasan garden -and beach -Gen. interval -3.sg. -Loc.
 koş -uyor
 run -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is running between the garden and the beach"

2. 1. 1. 5. 18. Medial (3+)

For this notion, the same constructions can be used as in the previous subsection.

2. 1. 1. 5. 19. Circumferential

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
—	—	—	etraf -ın -da sides-3.sg.-Loc. 'around'

- (928) Hasan göl -ün etraf -ın -da koş -uyor
 Hasan lake -Gen. sides -3.sg. -Loc. run -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is running around the lake"

2. 1. 1. 5. 20. Citerior-anterior

At rest	Motion to	Motion from	Motion past
karşı -sın -da opposite-3.sg.-Loc. 'opposite'	karşı -sın -a opposite-3.sg.-Dat. 'opposite'	karşı -sın -dan opposite-3.sg.-Abl. 'from opposite'	karşı -sın -da opposite-3.sg.-Loc. 'on the other side from'

- (929) park ev -imiz -in karşı -sın -da
 park house -1.pl. -Gen. opposite -3.sg. -Loc.
 "The park is opposite our house"

- (930) çadır -i ev -imiz -in karşı -sın -a
tent -Acc. house -1.pl. -Gen. opposite -3.sg. -Dat.
kur -du -lar
set up -Past -3.pl.
"They set up the tent opposite our house"
- (931) Hasan ev -imiz -in karşı -sın -dan
Hasan house -1.pl. -Gen. opposite -3.sg. -Abl.
çıkta -gel -di
exit -come -Past
"Hasan appeared suddenly from opposite our house"
- (932) Hasan plaj -ın karşı -sın -da koş -uyor
Hasan beach -Gen. opposite -3.sg. -Loc. run -Pr.Prog.
"Hasan is running on the other side of the beach"

2. 1. 1. 5. 21. Interior (long object)

Motion past

bir baş -ın -dan öbür baş -ın -a; boy -dan boy -a
on head-3.sg.-Abl. other head-3.sg.-Dat. length-Abl. length-Dat.
'through/along (from beginning to end)' 'from end to end'

- (933) tren -in bir baş -ın -dan öbür baş -ın -a
train -Gen. one head -3.sg. -Abl. other head -3.sg. -Dat.
yürü -dü -k
walk -Past -1.pl.
"We walked through (along) the train"

2. 1. 1. 5. 22. Exterior (long object)

Motion past

uzunlamasına; boyunca
lengthwise
'past/along'

- (934) sahil boyunca yürü -dü -m
shore along walk -Past -1.sg.
"I walked along the shore"

2. 1. 1. 5. 23. Superior (long object)

Motion past

üzer -in -den (uzunlamasına)
above-3.sg.-Abl. (lengthwise)
'along (above)'

- (935) kuş -lar tren ray -lar -ın -ın üzer -in -den
 bird -pl. train track -pl. -CmpM -Gen. above -3.sg. -Abl.
 (uzunlamasına) uç -uyor -lar
 (lengthwise) fly -Pr.Prog. -3.pl.
 "The birds are flying (lengthwise) above the train tracks"

2. 1. 1. 5. 24. Superior-contact (long object)

Motion past

üst -ün -de (uzunlamasına)
 top-3.sg.-Loc. (lengthwise)
 'along (on top of)'

- (936) karınca -lar yer -de -ki kütüğ -ün
 ant -pl. ground -Loc. -Rel.Cl. trunk -Gen.
 üst -ün -de (uzunlamasına) yürü -yor -lar
 top -3.sg. -Loc. (lengthwise) walk -Pr.Prog. -3.pl.
 "The ants are walking (lengthwise) on top of the (tree) trunk on the ground"

2. 1. 1. 5. 24a. Surface (long object)

Motion past

-DA /-DAn; üst -ün -de(n)
 -Loc./-Abl.; top-3.sg.-Loc./(-Abl.)
 'along'

- (937) yara -lı köpek sokak -ta sürün -üyor
 wound -with dog street -Loc. crawl -Pr.Prog.
 "The wounded dog is crawling on/along the street"

2. 1. 1. 5. 25. Inferior (long object)

Motion past

alt -ın -da(n) (uzunlamasına)
 under-3.sg.-Loc./(-Abl.) (lengthwise)
 'along (under)'

- (938) köstebek boru -nun alt -ın -dan (uzunlamasına)
 mole pipe -Gen. under -3.sg. -Abl. (lengthwise)
 geç -ti
 pass -Past
 "The mole passed (lengthwise) under the pipe"

2. 1. 1. 5. 26. Inferior-contact (long object)

Motion past

There is no set expression for this notion. The same construction as in the previous subsection can be used here. It is also possible to specify the contact by using verbs like **değ** or **dokun** 'touch':

- (939) köstebek boru -nun alt -in -dan değ -erek
 mole pipe -Gen. under -3.sg. -Abl. touch -MAdv.
 (uzunlamasına) geç -ti
 (lengthwise) pass -Past
 "The mole passed (lengthwise) under the pipe, touching (it)"

2. 1. 1. 5. 27. Interior (long object at right angles to its length)

Motion past

ıç -in -de karşı -dan karşı -ya; ıç -in -de en -in -e
 inside-3.sg.-Loc. across-Abl. across-Dat.; inside-3.sg.-Loc. width-3.sg.-Dat.
 'through/across'

- (940) işçi tünel -in ıç -in -de karşı -dan
 worker tunnel -Gen. inside -3.sg. -Loc. across -Abl.
 karşı -ya geç -ti
 across -Dat. pass -Past
 "The worker crossed the tunnel (at right angles to its length)"

2. 1. 1. 5. 28. Superior (long object at right angles to its length)

Motion past

üzer -in -den
 above-3.sg.-Abl.
 'over'

- (941) Hasan çit -in üzer -in -den atla -dı
 Hasan fence -Gen. above -3.sg. -Abl. jump -Past
 "Hasan jumped over the fence"

2. 1. 1. 5. 29. Superior-contact (long object at right angles to its length)

Motion past

The same expression can be used as in the previous subsection. To emphasize the notion of contact, periphrastic expressions employing the verbs **değ** or **dokun** 'touch' can be used:

- (942) Hasan çit -in üzer -in -den değ -erek
 Hasan fence -Gen. above -3.sg. -Abl. touch -MAdv.
 atla -dı
 jump -Past
 "Hasan jumped over the fence, touching (it)"

2. 1. 1. 5. 29a. Surface (long object at right angles to its length)

The same expressions as in the two previous subsections can be used.

2. 1. 1. 6. Location in time

2. 1. 1. 6. 1. General

The locative case suffix **-DA**, typically used to convey spatial location, is often used to mark time expressions, as well. However, not all time expressions are so marked, as shown below.

2. 1. 1. 6. 1. 1. Time of day

- (943) a. Hasan (saat) yedi -de uyan -dı
 Hasan (hour) seven -Loc. awake -Past
 "Hasan woke up at seven o'clock"
- (944) a. Hasan (saat) yedi buçuk -ta uyan -dı
 Hasan (hour) seven half -Loc. awake -Past
 "Hasan woke up at half past seven"
- (945) a. Hasan yedi -yi çeyrek geç -e uyan -dı
 Hasan seven -Acc. quarter pass -Ger. awake -Past
 "Hasan woke up at a quarter past seven"
- (946) a. Hasan yedi -yi on geç -e uyan -dı
 Hasan seven -Acc. ten pass -Ger. awake -Past
 "Hasan woke up at ten past seven"
- (947) a. Hasan yedi -ye on kal -a uyan -dı
 Hasan seven -Dat. ten remain -Ger. awake -Past
 "Hasan woke up at ten to seven"

As these examples illustrate, the full and half hours are expressed by using the locative suffix. Other time expressions use gerundive forms of the verbs **geç** 'past' and **kal** 'remain' to express minutes past and minutes to the full hour, respectively.

In official usage, time expressions use number designations around the 24-hour clock; the minutes are stated according to the full hour past; only the locative is used:

- (944) b. Hasan (**saat**) on -dokuz -otuz **-da** uyan -dı
 Hasan (**hour**) ten -nine -thirty **-Loc.** awake -Past
 "Hasan woke up at half past seven p.m." ("Hasan woke up at 19.30")
- (945) b. Hasan on -dokuz -on -beş **-te** uyan -dı
 Hasan ten -nine -ten -five **-Loc.** awake -Past
 "Hasan woke up at quarter past seven p.m."
 ("Hasan woke up at 19.15")
- (947) b. Hasan on -sekiz -elli **-de** uyan -dı
 Hasan ten -eight -fifty **-Loc.** awake -Past
 "Hasan woke up at ten to seven p.m." ("Hasan woke up at 18.50")

All of the examples in this subsection seen so far illustrate the usage of time expressions when used adverbially. The following set of examples show the use of the same expressions as predicates:

- (943) c. **saat** yedi
hour seven
 "It is seven o'clock"
- (944) c. **saat** yedi buçuk
hour seven half
 "It is half past seven"
- (945) c. yedi **-yi** çeyrek **geç** **-iyor**
 seven **-Acc.** quarter **pass** **-Pr.Prog.**
 "It is a quarter past seven"
- (946) c. yedi **-yi** on **geç** **-iyor**
 seven **-Acc.** ten **pass** **-Pr.Prog.**
 "It is ten past seven"
- (947) c. yedi **-ye** on **var**
 seven **-Dat.** ten **exist**
 "It is ten to seven"

The full and half hour expressions, used predicatively, are copular sentences. In the present tense, there is no overt copula. In the past tenses, the appropriate tense attaches to the time expression, as it would to any copular nominal or adjective. In the future tense, the auxiliary **ol** is used after the time expression, and the tense suffix is attached to the auxiliary.

Where minutes past the full hour are expressed, the verb **geç** 'pass' (which also shows up in the adverbial usage) is used and bears all appropriate tense suffixes, in the manner of any verbal predicate.

Where minutes before the full hour are expressed, the predicative verb is the existential **var** 'exist'.

2. 1. 1. 6. 1. 2. Period of day

(948) Hasan dün **sabah** iş -in -e git -me -di
 Hasan yesterday **morning** work -3.sg. -Dat. go -Neg. -Past
 "Hasan didn't go to work yesterday morning"

(949) a. Hasan bu **akşam** opera -ya gid -ecek
 Hasan this **evening** opera -Dat. go -Fut.
 "Hasan will go to the opera this evening"

As these examples show, time expressions referring to periods of the day are used in their bare forms, i.e. without attachment of case suffixes.

It is also possible to use these expressions with the time adverbial suffix **-leyin** (which does not alternate, i.e. does not undergo Vowel Harmony):

(949) b. Hasan **akşam -leyin** opera -ya gid -ecek
 Hasan **evening -TAdv.** opera -Dat. go -Fut.
 "Hasan will go to the opera this evening"

Note that when the suffix for time adverbials is used, modification of the time expression is not possible.

2. 1. 1. 6. 1. 3. Day of the week

(950) Hasan geç -en **Pazartesi** (gün -ü) Londra -ya
 Hasan past -SbjP **Monday** (day -CmpM) London -Dat.
 git -ti
 go -Past
 "Hasan went to London last (day of) Monday"

(951) Hasan (bu) **Cuma** (gün -ü) opera -ya gid -ecek
 Hasan (this) **Friday** (day -CmpM) opera -Dat. go -Fut.
 "Hasan will go to the opera this (day of) Friday"

As these examples show, time expressions referring to the days of the week are treated like expressions for the period of the day, i.e. they are used in their bare forms, without attachment of case suffixes. They can be optionally modified by demonstratives and relative clauses, and they can also optionally enter compounds with the head noun **gün** 'day'.

2. 1. 1. 6. 1. 4. Month of the year

- (952) a. Hasan **Ağustos** -ta Londra -ya gid -ecek
 Hasan **August** -Loc. London -Dat. go -Fut.
 "Hasan will go to London in August"
- (952) b. Hasan **Ağustos** ay -in -da Londra -ya gid -ecek
 Hasan **August** month -CmpM -Loc. London -Dat. go -Fut.
 "Hasan will go to London in the month of August"
- (953) Hasan geç -en **Ağustos** Londra -ya git -ti
 Hasan pass -SbjP **August** London -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan went to London last August"

As these examples show, time expressions referring to months have complex properties. When they are not modified by demonstratives or relative clauses, they have to bear the locative case suffix. Furthermore, they can also enter a compound construction with the head **ay** 'month'. In the latter case, the locative suffix is attached to that head noun. When the term for the month is modified, however, it is preferable in the colloquial language to attach no case suffix.

2. 1. 1. 6. 1. 5. Year

The locative suffix is attached either to the number expression for the year directly, or to the head of the compound formed by the number expression and the head noun **yıl** 'year':

- (954) Hasan bin -dokuz -yüz -doksan -beş -te
 Hasan thousand -nine -hundred -ninety -five -Loc.
 Londra -ya git -ti
 London -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan went to London in 1995"
- (955) Hasan **1995** yıl -in -da Londra -ya git -ti
 Hasan **1995** year -CmpM -Loc. London -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan went to London in the year of 1995"

2. 1. 1. 6. 1. 6. Festivals

Time expressions referring to festivals use the locative suffix:

- (956) komşu -lar -ımız **Paskalya** -da Berlin -e
 neighbor -pl. -1.pl. **Easter** -Loc. Berlin -Dat.
 gid -ecek -ler
 go -Fut. -3.pl.
 "Our neighbors will go to Berlin at Easter"

2. 1. 1. 6. 1. 7. Seasons

The locative is used for spring and autumn, while the suffix **-In** (the old instrumental) is used for summer and winter:

- (957) komşu -lar -ımız **ilbahar -da** Berlin -e
 neighbor -pl. -1.pl. **spring -Loc.** Berlin -Dat.
 gid -ecek -ler
 go -Fut. -3.pl.
 "Our neighbors will go to Berlin in spring"

- (958) komşu -lar -ımız **yaz -ın** Berlin -e
 neighbor -pl. -1.pl. **summer -OInst.** Berlin -Dat.
 gid -ecek -ler
 go -Fut. -3.pl.
 "Our neighbors will go to Berlin in the summer"

There is a second, rarely used expression for autumn: **güz**. Used as an adverbial expression, this word takes the second type of suffix:

- (959) komşu -lar -ımız **güz -ün** Berlin -e
 neighbor -pl. -1.pl. **autumn -OInst.** Berlin -Dat.
 gid -ecek -ler
 go -Fut. -3.pl.
 "Our neighbors will go to Berlin in autumn"

2. 1. 1. 6. 2. Frequentative

The frequentative is mostly expressed by using **her** 'every, each'; other possibilities are also illustrated. The tense most often found in this usage is the aorist. However, other tenses can also be used, if the notion of the frequentative is enforced by some time adverbial (e.g. *all last week*).

2. 1. 1. 6. 2. 1. Time of day

- (960) a. Hasan **her** sabah (**saat**) yedi **-de** uyan -ır
 Hasan **every** morning (**hour**) seven **-Loc.** awake **-Aor.**
 "Hasan wakes up at seven o'clock in the mornings"

Alternatively:

- (960) b. Hasan sabah **-lar -ı** (**saat**) yedi **-de** uyan -ır
 Hasan morning **-pl. -Adv.** (**hour**) seven **-Loc.** awake **-Past**
 "Hasan wakes up at seven o'clock in the mornings"

2. 1. 1. 6. 2. 2. Period of day

- (961) Hasan **her** **sabah** iş -in -e gid -er
 Hasan **every morning** work -3.sg. -Dat. go -Aor.
 "Hasan goes to work every morning"

Alternatively:

- (962) Hasan sabah **-lar -ı** iş -in -e gid -er
 Hasan morning **-pl. -Adv.** work -3.sg. -Dat. go -Aor.
 "Hasan goes to work every morning"

2. 1. 1. 6. 2. 3. Day of the week

- (963) Hasan **her** **Pazartesi** (gün -ü) Londra -ya gid -er
 Hasan **every Monday** (day -CmpM) London -Dat. go -Aor.
 "Hasan goes to London every Monday"

The locative cannot be used here.

Alternatively:

- (964) Hasan **Pazartesi -ler -i** Londra -ya gid -er
 Hasan **Monday -pl. -Adv.** London -Dat. go -Aor.
 "Hasan goes to London every Monday"

2. 1. 1. 6. 2. 4. Month of the year

- (965) a. Hasan **her** **Ağustos (-ta)** Londra -ya gid -er
 Hasan **every August (-Loc.)** London -Dat. go -Fut.
 "Hasan goes to London every August"

- (965) b. Hasan **her** **Ağustos ay -in -da** Londra -ya
 Hasan **every August month -CmpM -Loc.** London -Dat.
 gid -er
 go -Aor.
 "Hasan goes to London every month of August"

2. 1. 1. 6. 2. 5. Year

- (966) Hasan **her** **yıl** Londra -ya gid -er
 Hasan **every year** London -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan goes to London every year"

The locative cannot be used here.

2. 1. 1. 6. 2. 6. Festivals

Time expressions referring to festivals use the locative suffix:

- (967) a. komşu -lar-ımız her Paskalya-da Berlin-e gid-er -ler
 neighbor-pl.-1.pl. every Easter -Loc. Berlin-Dat. go -Aor.-3.pl.
 "Our neighbors go to Berlin every Easter"

Alternatively:

- (967) b. komşu -lar-ımız Paskalya-lar -ı Berlin-e gid-er -ler
 neighbor-pl.-1.pl. Easter -pl. -Adv. Berlin-Dat. go -Aor.-3.pl.
 "Our neighbors go to Berlin every Easter"

2. 1. 1. 6. 2. 7. Seasons

- (968) a. komşu -lar-ımız her ilbahar(-da) Berlin-e gid-er -ler
 neighbor-pl.-1.pl. every spring (-Loc.) Berlin-Dat. go -Aor.-3.pl.
 "Our neighbors go to Berlin every spring"

Alternatively:

- (968) b. komşu -lar-ımız yaz -lar -ı Berlin-e gid-er -ler
 neighbor-pl.-1.pl. summer -pl. -Adv. Berlin-Dat. go -Aor.-3.pl.
 "Our neighbors go to Berlin every summer"

2. 1. 1. 6. 3. Punctual-future

- (969) iki saat sonra dön -eceğ -im
 two hour after return -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll be back *in two hours*"

2. 1. 1. 6. 4. Punctual-past

- (970) iki saat önce bura-da -y -dı -m
 two hour before here -Loc.-Cop.-Past-1.sg.
 "I was here *two hours ago*"

2. 1. 1. 6. 5. Duration

- (971) Londra -da iki yıl yaşa-dı -m
 London-Loc. two year live -Past-1.sg.
 "I lived in London *for two years*"

Note that the time expression is bare, without any suffixation.

Duration, together with purpose or intention, is expressed by suffixing the abstract noun marker **-lık** to the time expression, followed by the compound marker **-(s)I(n)** and the dative marker **-(y)A**:

- (972) bir hafta -liĝ -in -a gel -di -m
 one week -Abs.N. -CmpM -Dat. come -Past -1.sg.
 "I have come *for one week*"

2. 1. 1. 6. 6. Anterior-duration-past

- (973) Salı -ya **kadar** yeni bir geliř -me ol -ma -dı
 Tuesday-Dat. **until** new a develop-ANom be-Neg.-Past
 "There was no new development *until Tuesday*"

2. 1. 1. 6. 7. Anterior-duration-future

- (974) Salı -ya **kadar** yeni bir geliř -me ol -ma -yacak
 Tuesday-Dat. **until** new a develop-ANom be -Neg. -Fut.
 "There will be no new development *until Tuesday*"

The only difference between this example and the previous one is in the tense: future in this example and past in the previous example.

2. 1. 1. 6. 8. Posterior-duration-past

- (975) Salı -dan **beri** yeni bir geliř -me ol -ma -dı
 Tuesday-Abl. **since** new a develop -ANom be -Neg. -Past
 "There was no new development *since Tuesday*"

2. 1. 1. 6. 9. Posterior-duration-future

- (976) Salı -dan **sonra** bura -da ol -acaĝ -ım
 Tuesday -Abl. **after** here -Loc. be -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll be here *after Tuesday*"
- (977) Salı -dan **itibaren** bura -da ol -acaĝ -ım
 Tuesday -Abl. **from...on** here -Loc. be -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll be here *from Tuesday on*"

2. 1. 1. 6. 10. Anterior-general

- (978) Salı -dan **önce** bura -da bulun -du -m
 Tuesday -Abl. **before** here -Loc. present -Past -1.sg.
 "I've been here *previous to Tuesday*"

2. 1. 1. 6. 11. Posterior-general

- (979) Salı -dan sonra bura-da ol -acağ-ım
 Tuesday-Abl. **after** here-Loc. be-Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll be here subsequent to Tuesday"

See also 2. 1. 1. 6. 9.

2. 1. 1. 6. 12. Point in period-past

- (980) a. Hasan son iki saat iç -in -de bura-da -y -dı
 Hasan last two hour **within-CmpM-Loc.** here -Loc.-Cop.-Past
 "Hasan has been here within the last two hours"
- (980) b. Hasan son iki saat zarf -in -da bura-da -y -dı
 Hasan last two hour **during-CmpM-Loc.** here -Loc.-Cop.-Past
 "Hasan has been here within the last two hours"
- (981) son bir saat zarf -in -da beş müşteri gel -di
 last one hour **during-CmpM-Loc.** five customer come-Past
 "Five customers came *in the last hour*"

2. 1. 1. 6. 13. Point in period-future

- (982) a. iki saat iç -in -de dön -eceğ -im
 two hour **within -CmpM -Loc.** return -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll be back within (the next) two hours"
- (982) b. iki saat geç -me -den dön -eceğ -im
 two hour **pass -Neg. -Abl.** return -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll be back within (the next) two hours"
 ("I'll be back before two hours have gone by")

2. 1. 1. 7. Double case marking

Turkish has no double case marking. Nouns in an attributive relationship to another (head) noun in non-possessive noun phrases have no case marking at all; only the head noun in a noun phrase bears case morphology. In possessive noun phrases, the possessor bears genitive case morphology and does not exhibit case agreement with the head noun.

- (983) **altın** yüzüğü -üm -ü kaybet -ti -m
gold ring -1.sg. -**Acc.** lose -Past -1.sg.
 "I lost my gold ring"
- (984) **ders** kitab -ı -m -i kaybet -ti -m
lesson book -CmpM -1.sg. -**Acc.** lose -Past -1.sg.
 "I lost my textbook"

(985)	Hasan	-in	kitab	-in	-1	kaybet	-ti	-m
	Hasan	-Gen.	book	-3.sg.	-Acc.	lose	-Past	-1.sg.
	"I lost Hasan's book"							

2. 1. 1. 8. Marking of number in noun phrases

2. 1. 1. 8. 1. Nominal number marking

Turkish does have a number marking system in nouns. The system has a main singular-plural opposition. The dual is borrowed and survives in only three obsolete lexical items. Categories like trial and paucal are not expressed.

2. 1. 1. 8. 1. 1. Singular-plural

The number marking system is singular-plural. The singular is not marked overtly; the plural is marked with the suffix **-lar**. All nouns behave similarly in this respect, i.e. there are no different classes of nouns with respect to singular-plural marking (with the exception of mass nouns, which usually do not pluralize).

2. 1. 1. 8. 1. 2. Singular-dual-plural

Turkish has no dual. However, the Arabic dual form for the accusative and genitive, the suffix **-ayn**, was borrowed into Ottoman and survives in three rather obsolete words: **taraf-eyn** 'the two sides; the two parties', and **valid-eyn** and **ebev-eyn**, both with the meaning 'the two parents'.

2. 1. 1. 8. 2. Obligatoriness versus optionality of the nominal number system

The system of marking number is obligatory wherever number marking is possible (with the exception of nonreferential nouns, where plurality marking is optional if the noun is bare, i.e. if there is no determiner). In other words, there are syntactic contexts where, despite plural semantics of the noun phrase, the head noun cannot be marked for plurality. When the noun phrase has numeral modifiers or certain quantifiers as modifiers, the plural suffix cannot occur:

(986)	a.	beş	çocuk
		five	child
		"five children"	

- (986) b. **birçok** çocuk
many child
"many children"⁴⁴

On the other hand, some other quantifiers do require the presence of the plural suffix:

- (987) a. **bazı** çocuk -lar
some child -pl.
"some children"

- (987) b. **bütün** çocuk -lar
all child -pl.
"all children"

Thus, where plural marking is possible, as in (987), the marking is obligatorily present. However, if the noun phrase lacks a determiner and is also nonreferential, plurality marking is optional:

- (988) a. Hasan **şiiir** yaz -ar
Hasan **poem** write -Aor.
"Hasan writes poems (poetry)"

- (988) b. Hasan **şiiir** -ler yaz -ar
Hasan **poem** -pl. write -Aor.
"Hasan writes poems"

2. 1. 1. 8. 3. Other means of indicating number

As shown in the examples of (986), where plurality is not marked overtly via the plural suffix, there are numerals or other quantifiers that express the plural semantics of the noun phrase.

2. 1. 1. 8. 4. Collective and distributive plurals

Crystal (1991) defines the term **collective** as follows: "A term used in grammatical description to refer to a noun which denotes a group of entities, and which is formally differentiated from other nouns by a distinct pattern of number contrast (and, in some languages, morphologically)" (Crystal 1991: 61). He states that the distinctive characteristic of collective nouns is "their ability to co-occur in the singular with either a singular or a plural verb, this correlating with a difference of interpretation—the noun being seen as a single collective entity, or as a collection of individual entities ..." (Crystal 1991: 61).

In Turkish, collective nouns in the singular, when in subject position, cannot co-occur with a plural verb. Thus, they do not differ in this respect from any regular singular noun:

- (989) komite yanlış bir karar ver -di
 committee wrong a decision give -Past
 "The committee made a wrong decision"

In order to bring out the interpretation that a collection of individual entities rather than a single collective entity is meant, such individuals must be mentioned explicitly:

- (990) komite üye -ler i yanlış bir karar
 committee member -pl. -CmpM wrong a decision
 ver -di (-ler)
 give -Past (-3.pl.)
 "The members of the committee made a wrong decision"

Note here that the overt marking of third person plural agreement on the verb is optional for an overtly plural subject. However, where the subject is overtly singular as with the collective noun in example (988), such overt plural agreement marking is not possible at all.

Lewis (1975) points out the only morphological use of collectives in Turkish, namely with numerals denoting twins, triplets etc., formed by suffixing **-(I)z**:

- (991) Ayşe üç -üz doğ -ur -du
 Ayşe three -Coll. be born -Caus. -Past
 "Ayşe gave birth to triplets"

However, these are not typical collective nouns. When these terms denote specific groups, they must exhibit the plural suffix; therefore, when in subject position, they can always co-occur with the plural suffix:

- (992) üç -üz -ler nihayet lise -yi
 three -Coll. -pl. finally high school -Acc.
 bit -ir -di (-ler)
 finish -Caus. -Past (-3.pl.)
 "The triplets have finally finished high school"

As for distributives, the suffix **-(ş)Ar** on numerals adds the meaning 'each':

- (993) bu kitap -lar -ın fiyat -ı beş -er dolar
 this book -pl. -Gen. price -3.sg. five -Dist. dollar
 "These books cost five dollars each"

Without the distributive suffix, the previous example would be ambiguous between a collective and a distributive reading, just as in English:⁴⁵

- (994) bu kitap -lar -ın fiyat -ı beş dolar
 this book -pl. -Gen. price -3.sg. five dollar
 "These books cost five dollars each"
 "These books cost five dollars"

In other words, this example could mean that the joint price of the set consisting of these books is five dollars (the collective reading), or that each one of these books costs five dollars (the distributive reading).

2. 1. 1. 8. 5. Singularization and pluralization of collective nouns

Singularization of genuine collective nouns (e.g. **hükümet** 'government', **komite** 'committee', **ordu** 'army') is not possible. Some other collective nouns can also function as count nouns, however (e.g. **polis** 'police'), in which case they can be used in the singular:

- (995) polis ordu -ya yardım et -ti
 police army -Dat. help do -Past
 "The police helped the army"
 "The policeman helped the army"

This sentence is ambiguous between the police force helping the army (the collective reading) and a single policeman helping the army (the singular reading, with the lexical item functioning as a count noun).

Collective nouns can have noncollective plurals. For example, **ordu-lar** 'army-pl.' would refer to a number of armies, each one of which would be a collective noun.

2. 1. 1. 8. 6. Various plural morphs

The only native and productive plural suffix is **-lAr**, which undergoes changes according to Vowel Harmony. Since its vowel is non-high, it undergoes only backness harmony; in other words, the morpheme can alternate only between **-ler** and **-lar**, depending on the backness of the last vowel in the stem:

(996) a. masa **-lar**
table **-pl.**
"tables"

(996) b. şişe **-ler**
bottle **-pl.**
"bottles"

2. 1. 1. 8. 7. Number marking of foreign words

Foreign words do not retain their native number marking in general; they are integrated into Turkish in their singular form and receive the regular plural suffix:

(997)	a.	frikik	(English free kick)	frikik -ler
(997)	b.	gol	(English goal)	gol -ler
(997)	c.	lokanta	(Italian locanda 'restaurant')	lokanta -lar
(997)	d.	şantöz	(French chanteuse 'woman singer')	şantöz -ler
(997)	e.	mektup	(Arabic mektu:b 'letter')	mektup -lar
(997)	f.	bülbül	(Persian bulbul 'nightingale')	bülbül -ler
(997)	g.	piskopos	(Greek episkopos 'bishop')	piskopos -lar

Ottoman had borrowed a number of nouns from Arabic with their suffixal plural feminine form on **-a:t**. Many of these still exist in Turkish; most have no corresponding singular forms, although some of them do:

(998)	a.	varidat	'revenues';	has no singular
(998)	b.	nebatat	'vegetation';	the singular nebat 'plant' exists
(998)	c.	mücevherat	'jewellery';	the singular mücevher 'jewel' exists
(998)	d.	meşrubat	'soft drinks';	the most closely related singular nouns are şurup 'syrup' and şerbet 'sherbet' (whose plurals are formed in the general fashion, by suffixing -lar), but the formal plural has an unpredictable meaning

The so-called broken plural of Arabic, formed by inserting vowels into the root, was also borrowed into Ottoman and is retained in present-day Turkish in the form of a number of nouns, most of which are treated as singular nouns:

(999)	a.	talebe	'student'	(Arabic ta:lib (sg.); talaba (pl.))
(999)	b.	hademe	'man-servant'	(Arabic kha:dim (sg.); khadama (pl.))
(999)	c.	amele	'workman'	(Arabic a:mil (sg.); amala (pl.))

While these items (and others) were borrowed in their plural forms, they are treated as singulars in Turkish, and they pluralize by using the regular plural suffix **-ler**;

- (1000) a. talebe **-ler**
student **-pl.**
"students"
- (1000) b. hademe **-ler**
man-servant **-pl.**
"man-servants"
- (1000) c. amele **-ler**
workman **-pl.**
"workmen"

However, some other nouns were borrowed from Arabic as singulars, and their "broken plural" forms were borrowed, as well, with plural meaning:

- (1001) a. alim 'scholar' Arabic: a:lim (sg.)
(1001) b. ulema 'learned men;
doctors of Moslem theology' Arabic: ulama: (pl.)

In Turkish, the singular **alim** pluralizes in a regular fashion: alim **-ler**.

Furthermore, there are some nouns which are borrowed in their plural forms from modern Greek but are used as singulars in Turkish; e.g.

- (1002) a. domates 'tomato (sg.)' domates **-ler** 'tomato **-pl.**'
(1002) b. patates 'potato (sg.)' patates **-ler** 'potato **-pl.**'

2. 1. 1. 9. Divisions of nouns into classes or genders

Nouns are not divided into classes (with one proviso: cf. subsection 2. 1. 1. 9. 3.) or genders; Turkish has no grammatical gender. Only a small number of borrowed nouns are marked for gender (usually for feminine, but not always). The marker is that of the donor language; e.g.

- (1003) a. şan(t)-**öz** 'female singer'; French: chant-**euse**
(1003) b. şan(t)-**ör** 'male singer'; French: chant-**eur**
(1003) c. rakkas-**e** 'female dancer'; Arabic: raqqa:s-**a**
(1003) d. kiral-**içe** 'queen'; Serbian and Croatian: kralj-**ica**

2. 1. 1. 9. 1. Affixes or markers for classes of nouns

Since there are no classes, this question does not apply.

2. 1. 1. 9. 2. Characterization of class-meaning for each class

Again, since there are no classes, this question does not apply.

2. 1. 1. 9. 3. Noun classes marked on elements other than on the noun itself

Nouns that refer to humans, when they are overtly marked for plural and are in subject position, co-occur optionally with the third person plural agreement marker on the predicate:

(1004) öğrenci **-ler** Londra **-ya** git **-ti** (**-ler**)
 student **-pl.** London **-Dat.** go **-Past** (**-3.pl.**)
 "The students went to London"

Nouns that refer to non-humans (and especially those that refer to inanimates) usually do not occur with the plural agreement marker:

(1005) kaya **-lar** vadi **-ye** doğru yuvarlan **-dı**
 rock **-pl.** valley **-Dat.** towards roll **-Past**
 "The rocks rolled (down) towards the valley"

Where non-human nouns do occur with the plural part of the third person plural agreement morphology, it is usually the case that the subject is personified in some sense.

2. 1. 1. 9. 4. Classifiers

Turkish has no productive system of classifiers. However, certain noun phrases may exhibit classifier-like elements where enumeration is involved:

(1006) a. beş **tane** elma
 five **item** apple
 "five apples"

(1006) b. üç **demet** havuç
 three **bunch** carrot
 "three bunches of carrot"

(1006) c. iki **baş** lahana
 two **head** cabbage
 "two heads of cabbage"

(1006) d. iki **tutam** tuz
 two **pinch** salt
 "two pinches of salt"

(1006) e. bir **fincan** un
 one **cup** flour
 "one cup of flour"

It should be noted that these elements are modifiers of the head noun rather than heads of the noun phrases. Where they are placed in head position of the noun phrase, they revert to their literal meaning, thus leading either to a different meaning of the entire NP or to ungrammaticality in the case of semantic incompatibility:

(1007) a. *beş elma **tane** -si
 five apple **item** -CmpM
 "five apple grains"

(1007) b. bir un **fincan** -ı
 one flour **cup** -CmpM
 "one flour cup (i.e. a cup designated for flour)"

2. 1. 1. 9. 5. Loan words

Insofar as Turkish can be said to have classes at all (cf. 2. 1. 1. 9. 4. and 2. 1. 1. 9. 5.), loan words from other languages are assigned to such classes on the basis of semantic criteria. With respect to the human/non-human distinction determining whether third person plural agreement suffixes show up on the predicate, let us look at the following two examples:

(1008) a. talebe **-ler** Londra **-ya** git **-ti** (**-ler**)
 student **-pl.** London **-Dat.** go **-Past** (**-3.pl.**)
 "The students went to London"

(1008) b. kitap **-lar** yer **-e** düş **-tü**
 book **-pl.** floor **-Dat.** fall **-Past**
 "The books fell to the floor"

In both examples, the subject nouns are borrowings from Arabic. Due to their semantics, more specifically, due to the fact that **talebe** 'student' is human and **kitap** 'book' is non-human, each item is assigned to the appropriate human versus non-human class, thus explaining their different behavior with respect to subject-predicate agreement.

The same holds for assigning borrowed nouns to classes with respect to appropriate classifiers:

(1009) beş **tane** kitap
 five **item** book
 "five books"

(1010) bir **demet** gül
 one **bunch** rose
 "one bunch of roses"

The noun **kitap** 'book' is borrowed from Arabic, and **gül** 'rose' is borrowed from Persian. There is nothing in their phonological or morphological shape that would determine their assignment to different classes; however, their semantic features do determine such assignment.

2. 1. 1. 10. Marking of definiteness in noun phrases

Definiteness in noun phrases is not marked morphologically. Furthermore, there is no definite article. A noun phrase is understood to be definite by virtue of not being marked as indefinite (cf. 2. 1. 1. 11.) and by virtue of its freedom to move within its clause. However, it is possible to view the presence of demonstratives as an expression of definiteness.

2. 1. 1. 10. 1. Method(s) of marking definiteness in noun phrases

Demonstratives precede the head noun and any modifying adjectives. There are three types of demonstratives: **bu** 'this/these', **şu** 'that/those' and **o** 'yonder, that/those over there'. Nouns that co-occur with any one of these demonstratives are interpreted as definite:

(1011) **bu / şu / o** gül -ler -i çok beğen -di -m
this/ that / yonder rose -pl. -Acc. very like -Past -1.sg.
 "I like(d) these/those/yonder roses a lot"

2. 1. 1. 10. 2. Optionality versus obligatoriness of definiteness marking in the noun phrase

As stated in 2. 1. 1. 10., noun phrases can be interpreted as definite even if there is no demonstrative. If a noun phrase bears no markers for indefinite, and if it can freely move within its clause, it is interpreted as definite. In that sense, definiteness marking is optional in the noun phrase.

2. 1. 1. 10. 3. Variation of the definiteness marker

Insofar as we see demonstratives as definiteness markers, their shape does vary according to the spatial relationship between the entity

concerned and participants in the speech act. This relation is essentially speaker-oriented; **bu** 'this' designates a referent which is close to the speaker, **şu** 'that' designates a referent which is further removed from the speaker, and **o** 'yonder' designates a referent which is furthest removed from the speaker.

2. 1. 1. 10. 4. Optionality versus obligatoriness in the variation of the definiteness marker

Insofar as the demonstrative markers are used at all, their variation with respect to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and the speaker is obligatory.

2. 1. 1. 10. 5. Indications of definiteness

2. 1. 1. 10. 5. 1. With proper names

Demonstratives can be used with proper names. All demonstratives can co-occur with proper names for contrast:

- (1012) **bu** Hasan-la yeni tanı ş -tı -m, fakat **o**
this Hasan-Inst. new meet-Recip.-Past-1.sg. but **yonder**
 Hasan-ı eski-den beri tanı -r -ım
 Hasan-Acc. old -Abl. since know-Aor.-1.sg.
 "I've met this Hasan recently, but I've known that (other) Hasan for a long time"

The demonstrative **şu** 'that' is the one most often used with proper names in a non-contrastive function:

- (1013) **şu** Hasan ne kadar garip bir insan ...
 that Hasan what as much as strange a person
 "What a strange person this Hasan is..."

2. 1. 1. 10. 5. 2. With abstract nouns

Demonstratives can be used with abstract nouns:

- (1014) ara -mız -da -ki **bu** büyük yaş fark -ın -a
 interval-1.pl.-Loc.-Rel.Cl. **this** big age difference -CmpM -Dat.
 alış -a -ma -dı -m
 used-Abil.-Neg.-Past-1.sg.
 "I haven't been able to get used to this big age difference between us"

2. 1. 1. 10. 6. Obligatoriness versus optionality of definiteness marking with proper names and abstract nouns

Proper names and abstract nouns more often than not occur without demonstratives, i.e. without overt definiteness marking. Therefore, such definiteness marking with proper names and abstract nouns is optional.

2. 1. 1. 11. Marking of indefiniteness in noun phrases

Indefiniteness is marked in noun phrases in Turkish.

2. 1. 1. 11. 1. Means for marking indefiniteness in noun phrases

The indefinite is most generally expressed via the indefinite determiner **bir** 'a', which is the same lexical item as the numeral **bir** 'one'. It should be noted, however, that the numeral is placed differently within the noun phrase than the determiner:

(1015) a. **bir** çürük elma
 one rotten apple
 "one rotten apple"

(1015) b. çürük **bir** elma
 rotten an apple
 "a rotten apple"

In addition, for plural nouns, indefinite quantifiers like **bazı** 'some' are used:

(1016) **bazı** elma -lar
 some apple -pl.
 "some apples"

Finally, for singular as well as non-singular nouns, lack of overt accusative and genitive markers signals non-specificity and thus indefiniteness (cf. 2. 1. 1. 12. for discussion and examples).

2. 1. 1. 11. 2. Optionality versus obligatoriness of the marking of indefiniteness

Indefinite marking, especially where it is to be differentiated from non-specific meaning on the one hand and from definite meaning on the other, must be overtly expressed by some means or the other (cf. the previous subsection).

2. 1. 1. 11. 3–4. Variation in the form of the indefiniteness marker

The form of the indefinite marker does not vary according to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and participants in the speech act.

2. 1. 1. 11. 5. Indication of indefiniteness

2. 1. 1. 11. 5. 1. With nonsingular nouns

Nonsingular nouns can be marked for indefiniteness within their noun phrase via indefinite quantifiers like **bazı** 'some':

- (1017) **bazı** elma -lar
 some apple -pl.
 "some apples"

Further, as indicated in 2. 1. 1. 11. 1. (and to be further discussed in 2. 1. 1. 12.), non-specific noun phrases (singular as well as non-singular) cannot be marked overtly for accusative and genitive case, where the noun phrase is a direct object or a subject of a nominalized clause, respectively. Since non-specific noun phrases are indefinite, this is a way of marking indefiniteness in non-singular noun phrases, as well:

- (1018) dün çok garip kitap -lar oku -du -m
 yesterday very strange book -pl. read -Past -1.sg.
 "Yesterday I read very strange books"

Note that the direct object noun phrase is lacking accusative case and is therefore interpreted as non-specific and therefore also as indefinite. Had the same noun phrase been marked for overt accusative in the same syntactic position and with the same grammatical relation, it would be interpreted as definite (and specific):

- (1019) dün çok garip kitap -lar -ı oku -du -m
 yesterday very strange book -pl. -Acc. read -Past -1.sg.
 "Yesterday I read the very strange books"

Without a determiner and with the accusative marker, the interpretation of this noun phrase has to be definite. However, if an indefinite determiner like **bazı** 'some' shows up in such a syntactic context, the interpretation is indefinite. In that case, the accusative marking on the head noun will mark the noun phrase as specific, while the indefinite determiner will mark it as indefinite:

- (1020) dün bazı çok garip kitap -lar -ı oku -du -m
 yesterday **some** very strange book -pl. -**Acc.** read -Past -1.sg.
 "Yesterday I read some very strange books (indefinite, specific)"

It should be noted that utterances like (1020) are not judged to be perfect by all speakers. For many speakers, the author of this book included, marking for specificity and marking for indefiniteness can successfully co-occur only to the extent that specificity is expressed clearly, via modification (e.g. by relative clauses):

- (1021) dün sen -in tavsiye et -tiğ -in bazı
 yesterday you -Gen. recommend -ObjP -2.sg. **some**
 çok garip kitap -lar -ı oku -du -m
 very strange book -pl. -**Acc.** read -Past -1.sg.
 "Yesterday I read some very strange books that you recommended
 (indefinite, specific)"

2. 1. 1. 11. 5. 2. Mass nouns

Indefiniteness can be indicated with mass nouns when they indicate "sorts", by using expressions like **belli bir** 'a certain':

- (1022) lokanta -da her zaman belli bir şarab -ı
 restaurant -Loc. each time **certain a** wine -Acc.
 iç -er -im
 drink -Aor. -1.sg.
 "At the restaurant I always drink a certain wine"

Here, what is meant is clearly a certain kind of wine.

Indefiniteness can also be expressed with the paradigm use of mass nouns by using expressions like **belli bir miktar** 'a certain amount (of), some', **biraz** 'a little, some', **bir hayli**, **epeyce** 'some':

- (1023) Hasan her zaman yemek -te belli bir miktar
 Hasan every time meal -Loc. **certain an amount**
 şarap iç -er
 wine drink -Aor.
 "Hasan always drinks a certain amount of wine at (his) meals"

2. 1. 1. 11. 6. Optionality versus obligatoriness of the marking of indefiniteness on nonsingular and mass nouns

A nonsingular or mass noun phrase can lack indefinite determiners and still be interpreted as indefinite. However, in certain syntactic contexts (e.g. where the noun phrase is marked overtly for a structural case like

the accusative or genitive), indefiniteness must be marked overtly, since otherwise the meaning would be definite.

2. 1. 1. 12. Distinction between referential and nonreferential indefiniteness

As mentioned previously (cf. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1., 2. 1. 1. 2. 4., 2, 1, 1, 10. 1., 2. 1. 1. 11. 1.), Turkish distinguishes referential and nonreferential indefiniteness.

2. 1. 1. 12. 1. Method(s) for marking the distinction between referential and nonreferential indefiniteness

The distinction between referential and nonreferential indefiniteness via the overt expression of structural case, in particular of accusative and genitive case markers. These markers must occur with referential noun phrases and cannot occur with nonreferential noun phrases:

(1024) a. dün Hasan -ın tavsiye et -tiğ i
 yesterday Hasan -Gen. recommend -ObjP -3.sg.
birkaç kitab -ı oku -du -m
a few book -Acc. read -Past -1.sg.
 "Yesterday I read some books that Hasan recommended"

(1024) b. dün Hasan -ın tavsiye et -tiğ i **birkaç** kitap
 yesterday Hasan -Gen. recommend -ObjP -3.sg. **a few** book
 oku -du -m
 read -Past -1.sg.
 "Yesterday I read some books that Hasan recommended"

(1024)a exemplifies a referential indefinite noun phrase, while (1024)b illustrates a nonreferential noun phrase. In the first example, the speaker read a certain number of books that Hasan recommended; s/he is thinking of specific books and is presuming that the hearer knows that Hasan did recommend certain books, if not the identity of those books. Furthermore, the speaker exhausted the list of books recommended by Hasan.

In the second example, the speaker does not presume that the hearer knows that Hasan recommended any books at all. Furthermore, it is likely that Hasan recommended more books than the speaker read.

2. 1. 1. 12. 2. Optionality versus obligatoriness of referentiality in the noun phrase

The overt morphological distinction between referential and nonreferential noun phrases can be made only where either the accusative or the genitive case can be marked. In such contexts, the marking for referentiality (i.e. the case morphology) is obligatory, since if that marking does not occur, the reading will be one of nonreferentiality. However, in other syntactic contexts, i.e. where either nominative or oblique case is assigned, the distinction in question is not marked morphologically: the nominative is never marked morphologically (irrespective of referentiality), and oblique cases are always marked overtly, again irrespective of referentiality.

2. 1. 1. 12. 3. Indication of referentiality with

2. 1. 1. 12. 3. 1. Nonsingular nouns

(Non)referentiality is indicated on nonsingular nouns by the same means used for singular nouns, i.e. via (non)overtness of accusative and genitive case morphemes:

(1025) Hasan **uzun** **şiiir** **-ler** yaz **-ar**
 Hasan **long** **poem** **-pl.** write **-Aor.**
 "Hasan writes long poems"

Note that the object noun phrase does not bear accusative morphology; it is therefore interpreted as nonreferential.

2. 1. 1. 12. 3. 2. Mass nouns

Mass nouns are also subject to the same treatment as singular and nonsingular count nouns with respect to marking for referentiality. When they bear accusative or genitive case markers (in the appropriate syntactic contexts), they are interpreted as referential; otherwise, they are nonreferential:

(1026) bakkal **-dan** **şeker** al **-dı** **-m**
 grocer **-Abl.** **sugar** buy **-Past** **-1.sg.**
 "I bought sugar from the grocer's"

2. 1. 1. 12. 4. **Optionality versus obligatoriness of referentiality marking in nonsingular and mass nouns**

The optionality versus obligatoriness of referentiality marking in nonsingular and mass nouns is regulated along the same guidelines as for singular nouns (cf. 2. 1. 1. 12. 2.).

2. 1. 1. 13. **Marking of genericness in noun phrases**

2. 1. 1. 13. 1. **Methods of marking genericness in noun phrases**

There is no special marking for genericness. By and large, genericness is marked in the same way as nonreferentiality is, i.e. by lack of overt accusative and genitive morphemes. In addition, the aorist tense on the predicate reinforces interpretation of such "bare" noun phrases as generic:

(1027) çocuk -lar **dondurma** sev -er
child -pl. **ice cream** like -Aor.
"Children like ice cream"

However, a generic object can sometimes be overtly marked with the accusative morpheme and still retain a generic meaning, without necessarily be interpreted as referential; this possibility is usually limited to sentences whose predicate is in the aorist:⁴⁶

(1028) çocuk -lar **dondurma -yı** sev -er
child -pl. **ice cream -Acc.** like -Aor.
"Children like ice cream"

2. 1. 1. 13. 2. **Optionality versus obligatoriness of the marking of genericness**

In general, there must be some overt clue to the generic reading; usually, this is lack of morphological structural case marking, as we saw previously. Where this clue is lacking, the aorist tense functions as such a clue.

2. 1. 1. 14. **Importance of noun actors**

There are no overt morphological means to indicate that one actor in a discourse is more important than another. Syntactically, the most important actor will be the topic; the noun phrase referring to that actor will be placed in initial position of the sentence where the topic is first introduced, and that actor will be later referred to via ellipsis, while the

frequency of referring to less important actors will be lower. However, there is no morphological marker for "important" noun actors.

2. 1. 2. *Pronouns*

2. 1. 2. 1. *Personal pronouns*

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. *Free pronouns*

Turkish has free pronouns with distinct forms for the combinations of the two features that are relevant in the language: person and number (gender is not a relevant feature in this sense):

(1029)	Singular	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	ben	sen	o
	<i>Accusative</i>	ben-i	sen-i	on-u
	<i>Genitive</i>	ben-im	sen-in	on-un
	<i>Dative</i>	ban-a	san-a	on-a
	<i>Locative</i>	ben-de	sen-de	on-da
	<i>Ablative</i>	ben-den	sen-den	on-dan
	Plural	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	biz	siz	on-lar
	<i>Accusative</i>	biz-i	siz-i	on-lar-ı
	<i>Genitive</i>	biz-im	siz-in	on-lar-ın
	<i>Dative</i>	biz-e	siz-e	on-lar-a
	<i>Locative</i>	biz-de	siz-de	on-lar-da
	<i>Ablative</i>	biz-den	siz-den	on-lar-dan

A few anomalies should be noted in this otherwise rather regular table: the genitive suffix of the first person singular and plural has a final **m** rather than **n**; the vowel of the first person singular and plural pronoun is **a** rather than **e**; the stem-final **n** of the third person singular pronoun is deleted in word-final position.

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 1. *Obligatoriness of free pronouns*

Free pronouns are rarely obligatory, since they can be easily elided if they have an antecedent in the discourse. Furthermore, such pronouns are usually optional in subject position of clauses and as possessors of possessive noun phrases, since the agreement morphemes on predicates and head nouns make it possible to recover the features of the omitted subject pronoun; this is true for all persons.

Free personal pronouns are obligatory if they are non-subjects and their antecedent is within the same complex sentence (but not in a clause which is coordinated with the clause that contains the pronoun):

- (1030) a. [(biz-im) Ahmed -i_i iş -ten at -ma -mız]
 we-Gen. Ahmet -Acc. work -Abl. throw -ANom -1.pl.
 on -u_i /*Ø_i üz -müş
 he -Acc. /*Ø sadden -Rep.Past
 "That we fired Ahmet has reportedly made him sad"

- (1030) b. [(biz-im) on -u_i /*Ø_i iş -ten at -ma -mız]
 we-Gen. he -Acc. /*Ø work -Abl. throw -ANom -1.pl.
 Ahmed -i_i üz -müş
 Ahmet -Acc. sadden -Rep.Past
 "That we fired him has reportedly made Ahmet sad"

This generalization holds for all persons, i.e. for third person (as illustrated in the previous example) as well as for first and second person.

Furthermore, free pronouns are obligatory as objects of true postpositions (i.e. of postpositions that do not carry agreement morphology); again, this holds of first, second, and third person alike:

- (1031) Hasan -i_i gör -ünce on -a_i /*Ø_i **doğru**
 Hasan -Acc. see -TAdv. he -Dat. /*Ø **towards**
 koş -tu -m
 run -Past -1.sg.
 "Upon seeing Hasan, I ran towards him"

This generalization is a corollary of a wider generalization, namely that postpositions cannot be stranded in Turkish.

In both types of instances, the obligatory free pronoun is a non-subject; this is a non-trivial observation, since there is no agreement morphology in Turkish for non-subjects.

As we shall see later, subject pronouns are essentially optional. However, in a sentence starting a discourse, only first and second person subject pronouns are optional; third person subject pronouns are obligatory.

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 2. Optionality of free pronouns

Free pronouns are optional, in the sense of being in free variation with their omitted corresponding form, in the following syntactic contexts:

1. The free pronoun is a non-subject of a sentence or clause which is a conjunct in a coordinate structure, and the antecedent is contained in a preceding conjunct; 2. The free pronoun is the possessor of a genitive construction, and the antecedent is a non-subject (and must precede the omitted pronoun when more than one potential antecedent is present):⁴⁷

(1032) Ayşe her yaz Hasan -la_i buluş -ur ve
 Ayşe every summer Hasan -with meet -Aor. and
 on -u_i /Ø_i Bodrum -a götür -ür
 he -Acc. /Ø Bodrum -Dat. take -Aor.
 "Ayşe meets with Hasan every summer and takes him to Bodrum"

(1033) Hasan Ayşe -ye_i [on -un_i /Ø_i saat -in -i
 Hasan Ayşe -Dat. she -Gen. /Ø watch -3.sg. -Acc.
 kaybet -tiğ -in -i] itiraf et -ti
 lose -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. confess -Past
 "Hasan confessed to Ayşe that (he) had lost her watch"

These possibilities of free variation between free pronoun and omitted pronoun exist for all persons.

Some other syntactic contexts should also be mentioned where the free pronoun is optional in a different sense: it must be omitted so as to corefer with the potential antecedent. The pronoun can occur in these contexts, but with a different referent:

(1034) Hasan_i [on -un*_i/j /Ø_i kitab -ı çal -dığ -ın -ı]
 Hasan he -Gen. /Ø book -Acc. steal -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 söyle -di
 say -Past
 "Hasan said that he stole the book"

(1035) Hasan_i [on -un*_i/j /Ø_i kitab -ın -ı] kaybet -miş
 Hasan he -Gen. /Ø book -3.sg. -Acc. lose -Rep.Past
 "Hasan lost his book"

Where a pronoun is in embedded subject position or is a possessor, it must be omitted. This is true for third person pronouns and is a strong tendency for first and second person pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 3. Free pronouns and emphasis

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 1. Free pronouns in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts

Non-subject free pronouns occur in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts in general. Subject and possessor pronouns are more likely to be omitted in such contexts, since their person and number features are made explicit by the agreement morphemes on the predicate or on the head noun, respectively. However, even subject pronouns can occur in noncontrastive nonemphatic contexts, if there is a topic switch in the discourse:⁴⁸

- (1036) A: Tasarı -yı yarın -a kadar
 proposal -Acc. tomorrow -Dat. until
 bitir -e -mi -yeceğ -im.
 finish -Abil. -Neg. -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I won't be able to finish the proposal until tomorrow."
- B: **Ben** san -a yardım ed -er -im.
 I you -Dat. help do -Aor. -1.sg.
 "I will help you."

Here, the subject pronoun **ben** 'I' is not contrastive, nor is it emphasized. Note the switch of topic in this discourse from the first utterance to the second one.

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 2. Free pronouns in contexts where the referent(s) of the pronoun is/are emphasized

In contexts where the referent(s) of the pronoun is/are emphasized, free pronouns must occur; they cannot be omitted:

- (1037) A: Ban -a kimse yardım et -mi -yecek.
 I -Dat. nobody help do -Neg. -Fut.
 "Nobody will help me."
- B: **Ben** ed -eceğ -im.
 I do -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I will (help you)."

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 3. Free pronouns in unemphatic contexts with imperatives

Free pronouns in unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs are possible:

- (1038) **sen** iş -e git (... ben de pazar -a
you work -Dat. go (I -and market -Dat.
gid -er -im)
go -Aor. -1.sg.)
"You go to work (and I will go to the market)"

While the free pronoun is contrastive, it is not emphatic in this example; this can be seen by the fact that the pronoun does not occupy the focus position to the immediate left of the verb; furthermore, the pronoun is not phonologically emphasized, either.

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 4. Free pronouns in emphatic contexts with imperatives

Free pronouns in emphatic contexts with imperative verbs are found more often than in nonemphatic contexts with imperatives:

- (1039) iş -e **sen** git!
work -Dat. **you** go!
"You go to work!"

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 5. Free pronouns in answer to "who is that?"

Free pronouns in answer to questions of the type 'who is that?' are usually restricted to the first person (singular as well as plural). While that pronoun can be uninflected, it is usually the case that the pronoun bears agreement morphemes whose features agree with the pronoun:

- (1040) A: Kim o?
who he/she/it
"Who is it?"

B: Ben -im /biz -iz
I -1.sg. /we -1.pl.
"It's me/it's us"

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 3. 6. Free pronouns in cleft or pseudocleft constructions

Free pronouns can occur in pseudocleft constructions and show up in inflected forms, similarly to those illustrated in the previous subsection; however, all pronouns can occur in these construction, as opposed to the limitation to first persons we saw above:

- (1041) sabah beş -te ban -a telefon ed -en,
 morning five -Loc. I -Dat. telephone do -SbjP
 sen mi -y -di -n?
 you -Q -Cop. -Past -2sg.
 "Was it you who called me at five in the morning?"

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 4. Segmental or suprasegmental differences between free pronouns in emphatic versus unemphatic contexts

Free pronouns in emphatic contexts differ from those in unemphatic contexts in ways that are best described in terms of suprasegmentals: they are louder and higher in pitch. There are no segmental differences.

2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 5. Reduced pronouns

There are no reduced pronouns in Turkish.

2. 1. 2. 1. 2. Person distinctions made in pronouns

As shown in table (1029), the person distinctions made are first versus second versus third person.

2. 1. 2. 1. 3. Inclusive and exclusive first or second person forms

There are no unique pronominal forms that distinguish inclusive versus exclusive person forms in Turkish. However, Turkish does make these distinctions via the comitative **-(y)lA** and the exclusive **-siz**:

- (1042) (biz) sen -in -le opera -ya git -ti -k
 we you(sg.) -Gen. -**Com.** opera -Dat. go -Past -1.pl.
 "We went to the opera with you(sg.)"
 ("We including you(sg.) went to the opera")

- (1043) (biz) opera -ya sen -**siz** git -ti -k
 we opera -Dat. you(sg.) -**without** go -Past -1.pl.
 "We went to the opera without you(sg.)"
 ("We excluding you(sg.) went to the opera")

- (1044) (biz) siz -in -le opera -ya git -ti -k
 we you(pl.) -Gen. -**Com.** opera -Dat. go -Past -1.pl.
 "We went to the opera with you(pl.)"
 ("We including you(pl.) went to the opera")

- (1045) (biz) opera -ya siz -**siz** git -ti -k⁴⁹
 we opera -Dat. you(pl.) -**without** go -Past -1.pl.
 "We went to the opera without you(pl.)"
 ("We excluding you(pl.) went to the opera")

The same constructions are also used for inclusion and exclusion of the third person in the first or second person:

- (1046) (biz) onlar -**la** opera -ya git -ti -k
 we they -**Com.** opera -Dat. go -Past -1.pl.
 "We went to the opera with them"
 ("We including them went to the opera")
- (1047) (biz) opera -ya onlar -**siz** git -ti -k⁵⁰
 we opera -Dat. they -**without** go -Past -1.pl.
 "We went to the opera without them"
 ("We excluding them went to the opera")
- (1048) (siz) onlar -**la** opera -ya git -ti -niz
 you(pl.) they -**Com.** opera -Dat. go -Past -2.pl.
 "You(pl.) went to the opera with them"
 ("You(pl.) including them went to the opera")
- (1049) (siz) opera -ya onlar -**siz** git -ti -niz
 you(pl.) opera -Dat. they -**without** go -Past -2.pl.
 "You(pl.) went to the opera without them"
 ("You(pl.) excluding them went to the opera")

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. Number marking for pronouns

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. 1. Number distinctions

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. 1. 1. Singular-plural

The only number distinction made in pronouns is singular-plural, as can be seen in the table under (1029). It should also be noted that the second person plural form **siz** can also be used as a form of politeness for the second person singular as well as plural.

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. 2. Optionality of number distinctions

Due the fact that the second person plural form **siz** is used as a politeness form for both singular and plural, the number distinction gets neutralized in this instance. Further, the first person plural form **biz** can be used colloquially for the first person singular.

In order to make the number distinction clear in the face of such neutralizations, it is possible colloquially to suffix the first and second person plural pronouns with the regular plural suffix **-lAr**:

(1050) a. biz -ler
we -pl.
"we"

(1050) b. siz -ler
you -pl.
"you(pl.)"

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. 3. Overlapping reference between subcategories

Other than the instances referred to above, where the plural is used for the singular, there are no instances of overlapping reference between subcategories of number for pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. 4–5. Unbounded reference and paucal

Turkish has no such categories.

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. 6. Pronoun association with numerals

Pronouns can be associated in noun phrases with numerals by suffixing possessive agreement forms to the numerals:

(1051) a. üç -ümüz
three -1.pl.
"we three"

(1051) b. beş -iniz
five -2.pl.
"you five"

In principle, there is no limit on the association of the possessive agreement marking with numerals; thus, e.g. 'we hundred thousand' is possible in an appropriate context. However, as the numbers grow, the construction is used more seldom; there is no clear cut-off point.

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. 7. Distinction between collective and distributive plurals

There is no distinction between collective and distributive plurals in Turkish.

2. 1. 2. 1. 4. 8. Distinction between different types of nonsingular

There is no distinction between different types of nonsingular such that one indicates that the referents include all the possible referents, whereas the other indicates that only a subset of the possible referents is involved.

2. 1. 2. 1. 5. 1. Status differences in third person actors

Turkish does not mark the different status of various third person actors referred to by pronouns as more important versus less important in any systematic way. But such distinctions can be expressed nevertheless. For example, the third person plural rather than the third person singular agreement form can be used on predicates with a third person singular subject, just in case that subject refers to an important person:

- (1052) Ahmet Bey büro -yu biraz önce terket -ti -ler
 Ahmet Mr office -Acc. a little before leave -Past -3.pl.
 "Mr Ahmet left the office a little while ago"

Another way of expressing such a distinction is to use the "special" pronoun **kendisi** instead of the regular third person **o**:

- (1053) a. Ahmet Bey -i gördün -üz mü?
 Ahmet Mr -Acc. see -2.pl. -Q
 "Did you see Mr Ahmet?"

- (1053) b. hayır, **kendisin** -i gör -me -di -m
 no, **him** -Acc. see -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "No, I haven't seen him"

Pluralizing the special pronoun attributes even greater importance to the person thus referred:

- (1053) c. hayır, **kendilerin** -i gör -me -di -m
 no, **him (pl.)** -Acc. see -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "No, I haven't seen him"

None of these distinctions is compulsory.

2. 1. 2. 1. 5. 2. Further degrees of obviation

Other than the aforementioned "regular" usage of the third person singular pronoun **o** as opposed to the usage of the "special" pronoun in its singular and plural forms, there are no degrees of obviation in pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 1. 6. Degrees of proximity to participants in the speech act marked in third person pronouns

Turkish can mark degrees of proximity to participants in the speech act marked in third person pronouns. The table of pronouns presented earlier under (1029) does reflect this possibility. The forms in question are demonstrative pronouns and are, in principle, limited (at least in the proximate and semi-obviative forms) to non-human referents. However, this limitation is lifted in colloquial style. Insofar as proximity needs to be expressed, usage of these demonstrative pronouns is obligatory.

2. 1. 2. 1. 6. 1. The distinctions made with respect to proximity

The demonstrative pronouns are as follows:

(1054) Singular:	bu	şu	o
Plural:	bunlar	şunlar	onlar
	'this'	'that'	'that (further away)'

The forms **bu** and **bunlar** refer to some entity or entities close to the speaker, **şu** and **şunlar** to some entity or entities a little further away from the speaker, and **o** and **onlar** to an entity or entities yet further removed from the speaker. Note that the last pair of items also serve as the regular third person pronouns, i.e. 'he/she/it' and 'they', respectively.

2. 1. 2. 1. 7. Special anaphoric third person pronouns

As just mentioned in the previous subsection, one type of demonstrative pronoun, i.e. the type designating entities furthest removed from the speaker, is also used as third person pronoun.

In addition, the reflexive pronoun **kendi**, when inflected for either the third person singular (**kendisi**) or the third person plural (**kendileri**), can be used not just as a genuine reflexive pronoun, to express a reflexive relationship, but also in the way of a personal pronoun. In this usage, this inflected reflexive pronoun is mostly found expressing anaphoric relationships across clauses, or as a resumptive pronoun, to "save" long-distance extractions like those found in relativizations out of relative clauses. These pronouns are limited to human referents. For discussion and examples, the reader is referred to section 1. 5. 1. 5. in the syntax chapter of this book.

2. 1. 2. 1. 7. 1. Clashes between natural gender and grammatical gender in anaphoric pronouns

Since anaphoric pronouns do not express grammatical gender, there are no clashes between them and natural gender.

2. 1. 2. 1. 8. Gender/class distinctions in pronouns

There are neither gender distinctions nor distinctions of grammatical classes in pronouns in Turkish.

2. 1. 2. 1. 8. 1. Sex distinctions for speaker and hearer

The pronominal system makes no distinctions for the sex of the speaker or the hearer.

2. 1. 2. 1. 9. Special pronouns for the tribal, sectional, or family relationships

There are no special pronominal forms indicating the tribal, sectional, or family relationships of the referents, nor are there such special forms indicating such relationships of the speaker or hearer to the referents. Such relationships are expressed by using regular possessive noun phrases whose possessors are regular personal pronouns in the Genitive case; the head in such constructions is the referent with a possessive suffix that agrees in person and number with the possessor:

(1055) a. (biz -im) aile -miz
 we -Gen. family -1.pl.
 "our family"

(1055) b. (ben -im) yurd -um
 I -Gen. home country -1.sg.
 "my home country"

2. 1. 2. 1. 10. Possible forms of pronouns

See the table in 2. 1. 2. 1. 1. and the forms in 2. 1. 2. 1. 6.

2. 1. 2. 1. 11. Agreement between pronouns and verbal tense

Pronouns do not agree with the verb in tense.

2. 1. 2. 1. 12. Status distinctions in the pronoun

While **siz** is the regular polite form for 'you', both singular and plural, it also is used obligatorily to address persons of a higher status; **sen**, the regular singular form for 'you' and at the same time the familiar form of address, is used optionally to address persons of lower status. Further, the third person plural agreement form on the predicate is used when the person referred to is, while singular, a person of high status:

- (1056) Ahmet Bey sokağ -a çık -tı -lar
 Ahmet Mr street -Dat. go out -Past -3.pl.
 "Mr Ahmet has gone out"

2. 1. 2. 1. 12. 1. Use of titles or other nouns

Both when addressing a person of acknowledged social status and when referring to such a person, titles and nouns referring to the person's profession or status are used. Such terms are also combined:

- (1057) a. **Doktor Ahmet Bey** sokağ -a çık -tı -lar
Doctor Ahmet Mr street -Dat. go out -Past -3.pl.
 "Doctor Ahmet has gone out"

- (1057) b. **Doktor Bey** sokağ -a çık -tı -lar
Doctor Mr street -Dat. go out -Past -3.pl.
 "The doctor has gone out"

Note the possibility of using the given name with the title and the professional term. Note also that **Bey** 'Mr' follows the given name. The corresponding term for a woman is **Hanım** 'Lady, Mrs, Ms'.

- (1058) Ahmet Bey ve Ayşe **Hanım** konser -e git -ti -ler
 Ahmet Mr and Ayşe **Mrs** concert -Dat. go -Past -3.pl.
 "Mr Ahmet and Mrs Ayşe went to the concert"

When the surname is used, the terms used are **Bay** and **Bayan**, respectively; they precede the surname (or the given name-surname combination):

- (1059) **Bay** (Ahmet) Kabakçı ve **Bayan** Ayşe Önler opera -ya
Mr Ahmet Kabakçı and **Mrs** Ayşe Önler opera -Dat.
 git -ti -ler
 go -Past -3.pl.
 "Mr Ahmet Kabakçı and Mrs Ayşe Önler went to the opera"

In all of these examples, where a person is referred to, the name, title or their combinations are used instead of the third person pronoun (singular or plural).

When addressing a person of a certain social stature, the title or other noun used is in addition to the (usually omitted) pronoun.

It is common to address a teacher by a noun referring to that profession and to suffix that noun with the first person singular possessive morpheme:

(1060) opera -ya gid -ecek mi -siniz, **hoca** -m ?
 opera -Dat. go -Fut. -Q -2.pl. **teacher** -1.sg.
 "Will you go to the opera, my teacher?"

The word for "teacher" used in this context is **hoca**, which otherwise can also mean a Moslem preacher as well as a school teacher. Used as an address, however, it can refer to a high school teacher as well as to a university teacher. For a primary school teacher, the noun usually used instead is **öğretmen** 'teacher', which is the native term. It should be noted that the form of address **hocam** 'my teacher' is also often used for people who are not teachers in the strict sense but have an acknowledged level of expertise in some area. In that latter usage, another noun often used is **üstad** 'master; teacher', which can be used either in its bare form, or also inflected for the first person singular possessive:

(1061) opera -ya gid -ecek mi -siniz, **üstad** -ım ?
 opera -Dat. go -Fut. -Q -2.pl. **master** -1.sg.
 "Will you go to the opera, my master?"

2. 1. 2. 1. 12. 2. Forms from the neutral system acquiring a different reference as status forms

There are no instances where forms from the neutral pronominal system acquire a different reference as status forms.

2. 1. 2. 1. 12. 3. Differences between distinctions made among the status forms and those made in the neutral system

The status forms do not form a regular system. Therefore, they cannot be compared in these terms with the neutral system.

2. 1. 2. 1. 13. 1. Nonspecific indefinite pronouns

Turkish has no special nonspecific indefinite pronouns (e.g. English *one*, French *on*). The function of such pronouns is fulfilled in a variety of ways: by using a second person (singular or plural) or third person plural agreement form on the predicate (see next subsection), or by using a passive construction without an agentive phrase:

- (1062) yoğurt şeker -le ye -n -ir
 yoghurt sugar -with eat -Pass. -Aor.
 "Yoghurt is eaten with sugar; **one** eats yoghurt with sugar"

In this function, the passive construction is mostly used with the aorist, which is a broadly conceived present tense.

2. 1. 2. 1. 13. 2. Nonspecific indefinite pronouns from the personal system

In a certain abstract sense, the second person pronouns (both singular and plural) and the third person plural pronoun can be used in the function of nonspecific indefinite pronouns: the pronouns themselves do not surface, but they do trigger the appropriate agreement markers on the predicate:

- (1063) a. Amerikan Konsolosluğ -un -a git -mek için sol -a
 American Consulate -CmpM -Dat. go -Inf. for left -Dat.
 sap -ar -**sin**
 turn -Aor. -**2sg.**
 "In order to go to the American Consulate, you turn (i.e. one turns) left"
- (1063) b. Amerikan Konsolosluğ -un -a git -mek için sol -a
 American Consulate -CmpM -Dat. go -Inf. for left -Dat.
 sap -ar -**sınız**
 turn -Aor. -**2pl.**
 "In order to go to the American Consulate, you turn (i.e. one turns) left"

While the choice between the second person singular versus plural form is often dictated, as usual, by considerations of familiarity versus formality, this correspondence does not seem to be always observed by all speakers. Some speakers appear to favor the singular form for the purposes of the nonspecific indefinite function, and some others favor the plural form, irrespective of the register otherwise appropriate to the discourse.

Furthermore, the third person plural agreement form on the predicate (again, without overtly using the third person plural pronoun as a subject) can also be used to express the function of nonspecific indefinite:

- (1064) ben çocuk -ken bademcik -ler -im -i
 I child -when tonsil -pl. -1.sg. -Acc.
 al -miş -lar
 take -Rep.Past -3.pl.
 "When I was a child they took (out) my tonsils"

2. 1. 2. 1. 13. 3. Nouns with the function of nonspecific indefinite pronouns

The noun used most generally with the function of nonspecific indefinite pronouns is **insan** 'human being; person', in the singular or plural:

- (1065) **insan** her yıl yaz -liğ -a gid -ebil -meli
person every year summer -"for" -Dat. go -Abil. -Nec.
 "One should be able to go to a summer resort every year"

- (1066) **insan** -lar arka -n -dan konuş -acak -lar
person -pl. back -2.sg. -Abl. talk -Fut. -3.pl.
 "People will talk behind your back"

2. 1. 2. 1. 14. Specific indefinite pronouns

There is no system of specific indefinite pronouns. However, the numeral **bir** 'one' can be used in a number of inflected forms which have in common that they are all suffixed with third person possessive markers, probably due to a partitive relationship to an abstract larger set (thus with the meaning: 'someone out of a larger group of people'):

- (1067) bir -i
 one -3.sg.
 "someone, somebody"

This pronoun has a relexicalized counterpart which, in turn, is suffixed with the third person possessive marker:

- (1068) biri -si
 someone -3.sg.
 "someone, somebody"

Finally, the lexicalized form has an apparently plural version which is morphologically ambiguous:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|---------------------------|------|----------|--|----|---------------------------|--------|
| (1069) | a. | biri | -ler | -i | | b. | biri | -leri |
| | | someone | -pl. | -3.(pl.) | | | someone | -3.pl. |
| | | "someone, somebody (pl.)" | | | | | "someone, somebody (sg.)" | |

As with all nouns that bear the plural marker, the interpretation here is ambiguous between a plural noun with a plural possessor, a plural noun with a singular possessor, and a singular noun with a plural possessor. The abstract possessor in this instance is likeliest to be plural. This interpretation is shown in (1069)a, while the interpretation of a singular noun with a plural possessor is shown in (1069)b. Indeed, the form **birileri** is ambiguous between singular and plural.

The morphologically transparent versions of formations involving **bir** function as partitive pronouns; in this usage, **bir** bears the possessive suffixes agreeing with all three plural persons:

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| (1070) | bir | -imiz | bir | -iniz | bir | -ileri |
| | one | -1.pl. | one | -2.pl. | one | -3.pl. |
| | "one of us" | | "one of you" | | "one of them" | |

Other partitive pronouns involve the stem **bazı** 'some' and **kim** 'who':

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|--------|---------------|--------|----------------|--------|
| (1071) | bazı | -mız | bazı | -nız | bazı | -ları |
| | some | -1.pl. | some | -2.pl. | some | -3.pl. |
| | "some of us" | | "some of you" | | "some of them" | |
-
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|--------|---------------|--------|----------------|--------|
| (1072) | kimi | -miz | kimi | -niz | kimi | -leri |
| | who | -1.pl. | who | -2.pl. | who | -3.pl. |
| | "some of us" | | "some of you" | | "some of them" | |

The third person forms in (1071) and (1072) can also be used as morphologically opaque forms, similar to **birileri** discussed previously. They then mean 'someone, some people, someone or other'. In that function, corresponding forms with the singular possessive suffix are also found, again similar to the formations with **bir**:

- (1073) **bazısı, kimi, kimisi** 'someone, some people, someone or other'

In addition, the noun **kimse** can also be used in the sense of 'someone'. This is a relexicalization of **kim** 'who' and **-sa** 'if', i.e. the conditional suffix.

It should be noted that while all of these forms can have the interpretation of specific indefinite, they can also be interpreted as nonspecific indefinite.

2. 1. 2. 1. 15. Emphatic pronouns

All reflexive pronouns (cf. 2. 1. 2. 2.) can be used as emphatic pronouns, either with or without the addition of personal pronouns. Furthermore, the regular personal pronouns can also be used as emphatic pronouns, when they are placed in the focus position, i.e. to the immediate left of the verb, and are stressed:

(1074) a. bu kitab -ı **bén** yaz -dı -m
 this book -Acc. I write -Past -1.sg.
 "I wrote this book (it was I who wrote this book)"

(1074) b. bu kitab -ı **kendí** -m yaz -dı -m
 this book -Acc. self -1.sg. write -Past -1.sg.
 "I **myself** wrote this book"

(1074) c. bu kitab -ı **ben kendí** -m yaz -dı -m
 this book -Acc. I self -1.sg. write -Past -1.sg.
 "I **myself** wrote this book"

(1074)c is a further emphasized version of (1074)b. Given the fact that subject pronouns are quite freely omitted in Turkish, it is reasonable to view (1074)b to represent a version of (1074)c with an elided personal pronoun. In the third person singular, the inflected form **kendisi** is preferred to the non-inflected form **kendi**, when used in this function as an emphatic pronoun.

There are no special emphatic pronouns, nor are there selective emphatic pronouns with the meanings 'we, but especially I', 'you, but especially thou' etc.

2. 1. 2. 1. 16. Complex pronouns

There are no complex pronouns which give a combination of different types of reference (e.g. both subject and object reference).

2. 1. 2. 1. 17. Pronoun-noun constructions

Pronoun-noun constructions are possible:

(1075) biz Türk -ler vatan -ımız -ı sev -er -iz
 we Turk -pl. mother country -1.pl. -Acc. love -Aor. -1.pl.
 "We Turks love our country"

- (1076) siz Amerikalı -lar güzel hamburger pişir -ir -sınız
 you(pl.) American -pl. well hamburger cook -Aor. -2.pl.
 "You Americans cook hamburgers well"

This construction does not occur with the third person.

2. 1. 2. 1. 18. Comitative conjunction constructions

Constructions of the general type 'we (and) the priest' can occur with the meaning 'I and the priest':

- (1077) biz Ahmet -le dün sinema -ya git -ti -k
 we Ahmet -with yesterday cinema -Dat. go -Past -1.pl.
 a. "Yesterday we went to the movies with Ahmet"
 b. "Yesterday Ahmet and I went to the movies"

The conjunction used in this construction is **-(y)lA**, the comitative conjunction, which is the conjunction restricted to nominal elements. Other conjunctions (e.g. the general coordinator **ve**) cannot be used with this function.

As the translations of the example show, such constructions are systematically ambiguous between the "obvious" reading corresponding to the plural pronoun and a less obvious reading corresponding to a singular pronoun which has the same person feature as the overtly realized plural pronoun.

The same construction is also possible for second and third person plural pronouns, although the construction appears to be less frequent in the third person.

Furthermore, given that subject pronouns can be dropped quite freely in Turkish, it is also possible to omit the overt plural subject in these constructions and have the same ambiguity; this is not a surprising possibility, because that all relevant features of subject pronouns are expressed in the agreement suffix of the predicate:

- (1078) Ahmet -le dün sinema -ya git -ti -k
 Ahmet -with yesterday cinema -Dat. go -Past -1.pl.
 a. "Yesterday we went to the movies with Ahmet"
 b. "Yesterday Ahmet and I went to the movies"

2. 1. 2. 1. 18. 1. Comitative conjunction constructions with pairs of pronouns

The phenomenon discussed in the previous subsection also occurs with pairs of pronouns:

- (1079) biz sen -in -le bu akşam sinema -ya
 we you(sg.) -Gen. -with this evening cinema -Dat.
 gid -ecek -ti -k
 go -Fut. -Past -1.pl.
 a. "We were going to go to the movies with you this evening"
 b. "You and I were going to go to the movies this evening"

Again, just as is the case when the element marked with the comitative conjunction is a full lexical noun phrase, the plural subject pronoun can be omitted, and the ambiguity in question is preserved:

- (1080) sen -in -le bu akşam sinema -ya
 you(sg.) -Gen. -with this evening cinema -Dat.
 gid -ecek -ti -k
 go -Fut. -Past -1.pl.
 a. "We were going to go to the movies with you this evening"
 b. "You and I were going to go to the movies this evening"

Note that as is the case in many instances where a case is assigned by a postposition instead of a verb, the pronoun which is the object of the comitative conjunction is marked with the genitive suffix. However, when a noun phrase with a full lexical head is the object of the same postposition, it may (or sometimes must) not carry that case. This is so with **-(y)lA**, which is a cliticized postposition. It is interesting to note that when **-(y)lA** is used as a conjunction rather than as a genuine comitative postposition, the Genitive is preferably omitted on its pronominal phonological host:

- (1081) sen -le ben bu akşam sinema -ya
 you(sg.) -and I this evening cinema -Dat.
 gid -ecek -ti -k
 go -Fut. -Past -1.pl.
 "You and I were going to go to the movies this evening"

The same is true of the comitative conjunction constructions in question:

- (1082) biz sen -le bu akşam sinema -ya
 we you(sg.) -with this evening cinema -Dat.
 gid -ecek -ti -k
 go -Fut. -Past -1.pl.
a. "?We were going to go to the movies with you this evening"
b. "You and I were going to go to the movies this evening"

It is therefore reasonable to analyze the comitative conjunction construction as a conjunction construction rather than as a comitative construction, and the occurrence of the element **-(y)lA** in these constructions as a conjunction marker rather than as a comitative postposition.⁵¹

2. 1. 2. 1. 19. Secondary pronoun system

Turkish has no secondary pronoun system, by which it would be possible to specify in greater detail the precise composition of various nonsingular combinations of persons. Such combinations are expressed by the ordinary means of coordination.

2. 1. 2. 1. 20. Case system in pronouns

The regular case system applies to pronouns, just as it does to regular nouns. The table in 2. 1. 2. 1. 1. shows the shapes pronominal forms take in all person and number combinations for all cases.

2. 1. 2. 1. 20. 1. Deviations of the case system in pronouns from that occurring with nouns

2. 1. 2. 1. 20. 1. 1. Additional cases

There are no additional cases used for pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 1. 20. 1. 2. Absent cases

There are no absent cases in the application of the case system to pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 1. 20. 1. 3. Different uses of the cases

There are no differences in the use of the individual cases with pronouns and with nouns.

2. 1. 2. 1. 20. 1. 4. Different markers for the cases

The markers for the cases are the same for pronouns and for nouns in general. However, there are some differences in the case marking assigned by certain postpositions, depending on whether the postpositional object is a pronoun or a full noun. The postpositions **gibi** 'like', **kadar** 'as much as', **ile** and its cliticized counterpart **-(y)lA** 'with', and **için** 'for' take bare objects in general, but assign the genitive to pronominal objects--more specifically, to pronominal objects that are either personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns or the interrogative **kim**; e.g.

(1083) a. bu kitab -ı Ahmet için al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. Ahmet for buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for Ahmet"

(1083) b. bu kitab -ı on -un için al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. he -Gen. for buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for him"

Furthermore, there is another group of postpositions on whose objects the same alternation between genitive case marking and no case marking is observed, again according to whether the postpositional object is a pronoun or a full noun:

(1084) a. Ahmet yüz -ün -den geç kal -dı -m
 Ahmet because -3.sg. -Abl. late stay -Past -1.sg.
 "I was late because of Ahmet"

(1084) b. on -un yüz -ün -den geç kal -dı -m
 he -Gen. because -3.sg. -Abl. late stay -Past -1.sg.
 "I was late because of him"

The most generally used postpositions in this group are: **hakkında** 'concerning', **tarafından** 'by, through the agency of', and **yüzünden** 'because of'. They differ from the postpositions in the previous group in two respects: 1. they are used only in one particular case, i.e. 'because' is used only in the ablative, 'concerning' is used only in the locative, while other postpositions can be used with any of the cases required by the syntactic context; 2. these postpositions are inflected with possessive agreement suffixes that alternate with the person and number of their postpositional object, thus behaving like possessed nouns rather than like regular postpositions.

2. 1. 2. 1. 20. 1. 5. Irregular forms of cases

The markers of some cases are slightly different when used with pronouns. These differences are mentioned in conjunction with the table in 2. 1. 2. 1. 1.: the genitive suffix for the first person singular and plural pronouns is **-(I)m** instead of the regular **-(I)n**. In this context, a change in the stem of pronouns when marked for case should be mentioned: the first and second person singular pronouns **ben** and **sen** undergo a vowel change when marked for the dative case: **ban-a** and **san-a**, respectively. Further, the third person pronoun **o(n)** loses its final consonant in word final position, i.e. in the nominative case, which has no suffix. The final consonant shows up before all other cases, which are overtly expressed by suffixes, and it also shows up before the plural suffix **-lar** in the third person plural form **on-lar** 'they' in all cases.

2. 1. 2. 2. Reflexive pronouns

2. 1. 2. 2. 1. Special reflexive pronouns

Turkish does have reflexive pronouns; however, it is difficult to tell whether these are genuine pronominals or are (inflected) nouns, involving the stem **kendi** 'self' and its inflected forms for person and number:

(1085)	Singular	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	kendi-m	kendi-n	kendi
	<i>Accusative</i>	kendi-m-i	kendi-n-i	kendin-i
	<i>Genitive</i>	kendi-m-in	kendi-n-in	kendin-in
	<i>Dative</i>	kendi-m-e	kendi-n-e	kendin-e
	<i>Locative</i>	kendi-m-de	kendi-n-de	kendin-de
	<i>Ablative</i>	kendi-m-den	kendi-n-den	kendin-den
	Plural	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	kendi-miz	kendi-niz	kendi-leri
	<i>Accusative</i>	kendi-miz-i	kendi-niz-i	kendi-lerin-i
	<i>Genitive</i>	kendi-miz-in	kendi-niz-in	kendi-lerin-in
	<i>Dative</i>	kendi-miz-e	kendi-niz-e	kendi-lerin-e
	<i>Locative</i>	kendi-miz-de	kendi-niz-de	kendi-lerin-de
	<i>Ablative</i>	kendi-miz-den	kendi-niz-den	kendi-lerin-den

2. 1. 2. 2. 2. Subcategories

As the table in the previous subsection shows, the subcategories for person and number are distinguished. These reflexive forms are all anaphoric; they all need antecedents, usually in the same clause.

Other subcategories like inclusion, obviation, proximity, gender/class, kinship/tribal affiliation, and status are not distinguished by reflexive forms in Turkish.

2. 1. 2. 2. 3. Reflexive forms

See table in subsection 2. 1. 2. 2. 1.

2. 1. 2. 2. 4. Case

Reflexive pronouns are marked for case, as the table in 2. 1. 2. 2. 1. shows.

2. 1. 2. 2. 4. 1. Case on reflexives versus case on pronouns

The few anomalies with respect to case marking that were discussed with respect to pronouns are not exhibited by reflexives. In other words, reflexives behave like regular nouns with respect to the shape of the case suffixes, specifically with respect to the genitive suffix.

2. 1. 2. 2. 4. 2. Details of differences between case on reflexives versus case on pronouns

We saw in subsections 2. 1. 2. 1. 20. 1. 4. and 2. 1. 2. 1. 20. 1. 5. as well as in the table in subsection 2. 1. 2. 1. 1. that first person singular and plural pronouns have irregular genitive forms, and that pronouns that are the objects of certain postpositions carry the genitive case, as opposed to lexical nouns that are not marked for case in the same context. Reflexives behave like lexical nouns in both respects. The next set of examples show a reflexive as a postpositional object, in contrast to a noun phrase headed by a lexical noun and to a pronoun:

(1086) a. bu kitab -ı kendi -m için al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. self -1.sg. for buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for myself"

(1086) b. bu kitab -ı kız -ım için al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. daughter -1.sg. for buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for my daughter"

(1086) c. bu kitab -ı on -un için al -dı -m
 this book -Acc. he -Gen. for buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought this book for him"

As for the shape of the genitive suffix, while it is difficult to find fully grammatical examples of genitive reflexives, these are possible in restricted contexts. For example, reflexive genitives can function as predicate nominals, especially if they are marked with **ki**, a morpheme which turns a noun or a pronoun it attaches to into a kind of possessive pronoun (or relative clitic pronoun) when it follows the genitive suffix:

- (1087) bu kitap kendi -m -in -ki -dir
 this book self -1.sg. -Gen. -Poss.Pr./Rel.Cl. -Ep.Cop.
 "This book is the one which is my own"

Note that here, the genitive suffix is the regular **-(n)In**, rather than the irregular **-im** found on first person singular pronouns, even though the reflexive is a first person singular form.

2. 1. 2. 2. 5–6. Other ways of expressing reflexivity

Another systematic way of expressing reflexivity is by using reflexive verbs which are formed by attaching the suffix **-(A)n** to the verbal stem:

- (1088) Hasan her sabah yıka -n -ır
 Hasan each morning wash -Refl. -Aor.
 ve giy -in -ır
 and wear -Refl. -Aor.
 "Hasan washes himself and dresses himself every morning"

Expression of reflexivity via reflexive verbs is much more restricted than expression of reflexivity via reflexive pronouns, however.

2. 1. 2. 2. 7. Other uses of the reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns can also be used as emphatic pronouns and as resumptive pronouns; the latter is possible only with third person singular or plural pronouns:

- (1089) bu kitab -ı kendi -m yaz -dı -m
 this book -Acc. self -1.sg. write -Past -1.sg.
 "I wrote this book myself"

- (1090) [[kendi -sin -i sev -en] adam -ı
 self -3.sg. -Acc. love -SbjP man -Acc.
 öl -dür -en] kadın
 die -Caus. -SbjP woman
 "the woman who killed the man who loved her"

Furthermore, the third person singular and plural forms of the reflexive are also used as honorifics:

- (1091) **kendi** -si opera -ya git -ti
self -3.sg. opera -Dat. go -Past
 "He (respectful) has gone to the opera"

It should be noted that the third person reflexive which is used as a resumptive pronoun and as an honorific has to be the inflected form **kendi-si**, rather than the bare form **kendi**, which is the genuine reflexive.

2. 1. 2. 3. Reciprocal pronouns

2. 1. 2. 3. 1. Special reciprocal pronouns as opposed to common nouns used as reciprocals

There are reciprocal pronouns which are formed by the duplicated morpheme **bir** 'one', to which appropriate possessive suffixes are attached:

(1092)		<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	birbir-imiz	birbir-iniz	birbir-leri
	<i>Accusative</i>	birbir-imiz-i	birbir-iniz-i	birbir-lerin-i
	<i>Genitive</i>	birbir-imiz-in	birbir-iniz-in	birbir-lerin-in
	<i>Dative</i>	birbir-imiz-e	birbir-iniz-e	birbir-lerin-e
	<i>Locative</i>	birbir-imiz-de	birbir-iniz-de	birbir-lerin-de
	<i>Ablative</i>	birbir-imiz-den	birbir-iniz-den	birbir-lerin-den

Due to the semantics of reciprocity, reciprocal pronouns are plural, and thus the possessive inflections are all plural, as well. However, as is the case elsewhere with third person plural possessives, the third person singular possessive suffix can be used optionally with third person plural meaning. The resulting form is **birbiri**, which can be used instead of **birbirleri**, with all of the case inflections listed above.

Further, the base form used by some speakers instead of **birbiri** is **biribiri**, with all appropriate possessive and case suffixes attached. However, the form preferred in the written language is **birbiri**.

2. 1. 2. 3. 2. Subcategories

As the table in the previous subsection shows, the subcategories for person are distinguished. Given the fact that reciprocal pronouns must be plural, the category of number is not distinguished. These reflexive forms are all anaphoric; they all need antecedents, usually in the same clause.

Other subcategories like inclusion, obviation, proximity, gender/class, kinship/tribal affiliation, and status are not distinguished by reciprocal forms in Turkish.

2. 1. 2. 3. 3. Reciprocal forms

See table in subsection 2. 1. 2. 3. 1.

2. 1. 2. 3. 4. Case

Reciprocal pronouns are marked for case, as the table in 2. 1. 2. 3. 1. shows.

2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 1–2. Means of expressing case in the reciprocal

All cases are expressed in the reciprocal in the same fashion as they are in the noun.

2. 1. 2. 3. 5–6. Other ways of expressing reciprocity

There is the form **yekdiğer** 'one+other; one another', from Persian; but this form has become obsolete.

Yet another way of expressing reciprocity is by using reciprocal verbs; these are formed by attaching the suffix **-(I)ş** to the stem:

(1093) Hasan -la Ayşe bütün yaz yaz -ış -tı -lar
Hasan -and Ayşe whole summer write -**Recip.** -Past -3.pl.
"Hasan and Ayşe wrote each other through the whole summer"

Expression of reciprocity via using reciprocal verbs is much more limited than expression of reciprocity via reciprocal pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 3. 7. Other uses of the reciprocal pronoun

The reciprocal pronouns do not have other uses.

2. 1. 2. 4. Possessive pronouns

2. 1. 2. 4. 1. Special possessive pronouns

Turkish has possessive pronouns which are derived from regular personal pronouns by attaching the genitive suffix **-(n)In**:

(1094)	Singular	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
		ben -im	sen -in	on -un
		I -Gen.	you(sg.) -Gen.	he/she/it -Gen.
		"my"	"your(sg.)"	"his/her/its"
	Plural	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
		biz -im	siz -in	onlar -in
		we -Gen.	you(pl.) -Gen.	they -Gen.
		"our"	"your (pl.)"	"their"

As discussed in subsection 2. 1. 2. 1. on personal pronouns, the shape of the genitive suffix is unusual in the first persons, with the consonant changing from *n* to *m*.

Furthermore, there is the particle **ki(n)**, which derives possessive pronouns from nouns as well as pronouns, when either type is marked for genitive case (as well as deriving possessive pronouns in the extended sense, when a noun or pronoun is marked for the locative):

(1095) a. profesör -ün -**ki**
 professor -Gen. -**Rel.Cl**
 "the one belonging to the professor"

(1095) b. oda -da -**ki**
 room -Loc. -**Rel.Cl**
 "the one in the room"

(1096) a. ben -im -**ki**
 I -Gen. -**Rel.Cl**
 "the one belonging to me; mine"

(1096) b. on -un -**ki**
 he -Gen. -**Rel.Cl**
 "the one belonging to him; his"

As examples (1095) and (1096)b illustrate, the particle **ki(n)** does not undergo Vowel Harmony; however, there are two nouns after which it does behave in a regular fashion in undergoing Vowel Harmony: **dün** 'yesterday' and **gün** 'day':

(1097) dün -**kü**
 yesterday -**Rel.Cl**
 "yesterday's; the one pertaining to yesterday"

This suffix can attach freely to inflected nouns; thus it can be suffixed to nouns bearing plural and/or possessive suffixes:

- (1098) arkadaş -lar -ım -ın -ki
 friend -pl. -1.sg. -Gen. -Rel.Cl.
 "my friends'; the one belonging to my friends"

It should be noted, however, that **ki(n)** can attach only to nouns bearing either the genitive or the locative; it cannot follow other case markers; but it can precede any case marker:

- (1099) profesör -ün -kin -den
 professor -Gen. -Rel.Cl. -Abl.
 "from the one belonging to the professor; from the professor's"

A list illustrating all of the cases follows:

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| (1100) | <i>Nominative</i> | profesör -ün -ki |
| | <i>Accusative</i> | profesör -ün -kin-i |
| | <i>Dative</i> | profesör -ün -kin-e |
| | <i>Genitive</i> | profesör -ün -kin-in |
| | <i>Locative</i> | profesör -ün -kin-de |
| | <i>Ablative</i> | profesör -ün -kin-den |

The same suffix can also attach to adverbs of time or place, also deriving a pronoun:

- (1101) şimdi -ki
 now -Rel.Cl.
 "the one pertaining to now; the present moment's"

Note that the final **n** of this suffix is similar to the one of the third person singular pronoun **o(n)** in that it is omitted in word final position; it surfaces before case suffixes, as shown in (1100), but it drops before the plural suffix, thus behaving differently from the third person singular pronoun:

- (1102) a. ben -im -kin -in
 I -1.sg. -Rel.Cl. -Gen.
 "belonging to mine; of mine"
- (1102) b. ben -im -ki -ler -in
 I -Gen. -Rel.Cl. -pl. -Gen.
 "belonging to mine (pl.); of those that are mine"

2. 1. 2. 4. 2–3. Distinctions made between types of possessions

No distinctions between types of possession (e.g. alienable/inalienable, temporary/permanent, persons/animals/things, present/past) are

expressed by the possessive pronouns discussed in the previous subsection.

2. 1. 2. 4. 4. Case marking on possessive pronouns

As discussed and illustrated in subsection 2. 1. 2. 4. 1., possessive pronouns formed with the particle **ki(n)** can be marked for all of the cases found in the language. Possessive pronouns formed with attaching the genitive case to a personal pronoun cannot take further case suffixes.

2. 1. 2. 4. 4. 1–2. Differences between means of expressing case in the possessive pronoun and in the noun

Possessive pronouns formed with the particle **ki(n)** are marked for case with the same suffixes as those used for nouns.

2. 1. 2. 4. 5–6. Alternative ways of expressing possession with pronouns

The examples given so far are the main productive ways of expressing possession with pronouns. The only other available ways are by using periphrastic constructions with predicates expressing possession or belonging; e.g.:

(1103) a. ban -a ait ol -an
I -Dat. belonging be -SbjP
"the one belonging to me"

(1103) b. ben -im ol -an
I -Gen. be -SbjP
"the one which is mine"

2. 1. 2. 4. 7. Reflexive possessive pronouns

Turkish has no special reflexive pronouns with a distinct shape. Reflexive pronouns can be used in a possessive function, however, by being suffixed either with just the genitive suffix or with a succession of the genitive suffix and **ki(n)**:

(1104) sen -in kitab -ın -ı oku -du -m ama
you -Gen. book -2.sg. -Acc. read -Past -1.sg. but
kendi -m -in -kin -i oku -ma -dı -m
self -1.sg. -Gen. -Rel.Cl -Acc. read -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
"I have read your book but not my own"

- (1105) pahalı bir kitab -ı ancak kendi -m -in -se
 expensive a book -Acc. only self -1.sg. -Gen. -Cond.
 al -ır -ım
 buy -Aor. -1.sg.
 "I'll buy an expensive book only if it is my own"

2. 1. 2. 4. 8. Reciprocal possessive pronouns

Turkish has no special reciprocal pronouns with a distinct shape. Similarly to possessive reflexive pronouns, reciprocal pronouns can be used in a possessive function by being suffixed either with just the genitive suffix or with a succession of the genitive suffix and **ki(n)**:

- (1106) kendi kitap -lar -ımız -ı oku -du -k ama
 own book -pl. -1.pl. -Acc. read -Past -1.pl. but
 birbir -ımız -in -kin -i oku -ma -dı -k
 e.o. -1.pl. -Gen. -Rel.Cl. -Acc. read -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "We have read our own books but not the one of each other"

- (1107) bazı pahalı kitap -lar -ı ancak
 some expensive book -pl. -Acc. only
 birbir -ımız -in -se al -ır -ız
 e.o. -1.pl. -Gen. -Cond. buy -Aor. -1.pl.
 "We buy some expensive books only if they are each other's"

2. 1. 2. 4. 9. Emphatic possessive pronouns

The reflexive possessive pronouns discussed in 2. 1. 2. 4. 7. can be used as emphatic possessive pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 4. 10. Other types of possessive pronouns

There are no other types of possessive pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 4. 11. Adjectival use of possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns that are formed by suffixing the genitive marker to personal pronouns, without the use of **ki(n)**, can (and most often are) used as a modifier of a nominal construction:

- (1108) ben -im kitab -ım
 I -Gen. book -1.sg.
 "my book"

2. 1. 2. 4. 11. 1. Separate adjectival forms expressing possession

The bare reflexive form **kendi** can be used in the expression of possession by modifying nouns that are inflected for possession:

- (1109) (ben -im) **kendi** kitab -ım
 I -Gen. **self** book -1.sg.
 "my own book"

2. 1. 2. 5. Demonstrative pronouns

2. 1. 2. 5. 1. Parameters involved in the demonstrative pronouns

The parameter involved in the demonstrative pronouns is relative distance from the speaker (and, by extension, from the hearer).

2. 1. 2. 5. 1. 1–20. Relative distance

There are three degrees of distance:

- (1110) bu(n) 'this one' (close to the speaker and hearer)
 şu(n) 'that one' (further away from the speaker and hearer)
 o(n) 'that one' (far away from the speaker and hearer)

These pronouns can be pluralized:

- (1111) bun -lar
 şun -lar
 on -lar

Demonstrative pronouns can be marked with all of the case suffixes:

(1112)	Singular	<i>This one</i>	<i>That one</i>	<i>That one (yonder)</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	bu	şu	o
	<i>Accusative</i>	bun -u	şun -u	on -u
	<i>Genitive</i>	bun -un	şun -un	on -un
	<i>Dative</i>	bun -a	şun -a	on -a
	<i>Locative</i>	bun -da	şun -da	on -da
	<i>Ablative</i>	bun -dan	şun -dan	on -dan
	Plural	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	bun -lar	şun -lar	on -lar
	<i>Accusative</i>	bun -lar -ı	şun -lar -ı	on -lar -ı
	<i>Genitive</i>	bun -lar -ın	şun -lar -ın	on -lar -ın
	<i>Dative</i>	bun -lar -a	şun -lar -a	on -lar -a
	<i>Locative</i>	bun -lar -da	şun -lar -da	on -lar -da
	<i>Ablative</i>	bun -lar -dan	şun -lar -dan	on -lar -dan

2. 1. 2. 5. 1. 21–23. Visible/invisible, known/unknown, mentioned in previous discourse

Demonstrative pronouns may also be used "anaphorically", i.e. not only to refer to objects that are at some relative distance from the speaker (and hearer), but also to refer to objects that are not present in the locality of the discourse, i.e. are not visible and might not be known to the hearer. In this usage, **bu** and **o** are used in general. In the sense of 'the following (one)', **şu** is used.

- (1113) Hasan Ali -nin araba -sın -ı yak -mış. Ali
 Hasan Ali -Gen. car -3.sg. -Acc. burn -Rep.Past Ali
bun -u unut -a -mı -yor
this -Acc. forget -Abil. -Neg. -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is said to have burned Ali's car. Ali is unable to forget that"

- (1114) iş -e **şun** -lar -ı getir: radyo -n -u,
 work -Dat. **that** -pl. -Acc. bring radio -2.sg. -Acc.
 bilgi -sayar -ın -ı ve araba -n -ı
 information -counter -2.sg. -Acc. and car -2.sg. -Acc.
 "Bring the following (things) to work: your radio, your computer and your car"

Another set of demonstrative pronouns is formed by suffixing the third person singular possessive suffix **-(s)I** to the items **böyle** 'thus, in this way', **şöyle** 'thus, in that way', and **öyle** 'thus, in that (other) way', all three of which can be used adjectivally or adverbially. A table of these demonstrative pronouns for all cases is given below:

(1115)	Singular	<i>This kind</i>	<i>That kind</i>	<i>That other kind</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	böyle-si	şöyle-si	öyle-si
	<i>Accusative</i>	böyle-sin-i	şöyle-sin-i	öyle-sin-i
	<i>Genitive</i>	böyle-sin-in	şöyle-sin-in	öyle-sin-in
	<i>Dative</i>	böyle-sin-e	şöyle-sin-e	öyle-sin-e
	<i>Locative</i>	böyle-sin-de	şöyle-sin-de	öyle-sin-de
	<i>Ablative</i>	böyle-sin-den	şöyle-sin-den	öyle-sin-den
	Plural	<i>First</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Third</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	böyle-ler-i	şöyle-ler-i	öyle-ler-i
	<i>Accusative</i>	böyle-ler-in-i	şöyle-ler-in-i	öyle-ler-in-i
	<i>Genitive</i>	böyle-ler-in-in	şöyle-ler-in-in	öyle-ler-in-in
	<i>Dative</i>	böyle-ler-in-e	şöyle-ler-in-e	öyle-ler-in-e
	<i>Locative</i>	böyle-ler-in-de	şöyle-ler-in-de	öyle-ler-in-de
	<i>Ablative</i>	böyle-ler-in-den	şöyle-ler-in-den	öyle-ler-in-den

- (1116) ömr -üm -de çok kitap oku -du -m ama
 life -1.sg. -Loc. many book read -Past -1.sg. but
böyle -sin -i hiç oku -ma -dı -m
thus -3.sg. -Acc. not-at-all read -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
 "I have read many books in my lifetime but never **one like this**
 (one thus)"

In parallel to the previously discussed series of demonstrative pronouns, **böylesi** and **öylesi** (as well as their plural counterparts) can be used anaphorically, while **şöylesi** (and its plural counterpart) can be used to refer to referents that will be mentioned later in the utterance.

Yet another widely used demonstrative pronoun is **öteki** 'the other one; the further (thing or person)'. This pronoun is derived from **öte** 'other, yonder; the further or other side of' and the suffix **ki(n)**:

- (1117) bu pasta -yı beğen -me -di -m; **ötekin -i**
 this cake -Acc. like -Neg. -Past -1.sg. **the-other-one -Acc.**
 isti -yor -um
 want -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I don't like this cake; I want **the other one**"

This demonstrative pronoun can be pluralized, as well.

2. 1. 2. 5. 1. 24. Time dimension

When any of these demonstrative pronouns is used anaphorically, referring to entities invisible to the speaker and hearer, unknown to the hearer, or referred to in previous discourse, the time dimension is not relevant, in the sense that no distinctions are made between degrees of relative time.

2. 1. 2. 5. 1. 25. Other parameters

There are no other parameters in addition to those discussed previously in the usage of demonstrative pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 5. 1. 26. Neutral demonstrative pronoun as distinct from a third person pronoun

As shown in 2. 1. 2. 5. 1., the demonstrative pronoun for entities farthest away from the speaker and hearer has the same shape as the third person pronoun. There is no other neutral demonstrative pronoun.

2. 1. 2. 5. 2. Various demonstrative pronouns

The various demonstrative pronouns resulting from the employment of various parameters have been listed and described in their usage in 2. 1. 2. 5. 1.

2. 1. 2. 5. 3. Variations in phonological structure

As described in 2. 1. 2. 5. 1. and its subsections, there is essentially a three-way distinction in two sets of demonstrative pronouns, with the first respective types beginning with the consonant **b**, and the second respective types beginning with the consonant **ş**. The third respective types are not identical but similar: they start with **o** and **ö**, respectively. The fact that the demonstrative pronoun **öteki** 'the other one' also begins with **ö** is probably not a coincidence, especially when we consider that it has a less widely used counterpart, **beriki** 'the nearest or nearer one; this one; the last one mentioned', which starts with a **b**, the same consonant with which the corresponding demonstrative pronouns referring to temporally or spatially closest referents also begin.

There is other phonological iconic variation in the systems of demonstrative pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 5. 4. Number marking

Demonstrative pronouns are marked for number; the distinction between singular and plural is marked as shown in the tables and examples of subsection 2. 1. 2. 5. 1.

2. 1. 2. 5. 4. 1. Differences between number marking in the demonstrative and in the noun

There are no differences in the means of expressing number in the demonstrative and in the noun; in both, the singular is the unmarked form with respect to number, and the plural is expressed via the suffix **-lar**.

2. 1. 2. 5. 5. Class/gender marking in demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives in Turkish are not marked for class or gender. This is the same situation also found with nouns.

2. 1. 2. 5. 6. Case marking in demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are marked for case in Turkish.

2. 1. 2. 5. 6. 1. Means of expressing case in demonstrative pronouns and in nouns

The various cases are expressed in demonstrative pronouns by using the same suffixes as those used to express case in nouns. The tables and examples in 2. 1. 2. 5. 1. illustrate the various cases in demonstratives.

2. 1. 2. 5. 7. Other grammatical categories marked in the demonstrative

There are no other grammatical categories marked in the demonstrative. While the third person possession suffixes can appear on demonstratives, we saw that it does not mark possession in the **böyle**-series; in the **bu**-series, these suffixes appear only in stereotyped expressions like **şu-su bu-su** 'X's this and that'.

2. 1. 2. 5. 8. Attributive use of demonstratives

The **bu**-series of demonstratives can be used attributively without any change in shape:

- (1118) **bu** gazete -yi, **şu** ekmeğ -i ve
 this newspaper -Acc. **that** bread -Acc. and
 o küçük pasta -yı al -acağ -ım
 that (yonder) small cake -Acc. buy -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I will buy this newspaper, that bread and that small cake"

In attributive use, these demonstratives are not inflected; therefore, the final **n** which we saw surfacing before case suffixes and the plural suffix does not surface in this usage.

2. 1. 2. 5. 8. 1. Differences between the pronominal and attributive demonstrative forms

The **böyle**-series of demonstrative pronouns can be used attributively only without the third person possessive suffix and without the plural suffix, the latter even when the modified noun is plural (since no modifier can be overtly marked for plural):

- (1119) **böyle** profesör -ler -i bir daha
thus professor -pl. -Acc. one again
bul -a -ma -z -sınız
find -Abil. -Neg. -Aor. -2.pl.
"You won't be able to find such professors ever again"

2. 1. 2. 6. Interrogative pronouns and other question words

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. Interrogative pronouns

Turkish has a full range of interrogative pronouns (see also 1. 1. 1. 2. 2.).

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 1. Types of interrogative pronouns

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 1. 1. General

Turkish has a number of interrogative pronouns; the most generally used ones are listed below:

- | | | | |
|--------|---------------|------------|--|
| (1120) | kim | 'who' | |
| | ne | 'what' | |
| | /nere/ | 'where' | (used only when inflected for case or possessive agreement suffix or both) |
| | hangi | 'which' | |
| | niye | 'why' | |
| | neden | 'why' | |
| | nasıl | 'how' | |
| | kaç | 'how many' | |

The first four items on this list can bear the plural and possessive suffixes. The first three can bear all of the case suffixes. The fourth can take case suffixes only after it has been suffixed with possessive suffixes. The manner interrogative **nasıl** 'how' can take the plural suffix only when used predicatively. Illustrative tables for **ne** and **hangi** follow:

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (1121) | | <i>Singular</i> | <i>Plural</i> |
| | <i>Nominative</i> | ne | ne -ler |
| | <i>Accusative</i> | ne or ne -yi | ne -ler or ne -ler -i |
| | <i>Genitive</i> | ne -yin | ne -ler -in |
| | <i>Dative</i> | ne -ye | ne -ler -e |
| | <i>Locative</i> | ne -de | ne -ler -de |
| | <i>Ablative</i> | ne -den | ne -ler -den |

The fact that the accusative suffix can be omitted is a subcase of the general phenomenon that the same suffix is omitted when a direct object is non-specific. Thus, **ne** and **neler** is used to ask after non-specific entities, while **neyi** and **neleri** is used to ask after specific entities:

(1122) a. bugün **ne** oku -yacak -sın?
 today **what** read -Fut. -2.sg.
 "What will you read today?"

(1122) b. bugün **ne -yi** oku -yacak -sın?
 today **what -Acc.** read -Fut. -2.sg.
 "What will you read today?"

In the example in b., the speaker is presupposing that the hearer will read a certain group of items and is inquiring after a specific item. No such presupposition is made in the example in a., and the question is not about any specific item. Just like all non-specific direct objects not marked overtly for accusative, **ne** has to appear to the immediate left of the verb, while **neyi** is not restricted in this way.

The following table is for **hangi** in its use as an interrogative pronoun (rather than in its attributive use), with the possessive inflection for the third person singular preceding the case suffixes; other possessive suffixes can also be used in the same morphological slot:

(1123)		<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
	<i>Nominative</i>	hangi -si	hangi -ler -i
	<i>Accusative</i>	hangi -sin -i	hangi -ler -in -i
	<i>Genitive</i>	hangi -sin -in	hangi -ler -in -in
	<i>Dative</i>	hangi -sin -e	hangi -ler -in -e
	<i>Locative</i>	hangi -sin -de	hangi -ler -in -de
	<i>Ablative</i>	hangi -sin -den	hangi -ler -in -den

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 1. 2. Selective

The only interrogative pronoun which has a selective meaning inherently is **hangi** 'which'. Other interrogative pronouns acquire a selective meaning when used within possessive or partitive constructions:

(1124) parti -ye öğrenci -ler -den **kim** gel -di?
 party -Dat. student -pl. -Abl. **who** come -Past
 "Who among the students came to the party?"

(1125) elma -lar -ın **kaç** -ın -1 ye -di -n?
 apple -pl. -Gen. **how many** -3.sg.⁵² -Acc. eat -Past -2.sg.
 "How many of the apples did you eat?"

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 1. 3. Other types

In 2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 1. 1., we saw that **hangi** 'how' can acquire case suffixes only after being suffixed with possessive suffixes first. The first three items in the list of interrogative pronouns can also be suffixed with possessive suffixes and thus take on either a selective reading (i.e. 'from a group') or a part-whole reading; an illustrative table for **ne** 'what' follows:

(1126)		<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
	1.	nem or neyim		nemiz or neyimiz
	2.	nen or neyin		neniz or neyiniz
	3.	nesi		neleri

The meaning of these pronouns is 'what of mine?', 'what of yours?' etc. Often, a position in an organization is implied:

(1127)	A:	Bu	bölüm	-ün	ne	-si	-sin?
		this	department	-Gen.	what	-3.sg.	-2.sg.
		"What is your position in this department?"					
		(i.e. "What are you of this department?")					
	B:	Sekreter	-i	-yim			
		secretary	-3.sg.	-1.sg.			
		"I am its secretary"					

The interrogative pronoun **ne** also forms a number of compound interrogatives: **ne zaman** or **ne vakit** 'when' ('what time'); **ne kadar** 'how much'; **niçin** 'why' (from **ne için** 'what for'). The same pronoun can also form some other interrogatives by taking some inflectional and derivational markers; e.g. **neden** 'why' (from **ne-den** 'what-Abl. '); **nece** 'in what language' (from **ne-çe** 'what-ish'); **neci** 'of what profession' (from **ne-ci** 'what-Prof.').

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 2. Number marking in interrogative pronouns

The first four items in the list of 2. 1. 2. 6. 1. can be marked for plurality; this is done with the general plural marker **-lar**, which is also used for nouns. Thus, we have here the general number marking system of singular versus plural, with the singular being morphologically unmarked.

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 3. Class/gender marking

Interrogative pronouns are not marked for class or gender. This is the same situation as that found with nouns, which are also not marked for these categories.

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 4. Case marking in the interrogatives

Interrogatives can be marked for case. Individual forms are shown, with discussion, in 2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 1. 1. The case markers used are the same ones used for nouns.

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 5. Any other grammatical categories marked in the interrogative

Person distinctions can be marked in the interrogative, in the form of possessive agreement suffixes that are placed on the interrogative; these suffixes agree with preceding nouns or pronouns in person and number. Examples and discussions can be found in 2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 1. 1. and 2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 1. 3.

2. 1. 2. 6. 1. 6. Attributive use of interrogatives

Some of the interrogatives can be used attributively. These are: **ne** 'what', **hangi** 'which', **kaç** 'how many', and **nasıl** 'how':

(1128) a. **ne** güzel bir kadın!
what beautiful a woman
 "What a beautiful woman!"

(1128) b. **ne** cesaret!
what courage
 "What courage!"

This interrogative element can also be the first part of a compound:

(1129) a. bu **ne** kitab -ı?
 this **what** book -CmpM
 "What (kind of) book is this?"

The compound marking in such questions is important, since the answer will have to contain a compound, too:

- (1129) b. bu bir ders kitab -1
this a lesson book -CmpM
"This is a textbook"

Such constructions employing **ne** in a compound ask about a type or kind of entity. In order to ask about a quality of an entity, the interrogative **nasıl** 'how' is used as a modifier in a regular noun phrase (rather than in a compound):

- (1130) bu nasıl bir kitap?
this how a book
"What kind (in the sense of quality) of a book is this?"

The answer to such a question would be something like 'nice; boring; long' etc. Note that here, **nasıl** is used attributively and not predicatively. The latter usage would be as follows:

- (1131) bu kitap nasıl?
this book how
"How is this book?"

The other two interrogative elements that can function as attributes are illustrated in the next examples:

- (1132) bu hangi kitap?
this which book
"Which book is this?"

- (1133) kaç kitap al -dı -n?
how many book buy -Past -2.sg.
"How many books did you buy?"

2. 1. 2. 6. 2. Differences in forms used in direct and indirect questions

The interrogative forms used in direct and indirect questions are the same. The only difference is found when an interrogative pronoun is in subject position. When such a pronoun is the subject of a direct question, it is, like all subjects, in the nominative, and thus not suffixed for case. When an interrogative pronoun is the subject of an indirect question, it is suffixed with the genitive marker, again in the same way as all subjects of subordinate clauses are marked.

2. 1. 2. 7. Relative pronouns and other relative words

2. 1. 2. 7. 1. Special relative pronouns

Turkish has no native relative pronouns. However, there is an element borrowed from Persian: the element **ki**, which is used both as a relative pronoun and as a complementizer. This element is used in an Indo-European pattern of a relative clause: the head of the relative clause is followed by the modifying clause; that clause is introduced by **ki**, and the verb of the clause is fully finite:

- (1134) bir insan **ki** hep kendin -i düşün -ür ...
 a person **that** always self -Acc. think -Aor.
 "A person who always thinks of himself..."

This construction is very different from the native construction corresponding to relative clauses in many respects. In the Turkic construction, the head noun is preceded by the modifying clause; the modifying clause has no fully finite predicate, but rather a participle as a predicate. Furthermore, there is no complementizer introducing the clause, nor is there a relative pronoun. The position in the modifying clause corresponding to the head noun is simply elided.

For more discussion and examples illustrating the differences between the Indo-European and native patterns, the reader is referred to section 1. 1. 2. 3. and its subsections.

While this Indo-European pattern is still in limited usage for subordinate clauses in general, it has become rather obsolete for relative clauses.

2. 1. 2. 7. 1. 1. Types of relative pronouns

2. 1. 2. 7. 1. 1. 1. Restrictive

Insofar as the Indo-European pattern of relative clauses is used at all, the relative pronoun **ki** can be used as a restrictive relative pronoun, as illustrated in the example (1134).

2. 1. 2. 7. 1. 1. 2. Nonrestrictive

The Indo-European pattern of relative clauses is more widely spread in nonrestrictive usage, and thus **ki** is used as a nonrestrictive relative pronoun more often than it is as a restrictive relative pronoun:

- (1135) Hasan, **ki** çok cömert bir insan -dır, ...
 Hasan **who** very generous a person -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan, who is a very generous person, ..."

The fact that this pattern is more widely used as a nonrestrictive relative clause as compared to its usage as a restrictive relative clause is probably due to the fact that the use of **ki** as a particle introducing parenthetical clauses is still quite productive.

2. 1. 2. 7. 1. 1. 3. Other types

There are no other types of relative pronouns.

2. 1. 2. 7. 1. 2–5. Number, class/gender, case and other category marking in relative pronouns

This relative pronoun is not inflected and thus is not marked for number, class/gender, case, or any other grammatical category.

2. 1. 2. 7. 1. 6. Attributive usage of relative pronouns

This relative pronoun cannot be used attributively in general. However, it appears to be used attributively with possessive noun phrases, when the modified noun functions as the possessor:

- (1136) bir adam **ki** çocuğ -u yaramaz -dır
 a man **who** child -3.sg. naughty -Ep.Cop.
 "a man whose child is naughty"

But actually these are instances where the possessor is omitted, due to the possessive agreement suffix on the head noun. Thus, a more apt translation of the example above would be: 'A man who his child is naughty.' If so, the relative pronoun is not used attributively in such constructions.

2. 1. 2. 7. 2. Other relative words

There are no other relative words.

2. 1. 2. 7. 3. Relative pronouns used with 'place' and 'time'

The most generally used constructions with 'place' and 'time' are the native constructions without relative pronouns or other relative words.

However, it is possible to use the Indo-European construction with relative pronouns, as well:

- (1137) o yer **ki** herkes çok iyi bil -ir
 that place **which** everybody very well know -Aor.
 "That place which everybody knows (it) very well"
- (1138) bir zaman gel -ecek **ki** herkes
 a time come -Fut. **which** everybody
 birbirin -den kork -acak
 e.o. -Abl. fear -Fut.
 "There will come a time when everybody will be afraid of each other"

In this construction, the words for 'time' and 'place' are preceded by determiners.

2. 1. 3. *Verb morphology*

2. 1. 3. 1. Voice

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. Passive

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 1. Personal passive

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 1. 1. Direct object of the active appearing as subject of the passive

This is the most productive pattern of the passive constructions found in Turkish.

- (1139) a. Kristof Kolomb **Amerika-yı** keşf -et -ti
 Christopher Columbus **America-Acc.** discovery -do -Past
 "Christopher Columbus discovered America"
- (1139) b. **Amerika** (Kristof Kolomb taraf -in -dan)
America Christopher Columbus side -3.sg. -Abl.
 keşf -ed -**il** -di
 discovery -do -**Pass.** -Past
 "America was discovered (by Christopher Columbus)"

The direct object of the verb, marked with the accusative case suffix in (1139)a, is the nominative-marked subject in (1139)b; note also the passive suffix on the verb in the latter example (main form **-Il**; after vowels or l, the same as the reflexive). The agent is optionally expressed in the passive construction via a postpositional phrase, as illustrated above.

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 1. 2–3. Indirect object or some other constituent of the active appearing as subject of the passive

The indirect object (or some other constituent) of the active does not appear as the subject of the passive; rather, it remains an indirect object (or other type of constituent), with the same dative (or other appropriate) case marking it carries in the active:

(1140) a. Hasan ders -ler -e başla -dı
 Hasan lesson -pl. -Dat. begin -Past
 "Hasan began the lessons"

(1140) b. ders -ler -e başla -n -dı
 lesson -pl. -Dat. begin -Pass. -Past
 "The lessons was begun"

The dative noun phrase in the passive example lacks two of the typical subject properties: it is not in the nominative case, and it does not agree with the predicate in person and number. Thus, such passives belong in the category of impersonal passives.

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 2. Impersonal passive: Passive constructions with no constituent in subject position

Turkish has impersonal passives. These can be formed from a variety of verbs. Such verbs can have the following types of arguments in the active:

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 2. 1. A direct object

Impersonal passives can be formed from actives with a direct object only if the direct object is non-specific and not marked overtly with an accusative suffix. In such instances, the non-specific direct object must remain directly adjacent both in the active and in the corresponding passive, and there is no overt constituent in subject position:

(1141) a. Hasan dün bütün gün kitap oku -du
 Hasan yesterday whole day book read -Past
 "Hasan read books all day yesterday"
 ("Hasan was engaged in book-reading all day yesterday")

(1141) b. dün bütün gün kitap oku -n -du
 yesterday whole day book read -Pass. -Past
 "Yesterday books were read all day"
 ("Book reading was done all day yesterday")

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 2. 2. An indirect object

Impersonal passives can be constructed with verbs that have an indirect object:

(1142) a. komşu -lar -ımız ada -ya git -ti -ler
neighbor -pl. -1.pl. island -Dat. go -Past -pl.
"Our neighbors went to the island"

(1142) b. ada -ya gid -il -di
island -Dat. go -Pass. -Past
"The island was gone to"

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 2. 3. Some other object

Active constructions with other types of objects can also be used to construct impersonal passives. For example, verbs with objects in oblique cases like the dative or ablative or verbs with locational objects can also enter the impersonal passive construction:

(1143) a. Hasan bu genç at -a bin -e -me -di
Hasan this young horse -Dat. mount -Abil. -Neg. -Past
"Hasan was unable to mount this young horse"

(1143) b. bu genç at -a bin -il -e -me -di
this young horse -Dat. mount -Pass. -Abil. -Neg. -Past
"This young horse could not be mounted"
("It was impossible to mount this young horse")

(1144) a. öğrenci -ler bina -dan çık -a -ma -dı -lar
student -pl. building -Abl. exit -Abil. -Neg. -Past -3.pl.
"The students were not able to get out of the building"

(1144) b. bina -dan çık -il -a -ma -dı
building -Abl. exit -Pass. -Abil. -Neg. -Past
"The building could not be exited"
("It was impossible to get out of the building")

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 2. 4. No object

It is also possible to derive an impersonal passive from a verb with no object at all:

(1145) a. öğrenci -ler (bahçe -de) dans ed -iyor -lar
student -pl. garden -Loc. dance do -Pr.Prog. -3.pl.
"The students are dancing (in the garden)"

- (1145) b. (bahçe -de) dans ed -il -iyor
 garden -Loc. dance do -Pass. -Pr.Prog.
 "Dancing is taking place (in the garden)"
 ("It is being danced (in the garden)")
- (1146) a. turist -ler (ada -da) her akşam yüz -er
 tourist -pl. island -Loc. every evening swim -Aor.
 "The tourists swim every evening (on the island)"
- (1146) b. (ada -da) her akşam yüz -ül -ür
 island -Loc. every evening swim -Pass. -Aor.
 "Swimming takes place (on the island) every evening"

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 3. Possibilities for the subject of the active to be expressed in the passive

The subject of the active is expressed in passive constructions as agent phrases in which the agent noun phrase shows up as the object of an inflected postposition, marked with ablative case:

- (1147) Ali [Hasan taraf -ın -dan] öv -ül -dü
 Ali Hasan side -3.sg. -Abl. praise -Pass. -Past
 "Ali was praised by Hasan"

It is not possible in general to use agentive phrases in impersonal passives, i.e. for the subject of the active to be expressed in the impersonal passive construction (where no constituent appears in the canonical subject position). However, in official language, such constructions are sometimes found, especially when the verb has a non-specific direct object:

- (1148) dün başbakan tarafından uzun bir demeç
 yesterday minister president by long a statement
 ver -il -di
 give -Pass. -Past
 "Yesterday, a long statement was given by the minister president"

In impersonal passive constructions, expression of the subject in form of an adverbial, suffixed by **-CA**, is more felicitous than the more widely found postpositional phrase with **tarafından**:

- (1149) üniversite bina -lar -ın -a polis -çe el
 university building -pl. -CmpM -Dat. police -by hand
 kon -ul -du
 put -Pass. -Past
 "The university building were seized by the police"

Where the subject is not agentive in an active sentence, it is impossible to express it in the corresponding passive construction.

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 4. 1. Tenses and aspects of the passive as compared to the active

The passive has the same tenses and aspects as the active in general. However, in passives with non-agentive verbs, the only tense/aspect which is possible is the aorist, i.e. the general present tense, which has the function of a durative or habitual:

- (1150) serin hava -da iyi uyu -n -ur
 cool weather -Loc. well sleep -**Pass.** -Aor.
 "One sleeps well in cool weather" ("It is slept well in cool weather")

2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 4. 2. Distinction between dynamic and static passive

There is a distinction between dynamic and stative passive, although it does not correspond to a special morpheme.

Dynamic passive:

- (1151) ev -imiz inşa ed -il -iyor
 house -1.pl. build -**Pass.** -Pr.Prog.
 "Our house is being built"

- (1152) ev -imiz inşa ed -il -mek -te
 house -1.pl. build -**Pass.** -Inf. -Loc.
 "Our house is (in the state of) being built"

Static passive:

- (1153) ev -imiz inşa ed -il -miş -tir
 house -1.pl. build -**Pass.** -PPart -Ep.Cop.
 "Our house has been built"

It should be noted that the tense, aspect and nominalization suffixes exhibited by the dynamic passive are found in active sentences, as well. In contrast, the static passive is essentially limited to the past participle, which actually has a perfective aspectual function (while having the same morpho-phonological shape as the suffix for the reported past).

2. 1. 3. 1. 2. Means of decreasing the valency of a verb other than the passive

Turkish has means other than the passive of decreasing the valency of the verb. These means are elaborated below, in the next four subsections.

2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 1. Formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by not specifying the subject of the transitive

An intransitive verb can be formed from a transitive verb by not specifying the subject of the transitive; additional changes involve suffixation of the verb and changing the original accusative object into a nominative:

(1154) a. Hasan kapı -yı kapa -dı
 Hasan door -Acc. close -Past
 "Hasan closed the door"

(1154) b. kapı kapa -n -dı
 door close -M. -Past
 "The door closed"

(1155) a. Hasan ışığ -ı gör -dü
 Hasan light -Acc. see -Past
 "Hasan saw the light"

(1155) b. ışık (Hasan -a) gör -ün -dü
 light Hasan -Dat. see -M. -Past
 "The light appeared (to Hasan)"

(1156) a. Hasan kapı -yı aç -tı
 Hasan door -Acc. open -Past
 "Hasan opened the door"

(1156) b. kapı aç -ıl -dı
 door open -M. -Past
 "The door opened"

Note that the suffix in these constructions is the same found in some passive and in some reflexive constructions, without being identical to either one in all instances. One difficulty in identifying the suffix in a clear and transparent fashion comes from the fact that the passive and the reflexive suffixes are identical in part: the passive suffix which shows up after a stem ending in *l* or with a vowel is **-(I)n** and thus identical with the reflexive suffix.

From a semantic point of view, the middle is closer to the reflexive than it is to the passive, yet it cannot be identified with the reflexive

completely. For example in (1155), the morphological sequence **gör -ün** 'see-M.' does not translate into 'see oneself', but rather into 'appear, show itself'. In (1154), such identification would be possible, however: **kapa -n** 'close-M.' does translate into 'close itself', albeit with a non-agentive meaning otherwise associated with genuine reflexives. Finally, in (1156), the meaning of the morphological sequence **aç-ıl** corresponds to a reflexivized stem as in (1154) (with the same proviso about agentivity), but the suffix has the shape of the passive rather than of the reflexive, given that it should have been **-ın** as a reflexive, thus forming the sequence **aç-ın**. This, however, is never found. On the other hand, the suffix for the middle cannot be identified with the passive in all instances, either. For example in (1155), the sequence for stem-passive would have been **gör-ül**; however, this form has a uniquely passive meaning, without having any connotation of a middle.

I have therefore opted to analyze the form found in these examples as neither the passive nor the reflexive, but as a middle with a highly lexicalized suffix that has the same shape as the reflexive and with semantics rather close to it. However, in some rare instances as in (1156), the middle suffix has the same shape as the passive suffix, but it retains its own semantics. Thus, such examples are systematically ambiguous between a middle reading and a passive reading. This means for (1156) an ambiguity between the middle reading: 'The door closed (by itself)' and the passive reading: 'The door was closed (by somebody)'.

2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 2. Formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by not specifying the direct object

The formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by not specifying the direct object is possible in Turkish:

(1157) a. Hasan elma -yı ye -di
 Hasan apple -Acc. eat -Past
 "Hasan ate an apple"

(1157) b. Hasan ye -di
 Hasan eat -Past
 "Hasan ate"

In this respect, Turkish is quite similar to English. No further changes take place, e.g. the verbal morphology remains the same.

2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 3. Formation of a reciprocal intransitive verb by expressing both subject and direct object of the transitive as subject

Formation of a reciprocal intransitive verb by expressing both subject and direct object of the transitive as subject is possible in Turkish as a means of decreasing the valency of a verb:

(1158) a. Hasan Ali -yi tokatla -dı, Ali de Hasan -ı
 Hasan Ali -Acc. slap -Past Ali -and Hasan -Acc.
 "Hasan slapped Ali and Ali (slapped) Hasan"

(1158) b. Hasan -la Ali tokatla -ş -tı -lar
 Hasan -and Ali slap -Recip. -Past -3.pl.
 "Hasan and Ali slapped each other"

Comparing the verbs of the two examples, we note the special reciprocal suffix of the reciprocal verb and the fact that the derived verb has no direct object, while the corresponding simple verb does have a direct object. We further note that the derived verb has a complex, plural subject, consisting of the subject and the direct object of the corresponding morphologically simple verb.

2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 4. Other means of decreasing the valency of a verb

Another means of decreasing the valency of a verb is the formation of reflexive verbs:

(1159) a. Ayşe; çocuğ -u /kendin -i yıka -dı
 Ayşe child -Acc. /self -Acc. wash -Past
 "Ayşe washed the child/herself"

(1159) b. Ayşe yıka -n -dı
 Ayşe wash -Refl. -Past
 "Ayşe washed herself"

The morphologically derived verb has lower valency than the corresponding simple verb; it does not admit a direct object of any sort.

The reflexive suffix has the shape **-(I)n**. Thus, it is partially identical to the passive suffix, namely in those instances where the stem ends either in the consonant *l* or in a vowel. In such ambiguous instances, any intention of expressing a passive as opposed to a reflexive is signaled by attaching a second passive suffix:

(1160) ?Ayşe yıka -n -ıl -dı
 Ayşe wash -Pass. -Pass. -Past
 "Ayşe was washed"

2. 1. 3. 1. 3. Means of increasing the valency of a verb

The only systematic means of increasing the valency of a verb is by forming a causative verb out of a noncausative verb.

2. 1. 3. 1. 3. 1. Causative

A causative verb is formed by attaching a special causative suffix to the stem of the verb. This suffix has the two main alternants **-Dir** and **-t**; the first comes after consonants, the second after polysyllabic stems in vowels, **r** and **l**. Multiple causativization is possible and is realized by alternating the allomorphs; however, while double causatives are rather frequent, triple causatives are rare; higher augmentations would be very hard to find. These morphological facts are the same for transitive and intransitive verbs.

2. 1. 3. 1. 3. 1. 1. Means of making an intransitive verb causative

An intransitive verb is made transitive by marking its subject, the causee, with the accusative suffix. In addition, the verb is marked with the appropriate causative suffix, as described in the previous subsection.

(1161) a. Hasan koş -tu
 Hasan run -Past
 "Hasan ran"

(1161) b. (ben) Hasan -i koş -**tur** -du -m
 I Hasan -**Acc.** run -**Caus.** -Past -1.sg.
 "I made Hasan run"

2. 1. 3. 1. 3. 1. 2. Means of making a transitive verb causative

A transitive verb is made causative by marking its subject, the causee, with the dative case suffix. The original accusative direct object retains its marking after causativization. The verb is marked with the appropriate causative marker, as described in 2. 1. 3. 1. 3.

(1162) a. Hasan kitab -i oku -du
 Hasan book -**Acc.** read -Past
 "Hasan read the book"

(1162) b. (ben) Hasan -a kitab -i oku -**t** -tu -m
 I Hasan -**Dat.** book -**Acc.** read -**Caus.** -Past -1.sg.
 "I made Hasan read the book"

2. 1. 3. 1. 3. 1. 3. Means of making a ditransitive verb causative

A ditransitive verb, i.e. a verb with both direct and indirect object, is made causative in the same way in which a transitive verb is made causative:

(1163) a. Hasan sūrahi -**yi** dolab -**a** koy -**du**
 Hasan pitcher -**Acc.** cupboard -**Dat.** put -**Past**
 "Hasan put the pitcher into the cupboard"

(1163) b. (ben) Hasan -**a** sūrahi -**yi** dolab -**a**
 I Hasan -**Dat.** pitcher -**Acc.** cupboard -**Dat.**
 koy -**dur** -**du** -**m**
 put -**Caus.** -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 "I made Hasan put the pitcher into the cupboard"

2. 1. 3. 1. 3. 2. Formal differences depending on the agentivity of the causee

The agentivity of the causee is important insofar as in some instances, a non-agentive causee is infelicitous in the context of the general, productive pattern of causative constructions:

(1164) a. kapı -**nın** alt -**ın** -**dan** su ak -**tı**
 door -**Gen.** under -**3.sg.** -**Abl.** water flow -**Past**
 "Water flowed under the door"

(1164) b. su kapı -**nın** alt -**ın** -**dan** ak -**tı**
 water door -**Gen.** under -**3.sg.** -**Abl.** flow -**Past**
 "The water flowed under the door"

(1165) a. *kapı -**nın** alt -**ın** -**dan** su ak -**tır** -**dı** -**m**
 door -**Gen.** under -**3.sg.** -**Abl.** water flow -**Caus.** -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 Intended reading: "I made water flow under the door"

(1165) b. *su -**yu** kapı -**nın** alt -**ın** -**dan**
 water -**Acc.** door -**Gen.** under -**3.sg.** -**Abl.**
 ak -**tır** -**dı** -**m**
 flow -**Caus.** -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 Intended reading: "I made the water flow under the door"

(1166) a. kapı -**nın** alt -**ın** -**dan** su ak -**ıt** -**tı** -**m**
 door -**Gen.** under -**3.sg.** -**Abl.** water flow -**Caus.** -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 "I made water flow under the door"

(1166) b. su -**yu** kapı -**nın** alt -**ın** -**dan**
 water -**Acc.** door -**Gen.** under -**3.sg.** -**Abl.**
 ak -**ıt** -**tı** -**m**
 flow -**Caus.** -**Past** -**1.sg.**
 "I made the water flow under the door"

- (1167) a. et piş -ti
meat cook -Past
"The meat cooked"
- (1167) b. *et -i piş -tir -di -m
meat -Acc. cook -Caus. -Past -1.sg.
Intended reading: "I made the meat cook" ("I cooked the meat")
- (1168) et -i piş -ir -di -m
meat -Acc. cook -Caus. -Past -1.sg.
"I made the meat cook"
- (1169) a. top yer -e düş -tü
ball floor -Dat. fall -Past
"The ball fell on the floor"
- (1169) b. *top -u yer -e düş -tür -dü -m
ball -Acc. floor -Dat. fall -Caus. -Past -1.sg.
Intended reading: "I made the ball fall on the floor"
- (1170) top -u yer -e düş -ür -dü -m
ball -Acc. floor -Dat. fall -Caus. -Past -1.sg.
"I made the ball fall on the floor"

We see that in all of these instances where the causee is non-agentive, causativization with the regular causative suffix **-Dir** is ungrammatical; instead, it is possible to construct a different causative verb. The verb stem receives a causative suffix which is different from the regular **-Dir** and is not always predictable. It sometimes is **-Ir** and sometimes the more idiosyncratic **-It**, as illustrated in the examples above.

The case distribution in these causative constructions is the same as elsewhere. Note that in all these exceptional causative verbs, the stem ends in a consonant. Verbs that end in vowels take the regular causative suffix **-t**, even where the causee is non-agentive:

(1171)	<i>Simple verb</i>	<i>Causative form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
	büyü grow	büyü -t grow -Caus.	"grow (tr.); make grow"
	eri melt	eri -t melt -Caus.	"melt (tr.); make melt"
	kayna boil	kayna -t boil -Caus.	"boil (tr.); make boil"

In all of these examples, the verbs in the first column are intransitive (as well as non-agentive), while those in the second column are transitivized via causativization.

There are some verbs which, although they end with a consonant and are non-agentive, are causativized with the regular causative suffix:

(1172)	<i>Simple verb</i>	<i>Causative form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
	uyan wake up	uyan - dır wake up - Caus.	"wake up (tr.)"
	yüz float	yüz - dür float - Caus.	"make float"
	kay slide, slip	kay - dır slide - Caus.	"make slide, make slip" ⁵³

Finally, some non-agentive verbs undergo slight changes or truncations in their stems when causativized, with or without changes in the causative suffix, as well:

(1173)	<i>Simple verb</i>	<i>Expected causative</i>	<i>Actual causative</i>
	kalk get up	*kalk - tır get up - Caus.	kal - dır get up - Caus.
	gör see	*gör - dür see - Caus.	gös - ter see - Caus.

It might be argued, however, that in these instances, the causative forms are not fully transparent any longer and have been lexicalized. As a matter of fact, the most general meanings of these verbs are 'pull someone to his/her feet' and 'show', respectively. The compositional meanings of 'make someone get up' and 'make someone see' are not usually conveyed by these verbs.

2. 1. 3. 1. 3. 3. Possibility for omission of the causee

It is possible to omit the causee. Such omission is best where the corresponding simple verb is transitive:

- (1174) a. **Hasan** -a viski -yi iç -ir -di -m
Hasan -**Dat.** whisky -**Acc.** drink -**Caus.** -**Past** -1.sg.
 "I made Hasan drink the whisky"
- (1174) b. viski -yi iç -ir -di -m
 whisky -**Acc.** drink -**Caus.** -**Past** -1.sg.
 "I made (somebody) drink the whisky"

(1175) a. **Hasan** -a kitab -1 oku -t -tu -m
Hasan -Dat. book -Acc. read -Caus. -Past -1.sg.
 "I made Hasan read the book"

(1175) b. kitab -1 oku -t -tu -m
 book -Acc. read -Caus. -Past -1.sg.
 "I made (somebody) read the book"

There are certain ambiguities that arise due to such omissions:

(1176) kuş -lar -1 ye -dir -di -m
 bird -pl. -Acc. eat -Caus. -Past -1.sg.

This example is ambiguous between the following two readings:

- a. I made the birds eat
- b. I made someone eat the birds

Such ambiguities arise in the following circumstances:

1. The original simple verb is transitive. This makes reading b. possible, where the causee, i.e. the agent of the simple verb, is not expressed overtly.
2. The original simple verb allows the omission of the direct object independently of discourse elision (cf. 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 2.). This makes it possible to treat the verb derived via such omission as an intransitive verb and thus mark its agent with the accusative case (rather than the dative case as required for true transitive verbs) under causativization.
3. The accusative-marked direct object of the causative verb must have semantic features appropriate for serving both as the direct object of the non-derived transitive verb and as the subject of the related intransitive verb, derived by omitting the direct object. (In our example, the direct object of the causative verb, **kuşları** 'the birds, Acc.' can undergo the action of being eaten as well as perform the action of eating.)

2. 1. 3. 1. 4. Special reflexive and reciprocal verb forms and their uses

There are special reflexive and reciprocal verb forms. These have been mentioned previously, in 1. 6. 1. 3. and 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 4. for reflexives and in 1. 7. 1. 3. and 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 3. for reciprocals.

The reciprocal verb form has, in addition to its use as an expression of reciprocity, a non-reciprocal (but related) use with plural subjects. For discussion and illustration see 1. 7. 9. 3. The reflexive verb form is, in some instances, similar to the passive. It can also function as a middle (for both properties, see section 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 1.):

- (1177) kapı kapa -n -dı
 door close -Refl./ M. -Past
 "The door closed (itself)"

2. 1. 3. 2. Tense

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. Tenses distinguished formally

Most tense markers in Turkish also have aspectual functions. Some also function as mood markers. These dual or triple functions will be noted when individual tense markers are discussed.

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 1. Universal (all time, past, present, future)

There is no genuine universal tense in Turkish.

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 2. Present

The so-called aorist (in Turkish: *geniş zaman* 'broad tense') is the general present tense and expresses habitual actions and general events, thus coming close to a universal tense:

- (1178) a. Hasan her sabah kahvaltı ed -er
 Hasan every morning breakfast do -Aor.
 "Hasan has breakfast every morning"

- (1178) b. Hasan çocuk -lar -ın -ı çok sev -er
 Hasan child -pl. -3.sg. -Acc. very love -Aor.
 "Hasan loves his children very much"

While this tense is, strictly speaking, a present tense, the validity of the utterance in the aorist for the future and the past tenses can be inferred, due to the habitual and durative connotations of this form.

The form of the aorist is rather complex. Its most general representation is probably **-(A)r** (as illustrated in the examples above), with rather well-defined deviations, which concern the vowel of the suffix. The basic low vowel is found with monosyllabic verb stems, unless these stems either end in a liquid consonant (e.g. **bil** 'know', **bil-ir** 'she knows (Aor.)' or if they are derived morphologically, e.g. if the stem is a passive or a middle

(e.g. **ye** 'eat', **ye-n-ir** 'it is eaten (Aor.)'). As a matter of fact, there are a few monosyllabic verbs that do end in a liquid but still take the aorist suffix with the basic low vowel (e.g. **gir** 'enter', **gir-er** 'she enters (Aor.)').

When polysyllabic verb stems take the aorist, the suffix vowel is high (e.g. **düşün** 'think', **düşün-ür** 'she thinks (Aor.)').

In all instances of the aorist, the vowel in parentheses is deleted after a stem-final vowel (e.g. **ye** 'eat', **ye-r** 'she eats', **uyu** 'sleep', **uyu-r** 'she sleeps', **söyle** 'say', **söyle-r** 'she says').

The negative form of the aorist is worth mentioning, since it is not fully predictable. The liquid consonant of the aorist turns into a **z**, which is dropped in the first person singular, and which itself turns into a **y** in the first person plural; e.g. **ye-mé-m** 'I don't eat', **ye-mé-z-sin** 'you(sg.) don't eat', **ye-mé-y-iz** 'we don't eat'. As marked on these examples, the negative aorist is further exceptional, in that the negative suffix **-mA** carries word stress, while this suffix cannot be stressed in general and is otherwise preceded by a stressed syllable. (The third person plural suffix in negative aorist verbs, rather than the negation suffix **-mA** carries word accent in standard Turkish, e.g. **ye-me-z-lér** 'they don't eat'; however, in an example of paradigm leveling, the pronunciation with word accent on **-mA**, i.e. **ye-mé-z-ler** is heard more and more often.)

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 3. Past

Turkish has two simple past tenses. The first is the definite past, expressed by means of the suffix **-DI** (and glossed simply as 'Past' elsewhere in this book), and the second is the reported past, expressed by the suffix **-miş** (and glossed elsewhere as 'Rep.Past')

(1179) a. Hasan dün opera -ya git **-ti**
 Hasan yesterday opera -Dat. go **-Past**
 "Hasan went to the opera yesterday"

(1179) b. Hasan dün opera -ya git **-miş**
 Hasan yesterday opera -Dat. go **-Rep.Past/Infer.Past**
 "Hasan reportedly went to the opera yesterday"
 "It appears that Hasan went to the opera"

In (1179)a the speaker is committed to the truth of the statement. In (1179)b, the speaker does not know whether the statement is true or not and makes this clear by using the reported past. The implication is that the action or event depicted by such a statement has been reported to the

speaker. As also briefly mentioned in footnote 26 of the syntax chapter, the suffix expressing the reported past can also denote an inferential past;⁵⁴ i.e. the speaker could infer the truth of the statement from some evidence or clues. For ease of reference, the suffix **-mIş** will be glossed as 'Rep.Past' for the remainder of this book, as it also has been in the syntax chapter.

These tenses are also distinguished by the slightly different agreement suffixes that they are followed by as well as by the different stress properties of those agreement suffixes. The reported past takes the agreement suffixes which show up in the majority of tenses (e.g. future, present progressive, aorist), while the definite past takes a set of agreement suffixes that it shares with the conditional.⁵⁵ These paradigms are juxtaposed below:

(1180)		<i>Reported past</i>	<i>Definite past</i>
	1. <i>sg.</i>	-Im	-m
	2. <i>sg.</i>	-sIn	-n
	3. <i>sg.</i>	-Ø	-Ø
	1. <i>pl.</i>	-Iz	-k
	2. <i>pl.</i>	-sInIz	-nIz
	3. <i>pl.</i>	-lAr	-lAr

From the point of view of word-level stress, the agreement paradigm of the definite past suffix is regular. In other words, when the suffixes of this paradigm are word-final, they do not block assignment of word-level stress to the final syllable:

(1181)	oku	- du	- núz
	read	- Past	- 2 pl.
	"you read"		

The agreement paradigm of the reported past is exceptional with respect to stress. Where the suffixes of that paradigm are word final, the final syllable cannot receive stress. Rather, the syllable immediately preceding the agreement suffix receives word-level stress:

(1182)	oku	- múş	- sunuz
	read	- Rep.Past	- 2 pl.
	"you supposedly read"		

In narrative style, the aorist form can also be used to express actions or events of the past:

- (1183) Hasan iş -in -e gid -er; fakat kapı -yı
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. go -Aor. but door -Acc.
 kapalı bul -unca ev -in -e dön -er
 closed find -when home -3.sg. -Dat. return -Aor.
 "Hasan goes to work; however, upon finding the door closed, (he)
 returns home"

As also in English, the present tense can be used to express a past event or action; this usage lends a measure of vividness to the narration. In Turkish, the fact that the past rather than the present is expressed in this example is more obvious, since the actions mentioned here are unlikely to be repeated or habitual.

For even more immediacy, the present progressive can also be used to express past actions or events, again in narratives:

- (1184) Hasan iş -in -e gid -iyor; fakat kapı -yı
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. go -Pr.Prog. but door -Acc.
 kapalı bul -unca ev -in -e dön -üyor
 closed find -when home -3.sg. -Dat. return -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan goes to work; however, upon finding the door closed, (he)
 returns home"

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 3. 1. Further subdivisions according to degree of remoteness

The simple past is not further subdivided according to the degree of remoteness from the time of the utterance.

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 3. 2. Relative tenses (relative to a point in the past)

There also are relative tenses, which are relative to a point in the past. These are morphologically complex tenses, constructed by stringing suffixes to one another.

The most widely used such combinations of simple tenses involving the definite past as the second suffix involve the following tense/aspect suffixes as a possible first suffix: aorist, present progressive, reported past (which, in this usage, functions as a perfective aspect marker), and the future tense. Examples follow for each of these combinations, in the order just listed:

- (1185) Hasan eski -den her sabah kahve iç -er -di
 Hasan old -Abl. every morning coffee drink -Aor. -Past
 "Hasan, in former times, used to drink coffee every morning"

As elsewhere in the language, the aorist expresses here the "general present", i.e. a habitual and/or repeated action or event. However, this is relative to a point in the past.

- (1186) dün saat beş -te Hasan kahve iç -iyor -du
 yesterday o'clock five -Abl. Hasan coffee drink -Prog. -Past
 "Yesterday at five o'clock Hasan was drinking coffee"

The progressive expresses an event or action that takes place at a given point in time, delimited very narrowly to that temporal point. Here, that temporal point is in the past.

- (1187) dün saat beş -te Hasan kahve -sin -i
 yesterday o'clock five -Abl. Hasan coffee -3.sg. -Acc.
 bitir -miş -ti
 finish -PPart -Past
 "Yesterday at five o'clock Hasan had finished his coffee"

As stated above, in this usage, the marker for reported past assumes the function of a perfective aspect marker. Thus, with respect to a point in the past (here, 'yesterday at five o'clock'), the action depicted (here, Hasan's drinking his coffee) has been completed.

- (1188) Hasan ödev -in -i dün bitir -ecek -ti
 Hasan assignment -3.sg. -Acc. yesterday finish -Fut. -Past
 (fakat bitir -e -me -di)
 but finish -Abil. -Neg. -Past
 "Hasan was going to finish his assignment yesterday (but was not able to)"

Here, the future tense marker expresses a time reference which lies in the future with respect to a point in time in the past.

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 4. Future

The future suffix has the shape **-(y)AcAK**:

- (1189) Hasan yarın ödev -in -i bitir -ecek
 Hasan tomorrow assignment -3.sg. -Acc. finish -Fut.
 "Hasan will finish his assignment tomorrow"

It should be noted that the aorist form can also have the function of future tense, especially when used as a promise:

- (1190) yarın san -a uğra -r -im
 tomorrow you -Dat. drop by -Aor. -1.sg.
 "Tomorrow I will drop by at your place"
 (Actually: "Tomorrow I drop by at your place")

In this usage as a promise, the aorist commits the speaker less than the regular future tense suffix:

- (1191) yarın san -a uğra -yacağ -ım
 tomorrow you -Dat. drop by -Fut. -1.sg.
 "Tomorrow I will drop by at your place"

There is a sense of greater commitment and definiteness in this last example, as compared to the previous one.⁵⁶

In colloquial, informal style, the present progressive form can also be used with future function:

- (1192) yarın iş -ten sonra san -a gel -iyor -um
 tomorrow work -Abl. after you -Dat. come -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "Tomorrow I'm coming to your place after work"

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 4. 1. Modal and/or aspectual values of the future form

The future form, when used as a genuine, fully finite verb, has only a tense function and no aspectual or mood values. However, when this form is used as a participle, e.g. as a modifier, or with an auxiliary verb, it can assume such values:

- (1193) Hasan kapı -yı aç -acak ol -du
 Hasan door -Acc. open -Fut. be/become -Past

It is difficult to capture the exact meaning of this construction, which conveys a negative aspect of the event or action depicted by the main verb in future form. The connotation is negative; either the action in question is somehow in the irrealis, because it was attempted but couldn't be carried out, or, if it was carried out, had negative consequences. (Such utterances are therefore felt to be incomplete by themselves and are continued by explaining why the action could not be executed, or what its negative outcome was.)

The function of irrealis or potentiality of this form is particularly evident when the participial main verb is a modifier:

- (1194) oku -yacak bir kitap ara -dı -m
 read -Fut. a book search -Past -1.sg.
 "I looked for a book to read"

Note that, unlike its English translation, the Turkish utterance has no infinitive. The irrealis is expressed by the future form instead.

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 4. 2. Further subdivisions according to degree of remoteness

The simple future is not further subdivided according to degree of remoteness.

2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 4. 3. Relative tenses, relative to a point in the future

Relative tenses which are relative to a point in the future can be formed only as complex tenses. These, in turn, cannot be constructed in the same way as the complex tenses involving the past, namely by simply stacking tenses. Rather, the future tense suffix must be placed on the auxiliary *ol*, which, in this usage, is ambiguous between 'be' and 'become', depending on the main verb:

(1195) saat beş -te Londra -ya var -**muş**
 o'clock five -Loc. London -Dat. arrive -**PPart**
ol -**acağ** -**ım**
be/become -**Fut.** -1.sg.

"I will have arrived in London at five o'clock"

As stated earlier, the form that usually expresses the reported past functions as a marker for perfective aspect in instances like this one, where the main verb is a participle (rather than a fully finite verb).

The progressive as well as the aorist can also be used as participial forms in conjunction with the auxiliary *ol*, suffixed with the Future tense marker:

(1196) yarın saat beş -te mektup yaz -**ıyor**
 tomorrow o'clock five -Loc. letter write -**Prog.**
ol -**acağ** -**ım**
be/become -**Fut.** -1.sg.

"Tomorrow at five o'clock I will be (in the process of) writing letters"

(1197) gelecek yaz üniversite -ye gid -**er**
 next summer university -Dat. go -**Aor.**
ol -**acağ** -**ım**
be/become -**Fut.** -1.sg.

"Next summer I will be going to the university (regularly)"

Despite the fact that the English translations of the last two examples exhibit the progressive in both instances, there is a distinction made in the Turkish examples. In (1196), a narrow point in time is being focused on, thus making the progressive marker the most appropriate suffix. In

contrast, the next example expresses most appropriately the meaning that the speaker will be performing the act of going to the university in a regular, habitual manner; most probably s/he will be a student during the period of 'next summer'.

2. 1. 3. 2. 2. Tense distinctions across moods and non-finite forms

Moods:

First of all, it should be noted that the simple tense markers and (most of the) mood markers are in complementary distribution; thus, where both are possible, we are dealing with complex forms. In most of these, the mood suffix (for the individual mood suffixes, see 2. 1. 3. 4.) functions simultaneously as a participial marker and thus precedes the tense marker. For complex forms of this type, the tense distinctions discussed above hold for some moods, but not for others. Further, some of the mood forms can appear with some tenses but not others, while one (the *imperative*) cannot co-occur with tense markers at all. The main differences are discussed below.

The potentiality (or abilitative) form is the only mood whose marker can be followed by all the tense markers. The reason for this might be that the abilitative marker **-(y)Abil** consists, in part, of the main verb **-bil** 'know', from which it historically derives. The rich morphological combinatorial possibilities of this suffix can thus be explained. The following example, illustrating the abilitative in the future tense, is representative of these possibilities, especially given the fact that none of the other mood markers can be followed by the future tense marker:

- (1198) Hasan gelecek kış üniversite -ye gid **-ebil** **-ecek**
 Hasan next winter university -Dat. go **-Abil.** **-Fut.**
 "Hasan will be able to go to the university next winter"

The debitive (or necessitative) form is expressed by the suffix **-mAll**. By itself, the tense connotation is that of a general present tense, i.e. the function otherwise expressed by the aorist marker in simple finite verbs. It can be followed by the definite and reported past markers. In contrast, it cannot be followed by the progressive suffix, nor can it be followed by the future tense suffix.

Exactly the same statements are true of the conditional form, expressed by the suffix **-sA**, and of the optative (intentional), expressed by the suffix **-(y)A**.⁵⁷

Of all the mood markers, the conditional is the only one able to follow tense (/aspect) markers; in other words, in this usage, the conditional functions as a copular conditional⁵⁸. This copular conditional can follow simple tense forms as well as complex ones:

(1199) Hasan bu kitab -ı oku -yor -sa ...
 Hasan this book -Acc. read -Prog. -Cond.
 "If Hasan is reading this book..."

(1200) Hasan bu kitab -ı oku -yacak -sa ...
 Hasan this book -Acc. read -Fut. -Cond.
 "If Hasan will read this book..."

While the conditional can follow complex tenses as well as simple ones, this usage is confined to informal, colloquial style:

(1201) ?Hasan bu kitab -ı oku -yacak -tıy -sa ...
 Hasan this book -Acc. read -Fut. -Past -Cond.
 "If Hasan was going to read this book"

When the suffix **-miş** for the reported past is the first suffix in a morphological sequence including the conditional form, its function is that of perfective aspect rather than that of a tense marker⁵⁹:

(1202) Hasan bu kitab -ı oku -muş -sa ...
 Hasan this book -Acc. read -PPart -Cond.
 "If Hasan has read the book..."

Non-finite forms:

Possibilities of expressing tense distinctions across non-finite forms are rather limited. The suffixes that are most widely used in non-finite forms are **-DIK** and **-mA**, which have been glossed in this work as 'factive nominal' and 'action nominal', respectively. In most instances, **-DIK** functions as a marker of the indicative, while **-mA** functions as a marker of the subjunctive.⁶⁰ The former is also one of the suffixes found in modifying clauses that correspond to relative clauses; in that usage, **-DIK** has been glossed as 'object participle'. Other quite widely used forms include **-mAK**, the infinitival suffix (which is used in a subset of those instances for which the action nominal **-mA** is appropriate), **-(y)InCA** and **-(y)ArAk**, both adverbial forms, duplicated verbs suffixed with **-(y)A** (used as manner adverbials), **-(y)An**, used in modifying clauses and glossed here as 'subject participle', and **-(y)Ip**, a coordination marker.

All of these non-finite suffixes show up in the morphological slot otherwise occupied by the simple tense/aspect suffixes of simple verb forms. Thus, the simple tense/aspect suffixes and the non-finite suffixes are mutually exclusive. However, some tense/aspect distinctions can be drawn in the non-finite forms nevertheless. In the forms marked with **-DİK** (both as factive and object participle forms), a future/non-future distinction can be drawn:

- (1203) a. [Hasan -in şarap iç -tiğ -in -i]
 Hasan -Gen. wine drink -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor -um
 know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I know that Hasan drank wine"
- (1203) b. [Hasan -in şarap iç -eceğ -in -i]
 Hasan -Gen. wine drink -FNomFut -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor -um
 know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I know that Hasan will drink wine"
- (1204) a. [Hasan -in iç -tiğ -i] şarap
 Hasan -Gen. drink -ObjP -3.sg. wine
 "The wine which Hasan drank"
- (1204) b. [Hasan -in iç -eceğ -i] şarap
 Hasan -Gen. drink -Fut.ObjP -3.sg. wine
 "The wine which Hasan will drink"

Note that the future non-finite factive form has the same shape as the suffix for the simple future tense.⁶¹ Other tense/aspect distinctions are impossible to draw in terms of non-complex suffix sequences.

Even these reduced possibilities to express tense are unavailable in the other non-factive forms. Predicates marked with any of the suffixes used to express non-factive, non-finite forms take on any tense/aspect connotation expressed by the finite predicate of the main clause:

- (1205) [Hasan -in şarap iç -me -sin -i]
 Hasan -Gen. wine drink -ANom -3.sg. -Acc.
 iste -di -m
 want -Past -1.sg.
 isti -yor -um
 want -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 isti -yeceğ -im
 want -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I wanted/want/will want for Hasan to drink wine"

It should be noted, however, that a richer array of tense/aspect distinctions can be expressed in non-finite forms nevertheless, but only via complex periphrastic formations. Some examples follow:

- (1206) [Hasan -in şarab -ı parti -den önce iç -miş
 Hasan -Gen. wine -Acc. party -Abl. before drink -PPart
 ol -duğ -un -u] duy -du -m
 be -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that Hasan had drunk the wine before the party"

- (1207) [Hasan -in bütün şarab -ı parti -den önce
 Hasan -Gen. all wine -Acc. party -Abl. before
 iç -miş ol -acağ -in -ı]
 drink -PPart be -FNomFut -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor -um
 know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I know that Hasan will have drunk all the wine before the party"

- (1208) [Hasan -in bütün şarab -ı parti -den önce
 Hasan -Gen. all wine -Acc. party -Abl. before
 iç -miş ol -ma -sın -ı] isti -yor -um
 drink -PPart be -ANom -3.sg. -Acc. want -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I want for Hasan to have drunk all the wine before the party"

2. 1. 3. 2. 3. Relative versus absolute tenses

The question of the tenses being absolute (i.e. involving a time specification relative to the present moment) or relative (i.e. involving a time specification relative to some other specified point in time) cannot be answered separately with respect to criteria like finiteness and main versus subordinate clauses, since subordinate clauses are typically nonfinite at the same time. Even the criterion of mood cannot be addressed independently from the others, given that some markers of (non)finiteness are mood markers at the same time, e.g. indicative versus subjunctive.

There is no marker for the indicative in morphologically simple finite verb forms; where there is no mood marker in such forms, the mood is indicative. In these forms, the tenses are absolute. In indicative, but morphologically complex forms, the tenses are relative in general. The tense expressed by the first tense suffix (i.e. the suffix closer to the stem) is interpreted as relative to the time expressed by the second tense suffix (i.e. the suffix farther removed from the stem):

- (1209) Hasan [ben kalk -tığ -ım -da] iş -e
 Hasan I get up -FNom -1.sg. -Loc. work -Dat.
 git -miş -ti
 go -PPart -Past
 "When I got up, Hasan had gone to work"

Here, Hasan's having gone to work has taken place prior to another point in time, namely the speaker's getting up. That point in time is itself in the past with respect to the present moment, i.e. the time of the utterance. Thus, we are dealing here with a complex tense, i.e. of a past within the past.⁶² Another example illustrates the same point:

- (1210) Hasan [bu sabah] iş -e gid -ecek -ti,
 Hasan this morning work -Dat. go -Fut. -Past
 fakat git -me -di
 but go -Neg. -Past
 "Hasan was going to go to work this morning, but (he) didn't"

In this example, Hasan's going to work was in the future⁶³ with respect to a certain point in time, i.e. this morning, which is in the past with respect to the present moment.

For those moods that are formally expressed, we saw in 2. 1. 3. 2. 2. that not all tenses can be used with all the mood markers. However, in those combinations that are allowed, the tense markers are interpreted as regular, simple tense suffixes and are thus absolute:

- (1211) Hasan nihayet kitab -ın -ı bitir -ebil -di
 Hasan finally book -3.sg. -Acc. finish -Abil. -Past
 "Hasan was finally able to finish his book"

Here, the past tense is absolute, i.e. the moment of Hasan's finishing his book is prior to the present moment. Combinations of mood and relative tenses are possible in the standard language only for the potential/abilitative mood and are expressed in the same way in which relative tenses usually are, i.e. by appending a second tense marker that expresses the point in time relative to which the remainder of the utterance holds:

- (1212) Hasan yarın akşam kitab -ın -ı
 Hasan tomorrow evening book -3.sg. -Acc.
 bitir -ebil -miş ol -acak
 finish -Abil. -PPart be -Fut.
 "Tomorrow evening Hasan will have been able to finish his book"

It is meaningful to discuss absolute versus relative connotations of tenses where tense is actually expressed. We saw in 2. 1. 3. 2. 2. that, among nonfinite forms, only the factive nominal expresses tense, i.e. the non-future, and that there is a corresponding factive nonfinite future form. In other nonfinite forms, since no independent tense can be expressed, the tense connotations of the main clause simply carry over. In subordinate clauses that have predicates marked with one of the factive nonfinite forms, the tense is interpreted as relative to the tense of the main clause:

- (1213) Hasan yarın biz -e [kitab -ın -ı
 Hasan tomorrow we -Dat. book -3.sg. -Acc.
 bitir **-diğ** -in -i] söyle **-yecek**
 finish **-FNom** -3.sg. -Acc. tell **-Fut.**
 "Hasan will tell us tomorrow that he finished his book"

This sentence is ambiguous between a reading whereby the tense of the (nonfinite) subordinate clause is interpreted as absolute, i.e. with respect to the present time, and a second reading whereby the tense of the subordinate clause is interpreted as relative to the tense of the main clause. The former is expressed in (a) below, and the latter in (b):

- (a) Hasan will tell us tomorrow that he has finished his book (as of now, the time of this utterance)
 (b) Hasan will tell us tomorrow that he will have finished the book (as of the time of Hasan's statement tomorrow)

The fact that the tense of a subordinate clause can be (and often is) interpreted as relative to the tense of the main clause also holds for those (very limited) constructions where the subordinate clause has a finite, tensed predicate:

- (1214) ben [sen -i Ankara -ya gid **-ecek**]
 I you -Acc. Ankara -Dat. go **-Fut.**
 san **-iyor** **-du** -m
 think **-Prog.** **-Past** -1.sg.
 "I was thinking that you were going to go to Ankara"

The dominant reading of this sentence is that the tense of the subordinate clause is relative to the tense of the main clause, which is the past tense in this example, rather than relative to the present moment.

2. 1. 3. 3. Aspect

Comrie defines the notion of aspect as follows: "Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1978: 3). While Turkish does have suffixes that express aspect in

the sense defined, those suffixes do not have aspectual function exclusively (since they also express tense and/or mood), nor is a given suffix linked to a given aspect in all syntactic and morphological contexts.

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. Perfect aspect

According to Comrie, "the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation" (Comrie 1978: 52). It differs from the other aspects in that, rather than referring to the internal temporal constituency of one given situation, "it expresses a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation" (Comrie 1978: 52).

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 1. Distinct perfect aspect forms

There are forms which, although they do express perfect aspect, have additional functions. Furthermore, these aspectual markers are not identical for all tenses. The interaction between perfect aspect and the tenses it occurs with are discussed in the next subsection.

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 2. Perfect aspect and tense

The perfect aspect is expressed for the present, past, and future tenses. However, there is no form that distinctly and exclusively expresses the present perfect; this function is usually expressed by the (definite) past morpheme:

- (1215) Hasan baliğ -ı ye -di
 Hasan fish -Acc. eat -Past
 "Hasan ate the fish"
 "Hasan has eaten the fish"

As indicated by the two translations, examples like the previous one are systematically ambiguous between a simple past reading (the first translation) and a present perfect reading (the second translation).⁶⁴

A different form is used for the perfect in the past and future tenses. This is the suffix otherwise used for the reported/inferential past tense: **-mİş**. Where this suffix is attached to a verb and is followed by a past tense suffix or by the auxiliary **ol** in the future tense, **-mİş** functions as a participle marker and usually expresses perfect aspect. This is illustrated by the following examples:

Past perfect:

- (1216) ben lokanta -ya var -diğ -ım -da Hasan
 I restaurant -Dat. arrive -FNom -1.sg. -Loc. Hasan
 yemeğ -in -i bitir -miş -ti
 meal -3.sg. -Acc. finish -PPart -Past
 "When I arrived at the restaurant, Hasan had finished his meal"

Future perfect:

- (1217) ben lokanta -ya var -diğ -ım -da Hasan
 I restaurant -Dat. arrive -FNom -1.sg. -Loc. Hasan
 yemeğ -in -i bitir -miş ol -acak
 meal -3.sg. -Acc. finish -PPart be/become -Fut.
 "When I arrive at the restaurant, Hasan will have finished his meal"

It is not always easy to distinguish between **-miş** as a past tense marker and the same suffix as an aspect marker in such contexts. For example, it is not always obvious that the suffix combination **-miş-ti** is systematically ambiguous between past perfect, as discussed here, and past-in-the-past (cf. 2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 3. 2.). As a matter of fact, Aksu-Koç (1988: 17) states that her system treats notions and forms characterized in previous literature as relative tenses as aspectual, thus implying that Turkish does not have both. I shall take the stand here that, insofar as the distinction between the past perfect (an aspectual category) and the past-in-the-past (a tense category) is a real one universally, it is also found in Turkish. The following examples may serve to illustrate the distinction at stake here:

- (1218) dün saat altı -da Hasan -ı şirket -te
 yesterday o'clock six -Abl. Hasan -Acc. company -Loc.
 gör -müş ol -a -maz -sın, çünkü o
 see -PPart be -Abil. -Neg.Aor. -2.sg. because that
 saat -te Hasan çok -tan ev -in -e
 time -Loc. Hasan much -Abl. home -3.sg. -Dat.
 dön -müş -tü
 return -PPart -Past
 "You cannot have seen Hasan at the company yesterday at six o'clock, because at that time Hasan had long since returned home"

Here, the suffixal sequence **-miş-ti** has an aspectual function, i.e. it expresses the past perfect. We are looking at events from a particular vantage point, namely 'that time', i.e. 'yesterday at six o'clock', and we are observing the result of an earlier event, which is Hasan's returning home some time before six, and thus being home at six o'clock.

The usage of **-miş-ti** as an expression of past-in-the-past is typically found in narratives. In such a usage, the event that precedes the (past tense) vantage point is in no necessary relation to the situation depicted at that vantage point; in other words, there is no result that arises from that earlier event:

- (1219) geçen Salı buluş -acak -tı -k; Hasan saat
 last Tuesday meet -Fut. -Past -1.pl. Hasan o'clock
 beş -te büro -sun -a uğra -miş, saat
 five -Loc. office -3.sg. -Dat. stop by -PPart o'clock
 altı -da ev -in -e dön -miş -ti;
 six -Loc. home -3.sg. -Dat. return -PPart -Past
 ben -se iş -im -den
 I -however work -1.sg. -Abl.
 ayrıl -a -ma -miş -ti -m
 part -Abil. -Neg. -PPart -Past -1.sg.
 "We were going to meet last Tuesday; Hasan had stopped by his
 office at five o'clock and had returned home at six o'clock; however I
 had been unable to leave work"

Note also that here, the most natural reading is that Hasan returned home **at** six o'clock, while in the previous example, he had returned home **by** six o'clock.

The view that Turkish has both a past perfect (perfect-in-the-past) and a past-in-the-past helps explain an observation made, among others, by Johanson (1971: 58), where it is pointed out that **miş-ti** is often used in contexts where there are no (past) vantage points relative to which an anterior situation is described. In other words, the suffix combination in question functions as a simple, absolute (past) tense. Thus, the following type of utterance, while ambiguous, is most often used as a simple past tense (which, however, is itself ambiguous between simple past and present perfect):

- (1220) ben san -a bu kitab -ı çok eski -den
 I you -Dat. this book -Acc. very old -Abl.
 ver -miş -ti -m
 give -PPart -Past -1.sg.
 "I gave you this book a very long time ago"
 "I had given you the book a very long time ago"

It would be more plausible to assume that an ambiguity of the same morpheme sequence between relative and absolute tense reference than to assume such an ambiguity between aspectual force on the one hand and absolute tense, on the other.

Where a form in **-mİş** functions as a modifying participle, however, its aspectual force (as the perfect) seems to be the only possible reading:

- (1221) a. çürü **-müŝ** bir elma
rot **-PPart** an apple
"a rotten apple" ("an apple which has become rotten")
- (1221) b. acık **-muŝ** bir çocuk
get hungry **-PPart** a child
"a hungry child" ("a child who has become hungry")

It should be pointed out here that these participles convey the meaning of a process which has come to a certain point of completion (and thus has yielded a result which is relevant to the present situation); thus, the apple is assumed to have undergone a process of deterioration before reaching its current defective state; the child is presumed to have become progressively less satiated before reaching its current hungry state. Hence, the examples in (1221) are not totally synonymous with the following examples, where the modifiers are not participles, but regular adjectives which express states without any connotation of a process that has undergone completion:

- (1222) a. çürü **-k** bir elma
rot **-DerAdj** an apple
"a rotten apple"
- (1222) b. aç bir çocuk
hungry a child
"a hungry child"

Concluding this subsection, it should also be noted that, while the definite past suffix **-DI** is the most general expression of the present perfect, the suffix **-mİŝ** can also have this function in certain contexts. Typically, this is found with certain expressions of mood categories, as in our previous example (1218), whose relevant part is repeated here as (1223):

- (1223) dün saat altı **-da** Hasan **-ı** şirket **-te**
yesterday o'clock six **-Abl.** Hasan **-Acc.** company **-Loc.**
gör **-müŝ** ol **-a** **-maz** **-sın,**
see **-PPart** be **-Abil** **-Neg.Aor.** **-2.sg.**
"You can't **have seen** Hasan at the company yesterday at six o'clock"

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 3. Different forms and functions of the perfect aspect

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 3. 1. Present result of a past situation

See 2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 1. and 2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 2. for discussion and examples of the present perfect.

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 3. 2. Situation which has held at least once

This meaning is signaled by a variety of means, usually employing the regular form for the present perfect (i.e. the definite past suffix **-DI**) and some periphrastic means, e.g. certain adverbs like **hiç** 'ever':

- (1224) Hasan **hiç** Ankara -ya git **-ti** mi?
 Hasan **ever** Ankara -Dat. go **-Past** -Q
 "Has Hasan ever been to Ankara?"

Without the adverb, this sentence would simply ask whether Hasan went to Ankara, or whether he has gone to Ankara, without conveying an experiential meaning. This meaning can also be expressed by certain verbs without requiring the presence of such an adverb:

- (1225) Hasan (hiç) Ankara -da bul **-un** **-du** mu?
 Hasan ever Ankara -Loc. find **-Refl.** **-Past** -Q
 "Has Hasan (ever) been to Ankara?"

Furthermore, there is a form involving the past participle suffix **-miş** and which is often used colloquially to express the experiential perfect aspect:

- (1226) [Ankara -ya (hiç) git **-miş** **-liğ** **-in**] var mı?
 Ankara -Dat. ever go **-PPart** **-DerNom** **-2sg.** exist -Q
 "Have you (ever) been to Ankara?" ("Does your (ever) having-gone to Ankara exist?")

In addition to the past participle suffix, this form involves the suffix **-IİK**, which derives abstract nominals, and a possessive agreement suffix which expresses the person and number of the experiential's subject; the whole experiential phrase functions as the subject of an existential sentence, as indicated in the example above.

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 3. 3. Situation which began in the past and is still continuing

The most extensively used construction to convey this meaning is by using the present progressive, in conjunction with certain adverbs:

- (1227) [beş saat -ten **beri**] sen -i bekli -yor -um
 five hour -Abl. **since/for** you -Acc. wait -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I have been waiting for you for five hours"

In this construction, the adverbial expression is a postpositional phrase.

- (1228) [beş saat -**tir**] sen -i bekli -yor -um
 five hour -**for** you -Acc. wait -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I have been waiting for you for five hours"

The adverbial expression in this construction employs the suffix **-Dir**, which was discussed in the syntax chapter as an epistemic copula that conveys either great certainty or inference. Here, where it is placed on time adverbials, it conveys duration.

In both instances, the verb is marked for the present progressive. The same meaning of persistent aspect can also be expressed by using a copula which takes the infinitival form of a main verb as its object:

- (1229) [beş saat -**tir**] sen -i bekle -mek -te -yim
 five hour -**for** you -Acc. wait -Inf. -Loc. -1.sg.
 "I have been waiting for you for five hours"

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 3. 4. Situation completed a short time ago; situation that will shortly be completed

The present perfect is not formally distinguished according to whether a situation has been completed very recently or a longer time ago; the necessary distinctions are made via adverbial expressions, rather than by distinct markers on the verb.

A situation that will shortly be completed can be expressed by using the infinitival form of the verb, together with an appropriate adverbial expression, or else an appropriate adverb, together with the main verb suffixed with **-mİş**, followed by the auxiliary **ol** in the future tense:

- (1230) a. Hasan kitab -ın -i bitir -mek üzere
 Hasan book -3.sg. -Acc. finish -Inf. **about (to)**
 "Hasan is about to finish his book"

- (1230) b. Hasan **yakın** **-da** kitab **-ın** **-ı** oku **-muş**
 Hasan **near** **-Loc.** book **-3.sg** **.-Acc.** read **-PPart**
ol **-acak**
be/become **-Fut.**
 "Hasan will soon have read his book"

The form involving the infinitival does not always have this meaning, however. With certain other verbs, the same form can have the meaning of the inception of the event or state (cf. 2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 6.).

2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 4. Similarities between the expression of perfect aspect and recent past tense

As mentioned previously (cf. 2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 2.), the present perfect is most often expressed by using the suffix **-DI**, which is the marker of the absolute (and thus recent) definite past tense. Past and future perfect, however, are expressed via the suffix **-miş** (cf. 2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 2.), which is, as a simple tense marker, the suffix of the reported (or inferential) simple past tense.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. Aspect as the expression of duration

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. Formal marking

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 1. Perfective aspect

Comrie (1978: 3) defines the perfective as a way of viewing the totality of a situation without reference to its internal temporal constituency; in other words, "the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation" (Comrie 1978: 4). Verbal forms with this meaning are said by Comrie to have perfective meaning, while if a language has special verbal forms to indicate such meaning, it is said to have perfective aspect (Comrie 1978: 3).

According to this view, Turkish has verbal forms with perfective meaning. Whether it has perfective aspect, i.e. forms that consistently and exclusively have perfective meaning, is debatable. The form that comes closest is the definite simple past suffix **-DI**. Note the following examples:

- (1231) a. dün oda -m -ı topladı -m
 yesterday room -1.sg. -Acc. tidy up **-Past** -1.sg.
 "Yesterday I tidied up my room"

- (1231) b. dün oda -m -1 toplu -r -ken
 yesterday room -1.sg. -Acc. tidy up -Aor. -while
 telefon çal -dı
 telephone ring -Past
 "Yesterday while (I was) tidying up my room, the telephone rang"

In the first example, my straightening up my room is referred to as a complete event, where the situation has no temporal subdivisions. The same is true of the way in which the telephone's ringing is presented in the second example. In contrast, the event presented in the first example becomes transparent in the second example; the speaker focuses on the middle (rather than the beginning or the end) of his or her straightening up the room, and states that it was in the middle of that situation that the telephone's ringing took place.⁶⁵ In that sense, the suffix **-DI** serves as a marker of perfective aspect in these examples. This is true for nonstative verbs without lexical exceptions.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 2. Imperfective aspect

Comrie defines imperfectivity as "explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation" (Comrie 1978: 24).

Turkish has no single marker for imperfective aspect; different kinds of imperfectivity (see the next subsections) are expressed via a number of means. Note, for example, (1231)b, where the first clause is imperfective, since the speaker is presenting the middle (rather than the beginning or end) of a situation. The marker on the verb is the aorist suffix, which otherwise expresses habitual aspect (cf. 2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 3.), but here, together with the cliticized adverbial marker **-(y)ken**, has imperfective function. Other imperfective markers will be discussed below.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 3. Habitual aspect

Habitual aspect indicates a situation which is characteristic of a considerable stretch of time. The typical expression of this aspect in Turkish is the suffix **-(A)r**, the so-called aorist:

- (1232) a. Hasan piyano çal -ar
 Hasan piano play -Aor.
 "Hasan plays the piano"
- (1232) b. Hasan piyano çal -ar -dı
 Hasan piano play -Aor. -Past
 "Hasan used to play the piano"

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 4. Continuous aspect (nonhabitual imperfective aspect)

The continuous aspect is expressed by the suffix **-(I)yor**, which is usually referred to as the progressive marker. If the progressive aspect is defined as the continuous aspect of a nonstative (dynamic) verb (cf. next subsection), the term continuous aspect would be the more inclusive term, including stative and nonstative verbs alike. As a matter of fact, the suffix **-(I)yor** can indeed be used with both types of verbs. Therefore, the label "progressive" might well be a misnomer for the suffix in question, and "continuous" a more apt one.⁶⁶ The following examples illustrate uses of **-(I)yor** with verbs whose use in the progressive would be ungrammatical in English:

- (1233) Hasan fazla çabuk konuş -tuğ -un -u
 Hasan too fast talk -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor -du
 know -Prog. -Past
 "Hasan knew that he was speaking too fast"

Note that in English, the progressive form 'was knowing' in the translation of this example with a stative verb would be ungrammatical. Likewise, verbs of inert perception cannot appear in the progressive in English, while they can do so in Turkish:

- (1234) yeni gözlük -ler -im -le sen -i gayet iyi
 new spectacle -pl. -1.sg. -Inst. you -Acc. very good
 gör -üyor -um
 see -Prog. -1.sg.
 "I see you very well with my new spectacles"

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 5. Progressive aspect (continuous aspect of a nonstative verb)

As mentioned in the previous subsection, the marker for the progressive aspect is the suffix **-(I)yor**:

- (1235) Hasan çay -ın -i iç -iyor
 Hasan tea -3.sg. -Acc. drink -Prog.
 "Hasan is drinking his tea"

- (1236) ben oda -ya gir -diğ -im -de Hasan
 I room -Dat. enter -FNom -1.sg. -Loc. Hasan
 çay -ın -i iç -iyor -du
 tea -3.sg. -Acc. drink -Prog. -Past
 "When I entered the room Hasan was drinking his tea"

Another way of expressing the progressive aspect is by using a copular construction that takes as the complement of the copula the infinitive of the main verb in the locative case:

(1237) (ben) çay -ım -ı iç -mek -te -yim
 I tea -1.sg. -Acc. drink -Inf. -Loc. -1.sg.
 "I am drinking my tea" ("I am in the act of drinking my tea")

(1238) (ben) çay -ım -ı iç -mek -te -y -di -m
 I tea -1.sg. -Acc. drink -Inf. -Loc. -Cop. -Past -1.sg.
 "I was drinking my tea" ("I was in the act of drinking my tea")

This form, while also not completely strict in being limited to the progressive aspect, is more so than the finite form **-(I)yor**, which is more aptly characterized as a more general marker for the continuous aspect, as we saw in the previous subsection. Thus, its usage with stative verbs is either ungrammatical or quite infelicitous:

(1239) a. Hasan soru -m -un cevab -ın -ı
 Hasan question -1.sg. -Gen. answer -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil **-iyor**
 know **-Pr.Prog.**
 "Hasan knows the answer to my question"

(1239) b. *Hasan soru -m -un cevab -ın -ı
 Hasan question -1.sg. -Gen. answer -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil **-mek -te**
 know **-Inf. -Loc.**
 "Hasan is knowing the answer to my question"

(1240) a. Hasan sorun -u anlı **-yor**
 Hasan problem -Acc. understand **-Pr.Prog.**
 "Hasan understands the problem"

(1240) b. ??Hasan sorun -u anla **-mak -ta**
 Hasan problem -Acc. understand **-Inf. -Loc.**
 "Hasan understands the problem"

While (1239)b is completely ungrammatical, (1240)b is (marginally) acceptable only under the reading that Hasan originally did not understand the problem at all and is, right now, in the process of gaining an understanding of it. Note that both of the a.-sentences are perfectly grammatical.

Continuous action can also be expressed by certain compound verbs, where the first member can be a tensed verb or a gerundive:

- (1241) Hasan bütün gün bir -şey -ler
 Hasan whole day one -thing -pl.
 mırıldan -dı /mırıldan -a dur -du
 mumble -Past /mumble -Ger. stand -Past
 "Hasan kept on mumbling things all day long"

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 6. Ingressive aspect (beginning of a situation)

This meaning can be expressed via the infinitive, together with certain adverbs (cf. also 2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 3. 4.):

- (1242) koltuğ -a otur -mak üzere -y -di -m
 armchair -Dat. sit -Inf. about -Cop. -Past -1.sg.
 "I was about to sit down in the armchair"

The so-called progressive suffix **-(I)yor** can have this function, as well:

- (1243) koltuğ -a otur -uyor -um
 armchair -Dat. sit -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I am sitting down in the armchair"
 ("I am about to sit down in the armchair")

It should be pointed out that, when considering the expression of aspect, I am not considering expression via syntactically complex constructions, involving subordination under verbs like 'start' or 'begin'.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 7. Terminative aspect (end of a situation)

There is no morphologically simple form expressing terminative aspect.

To indicate the completion of another situation prior to the situation being described, an adverbial construction is used which involves the uninflected factive nominal, along with an appropriate adverb:

- (1244) haber -ler -i dinle -dik -ten sonra durum -un
 news -pl. -Acc. listen -FNom -Loc. after situation -Gen.
 ciddiyet -in -i anla -dı -m
 seriousness -3.sg. -Acc. understand -Past -1.sg.
 "After listening to the news, I understood the seriousness of the situation"

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 8. Iterative aspect

There is no distinct verbal morphology that consistently expresses iterative aspect. The meaning of iteration emerges as a combination of

other aspect markers and certain adverbs, and/or as a combination of other aspect markers and of the lexical meaning of the verb:

(1245) Hasan (çok) öksür -üyor
 Hasan a lot cough -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is coughing (a lot)"

(1246) Hasan öksür -üp dur -uyor
 Hasan cough -Ger. stand -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan keeps on coughing"

To cough is, inherently, a single act. Using forms that otherwise express progressive/continuous aspect should therefore be excluded, unless the meaning expressed is one of a series of action, i.e. a repetition or iteration of the event. This is indeed the reading which is conveyed by the preceding two examples.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 9. Semelfactive aspect (a single occurrence of a situation)

In contrast to the last two examples in the previous subsection, the simple past tense suffix (which, as we have seen, can also express perfect aspect) expresses semelfactive aspect when it occurs with a verb that inherently expresses a single occurrence of a situation:

(1247) Hasan öksür -dü
 Hasan cough -Past
 "Hasan coughed"

Thus, if we hear Hasan cough just once in the next room, we are likely to utter (1247); however, if we hear him cough a few times, we are likely to utter (1245) or (1246).

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 10. Punctual aspect

Punctual aspect expresses a situation that is viewed as not being able to be analyzed temporally. As Comrie (1978: 42-43) points out, it is not clear that there really are strictly punctual situations, as opposed to situations of very short duration. He mentions examples like the following one:

(1248) Hasan dağ -ın zirve -sin -e eriş -ti
 Hasan mountain -Gen. summit -3.sg. -Dat. reach -Past
 "Hasan reached the summit of the mountain"

There will be one moment when Hasan hasn't reached the summit yet, and another moment when he has; thus, the moment of Hasan's reaching the summit is punctual and cannot be analyzed into temporal

sequences. Indeed, while the simple past suffix is appropriate here, the progressive/continuous suffix **-(I)yor** would not be appropriate.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 11. Durative aspect (a situation viewed as lasting in time)

There is no distinct suffix to express durative aspect as distinct from continuous/progressive suffixes; for complex forms, see 2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 13. 2.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 12. Simultaneous aspect (simultaneity with some other situation)

The most productive expression of simultaneous aspect is the usage of the adverbial **iken** 'while', together with the verb in its aorist (or, more rarely, in its progressive) form; most often, it is cliticized as **-(y)ken**:

- (1249) Hasan resim -ler -e bak -ar -ken ben müzik
 Hasan picture -pl. -Dat. look -Aor. -while I music
 dinli -yor -du -m
 listen -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "While Hasan was looking at the pictures, I was listening to music"

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 13. Other aspects

Turkish has a few additional constructions with aspectual connotations. The two most widely used types are illustrated below.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 13. 1. Rapid or sudden action

The expression for a situation changing rapidly or suddenly is expressed by a compound verb construction involving the verb **ver** 'give', preceded by **-(y)I**:

- (1250) ev -in dam -ı çök -ü -ver -di
 house -3.sg. roof -3.sg. collapse -Ger. -give -Past
 "The roof of the house collapsed suddenly"

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 13. 2. Durative Action

A situation or action that has persisted over a period of time and still continues is expressed via a compound verb construction involving the verbs **gel** 'come', **kal** 'remain', and **dur** 'keep on ('stand)', preceded by **-(y)A**; the following example is taken from Lewis (1975: 191):

- (1251) kullan -a -gel -diğ -imiz Arapça ve Farsça
 use -Ger. -come -ObjP -1.pl. Arabic and Persian
 kelime -ler
 word -pl.
 "the Arabic and Persian words that we have been using for a long
 time (and still persist in using)"⁶⁷

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 14. Telic aspect

Situations that lead to a logical conclusion are referred to as telic. There is no distinct forms in the standard language that uniquely express telicity. With certain verbs whose inherent meaning is telic, the simple past suffix signals telicity (while the progressive expresses that the situation, although having a potential conclusion, has not reached that point yet):

- (1252) Hasan bir masa yap -tı
 Hasan a table make -Past
 "Hasan made a table"

This example tells us that Hasan did finish making a table, as a result of which a table has come into existence. The progressive form has no such connotation:

- (1253) Hasan bir masa yap -ıyor -du
 Hasan a table make -Prog. -Past
 "Hasan was making a table"

Here, Hasan was involved in the process of making a table during a particular period of time; but he might have never completed the task.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 2. 1. Possibilities for combining different aspectual values

Different aspectual values cannot be combined directly, within a simple morphological sequence. The reason for this rests in the fact that the verbal stem has only one slot for the tense/aspect morpheme. While it is possible, as we saw before, to generate complex tense/aspect forms by appending a copular inflected postclitic to the verbal stem, that postclitic tends to have temporal rather than aspectual function. As a consequence, it is essentially impossible to have combinations of different aspectual values within one word.

However, combinations of different aspectual values are possible nevertheless. They are formed by verbal sequences, with the main verb carrying an aspect morpheme (and thus forming a participle), followed

by the auxiliary **ol**, which is inflected for another aspect; some examples follow:

- (1254) Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -**muş**
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -**PPart**
ol -uyor -du
be -Prog. -Past
 "Hasan was thus being the winner of the competition"

Here, the past participle suffix expresses the perfect aspect, and it is combined with the progressive aspect expressed on the auxiliary.

Essentially, all aspects can be combined with each other in this pattern involving the auxiliary, with the exception of the suffix **-DI** in its function as a present perfect marker (cf. 2. 1. 3. 3. 1. 2.); no participial form of the main verb ending with this suffix. Furthermore, combinations of any aspect with a second occurrence of the same aspect are close to ungrammatical:

- (1255) ??Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -**muş**
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -**PPart**
ol -muş -tu
be -PPart -Past
 "Hasan had thus become the winner of the competition"

- (1256) ??Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -**ıyor**
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -**Prog.**
ol -uyor -du
be -Prog. -Past
 "Hasan was thus being (the person) winning the competition"⁶⁸

The unacceptability of such examples is probably due to a prohibition against close sequences of morphemes with the identical function.⁶⁹

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 2. 2. Restrictions on the combination of different aspectual values with various verbal forms

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 2. 2. 1. Voices

All aspectual values can be expressed with all voices.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 2. 2. Tenses

Main verbs that are suffixed with aspect markers can be followed by copular past tense forms. This is possible both for the definite and the reported past:

- (1257) Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -miş -tı
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -PPart -Past
 "Hasan had thus won the competition"
- (1258) Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -miş -miş
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -PPart -Rep.Past
 "Hasan had /has thus reportedly won the competition"
- (1259) Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -ıyor -du
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -Prog. -Past
 "Hasan was thus winning the competition"
- (1260) Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -ıyor -muş
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -Prog. -Rep.Past
 "Hasan was thus reportedly winning the competition"

Other tenses cannot be expressed as copular forms and must therefore be expressed on the auxiliary **ol**:

- (1261) Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -miş ol -acak
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -PPart be -Fut.
 "Hasan will thus have won the competition"
- (1262) Hasan böylelikle yarış -1 kazan -miş ol -uyor
 Hasan thus competition -Acc. win -PPart be -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is thus being the winner of the competition"

It should be noted that the two past tenses can also be expressed on the auxiliary **ol**, in addition to being able to serve as copular forms.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 2. 3. Moods

Verbs marked for any one among the various aspectual forms cannot occur in the imperative mood, nor can such verbs occur in the monitory mood (which is usually expressed as a negative imperative).

The conditional mood is the only one that can be expressed directly on verbs marked for aspect; this is done by suffixing the conditional suffix as a copular form to the aspectual verb. The other suffixes expressing mood (insofar as they are compatible semantically with any given aspect) must be attached to the auxiliary **ol**, which follows the main verb

marked for aspect; this strategy can be used with the conditional, too. A few examples follow:

- (1263) Hasan iş -in -i bit -ir -miş -se
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Acc. finish -Caus. -PPart -Cond.
 akşam -a kadar Ankara -ya var -miş
 evening -Dat. until Ankara -Dat. arrive -PPart
 ol -abil -ir
 be -Abil. -Aor.
 "If Hasan has finished his work he can have arrived in Ankara by
 (this) evening"

Here, in the first part of the construction, the conditional suffix is appended, as a copular form, to the main verb that carries the perfect aspect marker. In the second part of the construction, the suffix for the potential mood cannot be directly placed after the suffix for the perfect aspect; therefore, it is placed on the auxiliary.

- (1264) Ali oda -ya gir -erken Hasan iş -in -i
 Ali room -Dat. enter -while Hasan work -3.sg. -Acc.
 bit -ir -iyor ol -malı -y -dı
 finish -Caus. -Prog. be -Nec. -Cop. -Past
 "While Ali was entering the room Hasan had to be finishing his
 work"

In this example, the main verb is marked for progressive aspect. The necessitative (debitive) mood marker cannot be directly suffixed to that form and is placed instead on the auxiliary.

These are the main restrictions on the combination of different aspectual values with the various mood markers. The tendency of the potential (or abilitative) mood marker **-(y)Abil** to strongly express contingent mood when it is used in conjunction with aspectual verbs, while it is otherwise ambiguous when used on the bare verbal stem, is another property of the aspect-mood combination which is worth mentioning.

2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 2. 2. 4. Finite and nonfinite forms

The discussion in this main section and its subsections has mainly centered around finite forms.

Nonfinite forms in Turkish are a variety of gerundive and other nominalized forms. The suffixes that are used to generate such forms cannot be directly appended to aspectual suffixes. Similar to most mood and some tense suffixes, the morphemes for nonfinite forms must be

placed on the auxiliary **ol** when used with a main verb which is marked for aspect:

- (1265) [Hasan -in bu sabah Ankara -ya git -miş
 Hasan -Gen. this morning Ankara -Dat. go -PPart
ol -duğ -un -u] duy -du -m
be -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that Hasan had gone to Ankara this morning"

- (1266) [Hasan -in beş -ten önce Ankara -ya git -miş
 Hasan -Gen. five -Abl. before Ankara -Dat. go -PPart
ol -ma -sın -ı] isti -yor -um
be -ANom -3.sg. -Acc. want -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I want for Hasan to have gone to Ankara before five (o'clock)"

There are no other restrictions on combining different aspectual values with nonfinite forms.

2. 1. 3. 4. Mood

Palmer (1986: 2) points out that the notion of mood (or modality) is much more vague than the notions of tense and aspect, and that it leaves open a number of possible definitions. Crystal states that "Mood ('modality', or 'mode') refers to a set of SYNTACTIC and SEMANTIC CONTRASTS... . Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility" (Crystal 1991: 223). Mood is usually marked on the main verb or is expressed via modal verbs.

Turkish has a number of moods which will be discussed and illustrated in the next subsections.

2. 1. 3. 4. 1. Indicative

The indicative is not marked overtly in finite verbs; rather, it is inferred from the absence of mood markers (which mark moods like the conditional, the optative and others, as illustrated in the subsections below). As for nonfinite verbs, the factive **-DIK** can be taken to mark the indicative, while the action nominal **-mA** and the infinitive **-mAK** can be said to express the subjunctive.

2. 1. 3. 4. 2. Conditional

The suffix for the conditional is **-(y)-sA** in its copular use and **-sA** in its use as a simple finite form, when it is attached to the bare verbal stem

(see also 1. 1. 2. 4. 2. 5.). The copular form is used as a regular conditional. This suffix can follow all of the simple tense/aspect suffixes as well as their permissible combinations. (The latter are found in colloquial style only.) Examples for simple combinations involving conditional forms follow:

- (1267) a. oku **-yor** **-sa** **-m**
 read **-Pr.Prog.** **-Cond.** **-1.sg.**
 "If I am reading"
- (1267) b. oku **-r** **-sa** **-m**
 read **-Aor.** **-Cond.** **-1.sg.**
 "If I read"
- (1267) c. oku **-du** **-y** **-sa** **-m**
 read **-Past** **-Cop.** **-Cond.** **-1.sg.**
 "If I (have) read"
- (1267) d. oku **-muş** **-sa** **-m**
 read **-PPart** **-Cond.** **-1.sg.**
 "If I have read"
- (1267) e. oku **-yacak** **-sa** **-m**
 read **-Fut.** **-Cond.** **-1.sg.**
 "If I will read"

Some complex combinations involving conditional forms are illustrated by the following examples:

- (1268) a. oku **-yacak** **-tı** **-y** **-sa** **-m**
 read **-Fut.** **-Past** **-Cop.** **-Cond.** **-1.sg.**
 "If I was going to read"
- (1268) b. oku **-yor** **-muş** **-sa** **-m**
 read **-Pr.Prog.** **-Rep.Past** **-Cond.** **-1.sg.**
 "If I am / was said to be reading"⁷⁰

When the conditional is added to the bare stem directly, it typically has two functions:

- (1269) (bu kitab **-ı**) oku **-sa** **-n**
 this book **-Acc.** read **-Cond.** **-2.sg.**

1. Remote condition:

"If you were to read (this book)"

2. Wish:

"If only you were to read (this book)!"

From the point of view of time reference, these forms have the connotation of present tense. When such formations are followed by the (definite) past suffix, we get the conditional past, which has two main functions, as well:

(1270) (bu kitab -ı) oku -sa -y -dı -n
 this book -Acc. read -Cond. -Cop. -Past -2.sg.

1. Unfulfilled condition:

"Had you read (this book)"

2. Counterfactual wishes referring to the past:

"If only you had read (this book)!"

Thus, the conditional past is distinct from the past conditional, which we discussed at the beginning of this subsection. This distinction is illustrated by (1270), an example of the conditional past, and by (1267)c, an example of the past conditional.

Corresponding forms can be found with the inferential/reported past, where the relevant suffix (as a copular form) can follow the conditional stem, expressing remote or reported wishes and conditions:

(1271) oku -sa -y -muş
 read -Cond. -Cop. -Rep.Past
 "They say that if he were to read";
 "They say that 'if only he would read!' "

The conditional inferential can also be used synonymously with the conditional past; this is especially true in colloquial style.

The copular versus the noncopular uses of the conditional are distinguished with nonverbal predicates, as well. The direct suffixation of nonverbal predicates with the conditional suffix (and, for that matter, with the other mood suffixes) is not possible. Therefore, to express the functions of such direct suffixation (i.e. remote condition and wish in the present tense, unfulfilled condition and counterfactual wishes in the past tense), the auxiliary *ol* must be used, to which any relevant suffixes are attached:

(1272) güzel ol -sa -m
 beautiful be -**Cond.** -1.sg.
 "If I were beautiful; if only I were beautiful"

(1273) güzel ol -sa -y -dı -m
 beautiful be -**Cond.** -Cop. -Past -1.sg.
 "Had I been beautiful; if only I had been beautiful"

The copular form of the conditional can be suffixed to express the function of the regular conditional:

(1274) güzel -se -m
 beautiful -**Cond.** -1.sg.
 "If I am beautiful"

2. 1. 3. 4. 3. Imperative

The morphological paradigm for the imperative is mixed. (See also section 1. 1. 1. 3.) The second person singular has no special suffix; this form consists of the bare stem, i.e. of the root, potentially followed by suffixes expressing voice, negation, and the (im)potential (see 2. 1. 3. 4. 7.), but without tense/aspect and mood markers and without agreement markers:

(1275) oku!
 read
 "Read!"

(1276) giy -in
 wear -Refl.
 "Get dressed!" ("Dress yourself!")

(1277) çocuğ -u çalış -tır!
 child -Acc. work -Caus.
 "Make the child work!"

(1278) çocuğ -u çalış -tır -ma!
 child -Acc. work -Caus. -Neg.
 "Don't make the child work!"

2. 1. 3. 4. 3. 1. Special forms for the imperative

The imperative second person plural suffix is **-(y)InIz**. This is similar to the suffix **-sInIz** found in the regular finite, tensed forms, e.g. with the aorist, the present progressive, the future and the reported past, but without the initial **s**. Another difference is the fact that the first part of the suffix **-(y)In** is the more generally found form (while the regular

second person plural agreement suffix cannot be divided and still retain its plural function):

- (1279) a. oku **-yun!**
 read **-2 pl.Imp.**
 "Read (second person plural)!"
- b. oku **-yunuz!**
 read **-2 pl.Imp.**
 "Read (second person plural)!"

The longer form is more polite. It is typically found in official language and has the connotation of a more definite order than the shorter form:

- (1280) yer **-ler -e** tükür **-me -yiniz!**
 floor **-pl. -Dat.** spit **-Neg. -2 pl.Imp.**
 "Do (second person plural) not spit on the floor!"

The imperative also exists for third persons and is expressed by the suffix **-sIn** for the third person singular and the suffix **-sInlAr** for the third person plural:

- (1281) a. kitab **-ı** oku **-sun!**
 book **-Acc.** read **-3.sg.Imp.**
 "He/she/it shall read the book!"
- (1281) b. bavul **-u** taşı **-ma -sın!**
 suitcase **-Acc.** carry **-Neg. -3.sg.Imp.**
 "He/she/it shall not carry the suitcase!"
- (1282) a. kitab **-ı** oku **-sunlar!**
 book **-Acc.** read **-3.pl.Imp.**
 "They shall read the book!"
- (1282) b. bavul **-u** taşı **-ma -sınlar!**
 suitcase **-Acc.** carry **-Neg. -3.pl.Imp.**
 "They shall not carry the suitcase!"

Just as with the conditional and the other mood suffixes, the imperative forms of nonverbal predicates involve the auxiliary **ol**:

- (1283) a. tembel **ol -ma!**
 lazy **be -Neg.**
 "Don't be lazy!"
- (1283) b. tembel **ol -ma -yın!**
 lazy **be -Neg. -2 pl.Imp.**
 "Don't be lazy!"
- (1283) c. tembel **ol -ma -sın!**
 lazy **be -Neg. -3.sg.Imp.**
 "He/she/it shall not be lazy!"

- (1283) d. tembel ol -ma -sınlar!
 lazy be -Neg. -3.pl.Imp.
 "They shall not be lazy!"

There is another form of the imperative which is essentially limited to spoken colloquial Turkish; this form is also limited to the second person. The suffix used here consists of the second person (singular or plural) form of the conditional suffix, followed by the vowel **A**:

- (1284) a. kitab -ı oku -sana!
 book -Acc. read -2.sg.Imp.
 "Read the book!"
- (1284) b. kitab -ı oku -sanıza!
 book -Acc. read -2.pl.Imp.
 "Read (second person plural) the book!"

As elsewhere when the second person plural form is used, it has the function of a polite form for one or more persons, or of a nonpolite or familiar form for two or more persons; the second person singular form has the function of a nonpolite or familiar form for one person.

2. 1. 3. 4. 4. Optative (expression of a wish for something to come about)

The optative has a distinct morphological paradigm⁷¹:

- (1285) 1.sg. -(y)Ayım⁷²
 2.sg. -(y)Asın
 3.sg. -(y)A
 1.pl. -(y)Alım
 2.pl. -(y)Asınız
 3.pl. -(y)Alır

This paradigm is irregular in two respects: 1. The morphological relationship between the first person plural and singular forms is not transparent; 2. The forms for the third person singular as well as plural are hardly ever used and are replaced with the corresponding forms of the imperative paradigm. Furthermore, stress placement differs across the paradigm, as the list in (1285) shows. The following list illustrates actual usage:

(1286)	oku-yayım	"Let me read"
	oku-yasın	"You(sg.) should read"
	oku-sun	"Let him/her/it read; he/she/it should read"
	oku-yalım	"Let us read"
	oku-yasınız	"You(pl.) should read"
	oku-sunlar	"Let them read; they should read"

Note also that some grammarians, e.g. Lewis (1975), refer to the optative as the subjunctive.

The optative suffix can be followed by the suffixes for the definite and the reported past. The optative past expresses past wishes that remain unfulfilled:

(1287)	oku	-ya	-y	-dı	-m
	read	-Opt.	-Cop.	-Past	-1.sg.
	"Would that I had read"				

This form can also be used instead of the conditional past (i.e. instead of *oku-sa-y-dı-m*):

(1288)	oku	-ya	-y	-dı	-m
	read	-Opt.	-Cop.	-Past	-1.sg.
	"If I read, if I had read"				

Conversely, the conditional past form can be used instead of the optative past, i.e. with the function of the optative past. Furthermore, the optative past form can be used to express the past tense of the imperative:

(1289)	oku	-ya	-y	-dı	-nız!
	read	-Opt.	-Cop.	-Past	-2.pl.
	"You should have read!"				

The optative reported past can be used with the function of the optative definite past (colloquially), as alternate forms for the conditional, or as quotational forms for the present and past optative:

(1290)	oku	-ya	-y	-miş
	read	-Opt.	-Cop.	-Rep.Past
	"People are/were saying 'would that he had/might come!'"			

In nominalized subordinate clauses, the action nominal **-mA** corresponds to the finite optative (subjunctive) suffix. In those rare instances where a subordinate clause can be fully finite, the finite optative form is used:

(1291) a. [bu kitab -1 oku -**yaşın**] isti -yor -um
 this book -Acc. read -**2sg.Opt.** want -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I want that you should read this book"

(1291) b. [bu kitab -1 oku -**ma** -n -1]
 this book -Acc. read -**ANom** -2.sg. -Acc.
 isti -yor -um
 want -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I want for you to read this book"

2. 1. 3. 4. 5. Intentional (intention to bring about some situation)

There is no distinct intentional form. The optative morphological forms as well as periphrastic constructions involving verbs of desire can be used in this function.

2. 1. 3. 4. 6. Debitive (obligation to do something)

There is a distinct morphological form for the debitive: **-mAlI**. This form is referred to as the *necessitative* in most grammars of Turkish (e.g. Lewis (1975), Underhill (1976)). Similarly to the conditional and the optative, this form can be followed by the definite and the reported past morphemes, but not with the progressive or the future tense suffixes. The aorist suffix cannot follow these mood suffixes, either: the connotation of the aorist as a general present tense is expressed by the simple mood forms. Further, the necessitative (or debitive) and the optative are followed by the same general copular agreement suffixes mentioned earlier (barring some exceptions), while the (counterfactual) conditional takes the exceptional agreement suffixes that also appear with the definite past:

(1292) oku -**malı** -y -**ız**
 read -**Nec.** -Cop. -**1.pl.**
 "We have to/must read"

(1293) oku -**malı** -y -**mış** -**ız**
 read -**Nec.** -Cop. -**Rep.Past** -**1.pl.**
 "They say that we have to/must read"

(1294) oku -**malı** -y -**dı** -**k**
 read -**Nec.** -Cop. -**Past** -**1.pl.**
 "We had to read"

(1295) oku -**malı** -y -**sa** -**k**⁷³
 read -**Nec.** -Cop. -**Cond.** -**1.pl.**
 "If we have to read"

The necessitative (debitive) can be used impersonally, in which case it is not followed by any agreement markers:

- (1296) (kitap) oku -malı
 book read -Nec.
 "One ought to/must read (books)"

2. 1. 3. 4. 6. 1. Distinction between moral and physical obligation

No morphological distinction is made between moral and physical obligation.

2. 1. 3. 4. 6. 2. Different degrees of obligation

No morphological distinctions are made between different degrees of obligation.

2. 1. 3. 4. 7. Potential (ability to do something)

The potential (also sometimes referred to as the *abilitative*, as for example in Underhill (1976)) is expressed by the suffix **-(y)Abil**. This suffix consists of the verb **bil** 'know' and the harmonizing vowel **A**. Given that the suffix consists in part of a lexical verb (albeit used in a function different from its normal use), the second vowel does not harmonize with the stem:

- (1297) oku -yabil -ir -im
 read -Abil. -Aor. -1.sg.
 "I can/am able to/am permitted to read;
 it is possible that I might read"

Because the potentiality suffix is the only one among the mood suffixes that consists (in part) of a verb, it is also the only one that can be followed by the full range of tense/aspect suffixes, including the progressive and the future:

- (1298) a. oku -yabil -eceğ -im
 read -Abil. -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I will be able to read"

- (1298) b. oku -yabil -iyor -um
 read -Abil. -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I am being able to read"

- (1298) c. oku -yabil -miş -im
 read -Abil. -Rep.Past -1.sg.
 "They say that I was/had been able to read"

(1298) d. oku **-yabil** **-di** -m
 read **-Abil.** **-Past** -1.sg.
 "I was/had been able to read"

(1298) e. oku **-yabil** **-ir** -im
 read **-Abil.** **-Aor.** -1.sg.
 "I am able to read"

Due to the same reason (i.e. its morphological complexity and its partially lexical nature), this suffix has peculiar characteristics with respect to negation. The negation suffix is placed after the first vowel of the suffix, and the lexical past of the suffix is omitted:

(1299) oku **-yá** + **ma**, -m
 read **-Abil.+Neg.** -1.sg.
 "I am unable to/not permitted to read"

Since the negation suffix rejects stress, the word accent in such impotential forms is placed on the preceding vowel, i.e. on the first vowel of the (im)potential suffix.

The impotential, i.e. the negation of the potential, has to be distinguished from the potential of negation:

(1300) okú **-ma** **-yabil** -ir -im
 read **-Neg.** **-Abil.** -Aor. -1.sg.
 "I might not read; it is possible that I shall not read"

The potential suffix can also follow an impotential verb:

(1301) okú **-ya** + **ma** **-yabil** -ir -im
 read **-Abil.+Neg.** **-Abil.** -Aor. -1.sg.
 "I might be unable to read; it is possible that I shall be unable to read"

For an additional way to express (im)potentiality, confined to participles, see section 2. 1. 4. 6. 1. on categories that characterize the verbal morphology as expressed in the adjective morphology.

2. 1. 3. 4. 7. 1. Distinction between physical ability and permission

There is no morphological distinction between physical ability and permission.

2. 1. 3. 4. 7. 2. Separate form for learned ability

There is no separate morphological form for learned ability.

2. 1. 3. 4. 8. Degree of certainty

While there is no unique morphological paradigm to express degrees of certainty, there are a number of ways to make the relevant distinctions. The epistemological uses of the debitive and of the potential, discussed earlier, have these functions:

(1302) Hasan orada ol **-malı**
 Hasan there be **-Nec.**
 "Hasan must be there"

(1303) Hasan orada ol **-abil** -ir
 Hasan there be **-Abil.** -Aor.
 "Hasan may be there"

The general indicative, although unmarked in fully finite forms, is also part of this system:

(1304) Hasan orada
 Hasan there
 "Hasan is there"

Furthermore, such functions are also expressed by the suffix **-Dir**:

(1304) Hasan orada **-dir**
 Hasan there **-Ep.Cop.**
 "Hasan is probably / definitely there"

Such forms are systematically ambiguous between a reading of strong probability and one of certainty. Appropriate adverbs can be used to disambiguate:

(1306) Hasan **herhalde** orada **-dir**
 Hasan **probably** there **-Ep.Cop.**
 "Hasan is probably there"

(1307) Hasan **muhakkak** orada **-dir**
 Hasan **definitely** there **-Ep.Cop.**
 "Hasan is definitely there"

In formal, official style, the suffix **-Dir** is used for definiteness and authority; in scientific language, the same suffix expresses definitional truths:

(1308) Türkiye demokratik bir devlet **-tir**
 Turkey democratic a state **-Ep.Cop.**
 "Turkey is a democratic state"

(1309) balina meme **-li** bir hayvan **-dır**
 whale breast **-with** an animal **-Ep.Cop.**
 "The whale is a mammal"

2. 1. 3. 4. 9. Authority for assertion

The two different past tenses express varying degrees in the speaker's authority for making an assertion. The definite past, expressed by the suffix **-DI**, signals that the speaker commits himself or herself to the veracity of the utterance, due to personal witnessing of the assertion or similar reasons. The reported (or inferential) past, expressed by the suffix **-miş**, signals unwillingness or inability on the speaker's part to undertake such a commitment, thus conveying secondhand information:

(1310) Hasan dün akşam sinema **-ya** git **-ti**
 Hasan yesterday evening cinema **-Dat.** go **-Past**
 "Hasan went to the movies yesterday evening"

(1311) Hasan dün akşam sinema **-ya** git **-miş**
 Hasan yesterday evening cinema **-Dat.** go **-Rep.Past**
 "They say that Hasan went to the movies yesterday evening"

No distinction between reliable and unreliable secondhand information is drawn in this morphological system; such distinctions must be expressed periphrastically.

While the basic distinction described here is confined to the past tense when expressed in simple contrasting morphemes, it is possible to express differences in authority for assertion in other tenses, as well. This is accomplished by forming complex tense/aspect sequences with the different tense/aspect suffices preceding the suffix having reported/inferential force:

(1312) Hasan şu an **-da** sinema **-ya** gid **-iyor** **-muş**
 Hasan this moment **-Loc.** cinema **-Dat.** go **-Prog.** **-Rep.Past**
 "They say that Hasan is going to the movies right this moment"

(1313) Hasan her akşam sinema **-ya** gid **-er** **-miş**
 Hasan every evening cinema **-Dat.** go **-Aor.** **-Rep.Past**
 "They say that Hasan goes to the movies every evening"

- (1314) Hasan yarın akşam sinema -ya gid -ecek -miş
 Hasan tomorrow evening cinema -Dat. go -Fut. -Rep.Past
 "They say that Hasan will go to the movies tomorrow evening"

We see that the suffix **-miş**, which otherwise expresses both past tense and inference when used in a simple morphological form, has only inferential force in a complex formation. The necessary distinction can be drawn in a systematic fashion if we analyze the inferential morpheme in complex constructions as a copular form, i.e. as a suffix actually appended to a copular suffix, albeit an abstract suffix in most instances.⁷⁴ The copular inferential suffix can then be characterized as purely inferential (and temporally general), while the same suffix in simple forms is a verbal suffix and has both inferential and temporal functions.

Non-past tense / aspect suffixes (i.e. the finite indicative non-past forms) have the force of personal witnessing, without any further suffixation; this means that in these forms, the contrast with respect to authority of assertion is not between **-miş** and **-DI** (as in the simple past tense forms), but between **-miş** (or, rather, together with the copula, **-(y)-miş**) and null.

2. 1. 3. 4. 10. Hortatory (encouraging)

There is no special hortatory form. The imperative (cf. 2. 1. 3. 4. 3.) and the potential (2. 1. 3. 4. 7.) can be used in this function.

2. 1. 3. 4. 11. Monitory (warning)

There is no special monitory form. The negation of the imperative is generally used in this function, its force often augmented by certain adverbial particles (e.g. **sakın** 'beware!'):

- (1315) **sakın** radyo -yu aç -ma!
 beware radio -Acc. open -Neg.
 "Beware! Do not turn on the radio!"

2. 1. 3. 4. 12. Narrative

There is no general narrative form. The reported past suffix **-miş** is used in fairy tales, folk tales and the like. Quotational forms, employing the verb **de** 'say', are also used.

2. 1. 3. 4. 13. Consecutive (the situation described follows from some previously mentioned situation)

There is no simple, fully finite morphological form to express consecutive mood. The meaning of consecutive situations is expressed by using a variety of adverbial non-finite constructions (cf. 1. 1. 2. 4.); e.g. forms with **-(y)Ip**, as well as forms headed by **için** 'for, because', **dolayı** 'because' etc.:

- (1316) Hasan buz -da kay -**ip** bacağ -**ın** -1
 Hasan ice -Loc. slip -**Vbl.Conj.** leg -3.sg. -Acc.
 kır -**dı**
 break -Past
 "Hasan slipped on the ice and broke his leg"
 ("Hasan, slipping on the ice, broke his leg")
- (1317) Hasan düş -tüğ -**ü için** bacağ -**ın** -1
 Hasan fall -FNom -3.sg. **because** leg -3.sg. -Acc.
 kır -**dı**
 break -Past
 "Hasan broke his leg, because he fell"
- (1318) para -**m** ol -**ma -diğ -ın -dan dolayı**
 money -1.sg. be -Neg. -FNom -3.sg. -Abl. **because**
 iflâs et -**ti -m**
 bankruptcy do -Past -1.sg.
 "I went bankrupt because I had no money"

2. 1. 3. 4. 14. Contingent (it is possible that...)

There is no specific morphological form for contingencies. This function is expressed by the suffix for the potential mood: **-(y)Abil** (cf. 2. 1. 3. 4. 7.).

2. 1. 3. 4. 15. Other expressions of mood

The forms listed above for various moods exhaust the (direct) morphological expressions in finite (and some nonfinite) forms. Additional forms can be found in the section on adverb clauses (1. 1. 2. 4.).

2. 1. 3. 5. Finite and nonfinite forms

Finite verbal forms have been discussed in the previous subsections.

Turkish has a large variety of nonfinite verbal forms which are distinguished formally from finite forms. For lists of nonfinite forms and their uses and syntactic contexts, see section 1. 1. 2. on subordination, especially 1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 1. and its subsections as well as section 1. 1. 2. 3. on adjective clauses and 1. 1. 2. 4. on adverb clauses.

2. 1. 3. 5. 1. Overt expression of voices

Morphological expression of voices has been discussed in section 2. 1. 3. 1. and its subsections. That discussion addressed mainly finite verbs. Nonfinite verbal forms do express voices, and they do so in the same ways as finite verbs do. A few examples will illustrate the expression of voice in nonfinite verbs:

- (1319) Hasan [herkes -çe sev -il -diğ -in -i]
 Hasan everybody -by like -Pass. -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor
 know -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan knows that he is liked by everybody"

- (1320) [Hasan -in uşğ -in -i bu kadar
 Hasan -Gen. servant -3.sg. -Acc. this as much as
 çalış -tır -ma -sın -i] doğru
 work -Caus. -ANom -3.sg. -Acc. correct
 bul -mu -yor -um
 find -Neg. -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I don't find it right that Hasan should make his servant work so much"

2. 1. 3. 5. 2. Overt expression of tenses

For a discussion of the interaction between finiteness and tense, see subsection 2. 1. 3. 2. 3. 2.

Briefly put, the full array of tenses is available to fully finite verbs only, if we consider morphological expression via simple suffixation to the verbal stem. Among nonfinite forms, such expression of tenses is available to the factive nominal **-DIK** only, and this in form of the future–non-future contrast alone (whereby **-DIK** as the non-future alternates with **-(y)AcAK**, the future factive nominal suffix). None of the other nonfinite forms have alternate correspondents with different tense connotations. Furthermore, in the morphological structure of the simple verb, nominalizing (nonfinite) suffixes and tense suffixes occupy the same slot, i.e. they are mutually exclusive, hence the resulting heavy limitations on temporal expression in nonfinite verbal forms.

However, tenses can be expressed in nonfinite clauses and phrases via periphrastic constructions. Combinations of **main verb + tense suffix** (whereby all tenses with the exception of the definite past are possible) are then treated as participles, and the auxiliary **ol** functions as the carrier of tense/aspect morphemes, of nominalizing suffixes and of subject agreement suffixes, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (1321) Hasan yarın bu saat -te Londra -ya var **-iyor**
 Hasan tomorrow this hour -Loc. London -Dat. arrive **-Prog.**
ol -acak
be -Fut.
 "Hasan will be arriving in London tomorrow at this hour"

- (1322) [Hasan -in yarın bu saat -te Londra -ya
 Hasan -Gen. tomorrow this hour -Loc. London -Dat.
 var **-acak ol -duğ** -un -u] duy -du -m
 arrive **-Fut. be -FNom** -3.sg. -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that Hasan will arrive in London tomorrow at this hour"

2. 1. 3. 5. 3. Overt expression of aspects

Given that aspects are expressed either by suffixes that also express tenses or by suffixes that occupy the same morphological slot as tense suffixes, all that was said about interaction of tense and (non)finite forms carries over to expressions of aspect and (non)finite forms.

2. 1. 3. 5. 4. Overt expression of moods

Of the mood suffixes found on finite verbs, only the potential (abilitative) suffix **-(y)Abil** can be found with nonfinite verbal forms, both in "direct", suffixal formations and in periphrastic forms:

- (1323) [Hasan -in hızlı koş **-abil -diğ** -in -i]
 Hasan -Gen. fast run **-Abil. -FNom** -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -mi -yor -du -m
 know -Neg. -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I didn't know that Hasan can/could run fast"

- (1324) [Hasan -in son yarış -ta hızlı koş **-abil -miş**
 Hasan -Gen. last competition -Loc. fast run **-Abil. -PPart**
ol -duğ -un -u] bil -mi -yor -du -m
be -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. know -Neg. -Prog. -Past -1.sg.
 "I didn't know that Hasan had been able to run fast at the last competition"

2. 1. 3. 6. Person/number/gender

Gender is not an operative category in Turkish, but person and number are. In section 2. 1. 2. 1. and its subsections, we saw these features expressed in the pronominal system. These features are also expressed on finite and nonfinite verbs via agreement suffixes; these will be discussed in 2. 1. 3. 6. 2. and 2. 1. 3. 6. 6.

2. 1. 3. 6. 1. Relational categories whose person and number features must be or may be coded in the verb

2. 1. 3. 6. 1. 1. Subject

The features of the subject must be marked on the verb by agreement suffixes. Specific forms will be listed in 2. 1. 3. 6. 2.

2. 1. 3. 6. 1. 2-5. Direct object, indirect object, benefactive, others

The person and number features of these relational terms are not marked on the verb.

2. 1. 3. 6. 2. Ways in which agreement is marked

2. 1. 3. 6. 2. 1. Marker on the verb

There are four paradigms found for subject agreement suffixes on finite verbs. The individual forms in these paradigms are related to each other.⁷⁵

(1325)	Paradigm I	Paradigm II	Paradigm III	Paradigm IV
1.sg.	-Im	-m	-(y)AyIm	—
2.sg.	-sIn	-n	-(y)AsIn	-Ø
3.sg.	-Ø	-Ø	-(y)A (-sIn)	-sIn
1.pl.	-Iz	-k	-(y)AlIm	—
2.pl.	-sInIz	-nIz	-(y)AsInIz	-(y)In(Iz)
3.pl.	-IAr	-IAr	-(y)AlAr (-sInIAr)	-sInIAr

The first paradigm is the one with the widest distribution. It is found with all simple tense forms, with the exception of the definite past; more specifically, this paradigm is found with the present progressive, the aorist, the reported past, and the future. It is further found with the copula.⁷⁶ This is true for all the uses of the copula, i.e. irrespective of whether the copular predicate is a nominal, an adjective, or one of the many participial forms, including those found in complex tense/aspect (and mood) formations:

- (1326) (biz) Ankara -ya gid -iyor -uz
 we Ankara -Dat. go -Pr.Prog. -1.pl.
 "We are going to Ankara"
- (1327) (biz) hasta -yız
 we sick -1.pl.
 "We are sick"
- (1328) (biz) Ankara -ya gid -ecek -miş -iz
 we Ankara -Dat. go -Fut. -Rep.Past -1.pl.
 "They say that we will go to Ankara"

The second paradigm is limited to the definite past tense (and to the conditional mood):

- (1329) (biz) Ankara -ya git -ti -k
 we Ankara -Dat. go -Past -1.pl.
 "We went to Ankara"
- (1330) (biz) hasta -y -dı -k
 we sick -Cop. -Past -1.pl.
 "We were sick"
- (1331) (biz) geçen yıl Ankara -ya git -miş -ti -k
 we last year Ankara -Dat. go -PPart -Past -1.pl.
 "Last year, we had gone to Ankara"

The third paradigm is restricted even further. It is limited to the optative (finite subjunctive). Whether the shapes of the suffixes are as listed in the chart above, or whether **-(y)A** should be analyzed separately, as a separate mood form, from the remainder of the suffixes, which would be pure agreement forms, is debatable, given the fact that those agreement suffixes do not form a paradigm which is found, in its entirety, anywhere else but with this particular mood. As discussed in 2. 1. 3. 4. 4., the third person forms of the optative are obsolete and are usually replaced with the third person forms of paradigm IV, namely of the paradigm for the imperative.

The fourth paradigm is restricted to the imperative (cf. 2. 1. 3. 4. 3.). There are no imperative forms for the first persons. The second person singular imperative consists of the bare stem, while the second person plural has a widely used short form and a more restricted longer form (as listed in the chart above). The longer form is considered more polite; it is also used in official, formal style. Third person imperative forms are also marked overtly, as listed above.

Nominalized verbs carry agreement suffixes that are the same ones as those found on the head nouns in nominal possessive constructions. The paradigm is as follows:

(1332) **Nominal agreement paradigm**

1.sg.	-(I)m
2.sg.	-(I)n
3.sg.	-(s)I(n)
1.pl.	-(I)mIz
2.pl.	-(I)nIz
3.pl.	-lArI(n)

A few representative examples follow:

(1333)	(ben) [(siz -in) Ankara -ya git -tiğ -iniz i]
	I you(pl.) -Gen. Ankara -Dat. go -FNom -2.pl. -Acc.
	bil -iyor -um
	know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
	"I know that you(pl.) went to Ankara"

(1334)	(ben) [(siz -in) Ankara -ya git -me -niz i]
	I you(pl.) -Gen. Ankara -Dat. go -ANom -2.pl. -Acc.
	isti -yor -um
	know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
	"I want for you(pl.) to go to Ankara"

(1335)	(ben) [(siz -in) git -tiğ -iniz] yer i
	I you(pl.) -Gen. go -ObjP -2 pl. place -Acc.
	bil -iyor -um
	know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
	"I know the place which you went to" ⁷⁷

2. 1. 3. 6. 2. 2. Pronoun

Pronouns can be used as subjects (although they are often omitted—cf. 2. 1. 2. 1. and its subsections, especially 2. 1. 2. 1. 1. 1.-3.) as well as with other relational functions, but they are not used as agreement markers.

2. 1. 3. 6. 3. Certain members of their respective classes coded in the verb: conditioning factors**2. 1. 3. 6. 3. 1. Word order**

Word order as determined by information structure (i.e. topic/comment, old/new information etc.) does not condition the coding of the subject's person and number features on the verb. However, word order as resulting from the definiteness/ specificity of the subject noun phrase does interact with feature coding; cf. 2. 1. 3. 6. 3. 3.

2. 1. 3. 6. 3. 2. Topic/comment structure

Topic/comment structure determines word order (the topic is sentence-initial), but it does not interact with agreement, which is determined by the subject, irrespective of the subject's status with respect to the topic/comment structure of the utterance:

(1336) **sen** biz -i sev -er **-sin**
 you(pl.) we -Acc. like -Aor **-2 sg.**
 "You like us"

(1337) **biz** -i sen sev -er **-sin**
 we -Acc. you(pl.) like -Aor. **-2 sg.**
 "Us, you like"

(The topic is boldfaced in these last two examples.)

Notice that, irrespective of the topic of the sentence, the verbal agreement is determined by the subject. Things are different in passive constructions, if the passive is viewed as a way to create a topic out of a direct object:

(1338) **biz** sev -il -ir -iz
 we like -Pass. -Aor. **-1.pl.**
 "We are liked"

However, what is important here is the fact that the original direct object is the subject of the passive construction and not just its topic.

2. 1. 3. 6. 3. 3. Definiteness of the noun phrase

While definiteness does not interact with agreement, specificity (or referentiality) does. Nonspecific, non-referential noun phrases undergo a (loose) incorporation process (cf. 2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1.) into the verb and cannot agree with the verb when they are the subject of the sentence:

(1339) köy -ü haydut -lar bas -muş
 village -Acc. robber -pl. raid -Rep.Past
 "They say that robbers raided the village"

If the verb bears agreement, the subject noun phrase is interpreted as definite:

- (1340) köy -ü haydut -lar bas -mış -lar
 village -Acc. robber -pl. raid -Rep.Past -3.pl.
 "They say that **the** robbers raided the village"

In adjectival clauses (i.e. nominalized clauses interpreted as relative clauses), specificity interacts with agreement, as well; when a non-subject is modified, the nominalized verb of the modifier clause agrees with the subject:

- (1341) a. [Hasan -in oku -duğ -u] kitap
 Hasan -Gen. read -ObjP -3.sg. book
 "The book which Hasan read / reads"
- (1341) b. [doktor -un gir -me -diğ -i] ev
 doctor -Gen. enter -Neg. -ObjP -3.sg. house
 "The house which the doctor didn't / doesn't enter"

However, if the subject is non-specific, it incorporates into the verb. The verb receives a different nominalization marker **-(y)An** instead of the general **-DIK**), and bears no agreement marker:

- (1342) [doktor gir -me -yen] ev
 doctor enter -Neg. -SbjP house
 "The house which doctors didn't / don't enter"

2. 1. 3. 6. 3. 4. Animacy of noun phrase

More than animacy, the feature [human] appears to interact with the coding of agreement on the verb, when the subject is third person plural. When the subject is overtly present in the same clause as the predicate, the expression of agreement plurality for third person plural subjects is usually optional, both in main and subordinate clauses (more specifically, both with finite and nonfinite predicates):

- (1343) öğrenci -ler bahçe -ye gir -di (-ler)
 student -pl. garden -Dat. enter -Past (-3.pl.)
 "The students entered the garden"
- (1344) a. [öğrenci -ler -in bahçe -ye gir -dik -lerin -i]
 student -pl. -Gen. garden -Dat. enter -FNom -3.pl. -Acc.
 duy -du -m
 hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that the students entered the garden"
- (1344) b. [öğrenci -ler -in bahçe -ye gir -diğ -in -i]
 student -pl. -Gen. garden -Dat. enter -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 duy -du -m
 hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that the students entered the garden"

However, overt plural agreement with non-human third person plural subjects is rejected by many speakers (although not by all), and acceptability deteriorates further with inanimate subjects:

(1345) ?? köpek -**ler** bahçe -ye gir -miş -**ler**
 dog -**pl.** garden -Dat. enter -Rep.Past -**3.pl.**
 "They say that the dogs entered the garden"

(1346) ??/* taş -**lar** yamaç -tan vadi -ye doğru
 stone -**pl.** slope -Abl. valley -Dat. towards
 yuvarla -n -dı -**lar**
 roll -Refl. -Past -**3.pl.**
 "The stones rolled down the slope (of the mountain) towards the valley"

This restriction is overruled, however, if the subject is omitted, in which case all components of the agreement suffix must be overtly expressed:

(1347) -Bavul -**lar** -n hâlâ gel -me -di - \emptyset mi?
 suitcase -**pl.** -2.sg. still come -Neg. -Past -**3.sg.** -Q
 "Have your suitcases still not arrived?"

-Bu sabah gel -di -**ler**
 this morning come -Past -**3.pl.**
 "They arrived this morning"

In the question part of this dialogue, the subject, an inanimate third person plural subject, co-occurs with the third person singular agreement form on the verbal predicate.⁷⁸ However, in the answer part, the subject with the same features is omitted; despite the inanimate property of the subject, the verbal agreement must be plural.

2. 1. 3. 6. 3. 5. Deletion (nonoccurrence) of noun phrase

Nonoccurrence of subject noun phrases does not usually interact with the expression of agreement on the predicate, irrespective of whether the predicate is finite or nonfinite. The main exceptions to this generalization are third person plural subjects. When such a subject is elided, the plural part of the agreement suffixes, usually optional, becomes obligatory. This phenomenon has been discussed and illustrated in the previous subsection.

In infinitivals, the omitted subject co-occurs with total lack of agreement morphology on the predicate:

- (1348) (ben) [Ø bavul -um -u bul -mak]
 I suitcase -1.sg. -Acc. find -Inf.
 isti -yor -um
 want -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I want to find my suitcase"

Note that in this example, the (optional) elision of the main clause subject does not interact with the overt agreement suffix on the main clause predicate; in contrast, the obligatory omission of the subordinate subject necessitates lack of agreement on the infinitival predicate.

Similar facts hold for relative clauses, whose head corresponds to the subject or part of the subject of the modifier clause. In these instances, the corresponding constituent of the modifier clause is deleted, and there is no agreement on the predicate of the modifier clause:

- (1349) [Ø_i iş -e gid -en] adam_i
 work -Dat. go -SbjP man
 "the man who goes to work"

- (1350) [[Ø_i kız -ın -ı] sev -en] adam_i
 daughter -3.sg. -Acc. love -SbjP man
 "the man who loves his daughter"

2. 1. 3. 6. 4. Features of the noun phrase coded in the verb

As mentioned before, the person and number features of the subject noun phrase are expressed on the (finite as well as nonfinite) verb (as well as on head nouns in possessive constructions and on postpositions in certain postpositional phrases). Related discussion can be found in the following sections: 2. 1. 1. 2. 1.-2., 2. 1. 3. 1. 1., 2. 1. 1. 2. 13., 2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 3., and 1. 10.

Furthermore, features like polite address and official status of the addressee/subject are also encoded in terms of plural agreement, even when the subject noun phrase is singular. (For imperative forms in this context, see 1. 1. 1. 3. and 2. 1. 3. 4. 3.)

2. 1. 3. 6. 5. Other factors affecting coding

2. 1. 3. 6. 5. 1. Discrepancy between syntactic and semantic features

Given that gender is not a relevant feature in Turkish, this source of such discrepancies is inoperative in Turkish. However, discrepancies in terms of person and number can arise, as well. In such instances, the formal

features rather than the semantic ones determine the agreement. Phrases involving reference to groups illustrate this point:

- (1351) [öğrenci -ler -den **bir grup**] ben -i gör -me
 student -pl. -Abl. **a group** I -Acc. see -Inf.
 kiste -di (??/* **-ler**)
 want -Past (**-3.pl.**)
 "A group (out) of the students wanted to see me"

Furthermore, numerals and certain quantifiers, when used as modifiers, block overt plural marking on their head noun. Such noun phrases, although semantically plural, are formally singular and trigger singular agreement on the predicate when they are subjects:

- (1352) beş öğrenci (***-ler**) ben -i gör -mek iste -di (***-ler**)
 five student (**-pl.**) I -Acc. see -Inf. want -Past (**-pl.**)
 "Five students wanted to see me"⁷⁹

2. 1. 3. 6. 5. 2. Coordination of noun phrases of different agreement classes

Noun phrases in Turkish have no different agreement classes, strictly speaking. However, noun phrases with different person and number features can be viewed as belonging to different agreement classes, since each person-number combination triggers a distinct agreement form. Coordination of noun phrases with any number feature yields a plural noun phrase which, as a subject, triggers plural agreement. The resulting person feature is determined by a hierarchy, with first person highest, third person lowest, and second person intermediate:

- (1353) Hasan -la ben dün sinema -ya git -ti -**k**
 Hasan -Com.Conj. I yesterday cinema -Dat. go -Past **-1.pl.**
 "Hasan and I went to the movies yesterday"

- (1354) Hasan -la sen dün sinema -ya
 Hasan -Com.Conj. you(sg.) yesterday cinema -Dat.
 git -miş **-sınız**
 go -Rep.Past **-2.pl.**
 "They say that Hasan and you went to the movies yesterday"

- (1355) sen -le ben yarın sinema -ya gid **-elim**
 you(sg.) -Com.Conj. I tomorrow cinema -Dat. go **-1.pl.Opt**
 "Let's you and I go to the movies tomorrow"

In all three examples, each one of the coordinated noun phrases is singular, but the resulting subject noun phrase is plural, triggering plural agreement. Furthermore, the conjunct highest in the hierarchy

determines the person feature of the agreement morpheme: coordination of first and second or first and third person conjuncts yields agreement with the first person feature, while coordinating a second and a third person conjunct yields an agreement form that expresses second person plural. (For interaction of coordinated nominals with agreement, see also 1. 3. 1. 3. 1.)

2. 1. 3. 6. 6. Shape of agreement morphology for different verbal categories

2. 1. 3. 6. 6. 1. Agreement for different voices

Agreement is the same for all voices, in the sense that agreement morphology on the predicate reflects the features of the surface subject.

2. 1. 3. 6. 6. 2–3. Agreement for different tenses and aspects

The agreement paradigms for the different tense/aspect forms are somewhat different. Detailed information on these paradigms is given in 2. 1. 3. 6. 2. 1. Where there is more than one tense/aspect marker on the predicate, the appropriate paradigm is determined by the last, i.e. rightmost, tense/aspect suffix.

2. 1. 3. 6. 6. 4. Agreement for different moods

A number of moods have their own agreement paradigms, as listed in the chart for finite forms given in 2. 1. 3. 6. 2. These moods are the imperative, the optative (i.e. the finite subjunctive), and the conditional (which takes the same paradigm as the definite past). The conditional occurs with that paradigm either when it is suffixed to a verb that lacks tense/aspect morphology, or if it follows one or more tense/aspect morphemes.

As discussed in 2. 1. 3. 4. 2., the conditional can also be followed by tense/aspect morphemes, which are in turn followed by those agreement morphemes that are appropriate for them, rather than by those which otherwise follow the conditional. The other moods are either expressed by tense/aspect morphemes (e.g. authority of assertion, which is expressed by the definite or the reported past suffix, and narrative, which is also usually expressed by the reported past suffix) or are followed by tense/aspect suffixes (e.g. the potential, which can be followed by any one of the tense/aspect morphemes, and the debitive, which is followed by present tense copular forms). In these instances,

those agreement morphemes are chosen which are appropriate for the rightmost tense/aspect suffix.

2. 1. 3. 6. 6. 5. Agreement for finite and nonfinite forms

Agreement is different for finite and nonfinite forms. These different forms are listed in the charts given in 2. 1. 3. 6. 2. 1.

2. 1. 3. 6. 7. Identity between the subject of a verb and the subject of the following or preceding verb as indicated by verbal morphology

There are no verbal morphemes whose sole function is to express identity (or nonidentity) between the subject of a verb and the subject of the following or preceding verb.

However, some verbal morphemes do express such identity in an indirect or limited fashion. (For related discussion of phenomena of syntactic parallelism, see section 1. 3. 1. 5.) One such morpheme is the verbal conjunction marker **-(y)Ip**. The verbs that are coordinated via this suffix must have the same subject when they serve as predicates of clauses with finite predicates; nominalized predicates in subordinate clauses do not have to obey this restriction:

- (1356) Hasan iş -in -i bit -ir -ip
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Acc. end -Caus. -Vbl.Conj.
 ev -in -e git -ti
 house -3.sg. -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan finished his work and went home"

- (1357) *Hasan iş -in -i bit -ir -ip Ali
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Acc. end -Caus. -Vbl.Conj. Ali
 ev -in -e git -ti
 house -3.sg. -Dat. go -Past
 Intended reading: "Hasan finished his work and Ali went home"

This contrast in grammaticality is neutralized in nominalized clauses:

- (1358) [Hasan -in iş -in -i bit -ir -ip
 Hasan -Gen. work -3.sg. -Acc. end -Caus. -Vbl.Conj.
 ev -in -e git -tiğ -in -i]
 house -3.sg. -Dat. go -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor -um
 know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I know that Hasan finished his work and went home"

- (1359) [Hasan -in iş -in -i bit -ir -ip
 Hasan -Gen. work -3.sg. -Acc. end -Caus. -Vbl.Conj.
 Ali -nin ev -in -e git -tiğ -in -i]
 Ali -Gen. house -3.sg. -Dat. go -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 bil -iyor -um
 know -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I know that Hasan finished his work and Ali went home"

Two adverbial suffixes that are attached to verbs also require identity between the subject of their own clause and that of the main clause: **-(y)ArAk**, and **-(y)A**, whereby the verb which is suffixed with **-(y)A** is reduplicated:

- (1360) Hasan çalış -arak hayat -in -i kazan -dı
 Hasan work -MAdv. work -3.sg. -Acc. earn -Past
 "Hasan earned his livelihood by working"

- (1361) Hasan çalış -a çalış -a adam
 Hasan work -Rep.MAdv. work -Rep.MAdv. person
 ol -du
 become -Past
 "Working a lot (and over extended periods of time), Hasan became someone (of stature)"⁸⁰

Further, the infinitive suffix **-mAK** also signals in many instances identity of the subject of its clause with the subject of a structurally higher clause:

- (1362) Hasan_i [Ø_i Ankara -ya ata -n -mağ -a]
 Hasan Ankara -Dat. appoint -Pass. -Inf. -Dat.
 çalış -ıyor
 try -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is trying to get appointed to Ankara"

The infinitive suffix **-mAK** is not always a sign of identity between subjects, however. In the case of some matrix verbs, the noun phrase identical to the subject of the infinitival can be a direct or indirect object (e.g. with verbs like **zorla** 'force', or **tavsiye et** 'recommend', respectively.). When the infinitival clause is itself the structural subject of a higher clause, the subject is typically interpreted as a general, human entity, without necessarily having an identical antecedent:

- (1363) [Ø deniz -de yüz -mek] ne kadar güzel!
 sea -Loc. swim -Inf. what much nice
 "How nice it is to swim in the sea!"

2. 1. 3. 6. 7. 1. Degree of specificity with which (non)identity between the subjects of different verbs is indicated

In all the examples in the previous section, the suffixes in question signal identity between subjects. Note that none of these suffixes can be further suffixed with agreement morphology, and the (coreferential) subject occurs only once.

In other constructions, the agreement morphology can, again indirectly, establish identity between subjects of different verbs:

- (1364) (ben_i) [Ø_i Ankara -ya ata -n -acağ -**1m** -**1**]
 I Ankara -Dat. appoint -Pass. -Fut. -**1.sg.** -Acc.
 duy -du -**m**
 hear -Past -**1.sg.**
 "I heard that I shall get appointed to Ankara"

For first and second persons, if the agreement morphology on a subordinate verb (even if that verb is nominalized, as in the previous example) matches the agreement morphology of another verb in the person and number features, the subjects of the two verbs are identical, as in the previous example. This generalization does not hold for third persons, since in such instances, the subjects usually can be identical, but they do not have to be so interpreted in all contexts:

- (1365) Hasan_i [Ø_{i/j} Ankara -ya ata -n -acağ -**1n** -**1**]
 Hasan Ankara -Dat. appoint -Pass. -Fut. -**3.sg.** -Acc.
 duy -du
 hear -Past
 "Hasan_i heard that he_{i/j} shall get appointed to Ankara"

As is also the case in the English translation, the subject of the subordinate clause can be interpreted as identical to the subject of the higher clause (indeed this is the primary reading), but this is not the only available reading.

There is no special form that expresses nonidentity between subjects. However, such nonidentity can be expressed in a variety of ways:

1. Agreement forms that express different person and number features on different verbs clearly show that the subjects of those verbs are nonidentical;

2. Where both verbs have third person subjects, an overt (i.e. not omitted) pronoun as the subordinate subject shows that the subjects are not identical:

- (1366) Hasan_i [on -un*_i/j Ankara -ya
 Hasan he -Gen. Ankara -Dat.
 ata -n -acağ -**ın** -ı] duy -du
 appoint -Pass. -Fut. -**3 sg.** -Acc. hear -Past
 "Hasan_i heard that he*_i/j shall get appointed to Ankara"⁸¹

3. Where both verbs have third person subjects, if the antecedent is preceded and commanded by the (position of the) pronoun (irrespective of whether the pronoun is overt or omitted), the subjects of the verbs must be nonidentical:

- (1367) (o)*_i [Hasan -ın_i Ankara -ya
 he Hasan -Gen. Ankara -Dat.
 ata -n -acağ -**ın** -ı] duy -du
 appoint -Pass. -Fut. -**3 sg.** -Acc. hear -Past
 "He*_i heard that Hasan_i shall get appointed to Ankara"

4. If instead of the infinitival clause required by a given matrix verb a clause with agreement morphology on its verb is found, the subjects of the subordinate and superordinate verbs are interpreted as nonidentical:

- (1368) Hasan_i [on -un*_i/Ø*_i Ankara -ya
 Hasan he -Gen. Ankara -Dat.
 ata -n -ma -**sm** -a] çalış -ıyor
 appoint -Pass. -ANom -**3 sg.** -Dat. try -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan_i is trying for him*_i to get appointed to Ankara"

2. 1. 3. 6. 8. Special reflexive forms of the verb

Turkish has special verbal reflexive forms. These are produced by attaching the suffix **-(I)n** to the verbal stem. Similarly to the reciprocal suffix, the reflexive suffix follows the bare stem, preceding the causative, passive, mood, negation, tense/ aspect (mood) and agreement suffixes⁸². Examples and discussion are offered in sections 1. 6. 1. 3. and 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 4., with some related discussion in 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 1.

2. 1. 3. 6. 9. Special reciprocal forms of the verb

Turkish has special verbal reciprocal forms. These are produced by attaching the suffix **-(I)ş** to the verbal stem. Similarly to the reflexive suffix, the reciprocal suffix follows the bare stem, preceding the causative, passive, mood, negation, tense/ aspect (mood) and agreement suffixes.

Examples and discussion are offered in sections 1. 7. 1. 3. and 2. 1. 3. 1. 2. 3.

2. 1. 3. 6. 10. Directional actions

There is no system of morphological markings specific to the verb to express directions of actions, e.g. towards the speaker (or hearer or a third person) or away from her. Directionality in this sense is usually expressed with the help of the nominal case system (cf. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1. and 2. 1. 1. 5.) and of postpositions (cf. 2. 1. 1. 5. and 1. 2. 4.). Certain verbs (e.g. **gel** 'come' and **git** 'go') express directionality due to their inherent lexical semantic features:

(1369) yarn sabah ban -a **gel**
 tomorrow morning I -Dat. **come**
 "Come to me tomorrow morning"

Here, the direction is towards the speaker.

(1370) yarn sabah san -a **gel** -eceğ -im
 tomorrow morning I -Dat. **go** -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll come to you tomorrow morning"

In this example, the direction is towards the hearer.

(1371) yarn sabah Hasan -a **gid** -eceğ -im
 tomorrow morning Hasan -Dat. **go** -Fut. -1.sg.
 "I'll go to Hasan tomorrow morning"

In this last example, the direction is towards a third person and away from the location of the speaker at the moment of making the utterance.

(1372) yarn sabah Ali Hasan -a **gid** -ecek
 tomorrow morning Ali Hasan -Dat. **go** -Fut.
 "Ali will go to Hasan tomorrow morning"

Here, the direction is from one third person (the agent/subject) to another third person.

The generalization here seems to be one based on empathy (cf. Kuno (1987)) and agentivity. The facts are similar to those in English, for which Kuno proposes the following generalization: "...(i) *X goes to Y* if the speaker is closer to X than to Y such that X moves away from the speaker, or if he describes X's movement to Y from a distance objectively; and (ii) *X comes to Y* if the speaker is closer to Y than to X

such that X moves toward the speaker (as well as toward Y), or if Y is the hearer" (Kuno 1987: 225).

Neither one of these verbs is used systematically, in conjunction with other verbs, to convey directionality of actions, however.

2. 1. 3. 6. 11. Distinctions between different modes of body orientation

It is possible to express distinctions between different modes of body orientation (e.g. standing up, sitting down) via periphrastic constructions involving adverbials and adverbially used nominalized verbs:

(1373) Hasan kahve -sin -i otur -**arak** iç -er
 Hasan coffee -3.sg. -Acc. sit -**MAdv** drink -Aor.
 "Hasan drinks his coffee sitting down"

(1374) Hasan bildiri -sin -i ayak -**ta** oku -du
 Hasan paper -3.sg. -Acc. foot -**Loc.** read -Past
 "Hasan read his paper standing up"

However, there are no verbal affixes that function as expressions of modes of body orientation in the morphological structure of a verb.

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. Incorporation of various elements into the verb

Incorporation of various elements into the verb does exist in Turkish. However, it has to be borne in mind that the process observed is not altogether rigid and does not result in the incorporated element becoming a bound morpheme of the verb; it is possible to interpose certain elements between the "incorporated" constituent and the verb, and it is even possible to topicalize the "incorporated" constituent, thus making it clause-initial and separating it from the (usually clause-final) verb by the remainder of the clause.

Incorporation (however defined) in Turkish is obligatory for nominal constituents if they are nonspecific (i.e. nonreferential) and if they do not carry oblique case (i.e. if they are a subject or direct object, in other words if they would be marked nominative/genitive or accusative, respectively).

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 1. Incorporation of the subject of a transitive verb

Incorporation of the subject of a transitive verb is found relatively rarely; subjects of transitive verbs tend to be highly agentive, and agentivity

appears to interact with incorporation in the sense that non-agentive nominals tend to incorporate more easily than agentive ones; however, this type of incorporation does occur:

- (1375) köy -ü haydut -lar bas -tı
 village -Acc. robber -pl. raid -past
 Reading with incorporation: "Robbers raided the village"
 ("The village was robber-raided")
 Reading without incorporation: "THE ROBBERS raided the village"
- (1376) çocuđ -u an sok -tu
 child -Acc. bee sting -Past
 Reading with incorporation: "Bees / a bee stung the child"
 ("The child was bee-stung")
 Reading without incorporation: "THE BEE stung the child"

As indicated by the translations, these constructions are systematically ambiguous between a reading where the subject is incorporated into the verb and one where it is not. This ambiguity arises from the fact that the position immediately preceding the verb is the location of incorporation, but at the same time it is the location of focused constituents. Therefore, given the fact that the unmarked word order in Turkish is SOV, utterances where the subject immediately precedes the verb and thus follows rather than precedes the object(s) are marked and are open to either one of the two interpretations indicated above.

The constructions with incorporation of the subject can be distinguished from those without incorporation in a variety of ways:

1. Nonspecific, incorporated subjects tend to lack overt marking for plurality, even if they are interpreted as plural. This is a strong tendency for such subjects (as illustrated by the last example above), but it is not obligatory (as illustrated by the penultimate example above)⁸³. Note in this context that the interpretation of the subject nominal in the reading with incorporation is vague between a singular and a plural reading; since the subject is non-specific and nonreferential, plurality is an irrelevant feature there.

2. As mentioned in a number of previous sections of this book, the plural subpart of the agreement suffix on the predicate of clauses with third person plural subjects is optional; in other words, third person plural subjects, when they are not omitted, can co-occur either with third person singular or third person plural agreement morphology on the predicate of their clause. However, when a third person plural subject is

nonspecific and thus is incorporated into the predicate, the agreement morphology is usually third person singular.

3. While a focused subject is preferably in immediately preverbal position, it can also be separated from the verb by one or more constituents (as long as it precedes the verb). An incorporated subject, on the other hand, can be separated from the verb only by certain focusing or scope-marking particles; it cannot, strictly speaking, move away from the verb⁸⁴.

There is a fourth characteristic property of incorporated subjects which can be seen only with the subjects of subordinate nominalized clauses. This is because the marking for nominative case is zero (see 2. 1. 1. 1.); thus, there is no overt distinction with respect to case marking between an incorporated subject and its nonincorporated counterpart. However, subjects of subordinate nominalized clauses bear genitive case. This case is marked overtly via a special overt suffix; its shape for third persons is **-(n)In**. Incorporated subjects lack this suffix:

- (1377) [çocuğ -u a r ı sok -tuğ -un -u] duy -du -m
 child -Acc. **bee** sting -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that bees/a bee stung the child"
 ("I heard that the child was bee-stung")

Note that the subject nominal **arı** 'bee' bears no overt case marking. The same nominal, marked for genitive case, is **arı -nın**. The corresponding example with such a subject, marked for genitive, and in immediately preverbal position, would be interpreted as a construction with a focused subject:

- (1378) [çocuğ -u a r ı -n ın sok -tuğ -un -u]
 child -Acc. **bee** -Gen. sting -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.
 duy -du -m
 hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that the bee stung the child"

In addition to being interpreted as specific (as well as definite, due to the fact that the example has no indefinite marker) and focused, the subject here must be interpreted as singular, since it has no plural marker. In contrast, just as was the case in the examples without nominalization, the corresponding incorporated subject in the previous example is vague between a singular and a plural reading; since the subject is nonspecific and nonreferential, plurality is an irrelevant feature there.

For related discussion of characteristic properties of subject nominals, especially of subjects of transitive verbs, see 2. 1. 1. 2. 2. Related discussion of referential versus nonreferential indefiniteness in nominals (albeit mostly with respect to direct objects) can be found in section 2. 1. 1. 12. and its subsections.

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 2. Incorporation of the subject of an intransitive verb

Incorporation of the subject of intransitive verbs is found more widely than the corresponding process involving the subject of transitive verbs. This is because incorporation of subjects appears to be linked to agentivity, i.e. the less agentive the (nonspecific, nonreferential) subject is, the likelier is it to incorporate into the predicate. In turn, intransitive verbs are likelier to be nonagentive.

The properties of incorporated subjects of intransitive verbs are identical to those of incorporated subjects of transitive verbs; those characteristics have been discussed in the previous section. Some examples involving incorporation of subjects of intransitive verbs follow:

- (1379) kapı -nın alt -in -dan su -lar ak -tı
 door -Gen. underside -3.sg. -Abl. **water** -pl. flow -Past
 "Water flowed under the door"

The plurality marker on the subject is optional and signals a great abundance of water. Note the (obligatory) absence of the agreement marker on the verb for (third person) plurality.

- (1380) dağ -in yamac -in -dan **kaya** -lar
 mountain -Gen. slope -3.sg. -Abl. **rock** -pl.
 yuvarla -n -dı
 roll -M. -Past
 "Rocks rolled down the side of the mountain"

Weather verbs can be viewed as instances of incorporation of subjects into intransitive verbs; e.g.:

- (1381) dün bütün gün **yağmur** /**kar** /**dolu** yağ -dı
 yesterday whole day **rain** /**snow** /**hail** fall -Past
 "Yesterday it rained/snowed/hailed all day long"

Incorporated subjects of intransitive verbs behave in ways similar to their transitive counterparts discussed in the previous section, i.e. they tend not to be marked for genitive case; e.g.:

- (1382) [dün bütün gün yağmur /kar /dolu
 yesterday whole day rain /snow /hail
 yağ -dıĝ -in -ı] duy -du -m
 fall -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. hear -Past -1.sg.
 "I heard that it rained/snowed/hailed all day long yesterday "

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 3. Incorporation of the direct object

"Incorporation" of direct objects into the verb appears to have attracted more attention than the corresponding incorporation process for subjects, perhaps due to the immediately striking consequence of this process for case marking: direct objects, otherwise marked overtly for accusative case, bear no overt case when they are nonspecific/nonreferential and are incorporated as a consequence. It is irrelevant with respect to this process whether the clause of such objects is nominalized or not.

The properties of "incorporated" direct objects with respect to word order are very similar to those of incorporated subjects of any kind; the requirement that they be placed to the immediate left of the verb and that they not be allowed to move away is even somewhat stronger than for corresponding "incorporated" subjects. If a sentence has both a nonspecific subject and a nonspecific direct object, the direct object must be closer to the verb than the subject:

- (1383) beş haydut iki köy bas -mış
 five robber two village raid -Rep.Past
 "They say that five robbers raided two villages"

Inverting the order between the nonspecific subject and the nonspecific direct object would make the utterance ungrammatical:

- (1384) *iki köy beş haydut bas -mış
 two village five robber raid -Rep.Past
 The intended reading is the same as in the previous example.

It should be noted, however, that nonspecific noun phrases without modifiers and quantifiers (or any kind of determiners) are open to "tighter" incorporation than those with such modifiers and determiners. Therefore, in this last example, a nonspecific subject without the quantifier would make the utterance ungrammatical, since it would not be in immediately preverbal position:

- (1385) *haydut iki köy bas -mış
 robber two village raid -Rep.Past
 Intended reading: "They say that robbers raided two villages"
 ("They say that two villages were robber-raided")

This example would be grammatical only if the subject were interpreted as definite and specific, as well as singular: "The robber raided two villages".

As we saw earlier, however, the nonspecific direct object cannot be separated from the verb, even if it is quantified.

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 4. Incorporation of the indirect object

Indirect objects bear dative case, which is one of the oblique cases. Therefore, just like any other nominal which is marked with one of the oblique cases, indirect objects do not incorporate into the verb. In other words, even if an indirect object is nonspecific and nonreferential, its case is not dropped, and such a constituent is not limited to occurring immediately preceding the verb.

However, there are a limited number of indirect objects which occur in idioms; in such instances, these indirect objects can be analyzed as incorporated into the verb, because moving the indirect object away from the verb tends to eliminate the idiomatic reading, thus conferring a literal reading to the utterance:

- (1386) Hasan sevgili -sin -i **dağ** -a **kaldır** -miş
 Hasan lover -3.sg. -Acc. **mountain** -Dat. **take up** -Rep.Past
 Idiomatic reading: "They say that Hasan eloped with his lover"
 Literal reading: "They say that Hasan seized his lover and took her to the mountains"

The sequence **dağa kaldır**, in its idiomatic usage, means 'to kidnap, elope with, run away with'. If the indirect object **dağa** 'to the mountain' is separated from the verb, the idiomatic reading is lost, and only the literal reading remains.

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 5. Incorporation of other nominal elements

Other nominal elements, e.g. noun phrases marked for ablative, locative, and instrumental cases have similar properties with respect to incorporation into the verb as indirect objects. Since they bear oblique case, they usually do not incorporate even when they are nonspecific, but they do exhibit the properties of incorporated subjects or direct objects when they are part of idioms:

- (1387) Hasan yağmur -dan kaç -ar -ken dolu -ya
 Hasan rain -Abl. run away -Aor. -while hail -Dat.
tut -ul -du
seize -Pass. -Past
 Idiomatic reading: "Hasan jumped out of the frying pan into the fire"
 Literal reading: "While Hasan was trying to escape the rain, he was seized by hail"

The sequence of constituents that make up the idiom are boldfaced here. Both the ablative and the dative directional objects must be left-adjacent to their respective verbs to maintain the idiomatic reading. Moving them away would enforce the literal reading.

Nouns can also be regarded as incorporated into the predicate when they function as predicate nominals. In such cases, the predicate is usually the copula or the auxiliary *ol* 'be, become':

- (1388) Hasan geçen kış **müdür** ol -du
 Hasan last winter **director** **become** -Past
 "Hasan became a director last winter"

In such instances, the predicate nominal shares the general characteristic of incorporated nominals, i.e. it cannot move away from the verb and can be separated from it only by certain emphatic or scope-marking particles like the question marker *mİ*, the conjunction marker *DA*, the emphatic particle *bile* etc.

A number of matrix verbs that take a clause as one of their arguments can occur with an incorporated nominal, if that nominal functions as the predicate nominal of the subordinate clause. These matrix verbs are verbs of belief, of attitude, and of sensory perception. Such constructions will be illustrated in the next section on incorporated adjectives, since those occur with similar matrix verbs and exhibit stronger incorporation effects. One verb, *bul* 'find', is illustrated here as a representative of the matrix verbs in question:

- (1389) birdenbire kendi -m -i yer -de **bul** -du -m
 suddenly self -1.sg. -Acc. **floor** -Loc. **find** -Past -1.sg.
 "Suddenly, I found myself on the floor"

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 6. Incorporation of adjectives

Adjectives that modify nominals cannot incorporate into the verb, leaving their noun phrases. However, adjectives can have predicative functions and can be described as having incorporated into the verbal

component of the predicate, usually the copula or the auxiliary **ol** 'be, become':

- (1390) Hasan birdenbire **zengin ol** -du
 Hasan suddenly **rich become** -Past
 "Hasan has suddenly become rich"

While it seems clear that **zengin** 'rich' in the last example is an adjective, it could also be classified as a noun, given that most adjectives in Turkish can also function as nouns. However, words that can only be adjectives, because they are overtly marked as such, can also serve as predicate adjectives and can thus be regarded as incorporated into the verb:

- (1391) Türkiye -nin siyasal sistem -i bu yüzyıl -da
 Turkey -Gen. political system -3.sg. this century -Loc.
demokratik ol -du
democratic become -Past
 "Turkey's political system became democratic in this century"

Furthermore, adjectival bare predicates can be viewed as incorporated into matrix verbs in a number of constructions where the matrix verb takes as an argument a clause whose predicate is adjectival. The matrix verbs in question are verbs of belief (e.g. **san**, **zannet**, **bil**, which all translate as 'think, believe' in this usage), sensory perception verbs (e.g. **gör** 'see'), and verbs of attitude (e.g. **bul** 'find', **addet** 'regard'):

- (1392) ben Hasan -ı **aptal bil** -ir -di -m
 I Hasan -Acc. **stupid know** -Aor. -Past -1.sg.
 "I used to believe Hasan (to be) stupid"

- (1393) ben rüya -m -da sen -i **hasta gör** -dü -m
 I dream -1.sg. -Loc. you(sg.) -Acc. **sick see** -Past -1.sg.
 "In my dream, I saw you sick"

- (1394) ben Hasan -ı **aptal bul** -uyor -um
 I Hasan -Acc. **stupid find** -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I find Hasan stupid"

Constructions with secondary predication also exhibit incorporated adjectives:

- (1395) ben kahve -m -i **sıcak iç** -er -im
 I coffee -1.sg. -Acc. **hot drink** -Aor. -1.sg.
 "I drink my coffee hot"

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 7. Incorporation of adverbs

If we view obligatory placement of a constituent to the immediate left of the verb as the main criterion for incorporation in Turkish, then we observe a group of adverbs which we may call incorporated into the verb. These are morphologically simple, i.e. nonderived adverbs:

- (1396) Hasan çok **yavaş** konuş -ur
 Hasan very **slow** talk -Aor.
 "Hasan talks very slowly"

Despite the fact that Turkish has very free word order in general, adverbs of this kind cannot be moved away from the verb:

- (1397) *çok **yavaş** Hasan konuş -ur
 very **slow** Hasan talk -Aor.
 Intended reading: "HASAN talks very slowly"

In contrast, morphologically complex adverbs can move quite freely:

- (1398) Hasan kapı -yı **yavaş -ça** aç -tı
 Hasan door -Acc. **slow -"ly"** open -Past
 "Hasan opened the door slowly"

- (1399) Hasan **yavaş -ça** kapı-yı aç -tı
 Hasan **slow -"ly"** door-Acc. open-Past
 "Hasan slowly opened the door"

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 8. Incorporation of postpositions

Postpositions do not incorporate in general. There are very few instances, however, where they do appear to be incorporated into certain matrix verbs, forming new verbs:

- (1400) Hasan ban -a hasta **gibi gel** -iyor
 Hasan I -Dat. sick **like come** -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan seems to me to be sick"

The verb **gel** 'come' has the meaning 'seem, appear' only if it immediately preceded by the postposition **gibi** 'like'; thus, we may analyze the postposition as incorporated into the verb. (Note that sequences like **hasta gibi** 'like sick, as though sick' are productively found elsewhere.) Incidentally, the adjective **hasta**, which is interpreted as a predicate of the subject, may be analyzed as itself incorporated into the derived verb **gibi gel** 'seem, appear'.

In another version of the same construction the experiencer, i.e. the dative constituent in the previous example, appears as an inflected element on the incorporated postposition, which is in turn inflected for dative case, i.e. the appropriate case for experiencers⁸⁵:

- (1401) Hasan hasta **gibi -m -e gel -iyor**
 Hasan sick **like -1.sg. -Dat. come -Pr.Prog.**
 "Hasan seems to me to be sick"

Some constructions that also can be analyzed as involving incorporated postpositions involve the verbs **yap** 'do', **görün** 'appear', and **ol** 'be, become',

- (1402) Hasan oku -yor **gibi yap -tı**
 Hasan read -Pr.Prog. **like do -Past**
 "Hasan pretended to be reading"
 ("Hasan did as though he was reading")

- (1403) kar yağ -acak **gibi gör -ün -üyor**
 snow fall -Fut. **like see -M. -Pr.Prog.**
 "It looks as though it will be snowing"

- (1404) Hasan sendele -r **gibi ol -du**
 Hasan stagger -Aor. **like be -Past**
 "Hasan almost staggered" ("It was as though Hasan staggered")

2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 9. Incorporation of other elements

Verbs of subordinate clauses can, in some constructions, be regarded as incorporated into the verb of the matrix verb. Such constructions are the topic of the next section.

2. 1. 3. 7. Strings of verbs occurring together in constructions

Given that Turkish has SOV word order in both matrix and subordinate clauses, the likelihood that strings of verbs will occur together in constructions is high; indeed, string of verbs occur with great frequency in Turkish. The cohesion between such verbs varies from construction to construction, as shall be pointed out below with examples. In the case of verbs with tight cohesion, i.e. in those instances where no elements (or only elements of a limited type) can be interposed, the first verb, i.e. the subordinate verb, often lacks inflection markers for tense/aspect, and even more often markers for agreement; however, cohesion is also found in some instances where the subordinate verb does exhibit all the markers it would normally carry.

Strings of verbs typically occur where a subordinate clause is the argument of a matrix verb. Depending on the type of the subordinate clause, cohesion between the subordinate verb and the matrix verb differs:

A. Nominalized subordinate clause marked for case:

The majority of subordinate clauses in Turkish are nominalized, and if a clause is an argument of a matrix verb, it carries the case marking appropriate for that argument (for related discussion, see 1. 1. 2. on subordination, especially 1. 1. 2. 2. on noun clauses, and even more specifically, 1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 1. on lost and retained verbal categories). Such case-marked clauses can be moved rather freely; in other words, they can be separated from the matrix verb by a variety of elements:

- (1405) Hasan Ali -ye [Ayşe -nin yarış -ı
 Hasan Ali -Dat. Ayşe -Gen. race -Acc.
kazan -dığı -in -i] söyle -di
win -FNom -3.sg. -Acc. tell -Past
 "Hasan told Ali that Ayşe won the race"

While this word order with the two verbs adjacent to each other appears to be the unmarked order, it is possible to interpose elements between the verbs. These elements can be other arguments like the subject and the indirect object in the previous example:

- (1406) [Ayşe -nin yarış -ı **kazan -dığı -in -i**]
 Ayşe -Gen. race -Acc. **win -FNom -3.sg. -Acc.**
 Ali -ye HASAN söyle -di
 Ali -Dat. Hasan tell -Past
 "HASAN told Ali that Ayşe won the race"

The same lack of cohesion between the subordinate verb and the matrix verb is found with subordinate verbs that are marked for action nominalization and for infinitivals; the first pair of the following examples illustrates this for action nominalizations, and the second pair of examples illustrates the same point for infinitival clauses:

- (1407) Hasan Ali -ye [Ayşe -nin proje -yi
 Hasan Ali -Dat. Ayşe -Gen. project -Acc.
bitir -me -sin -i] söyle -di
finish -ANom -3.sg. -Acc. tell -Past
 "Hasan told Ali that Ayşe should finish the project"

- (1408) [Ayşe -nin proje -yi bitir -me -sin -i]
 Ayşe -Gen. project -Acc. finish -ANom -3.sg. -Acc.
 Ali -ye HASAN söyle -di
 Ali -Dat. Hasan tell -Past
 "HASAN told Ali that Ayşe should finish the project"
- (1409) Hasan_i [Ø_i proje -yi bitir -meğ -e] çalış -ıyor
 Hasan project -Acc. finish -Inf. -Dat. try -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is trying to finish the project"
- (1410) [Ø_i proje -yi bitir -meğ -e] HASAN_i çalış -ıyor
 project -Acc. finish -Inf. -Dat. Hasan try -Pr.Prog.
 "HASAN is trying to finish the project"

The common denominator to all of these is the fact that they are all marked for case. Note that while both factive and action nominalizations are followed by agreement morphology, infinitival morphology lacks agreement marking; hence, agreement morphology seems to be irrelevant for cohesion, at least in these constructions.

B. Nominalized subordinate clause unmarked for case:

A typical example for such constructions is an infinitival subordinate clause which is an argument of the matrix verb *iste* 'want'. Such infinitival complements can be marked overtly for accusative case, but they can also appear without case marking:

- (1411) Hasan_i [Ø_i yarış -ı kazan -mak] isti -yor
 Hasan race -Acc. win -Inf. want -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan wants to win the race"

While the infinitival verb can be separated from the matrix verb by a variety of elements when the infinitival clause is marked for accusative (and thus behaves like other infinitivals when marked for case overtly, as discussed in the previous section), it is not possible to interpose elements (with the exception of emphatic and scope-marking particles) between the infinitive not marked for case, as in the last example, and the matrix verb:

- (1412) *[Ø_i yarış -ı kazan -mak] HASAN_i sti -yor
 race -Acc. win -Inf. Hasan want -Pr.Prog.
 Intended reading: "HASAN wants to win the race"

In this respect, the infinitive not marked for case behaves like incorporated nouns which are nonspecific and are not marked for case (cf. 2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 1.-3.).

C. Quotations:

When verbs are strung together in quotations (cf. 1. 1. 1. 1.), with the matrix verb as the quotative verb, the verb of the quotation and the matrix verb cannot be separated:

- (1413) Hasan_i "ben_i yarış -₁ kazan -mak **isti** -yor -um"
 Hasan I race -Acc. win -Inf. **want** -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
de -di
say -Past
 "Hasan_i said: 'I_i want to win the race' "

- (1414) * [ben_i yarış -₁ kazan -mak **isti** -yor -um]
 I race -Acc. win -Inf. **want** -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 HASAN_i **de -di**
 Hasan **say -Past**
 Intended reading: "HASAN_i said: 'I_i want to win the race' "

The ungrammaticality here is not caused by moving the subject, which is free to move within the matrix clause as long as the boldfaced verbs are not separated:

- (1415) [ben_i yarış -₁ kazan -mak **isti** -yor -um]
 I race -Acc. win -Inf. **want** -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
de -di Hasan_i
say -Past Hasan
 " 'I_i want to win the race', said Hasan_i "

D. Semi-quotations:

Some verbs of belief can occur in constructions which are rather similar to quotations: the subordinate clause is not nominalized, but rather fully finite and bears verbal agreement morphology, and its subject is in the nominative case. However, coreference relationships between matrix and subordinate noun phrases are different, as illustrated in the following example:

- (1416) Hasan_i [ben_j yarış -₁ **kazan -dı** -m]
 Hasan I race -Acc. **win** -Past -1.sg.
san -iyor
believe -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan_i believes that I_j won the race"

Here, the subordinate subject refers to the speaker, rather than to the subject of the matrix clause, as would have been the case in a regular quotation construction. In these semi-quotation constructions, the embedded verb and the matrix verb cannot be separated, which is a

property these constructions share with quotations. Note also that both in these constructions and in regular quotations, both verbs carry the full morphology normally marked on the verb, despite the fact that they cannot be separated.

E. Constructions with subordinate subjects in the accusative case (cf. 2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 6., where related discussion of incorporated adjectives and accusative-marked subordinate subjects can be found):

I. The same matrix verbs that appear with the semi-quotations also appear with a related construction, where the subordinate subject is in the accusative (rather than nominative) case. The subordinate verb is not nominalized:

- (1417) Hasan_i [ben -i_j yarış -ı kazan -dı (-m)]
 Hasan I -Acc. race -Acc. win -Past -1.sg.
 san -iyor
 believe -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan_i believes me_j to have won the race"

While some speakers use this construction only without agreement suffixes on the subordinate verb, some speakers can use those suffixes optionally⁸⁶. The sequence consisting of subordinate verb and matrix verb cannot be interrupted. While the subordinate verb carries tense/aspect morphology in all instances, it lacks agreement morphology—always for those speakers for whom this lack is obligatory, and sporadically for those for whom this lack is optional.

II. There is a second construction in which subordinate subjects appear in the accusative case. It is similar to the previous one in that the subordinate verb is not nominalized and bears tense/aspect suffixes, and in that the subordinate subject is in the accusative. It differs from the previous construction in two respects: it does not correspond to another construction with nominative subjects (comparable to the semi-quotations for the first type illustrated by the last example), and the subordinate verb never appears with agreement morphemes:

- (1418) rüya -m -da [sen -i yer -de yat -ar]
 dream -1.sg. -Loc. you -Acc. floor -Loc. lie -Aor.
 gör -dü -m
 see -Past -1.sg.
 "In my dream, I saw you lying on the floor"

Certain sensory perception and attitude verbs (e.g. **say**, **addet** 'regard, consider') appear in this construction as matrix verbs. The two verbs

cannot be separated from each other. The subordinate verb always lacks agreement morphology, i.e. it lacks the expression of features which are otherwise expressed on verbs.

F. Infinitival Double Passives:

A very small number of subject control matrix verbs (i.e. verbs that take infinitival complements whose omitted subject is interpreted as coreferential with the matrix subject) have the property that, when passive applies in the infinitival subordinate clause, the domain of passive encompasses the whole construction, including the matrix, and both the subordinate and the matrix verb must appear in the passive:

- (1419) dün harabe -ler **onar** -ıl -mağ -a
 yesterday ruin -pl. **repair** -Pass. -Inf. -Dat.
 çalış -ıl -dı
 try -Pass. -Past
 "The ruins were tried to be repaired yesterday"
 ("It was tried to repair the ruins yesterday")

While it is usually easy to separate two verbs, when one of them is a nominalized subordinate verb which is overtly marked for case (cf. first paragraph of this section), such verbs cannot be separated with the same ease in Infinitival Double Passives when the construction has a nominative (derived) subject, as in the previous example:

- (1420) ??/* harabe -ler **onar** -ıl -mağ -a DÜN
 ruin -pl. **repair** -Pass. -Inf. -Dat. yesterday
 çalış -ıl -dı
 try -Pass. -Past
 Intended reading: "The ruins were tried to be repaired YESTERDAY"
 ("It was tried to repair the ruins YESTERDAY")

Interestingly, such a case-marked passive infinitival can be separated from the matrix verb successfully, when there is no nominative subject, or, to put it differently, when the subordinate clause has undergone impersonal (rather than regular) passive (cf. 2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 2.):

- (1421) dün harabe -ler -e **gir** -ıl -meğ -e
 yesterday ruin -pl. -Dat. **enter** -Pass. -Inf. -Dat.
 çalış -ıl -dı
 try -Pass. -Past
 "The ruins were tried to be entered yesterday"
 ("It was tried to enter the ruins yesterday")

Since the subordinate verb **gir** 'enter' assigns dative rather than accusative case, there is no derived nominative subject when the construction appears in the passive, and the dative case remains on the

complement of the subordinate verb. Now, the two verbs of the construction can be separated with ease:

- (1422) harabe -ler -e gir -il -meğ -e DÜN
 ruin -pl. -Dat. enter -Pass. -Inf. -Dat. yesterday
 çalış -il -d
 try -Pass. -Past
 "The ruins were tried to be entered YESTERDAY"
 ("It was tried to enter the ruins YESTERDAY")

G. "Subject-to-Subject Raising"

Turkish has constructions that are somewhat similar to constructions in English which were referred to as Subject-to-Subject Raising constructions in early generative studies. Their main characteristic is that a matrix subject is, at the same time, understood as being the subordinate subject. The subordinate clause, in turn, is the original subject of the main clause:

- (1423) sen fazla iç -miş -e benzi -yor -sun
 you(sg.) too much drink -PPart -Dat. look like -Pr.Prog. -2.sg.
 "You look like (you) drank too much"

Very few matrix verbs, all of them meaning approximately *seem*, *appear*, *look like*, occur in this construction. The subordinate clause can either have a substantive (i.e. nominal or adjectival) predicate, or a verbal one, as in the last example. In the latter instance, a sequence of verbs results which can be interrupted by heavily emphasized elements⁸⁷, just in case the subordinate verbal element is marked for case, as it is in the last example:

- (1424) fazla iç -miş -e SEN benzi -yor -sun
 too much drink -PPart -Dat. you(sg.) look like -Pr.Prog. -2.sg.
 "YOU look like (you) drank too much"
 ("It's YOU who looks like s/he drank too much")

When the subordinate verbal element is not overtly marked for case, however, the verbal sequence cannot be interrupted⁸⁸:

- (1425) sen fazla iç -miş gibi gör -ün -üyor -sun
 you(sg.) too much drink -PPart like see -M. -Pr.Prog. -2.sg.
 "You appear to have drunk too much"

- (1426) *fazla iç -miş SEN gibi gör -ün -üyor -sun
 too much drink -PPart you(sg.) like see -M. -Pr.Prog. -2.sg.
 Intended reading: "YOU appear to have drunk too much"⁸⁹

In these constructions the subordinate verbal predicate, while marked for tense/aspect, lacks agreement suffixes, which verbs do otherwise carry.

There is a related construction, preferred by some speakers, that occurs with the same matrix verbs, and where the subordinate predicate verbal predicate does exhibit agreement suffixes in addition to tense/aspect markers:

- (1427) sen fazla iç -miş -sin gibi gel -iyor
 you(sg.) too much **drink** -Rep.Past -2.sg. like come -Pr.Prog.
 "It appears that you drank too much"

No "raising" to the matrix of the subordinate subject seems to have occurred here. Interestingly, while elements can be interposed between the two verbs, these cannot be emphatic elements:

- (1428) ?fazla iç -miş -sin sen gibi
 too much **drink** -Rep.Past -2.sg. you(sg.) like
 gel -iyor
 come -Pr.Prog.
 "It appears that you drank too much"

H. Adverbial clauses in preverbal position:

A variety of adverbial clauses can appear in preverbal position; their verbal predicate thus forms a sequence with the matrix verb; e.g.

- (1429) aşçı hamur -u **kaş** -tır -ip yoğur -du
 cook dough -Acc. **mix** -Caus. -CAdv. knead -Past
 "The cook mixed the dough and kneaded (it)"

A variety of elements can break up this verbal sequence, as long as they are not constituents of the adverbial clause:

- (1430) aşçı hamur -u **kaş** -tır -ip dikkatli -ce
 cook dough -Acc. **mix** -Caus. -CAdv. careful -"ly"
 yoğur -du
 knead -Past
 "The cook mixed the dough and kneaded (it) carefully"

I. Verbal compounds:

Turkish has a number of verbal compounds. Of all the types of verbal sequences discussed so far in this section, these constructions form sequences which are the most cohesive. In these structures, the second verb has almost the character of a (usually modal or aspectual) suffix, but these verbs do preserve their phonological integrity; in other words,

they do not undergo Vowel Harmony according to the features of the preceding verb, but preserve their vowel(s) and launch their own harmony domain; e.g.:

- (1431) aşçı hamur -u **kaş** -tır -ı -ver -di
 cook dough -Acc. **mix** -Caus. -Ger. -give -Past
 "The cook mixed the dough very quickly"

The next example was used in 2. 1. 3. 3. 2. 1. 13. and is repeated here for the reader's convenience:

- (1432) **kullan** -a -gel -diğ -imiz Arapça ve Farsça
 use -Ger. -come -ObjP -1.pl. Arabic and Persian
 kelime -ler
 word -pl.
 "The Arabic and Persian words that we have been using for a long time (and still persist in using)"

These and a number of other such verbal compounds all have in common that there is a gerundive suffix **-(y)A** or **-(y)I** (usually the former) between the two verbs, and that the second verb, while still being used productively elsewhere in the language and while still related semantically to its individual meaning, has a special meaning within these compounds. The verb which has perhaps become most suffixal among these is **bil**, otherwise having the meaning 'know', which has become the abilitative suffix (together with the gerundive suffix):

- (1433) aşçı hamur -u **kaş** -tır -abil -di
 cook dough -Acc. **mix** -Caus. -Abil. -Past
 "The cook was able to mix the dough"

No constituents can be interposed within such compounds, and not even particles can do so in general⁹⁰.

2. 1. 4. *Adjectives*

There are three main classes of adjectives:

1. morphologically simple adjectives;
2. morphologically derived adjectives (cf. 2. 2. 3.);
3. participial adjectives.

These classes behave in similar ways with respect to the criteria described below, with some exceptions that will be noted.

2. 1. 4. 1. Distinctions between predicative and attributive forms of adjectives

There are no systematic distinctions made between predicative and attributive forms of adjectives. All three subclasses listed above can, in general, have both functions. Adjectives used attributively appear in their bare form; those used predicatively either appear with inflected copulas or with inflected auxiliaries (or else with inflected "light verbs" like **yap** 'do', **et** 'make'). (For related discussion of copular sentences, see 1. 2. 1. 1., and in particular 1. 2. 1. 1. 2. on copular sentences with adjectival complement).

Attributive adjectives precede the noun they modify. There are very few exceptions; Lewis (1975: 53) points out one: **kare** 'square' and **küp** 'cubic' follow names of units of measure rather than following them:

- (1434) daire -m -in alan -1 yüz
 apartment -1.sg. -Gen. surface -3.sg. hundred
 metre kare -dir
 meter square -Ep.Cop.
 "My apartment's surface is one hundred square meters"

If these words are analyzed as nouns rather than adjectives, however, this word order stops being exceptional, because then the sequences in question would be nominal compounds, with the usual order of elements.

There also are very few adjectives which can have only attributive function and not predicative function. These are mainly some participial forms. For instance, the future tense and reported past forms can also be used as participial forms, with modifying function; this is possible both with and without an appropriate participial form of the auxiliary; e.g.:

- (1435) a. bu parça -yı **çal** -acak (ol -an) bir piyanist
 this piece -Acc. **play** -Fut. **be** -SbjP a pianist
 "a pianist who will be playing this piece"
- (1435) b. bu parça -yı **çal** -mış (ol -an) bir piyanist
 this piece -Acc. **play** -PPart **be** -SbjP a pianist
 "a pianist who has played this piece"

In contrast, using these participles predicatively requires the (participial) auxiliary form; omitting it will result in a regular tensed verbal predicate, rather than in a (participial) adjective used predicatively:

- (1436) ? bu piyanist, bu parça -yı **çal** -acak ol -an -dır
 this pianist this piece -Acc. **play** -Fut. **be** -SbjP -Ep.Cop.
 "This pianist is the one who will be playing this piece"
- (1437) bu piyanist, bu parça -yı **çal** -acak -tır
 this pianist this piece -Acc. **play** -Fut. -Ep.Cop.
 "This pianist will play this piece"

The boldfaced future (tense) participle in the last example can be interpreted only as a finite verb, making unavailable the intended reading of 'this pianist is the one who will be playing this piece'. The future tense participle is representative in this respect for the other participles that are not morphologically marked as such, but rather have the same shape as verbs with simple tense/aspect suffixes.

The future tense participle usually modifies, in its attributive use, head nouns that are understood as the subject of the participle; this use has been illustrated above. However, the same participle can also modify heads that are understood as the object:

- (1438) dolap -ta iç -ecek hiçbir şey kal -ma -dı
 cupboard -Loc. drink -Fut. no thing remain -Neg. -Past
 "There is nothing left to drink in the cupboard"

In this usage, a verb marked with **-(y)AcAK** is not understood as a future tense verb, properly speaking, but as a verb in a potential or irrealis mood. In that usage, a participle marked with this suffix cannot be used predicatively, not even in the presence of a copula or auxiliary overtly marked as a participle.⁹¹

Participles that are formally marked as such and are used mainly as nominal modifiers, similarly to relative clauses (cf. 1. 1. 2. 3. on adjective clauses), are also rather limited in their predicative function. For instance, when a participial form has been relexicalized as a noun, the reading linked to the relexicalization becomes either the primary or the only available one:

- (1439) ben -im tanı -dığ -ım bir kadın
 I -Gen. know -ObjP -1.sg. a woman
 "a woman whom I know"
- (1440) bu kadın ben -im tanı -dığ -ım -dır
 this woman I -Gen. know -ObjP -1.sg. -Ep.Cop.
 "This woman is an acquaintance of mine"
 Intended reading: ?? "This woman is the one whom I know"

Such participles, when they are used as modifiers of locality or time expressions, cannot be used predicatively:

- (1441) çalış -tığ -ım yer
work -ObjP -1.sg. place
"the place where I work/worked"
- (1442) *bu yer, çalış -tığ -ım -dır
this place work -ObjP -1.sg. -Ep.Cop.
Intended reading: "This place is the one where I work/worked"
- (1443) kalk -tığ -ım zaman
get up -ObjP -1.sg. time
"(the time) when I got up"
- (1444) *o zaman, kalk -tığ -ım -dı
that time get up -ObjP -1.sg. -Past
Intended reading: "That time was when I got up"

2. 1. 4. 2. Distinctions between absolute (permanent, normal) and contingent (temporary, abnormal) state

There are no systematic distinctions between absolute and contingent states which are marked morphologically on adjectives. However, some participial forms, due to their aspectual functions elsewhere, do express these notions; e.g. the aorist participle (very limited and mostly, but not exclusively, used with the passive) expresses permanent or normal actions and states:

- (1445) oku -n -ur bir kitap
read -Pass. -Aor. a book
"a book which is read in general; a book which can be read"
- (1446) at -a benze -r bir yüz
horse -Dat. resemble -Aor. a face
"a face which resembles a horse"

In contrast, other participials, especially the past participle marker **-miş**, are typically used for contingent states:

- (1447) ağaç -ten yer -e düş -müş bir elma
tree -Abl. ground -Dat. fall -PPart an apple
"an apple fallen from the tree to the ground"
("an apple that has fallen from the tree to the ground")

2. 1. 4. 3. 1. Agreement between adjectives and nouns

Attributive adjectives do not agree with nouns; as a matter of fact, there is no concord in Turkish. Predicative adjectives agree with the subjects they are predicated of via inflected copulas or inflected auxiliaries (or light verbs) (see 2. 1. 4. 6. 2.); the adjectives themselves have no agreement forms (see 2. 1. 4. 6. 1.); thus, there are constructions where a subordinate clause has no verbal element in its predicate and the predicative adjective is bare, without any agreement; these constructions are described in 2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 6., where incorporated adjectives are discussed.

2. 1. 4. 4. Expressions for the various kinds of comparison

For related discussion, the reader is referred to section 1. 8. on comparison and to section 1. 9. on equatives, both in the syntax chapter.

2. 1. 4. 4. 1. Equality

In equational constructions, the adjective is the predicate of the sentence. The standard of the equality relationship is the object of the postposition **kadar** 'as much as':

- (1448) Hasan, Ali **kadar** cesur -dur
 Hasan Ali **as-much-as** courageous -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is as courageous as Ali"

2. 1. 4. 4. 2. Comparative

In comparative constructions, the adjective is the predicate of the sentence. The standard of the comparative relationship is marked with the ablative; the adverb **daha** 'more' follows optionally:

- (1449) Hasan, Ali **-den (daha)** cesur -dur
 Hasan Ali **-Abl. more** courageous -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is more courageous than Ali"

To express the meaning 'less ... than', the adverb **az** 'little' is used, often preceded by **daha** 'more':

- (1450) Hasan, Ali **-den daha az** cesur -dur
 Hasan Ali **-Abl. more little** courageous -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is less courageous than Ali"

Another way to express this relationship is to negate an equational construction:

- (1451) Hasan, Ali **kadar** cesur **değil** -dir
 Hasan Ali **as-much-as** courageous **not** -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is not as courageous as Ali"

2. 1. 4. 4. 3. Superlative

The superlative is constructed with the adverb **en**, preceding the adjective of the superlative relationship:

- (1452) Türkiye -nin **en** güzel şehir -i İstanbul -dur
 Turkey -Gen. **most** beautiful city -3.sg. İstanbul -Ep.Cop.
 "Turkey's most beautiful city is İstanbul"

2. 1. 4. 4. 3. 1. Superlative compared to other entities

The previous example illustrates the superlative as compared to other entities. There are related, but slightly different constructions that have the same function:

- (1453) şehir -ler -in **en** güzel -i İstanbul -dur
 city -pl. -Gen. **most** beautiful -3.sg. İstanbul -Ep.Cop.
 "The most beautiful (one) of (all) cities is İstanbul"

- (1454) bütün şehir -ler -in ara -sın -da **en**
 all city -pl. -Gen. between -3.sg. -Loc. **most**
 güzel -i İstanbul -dur
 beautiful -3.sg. İstanbul -Ep.Cop.
 "Among all cities, the most beautiful (one) is İstanbul"

2. 1. 4. 4. 3. 2. Superlative compared to itself at other points/times

This meaning is expressed in a periphrastic fashion:

- (1455) bu nehr -in **en** geniş yer -i burası -dır
 this river -Gen. **most** wide place -3.sg. here -Ep.Cop.
 "The widest point of this river is here"

- (1456) bu nehr -in **en** geniş ol -duğ -u
 this river -Gen. **most** wide be -FNom -3.sg.
 yer burası -dır
 place here -Ep.Cop.
 "The point where this river is widest is here"

2. 1. 4. 5. Expression of various degrees of a quality

2. 1. 4. 5. 1. In large measure

The adverbial expression **çok** 'very' is placed before the adjective to express a large measure of a quality:

- (1457) a. Ayşe **çok güzel** bir kadın -dır
 Ayşe **very beautiful** a woman -Ep.Cop.
 "Ayşe is a very beautiful woman"

Another way of expressing a large measure of a quality is by forming intensive adjectives (and, more rarely, adverbs). This is done by prefixing the first syllable of the stem, and by closing the syllable with a consonant in the prefix, if the syllable is open, and by replacing the syllable-final consonant with another consonant out of a short list of consonants, if that first syllable is closed. The consonants that close the prefix are **m**, **p**, **r** and **s**. The issue of how to determine the choice of the consonant has not been fully resolved in the literature:

- (1457) b. boş 'empty' **bom** -boş 'totally empty'
 yuvarlak 'round' **yus** -yuvarlak 'completely round'
 taze 'fresh' **tap** -taze 'very fresh'
 temiz 'clean' **ter** -temiz 'totally clean'

2. 1. 4. 5. 2. In superabundance

The adverbial expression **fazla** 'excessive; too much' is used to express superabundance of a quality:

- (1458) Ayşe **fazla güzel** bir kadın -dır
 Ayşe **excessively beautiful** a woman -Ep.Cop.
 "Ayşe is an excessively beautiful woman;
 Ayşe is a woman who is too beautiful"

2. 1. 4. 5. 3. In small measure

Depending on the exact meaning to be expressed, adverbial expressions like **epey**, **epeyce**, **oldukça**, all meaning 'rather', or **(bir)az** '(a) little' can be used to express a quality in small measure:

- (1459) Ayşe **oldukça güzel** bir kadın -dır
 Ayşe **rather beautiful** a woman -Ep.Cop.
 "Ayşe is a rather beautiful woman"

2. 1. 4. 6. Expressions on (predicate) adjectives of categories that characterize the verbal morphology

While this section discusses primarily predicative adjectives, some discussion of attributive adjectives is included for contrastive reasons.

2. 1. 4. 6. 1. Expressions in the adjective morphology

Categories which characterize the verbal morphology of Turkish are not expressed in the adjective morphology in general. Exceptions to this generalization are mainly participial adjectives which carry tense/aspect morphology. While all types of adjectives can carry agreement morphology, this is done by means of the inflected copula and will be discussed in the next section, as will also the marking of non-participial adjectives for tense/aspect.

There are essentially three types of participial adjectives: 1. "bare" participles, which consist of verbs without agreement, but with simple tense/aspect marking (with the exception of verbs marked for the present progressive (which cannot be used as a modifying participle, but can be used as a predicative participle), for the definite past⁹² or for the conditional, which cannot be used in this way, i.e. neither attributively nor predicatively); 2. participles which are morphologically marked as such; these consist mainly of verbs whose tense/aspect morphemes are replaced by the suffixes **-(y)AcAK/-DIK** or **-(y)AN**, labeled in this book (Future) Object and Subject Participle, respectively; 3. participles which consist of a combination of these two types; these are formed when more detailed shadings of tense/aspect are to be expressed than type 2. is able to provide, and where therefore a type 1. participle is used, followed by the copula or an auxiliary of type 2. Examples for each type are given below:

Type 1, attributive use:

(1460) şimdi -ye kadar gör -ül -me -miş bir olay
 now -Dat. until see -Pass. -Neg. -PPart an event
 "an event not seen until now"

Type 1, predicative use in a complex finite verb form:

(1461) böyle bir olay şimdi -ye kadar
 thus an event now -Dat. until
 gör -ül -me -miş -ti
 see -Pass. -Neg. -PPart -Past
 "Such an event had not been seen until now"

As stated in 2. 1. 4. 1., this participle cannot be used as a predicative form, predicated of the subject. In other words, the last example cannot mean: "Such an event was (the) one not seen until now". However, the finite predicate itself is a complex form, consisting of the past participle under discussion and a copular definite past.

Type 2, attributive use:

- (1462) oku -yabil **-di ğ** -im kitap -lar
 read -Abil. **-ObjP** -1.sg. book -pl.
 "books which I am / was able to read"

Type 2, predicative use:

- (1463) bu kitap -lar oku -yabil **-dik** -ler -im -di
 these book -pl. read -Abil. **-ObjP** -pl. -1.sg. -Past
 "These books were those which I am / was able to read"

Type 3, attributive use:

- (1464) oku -n -ma **-mıŝ** ol **-an** bir kitap
 read -Pass. -Neg. **-PPart** be **-SbjP** a book
 "a book which hasn't been read"

Type 3, predicative use:

- (1465) bu kitap -lar oku -n -ma **-mıŝ** ol **-an** -lar -dı
 this book -pl. read -Pass. -Neg. **-PPart** be **-SbjP** -pl. -Past
 "These books were those which hadn't been read"

All of these participle types have in common that the participle which is formed from a main verb has the following morphemes otherwise used with verbs: voice morphemes (e.g. passive, reflexive / middle, reciprocal, causative, and negative). In addition, type 1 (and thus the first part of type 3) also exhibits aspect morphemes, which are used as tense / aspect morphemes with fully finite verbs. Since some of these morphemes have also mood-related uses elsewhere, we can say that participles are marked for mood, as well, albeit in a limited way. (For expression of mood in finite verbs, see section 2. 1. 3. 4.) Type 2 participles lack suffixes for aspect (and mood, with the exception of the abilitative and any other mood marker that involves a (semi-)lexical mood marker), since the participle markers of this type occupy the morphological slot otherwise occupied by the aspect (and mood) markers.

2. 1. 4. 6. 2. Expressions by means of a copular verb

All adjectives that are used predicatively can be marked with tense/aspect and agreement forms. Where the adjective is a participle of type 1 or is the first part of type 3, the tense/aspect markers are the same as in corresponding finite verbs, as we saw in the previous section; we could regard these participles as truncated finite verbs. Where the adjective is either morphologically simple or derived from a non-verbal category, or is a participle of type 2 (or is the second part of a type 3 participle) these tense/aspect markers are carried by the copula. For extensive discussion of copular sentences, see 1. 2. 1. 1., and in particular 1. 2. 1. 1. 2. on copular sentences with adjectival complements. A few examples are given here for the reader's convenience:

(1466) Ahmet dün hasta -y -dı
 Ahmet yesterday sick -Cop. -Past
 "Ahmet was sick yesterday"

(1467) Ahmet dün hasta -y -muş
 Ahmet yesterday sick -Cop. -Rep.Past
 "Ahmet is said to have been sick yesterday"

Note that the suffix **-miş**, which is a past participle (and aspect) marker for participles, is a marker for reported past on verbal elements, i.e. it is a tense and mood marker for main verbs alike.

All predicative adjectives, whether participial or not, carry copular agreement forms to express the features of person and number of their subject. Section 2. 1. 3. 6. 2. lists the copular forms for agreement. Again, a few examples follow for the reader's convenience:

(1468) (ben) dün hasta -y -dı -m
 I yesterday sick -Cop. -Past -1.sg.
 "I was sick yesterday"

(1469) siz dün hasta -y -muş -sınız
 you(pl.) yesterday sick -Cop. -Rep.Past -2 pl.
 "You(pl.) are said to have been sick yesterday"

2. 1. 5. Postpositions

2. 1. 5. 1. Postpositions and their usages

Usage of postpositions to express the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases has been discussed in 2. 1. 1. 1. 4. Semantic functions concerning notions of locality are illustrated extensively in 2. 1. 1. 5.

Other uses of postpositions can be found in 1. 2. 4. on postpositional phrases, especially in 1. 2. 4. 2. on postpositional phrases and their arguments. A brief survey is given here for the reader's convenience. Obsolete forms will not be discussed.

Postpositions can be grouped into two classes: 1. postpositions that do not bear agreement morphology with their objects; 2. postpositions that do exhibit (possessive) agreement morphology with their objects and can thus be analyzed as nouns rather than genuine postpositions.

The first group consists of postpositions that assign a variety of cases to their objects or that co-occur with objects that are not overtly marked for case.

A. Postpositions that assign no overt case:

üzere, üzre 'on; according to; for the purpose of'
mostly takes as object an infinitival clause,
but can also take a noun phrase as an object

(1470) Hasan [[Ankara -ya git -mek] **üzere**]
Hasan Ankara -Dat. go -Inf. **for the purpose of**
biz -den ayrıl -dı
we -Abl. part -Past
"Hasan left us so as to go to Ankara"

(1471) Hasan [[adet -i] **üzere**] bugün
Hasan custom -3.sg. **in accordance with** today
de erken kalk -tı
too early rise -Past
"As is his custom, Hasan got up early today, too"

B. Postpositions that assign genitive case to all personal pronouns, to singular demonstrative pronouns and to the singular interrogative pronoun **kim** 'who', but which assign no overt case to all other nominal elements (including pronouns pluralized by **-lAr**):

gibi 'like';
ile 'with';
kadar 'as much as';
için 'for'

(1472) Hasan bu sonat -ı [[ben -im] **gibi**] çal -dı
Hasan this sonata -Acc. I -Gen. **like** play -Past
"Hasan played this sonata like me"

- (1473) Hasan bu sonat -ı [[Rubinstein **gibi**] çal -dı
 Hasan this sonata -Acc. Rubinstein **like** play -Past
 "Hasan played this sonata like Rubinstein"

The postposition **ile** 'with' can undergo enclisis onto its subject, in which case its initial vowel drops after a vowel and changes into [y] after a consonant; its second vowel undergoes Vowel Harmony according to the stem it cliticizes to; its properties with respect to the case it assigns to its object remain the same:

- (1474) Hasan konser -e [ben -im -le] git -ti
 Hasan concert -Dat. I -Gen. -with go -Past
 "Hasan went to the concert with me"

- (1475) Hasan konser -e [Oya -yla] git -ti
 Hasan concert -Dat. Oya -with go -Past
 "Hasan went to the concert with Oya"

C. Postpositions that assign dative case:

göre, nazaran	'according to; suitable for'
doğru	'towards'
karşı	'against'
dair	'concerning'
kadar, -dek, değin	'as far as'
rağmen	'in spite of'
nispeten	'in comparison to; comparatively'

- (1476) Hasan [köy -e **doğru**] yürü -dü
 Hasan village -Dat. **towards** walk -Past
 "Hasan walked towards the village"

- (1477) Hasan tam [[ban -a **göre**] bir piyano]
 Hasan exactly I -Dat. **suitable for** a piano
 al -dı
 buy -Past
 "Hasan bought a piano precisely suitable for me"

The last example is interesting, because it shows that postpositional phrases can be used not just adverbially, as shown in the majority of these examples, but also as modifiers of noun phrases.

D. Postpositions that assign ablative case:

evvel, önce	'before'
sonra	'after'
beri	'since'
bu yana	'since'
yana	'as regards...'
dolayı, ötürü	'because of'
başka	'besides, apart from'
itibaren	'starting from, with effect from'

- (1478) Hasan sinema -ya [ben -den **önce**] git -ti
 Hasan cinema -Dat. I -Abl. **before** go -Past
 "Hasan went to the movies before me"

The second group, i.e. the "fake" postpositions that actually consist of nouns with possessive suffixes, consists of two subsets: 1. those that can be used with any possessive suffix and any case (the latter assigned to it by the verb), and 2. those that can be used only with certain (frozen) cases, although the possessive suffixes can differ.

Group 1:

alt	'underside'
ara	'interval, space'
arka, art	'back'
baş	'immediate vicinity' ⁹³
dış, har iç	'exterior'
etraf, çevre	'surroundings'
iç, dahil	'interior'
karşı	'opposite side'
orta	'middle'
ön	'front'
peş	'space behind'
üst, üzer-	'top'
yan	'side'.

- (1479) Hasan ben -im **arka** -m -da dur -uyor
 Hasan I -Gen. **back** -1.sg. -Loc. stand -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is standing behind me"

- (1480) Hasan sen -in **arka** -n -a geç -ecek
 Hasan you(2.sg.) -Gen. **back** -2.sg. -Dat. move -Fut.
 "Hasan will move behind you"

Group 2: The examples will be listed in their forms for third person singular.

hakk-ın-da	'concerning, about', in the locative
taraf-ın-dan	'by; through the agency of', in the ablative
yüz-ün-den	'because of', in the ablative
bakım-ın-dan	'from the point of view of', in the ablative
nam-ın-a	'in the name of; by way of', in the dative

(1481) Hasan [dilbilim **hakkında**] bir bildiri ver -di
 Hasan linguistics **about** a paper give -Past
 "Hasan gave a paper about linguistics"

(1482) büro -m -da [kitap **namına**]
 office -1.sg. -Loc. book **in the way of**
 hiçbir şey yok
 no thing Neg.Exist.
 "There is nothing in my office in the way of books"

These postpositionally used inflected nouns are also different from those in group 1 in that their objects are not marked for the genitive, if those objects are fully lexical nouns themselves; however, if the objects are pronouns, the genitive is marked overtly:

(1483) Hasan [biz **-im hakk -ımız -da**] bir roman
 Hasan we **-Gen. about (-1.pl. -Loc.)** a novel
 yaz -dı
 write -Past
 "Hasan wrote a novel about us"

In this respect, then, the postpositions in this group are like those illustrated under B, but with the difference that the presently discussed postpositions bear possessive suffixes and (frozen) case suffixes, neither one of which is seen on group B postpositions. It is therefore more appropriate to analyze the genitive case on the pronouns in group 2 constructions as due to the possessive suffixes (rather than as properly assigned by the postpositions). What appears to be a third person singular possessive suffix on the postpositions appearing with a lexical noun as an object might be better analyzed as the homophonous compound marker.

However, it should also be noted that some of these group 2 postpositions are heard more and more often as occurring with fully lexical objects that are marked with the genitive case suffix; **hakkından** and **yüzünden** are typical in this respect. It appears, then, that these forms are currently in a period of transition.

Group 3: This group is a version of group 2, in that the lexical objects of these inflected postpositions may (although they don't have to) be marked with the genitive case.

esna-sın-da	'in the course of', in the locative
zarf-ın-da	'during', in the locative
saye-sin-de	'thanks to', in the locative
uğr-un-a	'for the sake of', in the dative
yer-in-e	'instead of', in the dative

(1484) [Hasan -ın **sayesinde**] bugün iş -ten erken
 Hasan -Gen. **thanks to** today work -Abl. early
 çık -abil -di -m
 leave -abil. -Past -1.sg.

"Thanks to Hasan, I was able to leave work early today"

2. 1. 5. 2. Agreement of postpositions for any grammatical category with the nouns they govern

Genuine postpositions do not agree for any grammatical category with the nouns they govern. However, as illustrated in the previous section, some groups of postpositions are actually nouns; those agree with their objects in the features of person and number.

2. 1. 5. 3–4. Combinations of postpositions with the personal pronouns or with the articles of the noun phrases they govern

Postpositions do not combine with personal pronouns they govern to form a series of personal forms, unless one were to view nominal pronouns inflected for person and number (agreeing with their objects in those features) as such combinations. This would not be appropriate analysis, however, given the fact that such agreement suffixes are not identical in shape to the unbound forms of pronouns, which can optionally occur together with inflected postpositions, a fact which also argues against viewing inflected postpositions as combinations of postposition and pronoun.

Postpositions do not combine with the articles of the noun phrases they govern.

2. 1. 6. Numerals/quantifiers

2. 1. 6. 1. Numerals used in counting, and processes for creating new numerals

A list of the main cardinal numbers was given in the syntax chapter, in subsection 1. 26. 6. and is repeated here for the reader's convenience:

bir	1	on iki	12	kırk	40
iki	2	on üç	13	elli	50
üç	3	on dört	14	altmış	60
dört	4	on beş	15	yetmiş	70
beş	5	on altı	16	seksen	80
altı	6	on yedi	17	doksan	90
yedi	7	on sekiz	18	yüz	100
sekiz	8	on dokuz	19	bin	1 000
dokuz	9	yirmi	20	bir milyon	1 000 000
on	10	yirmi bir	21	bir milyar	1 000 000 000
on bir	11	otuz	30	sıfır	zero

Complex numerals are formed simply by sequencing the appropriate numerals; e.g. **yirmi bir**: 21 = 20, 1; **yüzbir**: 101 = 100, 1; **bir milyon yüzbir bin iki yüz elli bir**: 1 001 101 251 = 1 000 000 000, 1 000 000, 101 000, 200, 50, 1. The sequences thus formed are stressed on their last syllable, i.e. they bear regular word level stress. The numbers from 11 to 19 are exceptional in exhibiting compound stress, i.e. stress on the initial part of the compound:

ónbir '11', but **yirmi bír** '21'.

These properties remain the same when such sequences are part of larger ones:

yüzónbir '111' **yüz yirmi bír** '121'.

Multiples of 100, 1 000 etc. are formed by sequencing first the number with which 100, 1 000 etc. are multiplied: **beş yüz** 5, 100 = 500; **sekiz bin** 8, 1 000 = 8 000; **beş yüz bin dört yüz** ((5, 100), 1 000), (4, 100) = 500 400. The number **bir** 'one' is not uttered for **yüz** '100' and **bin** '1 000' and the multiples that involve uttering these numbers, e.g. **yüz bin** 100, 1 000 = 100 000, **yüz milyon** 100, 1 000 000 = 100 000 000. However, **milyon** 'million' and **milyar** 'milliard' (an American billion) do require **bir** 'one': **bir milyon** 'one million', **bir milyar** 'one milliard/billion'.

Fractions: The denominator precedes the numerator and is in the locative case:

- (1485) dört-te üç yüz -de otuz beş yüz -de yüz
 four-Loc. three hundred-Loc. thirty five hundred-Loc. hundred
 "three fourths" "thirty five per cent" "one hundred per cent"

Decimal fractions are expressed by using the borrowed expression **virgül** 'comma' (since in Turkish the comma is used instead of the point in such numerals):

- (1486) sıfır **virgül** yetmiş beş on beş **virgül** yirmi üç
 zero **comma** seventy five ten five **comma** twenty three
 "0.75" "15.23"

buçuk 'half' is used after whole numbers, with the function of 'and a half':

- (1487) on **buçuk** mil beş **buçuk** dolar
 ten **half** mile five **half** dollar
 "ten and a half miles" "five and a half dollars"

yarım 'half' is used as an adjectival modifier:

- (1488) **yarım** kilometre yürü -dü -m
half kilometer walk -Past -1.sg.
 "I walked half a kilometer"
- (1489) **yarım** saat müzik dinle -di -m
half hour music listen -Past -1.sg.
 "I listened to music for half an hour"
- (1490) **yarım** kilo üzüm al -dı -m
half kilogram grape buy -Past -1.sg.
 "I bought half a kilogram of grapes"

2. 1. 6. 2. Cardinal numeral forms used as attributes

All of the cardinal numbers discussed and illustrated above, i.e. simple as well as complex forms, can be used as attributes.

- (1491) üniversite -miz Amerika -ya beş bin dört yüz
 university -1.pl. America -Dat. five thousand four hundred
 altmış beş öğrenci gönder -di
 sixty five student send -Past
 "Our university sent to America five thousand four hundred sixty five students"

There are no distinct cardinal numeral forms for use as attributes.

2. 1. 6. 3. Distinct numerals used for counting different kinds of objects

The regular forms for cardinal numbers can be used for counting objects, regardless of the nature of those objects.

However, Turkish also has classifier-like elements which can be used by placing them between the numeral and the noun:

(1492) Hasan Ayşe -ye **iki demet** gül ver -di
 Hasan Ayşe -Dat. **two bunch** rose give -Past
 "Hasan gave Ayşe two bunches (of) roses"

(1493) yemek -ten sonra **üç tane** elma y -di -m
 meal -Abl. after **three item** apple eat -Past -1.sg.
 "I ate three apples after the meal"

(1494) Hasan dün akşam **beş bardak** şarap iç -ti
 Hasan yesterday evening **five glass** wine drink -Past
 "Hasan drank five glasses of wine yesterday evening"

These classifier-like elements do not form a rigid, grammaticized, system. However, there are some generalizations governing the choice and usage of these elements. The semantics of the noun modified by these elements determines certain choices; furthermore, only one of these elements can be used at a time.

2. 1. 6. 4. Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed from cardinal numbers by suffixing **-(I)ncI** to the rightmost part of the numeral, i.e. for a complex number, only the last part is suffixed:

bir-inci	1st	on iki-nci	12th	kırk-ıncı	40th
iki-inci	2nd	on üç-üncü	13th	elli-nci	50th
üç-üncü	3rd	on dört-üncü	14th	altmış-ıncı	60th
dörd-üncü	4th	on beş-inci	15th	yetmiş-inci	70th
beş-inci	5th	on altı-ncı	16th	seksen-inci	80th
altı-ncı	6th	on yedi-nci	17th	doksan-ıncı	90th
yedi-nci	7th	on sekiz-inci	18th	yüz-üncü	100th
sekiz-inci	8th	on dokuz-uncu	19th	bin-inci	1 000th
dokuz-uncu	9th	yirmi-nci	20th	milyon-uncu	1 000 000th
on-uncu	10th	yirmi bir-inci	21st	milyar-ıncı	1 000 000 000th
on bir-inci	11th	otuz-uncu	30th		

Another expression used for 'first' is **ilk**. Ordinals can also be formed for **kaç** 'how many', yielding **kaçıncı** 'how manyeth' and for **son** 'end, last', yielding **sonuncu** 'last'.

2. 1. 6. 5. Other derivatives of numerals

Distributives are formed by adding the suffix **-(ş)Ar** after a cardinal number:

bir-er	1 each	on bir-er	11 each
iki-şer	2 each	on iki-şer	12 each
üç-er	3 each	yirmi-şer	20 each
dörd-er	4 each	otuz-ar	30 each
beş-er	5 each	kırk-ar	40 each
altı-şar	6 each	elli-şer	50 each
yedi-şer	7 each	altmış-ar	60 each
sekiz-er	8 each	yüz-er	100 each
dokuz-ar	9 each	bin-er	1 000 each
on-ar	10 each	etc.	

Similarly to the ordinals, the suffix is attached only to the last element in a complex numeral, as illustrated above with **on birer** 'eleven each' and **on ikişer** 'twelve each'. Distributives formed from whole multiples of hundreds and thousands have undergone a recent development, in that the suffix attaches to the numeral preceding **yüz** 'hundred' or **bin** 'thousand': **beş-er bin** 'five thousand each', rather than **beş bin-er**; **sekiz-er yüz** 'eight hundred each' rather than **sekiz yüz-er**. The recent borrowings **milyon** 'million' and **milyar** 'milliard/billion' do not take the distributive suffix; instead, the numeral preceding them (including **bir** 'one') carry the suffix: **bir-er milyon** 'a million each'; **yedi-şer milyar** 'seven billions each'.

The distributive of **yarım** 'half' is irregular, in that the suffix-initial consonant is not deleted, despite the stem-final consonant: **yarım-şar** 'half each', rather than the expected ***yarım-ar**.

Where **buçuk** 'half' occurs, the distributive suffix is attached to the preceding whole number: **on beş-er buçuk** 'fifteen and a half each'.

Collectives: The suffix **-(I)z** produces numerals denoting twins, triplets etc.: **iki-z** 'twin', **üç-üz** 'triplet', **dörd-üz** 'quadruplet', **beş-iz** 'quintuplet'.

Partitives: There are no distinct morphological shapes for partitive numerals. Partitives are expressed in distinct phrases, using cardinal numbers as the head of the construction, or as a modifier of the head, which is a classifier-like element. For examples, see 2. 1. 1. 4. 19. 1.

2. 1. 6. 6. Quantifiers

az	'few, little'
başka	'other'
bazı	'some; a few; certain'.
bütün	'all'
çok	'many, much'
diğer	'other'
en	'most'
her	'every, each'
hiç	'no'
kimi, kimisi	'some'
kimse, kimsecik	'no-one'
öbür	'other'

2. 1. 6. 6. 1. Quantifier compounds

biraz	'a little',	formed from bir 'one' and az 'little'
birçok	'many; a lot';	formed from bir 'one' and çok 'many, much'
birtakım	'a number of',	formed from bir 'one' and takım 'set'
en az	'least';	formed from en 'most' and az 'little'
en çok	'most'	formed from en 'most' and çok 'many, much'
her bir	'each and every'	formed from her 'each'
her iki	'both'	formed from her 'each' and iki 'two'
her ikisi	'both (of them)' used as a noun	formed from her 'each', iki 'two', and the suffix -si 'third person singular possessive'; this form can be used with a variety of numerals; e.g. her üç(-ü) 'all three (of them)'
hiçbir	'none, no, not one';	formed from hiç 'no' and bir 'one'
hiçbiri	'none of them, not one of them,	formed from hiç 'no' and bir 'one'

neither one of them'

These quantifiers are used with nouns in the singular, with the exception of **birtakım**, which requires a plural noun.

All of these quantifiers can bear a possessive suffix, thus making them into the head of a partitive phrase (whose modifier, marked with the genitive, can be expressed optionally). Thus, **her üç-ümüz** 'all three of us', is formed by suffixing the first person plural possessive suffix to **her üç** 'all three'; **birçokları, onların birçoğu** 'a good number of them', formed by suffixing the third person (plural) possessive suffix to **birçok** 'many; a lot'.

2. 1. 6. 6. 2. Quantification expressed by other means

Another means of expressing quantification involves reduplication of some elements; this may involve a quantifier by itself or a quantifier (or quantifier-like element) together with the noun it quantifies; e.g. **bir bir** 'one by one', used adverbially, or **ne bu, ne o** 'neither this nor that' (whereby the question element **ne** 'what' can be followed by any noun or pronoun).

Yet another means of expressing quantification is by reduplicating nouns used as classifiers; some examples follow:

(1495) **demet demet** çiçek -ler
bunch bunch flower -pl.
 "bunches and bunches of flowers"

(1496) **sepet sepet** elma -lar
basket basket apple -pl.
 "basket after basket of apples"

2. 1. 7. Adverbs

Many adverbs are homophonous with adjectives, in that almost any adjective can be used adverbially. In addition, reduplicated nouns, adjectives and adverbs can serve as adverbs. It is also possible to derive adverbs from nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals and demonstratives, as well as from verbs, by using specific derivational suffixes. Moreover, nouns (both with and without overt case) can be used adverbially; there also are some adverbs borrowed from Arabic and Persian. The derivational morphology for adverbs will be illustrated

more systematically in 2. 2. 4. 1.-5., and examples for the derivational processes just mentioned will be given in those subsections.

2. 1. 7. 1. Expression of various kinds of comparison

As stated in the previous subsection, many adverbs are homophonous with adjectives. Therefore, most of the information given in section 2. 1. 4. 4. can also be used here for adverbs. For the reader's convenience, examples will be offered here for adverbial uses in comparisons.

2. 1. 7. 1. 1. Equality

- (1497) Hasan Ali **kadar** çabuk koş -ar
 Hasan Ali **as much as** quickly run -Aor.
 "Hasan runs as quickly as Ali"

2. 1. 7. 1. 2. Comparative

- (1498) Hasan Ali **-den (daha)** çabuk koş -ar
 Hasan Ali **-Abl. more** quickly run -Aor.
 "Hasan runs more quickly than Ali"

If the comparison has more than one object, or if it has an object and a predicate noun which is part of the comparison, **çok** 'much' or the borrowed (Arabic) **ziyade** 'more' is used:

- (1499) Ali kız -ın -dan **çok** oğl -un -u sev -er
 Ali daughter -3.sg.-Abl. **more** son -3.sg. -Acc. love -Aor.
 "Ali loves his son more than his daughter"
- (1500) satranç, oyun -dan **çok** bir ilim -dir
 chess game -Abl. **more** a science -Ep.Cop.
 "Chess is a science rather than a game"

2. 1. 7. 1. 3. Superlative

- (1501) (herkes -ten) **en** çabuk Ali koş -ar
 everybody -Abl. **most** quickly Ali run -Aor.
 "Ali runs most quickly (of all)"

When there is no adverb to modify, **en** must be used with **çok** 'much' or **fazla** 'more':

- (1502) Ali **en çok** oğl -un -u sev -er
 Ali **most much** son -3.sg. -Acc. love -Aor.
 "Ali loves his son most"

2. 1. 7. 2. Expression of various degrees of a quality

2. 1. 7. 2. 1. In large measure

One way of expressing this function is to modify the adverb; another is by using prefixation by reduplication, i.e. the same process illustrated for adjectives in 2. 1. 4. 5. 1. That process is very productive for adjectives, but much less so for adverbs:

(1503) a. Ali **çok** çabuk koş -ar
 Ali **very** quickly run -Aor.
 "Ali runs very quickly"

(1503) b. çabuk 'fast' **çar**-çabuk 'very fast'

2. 1. 7. 2. 2. In superabundance

(1504) Ali **fazla** çabuk koş -ar
 Ali **too** quickly run -Aor.
 "Ali runs too quickly"

2. 1. 7. 2. 3. In small measure

(1505) Ali **oldukça/epeyce** çabuk koş -ar
 Ali **rather /fairly** quickly run -Aor.
 "Ali runs rather /fairly quickly"

2. 1. 8. *Clitics*

2. 1. 8. 1. Kinds of clitic elements which occur in Turkish

2. 1. 8. 1. 1–4. Personal, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal pronouns

None of these types of pronouns have clitic forms in Turkish. (For subject agreement suffixes, see next subsection.)

2. 1. 8. 1. 5. Auxiliary verbs

Inflected forms of the copula are cliticized to predicative elements (nouns, adjectives, participles etc.). These forms have been discussed and illustrated in various subsections of section 2. 1. 3. on verb morphology, and in section 1. 2. 1. 1 on copular sentences in the syntax chapter. These clitic forms are characterized by undergoing Vowel Harmony according to the vowels of their phonological host, but by remaining unstressed, forcing the placement of word accent on the syllable preceding them. A

few examples are given here, for the convenience of the reader; more examples are to be found in the subsections mentioned.

- (1506) Hasan dün hastá -y -dı
 Hasan yesterday sick -Cop. -Past
 "Hasan was sick yesterday"
- (1507) Hasan dekan yardımcı -sí -y -muş
 Hasan dean helper -CmpM -Cop. -Rep.Past
 "They say that Hasan is Assistant Dean"
- (1508) dün sabah Hasan iş -in -i
 yesterday morning Hasan work -3.sg. -Acc.
 bitir -miş -ti⁹⁴
 finish -PPart -Past
 "Yesterday morning Hasan had finished his work"

The subject agreement suffixes on some of the simple finite verbs (i.e. on all forms marked for tense / aspect, with the exception of the definite past and the conditional) have the same characteristic properties as these inflected copular forms with respect to Vowel Harmony and word accent and might be viewed as a separate class of clitics. However, it is possible to view these agreement suffixes as actually suffixed to the copula (which would remain unexpressed, since the copula would be in the present / aorist tense in these simple forms, and the copula is always null in the present tense), which is cliticized to the verb (cf. Kornfilt (1996)). Under this view, the verbs thus marked are not genuinely finite, but are participles, made finite by the inflected copula:

- (1509) yarın akşam opera -ya gid -ecéğ -im
 tomorrow evening opera -Dat. go -Fut. -1.sg.
 "Tomorrow evening I shall go to the opera"

All of these cliticized forms (with the exception of any copular form in the present tense) correspond to morphologically unbound forms of the copula; e.g.:

- (1510) Hasan dün hastá i -di
 Hasan yesterday sick Cop. -Past
 "Hasan was sick yesterday"

Similar correspondences can be given for the other examples, as well. Note that these free forms do not undergo Vowel Harmony governed by the preceding word, but have their own harmony domain.

It is debatable whether these free forms should also be viewed as clitics. Lewis (1975) does so, viewing these forms as clitic words, while

analyzing the other forms illustrated in this section as clitic suffixes. The only argument in favor of viewing the free copular forms as clitics is the fact that they do not carry word stress, while the preceding predicative morpheme (whether adjective, noun, participle) bears regular word accent.

While there is no doubt that these free forms are weak in some sense, it is not clear whether they are best analyzed as clitics. When such forms consist of a number of suffixes and thus are long, they will bear secondary accent, which would be unexpected if they were true clitics:

- (1511) hastá i -mîş -siniz
 sick Cop. -Rep.Past -2.pl.
 "They say that you(pl.) are sick"

The fact that the predicate adjective bears primary accent can be explained by the fact that phrasal accent preserves the left primary accent and reduces any other word accents on non-left elements in a phrase.

Having pointed out the issues and the facts, I shall not take a stand on this question in this descriptive work.

2. 1. 8. 1. 6. Sentence (modal, interrogative, negative) particles

The conditional **-sA** is actually suffixed on the copula and cliticizes to a host together with the copula:

- (1512) Hasan müdür ol -dú -y -sa ben istifa
 Hasan director become -Past -Cop. -Cond. I resignation
 ed -er -im
 do -Aor. -1.sg.
 "If Hasan has become director, I resign"

The same is true of the reported (inferential) past suffix:

- (1513) Hasan müdür ol -acák -sa ben istifa
 Hasan director become -Fut. -Cond. I resignation
 ed -er -im
 do -Aor. -1.sg.
 "If Hasan will become (is supposed to become) director, I (shall) resign"

The epistemic copula **-DIr** is also a clitic:

- (1514) Hasan şu an -da Ankara -ya var -muş -tır
 Hasan this moment -Loc. Ankara -Dat. arrive -PPart -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan has most probably arrived in Ankara at this moment"
 "Hasan has (definitely) arrived in Ankara at this moment"

Turkish also has a question particle which is a clitic and which is of the form **mi**.⁹⁵ This particle shows up with Yes/No questions and attaches to the predicate, when its scope is the whole sentence:

- (1515) Hasan Ankara -ya git -ti **mi**?
 Hasan Ankara -Dat. go -Past -Q
 "Did Hasan go to Ankara?"

The same particle can also be used as a question focus particle. In utterances where it attaches to the predicate, it can have either the whole sentence in its scope, or just the predicate; in the latter case, it acts as a question focus particle. The following example illustrates its latter use when attached to a constituent:

- (1516) Hasan iş -in -e **mi** git -ti?
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. -Q go -Past
 "Did Hasan go to work? (Was it work that Hasan went to?)"

Furthermore, Turkish has a negation marker, the verbal suffix **-mA**, whose status as a clitic is debatable. Lewis (1975) analyzes it as such, with the only motivation that it cannot receive word accent when it is in word final position, and that word accent always precedes it:

- (1517) Hasan iş -in -e gít -**me** -di
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. go -**Neg.** -Past
 "Hasan did not go to work"

Other than the accent facts, there is no reason to call this suffix a clitic, since it has no corresponding free form, it does not attach anywhere else but to the bare verbal stem (thus being placed after markers for voice, if those occur, but before any markers for tense/aspect/mood and agreement). Interestingly enough, the negative copula **değil**, which appears with adjectival and nominal predicates as well as after participles and which can bear inflections for tense/aspect/mood and agreement, is not a clitic, since it can bear stress and does not undergo Vowel Harmony with the preceding domain; yet, it is this negator which would be more readily expected to have clitic character, since it can follow participles, i.e. after verbal stems with some inflections for tense/mood/aspect:

- (1518) Hasan iş -in -e git -miş **değil** -di
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. go -PPart **Neg.Cop.** -Past
 "It is not the case that Hasan had gone to work"

Furthermore, the copular negator can co-occur with the verbal negator:

- (1519) Hasan iş -in -e git **-me** -miş **değil** -di
 Hasan work -3.sg. -Dat. go **-Neg.** -PPart **Neg.Cop.** -Past
 "It is not the case that Hasan had not gone to work"

It would be unlikely for the outer negator not to be a clitic, while the inner negator should be one. An analysis which views the verbal negator simply as a verbal suffix which happens to be exceptional with respect to word accent appears therefore preferable to one which views this element as a clitic.

2. 1. 8. 1. 7. Sentence connectives

One clitic sentence connective is **DA** 'and', 'also':

- (1520) Oya iş -e git -ti, Alı **de** ev -de kal -dı
 Oya work -Dat. go -Past Ali **-and** home -Loc. stay -Past
 "Oya went to work, and Ali stayed at home"

It should be noted that this element can be attached to constituents, meaning 'also, too':

- (1521) Oya iş -e git -ti, Alı **de**
 Oya work -Dat. go -Past Ali **-too**
 "Oya went to work, and Ali, too"

Where this element attaches to more than one constituent, we get the meaning 'as well as':

- (1522) Oyá **da**, Alı **de** iş -e git -ti (-ler)
 Oya **-too**, Ali **-too** work -Dat. go -Past(-3.pl.)
 "Oya as well as Ali went to work"

Another sentence connective which might be viewed as a clitic is the complementizer **ki**, borrowed from Persian:

- (1523) duy -dú -k **ki** bugün kar yağ -acak -miş
 hear -Past -1.pl. **that** today snow fall -Fut. -Rep.Past
 "We heard that it's supposed to snow today"

It is debatable whether **ki** should best be analyzed as a clitic (as Lewis (1975) does), however; it does not undergo Vowel Harmony with the

domain preceding it, which argues against this analysis. The argument in favor of this analysis is the fact that word accent shows up in the syllable preceding it. However, that accent is expected even if **ki** is not viewed as a clitic, but simply as a short word which cannot receive stress for reasons of syntactic phrase structure. The preceding word simply receives its customary, regular word final accent.

2. 1. 8. 1. 8. Anaphoric particles

Turkish has no anaphoric clitic particles, unless the morpheme **ki** 'one, the one', which is used after genitive or locative noun phrases is viewed as a clitic which has changed its status into that of a suffix:

- (1524) araba -lar -ın -**kí**
 car -pl. -Gen. -**the one**
 "the one pertaining to the cars; the cars"

Note that this element behaves like a regular suffix with respect to word accent: it bears regular final stress when it is word final; when it is followed by other regular suffixes, word accent is placed on the last syllable, rather than on the syllable preceding **ki**, as would be expected if **ki** were a clitic of the same type as the other elements previously discussed:

- (1525) araba -lar -ın -**ki** -ler -dé
 car -pl. -Gen. -**the one** -pl. -Loc.
 "in the ones pertaining to the cars"

On the other hand, **ki** is even less of a suffix than regular clitics are, since it does not undergo Vowel Harmony, and thus behaves like an independent word in this respect. Furthermore, it opens up a new morphological domain, in that nominal suffixes like those for plural and case can follow it and can thus co-occur with instances of the same suffixes attached to the preceding stem, as illustrated in the previous example. Such co-occurrence of suffixes of the same type is otherwise prohibited in Turkish morphology. For these reasons, I suggest analyzing **ki** as a clitic anaphor which is different from other clitics in becoming part of the stress domain of the preceding nominal, while pointing out that elsewhere in the literature, this element is viewed as a suffix rather than as a clitic.

2. 1. 8. 1. 9. Others

The comitative particle **ile** might be viewed as a clitic, with the same reservations as those expressed when discussing the morphologically

free form of the copula in 2. 1. 8. 1. 5. It has a counterpart, which cliticizes to the preceding stem:

- (1526) Ali opera -ya Oyá **-yla** git -ti
 Ali opera -Dat. Oya **-Com.** go -Past
 "Ali went to the opera with Oya"

This element has the same clitic character when it is used as a comitative conjunction:

- (1527) Oyá **-yla** Ali opera -ya git -ti -ler
 Oya **-Com.Conj.** Ali opera -Dat. go -Past -3.pl.
 "Oya and Ali went to the opera"

The element **-(y)ken** 'while', which derives time adverbials from participles and some cased nouns has clitic character:⁹⁶

- (1528) Oya opera -dá **-yken** Ali sinema -ya git -ti
 Oya opera -Loc. **-while** Ali cinema -Dat. go -Past
 "While Oya was in the opera, Ali went to the movies"

- (1529) Oya gazete okú -r **-ken** Ali yemek
 Oya newspaper read -Aor. **-while** Ali food
 piş -ir -di
 cook -Caus. -Past
 "While Oya was reading the newspaper, Ali cooked"

Note that this element does not undergo Vowel Harmony with the stem it cliticizes to and is thus different in this respect from most other clitics.

There are two elements that derive adverbs which could also be characterized as clitics: **-CA** and its extension **-CAsInA**, which derive adverbs from participles, adjectives and nouns, and **-leyin**, which derives adverbs from nouns:

- (1530) iyi 'good' iyí **-ce** 'well; thoroughly; rather well'
 domuz 'pig' domúz **-casma** 'like a pig; in a devious way'
- (1531) sabah 'morning' sabáh **-leyin** 'at morning'

None of these suffixes can bear stress, and primary word accent precedes them. In these respects, these suffixes have the same properties as the clitics discussed previously in this section. However, there is little reason to consider them as genuine clitics. They have no corresponding free versions, and they have no full, independent lexical meanings, other than the meanings connected to their derivational character and to the

particular context. It is therefore more appropriate to analyze them as derivational suffixes which happen to be exceptional with respect to word accent.

2. 1. 8. 1. 10. Allomorphs

With the exception of the alternations between phonologically cliticized versus morphologically free forms (which have been pointed out wherever they occur), allomorphy is restricted to phonologically fully predictable alternations, due to Vowel Harmony and to (de)voicing. The potential for these alternations has been represented by using capital letters for those vowels which undergo Vowel Harmony and for those consonants that undergo (de)voicing.

2. 1. 8. 2. Positions occupied by these clitics

2. 1. 8. 2. 1. Preverbal

Turkish has no preverbal clitics.

2. 1. 8. 2. 2. Postverbal

Those clitics that attach to verbs are in principle (and usually also in practice) postverbal. They have been pointed out in the subsections above. However, given the complex character of fully inflected verbs in Turkish, there can be instances where the clitic is attached to the verbal stem and is followed by other morphemes; these are instances where those other morphemes can be analyzed as clitics themselves, or where they can be analyzed as attached to a clitic:

(1532) oku -yacák mı -y -muş -sın?
read -Fut. -Q -Cop. -Rep.Past -2.sg.
"Do they say that you will read?"

Here, the question clitic is cliticized to the tensed verbal stem, and it is followed by the inflected copula, which is itself a clitic that attaches to tensed verbal stem. Note that the order between these two clitics is fixed; the question clitic cannot follow the inflected copula.

Clitics that attach to other constituents are stem-final for those categories, as well.

2. 1. 8. 2. 3. Sentence-final

Given the fact that Turkish is SOV, those clitics that attach to verbs can also be said to be sentence-final, with the proviso that, as we saw in the previous subsection, they can be followed by other clitics. Therefore, a situation might arise where a sentence particle like the question particle is followed by a copular clitic, more properly viewed as a verbal particle; this is illustrated by the last example.

2. 1. 8. 2. 4. Sentence-initial

There are no sentence-initial clitics in Turkish, with the exception of **ki**, the complementizer borrowed from Persian (cf. 2. 1. 8. 1. 7.). This complementizer precedes the subordinate clause it introduces. However, it should be noted that phonologically, this element cliticizes to the preceding word; thus, there is typically a pause between **ki** and the subordinate clause, and no pause between the last matrix element and **ki**:

(1533) duy -dú -k **ki**, bugün kar yağ -acak -muş
 hear -Past -1.pl. **that**. today snow fall -Fut. -Rep.Past
 "We heard that it's supposed to snow today"

(1534) ??/*duy -dú -k, **ki** bugün kar yağ -acak -muş
 hear -Past -1.pl. **that** today snow fall -Fut. -Rep.Past
 "We heard that it's supposed to snow today"

2. 1. 8. 2. 5. Sentence-second position

There are no clitics in Turkish that show up in second position, unless they are cliticized to a word which happens to be in second position. In other words, sentence-second position is not a privileged (or even typical) position for clitics in Turkish.

2. 1. 8. 3. Relative order of clitics

In this section on clitics, we have seen essentially five kinds of clitics, whose status as clitics is unchallenged: the comitative **-(y)lA**, the time adverbial **-(y)ken**, the connective **DA**, the Yes/No question marker **mI**, and the copular forms (the epistemic copula **-DIr** and the regular copula, inflected for tense/aspect/mood and for agreement). When all of these co-occur, the order is that indicated in the enumeration just given:

- (1535) A. Oya çok kıskanç -tı.
 Oya very jealous -Past
 "Oya was / used to be very jealous"
- B. Ahmét -le -yken de mi -y -di?
 Ahmet -Com. -when -too -Q -Cop. -Past
 "Was she (jealous) also when she was with Ahmet?"

As this example illustrates, the connective **DA** cannot follow the Yes/No question particle, and the latter particle (**mI**) cannot follow a copula (or copular sequence); it follows nominals (which may be marked for case), adjectives, and participles (with verb stems carrying simple tense/aspect morphology included in the latter). The comitative particle, functioning as a case marker, must be closest to a nominal stem (and, due to its function, must attach to the noun without case markers). The adverb **-(y)ken** attaches to nouns (which may be marked for case), adjectives and participles (including simple tensed verbs, but excluding simple verbs marked with the definite past and the conditional). It cannot follow copular forms, but must precede them. It also cannot follow the connective **DA**, nor can it follow the Yes/No question particle.⁹⁷ The connective **DA**, in turn, can follow nouns (which may carry case markers), adjectives and participles, adverbs, and tensed verbs as well as tensed copular forms. Thus, different attachment sites can exist for **DA**:

- (1536) Oya Ahmét -le -yken de kıskanç -tı
 Oya Ahmet -Com. -when -too jealous -Past
 "Oya was jealous when she was with Ahmet, too
 (i.e. she has been jealous at various times,
 and she was jealous when with Ahmet, as well)"
- (1537) Oya Ahmét -le -yken kıskanç -tı da
 Oya Ahmet -Com. -when jealous -Past -too
 "Oya, when she was with Ahmet, was jealous, too
 (i.e. among various properties Oya had while being with Ahmet,
 she was jealous, too)"

We conclude that the scope of the connective is dependent on the site of its attachment.

It should also be noted that the connective must precede the Yes/No question marker.

2. 1. 8. 4. Restrictions on possible combinations of clitics

As illustrated in the previous subsection, the clitics enumerated may all combine, as long as the restrictions on their possible orders are obeyed.

2. 2. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Turkish is rich in derivational morphemes. Here, the most productive derivational morphemes will be presented. Allomorphy is restricted to phonologically predictable alternations, due to processes like Vowel Harmony and (de)voicing. Allomorphy which is not phonologically predictable is mentioned separately, in the context of the few instances where it arises.

2. 2. 1. *Deriving nouns*

2. 2. 1. 1. Deriving nouns from nouns

Diminutives: **-CIK**, **-CAğIZ**, and the unproductive **-CAK**:

(1538)	a.	keci	'cat'	keci	-cik	'little cat'
	b.	kadıñ	'woman'	kadıñ	-cağız	'the poor little woman'
	c.	yavru	'cub; the young of an animal'	yavru	-cak	'dear little child'

-CIK is the most productive and semantically neutral diminutive suffix. **-CAğIZ** has, in addition to being a diminutive, a connotation of empathy or even of pity. **-CAK**, which survives in only a few lexical items, carries sometimes a sense of endearment.

The suffix **-cA** derives nouns from verbal nouns in **-mA**; the meanings of these derived nouns are not completely predictable; some have the meaning of games, some are concrete nouns:

(1539)	bul	'find'	bul-ma	'finding'	bul-ma-cA	'puzzle'
	çek	'pull'	çek-me	'pulling'	çek-me-ce	'drawer'

The suffix **-cI** is attached to singular nouns (as well as to adjectives and to adverbs) and derives nouns that refer to persons who are professionally involved with the object or quality expressed by the basic morpheme:

(1540)	diş	'tooth'	diş	-cI	'dentist'
	kalay	'tin; tinsel'	kalay-cI		'tinsmith'

The suffix **-II** is attached to nouns and derives nouns with meanings that essentially fall into one of three categories:

A. Having the object or quality expressed by the basic morpheme:

(1541)	silâh	'weapon'	silâh	-li	'armed; armed person'
	at	'horse'	at	-li	'horseman'

B. Having the object or quality expressed by the basic morpheme to a high degree:

(1542)	sevgi	'love; affection'	sevgi-li	'beloved'
	yaş	'age'	yaş -li	'aged; aged person'

C. Belonging to a place or institution:

(1543)	üniversite	'university'	üniversite	-li	'person affiliated with a university; university student'
	Londra	'London'	Londra	-li	'person living in London'

D. Dressed in garments of a particular color (when suffixed to the name of a color):

(1544)	beyaz	'white'	beyaz	-li	'person dressed in white'
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The suffix **-siz**, with the meaning 'without', is attached to nouns or pronouns and derives nouns (and adjectives):

(1545)	diş	'tooth'	diş- siz	'toothless; toothless person'
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The suffix **-lik**, attached to nouns, derives nouns that essentially fall into two groups:

A. Abstract nouns, derived from nouns:

(1546)	öğren	'(to) learn'	iş	'work'
	öğren -ci	'student, pupil'	iş -çi	'worker'
	öğren -ci -lik	'studenthood'	iş -çi -lik	'workmanship'

B. Nouns meaning 'intended for' or 'suitable for':

(1547)	kitap	'book'	kitap -lik	'book case, bookshelf'
	baş	'head'	baş -lik	'bonnet'
	mezar	'grave'	mezar-lik	'graveyard, cemetery'

The suffix **-Daş** expresses shared attachment to the concept referred to by the basic morpheme:

(1548)	soy	'lineage; race; family'	soy -daş	'person having the same lineage or race'
	vatan	'homeland'	vatan -daş	'compatriot, fellow citizen'

The suffix **-gil** is used in standard Turkish for names of plant and animal families:

- (1549) turunç 'bitter orange; citrus' turunç-**gil**-ler 'the family
of citrus fruits'
köpek 'dog' köpek-**gil**-ler 'the family of canines'

The suffix **-Cil** is rather unproductive; attached to nouns, it derives nouns (and adjectives) meaning 'tending towards, accustomed to':

- (1550) ev 'house' ev **-cil** 'domesticated'
ana 'mother' ana **-cil** 'a person dependent on his or her mother'

The suffix **-hane** is borrowed from Persian and means 'house; locality':

- (1551) pasta 'cake' pasta-**hane** 'cake shop'
posta 'mail' posta-**hane** 'post office'

2. 2. 1. 2. Deriving nouns from verbs

The suffix **-(y)İcİ** expresses regular activity (and is related to the suffix **-Cİ**, illustrated in the previous subsection, which derives nouns that express names for professionals):

- (1552) koş '(to) run' koş-**ucu** 'runner'
dinle '(to) listen' dinle-**yici** 'listener'

Another suffix that derives nouns from verbs and which expresses occupation is **-mAn**. There are only a small number of verbs to which this suffix attaches.

- (1553) yönet '(to) conduct; manage; control; direct' yönet-**men** 'director; manager'
eğit '(to) educate' eğit **-men** 'educator'

In most of these derived nouns, the designated person is the actor of the corresponding verb. In a few, however, the designated person is a theme of the verb:

- (1554) danış '(to) consult' danış-**man** 'counselor, adviser'

The suffix **-İK** derives nouns expressing the result of an action:

(1555)	tükür	'(to) spit'	tükür- ük	'saliva'
	sök	'(to) unravel; (to) to rip, undo, unravel'	sök- ük	'dropped stitch; rip in a seam; unravelling place'

The suffix **-I** derives nouns that express action or the result of an action; this suffix appears only with monosyllabic stems that end in a consonant:

(1556)	kork	'(to) fear'	kork- u	'fear'
	yap	'(to) make'	yap- ı	'construction, building'

Another morpheme that derives nouns which express action or the result of an action is the suffix **-tI** and its extension **-IntI**:

(1557)	belir	'(to) appear'	belir- ti	'symptom'
	kur	'(to) brood'	kur- untu	'groundless fear, worry, apprehension'

The suffix **-gI** derives nouns that express action, or its result, or its instrument:

(1558)	ör	'(to) interlace'	ör - gü	'plait'
	sev	'(to) love'	sev - gi	'love, affection'
	çal	'(to) play'	çal - gı	'musical instrument'

The suffix **-ç** derives abstract nouns, mainly from reflexive (and other) stems ending in **n**:

(1559)	inan	'(to) believe'	inan - ç	'belief'
	kazan	'(to) win, earn'	kazan - ç	'gain, earnings'

The suffix **-(A)K** derives nouns that express meanings of a place or an instrument related to the corresponding verb:

(1560)	bat	'(to) sink'	bat - ak	'marsh, swamp, moor'
			(also: bat- ak-lık)	
	ele	'(to) sift'	ele - k	'sieve'
	tara	'(to) comb'	tara - k	'comb'

A suffix that derives nouns (and adjectives) expressing an inherent quality related to the corresponding verb is **-GAn**:

(1561)	unut	'(to) forget'	unut - kan	'forgetful person'
	dövüş	'(to) fight, clash'	dövüş- ken	'bellicose, belligerent, combative person'

An extension of this suffix, used very rarely, is **-AğAn**:

- (1562) gez '(to) stroll' gez-**eğen** 'person who travels a lot'⁹⁸
(nonstandard vocabulary item)

The suffix **-GIn** derives nouns (and adjectives) with active or passive meaning:

- (1563) er '(to) mature' er **-gin** 'adult'
sür '(to) exile' sür **-gün** 'exile, banishment; an exiled person'

The suffix **-(I)t** derives nouns that express results of or instruments for the actions depicted by the corresponding verbs:

- (1564) geç '(to) to pass' geç-**it** 'passage, ford'
taşı '(to) carry' taşı-**t** 'vehicle'

Yet another suffix that derives nouns that express actions or results of actions is **-(I)m**:

- (1565) dil '(to) slice' dil **-im** 'slice, strip'
öl '(to) die' öl **-üm** 'death'
dur '(to) stand' dur **-um** 'situation'
kavra '(to) grasp' kavra **-m** 'concept'

The suffix **-In** derives nouns that are usually of a more concrete nature:

- (1566) yiğ '(to) pile up' yiğ-**m** 'heap, pile'
ek '(to) sow' ek-**in** 'crop'

There are two suffixes, **-geç** and **-giç**, which are rather unproductive, and which derive nouns that express, in most instances, an agent or instrument related to the verb; in a few instances, the reflexive **-n** is added to the verb stem, before the derivational morpheme is suffixed:

- (1567) süz '(to) filter, strain' süz **-geç** 'strainer, filter, sieve'
başla '(to) begin' başla-n-**giç** 'beginning'

The suffix **-tay** is used for only very few words, all of which are administrative terms and are recent creations:

- (1568) danış '(to) consult' Danış-**tay** 'Council of State'
sayış '(to) settle accounts' Sayış-**tay** 'Exchequer and Audit
Department'

Another rather unproductive suffix is **-(A)v**, deriving nouns that denote actions, results of actions, or agents of the action; these nouns are recent creations, as well:

(1569)	söyle	'(to) say, tell'	söyle- v	'speech'
	sına	'(to) test'	sına- v	'examination'

Yet another suffix which is not very productive is **-(A)y**, which derives nouns that express results of actions; all these nouns are recent:

(1570)	dene	'(to) try'	dene- y	'experiment'
	ol	'(to) happen, be, become'	ol - ay	'event'

2. 2. 1. 2. 1. The syntax of deverbal nouns and its similarities to the syntax of a sentence and to the syntax of a nonderived noun

All of the deverbal nouns illustrated in 2. 2. 1. 2. are treated syntactically like nonderived nouns; they can be pluralized and are modified by adjectives rather than by adverbs. They are usually not marked with passive morphology. They can be preceded by the indefinite article and by demonstratives.

The situation is different where elements are concerned which, while nominal, aren't full nouns. These are elements which have been referred to as "action nominal", "factive nominal", and "infinitival". Another productive type that belongs to this group is the nominal which is formed by attaching **-(y)Iş** to a verbal stem, thus forming nominals that express the manner as well as the fact of an action. They all have some nominal properties, in that they can all be affixed with case morphemes, their subjects are marked with genitive case, and the agreement suffixes they bear—if they bear any—are taken from the nominal (rather than verbal) paradigm. Of these nominals, only the factive nominal, marked with **-DIK** (and resembling the English gerund in a number of ways), has otherwise full sentential syntax (with the exception of the ability of taking all tense and aspect morphemes). The other types exhibit syntactic properties some of which are nominal, some sentential. For a full discussion, see section 1. 1. 2. on subordination, especially 1. 1. 2. 2. 6. 1. and its subsections. Forms with **-(y)Iş** are the most noun-like ones among these.

It is important to point out that all of these nominals can take the passive morpheme, that they also can take a variety of complements, among which are also direct objects, and that they can all assign accusative case. They can all be modified by adverbs. None of these sentential properties are found with the genuine deverbal nouns.

As for these nominals exhibiting noun-like properties, the factive nominal does not show any (other than those listed above for this whole subgroup). The others can be affixed with the plural, and they can co-occur with determiners like demonstratives. The latter property is found less with the action nominal and the infinitive, however; it is perfect with certain verbs (mostly intransitives), while acceptability deteriorates with complexity; nominals marked with **-(y)Iş** are well-formed in these respects for all verbs. Lastly, all nominals in this subgroup, with the exception of factive nominals, can be coordinated with the comitative conjunction **-(y)lA**; this is a nominal property, since sentences with finite predicates cannot be coordinated in this fashion.

2. 2. 1. 3. Deriving nouns from adjectives

In Turkish, many nouns can be used as adjectives, and most adjectives can be used as nouns. Therefore, most of the suffixes illustrated in 2. 2. 1. 1. in the context of deriving nouns from nouns are also used for deriving nouns from adjectives. The most productive suffixes among those are exemplified below for nonderived adjectives as the basic stem:

- | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-----------------|------|---------------------------|--|
| (1571) | küçük | 'small, little' | küçü | -cük ⁹⁹ | 'very small, tiny'
(diminutive) |
| (1572) | eski | 'old' | eski | -ci | 'seller of old clothes'
(profession) |
| (1573) | iyi | 'good' | iyi | -lik | 'goodness, good action'
(abstract noun) |

2. 2. 1. 3. 1. The syntax of deadjectival nouns and its similarities to the syntax of a sentence and to the syntax of a nonderived noun

The syntax of deadjectival nouns is the same as the syntax of a nonderived noun; it has no similarities to the syntax of a sentence.

A class of exceptions to this generalization consist of nominal uses of participles (typically, in constructions that correspond to free, i.e. headless, relative clauses in English). This issue is more appropriately treated in the context of adjectival formations. For discussion and examples, see 2. 2. 3. 2. and 1. 1. 2. 3. In these forms, the syntax is predominantly sentential, although some nominal features (e.g. genitive marking of the subject) is found, as well.

2. 2. 1. 4. Deriving nouns from adverbs

The suffix **-CI**, which derives nouns denoting habitual or professional activities from nouns and adjectives, can also be used to derive similar nouns from certain (usually morphologically nonderived) adverbs:

(1574) çabuk 'fast' çabuk-**çu** 'person who does things (perhaps too) fast'

There are a number of place expressions which are traditionally analyzed as adverbs (rather than as nouns); some examples follow:

(1575)	içeri	'inside'	dışarı	'outside'
	yukarı	'up'	aşağı	'down'
	ileri	'forward'	geri	'backward'
	karşı	'opposite'		

These expressions can be used as nouns, which can be shown by attaching suffixes to them that are used as nominal inflectional markers, and by placing them into nominal phrases. Some examples follow:

(1576) ev -in içeri -si
house -Gen. inside -3.sg.
"the inside of the house"

These adverbs can be used in their bare form as well as in the locational cases, i.e. with the suffixes for dative, locative and ablative:

(1577)	içeri	gir	-di	dışarı	çık	-tı
	inside	enter	-Past	outside	exit	-Past
	"She went in"			"He went out"		

(1578)	içeri	-ye	gir	-di	dışarı	-ya	çık	-tı
	inside	-Dat.	enter	-Past	outside	-Dat.	exit	-Past
	"She went in"				"He went out"			

(1579)	içeri	-de	kal	-dı	dışarı	-dan	gel	-di ¹⁰⁰
	inside	-Loc.	stay	-Past	outside	-Abl.	come	-Past
	"He stayed inside"				"She came from outside"			

It is customary in the tradition of Turkish works on the grammar of the language to analyze the bare adverbs as genuine adverbs, but the suffixed adverbs as nouns. If so, these nominal inflectional suffixes would have to be analyzed as derivational suffixes, deriving nouns from adverbs. This consequence of the analysis is made explicit by Ergin (1985). The same analysis and consequence would carry over to time adverbials like **önce** 'before' and **sonra** 'after', which can be affixed by a sequence of suffixes consisting of the nominal plural suffix and the third

person suffix, yielding **önceleri** 'previously' and **sonraları** 'afterwards'. The locative, dative and ablative cases show up with time adverbials, as well.

There are some onomatopoeic words (all ending in **r** or **l**) which are used as adverbs when reduplicated; suffixation with the suffix **-dI** derives related nouns:

- (1580) horul '(sound of snoring)' horul **-tu** 'snore (noun), snoring'
 takır '(sound of tapping or knocking)' takır **-tı** 'tapping or knocking sound'

2.2.2. Deriving verbs

2.2.2.1. Deriving verbs from nouns

Some nouns can function as verb stems:

- (1581) acı 'grief, pain' acı '(to) hurt (intransitive);
(to) feel pity for s.o. (with Dat.)'
 boya 'paint' boya '(to) paint'

The suffix **-A** is unproductive and is found on very few stems:

- (1582) kan 'blood' kan **-a** '(to) bleed'
 yaş 'age' yaş **-a** '(to) live'

The most productive suffix that derives verbs from nouns is **-lA**; it serves as the basic form to three additional suffixes with the same derivational function, i.e. **-lAn**, **lAt**, and **-lAş**. All four suffixes are illustrated in turn.

The semantic relationship between the verbs derived with **-lA** and the corresponding nouns is not completely predictable, as the following examples show:

- (1583) kilit 'lock' kilit **-le** '(to) lock'
 su 'water' su **-la** '(to) water, irrigate'
 kuzu 'lamb' kuzu **-la** '(to) lamb'

The suffix **-lAn** is the reflexive of **-lA**:

- (1584) kir 'dirt' kir-**len** '(to) get dirty'
 ev 'house' ev-**len** '(to) get married'

This suffix precedes the general causative suffix, when the two suffixes co-occur:

- (1585) Hasan kız -in -1 ev -**len** -**dir** -di
 Hasan daughter -3.sg. -Acc. house -**DerRefl** -**Caus.** -Past
 "Hasan gave his daughter away in marriage"

However, where a transitive verb can be derived directly from a noun by the special derivational causative suffix **-lAt**, the sequence of the reflexive **-lAn** and the general causative **-Dir** is not possible:

- (1586) Hasan mutfağ -1 kir -**let** -ti
 Hasan kitchen -Acc. dirt -**DerCaus** -Past
 not: *kir -**len** -**dir** -di
 dirt -**DerRefl** -**Caus.** -Past
 "Hasan made the kitchen dirty (dirtied the kitchen)"

The suffix **-lAş** is the reciprocal of **-lA**; this usage is illustrated by the next two examples:

- (1587) mektup 'letter' mektup-**laş** '(to) correspond'
 dert 'pain, trouble' dert-**leş** '(to) share e.o.'s troubles by
 telling; to sympathize with
 another's sorrow'

However, this suffix is also used to derive verbs meaning 'to become X', whereby 'X' is the basic stem. This latter usage is illustrated by the next example:

- (1588) Tanrı 'God, deity' tanrı-**laş** '(to) become divine'

This suffix precedes the general causative suffix, whenever they co-occur:

- (1589) mektup-**laş-tır** '(to) make some persons correspond with each other'
 tanrı -**laş-tır** '(to) deify someone'

The suffix **-(A)l** derives verbs from a number of adjectives (cf. 2. 2. 2. 3.), but it is very unproductive for nouns as stems in this context:

- (1590) yön 'direction' yön-**el** 'to direct oneself (towards a place)'

The suffix **-Ar** is similar to the previous suffix in being rather unproductive and in being found mainly with adjectives. An example with a nominal stem follows:

- (1591) ev 'house' ev-**er** '(to) marry off (colloq.)'

2. 2. 2. 2. Deriving verbs from verbs

Verbs are derived from other verbs mainly by changes in voice morphology. This has been discussed and illustrated in section 2. 1. 3. 1. and its subsections.

2. 2. 2. 3. Deriving verbs from adjectives

As stated previously, many nouns can be used as adjectives, and vice versa. Therefore, all of the suffixes mentioned in 2. 2. 2. 1. as deriving verbs from nouns can also be used for deriving verbs from adjectives. They are illustrated below in this latter capacity; their semantics can be found in 2. 2. 2. 1.:

Zero derivation:

(1592)	ekşi	'sour'	ekşi	'(to become) sour'
	kuru	'dry'	kuru	'(to become) dry'

-A:

(1593)	boş	'empty'	boş-a	'(to) divorce'
--------	-----	---------	-------	----------------

-lA:

(1594)	temiz	'clean'	temiz-le	'(to) clean'
	yeni	'new'	yeni-le	'(to) renew'
	yavaş	'slow'	yavaş-la	'(to) slow down'

-lAn:

(1595)	serin	'cool'	serin-len	'(to become) cool'
	temiz	'clean'	temiz-len	'(to become) clean'

-lAt:

(1596)	temiz	'clean'	temiz-let	'to get (s.th.) cleaned'
	yeni	'new'	yeni-let	'to get (s.th.) renewed'

-lAş:

(1597)	dar	'narrow'	dar-laş	'(to become) narrow'
	iri	'large'	iri-leş	'(to become) large, enlarged' ¹⁰¹

-(A)l:

(1598)	dar	'narrow'	dar-al	'(to become) narrow'
	kısa	'short'	kısa-l	'(to become) short'

A stem final **k** drops before this suffix:

- | | | | | |
|--------|--------|----------------|---------|-----------------|
| (1599) | ufak | 'tiny, little' | ufa-l | '(to) diminish' |
| | yüksek | 'high' | yükse-l | '(to) rise' |

-sA: A very unproductive suffix; in some examples, it has the meaning of 'to view as ...'

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-------------|----------|-------------------------------|
| (1600) | mühim | 'important' | mühim-se | '(to) think s.th. important' |
| | garip | 'strange' | garip-se | '(to) consider s.th. strange' |

-ImSA: Also very unproductive and related to the previous suffix; it has a similar meaning to it:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|----------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (1601) | az | 'little' | az- imsa | '(to) consider inadequate' |
|--------|----|----------|-----------------|----------------------------|

2. 2. 2. 4. Deriving verbs from adverbs

There are a number of onomatopoeic words (ending in **r** or **l**) which, when reduplicated, are used as adverbs, and when suffixed with **-dA**, yield verbs related in meaning to the stem:

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------|----------------------------------|------------------|---|
| (1602) | horul | '(sound of snoring)' | horul- da | '(to) snore' |
| | takır | '(sound of tapping or knocking)' | takır- da | '(to) make a tapping or knocking sound' |

2. 2. 3. Deriving adjectives

A variety of suffixes that derive adjectives from other categories are illustrated below. Given that many adjectives can be used as nouns (and vice versa), a number of these suffixes are the same as those illustrated in section 2. 2. 1. on deriving nouns, and its subsections. More information on verbal adjectives can be found in section 1. 1. 2. 3. on adjective (relative) clauses. Such verbal adjectives, including participles that consist of verbal stems marked with simple tense/aspect suffixes (cf. sections 2. 1. 3. 2. and 2. 1. 3. 3.) as well as participles characterized by suffixes like **-(y)An** and **-DIK**, which are typical for adjectival clauses, have essentially sentential syntax; for example, they can assign accusative case to direct objects if they are formed from transitive verbs, and they can carry passive morphology. (Their subjects are in the genitive case rather than in the nominative, however). In contrast, the deverbal adjectives illustrated below have syntactic properties that are similar to those of underived adjectives.

2. 2. 3. 1. Deriving adjectives from nouns

The suffix **-(I)msI** derives adjectives that mean 'resembling, like'; this is a productive suffix:

- (1603) çadır 'tent' çadır-**ı msı** 'tent-like'
 masa 'table' masa-**msı** 'table-like'

The related suffix **-sI** is almost extinct; it is found only with some consonant-final stems:

- (1604) çocuk 'child' çocuk-**su** 'childish'
 erkek 'man' erkek-**si** 'mannish'

The most productive suffix that derives adjectives from nouns is **-II**; adjectives derived in this way may mean 'possessing the object or quality expressed by the basic morpheme', or 'possessing the object of quality expressed by the basic morpheme to a high degree':

- (1605) merhamet 'pity, compassion' merhamet-**li** 'compassionate'
 yağmur 'rain' yağmur-**lu** 'rainy'
- (1606) paha 'price' paha-**li** 'expensive'
 hız 'speed' hız-**lı** 'rapid'
 biber 'pepper' biber-**li** 'peppery; spicy hot'
 ışık 'light' ışık-**lı** 'possessing a lot of light'

Pairs of nouns with opposite meanings, each one suffixed with **-II**, can be used adjectivally:

- (1607) kadın-**lı** erkek-**li** insan grup-lar-ı
 'groups of people including women and men'

The suffix **-sIz** means 'without':

- (1608) merhamet 'pity, compassion' merhamet-**siz** 'without
 yağmur 'rain' yağmur-**suz** 'without rain; dry'

The suffix **-(s)Al** derives adjectives that have the meaning 'having the quality of the basic noun; related to the basic noun'; the **s** of the suffix drops when the stem ends in **s** or **z**:

- (1609) kamu 'the public' kamu-**sal** 'public'
 bilim 'science' bilim-**sel** 'scientific'
 öz 'self' öz-**el** 'private'

The adjectival suffix **-î**, borrowed from Arabic, is still found with many words of Arabic origin; it has the same meaning as **-(s)Al**:

(1610) maraz 'illness, disease' maraz-î 'pathological, morbid'

Another borrowed suffix of some productivity is **-varî**, borrowed from Persian, which derives adjectives which mean 'having the quality of':

(1611) Beatles-**varî** bir topluluk 'a group like the Beatles'

The Persian suffix **-ane** derives adjectives from nouns (and adjectives) indicating persons:

(1612) şair 'poet' şair-**ane** 'poetic'
dost 'friend' dost-**ane** 'friendly'

The suffix **-Cil** is not very productive; it derives adjectives that mean 'tending towards, accustomed to, addicted to':

(1613) ev 'house' ev-**cil** 'domesticated'
ben 'I' ben-**cil** 'selfish'

The suffix **-(I)t**, otherwise used to derive nouns from verbs, is also used in a few instances to derive adjectives from nouns (and adjectives):

(1614) yaş 'age' yaş-**it** 'of the same age'
eş 'mate' eş-**it** 'equal'

2. 2. 3. 2. Deriving adjectives from verbs

The suffix **-(y)lci** derives adjectives that express regularity of the action indicated by the related verb:

(1615) ak '(to) flow' ak-**lci** 'fluent; fluid'
aldat '(to) deceive, mislead' aldat-**lci** 'deceptive, misleading'

The suffix **-Ik** derives adjectives that have in general a passive meaning:

(1616) sök '(to) undo, unravel' sök-**ük** 'unravelling'
değiş '(to) change (intr.)' değiş-**ik** 'varied, different'

The suffix **-I** expresses the result of an action or of an event (and is found more generally deriving nouns than adjectives); it occurs with monosyllabic stems that end in consonants:

(1617) dol '(to) get full' dol-**u** 'full'
dur '(to) stand, remain' dur-**u** 'clear, limpid'

A number of verbs with the suffix **-(I)l**, and thus in the passive voice, are also found with the derivational suffix **-I** and yield adjectives:

- (1618) tak '(to) attach, fasten, put (s.th.) to'
 tak-1l '(to) be attached, to be fastened to'
 tak-1l-1 'attached to, fastened to'
- (1619) as '(to) hang (s.th.) up (on), suspend (s.th.) (from)'
 as-1l '(to) be hung; (to) be hanged'
 as-1l-1 'hanging, suspended'

Some of the verbs that serve as the input for deriving adjectives via the derivational suffix **-(I)l** don't occur with that suffix independently; e.g. **kapa** 'close' either takes the suffix **-n** for the passive (and reflexive), or is found with the passive of the causative: **kapa-t-1l**; yet, we find **kapa-l-1** 'closed'. For such verbs, a new derivational suffix of the form **-(I)ll** might be claimed to have come into existence, forming adjectives from them. However, given the fact that for the majority of the deverbal adjectives with **-(I)ll**, the analysis in terms of two suffixes (i.e. **-(I)l** and **-I**) can be maintained, it is premature to claim that such a new derivational suffix exists at this point in time.

It should also be pointed out that deverbal adjectives with **-(I)l-I** can sometimes be homophonous with denominal adjectives with **-ll**, where the base nominal is itself derived from a verb via the derivational suffix **-I**:

- (1620) ört '(to) cover' ört-ü 'covering
 (e.g. tablecloth, headscarf, bedspread)'
 ört-ü-lü 'having or wearing a covering;
 with a cover'

versus

- (1621) ört '(to) cover' ört-ül 'be covered (Pass. or Refl.)'
 ört-ül-ü 'covered'

Such homophonous words are not synonymous, although the meaning differences between them are subtle. The second type is obviously more action-oriented, while the first type is clearly nominal.

The suffix **-ç** derives adjectives (as well as abstract nouns: cf. 2. 2. 1. 2.) from reflexive verbal stems and other verbal stems ending in **n**:

- (1622) kiskan '(to) envy' kiskan-ç 'jealous'
 iğren '(to) be disgusted' iğren-ç 'disgusting'

The suffix **-(A)K** derives adjectives (as well as nouns) related to the active voice of the basic verb:

- (1623) ürk '(to) start; (to) shy; ürk-ek 'timid'
 '(to) be seized with fright'
 büyü '(to) become great, big, or large' büyü-k 'great; large; big'
 at '(to) throw' at-ak 'bold, daring'

The suffix **-GAn** derives adjectives whose meanings intensify the meanings of the related verbs:

- (1624) unut '(to) forget' unut-kan 'forgetful'
 çekin '(to) withdraw' çekin-gen 'retiring'

The suffix **-GIn** derives adjectives whose meanings are related either to the passive voice of a corresponding transitive verb (with very few exceptions, where an accusative-marked measure phrase is possible) or to the active voice of a corresponding non-agentive intransitive verb:

- (1625) sol '(to) fade' sol-gun 'faded'
 sür '(to) exile' sür-gün 'exiled'
 bit '(to) end' bit-kin 'exhausted'

2. 2. 3. 3. Deriving adjectives from adjectives

Given that many nouns can be used as adjectives, a number of suffixes that derive adjectives from nouns (cf. 2. 2. 3. 1.) and nouns from adjectives (cf. 2. 2. 1. 3.) can also be used to derive adjectives from adjectives.

The suffix **-(I)t** derives adjectives from other adjectives (as well as from nouns); it is difficult to generalize the meanings of these derived adjectives:

- (1626) karşı 'opposite' karşı-t 'contrary'
 som 'solid' som-ut 'concrete'

The diminutive suffixes **-CEK** and **-CIK** are used to derive adjectives from other adjectives. Stem-final **ks** are deleted:

- (1627) büyük 'big, large' büyü-cek 'biggish'
 (1628) küçük 'small, little' küçü-cük 'tiny, very little'

The suffix **-CA** confers a modifying meaning to the adjectives it derives:

- (1629) yakın 'near' yakın-**ca** 'somewhat near'
 yaşlı 'old' yaşlı-**ca** 'somewhat old'

The suffixes **-(I)mtraK**¹⁰² and **-(I)msI** derive adjectives which essentially mean 'resembling', with respect to the base morpheme; **-(I)mtraK** is used with adjectives that express color and taste:

- (1630) acı 'bitter' acı-**mtrak** 'rather bitter'
 siyah 'black' siyah-**ı mtrak** 'rather black, blackish'

-(I)msI can be used in the contexts where **-(I)mtraK** is used, but its distribution is wider, in that it can also derive adjectives from a variety of nouns that have meanings unrelated to colors and tastes (cf. 2. 2. 3. 1.):

- (1631) acı 'bitter' acı-**msı** 'rather bitter'
 siyah 'black' siyah-**ı msı** 'rather black, blackish'

The suffix **-II**, repeated on both members of pairs of words (whose basic morpheme may be a noun or an adjective), is found in both adverbial and adjectival use; here, adjectival use of such pairs derived from adjectives will be illustrated:

- (1632) uzak 'far' yakın 'near':
 uzak-**lı** yakın-**lı** kahkaha-lar "bursts of laughter far and near"

2. 2. 3. 4. Deriving adjectives from adverbs

There are no adjectives in Turkish which are derived from adverbs in any clear-cut way. However, it has to be noted that many words in Turkish can be used both as adjectives and as adverbs:

- (1633) kötü 'bad';
 adjectival use: **kötü** bir insan 'a bad person';
 adverbial use: **kötü** konuş-tu '(she) talked angrily, malevolently'

- (1634) heyecanlı 'excited';
 adjectival use: **heyecanlı** bir insan 'an excited person';
 adverbial use: **heyecanlı** konuş-tu 'she talked excitedly'

2. 2. 4. Deriving adverbs

It is true in general that almost any word which can be used as an adjective can also be used as an adverb, i.e. can be used to modify a verb. This point was illustrated in the previous subsection. However, there are

certain shapes, typical for adverbs, that these words take in contexts of adverbial use; these will be illustrated in the following subsections.

2. 2. 4. 1. Deriving adverbs from nouns

Repeated nouns can serve as adverbs:

- (1635) **kapı kapı** dolaş -tı
door door wander -Past
 "She wandered (from) door (to) door"
 ("She wandered in a door-to-door way")

- (1636) **sabah sabah** uyan -dır -dı
morning morning wake -Caus. -Past
 "She woke up s.o. early in the morning"

Nouns used as measures (for distance, time, weight and dimensions) are used adverbially without case markers:

- (1637) **sabah akşam** yaz -ıyor -um
morning evening write -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I (have been) writing morning (and) evening"

- (1638) üniversite, ev -im -den **bir kilometre**
 university house -1.sg. -Abl. **one km.**
 uzak -ta -dır
 distant -Loc. -Ep.Cop.
 "The university is one km. away from my home"

Nouns in the dative and ablative cases can also be used adverbially:

- (1639) Ali oda -sın -ı **baş -tan baş -a** siyah -a
 Ali room -3.sg. -Acc. **head -Abl. head -Dat.** black -Dat.
 boya -dı
 paint -Past
 "Ali painted his room entirely black"

Typical examples for borrowed adverbs are Arabic nominals with the Arabic (accusative) ending **-an**:

- (1640) A.B.D. **iktisaden** geri kal -muş ülke -ler -e
 U.S.A. **economically** behind stay -PPart country -pl. -Dat.
 yardım -ı kes -ecek -miş
 help -Acc. cut -Fut. -Rep.Past
 "It is said that the U.S.A. will discontinue (its) help to countries which are less developed economically"

The suffix **-CA**¹⁰³ can derive adverbials from nouns with a variety of meanings. One type consists of manner adverbials:

- (1641) çocuk **-ça** konuş **-ma!**
 child **-ishly** talk **-Neg.**
 "Don't talk childishly!"

Another type of adverb derived from nouns via this suffix means 'with respect to':

- (1642) Hasan Ali **-den** yaş **-ça** büyük **-tür**
 Hasan Ali **-Abl.** age **-wise** big **-Ep.Cop.**
 "Hasan is older than Ali" ("Hasan is bigger than Ali age-wise")

The same suffix can derive agentive adverbs from nouns and is therefore found in passive constructions, but this use is not restricted to those constructions:

- (1643) yeni proje, dekan **-lık** **-ça** hazırlan **-miş** **-tır**
 new project dean **-ship** **-by** prepare **-PPart** **-Ep.Cop.**
 "The new project has been prepared by the Dean's office"

This suffix is also used very productively in numerical (and, more generally, measure) expressions:

- (1644) ay **-lar** **-ca** çalış **-tı** **-m**
 month **-pl.** **-wise** work **-Past** **-1.sg.**
 "I have worked / been working for months"

An extensions of this suffix is **-CAslnA**:

- (1645) eşek **-çesine** 'like a donkey'
 canavar **-casına** 'like a monster'

The repeated suffix **-II**, which we saw in 2. 2. 3. in its function as a suffix that derives adjectives from nouns and adjectives can also be used to derive adverbs; the suffix is attached to pairs of words with opposite meanings, like the pair 'night and day' in the following example:

- (1646) gece-**li** gündüz-**lü** çalış-tı "She worked night and day"

The suffix **-leyin** is attached to time expressions referring to the times of the day:

- (1647) sabah **-leyin** 'mornings, in the morning'
 gece **-leyin** 'nights, at night'

The borrowed suffix **-ane** derives adverbs that mean 'in the manner of':

(1648) dost 'friend' dost-**ane** 'friendly, in the manner of a friend'

2. 2. 4. 2. Deriving adverbs from verbs

Turkish has a number of suffixes that form gerundives which are used adverbially and can head adverbial clauses. Such formations are discussed in section 1. 1. 2. 4. on adverb clauses. The following example illustrates such constructions:

(1649) Ali ev -in -e doğru ıslık çal -**arak**
 Ali house -3.sg. -Dat. towards whistle play -**MAdv.**
 yürü -yor -du
 walk -Pr.Prog. -Past
 "Ali was walking towards his house, whistling"

There also are deverbal adverbs whose syntax is not sentential as that of the gerundives just mentioned. One type of such deverbal adverbs consists of reduplicated cognate adverbs of certain verbs:

(1650) bağır '(to) scream'
bağır bağır bağır-dı 'She screamed terrible screams'
 ('She screamed screamingly')

The clitic **-(y)kAn**, which otherwise produces gerundives meaning 'while; when' and belonging to the type of adverbials with sentential syntax just mentioned above, can have special uses when it attaches to the aorist form of the verb **de** 'say' (in addition to its regular uses that include this verb, as well):

(1651) de-r-**ken** 'suddenly; all of a sudden; just at that moment'

gazete oku -yor -du -m; de -r -**ken**
 newspaper read -Pr.Prog. -Past -1.sg. say -Aor. -**when**
 misafir -ler gel -di
 guest -pl. come -Past
 "I was reading (the) newspaper when, all of a sudden, (the) guests came"

The suffix **-(y)An**, otherwise used to form participles that are used in adjectival clauses, can also be used to form an adverbial expression when suffixed to the verb **geç** 'pass', often together with the nominal plural suffix, and together with the locative case suffix:

(1652) geç -**en** -ler -de 'recently'
 pass -**SbjP** -pl. -Loc.

2. 2. 4. 3. Deriving adverbs from adjectives

The borrowed suffix **-ane**, also used to derive adverbs from nouns (cf. 2. 2. 4. 1.), can be used to derive adverbs from adjectives; however, it is found only with a small number of adjectival stems:

- (1653) mest 'delighted, enchanted, captivated'
 mest-**ane** 'in an enchanted manner'

Adjectives can also be used adverbially, when they are followed by either one of two free morphemes borrowed from Arabic: **suret** 'shape' and **hal** 'condition'. Both of these morphemes must appear in the locative case in this function:

- (1654) fena 'bad' fena **hal** -de 'badly'
 hafif 'light' hafif **suret** -te 'lightly, in a light manner'

The suffix **-(y)ArAK**, which otherwise derives manner adverbials from verbs, can also be used in a similar fashion, when it is attached to the auxiliary **ol** 'be':

- (1655) asgarî 'minimal' asgarî ol -**arak** 'at least, minimally'

The productive suffix **-CA** (which was illustrated in 2. 2. 4. 1. in its function of deriving adverbs from nouns) derives manner adverbs from adjectives:

- (1656) çamaşırıcı çarşaf -lar -ı iyi -**ce** kayna t -tı
 laundress sheet -pl. -Acc. good -"ly" boil -Caus. -Past
 "The laundress boiled the sheets well"

As also stated earlier, many words used as adjectives can also be used as adverbs, without any affixation. Thus, the base morpheme of the adverb in the previous example can be used both as an adjective and as an adverb, as illustrated (in this order) by the following pair of examples:

- (1657) a. **iyi** bir çocuk
 good a child
 "a good child"

- (1657) b. bu bebek **iyi** uyu -r
 this baby **well** sleep -Aor.
 "This baby sleeps well"

2. 2. 4. 4. Deriving adverbs from adverbs

Reduplicated adverbs can be used adverbially; such adverbs can also be derived, e.g. from verbs:

- (1658) a. Ali ev -in -e doğru **çabuk çabuk**
 Ali house -3.sg. -Dat. towards **fast fast**
 yürü -yor -du
 walk -Pr.Prog. -Past
 "Ali was walking (very) fast towards his house"

- (1658) b. Ali ev -in -e **koş -a** **koş -a** git -ti
 Ali house -3.sg. -Dat. **run -MAdv.** **run -MAdv.** go -Past
 "Ali went home very fast" ("Ali went home runningly")

Sometimes a reduplicated adverb gives rise to a different meaning, rather than producing a meaning of intensification (as is the case in general):

- (1659) hemen 'immediately' hemen hemen 'almost'

The diminutive suffix **-CAK**, rather productive for adjectives and nouns, can also be used for adverbs; here, too, a stem-final **k** is deleted:

- (1660) çabuk 'fast' çabu-**ca**k 'speedily, in a very fast manner'

This suffix is also sometimes found to be followed by the most productive diminutive suffix **-CIK**:

- (1661) çabu -**ca** -**ca**k 'speedily, in a very fast manner'

2. 2. 4. 5. Deriving adverbs from any other category

Adverbs can also be derived from numerals, pronouns, certain demonstratives, and some onomatopoeic elements. These are illustrated in turn:

Repeated distributive numerals used as adverbs:

- (1662) oda -dan beş -**er** beş -**er** çık -tı -lar
 room -Abl. five -**each** five -**each** exit -Past -pl.
 "They came out of the room in fives"

Such numerals do not have to be identical:

- (1663) dört -**er** beş -**er** 'in fours and fives'

Adverbs can be derived from pronouns via the productive suffix **-CA**, with the meaning of 'according to':

(1664) ben -**ce** 'according to me'

The same suffix also derives adverbs meaning 'thus, in this way, therefore' from demonstratives:

(1665) böyle 'thus' böyle-**ce** 'in this way, therefore'

There is an idiomatic adverbial use of a particular combination of pronoun and postposition:

(1666) on -a göre
s/he -Dat. according to
"according to her/him"

In its idiomatic sense, **on -a göre** means 'accordingly'.

Certain onomatopoeic elements can be used adverbially when reduplicated:

(1667) a. horul (supposed to mimic the sound of snoring)

(1667) b. horul horul uyu -yor -du
snoringly snoringly sleep -Pr.Prog. -Past
"She was sleeping, snoring away"

2. 2. 5. *Any other possibilities*

The most productive and general derivational formations have been discussed above. Some additional possibilities involve compounds and phrases; those are discussed in 2. 2. 6. 3. below. In addition to those, it should be mentioned that the epistemic copula **-Dir** can serve as a clitic that derives time adverbials when it is attached to expressions measuring time:

(1668) bir saat -**tir** telefon -da
one hour -**Ep.Cop.** telephone -Loc.
"She has been on the phone for one hour"

(1669) uzun zaman -**dir** konuş -ma -dı -k
long time -**Ep.Cop.** talk -Neg. -Past -1.pl.
"We haven't talked for a long time"
("It's been a long time since we talked last")

2. 2. 6. *Complex postpositions*

2. 2. 6. 1. Possibilities for forming complex postpositions

2. 2. 6. 1. 1. Two postpositions

There are no compound postpositions in Turkish; this might be due to the fact that most postpositions in Turkish assign a case to their complement (cf. 2. 1. 1. and 2. 1. 5.); thus, the combination of the case suffix on the complement and of the postposition might be viewed as a complex postposition:

- (1670) on **-un** için
 it **-Gen.** for
 A. "for her, him, it"
 B. "because of it, because of this"

Under reading B., this construction might be viewed as an instantiation of a complex postposition. A similar formation is the following, where the noun **yüz** 'face' is used as a postposition, meaning 'because':

- (1671) bu **yüz** **-den**
 this **because** **-Abl.**
 "because of this"

It is only in combination with the ablative case suffix that **yüz** functions as a postposition. Thus, we again have a complex postposition, consisting of a simple postposition and a case marker, only that here, the case suffix is on the postposition, not on the complement.

2. 2. 6. 1. 2. Nominal formations

There is a group of so-called postpositions which are all nouns; they have locational meanings and they can carry possessive agreement suffixes as well as case suffixes:

- (1672) Hasan [ev -in -in ön -ün -de]
 Hasan house -3.sg. **-Gen.** **front** **-3.sg.** **-Loc.**
 dur -uyor
 stand -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is standing **in front of** his house"

Such postpositions correspond to prepositional nominal formations in English.

2. 2. 6. 1. 3. Verbal formations

There are many verbal formations involving postpositions. These are discussed in the syntax chapter, section 1. 1. 2. 4. Two examples are repeated here for the reader's convenience:

- (1673) [[Margaret Thatcher istifa et -tiğ -i] için]
 Margaret Thatcher resignation do -FNom -3.sg. **because**
 üzül -dü -k
 sadden -Past -1.pl.
 "We were saddened because Margaret Thatcher stepped down"
 ("We were saddened **because of** Margaret Thatcher's **stepping**
 down")
- (1674) [[müdür tatil -e çık -tık] -tan beri] ofis
 director vacation -Dat. go -FNom -Abl. **since** office
 kapalı
 closed
 "The office has been closed (ever) since the director went on
 vacation"
 ("The office has been closed (ever) **since** the director's **going** on
 vacation")
- (1675) [[müdür tatil -e çık -an] -a kadar]
 director vacation -Dat. go -Ger. -Dat. **until**
 ofis açık
 office open
 "The office is/will be open until the director goes on vacation"
 ("The office is/will be open **until** the director's **going** on vacation")

In these instances, we have constructions where a postposition combines with a particular nonfinite verbal form; together, these combinations are used adverbially, in the form of adverbial clauses headed by such postpositions.

2. 2. 6. 1. 4. Adjectival formations

Certain adjectives can be used as postpositions, with a fixed case marker on their complement:

- (1676) bun -dan başka
 this -Abl. **other**
 "other than this; apart from this"

2. 2. 6. 1. 5. Adverbial formations

Certain combinations of a postposition and an adverb can give rise to sequences that can be viewed as a complex postposition:

- (1677) bun -un -la beraber / birlik -te
 this -Gen. -with together / togetherness -Loc. (=together)
 "at the same time; nevertheless"

2. 2. 6. 2. Simple derived prepositions**2. 2. 6. 2. 1. Denominal postpositions**

Some borrowed nominals can be used as postpositions; e.g.:

- (1678) inat 'obstinacy, stubbornness'

is a borrowing from Arabic.

This noun can be used as a postposition, meaning 'despite of, in spite of'; the complement is placed in the dative case:

- (1679) Hasan [ban -a inat] iş -e git -ti
 Hasan I -Dat. spite work -Dat. go -Past
 "Hasan went to work despite my wishes to the contrary"

Other nouns, mostly borrowed, can be used as postpositions when inflected with possessive agreement suffixes and a case morpheme which can be of one particular type only in this function:

- (1680) hak 'right'

is a borrowing from Arabic. It takes the locative case in its use as a postposition; it then means 'concerning; about':

- (1681) hakk -ım -da
 right -1.sg. -Loc.
 "about me; concerning me"

- (1682) taraf 'side'

is also a borrowing from Arabic. It takes the ablative case in its use as a postposition; it then means 'by, through the agency of' and typically heads an agentive phrase in passive constructions:

- (1683) taraf **-ımız** **-dan**
 side **-1.pl.** **-Abl.**
 "by us"

Some of the other similar postpositions are **yüz** 'face', with the corresponding postposition in the ablative, and with the meaning 'because of', and **nam** 'name', a borrowing from Persian, which is used with the dative case in its function as a postposition and then means 'in the way of'. (For more examples, see 2. 1. 5. 1.)

2. 2. 6. 2. 2. Deverbal postpositions

Certain deverbal adverbs can be analyzed as postpositions in certain constructions. One typical formation in this regard involves the suffix **-(y)A**:

- (1684) ömr **-üm** **-de** [[bilgisayar] **di** **-ye**] hiçbir şey
 life **-1.sg.** **-Loc.** computer **say** **-MAdv.** no thing
 gör **-me** **-di** **-m**
 see **-Neg.** **-Past** **-1.sg.**
 "I have never seen anything **in the way** of a computer"

This form, in particular with the verb **de** 'say', is often used instead of the denominal **namına**, mentioned in the previous subsection.

The same denominal adverb can also be analyzed as a postposition in certain time expressions:

- (1685) saat [üç **-e** beş **kal** **-a**] gel **-di**
 hour three **-Dat.** five **remain** **-MAdv.** come **-Past**
 "She came at five to three" ("She came with five remaining to three")

Another deverbal adverbial formation, when used with the copular auxiliary **ol** 'be', can be analyzed as a postposition:

- (1686) a. dükkân **-da** [[kitap] **ol** **-arak**] hiçbir şey yok
 shop **-Loc.** book **be** **-MAdv.** no thing **Neg.Exist.**
 "There is nothing in the store **in terms of** books"

- (1686) b. san **-a** [[bir meslekdaş] **ol** **-arak**] şun **-u**
 you(sg.) **-Dat.** a colleague **be** **-MAdv.** this **-Acc.**
 tavsiye ed **-iyor** **-um**
 advice do **-Pr.Prog.** **-1.sg.**
 "As (being) a colleague, I advise you the following"

Postpositions that take as their complements adverbial clauses headed by gerundives were analyzed as complex postpositions in verbal

formations. Some of these postpositions (in particular, **dek** 'until') are written by some writers as clitics, together with their complement, and could thus be viewed as simple postpositions, derived from verbs; this is done by Lewis (1975), who lists as single suffixes forms like **-(y)AnAdek** and **-(y)IncAyAdek**, both meaning 'until V-ed'. However, the standard orthography writes such postpositions as free morphemes, thus leading us to classify them as complex postpositions in verbal formations, preceded by adverbial gerundives.

2. 2. 6. 2. 3. Deadjectival postpositions

Turkish has some deadjectival postpositions which are adjectivals, derived from borrowed nouns via borrowed derivational morphemes:

(1687) nazar 'look, glance; opinion'

is borrowed from Arabic. It can take the derivational suffix **-An**, also a borrowing:

(1688) nazar **-an** 'compared to; according to',

and this adjective can be used as a postposition with a complement in the dative case:

(1689) Hasan, [Ali **-ye nazaran**] daha olgun -dur
 Hasan Ali **-Dat. compared to** more mature -Ep.Cop.
 "Hasan is more mature than Ali"
 (Hasan, compared to Ali, is more mature"

Another borrowed noun, **nispet** 'proportion, ratio; rate' can also serve as the base for a similarly derived adjective, **nispet-en** 'compared to; comparatively', which can also be used as a postposition that takes a dative complement. Yet another formation of this type involves the borrowed noun **itibar** 'esteem, consideration, regard', from which the adjective **itibar-en** 'beginning from, with effect from' is derived, in turn serving as a postposition whose complement is in the ablative case:

(1690) [bugün **-den itibaren**] jimnastik yap -acağ -ım
 today **-Abl. beginning from** gymnastics do -Fut. -1.sg.
 "Starting from today, I will work out"

2. 2. 6. 3. Compound morphology

There are a variety of ways to form compounds in Turkish. If we include reduplications, regular doublets, and doublets formed from antonyms, we find a large number of patterns. This section will provide an

overview over the most productive compounding patterns in the language.

2. 2. 6. 3. 1. Nominal compounds

2. 2. 6. 3. 1. 1. Noun–Noun compounds

These compounds are very productive, and they exist in different patterns.

One possibility is to simply juxtapose nouns to form compounds; this pattern is found in kinship terminology, but is also used in other contexts:

- (1691)
- | | | |
|--------|---------|----------------------------|
| anne | -anne | |
| mother | -mother | 'maternal grandmother' |
| | | |
| baba | -anne | |
| father | -mother | 'paternal grandmother' |
| | | |
| karı | koca | |
| wife | husband | 'husband and wife, couple' |

The same pattern is found when the first member of the compound is a noun with the meaning of some material:

- (1692)
- | | | | | | |
|----|------------|----|---------------|----|------------|
| a. | demir kapı | b. | altın yüzük | c. | taş duvar |
| | iron door | | gold(en) ring | | stone wall |

It is possible to analyze the first members in such compounds as adjectives, and thus to regard these compounds as adjective–noun compounds instead. This work will not take a stand on this issue.

In some instances, the first member of such a compound actually bears a case morpheme, thus clearly having the character of a noun:

- (1693)
- | | | |
|-----------|---------------|------|
| kar | - dan | adam |
| snow | - Abl. | man |
| "snowman" | | |

Simple juxtaposition of nouns is not limited to compounds whose members have the sense of some material:

- (1694)
- | | |
|-----------------|------------|
| eş | 'mate' |
| biçim | 'shape' |
| eş biçim | 'isomorph' |

Some of these juxtaposed nouns either do not occur in isolation, or they have a different meaning when in isolation:

- (1695) iş 'work'
 güç 'energy; power; force; strength'
 iş güç 'occupation; one's work or trade'
- (1696) çoluk '?'
 çocuk 'child'
 çoluk çocuk 'household, family, wife and children'

A more productive pattern is one where the second member, i.e. the head of the compound, carries a compound marker (which has the same shape as the possessive marker for the third person singular):

- (1697) okul 'school'
 kitap 'book'
 okul kitab-ı 'textbook'

Either one or both of the nouns in nominal compounds can be derived:

- (1698) oku -ma kitab -ı
 read -ANom book -CmpM
 "reading book"
- (1699) oku -ma iste -ğ i
 read -ANom want -DerNom -CmpM
 "the urge to read" ("the reading urge")

Some of the compounds bearing the compound marker are frozen and have become a single word; e.g.

- (1700) ayak 'foot'
 kap 'container'
 ayakkabı 'shoe'

Such a frozen compound bears the plural marker at its very end, after the compound marker; in other words, the plural suffix is positioned the same way as in any simple word:

- (1701) ayakkabı -lar
 shoe -pl.
 "shoes"

In a genuine compound with the compound marker, however, the plural suffix precedes that marker:

- (1702) okul kitap -lar -i
 school book -pl. -CmpM
 "school books"

The components of such compounds can themselves be compounds, and they can consist of simple nouns as well as of derived nouns; they may be marked with the compound marker, but there also are instances of patterns without that marker:

- (1703) [marş söyle -me] geleneğ -i
 march say -ANom tradition -CmpM
 "the tradition of singing marches" ("the march-singing tradition")
- (1704) [şehir hat -lar -i] idare -si
 city line -pl. -CmpM administration -CmpM
 "the public transportation administration"
- (1705) [öğretmen öğrenci] oran -i
 teacher student ratio -CmpM
 "the teacher-student ratio"

Some of these nominal compounds are used as predicate adjectives:

- (1706) **göz kulak** ol!
 eye ear be
 "Keep a protective eye (on)!"

Some are used as modifying as well as predicative adjectives:

- (1707) **alt üst** bir oda
 under above a room
 "a chaotic, disorderly room"

2. 2. 6. 3. 1. 2. Verb–Noun compounds

For genuine tensed, finite verbs (as opposed to participial adjectives), this pattern is not productive; some rare examples can be found, however:

- (1708) unut -ma ben -i
 forget -Neg. I -Acc.
 "forget-me-not"

2. 2. 6. 3. 1. 3. Adjective-Noun compounds

This is a very productive pattern; some of these compounds seem to have merged more strongly than others and are written as one word, but many are written in form of different words:

(1709)	büyük	-baba	koca	-karı	kara	-ağaç
	big	-father	old	-woman	black	-tree
	"grandfather"		"hag"		"elm"	

(1710)	düz	taban
	smooth	sole
	"flat footed"	

Adjectives in such compounds can be derived; the resulting compound may be used adverbially:

(1711)	gid	-er	ayak
	go	-Aor.	foot
	"at the last moment; just before leaving"		

(Note that the aorist is used here as a present participle marker rather than a tensed finite verb.)

2. 2. 6. 3. 1. 4. Adverb-Noun compounds

Such compounds are very rare. Examples appear to be limited to derived adverbs with the gerundive suffix **-(y)A**, mostly with the verb **çal** 'hit, strike':

(1712)	çal	-a	-kalem
	hit	-MAdv.	-pen
	"(to) write busily"		

Despite the fact that compounds are usually right-headed, these compounds are not nouns, but adverbs.

2. 2. 6. 3. 1. 5. Numeral-Noun compounds

Some compounds exist with the first part of the compound a numeral:

(1713)	kırk	-ayak
	forty	-foot
	"centipede"	

2. 2. 6. 3. 2. Verbal compounds

2. 2. 6. 3. 2. 1. Noun-Verb compounds

Some researchers, e.g. Swift (1963), analyze sequences of incorporated noun and verb (cf. 2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1.) as compounds:

- (1714) Hasan gazete oku -yor
 Hasan newspaper read -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is reading (a) newspaper(s)"

This construction can be found with a large variety of nouns and verbs.

A special type of incorporation (with a resulting Noun-Verb compound) can be said to obtain with a number of "light verbs" like **et**, **eyle**, **yap**, all meaning 'do', and **ol** 'be, become':

- (1715) banyo yap alay et
 bath do mockery do
 "(to) take a bath" "(to) make fun of, to ridicule"

Yet another special type of incorporated nouns forming compounds with verbs are cognate objects of verbs:

- (1716) yazı yaz -mak yemek ye -mek
 writing write -Inf. food eat -Inf.
 "(to) write" "(to) eat (food)"

There are instances of incorporated nouns which are more appropriately viewed as compounds, and where a particular noun occurs with a particular verb and a particular tense:

- (1717) kül bas -tı
 ash press -Past
 "(a particular type of) grilled meat"

Note that the resulting compound is a noun.

2. 2. 6. 3. 2. 2. Verb-Verb compounds

There are essentially two types of such compounds: Those where both parts of the compound are finite but are limited in the possibilities of tenses, and those where the first part of the compound is a gerundive, while the second part is free to receive any tense / aspect morpheme.

First type:

- (1718) kap -tı kaç -tı
 snatch -Past flee -Past
 "small, privately owned bus (pirate bus)"

Note that this type actually yields a compound which is a noun.

There are verbal sequences with certain aspectual "light" verbs that yield verbal compounds, but which are restricted to occurring with the same tense/aspect suffixes on both parts of the compound:

- (1719) söyle -n -ir dur -ur
 tell -Refl. -Aor. stay -Aor.
 "She keeps on grumbling"

- (1720) söyle -n -di dur -du
 tell -Refl. -Past stay -Past
 "She kept on grumbling"

Second type:

- (1721) oku -ya -dur -acak
 read -MAdv./Ger. -stay -Fut.
 "She will keep on reading"

- (1722) dikiş makine -si hâlâ
 sewing machine -CmpM still
 kullan -ıl -a -gel -mek -te -dir
 use -Pass. -MAdv./Ger. -come -Inf. -Loc. -Ep.Cop.
 "The sewing machine is still being used constantly"

In this type, while the first verb in the compound is a gerundive, i.e. impoverished with respect to markers of finiteness, the second verb can take on a wide variety of such markers.

2. 2. 6. 3. 2. 3. Adjective-Verb compounds

The light verbs that take incorporated nouns can also take adjectives as complements, thus forming adjective-verb compounds:

- (1723) pişman ol -du
 regretful become -Past
 "She felt remorseful"

2. 2. 6. 3. 2. 4. Adverb-Verb compounds

These are rarely found. The most clear-cut instances are examples of morphologically simple adverbs that cannot be moved away from the pre-verbal position:

- (1724) Hasan ev -in -e **çabuk** git -ti
 Hasan house -3.sg. -Dat. **fast** go -Past
 "Hasan went home fast"

2. 2. 6. 3. 3. Adjectival compounds

2. 2. 6. 3. 3. 1. Noun-Adjective compounds

Such compounds can consist of a simple juxtaposition of noun and adjective:

- (1725) süt -beyaz
 milk -white
 "milk white"

These compounds can also have a third person singular possessive suffix on the first part of the compound:

- (1726) din -i bütün el -i açık
 religion -3.sg. whole hand -3.sg. open
 "devout" "generous"

There exist adjectival compounds whose adjectival head is denominal:

- (1727) cin fikir -li
 genie thought -with
 "clever, crafty"

- (1728) eş cins -el
 same sex -DerAdj
 "homosexual"

Other adjectival compounds have derived adjectival heads which are deverbal:

- (1729) yurt sev -er
 homeland love -Aor.
 "patriotic"

(The aorist is used here as a present participle suffix.)

- (1730) oyun boz **-an**
 game spoil **-SbjP**
 "spoilsport" (used both adjectivally and as a noun)

Some of these adjectival compounds have become nouns, which is not surprising, given the fact that most simple adjectives can be used as nouns, as well:

- (1731) bilgi **-say** **-ar**
 information **-count** **-Aor.**
 "computer" ("information counter")

Note that here, too, the aorist is used as a present participle suffix.

Some adjectival compounds have nominal complements that bear case morphology:

- (1732) ana **-dan** doğ **-ma** kafa **-dan** kontak
 mother **-Abl.** born **-ANom** head **-Abl.** short circuited
 "stark naked" "nutty"

2. 2. 6. 3. 3. 2. Verb-Adjective compounds

- (1733) vur **-du** **-m** duy **-ma** **-z**
 hit **-Past** **-1.sg.** feel **-Neg.** **-Neg.Aor.**
 "thick skinned" ("I hit (her) (and) she doesn't feel (it)")

Note that, once again, the (negative) aorist is used here as a present participle marker.

2. 2. 6. 3. 3. 3. Adjective-Adjective compounds

- (1734) alçak gönül **-lü** aç göz **-lü**
 low soul **-with** hungry eye **-with**
 "humble" ("low-soul-ed") "greedy, covetous" ("hungry eye-d")

Both adjectives can be derived in the same way:

- (1735) kan **-lı** can **-lı**
 blood **-with** life **-with**
 "vigorous, robust"

Some of these compounds are now being used as regular nouns:

- (1736) **deli** **-kan** **-lı**
crazy **-blood** **-with**
 "young man" ("crazy blood-ed")

2. 2. 6. 3. 4. Adverbial compounds

Adverbial compounds are not as productive as the other types. As illustrated in 2. 2. 4. 4., reduplications of adverbs (whether simple or derived) are used adverbially and can be viewed as adverbial compounds. Furthermore, doublets consisting of antonyms can be regarded as adverbial compounds; such doublets can consist of a variety of categories, but they are often used adverbially:

(1737) **gece gündüz çalış -iyor -um**
night day work -Pr.Prog. -1.sg.
 "I am working night and day"

(1738) **kar -da düş -e kalk -a ev -e**
snow -Loc. fall -MAdv. rise -MAdv. house -Dat.
git -ti -m
go -Past -1.sg.
 "Stumbling (falling and getting up) in the snow, I went home"

(1739) Hasan **sağ -a sol -a selâm ver -erek**
 Hasan **right -Dat. left -Dat. greeting give -MAdv.**
ilerli -yor
advance -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is advancing, greeting to (his) right and to (his) left"

Some compounds which were illustrated as adjectival formations can also be used adverbially—again, this is not surprising, since many simple adjectives can be used adverbially, too. One example of this type follow:

(1740) **oda -yı alt üst et -ti -m**
room -Acc. under above do -Past -1.sg.
 "I turned the room upside down"

2. 2. 6. 3. 5. Compounds involving onomatopoeic words

Such compounds consist of an onomatopoeic word as the first member of the compound and of a finite verb as the second member. The resulting compound is used as an adjective (and, in the manner of most adjectives, can also be used as a noun):

(1741) **çıt kır -ıl -dı -m**
crack break -M. -Past -1.sg.
 "fragile, effeminate" ("Crack! I broke")

- (1742) **şıp** sev -di
plop love -Past
"(person who) falls in love very quickly"
("Plop! She has fallen in love (with s.o.)")

2. 2. 6. 3. 6. Compounds involving doublets with m

Turkish has a large class of doublets in which a word of any category is followed by an echo of itself, but with an **m** replacing its initial consonant, or if there is no such consonant, with an **m** preceding the initial vowel; the meaning of that second element is 'and so on; suchlike':

- (1743) ben film **milim** seyret -me -di -m
I film etc. watch -Neg. -Past -1.sg.
"I didn't watch any movies or anything of the sort"

- (1744) telefon **melefon** çal -mı -yor
telephone etc. ring -Neg. -Pr.Prog.
"There are no telephones or suchlike ringing"

3. Phonology

3. 1. PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTAL)

3. 1. 1. *The distinctive segments of the language*

The next subsection offers a list of the distinctive segments of Turkish. Significant allophonic alternations are mentioned where they occur, and the phonetic realizations of distinctive segments and of their allophones are discussed. The IPA phonetic symbols are used in brackets, offering a broad transcription, and the equivalents of the segments in standard Turkish orthography are stated.

The airstream mechanism is pulmonic egressive.

3. 1. 2. *List of the distinctive segments, including significant allophony and phonetic realization*

3. 1. 2. 1. Nonsyllabics

In the list that follows, wherever consonants exist in pairs with members that are distinguished from each other only by voicing, the voiceless member of the pair is listed first. The voiced consonants are fully voiced; we have here ordinary voicing. Voiceless plosives in syllable-initial position are aspirated, but aspiration is clearly perceptible only when the syllable is stressed; otherwise, it is weak. This gives the impression that aspiration of voiceless plosives in Turkish is weak in general compared with English; however, this impression is due to the fact that Turkish words rarely have word-initial stress, while English words often do; therefore, in word-initial position, voiceless plosives in Turkish are indeed more weakly aspirated than their English counterparts, unless there is exceptional word-initial stress.

The transcriptions of the examples is a broad transcription. Details concerning the concrete phonetic correlates of the segments are discussed in the individual sections, and the segments under discussion are more narrowly transcribed in any given example, while the remainder of the example is transcribed broadly, especially if they contain sounds that have not been discussed yet.

Turkish orthography uses symbols that correspond to most of the phonetic symbols of the IPA. The differences are highlighted for each discrepancy.

3. 1. 2. 1. 1. Plosives and affricates

Plosives:

The orthographic symbols for all the plosives are the same as the phonetic IPA symbols.

Bilabials: [p] and [b]

kapa! 'close!' [k a p a] baba 'father' [b a b a]

Dental-Alveolars: [t] and [d]

In Turkish, these plosives have a more dental character than their English counterparts, which have a stronger alveolar character.

tatlı 'sweet' [t a t l ı] dede 'grandfather' [d e d e]

Velars: [k] and [g]

These plosives are true velars when they occur with a tautosyllabic back vowel:

kale 'fortress' [k a l e] gaga 'beak' [g a g a]

When these plosives occur with a tautosyllabic front vowel, however, they are palatalized:

kese 'pouch' [k̟ e s e] gezegen 'planet' [g̟ e z e g̟ e n]

In borrowings, these palatalized plosives can also occur with back vowels:

kâr 'profit' [k̟ j a r̟] gâvur 'infidel' [g̟ j a v u r̟]

As shown in the transcription, a palatal glide is inserted between such palatalized plosives and the following back vowel.

Due to these borrowings, palatalization of velar plosives is not fully predictable in Turkish. However, there are no distinct orthographic symbols for palatalized velar symbols. Instead, in standard orthography, until recently, a circumflex used to be placed on the vowel following such a plosive. This practice has been followed in this book. In some

recent publications, the circumflex is not used any longer. A recent edition of the official Turkish Dictionary, published by the Society in 1988, still shows the circumflex on back vowels where they follow palatalized velar plosives.

Affricates:

Palato-alveolar: [tʃ] and [dʒ]

çiçek 'flower' [tʃi tʃe k] cici 'nice, pretty' [dʒi dʒi]

As we see in the examples above, there are special orthographic symbols corresponding to the affricates. [tʃ] is written as ç, and its voiced counterpart [dʒ] is written as c.

3.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

Labio-dental: [f] and [v]

fes 'fez' [f e s] vahşet 'brutality' [v a h ſ e t]

The voiced labio-dental fricative [v] becomes the glide [w], itself not a distinctive segment in the language, when it is in intervocalic position:

kavuk 'turban' [k a w u k]

This allomorphy is found only in colloquial styles; it is not reflected in the orthography.

Dental, Alveolar: [s] and [z]

ses 'voice, tone' [s e s] zil 'bell' [z i l]

Palato-Alveolar: [ʃ] and [ʒ]

şişe 'bottle' [ʃ i ſ e] jet 'jet' [ʒ e t]

The segment [ʒ] has entered Turkish with borrowings, mainly from Persian, and its use was later extended via borrowings from European languages, mainly from French. Its orthographic reflex is j, as in French. Its voiceless counterpart [ʃ] is written as ş.

3. 1. 2. 1. 3. Nasals

Bilabial: [m]

melek 'angel' [m e l e k]

Dental, alveolar: [n]

As is the case with the corresponding plosives, this nasal is articulated in a more dental than alveolar fashion.

ne 'what' [n e]

Turkish also has a velar nasal; however, it occurs only as a result of assimilation to velar plosives; it is not distinctive, and the orthographic system has no symbol for it:

sanki 'as though' [s a ŋ k i]

3. 1. 2. 1. 4. Liquids**Lateral:**

Alveolar: [l]

hala 'father's sister' [h a l a]

The lateral is velarized when it occurs with a tautosyllabic back vowel, as is the case in the last example. Similarly to the velar plosives, the lateral is palatalized when it occurs with a tautosyllabic front vowel:

bile 'even' [b i ʎ e]

As is the case with the velar plosives, in borrowed words the palatal lateral can occur with tautosyllabic back vowels. Because the distinction between the two types of lateral is not expressed by the orthography, the back vowel that is adjacent to the palatal lateral is written with a circumflex:

lâle 'tulip' [ʎ a ʎ e]
mâlum 'known' [m a : ʎ u m]

It should be noted that the distribution of the lateral, while similar to that of the velars, is somewhat more complex: in the (standard) Istanbul pronunciation, the lateral is (predictably) palatal in word initial position:

lodos 'south wind' [ʎ o d o s]

The lateral is also predictably palatal not only when a tautosyllabic vowel is front, but also when either the first preceding or the first following vowel is front, even when that vowel is not tautosyllabic:

selâm 'greeting' [s e̞ | a m]

Tap: Alveolar: [ɾ]

The standard Turkish **ɾ** is a tap, produced by the tip of the tongue thrown against the alveolar ridge:

kare 'square' [k a ɾ e]

In the Istanbul pronunciation (which is used standardly elsewhere in Turkey, as well), both liquids are devoiced word-finally (when the segment is not re-syllabified with the initial vowel of the following word—a phenomenon that happens widely in colloquial style). Devoicing of the tap is more widely spread. Some speakers that do devoice the lateral, as well, devoice only the palatal variant. It also appears that devoicing of liquids is found more with female speakers than with male speakers.

kâr 'profit' [k̟̞ j a ɾ̥]
kel 'bald' [k̟̞ e̞ |]

3.1.2.1.5. Glides

Palatal: [j]

The palatal glide is found both with front and with back vowels. It does not interfere with Vowel Harmony, as we shall see later, and is thus treated as a full consonant in this respect by the phonological system. In colloquial styles, it is pronounced "lightly" in syllable final position, when it follows a front vowel and triggers compensatory lengthening of that vowel:

teyze 'mother's sister' [t e̞ : j z e]

The orthographic symbol for [j] is **y**.

3.1.2.1.6. Others

Central approximant:

Glottal: [h]

hala 'father's sister' [h a l a]

In syllable final position, when following a high tautosyllabic vowel, this segment is pronounced more "heavily" than elsewhere:

ihlamur 'linden tree' [u h l a m u r̥]

The "soft g": ğ in the orthography

In addition to all of the segments described, there is a phonemic consonantal segment which remains unpronounced in the standard language. Because it does have certain phonological effects, to be discussed later, it must be recognized in the phonemic inventory of the phonemic consonantal segments. In some dialects, this segment is pronounced as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. Let us mention its main phonetic effect: when it is in syllable final position and cannot be resyllabified with a following vowel, it triggers compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:¹⁰⁴

çağdaş 'contemporary' [tʃ aː d a ʃ]

This (semi-abstract) segment is never found in word initial position.

The glottal stop has practically disappeared from the pronunciation of most younger speakers. This is a segment which entered the language with Arabic borrowings and is orthographically expressed by an apostrophe:

kur'a 'drawing of lots'
learned, careful pronunciation: [k u r̥ʔ a]
recent and/or colloquial pronunciation: [k u r a]

Due to the fact that the glottal stop has practically disappeared in pronunciation, one finds very few instances of its orthographic reflex, i.e. the apostrophe. However, the 1988 edition of the official Turkish dictionary still includes entries showing the apostrophe.

It should be pointed out that when the glottal stop is intervocalic, even older texts omit the apostrophe between the vowels, although some

older speakers have preserved it in their pronunciation in this phonetic context:

müdafaâ 'defense' conservative pronunciation: [m y d a: f a ? a]
 innovative pronunciation: [m y d a: f a a]

It is interesting to note that the official dictionary has, as expected, no apostrophe for this word; it is somewhat surprising, however, that it also omits the glottal stop in its transcription for the pronunciation, given the fact that most of the dictionary's transcriptions are somewhat conservative. The transcription given does, however, reflect the current state of affairs for most speakers.

3.1.2.2. Syllabics

The standard pronunciation of Turkish has no syllabic consonants. All syllabic segments are vowels.

3.1.2.2.1. Vowels

Native Turkish vowels are short phonemically. They can be lengthened due to processes of compensatory lengthening, as mentioned above in 3.1.2.1.

Borrowed words can have vowels with phonemic length, however. Vowel length is not shown in the orthography in general, with the exception of some instances like the Arabic adjectival suffix *-î*, which is a long vowel and is written with a circumflex:

ilim 'science' ilm-î 'scientific' [i l m i:]

Turkish vowels are oral; nasalization is hardly perceptible, with the exception of very few lexical items where a nasal triggers compensatory nasalization and is omitted in colloquial style:

sonra 'later' careful pronunciation: [s o n r a]
 colloquial pronunciation: [s õ r a]

Turkish has eight phonemically distinctive vowels. These can be characterized by using the features of backness, height, and rounding.

The four high vowels: [i], [y], [ɯ], [u]

The four low (or, more appropriately, non high) vowels:

[e], [ø], [a], [o]

The same list, rearranged according to backness, is as follows:

The four back vowels: [ɯ], [u], [a], [o]

The four front (non-back) vowels: [i], [y], [e], [ø]

The dimension of rounding divides the same list in the following way:

The four round vowels: [u], [o], [y], [ø]

The four non-round vowels: [ɯ], [a], [i], [e]

Making these divisions will help us understand the application of Vowel Harmony (cf. 3. 2. 6. 4.). We see, then, that the vowel inventory of Turkish is very symmetrical.

Arranging the vowels according to the three distinctive features relevant for them also gives us an accurate description of the pronunciation of each one of these vowels. It should be mentioned that, in general, the pronunciation of all of these vowels is somewhat more lax (and, as a result, somewhat lower) than their counterparts in languages like German.

Examples for these vowels follow.

akıl	'intelligence, mind'	[a k ɯ l̥]
okul	'school'	[o k u l̥]
öpücük	'kiss'	[ø p y ɟ y k]
elli	'fifty'	[e l l i]

These stems all conform to the regularities of Vowel Harmony, as we shall see later in 3. 2. 6. 4. While most stems do obey Vowel Harmony, there are many which are exceptional (cf. 3. 2. 6. 4.).

Each one of these vowels has a distinct orthographic symbol. Three of these symbols are different from the IPA phonetic symbols: [ɯ] corresponds to ı, a dotless i; [y] corresponds to ü, and [ø] corresponds to ö. Note that in order to draw the necessary distinction between the dotted and the dotless i when capitalized, the high front unrounded vowel is expressed with a dotted capital İ.

3. 1. 2. 3. Segments that occur only in recognizable loanwords

The voiced palato-alveolar fricative j [ʒ] occurs only in recognizable loanwords (borrowed mostly from Persian and French), and the glottal stop (insofar as it does occur at all—see above in 3. 1. 2. 1. 6.) also occurs in borrowings only. The same is true of long vowels that are not the result of compensatory lengthening (see previous section). Furthermore, loanwords are immediately discernible to the native speaker as such if they contain palatal variants of the velar plosives and/or a palatal lateral together with back vowels (cf. 3. 1. 2. 1. 4.). There are other combinations of segments that make loanwords recognizable to the native speaker. These will be discussed in section 3. 2.

3. 1. 2. 4. Restrictions on the occurrence of certain segments in any word classes

There are no restrictions on the occurrence of specific segments in any word classes.

3. 2. PHONOTACTICS

3. 2. 1. *Permissible segments and segment combinations*

3. 2. 1. 1. Word final consonants

Turkish admits word final consonants.

3. 2. 1. 1. 1. Restrictions on word final consonants

Turkish has a phonological rule that devoices syllable final plosives and affricates. Therefore, no word final plosives or affricates are found in Turkish, with very few exceptions. This generalization holds for the written language and for very careful pronunciation. In faster speech, i.e. in colloquial style, it is permitted to resyllabify a word final consonant with the word initial vowel of the following word, if such a vowel exists. Under such circumstances, a voiced word final plosive or affricate can surface successfully:

şarap
'wine'

[ʃa r a p]

şarab-ı
'wine-Acc.'

[ʃa r a b u]

şarap al -dı -m	careful speech:	[ʃa r a p a l d u m]
'wine buy-Past-1.sg.'	colloquial speech:	[ʃa r a b a l d u m]
"I bought wine"		

3. 2. 1. 2. Word initial consonants

Turkish does admit word initial consonants.

3. 2. 1. 2. 1. Restrictions on word initial consonants

Words of the native vocabulary don't, in general, begin with the following segments: [ɟ], [f], [z], [l], [m], [n], [r] or [z]. Exceptions are onomatopoeic words or words taken from children's language (e.g. **cici** 'cute' [ɟiɟi]) as well as the interrogative clitic **mI** (cf. the morphology chapter) and the particle **ne** 'what'. Note that **mI** is a problematic exception only for the traditional approach, which, due to orthographic conventions that write the interrogative clitic separately from the stem, view the clitic as an independent word.

3. 2. 2. Consonant clusters

3. 2. 2. 1. Existence of permissible consonant clusters

Turkish permits consonant clusters, but these are limited as to their composition and to their position. No consonant clusters consisting of more than two consonants are permitted to occur within one syllable.

3. 2. 2. 1. 1. Word initial consonant clusters

Such clusters are not permitted in general and are broken up via vowel epenthesis. Some initial clusters are found in the pronunciation of educated, Westernized speakers, however.

3. 2. 2. 1. 2. Word final consonant clusters

Some word final consonant clusters are permitted; for such possibilities, see 3. 2. 2. 2. 2.

3. 2. 2. 1. 3. Word medial consonant clusters

Word medial consonant clusters are permitted if they are not tautosyllabic, i.e. when each member of the cluster belongs to a different syllable. Where a tautosyllabic consonant cluster arises word medially

(e.g. due to a sequence of more than two consecutive consonants), the same restrictions apply to syllable-initial and syllable final clusters as apply to word initial and word final clusters, respectively.

3.2.2.2. Possible consonant clusters

3.2.2.2.1. Possible word initial consonant clusters

Word initial consonant clusters are not permitted in general and are broken up in general by an epenthetic (high) vowel, which usually (but not always) undergoes Vowel Harmony with the stem. In some older borrowings, the word initial cluster is broken up by a high vowel that is added to the beginning of the word. It should be noted, however, that speakers in the big, westernized cities do mostly pronounce certain borrowings with their original word initial clusters:

klüp 'club'	regular pronunciation:	[k̟ u̟ ɫ y p]
	"sophisticated" pronunciation:	[k̟ ɫ y p]
kral 'king'	regular pronunciation:	[k̟ ɯ r a ɫ]
	"sophisticated" pronunciation:	[k̟ r a ɫ]

One exception to this generalization appears to be the cluster **sp**; although it, too, is broken up by a high epenthetic vowel in the pronunciation of many speakers, it is often heard without epenthesis, as well:

spiker 'radio announcer' [s p i k e ɾ], but also [s i p i k e ɾ]

Loanwords with this cluster, as well as loanwords with a number of other clusters are mostly written without expressing the epenthesis that takes place in the pronunciation of most speakers; this is shown by the citation forms of all the examples in this subsection.

3.2.2.2.2. Possible word final consonant clusters

The following types of consonant clusters are permitted in word final position:

1.	Sonorant + obstruent:	kürk 'fur'	[k̟ y r k]
		kazanç 'gain'	[k̟ a z a n tʃ]
2.	Voiceless fricative + oral plosive:	çift 'couple'	[tʃ i f t]
		aşk 'love'	[a ʃ k]

3.	k + s:	boks	'boxing'	[b o k s]
		raks	'dance'	[r a k s]

Other types of word (or syllable) final consonant clusters are not permitted. Geminate consonants are among such ill-formed final consonant clusters.

3. 2. 2. 3. Possible word medial consonant clusters

As stated above, any consonant cluster is permitted word medially, if the cluster is not tautosyllabic. For tautosyllabic clusters, the same restrictions and possibilities exist in syllable-initial and syllable final positions as those found in word-initial and word final positions, respectively.

3. 2. 3. *Vowels in the word periphery*

Turkish allows vowels in the word periphery.

3. 2. 3. 1. Word final vowels

Word final vowels are permitted.

3. 2. 3. 1. 1. Restrictions on word final vowels

All vowels are found in word final position. However, the two rounded non-high vowels are restricted to borrowed stems, given that the phonological system allows for non-high vowels to be round in first syllables only. It is interesting to note that there are a fairly large number of borrowed words ending in **o**, but only a handful ending in **ö**:

tiyat o	'theater'	koro	'choir'
mösy ö	'mister'	banliy ö	'suburb'

3. 2. 3. 2. Word initial vowels

Word initial vowels are permitted.

3. 2. 3. 2. 1. Restrictions on word initial vowels

There are no restrictions on word initial vowels; each one of the eight distinctive vowels is found in word initial position.

3. 2. 3. 3. Sequences of (syllabic) vowels

Sequences of syllabic vowels are rare, but they exist.

3. 2. 3. 3. 1. Restrictions on sequences of (syllabic) vowels

The basic syllable structure of the language conspires against sequences of vowels. However, vowel clusters do exist and have different sources. A number of borrowed words have vowel clusters which "survive" in both writing and pronunciation:

dua 'prayer' **boa** 'boa' **saat** 'hour'

Some Turkic words which originally had an intervocalic voiced velar fricative now exhibit vowel sequences in (careful) pronunciation, due to the fact that the voiced velar fricative is not pronounced in Modern Standard Turkish (cf. 3. 1. 2. 1. 6.):

ağır 'heavy' [a uɣ] **yoğurt** [j o u r t]

Furthermore, intervocalic **v** tends to get deleted (optionally), giving rise to vowel sequences:

davul 'drum' [d a u l]

Such sequences tend to consist of back vowels, given the tendency of speakers to insert the palatal glide [j] between consecutive front vowels. However, it should be noted that sequences of front vowels do exist:

mühendis 'engineer' in fast, colloquial speech: [m y e n d i s]

(this form is due to a process of optional **h**-deletion in colloquial styles)¹⁰⁵

iyi 'good' in fast, colloquial speech: [i i]

(this form is due to a process of optional **y**-deletion in colloquial styles).

3. 2. 4. *Correspondences between the structure of lexical morphemes and possibilities for word structure*

The phonological structure of lexical morphemes corresponds to the possibilities for word structure.

3. 2. 5. *Syllable structure*

3. 2. 5. 1. **Assignment of medial units or clusters to syllables; dependence of syllabification on morphological structure**

Syllabification does not depend on morphological structure and applies freely across morpheme boundaries, whenever it is required due to phonological constraints. As a matter of fact, (re)syllabification can even apply across word boundaries in colloquial styles.

The assignment of medial units or clusters to syllables is done according to a principle called "Onset First Principle" in Clements and Keyser (1983).

The Onset First Principle:

- a. Syllable-initial consonants are maximized to the extent consistent with the syllable structure conditions of the language in question.
- b. Subsequently, syllable-final consonants are maximized to the extent consistent with the syllable structure conditions of the language in question. (Clements and Keyser 1983: 37)

For Turkish, this means that for any medial consonant cluster, the last consonant is syllabified with the following vowel; this is the result of part **a.** of the Principle. Not more than one consonant can be syllabified in this way, given the fact that no syllable-initial clusters are allowed productively (cf. 3. 2. 2. 2. 1.).

The consonant(s) that are not the last one(s) in a medial consonant cluster are syllabified with the preceding vowel, according to part **b.** of the Principle. If there is more than one such consonant, both consonants are syllabified with the preceding consonant, if the cluster thus formed conforms to the well-formed syllable-final clusters (cf. 3. 2. 2. 2. 2.). If the cluster thus formed is not permitted, vowel epenthesis must apply.

Some examples of (re)syllabification follow; syllable boundaries are represented by the dollar sign; clauses **a.** versus **b.** of the Principle are given as relevant:

saz	'musical instrument'		
saz+a	'musical instrument+Dat.'	[s a \$ z a]	(by a.)
fark	'difference'		
fark+a	'difference+Dat.'	[f a r \$ k a]	(by a.)
fark+ta	'difference+Loc.'	[f a r k \$ t a]	(by b.)

(Note that the cluster consisting of **rk** is a permitted cluster; cf. 3. 2. 2. 2. 2.)

/burn/	'nose'		
burn+a	'nose+Dat.'	[b u r \$ n a]	(by a. and b.)
burun+da	'nose+Loc.'	[b u \$ r u n \$ d a]	(by a. and b.)

3. 2. 5. 2. The canonical syllable type

The canonical syllable type is CV. However, syllables of the form CVC, V, and VC are numerous, as well.

In addition, there are syllables of the form (C)VCC, if the syllable final cluster is a well-formed one, as we saw in the previous subsection.

3. 2. 6. *Phonotactic restrictions between adjacent or nonadjacent units or clusters*

3. 2. 6. 1–2. Restrictions between word / syllable initial units or clusters and the following vowels, and between word / syllable final units or clusters and the preceding vowels

As mentioned above (3. 2. 2. 2. 1.), word or syllable initial clusters are not allowed in general; this restriction is independent of the type of vowel that follows.

Syllabification of word or syllable final consonant clusters depends on the nature of the consonants themselves and not on the nature of the vowels.

As for single consonants both in word or syllable initial and final positions, we saw in section 3. 1. 2. 1. that velar plosives and the lateral are palatalized when they occur with a tautosyllabic front vowel. In addition, the lateral is palatalized when there is a preceding front vowel, even if it is not a tautosyllabic one.

3. 2. 6. 3. Restrictions between syllable initial units or clusters and syllable final units or clusters, or next-syllable initial units or clusters

There are no real restrictions of this type. The only kind of relevant restriction in this context is the one mentioned repeatedly, namely the fact that no syllable initial consonant clusters are allowed. This affects syllable final clusters, as well—but the cluster of a preceding syllable: if a "next-syllable" has an initial consonant, no member of the syllable final cluster of the preceding syllable can be (re)syllabified with that "next-syllable". As a consequence, either the original syllable final cluster remains on the "preceding" syllable, if it is a well-formed cluster, or it is broken up via an epenthetic vowel; see 3. 2. 5. 1. If such a cluster consist of a geminate consonant that cannot be resyllabified, the geminate cluster is simplified, i.e. one of the identical consonants is deleted in such a context:

/hiss/ 'feeling'	/hiss+i/ 'feeling+Acc.'	[h i s \$ s i]
	/hiss+te/ 'feeling+Loc.'	[h i s \$ t e]

Furthermore, a syllable final oral stop or affricate is devoiced, unless it can get resyllabified. Given that resyllabification is not possible when the "next syllable" begins with a consonant, such a plosive would surface as voiced if the "next syllable" begins with a vowel, but it would surface as unvoiced if that syllable begins with a consonant:

/kitab/ 'book'	/kita b +a/ 'book+Dat.'	[k i t a \$ b a]
	/kita b + da / 'book+Loc.'	[k i t a p \$ t a]

Yet another dependency is illustrated by the last example: a syllable (or, rather, morpheme) initial obstruent assimilates to the preceding segment in the word with respect to voicing. If that segment is an oral stop or affricate, it will have to be voiceless; therefore, the underlyingly voiced segment at the beginning of the "next syllable" will have to be devoiced, as well; this is what we see with the initial dental plosive of the locative morpheme.

3. 2. 6. 4. Restrictions between the vowels of successive syllables: Vowel Harmony

Perhaps the most striking property of Turkish phonology is the fact that the distribution of vowels within a word is governed by Vowel Harmony. In other words, vowels share the specification for backness and, if they are high, they also share the specification for rounding:

göl	'lake'	göl+ü	'lake+Acc.'	[g ø l y]
bülbül	'nightingale'	bülbül+ü	'nightingale+Acc.'	[b y l b y l y]

Vowel Harmony applies within morphemes as well as across morpheme boundaries, as the preceding examples illustrate. However, many borrowed stems violate Vowel Harmony; e.g.

dekor	'stage design'
buket	'bouquet'
otobüs	'bus' ¹⁰⁶

Stems which are exceptional with respect to Vowel Harmony trigger regular Vowel Harmony, in the following manner: the exceptional vowel (or, if there is more than one, the last exceptional vowel) determines the kind of Vowel Harmony the following vowels will undergo:

dekor+u	'stage design+Acc.'
buket+i	'bouquet+Acc.'
otobüs+ü	'bus+Acc.'

It should be noted that there exist instances where a consonant rather than a vowel can determine Vowel Harmony (with respect to backness-frontness). This happens when a palatal consonant unpredictably follows a back vowel in the same syllable and where that consonant is in stem final position (or is a member of a stem final consonant cluster). In such instances, the vowels of the suffixes that follow will exhibit front (rather than the expected back) harmony. In other words, the trigger of Vowel Harmony will be the exceptional consonant rather than the regular vowel; e.g.:

vals	'waltz'
vals+i	'waltz+Acc.' [v a] s i]

There are some exceptions to Vowel Harmony with respect to suffixes, as well. Some aspect suffixes, historically consisting of a gerundive suffix and of an independent verb, are now exceptional in having a regular first vowel (the original gerundive suffix) and an irregular second vowel (belonging to the original independent verb). Such suffixes have been discussed in the morphology chapter—more specifically, in the sections on aspect (2. 1. 3. 3.) and mood (2. 1. 3. 4.). One representative example is the progressive suffix **-(I)yor**. The vowel **o** (also exceptional with respect to the generalization that nonhigh vowels can be round only if they are

in a first syllable) never alternates, and it imposes its own features onto the vowels that might follow in the word:

gel+di	'come+Past'	[g e l d i]
gel+iyor+du	'come+Prog.+Past'	[g e l i j o r d u]

Note that the vowel of the past tense morpheme is both front and unrounded in the simple past tense form, harmonizing with the front and unround features of the stem vowel; in the complex past progressive form, that vowel is back and round, however, due to those features of the exceptional **o** of the progressive morpheme.

3. 2. 6. 5. Consonant harmony

Consonant harmony exists, in the sense that some consonants (more specifically, the oral velar stops and the lateral) are palatalized in the environment of front vowels (for more detailed descriptions of this generalizations and some exceptions, see 3. 1. 2. 1. 1. and 3. 1. 2. 1. 4.). If a word has more than one of these consonants, those would be either all palatalized, or all unpalatalized (if they are not exceptional).

3. 2. 6. 6. Other restrictions between adjacent or nonadjacent units or clusters

In addition to all the restrictions discussed in the last four subsections, Turkish has a phenomenon referred to as "Labial Attraction" in the literature. This refers to a peculiarity of many stems that have a vowel sequence of **a ... u** and an intervening labial consonant (the latter can also be part of a consonant cluster). According to Vowel Harmony, this is unexpected, because the second vowel is high and should therefore harmonize not only in backness, but also in rounding with the first vowel. This should produce **ɨ** [ɯ], not **u**. The rounding of this vowel has traditionally been ascribed to the preceding labial consonant:

karpuz	'watermelon'	havlu	'towel'
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The status of this observation in terms of a productive assimilation process in Modern Standard Turkish has been challenged more recently (cf. Clements and Sezer (1982)). The contemporary language has many examples where the sequence **a ... ɨ** shows up in spite of an intervening labial consonant:

kapı	'door'	[k a p ɯ]	sabır	'patience'	[s a b ɯ ğ]
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Furthermore, many stems exhibit a ... u sequences without intervening labial consonants:

arzu 'desire' fasulya 'bean'

3. 2. 6. 7. Differences between the phonotactic patterns allowed with different word classes

The phonotactic patterns allowed with different word classes are the same in general. There is one interesting feature of the Istanbul dialect which is an exception to this generalization. As noted by Lees (1961), in certain varieties of the Istanbul dialect a short vowel is unrounded immediately before a palatal or palato-alveolar consonant within word boundaries if either (i) morpheme final or (ii) not in the first syllable of the word; such a vowel is also raised if the conditioning consonant is immediately followed by a vowel.

The interest of this observation in this context is that the process is confined to deverbal suffixes; denominal suffixes do not participate in it:

ara-dı	'search+Past'	[a r a d u]
arı-yacak	'search+Fut.'	[a r u j a ɟ a k]
arı-yan	'search+SbjP'	[a r u j a n]
ara	'interval'	[a r a]
ara+ya	'interval+Dat.'	[a r a j a]
ara+yı	'interval+Acc.'	[a r a j u]

3. 3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

3. 3. 1. *Distinctive degrees of length in various segments*

3. 3. 1. 1–2. Distinctive degrees of length in vowels and in other syllablics

As stated earlier (cf. 3. 1. 2. 2. 1.), Turkish has essentially only short vowels. However, as stated in that subsection, some loanwords do have long vowels, and the native phonology itself can give rise to long vowels via processes of compensatory lengthening. As a result of these facts, vowel length can be distinctive, at least auditorily:

dağ	'mountain'	[d a :]	da	'also, too'	[d a]
saat	'hour, watch'	[s a a t] or [s a : t]	sat!	'sell!'	[s a t]

As stated earlier, there are no syllabics other than vowels; therefore, no question arises about the distinctive length of such segments.

3.3.1.3. Distinctive degrees of length in glides

Long (or geminate) glides are extremely rare. There are very few borrowings (from Arabic), now essentially obsolete, which can give rise to distinctive length differences:

beyyine	'proof, evidence'	[bejjine]
beyin+e	'brain+Dat.'	[bejine]

Geminate glides, similarly to all other consonants, are pronounced over a longer period of time as compared to their single counterparts.

3.3.1.4. Distinctive degrees of length in liquids

There are a few stems in Turkish which have reduplicated liquids; e.g.

elli	'fifty'	[elli]
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Such reduplications can also occur at morpheme boundary, where they are more productive (as is the case for all consonants):

el+li	'with (a) hand'	[elli]
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Such forms are distinct auditorily from single, short counterparts:

el+i	'hand+Acc.'	[eli]
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Geminate liquids, similarly to all other consonants, are pronounced over a longer period of time as compared to their single counterparts.

3.3.1.5. Distinctive degrees of length in nasals

Nasals can occur as geminates, as well, in which case they are pronounced over a longer time period than single nasals:

anne	'mother' (Istanbul dialect and standard language)	[anne]
ana	'mother' (Anatolian dialects)	[ana]

3.3.1.6. Distinctive degrees of length in fricatives

Fricatives, too, can occur as geminates and are then pronounced over a longer time period than single fricatives:

kes+se 'cut+Cond.(3.sg.)' [k e s s e]
 kese 'purse, pouch' [k e s e]

3.3.1.7. Distinctive degrees of length in stops and affricates

Oral stops and affricates can occur as geminates, as well. The release that characterizes them occurs later than that in corresponding single stops and affricates:

kat+tı 'add+Past' [k a t t ɯ]
 katı 'hard, rigid' [k a t ɯ]

3.3.2. *Stress in Turkish*

3.3.2.1. The role of stress

Stress is important in Turkish, particularly because it interacts with syntactic phenomena like focus, backgrounding and question formation. Furthermore, due to the existence of cliticized elements in the language (cf. 2.1.8.), stress helps distinguish between those and genuine suffixes, since the two behave differently with respect to stress (again, see 2.1.8.).

3.3.2.2. Phonetic correlates of stress

The phonetic correlates of stress appear to be loudness and high pitch. Vowel length does not appear to be linked to stress—at least not perceptibly so. It is possible in Turkish words to have a long, unstressed vowel and a short, stressed one:

taze 'fresh' [t a : z é]

3.3.2.3. Distinctions between different levels of stress (as opposed to nonstress)

In addition to primary stress, there can be secondary stress. The latter exhibits less loudness, and, although more prominent in pitch than nonstress, is less high in pitch than primary stress.

Secondary stress is found within a phrase or a compound, where the modifier word bears primary phrasal (or compound) stress, and the head exhibits secondary stress. In such instances, both primary stress

and secondary stress are located on those syllables where word level stress would be occur, if those words were found in isolation.

In morphologically complex words with clitic elements or other kinds of exceptional suffixes, word stress precedes such exceptional elements and is primary; if the exceptional elements are followed by regular suffixes, secondary stress may be found in word final position.

More information about stress and the way it is assigned is given in section 3. 5.

3. 3. 2. 4. Constancy of the position of stress

In practically all native stems as well as in many borrowed stems the stress is constant; more specifically, it is always on the last syllable:

oku! 'read' [o k ú]
yatak 'bed' [j a t á k]

For behavior of stem final stress under morphological affixation and compounding, see section 3. 5. and its subsections.

There are a number of stems, however, which are exceptional with respect to stress. A subset of those has stress which is predictable in terms of the phonotactic structure of the stem. This subset consists of almost all place names (at least for one majority dialect) and of many borrowings. Stems that fall under this group are stressed on the antepenultimate syllable, if it is the first non final closed syllable; otherwise, the penultimate syllable is stressed:

Istanbul	[i s t á n b u l]
Ankara	[á ŋ k a r a]
İzmir	[í z m i ř]
lokanta 'restaurant'	[l o k á n t a]
fasulya 'bean'	[f a s ú l j a]

Many adverbs (but not all) are stressed on the first syllable:

şimdi 'now'	[ř í m d i]
ansızın 'suddenly'	[á n s u z u n]
yazın 'in the summer, summers'	[j á z u n]
burada 'here'	[b ú r a d a]

Polysyllabic suffixes (except the adverbial pre-stressing suffixes **-lAyIn** 'time adv.' and **-CAsInA** 'manner adv.') are stressed on the first syllable:

oku+yarak 'by reading' [o k u j á r a k]
 oku+yunca 'having read' [o k u j ú n ɟ a]

Finally, it should be noted that interjections and vocatives are stressed on the first syllable:

haydi! 'come on!' [h á j d i]
 garson 'waiter' [g a r s ó n],

as contrasted with:

garson! 'waiter!' [g á r s o n]

3.3.3. *The role of pitch*

3.3.3.1. *Distinctive use of pitch (forms distinguished purely by pitch)*

Turkish does not make distinctive use of pitch; in other words, there are no forms distinguished purely by pitch. Pitch is linked to stress (see subsections of 3.3.2.) and is not phonemic.

3.3.4. *Sentence intonation*

3.3.4.1. *Major types of intonation patterns*

In a regular statement, the intonation peak is on the preverbal constituent of the sentence. This means that the intonation peak will be located on whichever syllable carries primary word stress for that preverbal constituent:

(1745) Hasán bugün istak**ó**z ye -di
 Hasan today lobster eat -Past
 "Hasan ate (a) lobster(s) today"

A secondary, much lower intonation peak will be located on the subject—more specifically, on whichever syllable bears primary word level stress for the subject. Pitch drops immediately after the intonation peak.

The locations of the intonation have been shown on the example by placing a boldfaced accent sign on the boldfaced vowel which carries the primary intonation peak, and a simple accent sign, without boldface, on the vowel which bears the secondary intonation peak.

If such a statement is changed into a Yes/No question, the question particle **mI** will attach to the predicate (unless a particular constituent is emphasized):

- (1746) Hasán bugün istakóz ye -dí mi?
 Hasan today lobster eat -Past -Q
 "Did Hasan eat (a) lobster(s) today?"

Given that the Yes/No question particle is a clitic, it cannot bear any stress. Here, too, the pitch drops immediately after the intonation peak.

3.3.4.2. Normal intonation

Normal intonation is the pattern found in statements. This has been described and illustrated in 3.3.4.1.

3.3.4.3. Emphatic intonation

One type of emphatic intonation is the same as the pattern found when using contrastive stress. This is discussed in the next section.

Another type is found with exclamations. In that type, the intonation peak is on the last syllable (together with primary word stress), unless the exclamation has an exceptional suffix or a clitic, in which case the primary stress (and the intonation peak) is placed before that suffix or clitic:

- (1747) Eyvah! "Alas! Woe is me!" [e j v á h]
 Yapma! "You don't say!" ("Don't do (it)!") [j á p ma]

The second exclamation consists of two morphemes: **yap** 'do', and the negation suffix **-mA**. The suffix is exceptional with respect to stress and cannot be assigned regular word final stress. Hence, the syllable that precedes it bears word stress; as a consequence, the intonation peak typical for such exclamations, i.e. very high pitch, is placed on the first syllable in this example.

3.3.4.4. Contrastive stress

Turkish does make use of contrastive stress. Contrastively focused constituents typically occupy preverbal position and attract the intonation peak. That peak will be placed on whichever syllable is the bearer of word level stress for that constituent. The facts are thus essentially similar to those seen in a statement; however, the pitch is higher, and thus the drop in pitch right after the peak is more

pronounced. The contrastively focused constituent has been italicized below, and the location of the intonation peak has been boldfaced and accented:

- (1748) Hasán bugün *ıstakóZ* ye -di
 Hasan today lobster eat -Past
 "It was LOBSTER(S) that Hasan ate today"

Yes/No questions can also be formed in conjunction with contrastive stress, by placing the Yes/No question particle on the constituent that needs to be focused:

- (1749) Hasán bugün *ıstakóZ* mu ye -di?
 Hasan today lobster -Q eat -Past
 "Was it LOBSTER(S) that Hasan ate today?"

A comparison of this contrastive Yes/No question with a regular Yes/No question as in (1746) shows both the different placement of the question particle and the different placement of the intonation peak.

Similar facts obtain for WH-questions, in the sense that a WH-element is felt to be focused in some sense. Thus, WH-elements are typically placed in preverbal position, and they carry the main intonational peak of the question.

The question of whether more than one element in a sentence can be contrastively stressed cannot be answered in a completely clear-cut manner. In general, this does not appear to be possible. Utterances which come closest to having more than one element stressed in a sentence are answers to multiple WH-questions:

- (1750) Hasán bugün *ıstakóZ* ye -di, Alı de *bifték*
 Hasan today lobster eat -Past Ali -and steak
 "Hasan ate LOBSTER today and Ali STEAK"

or:

- (1751) Hasán bugün *ıstakóZ*, Alı de *bifték* ye -di
 Hasan today lobster Ali -and steak eat -Past
 "Hasan ate LOBSTER today and Ali STEAK"

Either one of these two utterances can serve as an answer to a question like "Who ate what today?". However, although the two subjects do bear secondary sentence stress (and thus secondary peaks of sentence intonation), they are not contrastive foci, but rather contrastive topics;

they cannot carry a really high intonation peak of the sort characteristic for foci.

The predicate can also be contrastively focused, in which case it receives the primary intonation peak (rather than the preverbal constituent as is usually the case):

- (1752) Hasán bugün istakoz -u ye -*dí*
 Hasan today lobster -Acc. eat -Past
 "Hasan ATE the lobster today
 (...he didn't throw it out as he usually does)"

3. 3. 4. 5. Subtypes of intonation with partially different patterns

As mentioned in the previous subsection, topics can bear a secondary intonation peak, which is perceptibly lower than the typical sentence peak which is typically preverbal.

Another sentence pattern involves backgrounding of material to postverbal position:

- (1753) Hasán bugün ye -*dí* istakoz -u
 Hasan today eat -Past lobster -Acc.
 "Hasan ATE the lobster today"

In addition to focusing the predicate, which is similar to the previous sentence, the last example backgrounds the object. Such an utterance is felicitous in contexts where the backgrounded material has been mentioned before and is being presupposed.

The postverbal positions cannot bear intonation peaks. Thus, the intonation contour is flat and low after the predicate. Therefore, constituents that require high intonation peaks (e.g. WH-elements, contrastively focused elements etc.) cannot occur postverbally.

3. 3. 4. 6. Interaction of intonation patterns with the patterns in tone height due to stress

High pitch due to sentence intonation enforces the high pitch due to word level stress for any constituent that attracts the intonational peak of the sentence, as has been discussed in all the previous subsections of 3. 3. 4. Topics can have secondary intonational peaks; those occur on the location of word level stress (and thus high pitch) as well, although the pitch is lower than that found for the primary peak.

3.3.4.7. Effects on segmental units due to the position of the intonation peak

Segmental units are essentially not affected by the intonation peak. Exceptions to this generalization are phonological processes typical for informal, colloquial, and/or fast speech; typically, such processes are blocked in the presence of the primary intonation peak. One example that can serve to illustrate this point is the deletion of the word-final **r** in the present progressive, a phenomenon found in colloquial varieties of the Istanbul dialect:

(1754) Hasan iş -e gid -iyor
 Hasan work -Dat. go -Pr.Prog.
 "Hasan is going to work"

In fast and/or colloquial speech, the final **r** is dropped (without giving rise to compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel): [g i d i y o]. However, when the predicate is contrastively stressed and thus bears the primary intonational peak, the **r** must be pronounced. For some speakers, word final devoicing of liquids cannot take place when they are in a syllable that bears the primary intonational peak, either.

3.4. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SEGMENTAL)

3.4.1. *Alternations between segments*

3.4.1.1. Assimilatory processes in the phonology of the language

Vowel harmony can be viewed as an assimilatory process and has been described in 3.2.6.4. Palatalization of (regular) velar oral stops and of the lateral in the context of front vowels is also an assimilation process; it has been described in 3.1.2.1.1. and 3.1.2.1.4., respectively. Velarization of a nasal in assimilation to a following velar segment has been described in 3.1.2.1.3. Progressive voicing assimilation of a morpheme-initial obstruent to a preceding segment has been discussed and illustrated in 3.2.6.3. (Akin to this phenomenon is the fact that stem-medial consonant clusters must be voiceless if the first member is an oral stop or affricate: such segments must devoice in syllable-final position, and the following consonant must assimilate to them in voicing.) Vowel fronting (and, less prevalently, raising) when preceding a palatal glide in verbal word classes has been discussed and illustrated in 3.2.6.7. That process can be viewed as regressive assimilation (of the vowel to the palatal glide). The phenomenon called Labial Attraction

(whereby a high, back vowel is rounded after a labial consonant) was described in 3. 2. 6. 6. and can be viewed as an instance of progressive assimilation. Among all the assimilation processes mentioned so far, this is the least productive one.

There are some additional assimilation processes which are limited to colloquial and/or fast speech and are not reflected in the orthography. The most widespread ones among those are discussed here.

A regressive assimilation in terms of place of articulation affects nasals:

binbaşı 'major' (from bin 'thousand'+baş 'head, leader'+Cmp.M.)

In careful pronunciation: [b i n b a ʃ u]

In "careless" pronunciation: [b i m b a ʃ u]

şimdi 'now'

In careful pronunciation: [ʃ i m d i]

In "careless" pronunciation: [ʃ i n d i]

An example of regressive assimilation in terms of voicing affects the fricative [z], which devoices before voiceless consonants in colloquial style:

tuzsuz 'without salt'

In careful pronunciation: [t u z s u z]

In "careless" pronunciation: [t u s s u z]

tuz turşusu 'salt pickle'

In careful pronunciation: [t u z t u r ʃ u s u]

In "careless" pronunciation: [t u s t u r ʃ u s u]

A process which affects the lateral, changing it into an alveolar nasal both before and after an alveolar nasal, is thus an assimilation process which is both progressive and regressive—at any rate, strictly local:

onlar 'they'

In careful pronunciation: [o n l a ɾ]

In "careless" pronunciation: [o n n a ɾ]

3. 4. 1. 2. Dissimilatory processes in the phonology of the language

There do not seem to be dissimilatory processes in the phonology of the standard language that are reflected in the writing and are recognized by traditional grammarians. The only dissimilation process that I have observed in colloquial style and is rather productive, at least in Istanbul,

is a regressive dissimilation process that affects the voiceless affricate preceding the voiceless stops [t] and [k]:

geçti 'she passed' (consisting of geç 'pass' and -ti 'Past')

In careful pronunciation: [g e tʃ t i]

In "careless" pronunciation: [g e ʃ t i]

içki 'drink'

In careful pronunciation: [i tʃ k i]

In "careless" pronunciation: [i ʃ k i]

3.4.1.3. Other alternations between segments

One widely productive alternation process is the deletion of [k] in intervocalic position. There is some controversy as to whether this alternation should be described as a deletion or as an alternation process. Most traditional grammarians as well as Lees (1961) view this phenomenon as a process in which [k] alternates with [ğ], i.e. the consonantal segment which is not pronounced in the standard language. This conservative analysis goes along with the orthography:

sokak 'street' [s o k a k] sokağ^ı 'street+Acc.' [s o k a u]

çiçek 'flower' [tʃ i tʃ e k] çiçeğⁱ 'flower+Acc.' [tʃ i tʃ e i]

Another process of alternating segments is found to affect long vowels in the final syllable of some loanwords:

zaman 'time' [z a m a n]

zamanı 'time+Acc.' [z a m a : n u]

zamanda 'time+Loc.' [z a m a n d a]

cevap 'answer' [dʒ e v a p]

cevabı 'answer+Acc.' [dʒ e v a : b u]

cevaptan 'answer+Abl.' [dʒ e v a p t a n]

These underlyingly long vowels are shortened when they are in a closed syllable, i.e. when the consonant following them cannot be resyllabified.

Some loanwords have geminate consonants in stem-final position underlyingly. These geminates reduce in the same contexts in which an underlying long vowel shortens, as illustrated by the last examples:

hak 'right' [h a k]

hakki 'right+Acc.' [h a k k u]

hak+tan 'right+Abl.' [h a k t a n]

Another alternation phenomenon affects the front, non-high vowels [e] and [ø], which are lowered before sonorants in closed syllables:

ben	'I'	[b ε n]
ben+de	'I+Loc.'	[b ε n d e]
ben+i	'I+Acc.'	[b e n i]
gel!	'come!'	[g ε !]
gel+di	'she came' ('come+Past')	[g ε l d i]
gel+ir	'she comes' ('come+Aor.')	[g e l i r]

3.4.2. *Methathesis processes*

Turkish does not have productive metathesis processes. From the point of view of historical development and comparisons with related languages and dialects, there seems to have been metathesis of [p] and [r]; as a result of this, we have correspondences like the following one:

Turkish:	ya prak	'leaf'
Azerbaijani:	ya rpak	'leaf'

3.4.3. *Processes of coalescence and split*

There are no regular and productive processes of coalescence and split from a synchronic point of view.

3.4.4. *Processes of deletion and insertion*

3.4.4.1. *Deletion processes*

There are deletion processes that delete a "like" segment in a sequence of "like" segments. More specifically, a suffix-initial vowel deletes after a preceding vowel, and a suffix (or clitic) initial consonant (usually—but not always—the palatal glide) deletes after a preceding consonant:

araba+sı	'his car'	(araba 'car' + -(s)I '3.sg.')	[a r a b a s u]
kitab+ı	'his book'	(/kitab/ 'book' + -(s)I '3.sg.')	[k i t a b u]

Note that the suffix-initial [s] surfaces after a stem-final vowel, but that it deletes after a stem-final consonant.

The next examples illustrate a similar deletion process for vowels.

kitab+ımız	'our book'	(/kitab/ 'book' + -(I)mIz '1. pl.')
[k i t a b u m u z]		
/araba+ımız/	'our car'	(araba 'car' + -(I)mIz '1.pl.')
[a r a b a m u z]		

3.4.4.2. Insertion processes

Epenthesis of a high vowel (which then undergoes Vowel Harmony with the existing vowels) to break up impermissible (tautosyllabic) consonant clusters is a productive process. This process has been described and illustrated in 3.2.5.1. It is found with syllable-initial clusters as well as syllable-final clusters.

Here, let us look at this process in two particular groups of examples: (i) body parts, and (ii) a number of loanwords. Both types have stems that end in impermissible consonant clusters, i.e. clusters that are none of the permissible types listed in 3.2.2.2.

/burn/	'nose'	
burun	'nose, Nom.'	[b u r u n]
burun+da	'nose+Loc.'	[b u r u n d a]
burn+u	'nose+Acc.'	[b u r n u]
/aln/	'forehead'	
alın	'forehead, Nom.'	[a l u n]
alın+da	'forehead+ Loc.'	[a l u n d a]
alın+ı	'forehead+ Acc.'	[a l n u]
/devr/	'rotation, period'	
devir	'period, Nom.'	[d e v i r]
devir+de	'period+Loc.'	[d e v i r d e]
devr+i	'period+Acc.'	[d e v r i]
/şehir/	'city'	
şehir	'city, Nom.'	[ʃ e h i r]
şehir+de	'city+Loc.'	[ʃ e h i r d e]
şehir+i	'city+Acc.'	[ʃ e h r i]

3.4.5. Processes of reduplication

There is a process of prefixing reduplication which has the function of intensification in adjectives and adverbs. It is particularly productive in adjectives. The process has been described and illustrated in 2.1.4.5.1. for adjectives and in 2.1.7.2.1. for adverbs.

İstanbul		[i s t á n b u l̩]
Ankara		[á ŋ k a r a]
İzmir		[í z m i r̩]
lokanta	'restaurant'	[l o k á n t a]
fasulya	'bean'	[f a s ú l j a]

When such words undergo suffixation, primary word level stress is retained on the syllable it was originally assigned. After suffixation, the word final syllable might receive secondary stress if it is not too close to the location of the primary stress.

İstanbul+umuz+u		'İstanbul+1.pl.+Acc.'
[i s t á n b u l u m u z ù]		
lokanta+lar+ımız+dan		'restaurant+pl.+1.pl.+Abl.'
[l o k á n t a l a r u m u z d à n]		

Some affixes and all clitics are also exceptional with respect to stress; such elements do not receive stress when they are in word final position, and word level stress falls on the syllable immediately preceding such a suffix.

One such exceptional suffix is the negation suffix:

al+ma!			
take+Neg.	"Don't take!"		[á l m a]
al+mı+yacak			
take+Neg.+Fut.	"She will not take"		[á l m u j a c à k]

Here, too, the exceptional stress does not move to regular word final position; rather, it remains where it was placed originally.

4. Ideophones and interjections

4. 1. DOES THE LANGUAGE MAKE USE OF IDEOPHONES?

Turkish does make use of ideophones. Some representative items are listed here.

A number of ideophones mimic animal sounds.

hav hav 'bow wow'
miyav 'meow'

Verbs can be derived from those via the derivational suffix **-IA**:

havla '(to) bark'
miyavla '(to) meow'

In analogy to these verbs, there are a number of verbs that express the production of certain animal sounds, without having corresponding underived onomatopoeic counterparts:

kükre '(to) roar (for a lion)'
gürle '(to) roar (for a person, vehicle, machinery etc.)'
mele '(to) bleat (for a goat or sheep)'

Other words can serve as the base for verbs derived via this suffix:

püf 'puff' püfle '(to) puff, blow, blow out'

Other onomatopoeic words mimic human sounds:

vidı vidı 'chatter; yakking'
kahkaha 'laughter'

There are a number of onomatopoeic words that end in **r** or **l**; the suffix **-dA** derives verbs from them:

gıcıř '(creaking)'
gıcıřda '(to) creak'
hırıl '(sound of wheezing)'
hırılda '(to) wheeze'

horul	'(snoring)'
horulda	'(to) snore'
patır	'(sound of footsteps)'
patırda	'(to) patter, clatter (walking)'
takır	'(sound of rattling, e.g. horse's hooves)'
takırda	'(to) rattle, clatter, bang'

The underived words can undergo reduplication and then be used adverbially:

gıcır gıcır	'in a creaking fashion'
horul horul	'snoring' etc.

It is rather likely that the following noun has as its source an ideophone:

yamyam	'cannibal'
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4. 2. INTERJECTIONS THAT DO NOT CONFORM TO THE REGULAR PRINCIPLES REGARDING THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF WORDS

Turkish has a wealth of interjections, expressing a variety of feelings, with different discourse functions. Most of them do conform to all the principles we saw in the phonology chapter that govern the well-formedness of words. Some examples follow:

Yazık!	'A pity; too bad!'
Mutlaka!	'Definitely; without fail!'
Elbette!	'Of course!'
Yapma!	'You don't say!' ('Don't do (it)!')
Mükemmel!	'Perfect!'
Dinle!	'Listen!'
Eyvah!	'Alas! Woe is me!'
Yemin et!	'Swear (to it)!'
Doğru söyle!	'Tell the truth!'
Şüphesiz.	'Without any doubt.'
İmkânı yok!	'It's not possible!'
Şaka ediyorsun!	'You are joking!'

Some interjections are clitics. For example, the interjection **-A** is suffixed to the second persons of the conditional base and thus produces an interesting kind of imperative:

Kal	-sá	-n	-a!
stay	-Cond.	-2.sg.	-A
"Do stay! Why don't you stay! Please do stay!"			

Gel -sé -n -e!
 come -Cond. -2.sg. -A
 "Do come! Why don't you come! Please do come!"

Depending on context, such forms can convey impatience or courtesy. Note that this interjection is not stressed, although it is in word final position. It behaves like all other clitics in this respect. Note also that it undergoes Vowel Harmony with the stem, which is also a property of other clitics in the language. (This clitic has been analyzed in the syntax and morphology chapters of this book as part of an unanalyzed imperative marker.)

The Yes/No clitic **mİ** can also be used as an interjection, in the following construction:

bir de ne gör -eyim — pencere -den içeri
 one -and what see -1.sg.Opt. window -Abl. inside
 gır -me -miş **mİ!**
 enter -Neg. -Rep.Past -Q
 "And what should I see—she had come in through the window!"
 ("... and didn't it turn out that she had entered through the window!")

The reported past is used as an evidential here.

In this usage, the question clitic is not used as a genuine question element; rather, it conveys surprise.

Interjections like **şey** 'thing' and **falan (filan)** 'and so on, and so forth' are shaped like regular words. They are used by speakers when they need to gain some time to gather their thoughts while speaking, and they tend to occur at major constituent breaks.

There are very few interjections that do not conform to the well-formedness conditions we saw governing words. Those are typically interjections with very long vowels:

Aaa! (expresses surprise)
 Yoo! 'NO!' (expresses incredulity
 and is derived from the existential negative **yok**)

Even these forms, however, do fit into the general system of the language, since vowels can lengthen under emphasis elsewhere, too. But compared with unemphasized elements, these vowels would not conform to regular criteria for words, since we saw in the phonology chapter that the language tries to minimize vowel clusters.

5. Lexicon

5. 1. STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELDS

In this chapter of the book, a practice has been followed which has not been used in any of the other chapters. This practice is found in all of the important dictionaries of the Turkish language. According to this convention, changes that a stem undergoes when it is inflected (cf. phonology chapter) are stated in parentheses after the entry for the stem.

5. 1. 1. *Kinship terminology*

5. 1. 1. 1. By blood

anne; mader; ana	mother
baba; peder; ata	father
nine, büyükanne	grandmother
dede, büyükbaba	grandfather
anneanne	maternal grandmother
babaanne	paternal grandmother
çocuk; evlât	child (in the sense of offspring)
kız	daughter (also, more generally, 'girl')
oğul	son
torun	grandchild
kardeş	sibling
erkek kardeş	brother ('male sibling')
kızkardeş	sister ('girl sibling')
abla	elder sister
ağabey	elder brother
dayı	maternal uncle
amca	paternal uncle
teyze	maternal aunt
hala	paternal aunt
yeğen	niece or nephew; cousin
dayızade	cousin (child of maternal uncle)
amcazade	cousin (child of paternal uncle)
teyzezade	cousin (child of maternal aunt)
halazade	cousin (child of paternal aunt)

5. 1. 1. 2. By partial blood

There are no specific kinship terms for relationship by partial blood.

5. 1. 1. 3. By marriage

bacanak	the husband of one's wife's sister
baldız	sister-in-law (wife's sister)
damat	son-in-law
dünür	the father-in-law or mother-in-law of one's child
elti	sister-in-law (relationship between the wives of brothers)
enişte	brother-in-law (sister's husband) or husband of an aunt (uncle-in-law)
gelin	daughter-in-law (more generally: bride)
görümce	sister-in-law (husband's sister)
karı	wife
kayınbirader, kayın	brother-in-law (brother of wife or husband)
kayınpeder, kaynata	father-in-law
kayınvalide, kaynana	mother-in-law
koca	husband
üvey-	step- (used mostly with: ana, baba, çocuk, evlât, kardeş)
yenge	sister-in-law (brother's wife) or aunt-in-law (uncle's wife)

5. 1. 1. 4. By adoption

There is no detailed system of kinship terminology by adoption, the way there is for kinship by blood and by marriage. A few kinship terms, referring specifically to kinship by adoption, are listed below:

evlâtlık	adopted child
babalık	adoptive father
analık	adoptive mother

5. 1. 2. Color terminology

Basic color terms:

There have been some proposals to the effect that basic color terms in individual languages are drawn from a universal inventory that forms an implicational hierarchy. More specifically, it is proposed that all languages choose their basic color terms from among eleven color terms: black, white, red, yellow, green, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange, and gray. When a language has as few as two terms, these are black and white. If the language has three terms, the third, in addition to the former two, will be red. One of three color names can be chosen for a fourth term: yellow, green, or blue. These six form the inventory of a number of languages with six basic color terms. The remaining basic terms are brown, purple, pink, orange, and gray, in that order.

Independent properties of basic color terms are as follows:

1. they must consist of only one morpheme;
2. the term must not be contained within another color;
3. the term must not be restricted to a small number of objects;
4. the term must be common and generally known.

We shall see that Turkish (as a number of other languages) poses some problems for this approach.

The eleven proposed universal color terms correspond to the following color names in Turkish:

black	siyah; kara	
white	beyaz; ak	
red	al; kızıl; kırmızı	
yellow	sarı	
green	yeşil	
blue	mavi	
brown	kahverengi	(coffee + color + CmpM)
purple	mor	
pink	pembe	
orange	turuncu	(bitter orange + Adj. suffix, bitter orange-colored, bitter orange-like);
	portakal rengi	(orange + color + CmpM)
gray	boz; gri; kurşunî	(lead + Adj. suffix, lead-colored, lead-like);
	kül rengi	(ashes + color + CmpM)

According to one independent criterion, the term for *brown* is not a basic color term in Turkish, since it is bimorphemic. According to the implicational hierarchy, none of the terms following *brown* should be a basic color term. Yet, the terms for *purple* and *pink* do conform to all of the independent criteria and should therefore be considered basic terms.

Furthermore, the term for *blue*: **mavi** is bimorphemic, as well. It is a borrowing from Arabic, where it consists of **ma:ʔ** 'water' and **-î**, a suffix that derives adjectives (and which we see in a number of other color terms). This poses a problem which is even more severe, since *blue* is higher on the hierarchy than *brown*. However, this problem can be argued away by saying that this term is not perceived as bimorphemic in Turkish, since it is a very old borrowing.

It should also be noted that, while the two terms for *orange* are both bimorphemic, thus precluding this term from qualifying as a basic color

term, the first term for *gray* is monomorphemic, thus qualifying as a basic term, despite the fact that it is lowest on the implicational hierarchy. We must conclude that the hierarchy cannot be universal in its entirety. It is possible that the first six terms do form an ordered universal hierarchy, but that the remainder of the hierarchy is not universal and thus open to cross-linguistic variation.

Non-basic color terms:

The order of the following groups of terms is the same as that of the basic color terms in the previous list.

Black

kuzgunî	raven black	(raven + Adj. suffix, raven-colored, raven-like)
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White

sütbeyaz	milk white, snow white	(milk + white)
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Red

kızıl	carmine; scarlet red	(scarlet)
kan kırmızısı	blood red	(blood + red + CmpM)
yakut rengi	ruby red	(ruby + color + CmpM)
lâl (-li)	ruby red	(ruby; garnet)
kiremit rengi	tile red, brick red	(tile + color + CmpM)
tunç (-cu)	very dark red; brownish red	(bronze)

Yellow

kanarya sarısı	canary yellow	(canary + yellow + CmpM)
yumurta sarısı	the color of egg-yolk	(egg + yellow + CmpM)
çingene sarısı	bright yellow	(gypsy + yellow + CmpM)

Green

fıstıkî	light yellowish green, pistachio green	(pistachio + Adj. suffix, pistachio-colored, pistachio-like)
zümrüt yeşili	emerald green	(emerald + green + CmpM)

Blue

gök mavisi	sky blue	(sky + blue + CmpM)
süt mavisi	very pale blue	(milk + blue + CmpM)

lâcivert	navy blue	
çivit mavisi	indigo blue	(indigo + blue + CmpM)
çividî	indigo blue	(indigo + Adj. suffix, indigo-colored, indigo-like)
türkuvaz	turquoise; greenish blue	(turquoise)

Brown

ten rengi	flesh colored	(flesh + color + CmpM)
bej	beige	
çikolata rengi	chocolate brown	(chocolate+color+CmpM)
buğday rengi	light brown (for skin)	(wheat + color + CmpM)
esmer	brown, dark brunette, swarthy (for skin)	

Purple

eflâtun	lilac-colored	
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Pink

tozpembe	light pink	(dust + pink)
gül rengi	rose pink	(rose + color + CmpM)
gül pembe	rose pink	(rose + pink)
çingene pembesi	bright pink	(gypsy + pink + CmpM)
gülkurusu	violet pink	(rose + dry + CmpM)

Orange

kavun içi	a pale, yellowish orange (cantaloupe + inside + CmpM)	
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In addition to these terms, shadings of colors can be expressed in the following general, systematic ways:

1. by placing the adjectives **açık** 'light' or **koyu** 'dark' before the color terms; e.g. **açık sarı** 'light yellow'; **koyu kırmızı** 'dark red';
2. by suffixing either **-(I)msI** or **-(i)mtraK** '-ish' to any color term that bears no compound marker; e.g. **pembemsi** 'pinkish'; **yeşilimtrak** 'greenish';
3. by intensification, i.e. by reduplicating the first syllable and prefixing it to the stem, adding one of a limited set of consonants to the end of the prefix if the prefix ends with a vowel, or by replacing the final consonant (if there is one) of the prefix with such a consonant; e.g. **yemyeşil** 'very green', **kapkara** 'very black, jet black'.

5.1.3. *Body parts*

In this and the following section of this chapter on the lexicon, the information offered after a lexical entry, placed in parentheses and preceded by a hyphen, does not signal a morpheme, but rather shows how the stem surfaces under suffixation, after sandhi rules have applied. For example, the first entry of the list that follows, **karın** 'abdomen', loses its vowel when followed by a vowel under suffixation; e.g. the accusative form of this entry is: **karnı**. The entry **vücut** 'body', when followed by a vowel under suffixation, surfaces with a long vowel in its final syllable and a voiced dental stop: **vücu:du** 'body, Acc.'.

abdomen	karın (-nı)
ankle	ayak bileği (foot + wrist + CmpM)
anus	makat, anüs, (vulg.) göt
arm	kol
armpit	koltuk (-ğu), koltuk altı (armpit + underside + CmpM)
artery	atardamar (beat + Participle suffix + vein)
back	sırt, arka
backbone	omurga, belkemiği (waist + bone + CmpM)
beard	sakal
belly	karın (-nı)
biceps	iki başlı kas (two + headed + muscle)
bladder	sidik torbası
blood	kan
body	vücut (-u:du), beden
bone	kemik (-ği)
bowel	bağırsak (-ğı)
breast, chest	göğüs (-ğsü)
breast (female)	göğüs (-ğsü), meme
buttocks	kalça, (colloq.) kaba et, popo, (vulg.) kıç
calf	baldır
cheek	yanak (-ğı)
chest	göğüs (-ğsü)
chin	çene
ear	kulak (-ğı)
ear-lobe	kulak memesi (ear + breast + CmpM)
elbow	dirsek (-ği)
eye	göz
eyeball	göz küresi (eye + globe + CmpM)
eyebrow	kaş
eyelash	kirpik (-ği)
eyelid	göz kapağı (eye + lid + CmpM)
face	yüz
finger	parmak (-ğı)
fingernail	tırnak (-ğı)
fingertip	parmak ucu (finger + tip + CmpM)
flesh	et; ten, vücut (-u:du), beden
foot	ayak (-ğı)

footsole	taban
forearm	önkol
forehead	alın (-lnı)
gums	dişeti (tooth + flesh + CmpM)
guts	bağırsak (-ğı) (intestine)
hair	saç
hand	el
head	baş, kafa
heart	kalp (-bi), yürek (-ği)
heel	topuk (-ğu)
knee	diz
knuckle	parmağın oynak yeri (finger + Gen. + moving + place + 3.sg.; i.e. finger + Gen. + joint + 3.sg.), boğum
leg	bacak (-ğı)
liver	karaciğer
lung	akciğer
mouth	ağız (-ğız)
neck	boyun (-ynu)
nail	tırnak (-ğı)
navel	göbek (-ği)
nose	burun (-rnu)
palm of hand	avuç (cu), avuç içi
penis	kamuş
ribs	kaburga
scrotum	see: testicles
shin	baldırın ön kısmı (calf + Gen. + front + part + 3.sg.), incik (-ği)
shoulder	omuz
skin	deri, cilt (-di)
sweat	ter
testicles	er bezi (male + gland + CmpM), erkeklik bezi (virility + gland + CmpM), testis, (vulg.) taşak (-ğı)
thigh	uyluk (-ğu), but (-du)
throat	boğaz, gırtlak (-ğı)
thumb	başparmak (-ğı) (first/main + finger)
toe	ayak parmağı (foot + finger + CmpM); ayak ucu (foot + tip + CmpM)
tongue	dil
trunk	gövde, beden
uterus	dölyatağı
vein	damar
vulva	ferç (-ci), (vulg.) am
waist	bel
wrist	bilek (-ği)

5. 1. 4. *Cooking terminology*

In this section, 'cooking' has been taken in its wider meaning, i.e. 'having to do with food preparation'. Thus, terms having to do with raw foods have been included. Furthermore, given the rich variety of dishes and cooking terms, only the more widely used ones have been listed. Specific dishes have been listed where their names do not reflect their meanings in a clear, compositional way.

adaçayı	sage; sage tea
anason	anise
ançuez	anchovy
Antep fıstığı	pistachio nut
Arnavut ciğeri	fried liver cubes
aşure	pudding made with cereals, sugar and raisins
ayran	yogurt drink
Ayşe kadın fasulyesi	string bean, green bean
ayva	quince
badem	almond
bakla	fava beans
baklava	dessert made of thin Phyllo dough, baked in layers, filled with ground walnuts, almonds or pistachio nuts, soaked in syrup
baklava yufkası	extremely thin Phyllo dough for making baklava
bal	honey
balık	fish
barbunya	red mullet
barbunya fasulyesi	a small reddish-colored bean; pinto bean
bardak	glass (receptacle)
beyaz peynir	("white cheese"); Feta cheese
beyaz salça	("white sauce"); Béchamel sauce
beyin	brain
bezelye	pea
bıçak	knife
bıldırcın	quail
biber	bell pepper; pepper
bira	beer
bisküvi	cookie
boza	fermented drink made of cracked wheat or millet
böbrek	kidney
börek	savory pastry, made with Phyllo dough or other dough, fried or baked, filled with a variety of fillings (e.g. cheese, meat, spinach)
buğulama	steamed dish
bulgur	cracked wheat
bulgur pilâvı	pilâv made with cracked wheat
buz	ice
cacık	a cold soup, made with yogurt, cucumbers, garlic and dill or mint
ceviz	walnut
ciğer	liver

çalı fasulyesi	a type of string beans with large edible pods and small beans
çam fıstığı	pine nut
çatal	fork
çay	tea
Çerkez tavuğu	"Circassian chicken"; chicken dish prepared with bread, ground walnuts and red pepper sauce
çılıbır	poached eggs with yogurt
çiğ	raw
çipura	gilt-head bream (a fish)
çiroz	dried mackerel; dish prepared with dried mackerels
çoban salatası	shepherds' salad: a mixed salad with chopped tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, scallions etc.
çorba	soup
çörek	a round, ring-shaped or braided cake (usually slightly sweet)
çörekotu	caraway
dana	calf
dereotu	dill
dolma	"filled"; vegetable stuffed with a mixture of meat and rice, and eaten hot; or: vegetable, fish or seafood, stuffed with rice and served cold
domates	tomato
dondurma	ice cream
düğün çorbası	"wedding soup": made with cubed meat and stock from meat bones, vegetables, onions, and with paprika dressing
elma	apple
enginar	artichoke
erişte	a type of homemade noodles
et	meat
et suyu	meat broth
etli	with meat
ezme	paste
fasulye	bean
fındık	filbert
fırında	baked in the oven
fincan	cup
gül	rose
gül suyu	rose water
güveç	earthenware cooking pot; a dish of meat and vegetables cooked in such a pot
hamsi	anchovy (fresh)
haşlama	boiled dish
haşlamak	to boil
havuç	carrot
helva	halvah; a sweet prepared in many varieties with sesame oil, ground sesame seeds, various cereals (e.g. semolina) and syrup or honey
hıyar	cucumber

hindi	turkey
hoşaf	stewed fruit, compote
hünkâr beğendi	sultan's delight (lamb stew over eggplant purée)
ıhlamur	linden blossoms; used to make a hot tea
ıspanak	spinach
ızgara	grill; prepared on the grill over a charcoal fire
iç pilâv	("inner pilâv") rice dish with currants and pine nuts
imam bayıldı	"the imam fainted", or: "the imam was delighted"; eggplant dish with onions, prepared in olive oil, served cold
irmik	semolina
islim kebabı	steamed kebab: chunks of lamb, cooked in its own juices with cubed vegetables (eggplants, bell peppers, tomatoes, onions)
istiridye	oyster
işkembe	tripe
kabak	zucchini; pumpkin
kabak tatlısı	pumpkin dessert
kadın budu köfte	"lady's thigh"; meat patties made with the addition of eggs and rice or bulgur
kadın göbeği	"lady's navel"; a dessert made of fried dough, with syrup
kâğıtta	baked in wax paper
kahve	coffee
kalkan	turbot
karışık	mixed
karides	shrimp, prawn
karnıbahar	cauliflower
karnıyarık	"its belly split"; eggplants with a ground meat filling
karpuz	water melon
kaşar peyniri	kasseri cheese (a yellow, hard cheese)
kaşık	spoon
kavun	melon; honeydew; cantaloupe
kavurma	braised or roasted dish
kayısı	apricot
kaymak	cream; clotted cream
kebab	kebab; a rich variety of meat dishes that are grilled, broiled, roasted, baked, or stewed
kek	cake
kepçe	ladle
kereviz	celery root
keşkül	milk pudding containing coconut
kılıç	swordfish
kırmızı biber	red pepper; paprika
kırmızı mercimek	red lentil
kısır	salad prepared with cracked wheat soaked in olive oil and lemon juice
kıyma	ground meat
kızartma	fried dish
kimyon	cumin

kokoreç	roasted sheep's intestines
komposto	stewed fruit, compote; cf. <i>hoşaf</i>
koyun	mutton
köfte	usually: meat balls or meat patties; but can refer to any food that is ground up and formed into balls or patties, thus also fish, vegetables, or potatoes
kurabiye	a kind of butter cookie, often with almonds
kuru	dry
kuru fasulye	dried, white kidney beans
kuşbaşı	("bird's head") meat cut in small chunks
kuşkonmaz	asparagus
kuyruk yağı	fat rendered from the tail of a sheep
kuzu	spring lamb
lahana	cabbage
lahmacun	very thin, pizza-like savory flat bread with ground lamb and chopped vegetables
lâkerda	salt bonito, bonito preserved in salt
levrek	sea bass
limon	lemon
lokum	Turkish delight
mahlep(-bi)	seeds from the kernels of the black cherry; used ground, in sweet or savory rolls
makarna	noodles; macaroni
mantı	see: Tatar böreği
mantar	mushroom
marul	Romaine lettuce
maya	yeast
maydanoz	parsley
mayonez	mayonnaise
mercimek	lentil
meyva	fruit
meze	appetizer; hors d'oeuvre
midye	mussel
muska böreği	a triangular-shaped savory pastry, stuffed with meat or cheese
mücver	vegetable patties
nane	mint
nar	pomegranate
Nemse böreği	börek made with puff pastry
nişasta	cornstarch
nohut	chick pea
paça	lamb knuckles
palamut	bonito (a fish)
pancar	beet
pastırma	dried meat with garlic and paprika
patates	potato
patlıcan beğendi	eggplant purée, served as side dish
patlıcan kebabı	stew of lamb (usually from the shoulder) and eggplant
patlıcan oturtması	eggplant layered with ground meat

pekmez	grape molasses
pelte	a gelatinous dessert made with cornstarch
peynir	cheese
pırasa	leek
pide	flat leavened bread
pilâv	rice (cooked, in broth or butter)
piliç	young chicken
pirinç	rice (uncooked)
pirzola	chops
pişirmek	to cook
piyaz	(white kidney) bean salad
poğaç	savory pastry filled with cheese or meat
portakal	orange
puf böreği	"Puff" böreks (small böreks with cheese filling)
rakı	anise-based alcoholic drink
reçel	jam
rende	grated
revani	a dessert made with semolina
Rus salatası	"Russian salad"; a potato salad with a variety of cold vegetables and mayonnaise
sade	plain
sadeyağ	clarified butter
sahanda	fried and served in a shallow cooking pan
sahlep	hot drink made from the powdered root of sahlep (orchis mascula)
sakız	mastic
salata	salad
salatalık	cucumber
salça	tomato paste; tomato sauce; gravy, sauce
saray lokması	"Palace morsels"; small fried yeast dough balls in syrup
sarma	"wrapped": grape or cabbage leaves, stuffed with rice and meat, served hot
sarmusak	garlic
sığır	beef
simit	a crisp, ring-shaped, savory roll covered with sesame seeds
sirke	vinegar
sivri biber	"pointed", hot pepper
soğan	onion
sos	sauce
su	water; juice
su muhallebisi	dessert made out of rice flour and milk, soaked in rose water
şarap	wine
susam	sesame
sütlâç	milk pudding
sütlü tatlı	dairy dessert
şehriye	vermicelli
şeker	sugar
şekerpare	small sweet cakes

şiş	skewer; any food prepared by threading it on skewers
şiş kebab	cubes of lamb and vegetables, grilled on a skewer
şurup	syrup
tahin	thick fluid, made out of crushed sesame seeds; sesame butter
talaş kebabı	lamb in phyllo dough
tarama	fish roe dip
tarator	purée of walnuts, pounded with bread, garlic, vinegar, and olive oil; used as a sauce
tarçın	cinnamon
tarhana	dried pasta, made chiefly of curds and flour, used for making soups
Tatar böreği	small squares of pasta, filled with meat, resembling wontons or raviolis
tatlı	sweet (Adj.); dessert (N)
tava	pan; dish prepared by frying in a pan
tavada	"in the pan"; fried
tavuk	chicken
tavuk göğsü	"chicken breast"; a dairy pudding made with chicken breast
tavuk suyu	chicken broth
tel kadayıfı	dessert made with shredded dough
tencere	pot
tepsi	tray
terbiye	"education"; lemon-and-egg sauce
tereyağ	butter
tulumba tatlısı	"water pump dessert"; made of fried dough, with syrup
turp	turnip
turşu	pickle
Türk kahvesi	Turkish coffee
türlü	lamb stew with vegetables
un	flour
uskumru	mackerel
vişne	Morello cherry
yahni	stew made with onions and tomatoes
yalancı dolma	"liar" dolma (cf. <i>dolma</i>); vine leaves stuffed with rice, pine nuts and currants, cooked in olive oil, eaten cold
yayla çorbası	a soup of flour, rice, egg yolk, with yogurt and dried mint
yer elması	Jerusalem artichoke
yeşil biber	green (bell) pepper
yeşil salata	lettuce (Boston lettuce)
yeşil soğan	green onion, scallion
yoğurt	yogurt
yufka	Phyllo dough (very thin sheet of dough)
yumurta	egg
zerde	saffron rice dessert
zeytin	olive

zeytinyağı	olive oil
zeytinyağlı	cooked in olive oil and eaten cold; category of vegetable preparation; no meat is used
zeytinyağlı yaprak dolması	cf. <i>yalancı dolma</i>

5. 2. BASIC VOCABULARY

1.	all	bütün (whole); her (every, each)
2.	and	ve; DA
3.	animal	hayvan
4.	ashes	kül
5.	at	-A, -DA, tarafında
6.	back	arka
7.	bad	kötü; fena
8.	bark (of tree)	kabuk (-ğu)
9.	because	çünkü; ... için
10.	belly	karın (-rını)
11.	big	büyük (-ğü)
12.	bird	kuş
13.	bite (verb)	ısır-
14.	black	siyah; kara
15.	blood	kan
16.	blow (verb)	üfle-
17.	bone	kemik (-ği)
18.	breast	göğüs (-ğüsü)
19.	breathe	nefes al-
20.	burn (verb)	yan- (intr.); yak- (tr.)
21.	child	çocuk (-ğu)
22.	claw	pençe
23.	cloud	bulut
24.	cold	soğuk (-ğu)
25.	come	gel-
26.	count	say-
27.	cut	kes-
28.	day	gün
29.	die	öl-
30.	dig	kaz-
31.	dirty	pis; kirli
32.	dog	köpek (-ği); it
33.	drink	iç-
34.	dry	kuru (Adj.); kuru- (V, intr.); kurut- (V, tr.)
35.	dull	ahmak (-ğı), alık (-ğı) (person); kör, kesmez (utensil); donuk (-ğu), sönük (-ğü) (color)
36.	dust	toz
37.	ear	kulak (-ğı)
38.	earth	toprak (-ğı)
39.	eat	ye-
40.	egg	yumurta
41.	eye	göz
42.	fall	düş-
43.	far	uzak (-ğı)

44.	fat / grease	yağ
45.	father	baba
46.	fear	kork- (V); korku (N)
47.	feather	tüy
48.	few	az
49.	fight (verb)	savaş-, dövüş-, mücadele et-
50.	fire	ateş
51.	fish	balık (-ğı)
52.	five	beş
53.	float	yüz-
54.	flow	ak-
55.	flower	çiçek (-ğı)
56.	fly (verb)	uç-
57.	fog	sis
58.	foot	ayak (-ğı)
59.	four	dört (-dü)
60.	freeze	don-
61.	fruit	meyva
62.	full	dolu
63.	give	ver-
64.	good	iyi
65.	grass	ot
66.	green	yeşil
67.	guts	bağırsaklar
68.	hair	saç
69.	hand	el
70.	he	o (gender-neutral: third person singular pronoun)
71.	head	baş; kafa
72.	hear	işit-; duy-
73.	heart	kalp (-bi); yürek (-ğı)
74.	heavy	ağır
75.	here	burada
76.	hit	vur-
77.	hold / take	tut- / al-
78.	horn	boynuz
79.	how	nasıl
80.	hunt (verb)	avla-
81.	husband	koca; eş ('spouse')
82.	I	ben
83.	ice	buz
84.	if	eğer, ise, şayet
85.	in	içinde, içine, dahilinde, -DA
86.	kill	öldür-
87.	knee	diz
88.	know	bil-
89.	lake	göl
90.	laugh	gül-
91.	leaf	yaprak (-ğı)
92.	leftside	sol
93.	leg	bacak (-ğı)

94.	lie (be in lying position)	yat-
95.	live	yaşa-
96.	liver	karaciğer
97.	long	uzun
98.	louse	bit
99.	man/male	erkek (-ği)
100.	many	çok
101.	meat/flesh	et ('edible meat'); beden, cisim, ten, vücut ('body, material object')
102.	moon	ay
103.	mother	anne; ana
104.	mountain	dağ
105.	mouth	ağız (-ğzı)
106.	name	isim (-smi); ad
107.	narrow	dar
108.	near	yakın
109.	neck	boyun (-ynu); ense
110.	new	yeni
111.	night	gece
112.	nose	burun (-rnu)
113.	not	değil
114.	old	yaşlı; ihtiyar
115.	one	bir
116.	other	diğer
117.	person	kişi
118.	play	oyun
119.	pull	çek-
120.	push	it-
121.	rain	yağmur (N); yağmur yağ- (V)
122.	red	kırmızı; al
123.	right/correct	doğru
124.	rightside	sağ
125.	river	nehir (-hri); ırmak (-ğı)
126.	road	yol
127.	root	kök
128.	rope	ip
129.	rotten	çürük (-ğü)
130.	round	yuvarlak (-ğı)
131.	rub	ov-
132.	salt	tuz
133.	sand	kum
134.	say	söyle-; de-
135.	scratch	kaşı-
136.	sea	deniz
137.	see	gör-
138.	seed	tohum; çekirdek (-ği)
139.	sew	dik-
140.	sharp	keskin
141.	short	kısa
142.	sing	şarkı söyle-

143.	sit	otur-: a. be in a sitting position; b. assume a sitting position
144.	skin	deri
145.	sky	gök (-ğü)
146.	sleep (verb)	uyu-
147.	small	küçük (-ğü); ufak (-ğı)
148.	smell (verb)	kok- (intr.); kokla- (tr.)
149.	smoke (noun)	duman
150.	smooth	düz, düzgün; engelsiz (without obstacles); kolay (easy)
151.	snake	yılan
152.	snow	kar (N); kar yağ- (V)
153.	some	bazı
154.	spit (verb)	tükür-
155.	split (verb)	yar-; böl- ('divide')
156.	squeeze	sık-
157.	stab/pierce	del-
158.	stand	a. ayakta dur- : be in a standing position; b. ayağa kalk- : assume a standing position
159.	star	yıldız
160.	stick	değnek (-ği)
161.	stone	taş
162.	straight	düz
163.	suck	em-
164.	sun	güneş
165.	swell	şiş-
166.	swim	yüz-
167.	tail	kuyruk (-ğu)
168.	that	şu
169.	there	orada
170.	they	onlar
171.	thick	kalın
172.	thin	ince
173.	think	düşün-
174.	this	bu
175.	thou	sen
176.	three	üç
177.	throw	at-
178.	tie (verb)	bağla-
179.	tongue	dil
180.	tooth	diş
181.	tree	ağaç (-cı)
182.	turn (verb)	dön- (intr.); çevir-, döndür- (tr.)
183.	two	iki
184.	vomit (verb)	kus-
185.	walk (verb)	yürü-
186.	warm	ılık (-ğı), hafif sıcak (-ğı) ('light hot')
187.	wash (verb)	yıka-
188.	water	su
189.	we	biz
190.	wet	ıslak (-ğı)

191.	what	ne
192.	when	ne zaman
193.	where	nerede
194.	white	beyaz; ak
195.	who	kim
196.	wide	geniř
197.	wife	karı, eř ('spouse')
198.	wind (i.e. air in natural motion)	rüzgâr
199.	wing	kanat (-dı)
200.	wipe	sil-
201.	with	ile; -(y)lA
202.	woman	kadın
203.	woods	orman
204.	worm	kurt (-du); solucan
205.	ye	siz
206.	year	yıl; sene
207.	yellow	sarı

Endnotes

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1: SYNTAX

1 Aĝaoĝlu 1983: 2.

2 Baysal 1972: 184.

3 See footnote 13 below.

4 Pamuk 1990: 222.

5 The Yes/No question particle is not the only morpheme with this exceptional behavior with respect to stress; as we shall see later on in the section on morphology, there are other affixes, e.g. the negation marker and the cliticized copula, which have the same property with respect to stress.

6 In these examples, the negation suffix appears in the same shape as the Yes/No question particle. However, this is due to low-level phonological changes, due to the palatal glide following the vowel of this morpheme. The Yes/No question particle has a high vowel, while the negation particle has a low vowel. However, a low vowel which is part of an affix and which immediately precedes a palatal glide gets raised due to a general phonological rule.

7 As will be discussed later on, specific direct objects bear overt accusative marking; non-specific direct objects lack such marking. Where such direct objects consist of a WH-element and are non-human (i.e. **ne** 'what'), the non-specific version without the accusative marking is preferred. The variety bearing the accusative suffix gets better if it is modified by means of adjectives, quantifiers, possessors etc. However, where the direct object is a human WH-element (i.e. **kim** 'who'), it has to be overtly marked for accusative, irrespective of specificity.

⁸ I am distinguishing here between the morphologically analyzed, case-marked oblique object **ne-den** 'what of, what from' as in the present example, and the morphologically unanalyzed adverb **neden** 'why, because of what' as in the next example. Although the second is obviously derived historically from the first, there is no good reason to view the adverbial form as morphologically complex synchronically at the present stage of the language. This view also carries over to one of the other adverbial WH-forms in this example, namely **niçin** 'why', which derives, by vowel coalescence, from **ne+için** 'what for'; hence, no morpheme boundary is indicated for the adverbial usage.

⁹ As we shall see later, verbs that can take fully tensed, finite complement clauses (in addition to the more usual nominalized complement type) also have the option of marking the embedded subject with the accusative. The subject of a tensed, finite complement is marked with the nominative, just like a subject of a root clause. However, in the majority dialect of Turkish, where the subject agreement marker on the finite embedded verb is dropped, the embedded subject is marked with accusative. For a minority dialect, accusative is possible even where the embedded verb does carry agreement marking; thus, for that dialect, nominative and accusative are in free variation for embedded subjects of fully finite complement clauses.

¹⁰ Underhill (1976) calls this form the third person singular optative, but does mention that it is sometimes called the third person singular imperative. Lewis (1975) glosses this form as the third person imperative.

¹¹ The morpheme **-(y)A** I am calling "repeated (action) manner adverbial" is an abbreviated form of the manner adverbial **-(y)ArAk** which we saw in example (61). When attached to the verb stem, the whole word has to be repeated, and the whole verbal sequence denotes a repeated action, or an action of long duration.

¹² The suffix **-(y)lA** has developed from the free (and phonologically invariant) morpheme **ile**. The suffixed form is used more widely in current Turkish. This morpheme is usually called the "comitative", but is also used as an instrumental. Both in its free and suffixed forms, it has postpositional properties; for example, it assigns genitive case to its pronominal object:

- (i) Ahmet sinema-ya ben **-im** **-le** git-ti
 Ahmet cinema-Dat. I **-Gen.** **-Com.** go-Past
 "Ahmet went to the movies with me."

The comitative postposition can also function as a conjunction, however; for example, where it attaches to the first conjunct of a coordinate NP in subject position, the verb will bear the appropriate plural agreement:

- (ii) Ahmet-**le** ben sinema-ya gitti-**k**
 Ahmet-**Com.****Conj.** I cinema-Dat. go **-1 pl.**
 "Ahmet and I went to the movies."

In such instances, the comitative functions just like the borrowed conjunction **ve**:

- (iii) Ahmet **ve** ben sinema-ya gitti **-k**
 Ahmet **-and** I cinema-Dat. go **-1 pl.**
 "Ahmet and I went to the movies."

For this reason, I shall be glossing the comitative morpheme as "comitative conjunction" in those instances where it functions as a conjunction.

¹³ This particle is written separately in standard orthography; however, it is clearly not a free morpheme, rather a postclitic, as seen by its undergoing Vowel Harmony according to the preceding stem. In this respect, it is similar to the Yes/No question particle we saw earlier in the text.

The particle **-DA** can mean *also*, as well; this happens where the second conjunct has identical material to the first, with the exception of the focused constituent:

- (i) Ahmet (**de**) televizyon seyretti, Osman **da**
 Ahmet (**-also**) TV watched Osman **-also**
 "Ahmet as well as Osman watched TV"

The occurrence of the particle in this usage in the first conjunct is optional where the subject is marked; however it is obligatory where something else but the subject is marked:

- (ii) Ahmet tiyatro -ya **da** git-ti, sinema-ya **da**
 Ahmet theater-Dat. **-also** go -Past cinema-Dat. **-also**
 "Ahmet went to the theater as well as to the movies"

Note that in this usage, the material in the second conjunct that must be identical to the corresponding material in the first conjunct is preferably omitted. In both its usage as 'also', seen in the examples of this footnote, and as 'and', as illustrated by (85) in the text, the particle **DA** is unstressed, and the immediately preceding syllable is stressed. However, the pitch of the stressed vowel, while always higher than the rest of the string, is lower before **DA** used as 'and', compared to the pitch of the stressed vowel preceding **DA** used as 'also'.

¹⁴ As mentioned earlier (cf. previous footnote), repeated material is preferably omitted.

¹⁵ Where a third person plural possessor or subject is very close to the agreement, the third person singular form is preferred over the third person plural form.

¹⁶ This informal statement about the order among verb complements and their preferred interpretations should be understood as reflecting general tendencies. Speakers do differ with respect to these judgements (while the unmarked sentence-initial position of subjects is agreed upon by all), and, to my knowledge, no statistical survey has been conducted to back up linguists' impressions about preferences of the majority.

¹⁷ This statement has to be modified somewhat: If it is assumed that a focused constituent in preverbal position has moved to that position, and, more specifically, if a focused pre-verbal subject has moved to that position, a non-subject could precede the subject and appear to be in sentence-initial position while actually staying in its original, non-sentence-initial position. Therefore, the statement in the text must be understood as referring to an order where a non-subject precedes a **non-focused** subject.

¹⁸ With the exception of non-specific subjects which must be left-adjacent to the verb and are not necessarily focused.

¹⁹ I shall informally refer to "scrambled" constituents when referring to constituents found in positions different from their original ones. Such word orders are due to pragmatic and discourse factors

²⁰ An interesting discussion of some of these facts concerning multiple WH-questions can be found in Bechhofer (1975).

²¹ Since in the Yes/No question the question particle is placed on the verb rather than on any of the other constituents, it is possible to interpret the question as one focusing on the predicate itself rather than as a full-clause question. In such a situation, the other constituents of the question can be interpreted as presupposed material and thus placed in postverbal positions appropriate for backgrounded material. We see this order exemplified in the two last answers of this example set. Indeed, the postposing of constituents can be seen as the last step of backgrounding before the ultimate level of backgrounding, namely of the omission altogether of presupposed material.

²² Lewis (1975) analyzes these suffixes into morphologically more complex forms; more specifically, he proposes that these consist mainly of conditional forms with the appropriate person markers, with "the interjection *e/a*" (see Lewis (1975: 271)) being suffixed onto them. While there might be historical and even some synchronic justification of this analysis, I shall treat these suffixes in their imperative use as unanalyzed entities. In this, I am not alone; see, for example, Underhill (1976: 422-423). I depart, however, from this practice in Chapter 4, where I list **-A** as one of a variety of interjections in Turkish.

²³ It might be more apt to use the forms "familiar" versus "distant" instead of "polite" versus "non-polite" for these colloquial forms. The conversational function of these colloquial imperatives is never polite in the regular, conventional, social sense, but rather that of sometimes friendly, sometimes gruff requests. The regular correlation between second person singular forms for non-polite as well as familiar addressees on the one hand and second person plural forms for polite as well as distant (from the point of view of acquaintance) addressees reduces to a distinction between familiar versus distant acquaintance when these colloquial imperatives are used.

²⁴ For an interesting discussion of such gapping facts, see Hankamer (1972).

²⁵ Underhill (1976) calls these "verbal noun" and "nominalization", respectively; however, he, too, draws the same distinction as I do between action and factive connotations of these forms.

²⁶ The suffix **-mİş** functions both as a marker for the reported past and the inferential past. Thus, examples (307), (308) and (309) are ambiguous between the readings as given in the text, whereby the speaker **infers** the

the truth of the statement from some evidence, and readings whereby the situation referred to by the statement has been **reported** to the speaker by someone else. The property common to both the reported and the inferential past is that the speaker has not directly witnessed the event depicted by the statement and therefore does not commit himself/herself to the truth of that statement.

27 As we shall see later, there is a suppletive construction involving the auxiliary **ol** 'become' for the future tense.

28 Traditional Turkish orthography treats this coordination marker as a free morpheme rather than as a suffix. However, this element is clearly a suffix phonologically; it undergoes Vowel Harmony according to the features of the preceding word, and its consonant is devoiced after a preceding word-final consonant. Neither process takes place across word boundaries.

29 For discussions of reflexive subjects in subordinate clauses, the reader is referred to Enç (1985), Kornfilt (1984) and Kornfilt (1988).

30 The analysis of infinitivals as clauses that have subjects is a standard one in generative grammar. In earlier work, a rule of "Equi-Subject-Deletion" was assumed to apply to infinitivals, deleting their subjects under identity with a constituent of the superordinate clause. Later approaches (e.g. Chomsky (1981)) have posited an anaphoric subject for infinitivals, PRO, which has properties similar to both pronouns and reflexives, and which is not phonologically realized.

31 Both Lewis (1975) and Underhill (1976) state that the form **biribir**, inflected appropriately, is an alternative for **birbir** as a reciprocal pronoun. However, **biribir** is found rarely in the standard and written stylistic levels of the language.

32 For discussions of reciprocal subjects in subordinate clauses, the reader is referred to Enç (1985), Kornfilt (1984) and Kornfilt (1988).

33 The discussion in footnote 29 carries over to this context.

34 Given that the possessor, i.e. the reciprocal, is a first person plural, the expected possessive agreement on **kardeş** 'sibling' should have been first person plural, rather than third person singular. However, reciprocal (and, for those speakers who permit them, reflexive) possessors and subordinate subjects require third person singular agreement on the head noun (cf. Kornfilt (1988)).

³⁵ It might be objected here that the suffix **-ları** can either have the function of the posited third person plural possessor, or that of the inherent plural plus third person *singular* agreement, but not the function of inherent plural plus third person *plural* agreement. As a matter of fact, the example is ambiguous between a reading where the head noun **dedikoduları** 'their gossip, their gossip items' is inherently singular and one where it is inherently plural. The second, unexpected reading is due to a restriction against repeated morphemes with similar functions. More specifically, the unexpected reading should have been associated with the following form, which is, however, ungrammatical:

- (i) *dedikodu -lar -ları
 gossip -pl. -3.pl.
 "their items of gossip"

The sequence of two suffixes, i.e. the repeated **-lar**, both expressing plurality (albeit one associated with inherent plurality and the other with agreement plurality), violates the restriction against sequences of similar morphemes. (For discussion of the restriction in question and its relevance for examples of just this kind, see Kornfilt (1986).)

³⁶ Knecht (1976) notes that certain oblique objects with idiosyncratic case marking cannot be deleted in such contexts. Since those facts are rather unclear, they are left out of consideration here.

³⁷ These considerations raise the question of whether comparative phrases, i.e. those simply consisting of the standard of comparison, should be derived from comparative clauses at all, or whether they should be generated independently. Knecht (1976) takes the first point of view. However, there is no need to take a stand on this issue for the purposes of this book, since the book's main objective is a descriptive one.

³⁸ Adjectives can also be moved in this way, however this is found almost exclusively in poetry. I therefore leave this possibility out of consideration for the purposes of this book.

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³⁹ For the sake of simplicity, the zero morpheme as the nominative suffix is not marked in the examples throughout this book.

⁴⁰ For some detailed discussion on this topic, the reader is referred to Enç (1991), Dede (1986), Tura (1986), and Sezer (1972).

⁴¹ The reason that the nominal agreement marker is third person singular rather than third person plural is that where the subject is overt and third person plural, the agreement marker is preferred to be third person singular. In "short" noun phrases, this preference is strengthened to grammatical judgement.

⁴² Most traditional grammarians analyze the sequence of the negation marker and the ablative suffix used in such adverbial clauses as one unanalyzed suffix: **-mAdAn**; e.g. Lewis (1975), Ergin (1985).

⁴³ The agreement marker on the numeral head of partitive constructions agrees with the preceding nominal in person and number. However, where that nominal is third person plural, the agreement marker is singular, while still reflecting the third person feature.

⁴⁴ Lewis (1975) states that **birçok** is "followed by a noun in singular or plural; pedants say singular only" (Lewis 1975: 75). If so, I am willing to shoulder the charge of being a pedant.

⁴⁵ A lucid discussion of collective versus distributive readings is offered in Lyons (1977: 187).

⁴⁶ For some discussion of issues of definiteness and referentiality, the reader is referred to Dede (1986) and Tura (1986). Some of the generalizations and statements in these articles differ from those of this book, however.

⁴⁷ These generalizations were first proposed, in a slightly different form, in Erguvanlı-Taylan (1986).

⁴⁸ For a discussion of overt versus omitted subject pronouns and the relevance of topic switching, see Enç (1986).

⁴⁹ As pointed out by Lewis (1975), the form **siz-siz** 'without you' is often avoided for stylistic reasons. Instead, one finds **siz olmadan** 'without your being'. However, this latter form is not just a replacement for the

former; it can be found as an alternative for all exclusionary forms, even for those which are stylistically acceptable.

⁵⁰ The form **onlar-sız** 'without them' is also often avoided for stylistic reasons, although the source of difficulty cannot be a phonetic one as for **sız-sız** (cf. the previous footnote). Again, one finds **onlar olmadan** 'without their being'.

⁵¹ For a thorough discussion of these facts and others, the reader is referred to Kornfilt (1990).

⁵² As elsewhere in possessive constructions, the third person plural agreement loses its plural part, when the plural possessor is overt rather than dropped; hence, only the third person singular possessive suffix can be used in such utterances.

⁵³ The last two verbs can also have an agentive meaning. Thus, **yüz** can also mean 'swim', and **kay** can also mean (especially with the addition of **kayak** 'ski'), 'to ski'. As agentive verbs, both are causativized with the regular suffix **-Dir**, thus making the transitive/causative verbs ambiguous between an agentive and non-agentive reading as well as the intransitive verbs. Incidentally, we might hypothesize that the reason why these two verbs take the regular causative suffix in their non-agentive reading is contamination from the causative forms of their agentive counterparts. The reason why the first verb in the group, i.e. **uyan** 'wake up (intr.)' does not take the causative suffix **-Ir** otherwise found on non-agentive verbs with stem-final consonants is probably a rather different one, namely an attempt to avoid confusion with the aorist tense. The general aorist suffix is **-(A)r**; however, after most polysyllabic stems, the suffix vowel is high, i.e. the allomorph is **-(I)r** (cf. the more detailed discussion of this allomorphy in section 2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 2.). Thus, after consonant-final polysyllabic non-agentive stems, the shape of the aorist suffix and that of the special causative suffix is the same. Therefore, it appears that in order to avoid confusion, the regular causative suffix **-Dir** is used to express causativity.

⁵⁴ The same suffix is found on main verbs and with the copula, and it functions as a reported/inferential past in both instances. However, as a copular form, it has the additional function of expressing an inferential or reported present. Thus, copular expressions exhibiting this suffix are systematically ambiguous between inferential or reported past and present tense.

⁵⁵ As a matter of fact, the agreement paradigm of the reported past is the same as the paradigm of the (present tense) copula. The same paradigm is found with the other simple tense/aspect markers, i.e. the future, the aorist, and the present progressive. Thus, in a sense, it might be said that among the (apparently) finite verbal forms, only those marked for the definite past and the conditional are genuinely verbal; all others are nominal. Independent arguments for such a view are found in Lees (1962) and Kornfilt (1996).

⁵⁶ This statement is in contradiction to Lewis (1975), where the opposite is claimed (Lewis 1975: 117).

⁵⁷ The paradigm for the optative mood is defective; it lacks productive forms for the third person singular and plural. To complete the paradigm, these forms are "borrowed" from the imperative paradigm, which means that the regular optative suffix as shown in the text is actually found only with the first and second persons singular and plural, but not with the third person.

⁵⁸ The differences in usage between the conditional as a morphologically simple verb form and as a "copular" form in morphological complex formations will be discussed in section 2. 1. 3. 4.

⁵⁹ The same is true when this suffix is followed by other tense markers in so-called complex tenses, as discussed in sections 2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 3. 2. and 2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 4. 3.

⁶⁰ This generalization breaks down in those instances where the subordinate clause is the subject of the superordinate clause. Forms in **-DIK** are generally excluded in this syntactic context, and **-mA** is used instead. This leads to a neutralization in the formal expression of the distinction between subjunctive and indicative in nonfinite subordinate clauses.

⁶¹ However, this suffix has different properties with respect to word stress, depending on whether it is finite or non-finite. When finite, it is exceptional with respect to stress, while it has regular stress when it is non-finite.

⁶² At the same time, the first suffix has aspectual value and expresses the perfect; in that sense, we are dealing here with a perfective aspect within the past tense.

- ⁶³ Instead of claiming that the future suffix expresses a genuine future tense in these morphologically complex forms, it can be claimed that this suffix expresses the irrealis. I will not take a stand on this issue in this descriptive grammar.
- ⁶⁴ This view is shared by Lewis (1975: 127) and by Johanson (1971: 67).
- ⁶⁵ These examples and their discussion are adapted from Comrie (1978: 4).
- ⁶⁶ Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience, I will continue to use the gloss 'Prog.' for the suffix **-(I)yor**.
- ⁶⁷ Lewis (1975:191) points out that the same construction, used with the verb **çık** 'come out, come up' has an exceptional meaning; rather than the expected 'keep coming up over a long period of time', it means 'come up suddenly'.
- ⁶⁸ It is difficult, if not impossible, to give grammatically acceptable translations of the last two examples that accurately reflect the Turkish aspectual morphology.
- ⁶⁹ Such a prohibition is proposed in Kornfilt (1986).
- ⁷⁰ See also Lewis (1975: 130).
- ⁷¹ I do not analyze the optative forms further into the mood suffix and the agreement suffixes, due to the exceptionality of the paradigm and to the fact that the forms in **-(y)A** are not used productively as third person singular forms. In this, I follow other grammarians of Turkish like Lewis (1975) and Underhill (1976).
- ⁷² While this is the prescriptive pattern for stress (see Lewis 1975: 132), it is possible to hear the first person singular optative with the stress on the first suffix syllable, as well. In any event, in colloquial style, the first person singular optative suffix is simplified into **-(y)im**, and is thus not exceptional with respect to stress any longer.
- ⁷³ Lewis (1975) states that the necessitative (debitive) cannot be followed by the conditional suffix (Lewis 1975: 125) and that instead of "the conditional forms of the necessitative, a periphrasis is used, with the conditional forms of the verbs **gerekmek** or **icabetmek** 'to be necessary'..."

(Lewis 1975: 127). While such periphrastic forms can indeed be used in the function mentioned, Lewis is wrong about the prohibition he states, as shown by the fully grammatical example (1295) in the text.

⁷⁴ This is the analysis that has been presupposed here, as many of the glosses for such forms in this book will reveal. The copula would be the cliticized *-y* (which corresponds to *i* in uncliticized forms); this glide drops after consonants, which explains the fact that it does not show up after most tense/aspect suffixes, given that those all end with consonants, with the exception of the definite past tense. However, the inferential past morpheme cannot follow the definite past tense morpheme, presumably due to semantic incompatibility. However, in complex forms involving the inferential past suffix following mood suffixes like the conditional or the optative, the glide does show up, thus supporting the analysis suggested here. This is also the view either implied or explicitly advanced in Johanson (1971), Lewis (1975), and Underhill (1976).

⁷⁵ Some discussion of the different agreement suffixes found with different tense/aspect forms was offered in the earlier subsections 2. 1. 3. 2. 1. 2.-4.

⁷⁶ Since the copula is not formally marked for the present tense, it is important to state which agreement paradigm is used in that function. Other tenses are overtly marked either on the copula directly or on the auxiliary *ol* and are followed by the agreement paradigm that is appropriate for the tense in question.

⁷⁷ For related discussion of agreement and its features, see also 1. 2. 2., 1. 2. 1. 1. 1.-3., and 2. 1. 4.)

⁷⁸ The third person singular agreement form for finite verbs is null. I have not marked this null form on most examples in this book. However, here, where the discussion centers around the contrast between the plural and singular agreement forms for third person plural subjects, the null morpheme has been indicated.

⁷⁹ In this example, the inherent plurality marker on the head noun is ungrammatical. The agreement plurality marker on the verbal predicate can be grammatical, but only under a reading where the quantified subject is a parenthetical:

- (i) beş öğrenci ben -i gör -mek iste -di -ler
 five student I -Acc. see -Inf. want -Past -pl.
 "They (and they were five students) wanted to see me"

⁸⁰ The observation that some verbal suffixes signal coreference between subjects has been made by a number of researchers, e.g. Biktimir (1986), Brendemoen and Csató (1987), and Özkaragöz (1986) (especially chapter 5 in the latter work).

It should be noted, however, that the restriction on these suffixes—that they head clauses (or phrases) whose subjects are coreferential with another subject—appears to be relaxed when the structural subject of the clause headed by one of the suffixes in question is not thematic, i.e. when the structural subject has the function of a pleonastic element. This is pointed out by Brendemoen and Csató (1987).

⁸¹ Please note that the ungrammaticality indicated in the translation for a reading of identity between the matrix antecedent and the subordinate subject reflects only the facts of the Turkish example; the English example is, in fact, grammatical under the reading in question.

⁸² The suffixes are listed in the order in which they occur in the verbal word, if they all co-occur.

⁸³ We shall see later that this strong tendency is obligatory for incorporated direct objects; in other words, incorporated direct objects cannot bear overt plurality marking, even if they are interpreted as plural, while incorporated subjects may bear such marking.

⁸⁴ While the first two properties listed in this paragraph are characteristic properties of incorporated subject nominals, this third property, referring to word order, is also found with incorporated direct objects.

⁸⁵ Hence, the experiencer might be viewed as incorporated into the postposition.

⁸⁶ A discussion of this construction can be found in Kornfilt (1977).

⁸⁷ Nonemphatic constituents cannot be interposed in this construction, despite the fact that Turkish is otherwise very free in its word order.

⁸⁸ The objection might be raised here that the sequence **fazla içmiş gibi gel** 'too-much-drunk-like-come' is not a genuine verbal sequence, since **gibi** 'like' is a postposition that itself interrupts the verbal sequence. However, as also mentioned in 2. 1. 3. 6. 12. 1. 8. on incorporated postpositions, the sequence **gibi gel** 'appear, seem', is itself the result of incorporating the postposition into the verb, or put differently, the result of relexicalization, justifying the present analysis as one verb, and viewing the sequence **içmiş gibi gel** as the sequence of the two verbs **içmiş** and **gibi gel**.

Interposing elements between **gibi** and **gel** appears to be slightly better than interposing elements between **içmiş** and **gibi gel**, but not better than borderline. It appears that incorporation of the subordinate (not case-marked) verbal predicate into the matrix predicate is tighter than the incorporation of the postposition into the verb.

⁸⁹ The interposed element is emphatic in the intended reading, since nonemphatic elements lead to even worse results.

⁹⁰ The reason for this qualification is the fact that many speakers can insert the particle **DA** 'also' into the ability suffix **-(y)Abil**, thus forming **-(y)A DA-bil**, often after negated verbs. This is restricted to colloquial style:

- (i) iş -e git -me -ye **de** -bil -ir -sin
 work -Dat. go -Neg. -**Ger.** -**and** -**know** -Aor.-2.sg.
 "You may also not go to work"

Note that even this conjunctive particle with its idiosyncratic behavior cannot be inserted after the first verb, thus breaking up the verbal sequence properly speaking.

⁹¹ Lewis (1975: 159-160) states that the same is true of passive participles marked with the future tense suffix, when the verb is intransitive:

- (i) otur -ul -mı -**yacak** bir ev
 live -Pass. -Neg. -**Fut.** a house
 "a house not to be lived in" (Lewis's translation.)

The verb **otur** 'live' takes locative objects and thus appears in impersonal, rather than regular passive constructions (cf. 2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 2. on impersonal passives). As a matter of fact, examples like (1) are ambiguous between a future and a potential (impotential) reading. In their future tense reading, they can occur with a copula or auxiliary participle, but they

cannot do so in their (im)potential reading. In neither reading can such participles be used predicatively:

- (ii) *bu ev otur -ul -mı -yacak
 this house live -Pass. -Neg. -Fut.
 Intended readings: "This house is not to be lived in";
 "This house will not be lived in"

This last observation is also made in Lewis (1975), where it is stated that constructions with such impersonal passives in the future tense are possible with a finite verb for a predicate:

- (iii) bu ev -de otur -ul -mı -yacak
 this house -Loc. live -Pass. -Neg. -Fut.
 "One will not live in this house;
 there will not be living done in this house"

This is nothing else but saying that where a verb takes an oblique object, rather than an accusative object, the related passive construction keeps the oblique object, and there is no nominative derived subject; this is also the way in which the relevant generalization was phrased in 2. 1. 3. 1. 1. 2. on impersonal passives.

⁹² Lewis (1975: 162) states that the definite past suffix can, in fact, mark past tense participles, albeit not in its base form **-DI**, but in a form identical to its first person plural form **-DIK**. The rather restricted (and, in some instances, frozen) forms in question are examples like the following:

- (i) um -ma -dik taş baş yar -ar
 expect -Neg. -PPart. stone head split -Aor.
 "The unexpected stone splits heads"

As correctly pointed out by Lewis (1975), these participial forms have a passive connotation, even where the verb is not overtly marked for passive, as in the previous example (although some of these forms can be so marked). However, rather than viewing this construction as a participial form of the definite past, as done by Lewis, I prefer to analyze it as a version of the participle otherwise used attributively to modify head nouns that are understood as the object of the participle, namely of the suffix **-DIK**, labelled in this book as Object Participle; the main formal difference is that in the usage under discussion here, the participle exhibits no agreement suffixes. We can view this construction as a very limited, semi-frozen past participial form, with the participle suffix **-DIK** used instead of **-mİş**, the more widely used bare past participle suffix.

⁹³ This use is a metaphorical extension of the primary meaning of **baş** 'head'.

⁹⁴ The palatal glide which represents the cliticized copula is deleted after a consonant.

⁹⁵ Word accent precedes the question clitic **mI**. However, if this clitic is preceded by a suffix which is exceptional with respect to stress (e.g. the verbal negation marker), primary word accent will precede that suffix, as usual:

- (i) gít -me -di -n **mi?**
 go -Neg. -Past -2.sg. -Q
 "Didn't you go?"

There might be secondary word accent on the syllable preceding the question clitic. In examples like (i), the syllable preceding the clitic is too close to the site of primary stress to be able to tell clearly. However, if such examples are made longer, the secondary stress is more perceptible:

- (ii) gít -**me** -yebil -ecèk **mi?**
 go -**Neg.** -Abil. -Fut. -Q
 "Will he be able not to go?"

The facts are thus different from the way they are reported in Lewis (1975), who states that the rise in pitch before **mI** "is most noticeable, predominating over the word-accent: **anlámadı** 'he did not understand' but **anlamadı mi?** 'did he not understand?'" (Lewis 1975: 24). Lewis's last example sounds rather strange and unfamiliar to me; as just described, primary stress should be before the negation marker, and there would be a secondary stress before the question marker, if any stress at all:

- (iii) anlá -**ma** -dì **mi?**
 understand -**Neg.** -Past -Q
 "Didn't he understand?"

⁹⁶ This clitic also has a morphologically free counterpart: **iken**. In this respect, the facts are quite similar to those of the inflected copula. However, the free form of this time adverbial is felt to be more oldfashioned than the corresponding copular forms. Nevertheless, the question can be posed whether the **i** of the free form and the corresponding **y** of the cliticized form might be the copula. This is a possible analysis, and there are no strong arguments against it. I shall leave this question undecided in this descriptive work, however.

⁹⁷ The fact that **-(y)ken** must precede **mI**, while copular forms must follow **mI**, could be taken as evidence against a possible analysis, touched upon in the previous footnote, that would view **-(y)ken** as actually consisting of **y** as the copula, with **-ken** attached to it. However, if one of the functions of **-ken** is to form a copular participle (with adverbial function), then these ordering facts are to be expected, since **mI** follows participles in general.

⁹⁸ It is possible that **gezegen** 'planet' is also derived by the same suffix, with a change from **ğ** to **g**. It is interesting to note that Lewis (1975) lists this word with the following orthography: **gezeğen**.

⁹⁹ In this formation, a stem-final **k** is dropped in most instances.

¹⁰⁰ It is also possible to delete the stem-final vowel of these locational adverbs when the locative or ablative marker is attached to them; e.g. **içer-de** 'inside', **dışar-dan** 'from outside'.

¹⁰¹ The question might be raised here if the three last suffixes might not be more insightfully analyzed as a sequence of the derivational **-lA** and the inflectional suffixes **-(I)n**, **-t**, and **-(I)ş**, i.e. the reflexive, causative and reciprocal, respectively. The main reason not to do this is the fact that not all verbs that exhibit one of these three suffixes have a counterpart with **-lA**, thus casting doubt on any claim that these verbs are generated in part via productive suffixes that express voice.

¹⁰² Note that the **a** in **-(I)mtraK** is not harmonic, i.e. it is back even where the stem has front vowels.

¹⁰³ This suffix is different from its homonym that derives adjectives from adjectives (cf. 2. 2. 3. 3.); it is exceptional with respect to word accent. In other words, it cannot receive regular (word-final) stress, and word accent appears on the syllable to its left. The adjectival suffix is regular in this respect.

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¹⁰⁴ For a discussion of this segment and the phonological processes it is involved in, see Kornfilt (1985).

¹⁰⁵ For these phenomena and other phonological processes in colloquial speech, see Sezer (1985).

¹⁰⁶ Clements and Sezer (1982) gives a list of stems that violate Vowel Harmony and offer an account of such "disharmony". They come close to claiming that Vowel Harmony is not a genuine generalization for stems in Turkish. I prefer to follow the traditional stance on this matter, i.e. to claim that Vowel Harmony is productive in Turkish within stems as well as within words, but that exceptions are much more widely found in stems than elsewhere.

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