

## Light Verb Constructions in Turkish: A Case for DP Predication and Blocking

In this paper we investigate the internal structure of bare nominals, mostly of Romance origin, e.g. *rapor* ‘report’, *analiz* ‘analysis’, *restore* ‘restore’, found in complex predicates (CPr) formed with the light verb (LV) *et-* ‘do’ in Turkish (1). In (1a) and (1b) in which the bare nominal occurs respectively with the LV *et-* ‘do’ and in its absence, the same arguments with the same theta roles and case properties are available. The literature dealing with bare nominals (BNs) under various names (e.g. Kornfilt 1997, Göksel and Kerslake 2005, Öztürk 2005) has generally given a unitary account of BNs and made no distinction among them. For instance, Öztürk (2005) assumes all BNs to be of predicative nature based on the systematic parallelisms between CPs and DPs (Abney, 1987). Following the account of predication, Keskin (2009: 127) offers a DP structure for BNs. Key and Tat (K&T, 2012), on the other hand, categorize preverbal transitive BNs according to the complements they take: if a CPr can be intransitivized by changing the LV from *et-* to *ol-* ‘become’, it is of Type I and if not, it is of Type II. This paper will investigate the nature of BNs and show that not all BNs are of the predicative nature unlike what is claimed in the literature. It will also present a categorization based on the predicative feature of BNs, contra K&T (2012). Our classification will reveal a blocking effect, where the existence of a lexical item blocks a periphrastic construct (**Type B**). It will also offer a DP structure different from the one proposed by Keskin (2009) arguing that our structure can account for the range of data Keskin (2009) fails to accommodate. (see Appendix for a sample list of types of BNs)

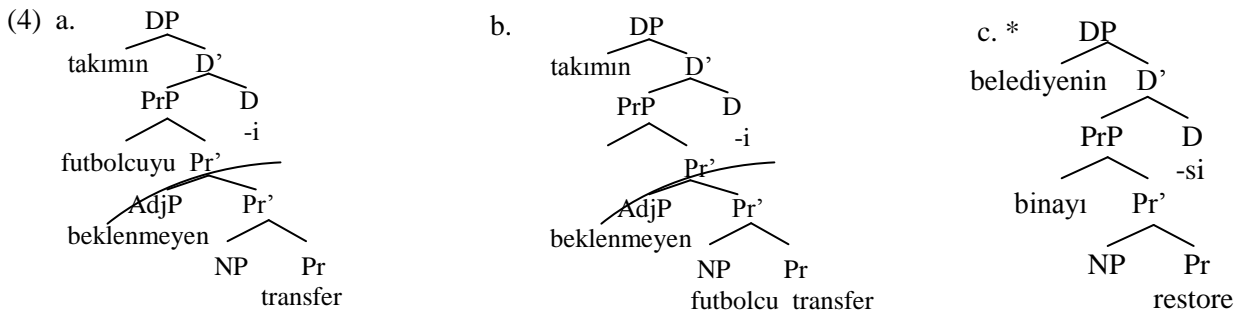
The evidence that not all BNs are of the predicative type comes from examples like (2). As seen in example (2), not all CP structures with CPrs can be projected into a DP, unlike (1). This implies that these BNs differ from one another in terms of their predicative feature, which is crucial for a DP to be grammatical. We will call BNs which project a DP **Type A** and those which don’t **Type B**. We extend Bowers’ (2001) idea of Predicate Phrase (PrP) and assume a PrP within DP to explain the difference between Type A and Type B. We propose the structure in (4a) for (3a). This structure differs from Keskin (2009) in which BNs are generated sisters of Pr° and projected as N°. In our structure, Pr° can select the maximal projection XP of a different lexical category X, e.g. NP or AdjP. This is evinced by the possibility of inserting certain particles like *bile* ‘even’ and coordination, which target only XPs (Taylan, 1984; Öztürk, 2005) as illustrated in (3c). This shows that BNs in both Type A and Type B constructions have full NP status syntactically, not N as suggested by Keskin, despite their difference in projecting a DP structure. PrP must contain a feature complex: [+nominal, +predicative], which must be satisfied.

Grimshaw and Mester (1988) take the BN itself to be the  $\theta$ -role assigner, which lends its arguments and  $\theta$ -marking ability to the LV via ‘Argument Transfer’ in a clause. We argue that in DP, a BN projects its a-structure without an abstract LV that inherits a-structure from it, contra Sezer (1991) and Keskin. Our structure can account for the cases in which NPs generated as the immediate sister of Pr° form a complex predicate, parallel to the case of pseudo-incorporation (cf. Massam, 2001; Öztürk, 2005), such as (3b) represented in (4b). Besides, the fact that they allow adjectival modifiers like *beklenmeyen* ‘unexpected’ supports the nominal nature of such BNs. An abstract LV would allow adverbial modification as in gerunds. BNs, like gerunds, take arguments but allow adjectival modification. We assume that certain adjectives mark the edge (existential closure) into which specific NPs cannot occur in DP, similar to the case of manner adverbs marking left-edge boundary of VP in CP. This analysis furthers the justification for assimilating DP and clauses. BN constructions differ from standard compounds (Özsoy, 2004) in involving predication although adjectives mark an edge in both constructions. To be interpreted as syntactic arguments, object NPs have to occur in Spec of PrP. BNs of Type A are both [+nominal, +predicative], and therefore they qualify to occupy the Pr° (cf. (4)). BNs of Type B are [+nominal, -predicative], so they cannot occur in Pr°, which leads to ungrammaticality in their DP as in (5a) represented in (4c).

We argue that there are two reasons BNs of the Type B exhibit [-predicative] feature: In the case of some BNs under this type, Turkish not only borrowed BNs, but also their ‘true’ nominal counterparts, e.g. *restore* ‘restore’ vs. *restorasyon* ‘restoration’. That’s why it is possible to talk of a “lexical blocking” effect for these BNs, in that BNs like *restore* are blocked from bearing [+nominal, +predicative] features if there is a ‘true’ nominal like *restorasyon* to begin with, which is already [+predicative]. In other words, the existence of a lexical item blocks a periphrastic construct. This explains the grammaticality of (5b), as opposed to (5a). A schematic representation is given in (6). The only way a ‘defective’ nominal/bound stem like *restore* to be used in a DP structure is with the LV *et-*. Other BNs of Type B don’t have their ‘true’ nominal counterparts, i.e. they exhibit some adjectival flavor, e.g. *irite* ‘irritate(d)’, *onore* ‘honor(ed)’. Hence, they are not qualified to occupy the Pr position. K&T’s method of classification would predict that a BN like *monte* ‘montage’ should be taken to be under Type A (when translated into our categorization). The reason is that the intransitive version of such a CPr cannot be formed by changing the LV from (transitive) *et-* to (intransitive) *ol-*. However, we argue that CPrs like *monte*, *sabote* belong to Type B because their true nominal counterparts also exist in Turkish. The existence of *montaj*, for instance, precludes *monte* from

having the [+predicative] feature. It is for this reason that a DP structure with *monte* cannot be the counterpart of a CP as illustrated in (7). Based on the argument we put forward, we hold that alternation with *ol-* for intransitivization cannot be taken as a reliable criterion.

- (1) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Öğrenci-ler yasa-yı protesto etti.]  
*student-pl. law-acc protest did*  
 “The students protested the law.”
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> Öğrenci-ler-in yasa-yı protesto-su]  
*student-pl.-gen law-acc protest-3poss.*  
 “The students’ protest against the law”
- (2) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Kurul yazar-ı onore etti.]  
*board author-acc honor did*  
 “The board honored the author.”
- b. \* [<sub>DP</sub> Kurul-un yazar-ı onore-si]  
*board-gen author-acc honor-3poss*  
*Intended: “The board’s honoring of the author”*
- (3) a. [<sub>DP</sub> takım-in futbolcu-yu transfer-i]  
*team-gen football player-acc transfer-3poss*  
 “the team’s transfer of the football player”
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> takım-in (beklenmeyen) futbolcu transfer-i]  
*team-gen (unexpected) f. player transfer-3poss*  
 “the team’s (unexpected) football-player transfer”
- c. [<sub>DP</sub> takım-in futbolcu ve basketbolcu transfer-i]  
*team-gen football player and basketball player transfer-3poss*  
 “the team’s football-player and basketball-player transfer”



- (5) a. \* [<sub>DP</sub> Belediyenin binayı restoresi... ] *Intended: “the municipality’s restoration of the building”*
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> Belediyenin binayı restorasyonu... ] “the municipality’s restoration of the building”

(6)

	BN element	True nominal	BN Blocked
Type A	dizayn ‘design’	dizayn ‘design’	No
Type B	sabote ‘sabotage’	sabotaj ‘sabotage’	Yes

- (7) [<sub>CP</sub> Tamirci dolabı (duvara) monte etti.] “The repairman fixed the cupboard to the wall.”
- a. \* [<sub>DP</sub> Tamircinin dolabı (duvara) montesi... ] *Intended: “the repairman’s fixing of the cupboard to the wall”*
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> Tamircinin dolabı (duvara) montajı... ] “the repairman’s fixing of the cupboard to the wall”

### Appendix

**Type A** : protesto etmek, analiz etmek, dizayn etmek, kontrol etmek, rapor etmek...

**Type B** : restore (etmek) vs. restorasyon; motive (etmek) vs. motivasyon; finanse (etmek) vs. finansman; monte (etmek) vs. montaj; sabote (etmek) vs. sabotaj; onore etmek, irrite etmek...

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