

SUBJECT INFINITIVES IN TURKISH

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Introduction: In Turkish, -mA(K) is the nominalizer that forms embedded infinitival clauses. In this study, I focus on the structure of infinitives that appear as though they are clausal subjects. The data consist of three sets with different structures, as illustrated in (1-3).

- (1) [PRO_i ev-e gel-mek] Ali-yi üz-dü.
home-DAT come-mAK Ali-ACC upset-PST.3.SG
'Coming home upset Ali.'
- (2) [Ayşe-nin gel-me/-iş/*-eceğ/*-diğ-i] Ali-yi mutlu et-ti.
Ayşe-GEN come-NMNLZR-NOM Ali-ACC happy make-PST.3.SG
'That/ the way Ayşe came/ *will come made Ali happy.'
- (3) Ben dün (bir adam tarafından) soy-ul-ma-ya
I-NOM yesterday a man by rub-PASS-mA(K)-DAT
kalkış-ıl-dım.
attempt-PASS-PST.1.SG
Lit. Meaning: 'Yesterday, I was attempted to be robbed by a man.'

Problem: Specifically, I attempt to answer the following questions regarding these constructions:

- i) What is the type of the control relation in (1) and how is it established?
- ii) How are the infinitival nominalizations in the form of a Genitive-Possessive embedded clause are selected and promoted to the subject position among three other nominalizations, as in (2)?
- iii) Are the obligatorily passivized embedded infinitives like in (3) subject clauses or are they voice-restructuring mechanisms where the embedded object undergoes raising and appears in the matrix subject position?

Proposal: My proposal is as follows:

- i) It is Non-Obligatory Control (NOC) that is built via pragmatic means only. The subject clause is base-generated as the causer argument. Contra Boeckx et al. (2010) it is not Obligatory Control (OC) built via sideward movement. As opposed to the English counterparts of these analyzed in Landau (2013), topicality does not play a role and the controller in these structures is the logophoric center of the event.
- ii) While -DİK and -(y)AcAK nominalizations are incompatible, -mA(K) nominalizations are compatible with the causer role (see Pesetsky, 1995). Theta compatibility and theta hierarchy (i.e. Causer > Experiencer > Subject Matter, Target) plays a key role in nominalizer selection and promotion to subject.
- iii) These are voice restructuring configurations that can be built by the following six verbs in Turkish: *başla-* 'to start', *iste-* 'to want', *karar ver-* 'to decide', *çalış/uğraş-* 'to try', and *kalkış-* 'to attempt'.

Selected References: Boeckx, C., Hornstein, N. & Nunes, J. (2010). *Control as movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Landau, I. (2013). *Control in Generative Grammar: A Research Companion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pesetsky, D. (1995). *Zero syntax*. MIT Press: Cambridge Massachusetts. Wurmbrand, S. & K. Shimamura, (2017). The features of the voice domain: actives, passives, and restructuring. In: *The verbal domain*, ed. by Roberta d'Alessandro, Irene Franco and Ángel Gallego, 179-204. Oxford: Oxford University Press.