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Compounding with a polymorphic deverbalizer in Turkish

Introduction: This paper is concerned with compounds headed by nouns built by the deverbalizer *-Im* in Turkish. Our basic observation is that they polymorphically correspond to both compounds like *'home-made'* and compounds like *'cake-baking'* (see Borer, 2012). Our investigation reveals that the theme has a distinguished status in these compounds, strongly suggesting that the base for *-Im* cannot be a plain event predicate but has argument structure. Thus, as we provide a compositional semantics for compounds built by *-Im*, we also hope to contribute to the debate on whether the base of a deverbal noun may have argument structure or not (Kratzer, 1996; Marantz, 1997; Harley, 2009; Grimm & McNally, 2015).

Main data: Compounds headed by a noun deverbalized by *-Im* can be event descriptions as in (1) or denote predicates of individuals as in (2).

- (1) a. [ev-de saç kes-**im**-in]-i öğren-iyor-um.
house-LOC hair.NOM cut-NMZ-CMPD-ACC learn-IMP-1SG
Lit: 'I am learning [hair-cutting at home].'
- b. [badem unuyla kek yap-**im**-in]-a merak sar-dı-m.
with.almond.flour cake.NOM make-NMZ-CMPD-DAT develop.passion-PST-1SG
Lit: 'I've developed a passion for [cake-baking with almond flour].'
- (2) a. Bu kekler[evyap-**im**-i]. b. [fabrika üret-**im**-i] çanta
this cakes house make-NMZ-CMPD factory produce-NMZ-CMPD bag
Lit: 'these cakes are house-making' Lit: 'factory-production bag'
'These cakes are home-made.' 'a factory-produced bag'

There is systematicity in where we find each of these interpretations: If the NP that precedes the deverbal noun is the theme of the (nominalized)

verb, the only interpretation available is an event description. If, on the other hand, the NP that precedes the deverbal noun is some other relation to the (nominalized) verb, then the event-description interpretation is no longer available (cf. Borer, 2003; 2012). Instead, the compound denotes a predicate of individuals that range over the theme.

- (3) a. [[ev]theme yap-im-ı] → ‘making-houses’ (event description)
 b. [[ev]location yap-im-ı] → ‘home-made’ (predicate of individuals)

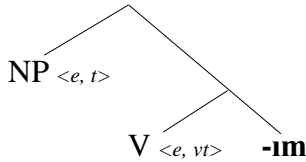
Thus the generalization is that the theme has a distinguished status in these compounds. It either has to contribute to the event description or correspond to a target for ‘relativization’. Even in sentences where the available reading is unacceptable due to world knowledge, the reading that *does* make sense cannot be accessed. This is illustrated in (4) where the theme is left unexpressed despite lack of relativization and in (5) where the relativization targets a non-theme position.

- (4) [bebek tüket-im-i] hakkında bir belgesel izledim.
 baby consume-NMZ-CMPD about a documentary I.watched
 Lit: ‘I watched a documentary about baby-consuming.’
intended but unavailable: ‘... a documentary about the consumption behavior of babies’
available: ‘... a documentary about consuming babies’
- (5) [çanta üret-im-i] fabrika-lar
 bag produce-NMZ-CMPD factory-PL
intended but unavailable: ‘factories {where bags are produced/that produce bags}’
available: ‘factories produced by bags’

Proposal: We propose that -Im is a polymorphic/polysemous deverbalizing function, whose first argument is uniformly a verb with an unsaturated theme argument. We implement this intuition within a uniform syntax, illustrated in (6), setting aside the compound marker -I(n). We provide two distinct meanings for -Im, representing its two functions. -Im_{event} simply returns a predicate of events after saturating the theme slot by using the meaning of the NP (in effect incorporating it). -

$\text{Im}_{\text{relative}}$, on the other hand, returns a predicate of individuals by abstracting over the theme variable (without syntactic relativization) and existentially binding the event variable and incorporating the overt NP as a distinct relation to the event. Thus, we derive the meanings in (8) for (3a)-(3b).

(6)



(7) a. $\llbracket -\text{Im}_{\text{event}} \rrbracket =$

$\lambda Q. \lambda f. [\lambda e. \exists x: f(x)=1 \ \& \ Q(x)(e)=1]$

b. $\llbracket -\text{Im}_{\text{relative}} \rrbracket =$

$\lambda Q. \lambda f. [\lambda x. \exists y \exists e: Q(x)(e)=1 \ \& \ f(y)=1 \ \& \ R_c(y)(e)=1]$

(R_c is a contextually retrieved relation)

(8) a. $\llbracket (3a) \rrbracket = \lambda e. \exists x: \text{house}(x)=1 \ \& \ \text{make}(x)(e)=1$

‘set of events of making (=building) houses’

b. $\llbracket (3b) \rrbracket = \lambda x. \exists e \exists y: \text{make}(x)(e)=1 \ \& \ \text{house}(x)=1 \ \& \ \text{AT}(y)(e)=1$

‘set of things made at home’

Predictions: The analysis makes several correct predictions, three of which are shown below.

#1: Unergative verbs cannot be deverbalized with -Im. There is no instance of a deverbal noun built by -Im based on unergative verbs, which we assume are of type $\langle v, t \rangle$, not $\langle e, vt \rangle$: e.g. *koş-um (int: running), *konuş-um (int: talking, speaking), *kay-ım (int: skiing).

#2: if a theme NP incorporates \rightarrow no further NP incorporation. See (9) below. This is predicted because R_c (which would license ev in (9)) is only available to the $-\text{Im}_{\text{relative}}$ which necessarily abstracts over the theme NP.

(9) *ev kek yap-ım-ı
 house cake make-NMZ-CMPD-DAT
 Intended: ‘cake-baking at home’ cf. (1a)

#3: no theme NP \rightarrow no $\langle v, t \rangle$ modifiers. If the overt NP is not a theme, the only available parse is with $-\text{Im}_{\text{relative}}$. Crucially, in this parse, there is no $\langle v, t \rangle$ node in syntax which would accept event modifiers. Their presence causes sharp ungrammaticality, as shown in (10a). But as

predicted, event modifiers are available to the parse with $-Im_{event}$, as shown in (10b).

- (10) a. Bu kekler[(*az malzeme-yle)_{<v, t>} [ev yap-**im**-1]].
 this cakes little ingredient-WITH house make-NMZ-CMPD
 ‘These cakes are home-made(-with-little ingredients)intended, *’
- b. az malzeme-yle_{<v, t>} ev-de_{<v, t>} [kek yap-**im**]_{<v, t>} -1
 little ingredient-WITH house-LOC cake.NOM make-NMZ CMPD
 Lit: ‘cake-baking with little ingredients at home.’

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