

Introduction

Goal: Investigate Turkish verbal reflexives (TVRs), (1a), in comparison to their pronominal counterparts, (1b).

- (1) a. (*verbal reflexive*)
Çocuk besle-n-di.
child feed-REFL-PST
'The child fed himself.'
- b. (*pronominal reflexive*)
Çocuk kendi-ni besle-di.
child self-ACC feed-PST
'The child fed himself.'

Results Previewed

1. Intransitivity

- Pronominal reflexives are syntactically transitive and semantically dyadic.
 - TVRs are syntactically intransitive and semantically monadic.
2. **Reflexivization** The structure involves a reflexivizing Voice head, (8), one that identifies the agent and theme roles.
3. **Mixed behavior** The sole argument has its base position as the internal argument. It then moves to a VoiceP-peripheral derived subject position, (13), in a way not causally tied to the reflexivization itself. The movement is syntactically driven, and is triggered by an edge feature, [**•D•**].

1. Intransitivity

↪ TVRs are syntactically intransitive and semantically monadic.

	Pronominal reflexive	Verbal reflexive
Proxy readings	✓	✗
Causee Case	DAT	ACC
VP ellipsis/Focus	strict and sloppy	only sloppy
Comparative ellipsis	three readings	only one reading
De re readings	✓	✗

• **Proxy:** The pronominal reflexive can refer to a contextually salient proxy of its antecedent, (2a); no proxy readings with the verbal reflexive (2b).

- (2) *Context: Kıvanç Tatlıtuğ sees that his wax statue is about to be destroyed by the rain, and decides to cover it.*
- a. Kıvanç kendi-ni ört-tü.
Kıvanç self-ACC cover-PST
'Kıvanç covered himself.'
- b. #Kıvanç ört-ün-dü.
Kıvanç cover-NACT-PST
'Kıvanç covered.'

• **Causativization:** Causees of causativized transitives are DAT, while intransitives are ACC. Pronominal reflexives pattern like transitives, (3a), and TVRs like intransitives, (3b).

- (3) a. Ebeveynler-i {çocuğ-a / *çocuğ-u} kendi-ni besle-t-ti.
parents-3POSS {child-DAT / *child-ACC} self-ACC feed-CAUS-PST
'His parents made the child feed himself.'
- b. [The Youtuber Orkun Işıtmak complains that his wife Merve doesn't cook, so he has to get take-out often:]
Merve {ben-i / *ban-a} bu ara berbat besle-n-dir-iyor.
Merve {I-ACC / *I-DAT} this while terrible feed-REFL-CAUS-PROG
'Merve is making me feed (myself) terribly these days.'

2. Internal Argumenthood

Three diagnostics (**Stative passives in -Ik and -mİş**, and **Resultatives**) show that the surface subject starts out as the logical object.

• **Stative Passivization:** Unaccusatives, but not unergatives, can be stative-passivized with *-Ik*:

- (4) a. kır-ık bardak
break-ADJ glass
'the broken glass'
- b. *uyu-k bebek
sleep-ADJ baby
Intended: 'the slept baby'

Verbal-reflexive-forming Roots pattern as unaccusatives: they form stative passives, (5).

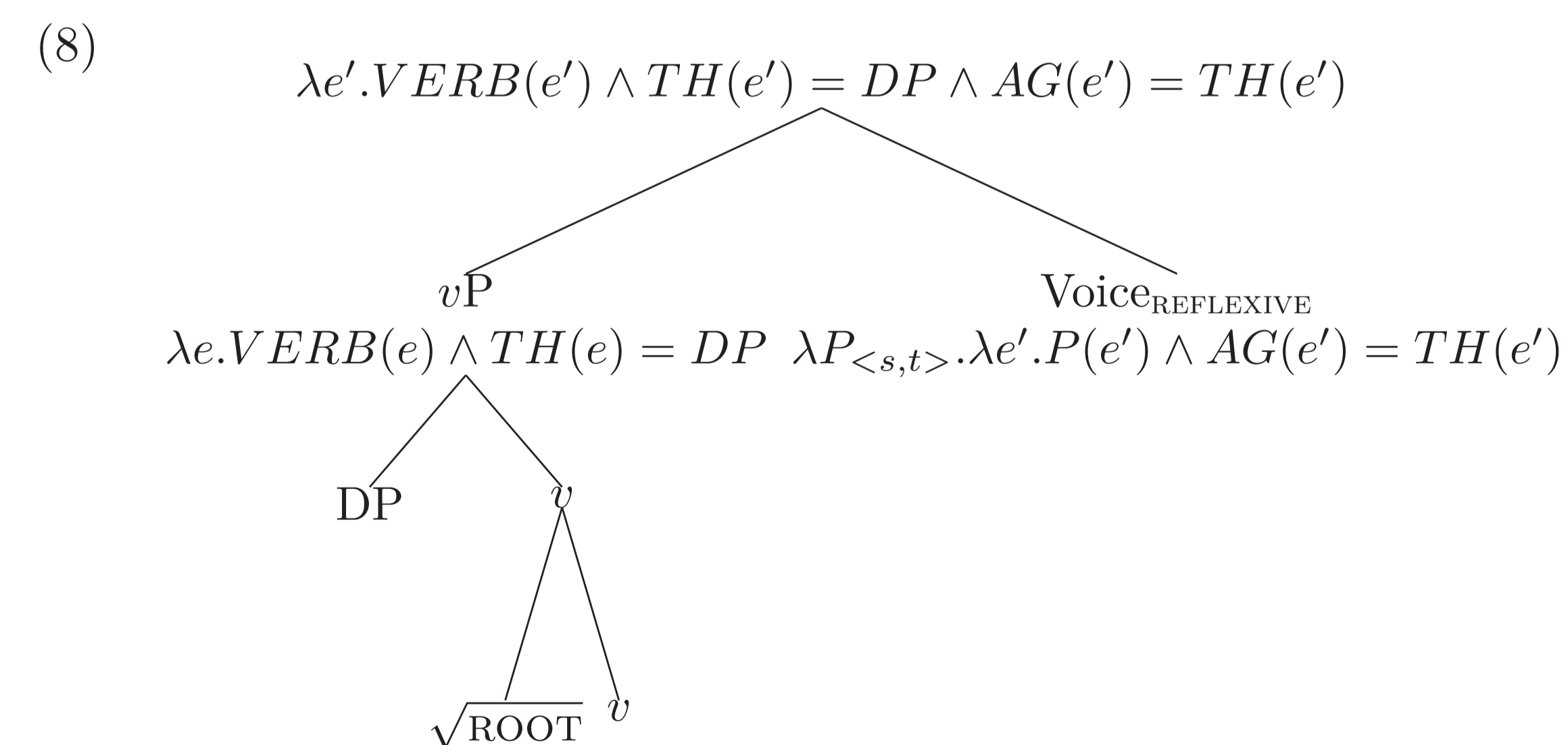
- (5) a. Polis maktül-ü üst-ü {soy-un-uk / giy-in-ik} bir
police victim-ACC top-ACC {undress-REFL-ADJ / dress-REFL-ADJ} a
vaziyet-te bul-du.
state-LOC find-PST
'The police found the victim self-undressed/self-dressed.'
- b. koltuk-ta 1-2 saat uza-n-ık dur-mak...
couch-LOC 1-2 hour lie.down-REFL-ADJ remain-INF
'To stay lying down on the couch for 1-2 hours.'

• **Resultatives:** In Turkish, resultatives can only be predicated of a syntactically projected deep object (Turgay 2013). Crucially, they are compatible with TVRs, (6)-(7).

- (6) a. Kendi-m-i ter-temiz yıka-dı-m.
self-1SG.POSS-ACC REDUP-clean wash-PST-1SG
'I washed myself completely clean.'
- b. Ter-temiz yıka-n-dı-m.
REDUP-clean wash-REFL-PST-1SG
'I washed myself completely clean.' (Gürkan 2019:(24))
- (7) a. Kendi-m-i mavi-ye boya-dı-m.
self-1SG.POSS-ACC blue-DAT paint-PST-1SG
'I painted myself blue.'
- b. Sen-in için mavi-ye boya-n-dı-m.
you-GEN for blue-DAT paint-REFL-PST-1SG
'I painted myself (i.e., my whole body) blue for you.'

3. Analysis - Part I: A Reflexive Voice account

The approach in Paparounas 2023 is easily adaptable into Turkish (see also Oikonomou & Alexiadou 2022):



- (8) readily captures monadicity: only one entity variable (event participant) is ever introduced.
- Reflexive Voice, which is a subtype of Voice, (Labelle 2008, McGinnis 2022, Paparounas 2023); cf. Ahn 2015, Paparounas & Akkuş 2023) does Agent-Theme identification in lieu of \exists closure (found in passive Voice).

4. External Argumenthood

Various tests sensitive to the syntactic presence of an argument in Spec,VoiceP suggest that the single, internal argument of TVRs also passes through the external argument position:

- (i) **Impersonals**, (ii) **Adverbial gerundive -ArAk**, (iii) **Agent nominalization**, (iv) **Causativization (Causee incorporation)**, (v) **Non-passivization**, (vi) **LOM**

• **Episodic impersonals:** Unergatives/transitives can form impersonals in episodic contexts; but unaccusatives cannot, only licensing impersonals under a habitual reading (Nakipoğlu 2001, Legate et al. 2020).

↪ Verbal reflexives freely form episodic impersonals, thus patterning with unergatives/transitives:

- (9) Büyük-ler-in ön-ü-nde saygı-yla eğ-il-in-di.
big-PL-GEN front-POSS-LOC respect-with bend-REFL-IMPERS-PST
'People/one bowed respectfully in front of the elder people.'
- (10) Misafir-ler-in ön-ün-de giy-in-il-di, süsle-n-il-di.
guest-PL-GEN front-POSS-LOC dress-REFL-IMPERS-PST doll-REFL-IMPERS-PST
'People/one dressed up, dolled up in front of all the guests.'

• **Adverbial gerundive -ArAk:** mismatches of *unergative/transitive – unaccusative* are disallowed (e.g., Knecht 1985, Biktimir 1986, Nakipoğlu 2001, Akkuş 2021).

- (11) a. Kız [söyle-n-erek] yürü-dü.
girl say-REFL-ARAK walk-PST
'The girl walked (while) complaining.' (Nakipoğlu 2002: 13c)
- b. *Kız [söyle-n-erek] düş-tü.
girl say-REFL-ARAK fall-PST
'The girl fell (while) complaining.'
- c. *Çocuk [okşa-n-arak] söyle-n-di.
child caress-PASS-ARAK say-REFL-PST
'The child complained (while s/he was) being caressed.'

External-Internal Properties Combined

- (12) a. Dün bu dere-de ter-temiz yıka-n-il-di.
yesterday this river-LOC REDUP-clean wash-REFL-IMPERS-PST
'People/one washed completely clean yesterday.'
- b. *pro* [çocuğ-u ter-temiz yıka-n]-dır-dı-m.
[child-ACC REDUP-clean wash-REFL]-CAUS-PST-1SG
'I caused [the child to wash _ completely clean].'

5. Analysis - Part II: Movement of the sole argument

- (13)
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- The sole argument originates low, but moves to a VoiceP-peripheral derived subject position, (13), which is not causally tied to the reflexivization.
 - The movement is syntactically triggered by an edge feature, [**•D•**].
 - Reflexive Voice gives us a locus to place the differences between reflexives and passives/unaccusatives, whose surface subject does not pass external argument diagnostics:

