

# Composing with clauses, in Turkish and beyond

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## 1. Preliminaries

Clauses can combine with verbs and nouns. (Adjectives are left for another occasion.)

- (1) a. Karen {believes, thinks} that Adrian lives in Munich.  
b. the {belief, thought} that Adrian lives in Munich

**Today's question:** *How* do clauses combine with verbs and nouns?

- Do they pattern like other *complements*?

- (2) a. Ömer buttered \*(the toast).  
b. the buttering \*(of) the toast

- Do they pattern like other *modifiers*? (The relevance of modification will be clarified.)

- (3) a. Ömer (slowly) buttered the toast.  
b. the (slow) buttering of the toast

Despite its apparent simplicity, this question has been and still is under active research:

- It has a syntactic and a semantic component: Do syntactic and semantic operations match up?
- Its answer be different across different classes of clauses, verbs and nouns, or languages.

It is important, because structures with embedded clauses that look very similar to one another may give rise to very different interpretations.

- (4) a. Karen explained that Adrian lives in Munich.  
⇒ Karen said “Adrian lives in Munich.”  
b. Karen explained the rumor that Adrian lives in Munich.  
⇒ Karen said “Adrian lives in Munich.”  
c. Karen repeated the rumor that Adrian lives in Munich.  
⇒ Karen said “Adrian lives in Munich.”

- (5) a. [Yağmur yağ-dığ-ın-ı] bil-iyor-um. (↔ It's raining.)  
rain precipitate-NMZ-3S.POSS-ACC BIL-PRES-1S  
I know that it's raining.  
b. [Yağmur yağ-ıyor diye] bil-iyor-um. (↗ It's raining.)  
rain precipitate-PRES.3S DIYE BIL-PRES-1S  
I think that it's raining.

**Overarching goal:** Better understanding the syntax of clausal composition, we hope to better understand its interpretation(s), and vice versa.



**Today's empirical domain:** Two (out of many) kinds of embedded clauses in Turkish, in how they combine with verbs and with nouns.

- Clause type #1: Nominalized clauses

Nominal morphosyntax: Genitive subjects, agreement from the possessive paradigm, a nominalizing morpheme and case.

These *look* like English poss-ing structures, but they translate *that* clauses.

- (6) a. Karen [Adrian'ın Münih'te yaşa-dığ-ın-ı] düşünüyor.  
 Karen Adrian-GEN in Munich live-NMZ-3s.POSS-ACC thinks  
 Karen thinks that Adrian lives in Munich. verb + nominalization
- b. [Adrian'ın Münih'te yaşa-dığ-ı] düşünce-si  
 Adrian-GEN in Munich live-NMZ-3s.POSS.NOM thought-sı  
 the thought that Adrian lives in Munich noun + nominalization

- Clause type #2: *Diye* clauses

Root morphosyntax and introduced by the morpheme *diye*.<sup>1</sup>

These also translate *that* clauses. If there are meaning differences between (6) and (7), they are subtle.

- (7) a. Karen [Adrian Münih'te yaşıyor diye] düşünüyor.  
 Karen Adrian in Munich lives DIYE thinks  
 Karen thinks that Adrian lives in Munich. verb + *diye* clause
- b. [Adrian Münih'te yaşıyor diye] bir düşünce  
 Adrian in Munich live DIYE a thought  
 a thought that says that Adrian lives in Munich noun + *diye* clause

**Preview of results:** Nominalizations and *diye* clauses compose differently with nouns and verbs.

- *Diye* clauses must be modifiers, with verbs and with nouns, *except* in one case with verbs (that we have evidence for).
- Nominalizations can't be modifiers.
  - With verbs, they are arguments.
  - With nouns, nominalizations form noun-noun compounds where the relation between the two nouns is identity.

Foreshadowing: This result is a consequence of the equative nature of examples like (8a) (Stowell 1981; Potts 2002; Moulton 2009, a.o.) and is argued to involve the same *class* of objects as 'explicative genitives' or 'close appositives' by Sæbø (2019), in (8b).

<sup>1</sup>The morpheme derives from the verb *de-* for 'say.' See here Yıldırım-Gündoğdu (2018), Major (2021), a.o.

- (8) a. The rumor is that it's raining. (cf. The rumor is sad.)  
 b. the rumor that it's raining  $\approx$  the city of Constance/the color blue

These results echo both old and new observations from the literature, most immediately Bochnak and Hanink (2022). The key empirical arguments are, to my knowledge, mostly novel.

## 2. Why think that complementation and modification are both on the table?

Why think that *that* clauses are arguments?

- (9) a. Karen believes \*(that Adrian lives in München).  
 b. Karen {said, \*talked} that Adrian lives in München.

They are obligatory with transitive verbs and ungrammatical with intransitive ones.



However, the idea that *that* clauses are not (like NP) arguments goes back at least to Stowell (1981).

**Verbs** Tensed clauses resist being case marked. This is meant to account for examples like (10):

- (10) a. He blamed it on Bill's being too strict.  
 b. \*He blamed it on that Bill was too strict.  
 (11) a. I consider John's having come home to be fortunate.  
 b. \*I consider that John came home to be fortunate.

Stowell argues that examples like (12) are acceptable because the matrix verb's internal argument is saturated by the trace of a *that* clause, which itself adjoins to VP.<sup>2</sup>

- (12) Paul mentioned [ $e_j$ ] to Bill [that his shirt was dirty]<sub>*j*</sub>

This operation is likened to Heavy NP Shift, which is motivated by (13) and (14):

- (13) a. Paul mentioned the problem to Bill.  
 b. ?Paul mentioned to Bill the problem.  
 c. Paul mentioned to Bill the problem that had been bugging him for years.  
 (14) a. Paul mentioned to Bill that his shirt was dirty.  $\approx$  (13c)  
 b. ?Paul mentioned that his shirt was dirty to Bill.

**Upshot:** *That*-clauses are not sitting in a verb's argument position, but seem to adjoin to VP.<sup>3</sup>

**Nouns** The thematic relation between a verb and an infinitival complement remains the same when the verb is nominalized. In particular, that relation is not identity or predication: (15c) is #.

- (15) a. Jim refused to go swimming.  
 b. Jim's refusal to go swimming  
 c. #Jim's refusal was to go swimming.

<sup>2</sup>One would have to reconstruct why the same trick can't be played for (10b) and (11b), but perhaps it can, provided that the case assignee be pronounced, e.g., *I consider it to be fortunate that John came home.*

<sup>3</sup>This syntactic hypothesis is further developed and interpreted compositionally in Moulton (2015).

The thematic relation between the verb and its *that* clause complement is not the same as the relation between the derived nominal and a *that* clause. That relation is one of identity.<sup>4</sup>

- (16) a. Andrea guessed that Bill was lying.  
 b. Andrea's guess that Bill was lying  
 c. Andrea's guess was that Bill was lying. equative
- (17) Andrea's guess was accurate. predicative

So Stowell concludes that tensed clauses are *in apposition* with the nominal. "A *claim* refers to [the] thing which is claimed, rather than to the act of claiming; similarly for *guess* and *explanation*."

If I'm reading Stowell correctly, what it means for a clause to be *in apposition* with a noun is that the two stand in a relation of equality.

- (18) a. Tim Stowell, a linguist at UCLA, teaches Syntax III.  
 b. Tim Stowell, the occupant of 3300B Rolfe Hall, teaches Syntax III.



Moulton (2015), citing Grimshaw and others, presents a distinction between *Argument Structure Nominals* and *Non-Argument Structure Nominals* and suggests that clause-taking nouns consistently form the latter.

Argument Structure Nominals are acceptable with Aktionsart modifiers.

- (19) a. We observed the butler for several weeks.  
 b. Observation of the butler for several weeks is needed. ASN

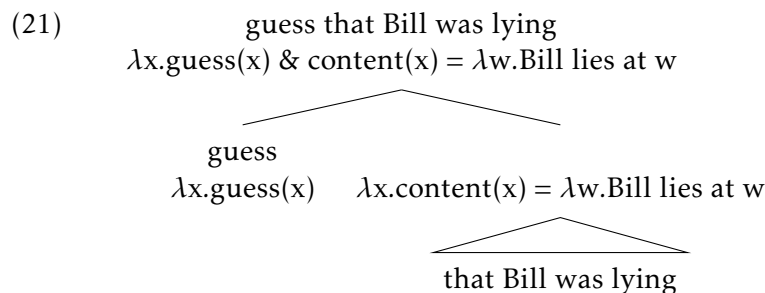
Non-Argument Structure Nominals are not acceptable with Aktionsart modifiers.

- (20) a. They observed that the butler was likely the killer for several weeks.  
 b. \*Their observation that the butler was likely the killer for several weeks was not supported by evidence. NASN



**Implementing composition with nouns** There are two prominent approaches to composing nouns with clauses that don't appeal to complementation.

One treats *that* clauses as predicates of contentful individuals, of type  $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$  and intersects them with the denotation of nouns (Moulton, 2009).




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<sup>4</sup>It is admittedly difficult to intuit whether (16a) and (16b) involve the same or a different thematic relation between the verb/noun and the clause.



- (1) *háʔaʃayiʃge* *dihámup'áyi*  
 [ Ø-haʔaʃ-ayʔ-**i-ʃ-ge** ] di-hamup'ay-i  
 3-rain-INT.PAST-**IND-DS-NM.ACC** 1/3-forget-IND  
 'I forgot that it rained.'
- (2) *béverli démlu dibegúweʔé:saʔ hámuyi*  
 beverli [ demlu di-beguweʔ-e:s-**aʔ** ] Ø-hamu-i  
 Beverly food 1/3-buy-NEG-**DEP** 3-think-IND  
 'Beverly thinks that I didn't buy the food.' (Washo Archive)<sup>4</sup>

Washo also has two kinds of embedded clauses: (from Bochnak and Hanink)

- In (1), we have the independent mood marker *i* and the **accusative nominalizing suffix** *ge*.  
Independent mood: Default mood and the one that is required in matrix clauses.
- In (2), we have the **dependent mood** marker *aʔ* and no nominalization.  
Dependent mood: Also found in certain concessive (but) and temporal (while) **adjuncts**.
- B&H show that these clauses combine with two separate classes of verbs:
  - Transitives combine with nominalizations, intransitives, with non-nominalized clauses.
  - There are also semantic differences between the classes of verbs in that the former are presuppositional, the latter are not.



What does looking at Turkish teach us?

- Different but converging pieces of evidence in favor of a “mixed compositions” approach .
- In contrast to Washo, a given verb may require different strategies for composition.
- We can also look at nouns (which can't be tested in Washo for independent reasons).

### 3. Clauses and verbs

In this section, we motivate the claim that nominalizations must be complements of verbs, and that *diye* clauses need not be. (The stronger claim that they cannot be is harder to make.)<sup>6</sup>

#### 3.1 Clausal composition with intransitive verbs

Many verbs may combine either with a nominalization or with a *diye* clause.

Intransitive verbs and verbs whose arguments have been saturated may only combine with *diye* clauses.

- (24) a. Kim [herşey iyi diye] seslendi.  
 Kim everything is good **DIYE** called out  
 ?Kim called out that everything was good.

<sup>6</sup>Much of the facts discussed in this section are found in Yıldırım-Gündoğdu (2018, 2017).

- b. \*Kim [herşeyin iyi ol-duğun-u] seslendi.  
Kim everything good be-NMZ-ACC called out  
Int.: ?Kim called out that everything was good. intransitive
- (25) a. Jack [arkadaşı okuldaydı diye] yalan söyledi.  
Jack his friend was at school DİYE lie told  
?Jack lied that his friend was at school.
- b. \*Jack [arkadaşının okulda ol-duğun-u] yalan söyledi.  
Jack his friend at school be-NMZ-ACC lie told  
Int.: ?Jack lied that his friend was at school. doubly saturated IA slot

### 3.2 Case alternations

There is an accusative ~ dative alternation with Turkish causative verbs whereby a causee argument must surface in the accusative in the absence of an internal argument to the verb, and in the dative in the presence of an internal argument.<sup>7</sup>

- (26) a. Travis {Jack'i, \*Jack'e} ye-dir-di.  
Travis Jack-ACC Jack-DAT eat-CAUS-PST  
Travis made Jack eat.
- b. Travis {\*Jack'i, Jack'e} yemek ye-dir-di.  
Travis Jack-ACC Jack-DAT food eat-CAUS-PST  
Travis made Jack eat food.
- c. Travis {Jack'i, \*Jack'e} sabah ye-dir-di.  
Travis Jack-ACC Jack-DAT morning eat-CAUS-PST  
Travis made Jack eat in the morning.



Nominalized clauses must trigger the dative, suggesting that they saturate a verb's internal argument slot.

- (27) a. Dilara {Tunç'u, \*Tunç'a} bağırttı.  
Dilara Tunç-ACC Tunç-DAT scream-CAUS-PST  
Dilara made Tunç scream.
- b. Dilara {\*Tunç'u, Tunç'a} [kazan-dığ-in-ı] bağırttı.  
Dilara Tunç-ACC Tunç-DAT win-NMZ-3S.POSS-ACC scream-CAUS-PST  
Dilara made Tunç scream that he won.
- (28) a. Bu olay {beni, \*bana} düşündürdü.  
this event 1s.ACC 1s.DAT think-CAUS-PST  
This event made me think.
- b. Bu olay {\*beni, bana} [onun iyi bir insan ol-duğ-un-u] düşündürdü.  
this event 1s.ACC 1s.DAT 3s.GEN good a person be-NMZ-3S-ACC think-CAUS-PST  
This event made me think that he was a good person.



<sup>7</sup>Other languages might have a similar alternation. Do counterparts of *that* clauses trigger the dative with causativized attitude verbs?

The way that *diye* clauses participate in the alternation suggest that both complementation and adjunction are options.<sup>8</sup>

- (29) Dilara {Tunç’u, Tunç’a} [kazandım diye] bağır-t-tı.  
 Dilara Tunç-ACC Tunç-DAT I won DIYE SCREAM-CAUS-PST  
 Dilara made Tunç scream that he won.
- (30) Bu olay {beni, bana} [o iyi bir insan diye] düşün-dür-dü.  
 this event 1s.ACC 1s.DAT 3s good a person DIYE think-CAUS-PST  
 This event made me think that he was a good person.

This leads to a mixed conclusion for *diye* clauses:

- Accusative causees  $\Rightarrow$  *diye* clauses may be adjuncts.
- Dative causees  $\Rightarrow$  *diye* clauses may be complements.

### 3.3 The subjecthood puzzle

Nominalized clauses can be (derived) subjects: Accusative nominalizations become nominative when the verb is passivized.

- (31) [İyi bir insan ol-duğu] düşün-ül-dü.  
 good a person be-NMZ.NOM] think-PASS-PST  
 It was thought that 3s was a good person. \*olduğunu (+ACC)

Nominalized clauses can (in general) be subjects.

- (32) [İyi bir insan ol-duğu] doğru.  
 good a person be-NMZ.NOM true  
 It is true that 3s is a good person.



*Diye* clauses can combine with passivized attitude predicates:

- (33) [İyi bir insan diye] düşün-ül-dü.  
 good a person DIYE think-PASS-PST  
 It was thought that 3s was a good person. \*olduğunu (+ACC)

We know that the clause can be parsed as an adjunct, in (33). But can it also be parsed as a subject?

If we assume that they are able to get accusative case, we expect that yes.

**But, puzzle:** *diye* clauses don’t like being subjects in general...

- (34) \*[İyi bir insan diye] {doğru, belli, şüpheli, ...}  
 good a person DIYE {true obvious doubtful  
 Int.: It is {true, obvious, doubtful, ...} that 3s is a good person.

<sup>8</sup>The judgments here are subject to inter-speaker variation. Yıldırım-Gündoğdu (2018, 2017) presents data where *diye* clauses cannot trigger the dative with a verb like *bağır*, ‘scream.’ I tend to allow both accusative and dative causees, and both are attested in the corpus. **Further research:** Does the choice of ACC vs. DAT give rise to meaning differences?



For now, we are forced onto the conclusion that *diye* clauses may live as complements in object position, but they cannot be or become subjects. This is consistent with (35), from Hartman (2012).

- (35) DP Subject Requirement:  
 DPs, but not CPs, can be promoted to subject position.

### 3.4 Silent nouns?

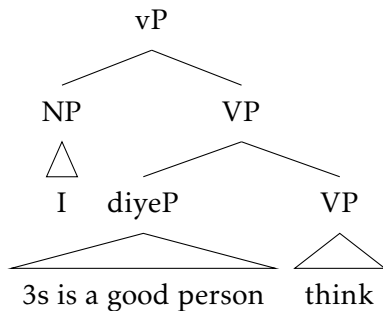
To explain away the fact that *diye* clauses are compatible with both accusative and dative causees, one could argue that they sometimes come associated with a silent noun. Silent nouns may trigger dative causees...

- (36) a. Marul-u n'aptın?  
 lettuce-ACC what did you do  
 What did you do with the lettuce?
- b. {\*Jack'i, Jack'e} ∅ ye-dir-di-m.  
 Jack-ACC Jack-DAT eat-CAUS-PST-1s  
 I made Jack eat it.

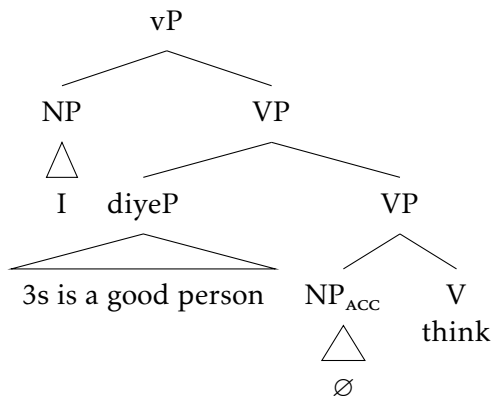
Note that this is only possible in specific discourse conditions, which we did not need to observe the dative in the examples with *diye* above.



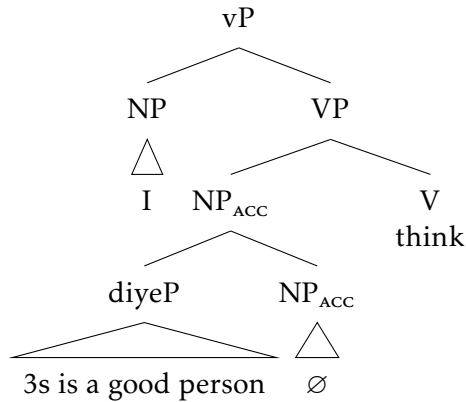
- (37) Adjunct parse for *diye* clauses w/o silent noun



- (38) Adjunct parse for *diye* clauses with silent noun (option #1)



(39) Adjunct parse for *diye* clauses with silent noun (option #2)



The silent nouns hypothesis is weakened by contrasts like the following.

(40) The presence/absence of an overt noun leads to meaning differences with some verbs

- a. Karen [[Adrian M<sub>ü</sub>nih'te diye] bir dedikoduyu] açıkladı.  
 Karen Adrian in Munich D<sub>IYE</sub> a rumor.ACC explained  
 Karen explained a rumor that says that Adrian is in Munich.  
 ⇒ Karen said: "Adrian is in Munich."
- b. Karen [Adrian M<sub>ü</sub>nih'te diye] açıkladı.  
 Karen Adrian in Munich D<sub>IYE</sub> explained  
 Karen explained that Adrian was in Munich.  
 ⇒ Karen said: "Adrian is in Munich."

(41) NP + *diye* clauses can be subjects (bare *diye* clauses couldn't be)

[[Adrian M<sub>ü</sub>nih'te diye] dedikodu] {doğru, ?belli, şüpheli}  
 Adrian in Munich D<sub>IYE</sub> rumor true obvious doubtful  
 The rumor that says that Adrian is in Munich is {true, ?obvious, doubtful}

⇒ Assuming that *diye* clauses have the option of introducing silent nouns would lead to extra stipulations on the interpretation/distribution of that noun.

#### 4. Clauses and nouns

##### The morpheme *-sI(n)* on nouns that combine with clauses

When nominalized clauses combine with nouns, a morpheme *-sI(n)* is obligatorily expressed on the noun.<sup>9</sup>

- (42) [Adrian'ın M<sub>ü</sub>nih'te yaşa-dığ-ı] düşünce \*(-si)  
 Adrian-GEN in Munich live-NMZ-3s.POSS.NOM thought-sI  
 the thought that Adrian lives in Munich

<sup>9</sup>See Göksel (2015) for more on clauses and nouns in Turkish. Examples (42) and (43) have alternative relative clause/genitive possessive parses that are not relevant here.

This morpheme is ungrammatical with *diye* clauses.<sup>10</sup>

- (43) [Adrian M $\ddot{u}$ nih'te yaşıyor diye] bir düşünce (\*-si)  
 Adrian in Munich lives DİYE a thought  
 a thought (that says) that Adrian lives in Munich

Note the definite vs. indefinite article (Elliott, 2017; Sæbø, 2019).

### The morpheme *-sI(n)* on nouns that combine with other adnominal expressions

Elsewhere, the morpheme *-sI(n)* appears on the head noun in noun-noun compounds and on the possessed noun with 3rd person possessors.<sup>11</sup> We'll be interested in the compounds.

- (44) a. alışveriş araba-sı, yemek masa-sı, şişe açacağı-ı  
 shopping car-sı food table-sı bottle opener-sı  
 shopping cart, dining table, bottle opener  
 b. Karen'in araba-sı  
 Karen-GEN car-sı  
 Karen's car

The morpheme *-sI(n)* is unacceptable on nouns modified by adjectives (intersective, subsective, privative, modal, ...) or relative clauses.

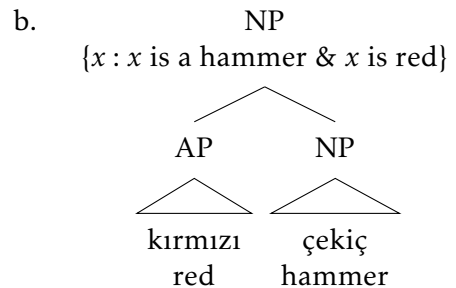
- (45) a. kırmızı çekiç(\*-i), kısa basketbolcu(\*-su), sahte para(\*-sı), olası ceza(\*-sı)  
 red hammer, short basketball player, fake money, possible punishment  
 b. dün yediğim muz(\*-u)  
 yesterday that I ate banana  
 the banana that I ate yesterday



In structures of the form 'XP NP(*-sI(n)*)', the presence or absence of *-sI(n)* indicates what the semantic relationship is between NP and XP.

- When *-sI(n)* is not expressed, the relationship between  $\llbracket$ XP $\rrbracket$  and  $\llbracket$ NP $\rrbracket$  can (but need not be) intersective.

- (46) a. kırmızı çekiç  
 red hammer  
 $\lambda x.hammer\ x \wedge red\ x$

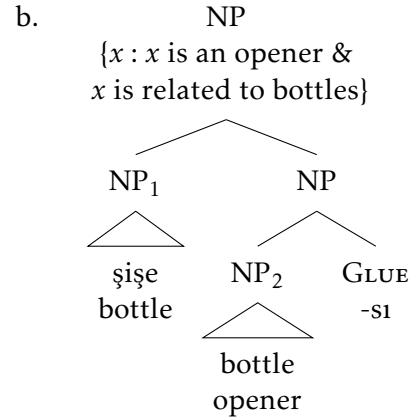


<sup>10</sup>Interestingly, root clauses without *diye* also require the expression of *-sI(n)*: [*Adrian M $\ddot{u}$ nih'te yaşıyor*] düşünce(\*-si), 'the thought that Adrian lives in Munich.'

<sup>11</sup>There are cases where *-sI(n)* can be omitted in possessives ( $\checkmark$  *Karen'in araba*, "Karen's car," and in compounds,  $\checkmark$  *Akdeniz salata*, "Mediterranean salad." But doing this makes itself felt and not possible with nominalized clauses.

- Whenever  $-sI(n)$  is expressed, the relationship between  $\llbracket XP \rrbracket$  and  $\llbracket NP \rrbracket$  is non-intersective.

- (47) a.  $\text{\u015fi\u015fe \u00e7aca\u011f-1}$   
 bottle opener-s1  
~~X~~  $\lambda x.opener\ x \wedge bottle\ x$   
 $\checkmark$   $\lambda x.opener\ x \wedge R(x, BOTTLE)$



### Consequences for composing clauses with nouns

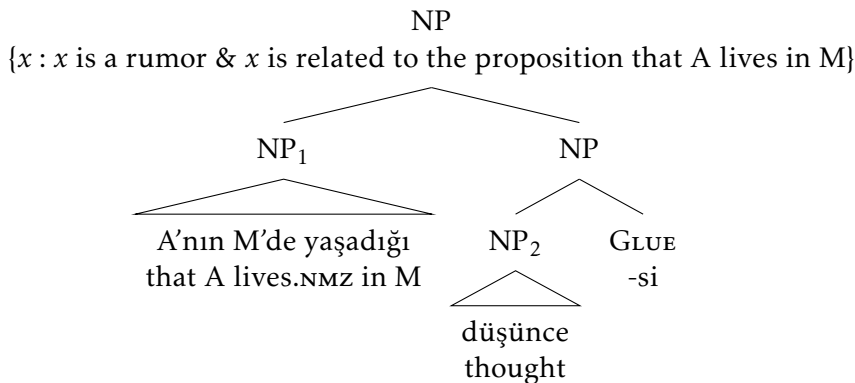
Let's take the morphological hint! The general conditions on the expression of  $-sI(n)$  suggest that:

- Nouns and nominalized clauses combine like noun-noun compounds do.
- *Diye* clauses combine with nouns like adjectives and relative clauses do (assume intersectivity).

(I don't know of languages other than Turkic ones where the morphology on a noun changes depending on whether it combines with a clause, or what kind of clause it combines with.)

### Composing nouns with nominalized clauses

- (48) The noun-noun compound strategy



**Desideratum:** We want to be more specific about the relation between  $x$  and the proposition.<sup>12</sup>

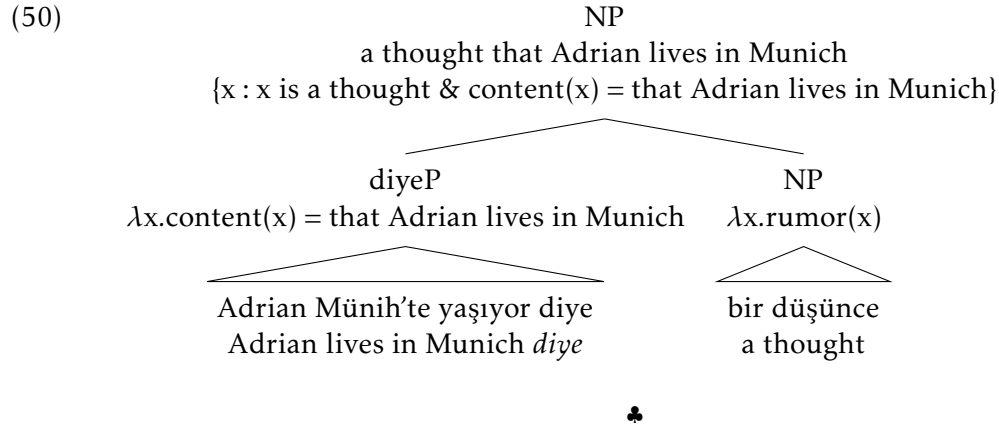
- An option that is available in the literature is equation (Potts, 2002; Sæbø, 2019).
- There is a range of relations that  $-sI(n)$  may introduce, including thematic ones (Kunduracı, 2013). *One of them is equation:*

<sup>12</sup>We could say that the relation is  $\text{content}(x) = p$ , but that would be ad hoc.

- (49) Edinburgh şehir-i, Chomsky dilbilimci-si, A harf-i, mavi reng-i  
 Edinburgh city Chomsky linguist A letter blue color  
 the city-of-Edinburgh, the linguist Chomsky, the letter A, the color blue

*Composing nouns with diye clauses*

Here, we can simply borrow the *other* proposal in the literature for composing nouns with *that* clauses



To make things a little bit more spicy, consider the following contrast between *that* clauses and *diye* clauses:

- (51) a. \*a sentence that Adrian lives in Munich  
 b. Adrian M\u00fcnih'te yaşıyor diye bir c\u00fcmle  
 Adrian in Munich lives *diye* a sentence  
 a sentence that says that Adrian lives in Munich.

To capture this contrast, we let *diye* introduce a *form* function in addition to a content function (Maier, 2020).<sup>13</sup>

- (52)  $\lambda x.\text{sentence}(x) \& \text{form}(x) = \text{"Adrian lives in Munich"}$

**Evidence for equation and predication from copular constructions<sup>14</sup>**

- Copular constructions of the form “NP [nominalized clause]-cop” pattern like equatives—similarly to English “NP is that p.” They are not predicational.
- In contrast, copular constructions of the form “NP [diye clause]-cop” pattern like predicational copular constructions.

*Evidence for equation with nominalized clauses*

The constituent in predicate position in specificational and equative copular constructions can be modified by a non-restrictive relative clause, but not the constituent in predicate position in a predicational copular construction (Rothstein 1995 via Heycock and Kroch 1999 and Potts 2002).

<sup>13</sup>Interestingly, things like *A diye bir harf* (int. a letter with the form “A”) are odd, for which a *-sI(n)* compound is used.

<sup>14</sup>For independent reasons, we can’t use connectivity effects, tags, small clauses, which are among the familiar ways of distinguishing between different copular construction types or any test that would require a *diye* clause to be in subject position.

- (53) a. \*Paul is president, who is very efficient.  
 b. The president is Paul, who is very efficient.

In (54), we see that a nominalized clause in predicate position can be modified by a non-restrictive relative clause, but not a *diye* clause in the same position. (Both sentences are acceptable when the relative clause is omitted.)

- (54) a. Dedikodu, baya can sıkıcı olan, Ay'ın kaza yap-tığ-ı.  
 rumor very life twisting be.REL Ay accident make-NMZ-3s.POSS.COP  
 The rumor, which is very depressing, is that Ay had an accident.  
 b. \*Dedikodu, baya can sıkıcı olan, Ay kaza yaptı diye.  
 rumor very life twisting be.REL Ay accident made DIYE.COP  
 Intended: The rumor, which is very depressing, is that Ay had an accident.



*Evidence for predication with diye clauses*

Specificational and equative copular constructions don't allow quantified subjects, predicational copular constructions do (via Potts 2002).

- (55) Context: Different news outlets report the outcome of the election differently. Some say that Trump won, others, that Biden won. I count which outlet says what, and report as follows:  
 a. \*İki haber Trump'ın kazandığıydı, üç haber ise Biden'in kazandığıydı.  
 two report Trump win.NMZ.COP three report PRT Biden win.NMZ.COP  
 \*Two reports were that Trump won, and reports were that Biden won.  
 Intended: Two reports said that Trump won, and three reports said that Biden won.  
 b. İki haber Trump kazandı diyeydi, üç haber ise Biden kazandı diyeydi.  
 two report Trump won DIYE.COP three report PRT Biden win DIYE.COP  
 Two reports said that Trump won, and three reports said that Biden won.



Conjunction with an adjective: The data here aren't accepted by everybody, but at least me and one other person get the following contrast, where the clause is conjoined with a predicative adjective.

- (56) a. \*Dedikodu Ay'ın kaza yaptığı ve üzücüydü.  
 rumor Ay accident make.NMZ and sad.COP  
 \*The rumor was that Ay had an accident and sad.  
 Intended: The rumor was that Ay had an accident and that rumor was sad.  
 b. ?Dedikodu Ay kaza yaptı diye ve üzücüydü.  
 rumor Ay accident made DIYE and sad.COP  
 The rumor was that Ay had an accident and that rumor was sad.

## 5. Concluding remarks

Turkish embedded clauses corroborate and allows us to refine *mixed* composition strategies for clauses and verbs, and clauses and nouns.

## Additional data

- (57) a. [İyi bir insan ol-duğu] düşün-ül-dü.  
good a person be-NMZ.NOM think-PASS-PST  
It was thought that 3s was a good person. \*olduğunu (+ACC)
- b. [İyi bir insan ol-duğu] düşün-dür-ül-dü.  
good a person be-NMZ.NOM think-CAUS-PASS-PST  
People were made to think that 3s was a good person. \*olduğunu (+ACC)
- (58) a. [İyi bir insan diye] düşün-ül-dü.  
good a person DIYE think-PASS-PST  
It was thought that 3s was a good person. \*olduğunu (+ACC)
- b. [İyi bir insan diye] düşün-dür-ül-dü.  
good a person DIYE think-CAUS-PASS-PST  
People were made to think that 3s was a good person. \*olduğunu (+ACC)

Note: In (58), I accept both nominative and dative causees, although I have a preference for dative. (This is consistent with the dichotomous result we arrived at earlier.)

- (59) {?Halk, Halk-a} [o iyi bir insan diye] düşün-dür-ül-dü.  
people.NOM people-DAT 3s good a person DIYE think-CAUS-PASS-PST  
The people were made to think that 3s was a good person.

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