Affected-Agent Verbs in Turkish

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1. Introduction

Unlike much reflexive morphology crosslinguistically, the Turkish reflexive suffix *-(I)n*[1] does not exhibit *u*-syncretism (Embick 2004). That is to say, it does not have the same form as the passive and anticausative. In (1), the *-(I)n*-marked forms are exclusively reflexive, while the *-Il*-marked forms are passive and/or anticausative but have no reflexive reading. Apparent examples of *u*-syncretic *-(I)n* are actually cases of phonologically conditioned homophony, as shown in Key (2021) (see § 4.2.).

(1)	giy-	'wear'	giy-**in-**	'get dressed'	giy-**il-**	'be worn'
	soy-	'peel'	soy-**un-**	'get undressed'	soy-**ul-**	'peel (int.); be peeled'
	sür-	'apply, rub'	sür-**ün-**	'apply to oneself'	sür-**ül-**	'be applied to, be rubbed onto'
	ört-	'cover'	ört-**ün-**	'cover oneself'	ört-**ül-**	'be(come) covered'

However, *-(I)n* does participate in a different syncretism: The same suffix marks affected-agent verbs, in particular self-benefactives (2a) and verbs of emotive behavior (2b). None of the *-(I)n*-marked verbs below has a passive or anticausative reading.

(2)	a.	ed-	'do, make'	ed-**in-**	'acquire'
		tut-	'hold'	tut-**un-**	'hold on (to save or steady oneself)'
		sığ-	'fit into'	sığ-**ın-**	'take refuge in'
	b.	yak-	'burn (tr.)'	yak-**ın-**	'complain'
		şiş-	'swell (int.)'	şiş-**in-**	'puff oneself up, swagger'
		tep-	'kick'	tep-**in-**	'stamp one's feet (in rage or joy)'

Though these appear idiosyncratic, reflexive morphology is found on verbs with similar meanings in numerous other languages (see section 3). A principled explanation is therefore desirable. Typically, the same morphology appears on reflexives, passives, anticausatives, and affected-agent verbs (among others), a collection of verbal types known in typological literature as the *middle domain* (Kazenin 2001). Turkish *-(I)n* is revealing in that it carves out a subset of this domain, indicating that these reflexive and affected-agent verbs form a natural class distinct from the standard *u*-syncretic categories, and hence that they do not necessarily represent the same structure. I propose that *-(I)n* realizes the head of a nonactive (specifierless) Applicative phrase that introduces one of three applied θ-roles: beneficiary, experiencer, or location. Since this role cannot be saturated by the defective ApplP, it is absorbed via Delayed Gratification (Wood 2014, Myler 2016) by the external argument, which also receives the agent role from Voice. This results in one of three verbal reflexive types: self-benefactive (agent/beneficiary subject), emotive behavior verb (agent/experiencer subject), or ground reflexive (agent/location subject).

The paper is organized as follows. §2 examines the synctactic and thematic properties of reflexive-marked self-benefactives and verbs of emotive behavior. §3 presents a cross-linguistic view of reflexive

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[1] A capital letter *I* indicates a high vowel realized variously as *i, ı, ü* or *u* according to vowel harmony.

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or middle marking on the same affected-agent verb types. §4 outlines a proposal that *-(I)n* spells out a defective Applicative head, and presents evidence that the subject of canonical reflexives with this marking is interpreted as a location. §5 concludes.

2. Affected-agent verbs

2.1. Self-benefactives

The same suffix *-(I)n* that marks verbal reflexives (1) is found on a number of self-benefactive verbs, whose subject is not only the agent of the event, but also its beneficiary. The simplex verb *dile-* 'wish for/request' can take a dative beneficiary (3a), which is analyzed by Tonyalı (2015) as a high applicative argument. The suffixed variant *dile-n-* means 'beg' (3b); a dative beneficiary is degraded or ungrammatical.[2]

(3) a. Çocuk aile-sin-e para dile-di.
child family-3SG-DAT money wish-PST
'The child wished/requested money for his family.'

b. Çocuk (?/*aile-sin-e) para dile-**n**-di.
child family-3SG-DAT money wish-IN-PST
'The child begged for money (?/*for his family).'

This looks like a straightforward transitivity alternation, with reduction of the dative beneficiary and retention of the direct object. The following pair exhibits a different pattern. Like *dile-* 'beg,' the simplex *tut-* 'hold' takes a direct object. However, the marked form *tut-un-* 'hold on' takes only a dative complement. Nonetheless, it is again the subject that is understood as the beneficiary.

(4) a. Denizci ip-i (%yolcu-ya[3]) tut-tu.
sailor rope-ACC passenger-DAT hold-PST
'The sailor held the rope (for the passenger).'

b. Denizci ip-e tut-**un**-du.
sailor rope-DAT hold-IN-PST
'The sailor held on/clung to the rope (to save or steady themself).'

[2] Two of my three Turkish consultants reject the dative in (3b) outright and one finds it awkward. Faruk Akkuş (p.c.) points out that a benefactive PP with the postposition *için* 'for' is possible, a repair strategy likewise suggested by all three of my consultants.

(i) Çocuk aile-si için para dile-**n**-di.
child family-3SG for money request-IN-PST
'The child begged for money for his family.'

In general, a PP with *için* easily modifies any event on a benefactive interpretation, while the dative is fussy in this regard (see also the following footnote). I suspect that *dile-n-* entails that the subject be the direct recipient of the money, though not necessarily the ultimate beneficiary of the event. Tonyalı (2015) has argued that Turkish non-core datives are "benefactive-recipients of a physical or abstract entity" (113) (an abstract entity in the case of an unergative such as *dan et-* 'dance'); a dative would thus conflict with the subject-recipient entailment of *dile-n-* that I suggest here. In contrast, the entity introduced as the complement of *için* is a beneficiary in a broader sense.

[3] Two of my three consultants reject a beneficiary dative phrase in this sentence. The third accepts it on the reading that the sailor holds the rope out for the passenger to take, but finds it marginal on a more general benefactive reading. This is consistent with Knecht's (1986) observation that, with transitive verbs, a dative beneficiary is felicitous only "when an agent's activities make it possible for the entity denoted by the benefactive to use or enjoy something or further his ability to use or enjoy it" (Knecht 1986:164).

In two cases, a basic intransitive verb takes a benefactive dative: *yet-* 'suffice' and *yara-* 'benefit.' Although these both have the same argument structure, the corresponding *-(I)n* verbs differ from each other. *Yet-in-* 'make due' loses the dative but gains an instrumental; the beneficiary is now the subject.

(5) a. Bu para ban-a yet-ti.
this money 1SG-DAT suffice-PST
'This money sufficed me/was sufficient for me.'
b. Bu para-yla yet-**in**-di-m.
this money-INST suffice-IN-PST-1SG
'I made do/got by with this money.'

Yara-n- 'ingratiate oneself/curry favor with' takes a dative argument, but not with a benefactive interpretation. While the dative occurring with *yara-* 'benefit' is a beneficiary (by definition, given the verb's meaning), the one occurring with *yara-n-* is better characterized as an experiencer, an individual who ends up feeling a certain way. The beneficiary of this feeling is the subject.

(6) a. Bu iş on-a yara-dı.
this business 3SG-DAT genefit-PST
'This business benefited him.'
b. Patron-un-a yara-**n**-dı.
boss-3SG-DAT benefit-IN-PST
'He ingratiated himself/curried favor with his boss.'

In the following pair, the argument structure is identical, as both verbs take a dative spatial goal. It is the interpretation of the subject that changes: The subject of *sığ-* 'fit into' is a theme or figure, while that of *sığ-ın-* 'take refuge in' is an agent/beneficiary.

(7) a. Çekiç kutu-ya sığ-dı.
hammer box-DAT fit-PST
'The hammer fit into the box.'
b. Eylemci elçiliğ-e sığ-**ın**-dı.
activist embassy-DAT fit-IN-PST
'The activist took refuge in the embassy.'

The verbal pairs presented above vary in their argument structure relations. To appearances, *-(I)n* reduces either a direct object, a dative, or nothing. From that perspective, the derivations look idiosyncratic. However, the marked forms all converge on one point: The subject is an agent/beneficiary. This is true whether the thematic structure of the basic verb has both roles (*dile-*), only an agent (*tut-*), only a beneficiary (*yet-*, *yara-*), or neither (*sığ-*).

(8)	simplex verb		θ	marked stem		θ
	dile-	'request; wish'	AG, THEME, BEN	*dile-**n**-*	'beg'	AG/BEN
	tut-	'hold'	AG, THEME,	*tut-**un**-*	'hold on'	AG/BEN, THEME
	yet-	'suffice'	THEME, BEN	*yet-**in**-*	'make do with'	AG/BEN, THEME
	yara-	'benefit'	THEME, BEN	*yara-**n**-*	'curry favor with'	AG/BEN, EXP
	sığ-	'fit into'	THEME, GOAL	*sığ-**ın**-*	'take refuge in'	AG/BEN, GOAL

The derivation of self-benefactives therefore cannot be an operation on the θ-grid of a basic predicate, which is an assumption in some generative work on verbal reflexives (e.g., Reinhart & Siloni 2005). Given the thematic unity of the marked forms and the lack of any coherent relation between these and the argument structure or thematic roles of a basic verb, I suggest self-benefactives are not derived from a basic verb at all, but represent a distinct derivation from the root. We see a similar pattern in verbs of emotive behavior in the following subsection.

2.2. *Emotive behavior verbs*

Reflexive morphology also marks verbs denoting agentive activities that express an emotion. As is the case with self-benefactives, emotive behavior verbs form a natural class even though the corresponding simplex verbs do not. There are at least five *-(I)n*-marked verbs meaning some variation of 'complain,' while their unmarked counterparts are a diverse bunch: Two are transitive (*yak-* 'burn,' *söyle-* 'tell'), two intransitive (*ağla-* 'cry,' *sızla-* 'sting, smart'), and one non-existent (**homurda-*). In contrast to the marked variants, they manifest a variety of thematic roles.

(9)	simplex verb		θ	marked stem		θ
	yak-	'burn'	CAUSER, THEME	*yak-**ın-***	'complain'	AG/EXP
	söyle-	'tell'	AGENT, GOAL	*söyle-**n-***	'grumble'	AG/EXP
	ağla-	'cry'	EXPERIENCER	*ağla-**n-***	'moan'	AG/EXP
	sızla-	'smart, sting'	EXPERIENCER	*sızla-**n-***	'whine'	AG/EXP
	--		n/a	*homurda-**n-***	'grumble'	AG/EXP

There are a number of other reflexive-marked verbs whose subject exhibits behavior that expresses some emotion or another. Though the subject of the marked verb is consistently an agent/experiencer, the unmarked counterparts have no common denominator. *Tep-* and *çırp-* are transitive verbs with an agent subject and *şiş-* is intransitive and has a theme subject. *Debe-le-n-, kıvra-n-*, and *böbür-le-n-* have no corresponding simplex verb, and thus like *homurda-n-* in (9) are inherent reflexives.

(10)	simplex verb		θ	marked stem		θ
	tep-	'kick'	AGENT, THEME	*tep-**in-***	'stamp one's feet' (in rage or joy)	AG/EXP
	çırp-	'beat'	AGENT, THEME	*çırp-**ın-***	'flail, thrash' (in pain or distress)	AG/EXP
	şiş-	'swell'	THEME	*şiş-**in-***	'swagger'	AG/EXP
	--		n/a	*debe-le-**n-***	'writhe'	AG/EXP
	--		n/a	*kıvra-**n-***	'writhe' (in pain or ecstasy)	AG/EXP
	--		n/a	*böbür-le-**n-***	'boast'	AG/EXP

On the one hand, the marked verbs in (9) and (10), all of which are intransitive, form a natural class in terms of subject roles, suggesting a common derivation. On the other hand, there is no coherent generalization to be made about the set of corresponding simplex verbs, suggesting that these cannot be the base of derivation for the marked forms.

3. Cross-linguistics correlates

We have seen that reflexive morphology marks verbs whose subject is either a beneficiary or an experiencer in addition to being an agent. This is by no means a peculiarity of Turkish, but is quite common cross-linguistically. In the generative literature, this syncretism has, until recently, been largely ignored or dismissed as idiosyncratic lexicalization, yet it has long been central to analyses of the so-called *middle voice* in linguistic typology and cognitive linguistics (e.g., Kemmer 1993, Manney 2000). In a cross-linguistic study, Kemmer (1993) identifies thirteen categories that frequently appear with what she calls *middle marking*. In addition to traditional reflexive classes such as *verbs of grooming or body care* ('wash,' 'get dressed'), *nontranslational motion* ('twist,' 'stretch,' 'bow') and *change in body posture* ('sit down,' 'stand up'), middle-marked categories also include the *indirect middle* ('acquire,' 'obtain,' 'request') and *emotive speech actions* ('complain,' 'lament,' 'blame'), among others. What I have been referring to as reflexive morphology is the same as Kemmer's middle marking.

Here I give a brief illustration of some of these syncretisms with a set of five languages, including Turkish (Turkic), Modern Greek, Spanish (both Indo-European), Hungarian (Finno-Ugric) and Modern

Standard Arabic (Semitic). Of these, Arabic in particular augments the empirical coverage in Kemmer, as her study does not include Semitic data.[4] The morphological expression of the verbal reflexive in this sample is typologically diverse: Turkish has a simple suffix *-(I)n* and Greek a middle agreement paradigm (*-ome* in the first-person singular non-present imperfective citation form; Merchant 2015). Hungarian in effect combines the Turkish and Greek strategies, with a suffix *-(A)kod* (or *-(A)koz*) plus a middle agreement paradigm (*-ik* in the third-person singular present citation form) (see Halm 2020). Spanish has a reflexive nominal agreement clitic *se*. Arabic has medio-reflexive templates consisting of root-consonant slots, vocalic melodies, and an affix *ta-*, which is a prefix in the *ta-faʕʕala* template (form V) and an infix in the *if-ta-ʕala* template (form VIII) (masculine third-person preterit citation forms given for both). The use of these markers in verbs meaning 'get dressed' is shown below.

(11)	simplex verb			reflexive	
	Turkish	*giy-*	'put on, wear'	*giy-**in**-*	'get dressed'
	Greek	*dín-o*	'dress (tr.)'	*dín-**ome***	'get dressed'
	Hungarian	*(fel)ölt*	'put on'	*ölt-öz-**köd-ik***	'get dressed'
	Spanish	*vestir*	'dress (tr.)'	*vestir-**se***	'get dressed'
	Arabic	*labisa*	'put on, wear'	***ta**-labbasa* (V)	'get dressed'
		radiya	'perish'	*ir-**ta**-daa* (VIII)	'put on (one's clothes)'

The indirect middle, also known as the *self-benefactive*, is a situation type in which the subject performs an action for their own benefit. The archetype of the indirect middle is a verb meaning 'acquire' or 'obtain,' whose subject is both the agent (*Initiator* in Kemmer's terminology) and the recipient (Kemmer's *Endpoint*) of the acquired object. With the exception of Hungarian, each of the languages in our sample has a middle-marked verb meaning 'acquire' or 'obtain.'

(12)	simplex verb		reflexive	
Turkish	*ed-*	'do, make'	*ed-**in**-*	'acquire'
Greek	*promithév-o*	'supply'	*promithév-**ome***	'get, obtain'
Spanish	*hacer*	'do, make'	*hacer-**se***	'seize, obtain (a.o.)'
Arabic	*kasaba*	'acquire'	*ik-**ta**-saba* (VIII)	'acquire'

Kemmer also reports middle (reflexive) marking on verbs meaning 'acquire' or 'take for oneself' in Sanskrit, Old Norse, Classical Greek, Latin (all Indo-European) and Changana (Niger-Congo).

Another member of the self-benefactive class is 'hold fast' or 'cling to,' a verb meaning to hold on to something to save or steady oneself. Kemmer does not include this verb, but Manney (2000) discusses it at length in her monograph on the middle voice in modern Greek. All of the languages in our sample have such a verb, as we have already seen for Turkish.

(13)	simplex verb		reflexive	
Turkish	*tut-*	'hold, grab'	*tut-**un**-*	'hold on to'
Greek	*arpáz-o*	'grab'	*arpáz-**ome***	'hold on to'
Hungarian	*(el)kap*	'grab'	*kap-asz-**kod-ik***	'hold on to'
Spanish	*agarrar*	'grab'	*agarrar-**se***	'hold on to'
Arabic	*masaka*	'grab'	***ta**-massaka* (V)	'hold on to'

Another verbal type frequently found with middle/reflexive marking is the emotive speech action, which Kemmer defines as "speech actions that involve emotion as part of their lexical meaning" (133). This class is essentially the same as Levin's (1993) *complain* verbs, which "specify the speaker's attitudes or feelings toward what is said" (211) and whose members in English comprise *boast, brag, complain, crab, gripe, grouch, grouse, grumble, kvetch,* and *object*. Turning to our sample, not only do

[4] Kemmer does include Turkish and Hungarian, though much of the data presented here is novel.

all five languages have reflexive-marked verbs meaning ‘complain,’ each of them has more than one such verb. (Turkish examples from (9) are given again below for ease of comparison.)

(14)	simplex verb		reflexive	
Turkish	*yak-*	‘burn (tr.)’	*yak-**ın-***	‘complain’
	söyle-	‘say, tell’	*söyle-**n-***	‘complain, grumble’
	sızla-	‘smart, sting’	*sızla-**n-***	‘whine, moan’
	ağla-	‘cry’	*ağla-**n-***	‘cry, whine’
	--		*homurda-**n-***	‘grumble, moan’
Greek	*klaí-o*	‘cry’	*klaíg-**ome***	‘cry, whine’
	--		*parapon-**iéme***	‘complain’
Hungarian	--		*panasz-**kod-ik***	‘complain’
	--		*sirán-**koz-ik***	‘complain’
	--		*sopán-**kod-ik***	‘complain’
Spanish	--		*quejar-**se***	‘complain’
	lamentar	‘regret’	*lamentar-**se***	‘complain’
Arabic	--		***ta**-dhammara* (V)	‘grumble, complain’
	šakaa	‘complain’	*iš-**ta**-kaa* (VIII)	‘complain’

Kemmer reports middle-marked verbs meaning ‘complain’ from Latin, French, and German (Indo-European); Ayacucho Quechua and Tarascan (Amerindian); and Fula (Niger-Congo). It would seem that if a language uses special morphology for ‘get dressed,’ chances are good that it will use the same morphology for a verb meaning ‘complain.’ As another case in point, Hebrew has *hitlabeš* ‘get dressed’ and *hitlonen* ‘complain,’ both in the *hitpa’el* template (see Doron 2003, Reinhart & Siloni 2005).

Similarly, reflexive morphology marks multiple verbs meaning ‘boast’ in each of our sample languages, even when there is no corresponding simplex verb.

(15)	simplex verb		reflexive	
Turkish	*öv-*	‘praise’	*öv-**ün-***	‘boast’
	--		*böbür-le-**n-***	‘boast, swagger’
Greek	--		*perifanév-**ome***	‘boast’
	--		*painév-**ome***	‘boast’
	--		*kafch-**iéme***	‘boast’
Hungarian	--		*kér-**ked-ik***	‘boast’
	--		*disc-**eked-ik***	‘boast’
	--		*hetven-**ked-ik***	‘boast’
	--		*büszkél-**ked-ik***	‘proudly brag about’
Spanish	--		*vanagloriar-**se***	‘boast’
	--		*jactar-**se***	‘boast’
Arabic	*bajiHa*	‘rejoice’	***ta**-bajjaHa*	‘brag about, flaunt’
	faxara	‘boast’	*if-**ta**-xara*	‘boast’

Kemmer reports middle-marked verbs meaning ‘boast’ from Twi (Niger-Congo), Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan), and Lushai (Sino-Tibetan).

Kallulli (2013) argues that deponency (in Albanian, Greek, and Latin) and inherent reflexivity (in German and Romance) are the same phenomenon in different morphological guises. Saab (2020), analyzing Spanish *se*, argues that inherent reflexives represent the same kind of derivation as so-called diacritic *se* (Di Tullio 2007), where there is a corresponding simplex verb but with a different and unpredictable meaning. Thus, both of the following *se*-marked verbs have the same status:

(16)	simplex		reflexive	
inherent:	--		*quejar-**se***	‘complain’
diacritic:	*lamentar*	‘lament’	*lamentar-**se***	‘complain’

Neither inherent nor diacritic reflexives can be derived from a corresponding basic verb, and so represent a separate derivation from the root. Doron (2003) makes a similar point about *hitpa'el* verbs in Hebrew.

4. Proposal: Shrunken Appl heads

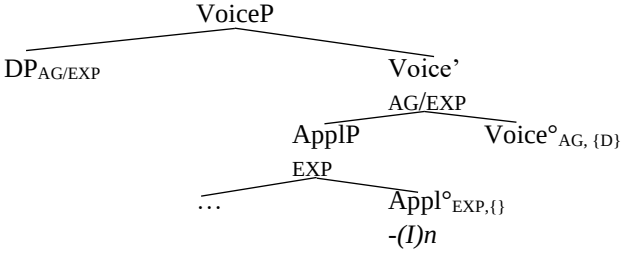
In addition to canonical reflexives, the Turkish suffix *-(I)n* marks two kinds of affected agent verbs: self-benefactives and verbs of emotive behavior. The subject of the former is an agent/beneficiary, and that of the latter is an agent/experiencer. Beneficiary and experiencer are both θ-roles that can be introduced by Appl(icative) heads. Given that *-(I)n* is associated with these roles, it is a reasonable hypothesis that this suffix spells out a kind of Appl°. However, instead of ApplP introducing an additional syntactic argument to bear the applied role, it is the subject that is interpreted as beneficiary or experiencer. I therefore propose that *-(I)n* spells out a shrunken Appl head that lacks a {D} feature to saturate the role it introduces. This role is absorbed by the external argument through Delayed Gratification (Wood 2014, Myler 2016). Since the external argument also receives the agent role from voice, it bears two roles and is thus an affected agent.

4.1. Delayed gratification

Wood (2014) proposes that a θ-role introduced in a structurally low projection may be saturated in a higher one. This happens in one of two cases: If an argument expletive, ineligible for thematic interpretation, is merged in the lower specifier, or if the lower projection lacks a specifier altogether. Either way, the θ-role remains on the tree until a thematic DP is merged in the specifier of a higher projection; if this projection has its own θ-role to assign, then the DP argument will receive both roles. The specific case that Wood explores is Icelandic figure reflexives. He argues that the so-called reflexive clitic *-st* is actually an argument expletive. When it merges in the specifier of pP (the projection that introduces the figure; Svenonius 2003, 2007), this role remains unsaturated until the external argument is merged in Spec,VoiceP. This argument thereby receive two roles: figure from p, and agent from Voice.[5] He further argues that Icelandic also has a defective p head that lacks a {D} feature and can never saturate the figure role, to much the same semantic effect. He goes on to suggest that there may be parallels with ApplP, potentially yielding verb types such as beneficiary reflexives. Wood does not give a name to this mechanism of θ-assignment, but it has been variously called Delayed Gratification (Myler 2016), Delayed Saturation (Kastner 2017), and Late Saturation (Alexiadou 2019).

I propose that *-(I)n* realizes a shrunken Appl head, as shown below for an emotive behavior verb (abstracting away from the position of ApplP relative to v, the root, and any other arguments that might be present in the structure). This head introduces the beneficiary role but, lacking a {D} feature, cannot merge a DP specifier to saturate it. It is thereby passed up the tree to the ApplP node. Voice° has a {D} feature and introduces an agent role, and both roles are passed up to the Voice' node and then saturated by the DP in Spec,VoiceP. Self-benefactives follow a similar derivation, with the beneficiary role.

(17)



What, then, of canonical reflexives such as *giy-in-* 'get dressed'? The key observation that motivated the present analysis in the first place is that the same morphology that marks such verbs also marks

[5] This of course violates the θ-criterion as originally formulated in Chomsky 1981: "Each argument bears one and only one θ-role, and each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument" (36). Wood follows Harley (2011), who argues that the uniqueness condition of the θ-criterion does not follow from Minimalist principles.

affected-agent verbs in Turkish and numerous other languages. Yet it is commonly assumed that verbal reflexives can identify the subject with the theme, an argument that, depending on one's theoretical assumptions, is either a complement or the specifier of vP, and not introduced by Appl. In the following subsection, I summarize the argument from Key (2021) that Turkish *-(I)n* reflexives target yet another applied role: location. It is thus possible to maintain the generalization that the subject of an *-(I)n*-marked verb is always associated with an applied argument and never with a theme.

4.2. Ground reflexives

Key (2021) shows that Turkish has two distinct verbal reflexive markers, *-Il* and *-(I)n*. The first of these is formally identical to marking found on the passive and anticausative (*u*-syncretism; Embick 2004) while the latter is not. The distinctness of *-Il* and *-(I)n* is obscured by phonological conditioning: *-Il* (in all of its functions) has the allomorphs *-In* following /l/ and *-n* following a vowel, and is therefore homophonous with *-(I)n* in these environments. By controlling for the phonology of the stem, Key identifies distinct properties of the two morphemes. In the contrastive environment, passives and anticausatives are invariably marked with *-Il*, yet there are reflexives marked with *-(I)n* as well as ones marked with *-Il*.

(18)		*-Il*		*-(I)n* (contrastive environment)	
	passive	*sat-**ıl**-*	'be sold'	--	
	anticausative	*aç-**ıl**-*	'open'	--	
	reflexive	*tart-**ıl**-*	'weigh oneself'	*giy-**in**-*	'get dressed'

Like the passive, the anticausative has the form *-(I)n* only following /l/ or a vowel. Key concludes from this that a suffix *-(I)n* marking an anticausative is an allomorph of the *u*-syncretic *-Il* rather than an instance of reflexive *-(I)n*.

(19)	passive	*çal-*	'steal'	*çal-ın-*	'be stolen'	= *-Il*
		oku-	'read'	*oku-n-*	'be read'	= *-Il*
	anticausative	*böl-*	'divide (tr.)'	*böl-ün-*	'divide (int.)'	= *-Il*
		kapa-	'close (tr.)'	*kapa-n-*	'close (int.)'	= *-Il*

Thus, one subset of verbal reflexives participates in *u*-syncretism and another subset does not. Furthermore, the two suffixes derive different types of reflexives: *-Il* marks theme or figure reflexives (as *-st* does in Icelandic; Wood 2014), while *-(I)n* marks ground reflexives. The figure is an entity whose location (dynamic or stative) is specified in relation to another entity, the ground (Talmy 1978, Svenonius 2003, 2007). In the sentence below, the tea is the figure, in motion with respect to the ground.

(20)	Ayşe	çay-ı	yer-e	dök-tü.
	A.	tea-ACC	ground-DAT	pour-PST
	'Ayşe spilled the tea onto the ground.'			

Dök- 'spill' combines with *-Il* and *-(I)n*, to form two different reflexives. The subject of *dök-ül-* (21a) 'the people' is the figure, in motion with respect to the ground (the street). The subject of *dök-ün-* (21b) is the ground, with respect to which the figure (the water) is in motion.

(21)	a.	Halk	sokağ-a	dök-**ül**-dü.
		people	street-DAT	pour-IL-PST
		'The people poured into the street.'		
	b.	Ayşe	(su)	dök-**ün**-dü.
		A.	(water)	pour-IN-PST
		'Ayşe washed.' (lit. 'Ayşe poured (water) on herself.')		

In all, *-Il* forms at least twenty figure reflexives, and *-(I)n* forms around a dozen ground reflexives, some of which are given below.

(22)	simple stem	ground reflexive
	giy- 'put on, wear'	*giy-**in**-* 'get dressed; put on (one's clothes)'
	soy- 'peel, strip'	*soy-**un**-* 'get undressed'
	sür- 'apply, rub (on sth.)'	*sür-**ün**-* 'rub (oil, lotion, etc.) on oneself'
	ört- 'cover'	*ört-**ün**-* 'cover oneself'
	sar- 'wrap'	*sar-**ın**-* 'wrap around oneself'
	dök- 'spill, pour'	*dök-**ün**-* 'pour (water) on oneself, wash'
	--	*kuşa-**n**-* 'put on, gird (around the waist)'

These verbs all denote putting something on or taking something off of the body. They vary in the expressibility of the figure argument; some have fully transitive uses, with an accusative-marked figure.

(23)	Fatoş	battaniye-yi	ört-**ün**-dü.
	F.	blanket-ACC	cover-IN-PST
	'Fatoş covered the blanket over herself.'		

This makes sense of a verb such as *giy-in-* 'get dressed.' The simplex stem *giy-* means not 'dress,' as one would expect of a theme reflexive, but 'wear,' a verb whose theme is an article of clothing; obviously, the subject cannot be identified with the theme, but it can be with the ground. Certain others of the simplex stems such as *ört-* 'cover' and *sar-* 'wrap' can appear either in the ground frame (accusative-marked ground) or the figure frame (accusative-marked figure), along the lines of the *spray/load* alternation, and so *a priori* could be analyzed either as theme (figure) reflexives or as ground reflexives. Thus, all *-(I)n* reflexives can be analyzed as targeting a ground argument, while only a subset can be analyzed as targeting a theme argument. The most economical approach is to posit that they are all ground reflexives.[6]

A similar point can be made about the reflexive verbs corresponding to *öv-* 'praise' and *döv-* 'beat, strike': *öv-ün-* 'boast' and *döv-ün-* 'lament.' These are commonly considered to be theme reflexives meaning 'praise oneself' and 'beat oneself,' respectively (with a metaphorical extension in the latter case). However, their semantics also pattern with the emotive behavior verbs discussed in 2.2., which form a natural class, although they bear no particular relation to a corresponding simplex stem, which may be transitive or intransitive, or even non-existent. Thus, rather than focus on the small minority of these verbs that can be analyzed as theme reflexives and claim that reflexivization targets a theme argument, it is more economical to treat them all together as experiencer reflexives.[7] More broadly, nearly all *-(I)n* verbs can be analyzed as reflexivizing an applied role[8]: location, beneficiary, or experiencer. Only a subset of these could be analyzed as theme reflexives, and none need be.

5. Conclusion

Cross-linguistically, the same morphology that marks passives, anticausatives, and reflexives (*u*-syncretism) is also found on affected-agent verbs whose subject is a beneficiary or an experiencer. The latter have no predictable relationship with the semantics of a simplex form (when one exists), and in some languages may be transitive, making it a challenge to unify these with the standard *u*-syncretism categories. In Turkish there is a crack in the façade, as it were, allowing us a glimpse into underlying

[6] The case of *yıka-**n**-* 'wash (refl.)' is unclear. This is most straightforwardly understood as a theme reflexive, corresponding to transitive *yıka-* 'wash.' Note that *yıka-* is a vowel stem, and thus provides an environment where *-Il* and *-(I)n* are homophonous. The suffix on *yıka-n-* may therefore be an allomorph of the *u*-syncretic *-Il* rather than a true instance of applicative *-(I)n*.

[7] Doğan (2016) similarly observes that the subject of *döv-ün-* 'lament' is an experiencer rather than a theme.

[8] The primary exception is *gör-ün-* 'appear,' whose subject is unambiguously a theme, corresponding to the object of *gör-* 'see.' Yet even this is not a theme reflexive, nor in fact a reflexive at all.

subsyncretisms of the verbal system. When the environment is controlled for, one type of marking is seen on theme and figure reflexives, passives, and anticausatives (*u*-syncretism), and another type of marking on ground reflexives, self-benefactives, and emotive behavior verbs. Herein I have proposed that, while the *u*-syncretic suffix *-Il* spells out nonactive Voice° (Gündoğdu 2019), the affected-agent suffix *-(I)n* spells out nonactive Appl°. This simultaneously allows for a principled account of their phonological distinctness (they realize different syntactic heads) and of their partial homophony (they both realize argument-introducing heads that lack a {D} feature). While there are sure to be differences in many of the details of implementation, some version of deficient or explitivized Appl heads may be a promising avenue for the analysis of reflexive-marked affected-agent verbs in other languages as well.

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