

A note on *-mAdAn (önce)*¹

Martina Gračanin-Yukse

Middle East Technical University

NOTE:

This is a pre-publication draft of the paper.

The final version will appear in *Dilbilim Arařtırmaları*.

Abstract

The paper discusses the morphological make-up of the converbial ending *-mAdAn* in adverbial clauses denoting temporal antecedence (*before*-clauses) and negative manner (*without*-clauses).

In clauses denoting temporal antecedence, the converbial ending is optionally followed by the postposition *önce* ‘before’. The argument presented in the paper is that the converbial ending *-mAdAn* contains a negative marker *-mA* only in clauses where it is not followed by *önce*, while when the postposition follows, it contains the homophonous nominalizing suffix instead.

Evidence for the claim comes on the one hand, from the fact that *-mAdAn önce* clauses do not license negative polarity items (but *-mAdAn* clauses do), and on the other, from the fact that *-mAdAn önce* clauses allow an addition of a negation marker to the converb (but *-mAdAn* clauses do not).

1. Introduction

The topic of this paper is the morphological structure of the Turkish converbial ending *-mAdAn*.² This ending is found in two types of adverbial clauses. On the one hand, it appears in

¹ Acknowledgements to be added.

² Throughout the paper, I refer to the form in question as *converbial ending* rather than as *converbial suffix* or simply *converb*. This is motivated by the intuition that the term *converb* refers to the form that contains both the ending and

adverbial clauses denoting temporal antecedence, which correspond in meaning to English clauses headed by the preposition *before*. In such clauses, the converb is optionally followed by the postposition *önce* ‘before’. An example of such an adverbial clause is given in (1).

- 1) Müdür tatil -e çık-ma -dan (önce) ev -in -i ara -dı -m
 director vacation-DAT go -NEG-ABL before home-3.SG.-ACC seek-PAST-1.SG.
 ‘Before the director went on vacation, I called his home.’ Kornfilt (1997: 70)

The second type of adverbial clauses in which *-mAdAn* appears denote negative manner. Such clauses are parallel in meaning to English clauses headed by *without* (Göksel and Kerslake 2005) and they disallow the presence of the postposition *önce*. An adverbial clause denoting negative manner is given in (2).

- 2) Ayşey-i ziyaret et-me -den (*önce) ev -e git-ti -m.
 Ayşe -ACC visit do-NEG-ABL before home-DAT go -PAST-1SG
 ‘I went home without visiting Ayşe.’

The ending *-mAdAn* is morphologically complex: it consists of the ablative case marker *-dAn*, and the morpheme *-mA*. As is obvious from the glosses in the examples (1) and (2), the latter is, in the literature on Turkish, classified as the negative suffix *-mA*, rather than the nominalization marker, which has the same form (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 412, Kornfilt 1997: 70; Lewis 1967: 182). The most convincing evidence that the *-mA* in *-mAdAn* is indeed the negation marker, rather than the homophonous nominalization suffix, comes from the stress pattern of words (converbs) containing *-mAdAn*. Although the word stress in Turkish by-and-large (although not exclusively) falls on the word-final syllable, converbs containing the ending *-mAdAn* receive stress on the syllable *preceding* the ending, as the capitalization in examples in (3) indicates. In these examples, as well as in (1) and (2), the main stress falls on the syllable

the verb to which it is attached, while the term *suffix* appears inadequate given that *-mAdAn* is morphologically complex.

preceding *-mAdAn*, rather than on the word-final syllable (*-dAn*), regardless of whether the converbial ending *-mAdAn* is followed by *önce*, as in (3)a, or not, as in (3)b).

- 3) a. Sorun -lar ben GEL -me -den önce başla -miş. Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 417)
 problem-PL I come-NEG-ABL before begin-EVID
 ‘The problems seem to have started before I came.’
- b. Sorun -lar ben GEL -me -den başla -miş.
 problem-PL I come-NEG-ABL begin-EVID
 ‘The problems seem to have started before I came.’

The irregular stress pattern observed in (1) through (3) is typical of the negative suffix *-mA*. This suffix is exceptional with respect to stress in any environment in which it appears: first, it cannot receive stress even when it is word-final, as shown by the contrast in (4).

- 4) a. Ora -ya GIT-me!
 there-DAT go -NEG
 ‘Don’t go there!’
- b. *Ora-ya git-ME!

Next, when the negative marker *-mA* is not in the word-final position, it prevents stress from being assigned to the final syllable. Instead, the word stress falls on the syllable immediately preceding *-mA*.³ This is shown in (5).

- 5) a. Toplantı -da Ayşe hiç koNUŞ-ma -dı.
 meeting-LOC Ayşe at-all talk -NEG -PAST.3SG
 ‘At the meeting, Ayşe didn’t talk at all.’
- b. *Toplantı-da Ayşe hiç konuş-ma-DI.

A parallel example in (6) shows that it is indeed the presence of the negation in (5) that is responsible for the exceptional stress. In (6), which does not contain *-mA*, the stress falls on the word-final syllable of the verb.

³ The negative marker is therefore one of Turkish *prestressing suffixes* (see, for example, Kabak and Vogel (2001) and Kahnemuyipor and Kornfilt (2006) for the discussion of the syntax of prestressing suffixes in Turkish).

- 6) Toplantı -da Ayşe çok konuş -TU.
meeting-LOC Ayşe a-lot talk -PAST.3SG
'At the meeting, Ayşe talked a lot.'

The nominalizing suffix *-mA*,⁴ on the other hand, behaves regularly with respect to stress, i.e. not only can it bear stress, as shown in (7)a), where it is found in the nominalized verb, but also when non-final, allows the stress to shift “across” it to the final syllable, as shown in (7)b), where it is found in an embedded nominalized clause.⁵

- 7) a. Ne güzel konuş-MA!
what beautiful talk -N
'What a beautiful talk!'
- b. Ali Ayşe-nin konuş-ma-sı -NI iste -di.
Ali Ayşe-GEN talk -N -3SG-ACC want-PAST.3SG
'Ali wanted Ayşe to talk.'

Given that in examples containing the converbial ending *-mAdAn* the stress invariably falls on the syllable preceding *-mA*, we have a strong indicator that this converbial ending contains the negation suffix, rather than the nominalizer.

Support for this claim also comes from the fact, pointed out by Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 417) and Kornfilt (1997: 70), that the subject in adverbial clauses such as (3)a) and (3)b) does not carry the genitive case marker, and the converb itself does not appear with agreement morphology (Kornfilt 1997). The absence of these two properties, normally associated with the nominalizing *-mA* (in embedded nominalized clauses), suggests that we are dealing here with the negative marker instead. When the subject of an adverbial clause containing *-mAdAn* is marked genitive and the converb appears *with* an agreement marker, as in (8) below, the irregular stress

⁴ Kornfilt (1997) calls the nominalizing suffix *-mA* an *action nominal* and glosses it as *A.Nom*. For the purposes of this paper, I refer to it simply as the *nominalizer/nominalizing suffix -mA* and gloss it as *N*.

⁵ The following pairs of words, from Sezer (1981), show a clear contrast between the behavior of the nominalizer and that of the negative marker with respect to stress:

- (i) *gelme* 'coming' *sinama* 'testing'
gélme 'don't come' *sináma* 'don't test'

pattern is replaced by a regular one. In this case, the stress falls on the word-final syllable *-dAn*, as expected, suggesting that this time, the *-mA* in the converbial ending is in fact the nominalization marker.

- 8) Ali [Hasan-ın o -nu uyar-ma-şın -DAN önce] oday -ı topladı.
 Ali Hasan -GEN he-ACC warn -N -POSS.3SG-ABL before room-ACC tidy.up- PAST
 ‘Ali tidied up the room before Hasan warned him.’

It is, however, interesting to note that in examples like (8), where the subject of the adverbial clause is marked genitive and the converbial ending features the agreement marker, the postposition *önce* is obligatory, as shown by the ill-formedness of (9). Perhaps not surprisingly, (8) can only denote temporal antecedence, but not negative manner.⁶

- 9) *Ali [Hasan-ın o -nu uyar-ma-şın -DAN] oday -ı topladı.
 Ali Hasan -GEN he-ACC warn -N -POSS.3SG-ABL room-ACC tidy.up- PAST
Intended: ‘Ali tidied up the room without Hasan warning him.’

The fact that the postposition *önce* is obligatory exactly in the environment where the suffix *-mA* is unambiguously a nominalizing suffix (as indicated by the case marking on the subject, agreement marking on the converbial ending, and regular stress) makes it plausible to ask whether this morpheme is in fact a nominalizer in *all* cases when the postposition is present, despite the identical stress pattern in clauses that contain *-mAdAn* followed by *önce* and those in which *önce* is absent. This is the question that I address here.

In the rest of the paper, I show that for a subset of speakers, the two constructions in fact show different properties. For these speakers, the converb *-mAdAn* that precedes *önce* does not display properties normally associated with a negative element, while the converb *-mAdAn* that is *not* followed by *önce* does. In particular, the relevant speakers do not allow adverbial clauses

⁶ Thus, (8) differs from (i) below in that (i) is ambiguous between the *before*-reading and the *without*-reading:
 (i) Ali [Hasan o -nu uyar-ma-DAN] oday -ı topladı.
 Ali Hasan he-ACC warn -N -ABL room-ACC tidy.up-PAST
 ‘Ali tidied up the room *before* Hasan warned him / Ali tidied up the room *without* Hasan warning him.’

with *-mAdAn önce* to contain Negative Polarity Items (NPI's), while no such restriction exists on adverbial clauses that contain *-mAdAn*, but do not contain *önce*. Furthermore, the *-mAdAn önce* marginally allows an addition of a negation marker, whereas this is completely impossible when *-mAdAn* is not followed by the postposition. I take these judgments to mean that in the grammar of the relevant speakers, the suffix *-mA* found in the converbial construction *-mAdAn önce* is not (or is no longer) analyzed as a negative marker, but is rather re-interpreted as the nominalizer *-mA*, regardless of the stress pattern. This re-analysis is not entirely unexpected, given that the converb in question, when followed by *önce*, looks like a nominal element based on two properties: (i) it is the complement of a postposition and postpositions take nominal complements, and (ii) it is case-marked, another salient property of nominals. However, since the same converb when not followed by *önce* is still interpreted as containing a negative suffix rather than the nominalizer despite the fact that it also contains a case marker, it seems that being the complement of a postposition is the crucial cue that drives the re-analysis from the negation marker *-mA* to the nominalizer *-mA* in the converbial construction *-mAdAn önce*.

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, I present the data which show diverging behavior of the converbial ending *-mAdAn* in environments where it is and is not followed by the postposition *önce*. The data involve the compatibility of *-mAdAn* with NPIs on the one hand, and with an addition of a negative marker on the other. The discussion leads to the conclusion that the *-mA* in *-mAdAn önce* is not a negative marker, while the one in the converbial ending *-mAdAn* that is not followed by *önce* is. This in turn points to the conclusion that the former morpheme is the nominalizer *-mA*. Section 3 is the conclusion.

2. *-mAdAn* vs. *-mAdAn önce*

Before we start reviewing the evidence for the claim that *-mAdAn* and *-mAdAn önce* do not involve the same morphological make-up of the converbial ending, it has to be stated that the judgments reported by native speakers on the two constructions vary dramatically, not only across speakers, but often also within an individual speaker. While such variability obviously stands in the way of making categorical claims about the structure of the ending in question, it is nevertheless the case that a subset of speakers consistently report judgments on which the present analysis is based. If I am correct that for this subset of speakers there is a shift from analyzing the *-mA* in *-mAdAn önce* as a negation marker to analyzing it as a nominalizer, perhaps it can be claimed that the variability found across and within speakers is due to the fact that this part of Turkish grammar is more generally unstable and that this shift may be gradually spreading. With this much in mind, let us proceed with the investigation of the two constructions.

2.1. Negative Polarity Items

Kelepir (2001) shows that NPI's in Turkish are licensed in environments containing a negative operator and in yes/no questions, as illustrated by (10) and (11) respectively.

- 10) a. John (**hiç**)kımse-yi gör-me -di. Kelepir (2001: 121)
John **anybody** -ACC see -NEG -PAST.3SG
'John didn't see anybody.'
- b. *John (**hiç**)kımse-yi gör-dü. Kelepir (2001: 121)
John **anybody** -ACC see -PAST.3SG
- 11) Hasan **hiç** Amerika-ya gel -di **mi**? Kelepir (2001: 124)
Hasan **ever** America-DAT come-PAST.3SG **Q**
'Has Hasan ever come to America?'

Given these licensing conditions on NPI's in Turkish, we can form the following prediction about whether NPI's will or will not be licensed in adverbial clauses containing *-mAdAn*: if the –

mA in the converbial ending is invariably a negative marker, then such clauses should be fine with NPI's regardless of whether they do or do not also contain the postposition *önce*. If, on the other hand, we find that NPI's are licensed only in a subset of the clauses containing *–mAdAn*, then we are well advised to analyze the *–mA* in those clauses from which NPI's are banned not as a negative marker, but as something else, most plausibly as the nominalizer *–mA*. While the judgments are highly heterogeneous both across and within individual speakers, there is a group of speakers who consistently confirm the latter prediction: for these speakers, NPI's are banned whenever the converb containing *–mAdAn* is followed by *önce*, and are allowed whenever this is not the case. The relevant examples are given in (12) through (14). The embedded adverbial clause in (12) contains an NPI subject, the one in (13) an NPI object, while in (14), the NPI is an adverb. All of the examples are judged as ungrammatical when *–mAdAn* is followed by *önce* (examples in a). However, when the postposition is not present, they become well-formed (examples in b).^{7,8}

- 12) a. *(Hiç)kimse fark -et -meden önce hata -m -1 düzel -t -ti -m.
 anybody notice-do-MADAN before error-POSS.1SG-ACC correct-CAUS-PAST-1SG
Intended: 'I corrected my error before anybody noticed it.'
- b. (Hiç)kimse fark -et -meden hata -m -1 düzel -t -ti -m.
 anybody notice-do-MADAN error-POSS.1SG-ACC correct-CAUS-PAST-1SG
 'I corrected my error before anybody noticed it / without anybody noticing it.'
- 13) a. *(Hiç)kimsey-i ziyaret et -meden önce bura-ya gel -di -m.
 anybody -ACC visit do-MADAN before here-DAT come-PAST-1SG
Intended: 'Before I visited anybody, I came here.'

⁷ In these examples, I gloss the converbial ending simply as *–mAdAn*, without committing myself to analyzing the suffix *–mA* either as a negation marker or as a nominalizer.

⁸ Recall from the Introduction that the present analysis is based on the judgments of a subset of native speakers of Turkish; so, not all the speakers report the contrast in (12) and (13). Interestingly, however, all of them do report the contrast in (14). The fact that all native speakers I consulted find (14)a ungrammatical lends support to the analysis I am proposing. I have no explanation, however, for why some of the speakers who find (14)a ill-formed also report that (12)a and (13)a are well-formed, regardless of whether the NPI in these examples do or do not contain *hiç*.

b. (Hiç)kimsey-i ziyaret et -meden bura-ya gel -di -m.
 anybody -ACC visit do-MADAN here-DAT come-PAST-1SG
 ‘Before I visited anybody, I came here / I came here without visiting anybody.’

14) a. *Ayşe’-yle hiç konuş-madan önce toplantı -dan çık -tı -m.
 Ayşe -with at-all talk -MADAN before meeting-ABL exit-PAST-1SG
Intended: ‘I left the meeting before talking to Ayşe at all.’

b. Ayşe’-yle hiç konuş-madan toplantı -dan çık -tı -m.
 Ayşe -with at-all talk -MADAN meeting-ABL exit-PAST-1SG
 ‘I left the meeting before talking to Ayşe at all / I left the meeting without talking to Ayşe at all.’

If the suffix *-mA* in the converbial ending *-mAdAn* were a negative marker across-the-board, we would not expect the contrast that we observe in (12)-(14). The fact that the contrast exists suggests that *-mA* is a negative marker only in (12b)-(14b), but not in (12a)-(14a). In light of these data, I would like to propose that in (12a)-(14a), the *-mA* in *-mAdAn önce* is a nominalizing suffix, rather than a negation marker. This proposal receives support from the fact that, with respect to NPI’s, these examples are parallel to adverbial clauses in which the subject is marked genitive, and the converbial ending *-mAdAn* contains an agreement marker. The latter also disallow NPI’s, as (15) shows.

15) *(Hiç)kimse-nin fark -et -me-sin -den önce
 anybody -GEN notice-do-MA-POSS.3SG-ABL before
 hata -m -i düzel -t -ti -m.
 error-POSS.1SG-ACC correct-CAUS-PAST-1SG
Intended: ‘I corrected my error before anybody noticed it.’

Recall from (8) above that the presence of both genitive marking on the subject of the adverbial clause and the agreement morphology on the embedded verb clearly indicates that the *-mA* in the converbial ending of such clauses is the nominalizer.⁹ The fact that (12a) displays the same incompatibility with NPI’s as (15) does makes it plausible to explain this behavior by the absence of the a negative marker in both examples.

⁹ This is also suggested by the regular stress pattern observed in examples like this.

If we wanted to defend the opposite stance, namely, if we wanted to argue that all of the examples in (12) through (14) in fact contain a negative marker (as indicated by the identical stress pattern displayed by all of them, compatible only with such an analysis), we could possibly attribute the contrast between the examples in (a) and those in (b) to the presence of the negative *semantics* in the former and the absence thereof in the latter. Kornfilt (1997), in her discussion of the example (1) in this paper, which I borrowed from her work, explicitly states that “the subordinate clause illustrated in [this example] not only lacks agreement, [but] exhibits an unusual morpheme on its predicate: the negative morpheme *-mA* (*which, however, does not negate the predicate semantically in this usage* [emphasis mine]).” (pg. 70). So, one could possibly say that examples in (12)b)-(14)b), those that do not contain *önce*, license NPI’s because the negative marker is not only syntactically present, but also contributes the semantic negativeness to the interpretation of the embedded clause (comparable to the negativeness of the parallel English clauses containing the preposition *without*). Note, however, that adverbial clauses which do not contain *önce* are semantically ambiguous: they can denote both temporal antecedence, as well as negative manner, as indicated by the translation of the example in (16) below, which is identical to (13)b), modulo the presence of the NPI object.

- 16) Ali’-yi ziyaret et -meden bura-ya gel -di -m.
 Ali -ACC visit do-MADAN here-DAT come-PAST-1SG
 ‘Before I visited Ali, I came here / I came here without visiting Ali.’

So, one of the possible interpretations of these examples is completely equivalent with the interpretation of examples that do contain *önce*. Crucially, this is also the case with the sentences that contain NPI elements: the grammatical cases (those that do not contain *önce*) remain ambiguous. So, if we were to say that (12)a)-(14)a) are ungrammatical because the negative semantic is absent from adverbial clauses denoting temporal antecedence (and this is

the only possible interpretation of these examples, as indicated by the presence of *önce*), then we are hard pressed to explain how come that the absence of the negative semantics in clauses that also denote temporal antecedence but do not contain *önce* does not preclude the presence of NPI's. I conclude, therefore, that the contrasts we observe in the licensing of NPI's in clauses in which the converbial ending *-mAdAn* is and is not followed by *önce* argue against a uniform analysis of the morphological make-up of the converbial ending. In particular, when *-mAdAn* is not followed by *önce*, it contains a negative marker (which licenses the presence of NPI's); on the other hand, when *-mAdAn* is followed by *önce*, it is best analyzed as containing a nominalizing suffix (which is not capable of licensing NPI's).

In the following section, we will see some additional evidence for this claim, which comes from the marginal acceptability of an additional negation marker in adverbial clauses containing *önce*, and the absolute unacceptability of such a marker in adverbial clauses that do not contain the postposition.

2.2. Compatibility of *-mAdAn* with an additional negation

Adverbial clauses denoting both negative manner and temporal antecedence are normally not negated, as shown by (17) below.

- 17) a. ^{??/}*I called him *without* not finishing dinner.
 b. ^{??/}*I called him *before* not finishing dinner.

Tsoulas (2013) argues that the reason why *before*-clauses are incompatible with negation is the presupposition failure that obtains in examples like (17)b). According to him, “a *before*-clause carries a presupposition that there exist a unique, contextually salient and identifiable time *t* such that the relevant event expressed by the *before*-clause took place at *t*.” If an event in the *before*-

clause is negated, no such unique and identifiable time exists. This leads to a presupposition failure. I believe that the same argument (with minor modifications) may be extended to explaining the impossibility of negation in clauses denoting negative manner. A *without*-clause may not carry a presupposition that there is a unique *time* associated with the event denoted by the clause, but it seems to carry at least the presupposition that there is *an event* (denoted by the *without*-clause) such that this event is unique, contextually salient, and identifiable. By adding negation to the proposition expressed in the *without*-clause, the event loses its “uniqueness”, and the presupposition fails. So, clauses denoting temporal antecedence and clauses denoting negative manner both seem to carry a presupposition of the *uniqueness* of the event that they express and both are incompatible with negation (i.e., when the event denoted by such clauses is negated, presupposition fails).

However, if the presupposition of the uniqueness of the event denoted by the adverbial clause can be preserved even in the presence of the negation in the clause, the result is acceptable. Consider the following scenario:

18) A student is accused of smoking in the lavatory of Hogwarts. He is interrogated by two staff members: Ms. McGonagall and Madam Pomfrey. Ms. McGonagall leads the interview:

Ms. McGonagall: So, you were alone in the lavatory, weren't you?

Student: Well, yes, mostly. At one point somebody did come in, and then left, but I didn't see who it was.

Ms. McGonagall: Ok, well tell me: did you smoke in the lavatory?

Student: — (doesn't say anything, just looks down at his lap)

Ms. McGonagall: I see. Ok, off you go, we'll talk again.

Afterwards, McGonagall and Madam Pomfrey are talking to one another:

Ms. McGonagall: I am certain we caught our smoker. We will punish him, so it will serve as an example for other kids not to do something like that.

Madam Pomfrey: I am actually not sure that he was the one who smoked in the

lavatory.

Ms. McGonagall: What do you mean? When I asked him whether it was him, he didn't deny it.

- 19) Madam Pomfrey: Yes, but **before not denying it**, he did say that someone else was there.

The last remark by Madam Pomfrey (numbered as example (19)) contains an acceptable negated *before*-clause (*before not denying it*). If the usual incompatibility of *before*-clauses with negation is due to a uniqueness presupposition failure, then the acceptability of this particular negated clause follows: the event in which the student did *not* deny the misconduct is unique and easily identifiable in the context causing the presupposition to go through.

What is of interest for our purposes is to see how (19) translates into Turkish. Given that adverbial clauses denoting temporal antecedence in Turkish may or may not contain the postposition *önce* following the converbial ending *-mAdAn* (without a change in meaning), it should be possible to render the meaning of the example in (19) equally with *önce*, as in (20)a, and without *önce*, as in (20)b). My informants, however, report that although neither of the two sentences in (20) is well-formed, there is a clear contrast between them: while (20)a) is degraded, (20)b) is completely impossible.

- 20) a. ^{???}Evet, ama inkar et -me -meden önce,
yes but denial do-NEG-MADAN before
tuvalet-te başka biri -nin ol -duğ-u -nu söyle-di.
toilet -LOC other someone-GEN be-DIK -3SG-ACC say -PAST.3SG
- b. *Evet, ama inkar et -me -meden,
yes but denial do-NEG-MADAN
tuvalet-te başka biri -nin ol -duğ-u -nu söyle-di.
toilet -LOC other someone-GEN be-DIK -3SG-ACC say -PAST.3SG

Assuming that there is exactly one morphological slot for negation in the converbial ending *-mAdAn*, if this slot is already occupied, it is not surprising that another negation marker cannot

be added to it. Thus, (20)b) is completely out.¹⁰ If, on the other hand, adding a negation marker to *-mAdAn* results in a comparatively better sentence, as in (20)a), then, under the same assumption, we are lead to conclude that the suffix *-mA* in *-mAdAn önce* does not fill the negation slot. This in turn suggests that the *-mA* which precedes the ablative ending *-dAn* in (20)a) is in fact not a negation marker, but rather a nominalizer, in line with the argument from NPI licensing presented in 2.1 above.

Of course, if I am correct in arguing that the relatively improved status of (20)a) is due to the absence of the negative marker in *-mAdAn önce*, we need an explanation for why this example is not perfect even for those speakers who disallow NPI's in the scope of the converbial ending followed by *önce*. While at the moment I can offer no such explanation, I would like to note that an additional *-mA* in the converbial ending is not perfect even when the converb carries an agreement marker, which, as we saw in section 1 above, is an unambiguous indication that it contains a nominalizing, rather than the negation marker *-mA*. This is shown by (21), which is judged as just marginally better than (20)a).

- 21) ^{???}Evet, ama inkar et -me -me-sin -den önce,
 yes but denial do-NEG-N -POSS.3SG-ABL before
 tuvalet-te başka biri -nin ol -duğ-u -nu söyle-di.
 toilet -LOC other someone-GEN be-DIK -3SG-ACC say -PAST.3SG

It is possible that the degraded status of both (20)a) and (21) is related to the presupposition introduced by *önce* 'before', discussed above. In other words, perhaps the context in (18) is not sufficient for Turkish native speakers to save the presupposition of the uniqueness of the event

¹⁰ This is not to say that a sentence cannot contain more than one negative element. The example in (i) below, from Kornfilt (1997), shows that such sentences are possible:

- (i) (Ben) bugün maç -a git-me -yecek değil -im. (Kornfilt 1997: 126)
 I today match-DAT go-NEG-FUT NEG.COP-1SG
 'It is not the case that I will not go to the game today.'

The well-formedness of (i) thus indicates that the problem with (20)b) is not in the semantics, but rather in the morphology.

expressed by the proposition in the adverbial clause, given that the event is negated. In any case, what is important for our purposes is to observe that (20)a) and (21) are both judged as equally degraded, but crucially, as comparatively better than (20)b). This suggests that the converbial endings found in (20)a) and (21) have identical morphological make-up, different from the morphological make-up of the homophonous converbial ending in (20)b). At the moment, I have to leave the problem of why these examples are not perfect for future research.

3. Conclusion

In this paper, we saw evidence which suggests that the converbial ending in *-mAdAn* and *-mAdAn önce* adverbial clauses, although superficially identical, are not composed of identical morphemes: the former contains a negation marker, while the latter seems to contain a nominalizing suffix instead. This analysis was based on two observations: (i) that *-mAdAn* clauses do, but *-mAdAn önce* clauses do not license NPI's and (ii) that *-mAdAn önce* clauses marginally allow an addition of a negation marker, but *-mAdAn* clauses resist it. As I mentioned in the Introduction to the paper, Turkish speakers do not all report the relevant judgments (those that support this analysis). Rather, this is true only of a subset of speakers. For these speakers *-mAdAn önce* clauses cannot contain NPI's and they find such clauses relatively better than *-mAdAn* clauses with an additional negation marker. Let us call this group *T(urkish)I group*. The other group of speakers report different judgments: they allow NPI's in the scope of *-mAdAn önce*,¹¹ which indicates that they invariably analyze the *-mA* in the converbial ending as a negative marker. With respect to the addition of negation, this group of speakers divides into two subgroups: one behaves like the T1 group, i.e. they judge the addition of a negation marker to –

¹¹ Except when the NPI is the adverb *hiç* 'at all', a fact that remains mysterious.

mAdAn önce clauses better than they judge such an addition to *-mAdAn* clauses. I will refer to this group as *T(urkish)2* group. The remainder of speakers allow extra negation neither in *-mAdAn önce* clauses nor in *-mAdAn* clauses. For these speakers, call them *T(urkish)2'*, both (20)a) and (20)b) are completely impossible and the only marginally allowed option is (21), where the converb contains an agreement marker. This distribution of judgments across different groups of speakers is summarized in the Table 1 below.

Table 1

Speaker group	NPI's licensed in <i>-mAdAn önce</i> clauses	Extra negation allowed in <i>-mAdAn önce</i> clauses	Extra negation allowed in <i>-mAdAn</i> clauses
T1	✗	✓	✗
T2	✓	✓	✗
T2'	✓	✗	✗

I suggested above that the variability in judgments that we observe across and within speakers with respect to the phenomena in question may be an indication that the grammar is shifting towards reanalyzing the *-mA* in the converbial ending *-mAdAn* as a nominalizer in exactly those cases when the clause containing the converb is selected by the postposition *önce*. The three groups in Table 1 then illustrate different degrees to which such a reanalysis is instantiated: T1 speakers show all the properties consistent with the “new” grammar, with the exception of the stress pattern. T2 speakers retain the stress pattern and also the licensing conditions on NPI's in *-mAdAn önce* clauses from the “original” grammar. Finally, the judgments of T2' speakers indicate that they have not started to shift towards the “new” grammar at all.

References

- Göksel, A. and C. Kerslake. 2005. *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Kabak, B. and I. Vogel. 2001. The phonological word & stress assignment in Turkish. *Phonology* 18: 315-360.
- Kahnemuyipour, A. and J. Kornfilt. 2006. Declassifying Turkish 'Pre-stressing' Suffixes. In *Proceedings of the 2006 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*;
- Kelepir, M. 2001. Topics in Turkish syntax: clausal structure and scope. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Kornfilt, J. 1997. *Turkish*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lewis, G. 1967. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sezer, E. 1981. On non-final stress in Turkish. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 5: 61-69.
- Tsoulas, G. 2013. Before-Clauses: Comparison, Presupposition, and the Syntax-Semantics Interface. Paper presented at the SFB Guest lecture series, June 11th 2013, University of Stuttgart.