

Acknowledgement.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
List of Abbreviations.....	vi
A word on scientific ethics.....	vii

An Introduction

1. Subject.....	1
2. Purpose.....	1
3. Scope and Constraint.....	1
4. Theoretical Framework.....	2
4.1 Universal Grammar.....	2
4.2 X-bar Theory.....	2
4.3 Movement.....	4
4.4 Scrambling.....	6
4.5 Scope.....	7
4.6 Binding.....	8
4.7 An Overview of the Book.....	10

SECTION ONE

SYNTACTIC ASPECTS OF LOCATIVES

1.1 Locatives as Modifiers.....	11
1.2 Semantic Contribution of Locatives and a Proper Classification.....	11

1.3 A Literature review for Locatives.....	14
--------------------------------------------	----

SECTION TWO

SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF LOCATIVES

2.1 External Modifier >Object> Internal Modifier.....	16
2.1.1 Focus Projection.....	16
2.1.2 Quantifier Scope.....	17
2.1.3 Principle C Effect.....	20
2.1.4 Remnant Topicalization.....	21
2.2 Frame Setting Modifier > External Modifier.....	22
2.2.1 The Scope Test.....	22
2.2.2 Principle C Effect.....	25

SECTION THREE

TESTING THE TESTS IN TURKISH

3.1 Transitive Verbs.....	27
3.1.1 Focus Projection Test.....	27
3.1.2 Quantifier Scope.....	29
3.1.3 Remnant Topicalization.....	34
3.1.4 Principle C Effect.....	37
3.2 LOCATIVES IN OTHER SENTENCE TYPES.....	39
3.2.1 Unaccusative, Unergative and Passive Sentences.....	39

3.2.2 Causative Sentences.....	51
3.2.2.1 External Modifiers.....	51
3.2.2.2 Internal Modifiers.....	57
3.3 Interpreting the Data.....	59
3.3.1 Locatives in Transitive Sentences.....	59
3.3.2 Locatives in Other Sentence Types.....	60
SECTION FOUR	
AN (ALMOST) NEW ANALYSIS FOR INTERNAL MODIFIERS	
4.1 Locatives and Small Clause Predicate Analysis.....	64
4.1.1 Do Locatives Denote Location Only?	64
4.1.2 What is Small Clause?	65
4.1.3. Locatives as Small Clause Predicates.....	69
4.2 Justification.....	70
4.2.1 Adverbs/Modifiers.....	70
4.2.2 Existential Quantifier <i>bir</i> and the Small Clause Analysis.....	72
4.2.3 Floating Quantifiers.....	76
4.2.4 Constituent Analysis.....	78
4.2.5 Underspecification of Internal Modifiers.....	81
4.3 Internal Structure and Derivation of Small Clause Internal Modifiers.....	83
4.4 Some Implicative Consequences of the Small Clause Analysis.....	86
4.5. Result.....	89
REFERENCES.....	91

Acknowledgement

No book is authored by a single person and this one is no exception. Actually, the idea of publishing a book emerged four years after the original text was written in Turkish as an MA thesis. Thus help came from a variety of people on a variety of topics. What is before you as a book now is the product of a cooperation with those generous people. I am indebted to all of them. On a more personal level, I would like to thank to my thesis supervisor Engin Uzun and the jury members Selçuk İşsever and Cem Bozşahin for their insightful comments on the content of the thesis and hence this book. Also I owe thanks to my colleagues and students who actually thought I was going insane in asking for their intuitions on such sentences. This book should tell them that by answering all those crazy questions, they served the science of linguistics, the exploration into human mind. Finally, I should not forget my family, who have always been supportive to me in all ways. This book would never come to be without them.

This book is dedicated to no one. Thus it belongs to everyone, just as every piece of science should.

Abbreviations

Acc.	Accusative
AP	Adjective Phrase
Caus.	Causative
Cont.	Continuous
Dat.	Dative
Fut.	Future
Gen.	Genitive
IP	Inflection Phrase
Loc.	Locative
Neg.	Negative
NP	Noun Phrase
Nom.	Nominative
Part.	Participle
Pl.	Plural
PP	Preposition Phrase/Postposition Phrase
SC	Small Clause
Spec	Specifier
TP	Tense Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
vP	Small Verb Phrase
1sgPoss	1 st person singular possessive

Any scientific paper motivated by anything but pure scientific curiosity is fundamentally defective.

An Introduction

1. Subject

This book deals with the syntactic properties of locative phrases in Turkish. For the sake of convenience for the reader, it also covers such minor aspects of syntax as binding, scrambling, scope and predication.

2. Purpose

As is evident by what they are called, locative phrases, categorized under the rubric of adjuncts, denote location. However, locative denotation is not all they are capable of doing. Here the actual argumentation goes along where they are positioned and what the internal structure of them looks like. In this respect, this book has a purpose of two-fold. First, it aims to test the observations on locatives in other languages (especially Maienborn, 2001) against Turkish data. Second, as a tentative attempt, it tries to achieve new horizons about the grammatical status of them. To this end, I will try to provide a new description of facts. Specifically, I will provide a dual categorization of locatives, as opposed to Maienborn's (2001) ternary categorization.

3. Scope and Constraint

I will follow the argumentation based on the findings and reasoning in Maienborn (2001, 2003). Hence I will constrain myself to the tests Maienborn (2001) resorted to in order to unveil the syntactic positions that locative phrases occupy.

4. Theoretical Framework

4.1 Universal Grammar

Universal Grammar (UG) is a theory of language which assumes that knowledge of language is a common innate gift unique to human being. The underlying reasoning of this assumption is that the innate knowledge of language enables child to acquire any language she is exposed to. Hence knowledge of language is not *learnt* after birth. In contrast, born with the innate knowledge to acquire human language, child simply classifies the language she is exposed to via the schemata she already has. She can easily discern which one of the possible languages is being spoken by her caretakers. The other interpretation of UG, on the other hand, assumes that UG consists of universals and parameters. According to this interpretation, language acquisition is simply a matter of deciding which parameter of any given universal to use, a process called parameter setting (Chomsky, 1981). Parameter is the slightly different realization of a universal. To put concretely, having a subject is a universal property of any sentence in any human language, which is technically called the Projection Principle. It is a parameter, however, whether to spell out the subject or not. More specifically, some languages choose not to spell out the subject when they specify the intended subject in the subject parameter with other means, like subject-verb agreement, and when felicitous discourse environment is present. Yet the speaker and the listener are both well aware that there is a doer for the action denoted by the verb since it is a universal of UG that no sentence goes without a subject, a universal which has come to be formulated in a diversity of ways during the years. In this case, it is called the pro-drop parameter.

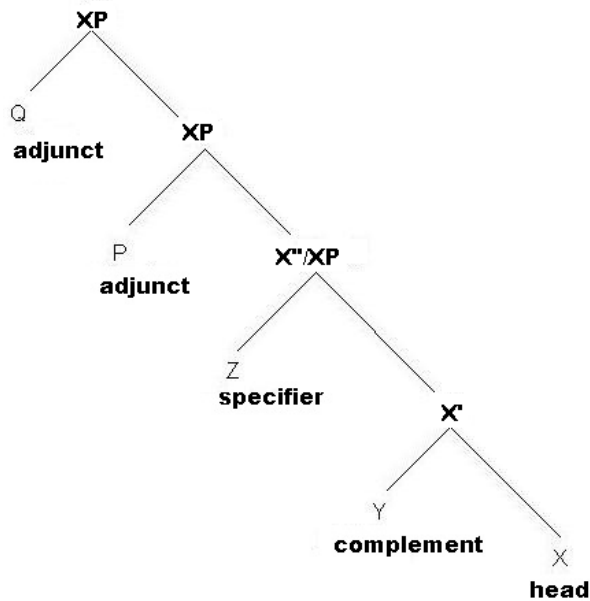
4.2 X-bar Theory

In UG, lexical items in a sentence are not suspending objects that contribute to the interpretation of the sentence unhierarchically. Rather they must be in a

hierarchically defined position. Due to this structural necessity, the relationship between lexical items and their contribution to the interpretation of the sentence are uniquely and coherently determined. In any syntactic structure, two lexical items merge to form a phrase. One of these lexical items acts as the head and the category of the head projects as the category of the phrase. A lexical item can merge with one single lexical item at a time. Hence the node merging two lexical items has no more or less than two branches, a principle called binary branching. Phrase structure has an important role in carrying out some syntactic operations and interpreting some semantic relationships between lexical items, so that having a hierarchical structure guarantees that these operations and interpretations will always take place between two lexical items. This is independently needed for such concerns as computational disambiguity. In this way, a predicate to merge with two arguments first merges with one of them followed by the other. While the first argument merges directly with the predicate, the second argument merges with the newly formed syntactic object. This allows the predicate to uniquely assign thematic roles to each argument.

The first argument to merge with a head is called complement while the second to merge is called specifier. However, heads do not merge with their arguments only. Lexical items which are not necessitated by the argument structure of the predicate are called adjuncts. A head gains a bar with every argument it merges with while the second argument bar, namely specifier, concludes the phrase. Not being an argument, adjuncts do not make any progress in bar status. Thus theoretically there is no upper bound on the number adjuncts a head can carry. On the other hand, only two arguments are allowed to merge with a head. When a head merges with its second argument, it gains phrase status, forming a maximal projection. These phrase structural relationships are shown as in (1).

(1)



4.3 Movement

Movement is a syntactic operation which is applied to a syntactic object in order to move it from the position it occupies to another position which is not occupied by any other syntactic object. After movement, the syntactic object, in most cases a word, leaves behind a trace through which it can establish an organic connection with its previous position for such operations as theta role interpretation. Type of movement depends on the syntactic object moved. When the deep object of a passive sentence is raised to be the surface subject, this is a Noun Phrase (NP) movement. Raising a verb, on the other hand, to Inflection Phrase (IP) is an instance of head movement since verb is a head. Different from both, wh-movement involves moving wh-words to the specifier of Complementizer Phrase (CP) to impose question interpretation by taking wide scope over the sentence.

Motive for movement has been formulated in a variety of ways in various versions of UG. Initially, it was assumed that raising in passives is motivated by the suppression of case assignment ability of the verb by the passive morpheme attached to it. Being lack of a case assigning head, the object raises to the only position where it can be assigned a case, which is nominative in this case since it moves to spec-IP. As the theory evolved towards the Minimalist Program (MP), case was divided into smaller parts called feature. Movement came to be recognized as a feature-driven operation on lexical items. They are now claimed to move in order to check their features with the corresponding feature of a head. Alternative view, on the other hand, entertains the idea that lexical items are attracted by heads in order to fill their specifier position (Chomsky, 1995:297).

There are constraints on movement, however. One of these constraints is that movement must be structure-preserving, i.e. a lexical item can move to a position which allows the category of the item to be moved. Hence a phrase can move to a specifier position, which allows phrases while a head can only be moved to, i.e. adjoined to, another head. Formulated in this way, any movement will preserve the phrase structural status of the landing site, through which computational complexity will be prevented since the category of the landing site or the phrase will not be defined again.

Movement is also classified depending on the landing site. If a phrase is moved to an argument position, this is called A-movement. Raising to subject position in passive sentences is an instance of A-movement since subject is an argument of IP by Projection Principle. If the landing site is not an argument of its head, this is an A-bar movement. When a wh-word raises to the specifier of CP, an A-bar position, this is an A-bar movement.

4.4 Scrambling

Scrambling is a syntactic movement driven by discourse related features such as focusing, defocusing and topicalization. Most vivid discussion about scrambling concerns the A/A-bar status of the landing site. Based on the fact that scrambled words allow reconstruction, Kural (1992) asserts that scrambling is an A-bar movement.¹ (2) illustrates some scrambling phenomena in Turkish.

(2) a. Mehmet Ayşe'yle evlen-di

Mehmet Ayşe-clitic marry-past

b. Mehmet evlen-di Ayşe'yle

Mehmet marry-past Ayşe-clitic

c. Ayşe'yle Mehmet evlen-di

Ayşe-clitic Mehmet marry-past

d. Evlen-di Mehmet Ayşe'yle

Marry-past Mehmet Ayşe-clitic

Mehmet got married to Ayşe

(2a) is the underlying word order of (2b,c,d). (2b) is a postverbal scrambling, i.e. defocusing, while (2c) is a preverbal scrambling, i.e. focusing. Finally (2d) is an instance topicalization since the verb is topicalized to the sentence initial position.²

¹ See Temürçü (2005) and Thrainsson (2001) on whether scrambling ends in an A or A-bar position.

² See İşsever (2000) and Erguvanlı (1984) on topicalization by fronting to the sentence initial position in Turkish.

4.5 Scope

Scope is the phrase structural domain in which scope taking elements, i.e. quantifiers like *every* and wh-words like *which*, impose their semantic properties on other syntactic items. A quantifier has to constituent-command (c-command) an noun phrase (NP) in order to take scope over it. c-command is formulated as below.

c-command

α c-commands β if α does not dominate β and every γ that dominates α dominates β .

(Chomsky & Lasnik, 1993)

However, scope may not comply with the surface structure (S-structure) representation. Two scope taking elements may take scope over each other mutually, hence scope ambiguity as in (3).

(3) a. Someone speaks every language

b. Her dil-i bil-en biri vardır mutlaka

every language-acc. know-part. someone exist definitely

There definitely is someone to speak every language

(3a) and (3b) can be interpreted to mean that one specific person speaks all of the languages in the world or for every language in the world there exists someone to speak it. Yet in S-structure it is only one of them, namely someone and her (every) respectively, that c-commands the other. Thus it is assumed that there must be some

representation or derivational phase where the other quantifier c-commands the quantifier that c-commands it in S-structure.

4.6 Binding

Binding theory has been formulated in the hope to explain the referential properties of pronominals, anaphors and referential expressions (R-expression). (4), (5) and (6) illustrate the binding behaviors of anaphors, pronominals, and R-expressions respectively.

(4) a. Jack_i hates himself_i

b. *himself_i hates john_i

c. John_{*i} thinks that Jack_i hates himself_i

(5) a. Jane_j misses her_i so much

b. *Tim_i likes him_i

c. Tim_j knows that Mary loves him_i

(6) a. *Tim_i likes Tim_i

b. *Tim_i knows that Jane hates Tim_i

Implications of (4), (5) and (6) about the binding theory can be summarized as below:
(4a,b) show that an anaphora must be c-commanded by a co-indexed antecedent

while (4c) indicates that the co-indexed antecedent must be in a specifically defined domain, i.e. the anaphora and its antecedent must be clause-mates since the main clause subject *John* cannot bind *himself* while the embedded clause subject *Jack* can. In contrast, the pronominals in (5) cannot be bound within the same clause but they must be bound by an antecedent residing in an outer clause. Differently however, the R-expressions in (6) cannot be co-indexed and hence bound by any other pronominal or R-expression. These observations on co-indexing and binding are formulated as the principles of binding theory.

(7)

Principle A

An anaphor is bound in its governing category

Principle B

A pronominal is free in its governing category

Principle C

An R-expression is free

(Chomsky, 1981:188)

Governing Category

α is the governing category for β if and only if α is the minimal category containing β and a governor of β , where $\alpha = \text{NP or S}$

(Chomsky, 1981:188)

4.7 An Overview of the Book

§1 is an introduction to locative phrases for unfamiliar readers. It also covers their semantic contribution and the general discussion on locatives prevalently found in the literature.

§2 deals with the syntactic properties of locatives. A comprehensive summary of Maienborn (2001) and the whole syntactic argumentation are provided since they are of relevance for the following sections.

§3 tests the claims of Maienborn (2001) against the Turkish data. It starts with the tests on transitive sentences, expanding it with unaccusative, unergative, passive and causative structures.

Finally, §4 is an attempt to reduce the ternary classification to a binary classification. In this section, I will try to prove that the so-called Internal Modifiers should be better analyzed as the predicates of the small clause.

SECTION ONE

SYNTACTIC ASPECTS OF LOCATIVES

1.1 Locatives as Modifiers

Modifier is the optional lexical item, i.e. an adjunct, which merges with a head after the complement. Note that (8) has two modifiers.

(8) Jack saw the new girl at school

(8) remains grammatical even if the lexical items *new* and *at school* are omitted. It is widely assumed in generative grammar that locatives are modifiers. For one thing, events denoted by verbs can be structured without reference to location while some verbs like *throw* necessitate that the sentence include a lexical item or phrase that indicates direction. However, no verb in human language requires the event to take place in a specific place of the universe.

1.2 Semantic Contribution of Locatives and a Proper Classification

As stated above, locatives denote the place where the event takes place. Maienborn (2001, 2003) points out, however, that locatives anchor different items of the sentence. Note that in (9) the locatives *in the kitchen*, *in Canada* and *in London* anchor the verb as a whole with its subject and object located in the place denoted by the locative while the locatives *in the fridge*, *in the oven* and *on porcelain dishes* in (10) only show the location of the object. Placed in the sentence initial position, the locatives *in Turkey*, *in Africa* and *in Tropics* in (11) do not point to the location of the

object or the subject, but they limit the validity of the proposition of the sentence to a geographical area.

(9) a. Mary cooked the meal in the kitchen

b. Mary studied university in Canada

c. Mary married to jack in London

(10) a. Mary found the wine in the fridge

b. Mary cooked the chicken in the oven

c. Mary served the food on porcelain dishes

(11) a. In Turkey, homicide is a serious crime

b. In Africa, one should be careful about Malaria

c. In Tropics, life is quite difficult for the weak

The locatives in (9) are referred to as “External Modifier” (EM) while the ones in (10) are referred to as “Internal Modifier” (IM). The locatives in (11), on the other hand, are called “Frame-setting Modifier” (FM) since they set the necessary frame for the proposition.

Maienborn (2001) states, however, that under felicitous semantic circumstances, locatives may have dual interpretation, that is, they may be

ambiguous. Suppose that in (10b) Mary and the chicken are in a huge oven and Mary is frying the chicken in a pan located in that huge oven. Though hard, external modifier interpretation is a possible interpretation of the sentence, yet it is quite often ignored by the speakers because of its absurdity. Thus it is reasonable to claim that world knowledge classifies the locative in (10b) as an internal modifier. In some cases ambiguity cannot be resolved with world knowledge, however. Note that in (12) the locative *in the museum* may be either interpreted as an external modifier or an internal modifier. In one of the possible interpretations, the event of arranging the meeting takes place in the museum, but the meeting is to be held somewhere else, while in the other it is the museum where the meeting is to be held.

(12) Jane arranged to have a meeting in the museum

At this point, Maienborn raises a question about whether locatives make a constant lexicosemantic contribution to the interpretation of the sentence or do they serve different semantics. To broaden the discussion, one may ask whether locatives always serve the same syntactic function, namely modification. The answer seems to be a no. Hoekstra & Mulder (1990) and Muromatsu (1997) contend that locatives have predicative uses. In addition, note that in the dialogue in (13) the question asks the manner while the answer is provided with a locative. Even more, frame-setting modifiers may be interpreted temporally as in (14) which can be interpreted to mean that Britta was blond when she was in Bolivia. Hence it seems that syntactic and semantic functions of locatives depend on the syntactic and semantic environment they reside in.

(13) A: How did you cook the chicken?

B: In soy sauce.

(14) In Bolivia, Britta was blond.

(Maienborn, 2001:197)

1.3 A Literature review for Locatives

Liveliest discussions in the literature on locatives revolve around the two properties of them. One of these concerns the phrase structural position locatives occupy while the other touches upon the inversion of locatives. Tungseth (2003), studying locatives in Norwegian, makes syntactic distinctions between locatives and directional Preposition Phrases (PP), e.g., locatives can suspend when the verb is topicalized while such a movement with PPs suspended results in ungrammaticality. Hence, Tungseth argues that locatives are VP adjuncts while directional PPs should be better positioned at V' since phrases, namely VP, moves holistically. Adding more to the discussion, Nilsen (1998) offers the following ordering of PPs, placing locatives lower than directional PPs.

(15) < V PP_{dir}, PP_{inst}, PP_{dir}, PP_{tel}, PP_{atel}, PP_{loc}, PP_{temp} >

(adapted from Nilsen (1998:109))

Like Tungseth (2003), Hoekstra (1984) claims that directional PPs appear as the complement of the verb whereas locatives stand as V'-adjuncts. Laying the

groundwork for Tungseth's (2003) analysis, Hoekstra (1984) also argues that directional PPs and locatives are best analyzed as small clauses (SC).³

Discussions on inversion revolve around where the inverted locative phrase goes or what case-assigning mechanism is involved in case marking the subject NP in inverted sentences. Specifically, Hoekstra & Mulder (1990) contend that inverted locative, like subject NPs, raise to spec-IP as illustrated in (16)

(16) [Down the hill]_i rolled the baby carriage t_i

(Hoekstra & Mulder, 1990:28)

According to Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), nominative is assigned in (16) as follows: the locative is predicated of the subject NP *the baby carriage* since they form a small clause. It then raises to spec-IP and establishes a connection to the trace it leaves behind as it moves via the chain thus formed. As a result of this movement and chain formation, spec-IP is indirectly linked to the subject NP and case marks it.⁴

³ This idea will be revived in §4 for only locatives.

⁴ See Salzmann (2004) for more examples of locative inversion in Chichewa, object-like behavior of subjects and a thorough literature analysis.

SECTION TWO

SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF LOCATIVES

As referred to by Maienborn (2001), internal modifiers, external modifiers and frame-setting modifiers occupy three different syntactic positions which make them contribute to the semantics of the sentence in differing ways. That is, their semantic content is not lexically fixed but depends on the syntactic environment they appear. For example, internal modifier is the modifier closest to the verb. Above internal modifier, and the direct object, is positioned the external modifier while the highest modifier is the frame-setting modifier. This is illustrated in (17)

(17) FM>subject>EM>object>IM>verb

Maienborn resorts to the following four sets of test in order to provide evidence for the above ordering: focus projection, quantifier scope, remnant topicalization and principle C effect. In the following sections, I will try to summarize Maienborn's tests for the three types of locatives.

2.1 External Modifier >Object> Internal Modifier

2.1.1 Focus Projection

Maienborn cites Höhle (1982) for the idea that in unmarked word order focus projects to the whole sentence and the sentence is the felicitous answer to the widest scope question *what happened*. Hence focus projection test can be employed to find

out the underlying order of locatives. Maienborn (2001) provides the following examples for the focus projection test.

(18) Paul hat [PP vor dem Capitol] [DP die MARSEILLAISE] gesungen

Paul has in front of the Capitol the MARSEILLAISE sung

(Maienborn, 2001:200)

The locative in (18) is hierarchically higher than the object and the primary sentence accent is on the object, which is closest to the verb. Thus the focus projects and the sentence is the felicitous answer to the question *what happened*. The reversed order in (19), however, blocks the projection and breaks the question-answer pair. That is, the sentence only answers the question *where did Paul sing the Marseillaise*.

(19) Paul hat [DP die Marseillaise] [PP VOR DEM CAPITOL] gesungen

Paul has the Marseillaise in front of the Capitol sung

(Maienborn, 2001:200)

2.1.2 Quantifier Scope

Defined by structural hierarchy, quantifier scope becomes an elaborate device to determine the relative positions of two syntactic items. The logic behind this idea is that if two quantifiers have mutual scope over each other, i.e. if it is a case of scope ambiguity, it can be argued that one of them has moved from a lower position to a higher position relative to the other. However, if one of them has unambiguous scope

over the other, i.e. if it is a case of frozen scope, then both quantifiers or the phrases containing them are in their underlying positions.⁵ Following these lines, Maienborn (2001) suggests testing the underlying positions of internal and external modifiers using the following scope principle.

(20) Scope Principle:

A quantifier expression α has scope over a quantifier expression β iff the head of the α -chain c-commands the base of the β -chain.

(Maienborn, 2001:203)

(21) a. Paul HAT [in fast jeder konzerthalle] [mindesten ein Lied] gesungen
Paul has in nearly every concert hall at least one song sung

b. Paul HAT [mindestenes ein Lied] [in fast jeder konzerthalle] gesungen
Paul has at least one song in nearly every concert hall sung

(Maienborn, 2001:203)

In (21a), the external modifier containing the universal quantifier is higher than the object containing the existential quantifier. The sentence has only one interpretation in which the universal quantifier outscopes the existential quantifier. That is, the sentence means there are as many songs as concert halls where these songs are sung.

⁵ See Yatsushiro (1996), May (1989) and Suh (2002) for the discussions on scrambling and scope taking, logical form quantifier raising and scope taking without quantifier raising respectively.

(21b), where the object is higher than the external modifier, can be interpreted ambiguously, however. In one of the possible interpretations, there are as many songs as concert halls where these songs are sung while in the other the same song is sung in every concert hall. Considering the scope principle, Maienborn (2001) speculates that (21a) is the underlying word order while (21b) is the derived word order, which means external modifiers are canonically higher than objects.

As regards internal modifiers, however, things seem to be the other way. Specifically, the sentences in which internal modifiers are hierarchically lower than the object allow unambiguous interpretation while otherwise ordering is ambiguous. (22a) can be interpreted ambiguously to mean either the pashas vary with the chairs or the same pasha sits on all chairs. (22b), on the other hand, is unambiguous since it only allows the interpretation where the same pasha sits on every chair successively. Thus it is reasonable to assume that internal modifiers are canonically lower than direct objects, i.e. between the direct object and the verb. To summarize, scope test lends support to the idea that any sentence containing modifiers is hierarchically organized as illustrated in (17).

(22)a. Paul HAT [in fast jeder sänfte] [mindestens einen Pascha] getragen

Paul has in nearly every-sedan-chair at least one pasha carried

b. Paul HAT [mindestens einen Pascha] [in fast jeder sänfte] getragen

Paul has at least one pasha in nearly every-sedan-chair carried

(Maienborn, 2001:204)

2.1.3 Principle C Effect

Principle C of binding theory dictates that an R-expression should be free. And the keys to binding are c-command and coindexing. This means an R-expression cannot be coindexed with another R-expression or pronominal which is hierarchically higher than the R-expression. Maienborn (2001) makes use of this to spot the underlying position of locative modifiers. She uses the examples in (23) and (24) which she attributes to Frey and Pittner (1998).

(23)a. [In Peters_i Büro]_j hat der Chef t_j ihn_i zur rede gestellt

In Peter's office has the boss him to task taken

b.* [An Peters_i Auto]_j hat der Chef ihn_i t_j nach hause gefahren

In Peter's car has the boss him at home driven

(Frey & Pittner, 1998:22)

(23a) and (23b) contain an external modifier and an internal modifier respectively, both of which have been topicalized. (23a) is judged to be grammatical while (23b) is ill-formed. Maienborn (2001) argues that the difference is due to the fact that they are derived from the underlying representations in (24a) and (24b) respectively.

(24) a. Der Chef hat [in Peters_i Büro] ihn_i zur rede gestellt

The boss has in Peter's office him to task taken

b. *Der Chef hat ihn_i [an Peters_i Auto] nach hause gefahren

The boss has him in Peter's car at home driven

(Maienborn, 2001:204)

In (24a), the R-expression in the external modifier is not bound by the pronominal *ihn*. However, the R-expression in the internal modifier of (24b) is bound by the pronominal which is higher in the structure, hence ungrammaticality. This again provides evidence for the claim that these sentences are organized as external modifier>object>internal modifier.

2.1.4 Remnant Topicalization

The rationale of this test is that if a VP containing a trace is topicalized, it should render the sentence ungrammatical since the trace in question cannot be properly governed out the c-command domain of its antecedent. Consider the underlying order [β XP₁ [α XP₂ V]]. According to Maienborn (2001), once XP₁ has been moved α can be topicalized while topicalization of β results in ungrammaticality. The examples in German seem to support Maienborn's point. Note the examples in (25).

(25) a. [α Auf den schultern getragen]_i haben die Spieler [den Torschütsen]_j [_{t_j} t_i]

On the shoulders carried have the_{NOM} players the_{ACC} scorer

b.?? [[βVor dem stadion t_i getragen]]_j haben die spieler [den Torschützen]_i t_j

In-front-of the stadion carried have the_{NOM} players the_{ACC} scorer

(Maienborn, 2001:205)

In (26a), which includes an internal modifier, the object *den Torschützen* (XP1) is moved out of the VP followed by V (α) topicalization. This series of movements results in grammaticality. On the other hand, (26b) has an external modifier and shows decreased grammaticality since the NP *den Torschützen* (XP2) is first to be moved out of the VP (β), which is subsequently topicalized to the sentence initial position. The reduced grammaticality is explained by the fact that the trace in VP cannot be properly governed since it is higher than the antecedent. These facts suggest that XP2 in (25a) represents an internal modifier, i.e. it is between the verb and the object while XP1 in (25b) should represent an external modifier which is higher than the object.

2.2 Frame Setting Modifier > External Modifier

2.2.1 The Scope Test

I will now test the positions of frame setting modifiers and external modifier on the theoretical background of §2.1.2. Let us start with frame setting modifiers. (26) indicates that frame-setting modifiers are higher in the structure than external modifiers. The frame-setting modifier in (26a) is lower than the subject, which results in ambiguity. In one of the possible interpretations, it is the case that every opera singer is famous in at least one country. In the other interpretation, however, there is one unique country where every opera singer is famous. As to (26b), where the frame setting modifier is higher than the subject quantifier, it is impossible to interpret it

distributionally. Considering the scope principle, the ambiguity contrast between (26a) and (26b) suggests that frame-setting modifier is canonically higher than the subject.

(26) a. [In fast jeder Opernsänger] IST [in mindestens einem land] berühmt

Nearly every opera singer is in at least one country famous.

b. [In mindestens einem land] IST [in fast jeder Opernsänger] berühmt

In at least one country is nearly every opera singer famous

(Maienborn, 2001:206)

(27) a. [Mindestens ein Bariton] HAT [in fast jeder Konzerthalle]

At least one baritone has in nearly every concert hall

Schubert-Lieder gesungen

Schubert songs sung

b. [In fast jeder Konzerthalle] HAT [mindestens ein Bariton]

In nearly every concert hall has at least one baritone

Schubert-Lieder gesungen

Schubert songs sung

(Maienborn, 2001:206)

As to external modifier, judgments in (27) are vice versa, i.e. (27a) is unambiguous while (27b) is ambiguous. Hence, Maienborn (2001) asserts that the external modifier in (27a) is canonically lower than the subject whereas the one in (27b) comes to be higher as a result of movement. In addition, Maienborn (2001) goes on to argue that external modifiers are below the surface subjects of unaccusative and passive verbs, as exemplified in (28).

(28) a. [DP Fast jeder Wanderer] IST [PP unter mindestens einem Baum]

Almost every hiker has under at least one tree

Eingeschlafen

fallen asleep

b. [PP Unter mindestens einem Baum] IST [DP fast jeder Wanderer]

under at least one tree has almost every hiker

ingeschlafen

fallen asleep

c. [DP Mindestens ein Lied] WURDE [PP in fast jedem raum] gesungen

At least one song was in nearly every room sung

d. [PP In fast jedem raum] WURDE [DP Mindestens ein Lied] gesungen

In nearly every room was at least one song sung

(Maienborn, 2001:206)

In (28a), the derived subject appears higher than the external modifier, which forces distributional reading only. (28b) has the external modifier higher than the subject as a result of topicalization, allowing ambiguous interpretation. The same results are obtained in (28c) and (28d). Thus, the examples in (28) show that external modifiers are lower than the highest thematic argument.

2.2.2 Principle C Effect

Based on the theoretical assumptions in §2.1.3, Maienborn (2001) devises genuine tests for the relative FM>EM order. (29) and (30) present the relevant sentences. The R-expression in the topicalized frame-setting modifier of (30) and subject do not show principle C effect, which hints that the frame-setting modifier is above the subject. In (29b), however, it is the external modifier that is topicalized over the subject pronominal, leading to ungrammaticality. Thus it is evident that the external modifier is canonically below the subject pronominal.

(29)a.[In Peters_i Büro]_j hat der Chef t_j ihm_i die atken gezeigt

In Peter's office has the boss him the files shown

b.*[In Peters_i Büro]_j hat er_i t_j dem Chef die atken gezeigt

In Peter's office has he the_{DAT} boss the_{AKK} files shown

(Maienborn, 2001:206)

(30) [In Peters_i Firma]_j entscheidet t_j er_i allein über die Ausgaben

In Peter's business decides he alone about the expenses

(Maienborn, 2001:206)

All in all, the judgments of (18)-(30) provide abundant evidence that modifiers have strictly defined syntactic positions and that their relative order is FM>subject>EM>object>IM>verb.

SECTION THREE

TESTING THE TESTS IN TURKISH

This section aims to provide an application of Maienborn's (2001) analyses to Turkish data. However, I will only be interested in external and internal modifiers since I will be developing on internal modifiers in §4.

3.1 Transitive Verbs

3.1.1 Focus Projection Test

As stated in §2.1.1, focus projects to the whole sentence iff all lexical items surface in their underlying phrase structural positions. (31)-(33) puts this principle through Turkish transitive sentences in terms of external modifiers.

(31) a. Ali [biz-im salon-da] şarkı-yı söyle-di

Ali we-gen. hall-loc. song-acc. sing-past

Ali sang the song in our hall

b. Ali şarkı-yı [bizim salon-da] söyle-di

Ali song-acc. we-gen. hall-loc. sing-past

Ali sang the song in our hall

(32) a.Mehmet [Almanya'da] üniversite oku-du⁶

Mehmet Germany-loc. university study-past

Mehmet studied university in Germany

b.Mehmet üniversite-yi [Almanya'da] oku-du

Mehmet university-acc. Germany-loc. study-past

Mehmet studied university in Germany

(33) a.Merve [mutfak-ta] yemek ye-di

Merve kitchen-loc. meal eat-past

Merve ate meal in the kitchen

b.Merve yemeğ-i-ni [mutfak-ta] ye-di

Merve meal-3sgPoss.-acc. kitchen-loc. eat-past

Merve ate her meal in the kitchen

The external modifier is higher than the object in (31a), (33a) and (34a) while it is below the object in (31b), (32b) and (33b). Judgments suggest that the *a* sentences allow focus projection, felicitously answering the widest scope question *what happened* while the *b* sentences do not. Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that external modifiers are higher than the object, i.e. between the subject and the object. As expected, Maienborn's (2001) predictions seem to bear out for internal modifiers as well. In the examples in (34) and (35), focus projects when the internal modifier is between the object and the verb.

⁶ Though translated in the same way, (32a) and (32b) have different information structures. (32a) should be better translated as *what Mehmet did in Germany was to study university* while a better gloss (32b) would be *Mehmet did study university and this took place in Germany*.

(34) a. Oyuncu-lar antrenör-ü [omuz-lar-ın-da] taşı-dı-lar

Player-pl. couch-acc. shoulder-pl.-3sgPoss-loc. carry-past-pl.

The player carried the couch on their shoulders

b. Oyuncu-lar [omuz-lar-ın-da] antrenör-ü taşı-dı-lar

Player-pl. shoulder-pl.-3sgPoss-loc. couch-acc. carry-past-pl.

lit. *The players carried the couch on their shoulders*

act. *What the players carried on their shoulders was the couch*

(35) a. Fatma bilgisayar-ı-nı [kutu-da] bul-du.

Fatma computer-3sgPoss.-acc. box-loc. find-past

Fatma found her computer in the box

b. Fatma [kutu-da] bilgisayar-ı-nı bul-du

Fatma box-loc. computer-3sgPossfind-acc.

lit. *Fatma found her computer in the box*

act. *What Fatma found in the box was her computer*

3.1.2 Quantifier Scope

Turkish suffers from lack of an in depth analysis of scope taking elements, especially quantifiers. Keleşir (2001) can be put forward as one example of studies on Turkish scope interactions and clause structure. However, no such attempt has been made to give an exhaustive documentation of the relationships between scope-taking elements in various constructions. For this reason, scope test runs into a

number of problems in Turkish. For instance, the existential quantifier *ein* in German has the equivalent *bir* in Turkish. However, *bir* can mark indefinites or numerals. Still Turkish phonology has a device to make a distinction between the two interpretations of *bir*. It is interpreted as an indefinite marker, thus quantificational, when the final consonant /r/ is not pronounced. When /r/ is stressed, however, *bir* forces numerical reading, a phonetic phenomenon which is usually hard to discern. In addition, when the object is modified by *bir* and is moved to test the scope phenomena, it is obligatorily marked accusative case (Tosun, 1999)⁷, forcing numerical interpretation and preventing the universal quantifier in the locative from taking wider scope via the trace thus formed. (36) summarizes the facts about *bir* in Turkish.

(36) a. Çocuk-lar her oda-da bir kitap oku-du *every>some*

Child-pl. every room-loc. a book read-past

The children read a different book in every room

b. Çocuk-lar (girdikleri) her oda-da *some>every/ every>some*

Child-pl. they enter every room-loc.

bir kitab-ı oku-yor-lar-dı

a book-acc. read-cont.-pl.-past

The children were reading a book in every room they entered

The children were reading part of the same book in every room they entered

⁷ Object has to be assigned accusative case anywhere but the immediately preverbal position.

c.*Çocuk-lar [bir kitap]_i her oda-da t_i oku-du.

Child-pl. a book every room-loc. read-past

d. Çocuk-lar [bir kitab-ı]_i her oda-da t_i oku-du *some>every*

Child-pl. a book-acc. every room-loc. read-past

The children read the same book in every room

Accordingly, it seems that raising the universal quantifier to test the scope phenomena is the only option since raising the existential quantifier may lead to the illusion that it has been base generated in its landing site. (37b) has the right configuration where the object has been raised to be higher than the external modifier, resulting in scope ambiguity. If we subscribe ourselves to the scope principle, we can conclude that the external modifier is base generated above the direct object in Turkish.

(37) a. Çocuk-lar [bir oda-da] kitab-ın her bölüm-ü-nü *some>every*

Child-pl. a room-loc. book-poss. every part-3sgPoss-acc.

oku-du-lar

read-past-pl.

The children read every part of the book in the same room

b.Çocuk-lar [kitab-ın her bölüm-ü-nü]_i bir oda-da t_i *every>some/some>every*

Child-pl. book-gen. every part-3sgPoss-acc. a room-loc.

oku-du-lar

read-past-pl.

The children read all parts of the book in the same room

The children read every part of the book in a different room

Let us now test Maienborn's (2001) other claim about external modifiers. Maienborn argues that external modifiers are below the subject. (37b) shows that scope principle places external modifiers higher than the object. What's more, in (38b) the universal quantifier is scrambled over the existential quantifier, which should give us the position of the external modifier relative to the subject.

(38) a. Bir çocuk her oda-da kitap oku-du *some>every*

A child every room-loc. book read-past

The same child read books in every room

b.[Her oda-da]_i [bir çocuk] t_i kitap oku-du *some>every/every>some*

Every room-loc. a child book read-past

A different child read books in every room

The same child read books in every room

(38b) shows that when external modifier is higher than the subject, the sentence can be interpreted as either quantifier taking wide scope. Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that (38a), where the external modifier is below the subject, is the underlying word order. So far, both the focus test and the quantifier scope test have yielded the same results as those of Maienborn's.

As far as internal modifiers are concerned, Maienborn (2001) rightly predicts their scope behavior in Turkish. Movement of universally quantified internal modifier to the left of the object results in scope ambiguity. Note the examples in (39). If the object is higher than the internal modifier, that is (39a), scope is rigid while scrambling of the internal modifier over the object results in ambiguity, (39b).

(39) a. Asker [bir cesed-i] [her sedye-de] taşı-dı *some>every*

Soldier a body-acc. every litter-loc. carry-past

The soldier carried the same body in every litter

b. Sekreter [her dosya-da]_i [bir kişi-nin bilgi-ler-i-ni] t_i *every>some/some>every*

Secretary every file-loc. a person-gen. data-pl.-3sgPoss-acc.

sakla-dı

keep-past

The secretary kept a different person's data in every file

The secretary kept the same person's data in every file

3.1.3 Remnant Topicalization

Remnant topicalization is another genuine test of Maienborn (2001). However, it does not yield reliable results in Turkish. The problem with this test is the vast array of scrambling configurations in Turkish. Let us check the case with internal modifiers first. Remember that Maienborn (2001) argues that internal modifiers are positioned between the object and the verb. As a result, if the following is the right configuration, XP_1 is the object while XP_2 corresponds to the internal modifier: $[\beta XP_1 [\alpha XP_2 V]]$. This means that initial extraction of the object followed by topicalization should result in grammaticality (cf. (40a)) whereas extraction of the internal modifier followed topicalization (cf. (40b,c)) should lead to an ill-formed sentence. Consider the sentences in (40).⁸

(40) a. [Omuz-lar-da taşı-dı]_j oyuncu-lar antrenör-ü_i [t_i t_j]

Shoulder-pl.-loc. carry-past player-pl.-nom. coach-acc.

The players carried the coach on their shoulders

b. [bilgisayar-ı t_i gör-dü-m]_j ben kutu-da_i [t_j]

Computer-acc. see-past-1sg I-nom. box-loc.

I saw the computer in the box

c. [ara-dıġı-mız konu-yu t_i bul-du-k]_j biz bu kitap-ta_i [t_j]

Search-part.-1pl. subject-acc. find-past-1pl. we-nom. this book-loc.

We found the subject we were looking for in this book

⁸ It is quite possible and even plausible that the object is not moved out of the VP since there is no surface effect of such a movement. However, I will follow Maienborn's (2001) original argument.

The grammaticality of (40a) is expected since the object NP *coach*, being higher than the internal modifier, is not extracted from within the topicalized V, α . In (40b,c) however, it is the internal modifiers *kutuda* and *bu kitapta* that are first extracted from the VP and stranded after topicalization. The configuration in question should be banned as the trace of the internal modifier ends up being higher than its antecedent. The sentences seem perfectly grammatical in the appropriate context, however. Thus Maienborn's (2001) argument concerning the position of internal modifiers is not verified by the remnant topicalization test.

Turning to external modifiers, the prediction is not born out by external modifiers, either. In the relevant configuration, XP_1 is the external modifier while XP_2 should be the object. In (41a) below, the object is topicalized with the verb, giving the expected grammaticality. The reason for the grammaticality is simple. Being in proper configurations, both the locative and the topicalized V can govern their traces. On the other hand, it is the external modifier and the verb which are topicalized in (41b,c). Initially extracted from the VP, the object cannot properly govern its trace, which is now higher than object itself. The sentences seem to refute the prediction again because they are perfectly grammatical for any speaker of Turkish.

(41) a. [Adam-ı döv-dü]_j öğrenci-ler [okul-un ön-ün-de]_i [t_i t_j]

Man-acc. beat-past student-pl.-nom. school-gen. front-3sgPoss.-loc.

The students beat the man in front of the school

b. [ODTÜ' de t_i yap-tı]_j Ayşe doktora-sı-nı_i t_j

METU-loc. do-past Ayşe-nom. Ph.D.-3sgPoss.-acc.

Ayşe gained her Ph.D. degree in METU

c. [Kızılay' da t_i gör-dü-k]_j biz Ece'yi_i t_j

Kızılay-loc. see-past-3pl. we-nom. Ece-acc.

We met Ece in Kızılay

Although (40)-(41) weaken Maienborn's (2001) ideas, they are themselves weakened by some idiosyncratic properties of Turkish. Firstly, the sentences in (40) and (41) can be adequately accounted for by postverbal scrambling. For instance, the subject and the object are clearly postverbally scrambled in (41b,c). Kural (1992) shows that postverbal constituents establish some grammatical relationships which are impossible in preverbal configurations. For example, note (42) where the anaphora and its antecedent are postverbally scrambled. The antecedent binds the anaphora although it follows the anaphora. Hence, once the direction of the movement has been changed, (40b,c) and (41b,c) are naturally accounted for.

(42) Ahmet göster-di birbirleri-ne_i adam-lar-ı_i

Ahmet-nom. show-past each other-dat. man-pl.-acc.

Ahmet showed the men to each other

(Kural, 1992:8)

All in all, the unexpected grammaticality of (40b,c) and (41b,c) seems to be due to postverbal scrambling, which renders the test unreliable. Note, however, that this is not a direct refutation of Maienborn's (2001) configuration of internal and external modifiers. If anything, it shows that the test should not count for this specific structure. A direct refutation, on the other hand, would point a converse judgment that cannot be accounted for with other mechanisms.

3.1.4 Principle C Effect

Principle C of binding dictates that an R-expression cannot be bound by another R-expression or pronominal. Thus if external modifiers are really higher than the object then a pronominal object should not bind an R-expression in the external modifier. Similarly, if internal modifiers are below the object then an R-expression in an internal modifier should lead to ungrammaticality under a pronominal object. Maienborn (2001) supports this with some examples in German. Let us put this test into perspective using the Turkish data. Note the examples in (43)-(45).

(43) a. [Ali'nin_i ofis-in-de]_j patron t_j o-nu_i uyu-rken yakala-dı

Ali-gen. office-3sgPoss.-loc. boss-nom. he-acc. sleep-part. catch-past

In Ali's_i office, the boss caught him_i dozing

b. [Merve'ye_i al-in-an araba-da]_j Mehmet t_j o-nun_i

Merve-dat. buy-pass.-part. car-loc. Mehmet-nom. she-gen.

kardeş-i-ni öldür-dü

brother-3sgPoss.-acc. kill-past

In the car which was bought for Merve_i, Mehmet killed her_i brother

(44) a. *[Ayşe'nin_i okul-un-da]_j o_i t_j Ali'yi döv-dü

Ayşe-gen. school-3sgPoss. he-nom. Ali-acc. beat-past

b. *[Merve'ye_i al-ın-an araba-da]_j o_i t_j Mehmet'i öldür-dü

Merve-dat. buy-pass.- part. car-loc. she-nom. Mehmet-acc. kill-past

(45) a. ??*[Ali'nin_i ev-in-de]_j patron o-nu_i t_j hapis tut-tu

Ali-gen. house-3sgPoss.-loc. boss-nom. he-acc. captivate-past

b. ??[Ayşe'nin_i yatağ-ın-da]_j kardeş-i o-nu_i t_j

Ayşe-gen. bed-3sgPoss.-loc. sister-3sgPoss. she-acc.

koca-sı-yla yakala-dı.

husband-3sgPoss.-clitic catch-past

In (43), the R-expression in the external modifier is not bound by the pronominal object, which shows that it is higher than the pronominal object. On the other hand, the R-expression in the external modifier in (44) leads to ungrammaticality. This must be due to the fact that it is lower than the pronominal subject. Hence (43) and (44) together place external modifiers between the subject and the object, in line with Maienborn (2001). As far as internal modifiers are concerned, the principle C effect again seems to support Maienborn's (2001) original observations (cf. (45)). Specifically, as the internal modifier is lower than the object, the pronominal object illegitimately binds the R-expression in the internal modifier, leading to ungrammaticality.

As an interim result, Maienborn's configuration subject>EM>object>IM>verb performs successfully in eight of the ten possible tests. Considering the weakness of the refutation from remnant topicalization, the support for the configuration grows even stronger. Hence, so far Maienborn's line of arguments in German goes hand in hand with Turkish. In the following section I will continue to test the argument against other sentence structures.

3.2 LOCATIVES IN OTHER SENTENCE TYPES

3.2.1 Unaccusative, Unergative and Passive Sentences

Maienborn (2001) shows that derived subjects of unaccusative, unergative and passive verbs are also higher than external modifiers. In this subsection, I will test these verb classes in Turkish. Let us start with the scope test. The examples in (46)-(48) present the necessary examples.

(46) a. Bir adam her yol-da düş-tü *some>every*

A man every path-loc. fall-past

The same man fell in every path

b. [Her yol-da]_i bir adam t_i düş-tü *some>every/every>some*

Every path-loc. a man fall-past

The same man fell in every path

A different man fell in every path

(47) a. Bir öğrenci her sınıf-ta teşhir ed-il-di *some>every*

A student every class-loc. expose-pass.-past

The same student was exposed in every class

b. [Her sınıf-ta]_i bir öğrenci t_i teşhir ed-il-di *some>every/every>some*

Every class-loc. a student expose-pass.-past

The same student was exposed in every class

A different student was exposed in every class

(48) a. Bir adam her havuz-da yüz-dü *some>every*

A man every pool-loc. swim-past

The same man swam in every pool

b. [Her havuz-da]_i bir adam t_i yüz-dü *some>every/every>some*

Every pool-loc. a man swim-past

The same man swam in every pool

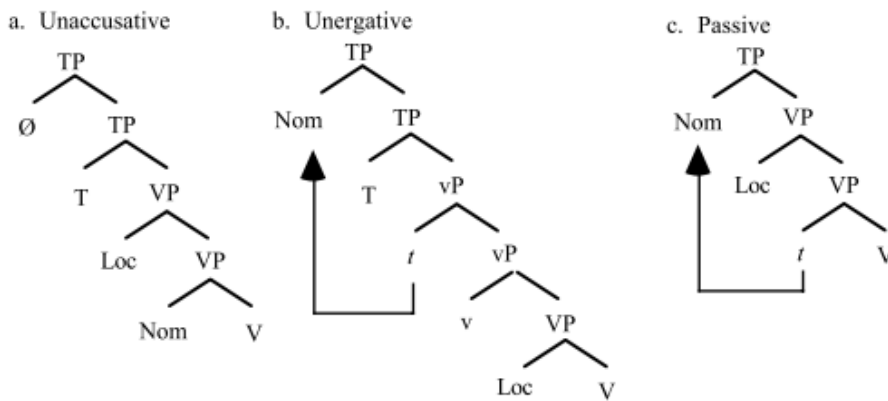
A different man swam in every pool

One may argue that the *b* sentences, where the external modifiers appear higher than the subjects, must have been the derived forms of the *a* sentences via scrambling hence they lead to scope ambiguity. According to the scope principle, this must be

due to the fact that the subject existential quantifier c-commands the locative's trace, from where it has been moved, which means Maienborn's (2001) argument is born out. However, it is impossible to conduct this test with internal modifiers since unaccusative, unergative and passive verbs lack an internal argument, i.e. an object.

A deeper consideration of the facts and the literature reveals more about unaccusatives, unergatives and passives, however. It is well known that subjects of unaccusatives and passives originate as VP objects below the locative argument (Burzio (1986) and Belletti (1988)). Subjects of unergatives, on the other hand, originate over the locative argument, like ordinary subjects of transitive verbs (Yatsushiro (1996), Hale & Keyser (1993)). (49) illustrates the derivations of passive, unaccusative and unergative constructions.

(49)



(Yatsushiro, 1996: 7)

Analyzing the scope and binding facts in these verb classes, Yatsushiro (1996) finds that in Japanese it is the nominative > locative order which yields ambiguity in unaccusative constructions, unlike Turkish (cf. compare (46) and (50a)). With

passives however, both orderings yield ambiguity (cf. compare (47) and (50b). Finally, unergatives are parallel in both languages (cf. compare (48) and (50c)).

(50) a. Daremo-ga dokoka-ni ita *every>some / some>every*

everyone-nom. somewhere-loc. was

Everyone was somewhere

b. Daremo-ga dokoka-ni syootais-are-ta *every>some / some>every*

everyone-nom. somewhere-loc. invite-pass.-Past

Everyone was invited somewhere

c. Dareka-ga dono-isu-ni-mo suwatta *some>every*

someone-nom. every-chair-loc.-also sat

There was someone who sat on every chair

(adapted from Yatsushiro, 1996)

In line with the theoretical predictions, Yatsushiro argues that locative > nominative order is the underlying order for unaccusatives and passives while nominative > locative is derived via A-movement for case checking or scrambling. The difference between unaccusatives and passives comes from the fact that the nominative argument of passives always raise to spec-TP for case checking while it may not be scrambled in unaccusative constructions, in which case it checks its case in-situ.

b. Bütün hücre-ler-de üç kişi sorgula-n-dı *three>all / all>three*

All cell-pl.-loc. three person interrogate-pass.-past

The same three people were interrogated in all cells

Groups of three people were interrogated in each cell

c. Üç kişi her yer-de sorun ol-du *three>everywhere*

Three person every place-loc. problem be-past

The same three people were the problem everywhere

d. Her yer-de üç kişi sorun ol-du *three>every / every>three*

Every place-loc. three person problem be-past

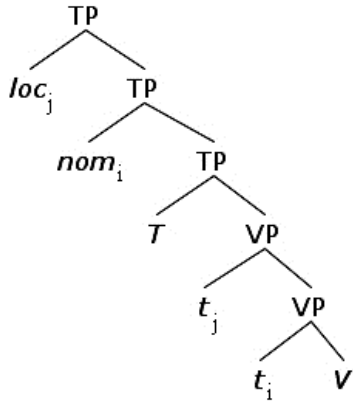
The same three people were the problem everywhere

Groups of three people were the problems in everywhere

This casts doubt on the reliability of the tests. It is quite possible that the nominative argument in (47b) originates lower than the locative and checks its case in-situ as Yatsushiro points out. Due to the outraging power of existential quantifiers in Turkish, it may (semantically) take wide scope and lead to ambiguity. However, it is also equally possible that nominative argument originates lower than the locative and raise to spec-IP for case checking, followed by the locative scrambled over the nominative subject to yield the order locative > nominative. This derivation would again yield ambiguity since the nominative subject would c-command the locative's

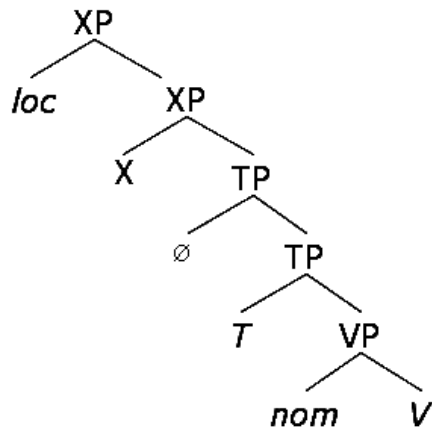
trace while the locative c-commands both the nominative and its trace in return, as in (52).

(52)



The last possibility to entertain directly contrasts Maienborn’s (2001) conclusion about unaccusatives and passives. Seeing that Turkish existential quantifiers can take illusive scope over the universal quantifier even when lower in the tree, one may speculate that the nominative subjects of unaccusatives and passives originate VP internally, like in the above mentioned derivations, but the locative appears higher than the TP. This being the case, even if the nominative argument raises or not, it will still be lower than the locative thus the ordering will be guaranteed to be locative > nominative. Scope, however, will not pose a problem as the existential can outscope the universal quantifier anywhere. If this derivation, as shown in (53), is the actual representation of the positions of the locative and the nominative argument in unaccusatives and passives, it poses a counter argument for Maienborn’s (2001) relevant reasoning since in (53) the locative is generated above the highest thematic argument and never goes below it.

(53)



Unergatives raise other theoretical problems. Yatsushiro's examples of unergatives have existential nominatives and universal locatives and thus the nominative > locative order is unambiguous. This pattern yields the same judgment in Turkish. Note the example in (54).

(54) Biri her havuz-da yüz-dü *some>every*

Someone-nom. every pool-loc. swim-past

The same person swam in every pool

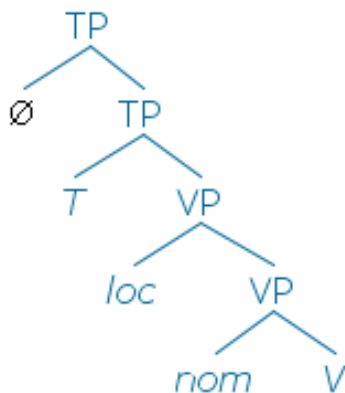
Given the outrageous power of the existential quantifier in Turkish, the scope rigidity in (54) immediately falls into place. What's more, it is also predicted by Yatsushiro's derivation of unergatives (49b). What Yatsushiro's derivation cannot predict is the configuration where the nominative argument is universally quantified while the locative is existentially quantified. The nominative should originate at spec-VP while the locative originates at spec-VP, lower than the nominative. The

nominative subject then raises for case checking. Its trace, however, is still higher than the locative hence ambiguity should be impossible, contrary to the fact (cf. (55)). Acting upon syntactic accounts of scope taking, one would argue that in (55) the nominative originates as a V complement then raising to spec-IP for case checking (cf. (56a)), which would be contrary to thematic facts since the nominative argument does not bear a theta role which is associated with objecthood. Alternatively, one would argue that the locative originates higher than vP and the nominative raises for case checking, leading to ambiguity (cf. (56b)).

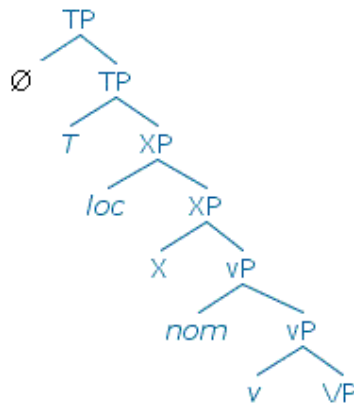
(55) Herkes bir havuz-da yüz-dü *some>every / every>some*
 Everybody-nom. a pool-loc. swim-past
Everybody swam in a different pool
Everybody swam in the same pool

(56)

a.

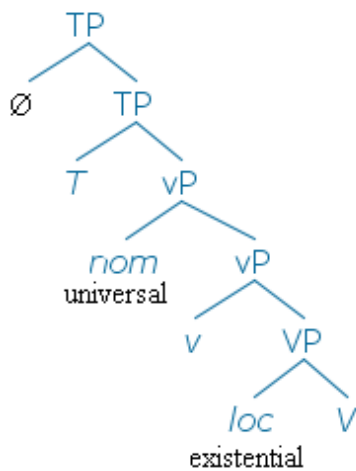


b.



There is, however, a way to sustain Yatsushiro's (1996) derivation of unergatives. If we adopt the idea that Turkish existential quantifiers semantically outscope the universal quantifier anywhere then (55) should be better represented as (57) which in turn supports the ideas generated around (53) that seriously weakens Maienborn's (2001) argument.

(57)



As for the principle C effect, Turkish clearly supports Maienborn (2001). Considering that binding requires c-command, one may conclude that the ungrammaticality of the examples in (58)-(60) is due to the underlying position of the locative c-commanded by the subject. Note the examples in (58)-(60).

(58) a. *[Ali'nin_i ofis-in-de]_j O_i t_j düş-tü

Ali-gen._i office-3sgPoss.-loc. he_i fall-past

b. *[Mehmet'in_i bul-duğu ev-de]_j O_i t_j öl-dü

Mehmet-gen._i find-part. house-loc. he_i die-past

c. *[Ece'ye_i ver-il-en oda-da]_j O_i t_j hiçbir zaman uyu-ya-ma-dı

Ece-dat._i give-pass.- part. room-loc. she_i never sleep-ability-neg.-past

(59) a. *[Ali'nin_i sınıf-ın-da]_j o_i t_j döv-ül-dü

Ali-gen._i class-3sgPoss.-loc he_i beat-pass.-past

b. *[Başkan-a_i tahsis edil-en araba-da]_j o_i t_j tartakla-n-dı

President-dat._i allocate- part. car-loc. he_i assault-pass.-past

c. *[Veli'nin_i yatağ-ın-da]_j O_i t_j katled-il-di

Veli-gen._i bed-3sgPoss.-loc he_i murder-pass.-past

(60) a. *[Ali'nin_i havuz-un-da]_j O_j t_i yüz-dü

Ali-gen._i pool-3sgPoss.-loc. he_i swim-past

b. *[Merve'_i nin tasarla-dığı bina-da]_j O_i t_j on yıl boyunca yaşa-dı

Merve-gen._i design-part. building-loc. she_i for ten years live-past

Finally, focus projection test should give us the last piece of evidence about the underlying position of external modifiers. (61) and (62) include the examples to put the claim into perspective with regard to focus projection test. Any native speaker of Turkish would naturally answer the widest scope question *what happened* in the

appropriate context with the sentences in (61) and (62), which shows that the external modifier is in its canonical position between the subject and the object.

(61)a. Ali kendi ev-in-de rezil ol-du

Ali own house-3sgPoss.-loc. fall into disgrace-past

Ali fell into disgrace in his own house

b. Ece çalışma oda-sın-da düş-tü

Ece study room-3sgPoss.-loc. fall-past

Ece fell in her study room

c. Mehmet stadyum-da koş-tu

Mehmet stadium-loc. run-past

Mehmet ran in the stadium

(62) a. Çocuklar oyun oda-sın-da saatlerce zıpla-dı

Children game room-agree.-loc. for hours jump-past

The children jumped in the game room for hours

b. Polis-in el-in-den kaç-an hırsız Kızılay'da yakala-n-dı

Police-gen. hand-3sgPoss.-abl. escape-part. thief Kızılay-loc. catch-pass.-past

The thief who escaped from the police was caught in Kızılay

c. Başbakan Konya'da alkış-lar-la karşıla-n-dı
 Prime minister Konya-loc. applause-pl.-clitic. welcome-pass.-past

The prime minister was applauded on his arrival in Konya

3.2.2 Causative Sentences

3.2.2.1 External Modifiers

Causativity is morpho-syntactically coded in Turkish. That is, causative morpheme can be suffixed to almost any verb, turning the subject of the verb into the object of the newly formed compound causative verb. Data shows that in the causative psychological verbs of Turkish, the experiencer subject freezes in spec-VP while the newly introduced subject, which is highest in agentivity, merges at spec-vP (cf. Kuram (2005)). It then raises to spec-IP and checks nominative case. Note the examples in (63).

(63) a. [VP Meltem elbise-yi beğen]-di

Meltem-nom. dress-acc. like-past

Meltem liked the dress

b. [vPMehmet [VP Meltem'e elbise-yi beğen]-dir]-di

Mehmet-nom. Meltem-dat. dress-acc. like-caus.-past

Mehmet made Meltem like the dress

The derivation starts as an ordinary transitive sentence. With the merger of the causative morpheme and the agentive argument, however, the experiencer cannot

match nominative case and chooses from the possible cases, which is dative in this case.⁹ Based on these observations, we can test the underlying position of internal and external modifiers with causative verbs. Let us start with external modifiers.

(64) a. Ali [Ayşe'ye [bir ev-de] [her kitab-ı]] oku-t-tu *some>every*

Ali-nom. Ayşe-dat. a house-loc. every book-acc. read-caus.-past

Ali made Ayşe read every book in the same house

b. Ali [Ayşe'ye [her kitab-ı]_i [bir ev-de] t_i] oku-t-tu *every>some/some>every*

Ali-nom. Ayşe-dat. every book-acc. a house-loc. read-caus.-past

Ali made Ayşe read every book in a different house

Ali made Ayşe read every book in the same house

The dative arguments in (64a,b) are the subjects of the verb *read* while the nominative arguments are the subjects of the causative morpheme. In (64b) the universally quantified object is scrambled over the external modifier. As expected, the sentence is ambiguous, which supports the argument that external modifiers are base generated above the object.

Looking at (65), we see that the results of the above tests are reinforced further. It has been designed to find out if external modifiers are below the subject. As expected, (65b) can be interpreted ambiguously where either universal or

⁹ See Kuram (2005) for a detailed analysis of causative psychological verbs in Turkish.

existential quantifier takes wide scope. It seems that ambiguity occurs when a universally quantified external modifier raises over the subject of the verb *oku-* (to read). This shows that causatives support the argument that external modifiers are higher than the object as well as the argument that they are lower than the subject.

(65) a. Ali [biri-ne] [her yer-de] [mektup] oku-t-tu *some>every*

Ali-nom. someone-dat. every place-loc. letter read-caus.-past

Ali made someone read a book everywhere

b. Ali [her yer-de]_i [biri-ne] t_i [mektup] oku-t-tu *every>some/some>every*

Ali-nom. every place-loc. someone-dat. letter read-caus.-past

Ali made someone read a book everywhere

In every place, Ali made someone read a book

Unlike the scope test, remnant topicalization seems to yield inconclusive results. According to Maienborn's genuine idea, the trace t_j in (66) should lead to ungrammaticality since it is not c-commanded by its antecedent. Still any native speaker of Turkish would find (65) perfectly grammatical.¹⁰ This marks a minus for Maienborn's (2001) argument.

¹⁰ The theoretical problems in §3.1.3 also apply here.

(66) Görgü tanığı polis-e

Eyewitness policeman-dat

[karakol-un ön-ün-de t_j yakala-t-tı]_i suçlu-yu_j t_i

police station-gen. Front-3sgPoss.-loc. catch-caus.-past criminal-acc.

The eyewitness had the policeman catch the criminal in front of the police station

Principle C effect can also be called into question with causative sentences. In line with the remnant topicalization tests, however, it does not support Maienborn's (2001) argument as regards the external modifiers. In contrast to transitive sentences (cf. §3.1.4), the trace of the R-expression in causative sentences does not rule out the sentence. Note the example in (67).

(67) Ali Ayşe'ye [Veli'nin_i kitab-ı-nı]_j

Ali-nom. Ayşe-dat. Veli-poss._i book-3sgPoss.-acc.

[o-nun_i ev-i-nde] t_j oku-t-tu

he-poss._i house-3sgPoss.-loc. read-caus.-past

Ali had Ayşe read Veli's_i book in his_i house

In addition, principle C effect also seems to aid with raising over subject. In (68) where the external modifier raises over the subject of *oku-* (to read), the sentence is ungrammatical with the intended interpretation where the external modifier modifies the verb *oku-*. This indicates that the external modifier is below the subject of the verb *oku-*.

(68) *Ali [Ayşe'nin_j ev-in-de]_i o-na_j t_i kitap oku-t-tu

Ali-nom. Ayşe-gen. house-3sgPoss.-loc. she-dat. book read-caus.-past

As for the focus projection, it can test the position of external modifiers relative to the subject and object with one single example. If it answers the widest scope question *what happened*, the sentence must be in standard word order. (69) exemplifies the test in causative sentences. The answer to the widest scope question seems quite felicitous.

(69) A: Ne oldu?

What happened

B: Ali Ayşe'ye ev-de yemek yap-tır-dı

Ali-nom. Ayşe-dat. house-loc. meal cook-caus.-past

Ali made Ayşe cook at home

The question in (69) can be answered felicitously with a configuration where the external modifier appears between the nominative subject of the causative and the dative subject of the main verb, as in (70).

(70) A: Ne oldu?

What happened

B: Ali ev-de Ayşe'ye yemek yap-tır-dı

Ali-nom. house-loc. Ayşe-dat. meal cook-caus.-past

At home, Ali made Ayşe cook

The interpretations differ, however. In (69), it is the only event of cooking that takes place in the house. The act of causing may take place somewhere else. For example Ali convinces Ayşe to cook meal before they go to the house. (70), on the other hand, implies that both causing and cooking take place in the house. Hence it seems that if it is a causative sentence with two verbs and two subjects, the external modifier has two possible underlying positions serving different interpretations. This, however, does not impede the argument that dual interpretation is due to two separate verbs each having a different slot for one of the external modifiers, which is observable in (71) where each external modifier modifies a different verb.

(71) Mert Antalya'da Merve'yi evde çalış-tır-dı.

Mert-nom. Antalya-loc. Merve-acc. home-loc. work-caus.-past

It was in Antalya that Mert made Merve work at home

All in all, it seems that although causatives do not provide convincing evidence that the external modifiers are above the object, they seem to favor the idea that they are below the subject. With proper assumption, we can argue that they are between

the subject and the object since there is no other argument between the subject and the object.

3.2.2.2 Internal Modifiers

The tests of internal modifiers also seem confusing. The scope test in (72) seems to support the argument that internal modifiers are lower than the object. The universally quantified internal modifier in (72) is scrambled over the existentially quantified object. Thus, the sentence can be interpreted ambiguously. It may mean that the files each include information about a different person or that all of them collectively include information about the same person. However, (73) poses a problem in terms of Principle C effect. The R-expression in (73) is supposedly extracted from below the object thus it should rule out the sentence since it is bound by the pronominal in the object. Yet it is perfectly grammatical.

(72) Patron sekreter-i-ne her dosya-da_i *every>some/some>every*

Boss-nom. secretary-3sgPoss-dat. every file-loc.

biri-nin bilgi-ler-i-ni t_i arşivle-t-ti

someone-gen. data-pl.-3sgPoss-acc. archive-caus.-past

The boss had his secretary archive a different person's data in every file

The boss had his secretary archive the same person's data in every file

(73) Erkin Ayşe'ye [Veli'nin_j oda-sın-da]_i

Erkin-nom. Ayşe-dat. Veli-gen._j room-3sgPoss.-loc.

o-nun_j kız arkadaş-ı-nı t_i yakala-t-tı

he-gen._j girl friend-3sgPoss.-acc. catch-caus.-past

Erkin had Ayşe catch Veli's_i girl friend in his_j room

Let us now resort to remnant topicalization in causative sentences. In contrast to the Principle C effect test, remnant topicalization aligns with Maienborn (2001). The expected grammaticality of (74) indicates that the internal modifier is closer to the verb than the object.¹¹

(74) Komutan [sedye-ler-de taşı-t-tı]_j asker-ler-e ceset-ler-i_i t_i t_j

Commander-nom. litter-pl.-loc. carry-caus.-past soldier-pl.-dat. body-pl.-acc.

The commander made the soldiers carry the bodies in litters

Finally, focus projection provides further support for the position of internal modifiers between the object and the verb. In the both dialogues of (75), the sentences with the order object>internal modifier>verb give the felicitous answers to the widest scope question.

¹¹ Note, however, the unreliability of the test. See §3.1.3.

(75) a. A: Ne oldu?

What happened?

B: Görgü tanığı polis-e hırsız-ı iş üstü-nde yakala-t-tı

Eye witness-nom. police-dat. suspect-acc. job over-loc. catch-caus.-past

The eye witness had the police catch the suspect in the act

b. A: Ne oldu?

What happened?

B: Patron şef-e yemeğ-i fırın-da yap-tır-dı

Boss-nom. chef-dat. meal-acc. oven-loc. make-caus.-past

The boss had the chef cook the meal in the oven

3.3 Interpreting the Data

3.3.1 Locatives in Transitive Sentences

Table 1 summarizes the results of the tests applied to the transitive sentences of Turkish. It shows that only remnant topicalization clearly denies the position of external modifiers above the object while it is impossible to test their position relative to subject. The other tests, namely focus projection, scope and principle C effect tests, all align with Maienborn (2001) that external modifiers are between the subject and object. As for internal modifiers, their position between the object and verb is again only refuted by the remnant topicalization. Looking at the remnant topicalization, however, we see that it can be explained on other terms.

Tests	Focus	Scope	Principle C	Remnant
Expected result	Projection		effect	Topicalization
Are EMs higher than the object?	Positive	Positive	Positive	Negative
Are EMs lower than the subject?	Positive	Positive	Positive	Test impossible
Are IMs lower than the object?	Positive	Positive	Positive	Negative

Table 1. Turkish transitive sentences

3.3.2 Locatives in Other Sentence Types

§3.1 examined Maienborn's (2001) tests of locative phrases for transitive sentences. However, it is well known that verb classes may alter the syntactic structure of any sentence. Therefore I continued and widened the tests in such a way as to include unaccusative, unergative and passive verbs in §3.2. Table 2 summarizes the data elicited from the tests.

Sentence Type	Unaccusative	Unergative	Passive	Transitive	Causative
Test Type and expected result					
Are EMs below the subject? Scope Test	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Are EMs below the subject? Principle C effect	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Are EMs below the subject? Focus Projection	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Are EMs below the subject? Remnant Topicalization	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test mpossible
Are EMs above the object? Scope Test	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Positive	Positive
Are EMs above the object? Principle C Effect	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Positive	Negative
Are EMs above the object? Focus Projection	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Positive	Positive
Are EMs above the object? Remnant Topicalization	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Negative	Negative
Are IMs below the object? Scope Test	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Positive	Positive

Are IMs below the object? Principle C Effect	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Positive	Negative
Are IMs below the object? Remnant Topicalization	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Negative	Positive
Are IMs below the object? Focus Projection	Test impossible	Test impossible	Test impossible	Positive	Positive

Table 2. Summary of tests.

Let us now handle the three arguments of Maienborn (2001) separately. The argument that external modifiers are lower than the subject passes all the possible tests, proving valid in Turkish. On the other hand, the position of external modifiers relative to the object cannot be questioned in unaccusative, unergative and passive sentences since they lack an object. Hence we are left with causatives. Causatives only return supporting evidence in terms of focus projection and the scope test for the position of external modifier higher than the object. Principle C effect and remnant topicalization seem to refute the claim. However, if we take into account that Principle C effect test detects external modifiers below the subject, the refutation sheds doubts on the reliability of the tests. The reason is if external modifiers are below the subject they must be above the object since there is no other argument in between. One can safely assume that one of them yields delusional results for some reason.

All in all, Maienborn's (2001) fundamental argument that the underlying word order is subject>EM>object>IM>verb is born out by twenty six of the possible

thirty one tests. To handle the claims individually, the claim that external modifiers are lower than the subject is supported by fifteen possible tests unanimously. On the other hand, only five of eight possible tests approve that external modifiers are higher than the object. Considering that there is no other argument position between the object and the subject, we can say that the position of external modifiers between the object and the subject is verified by twenty of twenty three possible tests, which seems to be quite good a ratio. Finally, the position of internal modifiers between the object and the verb is verified by six of eight possible tests, while refused by only two. The tests that contradict with Maienborn (2001) about the position of external modifiers are weakened by some other explanations. However, the tests that refute Maienborn's (2001) claim about internal modifiers seem strong.

SECTION FOUR

AN (ALMOST) NEW ANALYSIS FOR INTERNAL MODIFIERS

The ultimate goal of this section is to investigate the nature of the so-called locative type internal modifier. In doing so, I will reach the conclusion that what Maienborn (2001) coins internal modifier is actually the pre-/postpositional predicate of an embedded small clause. The database is mainly constituted by Turkish, supported by German and English examples of Maienborn (2001, 2003). This section is organized as follows. §4.1 hints at the small clause predicate status of locatives and introduces small clauses to unfamiliar readers while §4.2 enumerates some theoretical arguments for the small clause status of internal modifiers. Continued, §4.3 reveals the internal structure of small clauses. Finally, §4.4 extends the small clause analysis to include some other non-locative PPs, leading to interesting theoretical implications.

4.1 Locatives and The Small Clause Predicate Analysis

4.1.1 Do Locatives Denote Location Only?

All three kinds of locatives uniquely locate something in the universe. Still there is a consensus in the literature that the syntactic function of locatives is not restricted to locating. As a matter of fact, it is well known that locatives can be the predicative element of existential, possessive and copular sentences.¹² For example, the locative *fırında* in (1) is the predicate of the sentence, as is evident from the past morpheme on it. (2) outlines the predicative uses of locatives in English.¹³

¹² For a detailed discussion on the predicative status of locatives, see Muromatsu (1997), Zwart (1992) and Hoekstra & Mulder (1990).

¹³ The examples are numbered starting from one for the sake of reader's convenience.

(1) Tavuk fırın-da-ydı
Chicken oven-loc.-past
The chicken was in the oven

- (2) a. In the car is an engine
b. There is an engine in the car
c. Many people were in the garden

(Muromatsu, 1997:245)

Being stative predicates, existentials, possessives and copulars do not allow external modifiers. Therefore, the locatives in (1) and (2) could be either frame setting modifiers or internal modifiers. Intuition says they must be internal modifiers. For one thing, these locatives are the predicates themselves. Hence it does not make sense that they both act as the predicate of the sentence and restrict the proposition to a specific geographical region. However, it is a sound idea that a locative both *is* the predicate of the sentence *and* denotes the whereabouts of the only argument subject. For this reason, I will refer the predicative locatives as internal modifiers.

4.1.2 What is Small Clause?

A small clause is described as the predication relation between XP and YP without mediation of any functional category (Stowell 1981). It is generally taken for granted that one of these lexical items is an NP while the other is NP, AP, PP or an uninflected VP. (3) presents some examples of small clauses in Turkish and English.

(3) a. Rektör ben-i doçent yap-tı
Rector-nom. I-acc. associate professor make-past
The rector made me an associate professor

b. Bu şok o-nu sersem et-ti

This shock he-acc. stunned make-past

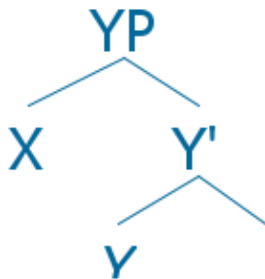
This shock made him stunned

c. Jack considers me a fool

d. The boss saw me leave early

In (3), NP, AP and VP, which are notorious for their predicative behaviors, are in a predicative relation not with the *subject* but with the *object*. Judging from this observation, Stowell (1981) claims that the string of words is a kind of clause in the matrix sentence. Since it is nonfinite, Stowell calls this a Small Clause. Stowell's original claim is that merger of two lexical items provides the necessary and sufficient environment to host a small clause. In other words, two lexical items can establish a predicative relation without any functional projection. In the syntactic literature, this is known as the Specifier Hypothesis. (4) presents the small clause structure in Stowell's model.

(4)



However, there is counter-evidence to the proposal which seems compatible with VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis. The most important one is the fact that small clauses co-occur with a lexical item which is likely to be the lexical realization of a

functional head.¹⁴ In (5), *as* marks the predicative relation between *you* and *my best friend*, which is the same as the predication relation in copulative sentences that are analyzed by Heycock (1994) and Zwart (1992) as small clauses. This parallels the relationship established by functional heads between the verb and its arguments for predication (Bowers 2001).

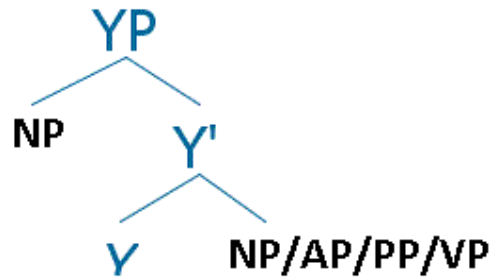
(5) I regard you as my best friend

To complete the picture, the verb must be head-moved to a functional projection and the subject must be moved into the specifier position of that projection for such syntactic relations as case-checking and agreement (Chomsky 1995). After all, predication is established by two lexical items and a functional projection that determines the grammatical relation between them. Bowers (2001) argues that this projection is the Predicate Phrase, one of the projections of IP. Since it is found obligatorily in all main clauses and small clauses, Predicate Phrase unifies the theory of predication.¹⁵ This hypothesis, which I will be using, is known as the Predication Hypothesis. According to the Predication Hypothesis, if the Predicate Phrase occurs independently in the sentence then it is a small clause. However, if it is selected by TP or a copular verb, it is a main clause. (6) presents the Predication Model.

¹⁴ See Bowers (2001) for further arguments that small clauses are constituted by a predicative relation between the specifier and complement of a functional head.

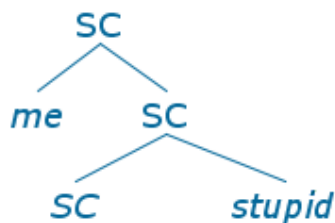
¹⁵ Bowers (1993) states that Predicate Phrase corresponds to the vP of Chomsky (1995), VP shell of Larson (1988) and voice phrase of Kratzer (1993) but differs from them in being independent of the number of arguments in the sentence.

(6)



Let us call the Predicate Phrase Small Clause (SC) and take a look at the Theta and Case assignment/checking facts in SCs to better understand their internal structure. As mentioned above, lexical elements of a small clause are a predicate (AP/NP/PP/VP) in the complement of an uninflected head and an argument in the specifier position to be predicated of this predicate. (7) exemplifies the configuration.

(7)

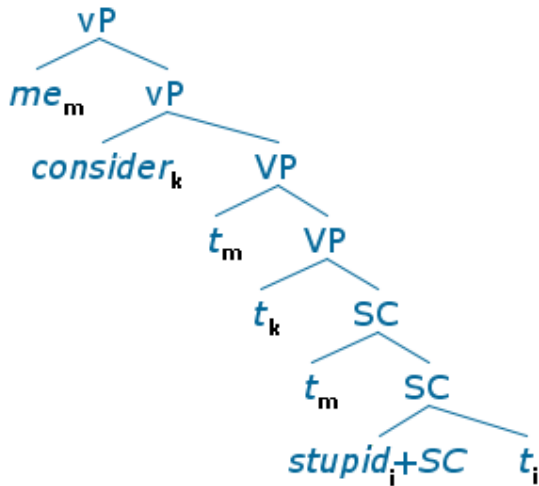


It is impossible, however, to have Theta and Case checked in the configuration in (7). First of all, *stupid* and *me* are not in a spec-head relation.¹⁶ In addition, since SC is nonfinite and hence weak, it cannot check Case with the argument. Therefore the main verb and I are the only heads that can check Case with this argument. Theta role of the predicative element is assigned to the argument via spec-head relation after it is adjoined to the SC.¹⁷ Then the argument raises to spec-VP and spec-vp in

16 See Rafel (2000) and (2001) for an alternative small clause analysis which avoids this problem.

order to check/assign Theta and Case of the matrix verb respectively. The scenario is illustrated in (8).

(8)



4.1.3. Locatives as Small Clause Predicates

Since locatives are able to act as the finite main predicate of the sentence, they should display the structural behaviors of copulars, possessives and existentials. There is convincing amount of evidence in the literature that these sentences contain a small clause. Especially Muromatsu (1997) clearly states that possessives and existentials consist of possessive and existential verbs that subcategorize for a small clause. Also Zwart (1992) claims that *be* in English is an unaccusative verb and its surface subject is the subject of the d-structure small clause. (9) shows the matrix clause patterns of locatives in Turkish and English.

17 See Bowers (1993a) on the adjoined nature of the predicate to the SC (his Predication Phrase) for Theta assignment. On the other hand, in Bowers (1997) he abandons this idea and argues that adjunction is triggered by the strong lexical features of the functional head SC. In this article I will, like Bowers (2001), remain neutral as to the trigger of adjunction.

- (9) a. Jim_i was [SC t_i at the party]
 b. Tavuk_i [SC t_i fırın-da]-ydı
 chicken-nom. oven-loc.-past
The chicken was in the oven

When the small clause of (9) is embedded into a main clause, we have the same pattern of sentences as the ones Maienborn (2001, 2003) considers to be internal modifiers. This is evident in (10)

- (10) a. I caught Jim at the party
 b. Aşçı tavuğ-u fırın-da pişir-di
 Chef-nom. chicken-acc. oven-loc. cook-past
The chef cooked the chicken in the oven

4.2 Justification

The sentences in (3) are considered as small clauses (Muromatsu 1997, Zwart 1992, Heycock 1994). However, we need positive evidence in order to make certain that internal modifiers are the predicative elements in the complement of SC. In this subsection, I will try to provide convincing evidence as to the small clause nature of internal modifiers. I will bring evidence from modification, scope, floating quantifiers, constituent analysis and underspecification of internal modifiers.

4.2.1 Adverbs/Modifiers

Adverbs/modifiers are lexical the items which modify a verb or a predicate by adjoining to it. Structurally, an adverb modifies the predicate which it is in the maximal projection of. In main clauses of Turkish with an embedded clause inside,

the adverb is two-way ambiguous. It can modify, also depending on its position, the main verb or the embedded verb. (11) presents an example of such ambiguities.

- (11) Ali dün buluşma-nın müze-de ol-ma-dığı-nı söyle-di
Ali-nom. yesterday appointment-gen. museum-loc. be-neg.-part. say-past
Ali yesterday said that the appointment would not be held in the museum
Ali said (this morning) that the appointment was not in the museum yesterday

The adverb *dün* in (11) can denote either the time when Ali said that the appointment was not in the museum or the day when the appointment was supposed to be held. Hence if we have an adverb or modifier which is incompatible with the main verb of a sentence which contains an internal modifier, the sentence should be ungrammatical unless the internal modifier is a predicative which is modified by the that modifier. (12a,b) are such sentences and they are fully grammatical, which shows that the modifiers *tamamen* and *yarı beline kadar* modify an embedded predicate.

- (12) a. Dün [Ali'yi **tamamen** bahçedeki çamur-un içinde] bul-du-m
Yesterday Ali-acc. totally garden clay-gen. in find-past-1sg.
Yesterday I found Ali totally stuck in the garden's clay
- b. Geçen yıl Mehmet [Metin'i **yarı beline kadar** üzüm suyu içinde]
Last year Mehmet nom. Metin-acc. up to his waist grape juice in
gör-ünce şarap üretiminin zevkli bir şey olduğunu anladı
see-part. wine production a joyful activity be understood
Last year Mehmet saw Metin in grape juice up to his waist and understood that wine production is a joyful activity

dün in (12a) and *geçen yıl* in (12b) cannot modify the small clauses which are not inflected for tense. So they can only denote the tense of the main verb. On the other

hand, the modifiers *tamamen* and *yarı beline kadar* are semantically incompatible with the main verb.¹⁸ Still the sentences are grammatical. Thus we can conclude that these modifiers modify the predicatives in the strings *Ali'yi tamamen bahçedeki çamurun içinde* and *Metin'i yarı beline kadar üzüm suyu içinde*. These sentential constituents cannot be finite, as shown in (13), thus the only possible category for them is Small Clause.

(13) a. *[Ali'yi tamamen bahçedeki çamur-un iç-in-de-ydi] bul-du-m
 Ali-acc. totally garden clay-gen. in-3sgPoss-loc.-past find-past-1sg.

b. *Geçen yıl Mehmet [Metin'i yarı beline kadar üzüm suyu içinde-ydi]
 Last year Mehmet Metin-acc. up to his waist grape juice in-past
 görünce şarap üretiminin zevkli bir şey olduğunu anladı
 saw wine production a joyful activity be understood

4.2.2 Existential Quantifier *bir* and the Small Clause Analysis

Existential quantifier *bir* in Turkish can take other quantifiers in its scope even if it is lower in the structure (Tosun, 1999; Kennely 1997).¹⁹ (14) and (15) are reminders of the scope facts in Turkish.²⁰

¹⁸ Bowers (2001) states that every head allows only one type of modifier adverb. Also see Bowers (2001) for similar tests.

¹⁹ See also §3.1.2.

²⁰ Tosun's intuitions seem to differ from mines.

(14) Çocuk-lar (girdikleri) her oda-da *some>every/ every>some*

Child-pl. they enter every room-loc.

bir kitab-ı oku-yor-lar-dı

a book-acc. read-cont.-pl.-past

The children were reading a book in every room they entered

The children were reading part of the same book in every room they entered

(15) Her çocuk bir araba-yı al-dı *some>every*

Every child one car-acc. buy/take-past

(Tosun, 1999:7)

However, there is a consensus in the literature that scope is clause-bound (see among other Hornstein, 1995). (17) supports this argument with an embedded clause of Turkish.

(16) Someone expects [every republican will win the reelection] *someone> every*

(Hornstein, 1995:36)

(17) Herkes [bir cumhuriyetçi-nin kazan-acağı-ı-nı] söyle-di *every > some*

Everyone a/some republican-gen. win-fut.agr.-acc. say-past

The embedded subject universal quantifier in (16) cannot outscope the main clause subject existential and the subject existential cannot outscope the universal quantifier in (17), which are quite possible with English and Turkish clausemate

quantifiers, as exemplified in (18). Moreover, clause-boundness successfully applies to sentences which are taken to be small clauses beyond dispute, as seen in (19).²¹

(18) a. Someone knows every language in the world *every>some/some>every*

b. Herkes biri-ni bekli-yor *every>some/some>every*

Everyone someone-acc. wait-cont.

Everyone is waiting for a different person

Everyone is waiting for the same person

(19) a. At least one person considers [every senator smart] *some>every*
(Hornstein, 1995:76)

b. Her doktor [bir hasta-yı çıplak] muayene et-ti *every>some*

Every doctor a/some patient-acc. nude examine-past

The quantifiers in the embedded small clauses of (19) cannot outscope the matrix subjects, which means small clause is a domain for scope. Now, let us put internal modifiers into perspective. Each sentence in (20) has an existential quantifier acting as the small clause subject and a universal quantifier acting as the matrix subject.

(20) a. Her asker [SC bir yaralı-yı omz-un-da] taşı-dı *every> some*²²

Every soldier a/some wounded-acc. shoulder-3sgPoss-loc. carry-past

Every soldier carried a different soldier on his shoulders

²¹ (19b) can also be interpreted to mean that *every doctor is nude*, which is a subject oriented small clause and which is irrelevant to the discussion.

²² Judgments may vary, but this is the most salient interpretation.

b. Her müdür [SC bir işçi-yi dinlenme odası-da] gör-dü *every>some*
 Every manager a/some worker-acc. resting room-loc. see-past
Every manager saw a different worker in the resting room

(20a,b) force distributive reading only, that is, they only have the interpretations where every soldier carried a different wounded soldier and every manager saw a different worker. It is highly probable that the wide scope of *bir* is blocked by the maximal projection SC. However, one can speculate if this maximal projection is strong enough to block the wide scope of *bir*.²³ For one thing, SC lacks tense and agreement. Therefore, it should be weak and should not count as a proper maximal projection. On the other hand, I assume that SC can still block the wide scope because some way or another it forms a sentential constituent. Also there seems to be nothing else to do the job.^{24 25}

One may insist on their objection and note that embedded sentences in (20) are finite and thus according to Hornstein (1995) the quantifiers cannot move out of the sentence in LF, which renders the phenomenon quite natural.²⁶ Hence the judgments of the sentences in (20) should imply that they are not small clauses but finite

23 Engin Uzun, personal communication.

24 See §4.3 for the internal structure of small clauses.

25 See Meral (2005) for an argument that resultatives are not classified as small clauses by this diagnostic in Turkish.

26 Copulative sentences in Turkish can appear without any morphology in present tense, but they are still finite. So any skeptic may argue that this is an embedded copulative sentence which is actually fully finite.

- i. Ben Ahmet
 I Ahmet
 I am Ahmet
- ii. Ali burada
 Ali here
 Ali is here

embedded sentences. On the other hand, the sentences of (20), which I claim are small clauses, must have nonfinite functional projections if they are true small clauses. This *prima facie* counter argument seems tenable at first sight. However, there are two pieces of evidence that render the counter argument untenable. Firstly, note that (19), which contains undoubted small clauses, constitutes independent evidence that small clauses block scope projection. The bracketed strings of words in (19a,b) are true small clauses with which the examples in (20) align in scope blocking. The similarity in scope blocking facts hints at a similar sentential category. Secondly, the other piece of evidence for the nonfinite nature of the embedded clause in (20) comes from the fact that it cannot carry tense and agreement morphemes. If the string *beni omuzlarında* in (21a) is a finite embedded sentence, it should be able to carry tense and agreement morphemes.²⁷ (21b), however, clearly shows that it cannot carry tense and agreement. Therefore, considering the scope facts in (20) and internal modifiers' inability to be suffixed with tense and agreement, I conclude that the matrix object and internal modifier form a small clause of which the matrix object is the subject. I will turn back to the derivation of small clauses in §4.3.

- (21) a. Asker-ler ben-i omuz-lar-ın-da taşı-dı
 Soldier-pl. I-acc. shoulder-pl.3sgPoss-loc. carry-past
The soldiers carried me on their shoulders
- b.*Asker-ler [ben-i omuz-lar-ın-da-ydı-m] taşı-dı
 Soldier-pl. I-acc. shoulder-pl.-3sgPoss-loc.-past-1sg. carry-past

4.2.3 Floating Quantifiers

In such languages as English and French, some quantifiers may surface to the right of the subject as if to float. However, this is disallowed with quantifiers

²⁷ I am continuing the discussion with (21) since third person singular in (20) would not have an overt agreement morpheme.

modifying the object.²⁸ Quantifiers float because the subject raises from spec-vP and leaves the quantifier behind (Sportiche 1988, Mathieu 2001). Due to the head-final characteristics of Turkish, floating quantifiers surface when genitive and agreement morphemes are deleted. (22) exemplifies all the facts in Turkish and English.²⁹

(22) a. All of the men left

b. The men all left

c. Adam-lar-ın hep-si git-ti

Man-pl-gen. all-3sgPoss. leave-past

All of the men left

d. Adam-lar hep git-ti

man-pl. all leave-past

The men all left

e. Mary hates all of the students

f. *Mary hates the students all

(Boskovic, 2004:682)

g. Oyuncu top-lar-ın hep-si-ne vur-du

Player ball-pl.-gen. all-3sgPoss.dat. kick-past

h. ??/*Oyuncu toplar-a hep vurdu

player balls-dat. all kicked

(22b) and (22d) allow quantifier floating since the NPs *men* and *adamlar* are the subjects of the clauses. On the other hand, quantifier floating renders (22f) and (22h) ungrammatical since the NPs *students* and *toplar* serve as the object of the sentence. When we put internal modifiers through this diagnostic, we see that the

²⁸ Still see Boskovic (2004) for object floating quantifiers restricted to object pronouns. But there is, to my knowledge, no language reported to float R-expressions.

²⁹ (22h) is grammatical if *hep* is interpreted as modifying the verb. However, it should be interpreted like (22g) where the quantifier modifies the object. The sentence is ungrammatical with this interpretation.

accusative argument allows floating quantifiers. (23) indicates that the NPs *boncuklar* and *patatesler* act like a subject. They must be the subject of the small clause and the position they are moved from must be spec-VP.

(23) a. Sahilden boncuk toplamıştım ama

I collected beads from the beach but

Ali [o boncuklar-ı hep oda-da] bırak-tı

Ali-nom. those beads-acc. all room-loc. leave-past

I collected beads from the beach but Ali left those beads all in the room

b. Eski oldukları için

Because they were off

Zehra [o patates-ler-i hep fritöz-de] kızart-tı o akşam

Zehra those potato-pl.-acc. all deep fryer- loc. fry-past that night

Because they were off Zehra fried those potatoes all in the deep fryer

4.2.4 Constituent Analysis

A constituent is a group of words that act together in terms of some syntactic operations such as movement and substitution. A constituent can be a single lexical item or several lexical items may come together to form a constituent. For instance, clauses, embedded or main, are constituents that can be topicalized together. (24) illustrates an example of sentential constituents. The whole sentence in (24) is topicalized together.

(24) You shouldn't walk into the wood, said the old man.

There are some diagnostics for constituency, substitution being one of them.³⁰ According to substitution test, now that constituents are units in the sentence, they should be substituted together. In (25) the pronominal (*bunu*) replaces the main sentence which is a constituent by definition. Also (26) suggests that this successfully applies to small clauses. In (26) the lexical item *öyle* substitutes the string *hastayı çıplak*, which thus should be analyzed as a constituent.³¹

(25) Mehmet Murat'ı kandır-mış-tı,
Mehmet-nom. Murat-acc. deceive-eviden.-past
ama Murat *bu-nu* hiçbir zaman anla-ma-dı
but Murat-nom. this-acc. never notice-neg.-past
Mehmet deceived Murat but he never noticed this

(26) Profesör [hasta-yı çıplak] muayene et-ti. Ancak asistan-ı
Professor-nom. patient-acc. nude examine-pas But assistant-3sgPoss
öyle muayene et-me-di
like that examine-neg.-past
The professor examined the patient nude, but his assistant didn't examine like that

Internal modifiers seem to positively respond to this test. The grammaticality of (27) in the appropriate context adds a plus to the small clause analysis since the internal modifier and the accusative argument can be substituted together by a single word, *öyle*. The fact that they can be substituted together hints a constituent structure, which is most probably clausal.

³⁰ See Dikken (2001) and Bhatt (2005) for constituency tests.

³¹ See also Safir (1983) and the references therein for a great argument that small clauses are sentential constituents.

(27) Asistan hasta-yı yatağ-in-da muayene et-ti. Ama profesör öyle
Assistant patient-acc. bed-3sgPoss-loc. examine-past But professor like that
muayene et-me-di
examine-neg.-past

The assistant examined the patient in her bed but the professor didn't examine like that

Coordination is another syntactic structure resorted to in diagnostic tests. For example, Beavers & Sag (2004) argue that coordination is only possible with constituents.³² Let us now look at Turkish examples to see if coordination senses constituency. (28) supports Beavers & Sag (2004) by demonstrating that coordination is possible with a word string of the same category.

(28) a. Erkin dün, Mehmet de Cumartesi günü
Erkin yesterday Mehmet clitic on Saturday
gör-düğü-müz kız-1 davet ed-ecek parti-ye
see-part.-1pl. girl-acc. invite-fut. party-dat.

Erkin will invite the girl we saw yesterday to the party while Mehmet will invite the one we saw on Saturday

b. *Erkin dün, Mehmet de
Erkin yesterday Mehmet clitic
kendi sınıfından gör-düğü bir kız-1 davet edecek partiye
from his class see-part. a girl-acc. invite-fut. party-dat.

³² I do not include the detailed discussion here for space considerations but refer the reader to Beavers & Sag (2004).

diin in (28a) can be coordinated with *Cumartesi günü* since they both belong to the category of time adverb. *diin* in (28b), however, cannot be coordinated with an NP since they belong to different categories. This test classifies internal modifiers as the same category constituents when we try to coordinate an object internal modifier string with another object internal modifier string.

- (29) Ali'yi mutfak-ta, Veli'yi kiler-de yakala-dı-m
Ali-acc. kitchen-loc. Veli-acc. pantry-loc. catch-past-1sg.
I caught Ali in the kitchen and Veli in the pantry

Grammaticality of (29) should mean that the coordinated words are the same category constituents. Following the above reasoning they must be sentential constituents.

4.2.5 Underspecification of Internal Modifiers

Maienborn (2001, 2003) repeatedly state that internal modifiers are semantically underspecified. In her terms, underspecification means that internal modifiers may be linked up to different arguments depending on world knowledge and discourse features. For example, she writes as follows.

“A particular puzzle concerning event-internal locative modifiers is raised by the observation that they tend to have an *instrumental* or *manner reading*”

(Maienborn, 2001: 196)

Let us now consider the sentences in (30) to better understand Maienborn's remarks.

(30) a. *Der Koch hat das Hähnchen in einer Marihuana-Tunke zubereitet.*

The cook has the chicken in a marijuana sauce prepared.

b. *Die Bankräuber sind auf Fahrrädern geflüchtet.*

The bank robbers have on bicycles escaped.

c. *Paul steht auf dem Kopf.*

Paul stands on the head.

‘Paul is standing on his head.’

(Maienborn, 2003: 481)

The internal modifier in (30a) is closer to manner adverb than a locative phrase while in (30b) bicycles are interpreted as instrumental. As to (30c), Maienborn (2003) admits that the sentence cannot be interpreted as a locative expression. Rather she agrees that it is surprising that genuine locatives have non-locative readings.

“[...] On the other hand, if the modifiers in (13) [30] are genuine locatives, then where does this “instrumental/manner flavor” come from? These cases turn out to be a real challenge for an approach that relies on independently motivated and as far as possible unambiguous lexical entries.”

(Maienborn, 2003: 481)

I suggest that predicative analysis of internal modifiers accounts for this surprising fact since predicates (thus sententials) can easily act as manner adverbs as in (31) and (32). Hence if the internal modifiers in (30) are the predicates of small clause, it is not surprising that they act like manner adverbs.

(31) Jack reached the electric bulb by [PRO stepping on the chair]

(32) A: Tavuğ-u nasıl pişir-di-n?
 Chicken-acc. how cook-past-2sg
How did you cook the chicken

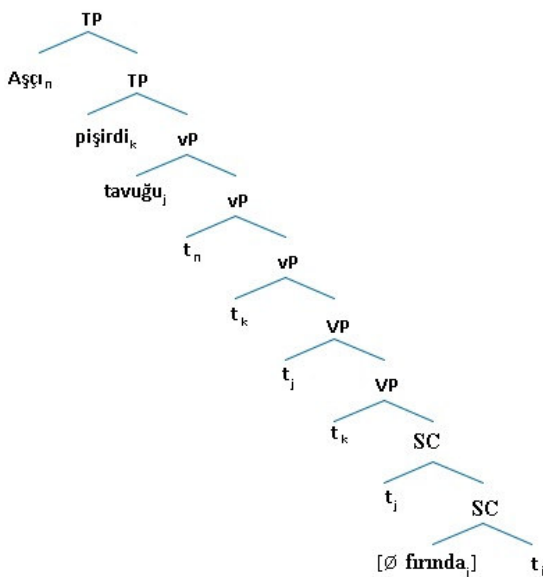
B: Fırın-da
 Oven-loc.
In the oven

4.3 Internal Structure and Derivation of Small Clause Internal Modifiers

In this subsection I will outline the derivation of the sentences which I claim are small clauses. I will be developing on the model proposed by Bowers (1993, 1997, 2001) and which I summarized in §4.1.2. Let us start with simple locative small clauses. I propose (34) for the phrase structure and derivation of (33).

(33) Aşçı tavuğ-u fırın-da pişir-di
 Cook nom. chicken-acc. oven-loc. cook-past
The chef cooked the chicken in the oven

(34)



SC is a functional projection which cannot theta-mark its external argument *tavuğu*. However, the complement of SC is a locative and it bears a theta, which renders it a predicate. The locative *fırında* incorporates into the SC-head to theta-mark its argument and/or satisfy the strong V-feature of the SC.³³ As a result of this incorporation, the locative theta-marks the argument in spec-SC, i.e. *tavuğu*. However, since the SC is nonfinite, the argument in spec-SC cannot check/match its Case feature thus has to move to spec-vP for Case. Hence it first moves to spec-VP, canonical object position, where it is assigned the object theta Role of the matrix verb. It then checks/matches its case feature with v and raises to spec-vP.³⁴ It amounts to say that the accusative NP occupies both the subject position of SC and the object position of the matrix verb, which forces us to agree with Hornstein (1999) that there is no upper bound on the number of theta roles an NP can bear. This rationale seems to be supported by intuition. The chicken in (33) is interpreted both as the containee of the container locative oven and as the theme of the main verb. The derivation continues as the nominative argument raises to spec-TP for case checking.

Any such theory, however, should adequately answer the question how pre/postpositional locatives are generated. So I will now try to outline the structure of postpositional locatives in Turkish. The richer structure of postpositional locatives complicates the derivation. For one thing, the predicative material is not a single locative showing the whereabouts of the matrix object, but it is a preposition with an argument structure. Naturally, the predicative and its argument, namely *kanepe* and *altında* in (35) below, do not come from the lexicon as a single lexical item. They

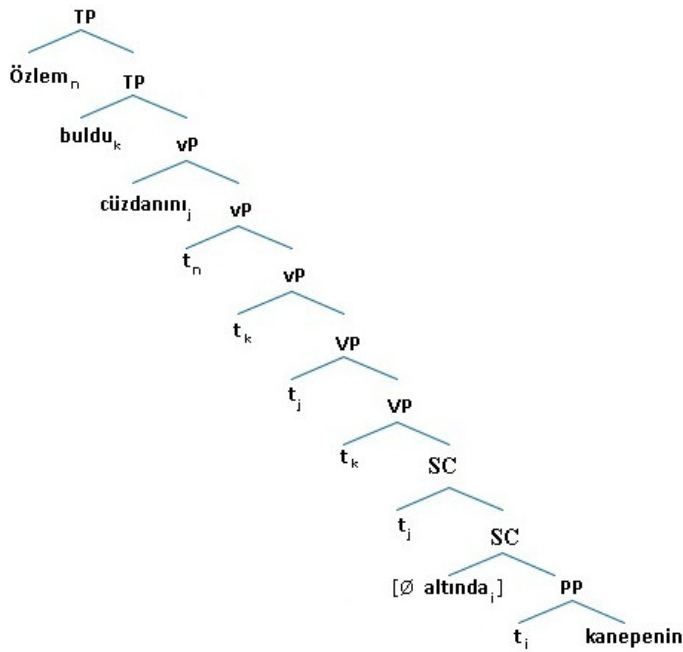
³³ See Bowers (1993, 1997, 2001) on the incorporation of theta bearing lexical item into the functional projection that dominates it.

³⁴ I am presuming here and below that the intermediate adjunction to spec-VP is due to shortest move constraint (Chomsky, 1995: 181). Since V head is available in VP, the argument cannot raise directly to vP in violation of shortest move. The internal theta of V is assigned as a side effect of this adjunction.

must be merged throughout the derivation. Hence the structure I offer differs slightly. (35) has a postpositional locative for which I propose the derivation in (36).

(35) *Özlem cüzdan-ı-nı kanepenin altında bul-du*
 Özlem-nom. purse-3sgPoss-acc. sofa-gen. under find-past
Özlem found her purse under the sofa

(36)



Since SC is a functional projection, it cannot theta-mark its external argument (*Özlem*). However, it dominates a predicative material just as vP dominates VP. The predicative material of the SC is a Postpositional Phrase which has a full argument structure but only one argument merged (*kanepenin*). Therefore, having theta-marked its internal argument, the P head incorporates into the SC head and the amalgam of the two heads theta-marks the external argument (*cüzdan*) in spec-SC, through which P discharges its external theta Role.³⁵ The argument then checks/matches Case with v

³⁵ There seems to be a major problem with (36). If SC is functional projection, the small clause subject, matrix object cannot merge at spec-SC since arguments are only allowed to merge to theta positions

and raises to spec-vP, again preceded by movement to spec-VP where it is assigned Theme from V as a side effect of shortest move constraint.

4.4 Some Implicative Consequences of the Small Clause Analysis

Maienborn (2001, 2003) gives her examples with prepositional locative phrases (see 37a). As a matter of fact, a similar strategy is also frequently employed by Turkish, as in (35) and (37b) below.³⁶

(37)a. Paul hat zuhause in stiefeln geduscht
Paul perf. at home in boots took a shower

(Maienborn, 2001: 201)

b. Tavuk bu fırın-ın içinde piş-ti
Chicken-nom. this oven-gen. in cook-past

(38), on the other hand, suggests that location is not only coded with postpositions whose initial force is to indicate location.

(38) Mahkum-u duruşma-ya zırhlı araç ile götür-dü-ler
Convict-acc. court-dat. armored vehicle with take-past-3pl.

They took the convict to the court in an armored vehicle

(Chomsky, 2000: 103). However, I am simply following Bowers (2001). See Bowers (2001) p. 302-303 for details. Still the problem can be avoided if we assume that it is merged after the predicative locative is incorporated into SC, similar to V incorporation into v.

³⁶ As a matter of fact, when further analyzed, the string *fırının içinde* looks like i. That is to say, there is a possessive relation between the oven and its inner part and the structure is suffixed with the locative suffix which gives it locative sense. However, it seems safe to see it as a single unit functioning as a postposition, which is customary in Turkish linguistics.

i. fırın-ın iç-in-de

oven-poss. inside-3sgPoss.-loc.

ile, a postposition which implies state of being together, denotes location in (38). Intuitions suggest that (38) means the convict is located in an armored vehicle rather than the whole event took place in the vehicle, in which case the court has to be located in the vehicle and which is simply discarded by world knowledge. Hence, the semantics of (38) accords with that of internal modifiers, which I have just analyzed as small clause. I take the above observation to conclude that the small clause analysis should be expanded to include other postpositional phrases. For one thing, the thematic relations of (38) are the same as those of (33), (37b) and the other sentences analyzed as small clause.³⁷

Even more interesting is the fact that all these analyses lead us to another conclusion. That is, the postposition selected to indicate location in (36) is actually selected for other thematic relations. For instance, the relation between (39a) and (39b) is the same as the relation between (37b) and its matrix clause counterpart repeated below as (40a,b).³⁸

³⁷ No doubt, this cannot be generalized to all postpositions of Turkish. For example, i. and ii. are two sentences in which postpositions cannot be analyzed as small clause. It is apparent that they are subcategorized by the verb *evlen-* and *ilgilen-*.

i. Tamer Gülay ile evlen-di
 Tamer Gülay with marry-past
Tamer got married to Gülay

ii. Ferit bu araba ile ilgilen-iyor
 Ferit this car with be interested-prog.
Ferit is interested in this car

³⁸ A point to note is that postpositions whose initial force is to indicate some relation other than location (like *ile* in (41)) do not parallel in small clause predicative and matrix clause predicative uses, i.e. their matrix clause counterpart barely denotes location. This can be accounted for if we assume that this is a limited contamination. This means they only have locative force in small clause predicate uses.

(39) a. Ali Ahmet-le birlikte

Ali Ahmet clitic with

Ali is with Ahmet

b. Ali Ahmet-le birlikte Ayşe-yi ziyaret etti

Ali Ahmet-clitic with Ayşe-acc. visit-past

Ali visited Ayşe with Ahmet

(40) a. Tavuk bu fırının içinde

Chicken this oven in

The chicken is in this oven

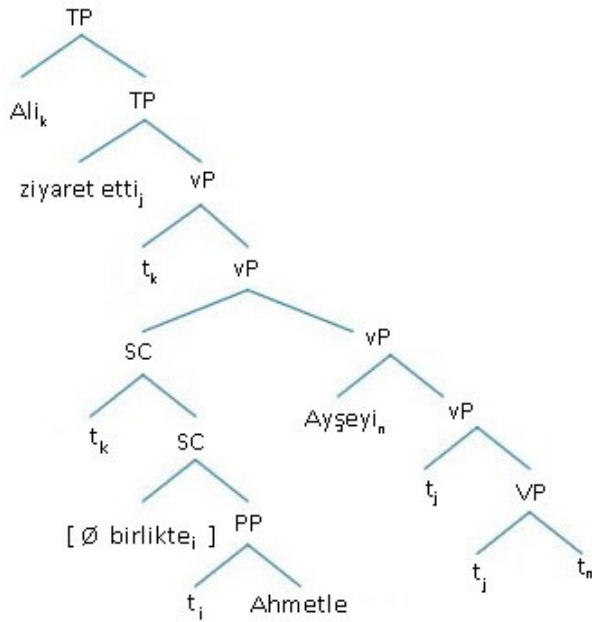
b. Ayşe tavuğ-u bu fırının içinde pişir-di

Ayşe-nom. chicken-acc. this oven in cook-past

Ayşe cooked the chicken in this oven

This implies a small clause structure for most, but not all, of the postpositions in Turkish irrespective of locative initial force or not. Deeper analysis of this implication exceeds the scope of this subsection and deserves deeper consideration, for which I leave this issue unresolved. Thus I will only mention a possible analysis of nonlocative postpositional small clauses. Phrase structure of (39b) should be as in (41).

(41)



Once again, the PP complement *Ahmetle birlikte* of the SC is the predicative material of the SC. Since SC originates as an adjunct to the vP, the PP argument *Ahmet* and SC subject *Ali* do not surface as the main clause object. That is to say, they do not check/match case with *v* since *v* does not probe its spec. So the argument in spec-VP checks/matches accusative with *v* and raises to spec-vp. P incorporates into the SC and assigns its external theta Role to the spec of SC, i.e. *Ali*. Then *Ali* raises to spec-vP and receives its second theta Role, agent, from *v+V*. Finally *Ali* checks/matches nominative with TP and raises to spec-TP.

4.5. Result

This subsection claims to achieve a dual analysis for locatives and attribute the third class, i.e. Internal Modifiers, to a more general and already established category, so that we reach a better organized and more unitary theory of language. Hence it seems that we have a better analysis than the tripartite locative classification on the conceptual ground that grammatical categorization should be minimized and where

possible deduced from more general categories. In addition to being more unitary, the new organization of locatives nicely explains the peculiar observations like non-projecting scope and semantic underspecification of locatives. The small clause analysis defended here is also promising in that it opens the way to a small clause analysis for postpositions with an initial force other than location. If we achieve a small clause analysis for such constructions we will have attained a more comprehensive theory of small clauses by including some scattered categories.

REFERENCES

- Aoun, J., & Li, Y. A. (1989). Scope and constituency. *Linguistic Inquiry*, volume 20, Number 2, Spring 1989, 141-172.
- Aoun, J., & Li, Y. A. (1993). The syntax of scope. *Linguistic Inquiry Monograph* No. 21. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Aygen-Tosun, G. (1999). Specificity and subject-object positions/scope Interactions in Turkish. *Proceedings of the Conference on Turkic Linguistics at Manchester University*, 8-10 April 1999.
- Beghelli, F., & Stowell, T. (1997). Distributivity and negation: The Syntax of *each* and *every*. In Szabolcsi, A. (ed.) *Ways of Scope Taking* (pp. 71-107), Dordrecht.
- Beavers, J., & Sag, I. (2004). Coordinate ellipsis and apparent non-constituent coordination. *Proceedings of the HPSG04 Conference*, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Stefan Mueller (Ed.). CSLI Publications.
- Belletti, A. (1988). The case of unaccusatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 1-34.
- Bhatt, R. (2005). Tools for discovering structure: Constituency tests. Lecture notes for Linguist 401-Introduction to Syntax, Massachusetts Amherst University.
- Brisson, C. (1998). Distributivity, maximality, and floating quantifiers. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. New Brunswick University, New Jersey.
- Brueng, B. (2001). QR obeys superiority: Frozen scope and ACD. *Linguistic Inquiry*, volume 32, number 2, Spring, 2001 233-273.
- Broekhuis, H. (2005). Locative inversion in English. In *Linguistics in Netherlands* 2005, 49-60, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Bowers, J. (1993a). The syntax of predication. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 24.4, 591-656.

- Bowers, J. (1997). A Binary analysis of resultatives. *Proceedings of the 1997 Texas Linguistics Society Conference*, 38, 1997:43-58.
- Bowers, J. (2001). Predication. In Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (ed.), *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory* (pp. 299-333) Oxford: Blackwell.
- Boskovic, Z. (2004). Be careful where you float your quantifiers. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 22: 681-742.
- Burzio, L. (1986). *Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1998). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels & J. Uriagereka (ed.), *Step by Step* (pp. 89-156). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N., & Lasnik, H. (1993). The theory of principles and parameters. In J. Jacobs et al. (eds.) *Syntax: An international handbook of contemporary research* (pp. 506-569) Vol. 1. Walter de Gruyter. (Reprinted in N. Chomsky, *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press, 1995).
- Culicover, W. P. (1997). *Principles and parameters: An introduction to syntactic theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dikken, M. D. (2001). The syntax of non-verbal predication and the copula. Lecture notes for Ling81500- Advanced Syntax, CUNY Graduate Center.
- Erguvanlı, E. (1984). *The function of word order in Turkish grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Fox, D., & Sauerland, U. (1997). Illusive wide scope of universal quantifiers. In G. Matos et.al. (ed.) *Interface in Linguistic Theory* (pp. 149-176) dições Colibri/Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, Lisbon.
- Fox, D. (1999). Reconstruction, Binding Theory, and interpretation of chains. *Linguistic Inquiry*, volume 30 Number 2 Spring , 157-196.
- Hale, K., & Keyser, J. (1993). On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In K. Hale & J. Keyser (eds.) *The view of building 20: Essay in honor of Sylvian Bromberger* (pp. 53-110). Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.
- Han, C. H., et. al. (2004). Scope of negation and clause structure in Japanese. *Proceedings of the 30th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (BLS 30)*. Berkeley Linguistics Society, Berkeley.
- Haug, C.-T. J. (1993). Reconstruction and the structure of vP: Some theoretical consequences. *Linguistic Inquiry*, volume 24, Number 1, Winter 1993, 103-138.
- Heycock, C. (1994a). The internal structure of small clauses: New evidence from inversion. *Proceedings of NELS 25*, Vol. One, 223.
- Hoekstra, T., & Mulder, R. (1990). Unergatives as copular verbs: Locational and existential predication. *The Linguistic Review* 7:1-79.
- Hornstein, N. (1995). *Logical form: From GB to minimalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hornstein, N. (1999). Movement and control. *Linguistic Inquiry*, volume 30, no 1 69-99.
- İşsever, S. (2000). Türkçede bilgi yapısı (Information structure in Turkish). Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ankara University.

- Johnson, K. (2001). What VP ellipsis can do, and what it can't do, but not why. In Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (ed.), *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory* (pp. 439-479) Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kelepir, M. (1996). Topics in Turkish syntax: Clausal structure and scope. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Kratzer, A. (1998). Scope or pseudoscope? Are there wide scope indefinites? In Rothstein, S. (ed.) *Events and Grammar* (pp. 163-196) Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kural, M. (1997). Postverbal constituents in Turkish and the linear correspondence axiom. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 28-3, 498-519.
- Kural, M. (1992). Properties of scrambling in Turkish. Unpublished manuscript, UCLA.
- Kuram, K. (2005). Düşünsel eylemlere türetimsel yaklaşım: Türkçeden kanıtlar (Transformation approach to psych verb: Evidence from Turkish). *Proceedings of the 19th National Conference on Turkish Linguistics*.
- Leroux, A. T. P., & Roeper, T. (1999). Scope and the structure of bare nominals: Evidence from child language. *Linguistics* 37-5, 927-960.
- Maienborn, C. (2001). On the position and interpretation of locative modifiers. *Natural Language Semantics* 9, 191-240.
- Maienborn, C. (2003). Event-internal modifiers: Semantic underspecification and conceptual interpretation. In E. Lang et al. (eds.) *Modifying Adjuncts* (pp. 475-509) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mathieu, E. (2001). French floating quantifiers and scope. *Durham Working Papers in Linguistics*, 7. 63-80.
- Mateu, J. (2001b). Small clause results revisited. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 26: in *Syntax of Predication*, ZAS Berlin.

- Meral, M. E. (2005), Türkçe’de sonuç bildirgeli yapıların sözdizimsel incelemesi (A syntactic analysis of resultatives in Turkish). *Proceedings of the 19th National Conference on Turkish Linguistics*
- Morumatsu, K. (1997). Two types of existentials: Evidence from Japanese. *Lingua*, 245-269.
- May, R. (1989). Interpreting logical form. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 12: 387-435.
- Nilsen, Ø. (1998). The syntax of circumstantial adverbials. MA thesis, University of Tromsø.
- Rafel, J. (2001). The syntax of small clause predication. *ZASPIL*, Vol. 26: The Syntax of Predication, ZAS, BERLİN.
- Rafel, J. (2000). Complex small clauses. Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Reinhart, T. (1997). Quantifier scope: How labor is divided between QR and choice functions. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 20 335-397.
- Reinhart, T. (1998). Wh-in situ in the framework of the Minimalist Program. *Natural Language Semantics*, 6:29-56.
- Safir, K. (1983). On small clauses as constituents. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 14: 730-735.
- Salzmann, M. D. (2004). Theoretical approaches to locative inversion. MA dissertation, University of Zurich.
- Sauerland, U. (1999). Scope reconstruction without reconstruction. *Proceedings of WCCFL 17*, 582–596. Stanford, Calif., CSLI.
- Suh, J. (2002). The interaction of quantifier scope in the agree system: Going back to QR? Paper presented at ICKL XIII, Oslo, Norway.
- Stowell, T. (1981). Origins of phrase structure. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

- Szabolcsi, A. (2001). The syntax of scope. In Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (ed.), *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory* (pp. 607-633) Oxford: Blackwell.
- Takahashi, S. (2002). Introducing multiple scope generalization. Paper presented at the Student workshop “Quantifier Construal” at the 20th National Conference of the English Linguistic Society of Japan. Aoyama Gakuin University, Japan, November 15-17.
- Tang, S. W. (2001). On QU-Features, manuscript.
- Thrainsson, H. (2001). Object shift and scrambling. In Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (ed.), *The handbook of contemporary syntactic theory* (pp. 148-202) Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tungseth, M. (2003). Two structural positions for locative and directional PPs in Norwegian motion constructions. *Proceedings of the 19th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*, vol. 31. 2.
- Uzun, E. (2000). *Ana Çizgileriyle Evrensel Dilbilgisi ve Türkçe*. Multilingual Yay., İstanbul.
- Yatsushiro, K. (1996). Case and scope interactions. *Proceedings of ConSOLE IV*. Leiden: HIL, Leiden University.
- Zwart, C. J.W. (1992). Dutch expletives and small clause predicate raising. *Proceedings of NELS 22*, 477-491.