

# LOCATIVES AS SMALL CLAUSES IN TURKISH

## *Abstract*

*Locative phrases are assumed to denote the place where the event denoted by the predicate of the sentence takes place. Recent studies, however, have revealed that there is more to locatives than meets the eye. One such example is Maienborn's (2001, 2003) ternary classification of locatives. She claims that there are three types of locative phrases each in different phrase structural positions and anchoring different lexical items of the sentence. These differing phrases thus lead to differing truth values. However, in doing so Maeinborn misses an important point. There is an extensive literature on the predicative uses of locative phrases, like Hoekstra & Mulder (1990) and Muromatsu (1997). This paper is an attempt to merge the main clause predicate proposal for locatives with ternary classification thus reducing it to binary classification. The underlying idea is that one of these types, Internal Modifier, is actually the pre-/postpositional predicate of the small clause embedded in the main clause. The paper concludes with a discussion on the probable small clause analysis of some other pre-/postpositional constructions.*

## **0. Introduction**

Locatives, as is evident, locate *something* in the sentence. However, there is controversy about the category and phrase structure positions of locatives. For example, Maienborn (2001, 2003) classifies three different locative types. In the first class, there are Frame-Setting (FS) locative modifiers. The Second class is constituted by External Modifiers (EN) and the third class is Internal Modifiers (IM). (1) exemplifies these locative modifiers in the order mentioned.

- (1)a. In Turkey, homicide is a serious crime
- b. Jane drank beer in this pub
- c. Jane caught a mouse in the oven

The locative in (1a) restricts the validity of the proposition to a specific geographical region, i.e. Turkey while the one in (1b) denotes the place where beer-drinking took place. Finally, the phrase *in the oven* in (1c) neither restricts the proposition nor shows where the event took place. Rather it points to the location of the object.

The ultimate goal of this paper is to investigate the nature of these three so-called different types of locatives. In doing so, we discover the fact that what Maienborn (2001, 2003) takes as IM is actually the pre-/postpositional predicate of the small clause. Our database is constituted mainly by Turkish, supported by German and English examples of Maienborn (2001, 2003). This paper is organized as follows. In §1 I summarize the claims of Maienborn (2001, 2003) as to the positions of locatives and the support provide to her by Kuram (2006). §2 hints at the small clause predicate status of locatives and introduces small clauses to unfamiliar readers while §3 enumerates theoretical arguments for the small clause status of IMs. §4 reveals the internal structure of small clauses. Finally, §5 extends the small clause analysis to include some other non-locative PPs, leading to interesting theoretical results.

## **1. Positions of Locatives**

Maienborn (2001) attributes the above mentioned diverging semantic contributions of locatives to the different phrase structure positions they occupy. She claims that the difference is not due to the lexico-semantic features of locatives but the positions they occupy. Accordingly, Maienborn (2001) fixes the position of each locative phrase. (2) shows the order of each locative phrase relative to other lexical items in any sentence of German, and which also applies to Turkish.

(2) FS>SUBJECT>EM>OBJECT>IM>VERB

There are four sets of tests that Maienborn (2001) makes use of so as to support her arguments. Let us now briefly consider her tests and their counterparts in Turkish given by Author (2006). We will also only mention two tests that reveal the order of IMs for space considerations because FSs and EMs do not directly concern us here.

The first test by Maienborn (2001) is the focus projection test. The lexical item that is in the focus of the sentence can project its focus feature iff all lexical items of the sentence are in their base positions, which is tested by the widest scope question *what happened* (see Maienborn (2001) and İşsever (2003) among others). (3) and (4) show that this applies to IMs in German and Turkish. In both sentences IMs are positioned between the verb and the object. As expected, the focus projects to the whole sentence and thus the sentences are the felicitous answers to the widest scope question.

(3)Die Spieler haben [DP den Torschützen] [PP auf den SCHULTERN] getragen.

The players have            the scorer            on the shoulders            carried

(Maienborn, 2001: 201)

(4)Oyuncular    antrenörü    [omuzlarında]    taşıdılar

The players    couch acc.    on their shoulders    carried

Another test employed by Maienborn is the principle C effect test. Principle C of the Binding Theory dictates that an R-expression be not bound in any way. On the other hand,

coindexing is the key to binding. The principle C effect observed follows if one assumes that the base-position of IM is below the coreferential pronominal. Maienborn uses this as a diagnostic test to determine the phrase structure positions of locatives. Let us now see the results from German and Turkish.

- (5) \* [An Peters<sub>i</sub> knie]<sub>j</sub>     hat     der Chef     ihn<sub>i</sub>   t<sub>j</sub>     nach hause gefahren  
    In Peter's car     has     the boss     him     at home driven

(Maienborn, 2001: 204)

- (6) ??/\*[Ali'nin<sub>i</sub> evinde]<sub>j</sub>     patron     onu<sub>i</sub>   t<sub>j</sub>     hapis tuttu  
    In Ali's house     the boss     him     encaptivated

In (5) and (6), locatives *An Peters knie* and *Ali'nin evinde* contain R-expressions bound by the pronominal. As a result, the sentences are ungrammatical, which is due to the fact that locatives have their original positions below the object pronominal. In this position, R-expression is bound by the pronominal, which results in an illicit structure.

## 2. Locatives and Small Clause Predicate Analysis

### 2.1 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.<sup>1</sup> For example the locative *fırında* in (7) is the

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion on the predicative status of locatives see Muromatsu (1997), Zwart (1992) and Hoekstra & Mulder (1990).

predicate as is evident from the inflection on it. In addition, (8) shows the predicative uses of locatives in English.

(7) Tavuk fırın-da-ydı

Chicken oven-loc-past

(8)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. The locatives in (7) and (8) could be either Frame Setting Modifiers or Internal Modifiers. Intuition says they must be IMs. For one thing, these locatives are the predicates themselves. It doesn't make sense that they can be both 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.

## 2.2 What is Small Clause?

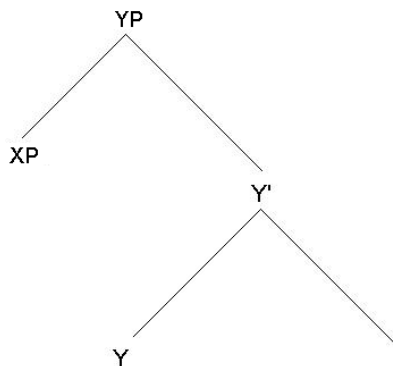
A small clause is described as the predication relation between XP and YP without mediation of any functional category. It is generally taken for granted that one of these lexical items is an NP while the other is either NP, AP or an uninflected VP. (9) presents some small clause examples.

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- (9) a. Rektör ben-i doçent yaptı  
 Rector I-acc. associate professor made
- b. Bu şok o-nu sersem etti  
 this shock he-acc. stunned made
- c. Jack considers me a fool
- d. The boss saw me leave early

In (9), NP, AP and VP, which are notorious for their predicative behaviours, are in a predicative relation not with the *subject* but with the *object*. Judging from this observation, Stowell (1981) claims that this string of words is another kind of clause in the matrix sentence. Since it is not inflected, 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. (10) presents the small clause structure in Stowell's model.

(10)



However, there is some 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 the functional head.<sup>2</sup> In (11) *as* indicates the predicative relation between *you* and *my best friend*, which is the same as the predication relation in copulative sentences analysed as small clause. This parallels the relation established by functional heads between the verb and its arguments for predication.

(11) I consider you as my best friend

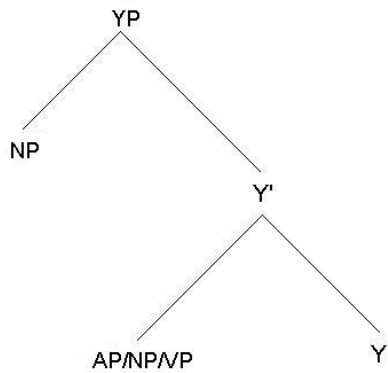
In addition, the verb and its arguments must be adjoined to a functional projection for such syntactic relations as case-checking and agreement (Chomsky 1995). To conclude, predication is established by two lexical items and a functional projection that determines the grammatical relation between them. Bowers (2001) claims that this projection is the Predicate Phrase, one of the projections of IP. Since it is found obligatorily in all main and small clauses, this projection unifies the theory of predication.<sup>3</sup> This hypothesis, which I will be using, is known as the Predication Hypothesis. (12) presents the Predication Model.

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<sup>2</sup> See Bowers (2001) for further arguments that small clauses are constituted by a predicative relation between specifier and complement of a functional head.

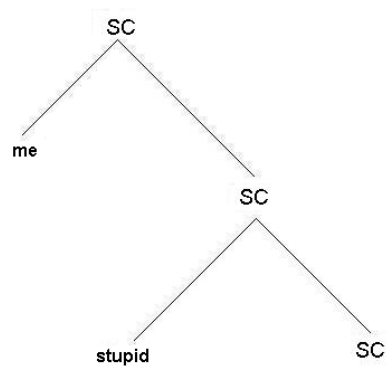
<sup>3</sup> Bowers (1993) writes Predicate Phrase corresponds to the *vp* of Chomsky (1995), VP shell of Larson (1988), voice phrase of Kratzer (1993) but differs from them in being independent of the number of arguments in the sentence.

(12)



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. Let us call the Predicate Phrase Small Clause (SC) and take a look at the Theta and Case assignment/checking matters in SCs to better understand their internal structure. As mentioned above, lexical elements of a small clause are a predicative (AP/NP/VP) in the complement of an uninflected head and an argument in the spec position to be predicated of this predicate. We see the configuration in (13).

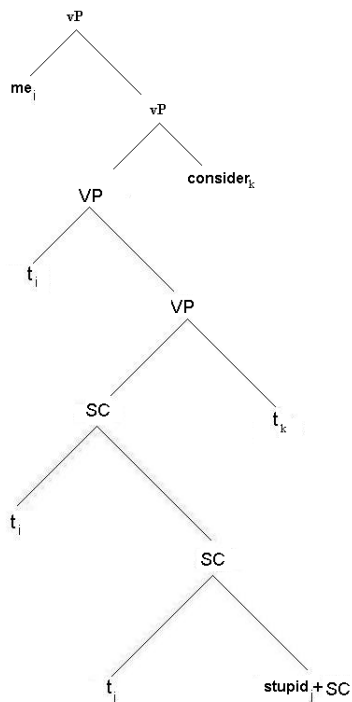
(13)





It is impossible, however, to have Theta and Case checked in the configuration in (13). First of all, *stupid* and *me* are not in a spec-head configuration.<sup>4</sup> In addition, since SC is not inflected and hence weak, it cannot check Case with the argument. In this case, the main verb and Inflection are the only heads that can check Case with this argument. Theta role of the predicative element is assigned via spec-head relation as it is adjoined to the SC.<sup>5</sup> Then the argument raises to spec-VP and vp in order to check/assign Theta and Case of the matrix verb respectively. The scenario is illustrated in (14).

(14)



<sup>4</sup> See Rafel (2000) and (2001) for an alternative SC analysis which avoids this problem.

<sup>5</sup> See Bowers (1993a) on the adjoined nature of predicate to the SC (his PP) for Theta assignment. On the other hand, in Bowers (1997) he abandons this idea and claims that this 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.

### 2.3. Locatives as Small Clauses

Since locatives can be the inflected 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 are made up 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. (15) shows the small clause patterns of locatives in Turkish and English.

(15) a. Jim<sub>i</sub> was [SC t<sub>i</sub> at the party]

b. Tavuk<sub>i</sub> [SC t<sub>i</sub> fırın-da]-ydi  
chicken oven-loc.-past

When we embed the main clauses of (15) into another main clause, we see that the predicates of the small clauses (*at the party* and *fırında*) exhibit the same features as the locatives that Maienborn (2001, 2003) considers as IMs.

(16) a. I caught Jim at the party

b. Aşçı tavuğ-u fırın-da pişirdi  
cook chicken-acc. oven-loc. cooked

For example, Maienborn (2001) reports that if locatives which are ambiguous between IM and EM interpretation are interpreted as EMs, the verb has the primary sentence accent. On the other hand, if the primary sentence accent is on the locative, it is interpreted as IM.

(17)a. Angela hat sich mit Bardo im Muséum VERABREDET

Angela has ref. with Bardo in museum arranged meeting

*EM interpretation*

b. Angela hat sich mit Bardo im MUSEUM verabredet

Angela has ref. with Bardo in museum arranged meeting

*IM interpretation*

(Maienborn, 2001:195)

A similar behaviour is displayed by Turkish. When EMs have the primary sentence accent in their original position between subject and object the sentence has contrastive focus.<sup>6</sup> However, primary stress on the verb or the object does not intervene the presentational focus of the sentence (compare 18a-b). This rule runs the other way in IMs. IMs can have the primary sentence accent as usual and the sentence has presentational focus. Yet if the main verb, the other element that can have the primary accent and lead to presentational focus, has the primary accent, the sentence has contrastive focus (18c,d)<sup>7</sup>. The logical conclusion is that IM should have the primary accent for presentational focus. # indicates contrastive focus in (18).

(18) a. Ali mutfak-ta Ayşe-yi DÖVDÜ

Ali kitchen-loc. Ayşe-acc. hit

<sup>6</sup> See Maienborn (2001) and Author (2006) for the discussion on the original position of EMs.

<sup>7</sup> See İşsever (2003) for presentational-contrastive focus in Turkish.

b. #Ali MUTFAK-TA Ayşeyi dövdi

Ali kitchen-loc. Ayşe-acc. hit

c. Ali tavu-ğu FIRIN-DA pişirdi

Ali chicken-acc. oven-loc. cooked

d. #Ali tavuğu fırın-da PİŞİRDİ

Ali chicken-acc. oven-loc. cooked

This leads us to conclude that IMs behave like predicates. Hence grammatically, they are not the modifier but the predicate of Small Clause.

### **3. Justification**

The sentences in (9) are regarded with no doubt as small clauses. However, we need positive evidence in order to make certain that IMs are the predicative elements in the complement position of SC. In this section I will try to provide convincing evidence as to the SC nature of IM constructions.

#### **3.1 Adverbs/Modifiers**

Adverbs/modifiers are lexical items which modify a verb or 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, the adverb is two-way ambiguous. It can modify, also depending on its position, the main verb or the embedded verb.

(19) Ali dün buluşmanın müzede olmadığını söyledi

Ali yesterday appointment in the museum be-negative said

*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 (19) 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. So if we have an adverb or modifier which is incompatible with the main verb in a sentence containing an IM, the sentence should be ungrammatical unless the IM is a predicative modified by the modifier. (20a,b) are such sentences and they are fully grammatical, which shows that the modifiers *tamamen* and *yarı beline kadar* modify an embedded predicate.

(20) a. Dün [Ali'yi **tamamen** bahçedeki çamurun içinde] buldum

yesterday Ali-acc. totally garden clay in found

*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 Metin-acc. up to his waist grape juice in

görünce şarap üretiminin zevkli bir şey olduğunu anladı

*saw*

*Last year Mehmet saw Metin in grape juice up to his waist and understood that wine production is a joyful activity*

*dün* in (20a) and *geçen yıl* in (20b) 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.<sup>8</sup> Still the sentences are grammatical. Thus we can conclude that these modifiers modify the predicative in the strings *Ali'yi tamamen bahçedeki çamurun içinde* and *Metin'i yarı beline kadar üzüm suyu içinde*. These sentential constituents cannot be inflected, as shown in (21), thus the only possible category for them is Small Clause category.

(21) a. \*[Ali'yi tamamen bahçedeki çamurun içinde-ydi] buldum

Ali-acc. totally garden clay in-past found

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

### 3.2 The Numeral/Indefinite Determiner *bir* and the Small Clause Analysis<sup>9</sup>

Case marked NPs with *bir* in Turkish can take other quantifiers in its scope even if it is lower in the structure (Tosun, 1999; Kennely 1997).

(22) Çocuklar (girdikleri) her oda-da bir kitab-ı oku-yor-lar-dı *bir>her her>bir*

children (they enter) every room-loc. a/some book-acc. read-cont.-plural-past

<sup>8</sup> Bowers (2001) states that every head allows only one type of modifier adverb. Also see Bowers (2001) for similar tests.

<sup>9</sup> *Bir* can be both regarded as a numeral and indefinite determiner. For example, Tosun (1999) claims *bir* in Turkish is not indefinite determiner but a numeral. On the other hand; I will call such phrases case marked NPs with *bir* in order to abstain from theoretical dispute.

(23) Her çocuk bir araba-yı al-dı *bir>her \*her>bir*  
 Every child one car-acc. buy/take-past

(Tosun, 1999:7)

However, there is a general agreement in the literature that scope is clause-bound. (24b) supports the claim with an embedded clause of Turkish (See Hornstein, 1995 among others).

(24)a. Someone expects [every republican will win the reelection] *someone> every*  
 (Hornstein, 1995:36)

b. Herkes [bir cumhuriyetçinin kazan-acağ-ı-nı] söyledi *herkes> bir*  
 everyone a/some republican win-fut.agr.-acc. said

In (24a-b), embedded subject universal quantifier cannot outscope the main clause subject existential and case marked NP with *bir* cannot outscope the universal quantifiers. Moreover, clause-boundness successfully applies to the sentences which are taken to be small clauses beyond dispute.<sup>10</sup>

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

b. Her doktor [bir hastayı çıplak] muayene etti *her> bir*  
 every doctor a/some patient nude examined

<sup>10</sup> (25b) can also be interpreted to mean that *every doctor is nude*, which is a subject oriented small clause, irrelevant to the discussion.

Once again, the quantifier and the NP with *bir* in the subject of the small clauses in (25) cannot outscope the quantifiers in the matrix subject. Now, let us put IMs into perspective.

(26) has two IM structures with two NPs with *bir* in each.

- (26) a. Her asker [SC bir yaralıyı omzunda] taşıdı her> bir<sup>11</sup>  
 every soldier a/some wounded on shoulder carried
- b. Her müdür [SC bir işçiyi dinlenme odası-nda] gördü her> bir  
 every manager a/some worker rest room-loc. saw

(26a,b) force distributive reading only, i.e. 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 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*.<sup>12</sup> For one thing, SC lacks tense and agreement categories. On the other hand, I assume that SC can still block the wide scope because some way or another it is a sentential constituent. Also there seems to be nothing else to do the job.<sup>13 14</sup>

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

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<sup>11</sup> Judgements may vary, but this is the most salient interpretation.

<sup>12</sup> Engin Uzun, personal communication.

<sup>13</sup> See §4 for the internal structure of small clauses.

<sup>14</sup> See Meral (2005) for an argument that resultatives are not classified as small clause by this diagnostic in Turkish.



imply that they are not small clauses but finite embedded sentences.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the sentences of (26), which I claim to be small clause, must have nonfinite functional projections if they are true small clauses. However note that, (25), which contains undoubted small clauses, constitute independent evidence that small clauses block scope projection. Additionally, as shown in (22) and (23) case marked NP with *bir* can outscope the universal quantifier even if it doesn't c-command the universal quantifier in s-structure. Considering the fact that scope is clause bound, the only mechanism that could block the QR is a sentential constituent, though nonfinite. Finally, the fact that these constituents cannot carry agreement category finalizes the dispute by proving that these structures are not inflected.

(27) \*Askerler [beni omuzların-da-yım] taşıdılar

Soldiers me shoulders-loc.-agr. carried

### 3.3 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 modifying the object.<sup>16</sup> 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

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<sup>15</sup> Copulative sentences in Turkish can appear without any morphology in present tense, but they are still finite.

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

<sup>16</sup> Still see Boskovic (2004) for object floating quantifiers restricted to object pronouns.

quantifiers surface when genitive and agreement morphemes are deleted. (29) exemplifies all the facts in Turkish and English.<sup>17</sup>

(29) a. All of the men left

b. The men all left

c. Adamlar-ın hep-si gitti

men-gen. all-agr. left

d. Adamlar hep gitti

men all left

e. The player kicked all of the balls

f. \*The player kicked the balls all

g. Oyuncu toplar-ın hep-si-ne vurdu

player balls-gen. all-agr.dat. kicked

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

player balls-dat. all kicked

When we put the so-called IMs through diagnostic, we see that the accusative argument allows floating quantifiers. (30) indicates that the NPs *boncuklar* and *patatesler* can act like a subject. They must be the subject of the small clause and the position they are moved from must spec-VP.

(30) a. Sahilden boncuk toplamıştım ama Ali [o boncuklar-ı hep oda-da] bıraktı

I collected beads from the beach but Ali those beads-acc. all room-loc. left

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<sup>17</sup> (30h) is grammatical if *hep* is interpreted as modifying the verb. However, it should be interpreted like (30g). With this interpretation, the sentence is ungrammatical.

b.Eski oldukları için Zehra [o patatesler-i hep fritöz-de] kızarttı o akşam  
Since they were off Zehra those potatoes-acc. all deep fryer- loc. fried that night

### 3.4 Constituent Analyses<sup>18</sup>

A constituent is a syntactic unit in a sentence, which is another constituent. A constituent can be a single lexical item or several lexical items can come together to form a constituent. For instance, VP is a syntactic unit made up of a verb and its argument(s). There are some diagnostics for constituency.<sup>19</sup> Substitution is one of them. Now that constituents are units in the sentence then they should be substituted for. In (31) the pronoun (*bunu*) replaces the main sentence which is a constituent by definition. Also (32) suggests that this successfully applies to small clauses. In (32) the lexical item *öyle* substitutes the string *hastayı çıplak*.

(31) Mehmet Murat-’ı kandırmıştı, ama Murat *bunu* hiçbir zaman anlamadı  
Mehmet Murat-acc. deceived but Murat this never noticed

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<sup>18</sup> I should admit that tests for constituency should actually be resorted in order to provide negative evidence of clausal structure. For example, the fact that two words can be substituted by one single word may not necessarily mean they form a syntactic constituent. Rather, the fact that they cannot be substituted should mean they do not form a constituent. So such tests should be regarded as evidence to the extent that we agree to regard them as evidence.

<sup>19</sup> See Dikken (2001) and Bhatt (2005) for constituent tests.

(32) Doktor [hastayı çıplak] muayene etti. Ancak asistanı *öyle*

Doctor patient nude examined but his asisstant as such

muayene etmedi

didn't examine

Grammaticality of (33) in the appropriate context adds a plus to the small clause analysis since IM and accusative argument can be substituted together by a single lexical item. The fact that they can be substituted together hints a constituent structure, which is most probably clausal.

(33) Asistan hastayı yatağı-nda muayene etti. Ama profesör *öyle*

Intern patient bed-loc. examined but professor as such

muayene etmedi

didn't examine

Coordination is another syntactic structure resorted to in diagnostic tests. However, there is disagreement in the literature as to which words coordination targets. Dowty (1996) claims that nonconstituent word strings can be found in coordination structures as seen in (34) taken from Dowty (1996). Dowty calls such structures non-constituent coordination.

(34) a. John ate [rice yesterday] and [beans today]

b. Mary gave [a book to john] and [a record to Bill]

(Dowty, 1996:2)

However, Beavers & Sag (2004) reject and claim that the sentences in (34) are actually ellipsis. For them, actual coordination is only possible with constituents.<sup>20</sup> Let us now look at Turkish examples to see the case in Turkish. (35) supports Beavers & Sag (2004) by demonstrating that coordination is possible with a word string of the same category.

(35) a. Erkin *dün*, Mehmet de *Cumartesi günü* gördüğümüz kızı davet edecek partiye  
 Erkin yesterday Mehmet clitic on Saturday saw girl invite to party

b. \*Erkin *dün*, Mehmet de *kendi sınıfından* gördüğü bir kızı davet edecek partiye  
 Erkin yesterday Mehmet from his classs saw a girl invite to party

*dün* in (35a) can be coordinated with *Cumartesi günü* since they both belong to the category of time adverb. *dün* in (35b), however, cannot be coordinated with an NP. This test classifies IM as the same category constituents when we try to coordinate an object IM string with another object IM string.

(36) Ali'yi mutfak-ta, Veli'yi kiler-de yakaladım  
 Ali-acc. kitchen-loc Veli-acc. pantry-loc. caught

Grammaticality of (36) should mean that coordinated words are the same category constituents. Following the above reasoning it must be a sentential constituent.

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<sup>20</sup> I do not include the detailed discussion here for space considerations but refer the reader to Beavers & Sag (2004).

### 3.5 Underspecification of Internal Modifiers

Maienborn (2003) repeatedly states that internal modifiers are semantically underspecified (p. 479-485). For example, she writes, “A particular puzzle concerning event-internal locative modifiers is raised by the observation that they tend to have an *instrumental* or *manner reading*” (Maienborn 2003, p. 481). Consider the sentences in (37).

(37) 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 (37a) is closer to manner adverb than a locative phrase while in (37b) bicycles are interpreted as instrumental. As to (37c), Maienborn (2003) admits that the sentence cannot be interpreted as a locative expression. Rather she agrees that it is surprising that genuine locatives have nonlocative readings.

“[...] On the other hand, if the modifiers in (13) [37] 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: 482)

I suggest that predicative analysis of internal modifiers can account for this surprising fact since predicates (thus sententials) can easily act as manner adverbs as in (38)

(38) A: How did Jack buy his new house?

B: He sold his car.

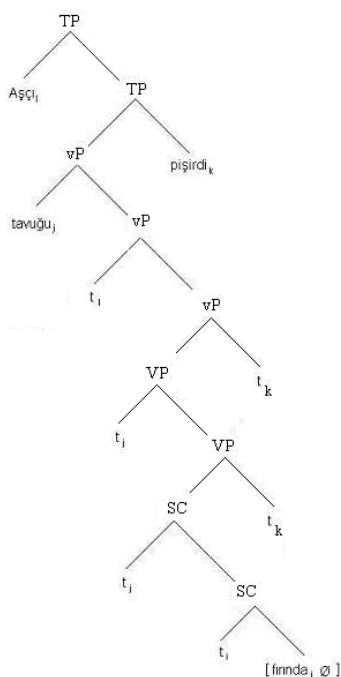
#### **4. Internal Structure and Derivation of Small Clauses**

In this section I will outline the derivation of the sentences which I claim to be small clause in the framework of Bowers (1993, 1997, 2001). Let us start with simple locative small clauses. I propose (40) for the phrase structure of (39).

(39) Aşçı        tavuğ-u        fırın-da        pişirdi

Cook nom. chicken-acc. oven-loc. cooked

(40)



The locative phrase *firında* adjoins to the SC-head to theta-mark its argument and/or satisfy the strong V-feature of the SC. As a result of this adjunction, the locative and its argument are in the necessary spec-head configuration for theta-marking. Since the SC is uninflected, the argument in spec-SC cannot check/match its Case feature thus has to move to spec-vp for Case. So it first moves to spec-VP, canonical object position, for object theta Role of the matrix verb then raises to spec-vp for case-marking. Hence the accusative NP occupies both the subject position of SC and object position of the matrix clause, which forces us to agree with Hornstein (1999) that there is no upper bound on the number of theta roles an NP can bear.

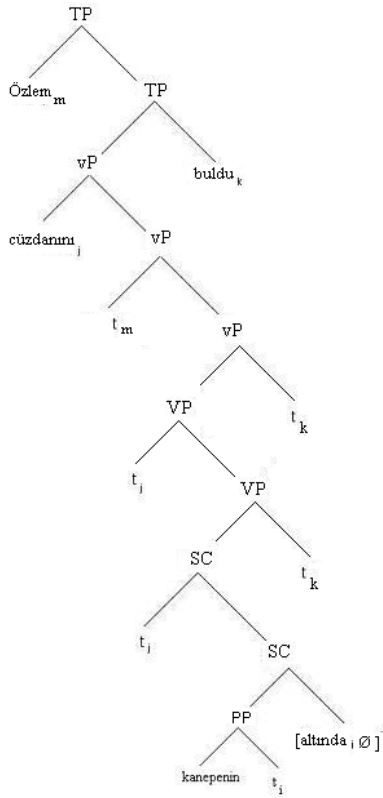
Postpositional small clauses are another type of small clause that any such theory should adequately account for. (41) has a postpositional small clause for which I propose the derivation in (42).



(41) Özlem cüzdanı-nı kanepenin altın-da buldu

Özlem her purse-acc. sofa under-loc. found

(42)



As seen in (42), the predicative element of the SC is a PP with an argument in specifier position. The P adjoins to the SC and theta-marks its external argument (*cüzdan*) in spec-SC. The argument then checks/matches Case with *vp* and raises to spec-*vp*, again preceded by movement to spec-VP.

## 5. Some Implicative Consequences of the Small Clause Analysis of Locatives

Maienborn (2001, 2003) presents prepositional locative phrases (cf. 43a). As a matter of fact, a similar strategy (postposition) is also frequently employed by Turkish, as in (41) and (43b) below.

(43)a. Paul hat zuhause in stiefeln geduscht

Paul perf. at home in boots took a shower

*Maienborn (2001)*

b. Tavuk bu fırının içinde pişti

Chicken this oven in cooked

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

(44) Mahkum-u duruşmaya zırlı araç ile götürdüler

convict-acc. to the court armoured vehicle with took

*they took the convict to the court in an armoured vehicle*

*ile* (with), a postposition which implies state of being together, points location in (44). Native speaker intuitions suggest that (44) means the convict is located in an armoured vehicle rather than the whole event took place in the vehicle, which is also discarded by world knowledge.

We can conclude that small clause analysis should be expanded to include postpositional structures. For one thing, thematic relations of (44) are the same as those of

(39) and other sentences analysed as small clause.<sup>21</sup> Even more interesting is the fact that all these analyses lead us to another conclusion. That is, the postposition selected to indicate location in (44) is actually selected for other thematic relations. For instance, the relation between (45a) and (45b) is the same as the relation between (43b) and its matrix clause counterpart repeated below as (46a,b).<sup>22</sup>

(45) a. Ali Ahmet ile birlikte

Ali Ahmet postpos. with

b. Ali Ahmet-le birlikte Ayşeyi ziyaret etti

Ali Ahmet-clitic with Ayşe-acc. visited

*Ali visited Ayşe with Ahmet*

(46)a. Tavuk bu fırının içinde

Chicken this oven in

*The chicken is in this oven*

b. Tavuk bu fırının içinde pişti

Chicken this oven in cooked

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<sup>21</sup> No doubt, this reasoning cannot be generalized to all postpositions of Turkish. For example i. and ii. are two sentences in which postpositions cannot be analysed as small clause.

i. Tamer Gülay ile evlendi

Tamer Gülay with married

ii. Ferit bu araba ile ilgileniyor

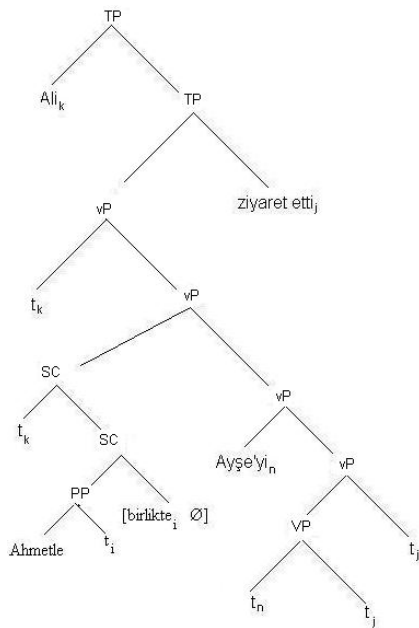
Ferit this car with interested

<sup>22</sup> A point to note is that postpositions whose initial force is to indicate some relation other than location (like *ile* in (45)) do not parallel in small clause predicative and matrix clause predicative uses, i.e. their matrix clause counterpart never denotes location. This can be accounted for when we assume that this is a limited contamination. This means that they have locative force only in small clause predicate uses.

This implies small clause structure for most, but not all, of the postpositions in Turkish irrespective of locative initial force or not. This implication exceeds the scope of this paper and deserves deeper consideration.

Finally, phrase structure of (45b) should be as in (47).

(47)



Once again, the PP complement (*birlikte*) of the SC with an argument in specifier position is the predicate of the SC. Since SC is adjoined to the vp, the PP subject (*Ahmet*) and SC subject (*Ali*) are not at the same time the main clause object. So the argument in spec-VP checks/matches accusative with the 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 (subject of the main clause) from v+V. Finally *Ali* checks/matches nominative with TP and raises to spec-TP.

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