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CASE MARKING, AGREEMENT, AND EMPTY CATEGORIES IN TURKISH

Harvard University

Ph.D. 1985

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August 27, 1984
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CASE MARKING, AGREEMENT, AND EMPTY CATEGORIES IN TURKISH

A thesis presented

by

Jaklin Kornfilt

to

The Department of Linguistics

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Linguistics

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

August 1984

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the relationships in Turkish between the three notions of the title.

It is claimed in the thesis that Case is assigned to the subject of S_a as well as NPs by the AGR element of either domain in the same way, namely under government. This claim, more controversial for NPs than S_a, is defended in Chapter 2 with respect to possessive NPs, and in Chapter 3 with respect to S_a. In Chapter 4, the same Case relationship is extended to hold between an AGR element that has moved into VP as a result of a PF-rule R and certain subjects in direct object position of verbs that have no Case features.

While AGR can be impoverished or even phonologically null and still assign Case, it has to be fully realized in both the features person and number so as to perform two other tasks: Create a Binding Domain within which the subject obeys Binding Theory, and uniquely identify a pro element that it is co-superscripted with.

These assumptions, together with the view that, in Turkish, pro and reflexives are the representative pronominal and anaphor respectively (rather than overt pronouns and the reciprocals) is shown to yield the complementarity in distribution between pronominals and

anaphora predicted by the Binding Conditions A and B. The observed obligatory correlation between pro and full AGR(eement) on the one hand and PRO and complete lack of AGR on the other is motivated and shown to fit the overall picture.

Finally, it is proposed that complement clauses should be characterized as having a [+operator] versus a [-operator] COMP (rather than [\pm WH] COMPs, as is sometimes assumed). In addition to being mirrored, to a large extent, by a difference in the morphology of such clauses, this proposed distinction is shown to explain certain facts pertaining to the Syntax and to Logical Form, hence to make transparent the interactions between the components of the grammatical model assumed in the various versions of EST. Moreover, certain typological differences between Turkish and English are correctly predicted.

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CHAPTER 1:

1. Introduction: General Background, Some Pertinent Properties of Turkish, and Synopsis of Main Issues

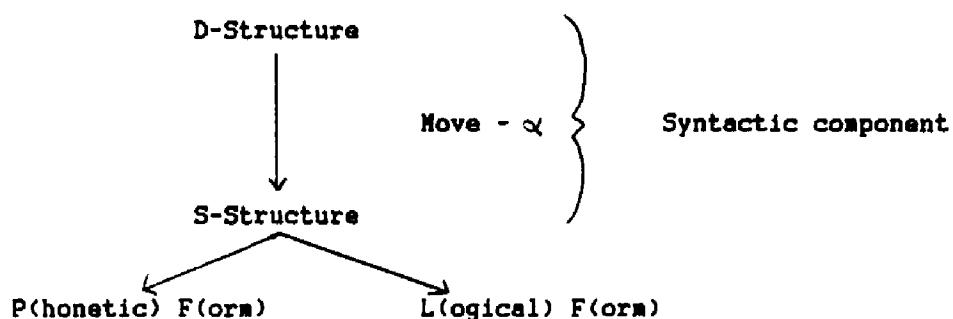
Several recent (say, within the last fifteen years or so) investigations of languages conducted within versions of Extended Standard Theory have assumed the existence of phonologically unrealized elements. The interest inherent in this issue is clear: Since the properties of such elements cannot be gleaned via sensory perceptions and thus "learned" inductively, their acquisition must be due to innate principles of Universal Grammar (UG). Therefore, the behavior of such elements provide rather direct access to an understanding of UG and the human linguistic faculty.

The present study concerns itself with some of the empty elements proposed before in the relevant literature and their distribution in Turkish. In particular, attention is given to empty elements which occupy subject position within larger constituents (in particular, NP and S) and their relationship to AGR elements of different kinds and complexity.

The empty elements we shall be primarily interested in are pro and PRO. While we will have occasion to also consider empty category variables, as we shall see shortly, we shall not be concerned with ec-anaphora and assume their existence in Turkish in the obvious syntactic positions.[1]

Leaving the issue of empty categories aside temporarily, let me briefly discuss the grammatical framework I am using. Throughout this thesis, I shall presuppose Government and Binding Theory, essentially in its version as developed in Chomsky (1981) and (1982). (Since the model presented there is in flux at present, and because some of the current changes are taking place in one subcomponent that we are mainly interested in here--namely Binding Theory--, the dates and references above are important in order to be able to place this study in its proper context.)

Given that the properties of that framework are easily accessible through the pertinent published references, and also because most studies conducted within that framework since its inception have reiterated its essential characteristics, I shall not repeat those points. However, for the sake of convenience, let me state the part of the "core grammar" model that will be used and referred to later on:



The syntactic rule "Move- α " that maps DS onto SS obeys subjacency.[2]

Interestingly for our purposes, Turkish seems to have a rule of Move- α , although not much direct evidence is offered by the language:

a. Relative clauses do not exhibit any overt wh-elements--neither in-situ nor in operator position; in other words, there is a gap in the position of the hypothesized variable. However, the properties of these constructions are rather similar to those of English and other familiar languages, in that they obey Ross's C(omplex) N(oun) P(hrase) C(onstraint). In addition, postposition stranding is not allowed. If NP and PP are bounding nodes in Turkish,[3] and if the assumption is made that these two nodes lack "escape hatch" positions which S's do possess, then these facts follow.

Note that the claim that Turkish does have an S'-node (and hence an "escape hatch" position) is not self-evident (in concrete terms), either; since the language has neither "relative pronouns" nor overt complementizers, we also cannot directly observe filled COMP-nodes; therefore, the whole analysis is rather abstract: We are positing empty variables (this much is similar to English and other well-studied European languages) which are always bound by an empty operator (this is, if at all, only rarely the case in more familiar languages).

However, the fact that the analysis is abstract does not make it arbitrary, since it describes and explains the facts in a satisfactory way. As a matter of fact, we might even be unwilling to call it abstract, since the only non-concrete component of the analysis is the phonological one; from the point of view of the syntax, the effects of--apparently--non-existing COMPs are as observable as and, as a matter of fact, are similar to those of more visible COMPs in serving as escape hatches as well as loci for operators.

b. Another property of the system which we shall use and where the system of abstractness also arises is that of having movement rules of the LF-component. Again, it is only phonologically that such rules are abstract, since the element moved by such a rule is, from the auditory point of view, still in-situ.

Among such rules there is Q(uantifier) R(aising) (about which we shall have to say more in Chapters 3 and 4). Quantifier scope phenomena are accounted for by means of LF-movement, and we shall see later that such LF-rules have syntactic properties (such as being able to move an element into certain positions and not others, thus distinguishing among complement types; in addition, because of the E(mpty) C(ategory) P(rinciple), LF-rules can apply only to elements in certain (properly governed) positions and not to others (there will be some discussion of this particular fact in Chapter 4).

Now in Turkish (and various other languages, for instance in Chinese, as discussed in Huang (1982)), wh-movement is obviously an LF-rule, as well; wh-words remain in-situ.[4]

Yet, just as it makes sense to view overt wh-elements in languages that have them as a sort of quantifier or operator, taking S as its scope (and binding a variable in its original location), it is plausible to analyze the corresponding constructions in languages lacking overt movement in the same way nevertheless. The main reason is the interpretation of the structures, which is similar to and is best represented in the manner of quantified structures. Second, as mentioned above for English, the ec-variables left behind by the

putative LF-rule of "wh-movement" have to obey constraints like the ECP, and they also exhibit weak crossover effects.[5]

If it can be shown that the version of wh-movement that applies at LF exhibits properties similar to those of rules like Q-Raising which clearly belong to the LF-component, then the contention that we do, indeed, have wh-movement at LF becomes well-motivated.

In addition to the weak crossover and ECP-effects just mentioned, there are other common denominators among LF-rules. Chapter 3 investigates one kind of those, and Chapter 5 picks up that thread again. There, the argument is based on distinctions among complements, which are morphologically different. It is noted that the applicability of various LF-rules--hence also wh-movement as claimed to take place in Turkish wh-questions--is determined by properties of these complements in the same way for one rule to the other. While we shall return to those properties presently, what is relevant here is that the LF-rules behave in a unified way, including wh-movement--the existence and LF-status of the latter thus gaining credence.

Now, we had said that the main reason to assume that Turkish relative clauses involve Move-Q is that they display CNPC-effects, which are easily explained by Subjacency. However, wh-questions violate the CNPC successfully. Does this then mean that LF-rules (hence "wh-movement"), even while being movement rules in nature, are not instantiations of Move-Q?

Obviously, we would opt against such an approach unless it would

prove unavoidable, since a proliferation of rules would undermine the attempt to construct the most restrictive grammatical system possible.

There is an obvious way to get out of the apparent problem that is posed by having to assume one rule with different properties according to application, and this is to say that subjacency is a property of the syntactic component and does not play a role in LF phenomena. If this is correct, not only wh-movement, but none of the LF-rules will obey subjacency, and all LF rules will be able to violate islands that are due to that condition; this prediction seems to hold.

After having thus systematically distinguished between syntactic versus LF-applications of Move- α , let us ask what common properties these two versions have.

We have mentioned one already: The variables both versions of the rule leave behind have to obey the ECP.

Another common property is that the operator that binds the variable has to be in a non-θ position, i.e. in a position where it does not receive an independent thematic role.[6]

It is proposed in Chapter 5 that the two morphologically distinct complement types are also syntactically distinct in that one type is associated with a COMP-position which is specified as [+operator], and the other complement type with a COMP specified as [-operator]. The former are clauses with an independent tense operator, while the latter lack such an operator.

Now if one unified property of Move-Q both as a syntactic and as an LF-rule is that it moves elements into [+operator] COMPs, various facts are explained. For instance, [-operator] clauses cannot be embedded questions; in other words, they don't allow for a wh-operator to occupy their COMP. (For more effects that follow from this account, again see Chapters 3 and 5.)

This way of characterizing complement clauses makes the following prediction with respect to syntactic Move-Q: (If traces left behind in intermediate COMP-positions don't count as operators, but only the element in the highest COMP that binds the variable does--i.e. a phonologically unrealized element in Turkish which would correspond to an overt operator in most instances in English,) Complements associated with a [-operator] COMP should not be able to serve as the highest clause in a relative clause structure.

This is, in fact, correct. In Chapter 5 we mention the fact that Turkish lacks Infinitival Relatives. Since Infinitivals lack Tense (as discussed in Chapter 3) and thus would be associated with a [-operator] COMP position, this is an expected fact. It is also interesting to note that Turkish does have a construction which corresponds in its semantics, internal structure (especially in having a PRO-subject) and distribution (with respect to matrix verbs it co-occurs with) quite closely to the Infinitival Relative construction in English. However, the morphology on the verb of the modifier clause is that of the regular Future tense (rather than of the Infinitive), hence associated with a [+operator] COMP position.

Another fact (not mentioned in Chapter 5 nor highlighted in the relevant literature on Turkish syntax) is that, in the most general pattern found in relative clauses (the pattern itself is briefly discussed in Chapter 5), the morphology exhibited is the same as in complement clauses which we claimed in Chapter 3 have a Tense operator and which therefore are associated with a [+operator] COMP position. The other complement type which we claimed lacks a Tense operator and whose COMP position is specified as [-operator] can never serve as the clause adjacent to the head of the relative clause. Therefore, the fact that Turkish does not have Infinitival Relatives seems to be a subcase of this more general phenomenon.

This discussion sets essentially the stage for the issues we are concerned with in this thesis. So far, we have been discussing constructions that involve non-pronominal empty categories, namely empty variables and empty operators. In most of the thesis, we will be concerned with pronominal empty categories, namely with pro and PRO. In particular, we shall be interested in the relationship between these elements and AGR(element) from the point of view of how the latter determines the distribution of the former via assigning Case to the positions where those elements occur and by creating domains within which these elements have to obey the Binding Conditions.

We shall claim in the course of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 that AGR governs the subject position of S_a as well as of possessive NPs. The AGR element also has Case features and hence assigns Case to the elements in subject position of S_a and NPs.

The AGR element also creates governing categories by acting both as a governor and as an accessible SUBJECT for elements in the syntactic subject position of those governing categories.^[7] Therefore, according to the Binding Conditions (cf., in particular, Chomsky 1981 for the theory of Binding this study is assuming), we would expect pronouns to be possible in subject position of the domains in question (since they will be free within these domains and hence satisfy Condition B), and anaphora to be excluded from those positions (since they would be ruled out by Condition A).

However, the observed facts don't pattern as cleanly as we would wish. We find that, among anaphors, only reflexives behave as predicted; reciprocals do occur as subjects of possessive NPs freely; while they also occur as subjects of clauses, they are better in tenseless clauses than in tensed ones.

We proposed that this "squishiness" is due to an interaction of various factors, making the simple account of binding domains outlined above considerably more complex.

We now take recourse to the fact that the AGR element in Turkish is not always richly differentiated for person and number. It also occurs in a weakly differentiated form that does not alternate along the different possible values for person and number. (To be exact, this form appears in the shape of the 3rd person singular morpheme.) The reciprocal forms that do occur are allowed only where the AGR element is of that impoverished variety--due to the fact, as we claim, that the AGR element is not differentiated enough to act as an accessible SBJ for

that anaphoric element (which is, in its shape, similar to a conjunction and would therefore require, at least, plurality to be expressed in the AGR element).

Things are different for the reflexive, which is a singular element; hence, we claim, the weak AGR element is still strong enough to act as accessible SBJ for it and rule it out throughout.

This account carries over to Ss in its main features. The only complicating factor is that even the reciprocal is sometimes ruled out from occurring in subject position of some clauses. These are the tensed clauses (associated with [+operator] COMPs) that we mentioned before. It is clear that AGR is the main factor that determines the domains within which Binding Theory holds. Where there is no AGR element at all, the NP or S in question is not a governing category, and anaphors occur freely in subject position. Where AGR is of a fully differentiated kind, no anaphor can occur in that position. Where AGR is defective, Tense (or maybe some more general notion of Factivity) takes over to define a governing category.[8]

This discussion covers the behavior of anaphora. The way Binding Theory is constructed, pronouns and anaphors should be in complementary distribution; hence, pronouns shoud be free to occur in all the instances deascribed above where anaphora are ruled out, which would be in subject position of all constituents which have a full-fledged AGR element.

This, however, is not the case; overt pronouns in the

configurations in question are not free, but rather disjoint in reference from a potential antecedent outside the structure whose subjects they are.

We claim that this fact is not upsetting for Binding Theory; rather, it has nothing to do with Binding Theory. This fact is due to a different phenomenon: overt pronouns cannot be too close to their antecedent. Where the overt pronoun is the only choice for a pronominal, the constraint can be overridden; however, in positions where an empty category pronominal is possible, it is the latter that must occur. (For discussion of the "Avoid Pronoun Principle," first proposed in Chomsky 1981, cf. Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.)

We thus turn to the pronominal empty elements.

The typology of empty categories introduced in Chomsky 1982 posits two pronominal empty categories: pro, a "pure" pronominal with the feature specifications [+pronominal/-anaphoric], and PRO [+pronominal/+anaphoric]. Now, if we say that pro is the typical prounoun of Turkish, reflecting the workings of Binding Theory (since it does not have to obey the restriction against closeness which affects the behavior of overt pronouns), the distributional picture of pronominal and anaphoric elements in Turkish falls into place: The complementary distribution predicted by Binding Theory between pronominals and anaphora obtains straightforwardly between pro on the one hand and reflexives as well as reciprocals (the latter wherever they are ungrammatical, namely in subject position of some tensed clauses), on the other.

The initially upsetting lack in complementary distribution between pro and grammatical reciprocals disappears at closer inspection, too, and the desired complementarity emerges here, as well. The reason is that the two elements in question can co-occur with different types of AGR elements only: As we saw earlier, reciprocals occur with a defective AGR element only. The crucial fact that we now need in order to complete the overall picture is that pro needs a full-fledged AGR element in order to be able to occur. As a matter of fact, in Turkish, the AGR element for 3rd person plural subjects can optionally lack specifications for plurality. However, this otherwise preferred option is unavailable for pro-subjects. Turkish makes it very clear that it allows empty pronominals (whose contents can potentially range over any combination of person and number) only if they are uniquely identified; when they are in subject position, such identification can happen only when the AGR element that governs them also uniquely identifies them, hence is fully specified for both person and number. (Gender is irrelevant in Turkish.)

Here we have an instance where an empty element behaves, from the point of view of binding behavior, just as the general system predicts it, i.e. it occurs where Condition B allows it, thus corresponding to an overt pronoun in, say, English. So far, nothing special needs to be said about pro with respect to its lack in phonological features. This is a desirable situation, showing that the empty element is a legitimate member of its class (of [+pronominal] NPs). On the other hand, its need to be identified completely sets it apart from its phonologically realized counterparts.

Now, there is also an empty pronominal which is an anaphor at the same time, namely PRO. (See Chomsky 1981 and 1982 for discussion of this element.) Now crucially, because of its dual nature, this element has to lack a governing category. Since we said that it is the AGR element in Turkish that creates a governing category, the prediction should be that PRO can occur only in AGR-less structures; this is, in fact, true. But if so, we really do need to posit two distinct pronominal empty elements in Turkish; PRO, which occurs only under total absence of AGR, cannot be posited as the element in subject position of a structure with AGR, and vice versa. Especially in the latter case, clearly pro, which cannot co-occur with a deficient AGR, shouldn't be able to occur where there is no AGR at all.

This last remark also applies to some instances of apparent Subjacency violations by syntactic Move- α . In Chapter 5 (and also, briefly, in Chapter 3) we mention Turkish relative clauses and the fact that they exhibit mainly two verbal morphologies: one which is always associated with AGR, and another one which never is. The apparent violations arise typically where the potential violator of the island is uniquely identified by a full-fledged AGR element, hence is pro, hence is a resumptive pronoun. This analysis of apparent Subjacency violations is justified because of the interesting possibility that 3rd person plural AGR has in Turkish of occurring in a rich as well as in an impoverished version. If the empty category in question were a genuine, non-pronominal variable, then no restrictions should be imposed on AGR at all, given that all other variables participating in syntactic Move- α don't require any AGR at all.

This obvious insistence on the part of pro to be fully identified by a richly differentiated AGR element should lead us to expect that no pro will occur in configurations where this kind of identification does not take place. Chapter 4, however, seeks to motivate another instance of pro, where this requirement does not hold; the claim there is that the pro in question does not need full identification, because it is a constant with certain semantics (i.e. "a certain amount of"). Chapter 4 also investigates more thoroughly than was done before the Case assignment processes of the language, and investigates in particular the properties of AGR as a Case marker. We shall follow some other investigators in positing an Adjacency Condition on syntactic Case assignment under government. This will be done for those instances where for independent reasons morphological Case marking does not obtain (e.g. in Turkish, non-referential NPs cannot bear any morphological reflex of a Case which is assigned under government). In addition, we shall propose a Phonological Host Condition to rule out the occurrence of certain phrases (specifically, of partitive phrases) lacking phonologically realized heads (which are, in Turkish, in right-hand peripheral position and therefore act as the "phonological hosts" of suffixes, hence also of morphological Case markers) in contexts of oblique (hence exclusively morphological) Case marking. Also discussed will be the question of which component of the model rule R (which moves AGR into the VP) applies in, and what the Case marking properties of AGR are after application of R.

Yet another issue that will be touched upon (as promised in passing earlier in this introduction) is the question of structural "closeness"

of some elements.

Suppose that the Avoid Pronoun Principle is a subcase of some more general, functional principle against redundancy: There is a tendency against having pairs of co-indexed or co-superscripted elements within "narrow domains," if both elements are phonologically realized. Thus, as mentioned above, where a 3rd person plural subject is overtly present, the plural part of the AGR morphology is preferably omitted. Where a noun is modified by an overt quantifier, the plural morpheme is missing. Where a pronoun and its antecedent are in subjacent domains (of the sort characterized in Chapters 2 and 3), the pronoun cannot be the regular overt pronoun, but has to be pro. Where a pronominal is bound by an operator (rather than by an antecedent in an \bar{A} -position), once again, the domain shared by the pair cannot be too "narrow": it cannot be S'.

Now in this last instance, the phonological realization of either one of the elements does not seem to play a role: operators binding variables in relative clause constructions in Turkish are always empty, as we know by now. As for the "resumptive" pronouns, whether they are phonologically overt or not (i.e. pro in the latter case), the constraint on "close" binding by an operator holds throughout.[9]

This, then, seems to show that the last instance mentioned above of "closeness" is of a different nature; since the phonological shape of the "close" items involved does not play a role, this must be a phenomenon of a non-PF component, while the other examples we enumerated most likely are PF-phenomena.[10]

In closing this synopsis of issues and ideas discussed in this dissertation, let me mention the transcription of the Turkish examples.

Turkish orthographic conventions have been used throughout (to be found in any traditional grammar or dictionary of Turkish), with the exception of i, which is used for a high, non-round, phonetically central vowel which is rendered in Standard Turkish orthography as a dotless i.

CHAPTER 1 - FOOTNOTES

1. The reader unfamiliar with the terms above is referred to Chomsky (1981) and (1982) and other recent studies, in particular Jaeggli (1982) and Rizzi (1982).
2. For definition and discussion of this notion, see Chomsky 1973. Let me also mention some properties of the empty categories left behind by Move-Q. Among the constraints that they have to obey, the one relevant for us at this point in the discussion is the E(mpty) C(ategory) P(rinciple), which is discussed in Chapter 4. The question of which level of the grammatical model this applies to became an interesting topic of research after the inception of the GB-model; there are good reasons to assume that it applies at least at LF, and possibly also at SS. For details as well as a definition of the ECP, the reader is referred to Chapter 4. For a definition of the notion of government, which is central to the GB model and which is used in various subsystems, see Chapter 4. I shall presuppose these definitions in the present discussion.
3. The view that NP is a bounding node is rather traditional; for the more controversial view that PPs are bounding nodes as well, cf. Baltin (1978) and v. Riemsdijk (1978).
4. As a matter of fact, wh-movement might well be considered an LF-rule in English, as well, in the sense that some of its applications would require raising the wh-element into COMP (or, say, adjoin it to S). Some discussion of the facts that would require such an analysis are given in Chapter 4, involving weak crossover phenomena and ECP violations in instances where wh-movement at LF is assumed, since, for various reasons, it could not have applied in the syntactic component.
5. For arguments that variables bound by an LF-moved wh-element indeed behave in this way, see Huang (1982). Turkish, too, displays facts similar to those of Chinese discussed in that work; e.g., "long-distance" extraction of adjuncts is not possible, which is explained by the ECP: Since an adjunct position is not c-commanded by a lexical governor, and because under long-distance movement, the antecedent is separated from the governee by at least one maximal projection, hence cannot govern (thus properly govern) the variable, that variable violates the ECP. Weak crossover violations in wh-questions are also clearly exhibited in Turkish.
6. For discussion of this last property, which follows from the Θ-criterion and the projection principle, and for definition and explanation of these terms, see Chomsky 1981, especially Chapter 2.
7. For definitions, see Chapters 2 and 3 and the references mentioned there.
8. In the body of the thesis, we conjecture that this might be due to a requirement that the INFL element must be "rich" overall, with that richness either due to AGR alone or to a composite richness of AGR and

Tense; but this raises the question of why Tense can't determine the richness of INFL by itself. George and Kornfilt (1981) conjecture that the primacy of AGR is due to the fact that in Turkish, AGR is the peripheral element of the verbal complex--let us now say, of the INFL node.

Another possibility of answering the question might be the following account: The Binding Conditions apply at S-Structure and rule out certain structures. They reapply during a second pass at LF and can then rule out additional configurations. By this time, Tense will have raised into a [+operator] COMP, and will be able to create new binding domains, now being the peripheral inflectional element.

9. In Chapter 5, where the relevant facts are discussed, I mention McCloskey (1983) for discussing similar facts with respect to Modern Irish. It has come to my attention only recently (and after having finished the main body of this dissertation), that Borer (1984) also discusses very similar facts with respect to Modern Hebrew.

10. We should note, however, that a phenomenon which distinguishes between a phonologically realized versus a phonologically empty instantiation of a category is not necessarily a PF-phenomenon. One such case is the ECP, which we have assumed to hold at LF (and, possibly, also at S-Structure).

Another proposal made for an LF-phenomenon that distinguishes between a phonologically realized versus empty category is made in Montalbetti (1984) (we mentioned this work briefly in Chapter 3), where it is claimed that overt pronouns cannot be operator-bound at LF, while empty pronominals can.

CHAPTER 2:

AGR as the Head of Possessive NPs in Turkish and its Effects on Case Marking and the Binding Conditions

2.0. Introduction: General Remarks

This chapter is the first one of two chapters investigating the applications of Binding Theory (within the GB-theory), in particular Principle A (although we shall also have occasion to discuss Principle B) in Turkish. In this chapter, I shall specifically be interested in the distribution of anaphora in subject position of NPs. A subsequent chapter will discuss the same issues with respect to clauses. One special point of interest will be the complementarity of distribution between pronominals and anaphors as predicted by the conjunction of Principles A and B of the Binding Theory; we shall see where this complementarity, which holds in general for Turkish, breaks down, and we shall attempt to find an explanation for this apparent problem.

Within this general context, we shall also have to discuss the role of the INFlectional element in determining the domains for which the binding principles apply. As a related, but independent issue, we shall investigate the nature of the empty element(s) which can (or sometimes has/have to) occupy the subject position of the domain in question.

2.1. pro and its Relation to AGR: the "Identifiability Condition"

Turkish is a so-called "Subject Pro-Drop" or "Null Subject" language in the sense that it can have missing subjects in the presence

of fully inflected verbs:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (1) | ben/ <u>d</u> | tatakoz-a | bay-l-ir- <u>im</u> |
| | I | lobster-Dat. | faint-Aor.-1.sg. |

'I adore lobsters'

- (2) biz/ Ø tatakoz-a bayıl-ır-ız
 we -1.pl.

'We adore lobsters'

In the following sections, I shall disregard some of the much-cited properties of other "Null Subject" languages (e.g. Subject Inversion, successful violations of the That-t Filter) and concentrate on one aspect that has been attracting refreshed attention recently (while having been mentioned in traditional literature before): the identifiability of the empty subject by the verbal morphology (cf. Chomsky (1982), Taraldsen (1978), and related literature). In other words, where an empty subject pronominal (more about this term later) is possible, the Subject Agreement morphology on the verb is rich enough to uniquely identify the content of that empty subject.[1]

Assuming that (at least for Turkish) presence of Agreement morphology defines a given phrase as Finite (cf. George & Kornfilt 1981), we would expect that an empty element should be possible[2] within all Finite Phrases, irrespective of the position of either empty element or Finite Phrase within the sentence or of their category, as long as the empty elements are identified by, or co-superscripted with (let's say that the identifiability relationship between the identifier and identified is formally expressed by co-superscripting) the agreement morphology -- the latter not necessarily having to be verbal (i.e.

neither to be attached to a verb nor to be part of a "verbal" paradigm).

Not surprisingly, therefore, we find that Pro-Drop effects are observable in Turkish no only in root sentences, but also in embedded sentences -- which are "tenseless" (more about this later) -- and exhibit agreement morphology of a different shape from that observed in root sentences, in possessive NPs (whose head nouns exhibits agreement with the possessor and whose possessor can "drop" with the same ease as subjects of sentences), and in Postpositional Phrases -- but the latter just in case the postposition bears agreement morphology that identifies its object NP. [3]

2.1.0. The Facts: Other Constructions where "Pro-Drop" is Possible

Some illustrative examples follow, where the "dropped" item occurs in a variety of constructions, none of which is a root sentence.

Possessive NPs:

- (3) a. ben-im/ Ø tatakoz-um
I-Gen. lobster-i.sg.

'my lobster'

- b. biz-im/ Ø tatakoz-umuz
we-Gen. -i.pl.

'our lobster'

Complex NPs:

A. Relative Clauses:

- (4) a. [ben-im/ Ø e₁ git-tig-im] okul₁
I-Gen. go-Participle-1.sg. school

'The school that I go to'

- b. [biz-in/ Ø e_i git-tiğ-imiz] okul_i
we-Gen. go-Participle-1.pl.

'The school that we go to'

B. Fact-type Complex NPs:

- (5) a. [ben-in/ Ø istakoz-a bayıl-dığ-ımlı] rivayet-i
I-Gen. lobster-Dat. faint-Gerund-1.sg. rumor-Compound marker

'The rumor that I adore lobsters'

- b. [biz-in/ Ø istakoz-a bayıl-dığ-ımlı] rivayet-i
we -1.pl.

'The rumor that we adore lobsters'

Postpositional Phrases:

- (6) a. [[Np^{sen-in}]/ [NpØ] hakk-ıñ-da] pp çok güzel şey-ler
you-ag.-Gen. about-2.sg.-Loc. very nice thing-pl.

duy-du-m
hear-Past-1.ag.

'I have heard very nice things about you' (you=sg.)

- b. [[Np^{aiz-in}]/ [NpØ] hakk-ıñz-da] pp çok güzel şey-ler duy-du-m
-2.pl.

'I have heard very nice things about you' (you=pl.)

Sentential Complements:

A. Sentential Subjects:

I. "Factive Nominals" (with -dIk suffix on the verbal stem): [4], [5]

- (7) a. [ben-in/ Ø istakoz-a bayıl-dığ-ımlı] bil-in-iyor
I-Gen. lobster-Dat. faint-Gerund-1.sg. know-Pass.-Pres.Prog.

'That I adore lobsters is known'

- b. [biz-in/ Ø istakoz-a bayıl-dığ-ımlı] bil-in-iyor
we-Gen. -1.pl.

'That we adore lobsters is known'

II. "Action Nominals" (with -ma suffix on the verbal stem):

- (8) a. [ben-im/ ∅ istakoz-u pişir-me-m] iste-n-iyor
I-Gen. lobster-Acc. cook Gerund-1.sg. want-Pass.-Pres.Prog.

'That I cook the lobster is wanted'

- b. [biz-im/ ∅ istakoz-u pişir-me-miz] iste-n-iyor
we-Gen. -1.pl.

'That we cook the lobster is wanted'

B. Sentential Objects:

I. "Factive Nominals":

- (9) a. Herkes [ben-im/ ∅ istakoz-a bayıl-diğ-im] -t bil-iyor
everybody I-Gen. -1.sg.-Acc. know-Pres.Prog.

'Everybody knows that I adore lobsters'

- b. Herkes [biz-im/ ∅ istakoz-a bayıl-diğ-imiz] -t bil-iyor
we-Gen. -1.pl.-Acc.

'Everybody knows that we adore lobsters'

II. "Action Nominals":

- (10) a. Herkes [ben-im/ ∅ istakoz-u pişir-me-m] -i isti-yor
I-Gen. -1.sg.-Acc. want-Pres.Prog.

'Everybody wants that I cook the lobster'

- b. Herkes [biz-im/ ∅ istakoz-u pişir-me-miz] -i isti-yor
we-Gen. -1.pl.-Acc.

'Everybody wants that we cook the lobster'

2.1.1. Constructions where "Pro-Drop" is Not Possible)

We have now seen that "Pro-Drop" is possible in the "classical" examples (1) and (2), i.e. within root sentences, in the presence of an inflected verb, as well as in examples (3) through (10), where no tensed verb is present; the agreement morphology, in each case a member of a

rich, fully differentiated paradigm, apparently sanctions the "phonologically omitted" subject by "identifying" (or providing, as it were) the features of person and number.

The possibility of "Pro-Drop" in these instances is made evident by the alternation of an overt lexical NP with a phonologically unrealized element. This alternation is close to free, although, colloquially and in the unmarked case, the phonologically-zero alternant is preferred. If the overt lexical NP alternant is a pronoun, it will often be emphasized for pragmatic reasons, like a contrastive reading, although such emphasis is not always necessary.[6]

2.1.1.0. "Pro-Drop" of Non-Subject Arguments

Although it is possible in Turkish to also "drop" non-subject arguments (and there is no morphological agreement in the language -- with the exception of some Postpositional Phrases where the postposition "agrees" with its object (see footnote 3) -- anywhere to identify non-subject arguments), the phenomenon in question is clearly rather different from Pro-Drop. Although, as just mentioned above, there are discourse-related and pragmatic aspects of "Subject Pro-Drop," its main property is clearly that it is a phenomenon of sentence grammar. Given any minimal pair of constructions that differ as to whether there is or isn't a phonologically realized pronoun which is identified by an agreement morpheme, the member with the phonologically unrealized pronoun might be pragmatically awkward or unacceptable and grammatical. As a matter of fact, in the general case and in isolation the

construction with the phonologically unrealized (but identified) pronoun will be perfectly acceptable, and one will have to come up with a context where it will be ill-formed. Typically, these will be instances where a discourse topic needs to be established. (See Eng (1978) for some relevant examples.)

It is just the other way around for constructions with a phonologically unrealized non-subject argument. In isolation -- as well as in the unmarked, general case -- such constructions are ill-formed, and one has to construct an appropriate discourse or an appropriate (non-linguistic) real-life situation, where there is either a linguistic item or a pragmatic object or situation which serves as an antecedent to the phonologically unrealized pronoun and thus sanctions it.

In this context, consider the following examples:

- (11) a. Ahmet-e_i gelince o_i / q_i hoca-mız-ı çok beğen-ir[7]
-Dat. coming he teacher-our-Acc. very admire-Aor.

'As for Ahmet, he admires our professor very much'

- b. Hoca-mız-a_i gelince Ahmet on-u_i / kendisin-i_i / q_i çok beğen-ir[8]
he-Acc. self-his-Acc.

'As for our teacher, Ahmet admires him very much'

- (12) a. Hoca-mız_i [*on-un_i / ?kendisin-in_i / q_i öğrenci-lar-i tarafından
teacher-1.pl. he-Gen./ self-his-Gen./ student.pl.his by
çok beğen-il-diğ-inl -i iddia et-ti[9]
very admire-Pass.-Ger.-3.sg.-Acc claim do-Past

'Our teacher claimed that he is very much admired by his students'

- b. Hoca-mız_i [öğrenci-ler-in-in on-u_i / kendisin-i_i / q_i
student-pl.-3.sg.-Gen. he-Acc./ self-his-Acc.
cok beğen-dik-lerin] -i iddia et-ti

-3.pl.-Acc.

'Our teacher claimed that his students admire him very much'

While in (11)a. and (12)a., the subject can be left unexpressed with great ease, the non-subject in (11)b. and (12)b. (in this case, the direct object) cannot be "dropped" in the identical environment.

We now have seen the importance of the identifiability in terms of person and number features of the phonologically empty pure pronominal by an overt Agreement morpheme. The same point will be illustrated below by another kind of construction, namely within postpositional phrases.

2.1.1.1. Postpositional Objects

Facts very similar to those presented in the previous section can be observed when attempting to "drop" a postpositional object:

- (13) Ahmet {ben-im bu eser-i [on-un / kendi-si[10]/ *∅ icin]
i S' PP i i i
I-Gen.this work-Acc he-Gen. self-3.sg. for
yaz-dıg-tm- l+ henüz bil-mi-yor
write-Ger.-1.sg.-Acc. yet know-Neg.-Pres.Progr.

'Ahmet doesn't know yet that I wrote this work for him'

- (14) Ahmet {ben-im bu parça-yı [on-un / kendi-si /*∅ gibi]
i S' PP i i i
piece-Acc. like
çal - ma - m -l+ isti-yor
play-Ger.-1.sg.-Acc. want-Pres.Progr.

'Ahmet wants me to play this piece like him'

(15) Ahmet [ben-im bu · parça-yı [on-dan / kendi-sin-den / -∅ sonra]
 i S PP i i i after
 I-Gen. this piece-Acc. he-Abl./ self-his-Abl. after
 çal-ma-m 1-t isti-yor
 play-Ger.-1.sg.-Acc. want-Pres.Progr.

'Ahmet wants me to play this piece after him' (i.e. after he has played it)

Common to all three examples in this section are two properties: "Dropping" of the postpositional object is not possible, and the postposition does not bear any agreement morphology. If we compare these examples with examples (6)a. and b., where a "phonologically omitted" postpositional object is possible and where the postposition does exhibit a member of a rich morphological paradigm of agreement in person and number with postpositional objects, it is rather clear that we would like to claim that the correlation between "Postpositional Object-Drop" and productive Agreement morphology on the postposition is a causal one. Thus, Postpositional Phrases in Turkish constitute yet another type of example illustrating the importance of the "Identifiability Condition" for "Pro-Drop." [11]

2.1.1.2. Co-Superscripted Third Person Plural Pronominals in Absence of Plural Agreement

We have now looked at an apparent counterexample to this claim, where "Pro-Drop" seems impossible in spite of the presence of overt AGR. It will turn out, however, that the examples in question are yet another instance of the "Identifiability Condition."

Let me start this discussion by illustrating the (essentially) two

Agreement paradigms which I termed Verbal and Nominal before:

(16) a. <u>Verbal</u> [12]	b. <u>Nominal</u>
1.ag. -I _m	-(I)n
2.ag. -sIn	-(I)n
3.ag. - ⁷ Ø	-(s)I(n)
1.pl. -Iz	-(I)mIz
2.pl. -sInIz	-(I)nIz
3.pl. -lAr	-lArI(n)

(The suffix initial vowels in parentheses are deleted after a stem-final vowel; the suffix-initial consonant in parentheses is deleted after a stem-final consonant. The suffix-final consonant in parentheses is deleted in word-final position.)

These AGR morphemes are obligatory in the sense that there is no free alternation between agreement and no agreement for any given construction, the way there is, say, between a subject pronoun and its "Pro-Dropped" counterpart. (There are, of course, agreementless constructions with their own properties, as we shall see; but, again, their heads do not alternate with counterparts that do exhibit agreement morphology.)

There is one exception to this claim: the 3rd person plural Agreement morpheme. Purely descriptively speaking it seems to be the case that this morpheme is optional altogether in the verbal paradigm, and optional in part in the nominal paradigm:

Root sentences (verbal paradigm)

- (17) a. Komşu-lar-ı_{mɪz} dün sinema-ya git-ti-ler
neighbor-pl.-1.pl. yesterday movies-Dat go-Past-3.pl.

'Our neighbors went to the movies yesterday'

b. Komşu-lar-ımız dün sinema-ya git-ti-ı

Embedded sentences (nominal paradigm)

Factive Gerundives:

(18) a. [Komşu-lar-ımız-ın dün sinema-ya git-tik-lerin] -i
go-Ger.-3.pl.-Acc.

bil-iyor-um
know-Pres.Prog.1.sg

'I know that our neighbors went to the movies yesterday'

b. [Komşu-lar-ımız-ın dün sinema-ya git-tiğ-in] -i bil-iyor-um
go-Ger.-3.sg.

Action Gerundives:

(19) a. [Komşu-lar-ımız-ın dün sinema-ya git-me-lerin] -e
go-Ger.-3.pl.-Dat.

şaq-tı-m
astonish-Past-1.sg.

'I am surprised that our neighbors went to the movies yesterday'

b. [Komşu-lar-ımız-ın dün sinema-ya git-me-sin] -e şaq-tı-m
go-Ger.-3.sg.

There is, however, a more insightful way to characterize the situation. Since the 3rd person singular morpheme is phonologically null in the verbal paradigm, I shall assume that in both paradigms, the Agreement elements consist actually of two morphemes, one for each number and person, and that the number morpheme in both paradigms optionally drops in the 3rd person plural form when the 3rd person plural subject is phonologically realized. Thus, in the nominal paradigm, the 3rd person morpheme remains overtly; in the verbal paradigm, it remains as well, but is not phonologically realized. (The analysis of the AGR elements into smaller morphemes will be justified later on.)

In each pair in examples like (17) through (19), the two forms are essentially in free variation, and the Agreement form lacking the plural morpheme is often preferred colloquially.

However, in "Pro-Dropped" versions of such examples (i.e. where the subject is not phonologically realized), only the full agreement form is possible. This observational generalization holds for root sentences (with verbal agreement), embedded Ss and possessive NPs (both with "nominal" agreement) alike:

Root sentences:

- (20) a. Ø dün sinema-ya git-ti-ler
b.*Ø dün sinema-ya git-ti-Ø[13]

'They went to the movies yesterday'

Embedded sentences:

- (21) a. [Ø dün sinema-ya git-tik-lerin] -i bil-iyor-um
b.*[Ø dün sinema-ya git-tig-in] -i bil-iyor-um[13]

Possessive NPs:

- (22) a. Komşu-lar-ınzı [Ø biricik kiz-ların] -+
one and only daughter-3.pl.-Acc.

cok sev-er-(ler)
very love-Aor.-3.pl.

- b.*Komşu-lar-ınzı [Ø biricik kiz-in] -+ cok
sev-er-(ler)[13], [14]
-3.sq.

'Our neighbors love their one and only daughter very much'

It is interesting to see that the preferred option (of Agreement lacking the plural part) -- and, indeed, the only possible one in the case of possessive NPs -- when the subject that the Agreement is

co-superscripted with *is* phonologically expressed becomes unavailable when the subject is, phonologically, "dropped". This strange state of affairs becomes perfectly straightforward, however, if we take the Identifiability Condition seriously: if not all relevant features (i.e. for Turkish, person as well as number) are identified explicitly by the AGR element, the "dropping" of the co-superscripted subject becomes illicit.

2.1.2. How to Make Illicit "Pro-Drop" Licit

Now, crucially, Non-Subject Drop seems to become possible just in case the omitted element is the possessor within a "Possessive NP," or is the subject of an embedded clause, these two constructions being formally similar in that an overt subject NP is marked with the Genitive, and the head of the construction carries nominal Agreement inflection, as we have seen already. In other words, positions which do not allow for a silent pronominal element in general do so just in case this position is occupied by a "large NP" whose possessor NP is "silent." To illustrate this point, let us use the ungrammatical sentences in (11) through (15) by inserting "large NPs" into the problematic non-subject positions:

- (23) Hoca-mız-a, gelince Ahmet [d eser-ler-in] -i
teacher-1.pl.-Dat. coming work-pl.3.sg.-Acc.

cok beğen-ir
very like-Aor.

'As for our teacher, Ahmet likes his works very much'

(Compare to the ungrammatical version of (11)b. with the "omitted" direct object.)

(24) Hoca-nız_i [(ɸ_i öğrenci-ler-in] -in [ɸ₁ ders-lerin] -i
student-pl.-3.sg.-Gen lecture-3.pl.-Acc.

cok beğen-dik-lerin] -i iddia et-ti
-3.pl.-Acc. claim do-Past

'Our teacher_i claimed that his students like his_i lectures very much'
(his = OK_ɸ)

(Compare to the ungrammatical version of (12)b. which has
the gloss: 'Our teacher_i claimed that his students like
him_i very much' (him = *_ɸ).)

Here, the problematic position was that of a direct object. In the
following examples, we shall illustrate the same phenomenon with respect
to postpositional objects:

(25) Ahmet_i [_Sben-im bu eser-i [pp[NP₁ɸ kart-sı] için]
I-Gen. this work-Acc. wife-3.sg. for

yaz-dıg-tı] -t henüz bil-mi-yor
write-Ger.-1.sg.-Acc. yet know-Neg.-Pres.Prog.

'Ahmet doesn't know yet that I wrote this work for his wife'

(Compare to the ungrammatical version of (13)..)

(26) Ahmet_i [_Sben-im bu parça-yı [pp[NP₁ɸ hoca-sı] qibi]
piece-Acc. teacher-3.sg. like

çal-ma-m] -t isti-yor
play-Ger.-1.sg.-Acc. want-Pres.Prog.

'Ahmet_i wants me to play this piece like his_i teacher'

(his = OK_ɸ)

(Compare to (14): 'Ahmet_i wants me to play this piece
like him_i' (him = *_ɸ).)

(26) Ahmet_i [S_b-im bu parça-y+ [pp[NP_i⁰] öğrenci-ler-in] -den
student-pl.-3.sg.

sonra çal-ma-m] -+ isti-yor
after

'Ahmet_i wants me to play this piece after his_i students'
(him = OK_i)

(Compare to (15): 'Ahmet_i wants me to play this piece
after him_i' (him = *_i).)

So far we have not made any claim about the nature of the "silent" element occupying the position of the "dropped," co-superscripted (with the AGR element) subject, which we have designated graphically by a 0 in the examples above. Let us now assume, following Chomsky (1982), that the gap in question is a regular pronominal, which is differentiated from other pronominals by lack of phonological features only; this is the element labelled pro in the system of Chomsky (1982). Crucially, this element is not only a [+pronominal], but also a [-anaphoric] item, thus setting it apart on the one hand from pure anaphora (i.e. overt anaphora like the reflexive and reciprocal as well as the non-overt anaphor NP-trace), and from PRO (another "silent" element, which is [+pronominal] as well as [+anaphoric]), on the other. [15]

At first sight, the fact that an empty element can occur in a position that usually does not allow for "dropped" elements, just in case this element is further embedded in its grammatical counterpart, might look rather curious. However, again, if one takes seriously the idea that pro is sanctioned in just those instances where its content is identified by an inflectional element (at least in languages like

Turkish), the array of data we have seen so far becomes expected.

The question now arises as to the structural relationship between a legitimate pro and its "identifier." I assume that these two elements have to be in the same Governing Category, i.e. pro has to be identified in its Governing Category. Before starting a discussion of the issue of Governing Categories in Turkish and their structure, however, I would like to digress somewhat and look somewhat closer at the behavior of the 3rd person plural Agreement morpheme, since, as we saw in section 2.1.2, it behaves differently from other morphemes in that it can be partially omitted. I would now like to illustrate its other peculiarities, suggest an explanation and have the relevant examples handy at this point in the exposition in order to be able to use them for diagnostic purposes later on.

2.2. Excursus on the Plural Agreement "Sub-Morpheme" -1Ar

2.2.0. General Facts: -1Ar as an Independent Morpheme

It was claimed in section 2.1.1.2 that the plural agreement morphemes are further analyzable into a person and a number morpheme each, but no justification was given for that idea. The plausibility of such a view is especially evident in the Nominal paradigm; once the claim is accepted for that paradigm, it should carry over to the Verbal paradigm, even if the forms are less transparent.

If we compare the 1st and 2nd singular forms with the corresponding plural forms in (16)b., we see that an analysis of the latter items into

two different morphemes actually offers itself:

1.pl.: -(I)n + Iz (vs. 1.ag.: -(I)n)
1.prs. + pl.

2.pl.: -(I)n + Iz (vs. 2.ag.: -(I)n)
2.prs. + pl.

While a similar breaking up of the 3rd person plural morpheme is less obvious, it is possible, if we consider the idea that the morpheme -lAr (which is the general morpheme for "inherent" plurality; e.g. kitap 'book,' kitap+ler 'books') actually occurs in the personal agreement paradigm in a suppletive use, and that it is therefore not surprising if it behaves in idiosyncratic ways.

If we then proceed to apply a further morphological analysis of the 3rd person plural Agreement form (namely -lArI) into two morphemes and isolate -lAr as the (suppletive) plural morpheme, we are left with -I(n) for the morpheme designating person; the paradigm in (16)b. gives as the 3rd person singular form -(a)I(n), however.

Now there is nothing wrong with identifying the putative morpheme -I(n), i.e. the result of subtracting -lAr from the 3rd person plural Agreement morpheme -lArI(n), as actually -(a)I(n), the 3rd person singular morpheme, since the s surfaces only after vowels; given that -lAr ends in a consonant, s will always be deleted in this environment.

Now, the only feature of the morpheme sequence -lAr+(s)I(n) that sets it apart from the 1st and 2nd person plural Agreement forms (other than the shape of the plurality morpheme itself, i.e. -lAr rather than -Iz), is the order of the morphemes: the plural morpheme precedes the

person morpheme rather than the other way around.

It should be pointed out at this juncture that this behavior of -1Ar in its function as (part of) Agreement is not confined to the "Nominal Agreement" paradigm.

The -1Ar which marks the 3rd person plural Agreement in the Verbal paradigm also behaves differently from the plural morpheme within the AGR element for the other persons, when AGR is attached to the Copula element[16], i.e. when, from the sequential point of view, it follows from the Tense or Aspect of the Copula.

To illustrate, let us look at two paradigms for such composite forms: the reported past of the future and the conditional of the simple past:

Stem - Tense - Copula - Main Tense - Person Agr. - Number Agr.

(28)	gid	-	ecek	-	Ø	-	mis	-	im	1.ag.
	gid	-	ecek	-	Ø	-	mis	-	sin	2.ag.
	gid	-	ecek	-	Ø	-	mis	-	Ø	3.ag.
	gid	-	ecek	-	Ø	-	mis	-	Ø	1.pl.
	gid	-	ecek	-	Ø	-	mis	-	sin	2.pl.
??/*	gid	-	ecek	-	?	-	mis	-	ler	3.pl.
<hr/>										
	gid	-	ecek	-	?	-	ler	-	mis	
<hr/>										

go/leave - Fut. - Cop. - Reported Past - Person - Number

'It's said that . . . will go' ('Reportedly, . . . will go')

(29) git - ti - y - se -	n	1.ag.
git - ti - y - se -	n	2.ag.
git - ti - y - se -	Ø	3.ag.
git - ti - y - se -	k	1.pl.
git - ti - y - se -	n - iz	2.pl.
??/* git - ti - y - se -	Ø - ler	3.pl.
<hr/>		
git - ti - (?) - ler - se		
* git - ti - y - ler - se		
<hr/>		

go/leave - Past - Cop. - Cond. - Person - Number

'If . . . has/have gone'

Notice that the "regular" forms for the 3rd person plural (i.e.

"regular" in the sense that they would fit into the pattern of morpheme sequences for the other persons) are ungrammatical -- and this is irrespective of what we assume the order between the person and number morphemes to be within the Agreement element itself. It seems that in the verbal paradigm, the plural Agreement morpheme is even more independent than in the nominal one in that it leaves the Agreement slot altogether and moves to a slot preceding the main tense, while in the nominal paradigm the same morpheme only flips over the person morpheme. But actually, no such difference between the two paradigms needs to be made, if we consider the following:

The Copula, which this account identifies as -y (and which surfaces only after vowels) can carry all simple tenses (with the exception of the Future, which requires the suppletive Auxiliary verb ol), which are in turn followed by the regular verbal Agreement morphemes, thus behaving like a regular verb, in spite of the fact that it is not a free morpheme and isn't even always phonologically realized.

Now, let us assume (in parallel to the corresponding forms of the

Nominal paradigm) that the order within the 3rd person plural Agreement element of the verbal paradigm is the following:

(30) -lAr + Ø

plural+person (3rd)

and that, in composite tenses, the suppletive -lAr, by itself, precedes the main tense morpheme.

As a matter of fact, there is even some evidence that it moves even further than that into the word, namely to the left of the Copula. To see this, compare the last two lines of (29). In the grammatical one-but-last line, if the -lAr indeed followed the Copula as (vaguely) indicated there, the Copula should have surfaced as a -y, given that the "Participial" past tense morpheme ends in a vowel. But the last line of (29) shows us that the form with the -y in the Copula slot is ungrammatical.

Another example which argues the same point comes from the composite Tense/Aspect form for the conditional of the Past. Compare the following examples with respect to the order of their morphemes:

(31) Stem - Tense - Copula - Main Tense - Person Agr. - Number Agr.

git	-	se	-	y	-	di	-	n	-	iz	2.sg.
git	-	se	-	y	-	di	-	n	-	iz	2.pl.
*git	-	se	-	y	-	di	-	ler	-	Ø	3.pl.
*git	-	se	-	y	-	ler	-	di			"
git	-	se	-	y	-	ler	-	di			"
go/leave	-Cond.	-	Cop.	-	Past						
'If ... had left/gone'											

Let us assume that the morphological analysis given for the grammatical form of the 3.person plural example in (31) is correct as given on the

last line, and let us assume that the same analysis holds for the grammatical line of the corresponding form in (29), as well. We then conclude that -lAr precedes the Copula, thus immediately follows the "embedded," i.e. the participial Tense/Aspect morpheme; it now is in the head position of the participial phrase rather than of the Copula (and thus Predicate) phrase. Let me stress again here that it is only the plural part of the Agreement element which I assume to "move" in this way[17], leaving the person Agreement morpheme in the actual AGR position to function as a Case marker for the subject.

Now we have a situation where the two parts of the 3rd person Agreement form are, sequentially speaking, separated by the Copula and by the main Tense/Aspect morpheme, with the plural part preceding the person morepheme. Since there is no Copula or Tense in a possessive NP (nor in embedded sentences of the Gerundive type; we shall look at embedded sentences with tensed verba, called "Direct Complements" in George & Kornfilt (1981) later), the two parts of the AGR element are not sequentially separated in such phrases. But otherwise the phenomenon is the same in the verbal and nominal paradigms: in the 3rd person plural AGR form, the plural morpheme, rather than surfacing in word-final position, attaches to the head of the participial or nominal construction, apparently leaving the AGR position itself, leaving behind the non-alternating 3.person singular morepheme.

While this behavior of the plurality part within the 3rd person AGR element will be of interest to us later on, its direct relevance to the present section lies in the fact that it illustrates the independence of

-lar as a morpheme of its own. Thus its ability to "disappear" optionally as the only one among the AGR morphemes is not surprising.

As for the tendency of the plural morpheme to disappear -- this is a conspicuous property of the "inherent" plural morpheme (which is, we claim, the source of the suppletive form of the AGR paradigms) as well. This property, which we shall illustrate below, gives rise to a notion of "closeness" which we shall propose to cover other phenomena sharing the property of "dropping" redundant elements, in particular AGR elements.

2.2.1. "Closeness": An Approximation

It seems that the inherent plural morpheme is dropped whenever redundant. For instance, one kind of example which has not escaped notice in traditional literature is instantiated below:

(32)	a.	üç	cocuk	'three children'
	b.	*üç	cocuk-lar	

-pl.

(33)	birkaç	adam	(*-lar)	'a few men'
	a few	man	(-pl.)	

(34)	bir düzine	yumurta	(*-lar)	'one dozen eggs'
	one dozen	egg	(-pl.)	

The generalization seems to be that where a head noun is specified by a quantifier expressing plurality, the inherent plural marker cannot be appended to that head noun. [18]

Now suppose that we were to regard the "inherent" plurality marker

as some kind of Agreement marker in the examples (32) through (34), agreeing with the specifier (somewhat like the Modifier-Head agreement with respect to gender and number in those languages that have that phenomenon; e.g. in German:

- (35) a. das viel-e Waaser
the many-Agr water
- b. die viel-en Kind-er
the many-Agr child-pl. 'The many children'

with the difference that the Agreement is attached to the head in Turkish, rather than to the modifier), and that we were to posit a functionally based rule (contra redundancy) which would delete^[19] the morpheme in the presence of plural specifiers it "agrees" with and which it is rendered redundant by.

Now, if we attribute specifier status to the subject within the sentence, we would expect the corresponding morpheme with the same function and form as the plural morpheme in (32) through (34) to "drop," if the subject is plural. As we have seen in section 2.1.1.2., this expectation is borne out, but only weakly so: the plurality morpheme (and, it shuld be emphasized, the "identical" one, namely -lAr within the 3rd person plural Agreement element and not the other plurality markers, since they have a different shape and do not possess the same strength of independence) can "drop" (as a matter of fact, preferably drops) when a plural "specifier" is overtly present, but doesn't have to do so. (The relevant examples in section 2.1.1.2 are those in (17) through (19).)

Before turning to the question of why the absence of the plurality

marker is not obligatory in sentences, let us discuss another fact, namely one which has already been mentioned in passing, in footnote 14:

Within "Possessive NP"s, if the "possessor" (i.e. the subject of the construction) is a 3rd person plural and is overtly represented phonologically, then the 3rd person Agreement element obligatorily lacks the plural morpheme (again, the "independent" -lAr). So, if we want to account for both kinds of constructions, i.e. those exemplified in (32) through (34) as well as those exemplified in (i) and (ii) in footnote 14, we could say something along the following lines:

The plural morpheme -lAr cannot appear when a co-superscripted, phonologically realized antecedent is "too close" in some sense (yet to be formalized).

Now we have to find a notion of "closeness" which is common to NPs (i.e. to the relationship between specifier/modifier and head as well as to that between subject and AGR element) and different from Ss (i.e. from the relationship between subject and AGR element there), even in those instances where the S is embedded, "nominalized," and behaves like an NP externally by taking morphological Case markers.

For the time being and as a working hypothesis, I shall attribute the relevant distinction between NPs on the one hand and Ss on the other to the presence versus absence of a Tense element; thus, in phrases where there is no Tense between the co-superscripted elements, those elements are "close" enough for the purposes of the redundancy restriction in question, while in Ss of all kinds, there is some Tense

element between those two elements, so that the "closeness" between the co-superscripted elements is not strong enough to force redundancy. I shall return to this question in Chapter 3 when I shall be discussing Binding Conditions.

2.3. INFL as a Governor within Possessive NPs

2.3.0. Claim and Counterclaim

I shall be assuming here an analysis for the structure of possessive NPs which posits AGR as its head, parallel to the (by now rather traditional) treatment of the INFL node with respect to S_a, thus attributing INFL-max status to both S_a and (possessive) NPs. (This view by no means necessitates INFL-max status for "regular" NPs; in fact, we shall say that those are N''s, while Possessive NPs are INFL''s (=AGR''s) under this analysis.)

Such a view is problematic because, first of all, the wealth of reasons for assigning an INFL node to S (and head status to that node) is missing with respect to NPs; second, as we shall see later, to assign head status to the AGR element in possessive NPs, thus to claim that this element can act as an accessible SBJ with respect to the "possessor" (i.e. the subject position of such NPs) creates problems with respect to the predictions made as to whether that position can be occupied by anaphora.

Nevertheless, I shall adopt the analysis outlined above, for mainly two reasons:

a. The Case marking facts concerning subject position in embedded S_a and in possessive NPs are similar in ways that are going to be elaborated shortly;

b. The Binding problems alluded to above aren't insurmountable.

Of course one could claim that, while AGR is indeed the head of S_a, thus governs the subject position (for which it acts as an accessible SUBJECT) and also assigns Case to it via government, the AGR element of possessive NPs is not the head, thus does not govern the subject position, thus doesn't act as an accessible SUBJECT (which would also not create the Binding problems mentioned and to be discussed later); it also therefore wouldn't be able to assign Case to the subject of the NP while still being able--and needed--to identify pro.

Under this view, the Genitive marking of the possessor NP wouldn't come from Case marking via government, but from Genitive Insertion in the environment to the left of N' within NP, to "save" the possessor NP from being starred by the Case Filter, i.e. just like it does in English and in many other languages.

This treatment is less adequate for Turkish, however, than it is for those languages; a discussion of this claim follows.

2.3.1. Case Marking Due to AGR

2.3.1.0. Morphological Case

First of all, if it were assumed that the Genitive marking

exhibited by subjects of embedded (gerundive) sentences comes from the AGR element in the INFL node under government, but that the same marking on subjects of possessive NPs comes from a "last resort" type of Genitive Insertion rules as conditioned to apply in the environment of N' within N'' , the similarity between embedded Ss and possessive NPs with respect to the co-occurrence of Genitive and AGR would be lost, since there would be a causal relationship for this co-occurrence in Ss, but not in NPs.

Second, Turkish has other kinds of NPs, where the Specifier position is also occupied by an NP (i.e. just like in possessive NPs), and where there is no AGR morphology on the head of the larger NP. These are Partitive Phrases and are discussed at length in the Chapter 4. A few examples follow:

- (36) a. pasta-dan çukulate-lı bir parça
cake-Abl. chocolate-with a piece

'A piece with chocolate from the cake'

- b. ekmek-ten küf-len-mış üç dilim
bread-Abl. mold-ed-Participle three slice

'Three moldy slices of the bread'

- c. şarap-tan beş güzel şişe
wine-Abl. five nice bottle

'Five nice bottles of the wine'

Notice that the "specifier" NP[20], which modifies, in a certain sense, the quantified head, bears not Genitive Case, but Ablative. The account presented in Chapter 4 treats the assignment of this case (i.e. the Ablative) as an instance of Case Insertion, motivated by the Case

Filter and "triggered" by a certain environment, namely by the quantifier status (or maybe the [+Q] feature) of the head. In other words, this treatment parallels that traditionally proposed for the Genitive marking of possessors in English as outlined above.

In order to appreciate the difference between this situation and the Genitive marking within possessive NPs, compare the examples in (36) with corresponding examples, which are essentially synonymous[22] and have the shape of regular possessive NPs:

The co-occurrence of Genitive and AGR is not accidental here; one cannot occur without the other:

AGR without Genitive:

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|--|-----------------------|-----|--------------------|
| (38) a. *pəste- | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dan} \\ \text{-} \end{array} \right\}$ | çukulata- <u>lı</u> - | bir | parça- <u>si</u> - |
| | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ | | | |

Genitive without AGR:

- (39) a. *pasta-nın cukulata-lı bir parça
etc.

In view of such facts, the idea of attributing the existence of the Genitive marker to the AGR element on the head gains credence.

However, this still does not necessitate positron beam (and thus

governor) status to the AGR element. Instead of formulating a putative Genitive Insertion rule as contingent upon the right-hand environment as consisting of N', one might have a similar rule, but one which applies if the corresponding environment is AGR, with the Agreement element "cliticized" onto the head (i.e. the N') and not be the phrasal head itself.

This move, however, would obviate some other benefits in terms of generalizations which the treatment of Case captures as presented in Chapter 4.

The generalization in question comes from a property of a subset of Case-marking instances which I would like to claim is characterized as Case marking under government, i.e. Case marking by a governor which is also a Case marker (i.e. has Case features). The observable property is one mentioned above already: Referential NPs have to carry morphological Case, non-referential NPs cannot. This property holds only of the "structural" Cases (i.e. Nominative, Genitive, and Accusative) and not of the oblique Cases, where no such distinction is made and where the morphological Case always surfaces, irrespective of the referentiality of the NP it attaches to.

Note that the three "structural" Cases are assigned under government: by V for Accusative, by "verbal" AGR for Nominative (in tensed sentences), and by "nominal" AGR for Genitive (in non-tensed sentences). Now, there is some evidence that the distinction discussed above and common to these three Cases is not a property of the Cases themselves, but of this type of Case assignment. As discussed more

extensively in the next chapter, the evidence for this last claim comes from the behavior of some postpositions with respect to Case.

Most postpositions in Turkish, similar to prepositions in more familiar languages, "take" objects in oblique Cases. As mentioned in the introductory sections of this chapter and in footnote 3, there is a small group of postpositions, however, which take objects that are either phonologically unmarked for Case or overtly marked for Genitive. Now, referentiality does not interact at all with the "Nominative"/Genitive marking here. As mentioned before, the observed alternations between "Nominative"/Genitive are contingent upon whether the postpositional object is a pronominal or not.(23)

According to the treatment presented in the fourth chapter, "Nominative"/Genitive is assigned to postpositional objects by an insertion rule, since it is not assigned via government (given the afore-mentioned differences in morphological instantiation). It is assumed that in the unmarked case, postpositions of the kind just discussed are marked in the sense that they have no Case features, thus there is nothing to match for their objects, which are thus Case-less. Therefore, these objects, in order to escape the Case Filter, are assigned a "structural" Case (similar to the Ablative within Partitive Phrases in Turkish and to the Genitive within possessive NPs in English) by an Insertion rule; this rule, then, requires one of these particular postpositions as its right-hand environment, and the morphological Case it inserts is sensitive to whether the element it attaches to is a pronoun (lacking -lAr) or a lexical noun (as opposed to the same

structural/morphological Case being sensitive to referentiality/-non-referentiality when it constitutes a morphological realization of the Case features of a governor/Case marker).

If this treatmenty is correct, then structural Cases that appear due to a governor having Case features all share the property of being sensitive to referentiality of their phonological host (and alternate with abstract, syntactic Case marking when that host is non-referential), while the same Cases (i.e. "same" in the sense of phonological shape only) share neither aspect of this property. Thus, there seems to be a generalization that this particular treatment of Case captures.

Now the question is the following: Does the Genitive marking on the possessor NP within possessive NPs share the property of being dependent on referentiality? If it does, we will have an additional argument in favor of it being assigned under government and, hence, for the governor (and head) status of AGR with respect to such possessive NPs, in parallel to their status in Ss.

2.3.1.1. Abstract (Syntactic) Case

The question can be answered in the affirmative, if constructions that correspond to English compounds are viewed as psoessive NPs with a non-referential "subject".

Although this might look counter-intuitive at first glance, there are two properties that the Turkish construction exhibits and which

render this idea credible:

1. These "compounds" exhibit the 3rd person singular agreement morpheme on the head noun, and
2. the left branch of the construction cannot scramble away.

Again, at first glance, far from arguing in favor of the claim above, these properties seem to argue against it, since

1. the occupier of the left branch that (we assume) the AGR element agrees with is not really the possessor of the head noun, and
2. genuine possessor NPs can freely scramble away.

These objections disappear, however, if we consider that:

1. the semantic (or thematic) relation between the "possessor" and the head within possessive NPs is not necessarily one of genuine possession.

Just as in English, there are examples like the following:

(40) a. Istanbul - un feth - i
 - Gen. conquest-3.sg.

'Istanbul's conquest'

b. sehr - in imha - si
city-Gen. destruction-3.sg.

'The city's destruction'

as well as:

- (41) a. Sekspir - in eser - lar - i
 - Gen. work-pl. - 3.sg.

'Shakespeare's works' (under the unmarked reading:
written, but not owned by him)

- b. Rembrandt-in tablo - lar - i
 - Gen. painting-pl. - 3.sg.

"Rembrandt's paintings" (again, under the unmarked
reading, painted by him, rather than owned by him)

One would have to stretch the notion of ownership very far in order to accommodate examples like those in (40) and (41), where the Genitive-marked NP is actually a patient in (40) and an agent (while being probably a non-possessor in the pragmatic sense) in (41). It does not seem to be an adequate move, therefore, to speak of any other relationship within these NPs other than the structural one of subjecthood (of the Genitive-marked NP within the larger NP).

But once the notion of "possession" loses its importance with respect to these constructions, the semantic difference between "possessive NPs" and "compounds" becomes very blurred, and, possibly, non-existent. Consider, for example, minimal pairs like the following:

- (42) a. kadın - in hak - lar - i
 women - Gen. right - pl. - 3.sg.

'The woman's rights' (i.e. the rights of the woman')

- b. kadın hak - lar - i

'Women's rights' (i.e. the rights of women)

- (43) a. opera - nin
- Gen. arya - lar - ı̄
 aria - pl. - 3.sg.

'The arias of the opera'

- (44) a. Arjantin - in
- Gen. tango - lar - ı̄
 - pl. - 3.sg.

'The tangoes of Argentina'

- b. Arjantin tango-lar - ı̄

'Argentinian tangos'

Note that, speaking in terms of overt shape, the members of each pair differ only in the overt Genitive marking on the subjects of the a.-phrases contra the lack thereof in the b.-constructions.

Syntactically, as mentioned above, the Genitive-marked subject of the a.-examples can scramble away, while its "naked" equivalent in the b.-examples cannot.

As for their meaning, the members of each such pair are rather close from that point of view.[24] The clear-cut difference between members of each pair is that the Genitive-marked subject is a definite, referential NP, while its equivalent lacking morphological Case is non-referential and/or generic. But then, the latter is a typical property of compounds. If so, then we seem well justified in claiming that, at least in Turkish, "compounds" and "possessive NPs" are instances of the same basic construction, and that the formal difference of the Genitive marking on the left branch of the latter and lack of that marking in the former is yet another example of a property we have seen before: Genitive assignment to a subject by AGR under government is regulated by the referentiality of the NP so marked; where that NP is

non-referential, morphological Genitive cannot be attached. Since the same property is found in the Nominative marking of the subjects in tensed sentences ("assigned" by AGR), in the Genitive marking of the subjects of non-tensed sentences (again, "assigned" by AGR), and in the overt Accusative marking on direct objects of transitive verbs (as assigned by those verbs), and since we had decided therefore that all these instances are examples of Case instantiation under government (by a governor with Case features), it would follow that AGR element found in possessive NPs is also a governor with Case features, "assigning" Case to the subject of the phrase, and thus is the head of the construction.

2. The difference in ability to scramble can be made to follow from general factors concerning, again, Case marking (this point is discussed at length in the next chapter). Essentially, it is claimed there (along with Stowell, Saito and Torrego) that abstract, syntactic Case is assigned under government only if the assignee is string- (and maybe also tree-) adjacent to the governor and Case-assigner. Given that in Turkish, Genitive (and the other structural Cases) are not overtly assignable to non-referential NPs (in Ss as well as within NPs, as we just saw), those non-referential NPs, being in need of Case in order to escape the Case Filter, have to receive abstract Case, which is possible only if they occupy a position which is governed by and adjacent to a Case marker. Hence the inability to scramble of NPs which are phonologically unmarked for Case; thus, we have a unified account of the rigidity of such NPs in terms of word order, irrespective of whether they appear in root sentences, in embedded sentences, or in NPs, and

also irrespective of their grammatical relation within those larger constructions.

2.3.2. Binding Facts Due to AGR

2.3.2.0. General Remarks and Definitions

Now that we have a clearer picture of the structure of Possessive NPs, have argued in favor of their structural similarity to Ss (from the point of view of being maximal projections of INFL[25]) and have presented an account of Case assignment to their subjects by AGR, the time has come to look at how Binding Theory works with respect to these NPs as well as to Ss. Intimately tied to this issue is the question about the nature of empty categories (ecs) that occupy the subject position of these constructions: Are there more than one? If so, how are they characterized, and what determines their distribution?

Let us first list the Binding Conditions: (Chomsky 1981, 3.2.3.(12); p.188):

- (A) An anaphor is bound in its governing category
- (B) A pronominal is free in its governing category
- (C) An R-expression is free

(The notion of binding referred to is A-binding; i.e. the c-commanding antecedent of the bound element is in an A(rgument) position.)

We see that the notion of governing category is crucial for the first two conditions. A definition of this notion follows: (Chomsky 1981, 3.2.3.(70); p.211)

(II) β is a governing category for α iff β is the minimal category containing α , a governor of α , and a SBJ accessible to α [26]

Let us now see what Conditions A and B accomplish with respect to Possessive NPs, postponing, for the time being, discussion of Ss (until Chapter 3).

2.3.2.1. "Possessive NPs" and Problems with the Binding Theory

One obvious effect that the conjunction of Condition A and Condition B has is the prediction that pronouns and anaphors are in complementary distribution. While this prediction holds for Ss:

- (45) a. I like myself
- b. *I like me
- (46) a. They_i believed [that [they_i flunked the exam]]
- b. *They believed [that [each other/themselves flunked the exam]]
- (47) a. They believed [each other/themselves to have flunked the exam]
- b. They_i believed [them_{i/1}] to have flunked the exam]

it is well-known that constituents of NPs pose a problem for this prediction:

- (48) a. They_i saw [their_i pictures] at the exhibition
- b. They_i saw [each other's pictures] at the exhibition

While some theories have treated such NPs as problematic when they contain an anaphor which is bound by an antecedent outside that NP and

as regular when they contain a pronominal which is free (and thus potentially co-referential with an antecedent outside that NP) (e.g. theories of binding which view S_a--unless those lack inflection, as in (47)--and NPs as binding domains), some others have reversed the status of these structures in terms of exceptionality. In particular, the binding theory just mentioned which crucially incorporates the notion of "accessible SUBJECT" in order to characterize domains of binding is a theory of the latter sort. For example, in (48)b., the possessive NP does not have a SBJ accessible to the anaphor; hence, that NP is not a governing category for the anaphor in terms of that latter kind of theory; therefore, the anaphor is not required by Condition A to be bound within that NP; rather, the SBJ accessible to the anaphor is the AGR element of the S; therefore, that S is the governing category for the anaphor, and since the anaphor is bound within that S, the example is grammatical. Note that if the possessive NP had been considered the governing category, hence a binding domain, for its anaphoric subject, Condition A would have, incorrectly, ruled out the structure.

On the other hand, examples like the a.-sentence of (48) are, incorrectly, ruled out by this latter theory: if the possessive NP, for lack of a SBJ accessible to the pronominal, cannot be a governing category for that pronominal, and if therefore the governing category of this pronominal is the S, Condition B will require that the pronominal be free in that S, which it is not. Hence, the pronominal should be disjoint in reference from its putative antecedent within the S; however, the pronominal is free in reference. A theory which does not incorporate the notion of accessible SBJ, on the other hand, and which

regards any NP as the relevant binding domain for its constituents will, correctly, allow (48)a., since the pronoun does not have an antecedent within the NP, its binding domain under that theory.

Two questions arise here: Which one of the two theories--i.e. one which defines the notion of governing category in terms of the notion "accessible SBJ" and one which does not--is preferable, and how is this question to be decided, given that each one of the two types of theories is successful in one kind of construction and makes wrong predictions for another?

Secondly, both theories have a common problem: As mentioned above, they predict that anaphora and pronominals are in complementary distribution, and the last set of examples, representative of a wealth of similar constructions, shows this complementarity not to hold.

As for the first question, it seems rather obvious that the latter theory (i.e. where the notion "accessible SBJ" is crucial) is to be preferred. The reasons are mainly conceptual: The Nominative Island Condition (NIC) and the Specified Subject Condition (SSC) of Chomsky 1980 can be collapsed; in addition, now it becomes unnecessary to stipulate NP and S as the only governing categories, since these are the only categories that have SBJs. (For detailed discussion of these issues, see Chomsky 1981.)

Turning now to the second question, it is much harder to find a clear-cut, satisfactory solution to the problem of free variation (rather than complementary distribution) of pronominals and anaphors

within NPs. One possible approach--and proposed, independently of each other, in Chomsky (1982) and Kuno (1972 and forthcoming)--is to consider the occurrences of pronominals in NPs as not genuinely pronominal, but as bound anaphora (at least under the co-referential reading). Notice that this possibility has to be allowed in any case, given idioms like the following (Chomsky 1982, example (viii) in Footnote 24):

(49) John₁ lost [his₁ way]

Note that the pronoun his is not free in reference in such examples, but is necessarily bound.[27]

Another direction to go is considered in Huang (1982) and (1983)b., where the notion of "accessible SBJ" is considered relevant only with respect to anaphora, but not pronominals. In this way, those aspects of the two binding theories discussed above are combined that make the right predictions: the older definition of governing category, not including the notion of "accessible SBJ," will posit NPs as binding domains for pronominals, while the newer definition of governing category, incorporating that notion, is adopted just where anaphora are concerned, thus accounting for the occurrence of examples like (48)b.

The undesirability of having two different binding theories for pronominals and anaphors aside, there seem to be some empirical problems still left after Huang's modification of the binding theory. Such problems are pointed out in Harbert (1983)b. and consist of empirical, cross-linguistic facts of the following sort: There are some languages where a pronominal in subject position of an NP is not free, but

disjoint in reference with respect to an antecedent outside the NP. In these cases, an anaphor in the relevant position is obligatory. We see, then, that for some languages NPs do not behave like governing categories at all.

In subsequent work (Harbert 1984) Harbert proposes an interesting way of accounting for the crucial differences among languages. While adopting Huang's modification of the binding theory in essence, he proposes a way to parametrize the notion of "accessible SBJ" in such a way as to tie it in with another--parametrically varying--property of languages, namely whether they have productive and rich AGR morphology (thus also, ultimately, to the "Pro-Drop" parameter, although Harbert does not mention that aspect of the issue) or not. If they do (i.e. Gothic), then the accessible SBJ can be only AGR and not the syntactic subject of the construction (i.e. in these languages, the syntactic subject cannot act as an accessible SBJ even in those instances where an overt AGR element is missing; if this is the case, the domain of the construction in question will be transparent). [28] If a language does not have rich AGR morphology (e.g. English), then, in constructions where AGR is missing (e.g. in NPs), the subject of such a structure can act as accessible SBJ, and hence that domain will be opaque. This will mean that NPs are opaque, i.e. they act like governing categories, if there is a subject (which is not the anaphor or pronominal itself):

- (50) a. They₁ bought [my pictures of them₁]
b. * " " [" " " themselves [29]
c. * " " [" " " each other]

In Gothic, the reverse grammaticality judgements would obtain.

What predictions does this modified system make for Turkish?

Given that Turkish does have a rich AGR system, one would expect it to behave like Gothic rather than English. This prediction and related issues are addressed in the following sections.

2.3.2.2. Application of the Binding Conditions in Turkish NPs: Facts

As usual, the first question is whether anaphors and pronominals are in complementary distribution. But in order to answer this question, another one has to be answered first: What are the relevant facts? In particular, which are the "well-behaved" elements? We just saw that for English, the reciprocal seemed the "well-behaved" anaphor rather than the reflexive. This conclusion does not have to carry over to Turkish, however, and, as we shall see, there are arguments that suggest that for Turkish, it is the distribution of the reflexive which reflects binding properties of anaphors more clearly than the distribution of reciprocals.

To complicate matters even further, Turkish has (as we saw in the introductory sections of this chapter) more than one pronominal. The question of "well-behavedness" arises, therefore, for pronominal elements, as well.

The facts are, essentially, the following:

- A. Anaphora: Reciprocals are allowed in subject position[30] of NPs, reflexives are not.

B. Pronominals: Overt pronouns as subjects of NPs are disjoint in reference from an antecedent outside the NP, pro is free in reference (thus can co-refer with an antecedent outside the NP).

If the first members of A and B are taken to be representative for their respective classes, then NPs aren't governing categories in Turkish; if the second members are taken to be the "well-behaved" members of their respective classes, Turkish NPs are governing categories. I shall address each one of these possible views in turn.

2.3.2.3. First Picture: Turkish NPs Are Not governing Categories

2.3.2.3.0. Overt Elements

Consider the following examples:

A. Anaphora:

Reciprocals:

- (51) a. cocuk-lar [birbir-lerin-in sırt[31] - in]-i yika -di-lar
child-pl. e.o. -3.pl.-Gen. back -3.prs.-Acc. wash-Past-3.pl.
'The children washed each other's backs'
- b. yazar-lar [birbir-lerin-in eser - in]-i tenkit et-ti-ler
author-pl. work -3.pra.-Acc. critique do-Past-3.pl.
'The authors criticized e.o.'s works' (one work per author)
- c. yazar-lar [birbir-lerin-in eser-ler-in]-i tenkit et-ti-ler
-pl.-
'The authors criticized e.o.'s works' (more than one work per author)
- d. (biz) [birbir-imiz-in el-in]-i sık - ti - k
1.pl. e.o. -1.pl.-Gen. hand-3.prs.-Acc. squeeze-Past-1.pl.
'We shook each other's hands' (one hand per person)

Reflexives

Pronominals

At this point, Turkish looks more like Gothic than like English (with the exception of the ungrammatical reflexives--but let us disconsider this difficulty for the time being).

At first glance, Harbert's version of the binding theory seems vindicated by this situation, since both Gothic and Turkish have rich AGR morphology, and their NPs don't behave like governing categories.

But this is less than clear, if it is considered that Gothic and Turkish NPs differ in that the former do not exhibit AGR morphology, while the latter do. Given this fact, Harbert's theory should predict that Turkish NPs are governing categories--apparently incorrectly so. Notice also that this difficulty for Harbert's theory does not arise if AGR as exhibited by NPs is treated differently from AGR of Ss; if AGR is not the head of NP and thus not the governor of the subject of NP, it will not be an accessible SBJ; if so, the NP will not be a governing category; Turkish will then be a Gothic-type language, and the facts (still with the exception of the examples involving reflexives) will be as predicted.

Let us remind ourselves that we argued earlier that the Case marking facts within NPs support our view that AGR of NP has similar (i.e. head) status as AGR of S. Let us now see if this view can be maintained in spite of the problematic situation sketched out here.

Before we turn to defending this view, however, let us look at NPs whose subject position is occupied by an empty category and decide whether they fit into the "First Picture," i.e. into the view that NPs are not governing categories.

2.3.2.3.1. Empty Elements:

Contrast the examples in (53), where the subject position is occupied by a pronominal with disjoint reference from its antecedent

outside the large NP, with the following constructions:

- [32] [33]
- (54) a. *cocuk-lar* [Ø *sirt - larin*] -i- *yika - di-*
 i i/j
'The children washed their backs'
- b. *yazar-lar* [Ø *eser - lerin*] -i *tenkit et-ti*
 i i/j
'The authors criticized their works'
 i i/j

In the earlier sections of this chapter, we identified the gap in the subject position of NPs as a pronominal, with unrealized phonological features. Within the "First Picture," this view is untenable, since NPs, lacking an accessible SBJ, will be part of the binding domain of the S; thus, all constituents of the NP, hence the ec-subjects, will be bound in examples like (54) by the c-commanding subjects of the S, which would be their governing category. But by Condition B, pronominals bound within a governing category would have to be disjoint in reference from their antecedents--just as they are in (53). But the gaps in (54) are free in reference, and coreference with the antecedent is one possible reading. Hence, if NPs are not governing categories in Turkish, the gaps in their subject position cannot be identified as pro within the "First Picture".

Obviously, all would be well if there were an ec with anaphoric properties--and there is one: PRO. Since overt anaphors are allowed in subject position of Turkish NP (still taking the reciprocals to be the "well-behaved" anaphor), and since NPs, under this approach, are permeable to Condition A as applying within the domain of S, the ec-subjects of NPs must be PRO.

2.3.2.4. Objections to the "First Picture"

2.3.2.4.0. Semantics of the Subject Gap:

If the possessor of NP is PRO, what are its binding properties? It cannot be the case that it undergoes anaphoric binding, since the reading obtained is not one of obligatory co-reference with a c-commanding potential antecedent, but free reference (with the co-referential reading preferred). This means that the element in question cannot be Control-PRO, but has to be PRO_{arb}.

We shall return to the issue of differentiating between "free" pro and PRO_{arb} when we shall discuss clauses, where more syntactic arguments can be found for such a differentiation. This question is also addressed at the end of Chapter 4 in connection with the status of the empty head of some partitive phrases. But let us mention at this point that the semantics of the empty subject of NP does not correspond to PRO_{arb}; this element is understood to refer to some specific entity--irrespective of whether that entity is linguistically present in the structure or not--and thus has the regular reading of a pronoun. This is not the case with PRO_{arb}, whose meaning is typically that of vague, "arbitrary" reference.

2.3.2.4.1. Is the Subject-PRO Uncontrolled?

There is one obvious objection to the idea that the subject

position of NPs is occupied by PRO: Even if AGR, under the view that it is not the head of the NP, is not the governor of the subject, the head noun should be the governor of that position--and PRO has to be ungoverned for the binding theory we are using here to be consistent. This is also the explanation given in some literature (Chomsky 1981, Aoun and Sportiche 1983) for the difference in grammaticality of the following constructions:

In (56), the head noun of the NP governs the subject position, hence the ungrammaticality of the example; but (55) is grammatical, since PRO is ungoverned.

This reasoning does not carry over to Turkish straightforwardly, however. We have seen before that there are good arguments to the effect that in Turkish, the right branches of Possessive NPs are occupied by NPs rather than by N's. If so, given that the head noun is contained within a maximal projection--namely the right-branch NP--which does not contain the subject of the possessive NP, that head noun will not govern the subject of the higher NP--at least not under some definitions of government. For instance, this reasoning will hold for Aoun and Sportiche's definition of government, given their definition of c-command:

- (57) A c-commanda B if A and B are X'' , $A \neq B$, and every maximal projection dominating A dominates B.

Within such a definition, the sharing of the domain of a maximal projection between c-commander and c-commandee, thus of governor and governee, is crucial--hence the (putative) ungoverned nature of the subject position of possessive NPs in Turkish.

The situation is different under Chomsky's definition of c-command, however (see Chomsky 1981, p. 166):

(58) α c-commands β if and only if

(i) α does not contain β

(ii) Suppose that $\gamma_1, \dots, \gamma_n$ is the maximal sequence such that

$$(a) \gamma_i = \alpha$$

$$(b) \gamma_i^n = \alpha^j$$

(c) γ_i immediately dominates γ_{i+1}

then if σ' dominates α , then either (I) σ' dominates β , or (II) $\sigma' = \gamma'_1$; and γ'_1 dominates β .

Under this definition, the head noun in a Turkish possessive NP would c-command, thus govern, the subject position, since heads c-command every constituent in the domain of the highest projection in a chain of projections that share categorial features. Under (58), therefore, PRO in subject position of NPs would be ruled out for Turkish, just as it is for English--even if we do not regard the AGR element to be the head of possessive NPs. Be that as it may, I believe to have introduced enough objections against PRO in the subject position of possessive NPs as to make the exact structure of these NPs, at least for the time being, irrelevant for this particular point. Note also

that, in addition to the criticisms raised against PRO in this section, the fact that an empty element in subject position of NPs is sanctioned by a fully realized AGR element, as we saw before, shows that PRO cannot be the ec in question, since PRO typically occurs in absence of AGR (as in infinitivals, as we shall see in the next chapter).

2.3.2.4.2. The Problem of the Genitive Reflexive:

Disregarding the objections just raised against PRO in subject position of NPs, the "First Picture" faces a problem with respect to reflexive subjects. As we saw before, these are ruled out (cf. the examples in (52), yet the view that NPs are not governing categories in Turkish should allow them.

Note that in Turkish, an explanation based on a superficial morphological restriction against Genitive reflexives (of the sort sometimes appealed to for English and mentioned above) is not available, since overtly Genitive-marked reflexives do occur. Typically, such elements are contained within NPs that lack an AGR element:

- (59) a. sen parti-ye [kendi araba- n]- la git, ben
2.sg. party-Dat. self car -2.sg.-with go, 1.sg.

[kendi - m - in - ki] -yle gid - eceḡ - im
self-1.sg.-Gen.-"ki"-with go- Future - 1.sg.

'Go to the party with your own car, and I will go with mine'

- b. Ahmet [Zeyneb-in oğl-un]-u döv-dü, [kendi- n - in.- kin]-i
i -Gen. son-3.sg.-Acc. hit-Past self-3.sg.-Gen.-"KI"-Acc
de boğ-du
'Ahmet spanked Zeynep's son and strangled his'

The suffix -ki occupies the right branch of the possessive NPs, i.e. it seems to be a placeholder for the sequence head (N' or N'', depending on the analysis) plus AGR. Once AGR is not overtly expressed, the Genitive marked reflexive becomes possible, as we just saw. Whatever the correct analysis of examples like (59) (we shall return to this question in the next section), it is clear that reflexives can be Genitive-marked in Turkish. If so, it becomes legitimate as well as interesting to ask why reflexives are barred from subject position of NPs, and to suspect that, in fact, they cannot occur there, because Turkish NPs usually exhibit an AGR element, and that it is that element, whenever overtly present, that renders the domain of NPs opaque. [34]

Another type of NP-construction lacking overt AGR contributes to the discussion in the same way as the -ki-construction does. This is the Partitive construction, which was introduced in this chapter in connection with the Case marking of subjects of NPs (cf. example set (36)) and is discussed at length in the next chapter. Consider, in this context, the following example:

'Our teacher has always given a lot of himself to his students.'

Once again, we encounter here an example of an NP which lacks AGR and which allows a reflexive in subject position (albeit not in a Genitive context, but in an Ablative environment; but this has clearly to be the case, since we argued that Genitive itself is contingent on

AGR). It therefore looks like the presence of the AGR element on NPs does interact with the binding properties of the elements found in subject position. In the following sections, I shall turn to a "Second Picture" of the facts, thus rearranging and reanalyzing those facts from the point of view of the thesis that NPs that exhibit AGR are, in fact, governing categories, and that the AGR element, where present, is an accessible SBJ.

But before turning to these reconsiderations, let me look at one last possible attempt to save the "First Picture" from the criticism concerning reflexive subjects (if not from the other points of criticism).

Looking back at example (59)a., and in particular at the first conjunct, we see a reflexive element--kendi--preceding the head noun of the possessive NP (we glossed it as 'self' and translated it as 'own') and obviously interpreted as obligatorily bound by an antecedent from outside the possessive NP. If so, a proponent of the "First Picture" might claim that reflexives are possible subjects of NPs, but that they have to lack Genitive-as well as personal--marking.

But this objection can be dismissed easily by noting the following facts:

A. First of all, the "naked" reflexive kendi can occur when an overt subject is present:

(61)	bu	[ben-im	<u>kendi</u>	araba-	m]-dir
		NP				
	this		1.sg.-Gen.	<u>self</u>	car	1.sg.-cert.

'This is my own car'

Obviously, the Genitive-marked 1.st person sg. pronominal is the subject of the NP. If so, kendi is not the subject of the NP, but rather some kind of modifier of the head, in a structural relationship to it similar to that of an adjectival modifier.

B. Kendi is not always bound by an antecedent outside the NP; note the following:

- (62) Ahmet parti-ye { on-un kendi araba-sı } -yla git-ti
i NP *i/j *i/j
party-Dat. 3.sg.-Gen. self car -3.sg.-with go-Past

'Ahmet went to the party with his own car'
i *i/j

(The judgements noted on the translation are for Turkish).

Whatever the reason for the disjointness in reference between the subject of the S and the pronominal subject of the NP--the point of interest for us now is that the reflexive element is disjoint in reference from the antecedent outside the NP.

Comparing this last example to (59)a., where the uninflected reflexive kendi does seem to be bound by the subject of the S, the following generalization emerges: kendi is actually bound by an element within the NP in all of these examples (i.e. by the subject of the NP), and not by an element outside the NP. Where the subject of the NP can be co-referential with an outside element, kendi therefore is coreferential, as well; where the subject is disjoint in reference, as in this last example, kendi will also be disjoint in reference with that outside element (while being bound by the element within the NP, as

usual).

Now we are ready to turn to the Second Picture.

2.3.2.5. "Second Picture"

Suppose now that we take the stand that the reflexives and pro are the typical representatives of anaphora and pronominals, respectively. This picture goes along well with the idea that AGR is the head of NP; thus, whenever AGR is present, the domain of the NP will be opaque; when AGR is absent, NPs will be transparent.

Now, this picture is faced with having to explain exactly those facts which motivated the setting up of the "First Picture": the occurrence of reciprocals as subjects of NPs, and the disjointness in reference of subject pronominals with antecedents outside of the NP.

Let me start with the second problem.

2.3.2.5.0. Overt Pronominals and the Avoid Pronoun Principle

Chomsky (1981) introduces a functional principle to account for--among others-- pairs like the following:

- (62) a. John prefers [PRO walking]
 i i
 b. John prefers [his walking]
 i ??/*i/OK]

(The pronoun his is generally interpreted as disjoint from John if it is unstressed.)

In the system within which these constructions are discussed (cf.

Chomsky 1981, p. 65 and other places in the same work), there is no reason why the pronoun in (62)b. should be disjoint in reference. Especially when considering the following example:

- (63) John prefers [his (own) book]
 i i/]

where the pronoun is free in reference, thus can be co-referential with the antecedent, it is clear that the position of the pronoun in (62)b. is not a context of disjoint reference.

In order to account for (62)b., Chomsky proposes the following:

- (64) Avoid Pronoun (Chomsky's 2.4.2., (5))

((64) is referred to as the "Avoid Pronoun Principle" in the literature.)

For the purposes of the examples just discussed, the Avoid Pronoun Principle will impose a choice of PRO over the overt pronoun; in general, a phonologically unrealized element will be preferred over an overt pronoun, if such a choice exists at all. Given the facts presented in the first part of this chapter which discussed the relationship between a fully realized, paradigmatic AGR element and the possibility of a phonologically unrealized pronominal element, namely pro, in subject position of Ss and NPs, it is clear that the Avoid Pronoun Principle will be operational in subject position; thus, we will expect overt subject pronouns to be possible, but disjoint in reference from antecedents; but overt non-subject pronouns should be free, thus potentially co-referential with antecedents, since non-subject pros are illicit, because unlicensed by AGR; hence there is no choice between pronominal elements, and the Avoid Pronoun Principle is not

operational. (The part of the prediction about non-subject pronouns will be seen to hold in Chapter 3, when Ss will be discussed.)

I shall adopt the Avoid Pronoun Principle in my treatment of Turkish NPs (and clauses) and attribute the disjointness facts discussed above to its application.

The objection might be raised at this point that such a functionally oriented principle is not likely to be a principle of sentence grammar. (This objection has been raised, as a matter of fact, in connection with the Turkish facts discussed here; cf. Enc 1982.) Especially the clear-cut nature of the judgements about the ungrammaticality of the examples involving overt pronouns under a co-referential reading might be taken to argue against an account appealing to the Avoid Pronoun Principle.

However, the force of such an argument is not clear to me.
Moreover, there are contexts--albeit very restricted--where overt
pronouns as possessors within NP can be co-referential:

'I told Ahmet that I lost his book'
(This example is taken from Erguvanlı (forthcoming))

When the pronoun is stressed, the coreferential reading is perfect. But even when the pronoun is unstressed, co-referentiality is possible. [35]

Now notice that in (65), compared to the ungrammatical examples in (53), the overt pronoun and its antecedent are removed from each other by one more embedding, namely the S_1 . Further distance in terms of depth of embedding improves grammaticality of the crucial coreferential reading even further:

'I was reluctant to tell Ahmet that I lost his book'

It looks like there also is a certain "Distance Principle" at work, governing, as it were, the possibility of overt pronouns as proximate entities, so as to render overt pronouns increasingly proximate to a potential antecedent with increasing distance from that antecedent in terms of "binding nodes", i.e. NP and S. (See Huang 1982 for detailed discussion of this issue.) Apparently, the Distance Principle interacts with the Avoid Pronoun Principle so as to override it with increasing distance between pronoun and antecedent.

Obviously, these are notions that need to be further worked out and formalized. The issue of the exact distribution of overt pronouns with possible co-reference versus obligatory disjoint reference still awaits a thorough treatment. (For a detailed, first study of this matter, see Erguvanli (forthcoming)). To treat these issues here would take us too far afield, since I am primarily interested in the interaction of the Binding Conditions with the question of how to determine Binding

domains, and to have established that the distribution of overt pronouns is regulated by something else than Condition B (while the interpretation of pro is governed by Condition B) is enough for my purposes at present. At any rate, the issue of the pronoun system as a whole and the distributional properties of its members is obviously worth investigating further.[36]

Note also that the possibility of non-disjoint overt pronouns in subject position of NPs sheds even further doubt on the validity of the view that Turkish NPs with overt AGR are not governing categories, and that either anaphora (i.e. overt ones) or PRO are permitted as subjects of NP in general.

2.3.2.5.1. Reciprocals as Subjects of NPs:

Since, under the "Second Picture," NPs exhibiting AGR should be opaque, the--clearly grammatical--occurrence of reciprocals in their subject position is problematic.

In order to deal with this situation, I shall point out a fact contained in the examples already given, but not highlighted so far: The AGR element exhibited by possessive NPs in Turkish is that of the 3rd person singular whenever a reciprocal element is the possessor, irrespective of its person and number. In particular, when the reciprocal is a 3rd person plural, and if the head noun is followed by what looks like a 3rd person plural AGR form, the head is interpreted as inherently plural; it must therefore be the case that the AGR element is

non-alternating throughout the paradigm of reciprocal subjects:

- (67) a. birbir-imiz-in ev - i
e.o. -1.pl.-Gen. house-3.ag.

- b. *birbir-imiz-in ev - imiz
-1.pl.

'The house of each other of us'

- (68) a. birbir-iniz-in ev-i
-2.pl.- 3.ag.

- b. *birbir-iniz-in ev-iniz
-2.pl.

'The house of e.o. of you'

- (69) a. birbir-lerin-in ev-i
-3.pl.- 3.ag.

- b. *birbir-lerin-in ev-leri
-3.pl.

(The ungrammaticality judgement is given for the "inherently singular" reading of the head; under the plural reading, the analysis of that same sequence would be: ev - ler - i, again with the non-alternating 3rd ag. AGR morpheme.)

I would like to claim now that the reason the NPs behave as a transparent domain here is that the AGR element does, indeed, not act as an accessible SBJ, the reason being that it does not alternate, thus does not exhibit the rich paradigmatic possibilities of AGR. It should also be pointed out here that this "weak" AGR element still assigns Case (i.e. Genitive) as usual, while being permeable to binding from outside.

One objection that immediately comes to mind here is the behavior of reflexives. If the non-alternating, "weak" AGR element makes the occurrence of reciprocals as subjects of NPs possible, reflexives should

also be allowed under the same conditions, but they are not:

- (70) a. *kendi-m-in ev-i
self-1.sg.-Gen. house-3.ag. 'Myself's house'
b. *kendi-n-in ev-i
-2.sg.- 'Yourself's house'

etc.

Since, as we saw before, reflexives are allowed in this context when there is no AGR whatsoever--cf. the -ki-constructions in (59) and the Partitive constructions, as in (60)--it seems to be the case that reciprocals are somewhat freer in their distribution than reflexives; a weak AGR element permits them in its domain, but does not permit reflexives. Why should this be the case?

I do not have a very satisfactory answer to this question, but I shall propose the following--tentative--solution: The reciprocal birbir 'one-one' is overtly plural (say, the way a conjunction is); since the "weak" AGR element is singular, the latter cannot act as an accessible SBJ to the former. However, the reflexive kendi is formally singular, hence the singular "weak" AGR is strong enough to still act as an accessible SBJ for it, thus forming an obstacle to its being bound from outside the NP. -ki, on the other hand, lacking overt AGR altogether, does not act as such an obstacle.[37]

Notice that now, after we have eliminated overt pronominals and reciprocals from consideration as ill-behaved specimen of their respective kinds, we are left with a very neat Second Picture whose members behave just as predicted by the Binding Theory, and, in particular, are in complementary distribution: pro and reflexives, with

the first being allowed by Condition B and the second disallowed by Condition A from occupying subject position of NPs with overt AGR. This neatness emerges if the overt--and alternating--AGR element of NPs is taken to be the head of NP.

Note also that pro and the--somewhat--offending reciprocal are also in complementary distribution, although in a slightly different way: We just said that the reciprocal occurs in NPs with a non-alternating AGR element. Earlier in this chapter, we also saw that pro is allowed only when the AGR element is of an alternating kind and is fully realized in all of its features; hence, the one is never going to occur where the other is found:

'We painted e.o.'s house'

versus:

- (72) (biz) [pro] ev - imiz - i boyo - di - k
i i -1.pl.
-AGR-

'We painted our house'

The neatness of Picture II is thus completed, and the claim that AGR-whenever overtly present--is the head of NP receives further confirmation. In this context, we have seen that a fully overt AGR element acts as a strong accessible SUBJECT, while a non-alternating, "weak" AGR element which does not exhibit person features acts as a weak accessible SBJ in that it allows for reciprocal anaphors in the subject

position of the governing categories it creates, but not for reflexive anaphors (since it does not match the number feature of the former, but does match that feature for the latter type of elements). Where no AGR element is present overtly, both kinds of anaphors are allowed.

CHAPTER 2 - NOTES

1. Whether this is an adequate formulation of the "Null Subject Parameter" is far from clear, especially considering languages like Japanese and Chinese, where empty subjects are possible in spite of the lack of overt inflection to identify them. It could well be the case that the "Pro-Drop" phenomenon in such languages is of a different character, or that the parameter has subcases, only one of which is identifiability by INFL. In what follows, I shall limit myself to investigating the properties of a certain phenomenon in Turkish, (namely the possibility of phonologically unrealized subject pronouns) whose existence is arguably due to the presence of a certain kind of inflection; but I will not, for the time being, consider other possibilities or make any claims about the universality of the identifiability condition.
2. The question might arise here why presence of morphological Agreement makes the "identified" element possible, but not obligatory. As a matter of fact, some "Pro-Drop" languages (e.g. Irish, if it is one -- cf. McCloskey 1982, McCloskey & Hale 1983) do have this property (i.e. of obligatory "Pro-Drop"). Is optionality versus obligatoriness of "Pro-Drop" (given presence of Inflection) a sub-parameter? I don't think that this is a promising way of asking the question, especially since it is clear that the presence of Agreement elements in itself is not even enough to determine that the language in question is a Null Subject language to begin with (e.g. German, which has a rich morphologocal agreement system, cannot have phonologically unrealized subjects in finite clauses). What's more, as we shall see later on, even in a language like Turkish, where "Pro-Drop" is optional, there are constructions where it seems obligatory. Thus, I assume that facts about optionality versus obligatoriness of empty pronominal subjects in "finite" phrases follow from other properties of the language as well as from general principles, whose nature has not been explored yet. Chomsky's "Avoid Pronoun Principle" might well be one of those principles. I shall not attempt to investigate this issue at this point.
3. Actually, it could be claimed that PPs which exhibit AGR morphology are NPs rather than PPs. Interesting as this question may be, it would take us too far afield here, especially since the evidence that bears on the issue is complex and not clear-cut. I would like to claim that, among constructions traditionally called postpositional phrases and whose heads exhibit AGR morphology with their "objects," both NPs and genuine PPs exist. The crucial distinction would correlate with whether the postpositional object (where it is a fully lexical NP rather than a pronominal) bears Genitive or not. Where it does, I assume that the Genitive is "assigned" in the usual way by AGR, i.e. that it represents the instantiation of the Case features of a governor which is a Case assigner -- hence exactly the situation we find whenever we want to claim that AGR is the head of a phrase (i.e. of an embedded clause or of a possessive NP) and governs the subject. Some examples of this type

follow:

- (i) a. [_{Np}^{masa - nin} alt - *i*]
table-Gen. under-3.sg.

'The "underneath" of the table' (i.e. 'under the table')

- b. [_{Np}^{ev - in} ön - *ü*]
house-Gen. front-3.sg.

'The front of the house' (i.e. 'in front of the house')

Under this view, the examples in (i) are of the same categorial type and have the same structure as regular possessive NPs, and what looks like a postpositional object is actually the subject of the construction.

Where the "postpositional object" does not exhibit Genitive in spite of an overt AGR element on the postposition, I would like to claim that we are dealing with a genuine PP and that the Genitive-less NP is a true postpositional object. In such constructions, the head of the phrase is the postposition, while the sole function of the AGR element (which now is just a cliticized morpheme and has no phrase-structural prominence and status as an accessible SUBJECT as it does when it is a head) is that of an identifier of a pro-subject. Hence, the Case properties of the postpositional object will be those of an element that receives Case from (or because of) the postposition, rather than from AGR. The crucial examples are of the sort exhibited in (6) in the text below. Some additional constructions follow:

- (ii) a. [_{pp}^{Ahmet hakk-in}] -da çok güzel şey-ler duy-du-m
about-3.sg.-Loc. very nice thing-pl. hear-Past-1.sg.

'I heard very nice things about Ahmet'

- b. [_{pp}^{Rome uğr-un}] -e nice kahraman-ler ölü-dü
sake-3.sg.-Dat. many a hero-pl. die-past

'How many heroes died for the sake of Rome!...'

Under this account, the lexical items hakk and uçur are postpositions that pattern with gibi 'like', icin 'for', kadar 'as much as' (cf. examples (13) and (14) further below and Chapter 4) in that they are not Case assigners. Hence, in order to "save" the NP's that are governed by these postpositions from the Case Filter, a Case insertion rule applies which attaches morphological Genitive if that NP is a pronominal and morphological Nominative (unrealized phonologically, as usual) otherwise, just like in the context of other postpositions of this type. Crucially, this kind of Case assignment (of Nominative/Genitive) differs from those instances where Nominative/Genitive is assigned by AGR via government. There, no differentiation according to [\pm pronominal] is made. Rather (as we shall have the opportunity to see

later on) the crucial distinctions are dictated by whether the AGR element is verbal (and Nominative is assigned) or nominal (and Genitive is assigned) on the one hand and by whether the subject NP governed by AGR is referential or not (in the latter instance, no morphological Case can be assigned at all -- i.e. neither Nominative nor Genitive --, and abstract Case has to be assigned by AGR under the additional requirement of adjacency). At any rate, these constructions, whether PPs or NPs, illustrate the interaction between phonologically unrealized elements and the morphological items that identify them.

4. In accordance with general Turkological practice, I shall use capital letters to denote archasegments which receive their surface specifications via general phonological processes, e.g. via Vowel Harmony and Devoicing.

5. Lees (1963) and (1965) uses this terminology. More traditional literature treats the two morphological forms in question as different grammatical categories (i.e. Factive versus Action); thus, Underhill (1976) calls factive gerundives "Nominalizations," while action-gerundives are called "Verbal Nouns." Lewis (1975) also uses the term "Verbal Nouns" for the latter, while he calls the former "Personal Participles."

6. For a pragmatically based, detailed account of the alternation between overt and phonologically unrealized pronouns, see Enc (1978). This issue is also dealt with in Erguvanlı (forthcoming).

7. As opposed to the nominal paradigm, where 3rd singular Agreement is marked overtly, there is no overt morpheme for 3rd singular Agreement in the verbal paradigm. I shall be assuming that there is, in fact, an Agreement morpheme present in such instances, but that it is phonologically unrealized, in order to explain the fact that a 3rd person singular, phonologically empty pure pronominal element in subject position is sanctioned here, and also in order to draw the necessary distinction between these examples and others, where lack of agreement will be assumed as part of the analysis. This issue is discussed further in the next chapter.

8. This is an instance of the pronominal use of the 3rd person reflexive anaphor. The form exhibited in example (8)b., namely: kendi-si, consists of two morphemes: self-3.sg.Agr. (nominal). Speakers of a conservative dialect in this respect use this inflected form consistently as a pronoun and employ the uninflected variant, kendi, again consistently, as a genuine anaphor. (The author is a speaker of that dialect.) A more permissive dialect uses the two forms interchangeably, although usage of the uninflected form as a pronominal is encountered less often than use of the inflected form as an anaphor (in addition, of course, to the cases where this dialect is in congruence with the conservative one). The conditions governing the distribution of the inflected reflexive for the conservative dialect (which will be the one I shall be concerned with in this chapter) as well as of the overt "personal" pronouns seems to be quite complex and, to a large part, discourse-oriented; I shall not discuss this issue

here, which has no bearing on the problem at hand in this section, namely the relationship between phonologically empty elements and inflection for agreement.

9. We see now that the "free" variation between the phonologically empty pronominal and the overt pronoun breaks down in some contexts. I shall address this issue later in this chapter and in Chapter 3, when I shall be discussing the Binding Conditions A and B. Another question that this example raises is the difference in acceptability between the two overt pronouns o and kendisi. As mentioned before, the usage of kendisi is pragmatically determined. Interesting though the issue is, I shall not address it in this thesis and will look at the behavior of the (traditionally so called) "personal pronoun" o, which is the regular form of the 3rd person (and the corresponding onlar for 3rd person plural) within the pronominal paradigm, whenever I will be discussing the behavior of overt pure pronominals, rather than being concerned with the distribution of kendisi. I would like to mention in passing, however, that kendisi seems to be used as a proximate pronoun when the discourse conditions require emphasis, whether contrastively so or not. Obviously, the phonologically unrealized pure pronominal cannot be used this way.

10. Note that the two overt pronominals behave differently with respect to morphological Case in postpositional object position. Similar to prepositions in more familiar languages, postpositions in Turkish take, idiosyncratically, objects with various morphological cases. The two post-positions icin 'for' and gibi 'like' in the examples above belong to a group of postpositions that assign (at least apparently) Nominative to their objects in general, while assigning Genitive to "personal" pronouns and WH-words. (See also footnote 3.) Overt anaphors (i.e. reflexives and reciprocals) pattern with the general case, i.e. with fully lexical NPs (in surfacing in the "Nominative"), rather than with overt pronominals. As we see in (13) and (14), the "pronominal reflexive" behaves in this respect like genuine anaphora, i.e. it takes the Nominative rather than the Genitive. Nothing of importance for our purposes follows from these facts, which are confined to this group of postpositions. When being suffixed with other (i.e. oblique) morphological cases when they appear as objects of other groups of postpositions that require oblique Case, the two types of pronominals (i.e. the "true" pronominals and the "reflexive-shaped" one) behave in similar ways, as illustrated in example (15) in the text, where they both take the Ablative.

11. I am indebted to Susumu Kuno for pointing out to me (personal communication) that this last claim does not follow straightforwardly from the facts presented in this section. In particular, given that the AGR-less postpositions that don't allow for "Pro-Drop" also don't allow for their objects to be extracted in the syntactic component (i.e. they do not allow for e.c.-variables in the position of their objects under "relativization," which leaves phonological gaps), but that objects of the verb can be "relativized" with a gap (without being "matched" in their features by any overt AGR element), it could be claimed that the ungrammatical examples (with "Pro-Drop") in (13) through (15) are the

result of the fact that in Turkish, postpositions cannot be stranded. Two objections to this view come to mind:

1. We said in footnote 3 that the heads of the phrases bearing AGR in the examples of (11) and of (6) in the text are postpositions (rather than Ns or the AGR element itself). These postpositions can strand. ("Relativization" of their objects is possible, too.) If "strandability" of postpositions were the issue here, the statement needed to explain both "Pro-Drop" and "Relativization" would have to be complicated in that it would have to refer to yet another element, namely, AGR -- i.e. it would have to say something like the following:

"No process can phonologically strand a preposition, unless the postposition is followed by an overt AGR element."

2. More importantly, it is exactly the "non-strandability of postpositions (both for "Pro-Drop" and "Relativization" that needs systematic explanation.

I would like to claim that PPs act as islands for "Relativization," i.e. syntactic (as opposed to LF) extraction for reasons of Subjacency: PPs -- just like NPs, but unlike clauses, -- lack COMP-positions that act as "escape hatches" for syntactic "movement," which has to obey (under general assumptions) Subjacency. The fact that such extractions are possible just where the postposition is followed by AGR is explained, if we assume that in such instances the gap is a resumptive pronoun which is pro, thus explaining the correlation between the gap and AGR and correctly predicting that this correlation will be the same for simple "Pro-Drop" examples and for "Relativization."

12. There are two tense/aspect forms that take a slightly different (mainly abridged) paradigm (compared to the regular "verbal" paradigm): the simple past -dl and the conditional -sA:

1.sg.	-m
2.sg.	-n
3.sg.	-Ø
1.pl.	-k
2.pl.	-nIz
3.pl.	lAr

Also, the subjunctive, while taking the same forms as the main paradigm given in the text under (16)a., differs in the 1.pl.: -lIm.

13. It goes without saying that the ungrammaticality judgements here are given only with respect to a plural reading for the "dropped" subject; the forms are perfectly grammatical if the subject is interpreted to be a singular 3rd person pronoun.

14. As a matter of fact, in "Possessive NPs," the "dropping" of the plural part of the 3rd person plural AGR element when the "possessor" is phonologically present is not only optionally possible, but in fact obligatory:

(i) a.*Ayşe [kon-su-lar-i-miz-in] biricik kız-ları -dır
-3.pl.

b. OK

~~ktz-s~~] -distr
-3.person

'Ayse is the one and only daughter of our neighbors'

(ii) a.*Konu-sular-iñiz-ın biricik kız-ları+ ol-an Ayşe ...
be-Participle

b.OK

kiz-11

'Avae, who is the one and only daughter of our neighbors

It is noteworthy, by the way, that the forms themselves aren't ungrammatical; only, they would necessarily mean inherent plurality of the head (i.e. in these examples, the head would have to be interpreted as 'daughters' rather than as 'daughter'). (More on the interaction of "inherent" plurality and "agreement" plurality later on.) The adjective biricik 'one and only' was chosen here in order to exclude that reading and force the ungrammatical, "inherently singular," one.

15. PRO is another "silent" element found in subject position, but, as opposed to pro, the item we have been looking at here, it occurs in Non-Finite phrases (i.e. those whose head lacks inflection).

The issue of differentiating pro from PRO is an important one and will be addressed later on in this chapter.

16. Here I shall assume the presence of the Copula, whether phonologically realized or not, within the Predicate Phrase, and not only when it follows a Predicate Adjective and Predicate Nominal, but also when it comes after a "Primary tense or aspect" within composite tense and aspect forms; thus, I am following, e.g., Lees (1972) and Underhill (1976) in treating the simple tenses as participial forms, at least in those instances where they are not the main tenses, e.g.

(1) hasta - y - sa - n - tz 'if you are sick'
sick-Cop.-Cond.-2.p.-pl.

(ii) *çocuk - φ - tu - m* 'I was a child'
child-Cop.-Past-1.sg.

(iii) git - mis - φ - ti - n - iz 'you had left'
leave-Past-Cop.-Past-2.p.-pl.

(iv) gid - eek - φ - mis - sin - iz
leave-Future-Cop.-Rep.P.-2.p.-pl.

'you reportedly are going to leave'

17. I have been using the term "move" as a descriptive rather than technical term. The possibility is open that word-formation rules generate various combinations of morphemes, and that some filters and/or independent principles choose different possibilities out of the pool of generated forms. While it would be a matter of interest for morphological theory to decide between this and a "true movement" option, I shall not pursue this matter here, since an answer to this question is not needed for our purposes.

18. This statement is not entirely adequate, in that some quantifiers that express plurality do allow for--in fact, require--plurality on the head; e.g.

(i)	bütün	adam * (-lar)	
	all	man -pl.	'all men'
(ii)	bazi	insan* (-lar)	
	some	person-pl.	'some people'

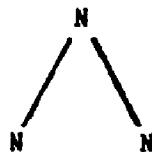
I shall not be concerned here with the issue of characterizing these exceptions. However, I shall venture to give a functional explanation for the difference in behavior between the quantifiers in this footnote on the one hand and those in examples (32) through (34), on the other. The idea is based on the observation that NPs with the quantifiers of (i) and (ii) and without the plural marker on the head noun also exist, but have different meanings. (i) without the plural morpheme means "the whole man" (I am indebted to Susumu Kuno for pointing this out to me), while (ii) without the plural morpheme means something like 'some given individual'. Given the existence of these grammatical and non-synonymous examples, the plurality marker in (i) and (ii) is not redundant, while in (32) through (34) it is.

19. Again, I am not using the term "delete" technically in this context, but rather descriptively. The remarks in footnote (16) with respect to the usage of "morpheme movements" carry over for "morpheme deletion".

20. The parallelism between possessive NPs and Partitive Phrases might be questioned at this point. It is argued in Chapter 4 that the quantified head of Partitive Phrases consists of an NP, and that the constituent within the Partitive phrase that this head is modified by is also an NP; thus, the latter NP is not a specifier (determiner), but rather an adjunct. However, as we shall see shortly, a similar structure can be posited for possessive NPs, as well, insofar as it can be argued that the right-hand branch of the construction is not occupied by an N' , but rather by an N'' . If this is correct, the question arises as to what is meant by the term "head", since the element occupying the right-hand branch would then have the same number of bars as the dominating node (rather than one less) and would thus violate assumptions about phrasal structure of X' -theory. Consider, however, the fact that there is at least one case in English which is problematic in a very similar way: nominal compounds. There, too, a certain node, namely N , immediately dominates two constituents of the same bar level,

namely zero:

(i)



Yet, the right-hand constituent is obviously the head of the construction. (See Fabb (1984) for a discussion and formalization of these issues.) Turkish has such compounds, as well. Now suppose that such a situation, exceptional in terms of X'-theory, is confined to nominal compounds in English, but generalizes to the phrasal level in Turkish. If so, we have good reason to draw parallels between possessive NPs and Partitive Phrases, whether we are justified in calling the element occupying the left-hand branch of the constructions specifiers or not. In order to skirt the issue, I shall call the items on the left-hand branches of all the constructions in question (i.e. sentences, possessive NPs, and Partitive Phrases) subjects, since they are the NPs which are immediately dominated by whichever maximal projection in question in an unmarked word order.

21. The only difference seems to be that in the constructions exemplified in (37), the head is somewhat more specific (or referential) in some hard to characterize way, when compared to the construction illustrated in (36).

22. The examples in (37) illustrate a possible analysis for possessive NPs suggested in footnote 20. As mentioned in that footnote, we had so far been assuming that the inner structure of possessive NPs in Turkish is similar to that of the corresponding constructions in English, in that it conforms to the X'-schema (i.e. $X^n \dashrightarrow \dots X^{n-1}$), and that therefore the right-hand branch of the possessive NP is N' . This, however, is less than clear, as the examples in (37) show. Notice that the sequence following the Genitive-marked NP exhibits modifiers and specifiers; one can even find relative clauses among those modifiers:

(i) şareb-in [[pro çok began - diğ - im] beş size] - si

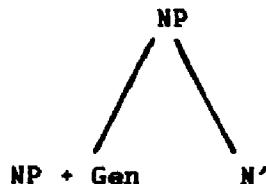
wine-Gen. very like-Participle-1.sg. five bottle-3.sg.

'five bottles of the wine which I liked very much'

Such examples argue for NP-status of the underlined sequence. Moreover, as also mentioned in footnote 20, another argument for the same analysis extends from the analysis proposed for Partitive Phrases: if we assumed NP-status for the right-hand branch of Partitive Phrases, there is no obvious reason for why we shouldn't make the same move for the same position within possessive NPs.

At this point, I do not wish to take a definitive stand in favor of this analysis; however, I did want to point out and to motivate such a view. Notice that if this alternative view of the structure of possessive NPs is correct, one reason for the appeal of attributing the Genitive marking of the possessor NP to the occurrence of the following N' (rather than the AGR element) disappears. That appeal was given by the universality (or, say, near-universality) of the Genitive marking in the following structure:

(ii)



To make the Genitive marking contingent upon AGR rather than upon the N' would then mean missing a generalization on the universal level, since, as mentioned before, English and other languages, where this Genitive Insertion rule would also apply, do not exhibit Agreement morphologically.

But if the right-hand branch of the corresponding structure in Turkish is occupied by NP rather than N', the appeal to universality is not so straightforward, since the structure itself would not be the universally encountered one.

23. This claim is not completely adequate, in that the 3rd person plural pronoun does not exhibit the Genitive morpheme when it appears as the object of this particular set of postpositions. This fact might well be explainable as yet another quirk due to the presence of the "independent" plurality morpheme -1Ar, since the shape of the 3rd person plural pronoun:

(i) onlar

is obviously analyzable into:

(ii) on - lar
3.prs.-pl.

given that the 3rd person singular pronoun is:

(iii) o(n).

Whatever the explanation for this fact (maybe -1Ar, in the most general instance being a morpheme attached to lexical nouns and thus sharing some relevant feature with them, triggers behavior typical for lexical nouns when attached to pronouns), the fact itself is not confined to the 3rd person plural pronoun. Colloquially (and to emphasize the multitude within the group of people involved), -1Ar can also attach to the 1.st and 2.nd plural pronouns; when it does, these pronouns don't exhibit the Genitive either, when they appear as objects of the postpositions in

question:

- (iv)a. **biz** -*(im) **icin / gibi** etc.
 we -Gen. for / like

 'for / like etc. us'

b. **biz** - **ler** (*-im / *-in) **icin / gibi** etc.
 we -pl. -Gen./-Gen. for / like
 1.prs./3.prs.

 'for / like etc. us all'

The same pattern of grammaticality is found for the 2. person plural pronoun as the object of the same list of postpositions. For the 3rd person plural pronoun, however, there is just one form available: the pronoun given above under (ii), which necessarily includes -lAr; the pronoun necessarily lacks Genitive marking in the environments discussed.

- (v) **onlar** (*-in) **icin / gibi** etc.
 3. plural-Gen. for / like
 'for / like etc. them'

24. Clearly, such close correspondences cannot be always found. It is not my intention, however, to give an exhaustive characterization of the meaning of "possessive NP's and of the relationship of their parts to each other.

25. There is one apparent difficulty with the idea that Possessive NPs are maximal projections of INFL (and which was not mentioned in section 2.3.0. where this idea was introduced): This proposal makes two claims, namely

- a. that Possessive NPs will pattern distributionally with Ss, and
- b. that these NPs, as maximal projections of INFL rather than of N, will differ in distributional properties from "regular" NPs, which, as we claimed before, are maximal projections of N--both counterintuitive predictions.

However, these difficulties are only apparent, in that:

- a. Embedded clauses in Turkish (with the exception of "direct complements") do pattern with NPs in that they exhibit the same morphological Cases as the latter in the environment of verbs and postpositions and also as subjects (i.e. they exhibit Nominative or Genitive according to whether they are the subject of a root or an embedded S) and in that they can scramble freely (for examples illustrating these properties, see George & Kornfilt 1981);

- b. The second problem, namely the predicted difference between Possessive NPs and "regular" NPs, is perhaps more troublesome, since these two types of construction do, in fact, share all distributional properties.

This difficulty can be overcome, however, if it is assumed that the AGR element found in Possessive NPs (as well as the "general" type of embedded clause) is a nominal itself (i.e. has the features $[+N]$) --as opposed to the AGR element exhibited by root Ss and direct complements, which is a verbal element (i.e. has the features $[-V]$). (As we saw before, this difference is reflected in the phonological shape of the different AGR elements; cf. (16)a. and b.)

If this approach is correct, Possessive NPs (as well as embedded clauses of the first kind) will exhibit behavior similar to that of regular NPs (i.e. they will be sensitive to the Case filter etc.), even though they are a projection of INFL (i.e. AGR in this case), while the latter are a projection of the head noun; the similarity will derive from the fact that both the AGR element and the head noun are nominals.

26. The following definitions are assumed in Chomsky 1981 and 1982:

- (i) SUBJECT: a. the AGR element in finite clauses
b. the syntactic subject (i.e. [NP,S] or [NP,NP]) elsewhere
- (ii) σ is accessible to α iff
a. σ c-commands α
b. coindexation of σ , α would not violate the i-within-i condition.

For detailed discussion, see Chomsky 1981 and 1982.) According to one proposal made here in the text, the definition of SBJ in (i) needs to be extended for Turkish so as to include the AGR element in possessive NPs, as well.

27. To be exact, Kuno (1972 and Forthcoming) treats the element his in both sentences like:

- (i) John lost his way

and

- (ii) John lost his book

as ambiguous: under one version, the surface pronominal is a genuine pronominal and is free; in the second version, the surface pronoun is an anaphor and is bound. The ungrammatical reading of (i), where the surface pronoun is free:

(iii) *John_i lost his_j way

is filtered out by pragmatics.

28. A few relevant examples follow, where Gothic NPs do not act as governing categories, and where reflexive and free pronouns are in complementary distribution:

(i) jah (is) gap im in [laiseinai seinai / (*is)]
NP
and he_i spoke to them in teaching self's_i *his_i

'And he spoke to them in his doctrine' (Harbert 1984, ex. 9a)

(ii) akei (is) was kunnanda þatei [awaleikanna waldufnja [mahtais
S NP seinaizos
but he was knowing that by-such authority of-power
self's
nau þ s] ustaiknida wesil]
force shown would-be (Harbert 1984, ex. 3a)

(iii) qa þ uh þan Jesus_i bi [daupau is_j (*i)]
NP

and then Jesus_i spoke about [death his_j]_i

(Harbert 1984, ex. 10a)

29. Notice that, for the first time in this discussion, we have introduced in (50)b. an example with a reflexive element to instantiate distributional properties of anaphora. The reason for this omission up to this point has been a reluctance to take a stand on the issue of reflexives at an introductory stage of the discussion. Notice that in the examples considered up until the last one, the anaphors considered occupy subject position, and while, as we saw, reciprocals do occur there, reflexives don't:

(i) a. They bought [each other's pictures]
i i

b. *They bought [themselves'a pictures]
i i

The question arising here is whether it is the reflexive element that is a "well-behaved" anaphor in examples like (i), i.e. whether it reflects deep, systematic properties of anaphors, or whether the reciprocal is the element reflecting such properties. If the former, the reflexive in (i) is ruled out by the binding theory, and the reciprocal will have to be allowed by some special provision. If the latter, then the binding theory would allow for the reflexive, which would then have to be ruled out by some special condition.

As a matter of fact, examples like (i)b. and the following one:

- (ii) They bought [pictures of themselves]
 i i

show that the latter approach has to be the correct one.

One idea that is often mentioned in this context is that there is a morphological restriction (in English and many other languages) against reflexives in Genitive contexts. The afore-mentioned idea of Chomsky and Kuno to treat pronominals in subject position of NPs as bound anaphors would go along well with such a restriction: if the language cannot use an anaphoric element in a certain context due to some idiosyncratic, "mechanic" reason, it would need some other element to fill the gap.

However, it is clear that such a restriction against Genitive reflexives cannot be universal. Harbert cites a few languages (e.g. Gothic, New Testament Greek, Icelandic, Vulgar Latin)--i.e. the aforementioned type of languages for which NPs seem not to behave like governing categories-- where the subject of an NP, i.e. the genitive "possessor", has to be a reflexive.

I shall return to this question later, since Turkish exhibits interesting behavior in this respect.

30. Turkish does not have the English type of NP where the "possessor" occurs in a PP, i.e.

- (i) [the pictures [of [the men]]]
 NP PP NP

The only structure relevant to the discussion about NP as a binding domain is therefore the kind of NP where the possessor is a genitive subject, i.e. examples corresponding to:

- (ii) [the men's pictures]
 NP

31. There is no inherent plural on the head noun of NPs with reciprocal possessors when the intended reading for the head is one of a group consisting of a sum of items (contrary to the way it is in English; i.e.:

(i)a. we washed each other's backs / *back).

To be more precise, a distributive reading is a characteristic property of such NPs. Thus, where the head noun does exhibit (inherent) plural marking, each member of the group denoted by the reciprocal subject would have to "possess" more than one instantiation of the head noun; thus, in (51)c, each author must have written more than one book; (51)a., with plural marking on the head or the possessive NP, would be ungrammatical (assuming the familiar shape of the human body), since each child would be understood to have more than one back. Note that this is not the case in general for NPs with a plural possessor. If the head noun is in the singular, rather than having a distributive reading, it is interpreted as a singular object, possessed jointly by the plural possessor:

(ii) jüri [yazar-lar-⁴ⁿ yarigma-da-ki eeser - in] - i hala oku-ma-mis
jury author-pl.-Gen. compet.-Loc.-rel. work-3.prs.-Acc.still
read-Neg-Past
'The jury has still not read the work of the authors in the competition'

Compare (ii) to (51)b., where the head of the possessive NP is in the singular, yet, obviously, as many books are read as there are authors. In (ii), on the other hand, although it is likely that there is only one work per author in the competition, the only possible reading is that the writers co-authored one joint piece of work which they entered in the competition. In order to get a distributive reading, the head noun must be marked with the plural:

(iii) jüri [yazar-lar-in yarigma-da-ki eeser-ler-in]-i hala oku-ma-mis
-pl.-
'The jury has still not read the works in the competition of the
authors' (i.e. the works are in the competition)

Note also that now, the--pragmatically--more likely reading is that there are several works altogether in the competition, with one work per author. However, a reading where a vague number of works is attributed to each writer is also possible.

32. For the time being, I shall use the graphic sign \emptyset to denote an ec whose nature I shall not be taking a stand on before section 2.3.4.0.

33. We saw before that in a sequence of inherent plural and AGR-plural (the latter just in case of 3rd person plural), only one plural element can surface. We also saw that, whenever a subject of a given construction is phonologically unrealized, the AGR element of that construction has to be completely realized in all of its parts. We therefore feel justified in performing the morphological analysis of the affixed heads in the examples of (54) in the way indicated, i.e. in assigning the plural morpheme to the AGR element, and we shall view the inherent plural marker as phonologically unrealized.

34. Susumu Kuno has pointed out to me (personal communication) that my account makes the following prediction: since I take the reflexive

kendi to be the well-behaved anaphor, which is allowed to occur in subject position of a phrase if that phrase lacks an AGR element, I should expect that where such a reflexive ki-phrase is itself the subject of a larger possessive NP with AGR as its head, the reflexive within the ki-phrase is disallowed because of that AGR element which acts as an accessible subject; this expectation is borne out:

(i) *Ben [([Hasan - in çocuk-lar- in] - in okul - un] - a ve
I -Gen. child-pl.-3sg.Gen school-3.prs.-Dat. and
[Ikendi-m- in - kiler] - in kolej - in] - e git - ti - m
self-1.ag.-Gen.-KIpl. -Gen. college-3.prs.-Dat. ge -Past-1.ag.
'I went to Hasan's children's school and to mine's college'

(The underlined AGR element that bears the superscript z is the crucial element in question.)

35. I am indebted to Susumu Kuno (personal communication) for pointing out that, even under the view that NPs are not governing categories, co-reference between the pronominal subject of the embedded possessive NP and the matrix Dative object is allowed: if the possessive NP is not a governing category, S_1 would be the governing category for the pronominal. Since, by Condition B, co-reference between pro and the overt pronominal subject of the NP is disallowed, the latter would be free in S_1 (i.e. its putative governing category), and could therefore co-refer to Ahmet, which is outside of S_1 .

However, as we shall see in Chapter 3, proponents of the view that the AGR element exhibited by possessive NP does not create a governing category are very likely to be committed to the same point of view with respect to "tenseless" embedded clauses as well, since the basic facts which they would take as relevant (namely possibility of reciprocals in subject position and disjoint reference of overt pronominal subjects in those clauses) are essentially the same as for possessive NPs. If so, S_1 would not be a governing category, and the binding domain for the overt "possessive" pronominal in question would be the matrix sentence, within which it should be disjoint in reference from the oblique object obligatorily; this, however, is not the case.

36. The phenomenon that some pronouns which can be proximate in some contexts are necessarily disjoint in some others is not confined to situations where the opposition between proximate and obviative elements corresponds to pro and overt pronouns, respectively. I am indebted to Irene Heim for having pointed out to me that in German, where pro is not a possible choice (at least not for the subject positions that we have been concerned with; for the possibility that German be regarded as a

"Topic Pro-Drop language", cf. Huang 1983a), there is the possibility of using deictics as pronouns. While deictics and regular pronouns are in free distribution (up to stylistic considerations) in some contexts, in some other contexts there is a split in the picture such that deictics are obligatorily disjoint, while the regular pronouns are free in reference, hence potentially proximate. To see this, observe the following examples:

(i) Hast du diesen Mann gesehen? { Er
i i } weiss nicht, dass die Welt
 Der
i }

have you this man seen? He knows not that the world
rund ist
round is

(ii)a. Jeder Mann glaubt, dass { er
i i/j } der Klugste ist
 der
*i/j }

every man believes that he the smartest is

b. Franz sagte, als er uns über seinen Sohn erzählte, dass
i i i j
said when he to us about his son was telling that

{ er ihn
i j } bewundert
der ihn
*/i i }

he him admires

'Franz said, when he was telling us about his son, that he admires him'

Notice that in (i), where co-referentiality between the deictic pronoun and the antecedent is possible, the two related elements are in different sentences. In both examples in (ii), on the other hand, the elements are in the same structure and separated by one embedding only. It could well be that the Distance Principle is at work here. At any rate, such examples raise the possibility that in pronominal systems with more than one element, some elements are inherently obviative and can be used in a proximate fashion only if the Distance Principle (and/or whatever other principle(s)) allows it.

37. Notice that I am forced to assume the existence of an abstract AGR element in -ki-constructions in order to explain the Genitive marking on the subject--unless -ki itself is assumed to have Case features that it assigns (or which get matched in the usual way). Alternatively, AGR is a PS-category, and its Case properties are independent from its lexical

content. I shall not take a stand on this issue here.

CHAPTER 3:

Application of the Binding Conditions in Embedded Ss and Related Issues

3.0. Condition A:

3.0.0 General Remarks and the Finite Phrase Condition:

Let us start by looking at what Condition A accomplishes, which requires that anaphora be bound in their governing categories.

It predicts that, in root sentences, only non-subjects can be anaphora--a correct prediction on the universal plane (with the exception of some languages where anaphors can apparently be bound by pragmatic and/or discourse antecedents and thus should be able to occupy subject position of root as well as embedded sentences).

The Condition, taken at face value, also makes the same prediction with respect to embedded sentences, if S is taken to be a binding domain. There, however, this prediction is clearly falsified in many instances, most notably in those cases where the embedded sentence lacks inflection (as is the case in English); thus, we have example sets like

the following:

Root sentences:

(1) a. *Each other_i liked the men_i

b. *Himself_i liked Jim_i

(2) a. The men_i liked each other_i

b. Jim_i liked himself_i

Embedded sentences:

(3) a. *John_i knew [that [himself_i would be liked]]

b. *The men_i knew [that [each other_i would be liked]]]

So far, everything is as predicted. However, if any S would be taken to be a binding domain, irrespective of its inflection, the following two examples would be--incorrectly--predicted to be ungrammatical:

(4) a. John_i believed [himself_i to be liked]

b. They_i believed [each other_i to be liked]

This situation motivated the interest in finding ways to differentiate in a principled way examples like (3) from those in (4), i.e. to characterize sentences whose subject positions are, unexpectedly, penetrable to antecedents in higher clauses.

While in Chomsky (1973) the crucial factor was claimed to be [+Tense], later literature on various languages showed that this claim cannot be valid universally. For instance, George & Kornfilt (1981) argue that, in Turkish, the crucial parameter is the AGR element at the

periphery of the domain in question.

While this view has been adopted and integrated into the GB framework, it has also been challenged by some researchers (essentially for Romance languages, where it has been claimed (cf. Picallo 1984) that the crucial parameter is Tense, after all), while having been accepted and refined by other scholars (cf. Harbert 1984 and the discussion of his views in Chapter 2).

Here, I shall be interested in defending and elaborating the original G&K analysis for binding domains in Turkish. In the course of this endeavour, I shall consider the view--as I did in Chapter 2 for Possessive NPs--(both as a logical possibility and as advanced by Enc 1982) that, even for Turkish itself, AGR is irrelevant in delimiting and defining binding domains.

Just as in the case of Possessive NPs, the crucial counterexamples are obviously of two sorts:

1. Domains delimited by AGR, whose subject positions are occupied by anaphora bound by antecedents in a higher domain (hence Condition A-violations, unless AGR is irrelevant);
2. Domains delimited by AGR, whose subject positions are occupied by pronouns which are disjoint in reference from some antecedent in a higher domain, rather than being free (hence Condition B-violations, unless AGR is irrelevant). We shall address facts of this second type in section 1.

Let me start by presenting a few examples from the literature:

3.0.1. Counterexamples to the Finite Phrase Condition in Turkish:

Condition A-violations (if AGR is an accessible SUBJECT):

Constructions with embedded "Factive Nominals":

- (5) Askerler [birbirlerin-in ölü - eceğ - in] - e inan-iyor - du
i i
soldiers e.o.-Gen. die-Fut. -3.prs.-Dat. believe-Past
Part. Pres.
Prog.

(Enc's (8))

'The soldiers believed that each other were going to die'

- (6) Yazar-lar [birbirlerin-in aptal ol-dug-un] - u san-iyor-du
i i
author-pl. e.o. -Gen. stupid be-Part.-3.prs.-Acc.believe

Pres.Pr.-Past

'The authors believed that e.o. were stupid'

- (7) Talebe-ler [birbirlerin-in sınıf-ta kai-acag-in] -
i i
student-pl. e.o. -Gen. class-Loc.stay-Fut.-3.prs.-Acc.

Öğren - di
learn-Past

'The students learned that e.o. were going to flunk'

- (8) Ali [kendin-in yariş-i kaybed-eceğ-in]-den emin-di
i i
himself-Gen. race-Acc.lose -Fut.-3.prs.-Abl. sure-Past

'Ali was sure that himself was going to lose the race'

'The officers still don't know that they are going to be appointed to Ankara'

3.0.1.0 Reciprocals as Embedded Subjects and Differences Between Complement Types--A Preliminary Picture

Let us first look at the examples with the reciprocal anaphor (leaving the reflexive embedded subjects aside for the time being). They are not totally ungrammatical; however, they are far from perfect--at least for myself and some other native speakers I consulted. (To be exact, (5) and (7) are close to ungrammatical for me; (6) is much better.)

In order to appreciate this point, let us look at these examples in comparison with others (in particular, other Gerundives), rather than in isolation.

Factive Nominal:

'The soldiers didn't know that e.o. were afraid of the enemy'

Action Nominal:

(11) ? Asker-ler [birbirlerin-in düşman-a teslim ol- me -sin] -a
i i
soldier-pl. e.o. -Gen enemy surrender -Part.-3.prs.-Dat
(Action)
karşı - y - də - lar
against-Cop.-Past-3.pl.

'The soldiers were against e.o.'s surrendering to the enemy'

Factive Nominal:

(12) ??/* Yazar-lar [birbirlerin-in bu akşam ilk defa ol-arak viski
i i
author-pl. e.o. -Gen.this evening first time being
iç-eceq - in]-i san-iyor-du
drink-Fut.-3.prs.-Acc.
believe-Pres.Pr

'The authors believed that e.o. were going to drink whiskey for
the first time tonight'

Action Nominal:

(13) Yazar-lar [birbirlerin-in viski iç - me -sin] - e
i i
-Part.- -Dat.
(Action)
kızdı-lar
get angry-Past-3.pl.

'The authors got angry that e.o. drank whiskey'

Factive Nominal:

(14) *(Biz) [birbirimiz-in toplantı-ya gel-eceq - in]-i
i i
we e.o. -Gen. meeting-Dat. come-Fut. -3.prs. -Acc.
bil - iyor - du - k
know-Pres.Progr.-Past-1.pl.

'We knew that e.o. were going to come to the meeting'

Action Nominal:

(15) ? (Biz) birbirimiz-in toplanti-ya gel - me - sinl - i
i i -Part. -3.pra.-Acc.
(Action)
isti-yor-du-k
want-Pres.Pr.-Past.1.pl.

'We wanted that s.o. should come to the meeting'[1]

These examples show that there is a clear-cut difference between the so-called "Factive Nominal" and the "Action Nominal" in that the former behaves in a more opaque way.

Now, there is another difference that is discernible between the two "gerundives": while both types lack the full array of tense and aspect differentiations that root verbs (as well as "direct complement" verbs--cf. section 2.0.) display, there is nevertheless a remainder of tense in Factive Nominals, thus enabling them to have time reference independently from the higher clause under which they are embedded, while Action Nominals are totally dependent on the tense of the higher clause (unless some independence is achieved via time adverbials).[2]

George and Kornfilt (1981) mention this distinction; more discussion and relevant examples are found in Robson and Enc (1974).

Consider now the following examples (where no time adverbials are included in the embedded Ss, so as not to emphasize any difference between embedded and higher clause which isn't due to the gerundive

itself):

Factive Nominals:

- (16) [viski iç - tiğ -iniz]-i bil - iyor - uz
drink-DIk - 2.pl. -Acc. know - Pres.Progr. - 1.pl.

'We know that you drink/drank whiskey'

- (17) [viski iç -eceğ -iniz] - i bil - iyor - uz
-AcAk-

'We know that you will drink whiskey'

Action Nominals:

- (18) [viski iç - me - niz] - e karşı-y - dı - k/ karşı-y-ız/karşı
-mA- -Dat. against-Cop.-
-Past-1.pl./against-1.pl/against

ol-acağ-ız
be-Fut.-1.pl.

'We were/are/will be against your drinking whiskey'

Assuming that these examples have, at least initially, established our point--namely, that Action Nominals have no Tense operator at all, while Factive Nominals do have one, albeit of a poorly differentiated kind--we are led to positing a correlation between transparency-opacity of domains and the Tense operator. If so, do we have to accept (or return to) the idea that the crucial factor for setting up binding domains is Tense rather than AGR?

Before taking a stand on this issue, let me continue the discussion by bringing up further problems for the G & K view of the Finite Phrase Condition as defined in terms of overt AGR.

3.1. Condition B and Apparent Problems

We have just seen some problems posed by the possibility of

reciprocal subjects within embedded Finite Phrases. To compound the difficulty that the G & K proposal has with respect to Condition A, it also, not surprisingly, seems to endanger Condition B.

- (19) Ali [on-un gal - eceğ - in] - i söyle - di
i *i/j
(Eng's 4) he-Gen. come-Future - 3.sg.-Acc. say -Past
'Ali said that he was going to come'

(20) Asker-ler [onlar - t̄n ölü-eceğ - in] - e inan-ıyor - du
i *i/j
soldier-pl. they - Gen. die-Fut. -3.pra.-Dat. believe-Pres.Pr.-Past
(Eng's 6)
'The soldiers believed that they were going to die'

(21) Ayşe [on-un sınıf-ta kal-acağ-ınl]-dan kork-uyor-du
i *i/j
(Eng's 7)
'Ayşe was afraid that 3.sg. was going to flunk'

If AGR indeed creates a "governing category," then the subject pronominal of the domain in question should be free in reference, which it is not--a situation already encountered in Chapter 2 with respect to the subjects of Possessive NPs.

Suppose now, for the sake of argument, that G&K were completely mistaken in their view of the definition of Finiteness, and that Tense is the crucial element defining opaque domains, after all. If gerundives were assumed to be tenseless, this would explain the possibility of getting reciprocals as embedded subjects as well as the disjoint reference facts we just saw.

There are two objections to this return to the former status quo that come to mind immediately: One is based on the behavior of

so-called "direct complements" (for more information on these, see G&K 1981), and the other on the binding properties of pro in subject position of all of the constructions we have discussed so far.

Let us consider these points in the order mentioned above.

3.2. An Initial Defense of the Finite Phrase Condition

3.2.0. Direct Complements

As mentioned before, most verbs in Turkish "take" embedded clauses that are gerunds of some type. However, a subset of verbs that otherwise take Factive nominals also optionally take complement clauses that are fully tensed. These matrix verbs correspond to ECM-type verbs in English (and all gloss more or less as "believe", "think", "assume"). Such "direct" (or "fully tensed") complements come themselves in two variants: one type with a full (verbal) AGR element, the other without AGR (while still being fully tensed):

- (22) a. (biz), [sen / pro sinema-ya git - ti - n] san-iyor - du - k
we 2.sg. -Dat.go -Past -2.sg.believe-Prog.-Past-1.pl
'We thought you had gone to the movies'
- b. (biz) [sen-i / *pro sinema-ya git - ti] san-iyor-du-k
-Acc.
'We believed you to have gone to the movies'
- (23) a. (ben) [siz / pro sínif-ta kal-di-niz] san-iyor-du-m
I 2.pl. class-Loc. stay-Past-2.pl.believe-Progr.-Past-1.sg
'I thought you had flunked'
- b. (ben) [siz-i/*pro sínif-ta kal-di-l] san-iyor-du-m
-Acc.
'I believed you to have flunked'

When comparing the members of each one of these pairs, we notice immediately that some of our earlier claims receive confirmation: where the AGR element is exhibited on the embedded verb, the embedded subject has either Genitive or Nominative Case (here, where the AGR elements are of the verbal paradigm, the Case of the subject is Nominative). Where the AGR element is missing, Nominative marking on the subject is impossible. (In these latter instances, we assume that S'-Deletion has taken place, and that the matrix verb, otherwise an assigner of Accusative Case, is responsible for the surfacing of the embedded subject as marked for Accusative.) We thus see an illustration of the correlation posited earlier between AGR and the Case of the co-superscripted subject, and in particular between verbal AGR and Nominative Case on the subject.

Secondly, we see that only in those instances where the AGR element is present on the embedded verb can the subject position be occupied by pro, but not otherwise--a situation in accordance with the Identifiability Condition.

Let us come back now to our present concern, namely to the question of how the Binding Conditions apply to the subjects of these complements.

3.2.0.0. Direct Complements and Condition A:

- (24)a. *(Biz) [birbirimiz sinema-ya git - ti - k1] san-tyor-du-k
we e.o. -Nom. -Dat. go -Past-1.pl.think-Progr.-Past-1.pl.
'We thought e.o. went to the cinema'
- b. (biz) [birbirimiz-i sinema-ya git - ti] san - tyor - du - k
-Acc.
'We believed e.o. to have gone to the cinema'

Note that in (24)a., where AGR is present in the embedded S, the reciprocal is ungrammatical, while in b., where AGR is missing, it is grammatical. The same correlation between grammaticality and presence versus absence of AGR can be observed, when the embedded subject anaphor is a reflexive.

- (25)a. *(siz) [kendiniz sınıf-ta kal-di-niz] san-tyor-mug-sunuz
2.pl. yourselves class-Loc.stay-Past-2.pl. -Progr.-
believe -Past-2.pl.
'It is said that you believe yourselves to have flunked'

Since the tense element is exactly the same in all examples, the permeability of the embedded S to anaphoric binding cannot be due to Tense, but has to be due to the AGR element.[3]

3.2.0.1. Direct Complements and Condition B:

A parallel argument with respect to Condition B can be made in defense of the G&K proposal (or, rather, against the "Tensed-S"

proposal):

- (26) a. Ali [o sinif-ta kal-di-AGR] san-tyor-du
i *i/j

'Ali thought he flunked'

- b. Ali (on-u sinif-ta kal-di] san-tyor-du
i *i/j

'Ali believed him to have flunked'

- (27) a. Öğrenci-ler [onlar sinif-ta kal-di(-lar)]
i *i/j

student-pl. they class-Loc. stay-Past-3.pl.

san-tyor-du
think-Pres.Progr-Past

'The students thought they had flunked'

- b. Öğrenci-ler [onlar-i sinif-ta kal-di] san-tyor-du
i *i/j
-Acc.

'The students believed them to have flunked'

While these examples seem to be, at first glance, problematic for the G&K proposal--since the embedded subject pronouns are disjoint no matter whether there is AGR on the embedded clause or not--they certainly are problematic for any theory that attributes prime relevance for defining binding domains to the Tense elements, since Direct Complements are fully differentiated for Tense and Aspect. (Here, too, as in Chapter 2 for Possessive NPs, we shall claim that the ungrammaticality of the a. sentences in these last two example sets is due not to the binding conditions, but to the Avoid Pronoun Principle, since pro is available in such constructions. The ungrammaticality of the b.-sentences, however, is due to the Binding Conditions: the lack of AGR makes the direct Complement totally permeable to the application

of Condition B; in other words, the binding domain for the embedded (accusative) pronominal subject is the higher clause; hence its disjointness in reference from its antecedent which is also a constituent of the same binding domain.)

3.3. Empty Pronominals as Embedded Subjects

3.3.0. pro in Embedded S_a

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After having thus defended the G&K proposal against attacks based on Tense and having attributed to Tense when present, only a secondary role in determining binding domains (and this only where AGR is "weak," but is present, as well) let us now turn to the behavior of pro in embedded S_a.

The facts we encounter should not be surprising, given the facts of Chapter 2 where we saw that pro is the representative pronominal. Therefore here, too, we expect that pro in subject position should be free and thus should be able to refer to an antecedent outside the gerundive:

- (28) Ali [pro gel-eceğ-in]-i söyle - di
i i come-Fut.-3.ag.-Acc. say-Past

'Ali said that he was going to come'
(Compare with 19)

- (29) Asker-ler [pro ölücek - lerin]-e inan-iyor - du
i i soldier-pl. die-Future- 3.pl.-Dat. believe-Progr.-Past

'The soldiers believed that they were going to die' (Compare to 20)

(30) Ayse [pro sənif-ta kai-acag - iñ]-dan kork-uyor - du
i i
class-Loc. stay-Fut.-3.sg. -Abl. fear-Progr.-Past

'Ayse was afraid that she was going to flunk' (Compare with 21)

First of all, note the full agreement morphology on the embedded clauses in the examples (28) through (30) above and compare it with the impoverished AGR morphology in all the examples with the embedded reciprocal subject. Once again, it looks like the extent to which AGR is overtly realized determines the ability of AGR to act as an accessible SUBJECT, just as it did for possessive NPs. This is a desirable effect, if we take the gap in embedded subject position in the examples above to be pro, a pronominal, which would thus be free in its governing category, just as required by Condition B.

We might still want to consider, however, the possibility that the gap in examples (28) through (30) actually represents PRO, thus opening up once again the question of whether gerundives, lacking a differentiated tense system, are governing categories after all..

3.3.1. Can PRO be the Subject of Gerundives?

A discussion about whether the subject position of S_a is occupied by pro or PRO, in other words a pure pronominal (within a governing category) or an anaphoric pronominal (lacking a governing category) is bound to be more fruitful where S_as are concerned rather than for NPs, because it appears that in the former, the subject position can be occupied by two distinct types of ecs with different properties, one of which has to be PRO and can thus be differentiated from the other ec.

Let us first review the arguments in favor of assuming PRO to be the subject of gerundives.

One fact which we saw before, namely that the gap found in examples like (28) through (30) appears only in subject position and not as a non-subject argument[4], would receive the following explanation now: rather than saying, as we did before, that the gap is pro and is ungrammatical as a non-subject because it is not identified by AGR, we now could say that PRO is governed by V, which would account for the ungrammaticality.

As for those cases where the ungrammatical gap in non-subject position is salvaged by further embedding within a possessive NP--we saw such cases before in Chapter 2, examples in section 2.12--one could say that the gap in subject position of the non-subject NP is now protected from government by V by virtue of being inside a maximal projection and that PRO is therefore allowed (rather than saying, as we did, that the gap is pro and is allowed because it is identified by AGR. I shall give one such example here for the sake of convenience; compare the following (31) with (i) in footnote 4:

- (31) Oyuncu-lar [seyirci-ler-in [\emptyset antrenör-lerin]-i
i S J NP i
player-pl. spectator-pl.-Gen. coach -3.pl. - Acc.
alkışla-dık -larin] -t duy-mu-yor-lar
clap -DIk -3.pl. -Acc. hear-Neg.-Progr.-3.pl.

'The players didn't hear that the spectators were applauding their coach'

Before attempting to refute the view that PRO is the subject of

gerundives, let us look at some examples where the subject position is occupied by an empty element which is not a pure pronominal and must therefore be PRO.

3.3.1.0. PRO as the Subject of Infinitivals

Just as in English, Turkish has structures where an embedded subject position is realized as a phonological gap, and where the embeded clause is non-finite in the sense of G&K, i.e. where there is no AGR element. The subject gap in these constructions behaves differently from the corresponding gap in finite clauses, and does so in one of the two following ways: It either co-refers obligatorily with an antecedent in the matrix clause (while the subject gap of a finite clause co-refers potentially and has inherent, free reeference, just like an overt pronoun in, say, English), or it has vague, general reference (rather than the specific, "individualistic" reference of the subject gap of a Finite Phrase). It seems therefore that the Turkish structures in question correspond rather closely to English infinitival constructions, with a "Control-PRO" in the case of obligatory co-reference with an antecedent, and with PRO_{arb} in the instance of vague reference. Some

representative examples follow:

Control - PRO:

Subject-Control:

'We want to eat the lobster'

- b. (Biz) [PRO t sev - il - mek] isti-yor-uz
i i i love-Passive-INF

'We want to be loved'

Object-Control:

- (33) (Biz.) Hasan-ⁱ [PRO ⁱtatakoz-u ⁱye-meg]^{-e} zorla-dⁱ - k
 i i i
 -Acc. lobster-Acc.set-INF-Dat.force-Past-1.pl.

'We forced Hasen to eat the lobster'

Arbitrary PRO:

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| (34) | [PRO | <i>tatakoz</i> | <i>ye-sek</i>) | <i>güzel</i> | <i>sey - dir</i> |
| | <i>arb</i> | | | <i>eat-INE</i> | <i>nice</i> <i>thing-is</i> |

'To eat lobster is nice'

"Pragmatic Control" of Arbitrary PRO:

'To eat lobsters is beneficial for the ailing'

Notice that both Control PRO and Arbitrary PRO occur in clauses that lack AGR. Now if the binding theory applies in Turkish the way it does in English (and other better known European languages)--and there is no reason to assume otherwise unless faced with compelling evidence

to the contrary--, thus if PRO has to be ungoverned, two results should follow:

1. Turkish has a VP--otherwise, the subject position would be governed by V. (I am bringing up this issue, which has nothing to do with the questions we are interested in right now, because this fact has been contested on various occasions, just as it has been for other "word-order free languages," as well.)
2. If, as we just claimed, the subject position of the constructions above is occupied by PRO (with its own distinctive semantics, as opposed to pro), and if the Binding Theory holds, then the embedded clauses lack a governor of the subject position. Since they also lack overt AGR, it makes sense to identify the missing governor with AGR. Hence AGR, where it is overtly present, is a governor of the subject--especially given all the Case marking facts (which carry over for embedded Ss from all that was said about Case for subjects in the two previous chapters) and the binding facts we have seen so far.

3.3.1.1. Differences Between the Subject "Gap" of Infinitives and of Finite Phrases

3.3.1.1.0. Alternation Possibilities With Overt NPs

It should be mentioned at this juncture that, in Finite Phrases, the gap in subject position (which we identified as pro) can alternate

with any kind of phonologically realized NPs--among which also are overt pronominals and anaphora--albeit without sharing binding properties with them. This can be taken as weak evidence that the subject position is governed, since it is Case marked. (Of course, the strength of this argument depends on the success with which I succeeded before in showing that the Genitive Case marking on the subjects of NPs and embedded Ss, as well as the abstract Case of "incorporated" subjects, is assigned via government rather than by a "last resort" type of Case insertion. Otherwise, one could say that, with or without AGR, the subject position of S and NP is ungoverned, and that, whenever a phonologically realized NP occupies that position, a Nominative/Genitive insertion rule applies to save the item from the Case Filter. Hence, we wouldn't have an argument that AGR is the head of NP and S, and that the subject gap in Finite Phrases is pro rather than PRO.)

This somewhat weak argument is strengthened, however, when we consider that in AGR-less embedded Ss, the subject gap cannot alternate with any lexical NP whatsoever[5], no matter what its binding properties:

(36) q. asker-ler	dün	- den	beri	[PRO
				*sonlar/onlar-in
soldier-pl.yesterday-Abl			since	3.pl./3.pl.-Gen.
				*birbirleri/*birbirlerinin
				e.o. / e.o.-Gen.
				*kendileri/*kendilerin-in
				themselves/themselves-Gen.
				*polis-ler/*polis-ler-in
				-pl./ -Gen.

Universite-yi i̇şgal et-meğl-e çalıq - şyor - lar
 -Acc occupy -INF -Dat. try -Progress.-3.pl.

'The soldiers have been trying since yesterday to occupy/for e.o. to occupy/for themselves to occupy/for the police to occupy the university'

This cannot be due to a property of the matrix verb (say, to the effect that it requires the embedded subject to be PRO, hence controlled), since within the same root context, an embedded -mA complement with AGR and with either pro or an overt subject is possible:

- (36) b. eaker-ler dün - den beri (pro / onlar - t̄n / polis-ler-in
soldier-pl. yesterday-Abl. since 3.pl.-Gen. police-pl.-Gen
üniversite-yi ısgal et - me - lerinl - e qalıq - t̄yor - lar
-mA -3.pl.

If it were the case that AGR had no influence on the Case marking of the subject, and if the empty element in subject position were the same irrespective of the Finiteness of its phrase, then the question arises as to why phonologically realized subjects can alternate with the subject gap in Finite Phrases, but not in Non-Finite Phrases; in other words, if phonologically realized NPs get their Case by Case insertion in subject position of Finite Phrases, the same rule should be operative in Non-Finite Phrases as well, thus allowing for lexical NPs as subjects there. Since the latter are disallowed, the Case-marking of the subjects of Finite Phrases must be due to AGR; hence, the gap that appears in Finite Phrases can be governed, while the gap of Inifinitivals is not governed. (Actually, the last step of this reasoning does not follow from this argument alone; what this argument shows by itself--without any connection to the previous ones in this chapter and Chapter 2 --is that the Case marking on the subject of Finite Phrases is due to AGR. It does not show, however, that the Case in question is assigned via government. As mentioned before, a putative

Case insertion rule could be conditioned so as to need the presence of AGR as (part of) its environment. The facts mentioned in the last two paragraphs would then be accounted for, without having to assume that AGR is the head of clauses and NPs and thus governs the subject position. Therefore, this last argument carries the full weight of differentiating between pro and PRO only in the context of the whole series of arguments considered.)

3.3.1.1.1. The Plural-AGR "Sub-Morpheme"

Yet another piece of evidence that we are dealing here with two different e.c.s comes from the behavior of the plural-agreement "sub-morpheme" we saw in the first part of Chapter 2. There we saw that, where the plural part of the 3rd person plural AGR element is missing, there can be no phonological gap in the subject position of a Finite Phrase. If it were PRO that occupied that position, it would be very strange indeed that full AGR with the phonological realization of all relevant features should be necessary in order to sanction an element which otherwise typically occurs in constructions that lack any kind and extent of AGR whatsoever. In a system where there are two kinds of "empty" pronominal forms, however, and where one of these is a "pure," non-anaphoric pronominal with specific reference all of whose pronominal features need to be identified overtly, the situation is straightforward: we are dealing with this latter pronominal in Finite Phrases, and with the anaphoric, ungoverned pronominal when AGR is lacking.

3.3.1.1.2. "Bound Variable" versus "Co-Referential" Interpretation of the Subject Gap

Yet another argument in favor of a distinction between PRO and pro (and a correlation between this distinction and the presence of AGR) comes from different binding properties of PRO and pro in certain contexts. Chao (1981) discusses the following fact (the observation of which she attributes to Partee (1975)): In constructions involving the item only, e.g.:

- (37) Only John expected [_S, that [_S he would win]]

the following two readings are possible:

A. A "co-referential" reading, where the embedded pronoun he has free reference and can, as usual, refer to its antecedent, namely John. We can paraphrase (37) under reading A as follows:

- (38) No one except for John expected John to win.

B. A "bound variable" reading, where the embedded pronoun is interpreted in the manner of a variable bound by a quantifier. The following can serve as a paraphrase for this reading:

- (39) No one except for John expected himself to win.

Note that the corresponding Control structure with PRO and the embedded subject lacks the co-referential reading:

- (40) Only John expected [PRO to win]

Since (40) cannot mean that other people than John didn't expect John to win, but rather that they didn't expect themselves to win, we

conclude that only the bound variable reading is available to such Control structures. Hence, examples like (40) can be used as a diagnostic for PRO.

Let us first check whether this diagnostic carries over to Turkish by testing it on an infinitival construction, whose subject is doubtlessaly PRO:

- (41) Sırf Hasan [PRO yarışma-y+ kazan-may]-i um -uyor-du
only race -Acc. win -INF -Acc. hope-Progr.-Past

'Only Hasan was hoping to win the race'

Indeed, the only reading available here is the bound variable reading; in other words, the sentence cannot mean that nobody but Hasan expected Hasan to win. Feeling safe now that the diagnostic for embedded PRO in the sırf 'only' context works in Turkish, we can proceed to using it in Finite clauses:

- (42) Sırf Hasan ([yarışma-y+ kazan - acağ - i] -i um-uyor - du
only race -Acc. win - Fut. -3.sg.-Acc.hope-Progr.Past

This construction does have both the bound variable and, crucially, the "co-referential" reading (although the first might be the preferred one). In other words, the subject gap in the embedded Finite Phrase behaves just like the corresponding English overt pronoun of example (37) in its binding properties. Hence, the gap here--as opposed to the gap in the infinitival--is a pure pronominal, hence pro rather than PRO; once again, in addition to this welcome result, we can also conclude that the presence of AGR which co-occurs with pro (but is missing in constructions with PRO) is relevant in that it creates a domain within which a pro-subject is not disjoint in reference from an antecedent

outside that binding domain.[6]

3.3.2. pro as a "Genuine" Pronominal: Strong Crossover Facts

Let me now mention yet another property of pro that makes it pattern with English overt pronouns and which has to do with Strong Crossover constructions.

In English, constructions like the following illustrate a certain constraint whose exact formulation I shall postpone giving for the time being and which is referred to as the "Strong Crossover" phenomenon in the literature:

- (43) The man [who [he thinks [t likes Mary]]]
 i i]/i i

Crucially, the pronoun that precedes the trace cannot be co-indexed with it. Where the pronoun follows such a trace, the construction is grammatical:

- (44) The man [who [t thinks [he likes Mary]]]
 i i i i

(A formulation of the Strong Crossover Constraint based on the hierarchical configuration of pronominal and co-indexed trace (so as to prohibit a variable to have a pronominal antecedent) is given in Chomsky (1977)).

Let us now look at the corresponding Turkish examples:

'The man who thinks that he is in love with Ayse'

verbus:

Clearly, the Strong Crossover Phenomenon is to be observed in Turkish, as well, and pro participates in the phenomenon in a way entirely similar to the English overt pronouns (irrespective of how the Strong Crossover Constraint is characterized; suppose that this is done in terms of Binding Condition C: (As a(n) Referential expression), the variable has to be A(rgument)-free (in the domain of the operator that A-binds it)).

Interestingly, we see that binding behavior can differentiate between types of empty elements. In the previous section, the elements differentiated were pro and PRO. Here, the items involved are pro and variable. It is also interesting to note that the latter differentiation is possible in a language like Turkish which has no overt wh-movement (or, rather, not much direct evidence for wh-movement), and also that the Binding Theory has to hold--at least--at LF.

3.3.3. pro Cannot be Trace

Before leaving the issue of the distribution and characterization of pro, let me also briefly entertain--and dismiss--the possibility that the empty element we have been calling pro is actually always a trace itself--presumably an empty anaphor (we just showed that, at least for those instances where it is not directly A-bound, it has to be distinguished from an empty variable; for another argument to the same effect, see discussion of example (47) and related examples in the remainder of this section).

If the position of the empty subject in Finite Phrases is occupied by an empty anaphor, by Condition B of the binding theory, that anaphor would have to be A-bound. The only conceivable binder is the AGR-element, however, whose position as a head of the phrase is not an argument position. Moreover, if AGR were the anaphoric binder of the subject position, we would expect overt anaphors to freely occur in that position--even in root Ss--, but they don't, as we have had ample opportunity to see so far.

Now, I shall turn to the promised additional argument against pro as a trace which is a variable, i.e. is A-bound.

The properties of the following construction argue that the element in subject position of Finite Phrases can't be trace:

- (47) Dün [Hasan-^{ia} φ] sinema-ya git - ti - k
yesterday -with -Dat.go -Paat-1.pl.

Reading 1: 'Yesterday, Hasan and we went to the movies'

Reading 2: 'Yesterday, Hasan and I went to the movies'

It can be shown (as was done in Kornfilt (1979)) that the NPs marked with the suffix -1A in constructions like (47), where the AGR on the verb, under one reading, does not correspond to the features of the subject, are not simply committative objects, but are part of a larger NP with a empty constituent, which is pro and which is, partially, identified by AGR.

It seems that the availability of the 2nd reading for constructions like (47) correlates with whether the language in question is a Pro-Drop language or not--a fact suggestive in itself with respect to the question about the identity of a--putative--empty subject.

Perhaps more to the point here is the fact that Turkish observes the Coordinate Structure Constraint; thus, for instance, one conjunct within a coordinate structure cannot scramble by itself, nor can it contain a gap due to "relativization":

Scrambling:

- (48) a. [Ahmet-le Mehmet] dün sinema-ya git - ti - ler
 -with yesterday -Dat. go -Past -3.pl.
 'Ahmet and Mehmet went to the movies yesterday'
b. * Ahmet-le Ø dün sinema-ya git-ti-ler Mehmet

"Relativization":

(49) a. [[Ahmed-in okul-a başla-ma- ~~st~~]-yla [Ayşe-nin Üniversite-yi
school-Dat.start-Nom.-3.sg.-with -Gen. -Acc.

terket-me-sin]]-i hoş karşıla-mı-yor-um
leave-Nom.-3.sg.-Acc.nice receive-Neg.-Prog.
-1.sg.

'I don't like it that Ahmet started school and Ayşe left the university'

b. * [[[Ahmed- in okul-a başla-ma-~~st~~]yla [Ayşe-nin φ
terket-me-sin]]-i hoş karşıla-ma-dığ-ı] Üniversite
i

'The university that I don't like that Ahmet started school and Ayşe
left (it)'

These facts are not surprising, if we identify the gaps in these
constructions as variables. On the other hand, within a coordinate
structure, it is fine to have a pronoun in just one of the conjuncts:

(50) I don't approve of John's hating Bill and Jane's marrying him.

Thus, if Turkish pros correspond to English overt pronouns (as we
have argued so far), we would expect them to be able to occur in just
one conjunct within a coordinate structure. Hence, the empty elements
within the larger subject NPs in constructions like (47) (and thus also
in subject position of other kinds of Finite Phrases with overt AGR
elements) cannot be traces, but have to be pronominals, hence they are
pro.[8] (As noted above, this discussion eliminates the possibility that
pro is a trace which is a variable. However, the subject ec in a
question could also be the trace of AGR, as pointed out to me by Noam
Chomsky, and as claimed for Italian in Rizzi (1982), I shall not
entertain this possibility here.)

At this juncture, I think that we can safely claim to have amassed sufficient evidence and arguments to the effect that there is in Turkish a distinct empty element which is a pure pronominal and which reflects the properties of the binding theory for pronominals, and that the overt AGR element on clauses and NPs creates binding domains and is the head of the phrases it is attached to.

Now we have to explain why some embedded clauses, although Finite in G&K's sense, are more "transparent" to the application of the binding theory than others.

3.4. Some More Differences Between Complement Types

We saw in the introductory sections of this chapter that -dIk-complements are (or can be) independent from the matrix from the point of view of time reference, while -mA-complements cannot. It also seemed to be the case that the latter are more tolerant of reciprocals in their subject position than are the former. (The reason why reciprocals are tolerated in this position at all is discussed in Chapter 2, with respect to Possessive NPs.)

In the following sections, I shall address a few more distinctions between these two complement types.

3.4.0. WH-Questions

WH-words in Turkish are in-situ. Therefore, differences in the scope of wh-words, which are expressed in terms of surface order in a

language like English with overt wh-movement, cannot be expressed in this way in Turkish. Such distinct interpretations with respect to scope are nevertheless present in Turkish, and are expressed overtly by intonational differences only.

Now, it seems to be the case that wh-constituents in either type of complement can have wide scope:

-dIk ("Factive" Complements:

- (51) a. [Parti-ye kim -in gel-dīg-in] -i bil-mek isti-yor -sun?
party-Dat. who-Gen. come-DIk-3.sg.-Acc.know-Inf.want-Prog.-2.sg.
'Who do you want to know came to the party?'

b. [Parti-ye kim-in gel-dīg-in]-i sor-du-n?
-Acc. ask-Past-2.sg.
'Who did you ask came to the party?'

-mA ("Action") Complements:

- (52) a. [parti-ye kim-in gel-me-sin] -i isti-yor-sun?
-mA-3.sg.-Acc. want-Progr.-2.sg.
'Who do you want to come to the party?'

b. [parti-ye kim-in gel-me-sin] -e k̄z - d̄ - n?
mA- 3.sg.-Dat. angry-Past - 2.sg.
'Who were you angry that came to the party?'

However, while some -dIk complements allow for narrow-scope questions, -mA complements never do:

- (53) [parti-ye kim-in gel-dīg-in]-i bil-iyor-um/sor-du-m/enli-ya-na-di-m
know-Progr.-1.sg./ /understand -
ask-Past-1.sg./-abil.-
-Neg-Past-1.sg.
'I know/asked/couldn't understand [who came to the party]'

'I want/got angry [that who came to the party]'

I would like to claim that, in conjunction with not having a Tense operator, -MA complements also lack a wh-operator. If we assume that:

a) wh-questions in a language like Turkish are accounted for by LF-movement into COMPs that are [+WH], and that:

b) the semantics of the matrix verbs taking indirect questions are such that these verbs can be characterized as taking [-WH] complements, we have an intuitively satisfying patterning of propositionality (in terms of having Tense and WH-operators) and opacity (in terms of the binding conditions). (This point is taken up again in Chapter 5, section 5.)

3.4.1. Co-Occurrence Restrictions on Neg-Elements

In Turkish, a negative NP has to co-occur with a negative verb within a certain domain:

- (55) Kinse gec gel - ne - di / *gel-di
 nobody late come - Neg.-Past / come-Past
 'Nobody came late'

- (56) kimse-nin *geç* *gel - me - diŋ - in*]-i *hatırla - dı - lar*
 **gel - dig - in*]-i *remember -Past-3.pl.*

'They remembered that nobody came late'

While the domain of necessary co-occurrence of Neg-elements is often

co-extensive with S, it does not have to be.

Now the question arises as to the nature of that domain, and whether there is any similarity between the domain in question here and the domains of WH-scope and of binding.

As a matter of fact, such a parallelism does seem to hold:

-DIk-Complement:

- (57) ?? [Kimse-nin gəç gel - diq - in]-i hatırla - ma - di - lar
nobody-Gen. late come -DIk -3.sg.-Acc. remember-Neg. -Past - pl.

'They didn't remember that (whether) anyone came late'

- (58) *[Ara - larin -den kimse-nin Mekke-ye git-tiq - in]-i hatırla-ma-di-lar
interval-3.pl.-Abl. nobody-Gen. -Dat. go-DIk - 3.sg.-Acc.remember-Neg.
-Past-3.pl.

'They didn't remember (whether) anybody among them had gone to Mecca'

-mA-Complement:

- (59) [Kimse - nin gəç gel - me- sin]-i iste - me - di - ler
nobody - Gen. late come -mA- 3.sg.-Acc. want - Neg.-Past -3.pl.

'They didn't want that anybody should come late' [9]

Note also that constructions like (57) and (58) (i.e. with an embedded negative constituent and a positive DIk-verb) get even worse when the negative constituent is a non-subject. [10]

- (60) a. *[Ahmed-in kimse-yi sev-diq-in]-i hatırla - ma - di - lar
-Gen. nobody-Acc.love--DIk-3.sg.-Acc.
remember -Neg.-Past-3.pl.

'They didn't remember that (whether) Ahmet doesn't love anybody'

- b. *[Ahmed-in hicbir yer-e git-tiq-in]-i hatırla-ma-di-lar
no-one place-Dat.go-DIk -Neg.-

'They didn't remember that (whether) Ahmet doesn't go anywhere'

While this subject/object asymmetry is observable in -mA-complements, as well, there are nevertheless some comparable constructions which are grammatical:[11]

- (61) a. [Ahmed-in kimse-yi sev-me-sin] - i iste-mi - yor - lar
-Gen. nobody-Acc. love-mA-3.sg.-Acc. want-Neg.-Progr.-3.pl.

'They don't want Ahmet to love anybody'

- b. [Ahmed-in kimse-yle çik -ma -sin] - + iste-mi-yor-lar
-with go out

'They don't want A. to go out with anybody'

Once again, then, we see that -mA clauses are more permeable than -DIk clauses, this time with respect to co-occurrence relations.[12]

In those Direct Complement constructions, where the complement is AGR-less (and where we assume that S-Deletion has applied), the verbal negative element that has to co-occur with the negative (and Accusative-marked) NP has to be on the matrix verb:

- (62) a. [Kimse-yi geç gal-di] san-mi - yor - lar
nobody-Acc. late come-Past believe-Neg.-Progr.-3.pl.

'They don't believe anybody to have come late'

- b. *[Kimse-yi geç gal-me-di] san-iyor-lar

Attempted reading: 'They believe nobody to have come late'

- (63) a. [Kimse-yi Zeyneb-i sev-iyor] san - mi - yor - lar
love-Progr. -Neg.-

'They don't believe anybody to love Zeynep'

- b. *[Kimse-yi Zeyneb-i sev-mi-yor] san-iyor - lar

Attempted reading: 'They believe nobody to love Zeynep'

Where the AGR element is part of the Direct Complement, and where therefore S-Deletion has not applied, the reverse judgements hold: (At least) the embedded verb has to be negative:

- (64) a. *[Kimse gec gel-di-∅] san - mi- yor - lar
nobody late come-Past-3.sg. believe-Neg.-Progr.-3.pl.

'They don't believe anybody came late'

(Compare to the grammatical (62a.))

- b. [Kimse gec gel - me - di - ∅] san - iyor - lar
-Neg.-Past-3.sg.

'They believe nobody came late'

(Compare to the ungrammatical (62a.))

- (65) a. *[Kimse Zeyneb-i sev-iyor-∅] san - mi- yor - lar
-3.sg.

'They don't believe anybody loves Zeynep'

(Compare to the grammatical (63a.))

- b. [Kimse Zeyneb-i sev - mi - yor-∅] san - iyor - lar
-Neg.-Prog.-3.sg.

'They believe nobody loves Zeynep'

(Compare to the ungrammatical (63b.))

If we say that S' is the minimal domain within which the "Neg-Cooccurrence Relation" has to hold, but that where certain additional requirements are met (i.e. where the embedded clause is low on the scale of propositionality/factivity), the relevant domain can be a higher S', all facts presented so far receive a homogeneous account.

3.4.2. Quantifier Scope

Another phenomenon that patterns in a similar way is quantifier

scope.

Let us start by looking at -DIk-complements:

- (66) Her öğrenci [bazi imtihan-lar-ın zor ol-acad-ın] - + bil-iyor-du
every student some exam -pl. -Gen. hard be- -Fut.-3.sg.-Acc.
know-Prog.-Past

'Every student knew that some exams were going to be hard'

- (67) Bütün seçmen-ler [üç aday-ın rüşvet al-diğ - +n] - + düşün -üyor-lar
all voter -pl. three candidate- bribe take-DIk-3.sg.-Acc
think-Progr.-3.pl
-Gen.

'All voters think that three candidates took bribes'

Both a wide-scope and a narrow-scope reading for the embedded quantifier are possible; i.e. (66) can mean:

Narrow Scope:

Each student knew that some exams were going to be hard (without necessarily having an idea about which ones).

Wide Scope:

There were some (specific) exams such that, for each student, the student knew that those exams were going to be difficult (the set of those exams is identical for every student).

Similar readings hold for (67):

Narrow Scope:

All voters think that three candidates took bribes (without having specific persons in mind; and if they do, most probably the 3-people lists of the voters aren't the same).

Wide Scope:

There are three candidates such that all voters think they took bribes (i.e. those three candidates are specific people and all voters agree on who they are).

Now, with -mA complements, the wide scope reading is the strongly

preferred one:[13]

(68) bütün seçim-ler [üç namzed - in seç - il - me - sin] - i
all voter-pl. three candidate-Gen.elect-Pass.-mA-3.sg.-Acc.

isti -yor-lar
want-Progr.-3.pl.

'All voters want three candidates to be elected'

(69) bütün öğrenci-ler [bazı intihan - lar - in zor ol - ma -sin]-a
student-pl. some exam -pi. -Gen. hard be -mA-3.prs.-Dat

kız-dı-lar
angry-Past-3.pl.

'All students were angry that some exams were hard'

This reading (i.e. wide scope) is--for me--the only possible one in those Direct Complements where s-Deletion has applied: (For some other native speakers the wide scope reading is available here, but is weak.)

(70) a. bütün öğrenci-ler [bazı intihan-lar-ı kolay ol-ecek] san-mı^g - lar
all student-pl. some exam - pl. -Acc.easy be -Fut.
believe-Past-3.pl

'All students believed that some exams were going to be easy'

(i.e. there were some exams such that...'

b. bütün seçim-ler [üç namzed-i seç-il-sin] isti-yor-lar
-Acc. elect-Pass-Optative

'All voters want three candidates to be elected'

On the other hand, in the same type of complements where S'-Deletion has not applied, the heavily preferred reading is the narrow scope interpretation:

(71) a. bütün öğrenci-ler [bazı intihan-lar kolay ol-ecek-ı] san-mı^g - lar
-3.sg.

b. butun secmen-lar [uc namzet sec-il-sin-ı] isti-yor-lar
-3.sg.

Thus, we see that the facts about quantifier scope and those of WH-Questions are very similar--in itself a hint that, since Q-scope is obviously due to an LF-rule, "WH-Scope Interpretation" is probably an LF-rule, as well.

3.4.3. Restrictions on Morphological Conjunction

Before I turn to an explanation of these facts, I would like to mention one more obvious difference between the -MA and -DIk complements. This has to do with the possibility of conjoining constituents (both at the lexical and phrasal level). It seems that nouns and their projections can be conjoined in two distinct ways: (This is a very rough generalization which is not without its problems, as we shall see shortly; but let us adopt it here as a working hypothesis.)

A. Semitic: The conjuncts are "separated" by an independent morpheme, the Arabic lexical item ve:

- (72) Ahmet ve Zeynep sinema-ya git-ti (-ler)
and

'A. and Z. went to the movies'

B. Turkic: The conjoining item is a bound morpheme, suffixed to the first conjunct and forming a phonological word with it (the last claim is substantiated by the fact that the suffix obeys Vowel Harmony):

- (73) Ahmetle Mehmet sinema-ya git-ti-(ler)

While other categories can also enter conjunctions of the Semitic form, they cannot do so for the Turkic counterpart: (This observation is

also made in Robson & Eng (1974).)

- (74) a. Mehmet sinema-ya gir-di ve cık - ti-
b. *Mehmet sinema-ya gir-di-yile cık - ti-
enter-Past and come out-Past
'M. entered and came out of the cinema'

Conjunction of Ss:

- (75) a. Mehmet sinema-ya girdi ve Hasan otobüs-e bin - di
'Mehmet went into the cinema and H. boarded the bus'
b. *Mehmet sinema-ya girdi-yile Hasan otobüs-e bin-di

Conjunction of Adverbs:

- (76) a. Mehmet sinema-ya yavaş ve dikkatlice gir-di
slowly and carefully
'M. entered the cinema slowly and carefully'
b. *Mehmet sinema-ya yavaş-la dikkatlice gir-di

Now, it is interesting to note that, while -mA complements can conjoin using the Turkic construction, -DIk complements are much worse in similar structures:

- (77) [[Mehmed-in asker-e git - me - sił - yle] [Zeyneb-in üniversite-yi
soldier-Dat go-mA-3.sg.-Conj -Gen. -Acc.
terket-me-sin]]-i hog karsıla-si-yor-um
leave - mA-3.sg.-Acc. nice receive-Neg.-Prog.-1.sg.

'I don't approve of M.'s going to the army and Z.'s leaving the university'

- (78) [[Mehmed-in asker-e git - tiğ-i] - yle [Zeyneb-in üniversite-yi
-DIk-
terket- tiğ - in]] -i bil - si - yor-du-m
know-Neg. -Progr.-Past-1.sg.

'I didn't know that M. had gone to the army and Z. had left university'

Irrespective of the account that the -1A conjunction facts will ultimately receive, it seems clear that the -mA complements are treated like straightforward NPs, while -DIk complements behave rather like sentences.[14]

3.5. Summary, Remaining Problems, and "Closeness"

I shall now propose the following overall account for complement clauses and NPs with AGR, i.e. for all governing categories (under the view defended here, AGR's):

Where a governing category is headed by a full-fledged, overt AGR element, it is opaque for all the processes and conditions discussed. Where there is no AGR at all, or an impoverished AGR element, the corresponding domain becomes transparent--hence the apparent transparency of possessive NPs, "Direct Complements," and -mA-complements lacking AGR altogether (Partitive Phrases and -ki-NPs in the former instance, infinitivals in the latter) or exhibiting a non-alternating, "weak" and partial AGR element. Now as for -DIk-clauses that behave in a somewhat opaque way, we shall say that the Tense operator that these complements have serves the function of creating a governing category, hence of rendering the domain opaque, even in absence of a rich AGR element of the required kind. Since neither Possessive NPs nor -mA complements have such an operator, the presence or absence of full AGR is the only factor in those constructions that determines the creation of a governing category.

Note, incidentally, that some AGR element has to be present in

order for the Tense operator in a -DIk clause to participate in teh creation of a binding domain; where there is Tense, but no AGR at all (as in Direct Complements that have undergone S'-Deletion), the domain is transparent. What seems to be the case is that the INFL-node has to be maximally rich to create a binding domain with AGR (the peripheral element--cf. also George and Kornfilt (1981)--within INFL being the primary factor. Where AGR is weak, INFL can still count as rich if Tense is strong, but not otherwise.

Once again, the binding properties of overt pronouns are determined not by the binding conditions, but by the Avoid Pronoun Principle; hence, wherever pro is possible, an overt pronoun in the same context will exhibit the strong tendency of being disjoint from its antecedent. This tendency will weaken the farther away the pronoun is from its antecedent in terms of the tree hierarchy; the same tendency will strengthen to the point of total disjointness as the only reading when antecedent and overt pronoun either share a governing category or are separated by one governing category boundary only.

As for pro--which, under the view defended here, is the archetypical pronominal of Turkish wherever sanctioned and should thus obey Condition B--:

We might expect that pro should be disjoint in reference from its antecedent in exactly those contexts where anaphors are successfully bound (namely where antecedent and A-bound item share a governing category); however, it is not: it is free in reference. (This situation actually only arises with respect to the reciprocal, as we saw, and not

the reflexive anaphor.) However, if one looks closely enough, the expected complementarity in distribution is found, since actually pro never occurs where the reciprocal does, since it needs a full-fledged AGR-element to be sanctioned, while the reciprocal--in subject position--needs an impoverished AGR in order to be able to occur.

Let us now consider Direct Complements. We saw that those exhibit richly differentiated tensae. Nevertheless, where the AGR element is missing, the clause is permeable. This justifies our decision to attribute primary importance to the role of AGR as creating binding domains.

One remaining problem is the--comparative--acceptability of reflexives as subjects of complement clauses (cf. examples (8) and (9) in this chapter). I shall make two conjectures with respect to this fact. The first one is that, for me, the example with the 3rd person plural reflexive in embedded subject position is better than the example with the 3rd person singular reflexive. This initially bizarre fact is explained, if we assume that we are actually dealing, in the instance of the plural, with the plural form of the proximate pronominal kendisi rather than with that of the anaphor kendi (the distinction between these two forms is morphologically neutralized in the plural). As for the singular reflexive, for those speakers for whom such examples are perfect, I shall conjecture that they speak a dialect that allows kendi instead of kendisi in certain circumstances, thus, again, are using the anaphoric morpheme as a pronominal (we mentioned the existence of such a dialect in the introduction of Chapter 2; see also footnotes 8 and 9 of

Chapter 2 and footnote 3 of the present chapter in connection with this issue.)

Problematic for this last idea is the fact that speakers of this kind still don't seem to allow for kendi as subjects of Possessive NPs. In order to allow for this situation, I shall hypothesize that the occurrence of an element in the position of Tense adds to the distance between antecedent and pronominal, thus making proximate interpretation better than for those instances--as in Possessive NPs--where there is no such element at all. (Note that now what is at stake is not a Tense operator, but merely a phonologically realized element in the relevant morphological (and/or phrase-structural) position. If this is correct, this idea would give additional justification to our conjecture that kendi is used here as a pronominal, rather than as an anaphor, since it would pattern--with respect to its sensitivity to structural "closeness" to its antecedent--along with "regular" pronominals.

This idea of attributing to the Tense/Gerundive morphemes some role in determining relative closeness of elements, if at all in the right direction, has the potential of shedding light on yet another mystery. This is a fact discussed earlier, in the introductory sections of Chapter 2: Where the subject of a Possessive NP is a 3rd person plural and is overtly present, the AGR element cannot overtly exhibit the plural submorpheme. This phenomenon carries over to complement clauses in form of a strong tendency, but not as a hard-and-fast constraint. If we say that the subject and the AGR element are "closer" in a Possessive NP which lacks any Tense element whatsoever than they are in any type of

"nominalized" complement clause, where some kind of Gerundive morpheme is always exhibited, and if--as we hypothesized in the beginning sections of the present chapter--there is a constraint on plural marking redundancy in Turkish, and, lastly, if this constraint is conditioned by "closeness," all the problematic facts receive a general--if informal--account.

CHAPTER 3 - NOTES

1. Note, incidentally, that while the first person plural reciprocal in (15) is acceptable, the corresponding reflexive element is not:

- (i) *(biz) [kendiniz - in Ankara - ya tayin ed - il - me - sin] -e
i i
ourselves-Gen. -Dat. appoint -Pass.-mA -3.prs.-Dat

karat - y - di - k
against-Cop. -Past -1.pl.

'We were against ourselves' begin appointed to Ankara'

It thus seems that, just as in subject position of possessive NPs, reflexive anaphors are more restricted in their distribution than reciprocal anaphors.

However, the situation is clearly more complicated in embedded clauses than in possessive NPs. As examples (8) and (9) demonstrate, 3rd person reflexives (singular as well as plural) seem quite acceptable as subjects of embedded clauses, while 1st and 2nd person reflexives are ungrammatical.

First of all, about the difference in grammaticality between reciprocals and reflexives, I would like to claim here that, just as in possessive NPs, it is the reflexives rather than the reciprocals that are the reliable anaphors, "well-behaved" from the point of view of Binding Theory--and, in particular, that the ungrammatical reflexives are the reliable ones. As for the behavior of 3rd person reflexives and their apparent grammaticality, I shall return to that problem presently, after having discussed the behavior of the reciprocals.

Our account in Chapter 2 of why reciprocals can occur as subjects of possessive NPs carries over, in its essentials, to reciprocals as subjects of clauses: Impoverished AGR cannot act as an accessible SBJ for reciprocals, which because of their overt plurality would require a fully differentiated AGR element to act as an accessible SBJ with respect to them. Since the only grammatical structures involving reciprocal subjects exhibit singular, non-alternating ("impoverished") AGR, the apparent problem disappears.

However, we just saw that there are clauses where the reciprocal subject is ungrammatical, in spite of impoverished AGR, thus patterning with the reflexives. This apparent problem is addressed later in the text within this chapter, and I shall not pursue it here.

Let me return briefly to one point of discrepancy between reciprocals and reflexives. We saw above that the person and number of reflexives, at least apparently, determines whether they can be free in their governing category: 1st and 2nd person reflexives cannot, while 3rd person reflexives seem to be able to. Reciprocals, on the other hand, behave as one homogenous block: given a particular context, they are

either all grammatical, or all ungrammatical, with no differentiation with respect to person.

Why should there be such a discrepancy between reciprocals and reflexives, and why should reflexives group themselves in such a way?

I would like to claim that, as a matter of fact, there is no such discrepancy to be explained. Reflexive anaphors are a homogenous group as well, just as reciprocals. As a group, they are excluded from subject position of their governing category by virtue of Condition A, and their governing category is defined, in Turkish, by an overt AGR element.

The reason reflexives seem to be differentiated according to person is that, just for 3rd persons, there is a form for the proximate pronoun which is almost homophonic with the corresponding anaphors (cf. Chapter 2, especially footnotes 8 and 9, and section 5 of the present chapter). Therefore, the question of discrepancy actually boils down to: Why is there a proximate pronoun for 3rd persons, while there aren't any for the other persons?

The answer would be that none are needed. Enç (1982 and 1983) argues that discourse properties set apart certain pronouns as "anchored in the utterance," hence sometimes being able to occur in contexts otherwise reserved for pure anaphors, because such "anchored expressions," similarly to anaphors, need antecedents of some sort. In different languages, pronouns marked for different persons qualify as "anchored expressions," according to Enç. In Turkish, non-3rd persons qualify for that status.

I shall now adopt in its essentials a suggestion of Enç (1983), namely that the forms kendisi and kendileri (as opposed to: kendi and kendileri, the genuine anaphora--the difference is morphologically neutralized in the plural) fill the gap in the paradigm of "discourse-anchored" pronouns; they are suppletive forms, as it were. Hence, what I have been calling "proximate pronoun" so far is really just one instantiation of a general phenomenon, concerning inherent properties and distribution of pronouns.

2. Factive Nominals are formally differentiated for Future and non-Future by using two different morphemes in the morphological slot of the verb where a tense morpheme appears otherwise. The non-Future morpheme is -DIk, which we have seen amply illustrated by now; the Future is signalled by the regular Future morpheme -AcAk, otherwise used

in fully inflected verbs:

- (i) (Biz) [(siz-in) dün sinema-ya git - tiğ -iniz] -i
we 2.pl.-Gen.yesterday -Dat. go - DIk - 2.pl. -Acc.

bil - iyor - uz
know-Pres.progr.-1.pl.

'We know that you went to the cinema yesterday'

- (ii) (Biz) [(siz-in) yarın sinema-ya gid - eceğ -iniz] -i
tomorrow -AcAk -

bil - iyor - uz

'We know that you will go to the cinema tomorrow'

3. In this context, note also the behavior of embedded non-subject anaphors:

- (i) Kopya çek - en birkaç öğrenci [profesör-ü kendilerin] -e
copy draw-Partic. a few student -Acc. themselves

??birbirlerin] -e
each other -Dat

kız -acak] san - iyor - mus
get angry-Fut. believe-Progr.-Reported Past

'A few students who were cheating are reported to believe that the professor is going to get angry at them'

- (ii) Kopya çek-en birkaç öğrenci [profesör ??kendilerin] -e
-birbirlerin]

kız-acak san-iyor-mus

Two tendencies are observable:

Where the embedded subject is Accusative, thus where the embedded S lacks AGR, the binding of an embedded non-subject anaphor by a matrix antecedent is better than where the embedded subject is in the Nominative, thus where the embedded S does have AGR. This is not surprising, since in the former type of examples, we would expect the matrix S to be the governing category for the constituents of the embedded S, since the latter domain, lacking AGR, would have no SBJ accessible to them.

The situation is, however, more complicated, since these embedded non-subject anaphors are not completely grammatical as they should be. It must be the case that the syntactic (Acc-marked) subject does act as a weak accessible SBJ in absence of AGR, creating "specified subject" effects (and posing, incidentally, something of a problem for Harbert's 1984 proposal that in languages with overt and productive AGR elements only those elements can act as accessible SBJs; this problem would exist

only for Turkish, however, since examples corresponding to (1) seem to be perfect in Gothic). (Note, incidentally, that 3rd person reflexives seem always perfect; but this might well be irrelevant for the issue at hand, since, as also mentioned at the end of this chapter, and in the previous footnote these anaphors--and especially their 3rd person plural forms--have also a reading as proximate pronouns. Note also that Harbert's examples involve only reflexives; it would be interesting to find out if the behavior in Gothic is attested.)

Susumu Kuno (personal communication) has brought to my attention another complicating factor with respect to Direct Complements and their anaphoric constituents: Given that anaphoric subjects, irrespective of their person and number, co-occur with a "weak", non-alternating AGR element in possessive NPs and in gerundives, we might expect that in Direct Complements, too, Nominative-marked embedded anaphors should be possible; we should therefore expect, alongside with the grammatical (24)b. and (25)b. in the text, where the anaphors are Accusative-marked (and the embedded S lacks AGR completely), also examples like the following, where AGR is weak, but is nevertheless present and marks the subject with the Nominative:

(iii) *(biz) [birbirimiz sinema-ya git - ti] san - tyor - du - k
we e.o. cinema-Dat.go-Past believe-Progr.-Past-1.pl.

'We believed e.o. went to the movies'

(iv) *(siz) [kendi-niz sınıf - ta kal - dt] san - tyor - mus-sunuz
2.pl. self -2.pl.class-Loc. stay - Past believe-Progr.-Past-2.pl.

'You reportedly believe yourselves flunked'

However, these examples are ungrammatical, obviously posing a problem for the system developed here which claims that weak AGR cannot act as accessible SBJ to create binding domains.

Given that the system works satisfactorily elsewhere, as seen in Chapter 2 and as argued in the present chapter, I would like to claim that this difficulty should not be particularly upsetting, and I suggest the following two directions in order to attempt an explanation for the apparent problem posed by the two last examples:

A. Similar to the morphological restriction against Genitive-marked reflexives in English, we could assume a prohibition against Nominative-marked anaphors in Turkish. This prohibition would have sound syntactic motivation at least for root sentences, since (assuming that AGR is not in an A-position), Condition A would rule out anaphors as root subjects, thus Nominative-marked anaphors. One could say that in Direct Complements, anaphoric subjects, which would be Nominative-marked (because of the "verbal" nature of the AGR element) are ruled out not because of the Binding Theory, but in analogy to their--also Nominative-marked--counterparts in root Ss.

B. I would favor, however, the following explanation, which is more systematic and is in the spirit of the model advanced here:

1. As we saw for Possessive NPs, where the AGR element is weak and where there is no Tense element at all (and this holds, as we shall see in the present chapter, for -M complements, as well), the domain of that AGR element is not a governing category.
2. Where the AGR element is weak, and where there is a--somewhat defective, but still existent and independent--Tense operator as in the -DIK complements, the domain of AGR can act as a governing category (the more independent that Tense operator is, the more opaque that governing category will be).
3. Where AGR is lacking completely (and especially where there is no "specified subject"), the S or NP in question is not a governing category, and even a fully differentiated Tense element does not create a binding domain. The relevant examples here are Direct Complements that undergo S-Deletion, as in (24)b. and (25)b.
4. Where the AGR element is weak (but present), and where the Tense element is also present in a fully productive form, the content of INFL apparently creates an impermeable binding domain; the relevant examples are (iii) and (iv), namely just those constructions which we initially regarded to be problematic. However, if we view this situation as a further strengthening of what we had in 2., namely as an interplay of AGR and Tense, with AGR as the main factor, these examples stop being problematic; as a matter of fact, if the "impoverished" Tense operator contributes to create a binding domain where the AGR element is weak, it is not surprising that a fully differentiated Tense operator should also contribute towards the same end in the same environment and should have a stronger effect. It is only where there is no AGR whatsoever (as in the examples fitting point 3 above) that the strength of the Tense operator becomes irrelevant.

4.

- (i) *Oyuncu-lar· [seyirci-ler-in ∅ alkışla-dıkk-larin]-+
 i i
 player-pl. spectator-pl.-Gen. clap -DIK-3.pl. -Acc.

 duy - mu - yor - lar
 hear - Neg.-Progr.-3.pl.

'The players aren't hearing that the spectators are
applauding (them)'

5. This statement has actually to be modified somewhat, since there are some other types of "nominalized" clauses lacking overt AGR elements, yet exhibiting lexical subjects. These are adverbial clauses and will not be included in this study. The problem of accounting for the Case marking of those subjects can be solved--other than by a "last resort"

Case insertion rule of the familiar kind--by assuming the existence of an abstract AGR element to be linked, in a certain sense, to the "nominalization" morphemes in question. Here we are concerned only with embedded clauses delimited by the morpheme -mAk, which correspond to infinitivals in European languages. (As a matter of fact, verbal forms with -mAk are traditionally the citation forms of verba and are termed "infinitivals" (mastar) in traditional Turkish grammars.)

6. Chao (1981), which provided me with this argument, presents facts that seem to show that empty subjects in finite clauses in Brazilian Portuguese pattern with PRO rather than with pure pronominals from the point of view of the binding behavior just discussed:

- (i) a. So o João pensava [que [O venceria]]
- b. So o João pensava [vencer]

According to Chao, the co-referential reading is excluded in both a. and b.; that reading is available only if the embedded subject is overt:

- (ii) So o João pensava [que [ele venceria]]

Why Portuguese, apparently a Pro-Drop language (as evidenced by (i)a.), should be different in this respect from Turkish, another language of this type, is unclear to me (and, as a matter of fact, it is different in yet another respect: as we have already seen, an overt pronominal subject in a Turkish construction corresponding to (ii) would be disjoint in reference from its antecedent; however, this second difference can be reduced to the first, if we say that in Turkish, the disjoint reference property of overt pronoun subjects is due to the Avoid Pronoun Principle, since a silent pure pronominal is available in this particular context; in Portuguese, however, pro not being available here--for whatever reason--, the Avoid Pronoun Principle is inoperative.)

Obviously, this is an interesting question to pursue in the context of the complex of questions dealing with the proper formulation of the Pro-Drop Parameter and the typological properties of the Pro-Drop languages. I leave the investigation of this issue for the future, however.

Let me nevertheless mention, in passing, one study (which has been brought to my attention by Noam Chomsky, personal communication) that seems relevant for this question: Montalbetti (1984) formulates an "Overt Pronoun Constraint" (OPC) for Romance languages, which states that "overt pronouns that are in contrastive distribution with empty ones cannot link to formal variables" (op. cit., p. 1). This constraint would rule out a bound variable reading for (ii). What is more interesting for our purposes here, however, is whether it rules out a co-referential reading for (i)a. The way it is stated above, it doesn't; but suppose the OPC is extended to predict complementary distribution between empty and overt pronominals, thus ruling out that reading. The Brazilian Portuguese facts would then follow. We could

then say that the OPC does not hold for Turkish (not a Romance language), hence the availability of the co-referential reading for pro. (One typological question worth investigating might be whether the OPC does not hold for languages for which AGR, as in Turkish, acts as an accessible SBJ.) Given that availability, the Avoid Pronoun Principle would rule out that reading for the Turkish equivalent of (ii) with an overt embedded subject.

7. Since I don't want to get into the details of the morphological and syntactic intricacies of Turkish relative clauses at this point, I have used shortcuts in the way I have rendered the analysis of empty categories in embedded subject position in (46) is actually a pro in the syntactic component of the grammar. But it is a resumptive pro. In other words, the status of this empty pronominal is that of an A-bound variable at LF (bound by the Operator string-adjacent to the head of the relative clause), i.e. it has the same binding status as the ec-variable in matrix subject position of the relative clause in (45) (which is not a pro, since not co-superscripted with any AGR; I shall make the assumption that where an empty category is co-superscripted with an overt AGR element, that ec has to be pro.)

8. The question arises here as to the legitimacy of pro in constructions like (47), since, under the crucial reading (i.e. Reading 2 for (47)), its features are not identical to those of the AGR element: while pro is singular here, AGR is plural. (The feature for person does match, however.) Let us say that the structure that pro is a constituent of, namely the coordinate structure which has two conjuncts, provides for the plural feature on the AGR by the mere formal fact that it is a conjunction. Hence, the only feature crucial for the identification of pro is that for person, and the AGR element is overtly marked for the appropriate value for it.

9. While (59) with -mA is perfect, the status of (57) with -DIk is questionable at best, and (58) seems even worse. For those speakers for whom (57) and (58) are better than they are for me, and who do not appreciate the difference between -DIk complements and -mA complements pointed out here, I would like to present the following construction for purposes of comparison:

(i) Kimse-nin geç gel-ip gel - me - diq-inl-i hatırla- ma - di - lar
come-and come-Neg.-DIk-3.ag. -Neg.-

This DIk construction is perfect (and, with its conjunction of positive verb-negative verb corresponds to an English "whether"-construction). Note that in (i), there is a negative embedded verb, with a Neg.-Particle obviously lower than that of the matrix verb for the embedded negative subject to "link up to".

10. I have no explanation to offer here for this subject/object asymmetry, other than the conjecture that the necessity for the linkage between Neg-elements to cross an additional maximal projection--namely VP--might make the result even worse than is the case for embedded

subjects.

11. Since, as we just said, the subject/object asymmetry with respect to the "linking" of Neg. elements holds in many instances of -mA-complements as well, it might well be the case that in examples like (61) and others where the linkage of an embedded non-subject with a higher Neg.-element is successful, some kind of restructuring has taken place. Since there is reason to assume that such a restructuring process affects only a subset of verbs that take -mA-complements. (cf. George and Kornfilt 1976)--and never -DIk-complements--(a fact not surprising at this point), the situation conforms to our picture of -DIk-complements as being more propositional than -mA-complements.

12. It should be pointed out here that -DIk clauses are not always completely opaque. As we have seen before in the text, it is not the case that the "Neg-Element Correlation" cannot cross clause boundaries marked with -DIk at all, but that the result is not as good as for -mA complements. In addition to this distinction, there are also differences in the verbs that take -DIk complements. Thus, constructions involving this complement type and inter-clausal neg-correlation exhibit a hierarchy in acceptability that seems to depend on how factual the complement is; thus, the verbs bil 'know', hatırla 'remember', san 'think, believe' pattern from bad to better in this respect, in the order just given:

- (i) *[Parti-ye kimse-nin gel-diq-inl-i bil-mi-yor - uz
come-DIk-3.sg.-Acc. know-Neg.-Progr.-1.pl.
- (ii) */??[Parti-ye kimse-nin gel-diq-inl-i hatırla -mi-yor - uz
remember -Neg.-Prog.-1.pl.
- (iii) (?) [Parti-ye kimse - nin gel -diq - in]-i san - mi - yor - um
think-Neg. - Progr.-1.sg.
- 'I don't think that anybody came to the party'
- (iv) OK [Parti-ye kimse-nin gel-aceq-inl-i san - mi-yor-um
-Fut.
- 'I don't think that anyone will come to the party'

(I would take the difference in acceptability between the two last examples to show that what is at stake here is the factivity of the complements--at least in part--rather than the matrix verbs directly.) The "squishiness" of the overall situation can be cleared up if we assumed that the operator (tense or whatever would correspond to factivity) is somehow co-indexed with the corresponding operator of the higher clause whenever it is "weak" or not independent, thus making the embedding a part of the higher domain for the relevant processes.

13. This seems to be yet another typological difference between Turkish and Romance languages. In Picallo (1984), it is reported that in Catalan, quantifier phrases embedded within subjunctive complements

(which seem to correspond to -mA clauses in general) cannot take wide scope over a matrix quantifier, while quantifier phrase constituents of indicative clauses can. The difference is related to ECP-effects: the INFL node of a subjunctive clause, lacking Tense, cannot act as proper governor, while the corresponding node of an indicative clause can. I am not sure how to explain the lack of ECP-effects in Turkish in this context. One possibility would be to attribute proper governor status to AGR, at least at LF. Another might be to have some kind of reanalysis of tense-less constituent clauses take place, thus making proper government of the embedded variable (which arises after Q-Raising) by the higher verb possible. I shall not pursue this question here, interesting though it may be.

14. Note that this distinction between the two complement types with respect to -1A conjunction might be viewed as constituting a problem for the idea defended here that AGR is the head of NP and S, and that the AGR element in question is nominal for both kinds of complement clauses. One might object that if this were true, -DIk complements should also be able to enter the Turkic construction. However, this problem is less serious than it seems. First of all, the real problem lies in the dual nature of -DIk complements with respect to their external behavior: from the point of view of distribution (word-order) and vulnerability to the Case Filter (in particular, in exhibiting morphological Case), they act as straightforward NPs. From the point of view of opacity with respect to processes and conditions whose domain is, in part, higher clauses, they behave as propositional Ss rather than as NPs, as we just saw. This dual nature has to be accommodated into--and is likely to be problematic for--any account, irrespective of what the head (and thus the category of the complement as the projection of that head) is taken to be. It is clear that whatever the constraint that prevents -1A from attaching to -DIk clauses will turn out to be, it is not a "dumb," surface-oriented one. First of all, it cannot be sensitive to the sequence of morphemes, since its immediate left-hand neighbor, the--nominal--AGR morepheme, is the same as that found on -mA complements and on simple NPs. Neither can the constraint be formulated in terms of -DIk itself, since -DIk is also found in exactly the same sequence (and maybe also phrase-structure) configuration (with respect to -1A) in Free Relatives, and its co-occurrence with -1A is grammatical there:

- (i) [[ben-im geçen gün ye-diğ - im] - le {Ahmed-in su an-da
 I-Gen. past day eat-DIk -1.sg.-Conj. -Gen.that moment
 -Loc.
 iç - tiğ - in]] -i
 drink-DIk-3.sg. -Acc.
#amarılı - ya - ma - z - sin, kal - ma - mis
 order-abil. -Neg.-Aor.-2.sg. remain-Neg.-Reported Past

'You can't order what I ate the other day and what Ahmet is drinking right now--there's none left (of these things) (--or so they say...)'

Of course one could object and say that relative clauses are clearly NPs, since they have heads that are some projection of N. However, with Free Relatives, it is not clear at all that there are such heads in the structure. (Obviously, one would have to assume that those heads are occupied by an ec.) As a matter of fact, we shall see in Chapter 4, where we discuss Partitive Phrases with empty heads, that an e.c. in head position of a larger NP gives rise to distributional restrictions; Free Relatives, however, are very free in their distribution.

Irrespective of the (phrase-) structural distinctions between Free Relatives with -DIk and complements with DIk, the fact remains that these are very similar constructions both from the point of view of morpheme inventory and morpheme sequence as well as with respect to external syntactic behavior--i.e. in terms of word order and morphological Case. Therefore, the constraint on -1A "attachment" has to be of a very "sophisticated" sort, obviously sensitive to some LF-property of the domain it is attached to--namely, if we were right so far, it cannot attach to phrases that are propositional.

Notice also that to approach the matter from this direction takes care of another fact which would be problematic for an explanation based solely on syntactic features: Adjectives can conjoin with -1A, but Adjective Phrases cannot:

- (ii) a. *Vesil-le sari-dir okul-un bayrag - i*
gree-and yellow-is school-Gen. flag - 3.sg.

'The school's banner is green and yellow'

- b. *[[*Okul-un bayrag - i n - i fazla yeşil*]- le
AP i 3.sg.-Acc. too green - 1A

[pro *bina-sın-i fazla sari*] bul-du-m
i
AP building-3.sg. too yellow find-Past-1.sg.
-Acc.

'I found the school's banner too green and its building too yellow'

CHAPTER 4: Partitive Phrases and Case Marking in Turkish

4.0. Introduction:

The relationship between surface (or morphological) Case marking of constituents and their argument status has been one of the basic areas of interest in syntactic research. Usually, for any given language, a certain system of correspondences expressing such a relationship can be established. However, the literature abounds in reported instances where such--otherwise reliably general--systems seem to be counterexemplified: constituents with a certain morphological Case marking exhibit syntactic behavior that would be expected from constituents with different morphological marking. In other words, the mapping between argument status and surface Case marking is, in those instances, not the one established by the system valid for the majority of such mappings in the language.

In this chapter, I shall discuss one such instance (first reported in an interesting paper by Müşerref Dede (Dede 1981)), where the morphological case marking (i.e. the Ablative) of a certain kind of NP should signal its status of oblique object, but where the NP behaves (with respect to some syntactic criteria to be discussed later) like a direct object. I shall argue here, however, that this paradoxical situation can be explained without assuming that these NPs are concealed direct objects. Rather, I shall offer an explanation based on the claim that the Ablative NPs in question are not arguments of the verb at all. Consequently, it will follow that their morphological Case marking has

nothing to do with Case marking (or Case checking) properties of the verb, but with a different, structural (and general) Case marking process.

The first part of the chapter presents a brief overview of Dede's observations concerning the dual nature of some Turkish Ablative NPs and her analysis and mentions a few points of criticism. The second part introduces my own analysis[1] of these NPs as non-arguments and argues its superiority with respect to the previous proposal. The third part deals with apparent problems that my account faces and, in doing so, extends the theoretical scope of the account by making its details follow from the general principles of Case Theory, viewed as a subsystem of the Government Binding theory as developed in, e.g., Chomsky 1981 and 1982 and related work.

4.1. Ablative Partitives as Disguised Direct Objects:

4.1.1. Behavior in Causative Constructions:

The following properties of Turkish Causative constructions will be important for our discussion of Ablative Partitives (AblPs):

The subject of an intransitive clause corresponds to the (Accusative) direct object, and the subject of a transitive clause corresponds to the (Dative) indirect object of the related Causative

construction:

- (1) a. Ali koş-tu
run-Past

'Ali ran'

- b. Ali-yi koş-tur-du-m
-Acc. run-Caus-Past-1.sg.

-*ye
-Dat.

'I made Ali run'

- (2) a. Ali süt-ü iç-ti
milk-Acc. drink-Past

'Ali drank the milk'

- b. Ali-ye süt-ü iç-ir-di-m
-Dat. drink-Caus.-Past-1.sg.

-*yi
-Acc.

'I made Ali drink the milk'

Now, intransitive constructions exhibiting non-Accusative (oblique) objects behave just like "simple" intransitives with respect to "Causativization" [2] (cf. ex. (1)):

- (3) a. Ali tablo-ya bak-tı
painting-Dat. look-Past

'Ali looked at the painting'

- b. Ali-yi tablo-ya bak-tır-di-m
-Acc. look-Caus-Past-1.sg.

-*ye
-Dat.

'I made Ali look at the painting'

Let us now turn to Ablative objects in particular.

The Abative marker -dAn[3] usually either marks directionality (literally or figuratively):

or is assigned idiosyncratically by a verb to an oblique object without any systematic meaning associated with the Ablative marking:

In either case, the Ablative NP affects "Causativization" just as any oblique NP does; i.e. the agent of the "caused" action is marked Accusative rather than Dative:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| (4) c. Ali- <i>yi</i> | <i>söz-ün-den</i> | <i>dön-dür-dü-m</i> |
| | -Acc. | return-Caus-Past-1.sg. |
| | -*ye | |
| | -Dat. | |

'I made Ali not keep his promise'

There is yet another, systematic usage of the Ablative morpheme, associated with a Partitive reading:

- (6) a. Ali süt-tən iç-ti
 milk-Abl. drink-Past
 'Ali drank of the milk'

The Causative construction corresponding to (6)a. exhibits a distribution of morphological Case that is similar to the "Transitive Causatives" illustrated in (2)b. rather than to the "Intransitive Causatives" illustrated in (5)b.; specifically, the agent of the "caused" action is marked Dative rather than Accusative:

- (6) b. Ali-ye süt-ten iç-ir-di-m
 -Dat. milk-Abl. drink-Caus-1.sg.

 -*yi
 -Acc.

'I made Ali drink of the milk'

To my knowledge, Dede (1981) is the first instance in the literature where this direct object-like behavior of the AblPs is noticed. In that article, the conclusion is drawn that AblPs, in spite of their non-Accusative marking, are genuine direct objects; thus, for Dede, AblPs are an instance of a mapping between the argument status and the morphological Case marking of NPs that is outside the system of such mappings, since this system establishes for Turkish correlations between direct objects and Accusative marking on the one hand and between oblique objects and non-Accusative (as well as non-Nominative) marking on the other.

4.1.2. Co-occurrence with Transitive Verbs:

Another fact, which Dede does not mention, but which would back up her proposal, is that AblPs co-occur with verbs that otherwise are subcategorized for Accusative objects. To put it differently, AblPs never show up in oblique contexts, nor do they occur as subjects

(although the last part of this statement will be modified slightly later on):

(7) a. Ali bu kitap-lar-^t getir-ecek
these book-pl.-Acc. bring-Future

'Ali will bring these books'

b. Ali bu kitap-lar-dan getir-ecek
-Abl.

'Ali will bring of these books'

(8) a. Ali bu tablo-lar-a bak-t^t
painting-pl.-Dat. look-Past

'Ali looked at these paintings'

b. *Ali bu tablo-lar-dan bak-t^t
-Abl.

'Ali looked at (some) of these paintings'

(9) a. Bu öğrenci-ler Üniversite-yi işgal et-ti-ler
these student-pl. university-Acc. occupation do-Past-3.pl.

'These students occupied the university'

b. *Bu öğrenci-ler-den Üniversite-yi işgal et-ti-ler
-Abl.

'(Some)of these students occupied the university'

4.1.3. Points of Criticism:

4.1.3.1. Case Marking:

The first drawback of Dede's analysis lies in its lack of an account for the Ablative marking of the putative direct objects. She does not discuss the matter, but would have to posit an idiosyncratic

Ablative marking rule for direct objects with partitive readings. While not impossible in principle, such an account would be difficult to formulate with sufficient generality, since the Case marking would not only depend on the Case features of the verbs involved (since those necessitate Accusative marking on their objects otherwise) and the structural relationship of the Ablative-marked NPs to these verbs, but also on the semantics of those NPs. Moreover, this would be an exceptional situation in that the same set of verbs would appear to both take structural (i.e. direct) and oblique objects. Therefore, this account would have to be given up in favor of a rival analysis of greater generality and of a more systematic nature, if such an analysis can be motivated. Such a proposal will be made in section 4.2.1.

4.1.3.2. Passive:

Even assuming the existence of an idiosyncratic Ablative marking rule of the kind mentioned above, the basic analysis in Dede '81 as presented so far runs into problems involving the behavior of AbIPs in Passive constructions.

If AbIPs are actually direct objects, then they should undergo NP-movement into subject position in Passive constructions, exemplified below:

- (10) a. Hasan bu pasta-y^{*} ye-di
this cake-Acc. eat-Past
'Hasan ate this cake'
- b. Bu pasta (Hasan tarafından) ye - n - di
this cake H. by eat-Pass.-Past

'This cake was eaten by Hasan'

Notice that the NP with the thematic role of patient surfaces in the Nominative case (morphologically unmarked) in (10)b., that the Nominative is otherwise the case reserved for subjects, and that the patient NP occupies the sentence initial position in (10)b., i.e. the canonical subject position in an unmarked sentence, while the same NP could not occupy the initial position in an active sentence like (10)a. without being pragmatically marked (e.g. topicalized).

AblPs, however, do not seem to undergo NP movement:

- (11) a. Hasan bu pasta-dan ye-di
this cake-Abl. eat-Past

'Hasan ate of this cake'

- b. *Bu pasta (Hasan tarafından) ye - n - di[4]

'(Some of) this cake was eaten by Hasan'

(The asterisk denotes the ungrammaticality of the example under the Partitive reading; as (10)b. shows, the structure as such is grammatical.)

More arguments against Dede's position will be put forward in the course of the next section, where a rival analysis will be introduced. There, we will conclude that the "disguised direct object hypothesis" of AblPs is wrong for at least those instances where the AblNP is followed by a quantified expression under a partitive reading, and I now proceed with an analysis of those instances.

4.2. AblPs as regular Partitive Phrases:

4.2.1. Regularity of the Ablative Marking of AblPs:

One of our points of criticism in the previous section concerned the Ablative marking on the putative direct objects. I would like to claim here that, while Dede is right in that AblPs do not get their Case in the same way that other Ablative objects do (i.e. somehow determined by the verb in DS), there is nothing idiosyncratic about this Ablative the way it is in other instances of irregular surface Case marking; rather, it is assigned structurally and for principled reasons.

In addition to the AblPs we have seen before, Turkish has phrases of the following kind, where a partitive reading obtains as well:

(12)	Hasan	süt-ten	bir litre	iç-ti
		milk-Abl.	one liter	drink-Past
			beş bardak	
			five glass	
			biraz	
			a little	
			(belli) bir miktar	
			(certain) an amount (a certain amount)	
	'Hasan drank		one liter/five glasses/a little/a certain amount	
	of the milk'			

If we assume that the Ablative NP and the quantified expression that follows it in (12) form a constituent (a contention for which arguments shall be presented shortly) with the latter as the head and the former as an adjunct or a determiner (in parallel to the Genitive NP in a Possessive NP), it would follow that the AblNP cannot possibly be an argument of the verb; as a consequence, its Case marking would not be

determined by the verb, either. Supposing that non-subcategorized NPs are not Case marked in DS, I shall assume the existence of structural Case marking processes in the language that apply to such NPs to save them from the Case Filter[5] in those instances where a Case marking element (e.g. a verb) is absent.

One such rule would be an "Ablative Insertion" rule, conditioned by the quantified head--a process similar to the Genitive Insertion process in English that generates NPs of the form:

- (13) a. John's book

from structures like:

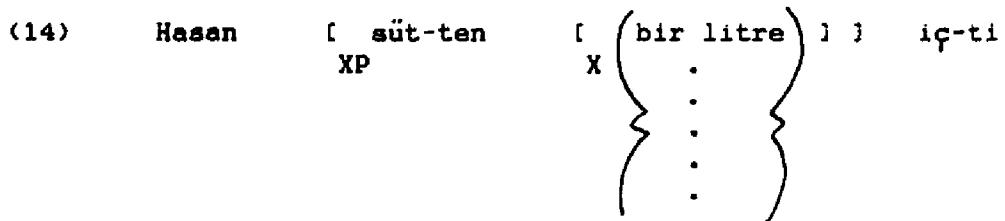
- (13) b. John book

where the determiner NP lacks case.

Now if this view is correct, it seems desirable to treat the Ablative marking of the NPs in examples like (6)a. in the same fashion as that of the NPs in example (12) above; in other words, if the NPs in the latter set of examples are Ablative marked because they are determiners or adjuncts of larger phrases with quantified heads, the same process, conditioned in the same way, should apply to AblPs that surface without being followed by overt quantified expressions.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion that AblPs are, in fact, just Ablative marked NPs within a larger phrase, headed by a quantified expression (i.e. just as their counterparts in (12)), but where that quantified expression happens to be phonologically unrealized.

Postponing until section 4.3.4.0.1. the discussion of what category these large phrases belong to, the constituent analysis of (12) and (6)a. would be, roughly, the following:



(15) Hasan [süt-ten] [e]) ic-ti
XP

In the following sections, I shall look more closely at the construction exemplified in (14), involving an overt quantified expression, and I shall argue for the following claims concerning it:

1. Supposing that the sequence: Ablative NP - quantified expression does not form a phrase, it is the quantified expression that is a main argument in the clause and not the Ablative NP. (Section 4.2.2.)
2. However, the sequence in question does form a constituent, which, as a whole, is an argument of the clause. (Section 4.2.3.)
3. The internal structure of that constituent is such that the quantified expression is the head, rather than the Ablative NP. (Some of the arguments in favor of point 1 will carry over automatically.) (Section 4.2.4.)

4.2.2. Quantified Expressions as Arguments:

4.2.2.1. Morphological Case Marking:

The morphological Case marking associated with the arguments a given verb takes appears on the quantified expression, thus revealing its status as an argument of the verb:

4.2.2.2. Uniqueness of Direct Objects:

Two facts have to be noted about Turkish:

1. Not more than one direct object can appear in a simple clause.
 2. While oblique Case marking can, in a few cases, "disguise" a direct object, Accusative marking always reveals it; in other words, there are no Accusative marked oblique objects.

In the light of these facts, example (18) above attains additional significance, since the quantified expression is revealed as the genuine direct object of the transitive verb. Therefore, the Ab1NP can't be a direct object there, not even one in disguise.

4.2.2.3. Subject - Verb Agreement:

Where the sequence Ablative NP - quantified expression shows up as a subject, the verb agrees with the quantified expression rather than with the Ablative NP. The following examples illustrate this point:

- (19) bazı öğrenciler ben-im-le gör - üş - mek iste-di(-ler) [6]
 some student-pl. I-Gen.-with see-Recipr.-Infin. want-Past-3.pl.

(20) a. halk ben-im-le gör - üş - mek istedisi/*istediler
 people

b. bir grup " " " / = "

a group

(21) halk-tan bazı öğrenciler ben-im-le gör-üş-mek iste-di(-ler)

(22) halk-tan bir grup ben-im-le gör-üş-mek istedisi/*istediler

(23) bazı öğrenciler-den bir grup ben-im-le gör-üş-mek istedisi/*istediler

'some students/people/a group/some students (out) of (some people/
 a group (out of (some) people/a group of some students wanted to
 meet me'

At this juncture, I take the claim of point 1 above to be demonstrated: Assuming that the sequence AblNP - quantified expression does not form a constituent, it is the quantified expression rather than the AblNP that behaves syntactically like an argument.

4.2.3. The Constituent Status of the Sequence AblNP - Quantified Expression

In the following sections, I shall present three arguments in favor of the view that the AbINPs in the examples discussed so far and the quantified expressions that they precede form a larger phrase.

4.2.3.1. Cleft Constructions:

Cleft constructions in Turkish are, just as in English, a rather reliable test for constituenthood. Consider the following examples, where a certain (underlined) non-constituent string (consisting, in this case, of Adverb = NP) that can, in general, precede verbs, cannot precede the Copula:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------|------------|--------------|---------|
| (24) | opera-ya | <u>dün</u> | <u>Ahmet</u> | git-ti |
| | -Dat. | yesterday | | go-Past |

'Ahaet went to the opera yesterday'

- | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-----|----------|
| (25) *opera-ya | gid-en | dün | Ahmet-ti |
| | go-Participle | | -was |

'(The person) who went to the opera was Ahmet yesterday'

Where the element(s) preceding the Copula and following the wh-construction is (are) a constituent, the sentence is grammatical:

- (26) a. opera-ya dün gid-en, Ahmet-ti
 " " Ahmed-in kar-i-si-ydi
 -Gen. wife-3.ag.-was
 b. " " cok sevgili bir arkadas-im-di
 very beloved a friend-1.ag.
 was

'(The person) who went to the opera yesterday was Ahmet/Ahmet's wife/a very dear friend of mine'

In the light of the above, let us consider the behavior of Partitive Phrases (still hedging about the categorial status of the sequences in question) under Clefting and contrast it with the behavior of very similar looking strings which, as we shall claim, do not form a

constituent:

- (27) Ahmet pasta-dan iki dilim ye-di
 cake-Abl. two slice eat-Past

'A. ate two slices of the cake'

- (28) Ahmet bakkal-dan iki sise sarap çal-di
 grocer-Abl. two bottle wine steal-Past

'A. stole two bottles of wine from the grocery store'

The AblNP in Turkish (unlike the corresponding PP from the grocery store in English) clearly and unambiguously modifies the verb and not the quantified object NP.

What I would like to maintain is that the underlined sequence:

AblNP - quantified expression forms one constituent (namely, a Partitive Phrase) in (27), but consists of two independent constituents in (28).

This claim is corroborated by the Clefting test:

- (29) Ahmed-in ye-diğ-i, pasta-dan iki dilim-di
 -Gen. eat-Part.-3.sg. cake-Abl. two slice-was

'What A. ate was two slices of the cake'

- (30) *Ahmed-in çal-diğ-i, bakkal-dan iki sise sarap-tı
 -Gen. steal-Part.-3.sg. grocer-Abl. two bottle wine-was

'What A. stole was two bottles of wine from the grocery store'

(cf. remark after ex. (28))

4.2.3.2. Scrambling Across Phrasal Heads:

Another test of constituenthood has to do with the possibility of scrambling constituents of X^{\max} past the head of the X^{\max} . This process is possible only into a post-verbal landing site, never into a

pre-verbal one:

- (31) a. Ahmet [profesör-ün kari-sın] a aşık
-Gen. wife-3.sg.-Dat. in love

'A. is in love with the professor's wife'

- b. Ahmet [kari-sın] a aşık profesör-ün
c. *Ahmet [kart-sın] a profesör-ün aşık

Partitive Phrases behave just as expected; i.e. the AblNP cannot scramble past the quantified expression (which would be the phrasal head, as will be argued in section 4.2.4.), unless it scrambles past the verb:

Out of a direct object constituent:

- (32) a. Ahmet öğrenci-ler-den bu üç kişi-yi beğen-di
student-pl.-Abl. this three person-Acc. admire-Past

'A. admired these three of the students'

- b. Ahmet bu üç kişi-yi beğen-di öğrenci-ler-den
c. *Ahmet bu üç kişi-yi öğrenci-ler-den beğen-di

Out of a subject constituent:

- (33) a. öğrenci-ler-den bu üç kişi toplantı-ya gel-di⁽⁷⁾
meeting-Dat. come-Past

- b. bu üç kişi toplantı-ya gel-di öğrenci-ler-den

- c. * bu üç kişi öğrenci-ler-den toplantı-ya gel-di

- d. * bu üç kişi toplantı-ya öğrenci-ler-den gel-di

No such limitations are observable with similar looking sentences, where a sequence formed by an Ablative NP and a quantified expression

actually consists of independent constituents that do not form a phrase:

- (34) a. Ahmet kütüphane-den bu üç kitab-ı çal-dı
library - Abl. this three book-Acc. steal-Past
'A. stole these three books out of the library'
- b. Ahmet bu üç kitab-ı çal-dı kütüphane-den
c. Ahmet bu üç kitab-ı kütüphane-den çal-dı
- (35) a. kütüphane-den bu üç kitap çal-in-di
steal-Pass.-Past
'These three books were stolen from the library'
- b. bu üç kitap çal-in-di kütüphane-den
c. bu üç kitap kütüphane-den çal-in-di

Crucially, all of the scrambling variants in (34) and (35) are perfectly grammatical. We conclude that the sequence in question does not form a phrase in these two example sets, while it does do so in the example sets (31) through (33).

4.2.3.3. Scrambling of Phrasal Heads:

While determiners (and, to a lesser degree, modifiers) can scramble away from their heads (albeit subject to constraints as mentioned in the previous section), phrasal heads cannot move out of the phrase:

- (36) a. Ahmet profesör-ün kari-sın-a aşık
(-31a) -Gen. wife-3.sg.-Dat. in love
'A. is in love with the professor's wife'
- b. *Ahmet profesör-ün aşık kari-sın-a(8)

Again, Partitive Phrases behave as expected, namely as phrases:

- (37) a. Ahmet pasta-dan bu iki dilim-i ye-di
cake-Abl. this two slice-Acc. eat-Past
'A. ate these two slices of the cake'
b. *Ahmet pasta-dan ye-di bu iki dilim-i

Quantified phrases in strings consisting of independent constituents are free to scramble to a post-verbal position:

- (38) a. Ahmet kütüphane-den bu üç kitab-i çal-di
(-=34a) library-Ablv. this three book-Acc. steal-Past
'A. stole these three books out of the library'
b. Ahmet kütüphane-den çal-di bu üç kitab-i

I conclude that the last three subsections have established the constituent status of strings forming Partitive Phrases and turn now to a discussion of the internal structure of these constituents, and in particular to the question of the head of these Partitive Phrases.

4.2.4. The Head Status of Quantified Expressions within Partitive Phrases:

Now that the constituent status of Partitive Phrases with overt quantifiers has been established in the previous section, it is of interest to find out what part of the phrase is its head.

Various considerations point to the conclusion that this must be the quantified expression.

First of all, in Turkish, complex constructions are left-branching. In other words, heads are always final in unmarked

(i.e. unscrambled) constructions. If the AblNPs were the heads of Partitive Phrases rather than the quantified expressions, this would be the only instance in the language where a construction would be head-initial rather than head-final.[9]

Secondly, it is found in general that where the Case marking of elements of a phrase is not determined from outside the phrase but within it, it is the head that dictates the Case marking of the other elements rather than the other way around.[10] Given that the Ablative case within Partitive Phrases is clearly due to the presence of the quantifier and is not determined from outside the phrase (since, at least in the examples we have seen, the verb assigns its case to the whole phrase (as we shall argue presently; cf. also section 4.2.2.1.) and does not otherwise have to subcategorize for an Ablative complement in order to co-occur with a Partitive Phrase), it follows that the quantified expression is the head of the Partitive Phrase.

In addition to these general considerations, there are specific observations that argue for the head status of the quantified expressions within Partitive Phrases. These are basically the arguments of section 4.2.2., and, in particular, of 4.2.2.3., based on Subject-Verb Agreement facts. There, it was shown that given a string of the form Ablative NP - quantified expression (and with a partitive reading) in subject position, the verb agrees with the quantified expression rather than with the AblNP. We had concluded there that the quantified expression had to be the subject rather than the AblNP.

Now that we know that the quantified expression cannot be a subject

by itself either (since it is part of a bigger phrase), our interpretation of the AGREEMENT facts will have to be modified slightly. Specifically, since it is clearly the whole phrase that is the subject (or, where other processes are concerned, some argument of the verb) in the relevant examples, any phenomenon that seems to attribute subject (or any other argument) status to the quantified expression actually shows that the quantified expression is the head of the subject (or otherwise argument) phrase, in line with X'-theory.

The argument in section 4.2.2.1., based on the site of morphological case does not carry over with the same strength: Since the morphology of Turkish is suffixing, we would expect any bound morpheme pertaining to a whole phrase to attach to the phrase-final constituent, whether that constituent is a head or not. But we can at least say the following: Given all our previous arguments in this section in favor of attributing head status to the quantified expression, the fact that these expressions carry the morphological case suffixes that one would expect the whole phrase to carry is at least in congruence with the analysis.

The next step should be a discussion of the categorial status of Partitive Phrases: Given that their heads are quantified expressions, are they QPs or not? But I shall postpone this question until section 4.3.4.0.1. and will now return to the discussion of Partitive Phrases lacking overt quantifiers, i.e. the AblP_s of the introductory sections.

In section 4.2.1. we proposed to equate AblP_s, i.e. Ablative marked NPs with a partitive reading, to Partitive Phrases consisting of

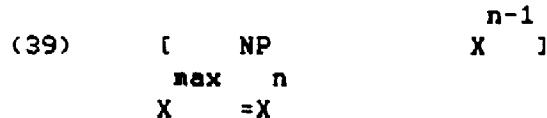
Ablative marked NPs as well, but followed by overt quantifiers. We had two reasons for doing so:

a. Similarity of semantics: In spite of a lacking quantifier phrase, "naked" AblP_s are understood like any other Partitive Phrase; in particular, they are interpreted as though a vague, unspecified quantified expression were, in fact, following the NP.

b. Similarity of the Case marking on the NP: Since in Partitive Phrases with overt quantitative expressions the NP-determiner is Ablative marked; since this marking cannot be assigned from outside the phrase (e.g. by the verb), as we argued above (and as is evident from the fact that those cases assigned by the verb occur elsewhere in the clause), but has to be attributed to the presence of the quantified expression; and since in "naked" AblP_s the Ablative case cannot be assigned by the verb, either (a point on which all proposals agree), it makes sense to extend the treatment of Case assignment proposed for "regular" Partitive Phrases to cover the occurrence of Ablative case in "naked" AblP_s. Insofar as such an extension proves to be feasible, it will be the null hypothesis; the burden of arguing in favor of different treatments of Case assignment for these constructions would rest with any point of view claiming that we are, in fact, dealing with more than one construction.

To recapitulate, the analysis advanced here claims that there is one unified treatment of Partitive Phrases, under which these phrases

have the following structure:



The head X^{n-1} may be phonologically realized, as in example (12) etc., or not so realized, as in (6)a. etc. In either case, the mechanism of Case assignment will be the same: An Ablative Insertion rule, applying to a determiner NP within an XP, "triggered" by the X^{n-1} (or, maybe by some feature within that X^{n-1} , as will be proposed later on).

The direct-object-like behavior of AbIPs in causative constructions is, under this analysis, perfectly straightforward: Since, as argued before, it is the Partitive Phrase that carries argument status in all relevant examples, it will be that phrase as a whole that occupies direct object position when it is understood to be the thematic patient of a transitive verb. Again, it is irrelevant whether the head of the Partitive Phrase is phonologically realized or not; in either case, the understood agent of the "caused action" surfaces in the Dative rather than in the Accusative:

(40) a. Ahmet [süt-ten e] iç-ti
 XP
 milk-Alb. drink-Past

'A. drank of the milk'

b. Ahmed-e/-i [süt-ten e] iç-ir-di-m
 XP
 -Dat./*-Acc. -Caus.-Past-1.sg.

'I made A. drink of the milk'

(41) a. Ahmet [süt-ten iki bardak] iç-ti
 XP two glass

'A. drank two glasses of the milk'

b. Ahmed-e/*-i [süt-ten iki bardak] iç-ir-di-m
 XP
 -Dat./*-Acc.

'I made A. drink two glasses of the milk'

The unified analysis presented above predicts, of course, this unified behavior. We now see that the facts of (40)b. have nothing to do with a putative direct object status of the AblNP, but rather with the existence of a bigger phrase which that NP is a determiner of.

Our unified analysis, which has been shown to be insightful and general so far, runs into various problems, however. One obvious difficulty concerns Passive constructions. In section 4.1.3.2., it was shown that AblPs do not undergo (regular) Passive. While this fact clearly poses a problem for the "disguised direct object analysis," it is also an embarrassment for the "AblP as regular Partitive Phrase analysis" advanced here, since there is no obvious reason why a direct object Partitive Phrase should not undergo movement into subject position in a Passive construction.

This difficulty as well as additional problems that the unified analysis has to face will be discussed in the following part of the chapter.

4.3. AblPs as Irregular Partitive Phrases:

4.3.1. Problems with the View that AblP's are Regular Partitive Phrases:

When introducing the ("naked") AblP construction, one interesting property had been mentioned: It co-occurs with transitive verbs only, and does not show up either in oblique contexts or in subject position. On the other hand, Partitive Phrases, where AblNPs are followed by overt quantified expressions, can occur in any argument position whatsoever. As a matter of fact, some of the arguments for assigning to these phrases the analysis given in (39) depended crucially on the behavior of these phrases as subjects (e.g. examples (19) through (23)) and as oblique objects (examples (16) and (17)).

At first glance, this situation seems to pose a serious problem for the otherwise satisfying hypothesis that we are dealing with only one construction, and that the structure of naked AblP's is exactly the same as that of regular Partitive Phrases. In this part of the paper, I shall maintain the analysis in spite of the difficulty mentioned, and I shall try to derive the limitations on the distribution of "naked" AblP's from the fact that an empty category (ec) occupies the head position of the construction.

One possibility for such a move should be to appeal to the Empty Category Principle (ECP) (this principle will be defined shortly), since it is a principle that constrains the occurrence of ec's in general. There are various attempts in the literature to treat corresponding constructions in this fashion, and, as mentioned in footnote 1, I put forward a proposal along these lines for the Turkish AblP's at a talk given in 1982.

Since another hypothesis will be advanced in this paper, I shall limit myself to a brief overview of the basic features of such ECP-based accounts.

4.3.2. What the ECP can do for ec-headed Partitive Phrases:

4.3.2.1. Definitions:

Let me first give one standard definition of the ECP (the Empty Category Principle), which states that a non-pronominal ec (the specification non-pronominal is needed so as to exclude the pronominal elements PRO and pro, which are phonologically unrealized, but do have features for person and number (and, in some languages, for gender)) must be properly governed. (cf. Chomsky 1981, p. 250.)

A: Proper Government: α properly governs β iff α governs β
(and $\alpha \neq$ AGR).

B: Government: α governs γ in the following configuration (42):

(42) [... γ ... α ... γ ...] , where
 α

(a) $\alpha = X^0$ or is co-indexed with γ

(b) where φ is a maximal projection, if φ dominates γ then φ dominates α .

(c) α c-commands γ . (Chomsky 1981, p. 250)

4.3.2.2. "De-Partitives" in French:

Kayne (1981) ~~takes~~ recourse to his own version[11] of the ECP in

order to account for the following contrasts (among others) in French:

(43) Jean n'a pas trouvé [e de livres]
(his 3) (neg.) has not found (of) books

(44) *Jean a trouvé [e de livres][12]
(his 4)

(45) a. elle a trop lu [e de romans]
(his 10) she has too many read (of) novels

b. elle a beaucoup lu [e de romans]
many

(46) * [e d'amis] sont trop venus
(his 11) (of) friends have too many come

The contrast between (45) and (46) is similar to the one observed in Turkish between (7)b. and (9)b.: a Partitive Phrase with an empty head can occur in direct object position, but not in subject position. The contrast between (43) and (44), on the other hand, does not have a counterpart in Turkish: The empty quantified expression (which Kayne, tentatively, assumes to be a QP) needs an antecedent in French, but not in Turkish. This antecedent must be a quantifier (as in (45)), or a negator (as in (43)). But, as (46) shows, the presence of such an antecedent is not sufficient to sanction a Partitive Phrase with an empty head in subject position. The facts are essentially covered, if one supposes that (for French, at least) the ec QP must be properly governed, and its antecedent (if it is not the governor of the ec itself) must be "close" to the proper governor.[13]

The second part of the generalization, namely that the empty QP has to be properly governed, predicts the subject/object asymmetry mentioned above for Turkish also: According to the definition of government given

in B (this section), objects will be governed by the verb, the subject by the Agreement (AGR) element (Kayne, for various reasons, assumes that the subject--at least in French-- is not governed by the inflectional element; this is not crucial for this rough overview however, and I shall continue to assume, along with Chomsky 1981, that the subject position is governed by AGR) in tensed sentences, and prepositional objects by prepositions. Now, according to the definition of proper government in (A), AGR is excluded from the list of proper governors; thus, subjects are not properly governed, unless locally bound and hence properly governed by an antecedent. This accounts for the well-known subject/object asymmetries under extraction as well as the exclusion of "de-Partitives" from subject position in French. (The question whether the identical account carries over to the Turkish facts will be discussed later.)

ec's can occupy direct object positions freely, however, since that position is properly governed by the verb.

ec's should also be able to occur as prepositional objects, but they usually cannot. In French, in particular, preposition stranding is usually impossible, and "de-Partitives" cannot occur as objects of prepositions, either, even under presence of an antecedent:

- (47) *Jean n'a pas parlé [à ^{PP} [a [e de linguistes]]]
(K's 40) (neg.) has not spoken to (of) linguists

One way of accounting for these facts is to exclude prepositions (in addition to AGR) from the list of proper governors.[14] It should be noticed at this point that the verb, which of course is a proper

governor, cannot govern the ec within the Prepositional Phrase (PP), since, according to clause (b) of the definition of government in B, government from the verb cannot cross the PP-node ($\Psi = \text{PP}$, $\alpha = \text{v}$, $\delta = \text{ec}$).

This, then, concludes a very rough outline of an ECP-based account for the distribution of French "de-Partitives". One point that remains somewhat unclear, however, is why a verb, which cannot govern across a PP-boundary, can do so across an NP-boundary. This question is important, since even in object position, the ec within a Partitive Phrase is not directly governed by the verb, because it is within a larger (object) constituent, as Kayne assumes to be the case for French, and has been argued for in this paper for Turkish. Kayne refers to work in preparation to settle this question and mentions a process of "Genitivization" that makes NPs permeable to government in French. Note at this juncture that for Kayne, the constituents consisting of an empty QP and a "de-Partitive" are NPs. Since he does not offer an analysis of the internal structure of these constituents, we don't know whether he takes the QP to be the head, while taking the whole constituent to be an NP nevertheless, or whether the "de-phrase" is the head. If the ec is the head (as in my proposal for Turkish), then another idea of Kayne's (from the paper discussed) and its extension can be employed here. Kayne's idea is that verbs can govern a COMP across an S boundary. Chomsky (1981; p. 300) generalizes this idea by proposing that COMP is the head of S; if so, Kayne's idea actually means that a verb governs the head of the clause it governs. This new proposal could be generalized to all categories, and clause (b) of the definition of government revised in such a way as to make the head of a maximal

projection accessible to an external governor; in other words, where their heads are concerned, maximal projections are not absolute barriers to external government. (This new formulation is proposed in Belletti & Rizzi (1981), where one type of evidence comes from an interesting analysis of "ne-Cliticization" facts, motivating the position that the N'-head of an NP is externally governed.) Therefore, it stands to reason that in Partitive Phrases, the head, and hence an ec occupying it, will be governed where the whole Partitive Phrase is governed. Importantly, where the governor is a proper governor, the ECP will allow that particular ec to occur. In this way, we can explain, at least for French, the exclusion of empty-headed Partitive Phrases from subject and postpositional object positions, while allowing them to occur in direct object position (as long as there also is some "antecedent" available for the ec, which is suitably "close" to it.)

Let us postpone for the time being the discussion of how far such an analysis would take us in accounting for Turkish AblPs and present, again briefly, an (essentially) ECP-based account for the so-called "Genitive of Negation" construction in Russian:

4.3.2.3. Russian Partitives as QPs:

Russian has a partitive construction, which is, both in appearance and distribution, very similar to the Turkish "naked" AblP construction:

(48)	ja	ne	poluchai	pisem
(P's 1a)	I	NEG	received	letters (Gen.pl.)

With the exception of the Genitive marking (rather than the Ablative marking), this example is obviously entirely comparable to the Turkish examples with the AbIPs. Furthermore, Russian also has another partitive construction, where a quantified expression shows up:

(49) ja poluchil ~~sest'~~ priemnikov
(P's 74a) I received six radios (masc.Gen.pl.)

Assuming that the analysis presented here for Turkish Partitive Phrases carries over into Russian, the quantified expression should be the head in a Russian Partitive Phrase of the sort exhibited in (49). If so, the structure proposed here for the Turkish partitives lends credence to a very interesting hypothesis about their Russian counterparts, put forward in Pesetsky 1982. According to that hypothesis, Partitive Phrases are QPs, and therefore subject to--obligatory--Quantifier Raising in the Logical Form component of the grammar.[15] If this is correct, QR will leave an ec behind, which will have to obey the ECP. This will allow it to occur in direct object position, true to fact.

Notice now that, without further stipulation, the subject position will be properly governed under the QR-based account, since the raised QP will locally bind the ec in subject position, and, therefore, as a suitable (co-indexed) antecedent, will act as a proper governor of that ec, contrary to fact.[16]

Pesetsky offers a very ingenious solution to this dilemma: He hypothesizes that QR of QPs leaves NP-traces. The motivation for this statement is that verbs "take" NPs as their arguments and not QPs.

After all, we eat cakes and drink wine, rather than eating slices and drinking liters. If this is correct, the conclusion is that categorial selection requirements have to be met at LF, but not necessarily earlier. (It also follows that categorial selection is not regulated by the Projection Principle, which has to be satisfied throughout the various levels of representation with respect to argument structure and thematic role assignment, stating that these properties of lexical items have to be preserved throughout.) Given this situation, a QP cannot serve as a syntactic antecedent to--and therefore a governor of--an NP-trace because of the resulting categorial mismatch.

The QP hypothesis also accounts for the exclusion of "naked" Partitive Phrases (i.e. the type exhibited in (48)) from oblique contexts (yet another property of the Russian construction in which it is similar to its Turkish counterpart), if the assumption is made that Case is assigned to (or is a property of) NPs exclusively. If this is right, QPs will not be able to show up with oblique case. As a consequence, verbs that "take" oblique objects will not be able to assign thematic roles to QPs, since QPs will never be appropriately (i.e. oblique) Case marked. (For this argument to go through, the additional assumption has to be made that verbs which sub-categorize for oblique complements can assign thematic roles only to those items that bear the appropriate Case marking, and that such items "come" with the various Cases attached to them--an assumption which Pesetsky explicitly makes.) The fact that QPs are excluded from oblique contexts is, under this account, a consequence of a Theta-Criterion (θ -Criterion) violation.[17]

No such violation occurs in direct object position, according to Pesetsky, since objective case is assigned structurally. Case assigners that assign structural case (i.e. Objective and Nominative) do not need any lexical specification to the effect that they can assign a thematic role to a (lexically) Case marked complement only; as a matter of fact, no specification along these lines is needed at all, so that they assign thematic roles to non-Case marked items. (We assume structural Case not to be assigned in DS, but at SS.) Consequently, QPs, which are Caseless, as argued for above, will be able to receive a thematic role from a verb that assigns (otherwise) structural Case, and thus occur in direct object position, but not in oblique object position.

We see now that the QP-hypothesis handles the Russian facts as presented. What makes this account convincing is the fact--if true--that all Partitive Phrases in Russian, "naked" or not, seem to be restricted in their distribution in similar ways.[18] Exactly this situation is predicted by the "QP-hypothesis", since the explanation of the Russian Partitive Phrases that this hypothesis offers rests crucially on the application of QR, which is an LF rule and should therefore be independent form the phonological shapes of the items it applies to.

Yet another prediction an account makes which is based on the ECP as holding at LF is that other LF processes are constrained in the same way and exhibit similar effects.

One such process that Pesetsky discusses, drawing on work by Kayne (Kayne 1981b.), is wh-movement in LF, and it turns out that this

prediction is fulfilled. I shall present the argument briefly.

There are various arguments to the effect that, in English, wh-words that have not undergone wh-movement into COMP by S-Structure do so at LF; at issue are, for instance, the underlined wh-words in the following examples:

- (50) a. I wonder who saw what (Pesetsky's #3, p. 587)
b. Who knows how to make what

Now, overt wh-movement, which takes place in the syntactic component of the grammar, exhibits the phenomenon of "weak crossover":

- (51) a. his_i brother visited John_i (Pesetsky's #21, p. 593)
b. *who_i did his_i brother visit x_i

Chomsky (1977) proposes a condition to explain this phenomenon:

- (52) A variable cannot be the antecedent of a pronoun to its left.

Interestingly, the effect of weak crossover can be observed with in-situ wh-words:

- (53) a. [which woman [e claims that his brother visited John]]
S S i])
(Pesetsky's #26, p. 594)
b. * [which woman [e claims that his brother visited which man]]
S i S i])

If we assume that wh-words that are in-situ at S-Structure undergo wh-movement at LF, the principle in (52) will explain the contrast in (53).

Keyne (1981b) presents an analysis of subject/object asymmetries

observed with wh-words in-situ:

- (54) a. [who i e said ((that) [John tripped over what])]
S i i S
1 2
- b. * [who i e said ((that) [what fell on John's head])]
S i i S
1 2

If there is wh-movement at LF (as the contrast in (53) suggested), and if the ECP does apply at LF, this contrast is explained: in (54)a., the underlined wh-word, after wh-movement at LF, leaves a variable behind which is properly governed by the verb; in (54)b., however, the subject wh-word, in-situ at S-Structure, leaves a variable behind at LF which violates the ECP, since it is not properly governed.

Both the facts and their explanation correspond to those reviewed with respect to the Russian Partitive Phrases and Pesetsky's QP-hypothesis. We conclude, therefore, that the QP-hypothesis offers a satisfactory account of the Russian facts by using general principles that make independently correct predictions.

In the following section, we return to the Turkish facts about AblPs to see if they are accounted for by an ECP-based explanation, as well.

4.3.3. Turkish Partitives and the ECP:

4.3.3.1. The Peculiarities of Turkish AblPs and a non-LF Based Account:

As mentioned above, there is one fact that makes the QP-hypothesis

extremely attractive for Russian: the distribution of "Genitive Partitives" is basically independent of the phonological realization of the quantified expression. Now this is exactly the property which seems to distinguish Turkish Partitives from their Russian counterparts. As we saw in the descriptive sections of this paper, "naked" AblPs are heavily restricted in their distribution, while Partitive Phrases with phonologically specified quantified expressions occur freely. This situation immediately suggests that an account of Turkish AblPs is not likely to come from an LF-based analysis.[19] However, this consideration does not automatically exclude an ECP-based explanation, assuming that the ECP holds at S-Structure. (The fact that it must also hold at LF to explain Russian does not exclude it from being an SS-principle, as well.)[20] As a matter of fact, we noted above subject/object asymmetries in the distribution of Turkish "naked" AblPs which are similar to those observed in their French and Russian counterparts and seem therefore to be amenable to an ECP-based explanation.

The section on the French Partitives discussed how the ECP explains such asymmetries with respect to "de-Partitives". Suppose that the subset of Turkish facts exhibiting the same asymmetries is explained in the same fashion.

Two sets of Turkish facts, one already mentioned, the other not yet presented, still await explanation however:

1. The exclusion of "naked" AblPs from oblique contexts;

2. The occurrence of these phrases as "ergative subjects".

These are the issues to be discussed in the next sections; the second point will be addressed first.

4.3.3.2. AblPs as "Ergative Subjects" in Turkish:

4.3.3.2.0. The Issue of "Ergative Verbs":

Let us start this section with some relevant examples:

- (55) ban-a bu kitap-lar-dan gel-me-di
 I-Dat. this book-pl.-Abl. come-Neg.-Past

'Of these books didn't come to me' (I didn't receive of these books)
- (56) bur-a-da bu bitki-ler-den yetis-me-z
here-Loc. this plant-pl.-Abl. grow-Neg.-Aorist

'Of these plants don't grow here'
- (57) kitap-çı-da bu kitap-lar-dan kal-ma-mı^g
book-profess.-Loc. this book-pl.-Abl. remain-Neg.-reported past

'Of these books didn't remain at the bookseller's (The bookstore
doesn't have any of these books left)
- (58) kitap-çı-da bu kitap-lar-dan var / yok
exist. / neg. exist.

'There are/aren't of these books at the bookstore'

Assuming, with Burzio (1981) and cf. Footnote 16), that non-agentive subjects of a certain type of non-transitive verbs (which we shall not characterize for the time being) and thus the underlined AblPs in the examples above are in direct object position at DS, and furthermore with Pesetsky, that if these subjects are QPs, they are in direct object position at SS and LF, as well (see also Footnote 16), it

is clear how the ECP accounts for the occurrence of these AblPs: given that government can "reach into" the head position of a maximal projection, the sc-head of the Partitive Phrase is properly governed by the verb. The ungrammaticality of headless Partitive Phrases as agentive subjects is explained in the following way. AGR is not a proper governor, therefore the ECP (as an SS principle this time) is violated, and "naked" AblPs are, correctly, ruled out.

Before addressing the issue of whether "ergative subjects" are indeed in direct object position at SS in Turkish, let us ask whether there is any reason to assume the existence of a certain subset of intransitive verbs that behave syntactically in some consistent way.

As a matter of fact, there does seem to exist a relevant dichotomy among intransitive verbs in Turkish along the lines suggested by Burzio (1981) at least with respect to "Impersonal" (or "Intransitive") Passive (cf. Perlmutter (1978a.) and Özkaragöz (1980) for some relevant Turkish examples within a Relational Grammar framework). Semantically, "ergative" verbs typically take non-agentive subjects. Syntactically, the differences in behavior between straightforward intransitive and so-called ergative (in Burzio's sense) verbs is less sharp than in Romance languages (e.g. there is no difference in Auxiliary verb selection); nevertheless, some syntactic arguments can be found. The best known among those concerns Passive, alluded to above. Perlmutter (op. cit.) notices the following fact: While "intransitive" verbs in Burzio's sense (i.e. intransitive verbs that take agentive subjects) can show up in "Impersonal Passive" constructions in those languages that

have that construction, "ergative" verbs cannot.

We might explain this fact in the following way, changing Burzio's account of "ergative" verbs somewhat.

For Burzio, transitive and "ergative" verbs have similar Deep Structures (DSs) in that they both "take" direct objects. But "ergative" verbs do not Case-mark the NP in direct object position (cf. Footnote 16), while transitives do. He stipulates that, within this (direct object-taking) class of verbs, only those verbs that are Case-markers are also (indirectly, via the VP-node) Θ-role (agent) assigners for the subject NP. Passive morphology "absorbs" Case as well as Θ-role,[21] thus both necessitating and making possible movement of the direct object NP to subject position; the first, because the NP would remain Caseless in its original position; to circumvent the Case Filter, which would star the Caseless NP, it moves to subject position, where AGR assigns it Nomnative Case. The second, because, if the subject position were still assigned its Θ-role it receives from a "transitive" VP, a Θ-Criterion violation would result: The moved NP and its trace form a chain which has a Θ-role already, namely that of a patient, assigned to the trace of the moved NP by the transitive verb. If the moved NP received an agentive Θ-role in subject position, the chain would carry more than one Θ-role, violating the Θ-Criterion. However, if Passive morphology absorbs Θ-role, the subject position will lack Θ-role, and no violation would result.

As for "ergative" verbs, they assign a Θ-role to the NP in direct object position at DS. (The question of what that Θ-role is--patient or

whatever--shall not concern us here.) Now, according to Burzio's stipulation, they do not assign a θ-role to subject position, since they are not Case-markers. When the--caseless--direct object moves to subject position to escape the Case Filter--a process akin to Passive--, it does not receive any θ-role in its new position; consequently, no θ-Criterion violation arises.

The overall account for Passive and "Ergative" constructions will have to be slightly different for languages that also exhibit "impersonal Passive" constructions. Instances of transitive verbs with Passive morphology can still be handled in the way presented above, with Passive morphology "inducing" NP-movement into subject position, for the reason discussed. But in addition, in such languages, intransitive verbs in the traditional sense, i.e. verbs that do not assign objective Case, can also take Passive morphology. For such verbs, there is no Case assignment property for the Passive morphology to absorb, but it can still perform its other function: that of suppressing the (agentive) θ-marking of the subject position. Suppose now the existence of a functional principle against "vacuous morphology".[22] In this particular instance, this principle would predict that Passive morphology could not attach to "ergative" verbs, since there would be no function for it to perform at all. This prediction is corroborated by evidence (of the kind noted by Perlmutter); consider the following examples, where, indeed, it is shown that "Agentive" intransitive constructions have "Impersonal Passive" counterparts, but "Ergative"

constructions do not:

- (59) a. *bura-da* çok *kos-ul-ur*
here-Loc. very run-Pass.-Aorist 'One runs a lot here'
- b. " *iyi* *dansed-il-ir* 'One dances well here'
well dance-Pass.-Aor.
- c. " *dag-a* *cik-il-ir* 'One climbs mountains here'
mountain-Dat. mount-Pass.-Aor
- (60) a. **bura-ya* çok *gel-in-ir*[23] 'One comes here a lot'
here-Dat. very come-Pass.-Aor.
- b. **ore-ya* erken *var-il-ir* 'One arrives there early'
there-Dat.early arrive-Pass.-Aor.
- c. **bura-da* *kay-il-ir* 'One slips here'
here-Loc. slip-Pass.-Aor.
- (61) a. **buzdolabın-da* bira *ol-un-ur*[24]
fridge-Loc. beer exist.-Pass.-Aor.
- b. **Almanya-da* yufka *ol-un-ma-z*
Germany-Loc. philo dough exist.-Neg.-Aor

Now that the existence of a separate class of intransitive verbs (i.e. "ergatives") has been established for Turkish as well, the question arises as to what happens to the NPs that are in direct object position of ergatives at DS. Do they undergo Burzio's Passive-like NP-movement rule? In other words, are they in direct object or in subject position at SS?

At first glance, it looks like the AblP construction itself could answer this question: since it can occur as the "subject" of ergatives, but not of "intransitives," and since the ECP (modulo the exclusion of AGR from the list of proper governors) explains this fact, it seems to be a foregone conclusion that all subjects of ergative verbs are in direct object position.

This answer, however, might well be insufficient to decide the issue, since it is not clear that for so-called "Pro-Drop languages" AGR is not a proper governor. It has been suggested (Noam Chomsky, personal communication) that, if AGR is "rich" enough to identify and thus legitimize an ec which is a pure pronominal (i.e. pro) in subject position, it does qualify as a governor. As a matter of fact, "subject condition effects" are not found in Turkish, i.e. both in relative clauses (exhibiting gaps at SS in the position of the extraction site) and wh-questions (with the wh-words in situ) are possible with the bound variable in subject position as well as in object position. If AGR is, indeed, a proper governor in Turkish, this lack of subject/object asymmetry would be accounted for. However, the ECP-based explanation we had for excluding AblPs from (at least agentive) subject position disappears. Moreover, the question about the position of "ergative subjects" remains unanswered.

It is extremely difficult to find a reliable test of any given position in a word-order free language like Turkish, since Scrambling can blur positional distinctions. Examples employing binding facts are difficult to construct for non-agentives in general; this difficulty is especially great in the present context, since I shall end up claiming that it is only a certain class of "ergative subjects," namely--roughly speaking--non-referential and formally--in some sense--determiner-less NPs that occupy direct object position in ergative constructions.

In order to substantiate my claim in spite of that difficulty, I shall discuss now the "Intransitive Passive" construction that was

mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

4.3.3.2.1. Intransitive Passives Revisited.

In section 4.1.3.2., and especially in the connected footnote 4, it was mentioned that oblique objects of Intransitive Passives do not undergo NP-movement to subject position. Various properties of "genuine" subjects were enumerated, and it was said that oblique objects of Intransitive Passives exhibit none of these properties, while the derived subjects of "real" Passives do.

Now, there is yet another apparent--and somewhat surprising--instance of the Intransitive Passive construction; surprising, because it involves transitive verbs.

Direct objects co-occur in general with transitive verbs in a morphologically Case-marked form; the relevant morpheme is usually referred to as the Accusative or Objective suffix. However, there are also instances where the object NP does not bear any morphological marking. Traditional grammars have noted this fact and have tried to characterize such direct objects by referring to notions such as "non-specific," "non-definite," "non-referential," etc. (For detailed discussion and references, cf. Tura (forthcoming), Sezer (1972), Erdal (1981), Underhill (1972), Erguvanlı (1979) and others.)

While none of these semantically based accounts is fully satisfactory (as the references themselves observe), it is not clear what the common formal denominator is, either, as the following

discussion will show; at any rate, we shall only be interested in the latter issue.

Let us start with a typical pair of corresponding sentences, consisting of a transitive structure with a morphologically marked direct object, and the corresponding "real" Passive: (Ex. set (10) is repeated as (62).)

- (62) a. Hasan bu pasta-yi ye-di
 this cake-Acc. eat-Past

'H. ate this cake'

- b. bu pasta (Hasan tarafından) ye - n - di
 this cake by Hasan eat-Pass.-Past

'This cake was eaten by Hasan'

Now, compare these sentences with the construction alluded to above, where the direct object is morphologically unmarked:

- (63) a. Hasan pasta ye-di
 ^
 'Hasan ate cake'

The corresponding Passive example does not tolerate an agentive phrase, thus patterning with Intransitive Passives rather than with regular Passives:

- (63) b. (*Hasan tarafından) pasta ye-n-di
 '
 cake was eaten (*by Hasan)'

Notice that the direct object exhibits neither a determiner, nor a modifier. These properties are typical for examples like those in (63). There is, however, another instance of morphologically unmarked direct objects: there, the object typically co-occurs with both a

determiner (indefinite) and a modifier:

- (64) a. cocuklar cukulata - i+ bir pasta ye - di -(ier)
children chocolate-with a cake eat-Past-3.pl.

'The children ate a chocolate cake'

This example does seem to undergo regular Passive (at least for some speakers):

- (64) b. (cocuk-lar tarafindan) cukulata-i+ bir pasta ye-n-di
(children by) -Pass.-

'A chocolate cake was eaten by the children'

Let us now look at another property of morphologically unmarked direct objects, one which concerns word order. Interestingly enough for an otherwise rather word-order free language, these NPs have to occupy a position to the immediate left of the verb. The determinerless as well as modifier-less NP in (63) exhibits this property consistently both in the active and in the Passive constructions:

- (65) a. Hasan dün bu pasta-yi ye-di
yesterday this cake-Acc. eat-Past

'Hasan ate this cake yesterday'

- b. Hasan dün pasta ye-di

'Hasan ate cake yesterday'

- c. Hasan bu pasta-yi dün ye-di

- d. *Hasan pasta dün ye-di

- e. dün bu pasta-yi Hasan ye-di

- f. * dün pasta Hasan ye-di

- (66) a. bu pasta (Hasan tarafından) dün ye - n - di
 b. bu pasta dün (Hasan tarafından) ye - n - di
 c. * pasta dün ye - n - di

(Note that the last example is grammatical under the reading: 'The cake was eaten yesterday'; in Turkish, the definite determiner is not expressed lexically. The fact of interest for us is that the "non-referential" reading of either (63)a. or (63)b. is unavailable for (66)c., and, since the by-phrase is not included in that last example, we see that the word-order facts are independent of those concerning the occurrence of agentive phrases in Passives.)

Somewhat strangely, the examples of the type illustrated in (64) behave in a rather inconsistent way: while they pattern in the Active sentences with the other type of morphologically Case-less direct objects in that they, too, cannot be separated from the verb, they behave like any other regular NP with respect to word order when it comes to Passive constructions (again, there seems to be some variability among speakers on this point), i.e., they can scramble freely and thus be separated from the verb:

- (67) a. * cocuk-lar cukulata-li bir pasta dün ye - di (-ler)
 'The children ate a chocolate cake yesterday'
 b. * dün cukulata-li bir pasta cocuk-lar ye - di (-ler)
 c. ? cukulata-li bir pasta dün cocuk-lar tarafından ye - n - di
 -Pass.-
 'A chocolate cake was eaten yesterday by the children'

I shall be primarily concerned with the constructions in (63),

i.e. with the behavior of determinerless and modifier-less NPs; for those speakers who do not accept either (64)b. nor (67)c., the account that will be proposed for (63) will extend to the latter examples straightforwardly. For more permissive speakers who report the grammaticality judgments as given here, that account will have to be supplemented. This point will be taken up later (cf. footnote 27).

In traditional as well as generative studies, the construction illustrated in (63)a. has often been referred to as "Object (or NP) Incorporation". This term is supposed to express the idea that the sequence NP-Verb has somehow been reanalyzed or relexicalized to form an indivisible unit. Insofar as the Passivization facts were noticed at all, it was said that this Incorporation is really a de-transitivization process, and this would explain why "real" Passive cannot be fed by that process, while "Intransitive Passive" can.

4.3.3.2.2. Towards a Case-Based Account of "Incorporation":

I would like to consider this phenomenon in a somewhat different light, namely by proposing that the array of facts considered so far can be explained in a more insightful way by taking recourse to Case Theory. In particular, I would like to assume, after Stowell (1981), Saito (1982), and Torrego (1983), that syntactic Case is assigned to an NP by a Case marker under government iff the NP is adjacent to the Case marker. Where a given NP exhibits morphological Case, it is also syntactically Case marked (possibly by the case morpheme itself), and therefore it does not have to meet the adjacency requirement. (The

morphological Case is not assigned, but rather checked by the Case assigner.) NPs without any morphological Case, on the other hand, need abstract Case in order not to violate the Case Filter. In order to undergo direct Case assignment, they have to obey the adjacency condition--thus the observed correlation of lack of morphological Case marking and obligatoriness of surface adjacency to the verb with respect to determinerless NPs. (The correlation between lack of determiner and lack of morphological Case will remain undiscussed here (cf., however, footnote 27); note that in Turkish, since the Case morpheme shows up as a suffix on the head noun, there is no need for the determiner to function as a phonological host, so to speak, for the Case morpheme, as there might be for other languages like Spanish.)

Before I continue to discuss how this approach handles the Passive facts, I would like to mention a problem faced by "Incorporation" with respect to Causativization.

4.3.3.2.3. "Incorporation" and Causativization:

In sections 4.1.1. and 4.2.4. we had the opportunity to discuss the Causative construction in Turkish. In particular, the surface Case array will be of interest to us now: the subject of an intransitive verb shows up as an Accusative object of the Causative, while the subject of a transitive verb shows up as a Dative object. (cf. examples (1) through (6).) If the direct objects that lack overt Accusative marking are really "incorporated" into the verb and have "de-transitivized" it, thus blocking "real" Passive, then one would

predict that the subjects of such constructions should surface as Accusative NPs in Causatives. This, however, is not the case; the "causee" subjects in both (63)a. and (64)a. show up as Dative objects, thus demonstrating that what has been "Causativized" is a regular transitive construction rather than an intransitive one:

- (68) a. Hasan - a pasta ye - dir - di - m
-Dat. -Caus.-

一
-Acc.

'I made H. eat cake'

- b. Hasan - a paata-yi ye² - dir - di - m
-Dat. -Acc.

-ACC.

'I made Hasan eat the cake'

Clearly, the construction with the determinerless direct object behaves just like its counterpart with the definite, overtly Case-marked direct object. An account that claims that the verb has kept all of its properties obviously captures this unified behavior of the two constructions under Causativization. Since the analysis outlined above crucially claims that the verb, being transitive, assigns syntactic (objective) Case to the morphologically unmarked direct object, the correct prediction about the similarity exhibited in (68) is made.

4.3.3.2.4. Interaction of Determinerless NPs and Passive:

At this point, the question arises as to how to account for the fact that the regular Passive construction is unavailable for transitive

structures with determinerless direct objects.

The usual assumptions about how NP-movement is accounted for (and which have been discussed above) would predict *a priori*--and wrongly--that regular Passive is possible, since AGR is assumed to be a Case assigner. As a matter of fact, these assumptions would force movement away from direct object position for NPs without overt Case, since such NPs need syntactic Case, which they won't get from the Passive verb, because the Passive morphology "absorbs" Objective Case.

I would like to propose now the following account of AGR as a Case marker, and, specifically, of how Case gets assigned to subjects. The claim will be that AGR does not assign syntactic Case directly (the way verbs and pre/postpositions do), but checks Case--or, equivalently, serves as context for morphological realization of Case features (cf. Saito 1982) under government, as usual. This is not because of any idiosyncratic deficiency of AGR, but because of phrase structure: The subject NP (at least non-ergative subjects) and AGR are never adjacent (at least in the syntactic component), [25] being separated by VP. (There are arguments for the existence of a VP-node in Turkish; however, I shall leave an in-depth investigation of this matter for future work.)

This account forces me to adopt the following--rather abstract--point of view for Nominative subjects: Although the language has no overt Nominative Case morpheme, genuine subject NPs in root sentences will be treated as morphologically Case-marked. This account, which seems somewhat arbitrary at first glance, yields independent benefits: It captures the obvious parallelism that holds in every

conceivable respect between Nominative subjects and the--overtly--Genitive-marked subjects in embedded clauses and Possessive NPs; it correctly predicts the word-order freedom of Nominative subjects, which thus behave like any (other) overtly Case-marked NP (and, interestingly enough, all overtly Case-marked NPs, thus now also Nominative subjects, can move out of their sentence to a position to the right of the verb (and presumably adjoined to S'); since there is some evidence to the effect that Government is directional, and that in Turkish, it goes to the left and never to the right, direct Case marking could not apply to such an NP, not even under string adjacency); and it explains--again correctly and as crucially at this juncture--why determinerless and Case-less (i.e. morphologically so) direct objects cannot move to canonical subject position--namely, they will not receive syntactic Case there; as for the "abstract"--but nevertheless existent--morphological Nominative marking of "regular" subjects, such determiner-less NPs will reject it, for whatever reason they reject morphological Objective marking (thus, yet another parallelism gets to be explicitly and formally expressed).

Now, the only remaining question is: How does the unmoved determinerless object of a transitive verb with Passive morphology succeed in getting Case-marked in its position?

In order to solve this problem, I shall assume, following Chomsky (1981), (1982), Jaeggli (1982), and Torrego (1983), that there is a rule (call it R) that moves INFL (or AGR) into the VP and cliticizes it onto the verb. The question of which component of the model this rule

belongs to is open to parametric variation among languages. Now let us assume that in Turkish, this rule applies in the PF-component; so does the Case Filter. At SS, INFL is the head of the sentence (thus probably a sister of VP, but not of V) or of a Possessive NP; this is important for the Binding Conditions to apply correctly, as we saw in the previous chapters. But at PF, rule R applies. Now, the AGR element is within VP, and can govern as well as Case-mark the object directly, the latter in those instances where the verb does not assign Case.[26] (Note that, strictly speaking, string adjacency between the object and AGR is not met, since there is--at least--one intervening verb. However, since AGR forms one phonological word with that verb (one striking piece of evidence for this contention is that the AGR morpheme undergoes Vowel Harmony according to the relevant phonological feature specifications of the verb) the verb proper does not count as intervening material any longer.

The instances alluded to, where the verb does not Case mark the direct object position, are Passives and Ergatives. It would follow, then, that in either one of those instances, determinerless NPs remain in direct object position ("real" direct objects in the former instance, and "ergative subjects" in the latter), since this is the only position in the sentence they can receive direct Case in (with the exception of some postpositions; but I shall discuss issues concerning postpositions later on, since they do not concern the argument presented here directly), while NPs that are "determined" can move to canonical (i.e. sentence-initial) subject position.[27]

At this juncture, we can consider the initial question of 4.3.3.2.0. answered: ergative subjects, as well as the "derived" determinerless subjects of Passives are in direct object position at SS.

Since these two instances are the only ones where our "naked" AblPs occur, and since they fall together in terms of SS-position, and ECP-based account seems reasonable again--if the ECP has to hold (at least for Turkish) at SS (at the latest).

4.3.4. An Account of AblPs Based on Case-Theory:

4.3.4.0. Against the ECP:

4.3.4.0.0. General Reasons:

Supposing, as we did:

(a) that the ECP might apply at S-Structure for Turkish and would thus succeed, under the assumptions made before (namely that:

(b) Government can "percolate down" onto heads of maximal categories)

to rule in ec-headed phrases in direct object positions only, while ruling out all other positions for such phrases (although it is still not totally clear at this point why oblique object positions are ruled out), there remains the following basic question:

If the ECP governs the distribution of AblPs, the ec occupying their head position must be a variable--at least by LF. But, as

mentioned before, the Turkish facts do not parallel the French ones: The presence or absence of potential binders, like negators or quantifiers, (now irrespective of the nature of those binders as governors by antecedence, and/or by Kayne's extension of the ECP) is totally irrelevant for the distribution of Turkish AblPs. The only other type of binder might be the QR-raised quantifier (phrase), as Pesetsky claims for Russian. However, as already argued, this would predict--correctly for Russian, but incorrectly for Turkish--that the distribution of all Partitive Phrases should be the same.

4.3.4.0.1. Structure and Category of Partitive Phrases

Moreover, the structure of the Turkish Partitive Phrases argues against their categorial status as QPs (while that status does seem to be established convincingly for their Russian equivalents). For at least one of the reasons that established the head status of quantified expressions within Partitive Phrases (and against that of the Ablative NP, which seems to be in determiner or adjunct position within the larger phrase)--namely the left-branching nature of phrases in Turkish--the X^{n-1} head of the Partitive Phrase must be a projection of N. This is because the quantified expressions in head position of Partitives have themselves the structure:

(69) Q N'

Examples of these sequences within Partitive Phrases follow:

- (70) a. iki dilim
two slice
- b. beş büyük parça
five big piece 'five big pieces'
- c. üç şişe
three bottle
- d. bir litre
one liter

etc.

Therefore, it follows, under the usual assumptions of X'-theory, that the category of that sequence is that of an NP (or, more vaguely, some projection of N, and crucially not of Q); therefore, the Partitive Phrase itself must be an NP. If so, Pesetsky's obligatory QR won't apply either to the phrase or to the quantified expression (since both are projections of N), thus there won't be any binder of any putative variable either in place of or in head position of the Partitive Phrase.

This would also counter a conceivable proposal that the distinction between Turkish and Russian Partitives is due to the ECP, after all: if the ECP applies at SS in Turkish (possibly in addition to applying at LF), then the crucial property of Partitives whose distribution is limited in the ways described is: "ec-head" in Turkish, but "any (Q-) head" in Russian.

If this were the case, however, i.e., if the "ec-head" of Turkish Partitives were of the sort that have to obey the ECP, hence a variable or an anaphor, the question would immediately arise as to what the

binder of either one of such entities would be. Since we just argued that Turkish would not have a binder for a putative variable in the crucial position, and since it is not obvious what the binder of a putative ec-anaphor would be in this context, either, we thus eliminate either one of these logical possibilities and hence an ECP-based explanation of the phenomenon in question.

4.3.4.0.2. More Constructions Unpredicted by the ECP:

Furthermore, there are some constructions where the "naked" AblPs cannot occur, without this fact being predicted (again, under usual assumptions) by the ECP.

One such construction involves adverbs whose position is fixed within the VP. One such adverb is cabuk 'fast':

- (71) a. ben bifteğ-i cabuk ye-di-m
I steak-Acc. fast eat-Past-1.sg.

'I ate the steak fast'

- b. *ben cabuk bifteğ-i ye-di-m

Note that no AblP can occur in the position of the object in (71)a.:

- (72) a. *ben biftek-ten cabuk ye-di-m
-Abl.

Attempted reading: 'I ate of the steak fast'

(The AblP cannot occur in the position of the object in (71)b. either:

- (72) b. *ben cabuk biftek-ten ye-di-m

But in this last example, the ungrammaticality is obviously due to the non-adjacency of the adverb and the verb, just as in (71)b., and has

nothing to do with the AblP itself.)

Another construction which exhibits similar behavior with respect to AblPs is what often is referred to as "Secondary Predication" constructions:

- (73) a. ben bifteg-i sig ye-di-m
 -Acc. raw

'I ate the steak raw'

- b. *ben biftek-ten sig ye-di-m
 -Abl.

Attempted reading: 'I ate of the steak raw'

Compare with the grammatical occurrence of the AblP as follows:

- (74) ben biftek-ten ye-di-m
 -Abl.

'I ate of the steak'

Note that in both types of problematic constructions, the empty category in the head position of the Partitive Phrase is governed by the verb, since the position of the whole phrase (since it is the direct object position of a transitive verb) is governed, as evidenced by the Accusative-marking on the objects in the grammatical examples (again, we assume that Case-checking and/or Case Feature Realization also operates under government). Since the verb is a proper governor, the ECP would not rule out the ungrammatical sentences.

Another and more compelling piece of evidence that the position of the Partitive Phrase (rather, of the AblP) is governed comes from the

fact that extraction out of that position is possible:

- (75) a. e yavas iç - tig - im sarap
 i i
 slowly drink-Partic.-1.sg. wine

'The wine that I drank slowly'

- b. ne - yi yavas iç - ti - n?
what-Acc. slowly drink-Past.2.sg.

'What did you drink slowly?'

- (76) a. e çig ye - dig - im biftek
 i i
 raw eat-Partic.-1.sg. steak

'The steak that I ate raw'

- b. ne - yi çig ye - di - n?
what-Acc. raw eat-Past.-2.sg.

'What did you eat raw?'

I shall assume here the following account of relative clauses and wh-questions in Turkish: Some version of Move-Q applies in the syntactic component to derive relative clauses, in line with the fact that there is a gap in the position of the "relativized" constituent; in the case of wh-questions, where the wh-element is found in-situ, I shall assume wh-Movement to apply at LF; in either case, there is a variable in the position of the constituent that undergoes Move-Q. This variable is an EC which has to obey the ECP. As the examples above show, there is no ECP violation to be observed in the constructions in question. It follows, therefore, that the crucial positions are indeed properly governed (by the verb), and that the impossibility of AblPs to occur in these positions cannot be due to an ECP-violation.

Note that these extraction facts are important in the context of

the present discussion for the following reason: The facts of examples (71) through (73) could be explained via the ECP after all, if the assumption were made that Proper Government requires adjacency (a proposal made, for instance, in Travis (1984)). The examples in (75) and (76), however, show that at least in Turkish, Proper Government holds where string adjacency does not.

I would like to propose that the required explanation comes from Case Theory. Before discussing the details of that explanation, I would like to mention that determinerless NPs cannot occur in these constructions, either:

- (77) a. *ben biftek cabuk ye-di-m
'I ate steak fast'
b. *ben biftek cig ye-di-m
'I ate steak raw'

Compare with the grammatical (78):

- (78) ben biftek ye-di-m
'I ate steak'

The reason for the ungrammaticality of the examples in (77) is clear: the determinerless NPs are unmarked for Accusative morphologically, thus require syntactic Case, but the intervening material makes assignment of syntactic Case from the verb impossible because of the adjacency condition.

Clearly, it would be desirable to extend this account to also cover the ungrammatical examples in (72) and (73). We said that the ECP is

not a likely candidate for explaining those examples, and it is not clear how it would predict the examples in (77). Therefore, Case Theory seems like a better source of insight.

Now, suppose we were to say that the examples of (72) and (73) on the one hand and those of (77) illustrate the same construction, namely that of determinerless and morphologically unmarked NPs in direct object position; in (77), the whole position is occupied by such an NP, and in (72) and (73), the head position of a direct object is. Because of lack of morphological Case marking, syntactic Case is required, but cannot be assigned by the verb, due to intervening material.[28] The account of these constructions is now general and straightforward, and one question remains, namely that about the nature of the ec occupying head position of Partitive Phrases in (72) and (73).

4.4. pro as the Head of AblPs:

We have argued against the status of this empty category as a variable. It cannot be PRO, either, since the position is governed. The only other phonologically unrealized empty category is pro, and this is the proposal I shall make here.

4.4.0 How the pro-head/Case Theory Account Rules Out AblPs from Oblique Contexts:

4.4.0.1. Why AblPs Cannot be Oblique Objects:

When appealing to Case Theory (and, specifically, to the Adjacency

Condition on abstract Case assignment), we simply implied without much argumentation or explanation that AblPs, i.e. Partitive Phrases with an ec in head position can't bear morphological Case and consequently need syntactic Case. The idea behind that contention is simply that a morphological affix needs a phonologically realized host. Therefore, no such affix can occur on AblPs with their pro-head. This would explain why overt Accusative-marking (as well as Nominative and Genitive) cannot show up (although there is actually another reason, which will be discussed and adopted later), and why syntactic Case is needed.

The same account extends to instances where AblPs are in oblique object position. Given that all oblique contexts require overt Case marking (verbs that subcategorize for oblique objects are Case checkers, not Case assigners), there is no alternative for empty-headed Partitive Phrases in such positions that would enable them to obey the Case Filter without being morphologically marked for Case. As we said before, Nominative/Genitive and Objective (i.e. Accusative) are the only Cases that can be "abstractly" assigned.[29]

We have now accounted for the lack of occurrence of AblPs as oblique objects. There is, however, one more oblique context where they cannot occur: As objects of postpositions.

4.4.0.2. Why AblPs cannot be Postpositional Objects:

Most postpositions subcategorize for various oblique (thus obligatorily overt) cases; thus, the account proposed above extends straightforwardly to such instances.

There is, however, a small set of postpositions that seem to take Nominative case, alternating with Genitive for pronominals:

- (79) gibi 'as, like'
 ile 'with'
 icin 'for'
 kadar 'as much as'

The behavior of these postpositions with respect to Case is illustrated below:

- (80) a. Ahmet kadar
 b. *Ahmed-in " 'as much as Ahmet'
 -Gen.

(81) a. *o kadar
 b. on-un " 'as much as he/she/it'
 3.sg.-Gen.

(The ø/n alternation exhibited in (81)a. versus b. by the third person singular pronoun is due to a morpho-phonological rule that deletes word-final n of this particular morpheme (as well as in a few others, e.g. in -ki/-kin).)

It appears that these postpositions "govern" Nominative/Genitive assignment, in the way AGR does otherwise. If so, we should expect AbIPs to be able to occur as objects of these particular postpositions, given that Nominative/Genitive morphology can (usually) alternate with abstract (syntactic) Case marking.

At first glance, it does indeed seem to be the case that abstract syntactic Case marking is assigned here, given that "determinerless"

(non-referential) NPs can occur as objects of these postpositions:

- (82) ben ekmek için değil, pasta için yasa - r - ^{3m}
I break for not cake for live-Aor.-1.sg.

'I live for cake, not for bread'

However, against all expectations, AblPs cannot occur as objects of the postpositions in (79)

- (83) *Ahmet bu adam-⁴ [pasta-dan e] için ölü - dür - dü
this man-Acc. cake-Abl. for die-Caus.-Past

'Ahmet killed this man for (some) of the cake'

Notice that there is nothing wrong with the semantics of such constructions, since corresponding constructions with similar semantics, but exhibiting Partitive Phrases with phonologically realized heads, are perfectly grammatical:

- (84) Ahmet bu adam-⁴ [pasta-dan bir parçalı] için ölü-dür-dü
this man-Acc. cake-Alb. a piece for die-Caus.-Past

'Ahmet killed this man for a piece of the cake'

The ungrammaticality of (83) poses an obvious problem for the analysis advanced here, since the crucial parallelism between AblPs and "determinerless NPs" from the point of view of their distribution as based on Case assignment seems to break down, as evidenced by the grammaticality of (82) (as well as of (84)). If abstract Case is possible here, and if this is what (82) and (84) show, do we have a principled account available nevertheless that would rule out (83)?

I would like to claim here that such an account does exist, if one is willing to concede that the Genitive/Nominative case observed here is different from Genitive/Nominative, both morphological and syntactic,

when it is assigned by AGR. It is not an ad-hoc move to draw such a distinction, given that the surface facts are, in spite of the similarities we have seen, quite different. If the observed Case were due to the general process(es),

- a. referentiality of the Case-bearing NP should play a role in the occurrence of Genitive, but it doesn't: neither referential nor non-referential non-pronominal NPs exhibit Genitive morphology;
- b. there shouldn't be any difference between pronominals and other NPs with respect to occurrence of Genitive morphology, but there is.

The proposal, then, will take on the following form:

Rather than saying that the postpositions in (79) select for Nominative/Genitive (and thus, in absence of morphological marking, assign syntactic Case to their objects), we shall claim that these postpositions are not Case assigners, therefore, they have no Case features that can be morphologically realized. As a consequence, their objects have to undergo Case Insertion to be saved from the Case Filter. This process of Case Insertion will be similar in nature to Genitive Insertion in English within Possessive NPs in the context of the head N', or to the insertion of Ablative in Turkish within Partitive Phrases in the context of the quantified phrase in head position.

(Notice that here a crucial distinction is being made between such Case Insertion on the one hand and Morphological Realization on a governee of the Case features of a Case-assigning governor on the other, as happens with overt Accusative marking on the direct objects of transitive verbs,

or Nominative/Genitive marking of subjects that are governed by AGR.)

The condition that morphological items need phonologically realized hosts, mentioned before, applies here as well. Now given that pro is a pronominal, it should undergo Case Insertion and receive the Genitive variant of the inserted Case. Since Genitive is a morphological affix, it cannot attach to pro, and the structure is ruled out by the Case Filter. As a matter of fact, regular, "referential" pro cannot occur as the object of the postpositions in (79) either, just as expected:

- (85) Ahmed-e gel - ince, [{ on-un }_i gibi]_{pp} oi - ma - ya-
-Dat. come-when { *pro }_i be-Gerund.-Acc.

cok iste - r - di - m
very want -Aor.-Past-1.sg.
cok
'Speaking of Ahmet, I would have liked very much to be like him'

This discussion concludes the account of the exclusion of AbIPs from two kinds of oblique contexts, i.e. as oblique objects and as postpositional objects. We now are ready to attack the next question, namely that of the licensing of pro--in general and within the currently discussed AbIPs in particular.

4.4.1. How is pro in AbIPs Licensed?

"Taráldsen's Generalization" (cf. Táráldsen 1978) allows pro (i.e. a phonologically unrealized pure pronominal--cf. also the typology of Empty Categories in Chomsky 1982) to occur in those instances where AGR morphology would uniquely identify its features for person and number.

In Turkish, AGR morphology is rich enough to perform this task of identification; given that this task is performed for subjects or sentences as well as of NPs (since the agreement morphology changes productively with changes in person and number of overt subjects, as well), Taraldsen's Generalization works well for Turkish.

However, Turkish does not have non-subject agreement. As a matter of fact, pro in non-subject position is disallowed (unless discourse factors make elision of non-subjects possible):

- (86) *Ahmet mi? Biz pro çok sev-er-iz
i 1
Q we very like-Aor.-1.sg.

'Are you asking about Ahmet? We like (him) very much.'

Compare (86) with the perfectly grammatical (87):

- (87) Ahmet mi? pro dün intihar et - ti
i i
yesterday suicide commit-past

'Are you asking about Ahmet? (He) committed suicide yesterday'

According to Taraldsen's generalization, and to judge by the ungrammaticality of (86), one should not expect AblPs to occur in non-subject positions, if they are headed by pro; yet it is exactly in one such position (i.e. the canonical direct object position) that they do occur.

In order to deal with this problem posed for the account advanced here for AblPs, we should remind ourselves at this point that Taraldsen's generalization is actually a subcase of a more general requirement on sc's, namely that their contents be recoverable in some

sense.

Now, there is no reason why recoverability should work only via Agreement. Suppose that other properties of an sc's environment also identify it as a constant (rather than as an item whose interpretation ranges over a scale of possible values, as, e.g., all persons in the pronominal paradigm). In this particular instance, the Ablative marking on the determiner or adjunct NP, in conjunction with the set of verbs it occurs with, which are identified by their property of being Objective Case assigners and checkers (and possibly also by some of their semantic features--an issue I shall not deal with here) identify pro as the quantified nominal head of a Partitive Phrase. As for the actual semantic contents of the pro, the fact that it is in position of abstract Case "reception" and that there is no overt Objective marking identifies it as a nominal that is non-referential, just like any regular, phonologically realized nominal in the same position.

Critical readers who might find this account of "proidentification" ad-hoc should be reminded of the following considerations about similar situations concerning phonologically unrealized entities:

1. Consider languages which have PRO in their inventory of phonologically unrealized elements. Given a situation where a PRO-subject is sanctioned by lacking a governor, we can view the rule (or relationship) of Control as a special instantiation of the requirement of Recoverability, establishing a unique referent for PRO. At the same time, the existence of uncontrolled (so-called "arbitrary") PROs seems to be a universal for languages

that have this element. In such instances, where lexical and syntactic properties of the environment allow for an uncontrolled PRO, and where no pragmatic "antecedent" for it can be picked out, PRO still receives a semantic interpretation, in particular an interpretation of a [+human] (or maybe [+animate]) pronominal, unspecified (i.e. vague) in terms of person and number; e.g. in English:

(88) [PRO to swim] in cold water is wonderful
 arb

and in Turkish:

(89) [PRO soğuk su-da yüz - mek] şahane bir sey - dir
 arb cold water-Loc. swim-Inf. wonderful a thing-is

'To swim in cold water is a wonderful thing'

2. In some languages, pro itself seems to be involved in a situation reminiscent of the one described above for PRO: There are constructions where, typically, the verb carries 3rd person plural morphology, but where the referent of the subject can, under one reading, be understood as being non-specific (as a matter of fact, the subject doesn't even have to be 3rd person plural). Turkish, for instance, exhibits such constructions (although such semantics

are more colloquially expressed as Passive):

- (90) pro geçen hafta bademcik-ler-im-i al-di-iar
 last week tonsii -pi.-i.sg.-Acc, take-Past-3.pi.

'Last week, they took out my tonsils'

- (91) pro Tibet-te syran-+ sekler-li ic - er - ier - mis
 -Loc.beaten yoghurt sugar-with drink-Aor.-3.pi.-Reported Past
 -Acc.

'It is said that they drink (their) syran (beaten yoghurt) with sugar in Tibet'

Similar constructions are reported and analyzed in Borer (1981) for

*Hebrew, in Chao (1981) for Portuguese, and in Suner (1983) for Spanish.

Note that the pro in these examples is not really referential; notice also that, just as its English gloss with the overt pronoun they, (90) can be uttered truthfully even if just one surgeon performed the operation; 91) could just as well be rendered as: 'in Tibet, one drinks ...)

This situation might be viewed as problematic, since it seems to argue against the view that pro is a pure pronominal and thus has to be referential, especially since it is (at least by Taraldsen's formulation of the "Pro-Drop Parameter", referred to as "Taraldsen's Generalization" above) sanctioned just when it has person and number features like any other pronoun--but actually, if I am right here, this only usually has to be the case.

Yet another fact seems to compound the difficulty: In general, pro and overt pronouns are in--iimited--free variation (up to factors like

emphasis, contrast, etc.; cf. also previous chapters, especially Chapter 2). However, in cases like the ones considered above under 2 (i.e. examples (90) and (91)), an overt 3rd person plural subject pronoun can only be referential; i.e. it is not ambiguous between the referential and the arbitrary reading the way a pro subject can be when "identified" by a 3rd person plural agreement morphology on the verb.

These facts can be taken to mean that identification by a "rich" agreement element does not make a pro necessarily referential. Suner (op. cit.), for instance, draws that conclusion. One could even go a step further (or, alternatively, back in time) and collapse the distinction between PRO and pro again (Chao, (op. cit.) suggests, essentially, this step), claiming that there is just one type of non-variable ec, and that its referential properties follow from the theories of Control and Predication (in William's (1980) sense).

Notice that if this step is taken, various adjustments will have to be made elsewhere in the grammar; for instance, Binding Theory would have to be changed in such a way as to permit PRO to be governed and Case-marked. (Alternatively, AGR would somehow have to be prevented to govern subject position.)

Now, I hold the existence of a purely pronominal ec, i.e. of pro, to be sufficiently well established, at least for the referential variety--both on methodological and conceptual (cf. Chomsky 1982) and empirical (cf. McCloskey 1982, Kornfilt (this thesis, previous chapter)) grounds. Given this point, I don't think that it would be desirable to collapse the "arb(arbitrary)" ecs in subject position of infinitival

clauses (i.e. PROs) and the corresponding ecs in "finite" clauses (in George & Kornfilt's (1981) sense, i.e. clauses with AGR elements, at least in languages like Turkish) (i.e. pros), just because they have somewhat similar semantics. After all, it would be curious to propose that the lexical item they under its non-referential usage in English is not a pure pronominal, but rather a PRO-like element (presumably with the sole difference that it has phonological features).

In addition, note also that the "arbitrary" pro does have some features not exhibited by PRO; specifically, it always has the feature of 3rd person (to the exclusion of 1st and 2nd), as also reported by Suner for Spanish (cf. Suner op. cit., footnote 1).

I conclude, then, that pro can be licit, even where it is not fully referential. But in such instances its contents have to be constant, even if vague; for instance in Turkish AblPs, it has to be clear from the environment that pro is a quantified nominal--and this is exactly what the "naked AblP" construction includes in its semantics.

We still have to deal with another problem, however. In the last few paragraphs, we explained why and how a pro can, somewhat unexpectedly, occur in direct object position. Now, I would like to go back to the question of why the particular type of pro we are interested in here (call it a "non-referential" or "vague" constant) cannot occur in canonical subject position which is the typical position for pro to occur in Pro-Drop languages--a problematic situation at first glance.

To compound the problem, there is also some difficulty involved

with respect to Case. If Nominative Case on "genuine" subjects, in spite of being phonologically unrealized, is treated as a morphological Case marker, on a par with any audible Case affix, the condition that affixes need phonologically realized hosts should rule out all pros in genuine subject position. What's more, even Genitive, which is an audible morpheme when realized on an NP in genuine subject position, seems also to be able to attach to pro when that pro is in canonical subject position in a nominal phrase, it spite of the condition in question; thus, even if the Phonological Host Condition were relaxed so as to hold only for phonologically realized Case morphemes, subject pros which would be assigned Genitive morphology by a "nominal" AGR element still pose a problem.

Now let us say, following in its essentials a suggestion by Noam Chomsky (personal communication) that AGR and a subject NP that are co-superscripted form a chain, and that (as has been proposed in various places--e.g. Safir 1982--) Case is a property of chains. If so, Case has to hold of at least one of the members of a given chain. In oblique and Accusative contexts, the chain has one member only, so it is this one member that has to have Case. If it doesn't (for instance, due to the Phonological Host Condition), the result is ungrammatical. But in multi-membered chains in which AGR participates, it is enough for AGR to have Case (which it does, by virtue of its Case assigning features), without the subject NP it is co-superscripted with having Case (if that NP is not phonologically realized); the latter situation would arise exactly where the Phonological Host Condition would prohibit "concrete" Case on pro.

This otherwise attractive account runs into the following problem, however: The pro in head position of AbIPs would now also be allowed to appear in canonical subject position for the same reason that permits "regular" pro-subjects in that position.

This incorrect consequence can be avoided in various ways. One obvious solution would be to propose that non-referential pros (or, more specifically and adequately, pros not soiely identified by AGR, but by other factors, as has to be the case for the empty categories in head position of AbIPs) need Case themselves, even if they are part of a chain with Case properties; as a matter of fact, we might say that direct Case is one of the factors that such pros are identified by.

In this way, we have accounted for the distributional properties of "naked" Partitive Phrases in Turkish in terms of Case and have gained some insight into the Case system of the language in general on our way to that account.

4.4.2. Concluding Speculations

I would like now to raise a typological question: Why are Turkish AbIPs different from their French counterparts?

If both Kayne and I are right (for French and Turkish, respectively), the answer must come from the analyses that posit a variable ec in head position of the French construction, but a pro in the corresponding position in the Turkish construction; the French ec, crucially, has to be bound, while its Turkish counterpart needn't be.

Why then can French not have a pro in this construction? To say that Turkish is, but French isn't, a Pro-Drop language might be on the right track, but this statement needs some elaboration. At this point, we are faced with the question of how the Pro-Drop Parameter would be formulated. If the direction of the previous discussion is correct, then a productive agreement paradigm, even though the key factor in many cases, does not always play a role, as evidenced by the AbIPs in Turkish.

I shall tentatively suggest the following approach: If a given language has a productive and differentiated agreement system, pro will be a possible item within the ec-inventory of that language. Now, if a language has pro in its inventory, then it can make use of it even under absence of AGR, but under very limited circumstances, i.e. basically when the Recoverability Condition is not violated. This, then, means that it is not always possible to determine the type of an ec only on the basis of its environment and of universal principles, but that other properties of a particular language (like its inventory of ecs) come into play, as well. From the point of view of first language acquisition, this situation looks reasonable, as well: A Turkish child encountering the rich Agreement morphology of Turkish correctly hypothesizes that the language possesses a pro element. Once this conclusion is reached, it becomes possible to posit the same element elsewhere, too, as long as it is identifiable. (It would be interesting to find out whether Turkish children do, in fact acquire the full Agreement morphology before acquiring the AbIP construction.)

A French child, on the other hand, has no reason to assume the existence of pro-subjects for his or her language; hence, being exposed to "Partitive de"-constructions, he or she posits a variable ec in the corresponding position, safely assuming the correctness of that hypothesis because of the overt--and necessary--binders.

This typological discussion concludes, then, our treatment of the Turkish Partitive Phrases and, in particular, of their "naked AblP" subset.

CHAPTER 4 - NOTES

1. The structural analysis of Ablative Partitives presented here (specifically, the proposal about the non-argument status of AbIPs) derives in part from joint work with Engin Sezer. The arguments in favor of the particular structure proposed for Partitive Phrases in general are original to the present work, however, as are also the theoretical explanations for the syntactic behavior of these phrases. In terms of the last point (i.e. that of theory), the present analysis differs from my presentation of the relevant facts studied in this chapter at the workshop on contemporary studies in Turkish Linguistics held at UC Berkeley in May 1982, where an ECP-based account was proposed.

2. I am using the term "Causativization" descriptively and do not intend to imply that there is (or is not) an actual syntactic process of Causativization. What is crucial for our purposes is the distribution of morphological Case in Causative and corresponding non-Causative constructions.

3. Capital letters denote archephonemes that are assigned values for the phonological features of [back] and [round] by Vowel Harmony.

4. To be exact, there does exist a Passive construction involving the AbIP:

- (i) Bu pasta-dan ye - n - di
this cake -Abl. eat-Pass.-Past
'Of this cake was eaten'

This fact, however, does not invalidate my claim that AbIPs do not undergo NP movement. It should be noted that Turkish exhibits not only Passive constructions that correspond to transitive structures, but also Passives that correspond to intransitives and that are distinct from the regular Passives in ways that will be discussed shortly.

- (ii) a. Hasan burada kos - ar
here run - Aorist
'H. runs here'
b. Burada kos - ul - ur
-Pass.-Aor.

'It is run here' (i.e. 'one runs here'; 'running takes place here'; I shall not mark ungrammaticality of the English glosses.)

The question now arises as to what happens to the oblique objects of intransitives in Passive constructions. The facts are the following:

1. They do co-occur with Passive verbs.
2. As opposed to Accusative objects, they do not "lose" their morphological Case marking in the corresponding constructions (i.e. they do not occur in the Nominative in simple clauses and matrix sentences, and they do not show up in the Genitive in embedded clauses; rather, they "keep" the morphological Case they exhibit otherwise).
3. As opposed to Nominative subjects (underlying as well as derived), they do not undergo Control.
4. The Passive verb does not agree with them in person and number (while it does so with Nominative and Genitive subjects).
5. While "real" Passives allow for agent phrases, Intransitive Passives usually don't. (This statement does not so much express a hard-and-fast fact, but a very strong tendency which is observable in all languages that allow for Intransitive Passives. In Turkish, this tendency is so general that it can be used as a rather reliable test for whether any given Passive construction is "real" or "intransitive".)
6. While the derived subjects of "real" Passives can undergo Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) in appropriate contexts, oblique objects in intransitive passives can't.

(Examples illustrating these properties can be found in Breckenridge (1975)).

The behavior of AblPs under Passive, an example of which we saw under (i), is that of any other oblique NP in an Intransitive (or "Impersonal," as it is often referred to in traditional grammars) Passive construction.

Dede mentions two criteria of subjecthood out of the properties enumerated above: Nominative marking and subject-verb agreement. She notes that the oblique NPs that she takes to be disguised direct objects exhibit neither of these criteria. However, she proposes that Turkish derived subjects do not have to be Nominative; while Accusative objects "lose" their marking in Passive constructions, objects with oblique Case marking do not, due to a constraint against deletion of oblique Case marking. The functional motivation of this constraint would be to preserve the semantic content of the oblique marking (a constraint akin to the one against irrecoverable deletion). As a result, derived oblique subjects show up. Now, if subject-verb agreement is restricted to Nominative subjects, the problem posed by Passive to Dede's "disguised direct object" analysis disappears.

The following criticism can be raised against this argumentation:

No matter however many subjecthood tests an oblique NP fails, one can always claim, under this view, that the NP's status as subject remains

unchallenged, as long as it is also claimed that all the failed tests happen to reflect properties of Nominative subjects rather than of subjects as such. Consequently, the claim that there are oblique subjects in the language under scrutiny will be unfalsifiable, and the notion of subject as a testable entity will become devoid of content.

On the other hand, it is perfectly plausible to conceive of a theory where the behavior of NPs is keyed--in some fashion--to their Case (as it is, as a matter of fact, in the more recent versions of EST). However, within an approach that assumes grammatical relations to be the basic notions conditioning syntactic behavior and which explicitly cautions against taking morphological Case marking to signal unequivocally the grammatical relation of any given NP, it seems rather inconsistent to attribute the syntactic properties of objects to their objecthood and not to their Case marking, while at the same the syntactic behavior of subjects is explained by their surface Case.

5. The Case Filter stars any (syntactically) Case-less NP (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1982) which has features. These features are usually taken to be phonetic, but don't have to be; more crucial are person, number, and gender. Thus, pro (cf. Chomsky 1982) would have to obey the Case Filter.

6. While being obligatory in general, Agreement is optional for 3rd person plural human subjects, and is blocked for 3rd person plural non-human (non-agentive) subjects as well as for mass nouns (even if the latter are interpreted as consisting of humans). (For more detailed information and relevant examples, cf. Sezer (1972).)

7. For most speakers, this example is possible only if the 3rd person plural marker on the verb is absent. If the claim is correct that, in subject position, it is the quantified expression that acts as a phrasal head rather than the Ablative marked NP (cf. section 4.2.4.), this fact is unexpected, since the quantified expression is plural here.

It seems to be the case that it is the formal marking of a subject for plurality rather than its plural meaning that determines the possibility for the plural feature of the Agreement element to occur (cf. also footnote 6).

Now, it is a fact of Turkish that NPs with numerical modifiers cannot be marked for plurality:

- (1). a. üç işçi (*-ler)
three workers (-pl.)

'three workers'

- b. beş çocuk (*-lar)
five child (-pl.)

'five children'

Observe now the behavior of the examples in (i) as subjects with respect to subject-verb agreement:

- (ii) a. bu üç işçi grev-e başla - di (-lar)
this three worker strike-Dat. begin - Past (-3.pl.)

'These three workers started the strike'

- b. bu üç işçi tutukla - n - di (-lar)
arrest -Pass.-Past (-3.pl.)

'These three workers were arrested'

- (iii) a. bu beş çocuk sigara iç - iyor (-lar)
this five child cigarette smoke-Progr. (-3.pl.)

'These five children are smoking cigarettes'

- b. bu beş çocuk geçen gün dam - dan düş - tü (-ler)
past day roof-Abl. fall-Past(-3.pl.)

'These five children fell from the roof the other day'

- c. bu beş çocuk okul - dan at - al - di (-lar)
school-Abl. throw-Pass.-Past (-3.pl.)

'These five children got thrown out of school'

We see that wherever the quantified NPs that lack plural markers are subjects (no matter whether they are agentive, non-agentive or "passive" subjects), they fail to co-occur with the plural agreement marker on the verb. Therefore, the lack of the agreement marker in example (33)a. in the text is not at all evidence against the subject status of the quantified expression bu üç kişi ('these three people), as a comparison with example (21) shows convincingly; there, in a sentence with the same structure, the formally plural quantified expression does co-occur with the plural agreement marker on the verb.

8. Actually, it is not clear that the analysis given in the text for examples (36)b. and (37)b. (namely that these sentences are the result of scrambling of the phrasal head to postverbal position) is the only viable one. Another logically possible derivation would be one where the whole phrase would have scrambled to the right of the verb, with subsequent scrambling of the phrasal determiner back to the left into its original position. (In this context, I shall disconsider the--rather reasonable--possibility that scrambling phenomena in the preverbal domain and those in the postverbal domain are due to two distinct rules (this possibility is entertained in George & Kronfilt (1981); if so, one could restrict the rule which is responsible for scrambling effects in the pre-verbal domain so as to apply to elements within that domain exclusively and thus obtain a systematic account for the facts observed in (36) and (37).) Even if we were willing to entertain that

possibility, however, the relevant restriction would be harder to formalize in that instance (other than in the fashion just proposed above within parentheses) than a restriction against movement of phrasal heads out of the phrase, especially given that determiners can leave their phrases otherwise. In any event, on a descriptive level, we might characterize the relevant condition informally in the following way (i.e. as a statement on representations rather than one on rules):

- (i) No postverbal phrasal head and preverbal determiner (or modifier) may be construed as forming a phrase together.

9. It should also be pointed out that quantifiers can (and typically do) occur on left branches in Turkish, as we saw in previous examples:

- (i) a. üç çocuk
three child
'three children'

b. beş işçi
five worker
'five workers'

A claim to the effect that Partitive Phrases are--degenerately for Turkish--head-initial because of some constraint barring quantifiers from occurring phrase-initially would therefore have no justification.

10. This universal property of Case marking follows from general principles of GB-theory: Case is assigned or checked by a governor, but not by a governee. (There are also instances of Case which are best analyzed as due to a structural Case Insertion process, where the trigger is not necessarily a governor. However, a restriction on structural Case Insertion so as to make it impossible for a governee to function as the environment for "Case Attachment" to its governor seems to be an intuitively pleasing and viable general condition. I am not familiar enough with such phenomena, however, as to know whether such a restriction would always work empirically.) An instance where the reverse holds would pose a serious problem to the theory. Babby (1984) claims, as a matter of fact, that in Russian constructions like the following:

- (i) po pjati grus̄ upalo s každogo dereva
per five(Dat.) pears (Gen.) fell from each tree
(n.sg.)

'Five pears fell from each tree'

it is the Genitive N' that heads the phrase: po pjati grus̄, but that it is the quantifier phrase that determines the occurrence of the Genitive marking, and he draws the obvious conclusion that because of this unexpected property of a head being Case-marked by a modifier, there are

important theoretical conclusions to be drawn from this construction.

While Babby is probably correct in attributing the Genitive marking to the occurrence of the quantifier, his arguments in favor of attributing head status to the Genitive NP rather than to the quantified expression are not convincing.

As a matter of fact, Pesetsky (in Pesetsky 1981 and 1982) provides arguments for the opposite view, i.e. for an analysis where the quantified expression is the head of the phrase, and draws interesting conclusions from his claim. (I shall discuss Pesetsky's analysis in some detail further below in the text, in section 4.3.2.3.)

11. The details of Kayne's extension of the ECP don't concern us at this point; what is important is that the analysis evolves around the view that the construction contains crucially an empty category that is a variable and whose distribution is constrained in some general fashion as a result of these properties.

12. The structural analysis that Kayne attributes to the bracketed phrases is similar to the one presented here for the corresponding Turkish phrases; in other words, his suggestion (although not argued for) is that (43) (his (3)) is "entirely comparable to (5) (my (1) below--JK), except that where (5) contains beaucoup, (3) contains a zero element of the same category."

(i) Jean n'a pas trouvé [beaucoup de livres]
(his 5) J. (neg.) has not found many (of) books

13. Kayne formalizes the proper notion of "closeness" in such a way as to collapse the disjunction in (a) of the definition in (42) into one unified statement. At this point, this matter does not concern us.

14. Kayne chooses actually another, more systematic and explanatory account, again based on the "closeness" of antecedents. However, since for the purposes of the present analysis of the Turkish constructions this account is not relevant, I shall continue to refer to the relevant insight as the idea that P(reposition)s are not proper governors.

15. Quantifier Raising (QR), to my knowledge first proposed by Robert May (cf. May 1977a, and implicit in Chomsky 1977), is a rule that maps S-Structures to representations in Logical Form (LF). The specific operation is viewed as a movement rule that applies to quantified expressions (actually, quantified NPs) and moves them from their position at S-Structure to one that is (Chomsky-)adjoined to S, thus creating structures that reflect scope relationships directly. In its capacity as a movement rule, QR leaves a t(race) in the S-Structure position of the moved element; since it is not a rule of syntax (i.e. of the syntactic component), however, it does not obey Subjacency (thus behaving like other LF-rules). IN Pesetsky's account, QR applies to any quantified expression; but while the rule applies to QPs obligatorily, other quantified expressions undergo it optionally.

16. Actually, this statement is not quite correct; "naked" partitives cannot be agentive subjects in Russian, but they can be "ergative" subjects in Burzio's sense (cf. Burzio 1981); i.e. a case can be made for a certain types of intransitive verbs that "take" non-agentive subjects to have various distinctive properties that differentiate them from verbs that "take" agentive subjects. According to Burzio (taking over and reformulating an idea of Perlmutter (cf. Perlmutter 1978a. and b., where the analysis is cast in terms of Relational Grammar), the subjects of these verbs start out in Direct Object position, but move, via a Passive-like rule, to subject position to escape the Case Filter, since these "ergative" verbs, just like verbs with Passive morphology, cannot assign Case. More about such verbs in Turkish and the constructions they appear in will be presented later in the text. Let me just mention at this point that Pesetsky's QP-hypothesis has the potential to simplify the overall analysis of Partitive Phrases; this is achieved in the following way.

Since the Case Filter is formulated for NPs, it does not, without an explicit extension, apply to QPs. If so, there is no need for "ergative subject" QPs to undergo any movement. Consequently, they remain in direct object position throughout the various levels of representation, i.e. they are Direct Objects not only in DS, but at SS and LF, as well. As a result, it becomes easy to posit a natural class of permissible "QP-ec's: Direct Objects at LF. (This is because the ECP has to hold at least at LF, since it has to govern the distribution of ec's arising via the LF-rule of QR, as mentioned above.) Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why some items that are Direct Objects at LF, and some others that are Direct Objects at DS (and subjects at LF by virtue of being Subjects at SS) should behave alike with respect to the ECP.

17. The Θ-Criterion is defined in the following way: Each argument bears one and only one Θ-role (i.e. thematic role), and each Θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument. (Chomsky 1981, p. 36). This definition is revised later on (p. 335, op.cit.) so as to require a chain with an argument to have one and only one Θ-position.

18. In other words, contrary to the situation in Turkish, Partitive Phrases with phonologically realized heads can occur in direct object position only, to the exclusion of subject and oblique object positions, just as their counterparts with empty heads. Both Pesetsky (1982) and Neidle (1982) go to considerable lengths to argue that Partitive Phrases that do occur as non-agentive subjects are, in fact, in direct object position rather than in subject position. For instance, they fail regular subject tests like "triggering" Subject-Verb Agreement. (Actually, to be exact, it looks like Subject-Verb Agreement is optional for these phrases when they are Subjects; Pesetsky's claim is that when Agreement is present, the phrase is in subject position and is an NP, and when Agreement is lacking, the phrase is a QP. Pesetsky proposes that these phrases have a dual analysis: one, where the Genitive phrase is the head, and the whole phrase is an NP--Agreement is "triggered" when this NP is in subject position; and a second analysis, where the quantified expression is the head, and the whole phrase is a QP; no Agreement is "triggered" when the QP is a Subject.) Now, it is clear

now Pesetsky's QP-hypothesis excludes QPs from oblique contexts. NPs, however, should be able to occur there, but they can't. What does occur in oblique object positions are regular NPs, modified by adjectives:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|----------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| (i) | *ja | pomogaju | <u>sestr'</u> | devušek |
| | I(Nom.) | help | six | girls (fem. <u>Genitive</u> pl.) |
| (ii) | ja | pomogaju | <u>sesti</u> | devuškam |
| | | | six | girls (fem. <u>Dative</u> pl.) |

(The verb pomočat' subcategorizes for Dative complements.)

Whatever the explanation for the ungrammaticality of (i) turns out to be for those instances where the phrase sestr' devušek is an NP, the point which for us is of interest is that, as a QP, the phrase cannot occur in an oblique context. (The explanation for why such phrases cannot occur in these contexts when they are NPs might be a functional one: NP-Partitives and QP-Partitives look identical at the surface; when they are Subjects, the Agreement facts differentiate them; but in object positions, nothing would, since Russian does not have Non-Subject Agreement. Consequently, the potential occurrence of an NP-Partitive Phrase in a given oblique position would render the principled exclusion of a QP-Partitive from the same position opaque; this is why only a clearly non-Partitive numerical NP can occur in these positions.) Now, QPs being barred from subject and oblique object positions, there is not much independent evidence for the internal structure Pesetsky assigns to them, i.e. of the numerical expression being the phrasal head rather than the Genitive phrase. This is where the Turkish Partitive Phrases (and the "naked" AblPs), in spite of their different distributional properties, can back up Pesetsky's analysis for the structure of their Russian counterparts.

19. As a matter of fact, the occurrence of partitive phrases with overt heads in subject position suggests that if the ECP is (at least) an LF-principle (and there is no reason to assume it is not), these phrases do not undergo QR. (This point has been brought to my attention by Noam Chomsky, personal communication.) Exactly this point will be argued to hold later in this chapter, i.e. it will be claimed that Turkish Partitive Phrases differ from their Russian counterparts (in spite of the distributional similarities already mentioned) in not being QPs (it will be claimed that they are rather NPs) and in not undergoing QR at LF.

20. As a matter of fact, Pesetsky also ends up proposing that the P(ath) C(ontainment) C(ondition) (i.e. the principle in his treatment that corresponds to the ECP) holds not only at LF, but at SS as well. One of the reasons for this proposal is the fact that Russian "Genitive Partitives" behave somewhat like their Turkish counterparts in some environments that we have not discussed yet: as subjects of (a) Infinitivals that are complements of S'-Deletion triggering verbs, and (b) Small Clauses.

In those constructions, the phonoiological realization of the quantified head does play a role: where the head is not phonologically empty, a QP can occur in the positions in question, while where the head is not phonologically realized, the result is marked as being marginal (as indicated by two question marks; the same grammaticality judgments are reported to hold for the French equivalents, too). The reason would be that the PCC would hold both at LF and at SS. It would not be violated at LF by either construction, but would be violated by the empty head of the "naked Genitive Partitives" at S-Structure. Violation of the PCC both at S-Structure and at LF would lead to complete ungrammaticality; no violation at either level would mean perfect grammaticality, while violation at one level only would be reflected in marginal acceptance.

As we shall see later, this system, which is obviously very appealing for the Russian facts, does not explain the Turkish data with the same ease. We shall return to this question in section 4.3.4.0.2.; but let me mention at this juncture that the corresponding Turkish examples are clearly completely ungrammatical rather than merely marginal.

21. This statement is too strong for null-subject languages; as we shall see later, the AGR element in such languages (which makes the null subject in "Finite" constructions possible) can Case-mark a Case-less NP in direct object position after a rule lowering that AGR into VP has applied.

22. Noam Chomsky (personal communication) has brought to my attention that this point relates to a fact noticed by Marantz (cf. Marantz 1981), namely, that "ergative" constructions never seem to be marked morphologically. As a matter of fact, "ergative" verbs do not seem to take Causative morphology, either (at least not in Turkish), and it is not immediately clear how the proposed principle against "vacuous morphology" would generalize to cover this fact. However, if we say that the semantics of Causative constructions require that the causee be an agentive subject at DS which is directly influenced by the causer (cf. Wali 1981), we would predict that "ergatives" would--at least in the unmarked case--not enter Causative constructions. Marantz' observation would, then, follow from more general principles and would lose its stipulative character. (As a matter of fact, Marantz' observation does not hold empirically the way it is formulated above; there are some morphological causative verbs whose stems would be "ergative" verbs in Burzio's sense. These are lexicalized as transitive verbs and behave syntactically as such in that they can undergo "regular" Passive and can also enter syntactically productive Causative constructions. In order to accommodate such examples, Marantz' stipulation would have to be weakened so as not to apply to ergative verbs when the morphology they surface with is attached to them in the lexicon.

23. The status of the examples in (60) is interesting. Speakers vary widely in their judgements of such sentences, and it seems that extralinguistic (or at least extra-sentence-syntactic) factors play a role. The more one has reasons to assume (an) agent(s) to be involved, the better the examples become. This is very much in line with

Perlmutter's generalization about the correlation between agentivity and possibility of Passive and also with Pesetsky's observation that in Russian, too, judgements vary where admissibility of Partitives as "ergative subjects" is concerned. Notice that in both languages, overt reflexes of "ergativity" in Burzio's sense are very few and rather covert. This would explain the possibility for differing analyses of some verbs as to their "ergativity" and for non-lexical factors that would determine such differences in the possible analyses. To illustrate, let us observe the following examples and compare them to those in the text:

- (i) a. *bura-ya eskiden çok gel-in-ir-di*
 here-Dat. in the past very come-Pass.-Aor.-Past
 'In the past, one used to come here a lot'
 b. *ora-ya eskiden ancak bes saat-te var-ti-tr-di*
 there-Dat. only five hour-Loc. arrive-Pass.-Aor.-Past
 'In the past, one used to get there in no less than five hours'
 c. *bura-da iyi kayak kay - ii - ir*
 here-Dat. good ski slip-Pass-Aor.
 'One can ski well here'

The past tense and the adverbs in a. and b. conspire to shift the meaning of the verb to a more "active" (rather than stative, when the Aorist is the only tense) direction, with an "understood" agent. Thus, in (i)a. the verb means something more like 'visit' rather than 'come', in b. 'reach' rather than 'arrive'. Replacing other simple tenses (like Present Progressive or Future) for the Aorist (which is used with aspectual features like habituative or repetitive) achieves similar effects.

In c., the verb *kaymak* 'to slip' appears in its relexicalized form, together with *kayak* 'ski (n.)', as *kayak kaymak* 'to ski'; as such, it is agentive, and the Passive is perfectly grammatical, even where it occurs with the Aorist as a simple tense.

Notice now that, if tense can alter meaning as well as syntax of Intransitive Passives, there is a conclusion that offers itself with respect to how subjects get Θ-marked: If we make the assumption that S is some projection of INFL(ection), and if subject is, as usual, defined as NP/S, tense, as part of INFL, will govern the subject. (Assuming that all projections of INFL will carry the features of its components, thus also of tense, we can say that both tense and AGR c-command the subject under Reinhart's (1976) extended c-command notion, since they will be dominated by nodes of the same categorial sort, the highest of which dominates also the subject; as a consequence, both tense and AGR govern the subject position under this view); if so, the fact that tense can Θ-mark the subject is not surprising any longer. (There is a slight problem here, however: if we assume that the INFL-node branches into a

Tense and an AGR node, neither one of the two latter nodes will c-command anything outside INFL. It seems to me that this problem should not be too hard to overcome, whatever the specific execution for its solution. One might either say that Tense and Agreement are lexical items, contained within INFL, but not actually dominated by a TENSE and an AGR node. Another way of looking at the matter is to say that the INFL node itself carries features for the material contained within it; thus, it will carry some appropriate mark for agentivity corresponding to the characteristics of the particular tense that it dominates. Either way, the required relationship between subject position and the appropriate features of Inflection via government will be created. Agentivity requirements that the verbal stem itself imposes and which, according to Chomsky/Burzio, get implemented via the VP-node (as mentioned before), can also be seen as an instance of such a relationship: if the VP-node receives these features from the verb, it will also transmit them to the projection(s) of INFL that it is dominated by; the necessary matching of these features with the subject position, which is dominated by a (feature-carrying) projection of INFL will thus be achieved.)

Other factors play a role, as well. Returning to the original examples under (60) in the text, one can find contexts where they are quite acceptable without any modifications. For (60)a., suppose a context where a group of friends goes to a nice picnic spot for the first time and are enthusiastic about it. One person says:

- (ii) a. Bura-ya gel - in - ir iste, abi!
here-Dat. dome-Pass.-Aor. brother

Actually, what is meant is something like any of the following:

This is a place to visit.

Let's come here again.

One has to visit this place often.

At any rate, there is an understood agent in such acceptable readings. For (60)b., a typical acceptable context might be the itinerary of a recommended trip. First one tries to arrive at such-and-such a place, one finds a hotel room, then one goes to the festival...Again, there is an agentive reading for the performed action.

24. As opposed to example set (60) (cf. footnote 23), there is no way of making the examples in (61) acceptable; apparently, verbs of existence can only be stative.

The verb in the ungrammatical (61) is chosen in order to counter a possible objection to the line of argumentation presented here. One might simply say that the existential verbs just don't have the corresponding morphological Passive forms. As a matter of fact, it is true that there are gaps in the tense/aspect paradigms of existential verbs; for instance, they lack Present Progressive and Future "tenses".

as well as the Optative, the Conditional, and Participle forms. The verb ol- 'become' serves as a suppletive form for these gaps, and this is why this particular verb was chosen to serve as an Impersonal Passive verb here.

25. I am assuming that in SOV-languages, INFL is positioned in the right periphery of the clause (or phrase); thus, the subject NP and INFL (thus the AGR element contained within the latter) will be on different sides of VP in the PS-marker rather than on the same side as in the SVO-languages.

26. Suppose a situation where R has applied, AGR is within VP, and V is a Case assigner. It might then be expected that the result would be ungrammatical, due to Case clash (contradictory Cases being assigned to the NP in object position: Objective (Accusative) by the verb, and Nominative by AGR). Obviously, this prediction is wrong: we do have "determinerless" direct objects in transitive constructions, and we would like to allow application of R to such constructions as well as to Passives and "Ergatives". One possible solution to this problem might be to specify that syntactic Case assignment applies under adjacency to the closest Case assigner--thus, in this instance, to the verb. One would then need an additional convention that blocks Case assignment to a Case-bearing element.

27. There is yet another instance of morphologically unmarked NPs with only the (indefinite) determiner (Turkish does not have a morphologically realized definite determiner), lacking modifiers. The status in acceptability with respect to related Passive constructions and to word-order freedom in such constructions seems to be more like that of the totally "naked" NPs than to that of NPs exhibiting both modifier and determiner. An example follows:

One observation worth noting is that, the more modification the underlined indefinite NP exhibits, the better "real Passive" becomes, as a comparison between the above sentences in (i) and those of (67) indicates. More examples which are even better than those in (67)

follow:

- (ii) a. Kızılay dün yetim çocuk-lar-a kocaman bir çukulata!+ pasta
Red Crescent yesterday orphan child-pl-Dat huge a chocolate cake

bağışla - d^r
donate - Past

'The Red Crescent donated a huge chocolate cake yesterday to the orphans'

- b. Dün Kızılay tarafından yetim çocuk-lar-a kocaman bir çukulata!+ pasta

bağışla - n - d^r
-Pass.-

'Yesterday a huge chocolate cake was donated to the orphans by the Red Crescent'

- c. Kocaman bir çukulata!+ pasta dün Kızılay tarafından yetim çocuk-lar-a

bağışla-n-d^r

In both (i) and (ii), the active a.-sentences do not allow any material to intervene between the underlined NP and the verb:

- (iii) a. *Hasan bir pasta dün ye - di
yesterday

'Hasan ate a cake yesterday'

- b. *Kızılay yetim çocuk-lar-a kocaman bir çukulata!+ pasta dün

bağışla-d^r

We see, in other words, that the morphologically non-Case marked NPs behave similarly, irrespective of the amount of modification, in the active sentences; they exhibit differences, however, with respect to "real" Passive, as the c.-sentences show; in the latter type of examples, heavily modified NPs lacking morphological Case marking behave like regular NPs, while they do not behave in this free fashion in the former type of examples.

I suspect that this mysterious--and dual--behavior of heavily modified NPs lacking overt Case marking is actually trivially explainable by claiming that wherever they seem to have undergone "real" NP-movement under Passive and consequently to behave like genuine subjects, they actually correspond to overtly Case-marked objects. It should be mentioned at this point that indefinite NPs can be overtly Case-marked if their "referentiality" or "specificity" can be highlighted, which is done by modifying them accordingly. The following examples illustrate

this point:

- (iv) a. *Hasan bir pasta-yr ye - di
a cake-Acc. eat-Past
'Hasan ate a cake'

b. ??Hasan cukulatalı güzel bir pasta-yr ye - di
nice -Acc.
'Hasan ate a nice chocolate cake'

c. Hasan teyze-sin-in yap-tıg-i güzel bir pasta-yr ye-di
aunt-3.sg.-Gen.make-Partic. nice a cake-Acc.
-3.sg.
'Hasan ate a nice cake that his aunt had made'

The correlation between the acceptability of overt Case marking and of "genuine subjecthood" in Passives when the indefinite NP is heavily modified suggests that my conjecture is correct, and that "genuine" indefinite NP-subjects in Passive constructions correspond to morphologically Case-marked direct objects in Actives. If so, there is no dual behavior to be explained: when a direct object is Case-marked, it corresponds to a genuine subject in real Passives, irrespective of amount of modification; when it is abstractly Case-marked, it does not so correspond, again irrespective of amount of modification. Rather, the abstractly Case-marked NP stays in its position under Passive, and its abstract Case changes (i.e. from Objective to Nominative).

Real Passive will be handled in the following way: as usual, we shall assume that NP-Movement is optional. Where an NP with a determiner (thus also definite NPs with a phonologically unrealized determiner) moves to canonical subject position in the environment of a verb with Passive morphology, it will either be starred by the Case Filter, or it will receive morphological Case (i.e. Nominative) by Case Checking (?), Case Feature Realization via AGR in those instances where this rule has applied before R. (NP-Movement, as an instance of Move- will be a rule of the syntactic component, as is also assumed for better studied European languages; Case Realization as well as rule R will be rules of the PF-component.

When NP-movement has not applied, the verb carries Passive morphology (and thus is not a Case assigner), and the NP has a determiner (in the sense mentioned above), there are two logical possibilities: Either the NP will not receive Case (since VP, as a maximal projection, will serve as a barrier to government of the NP by AGR) and will therefore be starred by the Case Filter, or Case-Realization will reapply after rule R, inserting, as usual, Nominative Case, with the (cliticized) AGR as the context (Case Realization and rule R are not ordered, which is desirable).

If NP-Movement has not applied, the NP has a determiner, and the transitive verb is Active, Case Checking (or phonological instantiation of Case features) will apply, this time with the transitive verb as a context (since the verb is a governor and has Case features to assign), and morphological Objective case will surface.

Now that the behavior of both types of NP under Passive is accounted for, I shall modify my rough distinction between NPs with and without determiners as the factor that dictates whether or not any given NP is morphologically Case-marked or not.

We just saw that NPs with just an indefinite determiner, lacking any modifier, prefer to remain morphologically unmarked for Case and behave exactly like totally "naked" determinerless NPs from the point of view of Passive and word-order (i.e. Scrambling). It would therefore make sense to group these two kinds of NPs together for the purposes of Case assignment and all the other syntactic phenomena that follow from it. But if so, what is the common denominator that forms a natural class out of these types of NP, and which blocks occurrence of morphological Case on them?

Suppose that the researchers mentioned in the text (cf. section 4.3.3.2.1., 3rd paragraph) are on the right track in claiming a correlation between notions like referentiality and specificity on the one hand and morphological Case marking on the other. As a matter of fact, traditional literature is rather rich in examples that illustrate some such function for the Accusative morheme, thus giving rise to a proposal that this morpheme is actually a specificity morpheme rather than a Case affix. But given the fact that in Turkish "specificity" is correiated with Genitive and Nominative as well, this proposal has to be rejected.

Instead, I shall assume that "specificity" or "referentiality" as well as "definiteness" are features which are part of NPs. Case Feature Realization in the environment of a Governor which is a Case assigner applies when an NP is [+def]; if the NP is [-def], it also has to be [+specific] for the process to apply. [-def] NPs are redundantly also [-specific], however, unless overt modifiers force [+specific].

Now, determinerless NPs and indefinite NPs will be treated alike by Morphoiogical Case Realization. The term "determinerless NP" used in the text should therefore be taken to also cover non-referential NPs which are indefinite (and thus do have an overt determiner), as long as they don't also exhibit modifiers.

28. The interested reader might ask at this point why the Adjacency Condition doesn't rule out AbiPs in constructions where "regular" adverbs (i.e. those that are free not to be adjacent to verbs and can scramble freely) are surface-adjacent to the verbs and thus intervene between the (empty-headed) Partitive Phrase and the Case assigner. The

following examples illustrate this possibility:

- (i) a. Ahmet dün [şarap-tan e] iç - ti
yesterday wine-Abl. drink-Past

'Ahmet drank yesterday of the wine'

- b. Ahmet [şarap-tan e] dün iç - ti

- (ii) a. Ahmet çekin-erek [şarap-tan e] iç - ti
hesitate-ly

'Ahmet drank of the wine hesitatingly'

- b. Ahmet [şarap-tan e] çekin-erek iç - ti

In addition to this fact, which is surprising at first glance, we make the observation that "determinerless" direct objects (or, more appropriately, NPs lacking morphological Case) cannot occur in such constructions (as we have seen before; cf. examples (77) a. and b.):

- (iii) a. Ahmet şarab-+ dün iç - ti
wine-Acc.

'Ahmet drank the wine yesterday'

- b. Ahmet dün şarab-+ iç - ti
-Acc.

- (iv) a. Ahmet şarab-+ çekin-erek iç - ti
-Acc.

'Ahmet drank the wine hesitatingly'

- b. Ahmet çekin-erek şarab-+ iç - ti
-Acc.

- (v) a. *Ahmet şarap dün iç - ti

- b. Ahmet dün şarap iç - ti

'Ahmet drank wine yesterday'

- (vi) a. *Ahmet şarap çekinerek iç - ti

- b. Ahmet çekinerek şarap iç - ti

'Ahmet drank wine hesitatingly'

Since the similarity between "determinerless NPs" and AblPs motivated a similar treatment of their distribution (made possible by Case Theory), such discrepancy should pose a serious challenge to that treatment.

However, a simple explanation of this discrepancy can be found easily, once the observation is made that the Ablative-marked NP within a Partitive Phrase can scramble away from its quantified head easily:

- (vii) a. Ahmet çekin-erek sarap-tan iki size iç - ti
two bottle

'Hesitatingly, Ahmet drank two bottles of the wine'

- b. Ahmet sarap-tan çekin-erek iki size iç - ti
c. Ahmet çekin-erek iki size iç - ti sarap-tan

I will now claim that the AbIP constructions illustrated in (i)b. and (ii)b. parallel those in (vii)b. and c. in all relevant respects, with the only difference that the adverb is followed by an ec in (i) and (ii) rather than by a quantified expression as in (vii).

In other words, while the structures shown in (i)b. and (ii)b. are actually ungrammatical (i.e. where the whole empty-headed Partitive Phrase has scrambled away from the verb), and thus correspond to the ungrammatical (v)a. and (vi)a., there is a grammatical--and perfectly natural--variant as shown below:

- (viii) a. Ahmet sarap-tan dün e iç - ti
'Ahmet drank of the wine yesterday' (cf. (i)b.)
b. Ahmet sarap-tan çekin-erek e iç - ti
'Ahmet drank of the wine hesitantly' (cf. (ii)b.)

But, in either instance, i.e. both in (vii) and (viii), the verb can--and has to--assign Case to the material immediately to its left, which would otherwise violate the Case Filter.

In the crucial examples in the text (72a. and 73b.), Case assignment would not be possible, since the Partitive Phrase would always be separated from its Case assigner by those adverbs that cannot scramble; therefore, whenever the Partitive Phrase has a head that cannot carry morphological Case and needs abstract Case, there is no possible surface output.

29. One might object to this mode of explanation, on the grounds that the affix would have a phonological host after all, namely the determiner (or adjunct) NP, in the structure we have been assuming for AbIPs:

- (i) [NP-Abi. pro]-Affix
NP

The idea behind this objection would be that pro, as a phonologically unrealized entity, shouldn't block cliticization of the affix onto the

Ablative-marked NP.

But if we assume the structural reality of pro and also that suffixes attach to the head of a complex constituent if the head is right-peripheral within the constituent, the fact that morphological Case cannot attach to AblPs is explained straightforwardly.

Another (and possibly additional) reason for why a potential morphological affix of the whole Partitive NP wouldn't attach to the determiner NP might be a morpho-phonological filter against a sequence of more than one morpheme of the same type at surface structure.

Notice that if the first proposal above is correct (i.e. that pro blocks attachment of the suffix to the determiner), it would have to follow that Free Relatives in Turkish don't have pro-heads, since any kind of morphological Case can attach to such NPs:

- (ii) a. [sen-in sev - diğ - in] - 1 ben beğen- me - di - m
2.sg.-Gen. like-Partic.-2.sg.-Acc. I like-Neg.-Past-1.sg.

'I didn't like what you liked'

- b. [sen-in sev - diğ - in] - den ben hoşlan - ma - di - m
-Abl. like

'I didn't like what you liked'

Such an analysis of Free Relatives can be maintained independently, as will be discussed in the next chapter. On the other hand, there is also some justification for the kind of morphological filter mentioned above (cf. previous chapters). While there is some redundancy in the account if both modes of explanation hold here, I shall leave the matter at rest. What's important for our purposes is that morphological affixes are predictably ruled out from attaching to AblPs.

CHAPTER 5:

Some Implications, Conclusions, and Peripheral Constructions

5.0. Introduction

In the following concluding sections, I would like to briefly discuss a few phenomena that interact with various assumptions and ideas discussed previously in this thesis.

5.1. Free Relative Clauses

5.1.0. General Properties

Turkish has constructions that correspond to Free Relative Clauses in English and other familiar languages:

- (1) a. [Bu have-da e deniz - e gir - en - ler] fazla açılı - ma - san(lar)
NP
this weather-Loc sea - Dat. enter-Partic.-pl. too much open-Neg.-Imper.
-3.pi.

'(Those) who go into the sea with such weather shouldn't swim too far'

- b. [Gegen yaz ada - da e gör - düük - ier - im] bu yaz gel-me-di (-ier)
NP
last summer island-Loc. see - Partic.-pi.-i.sg. this summer
come-Neg.-Past
-3.pi.

'(Those) who(m) I saw on the island last summer didn't come this summer'

In order to gain some insight into the structure of these constructions, let us compare them with their regular, headed (or,

rather, phonologically headed) counterparts:

(2) a. [[i Bu hava - da e deniz - e gir - en] O] çocuk - lar]
NP S' S i i i
child - pl.

fazla açı - ma - sən (- lar)

'The children who go into the sea with such a weather shouldn't swim too far'

b. [[i Geçen yaz ada - da e gör - düğ - üm] kişi - ler]
NP S S i i i
person-pl.

bu yaz gel - me - di (-ier)

'The people who(m) I saw on the island last summer didn't come this summer'

As usual with Free Relatives (FRs), one interesting question that immediately arises is whether the constructions in (1) have a head position or not. We saw in Chapters 2 and 3 that regular complement clauses in Turkish are, for all practical purposes, NPs; the crucial considerations were their distribution from the point of view of matrix verbs and postpositions that they complement, word-order phenomena, morphological Case marking assigned to them from the outside, and the particular type of Case assignment that their subjects undergo. Given this fact, it is not a foregone conclusion that Free Relatives are headless (in the sense of completely lacking a head NP-position) in Turkish (while there are convincing arguments to this effect for English (cf. Levin 1983) and German (cf. Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981)); if they were, they would be identical to complement clauses in category and structure (with the exception of exhibiting a gap where we assume a bound variable to be, and where the corresponding complement clause would have a phonologically realized constituent). On the other hand, headlessness for Turkish Free Relatives should not be rejected off-hand,

either, since some other account for the differences between them and "nominalized" complement clauses could conceivably be found, if necessary. Before taking a definitive stand on this issue, let us consider the following facts.

5.1.1. Matching Effects:

In order to answer the question above, it is of obvious interest to check whether matching effects are observable: If FPs have no heads, then, under the assumptions that:

(a) government (and hence Case assignment by a governor with Case features) can penetrate maximal projections by percolating to their heads (i.e. into COMP in the case of governed S's), and that

(b) a WH-operator in COMP inherits the Case of its trace (both fairly well-established assumptions),

one would expect Case matching effects; none are observable in Turkish, however:

(3) a. [e ben-i sev- mi - yen - ler] - ie dans - et - me - m
I-Acc.like-Neg.-Partic.-pl. -Instr. dance-do-Neg. -1.sg.

'I don't dance with (those) who don't like me'

Here, the subject variable is marked with the Nominative (or Genitive), hence also its binder in COMP, while the whole NP is assigned the Instrumental Case from outside.

b. [sevgili - m -in e sev - me - dik - ler - i] -yle de dans-ed-er-im
lover -1.sg.-Gen. like-Neg.-Partic.-pl. -3.sg.-Instr.too dance-
-do-Aor.-1.sg.

'I dance with (those) who(m) my lover doesn't like, as well'

In this example, the variable is Accusative-marked, while the NP as a whole is marked with the Instrumental from the outside.

Such examples can be constructed in large numbers and with different combinations of Case.

At this point, we are led to either conclude that Turkish FRs do have heads, or that the more controversial one of the two assumptions above, namely that government percolates down to the heads of maximal projections, does not hold--at least not for Turkish.

Let us leave this question open for the time being and turn our attention to another construction, namely to Infinitival Relative Clauses.

5.2. "Infinitival" Relative Clauses:

5.2.0. General Remarks:

Turkish has a construction which is rather similar to English Infinitival Relatives in its semantics and its distribution in terms of matrix verbs that it occurs with:

'I found lots of things to wear in the store'

b. Ev-de [[[PRO e oku - yacak] O] hiçdir seyi -im kai-ma-mes
house-Loc.NP S' S read-Fut. no-one thing-i.sg.
remain-Neg.-Past

'There's nothing left in the house for me to read'

The morphology of the embedded verbs is noteworthy here: In regular relative clauses, where a non-subject is extracted, the participle adjacent to the head bears AGR morphology with the embedded subject, just as in regular clauses and NPs (cf. 2b.). Here, however, such morphology is clearly missing. This is expected, since the subject of the clause is PRO, and, under usual assumptions of Binding Theory, PRO has to be ungoverned, while AGR, if present, governs the subject position (under the analysis of clausal and NP-structure given in Chapters 2 and 3).

Now interestingly enough, these Turkish constructions differ from English Infinitival Relatives in that the modifier clause is not, strictly speaking, an infinitival. As can be seen from the glosses of the examples in (4), the morphology on the embedded verb is not that of the regular infinitive (i.e. -mak), but rather that of the Future tense (i.e. -Acak). The semantics of these constuctions are such that no independent Future tense is conveyed as is the case elsewhere when this morphology is used (i.e. in complements and in regular relative clauses); however, there is an aspect of potentiality that such relative clauses have, hence an implication of futurity with respect to the time frame set by the matrix within which these constructions occur (for a similar view of English Infinitival Relatives, see Stowell (1982)). We shall return to the question of why, in Turkish, these constructions

do not carry infinitival morphology. For the time being, however, let us note the following point about the construction: If we regard Turkish Infinitival Relatives to be tensed--which seems reasonable in view of both their semantics and their morphology--, then these constructions offer yet another piece of evidence that PRO and lack of overt AGR morphology are intimately connected, and that the reason for this connection is the status of AGR as a governor (and Case-marker) of the subject (along with the prohibition against governed PRO). Hence, once again, we see that in Turkish, Tense and AGR can occur independently from one another, and that it is not Tense that is the governor of the subject position.

5.2.1. Why Turkish has no Free Infinitival Relative Clauses

The constructions discussed in the previous paragraph have no counterparts with phonologically unrealized heads:

- (5)a. *Dükkân - da [[[PRO e giy - ecek] O]] bu - du - m
NP S' S i i

'I found what to wear in the store'

- b. * Ev - de [[[PRO e oku - yacağ] O]] -tm kai - ma - masili
NP S' S i i

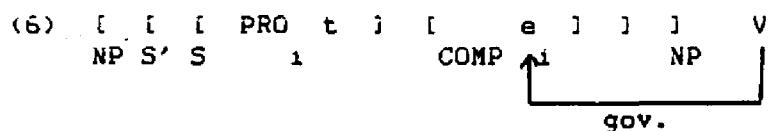
'There isn't left what to read for me in the house'

Why should these structures be ruled out under the relevant readings?

Levin, in an interesting article (Levin 1983) proposes that operators are in complementary distribution with respect to government relationships according to whether they are phonologically realized or empty: the former have to be governed, while the latter can't be.

If we adopt this proposal for Turkish, how can we use it to explain the apparent prohibition against headlessness of Infinitival Relatives?

Suppose that Infinitival Relatives really do lack a head position in their "Free" version. Then, under the assumption that government can percolate to the head position of maximal projections (an assumption Levin makes), government from outside the Infinitival Relative percolates onto the head of the S, namely COMP, rather than on the--non-existent--head noun of the NP:



If this is correct, then Levin's prohibition would rule out this structure, true to fact.

Now let us turn our attention to regular Free Relatives.

5.3. FRs and Metathesis of the Inherent Plurality Marker and the Subject AGR Morpheme

Now, a new question arises: Why does the explanation which ruled out Infinitival Free Relatives, namely the illicit government of the empty operator, not also rule out "regular" FRs?

I would like to claim that in "regular" FRs, the empty operators are saved from outside government by a "blocker", namely AGR. To achieve this effect, I shall propose that the AGR element on the relative clause participle raises into the head-NP position--a plausible

process, since we have been assuming all along that AGR is a nominal. Thus, that position will not collapse as it does in Infinitival Relatives, and, by being governed by the governor of the whole NP, will prevent that the COMP position, hence the empty operator within it, be governed.[2] The two structures at stake here, namely that of a Free (but "finite" Relative versus that of a regular Relative Clause, which serves as the source for the former, follow below:

Regular Relative Clause:

(7) [[[t V AGR] [e]] [NP]] . -
NP S' S i COMP i 1

Free Relative Clause:

(8) [[[t V t] [e]] [AGR]]
NP S' S i] COMP i NP] i

Since Infinitival Relatives don't have a similar element, such a rescue operation cannot take place.[3]

Now, interestingly enough, our rule of AGR-Raising receives empirical confirmation. The attentive reader might have noticed that, where a Free Relative is interpreted as having a head with inherent plurality (as in (1)), the plural morpheme (which otherwise is a suffix on the head noun) precedes--rather than follows--the AGR morpheme. While this is a very surprising order, given the structure of relative clauses in general, it is the expected one, if our analysis of Free Relatives as given in (8) is correct.[4]

5.4. Abstract AGR

One more remark with respect to the morphology of FRs is in order: While (1)b. as well as (2)b. exhibit AGR morphology, (1)a. and (2)a. don't. How can (1)a. as an AGR-less FR be possible? In other words, what protects its empty operator from government, and why isn't the construction ruled out for the same reason Infinitival Free Relatives are?

The answer is that, while infinitives are truly AGR-less, there is a (phonologically unrealized) AGR element associated with the morphology of the relative clause participle found in examples like (1)a. and (2)a. Hence, that AGR element will undergo the same process of raising and will perform the same function as a government blocker as its phonologically realized counterpart.

Now note that this move, crucially involving the assumption of an inaudible AGR morpheme associated with the participial morphology, is not an ad-hoc trick, devised just in order to save this account of Infinitival Relatives and FRs. This assumption has to be made anyway, in order to have a reasonable account of Relative Clauses in general. Although it would take us too far afield to give such an account here, I shall briefly discuss the points of interest to us.

Very roughly speaking, where a subject is relativized, the participial morpheme without overt AGR is used (cf. (1)a. and (2)a.); where a non-subject is relativized, the other participial morpheme with overt AGR is used (cf. (1)b. and (2)b.).

While this dichotomy has been noted by various researchers[5], the

attention given to this topic in the literature so far has been directed mainly towards the question of finding a common denominator to the various sub-cases of each participial morphology, thus giving rise to interesting descriptions. However, to my knowledge, no explanation for the very existence of this dichotomy has been proposed as yet, and this is what the following sections will attempt to do.

In what follows, I would like to propose that the construction employing the morpheme associated with overt AGR is the basic one, and only where it cannot be used for a variety of reasons (one of which we shall be turning to shortly), the other morphology shows up as a "last-resort" alternative.

It is not surprising that the morphology with overt AGR should be the more basic one, since, as we saw, AGR governs and Case-marks the subject. Now, as we know, overt AGR also functions as the identifier and legitimizer of pro subjects within the same governing category. If we claim that an empty subject governed by overt AGR has to be pro, we come close to understanding why the basic relative clause construction is unavailable, where the bound variable is the subject: the pro is A-bound by an operator which is too close to it.

Here, then, we have another instance of the notion of "closeness" that we had encountered before in connection with overt pronominals and possible antecedents, with plurality marking on heads and quantified modifiers of such heads, and overt third person plural subjects and the plural part of the AGR marking. In the latter two instances, the domains within which closeness holds (or, rather, where closeness leads

to the preferred or obligatory (phonological) lack of one designated member of the "close" pair) are clearly delineated: S or NP. In the case of relative clauses with overt subject AGR on the participle, I would like to claim that the "close" items are a pronominal, which is \bar{A} -bound like any variable (in other words, a resumptive pronoun), and its \bar{A} -binder, i.e. the (empty) operator in COMP-position.

Ungrammaticality due to closeness between the \bar{A} -binder and the pronoun that it binds is not restricted to resumptive pronouns in subject position. In "simple" relative clauses (i.e. constructions corresponding to structures in, say, English, where "short wh-movement" has applied), any kind of resumptive pronoun is disallowed in Turkish:[6]

(9)	i {	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{ben-im} \\ \text{pro} \end{matrix} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{*kendisin} \\ \text{OK} \end{matrix} \right.$	-i	sev - dig - im] O i adam
	S' S	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} 1 \\ 1 \end{matrix} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ e \\ i \end{matrix} \right.$		i i
		I-Gen.	3.ag.	-Acc. love-Nom.-1.sg.	man

'The man (whom) I love'

While the resumptive pronoun in (9), \bar{A} -bound within "short distance," is clearly and completely ungrammatical, a corresponding resumptive pronoun which is \bar{A} -bound in an unbounded fashion is definitely acceptable--even in examples where a phonologically empty variable in the same position is possible (and preferred):

(10)	i {	anne - m - in	[[pro	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} e \\ i \\ ?kendisin \\ i \end{matrix} \right.$	-i	sev - me - mij - e
	S' S	1 1	S' S	$\left\{ \begin{matrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{matrix} \right.$		i
		mother-1.sg.-Gen		3.ag.	-Acc.love-Nom.-1.sg.	-Dat.
					cok kiz - dig - +] O; J adam;	

very angry-Nom.-3.sg. man

'The man who my mother got very angry that I love (him)'

I would like to claim that the reason why overt AGR has to be missing in short-distance "subject relativization" is the same as the reason why the resumptive pronoun in (9) is ruled out: We just said that, where AGR is present, an empty subject that it is co-superscripted with has to be pro. Now if such a pro is co-indexed with an operator in the next higher COMP, it will be too "close" to that operator, and the result will be ruled out, just as the overt resumptive pronouns are in examples of the type we saw in (9); where the operator is further removed, the result is admissible:[7]

(11) a. * [[e Öğrenci - ler - den rüşvet al - diğ - +] O] profesör
S' S i i i i
0 0 student - pl. -Abl. bribe take-Nom. - 3.sg.
AGR

'The professor who (he) took bribes from the students'

b. [[e Öğrenci - ler - den rüşvet al - an] O] profesör
S' S i i i i
0 0

'The professor who took bribes from the students'

Compare with the following "long distance relativization":

(12) [[rektör - ün [[e Öğrenci - ier - den rüşvet al-diğ-en je] +]
S' S S' S i i i i
i 1 -Gen. 0 0 -3.sg.
AGR

hâlâ duy - ma - diğ - +] O] profesör
still hear-Neg.-Partic.-3.sg.

'The professor that the rector still hasn't heard that (he) took bribes from the students'

Since a resumptive pronoun, hence also a resumptive pro, is disallowed in "short-distance relativization," the "last-resort" alternative is chosen where the variable which is bound over "short distance" is in subject position. Now, since the "last-resort morphology" lacks overt AGR, the subject position is occupied by a variable which is not a pronoun, hence no restriction on too closely \overline{A} -bound pronouns is violated.[8]

Now, however, another problem arises: The variable lacks Case, since there is no AGR; yet, we know that one of the ways in which variables behave like names is that they require Case.[9]

In order to get out of this problem, let us suppose that -An participles (i.e. the "last resort" morphology), while lacking overt AGR, are nevertheless associated with phonologically unrealized AGR, which will then act as the Case marker of the subject position.

Yet another instance where abstract AGR is needed as a Case assigner is "relativization" out of a larger subject, where the participle adjacent to the A-binder of the embedded variable has to lack AGR:

Possessive NP in subject position:

(13) a. * [[e oğl - un] - un okul - a git - tı̄ - i] O] adam
S' S NP i son -3.sg.-Gen. school-Dat. go-Partic.-3.sg. man

'The man whose son goes to school'

b. [[[e oğl - u] okul - a già - en] O] adam
S' S NP i

Sentential Subject:

(14) a. * [[[[e okui - a git- me - si Je] -in biz - i
S' S S' S i
1 1 0 0 school-Dat. go-Mon. -3.sg. -Gen. we - Acc.

şasır - t - təq̄ - + i O J adam
astonish-Caus.-Nom. - 3.sg. man
AGR

'The man whose going to school astonished us'

b. [[[- i e okui - a git- me - si Je] biz-i şasır-t-anjO J adam
S' S S' S i
1 1 0 0

It would take us too far afield to discuss why the participial morphology in such examples cannot bear overt AGR morphology; the interested reader is referred to the sources cited above for discussion of this issue. (See footnote 5 for references.) [10]

But at any rate, what is of interest to us here is the question, how does the remainder of the larger subject (presumably an NP, hence subject to the Case Filter get Case), if there is no AGR morphology to Case-mark it.

Once again, the answer to this problem is an inaudible AGR element attached to the participle with -An.

Going back to the Free Relative construction and the issue of how to protect the empty operator from being governed from outside the construction, since we have now seen that "abstract" AGR is necessary within a general account of relative clauses in Turkish anyway, there is no reason not to assume its existence, and hence its raising into head

position, in Free Relatives.

5.5. -mA/-mAk Clauses, COMP, and Extractability

Let me now return to one issue discussed in Chapter 3, namely the lack of a Tense operator in -mA/-mAk complement clauses, as opposed to -DIk clauses, where we claimed that such an operator does exist.

One of the additional properties of these tenseless complements mentioned in Chapter 3 is that they cannot be indirect questions. In other words, wh-movement into the COMP position associated with these complements seems impossible, while (apparent) unbounded movement into a higher COMP is possible.

One idea that comes to mind immediately while seeking an account for this co-occurrence of properties is to say that tensed clauses are associated with COMP positions, while tenseless clauses are not.[ii]

Now if this is true for Turkish, we should expect any extraction, i.e. "Relativization" as well as "wh-Question Formation", out of tenseless clauses to be impossible. This, however, is not the case: even where we have multiple embedding of a few tenseless (and therefore, under the present proposal, COMP-less) clauses, long-distance

"relativization" is possible, under apparent violation of Subjacency:

(15)	[[{ ben - in)	{ Ahmed - in [pro [PRO [PRO e yaz - mağ] - a
	S'S { pro } S 1 S 1 S i S 1] S	2 1 0 3
	4 3 -Gen. -Gen.	write - INF -Dat.
		basla - mak] iste - me - sin] - e çok sas - tez - em] 0]
		begin - INF want - MA - 3.sg.-Dat. very astonish
		- DIK -1.sg.
		tez
]

'The thesis that I am surprised that Ahmet wants to begin to write'

(In order to remain neutral at this point of the discussion with respect to the availability of a COMP-position for -mA/-mAk clauses, I didn't mark such positions in the example above.) This kind of construction is perfectly grammatical, however. Unless Subjacency doesn't hold in Turkish, it is hard to reconcile this fact with the assumption that tenseless clauses are also COMP-less, as long as we assume "relativization" in Turkish to be an instance of Move- α as a rule of the syntactic component.

Now suppose that Move- α , both in the formation of Relative Clauses and of wh-questions, is an LF-rule and, as such, not subject to Subjacency. This would explain the apparent unboundeness of both of these processes.

However, such an assumption would predict that Turkish freely allows for Complex-NP Constraint violations (in the sense of Ross 1967).

This, however, is not the case (cf. Perlmutter 1972, Kornfilt 1977):

- (16) *[proⁱ e e ai - an] adam]-+ sev - di^g - in] araba[12]
S NPS) i) 1
1 O buy-Part. man -Acc. love-Part.-1.sg. car

'The car that I love the man who bought (it)'

(Operators and COMP-positions are left out for the sake of brevity.)

On the other hand, a wh-question whose target is embedded within a relative clause (or within another wh-question, for that matter) is perfectly acceptable in Turkish:

- (17) a. [e hangi araba - y⁺ ai - an] adam - + sev - iyor - sun?
1 which car -Acc. buy - Partic.man -Acc.love-Progr.-2.sg.

'You love the man who bought which car?'

(i.e. 'Which car is it that you love the man who bought it?')

- b. [kim - in ne - yi ai - di^g - in] - + bli - iyor - sun?
who -Gen. what-Acc. buy - DIK -3.sg. -Acc. know-Progr.-2.sg.

'Who do you know bought what?'

or:

'What do you know who bought?'

The same asymmetry between "Relativization" and "wh-Question Formation" also holds with respect to extraction out of Postpositional Phrases: "Relativization" is ungrammatical, while wh-questions are good. Incidentally, this asymmetry also holds with respect to FRs; "Long Distance Relativization" cannot apply to FRs, while the corresponding "Wh-Question Formation" can. Once again, the asymmetry disappears, where the Postpositional Phrase bears overt AGR morphology:

"Relativization" becomes possible:

"Genuine Relativization" out of Postpositional Phrases:

- (18) a. *[[[e kadar] yüz - e - me - diğ - im] O] yüzücü
S' S PP i i i i
as much as swim-Abil.-Neg.-Partic.-1.sg. swimmer

Attempted reading: 'The swimmer who I canot swim as much as (or: as well as)'

- b. *[[pro [PRO [e gibi] şarkı söyle - meğ]] - e
S' S j S'S j PP i i
like song say - INF -Dat.

çalış - tığ - -m] O] şantöz
i i
try -Partic. -1.sg. singer

Attempted reading: 'The singer who I am trying to sing like t'
i i i

- (19) a. pro ^x [kim - in kadar] yüz - e - mi - yor - sun ?
PP ^x
who-Gen. as much as swim-Abil.-Neg.-Progr.-2.sg.

'Who can't you swim as much as (or: as well as)?'

- b. pro [[PRO [kim - in gibi] şarkı söyle - meğ] -e çalış-iyor-sun ?
iSS i PP ^x
who-Gen. like song say -INF. -Dat.try-Progr.-2.sg.

'Who are you trying to sing like?'

"Relativization" with resumptive pro within PP:

- (20) i [pro [e hakk - in - da] çok şey duy - duğ - um] O i adam
S' S PP i i i i
about - 3.sg. -Loc. many thing hear-Partic.-1.sg. man
AGR

'The man who I have heard many things about'

"Relativization" from within a PP is perfectly grammatical in (20).

where it is very plausible to assume that the A-bound variable is actually a resumptive pro (as a matter of fact, our previous statement that an empty element co-superscripted with a rich AGR element has to be pro forces us to this position), while the corresponding construction in (18), where the variable is not a pronominal, is completely ungrammatical.

All of these facts are accounted for in a straightforward fashion, if we make the following assumptions:

(a) (All) Ss in Turkish are associated with a COMP position, while NPs and PPs are not;

(b) "Relativization" is due to Move-Q in the syntactic component, and hence has to obey Subjacency, while "WH-Question Formation" is due to Move-Q at LF, hence can freely violate Subjacency;

(c) The bounding nodes of Turkish are NP, PP and S.

Given this system that works satisfactorily, we will have to posit the existence of COMP positions associated with tenseless clauses, in order to explain the possibility of syntactic Move-Q out of such clauses, as evidenced by examples like (15).

As for "WH-Question Formation," we shall assume the following: The COMP positions associated with -mA/-mAk clauses (i.e. tenseless clauses) are [-WH]; verbs that take indirect questions, on the other hand, allow for complements that are headed by [+WH] COMPs only--hence the apparent ungrammaticality of short-distance Move-Q at LF for embedded questions,

whose scope is exhaustively the tenseless complement.

As a matter of fact, this approach can be slightly more generalized: Let us view Tense as an operator which undergoes Move- α at LF and takes certain domains into its scope, just like a WH-operator. Now let us assume that COMPs are specified not just as [+WH], but rather as [+Operator]. If so, only those COMPs that are specified as [+Operator] can serve as "landing sites" for any kind of operator, whether a quantifier, a WH, or Tense--hence the apparent transparency of -mA/-mAk complements to any kind of binding involving such operators as well as the inability of these clauses to contain (or, say, be headed by) any one of them.

Yet another fact is explained under this view of the nature of COMP, if we adopte Levin's (1983) proposal that traces in COMP have to be distinguished from operators in COMP: an \bar{A} -binder in COMP has the status of an operator only if it is not \bar{A} -bound itself. If this is correct, intermediate traces in COMPs resulting from syntactic Move- α and which locally \bar{A} -bind a variable in an argument position do not count as operators; only the \bar{A} -binder in the highest COMP does. (As a matter of fact, our previous discussion in this chapter of the various relative clause constructions in Turkish has assumed this all along, albeit implicitly.) The following prediction is then made: While "Relativization" out of a tenseless clause is possible, "short-distance" Relativization, i.e. syntactic Move- α , is not; also, at least the highest clause within a "long-distance Relativization" construction has to be tensed.

This prediction is borne out. All participles immediately adjacent to the head of a Relative Clause, hence to the highest COMP, have temporal and/or aspectual semantics. Particularly striking in this regard is one fact which we have mentioned before in this chapter: Constructions in Turkish that correspond to English Infinitival Relatives do not have infinitival morphology, but rather Future tense morphology. This observation gains significance in the context of the present discussion: Given that Turkish infinitival clauses, as opposed to their English counterparts, lack a Tense operator, our system of Turkish complementation posits [-Operator] COMPs for them, hence predicts that they cannot contain a variable which is A-bound by an operator within the COMP which is a sister of that infinitival clause (while such a variable can be bound by an operator which is farther removed). As we know by now, this prediction holds for Turkish. In English, on the other hand, where the infinitival clause is associated with a Tense operator, hence also with a [+Operator] COMP, Infinitival Relatives (i.e. clauses with infinitival morphology) should be possible, and they are.

On this note of modest success, I would like to end--quite arbitrarily--our discussion of some odds and ends concerning Turkish complementation.

CHAPTER 5: FOOTNOTES

1. It should be pointed out that some of these examples can be grammatical under readings where the relative clause has been lexicalized as a noun; thus, the corresponding translation of one of the examples in the text would be as follows:

For (5)a.:

'I found clothes in the store'

The same would hold for the participles ic - ecek: 'to drink', yi-yecek: 'to eat', for example, which, in contexts like (5) would mean 'beverage' (rather than: 'something to drink') and 'food' (rather than: 'something to eat'), respectively.

It would be interesting to find out if Turkish did have, at any stage, a productive Free Infinitival Relative construction, and if the lexical items of Modern Turkish that we just mentioned have such constructions as their sources.

Note also that (5)b. is ungrammatical under any reading: the participle oku-yacak: 'to read' does not seem to have undergone the relexicalization in question at the current point of the development of Standard Turkish.

2. One might well ask here why the AGR element itself, once in head position of the construction, does not govern COMP. The answer is that the reason for which the head noun in regular relative clauses cannot govern the COMP position carries over to FRs: Since the head noun is contained within a maximal projection that does not dominate COMP (i.e. within an NP), it does not govern that COMP (at least under the Aoun/Sportiche definition of government). Therefore, the raised AGR in FRs does not govern COMP, either. (For the Aoun/Sportiche definition of government, see Chomsky 1981, p. 164, and the definition (56) in Chapter 2 of this thesis.)

3. Here, my analysis differs from Levin's, where it is assumed that COMP and Tense/AGR are sisters under an INFL node which, in turn, is a sister of S, dominated by S'. Under that analysis, an operator in COMP is always governed by AGR (which, at the same time, also governs the subject of S), if the latter is present. Under my analysis (discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation), AGR, in its usual position, is the head of S in Turkish and, while governing the subject of S, cannot govern COMP, which is the head of S. This is important, since otherwise we wouldn't be able to explain why empty operators can escape government by AGR in any kind of "finite" relative clause, regular or free. Hence, these facts justify our previous analysis of clausal structure in Turkish.

4. There is another possible analysis for Free Relatives in Turkish which we have not mentioned so far:

Suppose that FRs are headed, and that their head position is occupied by pro--a reasonable assumption, since the language has such a pronominal element. (Such an analysis for FRs in Pro-Drop languages is proposed, for instance, in Harbert (1983).) If such an analysis were tenable, the lack of matching effects would be explained as well as the very existence of FRs in Turkish, since the pro element, as the head of the FRs, would block government as well as Case assignment to the COMP.

However, I would like to reject this analysis of FRs in favor of the one discussed in the text, for the following reasons:

1. It wouldn't explain the difference between the (grammatical) Free Relatives and the (ungrammatical) Free Infinitival Relatives.
2. It wouldn't explain the raising of the AGR element.
3. The mere availability of pro in the inventory of the pronominal elements of a language does not make it licit in all contexts, as we have seen previously (especially in Chapter 2). Where its contents are not uniquely identified by a richly differentiated AGR element, pro is, in general, disallowed.

This last consideration alone should rule out a pro-head analysis for FRs, if it were not for our own analysis of AbIPs as presented in the previous chapter, where we claimed that a certain type of Partitive Phrase is headed by pro and can (in fact crucially does) occur in contexts where this pro is not identified by AGR.

However, in those latter constructions, the Case-marking properties (or total lack thereof) of the matrix verbs and their semantics and the Abitative marking of the adjuncts within the Partitive Phrases co uniquely identify the contents of the head pro as a quantified NP, with the meaning "an unspecified amount". In relative clauses, however, such identification is not possible, and the putative pro in head position could range over all the possibilities for the person and number features. Therefore, I conclude that neither Infinitival nor "Finite" relative clauses can have pro-heads in Turkish.

5. For detailed (while different) accounts of the distribution of the two different participial morphemes in Turkish relative clauses, see Underhill (1972), Hankamer & Knecht (1976), Dede (1978), Pustejovský (1982), and Sezer (1972 and forthcoming).
6. To my knowledge, this fact was first pointed out explicitly in Perlmutter (1972).
7. Similar facts have been reported to hold in Irish by Jim McCloskey at a talk held at Cornell University in December 1983, entitled: "On the Binding of Resumptive Pronouns in Modern Irish".

In Irish, too, pro is identified by overt AGR. Where pro acts as a resumptive pronoun (i.e. where the subject position is empty, is A-bound from the nearest COMP position and is identified by overt AGR), the

result is ungrammatical, and another "relativization strategy" must be chosen, where no overt AGR is involved.

8. It would be a good result if the restriction in question could somehow be made to follow from Binding Theory, and, in particular, from some version of Condition B; we might say that, while a pronoun has to be A-free in its governing category, it also has to be A-free in its minimal bounding category. Where it is not, the alternative grammatical structure has a genuine-i.e. non-pronominal--variable in the position of the resumptive pronoun.

Unfortunately, this statement is too strong: where a resumptive pro is part of a non-subject (in particular, where it is the subject within a possessive NP which is, itself, a non-subject), it can be bound by an operator in the next COMP. It might be that an additional maximal projection between the resumptive pronoun and its A-binder adds to the "distance" between them and hence makes the basic "relativization strategy" available.

9. For discussion of this requirement, see Chomsky (1981), p. 175 ff. The assumption that variables require Case is not uncontroversial, however. Examples that seem to challenge this view are discussed in Borer (1979) and (1981a). But we shall continue to work with the assumption that the claim that variables need Case is valid.

10. Let us attempt to formulate a descriptive--but non-explanatory--generalization capturing all the non-AGR relativization facts mentioned so far:

An A-bound pronoun cannot be co-superscripted with, nor can it be contained within a domain co-superscripted with, an AGR element which is adjacent to the A-binder of that pronoun.

Thus, "closeness" between a pronoun and its A-binder is extended from the (insufficiently general and yet too strong) "minimal bounding category" requirement to bigger domains, while restricting the application of the relevant notion to subjects and their parts, i.e. to left branches of the domains of the A-binder.

11. Such a proposal is made for English in Stowell (1982) and is made use of in Levin (1983).

12. There are some--apparently unbounded--instances of "relativization" which are grammatical:

(1) [[[e e al - d^g - +] araba] çürük ç^{ek} - an] adam
S NP S] i] 1]]
1 0 buy -Part.-3.ag. car rotten emerge-Partic.man

'The man who the car (he) bought turned out to be rotten'

(For more examples of the same sort, see Kornfilt (1977), and Kornfilt, Kuno, and Sezer (1980).

The most successful ones among such examples are those where the target of the "unbounded relativization" is the subject of a clause with an overt AGR element which is co-superscripted with that subject, as in (i) above--in other words, where the "dependency" between the A-bound element and its A-binder is unbounded, the result is grammatical, if the bound element is a (resumptive) pronominal; in other words, in the examples in question, the empty element in the above examples which is A-bound over a "long" distance is a resumptive pro, rather than a "genuine" (i.e. non-pronominal) variable in the syntactic component. If this is correct, then examples like (i) do not constitute violations of Subjacency.

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