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SYNTACTIC NOMINALIZATIONS IN TURKISH: A PRINCIPLES AND
PARAMETERS FRAMEWORK

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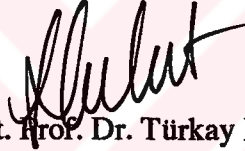
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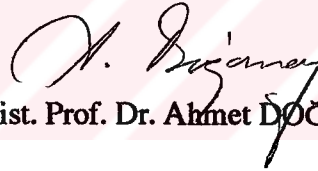
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ÖZET

TÜRKÇEDE SÖZDİZİMSEL ADLAŞMALAR: BİR İLKELER VE DEĞİŞTİRGENLER ÇERÇEVESİ

Yılmaz YALDIR

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Bu çalışma Türkçedeki sözdizimsel adlaşmaların iç yapılarını İlkeler ve Değiştirgenler Kuramı çerçevesinde inceler. Bunu yaparken, Türkçede ana cümlelerin üyeleri konumunda bulunan prototip sözdizimsel adlaşmalar üzerine yoğunlaşır.

1. Bölüm problemle ilgili ana noktaları sunar ve benimsenen kuramsal çerçevenin özetini verir. Araştırma soruları ve hipotezler de burada verilmektedir. 2. Bölüm daha önceki bazı üretimsel ya da betimleyici- tipolojik çalışmaların kısa incelemelerini sunar. 3. Bölüm İngilizcedeki ve Türkçedeki yan cümleciklerin ana türlerinin betimleyici bir araştırmasını verir. 4. Bölüm Türkçedeki prototip sözdizimsel adlaşmaların genel biçimbilimsel ve sözdizimsel özellikleri üzerine yoğunlaşır. Bu bölüm sözdizimsel adlaşmaların çeşitli biçimlerini onları sözcüksel kategoriler arasındaki anlamsal ilişkilerin yalın bir görünümü olduğu düşünülen aynı D-yapısını paylaşan basit cümlelerle karşılaştırma suretiyle inceler. 5. Bölüm ad öbeklerinin özel bir çözümlemesinin gelişimini başta aşamalı-X Kuramı olmak üzere üretimsel sözdizimin ana ilkeleri ve alt kuramları ışığında özetler. Çalışma, bu çözümlemeyi benimseyerek, ad öbeklerinin B (Belirleyici), AU (Adsıl Uyum) ve S (Sayı) gibi işlevsel baş kategorilerin bir grup tabakalanmış ardışık maksimal yansıtmaları olduğunu iddia eder. Bunun da ötesinde, Türkçedeki prototip sözdizimsel adlaşmaları bu türden işlevsel baş kategoriler ve adsıl ZGK (Zaman, Görünüş, Kip) bağlamında inceler ve bu işlevsel kategorilerin bir eylemsel öbeği bir üye konumunda bulunabilme özelliği olan gönderimsel bir ifadeye çevirmekten sorumlu olduklarını iddia eden görüşü benimser. 6. Bölüm çalışmanın ana bulgularını tartışır ve bu bulguların gelecek çalışmalar için ne tür sonuçları ifade ettiğini vurgulayarak çalışmayı sonlandırır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: sözdizimsel adlaşmalar, İlkeler ve Değiştirgenler Kuramı, işlevsel baş kategoriler, BÖ-çözümlemesi, Türkçe'nin sözdizimi

ABSTRACT**SYNTACTIC NOMINALIZATIONS IN TURKISH: A PRINCIPLES AND
PARAMETERS FRAMEWORK****Yılmaz YALDIR****Ph.D. Thesis, English Language Education Department****Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Cem CAN****September 2004, 280 + xv pages**

This study aims to investigate the internal structure of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish within the framework of Principles and Parameters Theory. To do this, it restricts the attention to the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in argument positions of matrix sentences in Turkish.

Chapter 1 introduces the major points concerning the problem and provides an outline of the adopted theoretical framework. It also expresses the research questions and the hypotheses of the study. Chapter 2 offers reviews of a number of earlier studies concerning syntactic nominalizations from generative viewpoints as well as other descriptive and typological perspectives. Chapter 3 presents a descriptive survey of major types of embedded clauses in English and in Turkish. Chapter 4 concentrates on the general morphosyntactic characteristics of prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. It examines various patterns of syntactic nominalizations by comparing them with the corresponding simple sentences sharing the same D-structure representation, supposedly the pure manifestations of thematic relations between the lexical categories. Chapter 5 summarizes the evolution of a particular analysis of noun phrases in the light of the major principles and subtheories of generative syntax, especially, the X-bar Theory. Adopting this analysis, the study suggests that noun phrases are extended phrasal projections containing a series of layered successive maximal projections of functional heads, such as D (Determiner), AGRN (Nominal Agreement) and NUM (Number). Furthermore, it examines the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish in terms of such functional heads and the nominal TAM (Tense, Aspect, Mood) category. It adopts the view that these functional categories are responsible for transforming a verbal phrase into a referential expression capable of occupying an argument position. Chapter 6 discusses the major findings of the study and concludes it by highlighting the implications of these findings for prospective studies.

Keywords: syntactic nominalizations, Principles and Parameters Theory, functional head categories, DP-analysis, Turkish syntax



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ABBREVIATIONS

Syntactic

A
ADV
AUX
COMP
CONJ
COP
DEM
D
N
P
PART
PR
Q
QU
V
DET

Categories

Adjective
Adverb
Auxiliary
Complementizer (ki)
Conjunction
Copula (i-/y-)
Demonstrative
Determiner
Noun
Preposition / Postposition
Participial
Particle
Quantifier
Question
Verb
Determiner

Functional

AGR
NEG
NM
NUM
TAM

Categories

Agreement
Negative
Syntactic Nominalization
Number
Tense-Aspect-Mood

Agreement

AGRF
AGRN

Symbols

Subject-predicate agreement / Finite (Verbal Paradigm)
subject-predicate agreement / Non-finite (Nominal Paradigm)

1SG/N
3PL/F

First Person Singular Non-finite Agreement, etc.
Third Person Plural Finite Agreement, etc.

Syntactic

NM
ANM
FNM
SNM

Nominalizations

Syntactic Nominalization suffix
Syn. Nom. Action Type (-mE, -(y)İş, -(y)Es, -mEk)
Syn. Nom. Factive (Propositional) Type (-DIG, -(y)EcEG)
Syn. Nom. Stative Type (-İlk)

Case

ABL
ACC
COM
DAT
GEN
INST
LOC
NOM

Markers

Ablative
Accusative
Comitative
Dative
Genitive
Instrumental
Locative
Nominative

TAM

ABIL
AOR
COND
DUB

Markers (Tense, Aspect and Mood)

Abilitative (-Abil)
Aorist (-İ/Er)
Conditional (-sE)
Dubitative Past (-mİş)

FUT	Future (-y)EcEG)
NEC	Necessitative (-mElI)
OPT	Optative (-E)
PAST	Past (-Dİ)
PRES	Present
PROG	Progressive (-İyor)
SUBJ	Subjunctive (-sE)
PERF	Perfect (-mİş)
ASP	Aspect
M	Mood
T	Tense
CER	Certainty (-Dİr)
NEG	Negative (-mE)
Voice,	Causativity, etc.
CAUS	Causative (-Dİr, -t)
PASS	Passive (-Il/n)
Miscellaneous	Morphemes
PL	Plural (-lEr)
Spec	Specifier
REL	Relative Marker / Relativizer
LNM	Lexical Nominalization Affix
DM	Derivational Morpheme
CON	Converb, Participle (-yIp)

THE SYMBOLS DENOTING MY PERSONAL ACCEPTABILITY AND GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENTS

(A modified version of the one in Kornfilt (1997))

- # semantically or pragmatically ill-formed
- * ungrammatical and unacceptable
- ? ungrammatical with a borderline acceptability
- ~ almost grammatical and accepted (i.e., either minimally deviant or marked)

On the basis of these judgments, the **acceptability scale** given below ranges from the totally unacceptable and ungrammatical expressions to totally acceptable and grammatical expressions (assuming such an ordering is plausible and operational).

(*) < (?) < (~) < ()

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the structural characteristics of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish within the theoretical framework of a particular version of generative syntax, the Principles and Parameters Theory. It tries to analyze the structural characteristics of a particular type of syntactic nominalizations in the light of the major principles of the theory. In this respect, the present work exclusively focuses on the **prototypical syntactic nominalizations which appear in argument positions of root sentences.**

Like most generative studies on the syntax, the present work is also **comparative**: it compares and contrasts the major characteristics of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish with the supposedly corresponding constructions in English. This comparative perspective will be retained throughout the study and relevant generalizations will be made regarding the structures in question from both languages so long as this is possible.

The limitation of the focus concerning the types of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish does not imply that other types of syntactic nominalizations will be overlooked. On the contrary, various related types of syntactic nominalizations will also be mentioned because the present work tries to cover all types of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish in order to represent the complete picture of these peculiar constructions.

At this very beginning of the current study, then, a working or operational definition of syntactic nominalization is strongly required. Regarding this point, the present work assumes that any non-finite embedded clause with a **verbal predicate exhibiting one of the syntactic nominalization suffixes** (such as *-mE*, *(y)Iş*, *-DIG*, etc.) is a syntactic nominalization. This rather broad definition implies that there exist at least five types of syntactic contexts in which syntactic nominalizations appear in Turkish. According to this wide-ranging definition, (1) a non-finite argument clause within a root sentence, (2) a non-finite adjunct (i.e., adverbial) clause with a nominalized predicate in a complex sentence, (3) a non-finite noun complement clause within a complex noun

phrase, (4) a non-finite complement clause in a postpositional phrase and (5) a modifier (i.e., relative) clause with nominalization suffix on its verbal predicate are all instances of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish.

Since the main purpose of the present study is to inquire into the internal morphosyntactic structure of syntactic nominalizations, the emphasis will always be on the type (1) which corresponds to the syntactic nominalizations in argument positions of root sentences. Other types of syntactic nominalizations will only be mentioned for comparative purposes.

In order to achieve its central purpose, the current study first tries to classify syntactic nominalizations into subcategories on the basis of their internal syntactic composition, external distribution and other relevant syntactic characteristics (as well as their semantic properties whenever they are operational). Such a classification will be useful in order to explicate the defining criteria for the prototypical pattern of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish.

Then, the study attempts to analyze the internal structure of syntactic nominalizations in the light of the major principles and subtheories of the Principles and Parameters Theory. This task, too, will be carried out by comparing and contrasting syntactic nominalizations in Turkish with the supposedly corresponding constructions in English throughout the study.

1.2. The Problem: Internal Structure of Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish

This study exclusively deals with the internal structure of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. The current work takes the term **syntactic nominalization (SN)** as referring to a particular syntactic construction (1) whose syntactic distribution is almost identical with that of noun phrases (1) typically occupying argument positions in addition to their occasional peculiar occurrence in non-argument positions with certain morphosyntactic modifications, (2) which has a clause-like internal syntactic structure, that is, it exhibits almost all types of constituents found in a finite clause, and (3) which is clearly distinct from a finite embedded clause in an argument position with respect to its finiteness value: a syntactic nominalization is always [-finite], (i.e., non-finite). Somewhat ambiguously, the term is also employed to denote the syntactic process yielding this particular construction.

Typical examples of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are as follows:

1. Ben [Ahmed-in ev-e gel-diğ-i]-ni öğren-di-m.
I-NOM Ahmet-GEN house-DAT come-NM-3SG/N-ACC learn-PAST-1SG/F
'I have learned that Ahmet came to the house.'
2. [Ahmed-in ev-e gel-me-si] bütün planlar-ı değiştir-di-ø.
Ahmet-GEN house-DAT come-NM-3SG/N-NOM all plan-PL-ACC Change-PAST-3SG/F
'Ahmet's coming to the house has changed all the plans.'

A less frequently noticed (and somewhat colloquial), but structurally parallel and equally productive type of syntactic nominalization can be represented as in the following.

- 3a. [Ben-im uyu-yas-ım] gel-di-ø.
I-GEN sleep-NM-1SG/N-NOM come-PAST-3SG/F
'Literally: My sleeping has come.'
'I have felt an internal motive / stimulus to sleep.'

Observe that in the last example the entity that has come is a kind of feeling caused by an internal instinct. This entity is expressed by means of a constituent with a nominal status. This property can be detected by observing a near paraphrase of this sentence. The following sentence contains a semantically equivalent structure *benim uyku-m* 'my sleep':

- 3b. [Ben-im uyku-m] gel-di-ø.
I-GEN sleep-1SG/N-NOM come-PAST-3SG/F
'Literally: My sleep has come.'
'I feel sleepy. / I am about to sleep.'

As it is obvious from these examples, syntactic nominalizations in Turkish essentially represent an action in its most basic form as well as secondary semantic connotations which may contribute to the interpretation of the construction in question in terms of the realization status (as a temporal aspect) or the manner of that particular action in addition to the state of affairs or a particular quality in order to be adequately qualified in that particular state. Consider the following:

4. [Ben-im bugün-e dek iki kere İstanbul-a git-miş-liğ-im] var.
 I-GEN today-DAT until two time İstanbul-DAT go-PERF-NM-1SG/N existent
 'Literally: Up till now, my having gone to İstanbul two times is existent.'
 'I have been to İstanbul twice up till now.'

In this example, what is *existent* is *having gone to İstanbul two times*, which qualifies as a state of affairs concerning the first person singular speaker or a particular quality on the part of him. Therefore, what enables us to group a variety of syntactic construction under the general title of syntactic nominalization is their basic function to refer to an action without placing it in a specific time context in the form of an independent statement, which is the most typical characteristic of ordinary finite clauses.

As a matter of fact, the term **nominalization** is frequently used in morphology in order to denote a lexical derivation process which produces a derived noun from verb or adjective base. By this process, a new lexical item, a derived noun (nominal), is added to the Lexicon of a particular language. In English, for instance, a noun can be derived from the verb *construct* by the addition of the *-ion* affix to the verb base. After this lexical derivational process, which exclusively takes place in the Lexicon, a new noun *construction* is added to the Lexicon of English. Similarly, it is possible to derive the noun *kaz-ı* '(archaeological) excavation' from the base verb *kaz-* 'dig' by means of the derivational suffix *-ı* in Turkish. In the present study, this particular type of nominalization process is always referred to as **lexical nominalization** and its output is specifically called either a **derived noun / nominal**, or a **lexical nominalization**.

Turkish syntactic nominalizations are most similar to the so-called Poss-ing gerundive clauses in English in terms of their internal morphosyntactic structure. (2) It seems that it is reasonable to assume that Poss-ing gerundive clauses correspond to syntactic nominalizations in argument positions in Turkish, which is one of the most typical occurrence of such constructions. However, this suggestion must be taken with some caution because there is no perfect one-to-one correspondence between two seemingly equivalent constructions in two distinct languages. In fact, it will be apparent in the succeeding chapters that some of the functions which correspond to that of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are regularly fulfilled either by infinitival clauses or by finite complement clauses (characteristically introduced by a complementizer, such as *that*, *whether*, etc.) in English and the reverse of this statement is also true in relation to these structures in both languages.

It is frequently assumed that the Poss-ing gerundive clauses can be considered as a particular type of syntactic nominalization in English. Even though other types of gerundive clauses also display similar characteristics in terms of their internal structure and external syntax, it appears to be rather sensible to designate the Poss-ing gerundives as a prototypical pattern for syntactic nominalizations in English. In fact, in addition to gerundive clauses, English infinitival clauses may also be argued to constitute a distinct type of syntactic nominalization as far as their syntactic distribution is concerned. However, in this study, the Poss-ing gerundive clauses will be assumed to be the most typical of such constructions.

The formation of gerundive clauses in English essentially involves the addition of the *-ing* suffix to verb base. The suffixation of *-ing* to the verb enables the whole VP to acquire the capability to be interpreted as a nominal constituent rather than a verbal phrase. In a way, it can be assumed that the *-ing* suffix transfers some kind of nominal features to the VP to which it is added. An alternative to this view can be stated as follows: being a functional category, the *-ing* suffix heads the whole complex. Then, the whole VP is in fact the complement of this functional head. With its inherent nominal syntactic feature, the *-ing* suffix enables the whole phrase to obtain a nominal syntactic status. In each case, the source of the nominal characteristic displayed by the resulting phrase is the *-ing* marker. In other words, while the embedded VP is responsible for the semantic content of phrase, its syntactic behavior as a nominal constituent is due to the existence of a functional head *-ing*. Then, the dual characteristic of gerundive clauses can be explained on these grounds: even though they refer to an event, action, process, state, etc. they behave like a noun phrase syntactically.

A very similar morphosyntactic process takes place in Turkish as far as syntactic nominalizations are concerned. In Turkish, an appropriate nominalization suffix is added to a verb in order to convert the verb phrase into a nominal expression. As in the case of English nominalizations, syntactic nominalizations in Turkish exhibit a dual characteristic. Although they fundamentally refer to actions in their most underlying semantics, they are syntactically similar to noun phrases from various aspects. At this point, it is important to note that Turkish nominalization suffixes are specialized in expressing further semantic functions in addition to their basic action sense. The suffixes *-mE*, *-DIK*, *-IİK* etc. are the examples of the syntactic nominalization suffixes in Turkish.

The present work takes the syntactic nominalization markers as a particular type of **TAM markers** (3) (i.e., Tense, Aspect and Mood markers) in Turkish, except for the stative

nominalization marker **-IIG**. Although the designation of the category TAM needs a detailed explanation, this task will be left in the subsequent chapters (specifically Chapter 5). However, a very short remark on the issue might be that both finite markers of Tense, Aspect, and Mood categories and the syntactic nominalization suffixes occupy the same slot in the syntactic representation of clausal constituents. This implies that they are structurally similar despite their different semantic characteristics. Of course, nominalization markers are also further differentiated with respect to their finiteness from the regular TAM markers. Yet the parallelism between both types (e.g., their capacity to represent tense) is striking and needs to be represented explicitly.

Turkish is different from English in that there are more than one suffix that can be employed to form syntactic nominalizations. While English employs only the *-ing* suffix for the nominalization process, there appear at least seven distinct syntactic nominalization markers in Turkish, which can be listed as **-mE**, **-(y)Iş**, **-(y)Es**, **-DIK**, **-(y)EcEK**, **-IİK** and **-mEK**. These suffixes are further divided into subgroups on the basis of their semantics (such as, act versus fact or proposition), the type of the matrix predicates that take them, their capacity to overtly represent their subjects, etc.

A further difference between English and Turkish, as far as syntactic nominalizations are concerned, the presence of a nominal agreement category in syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. Although this agreement category is distinct from the one which is regularly found in finite clauses, its grammatical functional is similar to the latter. The agreement marker in nominalizations reflect the person and number specifications which are identical with that of the subject of the nominalization (note that gender agreement is irrelevant for Turkish syntax). From a generative perspective, it is frequently assumed that the nominal subject predicate agreement category is the source of the Genitive Case assignment to the subject (Kornfilt 1984, 2001, Sezer 1991, among others). Being an instance of structural case, the Genitive Case on the subject of the nominalization is the parallel of the Nominative Case of subject noun phrases of finite clauses.

The existence of an agreement category in Turkish nominalizations is not a surprising issue regarding the rich morphology of Turkish as compared to English. Not only the nominal agreement category but also the finite agreement category and case forms are overtly realized by means of a rich set of morphemes. This characteristic of Turkish makes it an invaluable source of data as far as the functional categories in syntactic structures are concerned. Together with the agglutinating morphology of Turkish, these paradigms serve as a basis on which a variety of syntactic proposals can be tested. As it

will be clear in the succeeding chapters, these properties of Turkish are consequential in determining the supposedly correct way of analyzing the internal structure of syntactic nominalizations both in Turkish and in general.

Even though syntactic nominalizations in English, such as the Poss-ing type of gerundive clauses, lack an overt agreement morphology, it is plausible to assume that English nominalizations also contain an **abstract** agreement category in their syntactic composition. This assumption makes room for an answer to the question of what the source of the Genitive Case of the subjects of Poss-ing gerundives is. An abstract (syntactically present but morphologically unrealized) agreement is the most likely candidate for such a source of the Genitive Case. This assumption makes the syntactic analysis of Poss-ing gerundive clauses in English rather straightforward. Therefore, a study on syntactic nominalizations in Turkish may contribute to a better understanding of syntactic nominalizations in general. This issue may be considered as one of factors that are effective for the justification of the present work.

Since the present study tries to analyze the internal structure of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish (as compared to the corresponding constructions in English), it also may provide further insights for other types of nominal expressions in Turkish and in other languages. The major reason behind this assumption is that syntactic nominalizations are extremely parallel to the particular type of Turkish noun phrases which are traditionally known as 'Genitive-Possessive noun phrases', 'possessive noun phrases', etc. In fact, both types of nominal constituents display a Genitive subject and the same type of nominal agreement morphology. This is rather interesting because the parallelism between these two types of nominal expressions is critical for the nominal projections in general.

What may render the analysis of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish rather advantageous can be specified as in the following list:

- (1) The rich morphology observed in syntactic nominalizations as the realization of functional categories is extremely useful for determining the nature and the order of syntactic processes which are responsible for the formation of syntactic derivations (see Mirror Principle, Baker 1985).
- (2) The dual structural nature of syntactic nominalizations is operative for a better understanding of both noun phrases (DPs) and finite clauses.

(3) The vague interface between the derivational and inflectional morphology (and the corresponding rules which are responsible for the realization of these categories –i.e., the rules of Lexicon versus the rules of Syntax) in Turkish extremely striking in the context of syntactic nominalizations: syntactic nominalizations in Turkish frequently serve as lexical derivations which might have important consequences with respect to the separation of Lexicon and Syntax (i.e., morphological derivation and syntactic derivation) from each other. In this context, it should be noted that Turkish is famous for its employment of syntactic morphemes even for lexical derivations, such as *sar-ma* 'stuffed vine leaves' from *sar-* 'roll' and the regular syntactic nominalization suffix *-mE*.

The first point which makes the investigation of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish is interesting results from the general morphosyntactic characteristics of Turkish, where, roughly speaking, each morpheme on a predicate corresponds to a particular morphological or syntactic operation in the given order (i.e., the Mirror Principle) in contrast to most languages in which a morpheme may represent more than one category, such as tense and agreement as it is the case in most Indo-European languages. The second issue will be clear throughout the present study. The last point can be reflected by the following comment by (Erdal, 1991, 23) "I know of no language which regularly uses an inflectional morpheme for morphology and derivation." As Aksan (2001, 49) states that "[...], given the syntax and semantics of the derivatives, it is possible to maintain the hypothesis that such affixes [i.e., affixes which belong to the syntactic domain] are also used for derivational purposes as it is ordinarily understood."

Within the theoretical framework adopted by the present study, noun phrase is assumed to be a syntactic projection of the functional category D. This analysis of noun phrases, which is widely known as the DP-hypothesis (Abney 1987), has been motivated by the considerations concerning the contrast between the external distribution and the internal syntactic structure of gerundive clauses in English. In other words, the current syntactic analysis of noun phrases in terms of DP-analysis owes a great deal to the analysis of gerundive constructions, especially to the Poss-ing type. As it has been indicated above, this type of gerundive constructions are in essence syntactic nominalizations par excellence. Departing from the structural parallelism between noun phrases and gerundive constructions, a study of syntactic nominalization is a promising area of syntactic study. In fact, the present study will suggest a number of critical points concerning syntactic nominalizations and noun phrases in general .

What this study may imply for corresponding constructions in English (and for similar construction in other languages, for that matter) may well be a criticism of the idea that syntactic nominalizations require a DP layer (with all its nominal and definiteness features) dominating a *tenseless* VP as the complement of its head D (see Siloni 1997). It is assumed that syntactic nominalization is essentially the embedding of a VP without tense features by the DP layer (i.e., the DP layer dominates a verbal projection in this case instead of its regular complement, an NP). However, as it will transpire, the evidence concerning the untensed nature of the VP complement shows that the internal structure of syntactic nominalizations are far more intricate (though it may not be unaccountable). The fact that two particular nominal TAM markers, *-DIG* and *-(y)EcEG* respectively, do have tense features (at least, some temporal connotations) may bring the former views concerning the internal structure of syntactic nominalizations into question. Furthermore, some of the nominal TAM markers seem to have semantic characteristics which might fall within the domain of Mood, such as the *-(y)Es* marker. These issues have led a number of linguists studying Turkish nominalizations to employ the terms "nominal Tense" or "nominal Mood" for the representation of nominalization suffixes in Turkish (Sezer 2001, Kornfilt 2001, respectively).

In sum, the major task of the current study is to investigate the issues expressed above by examining the internal syntactic structure of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish with a constant reference to the corresponding constructions in English, that is, in most cases, the prototypical gerundive clauses. The analysis of the functional categories of both constructions in terms of their feature specifications and orders seems to be promising for a better understanding of the general syntactic characteristics of noun phrases in natural languages.

1.3. The Theoretical Framework of the Study

As a theoretical framework, the present study adopts the Principles and Parameters Theory, which is the dominant version of generative syntax during 1990s. Even though the recent versions of the Principles and Parameters have been evolving into another form, namely the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993, 1995), currently being a program for the linguistic study, the latter has not become the standard framework yet, as this is suggested by its name. In addition, most of the issues within the Minimalist framework are direct consequences and derivations of the major parts of the Principles and Parameters version with certain reductions on the representations in line with certain economy principles. Of course, this is not a contradictory position given the overall

purpose of the theory to explain the mental linguistic knowledge of native speakers in such simple terms that the remarkable complexities of language can be acquired by children in a limited period of time with a limited data. To conclude, all the issues covered in this study can also be represented in terms of the recent version of the theory.

In the generative framework, the fundamental concern is to understand the nature of human mind. This is a rather distinct attitude towards linguistic research as opposed to the previously dominant understanding of linguistic study as the study of particular languages or the study of the genetic relationship between them. Former attitudes towards the study of language can be said to be rather self-contained so that the study of language is carried out for its own sake. Unlike these previous understandings, generative grammarians frequently emphasize that they study human language in order to gain insight into human mind. The general questions with which a theory of grammar within a generative context is concerned can be represented as the following:

- (1). What constitutes knowledge of language?
- (2). How is knowledge of language acquired?
- (3). How is knowledge of language put to use?

(Chomsky 1986a, p. 3)

Being probably the most intricate abstract system produced by human mind, human language is a promising source of scientific knowledge to understand how human mind works and how its components interacts. Apparently, this is a very bold attempt considering the difficulties of studying such an abstract and extremely complex mechanism like human mind. Studying language, however, may provide generative linguistics with an insight into human mind, especially into its particular components associated with language, the **language faculty**. Thus, in generative linguistics, the study of human language is not a self-contained scientific effort but a means of learning about various significant characteristics of human mind.

Probably, human language is the most striking endowment that differentiates human beings from other living organisms: it is an extraordinarily complex system of communication, thinking, social behavior, etc. Although other species have various types of communication systems, they are not as creative and flexible as human language. That is, they are usually closed systems with limited number of messages as opposed to human language which is able to create new messages and signs for new entities,

concepts, situations, and events. This versatile system with its complexities is only specific to human beings: that is to say, it is human-specific.

As it has been emphasized above, human language has always been a focus of scientific inquiry. Linguists have frequently studied particular languages in order to characterize their underlying rule systems which manifest themselves in various forms of regularities observed in the sentences of these languages. In other words, they have tried to provide a systematic description of sentence formation, i.e. its grammar, in a language.

Generally speaking, the term grammar refers to "the total of all the rules and principles that have been formulated with respect to a language [...]. A grammar of a language is a coherent system of rules and principles that are at the basis of the grammatical sentences of a language. (Haegeman 1991, p. 5) In the particular linguistic approach adopted here, a grammar is said to be 'generating' the sentences of a language. For this very reason, this particular line of inquiry concentrating on the underlying rules and principles of a language is called generative grammar.

When a linguist tries to characterize a grammar of a language, his first step would be the differentiation of the well-formed sentences of that language from the ill-formed ones. In other words, his grammar must be able to correctly determine the sentences conforming the rules of that language. This position is generally expressed in generative grammar as in the following lines: "A first requirement for any grammar is that it provides a characterization of the language it describes, i.e., the grammar must be able to distinguish those strings of words which are sentences of the language from those which are not sentences of the language in question. Such a grammar will be **observationally adequate**." (Haegeman 1991, p. 5)

The separation of grammatical sentences from ungrammatical ones is not sufficient for a grammar to be adequate. Another adequacy criterion concerning grammar of a language is the **descriptive adequacy**, which emphasizes that a grammar should formulate general rules on the basis of linguistic data and these rules should correctly predict grammatical sentences. That is, this grammar should account for the regularities of that language.

If the grammar that linguists are characterizing is able to account for the linguistic data in a simple way so that a child learning his language can easily acquire his language on the basis of these rules and principles in a considerable short period of time, then it is said that this grammar has reached the **explanatory adequacy**. To paraphrase, the linguist's

grammar should be so simple that it can be acquired rather easily and straightforwardly by a child.

1.3.1. A Short Historical Overview of the Principles and Parameters Theory

The Principles and Parameters Theory is a particular version of **generative syntax**. The latter is one of the principal research domains of generative grammar (formerly known as transformational-generative grammar), initiated by Noam Chomsky in 1950s. (4) As one of the foremost research area within generative domain, generative syntax has been evolving through successive stages and versions since its introduction and has always been a center of interest in linguistic circles.

Generative Grammar, which developed in the 1950s, signals a change of interest from a concern of particular languages for their own sake as a particular form of human behavior to a focus on the mental processes responsible for this linguistic behavior, which is unique to human beings. In the earlier version of generative grammar, grammar was assumed to be composed of a set of Phrase Structure (PS) rules which were responsible for generating Phrase Markers (Deep Structures), and a set of transformational rules that performed a variety of syntactic operations on these Phrase Markers (PMs), such as movement, insertion, deletion, etc. in order to derive appropriately modified PMs.

As the theory developed, it was perceived by many linguists that there existed a conflict between the desire to describe as many linguistic structures as possible by studying a wide range of data from various particular languages and the necessity to constrain the overall rule system in order to meet the requirement that a grammar, as a model of the mental linguistic knowledge of native speakers, must be very simple. Since a child with normal linguistic capacities could acquire his or her language in a relatively short period of time, the simplicity of the grammatical model became a basic indispensable requirement. All these considerations have led to the evolution of the grammar into a highly sophisticated and highly constrained modular rule system, currently known as the Principles and Parameters Theory. In this evolution, however, the original model of grammar evolved through the successive versions called the Standard Theory, the Extended Standard Theory and Government-Binding Theory.

Throughout the evolution of the grammatical model, general principles of the succeeding version have been derived from the existing rules of the former version. A number of

restrictions were also imposed to obtain a sufficiently constrained theory of grammar. For instance, Chomsky introduced the A-over-A Principle (Chomsky 1964) and also extended the conditions on the applications of transformations (Chomsky 1973) in order to prevent transformations from over-generating. Afterwards, these modifications were followed by the works on the Island Constraints by Ross dating back to 1960s, (which were presented later comprehensively in (Ross 1985)). When Kayne (1975) and Quicoli (1976a, 1976b) demonstrated that certain abstract conditions on the application on transformations (originally proposed in Chomsky (1973)) also applied to a variety of constructions, concerning clitics and quantifiers, in Romance languages, one of the major advances in modern comparative grammar within the generative context was realized. A further crucial advance in the evolution of the former model was accomplished when Chomsky (1976) showed that the syntactic behavior of transformational rules followed from general principles and this stance enabled linguists to express the transformations in a rather general form (such as 'substitute α for β ,' 'adjoin α to β '). Thus, the extremely simplified form of transformations began to be considered as the part of Universal Grammar rather than the language-specific or construction-specific rules. The works concerning the filters as conditions on representations enabled the theory to acquire those central notions such as **case** and **government** by raising significant empirical questions with respect to the status of various levels of syntactic representation (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977, Rouveret and Vergnaud 1980). When Chomsky (1981) reformulated and extended the entire grammatical theory, the system was referred to as Government and Binding (GB) theory. In this work, Chomsky (1981) connected phrase structure theory and the theory of transformations in a new way (although these two had developed quite independently before that time) "by defining a notion of government in terms of the theory of phrase structure and then establishing the major role that it plays in the various conditions that determine the behavior of transformations" (Freidin 1994). This position enabled him to designate a conceptual connection linking the phrase structure theory and the theory of transformations in a coherent way.

It is apparent that the need to meet the two well-known criteria, the descriptive adequacy and the explanatory adequacy, has led to extremely generalized rules, the principles, which are assumed to form a part of the Universal Grammar, the genetic endowment of human beings to acquire a language. These principles serve as conditions on representations or perform a restricted range of operations in the current version of the grammatical theory, what is known as the Principles and Parameters Theory.

1.3.2. A Outline of the Principles and Parameters Theory

In the earlier versions of the generative syntax, such as the Standard Theory or the Extended Standard Theory, the structure of sentence was made explicit by means of a set of rewrite rules or Phrase Structure Rules. (5) A subset of these phrase structure rules generated the phrasal categories as in the cases of S, VP, NP, etc. and another subset was responsible for generating specific lexical items. Later, the requirement that these rules must generate all and only grammatical sentences has initiated the development of a grammatical model in the current sense within the generative context.

In order to prevent the phrase structure rules from over-generating (i.e., producing ungrammatical sentences), a number of subcategorization rules have been introduced. These rules enable the overall system of grammar to associate the verbs and other lexical categories with appropriate contexts. This has been followed by a move introducing the Lexical Insertion Rule to replace context-sensitive rules of the former model. In this way, the syntactic component of the model of grammar consists of only context-free phrase structure rules and a Lexicon has been separated from the syntactic component. The Lexicon is composed of the lexical entries of a particular language as well as certain morphological rules which are responsible for the derivation of the lexical items. In addition to these, the syntactic categories such as N, V, A, P, etc. are considered as the bundles of categorial features instead of syntactic primitives. For instance, V is represented as [+V, -N], N as [-V, +N], A as [+V, +N], etc.

The role of the PS rules has become to a great extent superfluous as long as the identical information is represented in the lexical entries of the Lexicon. Therefore, these rules are dispensed with and this move has simplified the overall structure of the grammar. Being introduced as a link between the Lexicon and the Syntax, the Projection Principle is responsible for properly reflecting the subcategorization properties of lexical elements at the syntactic level of representation. The Projection Principle applies to syntactic expressions at all syntactic levels (i.e., D-structure, S-structure, and LF).

The need for a different set of rules which would derive sentences in which a particular category (frequently a noun phrase) occupies a position which is distinct from the position it is understood (i.e., its original position or base position) have led to the introduction of transformational movement rules which modify Phrase Markers in order to derive appropriately Modified Phrase Markers. For instance, a **topicalization** rule moves a constituent from the position where it is understood (i.e., where it is originated

in the initial phrase marker –base-generated) to the clause initial (or in some cases, sentence initial) position. The resulting structure is a modified phrase marker, in which the moved element is assumed to have left a **trace** in its original position. A trace is a **null** (i.e., phonetically empty) category which is dependent on an **antecedent** constituent for its interpretation. Thus, it can be said that the transformational rules are responsible for deriving S-structure representations by introducing certain modifications over the base-generated D-structure representations.

Among the transformational rules, the following types have been initially differentiated from the others: these are Affix-hopping, V-raising to AUX, Do-support, and Subject-AUX inversion. The major difference between these and, for instance, a topicalization rule is that these transformation rules affect non-phrasal categories rather than the phrasal categories. On the other hand, a topicalization rule is operative in relation to phrasal categories. It is important to note that these transformational rules have also undergone a variety of modifications since the earlier versions of generative syntax.

A different type of transformational rule is the **Wh-movement**, which derives wh-questions from underlying D-structure representations. In this case, the movement rule performs an operation in order to move a wh-phrase to a **COMP** position with the feature [+WH]. This feature is a characteristic of the root and embedded wh-questions in which a constituent is interrogated. In this context, this rule is subject to a constraint which is known as the **Wh-island Condition** that prohibits the movement of a wh-phrase out of a clause whose COMP position is already filled by another wh-element. On a par with this condition, the **Complex Noun Phrase Condition** bans the extraction of a wh-phrase from a complex NP, which characteristically has a modifier (i.e., relative) or complement clause as its constituent. A final condition on the application of the Wh-movement is the **Cyclicity Condition** which in effect forces this rule to target the nearest COMP position, a restriction which results in the successive application of the Wh-movement in short steps in order to obtain a long-distance Wh-movement. This situation necessitates the availability of an empty COMP at each step.

The derivation of relative clauses (i.e., the clauses modifying a head noun in a complex noun phrase) also involves a Wh-movement in English. Unlike wh-questions, however, the wh-phrase in relative clauses may be instantiated as either overt or null. The capacity of relative clauses to include a null wh-phrase can be attributed to their **co-indexation** properties with the head noun they modify. This property makes it possible to recover the null wh-phrase from the co-indexed noun. The relative clauses with null wh-phrases are

also subject to the same type of conditions as wh-questions or relatives with overt wh-phrases are required to meet, such as the Wh-island Condition and the Complex Noun Phrase Condition.

Another type of transformation involves the **NP-movement**. This type of movement is observed in the formation of **passive** and **raising** constructions. In each case, an NP is moved to an empty subject position. On a par with the wh-movement, NP-movement is also constrained by a variety of conditions, including Tensed S Condition and Specified Subject Condition. While the former bans the NP-movement from moving an NP out of a tensed clause (e.g., a finite clause introduced by the complementizer *that*), the latter prevents this type of movement from moving an NP across a subject.

As one of the subtheories of the Principles and Parameters Theory, the **X-bar Theory** deals with the structural representation of lexical categories by restricting the phrasal structure to what is known as the **X-bar schemata**. The fundamental issues of this subtheory are defined by Chomsky (1973) and refined by Emonds (1976), Jackendoff (1977), Chomsky (1981), and Stowell (1981). The central structural relations within the X-bar schemata are the relation between a **complement** and the head and the **specifier** and the head. The complement as the sister of the lexical category and the daughter of the single-bar projection is more firmly related with the head as opposed to other constituents within the phrase. The specifier is the sister of a single-bar projection and the daughter of the maximal projection and it frequently has some special connections with the head category which are realized by means of certain kinds of agreement relations. In addition to these two relations, the relations between the single-bar projection and **adjuncts**, such as adjective phrases or adverbial phrases, can be considered as a particular type of the extension of the single-bar projections without changing the bar level.

In terms of X-bar theory, the non-lexical categories S and S' (of the earlier versions) can be characterized as the **maximal projection** of the inflectional / functional categories, I and C respectively. The single-bar projection of the inflectional head I, i.e., I', dominates the head I and the VP, which contributes a great deal to the semantic composition of the sentence (that is, IP and CP can be considered as transparent with respect to the semantic characteristics of a VP, which is transferred to the highest functional layer as indicated by Abney (1987), among others). In other words, the content of the IP is provided by the complement VP. The IP, the maximal projection which is equal to S in the previous versions of generative syntax, such as the Standard Theory. I is of two types on the basis of the finiteness feature: it is either [+finite] (i.e., finite clauses, such the I found in a

simple independent sentence) or [-finite] (i.e., non-finite clauses, as in the cases of infinitival and gerundive clauses). The specifier position of the IP is filled by the phrases which are traditionally known as **subjects**. The existence of subjects is obligatory and this is required by the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) condition, which in effect states that clauses must have subjects (either overt or non-overt, such as a phonetically empty subject PRO in infinitival and gerundive clauses). It is important to note that the EPP does not hold at D-structure. S' in the former versions is represented as the maximal projection of the functional category C (Complementizer). The single-bar projection C' dominates the head C and its complement IP. The head C can be either [+WH] or [-WH], the features which refer to interrogatives or declaratives respectively.

The question of whether the principles of the X-bar theory hold at all levels of syntactic representation, such as D-structure, S-structure, and LF is answered positively because it is more desirable to have transformations which only derive structures which are compatible with the X-bar theory. In this respect, transformations are said to be 'structure-preserving.'

The Theta Theory deals with the thematic relations between the **participants** of an event denoted by a **predicate**. The major issues in this subtheory are discussed in Chomsky (1981), Higginbotham (1985) and Grimshaw (1990). Every lexical item in the Lexicon includes an **argument** and a **thematic structure** which specify its selectional characteristics. Arguments are **referential expressions**. Non-referring expressions, such as expletive elements (i.e., *it* and *there*), wh-phrases, and quantified expressions, are not able to function as arguments at the syntactic representation. Quantifier Raising is a movement transformation which is responsible for moving wh-phrases in situ (i.e., wh-phrases occupying a position in which they are base-generated) and quantified expressions in the mapping from S-structure onto LF. The trace which is left by the Quantifier Raising is called a **variable** and it is capable of acting as an argument of a verb at the LF level of syntactic representation. Both arguments and thematic roles of a lexical item are specified beforehand as either external or internal. **Internal theta roles** are assigned to internal positions, which characterizes the position within a single bar projection of a lexical item. In other words, if a position is included within a bar projection of the head category it is called an internal position. Otherwise, it is an external position to which an **external theta role** is assigned. In this respect, the lexical heads **directly theta-mark** their direct objects and **indirectly theta-mark** their subjects and indirect objects. Syntactic positions can be divided into two types as argument and non-

argument positions, that is, A and A' positions, respectively. A-positions are the syntactic positions where an argument is base-generated.

The Theta Criterion is responsible for regulating the assignment of the thematic roles of a predicate to arguments. It establishes a one-to-one correspondence between arguments of a predicate and the thematic roles that predicate assigns. Actually, the Theta Criterion is operational on **chains** as a well-formedness condition by restricting the movement of arguments to the syntactic positions to which a theta role is not assigned. Otherwise, a chain would have two distinct theta roles and this would violate this condition (that is, the semantic status of such a chain cannot be interpreted due to the assignment of one additional theta role).

The argument and thematic structure of lexical items can be affected by lexical rules of derivations which are confined to the Lexicon. For instance, as a result of derivation of verbal passives, the external argument / theta role is suspended: it is neither assigned to a position or eliminated totally (the fact that it can be represented by means of an adjunct by-phrase implies that it is not eliminated altogether). Therefore, the grammatical subject position of passives as well as raising predicates is not a theta position. Hence, in such cases, the subject position constitutes a **legitimate target** for the movement of an argument. Similarly, lexical derivation of **ergatives** and **middle verbs** also influence their argument / thematic structure. Since they lack an external argument, their internal argument is able to occupy the subject position of the clause. Finally, the derivation of the nouns from verbs also seems to affect the argument structure of the base verb. It can be suggested that the external argument role is implicit in the derived nouns as in the passive constructions. On a par with passives, the internal argument of some of the base verb is able to appear in the subject position (i.e., Spec, DP) of the whole noun phrase. However, this ability is rather restricted in **derived nominals** compared to verbal passives since some of the derived nouns do not exhibit this property. All these process take place in the Lexicon, rather than in the Syntax, because the processes which affect the argument and thematic structure of lexical items is exclusively restricted to the Lexicon.

The Case theory is concerned with the assignment of (**Abstract**) **Case** to arguments. It specifically interacts with X-bar Theory and Government Theory. Each NP is assigned Case by a head in its neighborhood. This reflects a specific structural relationship of locality between the head and the assignee. NPs in grammatical subject positions are assigned Case by finite I and an NP following a transitive verb or a preposition is

assigned Case by these items (in English); in fact, the relative order of the case assigner and assignee varies cross-linguistically, forming a **parameter**. NPs are required to have Case which is implied by the **Visibility Hypothesis**, which states that an argument NP must be visible for theta marking at LF of syntactic representation. The Visibility Hypothesis establishes connections between Case Theory and Theta Theory. In addition to this, the PF counterpart of Case Requirement is the **Case Filter**, which excludes overt DPs lacking case at PF.

Accusative and **Oblique** Cases (assigned by transitive verbs and prepositions respectively) and **Nominative** Case (assigned by finite I, or more correctly by AGR category under finite I [in English]) are assigned under government, which is a particular type of locality condition. The assignment of Nominative case differs from the others in that it requires an agreement relation with the finite I as well as the government condition. If an NP is governed by I (AGR) and share the identical agreement features with AGR category, it is possible for it to be assigned Nominative Case. These requirements are summarized in the form of Spec-Head Agreement. On the other hand, the transitivity is in essence the ability to assign Accusative Case. As it has been frequently observed, it is possible for a given category to be intransitive even if it selects an internal argument (i.e., unaccusatives) as long as it cannot assign Accusative Case to it. In sum, transitive categories assign Accusative Case to their internal arguments. In some cases (e.g., ECM verbs), it is possible for a transitive verb to assign a case to an argument NP which is not its internal argument (and hence does not bear a thematic relation to it).

DP-movement is generally caused by the requirements concerning Case assignment to those DPs. DPs frequently move to a Spec, IP position because they cannot receive Case in their original (i.e., D-structure) position. On the basis of the Case assignment issues, the representation of the subjects in sentences can be revised as it is done in the **Subject-inside-VP Hypothesis**. This suggests that thematic subjects of sentences are base-generated in Spec, VP position provided by the X-bar representation of the VP. This thematic subject is subsequently moved to the grammatical subject position, which is the position characterized by Spec, IP. Such a revision leads a more plausible representation of lexical categories because with this analysis, their X-bar structure becomes a thematic / structural projection in which both external and internal thematic relations are determined.

Structural Case and **Inherent** Case are differentiated on basis of the thematic relations between the arguments which are assigned case and the heads that are responsible for this case assignment. Structural Case is assigned at S-structure and does not require a

thematic relationship between the Case assigner and the assignee. Among the structural cases are Nominative Case, Accusative Case and Genitive Case. On the other hand, Inherent Case is assigned at D-structure, in association with a thematic relation. The Oblique Case which is assigned by prepositions (or postpositions in other languages) to their objects is an example of Inherent Case in English.

Binding Theory handles the referential properties of both overt and null DPs. These properties are encoded in terms of feature matrixes which are composed of binary features: [$\pm$ anaphoric] and [$\pm$ pronominal]. Reflexives, reciprocals and DP-traces exhibit the feature matrix [+anaphoric, –pronominal]. This means that they are essentially pure **anaphors**. For this reason, they are dependent of an antecedent in a well defined local domain (i.e., Binding Condition A). Pronouns and null PRO subject of non-finite clauses are among the pronominal elements with [+pronominal] feature. PRO is further differentiated from overt pronouns in that the former is also [+anaphoric], a capacity which enables this category to function as subjects in control constructions. The condition that the antecedents of pronominal elements must be located outside their local domain is called Binding Condition B. Names, referring expressions, and variables are categorized into the general class of R-expressions with the feature specifications of [–anaphoric, –pronominal].

While anaphors, categories with [+anaphoric] feature, are required to be bound, the pronouns [+anaphoric] elements, to be free in a local domain which called **Governing Category**. In English, a Governing Category of anaphors and pronouns is the minimal syntactic domain which contains (1) the anaphor or pronoun, (2) the governor of that item in question, and (3) and an **accessible subject**. To the extent that R-expressions have a local domain, which can be defined as the **c-command** domain of their **operator**, they are required to be free, corresponding to the Binding Condition C. A variety of considerations concerning parasitic gaps imply that the principles of Binding Theory apply at the S-structure level.

The null category **PRO** (i.e., as a null DP) exhibits the characteristics of both anaphors and pronouns, depending on a variety of factors. Its distribution is confined to non-governed positions, including the thematic subject position of DPs. This is another way of expressing the fact that PRO does not have a Governing Category. The interpretation of PRO is only possible by means of the principles of both Binding Theory and Control Theory.

The interface levels of the grammatical model, that is PF and LF levels, are subject to the condition which is called **Full Interpretation**. This condition requires that an element in one of these interface levels must be appropriately **licensed**. A syntactic representation is interpretable if all the elements it includes are licensed by relevant conditions. For instance, one of the licensing conditions of LF on the arguments is the Theta Criterion. Another type of licensing condition on operators is that operators must bind a variable. A third example of licensing conditions can be given as the condition on predicates that they must have a subject. As far as movements are concerned, the formerly introduced conditions such as the Cyclicity Condition, the Wh-Island Condition, and the Complex Noun Phrase Condition can all be reduced to a single more general condition which is called **Subjacency**, as condition on either **Move-alpha** or the output of the Move-alpha. It must be noted that there are reasons which imply that the Subjacency Condition does not hold for movements taking place at LF level.

1.4. The References to the Literature Relevant to Syntactic Nominalizations

The dual characteristics of syntactic nominalizations have long been a focus of interests in generative syntax: they are like noun phrases externally and similar to clauses internally. In early generative grammar, for instance, a number of linguists have investigated the issue in question in terms of the transformations that yields these constructions. At that stage, not only gerunds (presumably syntactic nominalizations par excellence in English) but also all types of clausal complements occupying argument positions are termed as nominalizations. For instance, Lees (1960) has assumed that English nominalizations include lexically derived nominals and gerunds as well as all other types of categories with a clause-like internal syntactic composition, appearing in argument positions. He has assumed that an NP node dominates these structures in their phrasal representations. Similarly, the noun phrase-like syntactic distribution and clause-like internal syntax of gerundive clauses have been investigated by a considerable number of earlier generative studies, such as Lees (1960), Rosenbaum (1967), Ross (1967, 1973), Wasow and Roeper (1972), Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee (1973), Thompson (1973), Horn (1975), Williams (1975), Schachter (1976), Reuland (1983), Baker (1985), and Abney (1987), among others. Most of these studies have concentrated on the transformations deriving gerunds from underlying syntactic representations in English.

As a consequential work on nominalizations, Chomsky (1970) has argued against the transformationalist view and proposed the lexicalist hypothesis which states that

derivational action nouns form a part of English Lexicon and that they are not syntactic realizations in essence. On the other hand, a gerundive clause is systematically syntactic considering that any verb phrase in English can be transformed into a gerundive clause (i.e., syntactically nominalized) in this way. That is why, variants of the lexicalist approach to deverbal nouns were dominant among the studies in the generative context during the 1980s.

Abney (1987) is significant among the studies on noun phrases and gerundive clauses as he has proposed that noun phrases and gerundive constructions display a syntactic structure which is more similar to that of finite clauses than it had been initially thought before. The DP-hypothesis, as it has been coherently formalized by Abney (1987, p. 38), states that noun phrases (and other nominal constructions including gerundives) have an internal syntactic structure that is similar to that of ordinary finite clauses in containing subjects, exhibiting agreement elements, and sharing various other syntactic characteristics. Abney (1987) proposes that noun phrases are in fact headed by a functional syntactic category D (an inflectional element considered as a bundle of features, such as the ones concerning subject predicate agreement categories, i.e., person and number).

Abney (1987) has tried to generalize this analysis to major types of nominal categories, like noun phrases which normally do not seem to exhibit any overt subject predicate agreement property in English. Of course, there were a considerable number of previous studies which constituted the base on which the DP-analysis has been built by suggesting similar ideas for the related constructions in a variety of particular languages. Among them are Brame (1981, 1982), Hale (1980), Hellan (1986), Horrock & Stavrou (1985), Hudson (1984), Kornfilt (1984), Kuroda (1986), Reuland (1985), Szabolcsi (1981, 1984). Szabolcsi (1981, 1984), Kornfilt (1984), Horrock & Stavrou (1985), among others, are particularly important for explicitly suggesting an inflectional (agreement) category in the noun phrase (in their works on Hungarian, Turkish and Modern Greek respectively) and paving the way towards a more comprehensive generalization in the form of the DP-analysis. What Abney (1987) has actually done is unifying the issues concerning functional categories within nominal expressions into a rather coherent analysis, currently known as the DP-hypothesis. Of course, most of the suggestions of Abney (1987) has undergone considerable modifications against the new data from other languages in the course of time, including even the major issues, and this modified version of the DP-hypothesis has almost become the standard analysis of internal syntactic structure of nominal constituents in the current generative syntax.

A considerable number of linguists have studied noun phrases and deverbal nominals in a variety of languages from a generative perspective in 1970s and 1980s. Esau (1973), Hoekstra (1986), Lefebvre and Muysken (1988), among others, have studied action nominalizations in German, Dutch, and Qechua respectively. Most linguists, such as Cinque (1980, 1981), Kayne (1984), Zubizaretta (1987), and others have assumed that deverbal nouns are inserted in the syntactic component of the grammar as lexical nouns even if they represent certain similarities in terms of argument structure and thematic structure. Higginbotham (1983) has asserted that there are certain differences between the argument structures of deverbal nouns and their corresponding verbs: although verbs take their arguments obligatorily, corresponding deverbal nouns takes their arguments optionally.

An outstanding work by Grimshaw (1990) has established a number of diagnostics to distinguish between two types of derived nouns (which are usually homophonous): event nouns vs. result nouns. She has showed that a deverbal nominal in English obligatorily takes its arguments if it has an event reading. In other words, event nouns have their argument structures as part of their lexical representation since they are similar to verbs in that they can assign specific theta roles, exhibiting a typical characteristic of verbs.

Zucchi (1993) has studied the syntax and semantics of nominalizations in English in comparison with other European languages while Siloni (1997) has investigated the syntactic characteristics of Hebrew nominalizations in terms of the DP (Determiner Phrase) hypothesis, analyzing noun phrases as constituents headed by a functional category D, rather than by a lexical noun.

As for the syntactic nominalizations in Turkish, both the traditional type of linguists and the ones studying language in the generative context have examined different aspects of these structures. For instance, Lewis (1967) and Underhill (1976) have provided descriptive accounts of syntactic nominalizations while Erguvanlı (1984) has examined the word order characteristics of these constructions. Kornfilt (1984) has concentrated on the case marking properties and the agreement category in noun phrases and syntactic nominalizations within generative context. Abney (1987) occasionally tries to attribute an internal structure representation to the gerundive clauses in Turkish (i.e., to the constructions that are called syntactic nominalizations in the present study). Sezer (1991) has frequently referred to syntactic nominalizations as the phrasal manifestations of a nominal agreement head and tries to introduce Canonical Structural Realization rules for

both action and fact types of syntactic nominalizations. Özsoy and Erguvanlı-Taylan (1992) have tried to designate the internal syntactic structure of noun phrases and related constructions in Turkish in relation to Abney (1987)'s DP hypothesis. Pamir-Deitrich (1995) is an analysis of certain types of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish, including act and fact types. Kornfilt (1997), as a rather inclusive descriptive work, has provided a coherent portray of a plenty of linguistic structures in Turkish, including embedded clauses and various types of syntactic nominalizations. Schaaik (1999) is the study of the factual and action type of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish within a functional grammar approach. Kornfilt (2001) is a coherent analysis of case assignment properties of subject predicate agreement as a functional category within the syntactic nominalizations, occupying both argument and non-argument positions.

To summarize, English nominalizations and related constructions as well as the corresponding structures from a variety of languages have always been at the center of interest and have been studied in detail from various aspects by a considerable number of linguists so that the studies have led significant changes and revisions in the syntactic representation of these constituents. In this respect, syntactic nominalizations in Turkish have been studied from a variety of aspects including the generative syntax.

1.5. The Research Questions

The present work tries to answer the following questions:

1. What is the internal syntactic structure of syntactic nominalization in Turkish?
2. What is the source of the well-known dual characteristic of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish and in general?
3. Are there any parallelisms between syntactic nominalizations and noun phrases in terms of their syntactic structures.

1.6 The Hypotheses

As it has been indicated in the beginning of the present study, this study deals with the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in argument positions of matrix clauses in Turkish as compared to supposedly equivalent constructions in English. The following hypotheses are expressed by assuming

Considering this point, the hypotheses of the present study can be expressed in the following way:

1. Both syntactic nominalization and (possessive) noun phrase in Turkish can be characterized as DPs (i.e., the determiner phrase) which is headed by the functional category D (determiner) (following Abney 1987).
2. Both syntactic nominalization and (possessive) noun phrase contain another functional projection embedded under the DP layer: AGRNP (i.e., a nominal agreement phrase). The head of the AGRNP is the nominal agreement AGRN.
3. The functional category AGRN is morphologically realized by means of nominal subject predicate agreement markers in Turkish (as opposed to finite agreement suffixes found in finite clauses).
4. Regarding both syntactic nominalization and (possessive) noun phrase, the functional head AGRN selects as its complement a syntactic projection of another functional head category. This maximal projection is NUMP and its head is the functional category NUM, which is morphologically realized by *-lar* and *-Ø* morphemes, corresponding plural and singular numbers.
5. Syntactic nominalizations are different from (possessive) noun phrases: while the functional head NUM in the former category selects a nominal TAMP as its complement, the head NUM in the latter takes a NP (as the maximal projection of the lexical category noun). This differentiation can be accounted for the optional nature of the NUM category with respect to one of its complement features, namely [$\pm$ functional]. In other words, the particular complement feature of the head NUM is not specified with respect to the feature [$\pm$ functional]. This seemingly minor peculiarity, in fact, is responsible for the difference in the syntactic composition of syntactic nominalizations and (possessive) noun phrases.
6. When the NUM category selects a nominal TAMP as its complement, the resulting structure is a syntactic nominalization. If it selects an NP, the output is a regular (possessive) noun phrase.
7. Subsequently, the nominal TAMP is headed by the functional head category nominal non-finite TAM, which is realized by means of the suffixes which are traditionally known as syntactic nominalization markers.

8. Successively, the head TAM takes a VP complement, which is the category that is responsible for the clausal syntactic structure and, hence, the propositional semantic characteristics of the syntactic nominalizations. What is implied by the term clausal structure is minimally composed of a predicate and its arguments bearing particular thematic relations to that predicate.

9. Contrary to the general view that a syntactic nominalization is in essence the embedding of an untensed VP under a DP, the present study proposes that the non-finite nominal TAM category, as the head of the nominal TAMP, exhibits certain tense, aspect, or mood connotations, which must be considered as different semantic functions of a particular syntactic category, TAM (a parallel analysis to the one which is suggested in Erguvanlı-Taylan, E., 1996; Sezer, 2001).

1.7. The Method

In generative syntax, it is possible to mention a certain pattern of steps for the linguistic study which is based on a series of steps to be taken. In general, studies in generative syntax display a two-way interaction: (1) structures are analyzed syntactically in the light of the principles of the theory and (2) sometimes modifications in these principles are suggested in accordance with relevant data.

Most generative linguists, including Chomsky, consider this two-way interaction as the dynamism of a continuously developing theory. The major argument they have posed in relation to seemingly unstable structuring of the theory can be stated as follows: what makes the theory superficially unsettled is its potential to account for an extremely huge set of linguistic constructions from a plenty of languages, any of which is as complex and intriguing as another. What is important in this respect is the state of the theory as a center of scientific attraction. This makes the Principles and Parameters Theory significant in the science of language.

In this study, the relevant linguistic data will be introduced as a basis for the analyses and the discussions of the present study are built. Not only grammatical but also ungrammatical examples of syntactic structures will be provided to derive generalization concerning syntactic nominalizations in Turkish.

Firstly, the present work will survey the types of embedded clauses in Turkish and in English. After that the observations concerning the general morphosyntactic characteristics of syntactic nominalizations will be introduced. Then, the principles of the theory will be applied to syntactic nominalizations in Turkish in order to examine their internal syntactic structure.

1.8. Operational Definitions

1.8.1. Noun Phrase

The present study assumes that the phrasal category which is traditionally known as **noun phrase** is, in fact, a DP (i.e., Determiner Phrase) (see Abney, 1987). Even though there appears no empirical evidence in Turkish that justifies the existence of the functional category D as a functional head within Turkish noun phrases (and other nominal expressions), its existence is taken for granted due to the a theory-internal requirement concerning the structural uniformity of syntactic categories across languages. Supposing that this is the correct way of syntactic characterization of a noun phrase, a generalized phrase structure format of a noun phrase can be represented as in the following way:

5. [DP D [AGRNP AGRN [Nump NUM [NP N]]]]

(Adapted from Alexiadou & Wilder 1998, p. 3)

However, it is equally plausible to assume that Turkish noun phrases are in essence simply AGRPs (i.e., agreement phrases) disregarding the hierarchically highest layer of syntactic structure given above. In this case, the general format for Turkish noun phrases will be the following:

6. [AGRNP AGRN [Nump NUM [NP N]]]

Not only such a representation is empirically adequate for noun phrases in Turkish, but also it accounts for the parallel syntactic characteristics of both noun phrases and syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. Since a syntactic nominalization is also an AGRP, its noun phrase-like syntactic behavior is not accidental. The only difference between these two nominal phrases is the types of complement phrases taken by the functional heads: the head NUM takes an NP in a noun phrase but a TAMP in a syntactic nominalization.

Therefore the difference between a noun phrase and a syntactic nominalization can be reduced to a differentiation in the type of the complement phrase taken by the functional head NUM in Turkish.

It is apparent from the given generalized format that the (hypothetical) functional head D takes an AGRP as its complement. In turn, the head category of the AGRP (i.e., AGR), which is the nominal subject predicate agreement morpheme, takes a NUMP as its complement. Subsequently, the functional head NUM, which denotes the plurality or singularity of a noun phrase, combines with the phrasal category NP, which is the maximal syntactic projection of a lexical category N, **noun**. (In fact, the lexical head N can be considered as the **semantic head** of the whole noun phrase (i.e., DP, here) since it is responsible for the **semantic content** of the whole phrase. This suggestion is originally made by Abney (1987), who has differentiated between a **syntactic projection** versus a **semantic projection**. According to him, functional projections are actually transparent with respect to the transfer of the semantic content of the lexical head upward in the syntactic hierarchy of the functional layers within a noun phrase).

In sum, whenever the term noun phrase (as a piece of English prose) is employed in the present study, it corresponds to a DP, which includes a series of other functional layers and the maximal projection of the lexical N, namely NP. Then, a noun phrase is never used to denote a NP, as the maximal projection of lexical N.

1.8.2. Syntactic Nominalization

A syntactic category including a verbal predicate which is nominalized by the addition of an appropriate nominalization suffix, the arguments of that nominalized predicate (frequently both the external argument and the internal arguments of that predicate), and possibly some adverbial constructions (i.e., adjuncts as non-obligatory constituents). The major distinctions between a prototypical syntactic nominalization and a finite complement clause in a root sentence are the different paradigms of TAM and AGR markers and the Case of their subject DPs.

1.9. The Organization of the Study

In Chapter 1, the introduction, general aspects of the subject matter will be reviewed in order to determine the particular path to be taken in the study. In addition, the primary

issues concerning the theoretical framework of the study will be specified by providing the background of the Principles and Parameters Theory and its major issues in relation to Turkish syntax.

Chapter 2 offers the reviews of a number of major previous studies regarding syntactic nominalizations in English and Turkish. The generative studies on syntactic nominalizations are also surveyed in this chapter .

Chapter 3 tries to portray a broad observation of embedded clauses in English and in Turkish. Embedded clauses are listed on the basis of their potential to occupy argument positions, the matrix categories in which they are found, and their finiteness status.

Chapter 4 is intended to present the general morphosyntactic characteristics of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish by providing the examples of various types of syntactic nominalizations as well as the descriptive generalizations and classifications of these structures.

Chapter 5 deals with the a variety of issues concerning syntactic nominalizations in Turkish in the light of the major principles and subtheories of the Principles and Parameters Theory with a constant reference to the corresponding constructions in English. By doing so, it tries to explicate the syntactic mechanisms which are responsible for the formation and syntactic behavior of these structures. This might enable us to understand to what extent the principles of the theory hold for Turkish data (i.e., in what respects syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are similar to those in English and in what respects they differ from them).

Finally, Chapter 6 tries to generalize the observations and findings of the previous chapters in order to reach a number of conclusion in relation to syntactic nominalizations in Turkish and the application of the Principles and Parameters Theory to the Turkish data with respect to the constructions under investigation.

NOTES

1. Noun phrases are currently characterized as DPs, i.e., determiner phrases, in the present version of generative syntax, the Principles and Parameters Theory.

2. Strictly speaking, the term *gerund* refers to a derived noun which is produced from a verb base by the addition of an *-ing* suffix. However, most studies employ the term rather loosely to refer to any type of clausal constructions which include a verbal predicate with an *-ing* suffix and which has an external distribution that is almost identical with that of the noun phrase. In this study, the terms **gerunds**, **gerundives** and **gerundive clauses** are used in this broader sense.

3. A TAM marker is one of those suffixes in Turkish which are added to the verb stems in order to specify one of the following syntactic categories, such as Tense, Aspect or Mood. These markers can be considered as of two types: finite and non-finite. Non-finite TAM markers correspond to the nominalization suffixes found with the nominalized verbal predicates in syntactic nominalizations in Turkish.

In the case of syntactic nominalization in Turkish, the nominal nature of these constructions is provided by the nominal Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) markers (i.e., the nominalization suffixes which occupy the same slot as finite TAM markers in terms of the order of inflectional morphemes and which are differentiated from the verbal (or finite) ones due to their [-finite, +nominal] feature matrix.

Even though in many languages there are distinct morphosyntactic forms for the categories Tense, Aspect, and Mood, Turkish must be considered as possessing a particular set of morphemes which occupy the same slot and which may perform one or several of these three functions (this implies that in Turkish Tense, Aspect, and Mood categories are semantic categories rather than being syntactic categories (see Erguvanli-Taylan 1996, Sezer 2001).

4. This section provides a brief historical overview of the Principles and Parameters Theory, based on Ouhalla (1994) and Friedin (1994).

5. This section is based on Ouhalla (1994), where the major issues of the Principles and Parameters Theory were introduced.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE IN RELATION TO SYNTACTIC NOMINALIZATIONS IN ENGLISH AND IN TURKISH

With their dual syntactic nature, syntactic nominalizations have always been a focus of inquiry in linguistics. A considerable number of linguists have examined different aspects of syntactic nominalizations in a variety of languages so far (Lees 1960, Reuland 1983, Abney 1987, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993, Siloni 1997, Schaaik 2001, Kornfilt 2001, among others). These linguists have chosen various theoretical viewpoints, including descriptive, functional and generative perspectives in their examinations. Since syntactic nominalizations are essentially instances of the integration of clause-like internal syntactic characteristics with noun phrase-like syntactic distribution, most linguists have considered these constructions as linguistically interesting manifestations of the grammatical system.

In the first part of this chapter, a brief survey of former research on syntactic nominalizations is presented. In most of these studies, the emphasis is frequently on categorial status, internal structure and external distribution of syntactic nominalizations. Section 2.1 of the present chapter focuses on the syntactic properties of nominalizations in English and in Turkish from various theoretical viewpoints while Section 2.2 covers previous research on syntactic nominalizations in English and in Turkish from the generative perspective.

2.1. A Survey of Preceding Miscellaneous Research on Syntactic Nominalizations

Syntactic nominalizations and similar constructions can be observed in a majority of world's languages. In Subsection 2.1.1 below, a variety of accounts in relation to grammatical characteristics of syntactic nominalizations chiefly from English (except for generative ones) are reviewed in order to set a background scene concerning these constructions. After that, former miscellaneous research on syntactic nominalizations in Turkish is covered in Subsection 2.1.2.

2.1.1. Former Miscellaneous Research on Syntactic Nominalizations

Syntactic nominalizations are somehow intermediary constructions between finite clauses and noun phrases from a number of respects. They are similar to finite clauses because their internal syntactic composition is frequently capable of reflecting the grammatical relations between the predicate and its arguments as any constituent containing a verbal projection would do. In other words, all thematic roles assigned by a predicate can be represented in a syntactic nominalization straightforwardly. Still, nominalizations resemble ordinary noun phrases (with lexical nouns as their heads) in terms of their syntactic distribution within root sentences. This dual characteristic of syntactic nominalizations has aroused interest on the part of a considerable number of modern linguists for several decades. The following studies are meant to provide a background for the syntactic investigation of syntactic nominalizations in English and particularly in Turkish.

2.1.1.1. Comrie and Thompson (1985)

Comrie and Thompson (1985) have concentrated on lexical type of nominalization in their typological and cross-linguistic work. They have taken the term nominalization as "turning something into a noun" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 359). In this work, they have focused on the base categories that can be turned into a noun (i.e., those that can be lexically nominalized) and the types of resulting nouns from such a derivation. In this respect, they have differentiated between two general types of lexical nominalizations: those that represent an action or a process (i.e., action or state nouns) and the ones that denote one of the arguments of the base category (i.e., result nouns) ⁽¹⁾ as in the following (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 349):

A. Name of activity and state

(1) action / state nouns

B. Name of an argument

(2) agentive nouns

(3) instrumental nouns

(4) manner nouns

(5) locative nouns

(6) objective nouns

(7) reason nouns

Comrie and Thompson (1985) have first focused on the processes for forming nouns from verb and adjective bases. They have stated that a language creates an action noun from action verb and a state noun from a state verb or an adjective. In such cases, the resulting action noun denotes the fact, the act, the quality or occurrence of that verb or adjective (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 350). Frequently, this is done by an affixation process as it is the case in English and Turkish. They have emphasized that some language may differentiate between a nominalization denoting a process and a nominalization denoting a non-process.

Secondly, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have surveyed the types of lexical nominalizations which represent the name of one of the arguments of the base verb or adjective. In this respect, they have first directed their attention to agentive nominalization where the resulting noun denotes the agent argument of the underlying verb. In this respect, they have provided examples with *-er* suffix, such as *sing-er*. However, they have also added that this suffix may produce a non-agentive nominal as well, as in the case of *hear-er* (an experiencer), *slice-r* (an instrument), etc.

Comrie and Thompson (1985) have listed the characteristics of instrumental, manner, locative, objective, and reason nominalizations. As for the instrumental nominalization, they have emphasized that some languages have a particular nominalization process for forming a lexical nominalization from a verb with a meaning that refers to the name of an instrument for performing the action represented by the base verb (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 353). As an example of manner nominalization, they have provided examples of nominalizations with *-(y)lş* suffix in Turkish (2). Similarly, they have mentioned a particular type of lexical nominalization which denotes a place where the action described by the base verb is performed. Another type of nominalization they have touched upon is objective nominalization which designates the result, or the typical or cognate object of the action represented by the underlying verb. In addition, in some languages, there are reason nominalizations which express the reason of the action denoted by the verb.

As far as the meaning predictability and productivity of lexical nominalizations are concerned, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have stated that "languages typically show rather low predictability with respect to their noun formation process" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 357). They have designated the widely known unpredictability of lexical nominalizations such as *refusal* from *refuse*, *accusation* from *accuse*, and *truth*

from *true*. In such cases, there is no logical explanation for the selection of these particular suffixes in these nominalizations. With respect to their semantic characteristics, lexical nominalizations may be very different from their base verbs or adjectives. In this context, they have presented a very typical type of meaning differentiation by means of the nominalization *proposal* which is derived from the verb *propose*. This lexical nominalization is able to refer to both the **fact** or **activity** of proposing and the **thing** that is proposed (i.e., the actual statement or piece of writing in which an act of proposing is conveyed). They have termed this particular case as "concretization" which characterizes a semantic change where the original action nominal acquires an additional meaning denoting the concrete output of that action (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 357). According to them, another unpredictable aspect of lexical nominalization is that the nominalization process is blocked when a noun with that particular sense exists in the lexicon of a language. For instance, since there exists the word *student* in the lexicon of English, the agentive nominalizer *-er* does not produce a nominal together with the base verb *study*.

After that Comrie and Thompson (1985) have examined the characteristics of the so-called 'action nominal [construction]s' (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 358). According to them, an action nominal construction is able to contain one or more arguments of a proposition or a predicate, such as *the enemy's destruction of the city*. This is in essence a noun phrase exhibiting similar semantic relations with the simple sentence *the enemy destroyed the city*. They have also taken *the loud chanting in the quad* as an instance of action nominal construction. They have stated that the derived noun in action nominal [construction] is formed from verbs in the regular sense. From these issues, they have concluded that "action nominal [construction]s typically have some of the syntactic characteristics of both [simple] sentences and non-derived noun phrases" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 359). As they have stressed, action nominal constructions occupy an intermediate position between verbal and nominal phrasal categories and the degree to which action nominal construction is similar to one of these two varies across languages.

Comrie and Thompson (1985, 359) have suggested that the internal structure of action nominal constructions is parallel to that of an ordinary noun phrase since an action nominal construction takes a genitive "attribute" and the derived noun in action nominal construction can be modified by an **adjective** instead of the regular verb modifiers of simple sentences, namely **adverbs**. They have provided the following examples as opposed to gerundive nominals (i.e., gerundive clauses):

- 1.=41. The enemy destroyed the city rapidly
- 2.=42. the enemy's rapid destruction of the city
- 3.=44. The enemy('s) destroying the city rapidly surprised everyone
(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 359)

Even in such cases, they have stated that the noun phrase syntax shows an optional characteristic in that it may or may not contain the subject in the genitive case while the subject of a sentence is obligatory. After these issues, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have concentrated on whether and how verbal categories such as **tense, aspect, voice**, etc. are retained in action nominal constructions morphologically (i.e., the actual representation of such categories by means of a morpheme). With respect to tense, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have suggested that the tense distinction is typically lost in action nominal constructions. They have proposed that "in appropriate contexts, present or past time reference may be forced or preferred, but there is no overt category of tense [in action nominal constructions]" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 361). In this respect, they have also examined other non-finite verb forms, such as gerundive clauses. As far as English is concerned, they have stressed that "non-finite verbal forms also show some neutralization of tense opposition; actually the past / non-past distinction is combined with the perfect / non-perfect aspectual distinction to give a single opposition, past-or-perfect versus non-past [...]" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 361) as in the following example:

- 4.=47. Having heard so many lies from you before, no-one is prepared to believe what you're saying now
(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 361)

In this respect, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have given a number of examples from Turkish in order to show that some action nominal constructions are able to retain some form of tense distinction:

- 5.=50. Çocukların aşağıya inip kendisini sokakta beklediklerini söyledi.
- 6.=51. Çocukların aşağıya inip kendisini sokakta bekleyeceklerini söyledi.
(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 362)

In fact, the examples they have provided are not action nominal constructions in the sense that they have been using so far. Actually, these constructions resemble gerundive clauses with their clausal internal structure rather than action nominal constructions with a lexically derived action noun (3). Apart from these considerations, Comrie and

Thompson (1985) have indicated that although the tense distinction in this pair of examples is not identical with the one found in finite clauses, they still make reference to some distinction in their tense forms as future versus non-future, providing a tense distinction of relative tense. That is, a distinction which is made with respect to the tense of matrix predicate as *-ecek* (i.e., -(y)EcEG) refers to situations subsequent in time to that of root verb and *-dik* (i.e., -DIG) refers to situations prior to or simultaneous with that of matrix verb (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 362).

The categories aspect and voice have also been examined by Comrie and Thompson (1985). They have claimed that in some languages these categories are lost morphologically. For instance, English action nominal constructions do not have voice distinction:

- 7.=56. The enemy's destruction of the city
 8.=58. the city's destruction by the enemy
 (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 363)

Although these two action nominal constructions correspond to different relations in terms of their voice, their appearance remains rather constant. In this context, the former is equivalent to the active sentence, *the enemy destroyed the city*, while the latter is equivalent to the passive sentence, *the city was destroyed by the enemy*.

After that, Turkish data have been given to represent the fact that active / passive distinction can be retained in action nominal constructions in some languages. Here again, their examples are instances of syntactic nominalizations par excellence rather than action nominal constructions in the sense that they have originally proposed. Therefore, the Turkish examples *Hasanın mektubu yazması* and *mektubun (Hasan tarafından) yazılması* correspond to gerundive clauses in English (specifically, the so-called Poss-ing gerundive clauses) which naturally retain active versus passive distinction as well.

With respect to the retention of the negation in action nominal construction, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have suggested that "there are three ways in which an action nominal [construction] could be negated: (i) in the same way as sentences, (ii) in the same way as nouns, (iii) in a way different from that found with either nouns or verbs" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 366-367). They have also stated that sentences are negated with *not* and nouns are negated with *non-* in English. In this respect, action nominal constructions behave like nouns:

- 9.=91. Gloria's *not / non-participation in the meeting surprised me.
(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 367)

Gerundive clauses, according to them, seem to allow both types but whenever there exist some adverbials, the sentential negation *not* is preferred.

- 10a.=93a. Gloria's not running
10b.=93b. Gloria's non-running
10c.=93c. ? Gloria's non-running in the marathon
(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 367)

Following these analyses, Comrie and Thompson (1985, 368) have examined the possibilities of existence of certain **nominal categories** such as case, number, and definiteness. In this respect, they have proposed that if the noun phrases in a language show these categories, then action nominal constructions also display the same categories because they are necessarily noun phrases with derived heads. Especially the case category is one of the defining feature of such constructions as they have pointed out. On the other hand, the category number is only possible when it signals the multiple occurrences or cases of the action or states expressed by the derived action noun. In relation to the case category, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have provided the so-called verbal noun suffix *-mek* (i.e., *-mEG* for the present study) and state that this construction is able take all the case forms in Turkish, except for the Genitive Case (4).

Then, Comrie and Thompson (1985, 368) have reviewed the syntactic collocation in relation to action nominal constructions. As for the valency of the derived nominal within the action nominal construction, they have emphasized that "perhaps the most interesting evidence for the hybrid verbal-nominal nature of the action nominal comes from the expression of subject and direct object with the action nominal [...]." Generally, it is possible for subject and objects of a verb and an derived action noun to be present in English, for instance.

- 11.=105. Harry objected to Bill's solution
12.=106. Harry's objection to Bill's solution
(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 370)

In this context, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have focused on the two types of genitive marking in English: namely, *'s* and *of* (**Saxon** and **Norman** **genitives**, respectively) as in the following expressions:

- 13.=111. John's car
 - 14.=112. the roof of the house
- (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 371)

As they have indicated, the Saxon genitive (i.e., *'s*) is in complementary distribution with the definite article (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 371). In this respect, they have expressed that action nominal constructions exhibit a similar internal structure to noun phrases:

- 15.=113. *John's* arrival
 - 16.=114. *the enemy's* destruction of the city
 - 17.=115. *the* arrival
 - 18.=115. *the* destruction of the city (by *the enemy*) [Y.Y.]
- (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 371)

Interestingly, the existence of the two alternatives of genitive marking enables English to express a similar relationship between subject and direct object within action nominal construction to the one found between subject and object in a sentence. In this respect, they have indicated that "Saxon (prenominal) genitive corresponds to subject (preverbal), while Norman (postnominal) genitive corresponds to direct object (postverbal)" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 371). This is a perfect match between an action nominal construction and the corresponding finite clause.

- 19a.=117. the enemy – destroyed – the city
 - 19b.=117. the enemy's – destruction – of the city
- (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 371)

They have stressed that "in action nominal constructions with only one genitive, the interpretation of that genitive as corresponding to subject or direct object of the verb is more complex, except, of course, with action nominals of intransitive verbs [...]" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 371). They have generalized this as saying that "[...] where the action nominal corresponds to a verb that requires a direct object, then in the absence of a Norman genitive [i.e., *of*] the Saxon genitive [i.e., *'s*] must be interpreted

as corresponding to a direct object, as in the expression *Bill's execution*, where Bill can only be interpreted as the Patient/Theme argument. They add that "where, however, the action nominal corresponds to a verb that does not require, but only allows, a direct object, then there is a tendency for only that interpretation to be possible where the Saxon genitive corresponds to the subject of the verb [...]" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 371-372). However, they have also admitted that there are some instances, such as *John's performance* versus *the play's performance*, which are not accounted for. With respect to Norman genitive, they have asserted that "with the Norman genitive, there seems to be at best a tendency for this posthead genitive to be interpreted as object of the action nominal, although the subject interpretation is rarely completely excluded, as in *the shooting of the hunters*" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 372).

In many other languages, however, the argument that correspond to the direct object of the base verb takes a form that is comparable to *of* genitives in English as it is the case in Russian. That is, there is no direct literal translation of the enemy's destruction of the city in many other languages, including Turkish, by means of action nominal constructions (5).

Subsequently, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have turned to Turkish data in order to characterize a language in which arguments corresponding to subject and object of finite clauses are only partially assimilated in the noun phrase syntax as represented by action nominal constructions. Again, they have provided examples of regular syntactic nominalizations rather than action nominal constructions as noun phrases with lexically derived action nouns as their head. (Keeping this caution in mind) they have claimed that there is a quite general correspondence rule, which states that subject of a sentence appears in the genitive case and the direct object of it appears in the same case forms in an action nominal construction (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 379) (notice that this is in fact exactly parallel with the so-called Poss-ing gerundive clauses in English rather than action nominal constructions with derived head nouns). They have also emphasized this equivalence by providing an example of gerundive nominals:

20.=157. the enemy('s) destroying the city
 (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 379)

Furthermore, Comrie and Thompson (1985) have expressed that languages may have subjectless action nominal constructions (as it is the case with ordinary noun phrases) as long as they possess action nominal constructions. In such cases, the action nominal

construction refers to an abstract type of activity or state as in the following examples from English:

21a.=174a. *Swimming* is good exercise

21b.=174b. *Lying on the grass* is forbidden

21c.=174c. *Criticism* is hard to take

(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 379) (6)

Then, Comrie and Thompson (1985, 389) have directed their attention to the possibility of occurrence of adverbs and adjectives in action nominal constructions in languages. They have first suggested that verbs are normally qualified by adverbs and the nouns are qualified by adjectives. For instance, whereas verbs in finite clauses take manner adverbs, action nominals in many languages require the corresponding adjective:

22.=207. The enemy *rapidly* destroyed the city

23.=208. the enemy's *rapid* destruction of the city [Y.Y.]

(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 379)

They have also pointed out that in some languages both types of syntactic categories can be used in action nominal constructions, (e.g., Colloquial Egyptian Arabic). (In this context, Turkish may fall in this category of languages).

Comrie and Thompson (1985, 391) have devoted a section in their investigation of action nominal construction to nominalizations with no lexically derived noun as their heads. They have referred to this type of nominalization as **clausal nominalization**. They have stated that "the characteristic feature of this type of nominalization is that there is no evidence in favor of viewing its head as a lexical noun. That is, the verb in such a clause typically has no nominal characteristics and often has such verbal characteristics as person and number, though it may be lacking in tense-aspect marking" (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 392). In such cases, the nominalized verb frequently differs from the that of simple sentence in that it appears in a distinct form (perhaps, in a non-finite form) and the obligatory tense marker of the regular finite clauses is absent.

2.1.1.2. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993)

Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has concentrated on a particular type of nominalization, namely, **action nominal constructions**, in order to "make a cross-linguistic

comparison between the internal syntax of action nominal constructions" (ANCs) and that of corresponding finite clauses and ordinary noun phrases (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 3). According to her, an action nominal construction is a syntactic constituent which is headed by an **action nominal**. She has adopted a particular definition of action nominals in line with Comrie (1976, 178). Following Comrie (1976), she has considered action nominals as "nouns derived from verbs (verbal nouns) with the general meaning of an action or process, capable of declining or taking prepositions or postpositions in the same way as non-derived nouns, and showing a 'reasonable' productivity." It is obvious from this definition that she has taken action nominals as a particular type lexical nominalization (7).

The main question that she has sought to answer is as follows: "what are the means of signaling the relations between an action nominal and its dependents (i.e., subjects and objects) as compared to the relationships in corresponding finite clauses and in ordinary noun phrases?" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 3). In other words, she has tried to characterize the relationships between the syntactic structures below, for instance:

24a. the enemy's destruction of the city

24b. The enemy destroyed the city.

24c. the enemy's map of the city (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 3)

Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has supposed that there have been two major approaches to the internal syntax of nominalizations in linguistics for the last three decades, namely a generative approach and a cross-linguistic and typological approach. According to her, early generative grammar concentrated on deriving nominalizations from underlying sentences by means of transformations. She has stressed that in succeeding versions of generative grammar, however, a lexicalist position has been advocated against the transformational analysis of nominalizations (Chomsky, 1970). The lexicalist hypothesis states that action nominals are derived in the lexicon rather than in the syntactic component. Therefore, action nominals are assumed to be derived nouns with a number of idiosyncratic characteristics, such as lexical gaps in their productivity, unpredictable meaning differentiations as compared to their base verbs, etc. as opposed to gerunds, which are considered to be derived syntactically, (see Chomsky, 1970).

Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993, 4) has also mentioned the second approach to action nominal constructions, which studies these structures from a typological and cross-linguistic points of view (Comrie, 1976; Comrie and Thompson, 1985). According to this view,

"there is no simple dichotomy between sentence-like and noun phrase-like action nominal constructions across languages, because such constructions vary greatly with respect to the 'extent to which their internal structure corresponds to that of a nonderived noun phrase, rather than to the internal structure of a sentence with a finite verb' " (Comrie, 1976, 200). Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has concluded from this view that the rich variety of action nominal constructions across languages hinders the analysis of these structures within the generative context (8) due to the fact that the constructions in question vary greatly with respect to their nouniness (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 4) and she has adopted the cross-linguistic approach to action nominal constructions.

Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has set her most concrete goal as "to construct a syntactic typology of action nominal constructions" and has tried to explain the emerging patterns (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 4-5). In her typological work, she has surveyed nominalizations in a large number of languages, as many as seventy. Broadly, she has called ANCs as "a type of lexical nominalizations" for practical purposes even though she has not disregarded the fact that it is sometimes very difficult to decide on the type of nominalization in a language: whether it is **lexical** or **syntactic**. As she has showed in the following parts of her study, there are a myriad of intermediary constructions in between in a number of languages.

Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has set the most concrete goals of her study as in the following:

- (1). What are the means of signaling the relations between action nominals and their arguments as compared to the situation in finite clauses?
- (2). If they are not the same, what other types of relations do they normally signal?
- (3). How close are action nominal constructions to ordinary noun phrases from the point of view of their syntax.
- (4). What happens to the opposition between the different arguments of finite verbs when the latter become nominalized, that is, what oppositions between the arguments tend to be retained or neglected in action nominal constructions? (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 4)

She has also stressed that the next step is to explain the emerging patterns by providing answers to the following questions:

- (1). 'Why the typology contains just these attested types' (Stassen, 1985, 6).

(2). Whether the choice of a particular nominalization pattern or of particular nominalization patterns in a particular language is accidental. If it is not, what are the determining factors? (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 5)

Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has provided the following examples taken from Chomsky (1970) and Vendler (1967) in order to introduce four types of ANCs based on their meaning categories, such as a **proposition** (1a), a **fact** (1b), an **event** (1c), and a **manner** (1d) as opposed to a deverbal **result** noun (1e), *criticism*, which denotes a concrete output of the action expressed by the verb *criticize* (9).

- 25a. The collapse of the Germans is unlikely. (Vendler, 1967, 132)
- 25b. John's singing the Marseillaise caused the riot. (Vendler, 1967, 135)
- 25c. I heard the singing of the Marseillaise. (Vendler, 1967, 138)
- 25d. John's playing of Ravel is wonderful. (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 5)
- 25e. His criticism of the book is to be found on page 15. (Chomsky, 1970, 194)

When Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has specified the difficulties to determine the declension characteristics of action nominal constructions, she has given the *-mAG* suffix in Turkish as an example and states that "[...] the infinitives with the suffix *-mAG* do not combine with possessive and genitive suffixes, although they may take any of the other nominal suffixes" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 6). (However, it will be clear in the following chapters that the present work suggests an alternative analysis which tries to eliminate this exceptional situation) (10). According to her, another source of difficulty is the lack of the criteria to determine for whether or not certain types of action nominals exhibit a 'reasonable' productivity. In this respect, she has emphasized that some action nominal constructions may be characterized as regular verb forms in terms of their morphology while some other are treated as a group of derived nouns with certain idiosyncrasies (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 6).

In the subsequent parts of her study, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has compared and contrasted the characteristics of the terms **noun**, **verb** and **action nominal**. According to her, typical nouns represent names for things, persons, places while typical verbs characteristically denote actions or processes. She has stressed that "action nominals in certain respects occupy an intermediate position between typical verbs and typical nouns" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 6). She has stated that "action nominals, like discovery, shooting, etc., clearly refer to events, like verbs do, although not by asserting the **occurrence** of the events of the discourse, but by giving them a **name**" [Y.Y.]

(Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 6). Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has also pointed out that the intermediate nature of ANs are reflected in their syntactic behavior. That is, it can be expected that the internal syntax of action nominal constructions across languages is closer either to that of finite clauses or that of noun phrases as far as the means of signaling the relationships between an action nominal and its arguments (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 6-7).

Furthermore, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993, 7) has enumerated the possible means of signaling syntactic relations in a phrase in general and in action nominal constructions in particular. These ways have been given by her as: (1) by **head-marking**, (2) by **dependent-marking**, and (3) by **word order**. According to her, head marking refers to the marking of the head of a phrase so as to it becomes possible to identify its particular relationship with its arguments. Dependent marking corresponds to different case forms arguments or adpositions used with these arguments. Lastly, a particular word which is stable to a degree may be used to express the relation between a head and its arguments (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 7).

Similarly, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has mentioned the categorial and the thematic views on the issue of '**complement inheritance**', which were formerly discussed by Hoekstra (1986). By 'complement inheritance', Hoekstra (1986) has referred to "a particular conception of the phenomenon that derivationally related words show up in environments that are similar to relevant respects" (Hoekstra, 1986, 549). Hoekstra (1986) has explicated the categorial view in relation to nominalizations as "nominalizations have syntactic structures which are **isomorphic** [Y.Y.] to those of their corresponding verbal constructions" and explained the thematic view as being the inheritance of the thematic grid or argument structure of the verbal base in nominalizations. Hoekstra (1986) has argued for the thematic view because action nominals in English and Dutch, for instance, show a number of systematic discrepancies which can only be explained this view. According to Hoekstra (1986, 568), "in nominal constructions the formal realization of arguments is determined by their thematic role with respect to the head." However, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has asserted that the categorial view must also be taken into consideration along with the thematic view. After that Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has mentioned the reduction of arguments in action nominal constructions. She has expressed that "[...] in many cases, some of the possible syntactic arguments of a certain verb are not expressed or even cannot be expressed in the corresponding [action nominal constructions], even if they should obligatorily be present in combination with finite verbs" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 12).

Following these issues, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has focused on the semantic characteristics of action nominal constructions. In this respect, she has examined the semantic range of noun clauses in languages. Restricting her attention to complements (i.e., argument clauses of verbs, adjectives, etc.), she has suggested that "the semantic type of a noun clause is predetermined by the meaning of the complement-taking predicate which combines with this noun clause" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 1993, 16-17). She has concluded that the semantic types of complement clauses may be assumed to be parallel to that of complement-taking predicates.

Then, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) has examined the semantic classification of noun clauses into propositions, facts and events. She has stated that this classification was proposed by Vendler (1967) on the basis of the suggestions by Lees (1960). Vendler (1967, 1970) has concentrated on the semantic classification of **nominalizations**, as he has used this term. According to him, nominalizations can be categorized into three major types: **propositions**, **facts**, and **events**. He has shown (1) that the semantic type of complement-taking predicate contributes to determine the meaning category of a nominalization. In addition, he has also displayed (2) that the form of a nominalization is responsible for its meaning category to some extent. For instance, whether a nominalization is a finite clause or a construction with a derived nominal as its head influences the meaning category to which the nominalization belongs. It is apparent that for him, all types of syntactic categories with a noun phrase-like syntactic distribution are nominalizations (which include lexical nominals as well as various types of gerundive clauses and finite complement clauses in argument positions).

In English, for instance, the verbs *claim*, *believe*, *assume*, etc. take nominalizations as their complements with a propositional meaning. As a matter of fact, these verbs contribute to the **propositional** reading that their complements acquire. Similarly, the verbs *know* and *regret* select **factive** complements. That is to say, they presuppose the truth of nominalizations that follow them. In the same way, *hear* and *continue* are followed by complements referring to **events** (action or processes). The preference of a semantic type of nominalization over another is caused by idiosyncratic properties of predicates.

Vendler (1967, 141) has stated that events (i.e., events, actions, processes, etc.) can **occur**, **last**, **end**. These can be **observed** or **watched**. They can be **gradual** or **sudden**. All these predicates select events as their complements because events are in essence temporal objects. On the other hand, facts can be mentioned or denied; they can

surprise us or they may cause a number of things. In this context, a proposition (opinions, predictions, claims, beliefs, etc.) is considered by him as a "subjective appearance of an objective possibility, and, if true, of a fact" (Vendler, 1970, 95-96). Propositions may represent reality; they may be true, false, unlikely or probable (Vendler, 1970, 225-226).

Vendler (1967) has also classified the nominalizations into two general types on the basis of the lexical characteristics of the verbal predicates such nominalizations contain. Thus, he has grouped nominalizations into **imperfect nominals** and **perfect nominals**. According to him, the former group represent nominalizations in which the verb of the original clause has survived with its verbal characteristics, allowing the co-occurrence of tense categories, auxiliaries, and adverbs. Unlike imperfect nominals, the latter group comprise nominalizations which can be found with articles, prenominal adjectives, etc. (Vendler, 1967, 131). Obviously, this categorization makes reference to the characteristics of typical clauses on the one hand, and to the characteristics of typical noun phrases on the other. Another point that Vendler (1967) has made is that while perfect nominalizations are capable of referring to propositions, facts, and events, imperfect nominalizations tend to represent only propositions and facts, leaving **events** out of their scope. He has assumed that as nominalizations become more similar to typical noun phrases, they are more likely to refer to an event. He has characterized this distinction by means of the following examples:

- 26a. The collapse of the Germans is unlikely.
 - 26b. That the Germans will collapse is unlikely.
 - 26c. The collapse of the Germans was gradual.
 - 26d. * That the Germans collapsed was gradual.
- (Vendler, 1967, 225-226)

As it is clear from these examples, the nominalization (i.e., a finite clause) in (26d) is inherently a proposition, and thus, it is incompatible with the adjective *gradual* in terms of their semantics.

2.1.2. Former Miscellaneous Research on Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish

There have always been a considerable number of studies concerning Turkish nominalizations from different linguistic perspectives other than generative syntax. All

these studies began with a descriptive purpose in 1960s and have continued in the form of a variety of linguistic theories up till now. Initially, the majority of these studies were descriptive in nature, such as Lewis (1967), Underhill (1976), among others.

In this section, a number of previous studies on syntactic nominalizations in Turkish will be reviewed in order to form a comprehensive basis for a descriptive characterization of these constructions. The works by Lewis (1967), Underhill (1976), Erguvanlı-Taylan (1984), Schaaik (2001) among others, will be outlined in the succeeding subsections.

2.1.2.1. Lewis (1967)

In his significant descriptive study on Turkish grammar, Lewis (1967, 167) has mentioned **verbal nouns** in Turkish and provided the following morphology as the verbal noun producing suffixes: *-mek*, *-meklik*, *-me*, and *-iş*. He also has noted the meaning differences caused by the choice of the particular type of the verbal noun suffixes given above. For instance, he has considered *-mek* as the suffix which derives verbal nouns denoting "pure undefined action". Similarly, he has regarded *-me* as representing the "result of action" (or action itself); *-iş*, the "manner of action"; and *-meklik*, "the fact of action." He has also added that these meaning differences converge at the function boundaries. Furthermore, he has characterized the detailed usage of these suffixes separately.

He has first told about *-mek* (usually referred to as the infinitive suffix) and claimed that this suffix is never followed by personal suffixes or the suffix of the Genitive case (11). Then, he has investigated its distribution in sentences in relation to the case forms, such as **absolute** (i.e., nominative), **accusative**, **dative**, **locative**, and **ablative**, taken by the verbal noun. In absolute case, *-mek* type verbal nouns (that is, infinitives) can function as subject of a sentence, object of certain verbs such as *iste-* 'want' and *bil-* 'know', qualifier in "izafet groups" (Dede, 1982, 87) has used the term "nominal compounds" for similar structures formed by nouns) such as "*yazmak arzu-su* 'the desire to write', " object of the postpositions *için* 'for' and *üzere* 'on the basis of' in order to express purpose.

According to Lewis (1967, 168), verbal nouns with *-mek* suffix can be direct object of verbs other than *iste-* 'want' and *bil-* 'know' in accusative case and indirect objects or other constituents in sentence in dative, locative, and ablative cases. Lewis (1967, 169) has also provided examples of "the infinitive with subject" from the previous stages of

Turkish language: *sen (...) olmak* 'you to be (...)' and has indicated that the modern usage replaces this form by *sen-nin (...) ol-ma-n* 'your being (...)'. Moreover, he has presented more examples of *-mek* type verbal nouns which are further added *-li* and *-sizin* suffixes such as "*ağla-mak-lı*" 'feeling like crying' and *çalış-mak-sızın* 'without studying'. He has also noted a few examples in which the *-mek* type verbal nouns (infinitives) have acquired a concrete noun status ("common noun" in his terms) in the lexicon, such as *yemek* 'food' from the verb *ye-* 'eat', *çakmak* 'cigarette-lighter' from the verb *çak-* 'strike', *tok-mak* 'door-knocker or bat' from an obsolete verb *tokı-* 'to knock'.

Secondly, he has investigated the characteristics of *-meklik* suffix, which has already disappeared from both colloquial speech and formal written language even if it can be found in written texts from earlier (Ottoman) periods. Lewis (1967, 170) has said that, unlike the *-mek* suffix, the infrequent *-meklik* suffix can take personal (i.e., subject agreement) suffixes and all case suffixes. He has provided the following example, "*Git-mekliğ-im lazım mı?*" with a meaning like 'Is my going necessary?'. He has given the meaning of verbal nouns produced with this suffix as "the act of doing", being more precise than the meaning with the suffix *-mek*.

Thirdly, Lewis (1967) has turned to the verbal nouns which are produced by the addition of *-me* suffix. He has emphasized that, "verbal nouns formed with this suffix, unlike those in *-mek*, appear in every case and with the personal suffixes" (Lewis, 1967, 170). He has also added that "the *-me* and not the *-mek* forms are used" in noun phrases which he has previously referred to as "izafet groups." His examples are "*bekleme salon-u* 'waiting-room', *okuma kitab-ı* 'reading-book', *çalışma saatler-i* 'working-hours'."

After that Lewis (1967, 171) has mentioned verbal nouns with passive verbal stems (e.g., *bunun yapılması kolay* 'the doing of this is easy') and he has compared them to the corresponding forms in English. He has provided the examples "*the singing of the choir* and *the singing of the song*" and has referred to their meanings as "active" and "passive" respectively. Although he has given a parallel example like *bunun yapması kolay* 'the doing of this is easy,' in order to show that an alternative usage is possible, the example given here does not seem to be perfectly grammatical (cf. *bunun yapılması kolay* 'the doing of this is easy' or literally 'the being done of this is easy' would be better). Furthermore, Turkish has the structures like the following: *bu-nu yap-ma-sı kolay* 'to do this is easy'.

He has listed a number of deverbal result nouns produced with *-me* suffix, such as "*devşir-me* 'recruit', *dol-ma* 'green pepper stuffed with rice and ground meat', *dondur-ma* 'ice-cream', etc." Lewis (1967, 172) has told about the adjectival usage of the derived deverbal nouns formed in *-me* suffix by offering examples like "*asma köprü* 'suspension bridge', *asma kat* 'mezzanine floor', *dolma kalem* 'fountain pen'," in addition to more idiomatic expressions such as "*doğma büyüme bir İstanbullu* 'a born and bred İstanbul man', *anadan doğma kör bir adam* 'a man blind from birth', *babadan kalma bir emlak* 'inherited estate'," and even a passive one like "*İngiliz kumaşından yapılma bir ceket* 'a jacket made of English cloth'."

Finally, Lewis (1967, 172) has examined verbal nouns formed with *-iş* suffix. He has stressed that *-iş* suffix denotes not only the **manner** but also the **fact of action**. By the term "fact," he refers to the **actuality or happening** of action, which is frequently a **derived result noun in the Lexicon, homophonous with verbal noun in the syntax**. Thus, he has provided the following examples for the manner and fact of the action of walking respectively: "*bu yürü-yüş-le kasabaya akşama kadar varmış olacağız* 'with this way of walking, at this rate, we shall have reached the town by evening', and *her gün bir saat yürüyüş yapmalısınız* 'you ought to do an hour's walking every day'." He has added that a verbal noun with *-iş* suffix can also be made from passive stems, such as "*bu ev-in yap-ıl-ış-ı*," 'the structure (construction) of this house.'

2.1.2.2. Underhill (1976)

Underhill (1976, 307) defines the verbal noun constructions as "devices by means of which one sentence may be included within another to fill the grammatical role of 'noun phrase' within the main sentence." He gives the example "*I got angry at Orhan's being late*" in order to explain the grammatical function of verbal noun construction in English. He calls the sequence "*Orhan's being late*" as nominal and has considered its function as "the object of the main sentence" (Underhill, 1976, 308). He adds that the same sequence is also related to the simple sentence "*Orhan was late*" and he proposes that this simple sentence is converted into the verbal noun construction "*Orhan's being late*" in order to serve as a noun phrase in some other sentence. After that, he provides the Turkish equivalent of this example: "*Orhan'ın geç kalmasına kızdım*," with its object "*Orhan'ın geç kalmasına*" functioning just like a noun phrase such as "*Orhan'ın dostuna*" 'Orhan's friend'.

He calls the suffix *-mE* on the verb in the Turkish example as the "verbal noun" suffix whereas he points out that "verbal noun constructions in English may be of the '*-ing*' type, (...) or the '*for-to*' type." Then, he provides the following examples for both types: "*I got angry at Orhan's being late*" and "*For the students to learn this is very difficult.*"

He further mentions simple '*to*' type constructions, "which indicate only the action but not the subject of the action" as in his examples "*I am waiting to go*" and "*To learn this is very difficult.*" He states that the action of learning in the second example can be performed by any individual whereas the action of going in the first example will be carried out by the speaker himself / herself. Then, he introduces the Turkish counterpart of this type formed with the suffix *-mEg* and provides the following examples: "*Gitmeği bekliyorum*" and "*Bunu öğrenmek çok zor*" (Underhill, 1976, 309).

In the section where Underhill (1976) examines the verbal nouns in Turkish more closely, he lists the three morphological markers as the verbal noun suffixes: *-mEg*, *-mE*, and *-(y)Iş*. After that he refers to the general characteristics these three suffixes. Firstly, he states that "verbal noun suffixes, like participles, replace the tense suffix of the verb" (Underhill, 1976, 309). Secondly, he points out that if the subject of the verbal noun construction is expressed, then, it is in the Genitive case and a corresponding possessive suffix is added to the verbal noun, following one of the three suffixes above. According to him, what we get after these steps is a "normal possessive construction" such as "*Mehmed'in gelmesi* 'Mehmet's coming' ." Thirdly, he notes that the verbal noun has an appropriate case suffix with respect to its function in the main clause. Fourthly, he explains how sentences with non-verbal predicates are changed into verbal nouns in Turkish, introducing the verbal *ol-* stem as a supplement for the non-verbal predicate of the original sentence. His examples are "*Mehmet yorgun*, 'Mehmet is tired' and "*Mehmed'in yorgun olması*, 'Mehmet's being tired' ." Then, he stresses that the word order in a verbal noun construction is always the same as the one in the corresponding sentence, by providing the examples: "*Halil her dakika işime karışır*, 'Halil constantly (every minute) intereferes with my business' and "*Halil'in her dakika işime karışması*, 'Halil's constantly interfering with my business' ."

Underhill (1976, 310) mentions the infinitive as a particular type of verbal noun construction in which "only the action of the given verb, or verb phrase is indicated." He calls attention to optionality of "objective suffix" "when an infinitive is the object of a transitive verb." He designates a general rule such that "the [objective] suffix is omitted if

the main verb is one that is frequently used in this construction (*sevmek, istemek, bilmek*), but retained if the main verb is less common" (Underhill, 1976, 310). He illustrates this situation with these examples: "*Gelecek ay denize gitmeyi düşünüyorduk*, 'We were thinking of going to the seashore next month' and *Fatma zengin ve meşhur olmak istiyor*, 'Fatma wants to be rich and famous' ."

He further mentions possible sentential positions of the infinitive construction. He indicates that the infinitive construction may function "as subject or predicate of a main verb, or it may appear in any construction where a noun phrase can be used." He provides several examples in which the infinitive functions as subject, predicate, a modifying phrase in a noun phrase (or the so-called nominal compound), or object of a postposition: "*En sevmediğim şey ders çalışmaktır*, 'The thing which I dislike the most is studying' (predicate); *Evlerini bulmak kolay olacak*, 'It will be easy to find their house' (subject); *Şimdi eve dönmek vakti geldi*, 'Now it is time to go home' (nominal compound); *Çok uyumaktan dolayı tembel oldun*, 'You became lazy from sleeping too much' " (Underhill, 1976, 310-311). Moreover, he presents the postposition *için* with an infinitive as its complement as a construction which is used to indicate purpose. He gives an alternative way of expressing purpose by introducing the infinitive in the dative case.

After that, he turns to the *-mE* suffix, which he provides the information that this suffix is sometimes called **short infinitive** and it is interchangeable with *-mEg* theoretically (Underhill, 196, 311). According to Underhill, *-mE* suffix could substitute for *-mEg* in all the examples he gives so far even though he adds that, in practice, *-mE* is likely to be used in the objective and dative cases as in these examples: "*Ahmet kızmamayı öğreniyor*, 'Ahmet is learning not to get angry' and *Ahmet erken yatmaya (yatmağa) alışıyor*, 'Ahmet is getting used to going to bed early' ." Furthermore, he describes verbal noun constructions in *-mE* as the form of infinitive used when the subject is explicitly expressed as in "*Ahmed'in erken yatmasına alışıyoruz*, 'We are getting used to Ahmet's going to bed early' ." Underhill (1976) mentions the indirect commands which are formed with *-mE* verbal noun constructions as the objects of the verbs such as *söyle-* 'tell' and *iste-* 'request': "*Doktorun hemen gelmesini istedik*, 'We wanted the doctor to come at once' and *Fatmanın yedide hazır olmasını söyledim*, 'I told Fatma to be ready at seven' " (Underhill, 1976, 312) (12). Moreover, he gives a similar function of *-mE* verbal nouns in combination with the postposition *için* in order to express purpose, as in the following example: "*Hasan'ın mektebine devam etmesi için bu yaz çalışması lazım*, 'In order for Hasan to continue at school, he has to work this summer'

." In addition, he indicates that the verbal stem with *-mE* suffix can be used as nouns or adjectives: "*konuşma*, 'speech'; *deneme*, 'test, experiment'; *okuma kitabı*, 'reader'; *dolma kalem*, 'fountain pen'; and *bekleme odası*, 'waiting room' ."

Underhill (1976) then examines the characteristics of *-(y)Iş* suffix. He states that this suffix is used to make "verbal nouns that refer not only to the action but to the manner of performing the action involved" (Underhill, 1976, 312). He offers the example "*yaşayış*, 'the style of living' or 'the manner of living' and *Ahmet'in yaşayışı*, 'the way in which Ahmet lives' ." Furthermore, he adds that some verb forms in *-(y)Iş* suffix can simply serve as nouns, such as "*alışveriş*, 'shopping'; *anlayış*, 'understanding'; *çıkış*, 'exit', etc."

In the course of his examination of verbal nouns, Underhill (1976) also touches the suffix *-mEktEdir* as the written formal counterpart of the progressive suffix *-Iyor* and analyses this suffix into *-mEg* (infinitive suffix), *-DE* (locative case suffix), and *-Dir* (copula). In relation to *-mEktEdir* suffix, he gives the example: "*Hükümet, bu mesele üzerinde çalışmaktadır*, 'the government is working on this problem', " (Underhill, 1976, 313). Moreover, he investigates some of the predicates that require verbal noun constructions in *-mE* suffix, like the adjective *lazım*, 'necessary'; its negative form *lüzum yok*, 'there is no need'; the verbs *denemek*, 'try, test'; *çalışmak*, 'try, make an effort'; *düşünmek*, 'think'; *alışmak*, 'become accustomed'; *devam etmek*, 'continue'; and the adjective *hazır*, 'ready', " (Underhill, 1976, 315-316).

Underhill (1976, 321) considers nominalizations, like verbal noun constructions, as a means of including a sentence within another one to fill the grammatical role of "noun phrase" in a sentence. He describes the difference between a verbal noun construction and a nominalization on the basis of their ability to represent either a certain **action** or a certain **fact**. In order to illustrate this, he introduces two example sentence: "*I heard that Halil came*" and "*I heard Halil's coming (=I heard Halil come)*." He characterizes the sequences "that Halil came" and "Halil's coming" as having a function similar to that of a noun phrase. However, according to him, these expressions refer to different aspects of a related action. He states that the former refers to a certain fact while the latter refers to a certain action (here, perhaps the sound of action). After that, he provides an example for Turkish as "*Halil'in geldiğini duydum*, 'I heard that Halil came'." He claims that this example does not express the action itself, but a certain fact, or an actuality (13).

Underhill (1976, 322) indicates that verbal noun constructions and nominalizations differentiate with respect to their potential to represent **tense**: while nominalizations distinguish between **future** and **non-future** actions, there is no sign of this category in verbal noun constructions. He expresses that "the suffix **-(y)EcEg** is used when the tense of the corresponding simple sentence is future; the suffix **-DIg** is used in all other cases", providing the examples "*Halil'in geleceğini biliyorum*, 'I know that Halil will come' and *Halil'in geldiğini biliyorum*, 'I know that Halil came / comes / is coming' (Underhill, 1976, 322). He also states that these two nominalization suffixes are identical with the object participle suffixes as in *kal-dıg-ım ev*, 'the house in which I stay' and *al-a-cağ-ım araba*, 'the car which I will buy'. Moreover, he emphasizes that the suffixes **-DIg** or **-(y)EcEg** replace the tense suffix of the verb in a simple sentence when the sentence is changed into a nominalization. In addition to this, the case of the subject is transformed into Genitive and the corresponding possessive suffix is added to the verb. The overall construction may be added an appropriate case suffix required by the predicate of the main clause. As Underhill (1976) points out, the verbal stem *ol-* 'be' must be supplied if the predicate of the nominalized clause is non-verbal. Finally, he points out that the word order of the constituents in a nominalization is exactly the same as the corresponding simple sentence (Underhill, 1976, 323).

In the succeeding sections, Underhill (1976) discusses the difference between nominalizations and verbal noun constructions. In this respect, he states that a nominalization is associated with a certain **fact** whereas a verbal noun construction is related to a certain **action**. That is to say, "verbal nouns usually appear with main verbs and predicate adjectives that deal with actions, while nominalizations appear with main verbs and predicate adjectives that deal with facts" (Underhill, 1976, 324). Then, he lists the verbs and adjectives that require a verbal noun construction as their complements like *başla-* 'begin/start', *bekle-* 'wait', *çalış-* 'try/make an effort', *dene-* 'try/test', *iste-* 'want', *kız-* 'get angry', *kolay* 'easy', and *zor* 'difficult'. After that, he gives some examples of verbs and predicate adjectives that take nominalizations as their complements, such as *hisset-* 'feel', *emin ol-* 'be sure', *belli* 'evident/obvious', and *malûm* 'well known'. In addition to this, he also provides the predicates that may be used with both types even though the choice of a particular type causes a meaning difference in the resulting complex sentence. To illustrate these, he lists the following verbs and adjectives: *bil-* 'know', *doğru* '(1) right or (2) true', *öğren-* 'learn', *söyle-* 'say/tell', and *yaz-* 'write'. He also mentions a small class of verbs which appear with either type without any difference in meaning. This class includes the verbs *sevin-* 'feel happy' and *memnun ol-* 'be glad'.

Another issue that Underhill (1976) examines is the use of nominalizations with postpositions, including *gibi* 'as/like', *göre* 'according to/with respect to', *kadar* 'as much as/till', and *için* 'for'. He notes that "the subject of the nominalization is always in the **nominative**, not the **genitive** [boldface mine]", in contrast with the regular nominalization structure in which the subject is always in the genitive case (Underhill, 1976: 325). After discussing the use of postpositions with nominalizations, he concentrates on the **indirect questions** in Turkish, which are essentially constructed in the form of a nominalizations including an interrogative word, such as *kim* 'who', *ne* 'what', *nerede* 'where', *nasıl* 'how', etc. For instance, the direct question *kalemimi nereye koydum?* 'Where did I put my pen?' is changed into an indirect question in the following sentence: "*kalemimi nereye koyduğumu hatırlamıyorum*, 'I don't remember where I put my pen'."

2.1.2.3. Erguvanlı (1984)

Erguvanlı (1984) concentrates on the word order phenomena in Turkish. As she examines the word order characteristics of embedded sentences, she categorizes the embedded sentences into three major types: (1) morphologically marked embedded sentences, (2) syntactically marked embedded sentences, and (3) embedded sentences neither syntactically nor morphologically marked (Erguvanlı, 1984, 72).

Among the morphologically marked embedded sentences, she lists (a) participial constructions, (b) nominalizations, verbal nouns, and infinitives, (c) constructions with gerunds, (d) embedding under the negative verb. As for the word order properties of the group (b), nominalizations, verbal nouns and infinitives, she expresses that these structures function as subject or object complements in sentences and they are all morphologically distinguished from the corresponding simple sentences (Erguvanlı, 1984, 75). She points out that the suffixes *-mEk*, *-mE*, and *-DIK* are used to form **infinitival clauses**, **verbal noun constructions** and **nominalizations** respectively. She also indicates that if the subject of verbal noun constructions or nominalizations is expressed, it appears in the **genitive** case, marked by the suffix *-nIn*. In this case, "a corresponding possessive is attached to the verbal noun or the nominalized verb," resulting in a genitive construction in the form **NP-gen ... NP-poss**, such as *Ali-nin gel-me-si* 'Ali's coming' (Erguvanlı, 1984, 75). She adds that the subject of the infinitival construction is not overtly expressed, though it is understood as

identical with the subject of the main sentence. After that she gives the following examples in order to illustrate those types:

27a=7a. [Akşamları televizyon seyret-*mek*] isti-yor-um.
 evenings television watch-inf want-prog-1sg
 I want to watch television in the evenings.

27b=7b. [Akşamları televizyon seyret-*mek*]-ten hoşlan-ıyor-um.
 evenings television watch-inf-abl like-prog-1sg
 I like to watch television in the evenings.

28=8. [Türkçe öğren-*mek*] zor değil.
 Turkish learn-inf difficult not
 It is not difficult to learn Turkish.

29=9. On-dan [doğru-yu söyle-*me*-si]-ni bekle-r-di-m.
 he-abl true-acc tell-VN-poss3-acc expect-aor-pst-1sg
 I (would have) expected him to tell the truth.

30=10. [O-nun doğru-yu söyle-diğ-i]-ni bili-yor-um.
 he-gen true-acc tell-nom-poss3-acc know-prog-1sg
 I know that he is telling the truth.

Erguvanlı (1984) indicates that the verb of the main clause require proper case marking of the infinitival object complement. The verbs *bil-* 'know' and *iste-* 'want' are exceptions since they may not require an accusative case in certain constructions (e.g., *ben [eve gitmek] istiyorum*. 'I want to go home'). Other verbs take complements marked in particular cases idiosyncratically, just as *hoşlan-* 'like' in (4b=7b) takes an ablative object. As it is clear from (5=8), infinitives can be the subject of a sentence. The examples (6=9) and (7=10) are the instances of verbal noun construction and nominalization respectively. As Erguvanlı points out, "the difference between verbal noun and nominalizations seems to be that the former refers to an **action** while the latter refers to a **fact**" (Erguvanlı, 1984, 76). She also differentiate between verbal nouns and nominalizations in terms of their potential to make **future** and **non-future reference**. While the nominalization suffix *-DIK* is used for non-future reference, the suffix *-EcEk* is employed to denote future reference.

Erguvanlı (1984) also discusses whether *-EcEk* type embedded sentences produce a nominalization or a verbal noun. She asserts that such constructions are nominalizations because *-EcEk* can be substituted for *-DIK* suffix in all examples, having the same paradigm. On the other hand, this substitution is not possible with *-mE* suffix. She also refers to the factual reading of the *-EcEk* type of embedded sentences. Furthermore, Erguvanlı (1984) discusses the instances where postpositions are used with these three types of embedded sentences. The resulting "complex postpositional constructions" are adverbial in nature and they cannot function as subject or object of the main verb (Erguvanlı, 1984, 76).

31=13. [Ders çalışmak] için evde kaldı.

lesson study for house-loc stay-pst

He stayed home in order to study.

32=14. Sen gel-me-den önce çalış-ıyor-du-m.

you come-VN-abl before study-prog-pst-1sg

I was studying before you came.

33=15. Bu eve taşın-dığ-ımız-dan beri yağmur yağ-ıyor

this house-dat move-nom-1pl-abl since rain rain-prog

It's been raining since we moved to this house.

Erguvanlı (1984, 77) indicates that "certain postpositions require the nouns / nominals they follow to be in particular cases." She states that *önce* 'before' and *beri* 'since' in (9=14) and (10=15) respectively govern the ablative case idiosyncratically.

Erguvanlı (1984) concentrates on the word order within nominalizations, verbal nouns and infinitival constructions. Firstly, she claims that "a **focused constituent** of an embedded clause cannot be moved out of the clause, while a **topicalized constituent** can. A constituent can be backgrounded only with respect to the main verb" (Erguvanlı, 1984, 94). In order to illustrate these phenomena, she gives the following examples:

34a=54a. Erol [Ali-nin Ankara-dan dön-düğ-ün]-ü bil-mi-yor.

Erol Ali-gen Ankara-abl return-nom-poss3-acc know-neg-prog

Erol does not know that Ali returned from Ankara.

- 34b=54b. Erol [Ankara-dan *Ali-nin* dön-düğ-ün]-ü bil-mi-yor.
 Erol Ankara-abl Ali-gen return-nom-poss3-acc know-neg-prog
 Erol does not know that *Ali* returned from Ankara.
- 34c=54c. *Ankara-dan*, Erol [Ali-nin dön-düğ-ün]-ü bil-mi-yor.
 Ankara-abl Erol Ali-gen return-nom-poss3-acc know-neg-prog
 Erol does not know that Ali returned from Ankara.
 (or from Ankara, Ali returned)
- 34d=54d. * [Ali-nin dön-düğ-ün]-ü Erol *Ankara-dan* bil-mi-yor.
 Ali-gen return-nom-poss3-acc Erol Ankara-abl know-neg-prog
- 34e=54e. *Erol [Ali-nin dön-düğ-ün]-ü *Ankara-dan* bil-mi-yor.
 Erol Ali-gen return-nom-poss3-acc Ankara-abl know-neg-prog
- 34f=54f. /?Erol [Ali-nin dön-düğ-ün]-ü bil-mi-yor *Ankara-dan*.
 Erol Ali-gen return-nom-poss3-acc know-neg-prog Ankara-abl
 Erol does not know that Ali returned from Ankara.
- 34g=54g /?Erol [dön-düğ-ün]-ü bil-mi-yor *Ali-nin Ankara-dan*.
 Erol return-nom-poss3-acc know-neg-prog Ali-gen Ankara-abl
 Erol does not know that Ali returned from Ankara.
- 34h=54h. Erol [Ankara-dan dön-düğ-ün]-ü bil-mi-yor *Ali-nin*.
 Erol Ankara-abl return-nom-poss3-accknow-neg-prog Ali-gen
 Erol does not know that Ali returned from Ankara.

Erguvanlı (1984) states that the object complement of the main verb *bil-* 'know' in (11=54) is a nominalization. She indicates that **topicalization** (i.e., displacement of a constituent to the sentence-initial position) and **focusing** (that is, moving a constituent to pre-verbal position in Turkish) can operate within the nominalization as it can be observed in (11b=54b). Furthermore, she indicates that topicalization of a constituent out of the nominalization is fully acceptable in Turkish as the example (11c=54c) shows. However, she stresses that focusing cannot cross clause boundaries as opposed to the topicalization. In other words, "we cannot focus a constituent out of the nominalized clause into the main clause" (Erguvanlı, 1984, 96). Then, she suggests that the backgrounding does not apply within the nominalization (that is why (11e=54e) is ungrammatical), but it is

possible across the clause boundaries, as it is the case in (11f, 11h=54f, 54h). In addition to nominalizations, she investigates the characteristics of these three processes in relation to verbal noun constructions and infinitival clauses. The examples that she provides show that exactly the same types of restrictions are effective with verbal noun constructions and infinitival clauses (Erguvanlı, 1984, 98). Furthermore, she examines the properties of these processes in a sentence with an embedded nominalization within another nominalization. Finally, she summarizes the findings in the following way:

Focusing is bounded within the embedded S, while backgrounding obligatorily operates across the boundaries of the embedded Ss. Topicalization operates within and across the boundaries of the embedded S. When there is multiple embedding, the most deeply embedded S as an entire clause (not a constituent of it) may topicalize across clause boundaries or be backgrounded with respect to the main verb; the higher embedded S as a constituent may also be backgrounded. (Erguvanlı, 1984, 100)

2.1.2.4. Schaaik (2001)

In his significant study, Schaaik (2001) has investigated syntactic nominalizations in Turkish from a **functional grammar** (FG) perspective. He has surveyed several nominalization processes in Turkish and tried to reclassify Turkish nominalizations based on the notion of **order**. He has adopted the view that "a sharp distinction should be made between nominalizations that take place on a syntactic level and those that must be regarded as the result of morphological derivation" (Schaaik, 2001, 115). Within a functional grammar approach, as Schaaik (2001) has put it, the notion of entity order has been used by a number of linguists, including Dik (1989), Hengeveld (1989), and Siewierska (1991), for the description of linguistic expressions. As Schaaik (2001, 117) has pointed out, "FG has adopted a multi-level hierarchy, in which each level is the domain of a specific linguistic entity: within a speech act (E), a propositional content (X) is communicated, which in turn describes a certain state of affairs (e), in which one or more individuals (x) are involved." Considering this hierarchy, Schaaik (2001) has examined the distribution of **Nominalizers** (*-DIK* and *-mE* suffixes) and shown that these nominalizers are distributed over four classes of matrix verbs:

- (1) Verbs that take complements in *-DIK* and which express a fact only;
- (2) verbs that take complements in both *-DIK* and *-mE* fall into two subgroups:
 - (a) the expressions of *-DIK* or *-mE* leads to differences in meaning: in the case of *-DIK* a fact, and in the case of *-mE* an act is expressed;
 - (b) the

expression of *-DIK* or *-mE* does not lead to differences in meaning; (3) verbs that take complements in *-mE* and which express an act only; (4) verbs that take complements in *-mE* and which lead to an imperative meaning. (Schaaik, 2001, 118)

Schaaik (2001, 118) has claimed that "the occurrence of the morpheme *-(y)Iş* cannot be accounted for on a syntactic level" and, therefore, he has proposed a morphological analysis for this suffix, a conclusion which is not adopted by the present study (14).

Schaaik (2001, 119) has attempted to show "that differences in order play an important role in the choice between the nominalization suffixes *-DIK* and *-mE*" on the basis of the verb *gör-* 'see', which is a verb of uncontrolled perception. He has provided the examples *Murat Belma-nın ev-den çık-tığ-ı-nı gör-dü*, 'Murat saw that Belma (has) left the house' and *Murat Belma-nın ev-den çık-ma-sı-nı gör-dü*, 'Murat saw that Berna was leaving the house', " in order to illustrate that differences in **order** of the embedded structures lead differences in **meaning** between the two sentences (15).

Schaaik (2001) has examined a number of examples of nominalizations in Turkish with the suffixes *-DIK* and *-mE*. From these observations, he has concluded that "the verbs of the embedded clause is nominalized in different ways" (Schaaik, 2001, 123) in accordance with the type of the matrix clause. He has summarized the distribution of oppositions in a table given below.

verb type	verb	<i>-DIK</i> / <i>-EcEK</i>	<i>-mE</i>	illocution
verdictive	san-	+	-	fact
	zannet-	+	-	
expositive	söyle-	+	+	fact versus act ('imperative')
	açıkla-	+	+	
apprehensive	anla-	+	+	fact versus act ('reason')
	inan-	+	+	
putative	bil-	+	+	fact versus act ('manner')
	hatırla-	+	+	
emotive	üzül-	+	+	no difference in meaning
	kız-	+	+	
remissive	affet-	-	+	act
	beğen-	-	+	
conative	iste-	-	+	act
	planla-	-	+	
exercitive	emret-	-	+	act ('imperative')
	buyur-	-	+	

(Schaaik, 2001, 124)

Schaaik (2001) has concluded that the occurrence of either of the two types of nominalizations (i.e., *-DIK* and *-mE* nominalizations) "is related to the lexically given properties of the (transitive) verb of the main clause, and it is these properties which primarily determine what kind of sentential objects (**facts or acts**) can be expressed." He has also asserted that "the second argument of a transitive verb could be specified for the type of objects by including a term variable that specifies its order, such as *san-* (x) (X) 'think', where X specifies objects referring to a proposition (fact)" (Schaaik, 2001, 124).

2.2. Former Generative Research on Syntactic Nominalizations

The following subsection is a short survey of studies on syntactic nominalizations from a generative perspective. Most of the earlier studies have adopted a transformational view with respect to syntactic nominalizations while more recent ones have differentiated between a lexicalist position and a transformational view, tending to adopt the former in relation to lexical nominalizations.

2.2.1. A Survey of Preceding Generative Research on Syntactic Nominalizations

Syntactic nominalizations have always been a center of interest for the linguists studying in generative context. Their intermediate nature between finite clauses and nominal expressions has caused a considerable number of linguist to concentrate on these structures in order to understand their internal morphosyntactic composition and the grammatical mechanisms which are responsible for this composition.

A considerable number of linguists studied nominalizations in various languages from a generative perspective in 1970s and 1980s. Esau (1973), Hoekstra (1986), Lefebvre and Muysken (1988), among others, have studied action nominalizations in German, Dutch, and Qechua respectively. During the 1980s, variants of the lexicalist approach to deverbal nouns were dominant. Most linguists, such as Cinque (1980, 1981), Kayne (1984), Zubizarreta (1987), among others, agreed that deverbal nouns inserted in the syntactic component of the grammar as lexical nouns even if they represent certain similarities in terms of argument structure and thematic structure. Similarly, Higginbotham (1983) asserted that there are certain differences between the argument structures of deverbal nouns and their corresponding verbs: although verbs take their arguments obligatorily, corresponding deverbal nouns takes their arguments optionally.

An extremely significant work by Grimshaw (1990) established a number of diagnostics to distinguish between two types of derived nouns (which are usually homophonous): event nouns vs. result nouns. She clearly showed that a deverbal nominal obligatorily takes its arguments if it has an event reading. In other words, event nouns have their argument structures as part of their lexical representation since they are similar to verbs in that they can assign specific theta roles, which is typically observed in relation to verbs.

Siloni (1997) concentrated on nominalizations in Hebrew. She supplied empirical evidence for the lexicalist position. She showed that event nominals are purely nominal and do not contain a syntactically projected VP (Siloni, 1997, 7). She further suggested an intervening phrasal layer, AgrP, between NP and DP. Similarly, she asserted that syntactic nominalizations always entail a DP layer, rather than an NP layer dominating a verbal projection that lacks tense specifications (Siloni, 1997, 10).

The following studies are presented as the examples of previous works on syntactic nominalizations especially in English.

2.2.1.1. Lees (1960)

Lees (1960), one of the earliest studies at the initial stages of generative grammar, has concentrated on the relationship between verbs and their corresponding deverbal nouns. According to Lees (1960), deverbal nouns are the result of a series of transformations. He has designated the derived nouns originally as clauses because there is a close relationship between verbs and such derived nouns with respect to their meanings and the arguments they have. (Since the generative grammar in 1960s did not have a lexicon as its component, there was not another way of generating deverbal nouns in the grammar except for the transformational component).

Lees (1960) has observed that embedded sentences and noun phrases are alike in their external distribution, that is, their grammatical functions in a sentence as subject, object, etc. are similar. This observation has led Lees (1960) to assume that embedded sentences (i.e., finite clauses in complement positions) are also dominated by an NP node. According to him, any construction that appears in an argument position is a nominalization, including gerunds and derived nouns even if these constructions do not have a lexical noun as their head category. Although these constructions represent a sentence-like internal syntactic structure, he designates a dominating NP node

hierarchically higher than the clause level in the derivation. (Similar views to nominalizations were popular among generative linguists in 1960s). In this context, the distinction between the semantics of two groups of nominalizations as **events** versus **facts** has also been proposed by Lees (1960).

Lees (1960) has effectively accounted for the near-synonymy of the following pairs:

- 35a. [The enemy's destruction of the village] frightened the inhabitants.
- 35b. [That the enemy destroyed the village] frightened the inhabitants.

He has had these sentences generated from the following simple sentence:

- 36. The enemy destroyed the village.

In other words, Lees (1960) has had deverbal nouns generated as clauses and mapped onto a noun phrase structure by a series of nominalization transformations. This derived [from] the fact that the context in which a verb and its derived noun appear are closely related. The differences between the two categories were accounted for by ordering certain rules after the nominalization transformations" (Siloni, 1997, 2). Since Lees (1960) has relied on the Chomsky's works in 1950s and 1960s, he could not employ alternative lexical relationships between verbs and nouns in the modern sense in terms of their thematic structures.

After Chomsky (1965, 1970) introduced a lexical component, transformational account of the nominals in English and other languages have been abandoned by most linguists. Chomsky (1970) has introduced a lexicalist account of the thematic similarities of a sentence and a noun phrase. In his consequential work, Chomsky (1970) has defended a lexicalist position by attributing the idiosyncratic characteristics that lexical nominals show with respect to their verb bases. This is expressed by Siloni (1997, 3) as:

With the introduction of a separate lexicon (Chomsky, 1965), it became possible to express the relationship between verbs and deverbal nouns via lexical representations, without assuming that deverbal nouns entail a syntactic transformation of the source verb. The restricted productivity that characterizes the formation of deverbal nouns, certain idiosyncrasies they show, their nominal behavior among other things, led Chomsky (1970) to take a lexicalist position with respect to deverbal nouns. In rough terms, this

means that entries like verbs and deverbal nouns share their lexical representations as far as thematic properties are concerned. (Siloni, 1997, 3)

After Chomsky (1970) introduced the bar levels in a phrasal projection (i.e., the introduction of the X-bar Theory), it has become possible to account for the asymmetrical relationship between subject and object both in a sentence and in a noun phrase.

2.2.1.2. Abney (1987)

Abney (1987) is a study of noun phrase in English in its sentential aspect. The basic motivation behind his study is the need to account for the dual nature of the so-called Poss-ing gerundive clauses, such as *John's building a spaceship* (Abney, 1987, 13). In this respect, he has compared and contrasted Poss-ing gerundive clauses with finite complement clauses and ordinary noun phrases (i.e., a noun phrase headed by a noun as the most prominent category determining lexical category within the phrasal structure).

According to Abney (1987), the internal structure of gerund in English seems to be a puzzle since it looks as if it has no syntactic category as its head as far as its syntactic behavior is considered (i.e., the syntactic distribution in terms of the sentential positions it is able to occupy). Regarding its internal structure, one may expect that gerund tends to behave like sentences syntactically. On the contrary, its distributional properties are similar to that of nominal expressions rather than that of sentences (i.e., finite clauses). What Abney (1987, 13) has pointed out in this context is that the Poss-ing gerundive clause (16), despite its clause-like internal composition, is able to appear in syntactic positions which are typically associated with noun phrases and from which the finite embedded clauses are excluded. Then, Abney (1987) has concluded that examining the internal structure of gerundive forms may provide a number of valuable generalizations concerning all types of nominal constructions in English.

The noun-phrase positions in which Poss-ing gerundive construction appears have been given by Abney (1987) as in the following:

37a=2a. * did [that John built a spaceship] upset you?

did [John] upset you?

did [John's building a spaceship] upset you?

37b=2b. * I wondered if [that John built a spaceship] had upset you.

I wondered if [John] upset you.

I wondered if [John's building a spaceship] had upset you.

37c=2c. * I told you about [that John built a spaceship].

I told you about [John].

I told you about [John's building a spaceship].

(Abney, 1987, 13)

He has observed from the examples above that finite clause is excluded from the subject position of a matrix clause when there is an Aux-Subject Inversion to form a question (37a=2a), from the subject position of an embedded clause (37b=2b), and the object of preposition (37c=2c).

Similarly, Abney (1987, 14) has shown that the subject of the Poss-ing gerundive clause is similar to that of noun phrase with respect to the Case assigned to it. That is to say, it receives the **Genitive Case**, rather than the Nominative Case, on a par with the possessor of noun phrase and in contrast with the subject of sentence.

38=3. [John] destroyed the spaceship

[John's] destruction of the spaceship

[John's] destroying the spaceship

(Abney, 1987, 14)

Furthermore, Abney (1987) has clearly emphasized that the remaining part of the Poss-ing gerundive clause is a VP containing an additional *-ing* suffix on its verbal predicate. The *-ing* suffix is fully productive suffix there are no idiosyncratic characteristics concerning syntactic nominalizations with this suffix as opposed to lexically derived nouns which show irregularities in terms of their form and functions. In addition, gerunds exhibit all the syntactic phenomena which are associated with VP, rather than NP. Abney (1987, 14) has listed them as "case assignment to the object, raising, Exceptional Case Marking (Raising to Object), double objects, particle and particle movement, and numerous others." He has provided the examples given below:

39a=5a. * John's destruction the spaceship

John destroyed the spaceship

John's destroying the spaceship

- 39b=5b. * John's appearance to be dead
 John appeared to be dead
 John's appearing to be dead
- 39c=5c. * John's belief Bill to be Caesar Augustus
 John believed Bill to be Caesar Augustus
 John's believing Bill to be Caesar Augustus
- 39d=5d. * John's gift / rental (of) Mary (of) a Fiat
 John gave / rented Mary a Fiat
 John's giving / renting Mary a Fiat
 (Abney, 1987, 15)
- 39e=5e. * John's explanation (away) of the problem (away)
 John explained (away) of the problem (away)
 John's explaining (away) of the problem (away)

As it is clear from the examples above, the first sentence of each set of three examples, the lexically derived nouns *destruction*, *appearance*, *belief*, *gift / rental*, and *explanation* behave differently as opposed to Poss-ing gerundive clauses and simple sentences. Interestingly, gerundive clauses display a variety of syntactic characteristics which are only to be found in clauses (or more specifically, those associated with VPs). He has concluded from these observations that the second part of these gerundive clauses share a great deal with the verb phrases of the simple sentences in these examples.

After that, Abney (1987) has designated a phrasal representation of the gerund and pointed out that this representation is problematic with respect to the X-bar theory. Subsequently, he has tried to find what the correct structure of the gerund is. The solution which Abney (1987) has suggested for this dilemma is a syntactic analysis of gerunds in line with the analysis of clauses in terms of the maximal projection of the **Inflection** (**Infl** or **I**), which is a functional category taking VP as its complement. According to Abney (1987, 21), the corresponding functional category in gerundive clauses (and, in fact, noun phrases in general) is **D**, whose lexical instantiation may sometimes be a lexical **Determiner** (even though this is not a necessary condition). Then, he has generalized that noun phrase is essentially a **DP** (a **Determiner Phrase**) headed by the functional category **D**.

As it has been emphasized before, Abney (1987, 105) has stated that the examination of the gerund is very important in evaluating the DP-analysis. According to him, under the DP-analysis, D takes a VP complement, instead of its regular NP complement. Abney (1987) has examined the major points of gerundive clauses in English. He has first classified gerundive clauses in English into four major categories: (1) **Acc-ing** (in argument positions), (2) **PRO-ing**, (3) **Poss-ing**, and (4) **Ing-of**. These four categories can be exemplified as in the following.

- 40a. We approve of *him studying linguistics*.
- 40b. We approve of *studying linguistics*.
- 40c. I learned about *John's smoking stogies*.
- 40d. *John's fixing of the car* is superb.

(Taken from Abney, 1987)

He has further noted that the Ing-of type of gerunds does not exhibit the verbal characteristics that are found in other types of gerunds and it seems to involve a simple deverbal noun (e.g., *fix-ing*) (Abney, 1987, 107). An interesting question that he has posed is to which category of gerunds the PRO-ing type should be included, if this is a plausible way of examining it.

After briefly discussing the major characteristics of Acc-ing type, he has examined the Poss-ing gerundive clauses. He has emphasized that the Poss-ing gerund is a noun phrase with respect to its external distribution. The positions in which the Poss-ing gerund can appear are the typical noun phrase positions, such as (a) object of preposition, (b) subject of a sentence where Subject-Auxiliary Inversion has applied, (c) subject of an embedded sentence, (d) subject of a sentence following a sentence initial adverb, (e) topic position, (f) cleft position (Abney, 1987, 109).

Abney (1987, 110) has stressed that the Acc-ing type of gerundive clauses are rather similar to the Poss-ing type. In fact, he has pointed out that "Acc-ing has the distribution of a noun phrase, but no other noun phrase properties" (Abney, 1987, 110). He has considered the behavior of this type as an anomaly. Then, he has analyzed the indirect questions, which pattern with noun phrases.

41a.=180a. I heard about what you did.

41b.=180b. the knowledge (*of) that John came

the knowledge (*of) who saw John
(Abney, 1987, 110)

Then, he has attributed this behavior of indirect questions to two possibilities: (1) it is possible for indirect questions to share "something of the structure of **headless relatives**, which are arguably noun phrases", or (2) it may be case that "there is a [+wh] AGR in Comp that licenses wh-words in Spec of C, and this AGR supplies CP with certain nominal features" (Abney, 1987, 111).

Furthermore, he has provided an instance of one particular position in which noun phrases can appear but gerunds cannot. This is the subject position of noun phrases (i.e., DPs).

42a.=181. * [the singing]'s affect on them was heartwarming
 * [the rioting]'s polarization of the country

42b. * stagnating's evils (cf. stagnation's evils)
 (Abney, 1987, 111)

He has concluded on these facts that "-ing forms do not make good possessors even when they are clearly nouns" as in the example (10=181) above. Moreover, Abney (1987) has examined the agreement facts concerning the gerund in subject positions within root sentences. According to him, when two or more gerunds are conjoined in a subject position, unlike finite clauses, they trigger a plural agreement on the verb. However, both sentential subjects and Acc-ing gerunds pattern in the same way from this aspect. He has explained this situation by assuming that the finite agreement on the verb can coindex the nominal elements (i.e., person, number, and gender features of nominal constituents), but not sentences. His examples are the following.

43a.=182a. That John came and that Mary left bothers / *bother me.
43b.=182b. John coming (so often) and Mary leaving (so often) bothers / *bother me.
43c.=182c. John's coming and Mary leaving *bothers / bother me.
 (Abney, 1987, 111)

With respect to long-distance binding, Abney (1987) has stated that Acc-ing and Poss-ing gerunds exhibit differences such that while long-distance binding is possible in noun phrases and Poss-ing gerunds, it is not allowed in Acc-ing gerunds.

As for the internal structure of Poss-ing gerundive clauses, Abney (1987) has pointed out that gerunds look like noun phrases due to the presence of a Genitive subject within these constructions. A number of semantic restrictions on the subject of the gerundive clause suggest that subjects of gerunds are like any other genitive specifier of noun phrase. The first issue concerns the inability of inanimate noun phrases to function as subjects (17).

44a.=184a. ?? the refrigerator's door
John's door

44b.=184b. ? we were very upset at the refrigerator's tipping over
we were very upset at the refrigerator tipping over

44c.=184c. * we were very upset at our idea's being unfairly criticized
we were very upset at our idea being unfairly criticized
(Abney, 1987, 112)

He has also provided examples of idiom chunks which are not in harmony with inanimate subjects within the gerundive clauses.

45a.=185a. * I was irked at advantage's being taken of John's situation
45b.=185b. * The outcome justified much's being made of Calvin's foresight
(Abney, 1987, 113)

Abney has stated that there are also perfectly good examples of Poss-ing gerundive clauses with inanimate or abstract subjects:

46a.=186. We would prefer its not raining just now
46b.=186. the city's destruction

With respect to some specificity effects, Abney (1987, 114) has provided the following examples in which the contrast between Acc-ing and Poss-ing gerunds is minimal.

47b.=187b. We remember his describing Rome
47c.=187c. the city that we remember him describing t
47d.=187d. * the city that we remember his describing t
(Abney, 1987, 114)

He has explained the ungrammaticality of the last example on the basis that this example is assimilated to extraction from noun phrases. He has also provided an alternative analysis by means of a subjacency requirement.

- 48.=189. Who did you see a picture of t
 * Who did you see his picture of t
 (Abney, 1987, 114)

With respect to pied-piping, according to Abney (1987, 114), Poss-ing gerundive clauses behave like noun phrases.

- 49a.=190a. the man [whose flirting with your wife] you took such exception to
 * the man [who flirting with your wife] you took such exception to
 49b.=190b. the man [whose opinions] you took such exception to
 49c.=190c. * the man [(for) who to leave early] you would have preferred
 (Abney, 1987, 114)

In relation to scope relations, Abney (1987, 114) has asserted that the Genitive subject of Poss-ing gerundive clauses can take wide scope like the subject of a noun phrase. In contrast, the Accusative subject of the Acc-ing gerundives strongly prefers narrow scope.

- 50a.=191a. John disapproves of everyone's taking a day off (wide scope, possible)
 John disapproves of everyone taking a day off (*wide scope, not possible)
 50b.=191b. John disapproves of everyone's happiness (wide scope, possible)
 50c.=191c. John prefers everyone to take a day off (* wide scope, not possible)
 (Abney, 1987, 114-115)

As far as sentential adverbs are concerned, Abney (1987, 115) has expressed that sentential adverbs are not very good in Poss-ing type of gerundive clauses although they are good in both sentences and Acc-ing gerunds.

- 51a.=192a. John probably being a spy, Bill thought it wise to avoid him
 (Reuland 1983)
 ?* John's probably being a spy made Bill think it wise to avoid him

- 51b.=192b. John fortunately knowing the answer, I didn't fail the test
 ?* John's fortunately knowing the answer kept me from failing

However, Abney (1987, 115) has stated that Acc-ing gerundives does not take sentence adverbials when it is in argument position:

- 52a.=193a. * I was worried about John probably being a spy
 52b.=193b. * I was grateful for John fortunately knowing the answer

Abney (1987, 115) has further claimed that "whatever the condition that prevents sentence adverbials from appearing in Acc-ing gerunds in argument position may well also exclude them from Poss-ing gerunds, which must always appear in argument position."

In the succeeding sections of his study, Abney (1987) has expressed the major claim that Poss-ing gerundive clauses are noun phrases whereas Acc-ing gerunds are a type of sentences. He has summarized the verbal characteristics of VP within a Poss-ing gerundive clause by specifying the following issues: the V+ing complex (1) Case-assigns its complement, (2) takes adverbs rather than adjectives, (3) takes auxiliaries, (4) takes double object complements, etc. From these characteristics, he has concluded that the head of the VP within a Poss-ing gerundive clause behaves like a true verb, not a noun, and thus, indicating that there is a VP embedded within the Poss-ing gerundive clauses. (Abney, 1987, 116)

- 53a.=194a. John's discovering a thesis-writing algorithm [ACC Case on object NP]
 * John's discovery a thesis-writing algorithm
 53b.=194b. Horace's carefully describing the bank vault to Max [Adverb]
 * Horace's carefully description the bank vault to Max
 53c.=194c. Guineve's having presented a golden cup to Bertrand [Auxiliary]
 * Guineve's have(ing) presentation of a golden cup to Bertrand
 53d.=194d. Ilana's giving Marc a kiss in public [Double object complement]
 * Ilana's gift of Marc a kiss in public
 (Abney, 1987, 116)

As to the existence of an empty category PRO in gerundive clauses, Abney (1987, 116) has suggested that Poss-ing gerundives are different than Ing-of gerundives in that the

former shows obligatory control when the subject of Poss-ing type is absent, resulting in the particular type of gerunds PRO-ing.

- 54a.=195ai. I detest loud singing
 54b.=195aii. I detest singing loudly
- 54c.=195bi. John enjoyed a reading of *The Bald Soprano*
 54d.=195bii. John enjoyed reading *The Bald Soprano*
- 54e.=195ci. The killing of his dog upset John
 54f.=195cii. Killing his dog upset John
 (Abney, 1987, 116-117)

As indicated by Abney (1987, 117), the agent of the actions in gerundive clauses in (ii) sentences is necessarily understood as identical with either the subject of the sentence or in some cases object, especially with psych-verbs. According to him, this corresponds the general control pattern observed in infinitives as in the following examples:

- 55a. I would prefer to sing loudly.
 55b. To kill his dog would upset John.
 (Abney, 1987, 117)

As opposed to (ii) sentence, the non-overt subjects need not be understood as controlled by the subject or object of the sentence. He has inferred from these facts that there is certainly a PRO in (ii) examples. On the other hand, (i) examples do not contain a PRO. As he has stressed, the seemingly counter examples of instances of arbitrary PRO in sentences such as *Shooting deer is fun* can be interpreted as if there exists a benefactive object in the sentence being equivalent to the following: *Shooting deer is fun for X*.

Abney (1987, 117) has also presented the examples designated by Baker (1985c) in order to show that "not only are PRO-ing gerunds obligatorily controlled, but they require pleonastic subjects, when no external θ -role is assigned."

- 56a=196a. I am disappointed by its / * the / * $\emptyset$ raining all day
 56b=196b. I am disappointed by its / * the being certain that she'll quit
 56c=196c. I am disappointed by * its / the certainty that she'll quit
 (Taken from Baker, 1985c, ex: 21 in Abney, 1987, 117)

In sum, Abney (1987) has provided major issues concerning gerundive clauses in English. He has proposed that Poss-ing gerundive clauses in English are dominated by a functional D node even if these constructions contain VPs embedded within them. This interesting composition enables Poss-ing gerundive clauses to acquire the dual nature they have with respect to their internal and external syntax.

2.2.1.3. Siloni (1997)

Siloni (1997) is a detailed study of noun phrases and nominalizations in Modern Hebrew within generative context. She has adopted a minimalist position towards the study of nominalizations and analyzed the data on the basis of the major principles and issues of the theory at her disposal.

Siloni (1997) has first provided several examples showing the relations between a derived nominal and the base verb from which that derivation is obtained. She has stated that "it is well-known that verbs and their corresponding deverbal nouns appear to share some basic semantic properties" (Siloni, 1997, 2). In the examples below, both the noun *examination* and the verb *examined* appear to bear the identical semantic relation to the noun phrases *Dan* and *the papers*.

- 57a.=1a. Dan's examination of the papers
 57b.=1b. Dan examined the papers
 58a.=2a. the examination
 58b.=2b. * Examined
 (Siloni, 1997, 2)

After she summarized former generative studies on noun phrases and nominalizations, such as Lees (1960) and Chomsky (1965, 1970), she has mentioned the lexicalist approach to deverbal nouns, which suggests that "deverbal nouns are inserted in the syntactic component as nouns [...] (Siloni, 1997, 3)." She has added that generative linguists during the eighties focused on the argument structure and thematic structure of deverbal nouns and their source verbs and that they generally assumed that verbs takes their arguments obligatorily while nouns take their arguments optionally. However, as Siloni (1997) has pointed out, this view has been taken into question after Grimshaw (1990) showed that deverbal event nouns should be distinguished from deverbal result nouns on the basis of their capacity to take arguments.

After that Siloni (1997) has exemplified certain diagnostics proposed by Grimshaw (1990) to differentiate between event and result nouns which are frequently homophonous. Siloni (1997) has characterized event nouns as expressing an event (or a process) while she has defined result nouns as the nominal elements "which name the output of the event or an entity related to it" (Siloni, 1997, 3). These diagnostics have shown that event nouns have the same argument structure as that of their base verbs and their arguments must obligatorily be represented to obtain an event reading. In contrast, result nouns do not take "real arguments" but only some form of possessors which might have a range of semantic relations between the noun frequently denoting some form of possession relations. That is, the lexical representation of result nouns does not specify an argument structure (Siloni, 1997, 3).

One of the diagnostics means to determine the eventhood proposed by Grimshaw (1990) is the modifier (adjective) *frequent*, which typically modifies an event noun. In other words, whenever the modifier *frequent* appears in a noun phrase with a derived head noun, the derived noun is forced to have an event interpretation. This also implies that the head noun is obligatorily assigned specific theta roles which must be saturated by corresponding arguments. Therefore, an event noun must necessarily have its arguments in its syntactic projection, especially its internal argument. The following examples show these facts (Siloni, 1997, 4):

- 59a.=3a. Dan's construction impressed us.
- 59b.=3b. Dan's frequent construction * (of sailing boats) impressed us.
- 59c.=3c. Dan constructs sailing boats.

From these examples, Siloni (1997, 4) has concluded that "[...] lexical entries that denote an event (whether verbs or nouns) have an argument structure."

Siloni (1997) has also mentioned gerundive clauses in English. She has stipulated the major characteristics of gerunds as in the following way:

- (1) gerunds have the same distribution of noun phrases and take genitive subjects (similar to event nominals),
- (2) gerunds are formed rather freely and their interpretation is straightforward with respect to the verb to which the suffix -ing is added (in this case, they are different from event nominals), and

(3) their internal structure is not nominal (i.e., it is not like that of noun phrase but like that of clause).

As to the last characteristics, gerunds cannot be modified by adjectives, and frequently they cannot take articles (especially in relation to the prototypical gerundive clauses with Genitive subjects) (Siloni, 1997, 5). Her examples are:

- 60a.=5a. John's constructing sailing boats impressed us.
 60b.=5b. * John's rapid constructing sailing boats impressed us.
 60c.=5c. * The constructing sailing boats impressed us.

All these issues can be paraphrased as in the following way: (1) event nouns, in contrast to result nouns, obligatorily have an argument structure which is identical with that of underlying verb base, and hence, they assign specific theta roles to their arguments (2) result nouns do not specify an argument structure; instead, they only have possessors or other entities which are loosely related to them.

Siloni (1997) has further emphasized that "any study of nominalizations has to take up the challenge of accounting for the discrepancies and similarities between event nominals and their gerundive counterparts. If there are good empirical reasons to believe that both event nominals and gerunds are derived from the base verb in the syntactic component, the more verbal nature of gerunds is a priori unexpected and requires an explanation. In contrast, if it can be shown that event nominals are the output of a process of lexical nominalization and gerunds are the product of syntactic nominalization (18) (as suggested in Chomsky's Remarks on Nominalization 1970), the discrepancies between the to nominalizations follow rather straightforwardly" (Siloni, 1997, 5).

In her study on nominalizations, Siloni (1997) has also concentrated on the functional structure of noun phrases. She has summarized the former representations of noun phrases as the syntactic projections of lexical nouns by referring to the previous works, such as Jackendoff (1977), among others. In these representations, determiner occupies the specifier position and the noun occupies the head position within a noun phrase. She has also referred to Abney (1987) and similar studies, such as Szabolcsi (1983-84), Fukui and Speas (1986), for its particular analysis of noun phrases and other nominal categories in terms of DP-hypothesis as the syntactic projections of functional categories (which is characterized as D by Abney (1987)).

In addition, Siloni (1997) has pointed out that recent studies on the issue have shown that the structure of noun phrase is even more articulated including more than one functional head in the syntactic projection, by citing the sources, such as Ritter (1991), Valois (1991), Cinque (1993), Bernstein (1993), Fessi Fehri (1993), Penner and Schönenberger (1993), among others. Moreover, the studies Szabolcsi 1987, 1989, Stowell 1989, 1991, Longobardi 1994, among others, have tried to develop a principles account of why noun phrase is the maximal syntactic projection of the functional category D. As Siloni (1997) has put it in a somewhat simplified form, "[...] their insight is that D is the element that converts the nominal expression into a referential phrase, which consequently is able to serve as argument" (Siloni, 1997, 7). In this context, these studies take D as a parallel syntactic category to Complementizer (C) in finite clauses in that each category turns its complement into an expression which is capable of appearing in an argument position. It means that they can bear a specific theta role with respect to a thematic role assigning predicate.

In her detailed analysis of Hebrew noun phrases and nominalizations, Siloni (1997) has assumed the following points and has tried to provide evidence for them. Firstly, she has assumed that event nominals in Hebrew are purely nominal and do not involve a syntactically projected VP even though they share their argument structure with their corresponding verbs. Secondly, she has further supposed the existence of another functional layer between DP and NP, which is characterized by the agreement categories (i.e., an AGRP). Thirdly, she has examined "mixed categories" as the syntactic categories which include a verbal projection, a property which can be observed from various verbal characteristics of such constructions.

Siloni (1997, 8) has tried to answer the question of what enables the category D to take a VP complement instead of a regular NP complement. She has accounted for the property on the grounds that verbal projections embedded under the functional category D do not exhibit tense specifications. It is exactly this characteristics according to her that makes VPs legitimate complements of D. In this respect, Siloni (1997) has defined a syntactic nominalization as essentially the embedding of a verbal projection without tense by D. In other words, she has stated that "syntactic nominalization does not involve a syntactic transformation incorporating a verb into a noun. Rather, it entails a DP dominating a verbal projection that does not contain tense specifications" (Siloni, 1997, 8).

By the assumed analogy between articles and complementizers (see Szabolcsi 1987, 1989), Siloni (1997) has characterized D as the equivalent of C with respect to untensed

phrases, regardless of the specification that they are NPs or VPs. "While C heads a tensed proposition, D introduces non-tensed phrases" (Siloni, 1997, 8). In this respect, she has considered that English gerunds, Hebrew gerunds or Italian nominalized infinitives are instances of syntactic nominalizations headed by D.

She has further supposed that the CP is an obligatory level in the phrase structure of tensed clauses and infinitivals (following Stowell 1982). The original idea that Stowell (1982) suggested is that the tense operator obligatorily raises to Complementizer (C) at Logical Form (LF) in order to take scope over clausal constituent (as its operand). These ideas refer to link between C and tense are also investigated in Enç (1987) as Anchoring Conditions in detail. From these issues, Siloni (1997) has inferred that D is the "complementizer" of non-tensed phrases, NP or VP, since it does not need to be associated with tense as opposed to C of regular finite clauses.

2.2.2. A Survey of Preceding Generative Research on Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish

For over three decades, a considerable number of linguists studying within the framework of generative grammar have been interested in syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. The characteristics of syntactic nominalizations started to be investigated in the generative framework as well, such as Lees (1965), Kornfilt (1984), Sezer (1991), Kennelly (1991), Kural (1993) and Uzun (2000), Kornfilt (2001), among others.

Specifically, Kornfilt (1984) emphasized the case assignment issues in Turkish in her significant work on Turkish grammar. She also examined the binding phenomena in Turkish. She claimed that "the case is assigned to the subject of sentences as well as noun phrases by the AGR element of either domain in the same way, namely under government" (Kornfilt (1984, 3). She differentiated between a verbal agreement and a nominal agreement in Turkish. According to her, the only difference of a syntactic nominalization from a regular sentence was the feature [+nominal] on the part of agreement morphology in nominalizations. She also concentrated on binding issues in Turkish as well as case assignment properties and problematic points in Turkish grammar.

Sezer (1991) reviewed major issues in Turkish syntax in a generative grammar context. He followed Kornfilt (1984) in proposing that nominalizations were headed by a [+nominal] AGR head. Kennelly (1991) focused on thematic role assignment in

nominalizations in relation to the case assignment to the subject NP in a syntactic nominalization, focusing on the differences with respect to the capacity of the resulting nominalization to occupy an argument position in a matrix clause. Kural (1993) concentrated on the functional heads within a nominalization, proposing a functional head D, which was occupied by {-k} morpheme of what was generally known as a nominalization suffix -DIK.

2.2.2.1. Sezer (1991)

Sezer (1991, 22) suggests that "certain structural properties of complement clauses can be read off from thematic roles." Sezer (1991) emphasizes that Chomsky (1965) has suggested that lexical heads select not only semantic roles but also the syntactic categories that would realize those semantic roles. The question concerning the s-selection and c-selection characteristics of lexical heads is how much categorical information is predictable from semantic roles and how much of this categorical information is idiosyncratic. Sezer (1991, 22) points out that Chomsky (1986a) has reconsidered the issue and suggested that if a predicate semantically selects a patient theta role, then it would be redundant for it to categorically select an NP that would bear this theta role. Chomsky's (1986a) a set of canonical structural realization functions link a particular thematic role and the syntactic category that realizes it. A CSR function is the following.

61.=8. CSR (patient) = NP

According to Chomsky (1965), when a lexical head selects patient, it also selects an NP through (39=8) above.

Sezer (1991, 23) provides an example of the application of this kind of CSR function. For instance, a close examination of the predicate *persuade* reveals that it can appear in the following contexts:

62a.=7a. John persuaded Bill that we should leave.

62b.=7b. John persuade Bill of the necessity for us to leave.

(Chomsky 1965, 95)

63a.=9a. _____ John that he should go to college

63b.=9b. _____ John to go to college

63c.=9c. _____ John of the importance of going to college

From these examples, it is concluded that the verbal predicate persuade only semantically selects a goal and a proposition. The relevant CSR functions will take care of the specification of the realization of these thematic roles as in the following way:

64a.=10a. CSR (goal) = NP

64b.=10b. CSR (proposition) = clause or NP

Furthermore, Sezer (1991, 24) proposes on the grounds of the examples provided that the type of a complement clause in Turkish can be read off from the thematic roles that the relevant predicate selects. In this respect, he designates act and fact semantic roles which are realized by two types of nominalizations. These complement clauses are in essence syntactic nominalizations of the participial (or fact) type or act (or nominal) type, according to him. The contexts in which these two types of complement clauses are represented as follows:

65a.=11a. [Ali-nin gel-diğ-in-i] doğrula-dı-m.
A-GEN come-PART-3SG-ACC confirm-PAST-1SG
'I confirmed that Ali came.'

65b.=11b. *[Ali-nin gel-me-si-ni] doğrula-dı-m.
A-GEN come-VN-3SG-ACC confirm-PAST-1SG
'I confirmed that Ali came.'

66a.=12a. *[Ali-nin gel-diğ-in-i] destekle-di-m.
A-GEN come-PART-3SG-ACC support-PAST-1SG
'I supported Ali's coming.'

66b.=12b. [Ali-nin gel-me-si-ni] destekle-di-m.
A-GEN come-VN-3SG-ACC support-PAST-1SG
'I confirmed Ali's coming.'
(From Sezer, 1991, 24)

What is wrong with examples in (43b=11b) and (44a=12a) is that in the former an action is confirmed (despite the lack of capacity on the part of actions to be confirmed or denied) and in the latter a fact is supported, which is apparently not among the characteristics of

factive (or more correctly, propositional) expressions. As Sezer (1991, 25) emphasizes, a similar case can be observed with the predicate adjectives.

67a.=13a. [Ali'nin kazan-acağ-ı] açık.
A-GEN win-PART-3SG clear
'It is clear that Ali will win.'

67b.=13b. *[Ali'nin kazan-ma-sı] açık.
A-GEN win-VN-3SG clear
'Ali's winning is clear.'

68a.=14a. *[Ali'nin konuş-acağ-ı] sakıncalı.
A-GEN speak-PART-3SG improper
'It is improper that Ali will speak.'

68b.=14b. [Ali'nin konuş-ma-sı] sakıncalı.
A-GEN speak-VN-3SG improper
'Ali's talking is improper.'
'It is improper for Ali to talk.'
(From Sezer, 1991, 25-26)

A similar observation has been made by Lees (1965) in relation to certain nouns which select a particular type of complement clauses among the two alternatives.

69a.=15a. [Ev-in yan-dığ-ı] iddia-sı
house-GEN burn-PART-3SG claim-3SG
'The claim that the house burned down.'

69b.=15b. *[Ev-in yan-ma-sı] iddia-sı
house-GEN burn-VN-3SG claim-3SG
'The claim that the house burned down.'

70a.=16a. *[iş-in bitir-il-diğ-i] mesele-si
job-GEN finish-PASS-PART-3SG issue-3SG
'The issue that the job's being finished'

70b.=16b. [iş-in bitir-il-me-si] mesele-si

job-GEN finish-PASS-VN-3SG issue-3SG

'The issue of finishing the job'

With respect to these examples, Sezer (1991, 26) states the complement clauses in (a) sentences above "refer to a statement of fact, an actuality, an assertion that can be confirmed or denied." This can be considered as a propositional characteristic representing the realization of a particular event (or the actual happening of a given action within a particular space and time context). Sezer (1991) further emphasizes that the (b) sentences contain a complement clause which denotes an act rather than the actual happening (i.e. the act itself). According to him, these semantic incompatibilities between complement clauses and the lexical heads that select these complements are critical in the explanation of the ungrammatical examples above. In addition to these issues, Sezer (1991) points out that whenever the two types of clauses are selected by the (seemingly) same predicate, the meaning of that predicate is forced to alter with respect to the type of complement clause. His examples are given below:

- 71a.=17a. [Ali-nin git-tiğ-i] doğru değil.
 A-GEN go-PART-3SG true not
 'It is not true that Ali left.'
- 71b.=17b. [Ali-nin git-me-si] doğru değil.
 A-GEN go-VN-3SG true not
 'Ali's leaving is not right / correct.'
 'It is not right for Ali to leave.'
 (From Sezer, 1991, 26-27)

The capacity of the predicate adjective doğru 'morally right / true' to denote two distinct senses allows it to take both types of clauses as its complement with different overall meanings. While in the (49a) doğru can mean only 'true', doğru in (49b) is able to denote the meaning 'correct behavior' (Sezer, 1991, 27).

At this stage, Sezer (1991) shows that the subject position of transitive verbs in Turkish is only reserved for the act type of nominalizations.

- 72a.=18a. [*][Birisi-nin karşı-m-da burn-un-u karıştır-dığ-ı] ben-i deli ed-er.
 someone-GEN opposite-1SG-LOC nose-3SG-ACC pick-PART-3SG
 I-ACC crazy do-AOR

'That someone picks his nose in front of me drives me crazy.'

- 72b.=18b. [Birisi-nin karşı-m-da burn-un-u karıştır-ma-sı] ben-i deli ed-er.
 someone-GEN opposite-1SG-LOC nose-3SG-ACC pick-VN-3SG I-ACC
 crazy do-AOR
 'That someone picks his nose in front of me drives me crazy.'
 (From Sezer, 1991, 27)

According to him, what makes a person crazy is an act rather than the simple statement of the happening of an act (a proposition).

All these empirical issues suggest that the act and fact type of complement clauses are consistently selected by the predicates on the basis of the semantic characteristics of these clauses. In other words, what predicates select is the type of the thematic role which can be represented by these two types of complements. Therefore, according to Sezer (1991, 28), it is possible to designate CSR functions concerning the act and fact type semantic roles. These functions will map a particular thematic role onto the corresponding complement type.

73a.=19a. CSR (fact) = DIG/YECEG clause

73b.=19b. CSR (act) = VN clause

This type of formulation is able to represent not only the syntactic category of the complement (i.e., a clause in this case) but also its subcategory in terms of its morphosyntactic composition (Sezer, 1991, 28). According to him, these canonical structural realization functions determine structural properties. Furthermore, he states that the designation of the semantic labels such as act and fact parallels to specifying a particular thematic role associated with an argument assigned by a predicate.

2.2.2.2. Kornfilt (2001)

Kornfilt (2001) investigates the syntactic characteristics of non-finite subordinate clauses in Turkish, especially the ones which are characterized as syntactic nominalizations in the present study. Since this work is firmly related to the core issues of the present study, a considerably detailed analysis of Kornfilt (2001) will be presented in the subsequent sections.

Kornfilt (2001, 183) first differentiates between non-finite argument clauses and non-finite adjunct clauses embedded within matrix sentences. Regarding this distinction, she tries to determine when the subjects of non-finite argument and adjunct clauses have overt Genitive case and when they appear in Nominative case. Thus, she chiefly deals with the non-finite clauses with overt subjects in her work.

According to (Kornfilt, 2001, 183), the nominal subject-predicate agreement morphology on the predicates of the nominalized embedded clauses is responsible for the overt Genitive Case on the subjects of such clauses. However, according to her, the Genitive case assignment to these subject is not straightforward and the case assignment capacity of the nominal agreement must be initiated by other factors. In this respect, she modifies the proposal concerning the case assignment to the subjects of non-finite clauses by Raposo (1987, 107) way in order to provide a basis on which the case assignment properties in Turkish nominalizations can be accounted for. She modifies this proposal in the following: "... a tenseless (nominal) Infl positively specified for Agr can assign any "subject" Case to a lexical subject only if it is theta-governed" [a modified version of Raposo's proposal (Raposo, 1987, 107) by Kornfilt (2001)].

Kornfilt (2001) further states that the Case-assignment potential of nominal Agr must be 'unlocked' somehow, which can be done either by having the Agr element be theta-governed (and thus be, in some sense, '*marked*' by the theta-governor, e.g. by being gamma-marked, in the sense of Lasnik & Saito 1984) or by having it be co-indexed by a syntactic operator, and thus *marked* by coindexation. In other words, only a *marked* Agr can assign Case to its subject in a non-finite clause (Kornfilt, 2001, 183).

Furthermore, Kornfilt (2001, 183) suggests that "an operator can participate in the Case marking potential of nominal Agr" and concludes that if nominal Agr is involved in the Case-marking of the subject of the non-finite nominalized clauses, then, "Turkish must possess the syntactic (functional) category Agr, which would head the projection *AgrP*" (Kornfilt, 2001, 184). Similarly, the presence of an operator in the case marking necessitates the existence of a particular position, possibly the specifier position of the functional projection, so that it can house this operator. According to Kornfilt (2001), all these issues imply that there must be a **complicated architecture** of syntactic projections of the functional heads concerning the non-finite nominalized clauses.

In order to investigate internal syntactic structure of non-finite nominalized clauses, Kornfilt (2001) categorizes the non-finite embedded clauses into four major types as in the following way:

- I. Argument clauses (i.e., embedded complement clauses that are assigned thematic roles by the predicate of a superordinate clause or sentence)
 - II. "Adverbial" clauses, i.e., clauses that directly, without the intermediary of a postposition, modify the predicate of the superordinate sentence (adverbially)
 - III. Complement clauses of postpositions
 - IV. Modifier clauses in relative clause constructions (i.e., complex noun phrases).
- (Kornfilt, 2001, 185-186)

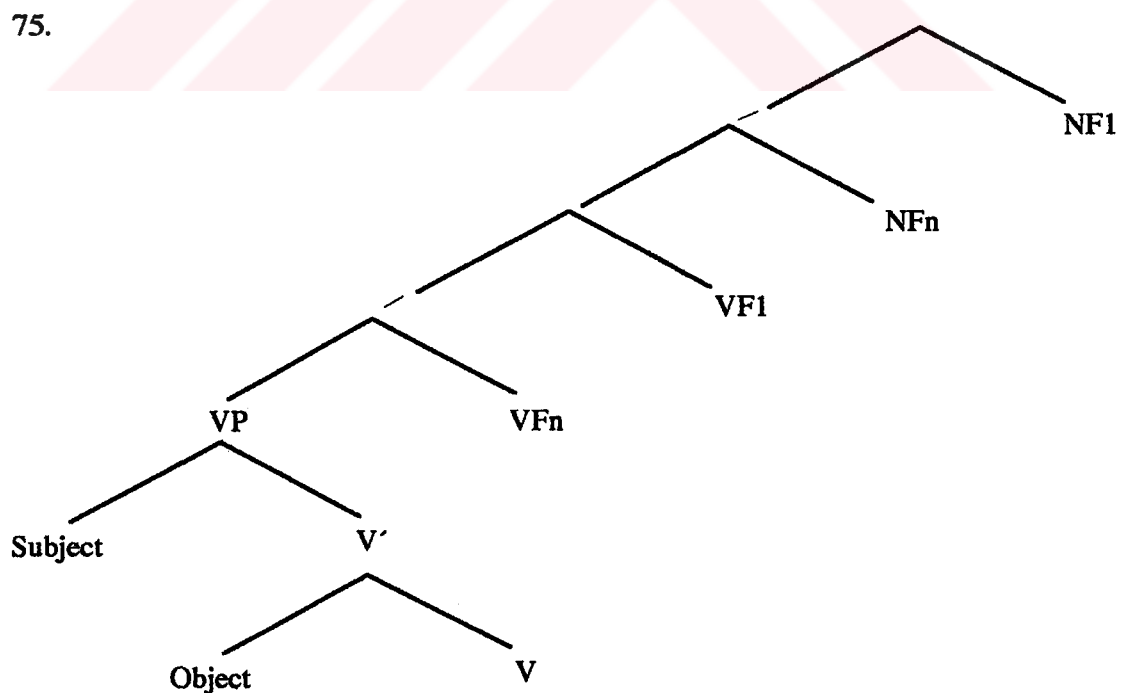
These four types share a basic property concerning their predicates: the predicates of these non-finite clauses are different from the ones that are found in embedded finite clauses or matrix sentences in that there are some **nominal markers** in the position corresponding to that of TAM (Tense, Aspect, and Mood) morphology.

Regarding non-finite argument clauses, she observes that argument clauses (as whole syntactic units) possess the Case in accordance with their thematic role assigned by the matrix predicate while such a Case is not found in finite argument clauses in similar contexts (Kornfilt, 2001, 186). She further assumes that the Agr morpheme (not the TAM morphology) is responsible for the assignment of the Nominative Case to the subjects of finite clauses and she provides examples of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) constructions in Turkish with the matrix predicate *san-* 'think' in order to support this view. She compares the **possessive noun phrases** with the non-finite argument clauses (i.e., syntactic nominalizations in argument positions) and concludes that both types of syntactic categories exhibit the same type of subject-predicate agreement (Kornfilt, 2001, 188). Finally, she emphasizes that the reason of the lack of Case on the predicates of fully finite argument clauses is probably their verbal nature as verbal functional projections, which naturally do not need such a Case in the syntactic representation.

After that Kornfilt (2001) touches upon embedded (non-finite) clauses with adverbial function and stresses that there are not any resemblance between non-finite argument clauses and non-finite adjunct clauses (i.e., in most cases, non-finite adverbial clauses) except for their non-finiteness, which is assumed to be caused by the lack of regular (verbal) TAM morphology. Consider the examples (her (6a) and (6b) respectively):

- 74a. [Üsküdar-a gid -er -ken] (ben) bir mendil bul-du-m
 Üsküdar-DAT go-AOR-'while' I a handkerchief find-PAST-1SG
 'While going to Üsküdar (...), I found a handkerchief.' (...)
- 74b. [Üsküdar-a gid -er -ken] Ali bir mendil bul-du
 Üsküdar-DAT go-AOR-'while' Ali a handkerchief find-PAST
 'While going to Üsküdar (...), Ali found a handkerchief.' (...)

Kornfilt (2001) tries to answer the question of why most nominalized clauses appear in "canonical nominal positions" even though their internal syntax is almost identical with that of other clausal constituents (Kornfilt, 2001, 189). Following Borsley & Kornfilt (2000), she asserts that "the layers of verbal functional structure [in nominalized clauses] are either missing completely or else are incomplete." In this respect, she states that nominalized clauses exhibit a combination of lower verbal functional layers and higher nominal functional layers. Furthermore, she assigns a general phrase marker to such nominalized clauses as in the following:



Following Fukui & Speas (1986) and Koopman & Sportiche (1991), Kornfilt (2001, 190) adopts the VP-internal hypothesis which assumes that verb phrase contains both the

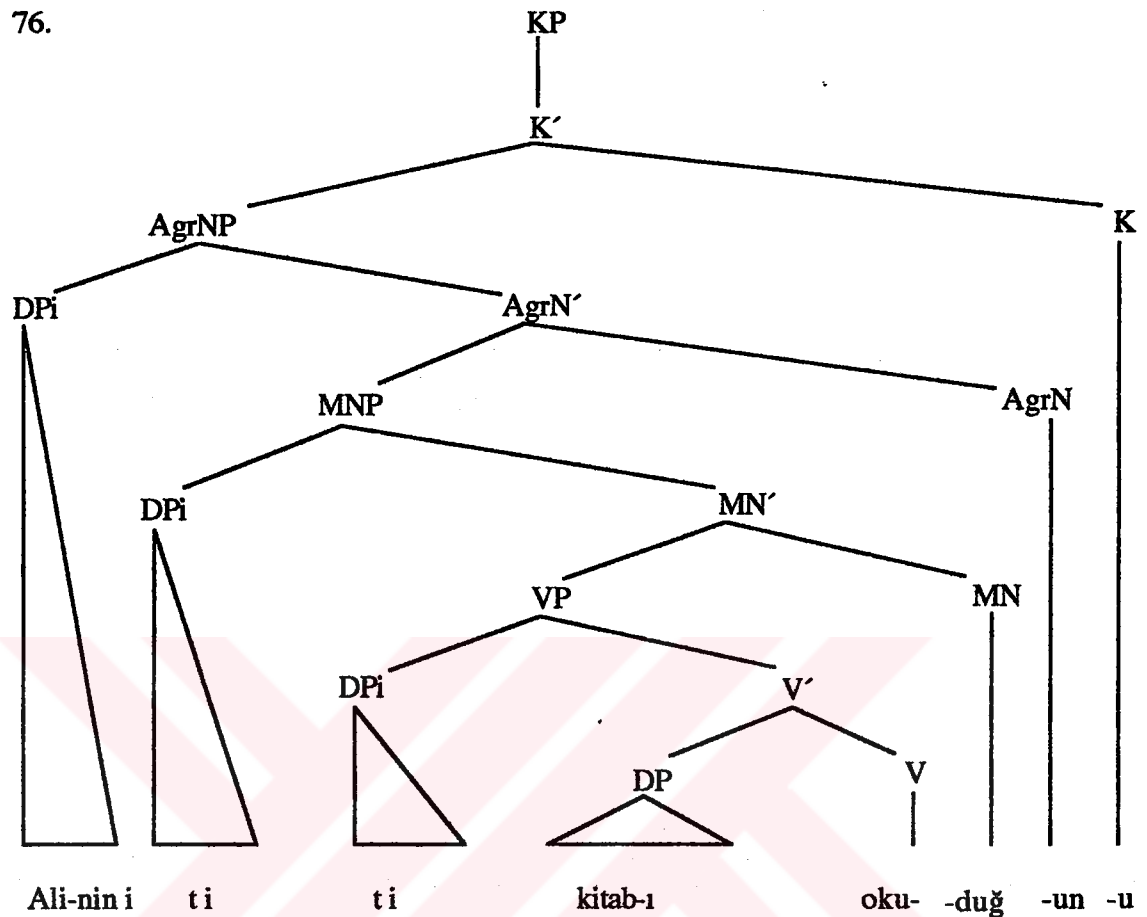
external and internal arguments of the verb originally. She also adopts the view that there are a number of verbal functional categories which dominate a VP in a phrase marker and the number of such categories may be zero. The nominal functional categories may include D and AgrN while "the verbal functional categories may include AgrS (i.e., verbal / finite subject predicate agreement, which is represented by AGRF in the present work), T(ense), Asp(ect), M(ood)."

As a significant issue in relation to the Case assignment to the subjects of clausal constituents, she suggests the following ideas:

The subject moves to the specifier position of some verbal functional projection in finite clauses, and to the specifier position of a nominal projection in nominalized clauses. This explain the fact that in most nominalized clauses, the subject is in the Genitive, while in finite clauses it is in the Nominative, if we further assume that AgrN assigns the Genitive to its specifier, while AgrS assigns the Nominative. In such an approach, constructions differ in what functional categories they contain and in what movement processes apply within them. (Kornfilt, 2001, 190)

In this context, a particular phrase marker of a nominalized clause will be the following according to Kornfilt (2001, 191).

76.



In order to explain the differences among the non-finite clauses, Kornfilt (2001, 191-192) compares and contrasts the general properties of argument and adverbial clauses. She states that "verbal predicates assign thematic roles as well as Case to their arguments." Furthermore, she adds that noun phrases (NPs or more recently DPs) need Case, which explains why DPs typically appear in argument positions of verbal predicates. She proposes that the nominal functional projections form a nominal "outer shell" in argument clauses, causing these constructions to behave like DPs in terms of their Case requirements. In this context, Kornfilt (2001) provides this as the basic explanation concerning the Case found on argument clauses of verbal superordinate predicates. As opposed to argument clauses, she suggests, most adverbial clauses need not Case and frequently do not have overt subjects. However, she also provides the following atypical forms of adverbial clauses with overt subjects in Nominative Case rather than Genitive Case (the original numbers of these examples are (9), (10), (11) and (12)):

77. [ben ev -den çık -ınca] Oya sinema -ya git -ti
I house-ABL exit-'when' Oya cinema-DAT go-PAST

'When I left home, Oya went to the movies.'

78. [ben ev -den çık -arken] Oya yemek pişir -iyor -du
 I house-ABL exit-'while' Oya food cook-PROG-PAST
 'While/just when I was leaving home, Oya was cooking food.'
79. [ben ev -den çık -alı] üç saat ol -du
 I house-ABL exit-'since' three hours be-PAST
 'It's been three hours since I left the house.'
80. [ben ev -den çık -tığ -ım] -da Oya yemek pişir -iyor -du
 I house-ABL exit-FN-1SG-LOC Oya food cook-PROG-PAST
 'When I was leaving home (at my leaving home), Oya was cooking food.'
 (Kornfilt, 2001, 192-193)

She notes the atypical nature of these adverbial clauses especially the last one, which has a Nominative subject in addition to a factive nominalization marker, nominal agreement morphology and a Locative Case on its predicate. Normally, these morphologies are found in argument clauses (except for the Nominative subject, of course).

Kornfilt (2001) tries to explain the structural characteristics of these embedded non-finite clauses with adverbial function as in the following way:

I would like to claim that there is a default Case assignment mechanism that assigns Case (realized as phonologically null) to subjects of adjuncts, irrespective of whether there is subject agreement morphology or not. This accounts for the uniformly bare subjects of Agr-less 9, 10, and 11 on the one hand, and for the likewise bare subject of 12 with overt, rich nominal Agr. According to what was said earlier, given that government of the clauses by a superordinate predicate is needed to 'unlock' the Case potential of the agreement morphology, we have in fact predicted the irrelevance of that agreement morphology for Case assignment to the subject, as is clearly illustrated in example 12, where despite the nominal subject-agreement, the subject is not in the Genitive, but is bare. In purely descriptive terms, then, we find the syntax for Case assignment (Case checking) of languages like Chinese and Japanese for the adjunct clauses and for the subjects of those clauses in MST and certain cognate languages similar to it (e.g. Kirghiz,

Turkmen, Uzbek, and a number of others): the subject receives default Case, independently of Agr, in factive adjunct clauses. However, these same Turkic languages resemble languages like English for their argument clauses with respect to Case for the subjects of these argument clauses. In other words, the subject of argument clauses requires the presence of subject-predicate agreement to receive an appropriate Case. (Kornfilt, 2001, 193)

In addition to the Case assignment properties of argument and adverbial clauses in Turkish, Kornfilt (2001) gives a descriptive account of the existence of the Locative Case assigned to the adverbial clause (i.e., as non-finite adjunct clauses functioning adverbially within a superordinate clause) as a whole. She stresses that this adverbial clause is not an argument of the superordinate predicate and therefore, is not governed by the matrix predicate. This implies that the Locative Case on the predicate of the adverbial clause is not assigned under government by a higher head, the matrix predicate. Following Larson (1985), Kornfilt (2001, 194) suggests that "not all Case is assigned by a governor or via specifier-head agreement, but rather that some configurations require, for semantic reasons, certain Cases." She designates the Locative Case in this example as a means of marking the adverbial clause so that it can represent the concept of "at a specific point in time" by means of an overt Case motivated by semantic reasons. According to her, this implies that neither the adverbial clause nor its head (i.e., Agr) is theta-governed, leading the subject of the adverbial clause to have a Nominative Case as the default case in Turkish.

After that Kornfilt (2001) deals with another type of non-finite clauses appearing as the complements of postpositions in Turkish. She notes that both factive (or propositional) and non-factive (i.e., traditionally known as action) types of non-finite nominalized clauses are able to function as the complement of postpositions as far as Turkish is concerned. Focusing on the former types, Kornfilt (2001) provide three examples of nominalized clauses appearing as complements in postpositional phrases as in the following (her examples are (14), (15) and (16)):

81. [[Oya ev -de kal -dığ -ı] için] Ali iş -e gid -ebil -di
 Oya house-LOC stay-FN-3SG because Ali work-DAT go-ABIL-PAST
 'Ali could go to work because Oya stayed at home.'

82. [[Oya ev -de kal -dığ -ın] -a göre] Ali de ev -de kal -acak

Oya house-LOC stay-FN-3SG-DAT according to Ali too home-LOC stay-FUT
'Given that Oya stayed at home, Ali will stay at home, too.'

83. [[Ali erken yat -tığ -ın] -dan dolayı misafir-ler-i Oya uğurla-dı
Ali early lie down-FN-3SG-ABL because guests-PL-ACC Oya see off-PAST
'Because Ali went to bed early, Oya saw off the guests.'
(Kornfilt, 2001, 194-195)

According to Kornfilt (2001, 195), even if postpositions govern their complements including the clausal ones as in the examples above and assign to these complements whatever Case is required according to the type of the postposition, they do not theta-govern the functional head of their nominalized complement, i.e., AgrN, and consequently, the Case of the subject of the nominalized clause is still Nominative rather than the regular subject case of nominalized argument clauses, the Genitive Case. After that, she provides further instances of nominalized clauses with "full rich nominal morphology" appearing as complements of postpositions as in the following (originally, (17), (18), and (19)):

84. [[Oya-nın duy -duğ -un] -a göre] Ali deprem -de vefat et-miş.
Oya-GEN hear-FN-3SG-DAT according to Ali earthquake-LOC die-REP.PAST
'According to what Oya heard, Ali died in the earthquake.'
85. Ali [[baba-sı -nın iste -diğ -i] kadar] başarı -lı ol -a -ma -mış
Ali father-3SG-GEN want-FN-3SG as much as success-with become-ABIL-NEG-REP.PAST
'(It is said that) Ali wasn't able to become as successful as his father wanted.'
86. Orkestra bu parça -yı [[şef -in iste -diğ -i] gibi] çal -dı
orchestra this piece-ACC conductor-GEN want-FN-3SG play-PAST
'The orchestra played this piece like the conductor wanted.'
(Kornfilt, 2001, 195-196)

Kornfilt (2001) states that the subjects of nominalized complement clauses of postpositions surprisingly appear in the Genitive Case even though the AgrN heads of these clauses are not theta-governed by the superordinate verbal predicate as in the case of the previous set of examples. However, she considers that the postposition in the example (18) have some form of comparative semantics and the nominalized clauses in

(17-19) have the structure of Free Relative clauses. Adopting one of the recent analyses for comparatives, she assumes that both comparative constructions and relative clauses have an operator (e.g., *wh*-pronouns in relative clauses in English) although it is a phonologically abstract one in Turkish.

She further compares and contrasts the nominalized clauses in (15 and 17) which are complements of the same postposition *göre* 'according to'. Apparently, there is a difference between the Cases of the subjects in these clauses: while the subject in (15) has a Nominative or "bare" Case, the one in (17) has a Genitive Case. Kornfilt (2001, 196) assumes that the existence of an operator in (17), which is a free relative clause, is responsible for the assignment of Genitive Case to the subject. Therefore, she concludes that both the nominal AgrN and an operator must be present together in order for the subject of nominalized complement clause in postpositional phrases to be Case-marked in the Genitive. Absence of such an operator prevents the rich Agr morphology in (15) from assigning the regular subjective case, i.e., Genitive to the subject.

Kornfilt (2001) considers the presence of an operator as the common property of both relative clauses and comparatives. She thinks that this operator is phonologically abstract in both constructions. Like the theta-governing superordinate verbal predicate of argument clauses, this operator also " 'unlocks' the potential of the nominal agreement morphology for Genitive assignment to the subject" (Kornfilt, 2001, 197).

As an another exceptional case of clausal complements of postpositions in Turkish, Kornfilt (2001) exemplify this type with three sentences as in the following (her (20), (21), and (22)):

87. [[Ben gid -ince] -ye kadar] kapı -yı kilitle -me!

I leave-'WHEN'-DAT until door-ACC lock-NEG

'Don't lock the door until I leave.'

88. [[Ben git -tik] -ten sonra] kapı -yı kilitle -yebil -ir -sin

I leave-FN-ABL after door-ACC lock-ABIL-AOR-2SG

'You may lock the door after I have left (=after my leaving).'

89. [[Ben git -me] -den önce] kapı -yı kilitle -me!

I leave-NEGN-ABL before door-ACC lock-NEG

'Don't lock the door before I have left (=before my leaving).'

Kornfilt (2001) believes that the temporal expressions in these sentences, namely, önce 'before, earlier', sonra 'later, after', and kadar 'until' must be glossed as 'earlier than', 'later than', and 'until' because they are "actually temporal comparatives" (2001, 197). Following this assumption, she proposes that these three examples include a temporal comparative operator. From the observation that the subject of non-finite complement clause is not in the Genitive, she emphasizes that neither the operator nor the agreement assign Case to the subjects separately. They must be present simultaneously in order to assign Genitive Case to their subject (2001, 197). She concludes that two elements must be present together wherever a subject is to appear in the Genitive Case: in argument clauses, both agreement and a thematic governor must be co-existent while in clausal complements of postpositions, both agreement and an operator must be found together.

After these issues, Kornfilt (2001) investigates the major forms of relative clauses in Turkish since these constructions typically have nominalized predicates with nominal agreement morphology. Firstly, she focuses on the adjunct nature of modifier clauses in relative clause constructions in order to examine the case marking characteristics within such clauses to the subjects. She outlines the major syntactic characteristics of modifying clauses, taking attention to the distinction between the type of nominalization suffix on the predicate with respect to the type of head that is to be modified. In this context, Kornfilt (2001) states that the non-finite modifier clause lacks agreement morphology if the target of relativization is the subject and the head that is modified by the clause corresponds to a "gap" in the modifier clause (2001, 198). She mentions the three types of relative clauses where the target is non-subject.

Kornfilt (2001) represents some empirical evidence to show that modifying clause is adjunct of the head rather than being a complement of it. The typical position of modifier clause demonstrates that they are adjuncts because in such cases, a modifier clause "precedes not only simple modifiers like adjectives, but also determiners like demonstratives as in the following example designated by Kornfilt to illustrate this issue (originally, (23) as opposed to (24)).

90. [Ali-nin geçen gün dükkan -dan al -dığ -ı] bu şahane vazo

Ali-GEN past day shop-ABL buy-FN-3SG this magnificent vase

'This magnificent vase which Ali bought at the store the other day'

91. Şu [Ali-nin i [pro i aile -sin] -i terket -tiğ -i] söylenti-si]

that Ali-GEN family-3SG-ACC abandon-FN-3SG rumor-CMPM
 'That rumor that Ali abandoned his family'

92. * [Ali-nin i [pro i aile -sin] -i terket -tiğ -i] şu söylenti-si]
 Ali-GEN family-3SG-ACC abandon-FN-3SG that rumor-CMPM
 Intended meaning: 'That rumor that Ali abandoned his family'
 (Kornfilt, 2001 198-199)

Kornfilt (2001) states that the determiner must precede the clause when this clause is a complement of the head noun. In such cases, "the determiner is construed with the head noun." On the other hand, in relative clause constructions, determiner usually follows the modifier clause. The position of determiner with respect to the complement clause is fixed as it is indicated by Kornfilt (2001, 199). Furthermore, she notes that the subject of the complement clause is in the Genitive as expected because both a theta-governor (the head noun, here, *söylenti* 'rumor') and the nominal agreement morphology co-exist in the whole construction. According to Kornfilt (2001), the theta-government of the clause and therefore, its Agr head, is caused by the complement nature of the non-finite clause representing a firm close syntactic relation with the head noun. From these examples, she concludes the following:

[T]o be able to mark the subject with Genitive Case, the Agr head must be theta-governed. Note that a noun is different from a verb or postposition: it does not assign Case to its complement (or at least not structural Case). Indeed, there is no overt Case on the complement clause of the noun. Therefore, the presence of the Genitive Case on the subject of the nominalized complement as in (24) shows that in order to assign the Genitive to the subject, a nominal Agr head does not have to assign the Genitive to the subject, a nominal Agr does not have to be assigned (structural) Case, it does have to be (theta-)governed, however. (Kornfilt, 2001, 199)

As for the modifier clause in (23), Kornfilt (2001) proposes that the modifier clause must be adjoined to the whole DP (i.e., traditionally NP). However, this leads a problematic state since the subject of an adjunct clause like this modifier clause should not be marked with Genitive contrary to the facts. Kornfilt (2001) provides an explanation in the following lines:

I suggested there that this (abstract) operator binds the "gap" position within the clause that corresponds to the head of the relative clause. Here, I want to claim further that this operator also participates in assigning Genitive Case to the subject (where the target is a non-subject). Again, it is the operator that "unlocks" the potential of agreement morphology to assign the Genitive Case to the subject that agrees with the agreement morphology. (Kornfilt, 2001, 200)

Afterwards, Kornfilt (2001) tries to answer the question why the operator has "similar effects as a thematic governor." She presents certain assumptions concerning the operator. She provides the proposal that "UG must have a mechanism for transferring the index of an operator in SpecCP to the C" (Kornfilt, 2001, 200). For Turkish, she proposes a similar mechanism by which "Agr is raised to the (nominal) C in the presence of an operator." Therefore, she concludes that the indexing of Agr by the operator unlocks the Case-marking capacity of nominal Agr in adjunct clauses including an operator. According to her, the difference between the relativization markers *-(y)An* and *-DIK* (+Agr) on the predicates of modifier clauses which employ these markers for targeting subjects and non-subjects respectively is caused by the "realization of an indexed (Agr-less) C which has received its index from the (abstract) relativization operator" in the *-(y)An* forms (Kornfilt, 2001, 201). Consequently, she formulates these assumptions as "a 'marked' nominal Agr can assign the appropriate (i.e. nominal = Genitive) Case to a subject. A non-marked nominal Agr cannot do so. There are two ways for an Agr to receive a "marking": either by co-indexation (via raising and merging) with a C, as just explained, or by being marked by a *theta*-governor, via *theta*-government ... " (Kornfilt, 2001, 201).

According to Kornfilt (2001, 202), the potential of nominal Agr to assign Genitive Case to the subject in nominalized argument clauses works in the following way: the argument clause receives a gamma-marking (i.e., government-marking) from their *theta*-governors, verbal superordinate predicates. In such cases, the head of the argument clause, nominal Agr, raises to that gamma-marked C position so that the gamma-marking of the argument clause ends up on the nominal head, Agr. The effect of this gamma-marking is similar to that of marking by co-indexation by an operator, for instance, in non-subject relative clauses or in the nominalized complement clauses of postpositional phrases with comparative semantics. These two options (that is, coindexation by an operator or gamma-marking by a *theta*-governor) triggers the Case-marking ability of the nominal Agr.

Kornfilt (2001, 202) paraphrases these issues in the following formulation:

The nominal Agr of a nominal *indicative* clause with its attached nominalized verb that has risen to it raises to C only if the C is "strong". A C is "strong" only if it heads either a theta-governed CP, and/or a CP whose specifier position is occupied by an operator. Only in such a strong C position can the nominal Agr be marked and in turn Case-mark the subject. Otherwise, the nominal Agr remains within AgrNP and Cannot Case-mark the subject from that lower position in these instances, i.e., in nominalized indicative clauses where the nominal Agr isn't licensed clause-internally. (Kornfilt, 2001, 201)

Finally, Kornfilt (2001) comments on the nature of the Default (bare) Case in Turkish. She proposes that the Default Case in Turkish is Nominative as opposed to that in English, appearing in the Accusative.

NOTES

1. Although the term result noun is frequently used, it does not sufficiently represent all types of non-action lexical nominalizations.
2. Strictly speaking, these examples are not so appropriate. In fact, this suffix is one of the regular syntactic nominalization suffix in Turkish. It regularly produce a particular type of syntactic nominalizations with both action and manner meaning. On the other hand, the lexicalized forms of the nominalized verbs do not explicitly represent the manner meaning. In other words, only the regular syntactic nominalizations with this suffix are able to denote the manner sense. The lexicalization of verbal predicates nominalized by this suffix simply refer to the action sense without making reference to the manner of that action (cf. *vur-uş* 'hit', *at-ış* 'throwing', *uç-uş* 'flight', etc.). The lexicalized forms with this suffix are also able to denote non-action senses which represent the name of one of the arguments of the base verb, such as *gir-iş* 'entrance', *çık-ış* 'exit', etc.
3. According to the present study, these Turkish examples obviously contain syntactic nominalizations.

4. However, an alternative analysis of this situation is also possible in terms of phonological changes (and the latter is preferable on the grounds that infinitival constructions do not have overt subjects and syntactic nominalizations with -mE suffix do necessarily have such an overt subject).

5. (In this respect, Turkish employs syntactic nominalizations in which the forms that express the thematic relations between the arguments of a verb are to a great extent similar to that found in finite clauses as these arguments bear the same semantic case forms with respect to the predicate).

6. However, it is possible to consider the nominals in the first two examples as gerundive forms.

7. However, some of the nominal constituents given by Koptjevskaja-Tamm as examples can equally be considered as instances of syntactic nominalizations rather than syntactic constituents headed by a lexically derived action nominal, such as "John's singing the Marseillaise" in the example (1.2) "John's singing the Marseillaise caused the riot."

8. In this context, it is reasonable to express that syntactic nominalizations and lexical nominalizations in Turkish and English are in most respects similar and easy to detect so that it does not pose a major difficulty for the analysis of these constructions from a generative perspective. This conclusion is also relevant to the justification of the present study in relation to the syntactic analysis of the internal structure of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish and in English.

9. In this context, it is vital to stress that the example given in (1b) is a syntactic nominalization for the present study rather than an instance of lexical nominalization.

10. In relation to this suggestion, it can be proposed that it is natural for infinitival clauses with -mAG suffix not to take a possessive suffix as opposed to other nominalized clauses, for instance, the ones with the nominalization suffixes -(y)Iş or -DIG. The reason behind this infinitival clauses has a particular syntactic nominalization counterpart which has essentially the same semantics and which can be used with overt subjects and such possessive suffixes (i.e., nominal subject predicate agreement suffixes). An interesting issue is that infinitival clauses with -mAG suffix seem not to be possible with genitive case suffixes although they are possible with other case suffixes. Actually, this exception is an undesirable stipulation which can be avoided by means of an alternative analysis of infinitival clauses with genitive case markers as the constructions which experience some kind of phonological changes. Therefore, the following example includes an infinitival clauses with a genitive case suffix:

1. [PRO ev-e git-men-in] iyi bir fikir ol-duğ-u-nu san-mı-yor-um.

house-DAT go-INF-GEN good one idea be-NM-3SG/N-ACC think-NEG-PROG-1SG/F

I don't think that [going to the house] is a good idea.

11. The present study, however, assumes that the infinitives in Turkish (i.e., the particular type of syntactic nominalizations with -mek suffix and without an overt subject) can bear a Genitive case as any other nominal constituent in Turkish. Consider the examples below:

- 2a. * Bu aşamada geri dönmekin hiç bir mantığı yok.
- 2b. Bu aşamada geri dönmenin hiç bir mantığı yok.
- 2c. Bu aşamada bizim geri dönmemizin hiç bir mantığı yok.

At the first sight, one may conclude that the examples in (b) and (c) involve a -me nominalization and the -mek nominalization in (a) gives rise to ungrammaticality. However, the (b) sentences can also be analyzed as a result of historical phonological change of the last phoneme of the -mek suffix (i.e., the /k/ phoneme) into /ğ/, /n/, and finally /n/ in a successive manner as it is suggested by the bracketing in the following way:

- 3a. Bu aşamada [PRO geri dönmeğ]-in hiç bir mantığı yok.
- 3b. Bu aşamada [PRO geri dönmen]-in hiç bir mantığı yok.
- 3c. Bu aşamada [PRO geri dönmen]-in hiç bir mantığı yok.

12. It must be noted, however, that the last example does not seem to be perfectly grammatical, perhaps due to the usage of an inappropriate matrix predicate söyle- 'say' or the lack of the predicate gerek 'to be necessary.' This may be cured in the following ways:

- 4a. Fatma-ya yedide hazır olmasını önerdim.
- 4b. Fatma-ya yedide hazır olması gerektiğini söyledim.

The following ones might also be used:

- 5a. Fatma-ya yedide hazır olmasını söyledim.
- 5b. ~ Ahmet-ten Fatma-nın yedide hazır olmasını istedim.

13. However, this example is completely able to represent the action itself in an appropriate context. For instance, the complement clause in (a) sentence expresses a fact in contrast to its equivalent in (b) sentence, which represents the action itself.

- 6a. Ben [Halil'in dün buraya geldiğin]-i duydum. (Fact)

6b. İşte tam o an / sıra ben [Halil'in bu tarafa doğru geldiğin]-i duydum. (Action)

14. The present study assumes that -(y)Iş suffix is also a syntactic nominalization suffix (i.e., a nominal non-finite TAM marker).

15. However, it must be noted that the grammaticality / acceptability of the second sentence is controversial. Then, the only alternative, the first sentence can denote both an action and a fact, readily observable by the agent of the verb *gör*- 'see'.

16. By saying Poss-ing gerund, Abney (1987) refers to a prototypical gerundive clause which has a Genitive subject, a verbal predicate with -ing suffix and all other syntactic constituents in the same form which can be observed in a finite clause. An example of Poss-ing gerund is *John's building a spaceship*.

17. As far as Turkish is concerned, there is no problem with inanimate noun phrases in subject positions of noun phrases, such as *buzdolabı-nın kapı-sı* which is totally grammatical.

18. In this respect, it will be shown in Chapter 5 that event nominals in Turkish are lexical derivations and syntactic nominalizations with -mE, -DİG, etc. suffixes are purely syntactic (even though the interface between morphology and syntax in Turkish far more blurred as compared to other relatively well-studies languages, especially considering the secondary usage of regular obvious syntactic markers as derivational suffixes).

CHAPTER 3

A SURVEY OF EMBEDDED CLAUSES IN ENGLISH AND IN TURKISH

In this chapter, a survey of embedded clauses in English and in Turkish will be provided as an observational basis for the subsequent chapters. Such a survey might be useful for a detailed investigation of prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish as compared to the supposedly corresponding constructions in English. In this respect, various types of embedded clauses both in English and in Turkish will be reviewed in a rather general way since a thorough examination of the subordination system of a language is an extremely complicated task which is beyond the limits of the current study. However, a broad view of embedded clauses in both languages may be operational in determining the exact position and the peculiar nature of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish within the overall subordination patterns found in the language.

3.1. Subordination (Embedding)

It is well-known that subordination is a wide-spread syntactic phenomenon in human languages. It is an instantiation of a hierarchical relationship between two syntactic categories, which sometimes might be of the same type. In fact, it can be observed in extremely rich environments involving various types of syntactic expressions as matrix categories. At this stage, however, it is wise to restrict the attention to the embedding of clauses, both finite and non-finite, considering the main purpose of the present chapter, as providing a general picture of embedded clauses in English and in Turkish.

Focusing on the embedding of clauses within other clauses, subordination always entails a difference in the hierarchical configuration of the clauses involved (i.e., a part-whole or dependence relationship). The resulting syntactic category involving embedding is known as a **complex sentence**. Thus, there is invariably a syntactic asymmetry between the clauses of a complex sentence as opposed to, for instance, the linear relationship between the clauses of a **compound sentence**, whose constituent clauses are linked in a special way, called **coordination**. In fact, in a compound sentence, there is no hierarchical difference between the clausal constituents and they are all equal parts of a whole syntactic unit. (1)

In order to illustrate the hierarchical relationship between two (in some cases, more than two) clauses that constitute a complex sentence, consider the sentences below:

- 1a. John killed a lion.
- 1b. This is a big lie.
- 1c. [That John killed a lion] is big lie.

It is obvious that (1a) and (1b) are simple sentences and (1c) is a complex sentence, which is composed of two clauses exhibiting a part-whole relationship (i.e., a syntactic hierarchy) with respect to each other. Specifically, the embedded part *that John killed a lion* constitutes the subject (or the external argument) of the other clause *X is a lie*, where *X* stands for a category functioning as an external argument. Apparently, the first part in (1c) shares its D-structure representation with (1a) and the second part of (1c) shares its D-structure representation with (1b). This is perceived by a native speaker as if the clause in (1a) were placed within the clause in (1b) after a transformational operation. However, it is equally plausible to assume that the same hierarchical relation can sufficiently be characterized in terms of shared D-structure representations.

Subordination, as wide-spread syntactic phenomenon, can also be viewed from a different angle. In generative terms, a syntactic category may be a complex one in the sense that its syntactic derivation involves a D-structure representation which is characterized by the selection of a propositional argument by a lexical head. In this respect, the term **proposition** refers to an expression by which a predication relation is conveyed. This amounts to say that while the propositional constituent bears a particular thematic relation with the head category at a given hierarchical level, the elements which constitute that particular proposition also exhibit similar thematic relations among themselves.

To put it another way, the D-structure of a particular syntactic expression may be specified in a hierarchical way so that a propositional category originate, for instance, as an argument of the matrix predicate in the syntactic derivation of this expression. Therefore, a possible and, in fact, frequently perceived structural parallelism between a propositional constituent of a root sentence and a corresponding simple sentence can be explained in terms of a **shared D-structure representation**. This characteristic also accounts for the rationale behind the **transformation** concept, which is deeply consequential in generative syntax.

Thus, what is psychologically felt as an embedding of a clause within another (as a dynamic syntactic / transformational operation) is merely a consequence of the match between two syntactic categories in terms of their underlying D-structures: a simple sentence (i.e., as an independent clausal category) and an embedded clause (i.e., as a dependent clausal category) within another clause. It is exactly this correspondence between the D-structures of the two clauses that leads native speakers to feel as if a simple sentence is embedded within another clause through a dynamic transformational process to obtain a complex sentence.

Clausal constituents of a complex sentence are given different names to represent their special status in the syntactic hierarchy. For instance, the clause which constitutes a part of the other is frequently called **embedded clause, dependent clause, subordinate clause, lower clause**, etc. On the other hand, the clause that contains the former as one of its constituents is generally known as a **matrix clause, independent clause, superordinate clause, higher clause**, (or alternatively, **root sentence**), etc. With respect to each set of terms, the present study does not presuppose the preference of a particular pair of the choices from the two sets over other pairs and it employs all these terms rather freely. That is, the selection of a particular pair of terms is only due to for the convenience's sake.

Interestingly, clauses can also be found within syntactic categories other than clauses. For instance, an embedded clause can be observed within a **complex noun phrase** as a modifier or a complement of the head noun. In the former case, the embedded clause has a function which is similar to that of adjective phrase within a noun phrase. For this reason, such clauses are frequently called adjectival or relative clauses. The term modifier clause is also employed as a rather general term.

The latter case mentioned above corresponds to a complex noun phrase in which the head noun takes a clausal complement to advance one bar level upward in its syntactic projection. In such cases, the complement clause frequently provides the content of the head noun, by explicating the state of the affairs expressed by the head (from a semantic perspective, such clauses are usually propositional in the sense that they express a fact, a judgment, a belief, etc.). In sum, the special relationship between the head noun and the embedded clause is the factor that determines the internal structure of a complex noun phrase.

It is also possible to find embedded clauses within adpositional phrases and adjectival phrases as complement clauses. However, this chapter focuses on embedding of clauses within other clauses and, to a degree, noun phrases, rather than these equally interesting categories from a linguistic point of view. In fact, a detailed classification of the embedded clauses within adpositional phrases and adjectival phrases fall beyond the scope of the current work.

3.2. Syntactic Nominalizations as a Subcategory of Embedded Clauses

As far as English and Turkish are concerned, syntactic nominalizations constitute a subcategory of embedded clauses in these language. Recall that the present study takes any non-finite clause with a nominalized predicate as a syntactic nominalization and, as it is indicated Chapter 1, it exclusively concentrates on the prototypical types of syntactic nominalizations appearing in argument positions of root sentences. (2) Regarding the broader and more liberal sense of the term 'syntactic nominalization,' all types of syntactic nominalizations can be assumed to involve certain kinds of subordination. A general picture of the embedding systems of English and Turkish will be investigated in this chapter to provide a general background for the subsequent chapters.

3.3. The General Criteria for the Classification of Embedded Clauses in English and in Turkish

In order to devise a clear-cut classification of embedded clauses in English and in Turkish, it is wise to determine the general criteria that might be operational in this classification. The three interrelated criteria that come to the mind immediately are (1) the type of the matrix category in which a clause is embedded, (2) the type of the syntactic position which is occupied by an embedded clause with respect to the head of that matrix category, and (3) the finiteness status of the embedded clauses. There may also be further subcriteria for a detailed classification. However, these three criteria seem to be rather adequate for the immediate purpose of the present chapter.

With respect to the first criterion, namely the syntactic type of the matrix category, there appear four distinct alternatives which can be stated as (1) a clause, (2) a noun phrase, (3) an adpositional (prepositional or postpositional) phrase, and (4) an adjectival phrase. In the first case, the embedding of a clause within another clause results in a complex sentence which clearly displays the hierarchical difference between the embedded clause

and the matrix clause. The second type of matrix category including an embedded clause is generally known as a complex noun phrase. In the third and fourth alternatives of matrix categories, embedded clauses function as complements of the heads of these phrasal units.

The second criterion, which makes reference to the type of the syntactic position occupied by an embedded clause, can be manifested by two alternatives: argument and non-argument positions. Argument positions are generally assumed to be obligatory in the sense that their absence from the syntactic structure of a matrix category renders the overall unit ill-formed. On the other hand, a clause which occupies a non-argument position is always optional so that its existence is merely motivated by the need to modify the overall matrix expression or only the head of it from various respects, such as manner, location, time, quality, etc. and its absence makes no harm to the grammaticality of the matrix category.

As far as the third criterion, namely the finiteness status of an embedded clause, is concerned, there seems to exist a problem with respect to the exact definition and nature of finiteness in human languages. It is frequently proposed that a clause which is defective in terms of its tense and agreement categories is non-finite. That is, the predicate of such a clause is rather impoverished with respect to the inflectional categories which are regularly found in simple sentences.

In contrast to this general view, the present work assumes that a clause which exhibits tense and agreement morphology may also be non-finite as long as finiteness is defined as the ability of a clause to stand alone in a piece of discourse, as a simple sentence sufficiently would do.

The present study proposes that what makes a clause finite or non-finite is not the existence or absence of such functional (inflectional) syntactic categories. Instead, it is exactly their syntactic types, which is always specified as either [+finite] or [-finite]. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that what renders a clause finite or non-finite is not existence or absence of the inflectional categories but it is exactly their types. An inflectional complex containing a finite tense and a finite agreement is finite and a clausal category with a predicate containing a non-finite tense and a non-finite agreement is non-finite. Obviously, this position does not exclude the option in which there appear no tense or agreement markers on a predicate. In such cases, the clause containing such a predicate is evidently non-finite. What the present study emphasizes is that although the existence

of inflectional categories on the predicate of a clause is a necessary condition for the finiteness of that clause, it is by no means a sufficient condition. In this respect, what determines the finiteness status of a clause is the particular setting of the feature matrix of the inflectional categories on that predicate, which must always be specified as [+finite]. In the subsequent chapters (especially in Chapter 5 and 6) of the study, it will be clear that this suggestion is extremely consequential for the overall organization and the findings of this study.

The four types of features which must necessarily be specified in a feature matrix of a syntactic category. This amounts to say that the syntactic compositions of both lexical and functional categories can be represented as particular setting of features matrices. The feature matrices of inflectional categories found on a predicate of a clause can be represented as in the following way:

2. A general form of the feature matrix of a syntactic head:
[±Verbal, ±Nominal, ±Functional, ±Finite]

For instance, it is not implausible to assume that both tense and agreement markers might be specified with respect to their syntactic characteristics as in the following way:

- 3a. Non-finite TAM markers, such as *-DIK* :
[−V, +N, +Fu, −Fi]
- 3b. Finite TAM markers, such as *-DI* :
[−V, +N, +Fu, +Fi]
- 3c. Finite Agreement Markers, such as *-∅* (3SG/F) :
[−V, +N, +Fu, +Fi]
- 3d. Non-Finite Agreement Markers, such as *-(s)I* (3SG/F) :
[−V, +N, +Fu, −Fi]
- 3e. Lexical item *house* (a noun):
[−V, +N, −Fu, −Fi]
- 3f. Lexical item *go* (a verb):
[+V, −N, −Fu, −Fi]

3g. Non-finite converb suffix *-ip* (a):

[-V, -N, +Fu, -Fi]

As far as the exact specifications of these four types of syntactic features (and in fact their types, number, and nature, as well) with respect to a given syntactic category are controversial and require further intricate research on the issue. However, this subsection must be sufficient to express the essence of problem of determining the finiteness status of a clausal constituent. From now on, the present study assumes that specifications of the syntactic features of a variety of syntactic heads can and must be expressed in this particular way.

To summarize, the three general criteria and the corresponding situations are presented below as a basis for the classification of embedded clauses in English and in Turkish:

(1) The types of the matrix categories

- (1.1) root sentences
- (1.2) noun phrases
- (1.3) adpositional phrases
- (1.4) adjectival phrases

(2) The finiteness status of embedded clauses

- (2.1) finite embedded clauses
 - (2.1.1) direct speech forms
 - (2.1.2) finite embedded clauses other than direct speech forms
 - (2.1.2.1) finite embedded clauses with subject predicate agreement
 - (2.1.2.2) finite embedded clauses without subject predicate agreement
- (2.2) non-finite embedded clauses
 - (2.1.1).non-finite embedded clauses with subject predicate agreement
 - (2.1.2) non-finite embedded clauses without subject predicate agreement

(3) The type of the syntactic position occupied by an embedded clause

- (3.1) argument positions
- (3.2) non-argument (adjunct) positions

As a final remark, it is vital to bear in mind that the total number of the types of embedded clauses are not limited to the ones which are represented here. Even though the

subsequent sections of the present study tries to provide as many types as possible, these sections are not **exhaustive**. In other words, there are further types of embedded clauses both in English and Turkish in addition to the ones given in this chapter.

The following sections are devoted to a broad survey of embedded clauses in English. After that, an overview of embedded clauses in Turkish from a descriptive view will be presented. Both surveys, concerning embedded clauses in English and Turkish respectively, are meant to provide a basis for a comparison with respect to the alternatives these languages supply.

3.4. A Survey of the Major Types of Embedded Clauses in English

This section tries to provide a broad survey of the major types of embedded clauses within a series of syntactic categories in English. Generally, an embedded clause can be found within the following phrases in English: a clause, a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, and an adjectival phrase. Hypothetically, embedded clauses within such phrasal units may be finite or non-finite depending on their internal morphosyntactic composition.

The finiteness of an embedded clause is determined by the capacity of that clause to exhibit the full array of the verbal morphosyntactic characteristics that can be observed in an ordinary simple sentence (i.e., an independent one-clause sentence). More specifically, if an embedded clause displays the full scale of inflectional categories found in a simple sentence (i.e., finite inflectional categories, such as tense and agreement), it is said to be a finite clause.

In this context, note that simply the existence of certain inflectional categories does not guarantee the finiteness of an embedded clause. In addition to this condition, the syntactic types of such inflectional categories, too, must match the types of inflectional categories found in a simple sentence. (At this stage, recall that some of the embedded clauses in a number of languages, encompassing Turkish, may exhibit certain inflectional categories **which are not found** in simple sentences. In other words, although there exist tense (or similar related categories) and agreement markers within the morphosyntactic composition of such embedded clauses, they may be of different syntactic types. Then, the finiteness of an embedded clause should be determined in two steps. If there are not any inflectional categories within an embedded clause, it can easily be said that such a clause is non-finite (the first step). If there exist some inflectional categories, their

syntactic types (subcategories) must match that of the inflectional categories found in simple sentences.

At first sight, this seems rather surprising, considering the general view that states the lack of inflectional categories cause a clause to be non-finite. The present work, on the other hand, suggests that whether a clause is finite or non-finite depends on both the existence and the syntactic subcategory of such inflectional morphemes. Then, the inflectional categories other than the ones found in simple sentences should be considered as non-finite (or perhaps, nominal) inflectional categories. Of course, a different definition of finiteness might make such a distinction redundant, such as the one found in George and Kornfilt (1981).

If it is assumed that deciding on the exact status of an embedded clause with respect to the finiteness criterion is both possible and unproblematic, then, finite embedded clauses can be further divided into two broad subcategories: direct speech forms and finite embedded clauses other than direct speech clauses.

The embedded finite clauses which are employed as direct speech forms probably exist in all human languages because they are the natural way of representing a piece of discourse to a third party in its most original version. The latter group, however, comprises various types of finite clauses used for a number of distinct grammatical functions. In this respect, finite embedded clauses other than direct speech forms may be functioning either as an argument clause or as a non-argument (i.e., adjunct) clause.

Argument clauses, which are sometimes referred to as complement clauses (see Noonan, 1985, 42-43), are obligatory constituents of the syntactic category in which they are found. Without an argument clause, a particular syntactic expression would be structurally ill-formed. On the other hand, non-argument clauses within other phrases are optional constituents in the sense that their absence does not lead ungrammaticality. Actually, they typically modify the head of their matrix category from a number of respects.

If the attention is shifted from finite clauses to non-finite clauses, it becomes clear that non-finite clauses are always dependent constituents of other syntactic expressions, by definition. Languages employ a rich variety of non-finite clauses in their subordination systems as well. Like finite embedded clauses, non-finite clauses may be assumed to

occupy either argument positions or non-argument positions to perform various syntactic functions depending on their particular thematic relationship with a given head category.

Broadly speaking, two major types of non-finite clauses are distinguished in English with respect to their morphosyntactic characteristics. Since this is a structural distinction, it may be assumed that both of these types can potentially be found in either argument or non-argument positions. It is not implausible to refer to these general types of non-finite clauses as (1) *-ing* clauses (which are generally known as **gerundive clauses** or **participial clauses** depending on their syntactic functions within other phrasal categories) and (2) *to* clauses, traditionally known as **infinitival clauses**, reflecting their peculiar morphosyntactic properties.

Again, it is vital to reiterate that the embedded clauses that will be recapitulated in this chapter are only the most frequently observed types. This implies that the present survey is not an **exhaustive** review of all types of embedded clauses in English. Instead, it is possible to find other types of embedded clauses which are not mentioned here. Obviously, the basic objective of the subsequent sections is to form a general picture of embedded clauses in English, as it has been emphasized several times before, so that they may constitute a comparative device to be employed in the following chapters. Then, the subsequent sections are devoted to the introduction of major types of clausal constituents in English and to the designation of a broad classification of such syntactic categories from a descriptive viewpoint. In this classification, both structural and functional characteristics of various forms of clausal constituents will be mentioned rather briefly.

3.4.1. Clauses Embedded within Matrix Sentences

As it is the case with all other languages, a clause can function as one of the constituents of another clause. In generative terms, that is to say that a propositional constituent may originate within a clause. Frequently, it is possible to find a simple sentence which has a D-structure representation that reflects similar thematic relations among the same set of lexical items which can be observed within a dependent clause as a propositional constituent of a complex sentence.

As it has been stated before, there is always a difference between the hierarchy of the syntactic status of an embedded constituent and its matrix clause. This hierarchical difference is represented in the internal syntactic structure of the yielding complex sentence.

In English both finite and non-finite clauses can be found as parts of complex sentences. The choice of the type of an embedded clause with respect to its finiteness depends on the idiosyncratic lexical characteristics of the matrix predicate that selects it. This can also be rephrased as in the following: the type of embedded clause is determined by the syntactic function which is performed by that clause within a complex sentence. The following subsections deal with finite clauses which are found within other clauses to form a complex sentence. Subsequently, non-finite embedded clauses will be reviewed in a rather broad way.

3.4.1.1. Finite Clauses Embedded within Matrix Sentences

Generally speaking, English employs two general types of finite clauses in its subordination system: (1) direct speech forms and (2) finite embedded clauses containing certain syntactic categories that introduce and mark embedded clauses as hierarchically lower and syntactically dependent units. In this context, direct speech clauses never show any morphological or syntactic differentiation from the corresponding simple sentence occurring in a discourse independently. On the contrary, the other set of embedded finite clauses almost always exhibit certain functional categories, such as subordinating conjunctions, complementizers, etc. in their morphosyntactic formations.

In English, a finite clause within complex a sentence always displays all the morphosyntactic characteristics of a corresponding simple sentence, as far as the inflectional categories are concerned. Therefore, it is possible to find the full array of the inflectional categories in a finite embedded clause, including tense, aspect and mood (or modality) categories, which are frequently realized by means of a series of auxiliary verbs and other functional categories. Furthermore, the case form of the subject noun phrase of an embedded finite clause is always **Nominative** as it is expected.

However, the verbal (i.e., finite) subject-predicate agreement (e.g., the agreement of two categories in certain syntactic features, such as number, person, gender, etc.) which plays a crucial role in determining the finiteness of clausal constituents in Turkish, as it will transpire in the succeeding sections, has a very little role in relation to the finiteness of clausal constituents in English. The most important reason for this situation is the relatively poor morphological realization of such categories on the predicates of embedded clauses as well as that of ordinary independent sentences. In other words, there are few instances of such an agreement morpheme in clausal constituents in English, such as the

third person singular suffix *-s*. Thus, embedded clauses are said to be finite if they possess the morphosyntactic categories given above (e.g., tense, agreement, etc.) as opposed to the ones that lack at least some of these characteristics, as far as the subordination system of English is concerned.

Focusing on finite clauses in argument positions of matrix clauses, it can be easily observed that most of these clauses exhibit a particular syntactic category, generally known as **complementizer**. However, in some cases, a complementizer may be optional in certain contexts depending on the peculiar characteristics of lexical heads that select this type of embedded clause.

3.4.1.1.1. Finite Embedded Clauses in Argument Positions of Matrix Sentences

Some of the finite clausal constituents embedded in root sentences are found in argument positions, which are determined by the lexical thematic characteristics of matrix predicates. The following sections provide a brief account of finite embedded clauses in English in a variety of syntactic contexts within complex sentences.

3.4.1.1.1.1. Direct Speech Forms

As it is stressed before, languages possess a direct speech system, whose function is to represent the utterance of speaker(s) in its most original form to a third party. This system of embedded clauses showing no detectable morphosyntactic modification in their structure seems to be employed by all human languages, probably, with no exception to this general tendency.

Every English sentence can potentially have an equivalent, in the form of a finite embedded clause within a complex sentence, exhibiting no observable morphosyntactic differentiation from that simple sentence. Both simple sentence and the corresponding clausal constituent may be assumed to have the same thematic relations among the same set of arguments (i.e., their D-structure representations are identical).

This is a very special and extremely productive type of embedding in human languages, called **direct speech**. Even though it does not provide much insight about the structural characteristics of embedded clauses in natural languages (due to the lack of any detectable

difference in the morphosyntactic composition of the embedded form), it is a natural and fruitful way of producing dependent clausal constituents that match an original utterance perfectly. Such clauses occupy argument positions with respect to various forms of **verbs of saying** in English and they are sufficiently able to answer a question starting with *what*, such as *What does/did X say?* This characteristic of direct speech forms enables native speakers to interpret them as a special kind of clausal constituents occupying typical noun phrase positions (i.e., argument positions) of matrix sentences. In English, various verbs of saying (such as *say, tell, add, ask*, etc.) can be employed as matrix verbs in the formation of direct speech. It is interesting to note here that these same English verbs can also take finite argument clauses introduced by an appropriate complementizer (such as *that, whether*, etc.) as their syntactic complements, which constitutes a rather distinct case from the one observed in Turkish as it will be clear in Section (3.5.). (3)

Consider the following examples:

- 4a. [Mike visited some of his relatives before the crime], said the detectives.
- 4b. The detectives said [that [Mike had visited some of his relatives before the crime]].
- 5a. [And you will not interfere with my affairs], added John.
- 5b. John added [that [she would not interfere with his affairs]].
- 6a. [Are you crazy], Mike asked Mary.
- 6b. Mike asked Mary [whether [she was crazy]] (or not).

It is frequently emphasized that direct speech forms in natural languages are not very promising constructions for the examination of the system of embedded clauses because every independent sentence can potentially have such an equivalent. However, this objection may be disregarded if it is assumed that direct speech forms are extremely powerful and productive means of conveying or reflecting not only linguistic utterances but also extra-linguistic sounds, such as the sound of a bird, a wind, or even a car as in the following examples.

- 7a. [pooh], said the owl.
- 7b. [Brrrrmmm], said the car.

In sum, direct speech forms constitute a very special subset of embedded finite clauses which are frequently found in argument positions of root sentences without any observable change in its morphosyntactic structure.

3.4.1.1.1.2. Finite Argument Clauses Other Than Direct Speech Forms

As compared to Turkish subordination system, English extensively employs finite clauses as its embedded forms within matrix categories. Considering the frequent use of non-finite forms, such as gerundive clauses, it can be concluded that English equally makes use of both finite and non-finite clauses to perform a great variety of grammatical functions. In this respect, Turkish clearly opts for non-finite embedding, except for certain contexts or borrowed constructions. The following subsection deals with embedded finite clauses introduced by complementizers in English.

3.4.1.1.1.2.1. Finite Embedded Clauses Introduced by a Complementizer

In English, certain types of finite embedded clauses which are introduced by a complementizer may occupy argument positions of matrix predicates. That is, most complement clauses in English exhibit such a syntactic category which is obviously a function word rather than being a content word. In this context, four types of complementizers are generally distinguished in the complementation system of English by most linguists: *that*, *whether*, *if*, and *for*. Noonan (1985, 45) also considers *to* as an infinitival complementizer changing an infinitival clause into a complement). The status of *for* as a complementizer is somehow controversial for the present work. Of course, both *for* and *to* cannot be found in finite embedded clauses: in such contexts, only *that*, *whether*, and *if* are allowed.

A finite embedded clause can function either as an external argument (i.e., usually corresponding to the element in traditional subject position) or as one of the internal arguments (in traditional terms, direct objects, indirect objects, etc.) of a matrix predicate. For instance, the following pairs of sentences contain embedded finite clauses occupying external and internal argument positions in the respective order:

8a. [That John went to the office yesterday] surprised all his colleagues.

8b. I know [that John went to the office yesterday].

- 9a. [What he did with his money yesterday] does not bother me.
 9b. Up to now, nobody has managed to learn [what he did with his money yesterday].

As it is apparent from the examples above, what makes these embedded finite clauses different from ordinary simple sentences is the existence of the special categories, such as *that* or *what*, introducing them into their matrix clauses. It must be emphasized that regular independent sentences cannot contain a complementizer or a similar *wh*-expression as in the way it is found in finite embedded clauses. In fact, the existence of a complementizer renders a sentence totally ungrammatical as it is apparent from the following examples:

- 10a. * [That John went to the office yesterday].
 10b. * [What he did with his money yesterday].

In English, finite argument clauses within root sentences may be introduced by means of a small set of **complementizers** (*that, if, whether*), as it is indicated above, and similar function words (traditionally known as **wh-words, wh-pronouns** or **wh-expressions**), including *who, what, where*, etc. (4)

As it has been emphasized before, most types of finite argument clauses with full clausal characteristics usually require a complementizer immediately preceding these clauses. The following paragraphs provide the examples of embedded finite clauses introduced by complementizers and similar function words and examine such clauses on the basis of the type of the complementizer involved.

In English, finite argument clauses which are embedded within matrix clauses may be preceded by the complementizer *that* if the embedded clause corresponds to a regular indicative statement in terms of its underlying structure. An embedded finite argument clause introduced by the complementizer *that* may appear in external or internal argument positions.

- 11a. [That Mike visited all his relatives last weekend] has made his parents happy.
 11b. Nobody in the town could predict [that Mike had visited some of his relatives before the crime].

There exist numerous verbs that take finite clausal constituents introduced by *that* as their internal arguments in the language. Here are some examples:

- 12a. I know [that you were ill yesterday]
- 12b. The journalists have reported [that there are almost fifteen people with severe injuries].
- 12c. Mary assumes [that the current situation may lead to worse incidents].

The finite clauses introduced by the complementizer *that* may also function as external arguments of certain verbs as in the following examples:

- 13a. [That I passed all my courses last semester] made my parents extremely happy.
- 13b. [That the world is round] has surprised the little child.

In fact, both external and internal arguments of a matrix predicate may be realized by means of finite embedded clauses with the complementizer *that* as in the following example:

- 14. [That you have paid a large amount of money to spend your holiday at this hotel] does not mean [that you can behave in such a rude manner].

Embedded finite clauses introduced by the complementizer *that* may also function as internal arguments of most adjectives. In such cases, the prepositions that are obligatory with the ordinary noun phrases which function as internal arguments of these adjectives frequently disappear due to case assignment characteristics of the English predicates: it seems that both finite and non-finite clausal constituents in English do not require overt morphological case as opposed to similar categories within matrix clauses in Turkish. Actually, such clauses in Turkish invariably need an overt morphological case to represent its particular thematic status with respect to the matrix predicate.

- 15a. I am proud **of** [you].
- 15b. I am proud [that you have passed all your exams].
- 16a. We are all glad **about** [your decision].
- 16b. We are all glad [that our grandparents have decided to visit us next weekend].

In English, finite embedded clauses within argument positions of matrix predicates can be introduced by the complementizer *whether* when that embedded clause corresponds to an independent sentences in the form of *yes-no* interrogative (i.e., *yes-no* question) with

respect to its underlying D-structure characteristics. Just like *that*-clauses, an embedded finite clause introduced by the complementizer *whether* is able to occur freely both in internal argument positions and in external argument positions as it is clear from the following examples.

- 17a. Did he really steal the money from the bank?
- 17b. [Whether he really stole the money from the bank] has made very little difference for the judge.
- 17c. We do not know [whether he really stole the money from the bank] (or not).

In such cases, it is also possible to employ another complementizer, namely the complementizer *if* instead of *whether* as long as the embedded clause functions as an internal argument of a matrix predicate. That is, an embedded finite argument clause introduced by the complementizer *if* can only appear in internal argument positions. Then, an embedded finite argument clause introduced by *if* cannot function as the subject of a matrix clause in English.

- 18a. I don't know [if he has passed all his exams].
- 18b. * [If he has passed all his exams] is a mystery for us.

3.4.1.1.2.2. Finite Embedded Clauses without a Complementizer

In some cases, the presence of the complementizer *that* before the finite embedded clause is optional with certain matrix predicates when the embedded clause functions as an internal argument. This optional characteristic of the complementizer *that* is a frequently observed in colloquial speech. In contrast, it is not possible to remove *that* when the embedded clause is in external argument position (i.e., subject position). Consider the following examples to observe this contrast:

- 19a. * [Mike visited all his relatives last weekend] has made his parents happy.
- 19b. The detectives thought [Mike had visited some of his relatives before the crime].

However, this form should be differentiated from the finite embedded clauses occupying argument positions to represent the direct speech forms, as it has been shown in the previous sections. The distinction between these two types of finite embedded clauses can

be observed in the choice of tense of the embedded clause, (i.e. indirect speech versus direct speech forms). Observe this well-known difference in the following examples:

- 20a. The detectives said [that Mike had visited some of his relatives before the crime].
- 20b. [Mike visited some of his relatives before the crime], said the detectives.

3.4.1.1.1.2.3. Finite Embedded Clauses Introduced by a Wh-Word

In English, finite constituent clauses which correspond to independent sentences functioning as various constituent questions (or *wh*-questions) are also capable of appearing as arguments within matrix clauses. In such cases, the *wh*-word which refers to the constituent that is questioned (such as *what*, *where*, *who*, etc.) is moved to the clause-initial position and the other parts of the embedded clause is left unchanged.

A *wh*-question which interrogate the **reason** of the action expressed by a clause has also a corresponding finite constituent clause within a complex sentence. In this case, the question word *why* is simply placed in clause-initial position and there appears no change concerning the other constituents of the embedded clause.

The following examples illustrate instances of complex sentences which include a constituent clause that correspond to certain types of questions in English. Obviously, constituent clauses representing questions can appear in external and internal argument positions.

- 21a. I don't know [who he is].
- 21b. I don't know [what he has done].
- 21c. I don't know [where he is].
- 21d. I don't know [when he left the office].
- 21e. I don't know [how long he stayed in New York last year].
- 21f. I don't know [which is yours].
- 21g. I don't know [how he has managed to survive].
- 21h. I don't know [why he has left his position in the company].

- 22a. [Who he is] is a mystery for us.
- 22b. [What he has done] is a mystery for us.
- 22c. [Where he is] is a mystery for us.

- 22d. [When he left the office] is a mystery for us.
- 22e. [How long he stayed in New York last year] is a mystery for us.
- 22f. [Which is yours] is a mystery for us.
- 22g. [How he has managed to survive] is a mystery for us.
- 22h. [Why he has left his position in the company] is a mystery for us.

Since an embedded finite clause with a *wh*-word introducing it is a complement of the matrix predicate it may equally be plausible to consider them as complementizers. In fact, their syntactic function is almost the same as that of genuine complementizers in similar contexts. (5)

3.4.1.1.2. Finite Embedded Clauses in Non-argument Positions of Matrix Sentences

In English, there are various types of finite embedded clauses which occupy non-argument positions with respect to matrix predicates. Such clauses perform a range of adverbial functions (hence, the name **adverbial clauses**) by modifying the matrix predicate (or the whole sentence) in from a number of perspectives, such as time, manner, reason, condition, etc. Such finite embedded clauses with adverbial functions within matrix sentences are usually introduced by a **subordinating conjunction** in the clause-initial position of the adverbial clause. For instance, finite clauses that modify matrix clauses in order to express a condition need the usage of one of the appropriate conjunctions, including *if* and *unless*. Similarly, embedded finite clauses may be preceded by certain conjunctions, such as *when*, *while*, *before*, *after*, etc. whenever these clauses modify their matrix sentences in terms of a temporal aspect. In brief, there are numerous instances of finite clauses which exhibit some form of adverbial relations with regard to their matrix predicate or their matrix sentences as a whole in English.

3.4.1.2. Non-finite Clauses Embedded within Matrix Sentences

It is possible to find non-finite clauses as constituents of other clauses in English. Since a particular definition of finiteness has been provided in Section (3.1), it will be sufficient to stress that the finiteness of a clause in English can simply be reduced to the existence of inflectional categories within such clauses because embedded clauses never exhibit a particular paradigm of inflectional morphology, such as tense and agreement, other than that is found within simple sentences. This amounts to say that if there exist some

inflectional markers within the clause structure, that clause is finite. On the other hand, the absence such inflectional categories renders that clause non-finite.

In fact, there is always a striking difference between the verb forms of a finite clause and that of non-finite clauses in English. While the former contains a verbal predicate which exhibits the full range of regular tense markers and other relevant verbal morphology, non-finite verb forms do not display such a rich set of inflectional properties, except for some kind of vague connotations of time by means of a limited number of morphosyntactic characteristics. To put it another way, the morphology found on verbal predicates of non-finite clauses are rather poor as compared to those on finite verb forms. In this respect, a particular non-finite verb form which is observed in infinitival clauses totally lacks morphological markers at all. Gerundive clauses, on the other hand, seem to exhibit an inflectional morpheme, namely the *-ing* suffix. Although the inflectional status of this marker has not been explicitly determined in various studies, the present study assumes that this marker is comparable to the well-known syntactic nominalization suffixes in Turkish (i.e., non-finite TAM markers) and that both types belong to the inflectional morphology.

Just like finite clauses, non-finite clauses in English may appear in either argument positions or non-argument positions determined by the matrix predicates of complex sentences. In these positions, they perform various syntactic functions depending on their particular thematic relationship with the matrix predicate.

It is possible differentiate between two major types of non-finite clauses in English. The first type of non-finite clauses comprises *-ing* clauses (i.e., gerundive clauses and participial clauses) and *to* clauses, (i.e., infinitival clauses). It appears that both types are capable of filling argument and non-argument positions within complex sentences (sometimes with minor morphosyntactic modifications).

Generally speaking, both *-ing* clauses and *to* clauses may exhibit overt subjects, albeit through different means. In fact, *-ing* clauses are able to express the agent of the action or state expressed by their predicates in the Genitive Case without the intermediary of any element. This implies that there must be a case assignment mechanism inside an *-ing* clause. At first sight, there appears no element with this function.

However, it will be clear in the subsequent chapters that the striking structural parallelism between *-ing* clauses in English and the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish

suggests that it is not implausible to assume that *-ing* clauses (i.e., gerundive clauses) in English also possess a nominal subject predicate agreement category in their phrase structure. In this respect, *-ing* clauses can be argued to constitute typical forms of syntactic nominalizations in English. This agreement category is different than the one found in Turkish nominalizations with respect to its morphological realization: it is possible to assume that this category realized as a zero morpheme (i.e., $\emptyset$). In contrast to gerundive clauses, *to* clauses seem not to have such an agreement category, even an abstract one, because they always need external elements in order to represent their subjects overtly.

To clauses, on the other hand, need external elements in order for their subjects to be case-marked. In fact, there seem two distinct options: (1) existence of the prepositional complementizer *for* as a case assigner, which assigns the Accusative case to the subject of the non-finite clause or (2) the existence of a case assigning (i.e., transitive) verb immediately preceding the whole *to* clause so that the subject of the non-finite infinitival clause could be assigned Accusative case structurally (i.e., ECM constructions).

23a. [For Lisa to attend the course] has become a nightmare.

23b. The instructor is expecting [Lisa to attend the course regularly].

The following subsections deal with general characteristics of these non-finite clauses in English.

3.4.1.2.1. Non-finite Embedded Clauses in Argument Positions of Matrix Sentences

Non-finite clauses may be found in argument positions of root sentences in English. In such cases, non-finite argument clauses bear the particular thematic relationship with respect to the matrix predicate. Generally speaking, it is possible to assume that both gerundive clauses and infinitival clauses are allowed in argument positions of matrix clauses in English as it is expected.

3.4.1.2.1.1. *-Ing* Clauses in Argument Positions of Matrix Sentences: Gerundive Clauses

In English, it can be frequently observed that *-ing* clauses can be found in argument positions of root sentences. Depending on the type of matrix predicate, they may occupy

either external or internal argument positions. When they occupy an external argument position, they function as the subject of the matrix clause.

- 24a. [PRO Touching these electric wires] is extremely dangerous.
- 24b. [PRO Smoking cigarettes in this room] is forbidden.
- 24c. [PRO Listening to the sound of waves by the sea] always makes me relaxed.

Similarly, an *-ing* clause may follow a matrix verb as its complement. Consider the examples below.

- 25a. She avoided [PRO touching the electric wires].
- 25b. The boss has permitted [PRO smoking cigarettes in this room].
- 25c. I really enjoy [PRO listening to the sound of waves by the sea].

The instances of *-ing* clauses in above examples do not have overt subjects. In this respect, they only contain internal arguments and optional adverbial expressions as well as a nominalized verbal predicate (by means of the suffix *-ing*). On the other hand, some *-ing* clauses, as non-finite argument clauses embedded within another clause, frequently possess a subject in the Genitive Case as in the following examples.

- 26a. [Mary's touching these electric wires] was unfortunate.
- 26b. [Your smoking cigarettes in this room] is unbearable.
- 26c. [John's listening to the sound of waves by the sea] has made him relaxed.

Furthermore, it is necessary to note that certain *-ing* clauses appearing in argument positions contain an Accusative subject rather than a Genitive one. This contrast can be observed in the following pair of examples:

- 27a. I enjoy [your singing old songs].
- 27b. I saw [him crossing the street this afternoon].

In fact, the exact syntactic status of the part *crossing the street this afternoon* is slightly controversial: with the Accusative subject, it seems that the whole unit is a clausal constituent in an argument position. Alternatively, it is not implausible to think that the part *crossing the street this afternoon* has some modification relation with the head noun *him* as a reduced form of a relative clause construction, yielding the complex noun phrase *him crossing the street this afternoon*. A third analysis may assimilate this

construction to an ECM (Exceptional Case Marking) construction where the third person singular masculine subject is assigned Accusative case by the ECM verb *saw*. Since such clauses are transitional between regular clauses and nominalizations (see Abney, 1987), the present study leaves the question of the exact syntactic status of *-ing* clauses with an Accusative subject appearing in argument positions unresolved.

An *-ing* clause containing a Genitive subject is minimally composed of a subject noun phrase in the Genitive Case (which is, by the way, exactly parallel to the case forms of subjects of the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish) and a predicate in the *ing*-form as well as other types of necessary elements (and possibly, the optional adverbial ones).

28a. [Mike's visiting his hometown ten years later] surprised the inhabitants.

28b. They are proud of [Tom's winning the gold medal in the Olympic games].

When an *-ing* clause does not contain a subject noun phrase, it simply represents an action whose agent is either generic (i.e., *one*) or controlled.

In most cases, the exact form of *-ing* clauses in argument positions with respect to the representation of an overt subject (and the case form of that subject, for that matter) is determined by the idiosyncratic selectional properties of matrix predicates. Most matrix predicates in English may select multiple forms of such clauses. However, certain predicates may exclusively select a particular subcategory, not some others.

3.4.1.2.1.2. *To* Clauses in Argument Positions of Matrix Sentences: Infinitival Clauses

In most cases, *to* clauses are able to occupy argument positions with respect to matrix predicates. In other words, *to* clauses may function as either external or internal argument of a predicate. Consider the following examples:

29a. I want [an apple].

29b. I want [to visit my parents].

29c. I want [him to visit his parents more frequently].

29d. I have requested [that he should visit his parents more frequently].

30a. This month, I expect [a promotion].

- 30b. I expect [to arrive at the airport at ten o'clock].
- 30c. I expect [you to arrive at the airport at ten o'clock].
- 30d. I expect [that you will arrive at the airport at ten o'clock].

In (a) sentences, the internal arguments (i.e., direct objects) are ordinary noun phrases. In (b) and (c) sentences, *to* clauses function as argument clauses. This particular function can also be carried out by finite embedded clauses introduced by a complementizer, as in the case of (d) sentences.

To clauses seem to lack tense and agreement specifications on their predicates. They may possess an Accusative subject introduced by the prepositional complementizer 'for.' In some cases, however, an ECM predicate may be responsible for the Accusative Case of the subject of *to* clauses.

- 31a. [For Mike to leave his home country for five years] is extremely painful.
- 31b. It is vital [for you to win this final race at the Olympic games].

Like *-ing* clauses, *to* clauses may or may not exhibit a subject noun phrase. The absence of a subject noun phrase leads either to a generic interpretation of the agent of the action expressed by a particular *to* clause or to a particular agent interpretation which is controlled by (a frequently but not necessarily higher) controller subject, which is co-indexed with the unexpressed subject of that *to* clause. For instance, a *to* clause which occupies an internal argument position and which does not have an overt subject is naturally be interpreted as an action carried out by the agent of the root clause.

- 32a. I agree [PRO to revise my project].
- 32b. They will attempt [PRO to remove us from the power].
- 32c. Please, do not forget [PRO to buy some vegetables from the store].
- 32d. I prefer [PRO to stay at this hotel during the holiday].

A *to* clause is also able to occupy the external argument position of a matrix clause. In such cases, *to* clauses frequently lack an overt subject leading a generic interpretation of the agent of the specified action.

- 33. To err is human, to forgive is divine.

In some cases, the agent of the action expressed by the infinitival clause occupying a subject position can be recovered from the following parts of the matrix clause. For instance, the agent of the infinitive in the first sentence of the following pair is identical with the pronoun *me*. In a similar fashion, the person who will carry out the action expressed by the *to* clause is the same as the agent (or experiencer) of hating in the latter.

34a. [PRO To complete this task on time] is almost impossible for *me*.

34b. [PRO To sleep in a different bed] is what I hate most.

3.4.1.2.2. Non-finite Embedded Clauses in Non-argument Positions of Matrix Sentences

Non-finite clauses may also appear in non-argument positions of matrix sentences with respect to the matrix predicate. In such cases, non-finite clauses perform a variety of modification functions, such as manner, purpose, precedence in time, etc. Again, the major forms of non-finite non-argument clauses are assumed to be *-ing* clauses and *to* clauses in English. The following subsections deal with these clauses in a rather broad way.

3.4.1.2.2.1. -Ing Clauses in Non-argument Positions of Matrix Sentences: Participial or Manner Clauses

In English, *-ing* clauses can function as optional phrasal constituents within root sentences, modifying the matrix predicate (or the matrix clause as a whole) from a number of respects. Observe the following examples where *-ing* clauses (i.e., participial clauses) in (a) examples modify the root sentences from expressing concession, reason, time, simultaneity, etc. The same function can be expressed by means of finite clauses in similar non-argument positions as in the (b) examples below. In this respect, non-finite clauses seem as if they were morphosyntactically reduced versions of such finite non-argument clauses.

35a. Feeling ill last night, I had to study for the final exam.

35b. **Although** I was feeling ill last night, I had to study for the final exam.

36a. Feeling tired, I went to bed early last night.

36b. **Because** I felt tired, I went to bed early last night.

- 37a. Having finished our task, we went home.
 37b. **After** we had finished our work, we went home.
- 38a. I cut myself shaving.
 38b. I cut myself **while** I was shaving.
- 39a. She was sitting in an armchair reading a novel.
 39b. She was sitting in an armchair **and** she was reading a novel **in that period**.
- 40a. You can start this machine (by) pushing the red button. (way of action)
 40b. The children tore their new clothes (by) climbing apple trees. (way of action)

3.4.1.2.2.2. *To* Clauses in Non-argument Positions of Matrix Sentences: Purpose Clauses

A particular subset of *to* clauses have the function of expressing purpose in English. That is, such *to* clauses occupy non-argument positions within the matrix sentence and represent the purpose of the action given in the root sentence. The internal morphosyntactic composition of such clauses are parallel to that of *to* clauses in argument positions with respect to matrix predicates.

- 41a. [To be successful in the future], you must study harder.
 41b. You must study harder [to be successful in the future].

The expression *in order* can also be used just before the purpose clause.

- 42a. [**In order** to be successful in the future], you must study harder.
 42b. You must study harder [**in order** to be successful in the future].

In fact, it is also possible to express the subject of the purpose clause by means of the preposition *for*.

43. [(In order) for the their leader to marry the princess], they kidnapped her from the palace.

3.4.2. Clauses Embedded within Noun Phrases

In English, a variety of embedded clauses can be found within noun phrases. Generally, a noun phrase containing a clause as its constituent is called a complex noun phrase. Theoretically, both finite and non-finite embedded clauses are possible within complex noun phrases in English. From a different point, the particular relationship between an embedded clause and the (semantic) head of the noun phrase constitutes another criterion that can be employed in analyzing clausal constituents within noun phrases. In this context, a clause within a noun phrase may be either a complement or a modifier. In the first case, the clause functions as a phrasal category that increases the syntactic level of the head category by one level. The latter case involves certain forms of modification of the head noun which is typically the function of adjective phrases with lexical adjectives as their heads. A clause whose function is identical with that of an adjective phrase within a noun phrase is traditionally known as relative clause (or alternatively modifier clause as a neutral and general term).

3.4.2.1. Finite Embedded Clauses within Complex Noun Phrases

As far as finite embedded clauses are concerned, they are typically introduced by a complementizer. Examples of finite clauses with the complementizer that can be given as in the following:

- 44a. [The book [that I read last week]] was interesting. (modification)
- 44b. [The fact [that our soldiers are in great danger]] has not been taken into consideration. (complementation)

3.4.2.1.1. Finite Modifier (Relative) Clauses

In English, a finite clause is capable of modifying a head noun within a complex noun phrase. This type of embedded clauses are known as relative clauses or adjectival clauses since their function is almost parallel to that of adjectives. What a modifying adjective does to a head noun is to restrict the number of members that can be included in the set that is defined by the lexical noun (such as individuals, objects, entities, concepts, etc. or any thing that a noun can denote). In this respect, an adjectival clause behave almost in the same way. It specifies a subset of elements from a larger set represented by the head noun.

As it is said above, the internal morphosyntactic structure of a relative clause is, to a great extent, parallel to that of a regular finite clause except for a moved constituent which has the same reference with the head of the whole noun phrase in certain cases. In such cases, the constituent which refers to the same entity with the noun that is to be modified is replaced with an appropriate *wh*-pronoun and is moved to a clause initial position. There are some other cases which do not necessitate such a movement operation. Instead, such a constituent is simply deleted. Furthermore there are also cases in which no constituent of the relative clause is moved, deleted, etc. (especially in a relative clause which specifies a reason by means of the *wh*-pronoun *why*). This type of relative clauses is rather similar to content clauses (noun complement clauses) in terms of their functions and structures.

45a. I saw the boy. The boy was walking with Lisa.

45b. I saw the boy [who was walking with Lisa].

46a. Tom left the school last year. I know the reason.

46b. I know the reason [why Tom left the school last year].

3.4.2.1.2. Finite Clauses within Complex Noun Phrases Functioning as Complements

Certain nouns may take a finite clause introduced by the complementizer *that* as a complement in English. What makes such a finite clause different from a relative clause is its unique status in the syntactic structure of the complex noun phrase. This type of finite clauses which are used to represent the content of the head noun are frequently called noun complement clauses. Theoretically, there appears no restriction in the number of relative clauses modifying a head noun, with only a pragmatic restriction. Unlike relative clauses, only one complement clause is possible within a complex noun phrase. This is a frequently observed situation as far as complements and adjuncts (i.e., non-arguments) are concerned. In addition, relative clauses include a relative pronoun which is co-referential with the head that is to be modified in the clause-initial position, noun complement clauses never lack such a constituent. The examples of noun complement clauses can be given as follows:

47a. [The fact [that the earth is round]] has not been accepted easily by the church.

47b. [The rumor [that the power plant was sold to a private company]] spread over the village like bush fire.

3.4.2.2. Non-finite Clauses within Complex Noun Phrases

It seems that non-finite clauses can only function as modifier clauses within complex noun phrase rather than serving as a complement clause. In this respect, the complementation function appears to be restricted to finite embedded clauses in English.

Then, in certain contexts, *-ing* clauses seem to function as a form of modifier (i.e. relative) clauses within complex noun phrases. Observe the following pairs of examples:

- 48a. [The man [sitting under the tree]] looked sick.
- 48b. [The man [who is sitting under the tree]] looked sick.

- 49a. These are [the children [needing medical attention]].
- 49b. These are [the children [who need medical attention]].

- 50a. I need [a map [marking political boundaries]].
- 50b. I need [a map [that marks political boundaries]].

3.4.3. Clauses Embedded within Prepositional Phrases

It seems that finite clauses cannot function as complements of prepositions in English:

- 51a. * I am proud [pp of [that you have passed the exam]].
- 51b. * I am thinking [pp about [that I should have a long holiday]].
- 51c. * I am still angry [pp with [that you have broken the vase]].

Instead, non-finite *-ing* clauses are required as complements of prepositions within prepositional phrases in English.

- 52a. I am proud [pp of [your having passed the exam]].
- 52b. I am thinking [pp about [having a long holiday]].
- 52c. I am still angry [pp with [your breaking the vase]].

3.4.4. Clauses Embedded within Adjectival Phrases

In English, finite clauses introduced by a complementizer may function as a complement of an adjective:

53. I am proud [that you have passed the exam].

Non-finite clauses cannot occupy this complement position directly, and therefore, an intermediary preposition is required as it is observed in the case of ordinary noun phrases:

54a. * I am proud [your having passed the exam].

54b. I am proud of [your having passed the exam].

54c. I am proud of [your success].

3.5. A Survey of the Major Types of Embedded Clauses in Turkish

This section tries to provide a general review of major types of clausal constituents found in various matrix categories in Turkish. These matrix categories include clauses, noun phrases, postpositional phrases and adjective phrases.

Just like English, Turkish makes use of both finite and non-finite clauses within matrix categories. Since the exact definition of **finiteness** is somehow a controversial issue, the present work adopts a particular operational definition of finiteness explained in Section (3.3). In this context, recall that in order for a clause to be considered as finite, (1) it must show certain inflectional morphology, such as tense and agreement, and (2) the syntactic type of these inflectional morphemes must match that of the ones found in a simple sentence. To put it differently, if a constituent clause displays the full scale of the correct types of inflectional categories, which are typically found on the predicates of simple sentences, then, that dependent clause is said to be a finite.

Consequently, it is necessary to differentiate between two types of inflectional categories in Turkish: finite inflectional categories and non-finite inflectional categories (as far as the adopted version of the definition of finiteness is concerned).

This implies that there exist two different sets of such categories:

(1) The first set is composed of the *finite tense markers* (or more correctly, finite TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood) markers) and *finite subject predicate agreement markers*.

(2) The second set, on the other hand, contains *non-finite tense markers* (i.e., non-finite TAM markers, generally known as syntactic nominalization suffixes) and *non-finite subject predicate agreement markers*.

In fact, a different definition of finiteness may render such a distinction unnecessary. Yet, this particular version of the definition of finiteness is a rather powerful expository device, meeting the requirements of the present chapter. Then, assuming that deciding on the exact type of a constituent clause with respect to its finiteness status, it might be hypothetically supposed that both finite and non-finite are able to appear in matrix categories. The following sections deal with a variety of constituent clauses within certain matrix categories in Turkish. To start with, it is wise to concentrate on the clauses embedded within root sentences to form complex sentences.

3.5.1. Clauses Embedded within Matrix Sentences

A clause can function as a constituent of another clause in Turkish which is a universal characteristic of all human languages. (6) It means that a propositional (i.e., clausal) constituent may originate in a syntactic position which has a particular thematic relationship with a predicate.

In such cases, the propositional constituent is similar to a simple sentence because it is also able to exhibit all types of thematic relations between its arguments even though it is itself a part of another category (i.e., it does not stand alone in a piece of discourse as a simple sentence would do). In most cases, it is easy to identify a particular simple sentence whose D-structure is shared by a particular clausal constituent of a matrix clause. It is exactly this correspondence which motivates a transformational approach to linguistic expressions displaying almost equivalent semantic characteristics (i.e., in the sense that they are near paraphrases of each other).

A constituent clause originated within a matrix clause always bear a part-whole relationship to the latter. This can be regarded as a hierarchical difference in their syntactic structures: the former is a part of the latter. This wide-spread property is known as subordination and the resulting category is called a complex sentence.

It is possible to find both finite and non-finite constituent clauses in complex sentences in Turkish. The choice of the nature of a constituent clause in terms of its finiteness is theoretically determined by two firmly related factors. The selection of a particular type of constituent clause is dependent on (1) the particular syntactic position in which it appears and (2) the idiosyncratic selectional properties of the matrix predicate.

Grammatically speaking, an embedded clause can perform a variety of functions within a matrix clause, such as subject, direct object, indirect object, etc. in addition to certain adverbial functions. These grammatical functions, which reflect a more traditional terminology for the major prominent constituents within a clause, can also be defined in terms of argument structure of the matrix predicate and the corresponding theta roles assigned to these arguments by the predicate. In this way, the relationship between an embedded clause and a matrix predicate can be formalized so that the type of the semantic relationship between a constituent (here, an embedded clause) and matrix predicate can be represented in the syntactic component of the grammar. In sum, the differences between various types of semantic relationships can be reflected in the syntax in terms of argument and non-argument (adjunct) positions with respect to the matrix predicate.

The succeeding subsections concentrate on finite clauses embedded within other clauses to form a complex sentence. What follows this is a review of non-finite clauses in similar matrix categories.

3.5.1.1. Finite Clauses Embedded within Matrix Sentences

It is possible to find a finite constituent clause within a matrix clause. Considering the particular definition of finiteness adopted by the present work, it can be proposed that there are several types of finite constituent clauses in complex sentences depending on the syntactic function they perform and the characteristics of matrix predicates.

With respect to the communicative function of language, two general types of finite embedded clauses can be distinguished within matrix sentences in Turkish: direct speech forms and other various types of finite constituent clauses. Furthermore, it is also possible to differentiate between a native and non-native forms of direct speech in Turkish exhibiting certain peculiarities.

Another categorization can be made on the basis of the syntactic function that a constituent clause serves. In this respect, constituent clauses within root sentences can be divided into two groups: (1) argument clauses and (2) non-argument (i.e., adjunct) clauses. The following sections deal with these subtypes in more detail.

3.5.1.1.1. Finite Constituent Clauses in Argument Positions of Matrix Sentences

Turkish allow for the embedding of finite argument clauses within matrix sentences in certain contexts and with particular types of matrix predicates. It is well known that arguments are characteristically obligatory constituents of matrix sentences. In this respect, a finite clausal constituent can be found in argument positions of certain native verbs in Turkish in order to form several direct speech constructions. Unlike English, Turkish employs the verb *de-* 'say' for this purpose. It is an idiosyncratic inherent characteristic of this verb to take a finite argument clause. No other matrix verbs seem to allow for such finite direct speech clauses (although finite clauses other than direct speech forms may be possible with certain matrix verbs).

3.5.1.1.1.1. Direct Speech Forms

Turkish has both native and non-native forms of direct speech (as well as a non-native form of finite complement clauses as it will be shown in the subsequent sections). In such cases, the matrix verbs idiosyncratically select a fully finite constituent clause as their complements (e.g., *de-* 'say') in order to represent the original linguistic expression of a speaker to a third party.

55. Ali biz-e [siz ev-e git-meli-siniz] *de-di-ø*. (fully finite direct speech clause)

A.-NOM we-DAT you-NOM house-DAT go-NEC-2PL/F say-PAST-3SG/F

"You must go to the house" said Ali to us.

In fact, it is rather curious whether there exists any other verbal predicate which selects finite direct speech clauses without the intermediary of another element. It is probable that the matrix verb *de-* 'say' is unique in this respect.

However, there exists another strategy for direct speech as it is shown in the following:

56. Ali biz-e de-di-ø [ki [siz ev-e git-meli-siniz]]. (fully finite direct speech clause)
 A.-NOM we-DAT say-PAST-3SG/F that you-NOM house-DAT go-NEC-2PL/F
 "You must go to the house" said Ali to us.

Again, both the form and the function carried out by the complement clause is the same in both examples. The only difference in the latter is the presence of a functional category, namely the complementizer *ki* 'that' which introduces the direct speech clause in argument position of the matrix verb. Also, observe that the original form of the direct speech is preserved in this construction: e.g., the subject noun phrase *siz* 'you', the finite subject predicate agreement *-siniz* (3PL/F). Then, it can be concluded that the verb *de-* 'say' is the only verb in Turkish which exclusively selects a direct speech clause as a finite argument clause without any modifications that are typically observed in indirect speech.

3.5.1.1.1.1. Native Form of Direct Speech

Perhaps, one of the most interesting type of finite argument clauses in Turkish is the ones that perform the function of **direct speech**. It is well known that direct speech constructions communicate the most original form of a linguistic expression without any change in the form of subjects and agreement markers. In this respect, it reflects the exact utterance of a speaker to a third party.

As it is indicated above, it seems that the only verbal predicate that can take a direct speech clause as its complement is the verb *de-* 'say' as opposed to English, and perhaps, many other languages.

- 57a. Ahmet biz-e [Ali cam-ı kır-dı-ø] de-di-ø.
 Ahmet said, "Ali broke the glass."
- 57b. Ben san-a [baba-n bura-ya gel-me-di-ø] de-me-di-m.
 I did not tell you, "Your father did not come here."
- 57c. Öğretmen ban-a [sen dışarı çık] de-di-ø.
 The teacher said to me "go out!"
- 57d. Ayşe Ali-ye az kal-sın [ben sen-i çok sev-iyor-um] di-yecek-ti-ø.
 Ayşe was about to tell Ali, "I love you."

- 57e. Ben baba-m-a [e o ev-den hemen ayr-ıl-acağ-ım] de-miş-ti-m.
I had said to my father, "I will immediately leave that house."

Other matrix predicates (usually verbs of saying) can take a finite subordinate clause only indirectly. In such cases, the particle *diye* 'saying' (7) which was probably derived from the verb *de-* 'say' originally, must immediately follow the finite clause:

- 58a. Ahmet (biz-e) [[Ali cam-ı kır-dı-ø] diye] fısılda-dı-ø.
Ahmet whispered to us as / saying [Ali broke the glass].
- 58b. Ben az önce (san-a) [[bura-ya gel] diye] bağır-mış-tı-m.
A short time ago, I cried to you as / saying [come here]
- 58c. Öğretmen ban-a [[sen dışarı çık-acak-sın] diye] kükre-di-ø.
The teacher shouted at me as / saying "you will go out."
- 58d. Ayşe mektub-un-da Ali-ye az kal-sın [[sen-i çok sev-iyor-um] di-ye] yaz-acak-tı-ø.
In her letter, Ayşe was about to write to Ali as / saying "I love you very much."
- 58e. Ben baba-m-a [[e o ev-den hemen ayr-ıl-acağ-ım] diye] söz ver-miş-ti-m.
I had promised my father, saying "I will immediately leave that house."

Observe that, in all cases above, the finite direct speech clause is not an argument / complement clause of the matrix predicate. Essentially, these finite clauses have an adverbial status which can be translated into English by means of participial clauses **by saying [...]**.

The vague semantic flavor of these clauses can be clarified in the following way which supposedly represents equivalent constructions corresponding to (58a) and (58b) above.

- 59a. Ahmet (biz-e) [PRO [Ali cam-ı kır-dı-ø] **diye-erek**] fısılda-dı-ø.
Ahmet whispered to us by saying [Ali broke the glass].
- 59b. Ben az önce (san-a) [PRO [bura-ya gel] **diye-erek**] bağır-mış-tı-m.

A short time ago, I cried to you by saying [come here])

3.5.1.1.1.2. Non-native Form of Direct Speech

As it is emphasized above, another direct speech form in Turkish can be constructed with the borrowed complementizer *ki* 'that'. The following examples are intended to illustrate this type of direct speech in detail.

- 60a. Ahmet biz-e de-di-ø [ki [Ali cam-ı kır-dı-ø]].
Ahmet told us [Ali broke the glass].
- 60b. Ben san-a de-me-di-m [ki [baba-n bura-ya gel-me-di-ø]].
I did not tell you [your father did not come here].
- 60c. Öğretmen ban-a de-di-ø [ki [sen dışarı çık-acak-sın]].
The teacher told me [you will go out].
- 60d. Ayşe Ali-ye az kal-sın di-yecek-ti-ø [ki [ben sen-i çok sev-iyor-um]].
Ayşe was about to tell Ali [I love you very much]
- 60e. Ben baba-m-a de-miş-ti-m [ki [e o ev-den hemen ayr-ıl-acak-ım]].
I had said to my father [I will immediately leave that house].

3.5.1.1.1.2. Fully Finite Clauses Introduced by the Borrowed Complementizer *ki* 'that' in Argument Positions of Matrix Clauses

The following examples illustrate the particular type of finite embedded clauses in Turkish. These clauses are characteristically introduced by a foreign complementizer *ki* 'that' to argument positions of matrix clauses.

- 60f. Sen herkes-e duyur-du-n [ki [ben bir daha hiç içki iç-me-yeceğ-im]].
You announced everybody "I will not drink alcohol any more."
You announced everybody that you would not drink alcohol any more.
- 60g. Ayşe o an anla-dı-ø [ki [Mehmet on-u hiç sev-me-miş-ø]].
Right that time, Ayşe realized that Mehmet had never loved her.

60h. Test sonuçları göster-di-ø [ki [bütün sporcular doping yap-mış-ø]].
The results of the test has shown that all the athletes had been doped.

60i. Deliller ortaya koydu [ki [[suçu işle-yen (kişi)] Hasan-dır]].
The evidence showed that the person who had committed the crime is Hasan.

60j. Bu-nun üzer-i-ne göröl-dü-ø [ki [iş-ler Haziran-a kadar yetiş-me-yecek-ø]].
After that it became obvious that the tasks cannot be met until the June.

The borrowed direct speech pattern with the complementizer *ki* 'that' displays the syntactic characteristics of both Turkish and Persian. Turkish normally does not employ complementizers in its syntax. It does not have this syntactic category. Interestingly, the patterns with *ki* are somehow intermediary constructions. The sentence-final position of the finite clause in such constructions is extremely eccentric to Turkish which regularly has its argument clauses in clause-internal position of the matrix clauses.

3.5.1.1.1.3. Partial Constituent Clauses with Finite TAM Markers Appearing in Argument Positions of Matrix Sentences

In English, there are no finite embedded clauses which include some sort of modifications with respect to the grammatical characteristics of a prototypical finite clause, that is, a simple sentence. In other words, a finite clause must exhibit all types of prototypical aspects of a regular sentence in order to occupy an argument position in a matrix clause. (Of course, it is well-known that non-finite clauses frequently appear in argument positions in English).

In Turkish, on the other hand, certain types of the embedded finite clauses occupying argument positions frequently do not represent the full range of clausal characteristics (here, it is assumed that the finiteness can be regarded as the existence of even only one of the verbal clausal categories, namely the *Tense* among other TAM morphemes which are regularly considered to fill the same slot in the verbal morphology even though there are some complication concerning their nature and order in finite clauses). Instead, they exhibit a rather eccentric composition of clausal features. In such cases, the only clausal feature that can be observed with respect to the embedded clause is the Tense marker on the predicate. In addition to the absence of a verbal agreement marker on the predicate, the subject noun phrase is realized in the Accusative Case, which is rather strange as far as

Turkish is concerned. These constructions are regarded as the examples of **Exceptional Case Marking** constructions in Turkish linguistics. Observe the following sentences:

- 61a. Biz- $\emptyset$ sen-i [bugün ev-e erken gid-ecek] san-dı-k.
 61b. Öğretmen- $\emptyset$ ben-i [bu sabah ders-e gel-me-di] zannet-miş- $\emptyset$.
 61c. Onlar- $\emptyset$ sen-i [sınıf-ı geç-miş] farzed-iyor-(lar).
 62a. ? Biz- $\emptyset$ sen-i [bugün ev-e erken gid-ecek-sin] san-dı-k.
 62b. ? Öğretmen- $\emptyset$ ben-i [bu sabah ders-e gel-me-di-m] zannet-miş- $\emptyset$.

In Turkish, some of finite clauses which are embedded within another clause and which function as an argument with respect to the matrix predicate may exhibit a series of grammatical modifications in the structure of their constituents. In such cases, the case of subject noun phrase and subject agreement morphology on the predicate of the embedded clause may undergo several changes. For instance, a finite clause can regularly be embedded within a clause whose predicate is *san-* 'think' (or alternatively *zannet-* 'think') as in the following example:

- 63a. Biz [sen- $\emptyset$ bugün işe gid-ecek-sin] san-dı-k.
 We thought that you will go to the work today.
 63b. Biz sen-i [t bugün işe gid-ecek] san-dı-k.
 We thought that you will go to the work today.

The sentences which involve this type of embedded clauses are said to be instances of Exceptional Case Marking constructions in Turkish.

3.5.1.1.2. Finite Embedded Clauses in Non-argument Positions of Matrix Sentences

In Turkish, some of fully finite clauses are able to appear in adjunct positions in order to modify the matrix predicate or the whole superordinate clause in terms of the concepts of time, reason, result, condition, etc. Again, if the finiteness of a clause depends on the existence of particularly the tense marker on the predicate, there is a series of finite clauses occupying adjunct positions of matrix clauses.

Some of the instances of fully finite clauses appearing in adjunct positions of a matrix clause are given below:

- 64a. [[Ali eve gel-**di-ø**] de], biz dışarı çıktık.
- 64b. Biz [[Ali eve gel-**di-ø**] diye] duyduk.
- 64c. [[Sen eve gel-**ecek-sin**] diye] biz özel bir yemek yaptık.
- 64d. [Ben seninle eve gel-**ir i-se-m**] bütün eşyaların yerini değiştiririm.

An example of (partially) finite adjunct clauses may seem as in the following, where an archaic verbal form *i-* 'be' has possibly lost its verbal agreement morpheme (as opposed to the inflected forms like *i-di-m* 'I was', *i-di-k* 'we were', *i-se-n* 'if you are', *i-se-ø* 'if he is', etc. with their literal translations). This form is the same for different person and number features.

- 65a. [Ali eve gel-**ir i-ken**] Ayşe okula gidiyordu.
- 65b. [Ben eve gel-**ir i-ken**] Ayşe okula gidiyordu.

As it can be observed from the example above, there seems no verbal subject-predicate agreement on the predicate of adjunct clause, which is otherwise realized as *-ø* suffix for third person singular subjects.

3.5.1.2. Non-Finite Clauses Embedded within Matrix Sentences

In Turkish, most of embedded clauses are non-finite if finiteness of a clause could be restricted to the existence of verbal TAM morphology and verbal subject-predicate agreement markers and regular Nominative Case observed on the subject noun phrase. Considering this point, Turkish non-finite clauses appear in argument and non-argument positions of matrix sentences in addition to the ones that appear within complex noun phrases and postpositional phrases, etc.

3.5.1.2.1. Non-Finite Embedded Clauses with a Nominalized Predicate within Matrix Sentences

Non-finite clauses with a nominalized predicate (i.e., a predicate bearing a nominalization suffix on it) frequently appear as constituents of matrix sentences in Turkish. These clauses are the focus of the present study because of their nominalized predicates. This

study assumes that any embedded non-finite clause with a nominalization marker on its predicate (regardless of the type of the Case forms in which their subjects appear or the existence of a nominal agreement morphology which always follows a nominalization suffix). Then, all non-finite clauses with a nominalized predicate are assumed to be syntactic nominalizations and they are of primary importance for the current work.

Non-finite clauses with nominalization markers (i.e., syntactic nominalizations) embedded within superordinate clauses can be investigated on the basis of the type of syntactic position in which they appear with respect to the matrix predicate. In this context, syntactic nominalizations can be divided into two groups as (1) syntactic nominalizations occupying argument positions of matrix clauses and (2) syntactic nominalizations appearing in non-argument (adjunct) positions in a matrix clause. In the latter case, the adjunct positions refer to the a variety of positions which are filled by syntactic constituents in order to carry out an adverbial function to modify the matrix predicate, or the whole matrix sentence for that matter, in terms of the concepts of time, manner, condition, reason, etc.

In the succeeding parts of this chapter, it will be clear that the non-finite nominalized clauses in argument positions of a matrix predicate typically exhibit the full range of syntactic and morphological characteristics of syntactic nominalizations observed in a various types of these constructions. For this reason, a syntactic nominalization in argument position of a superordinate predicate will be considered as a **prototypical pattern** for the whole class.

Now, it is necessary to examine the argument nominalizations as non-finite embedded clauses with nominalized predicates appearing in an argument position of a matrix predicate in more detail.

3.5.1.2.1.1. Non-Finite Nominalized Clauses in Argument Positions of Matrix Predicates

Syntactic nominalizations in Turkish can frequently be found in argument positions of matrix sentences. In such cases, they represent a series of syntactic and morphological characteristics concerning the clause-internal constituents of syntactic nominalizations. First of all, syntactic nominalizations in argument positions of matrix clauses contain a nominalized predicate which has an appropriate nominalization marker and a nominal subject-predicate agreement suffix which agrees with the subject of the nominalization in

person and number (there is no grammatical gender system in Turkish syntax). The subject-predicate agreement markers belong to a particular paradigm that are found with those noun phrases which are traditionally called **possessive nominal phrases** or **possessive noun phrases**. This paradigm is different from the one which includes the verbal subject-predicate agreement markers which can be observed on the predicates of finite clauses. In addition to these difference, the type of the nominalization suffix is strictly determined by the both general semantic and lexical idiosyncratic characteristics of matrix predicates that take syntactic nominalizations as their arguments. This implies that the type of the syntactic nominalization as a whole is effectively dictated by the matrix predicate. Finally, the morphological case of the subject of syntactic nominalizations is different than that of the subjects in finite clauses. While the former is in the Genitive Case, the latter always appear in the Nominative Case, which is also proposed as a Default Case by Kornfilt (2001).

As for the types of argument positions in which syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are able to appear is not restricted except for certain types of such constructions with propositional or event semantics which cannot be external arguments of transitive verbs (this issue will be examined in detail in the subsequent sections). These types include syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization suffixes **-DIk** and **-(y)EcEk** and primarily refer to the realization of an event in the form of a proposition which can be confirmed or denied. Otherwise, syntactic nominalizations are rather free to appear in almost all types of argument positions assigned by the matrix predicates. In other words, syntactic nominalizations as non-finite embedded clauses in matrix sentences are capable of appearing both in external argument positions and in internal argument positions.

The embedding of finite clauses within matrix sentences is restricted to certain forms of reported speech and similar constructions as it is indicated in the previous sections of this chapter. For this reason, clausal constituents occupying argument positions of matrix predicates in Turkish are similar to *-ing* clauses (i.e., gerunds) or *to* clauses (i.e., infinitives) with respect to their non-finite predicates. The finite equivalents of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are comparatively rare in frequency and are used in marked constructions in order to further emphasize the idea expressed in the embedded clause.

In Turkish, the syntactic nominalizations appearing in argument positions can be formed by the addition of the following nominalization suffixes to the verbal predicates of embedded clauses: **-DIk**, **-(y)EcEk**, **-mE**, **-(y)Iş**, and **-(y)Es**. These five nominalization markers are syntactically and morphologically typical in almost every

respect. They, however, differentiate with respect to their functional and semantic peculiarities (which will be examined in detail in the subsequent sections).

In addition to the five nominalization markers above, Turkish employs two more nominalization suffixes in the formation of syntactic nominalizations. The first nominalization suffix is *-mEk* which regularly produces syntactic nominalizations without overt subjects, and hence, without nominal subject-predicate agreement marker. In this respect, it corresponds to the subjectless infinitival clauses in English as it has been presented in the previous sections of this chapter. The nominalization suffix *-mEk* is frequently considered as somehow differentiated form of the nominalization suffix *-mE* which produces prototypical syntactic nominalizations with overt subjects in the Genitive Case (as far as the ones in argument positions of matrix predicates are concerned) and overt nominal agreement morphology. It is highly probable that the *-mEk* form has been derived from the *-mE* suffix in the historical development of the Turkish language. In sum, this infinitival suffix is able to appear in argument positions of matrix predicates in Turkish.

Interestingly, there is another form of syntactic nominalizations, which is produced by the addition of the suffix *-lIG* to verbal stem which has already been added a finite TAM marker, typically *-mİş*. In fact, it is curious whether this nominalization marker (i.e., *-lIG*) really belongs to the syntactic domain Yet, non-finite clauses formed in this way meet all the criteria that a prototypical syntactic nominalization must satisfy. The semantics of these clauses are also different than that of the other types of syntactic nominalizations in the sense that while the former generally express a basic action meaning, the latter conveys a stative or quality meaning. The types of matrix predicates that select this type of stative nominalizations are very restricted: it seems that only the existential predicates *var* 'existent' and *yok* 'non-existent, absent' can take these nominalizations as their (external) arguments.

What differentiates one type of syntactic nominalizations from the others is the kind of nominalization marker immediately preceding the agreement morphology. The location of the nominalization markers given here corresponds exactly to that of TAM (tense-aspect-mood) markers of finite verbal predicates. (8)

Each type of these nominalization markers given here carries some kind of meaning differences or connotations in addition to their basic semantic contribution, namely, the representation of a name of an **action** or a **state**. In other words, these five types of

syntactic nominalizations share the basic meaning: an action or a state meaning expressed by the whole syntactic unit. This implies that, all types of syntactic nominalizations essentially produce phrasal syntactic categories representing actions. The type of nominalization markers on nominalized predicates only leads a nominalization to acquire a special additional meaning causing variations in their grammatical functions. .

At this stage, the following question arises: what is the particular effect of each individual nominalization marker to the general syntactic and semantic function of nominalizations in addition their basic action meaning? As a possible answer to this question, it might be stated that both *-DIk* and *-(y)EcEk* morphemes have some kind of remnants of tense connotations (a temporal sense) as it has been emphasized before: while *-(y)EcEk* enables a syntactic nominalization to represent a possible, future action, *-DIk* is employed to express all other temporal connotations except for future tense. In other words, the syntactic nominalizations with this suffix are able to express not only completed or past events but also the events which are in progress.

Due to these tense connotations, syntactic nominalizations formed with *-DIk* and *-(y)EcEk* suffixes are able to refer to the realization of an action in the form of a proposition. In other words, this type of syntactic nominalizations are capable of expressing the realization of an action, as a past, or a habitually repeated, or a continuing event, as well as its possible realization in the future. In other words, this particular temporal characteristic of such constructions enables them to acquire an ability to represent events within a time context.

On the other hand, the nominalization marker *-mE* seems to be almost neutral to any type of temporal, aspectual, or propositional connotations. That is, syntactic nominalizations formed with the suffix *-mE* simply denote the basic expected meaning, simply an action. Even though syntactic nominalizations with *-(y)Iş* suffix are considerably similar to those with *-mE* suffix in certain syntactic and semantic respects, it has some additional connotations as well. In this respect, both *-(y)Iş* and *-(y)Es* markers lead to slight meaning differentiations such that syntactic nominalizations with the marker *-(y)Iş* refer to the manner of the action described by the nominalization and those with the suffix *-(y)Es* display an internal or instinctive motivation to perform that action. Perhaps, this meaning might be compared with the mood category on the predicates of finite clauses. Now, it is rather advisable to review all the types of syntactic nominalizations occupying argument positions of matrix clauses separately.

3.5.1.2.1.1.1. Non-finite Argument Clauses Expressing Actions, Manners and Internal Motives

Syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization markers *-mE*, *-(y)İş*, and *-(y)Es* are responsible for representing actions. In this respect, the first two markers behave rather similarly, except for the additional capacity of the latter to express the manner of an action especially with certain body movement verbs as nominalized predicates. The third suffix is rather curious in its syntactic distribution for it is restricted to a small set of matrix predicates. As for the type of the predicate within the nominalization, there seems to be no limitation and this form is highly productive like the first two nominalization markers.

3.5.1.2.1.1.1.1. Syntactic Nominalizations with *-mE*: Basic Actions

Syntactic nominalizations with *-mE* suffix are generally known as **verbal nouns** in traditional descriptive grammars of Turkish. In fact, they constitute the most straightforward type of syntactic nominalizations expressing an action with its participants. That is, all types of verbal predicates can take this suffix to form a syntactic nominalization without an exception. Basic verbal stems, and other derivational verb forms such as passives, causatives, etc. can easily take this suffix in the nominalization process.

Syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization suffix *-mE* can have the full range of characteristics that prototypical nominalizations contain when they appear in argument positions of matrix sentences. In other words, they typically include a Genitive subject, the nominalization suffix *-mE* itself on the predicate, and a subject agreement marker immediately following the *-mE* suffix. Here are some examples of this type of nominalizations:

- 66a. Biz [Ayşe-nin Aliyle evlen-me-si]-ni istiyoruz.
We want Ayşe to marry Ali.
- 66b. Çocuklar [anneleri-nin onlara masal anlat-ma-sı]-na bayılıyorlar.
The children adore their mother's telling fairy tales to them.
- 66c. [Biz-im yarın işe başla-ma-mız] gerek.

It is necessary that we start the work tomorrow.

66d. [Sen-in bu yıl okulu bitir-me-n] lazım.

It is necessary for you to finish the school this year.

As it is apparent from the examples above, syntactic nominalizations with *-mE* exhibit all types of clause internal constituents just as an independent clause (i.e., a simple sentence) would do. Furthermore, the constituents within a nominalized clause retain the same grammatical relations (even the case forms) with respect to the predicate of the syntactic nominalization, the only exception to this general observation being the case form of the subject noun phrase, which is always in the Nominative case in a simple sentence instead of the Genitive case of the subjects of nominalizations.

The primary function of syntactic nominalizations with *-mE* suffix is to express an action or a state and they do not exhibit any form of additional meaning differences observed in syntactic nominalizations formed with other nominalization suffixes (an issue that will be mentioned in the subsequent sections). In this respect, the only nominalization marker which is similar to *-mE* suffix is the nominalization suffix found in Turkish infinitives, formed with the marker *-mEk*. Sometimes, it is even suggested that the infinitival *-mEk* is a composite suffix and that it is somehow historically and morphologically related to the *-mE* suffix. In short, syntactic nominalizations with *-mE* suffix are the basic type of syntactic nominalizations regarding their syntactic functions within sentences.

Interestingly, syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization suffix *-mE* are frequently employed in the representation of embedded clauses which are originally imperatives. Observe the examples.

67a. Adam bana [yerden kalk] dedi. (*a native form of direct speech*)
[Arise from the ground] said the man.

67b. Adam bana dedi ki [yerden kalk]. (*a borrowed form of direct speech*)
The man told me [arise from the ground]. (literally)
The man told me that [I will arise from the ground].

67c. Adam bana [(ben-im) yerden kalk-ma-m]-ı söyledi.
The man told me to arise from the ground.

Finally, it must be noted that since the syntactic nominalization marker *-mE* is extremely powerful and productive suffix operating at syntactic level, there are plenty of lexicalized versions of syntactic nominalizations which are included in the Lexicon of Turkish throughout its historical development as separate lexical entries, such as *sar-ma*, *kır-ma*, *yar-ma*, *dol-ma*, etc. Because there is no exception to syntactic nominalizations formed with this suffix, lexical derivations with a considerable lexical gap and a considerably wide range of semantic content must be considered as secondary or subsequent categories.

3.5.1.2.1.1.1.2. Syntactic Nominalizations with *-(y)Iş*: Actions Plus Manners

Syntactic nominalizations with the nominalization suffix- *(y)Iş* appearing in argument positions of matrix clauses exhibit the full morphosyntactic characteristics of the prototypical format given above. They can occupy external or internal argument positions within matrix sentences. Syntactic nominalizations with the *-(y)Iş* suffix resemble in most respects *-mE* nominalizations. Both types, for instance, share the basic action meaning and are frequently used interchangeably in the daily speech. However, there appear some kind of restrictions on the types of the verbal predicates that take *-(y)Iş* suffix as a nominalization marker. In this context, derivational verb forms which are produced by the addition of homophonous *-(y)Iş* suffixes to verbal stems, such as reciprocals (e.g., *kapış-*, *yazış-*, *atış-*, *görüş-*, etc), group verbs (e.g., *uçuş-*, *kaçış-*, etc.), and various derivational verbs with miscellaneous meanings (*tartış-*, *konus-*, *uyuş-*, *savaş-*, *barış-*, *karış-*, *kızış-*, etc.) cannot take the nominalization suffix *-(y)Iş* to create a syntactic nominalization, perhaps, due to some phonological reasons. In such cases, the nominalization marker *-mE* is in effect.

68a. * [Ayşe-nin Aliyle yazış-ış-ı] bizi şaşırttı.

68b. [Ayşe-nin Aliyle yazış-ma-sı] bizi şaşırttı.

69a. * [Kuşlar-ın birdenbire uçuş-uş-u] çok hoşumuza gitti.

69b. [Kuşlar-ın birdenbire uçuş-ma-sı] çok hoşumuza gitti.

With certain types of verbs, especially those showing physical actions or states involving human body, a slight meaning change can be observed in syntactic nominalizations with the *-(y)Iş* suffix: in such cases, these syntactic units are able to express an additional manner meaning as well as their basic action meaning. Therefore, the major semantic

difference between a *-mE* nominalization and a *-(y)Iş* nominalization is only preserved with verbs indicating posture and gesture, such as *yürü-*, *yat-*, *otur-*, *dur-*, *göl-*, *bak-*, *ye-*, etc. Other verbal predicates can nominalize with almost identical semantic contents as compared with *-mE* nominalizations as indicated above.

From the examples below, it can easily be concluded that syntactic nominalizations with *-(y)Iş* are very similar to the those with the marker *-mE* except for the potential of the former to express an additional manner meaning.

- 70a. [Ahmet-in kasabaya dön-üş-ü] olaylı oldu.
 Ahmet's coming back to the village was full of incidents / problems.
 Ahmet's return to the village was full of incidents / problems.

- 70b. [Ayşe-nin yemek yi-yiş-i] herkesi güldürdü.
 [The way / manner that Ayşe eats her meal] made all the people laugh.

Lastly, a considerable number of verbal predicates found in syntactic nominalizations with the nominalization marker *-(y)Iş* tend to lexicalize as in the case of verbal predicates with *-mE* suffix mentioned before. For instance, *yürü-yüş* 'walk, march', *açıl-ış* 'opening', *bul-uş* 'discovery', *dön-üş* 'return', *gir-iş* 'entrance', *var-ış* 'arrival', etc.

3.5.1.2.1.1.1.3. Syntactic Nominalizations with *-(y)Es*: Actions Plus Internal Motives

Syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization marker *-(y)Es* are rather interesting for the present work for several reasons. First of all, syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization marker *-(y)Es* are perhaps the least known of the five types due to their restricted usage with few matrix predicates. Probably, the only alternatives as the matrix predicates which can take *-(y)Es* nominalizations are *gel-* 'come', *var* 'existent', *yok* 'non-existent', and perhaps, *geç-* 'pass, disappear', *kaç-* 'escape / disappear' and *tut-* 'happen / occur' (literally, 'hold').

- 71a. [Ben-im seninle konuş-as-ım] geldi.
 I am induced / tempted to talk to you.
 (I feel a motive to talk to you now).

- 71b. Tam o sırada [Ayşe-nin gül-es-i] gelmiş.

At that very moment, Ayşe suddenly felt an internal motive to laugh.

- 71c. Belli ki bu akşam [sen-in uyu-yas-ın] yok.
It is apparent that you do not feel a desire to sleep this evening.
- 71d. Benim dışarda biraz daha oturasım var.
(I feel that) I desire to sit outside a bit longer.
- 71e. Tam o an benim gülesim tuttu.
At that very moment, I wished to laugh.
- 71f. O asık yüzü görünce insanın yemek yiyesi de kaçır.
When a person sees that grim face, his desire to eat anything disappears / vanishes.
- 71g. Tamam, hadi ne olduğunu anlatmaya devam et, bak [gül-es-im] geçti.
All right, please continue to tell me what has happened, my desire to laugh has disappeared.

As it is clear from the examples below, the nominalization marker *-(y)Es* selects positive predicates rather than the negative ones.

- 72a. * [Ben-im bugün eve git-me-yes-im] geldi.
I felt a desire not to go to the house.
- 72b. * Bu sıralarda [sen-in insanlarla konuş-ma-yas-ın] var.
Nowadays, you feel not to talk to people.

It is interesting that syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization marker *-(y)Es* can occupy only external argument position (i.e., subject of the matrix clause). When they are in an internal argument position, the overall complex sentence is ungrammatical.

73. * Ben [Ayşe-nin gül-es-i]-ni hemen sezdim / hissettim.
I immediately felt that Ayşe desired / wished to laugh.

This meaning can be conveyed by means of two syntactic nominalizations of different types, one embedded within the other.

74. Ben [Ayşe-nin [gül-mek] iste-diğ-i]-ni hemen sezdim / hissettim.
I immediately felt that Ayşe desired / wished to laugh.

This particular meaning can roughly be expressed by means of a syntactic nominalization formed with the nominalization marker *-(y)EcEk* as well as in the following:

75. Ben [Ayşe-nin gül-eceğ-i]-ni hemen sezdim / hissettim.
I immediately felt that Ayşe will laugh.

3.5.1.2.1.1.1.4. Syntactic Nominalizations with -mEG: Basic Actions without Subjects

In Turkish, another type of syntactic nominalization is formed with the suffix *-mEk*, which might have some kind of connection with the nominalization marker *-mE* historically. The basic characteristic of these nominalizations is the lack of overt subject unlike other types of syntactic nominalizations mentioned above. In addition to this, a Subject-Predicate Agreement morphology on the predicate of such nominalizations is absent, a consequence which may possibly be predicted from the first property above, the absence of an overt subject.

- 76a. [Yeni bir işe başlamak] beni sevindirir.
[To start a new job] makes me happy.
- 76b. Ben [sabahları deniz kenarında koşmaktan] çok hoşlanıyorum.
I am very fond of [running along the beach in the morning].

In Turkish, all infinitival clauses are subjectless. The Turkish equivalents of English infinitives with subjects are represented by means of syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization suffix *-mE*. In other words, only *-mE* nominalizations are capable of including a subject as opposed to *-mEk* clauses which lack this property. Consequently, when there is no subject noun phrase, there is no need for the existence of the subject-predicate agreement marker on the predicate of the *-mEk* nominalizations.

To summarize, *-mEk* nominalizations are quite different from other types of syntactic nominalizations in that (1) they do not have a subject (neither in Genitive case nor in Nominative case) and (2) they do not exhibit a nominal subject-predicate agreement morpheme even if they occupy an argument position within a matrix clause.

3.5.1.2.1.1.2. Non-finite Argument Clauses Expressing Facts, Propositions and the Realization of Events

Syntactic nominalization with *-DIk* and *-(y)EcEk* suffixes are traditionally known as factive clauses since they are able to express propositions and facts by representing an event in a time context. Broadly speaking, it can be assumed that syntactic nominalizations with *-DIk* and *-(y)EcEk* suffixes have some weakened form of tense connotations. However, it must be kept in mind that as in all other types of syntactic nominalizations the interpretation of the embedded syntactic nominalization is strictly dependent of the morphosyntactic characteristics (and hence, the interpretation) of matrix predicates

A *-DIk* or *-(y)EcEk* nominalization may refer to an **event** or an **actuality** (or a state of affairs). These nominalizations refer to events which may be true or false. An actual or a possible event can be expressed by means of these nominalizations. In brief, *-DIk* and *-(y)EcEk* nominalizations are able to express propositions, non-future and future respectively. If the proposition is presented with a future connotation, it becomes a prediction or a possible event. If it is expressed with a non-future connotation, it is simply a proposition which can be confirmed or denied, depending on the extralinguistic knowledge. If it is a true proposition (i.e., if everybody accepts its validity), it will be understood as a fact. If the proposition is denied by the state of affairs, it will become a false prediction or assumption or an intensional deliberate lie.

3.5.1.2.1.1.2.1. Syntactic Nominalizations Formed with *-DIG*: Non-future Events

Syntactic nominalizations with the nominalization marker *-DIk* constitute one of the most productive and frequent type of non-finite embedded clauses occupying argument positions within a matrix clause. This type of syntactic nominalizations are traditionally said to be **fact** or **factive** nominalizations since they primarily represent an event within a time context, which are either realized or to be realized.

However, there are numerous instances of *-Dik* nominalizations in which they do not exhibit such a meaning. In fact, the semantic interpretation of all types of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish depends on both the type of the nominalization marker employed and the semantic characteristics of the predicate of the clause in which these nominalizations are embedded, i.e., matrix predicates.

- 77a. Ahmet [Ayşenin eve gittiğini] gördü.
 Ahmet saw Ayşe go to the house.
 (also Ahmet has noticed that Ayşe is going to the house)
- 77b. Ali bana [Fatmanın bu dönem iki dersten kaldığını] söyledi.
 Ali told me that [Fatma had failed in two courses this semester].

Again, as in many other cases, the choice of the type of the nominalization marker is determined by the idiosyncratic properties of matrix predicates.

3.5.1.2.1.1.2.2. Syntactic Nominalizations Formed with *-(y)EcEk*: Future Events

The second nominalizations markers which enable an embedded clause to represent a fact (or a proposition) is *-(y)EcEk*. The major difference between *-Dik* and *-(y)EcEk* is the capacity of the latter to express future events, a characteristics which is not frequently observed in syntactic nominalizations in general. In fact, the only type of syntactic nominalizations that can refer to a temporal aspect is the ones formed with *-(y)EcEk*. Even syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization marker *-Dik* can be said to be lacking a time reference since they correspond to all types of TAM categories of original clauses before the nominalization process. In a way, the *-Dik* marker behaves like a default option for non-future events.

- 78a. Ahmet [Ayşenin eve yarın gideceğini] tahmin etti.
 Ahmet predicted that Ayşe will go to the house tomorrow.
- 78b. Doktor bize [Fatmanın iki gün içinde iyileşeceğini] söyledi.
 The doctor told us that [Fatma will recover in two days].

3.5.1.2.1.1.3. Non-finite Argument Clauses Expressing States, Qualities, Former Experiences: -IIG

Another type of non-finite argument clauses within matrix clauses is the one that is characterized by the presence of the suffix -IIG in Turkish. This type of argument clauses constitute a subcategory of syntactic nominalizations. Specifically, these argument clauses express a state, a quality, an experience rather than the basic forms of actions. Not only the semantics but also morphology of these clauses are also different. As it has been shown before, most syntactic nominalizations are formed by the addition of certain syntactic nominalization suffixes, such as -mE, -(y)Iş, -DIG, etc., to a verbal predicate. However, the syntactic stative nominalizations contain both a finite TAM marker and the stative nominalization suffix together. Observe the following example:

79. [Ben-im bugün-e dek beş kere İstanbul-a git-miş-liğ-im] var-ø.

I-GEN today-DAT until five time I.-DAT.go-PERF-SNM-1SG/N-NOM
existent-3SG/F

Literally: My going to İstanbul five times up till now is existent.

I have been to İstanbul five times up till now.

In fact, this form of syntactic nominalizations are extremely restricted with respect to the type of matrix predicates that select them. In this respect, only existential adjectives regularly select full version of these nominalizations as non-finite argument clauses within complex sentences.

3.5.1.2.1.2. Non-Finite Nominalized Clauses in Non-argument Positions of Matrix Predicates

In Turkish, non-finite embedded clauses with nominalized predicates (i.e., syntactic nominalizations) may appear in non-argument positions determined by the matrix predicates. Even though there seem to be a very limited number of types of syntactic nominalizations occupying adjunct positions of matrix predicates, they are productively employed in the sentence structure and they constitute a particular type of adverbial clauses in Turkish. Consider the examples.

80a. [Sen eve git-tiğ-in]-de bir sürpriz ile karşılaşacaksın.

80b. [Sen eve git-tiğ-in]-de annem sana çok kızacak.

- 81a. [Sen eve git-me-dik-çe] onu bir daha göremeyeceksin.
 81b. [Sen eve geç git-tik-çe] insanlar daima sana kızacak.

Perhaps, these are the only types concerning syntactic nominalizations which appear in adjunct positions of matrix predicates without the intermediary of a postposition. Below are the instances of syntactic nominalizations which are seemingly adjuncts of matrix predicates. In fact, these syntactic nominalizations are not adjuncts of a matrix predicate but argument of either a postposition or another similar clausal argument taking category, such as an adjective.

- 82a. [Sen eve git-tiğ-in]-den (dolayı) çünkü olayı bilmiyorsun.
 82b. [Sen eve geç git-tiğ-in]-den (dolayı) annem sana çok kızdı.
 83a. [Sen bu akşam eve geç gid-eceğ-in]-den (dolayı) yarın işe erken gelemezsin.
 83b. [Sen yurtdışına gid-eceğ-in]-den (dolayı) biz çok seviniyoruz.
 84a. [Sen tembellik yap-acağ-in](-a) / (yer-e) biraz ders çalış.
 84b. * [Sen yurtdışına gid-eceğ-in](-e) / (yer-e) biz seni yanımıza çağırırız.
 85a. [Sen eve git-me]-den beni gör.
 85b. [Sen eve git-me]-den ben seni ararım.
 86a. [Sen eve git-me]-den önce beni gör.
 86b. [Sen eve git-me]-den önce ben seni ararım.
 87. * [Sen evden çık-tık]-tan buraya gel.
 88a. [Sen evden çık-tık]-tan sonra benim yanıma gel.
 88b. [Sen evden çık-tık]-tan sonra ben seni ararım.

In sum, non-prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish appear in non-argument positions of matrix predicates.

3.5.1.2.2. Non-Finite Embedded Clauses without a Nominalized Predicate within Matrix Sentences

In Turkish, non-finite embedded clauses without nominalized predicates can only appear in adjunct positions with respect to matrix predicates. In this context, the following examples are provided in order to illustrate this characteristic.

(method)

89a. [Ali eve gid-erek] bizi büyük bir yükten kurtardı.

89b. [Ali yurtdışına gid-erek] çevresindeki bütün asalaklardan kurtuldu.

(when)

90a. [Ali eve gid-ince] ellerini yıkadı.

90b. [Ali eve gid-ince] karısı ona iyi bir haber verdi..

(since)

91. [Ali eve gid-eli] tam üç saat oldu.

(= Ali eve gittiğinden bu yana ...)

A seemingly similar type of suffix *-(y)Ip*, which produces non-finite verbal predicates known as converbs, is probably a coordination marker, even if there seems to be a slight connotation of time in the examples below. However, this is also a characteristic of coordinator both in Turkish and in English.

(coordination)

92a. [Ali eve gid-ip] televizyon seyretti.

92b. [Ali eve git-ti-ø] ve [Ali televizyon seyret-ti-ø].

(coordination)

93. He went to the house and watched TV.

(successive events rather than simultaneous events)

3.5.2. Clauses Embedded within Noun Phrases

In Turkish, embedded clauses may be found within complex noun phrases (i.e., a noun phrase including a clause). Broadly speaking, there are two alternative strategies for an

embedded clause to exist within a noun phrase. An embedded clauses may either modify the head noun of the whole phrase as a lexical adjective would do or it retains a very special and both syntactically and semantically very firm relationship with that head. While the former relationship correspond to that of adjectival clauses (or modifier clauses or relative clauses), the latter refers to the link formed by noun complement clauses (as in English). However, the type of a firm relation may vary from language to language and, in this respect, it is advisable to refer to a non-adjectival clause that has a special connection with the head noun in Turkish in terms of a content clause rather than a noun complement clause (even if the syntactic and therefore the semantic association between these two unit resembles the one found in English complex noun phrases with complement clauses).

3.5.2.1. Modifier (Relative) Clauses

In Turkish, a head noun can be modified by a clause (either finite or non-finite) so that one of the qualities that the head noun possess is represented. The structure has the identical semantic function with regular lexical adjectives. In the phrase structure, a relative clause tend to precede the other premodifiers of the head nouns even though the linear ordering of constituents which have adjunct status is rather flexible.

3.5.2.1.1. (Partial) Finite Modifier (Relative) Clauses

The modifier clauses in the complex noun phrases below correspond to participial adjectives in English. The Turkish forms may be considered as finite clauses in which the constituent that is identical with the modified head noun is deleted (if finiteness can be taken to refer to the existence of a verbal TAM morphology as a minimal requirement).

- 94a. [Yaşını al-mış] bir adam
- 94b. [tavada kızartıl-mış] et
- 94c. [adam ol-acak] çocuk

The following are rather idiomatic expressions that are somehow frozen in the form of adjectival clauses in Turkish.

- 95a. [Kuş uçmaz, kervan geçmez] bir yol
- 95b. [Akacak] kan

3.5.2.1.2. Non-Finite Modifier (Relative) Clauses

The most frequent and productive form of relative clauses in Turkish is constructed by non-finite nominalized clauses especially when the target of the modification is other than the subject of the embedded clause.

- 96a. [Adamın al-dığ-ı] kitap
- 96b. [Ben-im git-tiğ-im] okul
- 96c. [Sen-in aç-acağ-ın] işyeri
- 96d. [Biz-im taşın-acağ-ımız] ev

In such cases, only the factive types of nominalization markers, which inherently emphasize the realization of an action, are allowed.

- 97a. * [Adamın al-ma-sı] kitap
- 97b. * [Ben-im gid-iş-im] okul
- 98a. [çal-ın-ma-dık] kapı
- 98b. [gez-il-me-dik] yer

3.5.2.2. Noun Complement Clauses within Complex Noun Phrases

In Turkish, a constituent clause within a complex noun phrase may function as the complement of the lexical head of the phrase (i.e., noun, N). Both finite and non-finite constituent clauses can be found as complements of head nouns within noun phrases.

It is possible to mention a general semantic characteristic concerning complement clauses and head nouns within complex noun phrases. In fact, the basic semantic relation between a complement clause and a head noun can be considered as the representation of the content of the head category. It means that a complement clause expresses the theme of the noun in the form of a propositional constituent. Observe the following example:

- 99. [Ali-nin başarılı ol-a-ma-dığ-ı] gerçeğ-i
A.-GEN successful be-ABIL-NEG-NM-3SG/N fact-3SG/N
The fact that Ali was not successful

The complement clause *Ali-nin başarılı ol-a-ma-dığ-ı* simply expresses the topic, theme, or content of the particular fact in question.

Complement clauses are distinct from modifier clauses (i.e., relative clauses) in certain respects. The most striking difference between these two is the recursive nature of the relative clauses: being a particular type of non-argument clauses, modifier clauses are theoretically able to recur infinitely and the only restriction imposed on their recursion is pragmatic considerations, such memory limitations, time span, etc.

The following examples illustrate a variety of noun complement clauses in Turkish. Observe that both finite and non-finite clauses can function as complements in Turkish noun phrases.

- 100a. [Ali dün okula git-me-di-ø] yalan-ı
 100b. [Adam kadını öldür-ecek-ø] tahmin-i
 100c. [Parayı sen çal-dı-n] itham-ı
- 101a. [Ali-nin dün okula git-me-diğ-i] yalan-ı
 101b. [Adam-ın kadını öldür-eceğ-i] tahmin-i
 101c. [Parayı ben-im çal-dığ-ım] itham-ı

Of course, it is possible to find certain independent sentences which have a similar D-structure representation to the ones observed in the examples above. The following sentences are thematically related to these complex noun phrases.

- 102a. O [[Ali dün okula git-me-di-ø] diye] yalan söyledi.
 102b. Polis [[Adam kadını öldür-ecek-ø] diye] tahmin etti.
 102c. Onlar beni [Parayı sen çal-dı-n] diye itham ettiler.
- 103a. O [Ali-nin dün okula git-me-diğ-i]-ni söyledi.
 103b. Polis [Adam-ın kadını öldür-eceğ-i]-ni tahmin etti.
 103c. Onlar beni [Parayı çal-mak] ile itham ettiler.

As for the internal syntactic structure of these complex noun phrases, it is obvious that both finite clauses (even though they tend to be more acceptable with third person singular subjects in the embedded finite clauses) and non-finite clauses have a nominal

status. The first set of examples in (100) reminds in a way direct speech forms with the matrix predicate *de-* 'say', the only verbal predicate that originally allow for embedding of finite clauses as direct speech forms in Turkish.

Then, it is possible to consider that both finite and non-finite clauses enjoy a nominal status and they are linked the head noun by means of compound suffix (which can also be assumed to be a nominal agreement marker, corresponding to a generic third person subject agreement marker).

As for the type of nominalization suffix found in the content clause of complex noun phrases, the type is determined by the head noun which inherently select a particular suffix over another in the underlying representation of the semantic relationship between the arguments represented by the head and the content clause. The agreement

104a. [Ali-nin dün eve git-me-diğ-i] iddia-sı

104b. [Ali-nin yarın eve git-me-yeceğ-i] iddia-sı

105a. ~ [Sen-in dün eve git-me-diğ-in] iddia-sı

105b. ~ [Sen-in yarın eve git-me-yeceğ-in] iddia-sı

106a. [parayı ben-im çal-dığ-ım] yalan-ı

106b. [parayı ben-im çal-acağ-ım] yalan-ı

107a. [Eve git-me] olasılığ-ı

107b. [Yolda yürü-yüş] tarz-ı

108a. Ali-nin [eve git-me] olasılığ-ı

108b. Ali-nin [yolda yürü-yüş] tarz-ı

109a. Biz-im [eve git-me] olasılığ-ımız

109b. Biz-im [yolda yürü-yüş] tarz-ımız

110a. * [dün eve git-me-dik] iddia-sı

110b. * [yarın eve git-me-yecek] iddia-sı

(when *-dik* and *-ecek* are taken as simply the nominalization suffixes)

111a. [eve git-me] olasılığ-ı

111b. [yolda yürü-yüş] tarz-ı

3.5.3. Clauses Embedded within Postpositional Phrases

In Turkish, a wide range of embedded clauses may appear within postpositional phrases as the complement clauses of postpositions. Turkish has a set of genuine postpositions and some additional expressions whose function is rather similar to that of postpositions. These postpositions and similar expressions are given below:

- (1) üzere, üzere
 - (2) gibi, ile, kadar, için
 - (3) göre, nazaran, doğru, karşı, dair, kadar, dek, değin, rağmen, nispeten
 - (4) evvel, önce, sonra, beri, bu yana, yana, dolay, ötürü, başka, itibaren
 - (5) alt, ara, art, baş, dış, hariç, etraf, iç, dahil, karşı, orta, ön, peş, üst, üzer-, yan
 - (6) hakkında, tarafından, yüzünden, bakımından, namına
 - (7) esnasında, zarfında, sayesinde, uğruna, yerine,
- (Kornfilt, 1997, 422-427)

The postpositions gibi, ile, kadar, için, göre, nazaran, doğru, karşı, dair, kadar, dek, etc. seem to be genuine postpositions in Turkish.

3.5.3.1. Finite Complement Clauses within Postpositional Phrases

Finite clauses (or at least, partially finite clauses) can be found within postpositional phrases which are formed with a very limited number of postpositions to represent some form of mood connotations in sentence structures.

- 112a. Adam [çocuğu yakala-r-(miş)] gibi oldu.
- 112b. Ben tam o sırada bir an [düş-er-(miş)] gibi oldum.
- 112c. Ben tam o sırada bir an [düş-üyor-muş-um] gibi hissettim.
- 113a. Bu iltifatlar üzerine [dünyanın en güzel yemeğini yemiş] kadar olduk.
- 113b. Bu hakaretler üzerine [biz dayak yemiş] kadar olduk.
- 114a. Adam bir an [yerinden kımıldan-ır] gibi oldu.
- 114b. Kadın bir an için [dışarı çık-acak] gibi oldu.

3.5.3.2. Non-Finite Complement Clauses within Postpositional Phrases

There are numerous instances in which a non-finite embedded clause functions as the complement of a postposition in Turkish. The range of functions is also considerably wide. Most non-finite clauses are syntactic nominalizations with one of the appropriate nominalization markers on their predicates. Postpositions structurally / inherently assign morphological cases to their arguments. The resulting postpositional phrases frequently function as non-arguments within matrix clauses even though there are few instances in which the postpositional phrase is more firmly related to the matrix predicate. Frequently, the subjects of nominalized clauses appear in a Nominative Case, which can be considered as a Default Case assigned to the subjects inevitably if the case assignment potential of nominal agreement is not initiated by a theta role assigner, such as a verbal matrix predicate (Kornfilt, 2001).

- 115a. [Ali eve gel-diğ-i]-ne göre, biz artık çıkabiliriz.
- 115b. [Ali eve geç gel-eceğ-i]-ne göre, biz şu an alışverişe gidebiliriz.
- 115c. Bu son durum [Ali-nin evde yalnız başına kal-ma-sı]-na göre daha iyi.

- 116a. Failler yakalanamadığı için [Ali dövül-düğ-ü] ile kaldı.
- 116b. [Ali-nin eve gel-me-si] ile herşey halloldu.

- 117c. [Ali-nin eve gel-me-si] ile birlikte herşey halloldu.
- 117d. Ahmet [buraya gelmek] ile büyük hata etti.

- 118a. [Ali kendisi ders çalış-ma-dığ-ı] gibi, arkadaşlarının çalışmasına da izin vermedi.
- 118b. [Ali-nin eve gel-me-si] gibi bir seçenek yok.
- 118c. [Ali-nin pire için yorganı yak-ma-sı] gibi sen de saçmasapan işler yapma.

- 119a. [Ali eve geç gel-eceğ-i] için biz yemeği dışarda yedik.
- 119b. [Ali ders çalış-ma-dığ-ı] için sınıfı geçemedi.
- 119c. [Ali-nin eve gel-me-si] için hepimiz çok uğraştık.
- 119d. Ahmet [buraya gelmek] için herşeyi yapar.
- 119e. [Ayşe sınıfta kal-dığ-ı için] [babası (onu) azarladı].
- 119f. [Ayşe sınıfta kal-dığ-ı için] [arkadaşlarıyla görüşmek istemiyor].

- 120a. [[Adam eve gel-ince]-ye kadar] hırsızlar herşeyi çalmışlar.
 120b. [[Adam eve gel-ince]-ye dek] hırsızlar herşeyi çalmışlar.
- 121a. [[Adam eve gel-en]-e kadar] hırsızlar herşeyi çalmışlar.
 121b. [[Adam eve gel-en]-e dek] hırsızlar herşeyi çalmışlar.
- 122a. [Sen gittiğinden beri] [kaç yıl oldu]?
 122b. [[Çocuk okula gideli] beri] [ec çok değişti].
 122c. [Çocuk okula gideli] beri] ailesi ona çok değişik davranıyor.
123. [Ali-nin bu saatte bize gel-me-si] kadar saçma bir olay duymadım.
124. Ahmet buraya gelmek üzere yola çıkmış.

3.5.4. Clauses Embedded within Adjectival Phrases

A non-finite clause may appear as one of the internal arguments of an adjective in Turkish. This function seems restricted to non-finite clauses. Finite clauses appear to be disallowed in this context.

- 125a. Ben [sen-in biz-de kal-ma-n]-dan memnun-um.
 125b. Biz [onlar-ın yalan söyle-me-leri]-ne hala kızgın-ız.
 125c. Onlar [sen-in ev-e git-me-n]-e razı-lar.
- 125a. * Ben [sen biz-de kal-ır-sın]-dan memnun-um.
 125b. * Biz [onlar yalan söyle-di-ler]-e hala kızgın-ız.
 125c. * Onlar [sen ev-e git-meli-sin]-e razı-lar.

NOTES

1. (As an additional remark, it is not always an easy and straightforward task to determine the exact nature of the relationship between the clausal constituents of a sentence because there appear at least some cases which can be regarded as transitional).

2. The characteristics of the prototypical syntactic nominalizations will be presented in Chapter 4.

3. Unlike the English direct speech verbs, there is only one verb, the verb 'de-', which can be employed in direct speech constructions in Turkish. Those verbs of saying other than the verb 'de-' require a particle (or a derived postposition?) 'diye' which is also a derivation of verb 'de-' after the embedded finite clause that represents the direct speech form.
4. According to Chomsky, there are only four complementizers in English: *that*, *whether*, *if* and the prepositional complementizer *for*).
5. It is rather interesting to note that, both morphologically and syntactically, the complementizer *whether* can be said to be identical with the wh-words. Perhaps, it is historically another wh-word, which has lost its primary question function and has become a specialized complementizer for embedded *yes-no* questions.
6. The subordination phenomenon in natural languages.
7. Both the quotative verb *de-* 'say' or the quotative particle *diye* 'saying / as' select full tensed clauses in direct quotations.
8. In this respect, nominalization markers can be thought as some form of nominal TAM morphology. Kornfilt (2001) adopts this view and consider such nominalization markers a type of nominal mood.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL MORPHOSYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SYNTACTIC NOMINALIZATIONS IN TURKISH

The present chapter tries to identify general morphosyntactic characteristics of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. Section (4.1) deals with the general issues concerning nominalizations in natural languages. In this section, two general types of nominalizations are distinguished across languages. Section (4.2) tries to determine various characteristics of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish by investigating their internal morphosyntactic composition, external distribution and semantic properties.

4.1. The Nominalization Phenomenon in Natural Languages

The **nominalization** term is used to refer to a common linguistic phenomenon in natural languages. As a general term, nominalization essentially refers to a grammatical process in which a syntactic category is changed into a noun. However, the nominalization term is potentially capable of denoting much more than what is implied by this simple definition. This point will be clear in the following subsections.

Generally speaking, two types of nominalization can be distinguished across languages: (1) **lexical nominalization** and (2) **syntactic nominalization**. As far as English and Turkish are concerned, the first type of nominalization, namely lexical nominalization, is fundamentally an issue of derivational morphology and the Lexicon. On the other hand, the latter frequently involves both inflectional morphology and a number of syntactic characteristics. In other words, while lexical nominalization is essentially an instance of word formation process, syntactic nominalization is basically a type of syntactic derivation which obviously takes place in the syntactic component of the grammar and which presupposes certain inflectional morphology in addition to its syntactic aspects. This statement is especially consequential for syntactic nominalization in Turkish.

In linguistics, it is also possible to employ the terms 'lexical nominalization' and 'syntactic nominalization' in order to refer to the output of these grammatical phenomena (i.e., the linguistic expressions that are produced by these processes). Therefore, the

resulting derived noun in the former process is sometimes called a lexical nominalization and the resulting syntactic constituent in the latter is frequently termed as a syntactic nominalization.

In lexical nominalization, a new noun is derived from an existing verb or adjective. This implies that lexical nominalization is a **category changing** morphological process / derivation. In this context, **affixation** is the most typical means (among a number of strategies) of deriving an existing category. This is a general term used to represent the addition of a bound morpheme to a base (as in the derivational morphology) or a stem (as in the inflectional morphology).

The nominalizing affix frequently takes the form of a suffix in English and Turkish. That is, both English and Turkish employ a number of derivational suffixes in order to derive new nouns. The product of a lexical nominalization process may be termed as one of the following: a **derived noun / nominal** (in addition to **lexical nominalization** as indicated above). The resulting derived noun principally behaves like any other non-derived noun appearing in a variety of syntactic positions. As far as lexical nominalization is concerned, the output of this process loses its verb or adjective properties either totally or, in some cases, partially, acquiring the characteristics of typical non-derived nouns: it can function as the head of a noun phrase and it can frequently take plural suffix. In fact, a particular subset of deverbal derived nouns (i.e., nouns obtained from verbs) may also exhibit some of the characteristics of the base verbs from which they are produced (cf. **action nominals** versus **non-action nominals**, the so-called result nominals), by retaining the thematic structure of the base category (at least partially).

Syntactic nominalization, on the other hand, belongs to the syntactic domain. In essence, syntactic nominalization is a way of forming a phrasal constituent whose distributional characteristics are comparable to that of noun phrases and whose internal syntactic composition is similar to that of a simple sentence. In this respect, the output of syntactic nominalization is a clausal constituent which is capable of appearing in typical noun phrase positions. The resulting phrasal category is also known as a **syntactic nominalization** as it has been previously indicated.

4.1.1. Lexical Nominalization

As it has been expressed above, lexical nominalization can be defined as a morphological process by which a new noun is derived from an existing verb or adjective. This process

is carried out by means of the affixation of a derivational (nominalizing) morpheme to these base categories. In fact, this is the typical way deriving nouns from base categories in English and in Turkish.

In their typological work on lexical nominalizations, Comrie and Thompson (1985, 359) take the term **nominalization** as referring to a process which involves "turning something into a noun." They indicate that verbs and adjectives can be used in lexical nominalization as base categories. With respect to the notions of meaning predictability and productivity of lexical nominalizations, Comrie and Thompson (1985, 357) emphasize that languages generally exhibit a rather low degree of predictability concerning the noun formation process. They present the following examples in order to show that there appears no general rule for the type of the derivational nominalizing suffix that is to be added to the base category: *refusal* from *refuse*, *accusation* from *accuse*, and *truth* from *true*. That is, there seems to be no principled general explanation for the selection of a particular suffix in such cases.

As far as the semantic properties of deverbal derived nominals are concerned, it is widely assumed that the resulting category may denote two major senses: it may refer to (1) the action (i.e., event) or state represented by the base verb by specifying the name of that action or state or (2) it may indicate one of the arguments of the underlying verb base (or perhaps other entities and concepts related to that action or state expressed by that verb, such as its manner, location, reason, etc.). In this respect, Comrie and Thompson (1985) emphasize that languages create action nouns from action verbs and state nouns from state verbs or adjectives. In such cases, the resulting action noun denotes the **fact**, the **act**, the **quality** or **occurrence** of that verb or adjective (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 350). Among the non-action nouns, on the other hand, they list **agentive**, **instrumental**, **manner**, **locative**, **objective** and **reason nouns**.

As Comrie and Thompson (1985) indicate, the meaning of a lexical nominalization may be rather distinct from the base category. In this context, they present a widely observed type of meaning differentiation by presenting the example of a nominalization: the derived nominal *proposal* from the verb *propose*. The output of this lexical nominalization is capable of referring to both the **fact** or **activity** of proposing and the **thing** that is proposed (i.e., the actual concrete piece of writing in which an act of proposing is represented). They call this semantic differentiation as "concretization" which involves a change in the semantic characteristics of the base verb: in such cases, the action nominal acquires an additional concrete meaning denoting the output of the action expressed by the

verb (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 357). They also strongly emphasize that another unpredictable aspect of lexical nominalization appears when another noun (either derived or non-derived) with particular semantics already exists in the lexicon. In such a situation, lexical nominalization that represent the same meaning category will be blocked due to the existing category which makes this derivation redundant. They exemplify this by stating that since there exists the word *student* in the lexicon of English, the agentive nominalizer *-er* does not produce a nominal together with the base verb *study*, (i.e., * *studier*).

Generally speaking, the internal structure of action nominal constructions is identical with that of a noun phrase with a non-derived lexical head. For instance, it contains a genitive subject (i.e., possessor) and its head (i.e., the derived action nominal) can be modified by an adjective, rather than an adverb, which is the typical modifier of verbs. In this respect, Comrie and Thompson (1985, 359) present the following examples as opposed to gerundive nominals (i.e., gerundive clauses) which totally retain their clausal (verbal) nature:

- 1.=41. The enemy destroyed the city rapidly
 - 2.=42. the enemy's rapid destruction of the city
 - 3.=44. The enemy('s) destroying the city rapidly surprised everyone
- (Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 359)

They also state that noun phrase may or may not contain the genitive subject in the genitive case while the subject of a sentence is obligatory as a frequently observed distinction between the two structures.

Furthermore, Comrie and Thompson (1985, 368) examine the compatibility of a series of nominal categories such as case, number, and definiteness within noun phrases with a derived action nominal head. They indicate that whenever these categories are found in ordinary noun phrases with non-derived heads, these categories also exist within action nominal constructions, which explicitly implies the nominal nature of these structures despite their event reading. In this respect, they emphasize that the presence of case markers are almost a defining feature of such expressions. As far as the **number** category is concerned, they state that it is only possible when it signals the **multiple occurrences** or **cases** of the action expressed by the derived action noun.

Lexically derived action nominals (1) frequently exhibit both nominal and verbal characteristics due to their peculiar nature. In this respect, they might be considered as

intermediate structural manifestations of the grammatical system occupying a position between **typical verbs**, which denote actions, and **typical (non-derived) nouns**, which may denote an object, a person, a location, an entity, a concept, etc.

Comrie and Thompson (1985, 368) concentrate on the syntactic collocation concerning action nominal constructions. With respect to the valency of the derived action nominal within a noun phrase, action nominals exhibit an intermediate status. In English, for instance, some of the arguments of the underlying verbs can be represented by means of possessor and the *of*-phrase, which frequently (but not necessarily) express to the external argument (i.e., subject) and the internal argument (i.e., direct object) of that verb, respectively.

However, this is not possible in all languages. In fact, there is no direct one-to-one translation of *the enemy's destruction of the city* in most languages by means of action nominal constructions. Similarly, in Turkish, both subject and the object of a verb can never be expressed within the same action nominal construction. Whenever there is such a need, the only option in Turkish is to express these elements in the form of a syntactic nominalization. Consider the following examples containing the derived action nominal *çek-im* 'shooting (in the sense of taking the picture of something)' which is derived from the verb *çek-* 'pull (i.e., take a picture of something)':

- 4a. Kameraman film-i çek-ti-ø.
cameraman film-ACC shoot-PAST-3SG/F
The cameraman has shot the film.
- 4b. Kameraman-ın çek-im-i
cameraman-GEN shot-LNM-3SG/N
cameraman's shot / shooting
- 4c. Film-in çek-im-i
film-GEN shoot-LNM-3SG/N
The shooting of the film
- 4d. ?Kameraman-ın film-i çek-im-i (2)
cameraman-GEN film-ACC shoot-LNM-3SG/N
Intended: The cameraman's shooting of the film

- 4e. Kameraman-ın film-i çek-me-si
 cameraman-GEN film-ACC shoot-NM-3SG/N
 The cameraman's shooting the film

Or observe the examples with the derived action nominal *bak-ım* 'care, looking after' which is derived from the verb *bak-* 'look':

- 5a. Bu hemşire yaşlı hasta-lar-a iyi bak-ar-ø.
 This nurse old patient-PL-DAT well look after-AOR-3SG/F
 This nurse looks after (the) old patients well.

- 5b. Bu hemşire-nin bak-ım-ı
 This nurse-GEN look-LNM-3SG/N
 This nurse's care / attention

- 5c. Yaşlı hasta-lar-ın bak-ım-ı
 Old patient-PL-GEN look-LNM-3PL/N
 The looking after of (the) old patients

- 5d. ? Bu hemşire-nin yaşlı hasta-lar-a bak-ım-ı
 This nurse-GEN old patient-PL-DAT look-LNM-3SG/F
 Intended: This nurse's looking after of (the) old patients
 Intended: This nurse's care for (the) old patients

- 5e. Bu hemşire-nin yaşlı hasta-lar-a bak-ma-sı
 This nurse-GEN old patient-PL-DAT look-NM-3SG/F
 This nurse's looking after (the) old patients

In this context, some (borrowed) nouns seem to allow for such a construction. However, as Sezer (1991) indicates, such cases involve an underlying deleted verbal part such as *et-* 'make, perform' as the element that is responsible for the appearance of the direct object in the Accusative case (i.e., *şehir-i* 'city-ACC' in the following examples.

- 6a. Düşman-ın şehir-i istila-sı
 6b. Düşman-ın şehir-i istila et-me-si
 (Sezer 1991)

In this context, one of the most striking differences between action nominal constructions with lexically derived action nominal heads and syntactic nominalizations can be observed. While all verbal predicates (including even the auxiliaries: *ol-* versus *ol-ma-sı*, *i-* versus *ne i-düğ-ü* (Sezer 1991), etc.) may appear as the nominalized predicates of syntactic nominalizations, there is a considerable number of lexical gaps concerning lexical nominalizations: one of the typical lexical nominalization suffix *-Im* is not good with the verb *yürü-* 'walk' although the lexical derivation with the *-(y)Iş* suffix is perfectly acceptable. Observe the examples below:

- 7a. Adam-ın * yürü-yüm-ü
man-GEN walk-LNM-3SG/N
Intended: The man's walk
- 7b. Adam-ın kaldırım-da yürü-me-si
man-GEN sidewalk-LOC walk-NM-3SG/N
The man's walking on the sidewalk
- 8a. Adam-ın yürü-yüş-ü
man-GEN walk-LNM/NM-3SG/N
(1) The man's walk
(2) The man's (way of) walking
- 8b. Adam-ın kaldırım-da hızlı hızlı yürü-yüş-ü
man-GEN sidewalk-LOC quick quick walk-NM-3SG/N
The man's walking on the sidewalk quickly

Furthermore, Comrie and Thompson (1985) express that languages may have subjectless action nominal constructions (as it is the case with ordinary noun phrases). In such cases, the action nominal construction refers to an **abstract** activity or state (i.e., actions or states with a generic agent, *one*, and perhaps, without explicit objects) as in the following examples from English:

- 9a.=174a. *Swimming* is good exercise
9b.=174b. *Lying on the grass* is forbidden
9c.=174c. *Criticism* is hard to take
(Comrie and Thompson, 1985, 379)

A plenty of lexical nominalizations can be found in the lexicons of both English and Turkish just as it is the case with many other languages. In English, for instance, a variety of derivational suffixes can be added to verb bases to obtain deverbal derived nouns (i.e., lexical nominalizations). For instance, the suffixes *-ion*, *-al*, *-er*, or *-ment* can be added to verbs, such as *construct*, *refuse*, *report*, *print* and *involve* to produce new lexical items in the lexicon of English:

10.	<u>Verb</u>		<u>Derivational Suffix</u>		<u>Deverbal Noun</u>
	construct	+	-ion	→	construct-ion
	refuse	+	-al	→	refus-al
	report	+	-er	→	report-er (agentive)
	print	+	-er	→	print-er (instrument)
	involve	+	-ment	→	involve-ment

Notice that some of the lexical nominalizations are **ambiguous** between an action (i.e., event) reading and an argument (i.e., non-action or result) reading, like *construct-ion*, which is potentially able to refer to both the action of *constructing* and the object that is *constructed*. Frequently, this ambiguity disappears in a given context.

A similar lexical nominalization process can be easily recognized in Turkish as well. As in English lexical nominalizations, various derivational suffixes can be added to verb bases in Turkish in order to produce new nouns in the lexicon. Observe the following:

11.	<u>Verb</u>		<u>Derivational Suffix</u>		<u>Deverbal Noun</u>
	kaz	+	-ı	→	kaz-ı (excavation)
	seç	+	-im	→	seç-im (choice / election)
	yürü	+	-üş	→	yürü-yüş (walk / march)
	ver	+	-gi	→	ver-gi (tax)
	konuş	+	-ma	→	konuş-ma (speech)
	dur	+	-ak	→	dur-ak (bus stop, etc.)
	yap	+	-ıt	→	yap-ıt (piece of art)

Again in some cases, a lexical nominalization is capable of denoting both the action and the output (or a relevant argument or aspect) of the activity expressed by the base verb.

In sum, both English and Turkish behave almost identical with respect to the production of lexical nominalizations. However, they differentiate from each other in relation to the

representation of both external and internal argument of a base verb that undergoes the lexical nominalization process. While English employs two different types of genitive marking strategies in action nominal constructions (i.e., *'s* and *of*-phrase), Turkish can only express one of the two arguments in a noun phrase headed by a derived action noun. In fact, in Turkish, the only type of syntactic constructions that can represent both external and internal arguments of a verb is a syntactic nominalization as far as non-finite constituents are concerned.

4.1.2. Syntactic Nominalization

As it has been stated in Section (4.1), the term *syntactic nominalization* refers to a special type of syntactic derivation by which a phrasal category with certain peculiar characteristics that are comparable with that of a noun phrase is produced. In other words, the phrasal category resulting from this syntactic derivation exhibits a number of external and internal syntactic features that can regularly be found with noun phrases. Yet, this phrasal category also displays the typical properties of clausal constituents since it contains a verbal predicate, the arguments of that predicate, and occasionally certain optional (i.e., adverbial) expressions.

Then, the product of a syntactic nominalization process has a dual intermediate or transitional nature: it is like a noun phrase as far as its external distribution is concerned because it appears in typical noun phrase positions within several types of matrix categories (i.e., clauses, noun phrases, and adpositional phrases) and it is similar to a clause with respect to its internal syntactic composition since it minimally contains a predicate and its arguments. In other words, the argument structure of the predicate of a syntactic nominalization is perfectly preserved during the syntactic derivation so that the thematic relations between the participants of the action or event that is denoted by the predicate can also be represented in the full form. In addition to these features, it will be clear in the subsequent sections that even internal syntax of syntactic nominalizations may exhibit a series of nominal characteristics (such as a Genitive subject, case markers added to a nominalization as a whole syntactic unit, etc.).

To be more precise, it may be useful to repeat the general properties of syntactic nominalizations once more here: in the present study, a syntactic nominalization is taken to be the output of a syntactic derivation or process which results in a phrasal category (1) whose external distribution is similar to a noun phrase, (2) which has a clausal composition with respect to its internal syntax (i.e., it includes a predicate, its arguments,

and possibly, a variety of optional adverbial phrasal categories), (3) which is distinct from a finite complement clause (i.e., a finite clause in an argument position of a verb) (3) as this category is always non-finite. The third property concerning syntactic nominalizations is rather consequential for the general design of the present work. In fact, in various studies, including early transformational generative works, any syntactic expression with an external distribution which is similar to that of a noun phrase was called a nominalization (Lees 1960, among others). However, the present study does not adopt this stance and it restricts the range of syntactic expressions that are considered as syntactic nominalizations only to non-finite clauses.

According to the three general criteria indicated above, it is plausible to suggest that both the so-called Poss-ing gerundive clauses and infinitival clauses in English constitute two distinct types of syntactic nominalizations. Both gerundive clauses and infinitival clauses are able to appear in typical noun phrase positions: they may function as subject or object of a clause or they may be used as adverbial expressions (participial clauses and purpose clauses respectively), of course, with minor changes. Both constructions are apparently clauses containing a predicate and its arguments. Finally, they are not finite; they can only be found as a part of other phrasal categories, such as a finite clause (i.e., a matrix sentence). (4)

Regarding the three criteria given above, any non-finite clause with a nominalized predicate by means of one of the syntactic nominalization suffixes may be assumed to be a syntactic nominalization in Turkish as well. Then, it seems that there are at least five general types of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish with respect to their contexts:

- (1) a non-finite argument clause within a root sentence,
- (2) a non-finite adjunct (i.e., adverbial) clause with a nominalized predicate in a complex sentence,
- (3) a non-finite noun complement clause within a complex noun phrase,
- (4) a non-finite complement clause in a postpositional phrase and,
- (5) a non-finite modifier (i.e., relative) clause with a nominalization suffix on its verbal predicate (5)

Then, it is necessary to repeat that the present work assumes that any type of non-finite clausal constituent with a nominalized verbal predicate is an instance of syntactic nominalization. It must be stressed that this broad definition of syntactic nominalizations in terms of a nominalized verbal predicate includes a considerably wide range of non-

finite clauses in complex sentences, complex noun phrases and postpositional phrases. Moreover, the syntactic nominalizations appearing in such matrix categories further differentiate with respect to a number of secondary criteria, such as grammatical functions that nominalizations are expected to fulfill, special syntactic positions they appear, their characteristic morphosyntactic features, semantic distinctions depending on their structure and environment, etc.

Returning to the five categories of syntactic nominalizations given above, it is wise to emphasize that this categorization depends on the contexts in which syntactic nominalizations can appear. In fact, it does not make a perfect reference to all of the morphosyntactic characteristics of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish here (except for their non-finite nature). Consequently, a more careful and detailed classification of these constituents is needed. This will be provided in the subsequent sections of the current chapter.

As it has been explicitly emphasized in Chapter 1, the present study tries to investigate the internal morphosyntactic structure of syntactic nominalizations in argument positions of root sentences in Turkish. These syntactic nominalizations can be considered as the prototypical forms that are able to represent almost the whole range of peculiar morphosyntactic characteristics that syntactic nominalizations may exhibit in Turkish. Since the present study assumes that these constructions are syntactic nominalizations *par excellence*.

In this context, the so-called Poss-ing gerundive clauses seem to be almost identical with such prototypical syntactic nominalizations in argument positions in Turkish at a first glance, regarding a number of morphosyntactic characteristics of both constructions. This striking correspondence between the so-called Poss-ing gerundive clauses and the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in argument positions in Turkish (and other considerations concerning the relatively restricted contexts in which infinitival clauses appear as compared to the environments of gerundives) has led the present work to concentrate on Poss-ing gerundive clauses rather than infinitival clauses as the prototypical type of syntactic nominalizations in English to represent the whole group from a number of aspects. In fact, most linguists consider that infinitival clauses are much closer to finite clauses rather than nominal expressions with respect to their syntax (Ross, 1973; Reuland, 1983; Abney, 1987; among others).

As a final remark, however, it is necessary to recall that a perfect match or equivalence between two seemingly corresponding structures from two distinct languages never exists. In fact, some of the grammatical and semantic functions that are carried out by a particular category in a language may be fulfilled by constructions other than the seemingly equivalent structure in another language and vice versa. In addition to these cautions, it must be remembered that Turkish is highly inflecting language as opposed to English and its rich inflectional paradigms are also represented by the agreement morphology observed in syntactic nominalizations in Turkish as well.

Therefore, it seems rather plausible to state that both (Poss-ing) gerundive clauses and infinitival clauses can be considered as syntactic nominalizations in English. Again, restricting our attention to argument clauses within root sentences, it can be easily observed that both the simple sentence and the syntactic nominalizations below refer to the same underlying event. In other words, there are a number of parallelisms between the two types of structures concerning their morphosyntactic composition and semantic characteristics.

In fact, there seems an alternative way of expressing the same situation in different terms: a syntactic nominalization may also be considered as a syntactic structure which is derived from a simple sentence by transforming that sentence into a constituent of a root sentence. However, the particular theoretical framework of the current work accounts for this parallelism by means of a shared argument structure of the predicate in question. This amounts to say that both categories share the same D-structure representation, which is assumed to be a pure instantiation underlying thematic relations.

In order to illustrate the general types of syntactic nominalizations in English and in Turkish, a number of examples are provided for the immediate expository purposes. Now, consider the simple sentence below:

12. Tom smokes twenty cigarettes a day.

Some of the instances of syntactic nominalizations corresponding this simple sentence can be represented as in the following:

- 13. [Tom's smoking twenty cigarettes a day] bothers his mother very much.
- 14. I cannot stand [Tom's smoking twenty cigarettes a day]
- 15. [For Tom to smoke twenty cigarettes a day] is rather dangerous.

However, it is also possible in English to represent related constructions with similar semantics in the form of finite clauses:

16. [That Tom smokes twenty cigarettes a day] bothers his mother very much.
 17. She asked me [whether Tom smoked twenty cigarettes a day].
- etc.

English is quite distinct from Turkish with respect to its apparent tendency to employ finite complement clauses in its complementation / subordination system as frequently as it uses non-finite forms (most probably, in the form of syntactic nominalizations). Unlike English, Turkish obviously prefers non-finite complementation and employs finite clauses only for either direct speech forms or for borrowed forms of complementation with the complementizer *ki* 'that' as it has been indicated in the preceding chapter (see Chapter 3 for more details).

The major characteristics of the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish can be summarized as in the following way: (1) they are non-finite argument clauses of root sentences, (2) they minimally contain a nominalized predicate and its arguments (therefore, they are clausal constituents), (3) external arguments of nominalized predicates normally occupy the subject position and appear in the Genitive Case, (4) the verbal predicate is nominalized by means of one of the appropriate syntactic nominalization suffixes, like *-mE*, and (5) the nominalizing suffix is typically followed by a subject predicate agreement morphology (such as, *-(I)m*, *-(I)n*, *-I*, etc.) which is drawn from the nominal agreement paradigm as opposed to the verbal agreement paradigm which can be found with the predicates of finite clauses.

The present work suggests that there are five different syntactic nominalization suffixes in Turkish which are employed to produce the prototypical syntactic nominalizations expressing actions, events, facts, etc. These suffixes are *-mE*, *-(y)Iş*, *-DIG*, *-(y)EcEG* and *-(y)Es*. There are two more syntactic nominalization suffixes in Turkish with some peculiar characteristics as compared the former set. One of them is the *-mEG* suffix which is traditionally known as the infinitival suffix since syntactic nominalizations with this suffix obligatorily lack an overt subject (and the nominal subject predicate agreement morphology). (6) The last syntactic nominalization suffix, according to the present study, is the suffix *-IIG* which produces state or quality nominalizations with several different morphosyntactic properties. Due to these differences, *-IIG*

nominalizations must be differentiated from all the others. A further distinction intersecting the former oppositions can also be made with respect to the capacity to represent an overt subject. In this context, the *-mE*, *-(y)Iş*, *-Dik*, *-(y)EcEk*, *-(y)Es*, *-IIG* suffixes contrast with the *-mEG* suffix.

Since Turkish is extensively suffixing language, one of the appropriate syntactic nominalization suffixes is added to the verbal predicate, which is normally the last element in the unmarked word order, during the derivation of syntactic nominalization. What follows the nominalization suffix is a non-finite (i.e., nominal) subject predicate agreement marker which agrees with the subject of the nominalization in the syntactic features **person** and **number**.

First, consider the following simple sentence.

18. Ali Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yazıyor.
 A.-NOM A.-DAT everyday one letter write-PROG-3SG/F
 Ali writes a letter to Ayşe every day.

The following are the examples of syntactic nominalizations which structurally correspond to the simple sentence above since they all seem to share the same D-structure representation.

19. [Ali-nin Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yaz-**ma**-sı] oldukça şaşırtıcı.
 A.-GEN A.-DAT everyday one letter write-NM-3SG/N-NOM rather surprising
 That Ali writes a letter to Ayşe every day is rather surprising.
20. Ben [Ali-nin Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yaz-**dı**ğ-ı]-nı bilmiyordum.
 I-NOM A.-GEN A.-DAT everyday one letter write-NM-3SG/N-ACC know-NEG-PROG-PAST-1SG/F
 I didn't know that Ali wrote a letter to Ayşe every day.
21. Babam [Ali-nin Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yaz-**aca**ğ-ı]-nı hiç düşünmedi.
 Father-1SG/N-NOM A.-GEN A.-DAT everyday one letter write-NM-3SG/N-ACC never think-NEG-PAST-3SG/F
 My father has never thought that Ali would write a letter to Ayşe every day.
22. Annem [Ali-nin Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yaz-**ış**-ı]-na çok şaşıyor.

Mother-1SG/N-NOM A.-GEN A.-DAT everyday one letter write-NM-3SG/N-DAT
much surprise-PROG-3SG/F

My mother is surprised by Ali's writing a letter to Ayşe every day.

23. [Ali-nin Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yaz-as-ı] gel-iyor-du-ø.

A.-GEN A.-DAT everyday one letter write-NM-3SG/N-NOM come-PROG-PAST-
3SG/F

Every day Ali is tempted to write a letter to Ayşe.

As it has been emphasized before, syntactic nominalizations with -mEG suffix cannot have an overt subject. Instead, they are considered as containing a PRO subject which may enter control relations with a matrix subject if such a subject is present. Otherwise, it is interpreted as generic as in the following example:

24. [PRO Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yaz-mak] son derece sıkıcı bir iş olmalı.

A.-DAT everyday one letter write-NM-NOM last degree boring one task be-NEC-
3SG/F

It must be an extremely boring task to write a letter to Ayşe every day.

Another type of syntactic nominalization can be formed with the -IIG suffix which produces syntactic state (or perhaps quality) nominalizations. Unlike the former syntactic nominalization suffixes which take the uninflected form of the verbal predicate as their complement (assuming that negative, passive, reciprocal, causative, etc. morphemes are not inflectional, following Sezer (2001)), the stative nominalization suffix -IIG specifically selects a verbal predicate with an inflectional category, such as the TAM marker -mIş.

25. Ali-nin bugün-e dek Ayşe-ye on mektup yaz-mış-lığ-ı var.

A.-GEN today-DAT until A.-DAT ten letter write-PERF-SNM-3SG/N-NOM
existent-3SG/F

Literally: There exists the situation that Ali has written ten letters to Ayşe up to now.

Ali has written ten letters to Ayşe up to now.

The following sentences contain the instances of finite complement clauses which are provided for the purpose of comparison.

26. Babam anneme [Ali Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yazıyor] dedi.

Father-1SG/N-NOM mother-1SG/N-DAT A.-NOM A.-DAT everyday one letter
write-PROG-3SG/F say-PAST-3SG/F

My father said to my mother "Ali writes a letter to Ayşe every day."

27. Daha sonra açığa çıktı [ki [Ali Ayşe-ye hergün bir mektup yazıyor]]

(a borrowed but productive form)

Afterwards open-DAT appear-PAST-3SG/F that A.-NOM A.-DAT everyday one
letter write-PROG-3SG/F

Afterwards it has become apparent that Ali writes a letter to Ayşe every day.

At this point, it might be interesting to note that syntactic nominalizations in Turkish extremely look like a particular type of noun phrase generally known as the possessive noun phrase, which is minimally composed of a possessor (i.e., a noun phrase in the Genitive Case) in the specifier position and a head noun with a nominal agreement marker which agrees with the possessor in person and number features.

4.2. Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish

In Chapter 1, it has been stated that the present work concentrates on the prototypical syntactic nominalizations which appear in argument positions of root sentences. What is meant by the term prototypical has been clarified in the preceding sections of this chapter: a prototypical syntactic nominalization is characteristically composed of at least a nominalized verbal predicate (as explicated in Section (4.1.2)), its internal arguments with the same case forms that can be found in a corresponding simple sentence, the external argument which is realized by a noun phrase in the Genitive Case.

The subsequent sections try to describe the range of morphosyntactic characteristics of prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. Section (4.2.1) deals with formulating a generalized pattern for prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish and listing various types of syntactic nominalizations as compared to corresponding simple sentences which are assumed to share the same D-structure representations. Then, Section (4.2.2) tries to provide an overview of the distributional properties of prototypical syntactic nominalizations as compared to certain modified types of these constructions (as long as the term syntactic nominalization is taken with its broader liberal sense). Finally, Section (4.2.3) summarizes the general semantic properties of prototypical syntactic nominalizations as a basis which will be further examined in the following chapter in

terms of thematic relations both within a nominalization and between the nominalization and other arguments of a root sentence.

4.2.1. General Characteristics of Prototypical Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish

Syntactic nominalizations in argument positions of root sentences exhibit a number of regular characteristics with respect to their internal syntactic structure. This section tries to identify such regularities by observing various forms of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish in relation to a considerable number of simple sentences which are assumed to share the same underlying syntactic representation. In other words, this section frequently makes reference to the correspondence of a syntactic nominalization, on the one hand, and a simple sentence, on the other. It is suggested that such a correspondence can be justified on the basis of the parallel syntactic derivations of both categories which are assumed to be derived from the same underlying D-structure representation that is frequently considered as a pure instantiation of the thematic relations among the lexical items that participate in the derivation of syntactic expression.

In order to investigate syntactic nominalizations in Turkish in an adequate way, it may be plausible to designate a working prototype as a comparative means. Such a prototypical syntactic nominalization in an argument position of root sentence can be represented as in the following generalized format:

28. [DP-GEN Verbal Predicate -NM -AGRN]

In fact, in most cases, both the subject noun phrase in the Genitive Case and the nominalized predicate determine the boundaries of a prototypical syntactic nominalization (of course, in an unmarked ordering of the constituents). However, it is necessary to note that the word order in Turkish is rather variable so that it is vital not to depend solely on these two elements in deciding on the boundaries of a syntactic nominalization in Turkish. In fact, there may be exceptions even to this considerably general rule as well. For instance, the word order within a syntactic nominalization may be different even in an unmarked construction, especially when a syntactic nominalization is derived from an underlying constituent question since question words frequently appear in the preverbal sentential focus position in Turkish.

The arguments of that verbal predicate are obligatorily represented in a syntactic nominalization, even exhibiting the same case forms which can otherwise be found within simple sentences or finite dependent clauses. This characteristics of arguments in Turkish can be attributed to the existence of the so-called **semantic cases** which display a one-to-one correspondence between a particular thematic role which is assigned to an argument and the morphological case form that a particular argument bears (see Baker, 1988). In other words, a particular thematic role is always realized by means of a particular morphological case form in a variety of syntactic environments in Turkish.

During the derivation of syntactic nominalizations, any type of verbal predicates can be employed as a general rule. This includes basic verb forms as well as passive, causative, reciprocal, reflexive, etc. verb forms which can be considered as rule governed derivations of a root verb in the Lexicon. However, it must be noted that some linguists studying Turkish assume that these verb forms are derived in the syntactic component. Yet, the current study assumes that different verb forms, such as passive, causative, etc., are the production of lexical derivations as highly regular rule governed operations of the Lexicon, following Sezer (2001). This is also what traditional grammars of Turkish say: according to these works, any verb form that can take the infinitival marker -mEG (i.e., the syntactic nominalization suffix -mEG which is characteristically incompatible with an overt subject noun phrase) must be considered as a distinct entry in the Turkish lexicon. Although this view is a bit problematic with respect to the negative forms of the verbs, the present work will assume that the verb forms in question are the results of derivational processes rather than inflectional ones. As opposed to these forms, the syntactic nominalization markers and the nominal subject predicate agreement morphemes must belong to the syntactic component since these elements are uniformly added to any verbal predicate and their chief function is syntactic. Since they are without exception, the addition of such categories takes place at the syntactic level in order to produce a particular type of syntactic constituents, namely syntactic nominalizations, rather than to form new lexical items in the lexicon.

To repeat what is indicated above, all types of verb stems may be used in the derivation process of syntactic nominalizations. This may be a basic form, a passive form, a causative form, etc. Even the passive of a morphologically causative verb can function as the predicate of a nominalization. For instance, just as the transitive verb *kır-* 'break' is able to function as the predicate of a simple sentence, it is capable of serving as the predicate of a syntactic nominalization in its basic active form. Consider the following examples:

- 29a. Çocuk vazo-yu kır-dı-ø. (*kır-*: a basic verb form)
 child-NOM vase-ACC break-PAST-3SG/F
 The child broke the vase.
- 29b. [Çocuğ-un vazoyu kır-dığ-ı] doğru değil. (*kır-*: a basic verb form)
 child-GEN vase-ACC break-NM-3SG/N-NOM true not-3SG/F
 That the boy broke the vase is not true.
- 29c. [Vazo-nun kır-ıl-dığ-ı] kesin. (*kır-ıl-*: a passive verb)
 vase-GEN break-PASS-NM-3SG/N-NOM certain-3SG/F
 That the vase was broken is certain.
- 29d. [Kadın-in vazoyu çocuğa kır-dır-dığ-ı] iddia edildi. (*kır-dır-*: a causative verb)
 woman-GEN vase-ACC child-DAT break-CAUS-NM-3SG/N-NOM claim make-
 PASS-PAST-3SG/F
 It was claimed that the woman had made the boy break the vase.
- 29e. [Vazolar-in çocuklar-a kır-dır-ıl-dığ-ı] kanıtlandı.
 (*kır-dır-ıl-*: the passive form of a causative verb)
 vase-PL-GEN child-PL-DAT break-CAUS-PASS-NM-3SG/N-NOM prove-PAST-
 3SG/F
 It has been proved that the children were forced to break the vases.

In sum, all the verb forms in the examples above, such as *kır-* 'break', *kır-ıl-* 'be broken', *kır-dır-* 'get (it) broken', etc., belong to the Lexicon of Turkish, as distinct lexical entries with predicted senses since their formation is also rule-governed. Of course, the type of such rules is not syntactic but, assumably, lexical (i.e., regularities of the derivational morphology of Turkish).

Similarly, the aspectual verb patterns, which are syntactically (or perhaps, lexically?) composite, such as *gidi-ver-* 'go immediately', *baka-kal-* 'stay looking', *düş-e-yaz-* 'fell suddenly', *yaza-dur* 'keep writing', etc., are nominalized in the regular way. Their second part takes the nominalization suffix and the agreement marker as if they were simple verb forms.

- 30a. Kadın bir an için [ora-dan kaç-ı-ver-mek] iste-di.

woman-NOM a moment for there-ABL escape-CON?-give-NM-NOM want-PAST-3SG/F

For a second, the woman desired to escape from that place.

30b. Biz daha sonra [kuş-un kafes-ten uç-u-ver-diğ-i]-ni gör-dü-k.

we-NOM afterwards bird-GEN cage-ABL fly-CON?-give-NM-3SG/N-ACC see-PAST-1PL/F

Afterwards, we have seen that the bird flew away from the cage.

30c. Satıcı [müşteri-ler-in on-un arka-sı-ndan bak-a-kal-dık-ları]-ndan emin-di.

seller-NOM customer-PL-GEN he-GEN back-3SG/N-ABL look-CON?-stay-NM-3PL/N-ABL sure-PAST-3SG/F

The seller was sure that the customers were left motionless staring after him.

In Turkish, it is sometimes possible to retain the original finite TAM morphology (perhaps, except for the past tense morpheme *-DI* and several other modality suffixes) in order to preserve its aspectual structure. This is done by means of a special strategy in which the additional verbal predicates, such as *ol-* 'be', *bul-un-* 'be found' (literally), etc. follow the predicate containing such aspectual markers. The additional verbs function as auxiliary verbs since they house both the syntactic nominalization suffix and the nominal agreement marker. The reason of such an addition is obvious: the syntactic slot that syntactic nominalization markers occupy is identical with the position in which regular finite TAM markers are found. The additional forms, like the verbal stem *ol-* 'be', enable the overall syntactic expression to contain both the TAM marker and the nominalization morphology at the same time in one construction. Observe the examples below:

31a. Çocuk o gün okul-a git-miş-ø.

child-NOM that day school-DAT go-DUB-3SG/F

It has been inferred / reported that the child went to the school that day.

31b. Biz [çocuğ-un [o gün okul-a git-miş] ol-duğ-u]-nu iyi biliyoruz.

we-NOM child-GEN that day school-DAT go-DUB be-NM-3SG/N-ACC well know-PROG-1PL/F

We know very well that the child went to the school that day.

31c. [Çocuğ-un [o gün okul-a git-miş] ol-ma-sı] gerek.

child-GEN that day school-DAT go-DUB be-NM-3SG/N-NOM necessary-3SG/F
 The child must have gone to the school that day.

Interestingly some of the finite TAM morphemes cannot occur in such constructions directly. In such cases, an alternative strategy is preferred as in the following examples.

32a. Biz bir an önce okul-a git-meli-yiz.

we-NOM immediately school-DAT go-NEC-1PL/F

We must go to the school as soon as possible.

32b. * [Biz-im [bir an önce okul-a git-meli] ol-duğ-umuz] haber verildi.

we-GEN immediately school-DAT go-NEC be-NM-1PL/N news give-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

Intended: It has been reported that we must go to the school as soon as possible.

32c. [Biz-im bir an önce okul-a git-me-miz] gerek-tiğ-i] haber verildi.

we-GEN immediately school-DAT go-NM-1PL/N necessary-NM-3SG/N news give-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

Literally: It has been reported that it is necessary for us to go to the school as soon as possible.

It has been reported that we must go to the school as soon as possible.

4.2.2. A Partial Inventory of Syntactic Nominalizations

This section is aimed for providing a partial inventory of prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish with respect to the types of corresponding simple sentences with which they share the same D-structure for expository purposes.

A simple observation of syntactic nominalizations reveals that they are clausal constituents and they seem to share their D-structure representations with corresponding simple sentences (as one-clause finite independent syntactic units). This sometimes leads linguists to assume that syntactic nominalizations are in fact transformations of simple sentences into non-finite dependent (subordinate) clauses. However, this illusion can be removed by assigning to both types the same underlying D-structure representation, which specifies the thematic relations between the lexical elements that will form the clause structure by projecting their own particular phrasal projections.

Even if both a simple sentence and a syntactic nominalization share the same D-structure, the morphosyntactic realization of the constituents of both categories differentiate a great deal with respect to the case forms of their subject noun phrases (i.e., external arguments) and the inflectional categories found on their predicates. Broadly speaking, there are two major differences between a syntactic nominalization and the simple sentence corresponding to it in terms of its D-structure. This can be characterized in the following way:

- (1) While the subject noun phrase of the syntactic nominalization is in the Genitive Case, the subject of the corresponding simple sentence takes the form of Nominative Case.
- (2) The predicate of a syntactic nominalization exhibit non-finite (i.e., nominal) inflectional categories, such as non-finite TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood) markers and non-finite subject predicate agreement suffixes. On the other hand, the predicate of the simple sentence appears in the regular finite form by taking finite TAM markers and finite subject predicate agreement inflectional suffixes.

In order to illustrate these differences (and also their similarities with respect to the thematic relations within both types), consider the following simple sentence, which includes a verbal predicate *gel-* 'come':

- 33a. Ali- $\emptyset$ ev-e gel-di- $\emptyset$.
 A.-NOM house-DAT come-PAST-3SG/F
 Ali came / has come to the house.

One of the five types of unproblematic regular syntactic nominalizations (with respect to the perfect correspondence of their internal morphosyntactic composition to the prototypical pattern of syntactic nominalizations given in the preceding sections). Then, it is not implausible to compare this simple sentence with the syntactic nominalization formed with the *-DIG* suffix in the following sentence.

- 33b. [Ali-nin ev-e gel-diğ-i] söylendi.
 A.-GEN house-DAT come-NM-3SG/N-NOM say-PASS-PAST-3SG/F
 It was said that Ali had come to the house.

When the simple sentence has a negated verbal predicate, the corresponding syntactic nominalization also have a negative suffix, which is essentially the same category. In this case, the nominalization marker is simply added to the predicate just after the negative

suffix. (7) The nominalization suffix, in turn, is followed by the nominal subject predicate agreement marker. Both a simple sentence with a negative predicate and its syntactic nominalization counterpart are given below:

34a. Ali- $\emptyset$ ev-e gel-me-di- $\emptyset$.

A.-NOM house-DAT come-NEG-PAST-3SG/F

Ali did not / has not come to the house.

34b. [Ali-nin ev-e gel-me-diğ-i] söylendi.

A.-GEN house-DAT come-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM say-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It was said that Ali had / did not come to the house.

Simple sentences in the form of questions also have their syntactic nominalization counterparts. Now, assume that the simple sentence is a constituent question, which interrogates one of the constituents of an underlying D-structure elements. Consider the following pair of examples which correspond to a constituent question and its syntactic nominalization counterpart respectively.

35a. Ali- $\emptyset$ nere-ye git-ti- $\emptyset$?

A.-NOM where-DAT go-PAST-3SG/F

Where did Ali go?

35b. [Ali-nin nere-ye git-tiğ-i] beni ilgilendirmiyor.

A.-GEN where-DAT go-NM-3SG/N-NOM I-ACC interest-NEG-PROG-3SG/F

Literally: Where Ali has gone does not interest me.

I am not interested in where Ali went / has gone / is going.

Note that constituent questions in Turkish are formed by simply replacing the constituent to be interrogated by an appropriate question word, such as *ne* 'what', *kim* 'who', *niçin* 'why', etc. In such cases, the question word stands for the questioned constituent. In (35a), for instance, the question word *nereye* 'where' occupies the syntactic position which is normally occupied by the Goal argument of the verbal predicate *git-* 'go'. In this respect, it is clear from the example (35b) that the syntactic nominalization corresponding to the simple sentence in (35a) also contains the same question word in the same syntactic position.

However, there might be slight changes in the word order of the constituents of syntactic nominalizations. Such changes are frequently the mirrored modifications concerning the corresponding simple sentence. For instance, in the following example, since the question word *kim* 'who' which interrogates the subject noun phrase in the simple sentence is regularly found in a preverbal focus position (as opposed to the regular clause-initial positions of other subjects), the resulting syntactic nominalization also exhibits this exception in the word order: contrary to what is expected, a clause-initial subject (the question word *kim* 'who') is marked in the resulting syntactic nominalization.

36a. Ev-e **kim** gel-di-ø?

house-DAT who come-PAST-3SG/F

Who came to the house?

36b. [**Kim-in** ev-e gel-diğ-i] beni ilgilendirmiyor. (*marked*)

who-GEN house-DAT come-NM-3SG/N-NOM I-ACC interest-NEG-PROG-3SG/F

Literally: who came to the house does not interest me.

I am not interested in who came to the house.

36c. [Ev-e **kim-in** gel-diğ-i] beni ilgilendirmiyor.

house-DAT who-GEN come-NM-3SG/N-NOM I-ACC interest-NEG-PROG-3SG/F

Who came to the house does not interest me.

I am not interested in who came to the house.

(*unmarked, the question word is in the clausal focus position*)

If the simple sentence is a **yes-no question**, there appear a difference between the original question and the syntactic nominalization corresponding that question. In these cases, both affirmative and negative forms of the predicate of the yes-no question are coordinated in a very special way. The affirmative predicate takes an **-(y)Ip** suffix, which is sometimes called a **converb** suffix or a **participle** marker. Then, the negated predicate, which always comes after the affirmative part, takes an appropriate nominalization marker followed by the nominal agreement suffix. This structure may also be considered as a special type of **reduplication**, which is frequently observed in Turkish. Consider the examples:

37a. Ali-ø ev-e gel-di-ø mi?

A.-NOM house-DAT come-PAST-3SG/F PART

Did Ali come to the house?

37b. [Ali-nin ev-e gel-ip, gel-me-diğ-i] bilinmiyor.

A.-GEN house-DAT come-CON come-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM know-PASS-NEG-PROG-3SG/F

Literal: Whether Ali has come to the house or his not coming is not known.

Whether Ali came to the house (or not) is not known.

37c. [Ali-nin ev-e gel-ip, gel-me-me-si] beni ilgilendirmiyor.

A.-GEN house-DAT come-CON come-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM I-ACC interest-NEG-PROG-3SG/F

Literal: Neither Ali's coming to the house nor his not coming to the house does not interest me.

Whether Ali comes to the house (or not) does not interest me.

A syntactic nominalization with the reverse order of nominalized predicates is completely ungrammatical.

38a. * [Ali-nin ev-e gel-me-yip, gel-diğ-i] bilinmiyor.

A.-GEN house-DAT come-NEG-CON come-NM-3SG/N-NOM know-PASS-NEG-PROG-3SG/F

Intended: Whether Ali came to the house (or not) is not known.

38b. * [Ali-nin ev-e gel-me-yip, gel-me-si] beni ilgilendirmiyor.

A.-GEN house-DAT come-NEG-CON come-NM-3SG/N-NOM I-ACC interest-NEG-PROG-3SG/F

Intended: Whether Ali comes to the house (or not) does not interest me.

This particular type of syntactic nominalizations corresponding to yes-no questions tends to be found with *-DIk*, *-(y)EcEk*, *-mE* and *-mEk* more frequently as compared to the *-(y)Iş* suffix, which cannot have its peculiar manner sense in such cases. Syntactic nominalizations with the *-(y)Es* suffix, on the other hand, never appear in this form. That is, an embedded yes-no question with the latter is impossible.

39a. ~ [Ali-nin ev-e gel-ip, gel-me-yiş-i] beni ilgilendirmiyor.

A.-GEN house-DAT come-CON come-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM I-ACC interest-
NEG-PROG-3SG/F

Literal: Neither Ali's coming to the house nor his not coming to the house does not interest me.

Whether Ali comes to the house (or not) does not interest me.

39b. * [Ali-nin ev-e gel-ip, gel-me-yes-i] var.

A.-GEN house-DAT come-CON come-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM existent-3SG/F

(No semantic interpretation can be assigned to this).

It is well known that Turkish has a particular type of copular sentences, which seemingly does not have a Copula verb. Such a sentence is simply composed of the subject noun phrase and the non-verbal predicate, such as an adjective phrase, a noun phrase, a postpositional phrase, etc. Then, if a simple copular sentence (naturally without a verbal predicate) is considered, the verbal stem *ol-* 'be' is simply added to the clause structure in corresponding the syntactic nominalization.

40a. Ali- $\emptyset$ [bir öğrenci].

A.-NOM a student-NOM-3SG/F

Ali is a student.

40b. [Ali-nin [bir öğrenci] ol-duğ-u] belli.

A.-GEN a student-NOM be-NM-3SG/N-NOM obvious-3SG/F

It is obvious that Ali is a student.

41a. Ali- $\emptyset$ [ev-de].

A.-NOM house-LOC-3SG/F

Ali is a student.

41b. [Ali-nin [ev-de] ol-duğ-u] belli.

A.-GEN house-LOC be-NM-3SG/N-NOM obvious-3SG/F

It is obvious that Ali is a student.

It is also possible to assume that in fact there exist a copular *ol-* 'be' within the structure of the simple sentence even though it is not overtly realized (see Lees, 1972; Sezer, 2001).

If a simple sentence contains a non-verbal predicate which is in the negative form, the negative counterpart of the verbal stem *ol-* 'be', which is *olma-* 'not (to) be', is added to the corresponding syntactic nominalization.

42a. Ali- $\emptyset$ hasta **değil**.

A.-NOM ill not-3SG/F

Ali is not sick.

42b. [Ali-nin hasta **ol-ma-dıgı**-ı] zaten belliydi.

A.-GEN ill be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM already obvious-PAST-3SG/F

It was already apparent that Ali was not sick.

43a. Bu elbise ban-a göre **değil**.

This dress-NOM I-DAT according not-3SG/F

This dress does not fit / suit me.

43b. [[Bu elbise]-nin ban-a göre **ol-ma-dıgı**-ı] baştan belliydi.

This dress-GEN I-DAT according be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM beginning-ABL
obvious-PAST-3SG/F

It was already apparent that this dress did not fit / suit me..

The unmarked version of syntactic nominalization forms which correspond to existential sentences or sentences that express possession frequently do not contain a Genitive case marker on their subject noun phrases. The existence of the Genitive marker on the subject noun phrase renders a syntactic nominalization **marked** or **emphatic** (interestingly contrary to the expectation that predicts that regular forms are unmarked, perhaps due to some economy requirements). Consider the following:

44a. Dolap-ta [bir şişe süt] var.

cupboard-LOC a bottle milk-NOM existent-3SG/F

There is a bottle of milk in the cupboard.

44b. [Dolap-ta [bir şişe süt] **ol-ma-sı**] gerekiyor. (*unmarked*)

cupboard-LOC a bottle milk-NOM be-NM-3SG/N-NOM entail/be required-PROG-3SG/F

There must be a bottle of milk in the cupboard.

- 44c. [Dolap-ta [bir şişe süt]-ün ol-ma-sı] gerekiyor. (*marked*)
 cupboard-LOC a bottle milk-GEN be-NM-3SG/N-NOM entail/be required-PROG-3SG/F
 There must be a bottle of milk in the cupboard.
- 45a. [Ben-im bir ev-im] var.
 I-GEN a house-1SG/N existent-3SG/F
 I have a house.
- 45b. [[Ben-im bir ev-im] ol-duğ-u] iddia edilmiş. (*unmarked*)
 I-GEN a house-1SG/N-NOM be-NM-3SG/N-NOM claim make-PASS-DUB-3SG/F
 It has been claimed that I have a house.
- 45c. [[Ben-im bir ev-im]-in ol-duğ-u] iddia edilmiş. (*marked*)
 I-GEN a house-1SG/N-GEN be-NM-3SG/N-NOM claim make-PASS-DUB-3SG/F
 It has been claimed that I have a house.
- 46a. Fırın-da ekmek yok.
 bakery-LOC bread-NOM non-existent-3SG/F
 Literally: There is no bread in the bakery.
 The bread has been ran out.
- 46b. [Fırın-da [ekmek] ol-ma-dığ-ı] haberi geldi. (*unmarked*)
 bakery-LOC bread-NOM be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM news-3SG/N come-PAST-3SG/F
 The news that there is no bread in the bakery has arrived / been heard.
- 46c. [Fırın-da [ekmeğ]-in ol-ma-dığ-ı] haberi geldi. (*marked*)
 bakery-LOC bread-GEN be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM news-3SG/N come-PAST-3SG/F
 The news that there is no bread in the bakery has arrived / been heard.

However, there are also particular instances in which a Genitive Case marker on the subject of the syntactic nominalization is more appropriate:

47a. Ev-de hiç kimse yok.

house-LOC no person-NOM non-existent-3SG/F

There is nobody in the house.

47b. ? [Ev-de [hiç kimse] ol-ma-ma-sı] polisi şaşırttı. (*either deviant or marked*)

house-LOC none person-NOM be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM police-ACC surprise-CAUS-PAST-3SG/F

That there was nobody in the house has surprised the police.

47c. [Ev-de [hiç kimse]-nin ol-ma-ma-sı] polisi şaşırttı.

(*both grammatical and unmarked*)

house-LOC none person-GEN be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM police-ACC surprise-CAUS-PAST-3SG/F

That there was nobody in the house has surprised the police.

48a. Ahmet oda-da yok.

Ahmet-NOM room-LOC non-existent-3SG/F

Ahmet is not in the room.

48b. * [[Ahmet] oda-da ol-ma-yış-ı] ne büyük bir kayıp.

Ahmet-NOM room-LOC be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM what great a loss-3SG/F

Intended: It is unfortunate that Ahmet is not in the room.

48c. [[Ahmet]-in oda-da ol-ma-yış-ı] ne büyük bir kayıp.

(*both grammatical and unmarked*)

Ahmet-GEN room-LOC be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM what great a loss-3SG/F

It is unfortunate that Ahmet is not in the room.

As far as existential sentences are concerned, it is also possible to retain the existential word (adjective) in the corresponding syntactic nominalization. In such cases, the nominalization marker is still on the verbal stem *ol-* 'be'. The resulting syntactic nominalization is emphatic since it strongly emphasizes the existence of the entity in question.

49a. [Doğüstü güç-ler] var.

supernatural power-PL-NOM existent-3PL/F

Supernatural powers exist.

- 49b. [Doğatüstü güç-ler] ol-duğ-u] iddia edildi. (*unmarked*)
 supernatural power-PL-NOM be-NM-3PL/N-NOM claim make-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It has been asserted that supernatural powers exist.

- 49c. [Doğatüstü güç-ler]-in ol-duğ-u] iddia edildi. (*marked*)
 supernatural power-PL-GEN be-NM-3PL/N-NOM claim make-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It has been asserted that supernatural powers exist.

- 49d. [Doğatüstü güç-ler]-in var ol-duğ-u] iddia edildi.
 supernatural power-PL-GEN existent be-NM-3PL/N-NOM claim make-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It has been asserted that supernatural powers exist.

In such cases, the Genitive marker cannot be omitted.

- 49e. * [Doğatüstü güç-ler] var ol-duğ-u] iddia edildi.
 supernatural power-PL-NOM existent be-NM-3PL/N-NOM claim make-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It has been asserted that supernatural powers exist.

The verbal stem *ol-* 'be' cannot be used with the negative counterpart *yok* 'non-existent' in this particular sense.

- 50a. [Doğatüstü güç-ler] yok.
 supernatural power-PL-NOM non-existent-3PL/F
 Supernatural powers do not exist.

- 50b. * [Doğatüstü güç-ler]-(in) yok ol-duğ-u] iddia edildi.
 (*with the intended state meaning*)
 supernatural power-PL-(GEN) non-existent be-NM-3PL/N-NOM claim make-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It has been asserted that supernatural powers do not exist.

- 50c. [Doğatüstü güç-ler]-(in) ol-ma-dığ-ı] iddia edildi.

supernatural power-PL-(GEN) be-NEG-NM-3PL/N-NOM claim make-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It has been asserted that supernatural powers do not exist.

But it is possible to express this sense by adding the negative verbal stem *olma-* 'not (to) be' to an affirmative existential with the word *var* 'existent'.

50d. [Doğüstü güç-ler]-in **var ol-ma-dığ-ı**] iddia edildi.

supernatural power-PL-GEN existent be-NEG-NM-3PL/N-NOM claim make-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It has been asserted that supernatural powers do not exist.

The examples above refer to a state which expresses the existence of some entity in the universe of discourse. However, there is also an alternative function which the string *var ol-* 'become, happen' or *yok ol-* 'disappear, vanish, cease to exist' can fulfill: they may express a process rather than a state. In such cases, both *var* and *yok* must be retained in the structures of corresponding syntactic nominalizations.

51a. Dünya-da-ki tür-ler hızla yok oluyor.

earth-LOC-REL species-PL-NOM rapidly non-existent be-PROG-3SG/F

The species on the earth are dying / vanishing rapidly.

51b. [Dünya-da-ki tür-ler-in hızla yok ol-ma-sı] bilim adamlarını endişelendiriyor.

earth-LOC-REL species-PL-GEN rapidly non-existent be-NM-3SG/N-NOM science man-PL-ACC annoy-PROG-3SG/F

That the species on the earth are dying / vanishing rapidly annoys the scientists.

52a. Çamaşır-lar-da-ki leke-ler hemen yok olmadı.

cloth-PL-LOC-REL stain-PL-NOM immediately non-existent be-NEG-PAST-3SG/F

The stains on the clothes did not disappear immediately.

52b. [Çamaşır-lar-da-ki leke-ler-in hemen yok ol-ma-ma-sı] kadını şaşırttı.

cloth-PL-LOC-REL stain-PL-GEN immediately non-existent be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM woman surprise-CAUS-PAST-3SG/F

That the stains on the clothes did not disappear immediately surprised the woman.

53a. İnsan birdenbire var oldu.

human-NOM instantaneously existent be-PAST-3SG/F

The humans came to being instantaneously.

53b. [İnsan-ın birdenbire var ol-duğ-u] doğru değil.

human-GEN instantaneously existent be-NM-3SG/N-NOM true not-3SG/F

It is not true that the humans came to being instantaneously.

54a. İnsan bir gün-de var olmadı.

human-NOM one day-LOC existent be-NEG-PAST-3SG/F

The humans did not come to being instantaneously.

54b. [İnsan-ın bir gün-de var ol-ma-dığ-ı] iddia edildi.

human-GEN one day-LOC existent be-NEG-NM-3SG/N-NOM claim make-PASS-PAST-3SG/F

It is asserted that the humans did not come to being instantaneously.

A particular form of simple sentences, lacking an overt subject, **imperatives**, also have nominalization counterparts. The understood subject of an imperative, which is always either the singular or the plural form of second person, may also be stated within the corresponding syntactic nominalization in order to emphasize who will perform the action ordered by the speaker.

55a. Dışarı çık!

outside go-2SG/F

Go out!

55b. Ben sana [dışarı çık-ma-n]-ı söyledim.

I-NOM you-DAT outside go-NM-2SG/N-ACC say-PAST-1SG/F

I told you to go out.

55c. Ben sana [sen-in dışarı çık-ma-n]-ı söyledim. (*strongly emphatic*)

I-NOM you-DAT you-GEN outside go-NM-2SG/N-ACC say-PAST-1SG/F

I told you that you would go out, (not somebody else).

56a. Hemen bura-ya gelin!

immediately here-DAT come-2PL/F

Come here as soon as possible.

56b. Ben **siz-e** [hemen bura-ya gel-me-niz]-i söyledim.

I-NOM you-DAT immediately here-DAT come-NM-2PL/N-ACC say-PAST-1SG/F
I told you to come here as soon as possible.

56c. Ben **siz-e** [**siz-in** hemen bura-ya gel-me-niz]-i söyledim.

I-NOM you-DAT you-GEN immediately here-DAT come-NM-2PL/N-ACC say-PAST-1SG/F

I told you that it is you who would come here as soon as possible.

It is obvious from all these examples that syntactic nominalization markers can exclusively be added to verbal stems and to nothing else. That is, no other predicate can bear such a nominalization morpheme. A simple sentence with a non-verbal predicate or an existential word (such as *var* 'existent') has a syntactic nominalization counterpart which exhibits the verbal stem *ol-* 'be' as an additional category so that this verbal category can bear the syntactic nominalization suffix and the nominal subject predicate agreement markers. Its negative counterpart *ol-ma-* 'not (to) be' is used to express the negative meaning which is originally expressed by either the word *değil* 'not' or *yok* 'non-existent' in the original constructions in question here.

4.2.3. Distributional Characteristics of Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish

It has been emphasized that syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are non-finite clausal categories that are able to appear in a number of syntactic positions within a variety of matrix categories. Since the present work restricts its attention to the prototypical syntactic nominalizations that appear in argument positions of root sentences, it is plausible to examine the types and characteristics of the syntactic positions in which such categories appear. In this context, it will be clear in the following paragraphs that the prototypical syntactic nominalizations are capable of serving a wide range of grammatical functions within matrix clauses, depending on their positions.

Most prototypical syntactic nominalizations can appear in either external or internal argument positions even though there appear certain restrictions on the type of syntactic nominalization occupying the external argument position. In this respect, it is usually suggested that the so-called **factive** syntactic nominalizations (i.e., the syntactic

nominalizations which are produced by the addition of *-DIG* and *-(y)EcEG* suffixes to the verbal predicates and which usually denote a **propositional** content) are not able to function as the external arguments of transitive matrix verbs in Turkish. In contrast, the prototypical syntactic nominalizations with *-mE*, *-mEG*, *-(y)Iş* and *-(y)Es* are capable of serving as the external arguments of transitive verbs in complex sentences (recall that the matrix predicates that can take *-(y)Es* nominalizations are limited to a very small set, including the predicates *gel-* 'come', *tut-* 'hold (literal); appear', etc.).

Another issue that is relevant to the syntactic distribution of the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish is the morphological case forms that are assigned to these nominalizations by matrix predicates. In Turkish, simple noun phrases, noun phrases headed by a derived nominal, the so-called possessive noun phrases containing a Genitive possessor and the prototypical syntactic nominalizations as non-finite argument clauses of root sentences are all subject to the **Case Requirement**. That is, all types of nominal constituents in Turkish are required to have an abstract Case, which is always morphologically signaled in Turkish. Then, a prototypical syntactic nominalization exhibits the same case form on its nominalized predicate as it would appear on a noun phrase. In sum, matrix predicates, to a great extent, assign the same morphological case to a nominal syntactic constituent bearing a particular thematic role regardless of its internal syntactic composition (i.e., regardless of whether it is a clausal, syntactic nominalization or a noun phrase).

4.2.3.1. Syntactic Nominalizations in External Argument Positions

A syntactic nominalization may appear in external argument position of a matrix predicate. In such cases, a syntactic nominalization, as a whole, regularly bears the Nominative case as it can be predicted. In Turkish, the Nominative case is signaled with a zero morpheme *-ø* (i.e., a phonetically null morpheme) as in the following examples:

57a. [Babam-ın yeni bir araba al-ma-sı]-*ø* hepimizi sevindirdi.

father-1SG/N-GEN new a car buy-NM-3SG/N-NOM all-1PL/N make happy-
PAST-3SG/F

That my father bought a new car made us all happy.

57b. [Kadın-ın bu olay karşısında sakin kal-ış-ı]-*ø* övgüye değer.

woman-GEN this event across-3SG/N-LOC calm stay-NM-3SG/N-NOM praise
worth-3SG/F

Woman's staying calm in spite of this event deserves praise.

- 57c. Bu söz üzerine [ben-im aniden gül-es-im]-ø geldi.
 this word over-DAT I-GEN immediately laugh-NM-1SG/N-NOM come-PAST-3SG/F
 On these words, I was about to laugh.

- 57d. [Temiz havaya çık-mak]-ø insana zindelik verir.
 fresh air-DAT go out-NM-NOM human-DAT health give-AOR-3SG/F
 It is refreshing / healthy (for a person) to go out (and get) fresh air.

It can be frequently observed that syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization markers *-mE*, *-(y)Iş* and *-(y)Es* are regularly found in external argument positions as well as the syntactic nominalizations with the suffix *-mEk*, i.e., infinitival clauses. On the other hand, those syntactic nominalizations formed with the nominalization markers *-DIk* and *-(y)EcEk* seem to occupy subject positions when the predicate is a passive one. In other words, syntactic nominalizations with *-DIk* and *-(y)EcEk* cannot be agents of an action because they are special expressions that denote the state of affairs in the world in the form of propositions, and inherently, they are unable to initiate an event or to cause something to happen.

- 58a. * [Babam-ın eve erken gel-diğ-i]-ø hepimizi sevindirdi.
 father-1SG/N-GEN house-DAT early come-NM-3SG/N-NOM all of us-ACC make happy-PAST-3SG/F
 Intended: That my father came home early made all of us happy.
- 58b. [Babam-ın eve erken gel-me-si]-ø hepimizi sevindirdi.
 father-1SG/N-GEN house-DAT early come-NM-3SG/N-NOM all of us-ACC make happy-PAST-3SG/F
 That my father came home early made all of us happy.
 My father's coming home early made all of us happy.
- 58c. [Babam-ın eve erken gel-diğ-i]-ø çabucak duyuldu.
 father-1SG/N-GEN house-DAT early come-NM-3SG/N-NOM quickly hear-PASS-PAST-3SG/F
 That my father came home early was heard immediately.

58d. * [Kadın-ın yeni bir ev al-acağ-ı]-ø hepimizi şaşırttı.

woman-GEN new a house buy-NM-3SG/N-NOM all of us-ACC surprise-PAST-3SG/F

Intended: It made all of us surprised that the woman would buy a new house.

58e. [Kadın-ın yeni bir ev al-ma-sı]-ø hepimizi şaşırttı.

woman-GEN new a house buy-NM-3SG/N-NOM all of us-ACC surprise-PAST-3SG/F

That the woman bought a new house surprised all of us.

58f. [Kadın-ın yeni bir ev al-acağ-ı]-ø biliniyor.

woman-GEN new a house buy-NM-3SG/N-NOM know-PASS-PROG-3SG/F

It is known that the woman will buy a new house.

The past and future connotations of the syntactic nominalizations in the first examples of both sets can be conveyed in an interesting construction involving the verbal base *ol-* 'be' as in the following examples.

58g. [[Babam-ın eve erken gel-miş] ol-ma-sı] hepimizi sevindirdi.

father-1SG/N-GEN house-DAT early come-PERF be-NM-3SG/N-NOM all of us-ACC make happy-PAST-3SG/F

That my father came home early made all of us happy.

58h. [[Kadın-ın yeni bir ev al-acak] ol-uş-u] hepimizi şaşırttı.

woman-GEN new a house buy-FUT be-NM-3SG/N-NOM all of us-ACC surprise-PAST-3SG/F

That the woman will buy a new house has surprised us.

However, it seems that there are certain instances in which an action meaning can be conveyed by means of a syntactic nominalization with *-Dik*, which is normally used to represent an event within a temporal context or a proposition concerning that event as it is indicated above.

59a. Derken birdenbire [biri-nin çatıda yürü-düğ-ü]-ø duyuldu. (*event / action*)

Meanwhile, it was suddenly heard that someone was walking on the roof.

59b. [Adam-ın kentten ayrıl-dığ-ı]-ø ancak bir hafta sonra duyuldu.

(event / fact)

That the man had left the town was only heard one week later.

59c. Şu anda [kadın-ın polislere doğru yürü-düğ-ü]-nü görebiliyoruz.

(event / action)

We can see that the woman is walking towards the police now.

59d. Ben az önce [biri-nin bu nehri yüzerek geç-tiğ-i]-ni gör-dü-m.

(event / fact)

We have never seen someone cross this river, swimming before.

From the examples above, it can be concluded that all types of syntactic nominalizations inherently denote an action meaning. What makes a particular type of syntactic nominalization different as compared to the others is one or more additional semantic properties such as the characteristics associated with the aspect of the event, the mood in which the action is expressed, the tense connotations, etc. For instance, the syntactic nominalizations with *-DIG* and *-(y)EcEG* markers are capable of denoting the realization status of the action with respect to the matrix predicate. In this respect, the former is able to denote a past or present (i.e., non-future) actions (i.e., an already realized event or an event that is being realized) while the latter is specialized in representing future actions (i.e., unrealized / to be realized events). Similarly, a syntactic nominalization with the *-(y)Es* suffix can express some kind of mood in the form of an internal instinct / stimulus in addition to its basic action sense.

In some cases, a syntactic nominalization may be the subject of another syntactic nominalization or of certain types of constructions, such as genitive-possessive noun phrases. In such cases, the syntactic nominalization takes a Genitive suffix as it is predicted. This Genitive case marker is carried on the predicate of the most deeply embedded nominalization as the final suffix. For example:

60a. [[Ali-nin dün eve git-me-diğ-i]-nin duyul-ma-sı] ortalığı karıştırdı.

A.-GEN yesterday house-DAT go-NEG-NM-3SG/N-GEN hear-PASS-NM-3SG/N around mix-PAST-3SG/F

The hearing of Ali's not going to the house yesterday caused a lot of troubles

After it was heard that Ali did not go to the house yesterday, a lot of problems have arisen.

60b. [[Ali-nin dün eve git-me-me-si]-nin sonuç-lar-ı] hiç iyi olmadı.

A.-GEN yesterday house-DAT go-NEG-NM-3SG/N-GEN result-PL-3SG/N any
good be-NEG-PAST-3SG/F

The consequences of Ali's not having gone to the house yesterday were not so
good.

4.2.3.1. Syntactic Nominalizations in Internal Argument Positions

When a syntactic nominalization appears in an internal argument position of a matrix clause, the syntactic nominalization is assigned an appropriate case by the matrix predicate as if it were an ordinary noun phrase, which is an apparently different situation that is observed in English. The case form of a syntactic nominalization which occupies an internal argument position of a matrix predicate is identical with that of an ordinary noun phrase which is otherwise able to appear in the same slot. Consider the examples below.

Frequently, the sub-type of a syntactic nominalization (that is, what type of nominalization marker is added to its verbal predicate) is determined by the idiosyncratic lexical characteristics of the predicate of a matrix sentence. Some of the instances of such predicates which take syntactic nominalizations as their internal arguments will be presented in the subsequent sections of the present chapter.

61a. Adam [kitab]-ı istedi. (*Accusative*)

The man wanted the book.

61b. Polis [adam-ın kimliğ-i]-ni istedi. (*Accusative*)

The police wanted the man's identity card.

61c. Kadın [arkadaşları-nın nikah-a gel-me-leri]-ni istedi. (*Accusative*)

The woman wanted her friends to come to the wedding.

62a. Ben [cevab]-a kız-dı-m. (*Dative*)

I got angry with the answer.

62b. Ben [soru-nun cevab-ı]-na kız-dı-m. (*Dative*)

I got angry with the answer to the question.

62c. Ben [sen-in sınavı geçeme-diğ-i]-na kız-dı-m (*Dative*)

I got angry with your not being able to pass the exam.

4.2.4. General Semantic Characteristics of Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish

63a. [Babam-in yeni bir araba al-ma-sı] hepimizi sevindirdi.

(an action that took place in the past: an event)

That my father bought a new car made us all happy.

63b. [Babam-in yeni bir araba al-ma-sı] çok yanlış olurdu.

(a possible but unrealized action)

For my father to buy a new car would be a very big mistake.

Syntactic nominalizations with *-Dik* and *-(y)EcEk* inherently express an event in its time context since these two nominalization markers do have some form of temporal connotations, past (actually, non-future) and future respectively. It is this temporal aspect that enables them to represent an event, a fact, a proposition, a judgment, a belief, an assumption, a prediction, or even a lie. The content of these nominalizations can be confirmed or denied on the basis of extra-linguistic (pragmatic) knowledge, the knowledge that refers to the state of affairs.

64a. Kadın polislere doğru yürü-dü-ø.

(a neutral expression of an event)

The woman walked towards the police.

64b. [Kadın-in polislere doğru yürü-düğ-ü] yalan.

(a denial of a proposition expressing the realization of a particular event)

That the woman walked towards the police is a lie.

64c. [Kadın-in polislere doğru yürü-düğ-ü] iddia edildi.

(a proposition expressing the realization of a particular event)

It was claimed that the woman walked towards the police.

64d. Ben [kadın-in polislere doğru yürü-düğ-ü]-nü tahmin ediyorum.

(a prediction about the realization of a particular event)

I suppose that the woman walked towards the police.

64e. Ben [kadın-ın polislere doğru yürü-düğ-ü]-ne inanıyorum.

(a belief about the realization of a particular event)

I believe that the woman walked towards the police.

64f. Ben [kadın-ın polislere doğru yürü-düğ-ü]-nü gördüm.

(an expression of the realization of a particular event as a fact)

I saw that the woman was walking towards the police.

In the last example, the expression of the realization of the even in question is clear and obvious: the speaker has witnessed the event. It is represented as a natural observation of an event. Therefore, the syntactic nominalization in the last example is simply an action, which can also be paraphrased roughly as in the following example:

64g. Ben [kadın-ın polislere doğru yürü-me-si]-ni seyrettim.

(an expression of an action)

I watched the woman's walking towards the police.

In this example, too, the listener understands that the action took place or realized in a time context. However, the expression of the realization of this action is indirect, unlike the syntactic nominalization in the previous example. It is the matrix, predicate *seyir et-* 'watch' with its time specifications (here, past tense) what enables the nominalization to have this sense. With a different matrix predicate and a distinct TAM morphology, the same nominalization becomes, for instance, a hypothetical expression, namely a wish here. Consider the following example:

64h. Ben [kadın-ın polislere doğru yürü-me-si]-ni isterdim.

(an expression of a wish concerning a particular action)

I wish that the woman had walked towards the police.

So far, some of the semantic characteristics of syntactic nominalizations are mentioned in order to differentiate between two major groups of syntactic nominalizations with different nominalization markers. Thus, broadly speaking, only syntactic nominalizations with the nominalization markers *-DIk* and *-(y)EcEk* are inherently able to express propositions in addition to their basic capacity to represent actions and their participants. Syntactic nominalizations with the nominalization markers *-mE*, *-(y)Iş* and *-(y)Es* are neutral with respect to this particular proposition or event sense. Instead, the markers *-(y)Iş* and *-(y)Es* in this group possess other capabilities, namely the abilities to express a

manner of an action and an instinctive or internal motive for an action, in the respective order. Again, it must be emphasized that all types of markers inherently express the fundamental meaning.

NOTES

1. Interestingly, in some languages, it may be a rather complicated task to differentiate between an derived action nominal and a syntactic nominalization par excellence (of course, provided that both types are present in the grammatical system of that language).
2. In fact, this construction sounds not so bad perhaps due to its parallelism with the corresponding syntactic nominalization which involve a minute change in the form of the nominalization suffix: the lexical nominalization suffix -Im versus the syntactic nominalization morpheme -mE.
3. This statement implies that noun clauses introduced by a complementizer in English or Turkish finite argument clauses in direct speech forms are not considered as syntactic nominalizations by the current work despite their noun phrase-like syntactic distribution (i.e., grammatical functions within root sentences, etc.).
4. In this context, infinitival clauses are problematic and, unlike the Poss-ing gerundive clauses, they cannot function as complement clauses of adpositional phrases or complex noun phrases.
5. The last type of syntactic nominalizations exhibits a further differentiation with respect to the overt representation of one of its constituents which is co-indexed with the head noun that is modified by the whole syntactic nominalization (i.e., the non-finite modifier clause). In this respect, it cannot contain that element overtly as it is the case with finite modifier clauses in relative clause constructions in general.
6. However, there seems to be an alternative analysis for this suffix: the -mEG suffix might also be considered as a composite form which consists of -mE and -G suffixes in this order. This analysis assumes that -mE is the regular syntactic nominalization suffix and the -G suffix is a **default** nominal subject predicate agreement suffix which agrees only with a **non-overt PRO subject**. Another alternative analysis of the -mEG suffix is also provided by Kural (1993) suggesting that this suffix is a **Complementizer** in Turkish nominalizations.
7. Following most traditional studies on the inflectional categories in Turkish and Sezer (2001), it may be assumed that a negative predicate is selected from the Lexicon of Turkish instead of saying that a

predicate is negated by means of a Negative suffix as an inflectional category. Sezer (2001) suggests that inflection is only composed of Tense and Agreement and nothing else. This stance categorizes other suffixes which appear on the verbal predicates into the domain of morphological derivation which takes place in the Lexicon.



CHAPTER 5

SYNTACTIC NOMINALIZATIONS IN TURKISH FROM A PRINCIPLES AND PARAMETERS PERSPECTIVE

The present chapter tries to examine the internal syntactic structure of prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish from a Principles and Parameters perspective. To perform this task, it first concentrates on the internal structure of regular noun phrases (i.e., DPs) in the light of the principles of the X-bar Theory and investigates the functional categories within noun phrases in English and in Turkish (Section 5.1). After that, it focuses on the prototypical syntactic nominalizations appearing in argument positions of root sentences in Turkish and tries to designate a parallelism between the functional heads within a noun phrase and those found in syntactic nominalizations in Turkish (Section 5.2). In this respect, various syntactic characteristics of typical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are searched and the points which seem problematic for the adopted theoretical framework will be identified. Throughout this chapter, occasional references to English noun phrases and nominalizations will be made to provide a general and comparative context, concerning these analyses.

5.1. A Principles and Parameters Approach to Syntactic Nominalizations

Syntactic nominalizations have always been a center of interest for both descriptive and generative studies in linguistics due to their peculiar dual syntactic nature. Although they have a clausal internal composition, they behave like ordinary noun phrases as far as their external syntax is concerned.

Since the Principles and Parameters Theory has a modular structure (that is, it is made up of a number of subtheories) in the sense that each module deals with certain aspects of a given linguistic expression. Thus, syntactic nominalizations can be studied from different aspects involving these modules, such as Theta Theory, X-bar Theory, Case Theory, Binding Theory, Movement Theory, etc. However, the present work tries to concentrate on (1) thematic relations between the arguments of a nominalized predicate, (2) the functional head categories that form the internal syntactic structure of syntactic nominalizations, and (3) the case assignment properties within and outside a syntactic nominalization. These three contexts corresponds to the particular subtheories of the

Principles and Parameters Theory, namely Theta Theory, X-bar Theory, and Case Theory, respectively.

However, before turning to the investigation of the internal syntactic structure of syntactic nominalizations in English and in Turkish, it may be more plausible to review major points concerning the internal syntactic representation of ordinary noun phrases in English and in Turkish in order to gain a better view of the functional head categories within nominal syntactic categories.

5.1.1. The Syntactic Representation of the Internal Structure of Noun Phrases

In traditional syntactic analysis, the term **noun phrase** (NP) refers to a particular phrasal category whose syntactic characteristics are determined by the lexical category **noun** (N) within this phrase. This fact is also expressed by stating that this lexical category (i.e., N) is syntactically the most prominent element within the phrase structure. It is well-known that the term **head** is used to refer to such prominent elements of phrases. Therefore, it is possible to say that the head of the phrasal category NP is the lexical category N.

What is meant by saying that the syntactic characteristics of the phrase is determined by the head is obvious: a phrasal unit is always of the same syntactic type as its head category. In generative linguistics, this simple fact can be expressed by saying that all phrasal categories are **endocentric**, in the sense that the syntactic characteristics of a head are preserved at the phrasal level.

All these issues seem straightforward because native speakers intuitively know that, for instance, the semantic interpretation of a phrase is dependent on the semantics of its head category. In this respect, a noun phrase can be considered as a phrasal expression whose interpretation simply depends on the head noun. This amounts to say that, regardless of the type and nature of other categories capable of appearing within a noun phrase, the overall phrase is always referring the entity or concept referred by the head noun. In the following examples of noun phrases, the entities that are mentioned are exactly the *books* and nothing else.

1a. the **books**

1b. some **books**

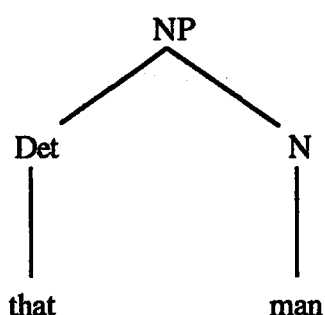
- 1c. my **books**
- 1c. my new story **books**
- 1a. the **books** on the table
- 1b. some of my **books** that I lent you yesterday

Then, the presence of certain categories other than the lexical noun *books* does not affect the basic referential characteristics of the noun phrases above. Such additional categories bear either a modification or a complementation relation with the head category, from a number of grammatical aspects.

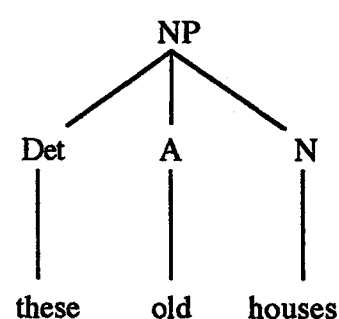
In the early generative syntax, a noun phrase was uniformly analyzed as indicated above as far as its internal syntactic structure was concerned. Following their intuitions, they adopted the line of analysis of earlier descriptive works in relation to noun phrases (and, in fact, to other phrasal categories, such as verb phrase, VP). They, too, assumed that the head of the noun phrase is the lexical noun and analyzed the phrasal structure accordingly. Again, this intuitive assumption concerning the exact nature and identity of the head of a noun phrase appeared to be supported by the fact that the semantic interpretation of the whole noun phrase is built upon the semantics of the head noun. That is to say, the concepts and issues which are expressed by the noun phrase is about its head, as it is indicated previously.

A simple observation of the syntactic characteristics of noun phrases in English reveals that head nouns are frequently associated with articles and similar function words, such as demonstratives or quantifiers. Based on these observations, most early generative linguists, adopting the Standard Theory, for instance, attributed a particular phrase structure representation (in the form of a tree diagram) to noun phrases as in the following way.

2a.

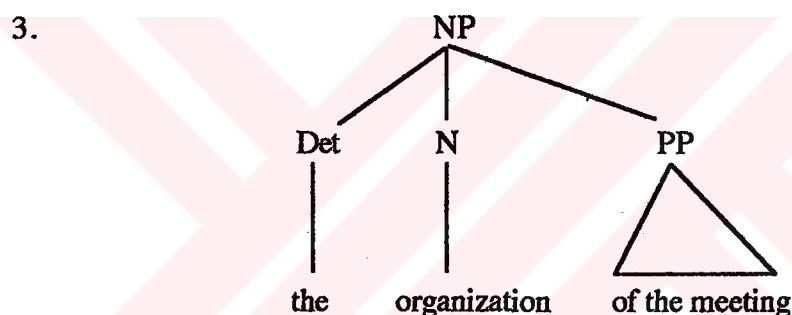


2b.



In the first representation above, a phrase marker, the NP *that man* is shown as the syntactic composition of the lexical item *that* (Det) and *man* (N). In the second phrase marker, the lexical items *these* (Det), *old* (A) and *houses* (N) combine to form the phrase *these old houses*, an NP. What determines the syntactic and semantic characteristics of resulting phrase in each phrase marker is the lexical category noun, *man* and *houses* respectively, rather than the other elements, and hence, the output is called a noun phrase, an NP. The noun determining the syntactic category of the whole phrase is known as the **head** of that phrase. Thus, the nouns *man* and *houses* are the heads of the noun phrases *that man* and *these old houses* respectively.

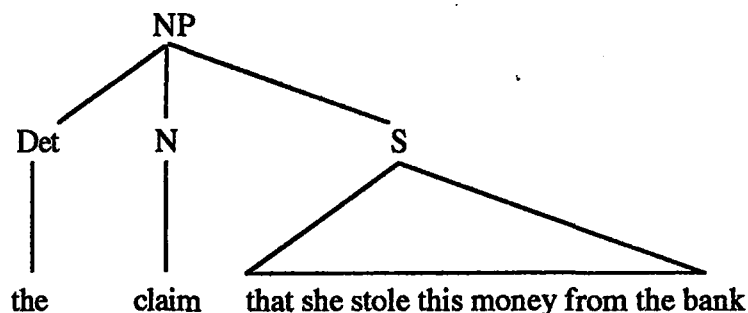
Consider the syntactic representation of the noun phrase *the organization of the meeting* below.



In this case, the NP *the organization of the meeting* is composed of three major parts: the determiner (article) *the*, the head noun *organization*, and a prepositional phrase *of the meeting*, which is in turn composed of three lexical items, a preposition *of*, a determiner *the*, and a noun *meeting*.

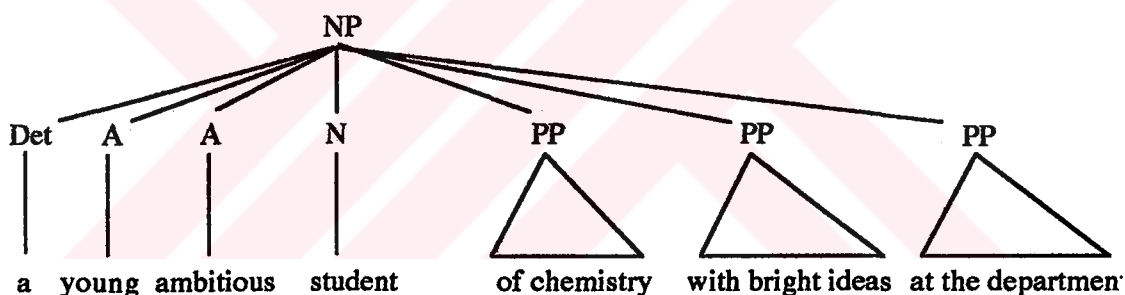
It is well known that noun phrases may include constituents other than determiners, adjectives, or prepositional phrases. Finite clauses, as well, can be a constituent of a noun phrase. In such cases, the whole phrase is called a complex noun phrase to refer to the existence of a finite clause within the projection. For instance, the complex noun phrase *the claim that she stole this money from the bank* contains the finite clause *that she stole this money from the bank* as one of its constituents.

4.



Now, consider the noun phrase *a young ambitious student of linguistics with bright ideas at the department*. In this case the head noun is modified by a considerably high number of lexical elements and phrases. The phrase marker which represents the internal syntactic structure of this NP is as follows:

5.



From the tree diagram in (4), it is apparent that as the number of modifying constituents increases within a noun phrase, the overall structure of the phrase is getting more and more complicated. One may wonder what the highest number of the branches is considering the potential number of prepositional phrases or adjectives that can modify a head noun. This situation implies that something goes wrong with this type of representation. In fact, a more concrete reason to revise the syntactic representation of noun phrases in terms of multiple branching tree diagrams comes from the order restrictions between different types of postmodifying prepositional phrases. In the current phrase marker, there is no distinction between the prepositional phrase *of linguistics* and the PP *with bright ideas*, for instance. However, further evidence shows that they must be further differentiated due to their distinct syntactic behavior, which is reflected by a very different type of semantic and syntactic relation between the head noun *student* and the PP *of linguistics*.

- 6a. a student of linguistics with bright ideas
- 6b. *a student with bright ideas of linguistics

The first impression from the examples above may be that the PPs within a noun phrase cannot change their order. However, this turns out to be false on the basis of the following examples.

- 7a. a student with bright ideas at the department
- 7a. a student at the department with bright ideas

Then, it must be concluded that the relationship between the head noun *student* and the PP of *linguistics* in the noun phrase *a young ambitious student of linguistics with bright ideas at the department* is different than the relations between the head and other modifiers. Both the need to restrict the possible number of branches coming from the top node (i.e., the NP node) and the necessity to syntactically represent the special type of relationship between a constituent and the head have led to the revision of the syntactic representations of noun phrases in particular (and all other phrasal categories in general).

Within the framework of the Principles and Parameters Theory, all these considerations have led to a particular type of phrasal representation which is known as the X-bar schemata. In this type of representation, the number of branches originating from a node is restricted to a maximum of two. Furthermore, the difference in the relationship between a complement and the head noun is represented by means of a hierarchically organized phrase structure, where a head category is combined with its complement to form the X-bar level (i.e., an intermediary syntactic level which is higher than the lexical level X^0 and lower than the maximal phrasal level XP). Due to these terms, the subtheory of the Principles and Parameters Theory dealing with the syntactic representation of phrasal categories is called the X-bar theory.

5.1.2. The Structure of Noun Phrases According to the X-bar Theory

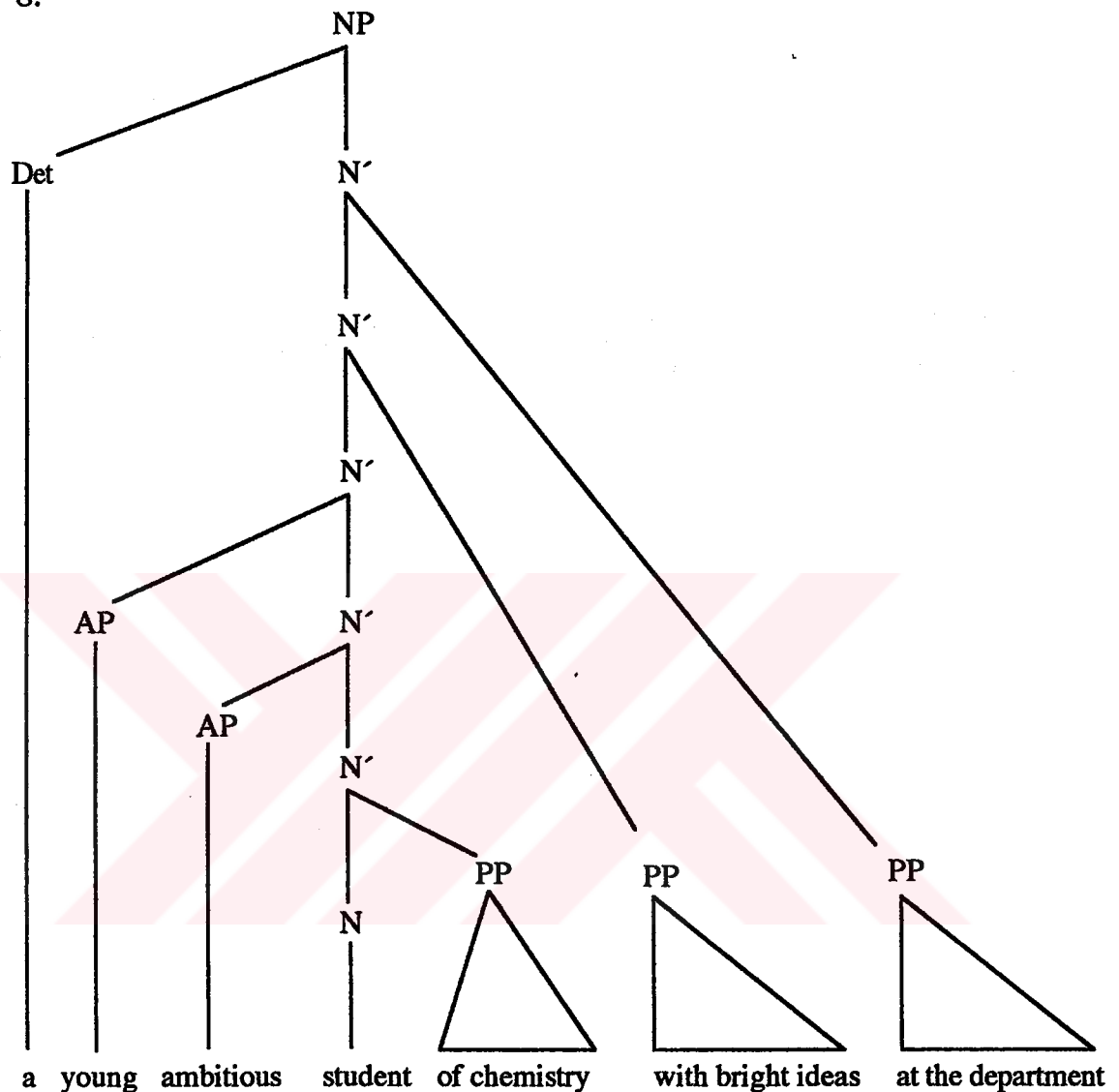
Noun phrases are represented as the maximal syntactic projections (N'' or more conveniently, NPs) of a lexical head noun (N^0), which first combines with a complement phrase to form an intermediate phrasal level (N-bar or N'). Then, N' combines with a possible adjunct phrase to form a greater N' structure. This implies that adjunct phrases, unlike complements, cannot change the bar level of the intermediate nominal projection.

In addition, there is no restriction on the total number of the intermediate phrasal layers formed by additional adjunct phrases. This characteristics of X-bar schemata is intended for to explicate the facts concerning recursion, coordination, pro-forms, etc. within a phrase. The recursive nature of N' level corresponds to a linguistic phenomenon involving repeating elements, such as adjectives (or more correctly adjective phrases APs) and prepositional phrases, (PPs), within the phrasal projection. In sum, the N' is a recursive level, in each time, allowing an adjunct phrase to combine with the N' structure to make a hierarchically bigger N'. Finally, the highest N' projection combines with a specifier (a determiner or an NP in the Genitive case) to yield the maximal projection of the head N°, the noun phrase (NP).

The fundamentals of this subtheory are outlined in Chomsky (1973). Emonds (1976), Jackendoff (1977), Chomsky (1981) and Stowell (1981), among others, refined this subtheory further so that it can account for a greater range of phrasal projections.

Thus, the noun phrase *a young ambitious student of linguistics with bright ideas at the department* can be represented as in the following according to the X-bar theory:

8.



This type of syntactic representation of the phrasal structure (i.e., the X-bar representation) shows that the structural relationship between the head noun *student* and the prepositional phrase *of linguistics* is formed more firmly than the relationship between the head and the prepositional phrase *with bright ideas*. Every single addition of a phrasal category to the intermediate projection level of the head noun (i.e. every N' level) leads a slightly "bigger" syntactic nominal projection as compared to the former projection. The adjectival phrases *young* and *ambitious* and the prepositional phrases *with bright ideas* and *at the department* enlarge the initial projection of N and restrict the reference of the head in a systematic way. The only restriction on the total number of such constituents is simply pragmatic: hypothetically there is no limit on the number of the occurrence of these recursive elements.

5.1.3. The DP-Analysis: Noun Phrases as Maximal Projections of Functional Heads

In the previous section, it has been shown that the X-bar representation of noun phrases is far more appropriate for explicating the internal syntactic structure of these constructions. A variety of considerations concerning the internal syntactic structure of noun phrases and the type of constituents appearing within noun phrases as complements, adjuncts and specifiers have led further changes in the syntactic representation of noun phrases.

To start with, it has been a mystery why noun phrases take a determiner, a simple lexical item, as their specifiers while all other phrases have phrasal categories in their specifier positions. Secondly, the sentential aspect of noun phrases with a Genitive subject (frequently known as possessive noun phrases or Genitive-possessive constructions) cannot be represented in a phrase marker like the ones with lexical head N. Since a considerable number of languages, unlike English, employ an inflectional category (as a functional head) within a noun phrase, there is no way to express this empirical information in a phrase marker which is designated as a syntactic projection of a lexical noun. Similar considerations and further evidence from a variety of languages have led the linguists to attribute a more articulated syntactic structure to noun phrase than it was assumed before.

With the introduction of the X-bar theory, as Chomsky (1970) has laid its foundations, the parallel between the noun phrase and sentence has become a focus of interest in generative syntax. The proposals concerning the structure of sentences represent these constructions as the maximal syntactic projections (i.e., IP and CP) of functional categories (i.e., I and C, respectively). This is generally known as the C-I-V hypothesis (Chomsky, 1986b). As the IP and CP dominate a verb phrase, VP, it has started to be assumed that an inflectional category within a noun phrase dominates a syntactic projection of the lexical N, which transfers its semantic content throughout every maximal functional projection dominating it (Abney, 1987). By this move, both nominal and verbal projections in the syntax have gained a parallel internal structure.

Consider the noun phrases in English below:

- 9a. John's book
- 9b. his book, your book, their book

In each cases above, the lexical element (i.e., a noun) is preceded by a possessive pronoun, denoting the possessor of the item being described. Now, consider the gerundive clauses in English presented just below.

- 10a. John's sending the letters to Lisa
- 10b. his sending the letters to Lisa
- 10c. your sending the letters to Lisa
- 10d. their sending the letters to Lisa

In each case, a nominalized VP (obtained by the addition of the suffix -ing to the verbal predicate) is preceded by a possessive pronoun as it is the case with noun phrases in (8a) and (8b) above. In fact, what is called a possessive is a noun phrase in the Genitive case since any noun phrase with an -'s marker (actually a clitic) can be found in this position:

- 11a. [These young men]'s book
- 11b. [A friend of mine]'s book
- 11c. [The king of Spain]'s book
- 11d. [The boy at the department with long hair]'s book
- 12a. [These young men]'s sending the letters to Lisa
- 12b. [A friend of mine]'s sending the letters to Lisa
- 12c. [The king of Spain]'s sending the letters to Lisa
- 12d. [The boy at the department with long hair]'s sending the letters to Lisa

One of the mysteries that has led Abney (1987) to reconsider the internal structure of noun phrases in English was the source of the Genitive Case on the possessors noun phrases in nominal expressions, such as the ones given above. Another striking feature concerning the internal structure of noun phrases is the existence of an inflectional category within a noun phrase in a considerable number of languages (a property which is not observed in English, perhaps due to its poor morphological realization of a variety of abstract agreement categories found in other languages). Observe the examples of noun phrases in Turkish:

- 13a. Ali-nin kitab-ı

- 13b. Ben-im kitab-ım
- 13c. Sen-in kitab-ın
- 13d. On-un kitab-ı
- 13e. Biz-im kitab-ımız
- 13f. Siz-in kitab-ınız
- 13g. Onlar-ın kitab-ı / kitap-ları

As it is the case with many other languages, Turkish exhibits a nominal inflectional category in its noun phrases whenever there is an overt possessor in the specifier position of the whole phrase. In other words, even the concrete nouns in Turkish must agree with their possessor noun phrases in person and number features (the third agreement category frequently observed in other languages, namely the gender, is not relevant to the Turkish syntax). This and similar other source of evidence have hinted to a solution to the questions concerning the source of the Genitive case of the subject (i.e., possessor) noun phrases in a possessive noun phrase and a number of linguists (including Szabolcsi 1981, 1984; Kornfilt, 1984; Horrocks & Stavrou, 1985; among others) have proposed a syntactic analysis of noun phrases in line with that of finite clauses and they have characterized the whole phrase to be a maximal projection of a functional head, namely the nominal agreement category. Unifying these and similar issues in relation to noun phrases and other nominal constructions, such as gerundive clauses, Abney (1987) has proposed a more coherent syntactic analysis of noun phrases as the syntactic projections of the inflectional category D. Özsoy and Erguvanli (1992) and Uzun (2000), among others, have analyzed noun phrases in Turkish in these lines.

Abney (1987) has originally thought that the lexical instantiation of this inflectional category in English must be the Determiner just as the Auxiliary is a lexical characterization of the finite inflection in clause. He has taken the functional category D as a bundle of definiteness and agreement features. However, succeeding studies on the issue, for instance, Szabolcsi (1987), Delsing (1988), Taraldsen (1990), Ritter (1991), among others, have showed that the syntactic structure of noun phrases must be more intricate on basis of data from a number of languages. These studies have suggested that there must be more than one functional category (in addition to D, such as AGR or Num / Q). Especially, the works focusing on the case assignment properties within noun phrases have showed that the Genitive case is assigned under government by a functional head AGR, which is a distinct functional category as compared to the D. One of the source of evidence is Hungarian where noun phrases frequently include both a determiner

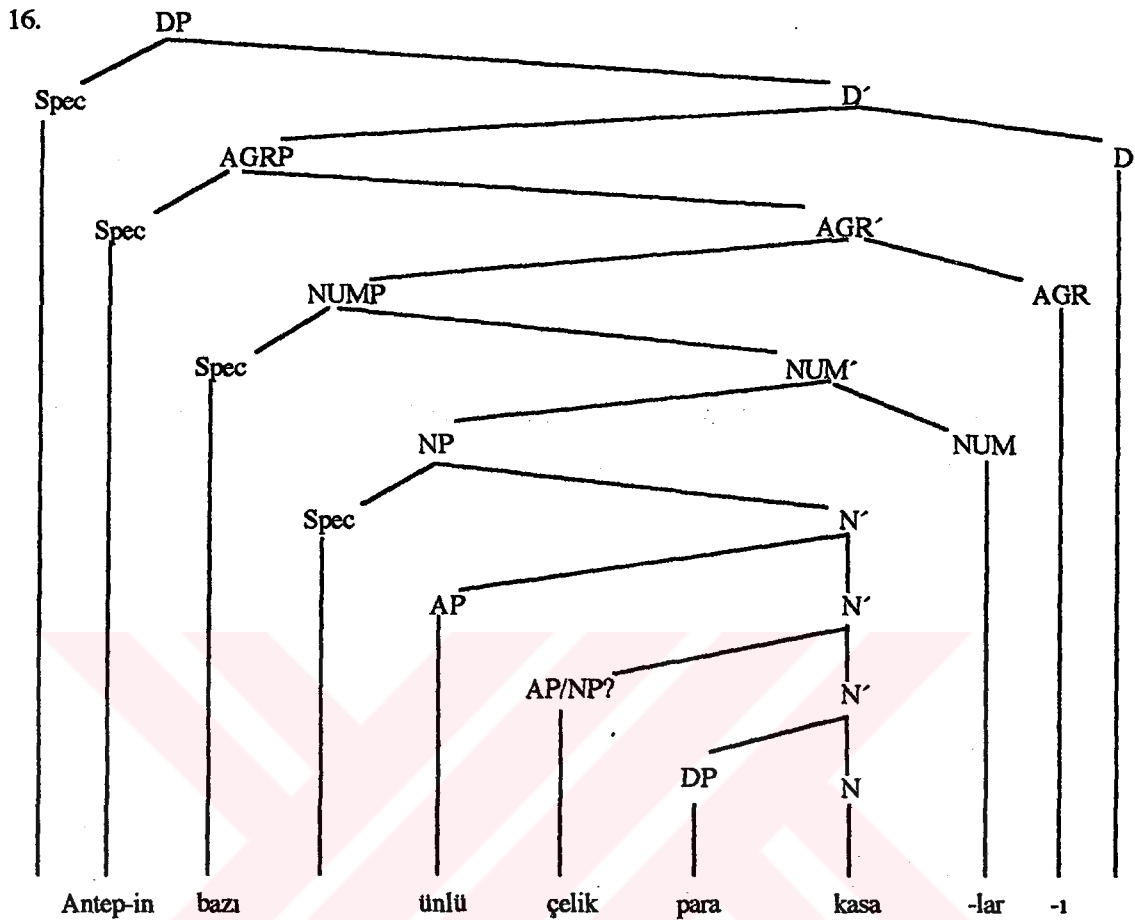
and a nominal agreement marker in their internal structural composition. Consider the examples below (taken from Szabolcsi, 1994, 180):

- 14a. a te kalap-ja-i-d
 the you hat-POSS-PL-2SG
 'your hats'
- 14b. (a) Mari kalap-ja-i-ø
 the Mary hat-POSS-PL-2SG
 'Mary's hats'

It has been shown before that Turkish has a nominal agreement category within a noun phrase. However, Turkish do not have (at least overt) articles (except for the indefinite article *bir* 'a/an/one', whose status as an article is controversial) in the sense that English and other languages exhibit. In this respect, the data from Hungarian is rather interesting for displaying the both types of functional categories within noun phrases. Further studies, such as Ritter (1991), among others, have suggested that there is another functional category which is associated with the number features of the nouns. Considering all these issues, a general format for a noun phrase can be given as in the following:

15. [DP D [AGR_{NP} AGR_N [NUMP NUM [NP N ...]]]]
 (Adapted from Alexiadou & Wilder, 1998, 3)

What this generalized schemata implies for the Turkish noun phrases can be represented as in the following example:



The existence of the DP layer in this phrase marker is only motivated by the theoretical uniformity across languages (whether Turkish noun phrases must be represented as the maximal projection of a D category is controversial according to the author of the present study). In fact, the same information in this PM can be given as a maximal projection of an AGR, i.e., AGRP. The present study assumes that noun phrases in Turkish do have an internal syntactic structure given above without going into a discussion explicating all the details concerning this representation.

5.2. Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish from a Principle and Parameter Perspective

In Chapter 1, **syntactic nominalizations (SNs)** have been defined as a particular type of syntactic construction with the following characteristics: the term syntactic nominalization refers to a construction (1) whose syntactic distribution is almost identical with that of noun phrases (DPs), typically occupying argument positions in addition to their occasional occurrence in non-argument positions with certain morphosyntactic

modifications, (2) which has a clausal internal syntactic structure to the extent that the nominalized predicate manifests its argument structure as well as optional constituents modifying it, and (3) which is clearly distinct from a finite embedded clause in an argument position in that a syntactic nominalization is always [-finite], (i.e., non-finite). In addition to the given sense of the term, syntactic nominalization also refers to the syntactic process yielding this particular construction, somewhat ambiguously.

Furthermore, it has been emphasized in Chapter 1 that the present study exclusively concentrates on the prototypical syntactic nominalizations appearing in argument positions of matrix predicates.

Two typical examples of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are as follow:

- 17a. Ben [Ahmed-in ev-e gel-diğ-i]-ni öğren-di-m.
 I-NOM Ahmet-GEN house-DAT come-NM-3SG/N-ACC learn-PAST-1SG/F
 'I have learned that Ahmet came to the house.'
- 17b. [Ahmed-in ev-e gel-me-si] bütün planlar-ı değiştirdi-ø.
 Ahmet-GEN house-DAT come-NM-3SG/N-NOM all plan-PL-ACC Change-PAST-3SG/F
 'Ahmet's coming to the house has changed all the plans.'

The present chapter attempts to analyze the syntactic structure of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. In order to carry out this task, the relevant subtheories and principles of the Principles and Parameters Theory will be employed in the analysis of a variety of syntactic characteristics of the constructions under investigation, such as thematic relations between a syntactic nominalization and the predicate selecting it, the thematic relations between the arguments of a nominalized predicate within a nominalization, the case assignment properties of the nominalized predicates, binding and control phenomena concerning syntactic nominalizations, empty categories assumed to exist within nominalizations, etc.

5.2.1. Theta Theory

Theta Theory deals with the thematic relations between the arguments of a predicate. It is responsible for explicating the semantic connections between the participants of a given event or state denoted by a particular predicate. The major issues of Theta Theory have

been introduced and developed by Chomsky (1981), Higginbotham (1985) and Grimshaw (1990), among others.

The main assumption of Theta Theory is that, in a language, every predicate in the Lexicon is associated with a **thematic structure** which specifies the semantic / conceptual structure (i.e., meaning) of that lexical entry as well as certain selectional characteristics peculiar to that predicate. In fact, all these conceptual characteristics are firmly related to each other and, as a whole, they constitute the semantic basis of the syntactic behavior of the predicate in question. In this respect, the thematic structure of a predicate is a way of representing these semantic / conceptual relations defined by the meaning of the predicate. This assumption also implies that two predicates which are morphologically related and which are semantically near-paraphrases of each other must have the same thematic structures (3). All this information is stored in the lexicon along with other peculiar characteristics of the lexical item in question, such as its phonetic representation, etc.

Theta Theory encodes the thematic relations defined by a predicate in terms of **thematic role labels**, such as **Agent, Theme, Goal, Source, Proposition**, etc. In the earlier stages of this subtheory, it was a controversial issue that the thematic role labels of a predicate should be represented in its thematic structure. Recent studies, on the other hand, have shown that, at least for syntactic purposes, the specific thematic role labels which are associated by a predicate need not be expressed explicitly. These studies on thematic / argument structure have demonstrated that the syntactic processes are only sensitive to **thematic role hierarchy** rather than the thematic role labels themselves (Grimshaw (1990), among others. On this ground, it has been suggested that the **argument structure** of a predicate should be distinguished from its **thematic structure** and that the former does not need to refer to the exact thematic role labels. Instead, the relative prominence hierarchy between the thematic roles assigned to each argument is the only information that is relevant for the syntax.

As for the theta roles of a predicate, two general types are distinguished: **internal theta roles** which are assigned to arguments by lexical items internally and **external theta roles** assigned by predicates externally. What is meant by the terms internal and external becomes obvious when the X-bar structure of a particular lexical head is examined a bit closer. Internal theta role is assigned to the complement (the constituent within the single-bar projection of a lexical head) and external theta role is assigned to a constituent which is outside of the single-bar projection of that head. In other words, the internal theta role

seems to be more firmly associated with the head as compared to the external theta roles which are linked to the head rather loosely. The difference in the degree of the firmness of semantic (and structural within an X-bar schemata) relationship between the two types of thematic roles and the head is expressed by the opposition that the lexical heads **directly theta-mark** their direct objects and **indirectly theta-mark** their subjects and indirect objects.

5.2.1.1. Argument Structure

The argument structure of a predicate is then simply considered as a representation of the relative **prominence** relationship between the arguments of a predicate (or alternatively the relative hierarchy between the thematic roles assigned to these arguments which amounts to the same type of information). This hierarchical difference between arguments is expressed by means of brackets which are used to embed arguments at different depths. In such a representation of argument structure, the most deeply embedded argument corresponds to the one with the least prominent thematic role, frequently the Theme theta role, which corresponds to the participant which is moved by the action denoted by the predicate or which undergoes some kind of change due to that action. In contrast, the Agent theta role refers to the most prominent semantic role and the argument bearing it is represented as the least deeply embedded within the bracketing system. Agent theta role refers to the participant which deliberately initiates or performs the action expressed by the predicate.

An argument is a referential expression (usually a noun phrase in a specific sentential position) which is capable of bearing the particular semantic role assigned by a predicate. In this context, only **referential expressions** can function as arguments. A referring expression is a syntactic category which serves to pick out an entity, a person, a thing from the universe of discourse, the things we are talking about (Haegeman, 1991, 35). In contrast, **non-referring expressions**, like expletives (i.e., *it* and *there*), are not capable of functioning as arguments at the syntactic representation. In sum, the argument as a syntactic category within a sentence and the particular theta role assigned to it are mutually dependent.

The argument structure of a predicate of a clause in effect specifies the minimally required participants of an event. In other words, the arguments of a predicate must be obligatorily present within a clause. Therefore, a way of determining whether a clause is grammatical or not is to check the number of the arguments the predicate of the clause requires.

Syntactic positions within a clause can be divided into two types: argument and non-argument positions. Argument position (A position) is a syntactic position where an argument is base-generated (i.e., generated at D-structure). A non-argument position lacks such a characteristics and any syntactic position in which an argument is not realized at D-structure is an A' position.

5.2.1.2. The Theta Criterion

The Theta Criterion is crucial for handling the assignment of the thematic roles of a predicate to arguments in a one-to-one manner. The one-to-one correspondence between arguments of a predicate and the thematic roles that predicate assigns is actually a well-formedness condition on syntactic categories, such as clauses, either finite or non-finite. The movement of arguments can also be considered as being regulated by this condition because movement of a noun phrase to a theta position is prohibited to avoid the assignment of multiple theta roles to a unique argument. Theta Criterion can be expressed as in the following way:

Theta Criterion

- 18a. Each argument must be assigned one and only one thematic role.
 - 18b. Each thematic role must be assigned to one and only one argument.
- (from Ouhalla, 1994, 142)

In this respect, Theta Criterion, the Projection Principle and the Extended Projection Principle are critical in determining the general structure of syntactic expressions to a great extent. The Projection Principle guarantees the syntactic representation of lexical information concerning an entry in the Lexicon and the Extended Projection Principle ensures that all sentences must have subjects. These three conditions are extremely effective in the formation of clauses.

Projection Principle

- 19. Lexical information is syntactically represented.
- (from Haegeman, 1991, 47)

Extended Projection Principle

- 20. All sentences must have subjects.

5.2.1.3. Argument Structure of a Nominalized Predicate within a Syntactic Nominalization

As it has been stated above, Theta Theory assumes that every predicate in the Lexicon is associated with an argument structure, which can be schematized by means of a embedded brackets. Consider the verbal predicates *koy-* 'put' and *kır-* 'break' in Turkish, for instance. Each of the verbal predicates *koy-* 'put' and *kır-* 'break' are able to assign three distinct theta roles to their arguments as in the following finite sentence:

- 21a. Ahmed- $\emptyset$ bardağ-ı masa-ya koy-du- $\emptyset$.
 Ahmet-NOM glass-ACC table-DAT put-PAST-3SG/F
 Ahmet put the glass on the table.
- 21b. Ali- $\emptyset$ cam-ı taş ile kır-dı- $\emptyset$.
 Ali-NOM glass-ACC stone with break-PAST-3SG/F
 'Ali has broke the glass with a stone.'

Although the number of the theta roles assigned to the arguments in these sentences are the same, their types are different: while the verb *koy-* 'put' assigns an Agent, a Location and a Theme theta roles, the verbal predicate *kır-* 'break' assigns an Agent, an Instrumental and a Theme theta roles to their arguments. The thematic roles of the verb *koy-* 'put' are realized by the DPs (i.e., noun phrases) *Ahmet* (Agent), *masa* (Location) and *bardak* (Theme) and the thematic roles assigned by the verb *kır-* 'break' are realized by the DPs *Ali* (Agent), *taş* (Instrumental), and *cam* (Theme).

Notice that the Instrumental theta role associated with the predicate *kır-* 'break' is not realized by means of a DP with a Case suffix on it, *taş* 'stone'. Instead, the Instrumental role is signaled by means of a postposition *ile* 'with', which is frequently cliticized to its complement, and which in turn superficially resembles a DP with a case suffix.

22. Ali- $\emptyset$ cam-ı taş-la kır-dı- $\emptyset$.
 Ali-NOM glass-ACC stone-with break-PAST-3SG/F
 'Ali has broke the glass with a stone.'

The theta role labels of a predicate can be represented by means of the thematic structure of that predicate (which can also be represented by means of a theta grid graphically). The

thematic structures of the verbal predicates *koy-* 'put' and *kır-* 'break' in Turkish can be given as follows:

- 23a. *koy-* 'put', verb Agent Location Theme
 23b. *kır-* 'break', verb Agent Instrumental Theme

The thematic structure is distinguished from the argument structure, where the specific theta role labels are not expressed. Instead, what the argument structure of a predicate represents is the relative hierarchy of the arguments (or the relative hierarchy of corresponding thematic roles), which is based on the assumption that the agent is the most prominent and the theme is the least prominent. The least prominent argument is the most deeply embedded in this type of structured argument structure and the most prominent (frequently, the agent) is the least deeply embedded in the representation of the argument structure of that predicate (Grimshaw, 1990). According to this view, syntactic processes are not sensitive to the particular theta role labels. What syntactic operations take into account is the prominence relation among these roles or the arguments bearing these theta roles.

Then, the hierarchically structured argument structures of the *gel-* 'come' and *kır-* 'break' above can be represented in the following way:

- 24a. *koy-* 'put', verb agent location theme (x (y (z)))
 24b. *kır-* 'break', verb agent instrument theme (x (y (z)))

Now observe the following examples which include the syntactic nominalizations syntactically derived from the finite clauses *Ahmet bardağı masaya koydu* in (20a) and *Ali camı taşla kırdı* in (20b).

- 25a. [Ahmed-in bardağ-ı masa-ya koy-ma-sı] biz-i kızdır-dı-ø.
 Ahmet-GEN glass-ACC table-DAT put-NM-3SG/N we-ACC make angry-PAST-3SG/F
 'Ahmet's putting the glass on the table has made us angry.'
- 25b. Ben az önce [Ali-nin cam-ı taş-la kır-dığ-ı]-nı öğren-di-m.
 I-NOM little before Ali-GEN glass-ACC stone with break-PAST-3SG/N-ACC learn-PAST-1SG/F
 'I have just learned that Ali broke the glass with a stone.'

It is well known that some of the arguments of a predicate may be left unexpressed for a variety of reasons. Observe the following examples in English:

26a. Tom has bought Mary a story book.

26b. Tom has bought a story book.

On the basis of these two sentences, it is frequently argued that the verbal predicate *buy* is in fact assigns three theta roles each associated with one of the arguments Tom (Agent), Mary (Benefactive), a story book (Theme). However, the Benefactive theta role which is assigned to the DP Mary in (25a) seems not to exist in (25b). Considering that there is no meaning change in (25b) and assuming that the thematic structure of a predicate is stable, the sentence in (25b) can be interpreted as 'Tom has bought himself a story book.' On these grounds, it can be proposed that the Benefactive theta role is not assigned to an argument explicitly and that argument is left implicit in the sentence.

As far as Turkish predicates are concerned, the proposal that an argument sometimes may be left implicit is widely attested. There is in fact little restriction on this issue in Turkish: almost any argument of a predicate might be left unexpressed. Together with the fact that Turkish is consistently a pro-Drop language (i.e., a Null-Subject language) where overt pronominal subjects are frequently unexpressed due to the rich agreement morphology on the root predicates, the appearance of a Turkish sentences might be puzzling:

27. Gel-di-m.

Come-PAST-1SG/F

'I have come.'

Regarding syntactic nominalizations in Turkish, all types of finite clauses above can appear as nominalized clauses with necessary modifications within a root clause:

28a. [Ahmed-in gel-me-si] bütün planlar-ı değiştir-di-ø.

Ahmet-GEN come-NM-3SG/N-NOM all plan-PL-ACC change-PAST-3SG/F

'Ahmet's coming has changed all the plans.'

28b. [Gel-diğ-in] iyi ol-du-ø.

come-NM-2SG/N-NOM good be-PAST-3SG/F

'It is very good/appropriate that you have come.'

5.2.1.4. Thematic Roles Assigned to a Syntactic Nominalization by a Matrix Predicate

As it has been occasionally stated before, syntactic nominalizations in Turkish constitute a particular type of embedded clauses. Since their external distribution is similar to that of noun phrases (DPs), it is natural for them to occupy argument positions of matrix clauses. In addition to this, particular types of syntactic nominalizations which have undergone appropriate modifications are able to appear in a variety of non-argument positions, such as adverbial positions of a clause, a modifier clause within a complex noun phrase, etc. Such modifications frequently involve a change in the case form of the subject of the nominalization or the absence of an agreement category on the nominalized predicate. Thus, syntactic nominalizations perform a wide range of grammatical functions within clauses and other matrix categories.

When a syntactic nominalization occupies an argument position within a root clause, the thematic role which is associated with that particular position is borne by the nominalization as if it were a noun phrase. This is apparent from the fact that in Turkish, unlike English, not only noun phrases but also almost all types of syntactic nominalizations are able to bear case suffixes. The rich case morphology of Turkish is effective to signal the particular thematic role of the syntactic nominalization assigned by the matrix predicate in question.

It can frequently be observed that a particular thematic role is usually associated with or represented by a particular case form. In other words, a particular case form is often corresponds to a particular thematic role. For instance, the Goal thematic role is uniformly realized by an argument which bears the morphological case **Dative** and the Source theta role is always represented by an argument in **Ablative** case. Then, it is not surprising to find syntactic nominalizations in particular morphological case forms which signal their particular theta roles assigned by the matrix predicate.

In Theta Theory, it is frequently assumed that the type and number of thematic roles assigned by a predicate are determined by the lexical (semanto-conceptual) characteristics of that predicate. This means that these properties can be predicted from the semantic type of the predicate to a certain degree. It must be noted that there are always idiosyncratic characteristics as far as the characteristics of lexical items are concerned (that is why they belong to a different component of the grammatical model, i.e., Lexicon, instead of the

Syntax). In sum, these properties must be considered as peculiarities of predicates to a certain degree.

In Turkish, as far as syntactic nominalizations are concerned, it is widely observed that matrix predicates are able to determine not only the syntactic type of their complements (syntactic nominalizations as non-finite argument clauses in this case) but also their subcategory with respect to the type of the nominalization marker. For instance, while a predicate takes a syntactic nominalization with -DIG suffix as its argument clause, another may select a syntactic nominalization with -mE marker. Broadly speaking, it is assumed that the choice of one form over another is motivated by semantic characteristics of matrix predicates taking these clauses as their complements. It means that there appears a one-to-one correspondence between a particular thematic role and a particular type of syntactic nominalization. For instance, the nominalizations with -DIG suffix are usually called Factive nominalizations and the ones with -mE are termed as Action nominalizations. In fact, this judgment seems to hold in many cases. However, there are also particular instances where the semantics of the resulting construction (the complex sentence) is much more complicated and it is not an easy task to determine its meaning from the embedded clause alone.

A similar case may also be observed in English. In this case, certain types of predicates take gerundive clauses while other types of predicates select infinitival clauses or finite complement clauses introduced by complementizers. These selectional characteristics are assumed to be determined by the idiosyncratic information of that lexical item.

This issue and other types of related topics are examined in Sezer (1991) for Turkish syntactic nominalizations in detail. Sezer (1991) suggests that "certain structural properties of complement clauses can best be read off from thematic roles" (Sezer, 1991, 22). He refers to earlier work by Chomsky (1965) as to the question of how much categorical information is predictable from semantic roles and how much of this categorical information is idiosyncratic. In Chomsky (1986a), a solution to this question is offered by the introduction of Canonical Structural Realization (CSR) functions. He asserts that "if a predicate semantically selects a patient theta role, then it would be redundant for it to categorically select an NP that would bear this theta role" (Sezer, 1991, 22). A CSR function essentially maps a particular thematic role onto a particular syntactic category. In other words, such a function links a particular thematic role and the syntactic category that realizes it. Sezer (1991) gives the following as an example of CSR function.

29.=8. CSR (patient) = NP

This means that whenever a patient role is assigned by a predicate it is always realized by a noun phrase rather than another syntactic category. That is, whenever a lexical head selects patient theta role, it also selects an NP through the CSR function above. In the same way, a CSR function for the predicate *persuade* is given in (28) on the basis of the following examples which are designated to show the contexts in which *persuade* occurs:

30a.=7a. John persuaded Bill that we should leave.

30b.=7b. John persuade Bill of the necessity for us to leave.
(from Chomsky, 1965, 95 in Sezer, 1991, 22)

31a.=9a. [I persuaded] John that he should go to college

31b.=9b. [I persuaded] John to go to college

31c.=9c. [I persuaded] John of the importance of going to college
(adapted from Sezer, 1991, 23)

According to Sezer (1991), on the basis of the contexts in which the predicate *persuade* is able to appear, it can be proposed that predicate selects two thematic roles: a goal and a proposition. The information with respect to how these theta roles are realized can be represented by means of a CSR function:

32a.=10a. CSR (goal) = NP

32b.=10b. CSR (proposition) = clause or NP
(from Sezer, 1991, 23)

On the basis of a number of examples in which certain types of syntactic nominalizations are involved, Sezer (1991) suggests that it is the particular type of the thematic role that the relevant predicate selects which determines the type of syntactic nominalization. He indicates that "the type of a complement clause in Turkish can be read off from the thematic roles" (Sezer, 1991, 24) assigned by the predicate in question. He represents the contexts in which two types of complement clauses are found as follows:

33a.=11a. [Ali-nin gel-diğ-in-i] doğrula-dı-m.

A-GEN come-PART-3SG-ACC confirm-PAST-1SG

'I confirmed that Ali came.'

- 33b.=12b. [Ali-nin gel-me-si-ni] destekle-di-m.
 A-GEN come-VN-3SG-ACC support-PAST-1SG
 'I confirmed Ali's coming.'
 (From Sezer, 1991, 24)

As it is apparent from the examples above, while the verbal root predicate *doğrula-* 'confirm' takes a syntactic nominalization with *-DIG* suffix (known as Factive type, which corresponds to a Proposition associated with the realization status of the event expressed by the embedded predicate), the verbal matrix predicate *destekle-* 'support' selects a syntactic nominalization with *-mE* suffix (known as Act type, which simply refers to the action itself rather than its realization). It can be observed below that these non-finite complement clauses are not interchangeable:

- 34a.=11b. *[Ali-nin gel-me-si-ni] doğrula-dı-m.
 A-GEN come-VN-3SG-ACC confirm-PAST-1SG
 'I confirmed that Ali came.'
- 34b.=12a. *[Ali-nin gel-diğ-in-i] destekle-di-m.
 A-GEN come-PART-3SG-ACC support-PAST-1SG
 'I supported Ali's coming.'
 (From Sezer, 1991, 24)

These examples clearly show that there is a semantic contradiction in each example which in turn leads to an inconsistency with respect to the selectional properties of the root predicates. This renders the resulting sentences ungrammatical. As it is indicated by Sezer (1991), "in the former an action is confirmed (despite the lack of capacity on the part of actions to be confirmed or denied) and in the latter a fact is supported, which is apparently not among the characteristics of factive expressions" (Sezer, 1991, 25). A similar paradigm can also be observed with the predicate adjectives.

- 35a.=13a. [Ali'nin kazan-acağ-ı] açık.
 A-GEN win-PART-3SG clear
 'It is clear that Ali will win.'
- 35b.=13b. *[Ali'nin kazan-ma-sı] açık.
 A-GEN win-VN-3SG clear
 'Ali's winning is clear.'

36a.=14a. ***[Ali'nin konuş-acağ-ı] sakıncalı.**
 A-GEN speak-PART-3SG improper
 'It is improper that Ali will speak.'

36b.=14b. **[Ali'nin konuş-ma-sı] sakıncalı.**
 A-GEN speak-VN-3SG improper
 'Ali's talking is improper.'
 'It is improper for Ali to talk.'
 (From Sezer, 1991, 25-26)

A similar observation has been made by Lees (1965) in relation to certain nouns which select a particular type of complement clauses among the two alternatives, act and fact types.

37a.=15a. **[Ev-in yan-dığ-ı] iddia-sı**
 house-GEN burn-PART-3SG claim-3SG
 'The claim that the house burned down.'

37b.=15b. * **[Ev-in yan-ma-sı] iddia-sı**
 house-GEN burn-VN-3SG claim-3SG
 'The claim that the house burned down.'

38a.=16a. * **[iş-in bitir-il-diğ-i] mesele-si**
 job-GEN finish-PASS-PART-3SG issue-3SG
 'The issue that the job's being finished'

38b.=16b. **[iş-in bitir-il-me-si] mesele-si**
 job-GEN finish-PASS-VN-3SG issue-3SG
 'The issue of finishing the job'

According to Sezer (1991, 26), these semantic incompatibilities between complement clauses and the lexical heads that select these complements are critical in the explanation of the ungrammatical examples above.

Moreover, Sezer (1991) emphasizes that whenever the two types of clauses are selected by the (seemingly) same predicate, the meaning of that predicate is forced to alter with respect to the type of complement clause. His examples are given below:

- 39a.=17a. [Ali-nin git-tiğ-i] doğru değil.
 A-GEN go-PART-3SG true not
 'It is not true that Ali left.'
- 39b.=17b. [Ali-nin git-me-si] doğru değil.
 A-GEN go-VN-3SG true not
 'Ali's leaving is not right / correct.'
 'It is not right for Ali to leave.'
 (From Sezer, 1991, 26-27)

The capacity of the predicate adjective doğru 'morally right / true' to denote two distinct senses allows it to take both types of clauses as its complement with different overall meanings. While in the (38a) doğru can mean only 'true', doğru in (38b) is able to denote the meaning 'correct behavior' (Sezer, 1991, 27).

Notice that this problem can be solved by assigning two distinct entries for the predicate adjective doğru, which would have the same phonetic content (homophonous) with two distinct senses as (1) 'true, not false' and (2) 'correct behaviour.' That is to say that there are two distinct adjectives in the Turkish Lexicon with separate meanings and with the same phonetic realizations. Thus, each entry will specify its own thematic structure: while the former selects a Proposition thematic role, the latter selects Action as its complement.

Furthermore, Sezer (1991) shows that the subject position of transitive verbs in Turkish is only reserved for the act type of nominalizations (that is, the factive type of nominalizations cannot be the subject of transitive verbal predicates with experiencer objects; instead, it can only occur in the grammatical subject position of passive sentences, which corresponds to the logical object of the predicate in question). According to him, what makes a person crazy is an act rather than the simple statement of the happening of an act (a proposition) in the examples below:

- 40a.=18a. [*][Birisi-nin karşı-m-da burn-un-u karıştır-dığ-ı] ben-i deli ed-er.
 someone-GEN opposite-1SG-LOC nose-3SG-ACC pick-PART-3SG I-
 ACC crazy do-AOR

'That someone picks his nose in front of me drives me crazy.'

- 40b.=18b. [Birisi-nin karşı-m-da burn-un-u karıştır-ma-sı] ben-i deli ed-er.
 someone-GEN opposite-1SG-LOC nose-3SG-ACC pick-VN-3SG I-ACC
 crazy do-AOR
 'That someone picks his nose in front of me drives me crazy.'
 (From Sezer, 1991, 27)

Sezer (1991) concludes that all these empirical issues suggest that the act and fact type of complement clauses are consistently selected by the predicates on the basis of the semantic characteristics of these clauses. In other words, what a predicate selects is the type of the thematic role which can be realized by one of these two types of complement clauses with distinct morphologies. Therefore, according to Sezer (1991, 28), it is possible to designate CSR functions concerning the act and fact type semantic roles. These functions will map a particular thematic role onto the corresponding complement type. Thus, they allow the predicates to realize their particular thematic roles by means of a particular type of clause. Sezer (1991, 27) formulates the following CSR functions in order to carry out this mapping operation:

- 41a.=19a. CSR (fact) = DIG/YECEG clause
 41b.=19b. CSR (act) = VN clause

This type of formulation enables us to represent not only the syntactic category of the complement (i.e., a clause in this case) but also its subcategory in terms of its morphosyntactic composition (Sezer, 1991, 28). According to him, these canonical structural realization functions determine not only syntactic type of the complements but also their further structural (in these cases, morphosyntactic) properties. Finally he concludes that the designation of the semantic labels such as act and fact parallels to specifying a particular thematic role which is assigned by a predicate and which is associated with a particular argument realizing that role.

However, there are also a number of points that require some caution. First of all, thematic role labels are not always easy to classify. Secondly, the overall meaning of a syntactic expression is determined by a variety of factors which interact in a rather complicated manner. These considerations may lead one to take a more neutral view as far as the formulation of relevant canonical structural realization functions are concerned. For instance, it is not always a straightforward process whether a given syntactic

nominalization is of act type or not. Of course, all types of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish inherently denote an action at the basic level because they all include minimally a predicate and its arguments. What is meant by these points can be best understood by examining the following examples:

42a. Biz şu an [polisler-in bina-ya gir-dik-leri]-ni gör-ebil-iyor-uz.

We-NOM that moment police-PL-GEN building-DAT enter-NM-3PL/N-ACC see-
ABIL-PROG-1PL/F

At this moment, we can see the police entering the building.

42b. [Hırsızlar-ın bina-dan kolayca kaç-ma-ları] vali-yi kızdır-dı-ø.

Thief-PL-GEN building-ABL easily escape-NM-3PL/N-NOM governor-ACC
make angry-PAST-3SG/F

That the thieves escaped from the building easily has made the governor angry.

The sentence in (41a) contains a syntactic nominalization with the -DIG suffix (which is frequently characterized as a factive nominalization) and the sentence in (41b) includes a syntactic nominalization with the -mE suffix (that is generally known as an action nominalization). However, it is really difficult to determine to which semantic role is borne by the syntactic nominalizations in question. In the former sentence, the nominalization as an embedded non-finite complement clause explicitly refers an action rather than a proposition and the nominalization in the latter is not only a simple expression of an action but also an indirect proposition which states a particular state of affairs within a time context. Even though these secondary connotations are not provided by the morphosyntactic characteristics of these two nominalizations, both represent particular meanings which are not expected from their structural characteristics. Thus, the method of formulation of canonical structural realization functions are generally plausible, there appear other types of considerations affecting the semantics of the resulting sentence including the nominalization.

5.2.3. Case Theory

As one of the subtheories of the Principles and Parameters Theory, the Case Theory deals with the (Abstract) Case assignment to arguments by lexical heads and by certain functional categories. The mechanisms which are responsible for the case assignment to nominal constituents interact with the principles of the X-bar Theory as well as that of Government. The following subsections are intended to provide a general view of Case

assignment characteristics of English and Turkish in relation to various forms of syntactic nominalizations.

5.2.3.1. Case Assignment and Case Assigners

In general terms, Case is assigned by heads to the arguments in their neighborhood. This implies that Case assignment is a locality phenomenon which reflects a specific structural relationship between the head and the assignee (i.e., the constituent to which the Case is assigned). Generally speaking, noun phrases in grammatical subject positions (i.e., Spec, IP or more recently Spec, AGRP) are assigned Case by the AGR category under the functional head **I** (i.e., **Infl**, which stands for **inflection**) and the nominal constituents receive their Case from lexical heads such as verbs, prepositions, or adjectives.

Recent studies mostly adopt the views with respect to the syntactic structure of the clause as formulated by Pollock (1989), among others. These proposals suggest that the Inflection category should be split into separate Tense and Agreement categories which appear in successive order. This means that the category **I** is not syntactically simple, but composite entity. Therefore, it is replaced by a series of successive functional layers, such as TP and AGRP which project their own phrasal categories respectively. In fact, AGRP is also considered as of two types: it is divided into two distinct layers as AGR_{SP} and AGR_{OP}, which correspond to Subject Predicate Agreement Phrase and Object Predicate Agreement Phrase in the respective order, for the languages which overtly exhibit both types of agreement morphology.

However, it must be noted that, as far as Turkish and English are concerned, the only relevant agreement category is AGR_{SP}, which refers to subject predicate agreement). As to TP, Turkish also seems to have this phrasal level in its clause structure (this functional layer is represented as TAMP in the present work as a cover term corresponding to a particular morpheme which is able to perform the semantic functions of Tense and/or Aspect and/or Mood, see Erguvanlı, 1996, Sezer, 2001 for discussion).

As it is indicated above, in addition to Case assignment by the AGR to their specifiers (i.e., grammatical subjects), noun phrases are assigned Case by lexical categories such as transitive verbs, adjectives and prepositions / postpositions. In English, the Case assignment by transitive verbs to their direct objects is considered to be an instance of structural case (which will be explicated in the subsequent sections of this chapter). As far as English is concerned, the adjacency of a Case assigner and an assignee is strictly

required for the Case assignment by lexical heads. For instance, a direct object, to which the Accusative Case is assigned by a transitive verb, must be adjacent to that verb. Otherwise, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical due to a violation of the Case Requirement (which will be explained below). Observe the following:

- 43a. The boy **mercilessly** killed [the little bird].
- 43b. The boy killed [the little bird] **mercilessly**.
- 43c. * The boy killed **mercilessly** [the little bird].

It is clear from these examples that the **adverb** *mercilessly* cannot intervene between the case assigner, i.e., the verb *kill* and the assignee, *the little bird*.

The order of the constituents involved in the assignment of Case is also a relevant criterion and must be taken as an intrinsic property of a particular language. In other words, the order of Case assignment is generally assumed to be subjected to a **parameter** which must be specified for every particular language separately. In English, for instance, it is suggested that the **direction** of Case assignment is from left-to-right. That is, a lexical head assigns Case to the category that immediately follows it obligatorily. In contrast, it seems that the Case assignment order in Turkish is consistently the reverse of the order that is proposed for English heads. It means that a verb in Turkish assigns case to a noun phrase which precedes it (as opposed to English verbs). In sum, the relative order of the case assigner and assignee varies cross-linguistically, forming a parameter to be set uniquely for each language.

In English, the Agreement category (which is supposed to project its own phrasal structure, i.e., the functional head of the AGRP) in a finite clause is also a Case assigner. It assigns Nominative Case to the noun phrase which occupies the Specifier position of IP (or more specifically AGRP) in English clauses. In this case, the assignee need not to be adjacent to the AGR category. The finite AGR case-marks the subject noun phrase with which it agrees in certain features (a typical syntactic relationship between a head and its specifier).

5.2.3.2. Case Requirement

The central principle of the Case Theory is the **Case Requirement**. Case Requirement can be expressed at two levels: a phonetic level or an interpretational level. At the former, it takes the form of the **Case Filter**, which essentially imposes that every overt noun

phrase (i.e., noun phrases with phonetic content) must be assigned abstract Case, morphological realization of which varies cross-linguistically.

Case Filter

44. Every phonetically realized (i.e., overt) noun phrase must be assigned (abstract) Case.

Alternatively, the Case Requirement may take the form of a condition on noun phrases which can be expressed in terms of the **Visibility Hypothesis**. The latter states that an argument noun phrase must be **visible** for theta marking at LF (i.e., Logical Form of the syntactic representation). According to this view, what makes a noun phrase visible for theta marking purposes is the abstract Case. It states that only a visible noun phrase can be assigned a theta role and, in turn, only a noun phrase which is assigned a theta role qualifies as an argument of a predicate. It is obvious that the Visibility Hypothesis establishes an operational connection between Case Theory and Theta Theory while the Case Filter is associated with the phonetic realization of noun phrases. Therefore, the Case Filter and the Visibility Hypothesis are the two parallel statements of the Case Requirement at two distinct syntactic levels (corresponding to PF and LF respectively).

In this context, it may be thought that DP-movement (alias NP-movement) is generally caused by the requirements concerning Case assignment to those DPs. DPs frequently move to a Spec, AGRP position because they cannot receive Case in their original base (i.e., D-structure) position. In order not to violate the Case Requirement, they must move to a Case-marked position.

5.2.3.3. The Types of Case

The notion of Case can be divided into subcategories on the basis of two parameters. One of them concerns the division of Case into two types as abstract Case and morphological case. The other criterion refers to the conditions which are required to be met in the assignment of abstract Case. In this respect, two types of Case can be distinguished: inherent Case and structural Case.

Morphological case is what is traditionally known as case: various morphological forms of noun phrases signaling their semantic status with respect to a predicate in broad terms. On the other hand, **abstract Case** is a notion (or alternatively a grammatical relation) which is defined by the syntactic and semantic links between noun phrases and

case assigners. In addition to these characteristics, abstract Case is generally assumed to be the part of the Universal Grammar.

Abstract Case reflects the particular relationship between a noun phrase and a predicate. It might be represented overtly by means of a series of morphological case suffixes on the noun phrase (as in the case of Turkish as a morphologically rich language). However, this is not always a necessary condition for the assignment of abstract Case. Even if morphological realizations of case forms are very poor in some languages, Case is assumed to be assigned to relevant categories in an abstract manner. For instance, the morphological case paradigm seems to be rather weak in English as compared to other languages with rich morphological realization of abstract Case. In all circumstances, Case is assumed to be assigned in a language uniformly even though this assignment of the Case may not be overtly represented by means of distinct forms of noun phrases in that language.

In English, although the morphological realization of abstract Case by means of a variety of affixes seems to be poor, this does not entail that noun phrases in English are Caseless. In contrast, the opposite of this judgment is more likely to be true. This is evident from the existence of various forms of pronouns depending on their particular syntactic (and hence, semantic) relationship with predicates in different grammatical positions. In addition to this point, even though the morphological realization of subject predicate agreement in English is only restricted to the third person singular agreement marker *-s*, this marker suffices to show that there is in fact such a category in English clauses (that is, an agreement morpheme is actually present). It might be plausible to assume that all other person and number agreement features are represented by means of a zero morpheme (i.e., $\emptyset$) on verbal predicates in English.

5.2.3.4. Government as a Locality Condition on Case Assignment

It has been frequently suggested that the essential condition for the structural Case assignment is the **government** of the assignee by the case assigner. Generally, Case assignment requires a particular kind of locality condition that is known as government. The latter can be defined in the following way:

Government

45. A governs B if and only if
 (i). A is a governor;

- (ii). A m-commands B;
- (iii). no Barrier intervenes between A and B.

Governors are lexical heads and AGR.

(Adapted from Haegeman, 1991, 148)

In fact, the closest m-commanding head actually governs a constituent and prevents other potential heads from governing the same category. That is, not all potential governors are actual governors. This implies that the closest head defines its maximal projection as a **Barrier** for government by another head (Haegeman, 1991, 152). In Principles and Parameters Theory, this property is represented as in the form of the **minimality** condition.

Minimality

46. A governs B iff there is no node Z such that
- (i). Z is a potential governor for B; and
 - (ii). Z m-commands B; and
 - (iii). Z does not m-command A.
- (Rizzi, 1990, 7 in Haegeman, 1991, 152)

Each head specifies an influence domain into which outside heads cannot govern. Such a domain is called the **Governing Domain** (Haegeman, 1991). In English, PP, VP and CP are Barriers, but infinitival clauses and small clauses are not count as Barriers for outside government (i.e., they are transparent for this respect).

In each case above (i.e., Case assignment by transitive verbs, prepositions and finite AGR), the Case assigner governs the category to which the Case is assigned. The Nominative Case assignment to subjects of finite clauses requires an additional condition which necessitates the agreement of person, number and gender features of subject and the AGR category (the source of the Nominative Case). In other words, both subject noun phrase and AGR should necessarily share the concerning syntactic features to produce grammatical sentences. When a noun phrase is governed by AGR and shares the certain agreement features with it, Nominative Case assignment is allowed. This requirement concerning the agreement of syntactic features is generally known as the **Spec-Head Agreement**.

In English, it is frequently the case that a different condition must be met to in order for a noun phrase to be assigned structural case in addition to the government condition. This is known as the Adjacency requirement:

The Adjacency Requirement

47. The case assigner and the element to which case is assigned should be adjacent.

The Adjacency Requirement on the case assignment is suggested to be a **linguistic universal**.

5.2.3.5. Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)

A transitive verb which assigns Accusative Case to its direct object frequently bears some thematic relation to that constituent. Mostly, the assignee is the internal argument of a Case assigner. However, this is not a necessary condition. Some transitive verbs are also able to assign abstract Case to adjacent noun phrases which are not their internal arguments. Considering particular types of transitive verbs in English as well as in Turkish (such as *san-* 'think'), verbs are able to assign Accusative Case to non-arguments. From these issues, it may be concluded that Accusative Case assignment is a **structural** property rather than being a thematic requirement. Even though the verb *expect* in the following sentence does not bear any thematic relation to the subject of the embedded clause, for instance, it assigns Accusative Case to that subject:

48a. I expect **John** to finish his work early.

48b. I expect **him** to finish his work early.

In both sentences above, *John* and *him* are external arguments of the predicate *finish*. However, the source of the Accusative Case is not the embedded predicate (or the non-finite *to* which is sometimes considered as a weak type of non-finite inflection with [–AGR] feature specification). When a category intervenes between the matrix verb and the subject of the embedded clause, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical:

49a. * I expect **optimistically** John to finish his work early.

49b. I expect optimistically that John will finish his work early.

The construction in (74a) is called an Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) construction and the verbs which assign Accusative Case to noun phrases with which they do not have any semantic connections are called ECM verbs.

So far, the instances of structural Case assignment have been examined. Yet, there is another type of Case assignment, known as **Inherent Case**, which is assigned to a noun phrase depending on two distinct conditions:

- (1) government as a configurational property, and
- (2) theta role assignment to the noun phrase in question by the case assigning head.

All these can be expressed explicitly in the following way:

Inherent Case Condition

50. If A is an inherent case assigner, then A assigns case to a noun phrase if and only if A theta-marks the noun phrase.
(Chomsky, 1986a)

Sezer (1991, 47) assumes that inherent Case is permanent after it is assigned because it is a sign of a particular theta role which the argument bears. In addition, he supposes that inherent Case is assigned at D-structure since it is associated with the thematic relations. According to Sezer (1991), **adjectives, verbs and postpositions** are inherent Case assigners in Turkish. He also refers to a third type of Case, **semantic Case** (Baker, 1988), in relation to the Case assignment properties in Turkish. Baker (1988, 113) defines semantic case in the following way:

Semantic Case

51. If A assigns semantic case_x, then B receives theta_x from A if and only if B receives semantic case_x from A.
Theta_x is the specific thematic role associated with the semantic case_x.

In semantic Case, there is a **direct correspondence** between thematic role and morphological case. According to Sezer (1991), Turkish is likely to have semantic Case rather than inherent Case because the thematic role of an argument in Turkish can easily be recovered from its morphological case. The link between a particular theta role and the corresponding morphological case can be represented by means of CSR functions (which

have been mentioned in previous sections of the present chapter). For instance, he states that the Goal theta role is represented by Dative Case and the Source theta role is realized by means of Ablative Case in Turkish:

52a. CSR (goal) = Dative

52b. CSR (source) = Ablative

In other words, as far as Turkish is concerned, Case assigned by predicate adjectives to their arguments is an inherent Case (it is sometimes assumed that it is even a **semantic Case**, see Baker, 1988). In addition to adjectives, the indirect objects of verbs are also assigned Case inherently (or semantically, for that matter).

Similarly, it is assumed that predicate adjectives in English assign inherent Case to their objects, which are necessarily their arguments (due to the theta role assignment). Then, while structural Case does not take thematic relations into consideration, inherent Case is sensitive to these relations (which have been summarized in the previous sections of this chapter).

To summarize, structural Case and inherent Case are differentiated on basis of the thematic relations. Structural Case is assigned at S-structure and does not require a thematic relationship between the Case assigner and the assignee. Nominative Case, Accusative Case and Genitive Case are instances of structural Case. However, the assignment of inherent Case takes place at D-structure, in addition to the requirement concerning a thematic relation. For instance, the Oblique Case which is assigned by prepositions (or postpositions in other languages like Turkish) to their objects is assumed to be an example of inherent Case in English.

5.2.3.6. Subject-inside-VP Hypothesis

On the basis of the Case assignment issues, the representation of the subjects in sentences can be revised as it is done in the **Subject-inside-VP Hypothesis** (Fukui and Speas, 1986, Koopman and Sportiche, 1991). This suggests that **thematic subjects** of sentences are base-generated in Spec, VP position provided by the X-bar structure of the VP. This thematic subject is subsequently moved to the **grammatical subject** position, which is the position characterized by Spec, AGRP. Such a revision leads to a more plausible representation of lexical categories because with this analysis, their X-bar structure becomes a thematic / structural projection in which both external and internal

thematic relations are determined. In relation to Turkish clauses, Kornfilt (2001) also adopts the VP-internal hypothesis which assumes that verb phrase contains both the external and internal arguments of the verb originally.

5.2.3.7. Case Assignment in Turkish

It is frequently assumed that predicates in Turkish assign three types of abstract Case: Nominative, Genitive, and Accusative Cases. Sezer (1991, 37) assumes that "in Turkish, AGR under INFL, transitive verbs, and some postpositions assign structural Case." The AGR in Turkish is of two types: finite and non-finite. In Turkish, while the finite AGR assigns Nominative Case to its subject noun phrase, the non-finite AGR assigns Genitive Case to its subject.

In Turkish, at least seven types of morphological case are distinguished: nominative { - $\emptyset$ }, accusative { -(y)I } (or { - $\emptyset$ } for non-specific (generic) direct objects), genitive { -(n/y)In }, dative { -(y)E }, locative { -DE }, ablative { -DEn }, comitative (which is realized in the form of a postpositional phrase which is headed by the postposition *ile* 'with').

In Turkish, not only noun phrases but also (non-finite) argument clauses (i.e., prototypical syntactic nominalizations) are assigned abstract Case by predicates in Turkish. With respect to the types of case, semantic Case seems to be more relevant to Turkish than inherent Case (for semantic Case, see Baker, 1988).

5.2.3.8. The Effects of Lexical Derivation Rules on Case Assignment

The potential of a transitive verb to assign structural Case is affected when it undergoes the passivization process. However, its inherent Case assignment capacity is not affected and it is still able to assign inherent Case to its indirect objects.

In most languages, indirect objects receive Dative Case and this property is not affected in the passivization process. That is, a passivized verb is still capable of assigning Dative Case to its indirect object. A similar case is found in Turkish passives.

53a. Öğretmen bugün çocuklar-a bağır-dı- $\emptyset$.

53b. Bugün çocuklar-a bağır-ıl-dı- $\emptyset$.

54a. Kadın kitab-ı adam-a ver-di-ø.

54b. Kitap kadın taraf-ı-ndan adam-a ver-il-di-ø.

In Turkish only direct objects can appear in the grammatical subject position of passive sentences, unlike English passive constructions with indirect subjects.

55a. The man was given a book by the woman.

55b. The book was given to the man by the woman.

Compare these with the following example:

56. * Adam kadın taraf-ı-ndan kitab-ı ver-il-di-ø.

A direct object in the grammatical subject position of a passive construction takes Nominative Case instead of its original Accusative Case, a situation which can be observed in English passives.

57. * Kitab-ı kadın taraf-ı-ndan adam-a ver-il-di-ø. (-ı as an Accusative case marker)

In Turkish, if a verb takes an object which is not assigned a Theme theta role (i.e., if it is not the most deeply embedded argument in the hierarchically structured argument structure of the predicate in question), then it bears its original (inherent) Case when that verb is passivized.

58a. İnsan-lar yer-ler-e otur-du-ø.

58b. Yer-ler-e otur-ul-du-ø.

5.2.3.9. The Assignment of Genitive Case to the Subject of a Syntactic Nominalization in Turkish

Kornfilt (2001) investigates the functional projections and their subjects in non-finite argument and adjunct clauses in Turkish. Regarding the distinction between non-finite argument clauses and non-finite adjunct clauses, Kornfilt (2001, 183) tries to determine the conditions of the appearance of Genitive and Nominative subjects in such clauses. In a way, she essentially deals with the non-finite clauses with overt subjects in her significant study.

According to (Kornfilt, 2001, 183), the nominal subject-predicate agreement morphology on the predicates of the nominalized embedded clauses is responsible for the overt Genitive Case on their subjects. In this context, she suggests that the case assignment capacity of the nominal agreement must be initiated by several factors which can be summarized as in the following way: "... a tenseless (nominal) Infl positively specified for *Agr* can assign any "subject" Case to a lexical subject only if it is theta-governed." In fact, this is a version of Raposo's original proposal (Raposo, 1987, 107) modified by Kornfilt (2001). She further proposes that "the Case-assignment potential of nominal *Agr* must be 'unlocked' somehow, which can be done either by having the *Agr* element be theta-governed (and thus be, in some sense, '*marked*' by the theta-governor, e.g. by being gamma-marked, in the sense of Lasnik & Saito 1984) or by having it be co-indexed by a syntactic operator, and thus *marked* by coindexation" (Kornfilt, 2001, 183). According to her, "only a *marked Agr* can assign Case to its subject in a non-finite clause."

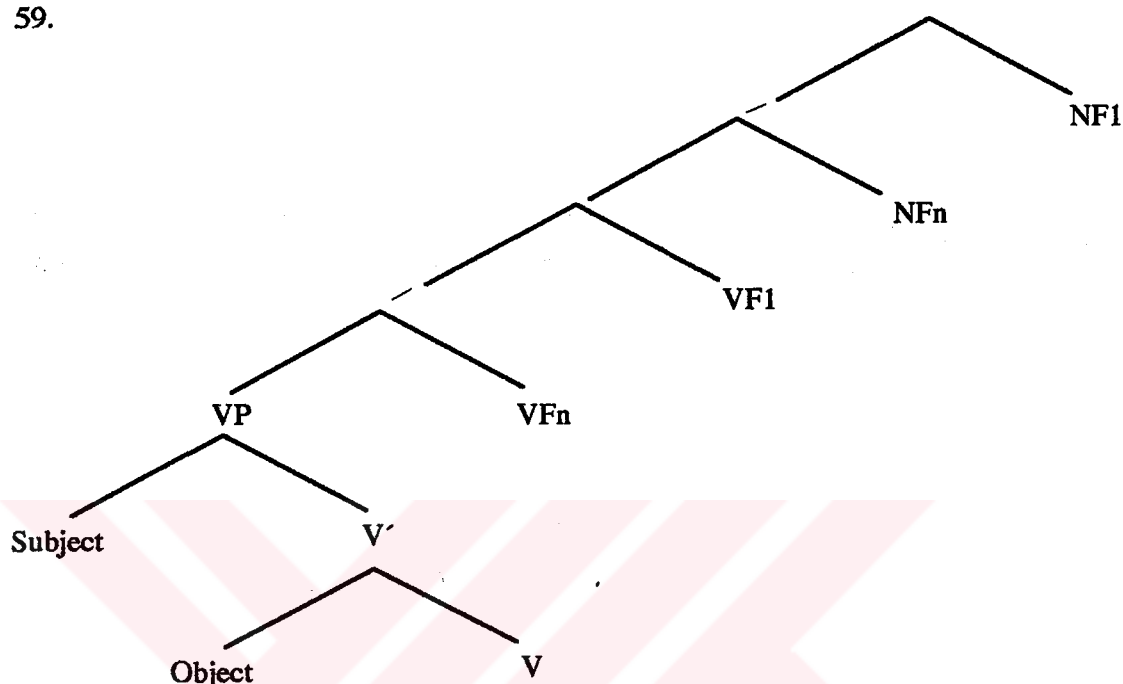
Furthermore, Kornfilt (2001, 183) suggests that "an operator can participate in the Case marking potential of nominal *Agr*" and concludes that if nominal *Agr* is involved in the Case-marking of the subject of the non-finite nominalized clauses, then, "Turkish must possess the syntactic (functional) category *Agr*, which would head the projection *AgrP*" (Kornfilt, 2001, 184). Similarly, the presence of an operator in the case marking necessitates the existence of a particular position, possibly the specifier position of the functional projection, so that it can house this operator. According to Kornfilt (2001), all these issues imply that there must be a **complicated architecture** of syntactic projections of the functional heads concerning the non-finite nominalized clauses.

She assumes that the *Agr* morpheme (not the TAM morphology) is responsible for the assignment of the Nominative Case to the subjects of finite clauses. In addition, she provides examples of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) constructions in Turkish with the matrix predicate *san-* 'think' in order to support her view. After that, Kornfilt (2001) compares the **possessive noun phrases** with the non-finite argument clauses (i.e., syntactic nominalizations in argument positions) and concludes that both types of syntactic categories exhibit the same type of subject-predicate agreement (Kornfilt, 2001, 188).

Considering the syntactic positions in which most nominalized clauses appear, Kornfilt (2001, 189) states that nominalized clauses exhibit a combination of lower verbal

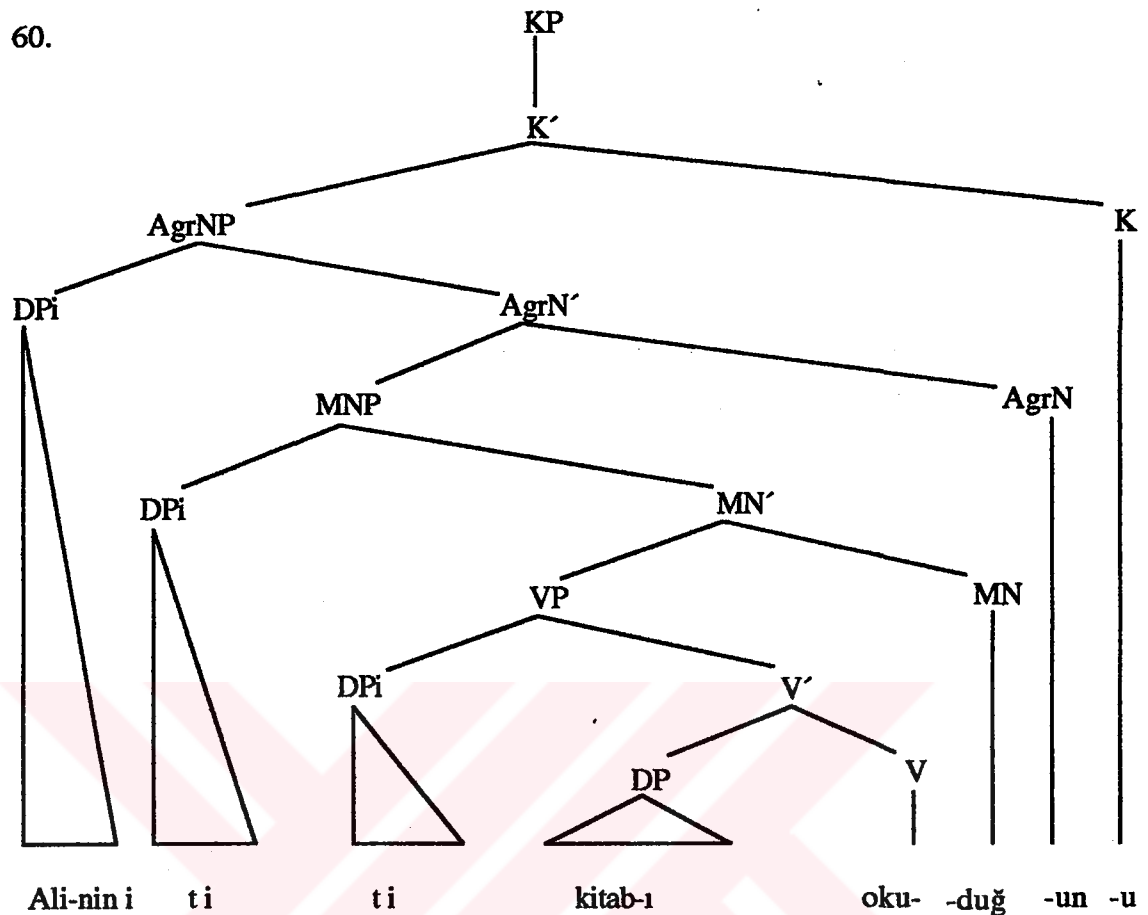
functional layers and higher nominal functional layers, as in the following general phrase marker:

59.



Kornfilt (2001) adopts the view that there are a number of verbal functional categories which dominate a VP in a phrase marker and the number of such categories may be zero. The nominal functional categories may include D and AgrN while "the verbal functional categories may include AgrS (i.e., verbal / finite subject predication agreement, which is represented by AGRF in the present work), T(ense), Asp(ect), M(ood)."

According to Kornfilt (2001, 190), "the subject moves to the specifier position of some verbal functional projection in finite clauses, and to the specifier position of a nominal projection in nominalized clauses." She considers that the difference in the case forms of subjects of nominalized clauses and finite clauses is also accounted for by assuming that AgrN assigns the Genitive to its specifier, while AgrS assigns the Nominative. She suggests that this distinction to a great extent results from the different types of functional categories. Kornfilt (2001, 191) characterizes the phrase marker of a nominalized clause as in the following way:



Kornfilt (2001, 191-192) proposes that the nominal functional projections form a nominal "outer shell" in argument clauses, causing these constructions to behave like DPs in terms of their Case requirements. In this context, Kornfilt (2001) provides this as the basic explanation concerning the Case found on argument clauses of verbal superordinate predicates. As opposed to argument clauses, she suggests, most adverbial clauses need not Case and frequently do not have overt subjects.

Kornfilt (2001) presupposes the existence of a default case assignment mechanism in Turkish. According to her, the realization of the default case in Turkish is through Nominative while it seems that English default case is Accusative.

Regarding the Locative Case on the predicate of certain adverbial clauses, Kornfilt (2001, 194) suggests that "not all Case is assigned by a governor or via specifier-head agreement, but rather that some configurations require, for semantic reasons, certain Cases."

She concludes the following concerning the case assignment properties:

[T]o be able to mark the subject with Genitive Case, the Agr head must be theta-governed. Note that a noun is different from a verb or postposition: it does not assign Case to its complement (or at least not structural Case). Indeed, there is no overt Case on the complement clause of the noun. Therefore, the presence of the Genitive Case on the subject of the nominalized complement as in (24) shows that in order to assign the Genitive to the subject, a nominal Agr head does not have to assign the Genitive to the subject, a nominal Agr does not have to be assigned (structural) Case, it does have to be (theta-)governed, however. (Kornfilt, 2001, 199)

According to Kornfilt (2001, 202), the potential of nominal Agr to assign Genitive Case to the subject in nominalized argument clauses works in the following way: the argument clause receives a gamma-marking (i.e., government-marking) from their theta-governors, verbal superordinate predicates. In such cases, the head of the argument clause, nominal Agr, raises to that gamma-marked C position so that the gamma-marking of the argument clause ends up on the nominal head, Agr. The effect of this gamma-marking is similar to that of marking by co-indexation by an operator, for instance, in non-subject relative clauses or in the nominalized complement clauses of postpositional phrases with comparative semantics. These two options (that is, coindexation by an operator or gamma-marking by a theta-governor) triggers the Case-marking ability of the nominal Agr.

Kornfilt (2001, 202) paraphrases these issues in the following formulation:

The nominal Agr of a nominal *indicative* clause with its attached nominalized verb that has risen to it raises to C only if the C is "strong". A C is "strong" only if it heads either a theta-governed CP, and/or a CP whose specifier position is occupied by an operator. Only in such a strong C position can the nominal Agr be marked and in turn Case-mark the subject. Otherwise, the nominal Agr remains within AgrNP and Cannot Case-mark the subject from that lower position in these instances, i.e., in nominalized indicative clauses where the nominal Agr isn't licensed clause-internally. (Kornfilt, 2001, 201)

Finally, Kornfilt (2001) comments on the nature of the Default (bare) Case in Turkish. She proposes that the Default Case in Turkish is Nominative as opposed to that in English, appearing in the Accusative.

5.2.2. X-bar Theory

X-bar Theory deals with the structural representation of phrasal constituents of languages. The basic issues of the X-bar Theory are introduced by Chomsky (1973) and developed by Emonds (1976), Jackendoff (1977), Chomsky (1981), and Stowell (1981), among others. Being one of the subtheories of the Principles and Parameters Theory, it tries to explicate the internal syntactic structure of phrases by imposing a general structural format which effectively restricts the total number of possible phrase structures to a minimum. It is argued that the **X-bar schemata** holds for all human languages even though there might be certain types of parametric variations, such as the linear ordering of the elements within a phrase in a given language, etc. The central assumption of the X-bar Theory is the X-bar schemata, which restricts the number of branches originating from a node to a maximum of two when a phrase marker is viewed from top to bottom. In sum, the X-bar Theory restricts the phrasal structure to the X-bar schemata universally.

The principal structural relations within the X-bar schemata are those between a complement and the head, and the specifier and the head. The relation between the head and its complement is established more firmly than the relation between the lexical item and other types of phrase-internal constituents, generally known as adjuncts, which are optional and, which are potentially recur many times. The relationship between the head and the specifier is also special in that they frequently agree with respect to a number of grammatical features.

5.2.2.1. Functional Heads within Syntactic Nominalizations

In Section (5.1), it has been shown that noun phrases have a more complicated internal syntactic structure than they have been assumed so far. A number of functional categories project their phrasal categories in a successive order yielding a rather intricate and hierarchically organized phrase structure concerning noun phrase.

It has been argued by a number of linguists (Abney, 1987; Szabolcsi 1981, 1984, 1987, 1989; Stowell, 1991; Siloni 1997; among others) that syntactic nominalizations are in

essence embedding of verbal projections under the D node. This characterization effectively accounts for the dual syntactic nature of syntactic nominalizations. Since they are headed by a DP layer (and it will be clear in the subsequent paragraphs that there are also additional parallel functional head categories within syntactic nominalizations) their external distribution is almost identical with that of noun phrases. On the other hand, as they contain an embedded verbal projection, their internal syntax is clausal (or propositional) in that they are perfectly able to represent all combinations of thematic relations between a predicate and its arguments as well as their semantic relationship to additional optional categories, known as adjuncts. In sum, it is frequently suggested that syntactic nominalizations can be considered as the successive projections of functional categories which take a most deeply embedded VP as their complement.

As far as Turkish is concerned, the types of constituents which are found within a syntactic nominalization show that syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are essentially non-finite clauses with certain nominal characteristics. For instance, syntactic nominalizations in Turkish are generally able to contain an overt subject in the Genitive Case (which is different from that of the subject of finite clauses, which always appear in the Nominative Case).

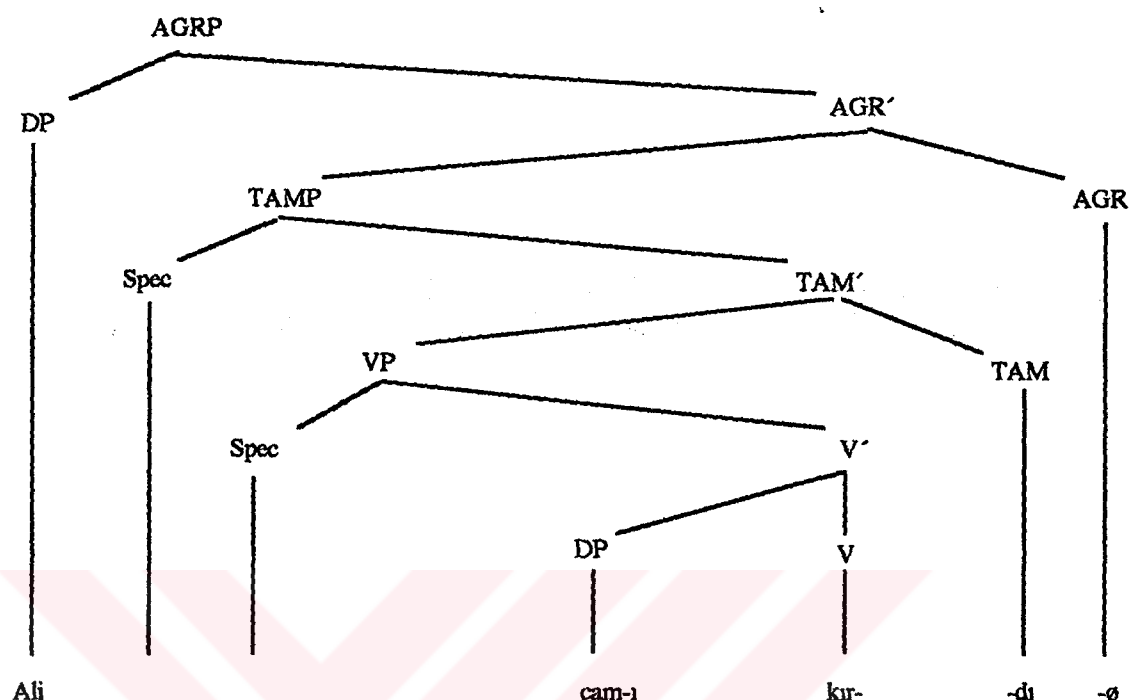
With respect to its thematic relations, a syntactic nominalization contains minimally a predicate and its arguments (both external and internal ones). Furthermore, the existence of optional constituents which modify the predicate in terms of space, time, manner, etc. (i.e., adverbial constituents as a subset of adjuncts) shows that syntactic nominalizations are clauses par excellence albeit of distinct type.

Consider the following finite clause:

61. Ali cam-ı kır-dı-ø.
Ali broke the glass.

According to the principles of the X-bar Theory, the syntactic structure of this finite clause can be represented as in the following way:

62.



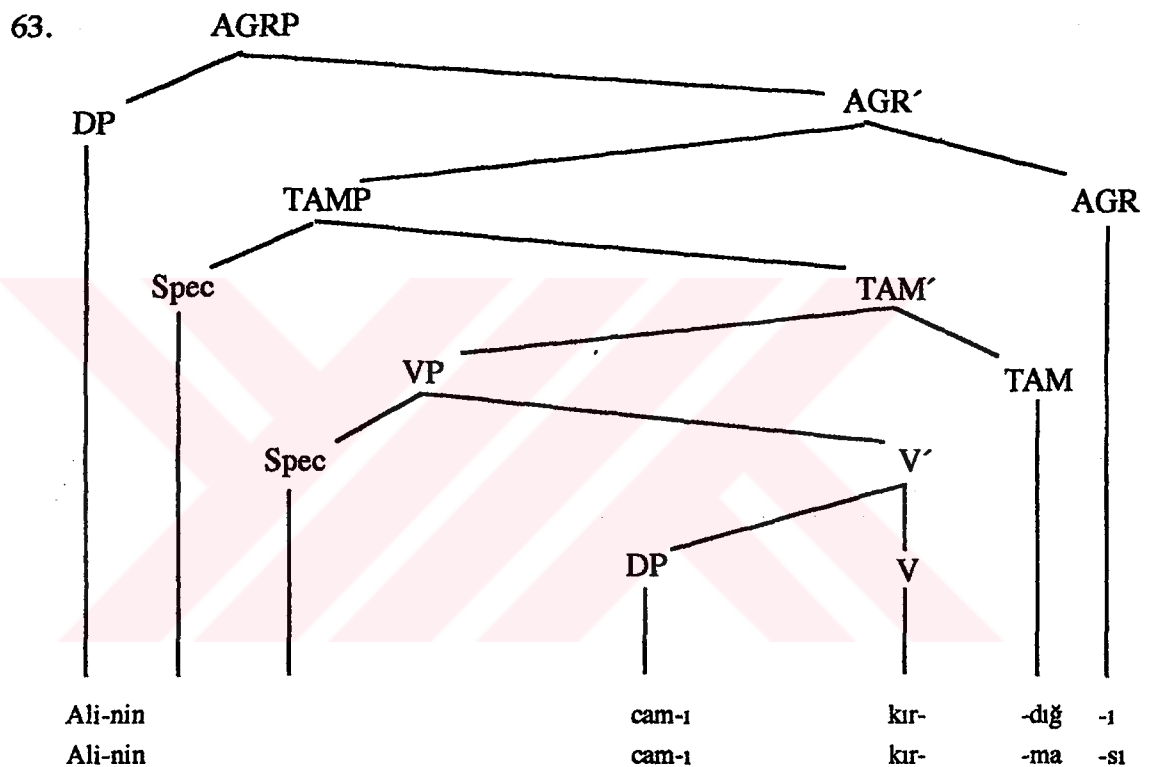
First of all, in this phrase marker, the finite clause is represented as an **AGRP** (i.e., an agreement phrase) whose head is the inflectional (functional) category **AGR** (finite subject predicate agreement) which is realized by means of the morphological marker **-∅** (a zero morpheme). The functional head **AGR** takes a **TAMP** as its complement.

The present work characterizes Tense, Aspect, and Mood markers as belonging to a single morphological category, which can be represented as **TAM**. It is important to note that **TAM** is structurally a single morpheme with a variety of semantic functions among which are Tense, Aspect, and Mood. Most of the time, the standard representation of tense categories is **TP**, which stands for Tense Phrase. The purpose of adopting the representation **TAMP** instead of **TP** here is to show that in Turkish Tense is not a morphological category but a semantic one (following Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1996 and Sezer, 2001). At least, it can be suggested that the semantic category Tense is not the only function of a particular morpheme which is added to a verb base in a clause.

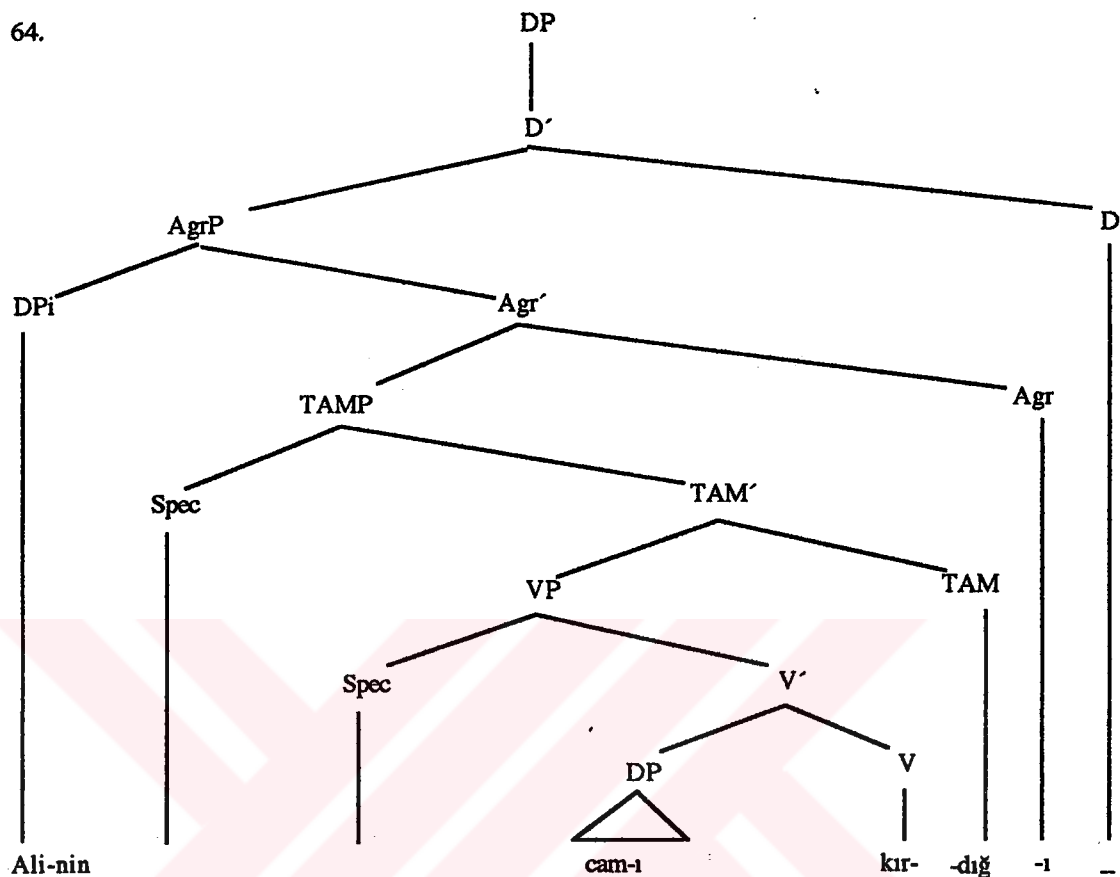
This position is justified by the generally accepted assumption that form is primary and function is secondary. In other words, what determines the function is the form not the vice versa. Therefore, the morphosyntactic category in the syntactic representation of the finite clause above is a **TAM**, which is realized by the suffix **-DI**, with a semantic function representing an event that occurred in the past (i.e., the semantic category of Past

Tense). A TAMP in turn selects a VP as its complement. A VP includes the internal argument (direct object) in addition to other arguments (obligatorily) as well as adjuncts, the optional constituents with adverbial functions.

Now consider the X-bar representation of the syntactic nominalizations *Alinin camı kırdığı* 'that Ali broke the glass' and *Alinin camı kırması* 'Ali's breaking the glass, etc.':



The Syntactic Structure of Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish according to the X-bar theory can be represented in the following way if the uniformity of the functional categories within syntactic nominalizations presupposed.



In the phrase marker above, the internal structure of both syntactic nominalizations is represented as identical with that of the finite clause *Ali camı kırdı-ø* 'Ali broke the glass' above. If the syntactic representation of both finite clause and syntactic nominalizations are the same, how can we show that the former is sentence and the latter are nominal constituents of an independent sentence? Following Kornfilt (1984) and Sezer (1991), it can be argued that the factor that determines the syntactic status of clause is the type of the functional head AGR, which may be of two types: [+finite] or [-finite]. Depending on the type of the feature matrix of the AGR category, a clause is either a sentence or a nominal constituent of a sentence, that is, a syntactic nominalization.

The syntactic structure of a syntactic nominalization in Turkish can be represented as in the phrase marker above. In this phrase marker, a syntactic nominalization is assumed to be the maximal projection of the category D° . D° takes an AgrNP (a nominal agreement phrase) as its complement. Its head AgrN $^{\circ}$ has the feature [-Finite] (as opposed to the verbal (i.e., finite) subject-predicate Agr $^{\circ}$, which has the feature matrix [+Finite]).

Non-finite AgrN $^{\circ}$: [-Verbal, +Nominal, +Functional, -Finite]

Finite AgrF $^{\circ}$: [-Verbal, +Nominal, +Functional, +Finite]

In fact, there is no direct empirical evidence that motivates the existence of a dominating DP layer in phrasal representation of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish. Instead, this is rather a theory internal consideration trying to achieve uniformity across languages, by providing a coherent and standard form of syntactic analysis for all languages. As far as Turkish is concerned, there is no harm in taking a syntactic nominalization as the maximal projection of non-finite AGRN category because the existence of this layer can empirically be shown easily.

The morphological realization of finite and non-finite agreement categories are also different in Turkish. The corresponding paradigms can be given in the following way:

Finite Agreement Morphology in Turkish

65a. TAM markers (Group I): -mİş, -Er, -Iyor, -(y)EcEk, -(y)E, -(y)Ebilir, -mEll
Corresponding Agreement Markers: -(y)Im, -sIn, -ø, -(y)Iz / -IIm, -sInIz, -ø / -IEr

65b. TAM markers (Group II): -DI, -sE
Corresponding Agreement markers: -m, -n, -ø, -k, -nIz, -ø / -IEr

Non-Finite Agreement Morphology in Turkish

66. Non-finite TAM markers: -mE, -(y)İş, -(y)EcEK, -DIK, -(y)Es, -IİK
Non-finite Agreement markers: -(I)m, -(I)n, -(s)I, -(I)mIz, -(I)nIz, -(s)I / -IErI

The most recent version of generative syntax, namely the minimalist program, employs a checking technique for grammatical features of the syntactic categories in the derivation of syntactic structures. Following Sezer (2001), it can be assumed that finite and non-finite agreement markers in Turkish have the following general feature matrixes.

67a. Finite Agreement Markers: [-V, +N, +Fu, +Fi]

67b. Non-Finite Agreement Markers: [-V, +N, +Fu, -Fi]

It can be further assumed that finite and non-finite agreement categories can be specified for the following (semantic) features which correspond to the meaning categories traditionally known as tense, aspect and mood:

68a. Finite Agreement Markers: [±T, ±ASP, ±M, etc.]

68b. Non-Finite Agreement Markers: [±T, ±ASP, ±M, etc.]

For instance, the finite TAM marker *-DI* which is employed to express the witnessed past tense will have the following feature matrix according to these assumptions:

69. The finite TAM marker *-DI*: [-V, +N, +Fu, +Fi] and [+T, -ASP, +M, etc.]

If this marker is assumed to express the perfect aspect, it will also plausible to mark the feature specification ASP as positively set, [+ASP]. The semantic category M is positively set due to the inherent meaning of this suffix to represent a past action which was witnessed by the speaker. If we turn to our major issue, the TAM marker *-DI* has non-verbal, nominal, functional, and finite grammatical features. Since these features are inherent characteristics of the head category in question, they are called head features. In addition to head features, a syntactic category has both complement and specifier features which are to be checked during the syntactic derivation. In this context, a more or less semantically related non-finite marker *-DIK* will have the following feature matrix and semantic specifications:

70. The non-finite TAM marker *-DIK*: [-V, +N, +Fu, -Fi] and [+T, +ASP, +M, etc.]

According to these representations of the feature matrices of the both categories, the only grammatical difference between these two is the finiteness, which is positively set for *-DI* and negatively set for *-DIK*. Of course, these are superficially different representations of the well-known obvious facts with respect to finiteness of clauses. However, it is also possible for this type of representation to contribute to our understanding of functional categories within a clause.

In this context, let us try to specify the syntactic feature matrices of finite and non-finite TAM markers in Turkish by arranging them in the following table.

	± Verbal	± Nominal	± Functional	± Finite	Major Semantic Functions
<i>-DI</i>	-	+	+	+	Witnessed Past Tense
<i>-sE</i>	-	+	+	+	Conditional, Subjunctive Mood
<i>-mİş</i>	-	+	+	+	Inferential Past, Present Perfect Aspect
<i>-Er</i>	-	+	+	+	Aorist, Present Tense
<i>-Iyor</i>	-	+	+	+	Progressive Aspect
<i>-(y)EcEk</i>	-	+	+	+	Future Tense

-(y)E	-	+	+	+	Optative Mood
-(y)Ebilir	-	+	+	+	Abilitative Mood
-mEI	-	+	+	+	Necessitative Mood
-mE	-	+	+	-	Action
-(y)Iş	-	+	+	-	Action, Manner
-(y)Es	-	+	+	-	Action, Internal Motive (~Mood)
-(y)EcEK	-	+	+	-	Action, Future Tense
-DIK	-	+	+	-	Action, Non-Future T. (Past, Progressive, etc.)
-IK	-	+	+	-	State
-En	-	+	+	-	Adjectival
-ErEk	-	-	+	-	By doing so, Manner
-Ip	-	-	+	-	Perfect Aspect, Coordination

Table 1: Head Features of the Major TAM Markers in Turkish

Similarly, the specifications of the syntactic feature matrices of finite and non-finite Agreement markers in Turkish may be the following as far as their head features are concerned.

Group I	Group II	± Verbal	± Nominal	± Functional	± Finite
-(y)Im	-m	-	+	+	+
-sIn	-n	-	+	+	+
-ø	-ø	-	+	+	+
-(y)Iz / -Im	-k	-	+	+	+
-sInIz	-nIz	-	+	+	+
-ø / -IEr	-ø / -IEr	-	+	+	+
-(I)m		-	+	+	-
-(I)n		-	+	+	-
-(s)I		-	+	+	-
-(I)mIz		-	+	+	-
-(I)nIz		-	+	+	-
-(s)I / -IErI		-	+	+	-

Table 2: Head Features of the Finite and Non-Finite Agreement Markers in Turkish

By specifying the syntactic feature matrices of functional heads within clausal constituents, it is possible to predict the type of clause by observing the type of its functional heads.

As far as TAM markers are concerned (Table 1 above), all the markers are specified positively for the feature [$\pm$ Nominal] and [–Verbal] except for *-Ip* and *-ErEk* suffixes. As to the finite TAM markers, all of them can be taken as the complement of an auxiliary verb, such as *i-*, *ol-*, *bulun-*, etc. Observe the following:

- 71a. Ali [ev-e gel-se] i-di- $\emptyset$.
- 71b. Ben [ev-e gid-ecek] ol-du-m.
- 71c. Biz [ev-e gel-miş] bulun-du-k.

Considering that only non-verbal constituents qualify as complements of auxiliary verbs in Turkish, all the TAM markers are assumed to be [–Verbal].

- 72a. Ali [hasta] i-di- $\emptyset$.
- 72b. Ali [öğretmen] i-di- $\emptyset$.
- 72c. Ali [ev-de] i-di- $\emptyset$.
- 72d. Ali [senin gibi] i-di- $\emptyset$.
- 72e. Ali [ev-e gid-ecek] i-di- $\emptyset$.

- 73a. * Ali [hızlı hızlı koş] ol-du- $\emptyset$.
- 73b. * Ali [her akşam ev-e geç gel] i-di- $\emptyset$.
- 73c. * Ali [bir kere Ahmet-ten borç al] bulun-du- $\emptyset$.

On the grounds these examples, it can be concluded that AP, NP, PP, TAMP, and AGRP qualify for as complements of verbal predicates. Of course, there are numerous restrictions on the type of the complement imposed by the matrix predicates. One cannot indiscriminately combine these constituents (i.e., AP, NP, etc.) with any of the verbal predicates. Actually, these syntactic categories show the types of constituents which are taken as complements by auxiliary verbs. However, since the auxiliary verbs are also a particular type of verbs, then it is safe to assume that TAMPs are set as [–Verbal] in their syntactic feature matrices. As for the non-finite nominalization TAM markers, they are inherently nominal which does not require further explanation.

5.2.2.2. NUMP as A Distinct Syntactic Layer within Syntactic Nominalizations

A prototypical syntactic nominalization in Turkish has been characterized as in the following (see Chapter 4):

74. [DP -GEN Verbal Predicate -NM -AGRN]

This corresponds to the internal syntax of the following syntactic nominalizations in Turkish, for instance:

75a. [Ali-nin ev-e gel-diğ-i] biliniyor.

75b. Ben [sen-nin ev-e gel-me-n]-i istiyorum.

However, this generalized format for the prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish may not be so adequate when certain types of syntactic nominalizations are considered. Observe the following examples:

76a. [Seninle deniz kenarında yürü-me-ler-imiz] çok güzeldi.

76d. [Senin geceleri haykırarak uyan-ış-lar]-ını kimse unutamaz.

76c. [Ahmetle dere tepe demeden köy köy gez-dik-ler-imiz]-i nasıl unutabilirim.

Although these sentences sound a bit marked, it is not implausible to assume that they are in fact grammatical. Since Turkish employs a wide range of lexical and phrasal categories in order to refer to the multiple instantiations of an action, the most frequent and hence unmarked way of representing repeated actions is to use certain words:

77a. [Seninle deniz kenarında her gün yürü-me-miz] insanların dikkatini çekti.

77d. [Senin her gece haykırarak uyan-ma-n] beni endişelendiriyor.

77c. [Ahmetle her gün dere tepe demeden köy köy gez-diğ-imiz]-i kim unutabilir.

Then, the semantic function of this plural marker is to represent multiple instances of an action in the course of time.

If it is plausible to assume that the syntactic nominalizations in the first set are grammatical, then, it is necessary to reconsider the generalized format for prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish.

In fact, this revision is also motivated by the observational facts concerning ordinary noun phrases, which naturally exhibit the functional head NUM as one of its functional categories within phrase structure. Considering the striking parallelism between noun phrases and syntactic nominalizations, it is also plausible to assume that there exists a different functional head category, namely NUM, within the phrasal representation of prototypical syntactic nominalizations in Turkish.

Such constructions with plural marker may erroneously be considered as reduced form of relative clauses. In fact, the default option is to interpret this construction as a reduced relative clause (where the phrasal constituent of a modifier clause corresponding to the head of the complex noun phrase is regularly deleted, except for its plural marker which is subsequently attached to the verbal base and the agreement marker follows the whole series).

Consider the following examples which contain both full and reduced forms of modifier (i.e., relative) clauses in Turkish:

78a. [[Geçen gün seninle konuş-tuğ-umuz] şey-ler] hiç aklımdan çıkmıyor.

78b. [Geçen gün seninle konuş-tuk-lar-ımız] hiç aklımdan çıkmıyor.

Whenever one of the arguments of the predicate of a syntactic nominalization is left implicit, the default option is to interpret it as a modifier clause (relative clause).

However, if there is no argument missing, the construction is forced to have a syntactic nominalization status with an interpretation referring to the multiple or repeated occurrences of the action expressed by the nominalized predicate. This interpretation is semantically acceptable in most (but not all) cases. Therefore, there must be certain semantic restrictions upon these constructions and such restrictions need to be identified explicitly.

The existence of such a functional category (i.e., NUM as a functional head showing multiple occurrence) within syntactic nominalizations is rather striking and this designation enables us to suggest a closely parallel structure for syntactic nominalizations and noun phrases in Turkish. This can be formulated as in the following way:

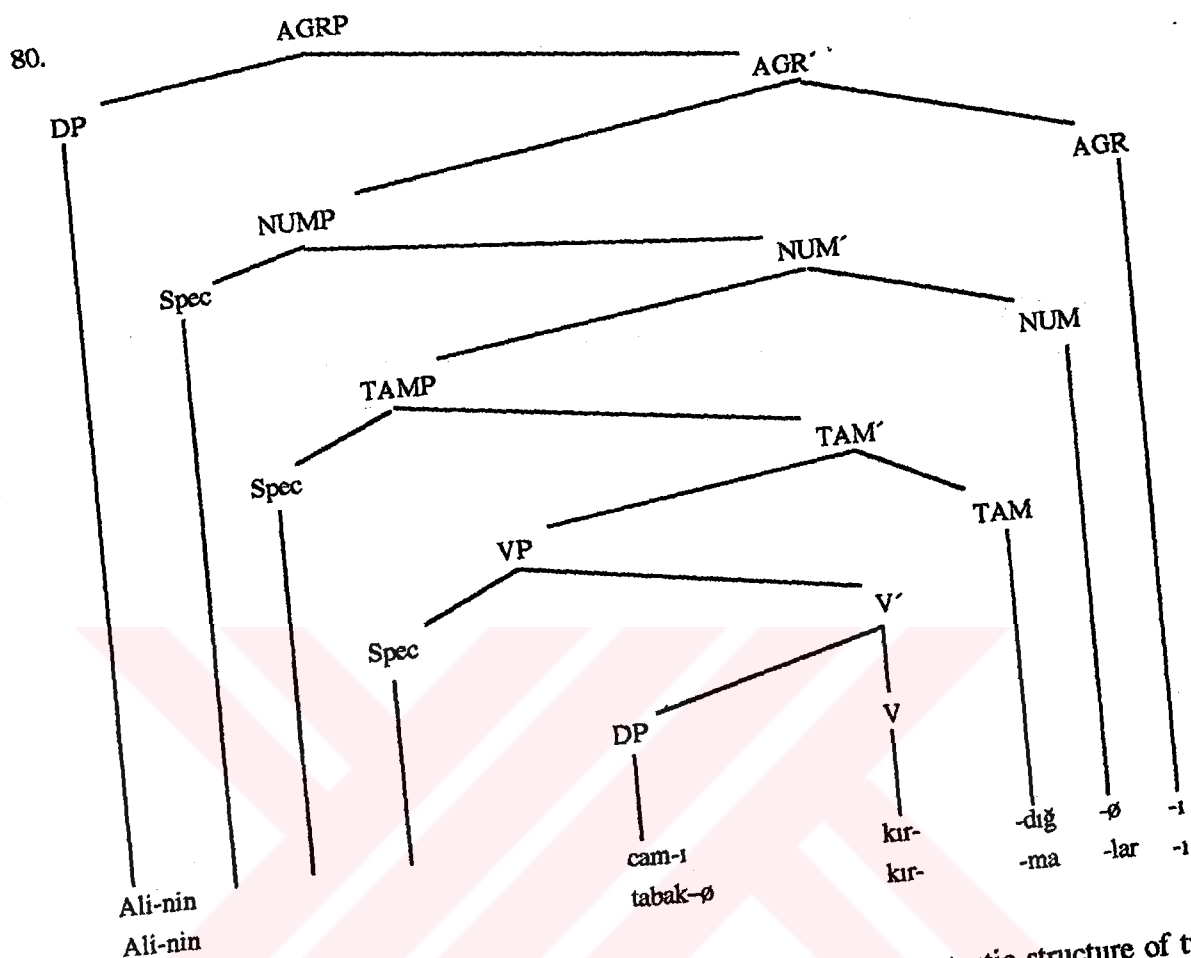
79. [DP -GEN Verbal Predicate -NM-NUM-AGRN]

This also amounts to say that, in fact, both noun phrases and syntactic nominalizations belong to the same type of phrasal category, namely the nominal agreement phrase (i.e., AGRNP). The only difference between these two constructions is the type of complement that is selected by the functional head NUM. The head category NUM selects an NP in a noun phrase and it selects a nominal non-finite TAMP in a syntactic nominalization. In this respect, observe that syntactically both NP and nominal TAMP must be equivalent. This may also account for the existence of certain case markers on the nominalized verbal predicates without nominal agreement morphology as it is observed in a variety of non-argument syntactic nominalizations performing certain adverbial functions.

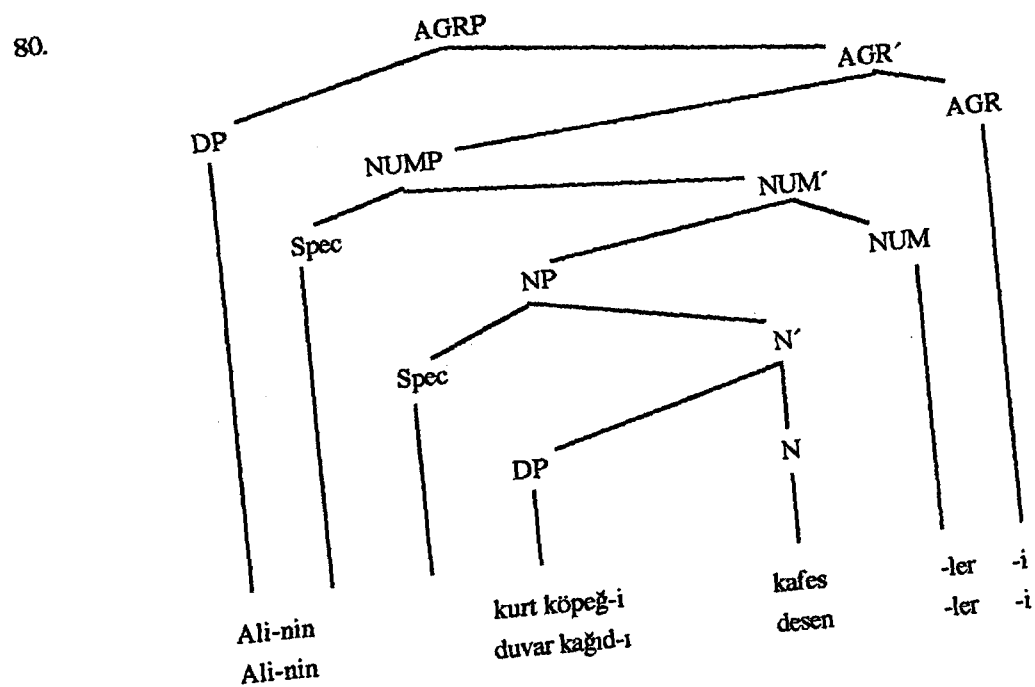
Then, it can be asserted that a syntactic nominalization in Turkish is necessarily an AGRP whose head is AGR. This functional category exclusively selects a NUMP (i.e., a number phrase) in both syntactic nominalizations and what is traditionally known as noun phrases. Notice that, up till now, the functional (extended) projections of both constructions are exactly the same. NUMP, in turn, is headed by a functional head, NUM, which is realized by means of the plural and singular morphemes in Turkish, as *-lEr* and *-Ø*. Subsequently, the head NUM takes a nominal TAMP (tense aspect mood phrase) in syntactic nominalizations and it takes a NP (i.e., maximal projection of the lexical head N) in noun phrases.

This suggests that, with respect to their feature matrices (corresponding to their head features), the head categories of both constituents, TAM in the TAMP and N in the NP respectively, must be identical in order for their head features to match the complement features of the head NUM.

Then, it can be proposed that both are $[-\text{verbal}, +\text{nominal}, -\text{finite}]$. The only difference between them concerns the feature $[\pm\text{functional}]$, which is obviously positively set in TAMP and negatively set in NP. This means that the TAM is a **functional** category and N is a **lexical** category. This also shows that the head NUM is blind with respect to the feature $[\pm\text{functional}]$. That is, it can take non-verbal and nominal maximal projections regardless of the type of their head with respect to functional vs. lexical dichotomy. Then, syntactic representation of a syntactic nominalization must be the following:



Compare with the following phrase marker which represent the syntactic structure of two noun phrases.



In sum, both syntactic nominalization and noun phrase share a great deal of characteristics in terms of their internal syntactic structure which is composed of successive layers of maximal projections of functional head categories dominating a verbal phrase which is the most deeply embedded in the phrase structure.



CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, first, the surveyed morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish will be discussed. Secondly, relevant generalizations obtained from this discussion will be formulated explicitly in order to conclude the present study. To do this, Section (6.1) summarizes the general morphosyntactic characteristics of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish and speculates on these issues to derive appropriate judgments. Section (6.2) tries to derive concluding remarks on the subject matter.

6.1. The Discussion of the Problematic Aspects of the Structural Characteristics of Syntactic Nominalizations in Turkish

We have seen that SNs constitute a particular type of embedded non-finite clauses. With their peculiar morphosyntactic characteristics, they perform a rich variety of grammatical functions in root sentences in Turkish. These general morphosyntactic characteristics which have been listed up till now can be summarized as in the following way:

- (1) Syntactic nominalizations (SNs) are able to appear in argument positions of root predicates, the positions which are characteristically occupied by noun phrases.
- (2) The internal structure of SNs is clausal: they are capable of exhibiting all the clause-internal constituents even in the same order, in the same Case forms, etc. It seems that the only differences of SNs in relation to finite clauses are (i) the Case of the subject noun phrase (DP), which is in the Genitive Case in SNs and in the Nominative Case in finite clauses, and (ii) the verbal predicate of SNs has non-finite TAM (Tense, Aspect, and Mood) markers and Subject Predicate Agreement markers in contrast to that of finite clauses, which are finite.
- (3) Like noun phrases, SNs can also appear in adjunct (non-argument) positions, the most typical of which are adverbial positions of matrix predicates. However, unlike noun phrases, syntactic nominalizations must frequently undergo certain morphosyntactic modifications, such as a change in the Case form of the subject noun phrase or a removal

of the non-finite subject predicate agreement marker, to be able to occupy such optional positions.

As far as prototypical SNs are concerned, their general form has initially been given as in the following:

1. [NP -GEN Verbal Predicate -NM -AGR]

On the grounds of the existence of a plural marker, which is identical with the one which is found on a plural noun as a lexical item, it has been proposed that this general format should be revised and a distinct functional layer should be added in order to describe this additional evidence. Then, a prototypical SN has the following general format:

2. [NP -GEN Verbal Predicate -NM -NUM-AGR]

What this general format says is that a prototypical SN is composed of a VP which has a nominalized verbal predicate by means of an appropriate nominalization marker (i.e., non-finite, nominal TAM markers) followed by an appropriate subject predicate agreement morpheme and a subject noun phrase which is in the Genitive Case rather than the regular Nominative Case of the subjects of finite clauses.

6.2. The Categorical Status of the -mEG Suffix in the Formation of Infinitival Clauses in Turkish

As opposed to other types of syntactic nominalizations with the TAM markers (which are *-mE*, *-(y)Iş*, *-(y)Es*, *-DIG*, *-(y)EcEG*) and the state nominalization suffix *-IIG*, syntactic nominalizations formed with the marker *-mEG* cannot have overt subjects. In this respect, the *-mEG* nominalizations in Turkish are almost equivalents of infinitival clauses with PRO subject in English.

3a. I want [her to *t* come early].

3b. I expect [them to *t* finish this task smoothly].

In the examples above, the subject position of the predicates *come* and *finish* must have originated within their corresponding VPs (in accordance with the Subject-Inside-VP Hypothesis, discussed in Kitagawa 1986, Kuroda 1988, Sportiche 1988, Koopman and Sportiche 1991). Then, these subjects must have been moved to a position in which they

may be case-marked by the preceding ECM verbs. This position is the one which immediately follows the verb. Therefore, there is no need for the appearance of the prepositional complementizer *for*. When there is no case assigner for the subject of an infinitival clause, the complementizer *for* is provided to enable the subject noun phrase to be expressed overtly.

4a. [For John to *t* come early] is always impossible.

4b. It is always impossible [for John to *t* come early].

If there is no case assigner, it is not possible to express the subject of an infinitival clause overtly. Even though there is a subject position within an infinitival clause, it cannot be realized by an overt noun phrase. Then, it is represented by a non-overt (or null) noun phrase which can be represented as PRO. PRO is an interesting category since it exhibits characteristics of both anaphoric expressions and pronominals. Although this seems to be a contradiction at the first glance, the non-overt nature of PRO enables it to qualify for both as an anaphor and a pronoun.

The non-overt subject of the infinitival clause in the following sentence is said to be an **arbitrary** or **generic** PRO, which roughly refers to the pronoun '*one*':

5a. [PRO To *t* help old people] is a kind behavior.

5b. [For one to *t* help old people] is a kind behavior.

In the example (5a), the PRO is understood as identical with the generic pronoun *one* as in the example in (5b). Now consider the following example.

6. [PRO To *t* come early] is always impossible [for John].

In this case, the referent of the non-overt subject of the infinitival clause is understood as identical with that of the noun phrase *John*. In this case, PRO is obligatorily controlled by the overt noun phrase *John*.

If we turn to Turkish, as to the -mEG nominalizations, the situation seems to be rather problematic since this marker is completely identical with the nominalization marker -mE in terms of its semantics. Then, the only difference between two types of syntactic nominalizations with these two seemingly distinct markers is the existence of an overt subject noun phrase within the syntactic nominalization. Observe the examples.

7a. [Ahmed-in ev-e git-me-si] bütün planlar-ı değiştir-di-ø.

Ahmet-GEN house-DAT go-NM-3SG/N-NOM all plan-PL-ACC Change-PAST-3SG/F

'Ahmet's going to the house has changed all the plans.'

7b. Ahmet [PRO ev-e git-mek] isti-yor-ø.

Ahmet-NOM house-DAT go-NM-NOM want-PROG-3SG/F

Ahmet wants to go to the house.

7c. Ahmet [PRO ev-e git-meğ/y]-i düşün-üyor-ø.

Ahmet-NOM house-DAT go-NM-ACC think-PROG-3SG/F

Ahmet is thinking about going to the house.

In the examples above, both *-mE* and *-mEG* suffixes enable an embedded VP constituent to acquire an action meaning in its most regular and straightforward sense. In other words, both *-mE* and *-mEG* nominalizations express actions by simply referring to the names of them without specifying any additional semantic functions (such as tense, aspect, manner, etc.). This strong parallelism between *-mE* and *-mEG* nominalizations forces us to adopt the view which relates both suffixes structurally. The obvious relationship between these two might be expressed as in the following lines: the nominalization suffix *-mEG* might have been derived from *-mE* suffix by the addition of a *-k* suffix. If so, what is the function of this *-k* suffix? Which syntactic category does *-k* suffix belong to? If both suffixes are related is it possible to explain the difference between them in terms of their syntactic behavior with respect to the representation of overt subject noun phrases?

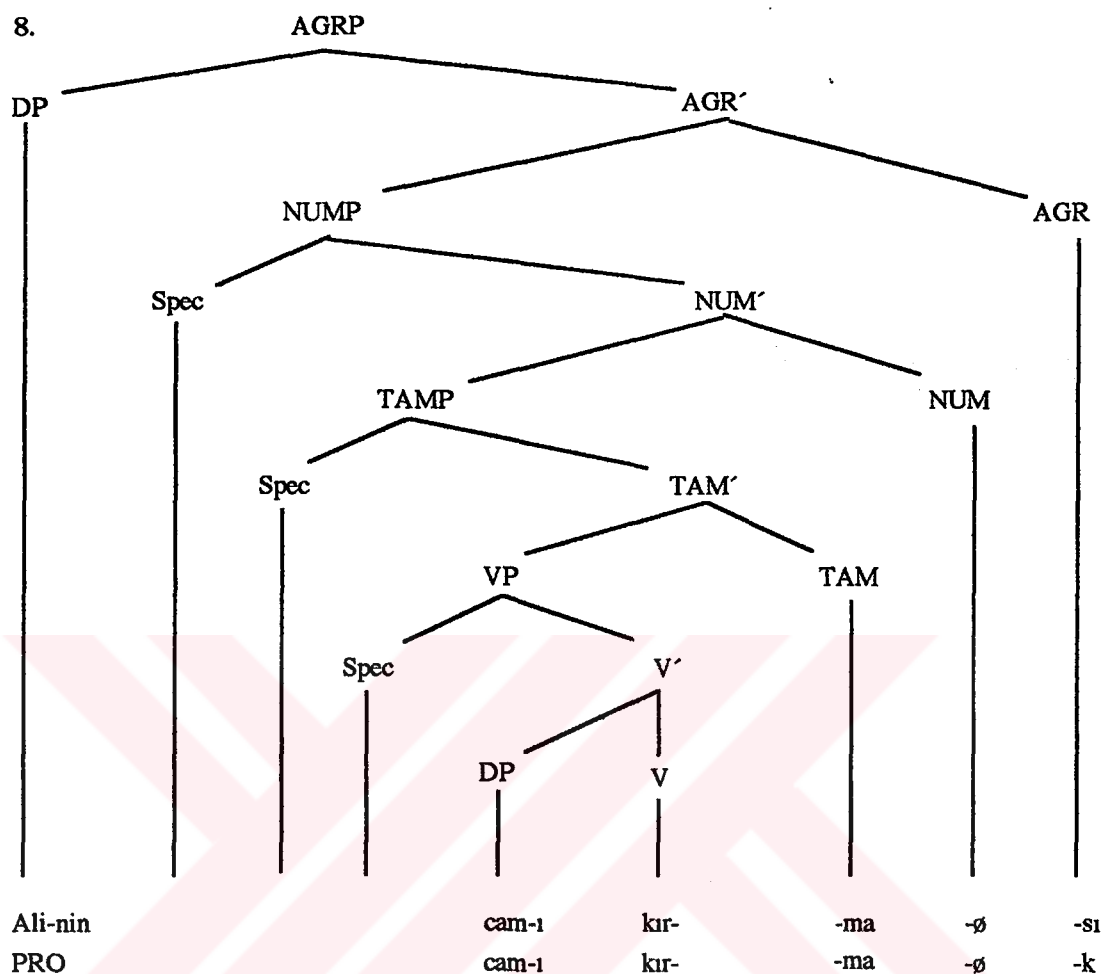
Before proceeding, it is vital to note that the following explanations are rather tentative and coarse. In most cases, they are not well grounded and they are mostly speculative. However, they are also interesting from a number aspects. For this last reason, some views concerning the structural relationship between *-mE* and *-mEG* suffixes will be provided on the basis of an observation of a limited amount of data. This implies that these ideas may turn out to be incorrect and they should be taken with caution. Yet, these issues will be introduced for the sake of providing an explanation to the problem under investigation.

First of all, Kural (1993) suggests that the *-k* marker in *-mEG* and *-DIG* is a Complementizer. However, this suggestion seems to be inadequate regarding the general morphosyntactic characteristics of Turkish. It is widely assumed that the articles and complementizer are somehow related. While Complementizer introduces a finite tensed clause, the article introduces untensed phrases (i.e., NP as the maximal projection of N). In most cases, it is also suggested that the category D is capable of dominating verbal projections with no tense specifications (i.e., syntactic nominalizations are DPs at the highest level of syntactic structure according to this view, see Szabolcsi 1987, 1989, Siloni 1997).

Now, considering Turkish possesses neither an article nor a complementizer *par excellence*. Although Turkish has indefinite article *bir* 'a, an' it is obviously derived from the numeral *bir* 'one' with the same phonetic representation and the almost identical semantic content. As for the category Complementizer, Turkish actually has one: *ki* 'that'. However, it does not originally belong to the grammatical system of Turkish (even though it may be argued to be so in synchronic terms). However, it does not seem plausible to ground the discussion on a borrowed form. Then, it can be concluded that Turkish has neither of these categories originally.

Then, to which category the supposed suffix *-k* might belong? Since it follows the *-mE* suffix, which is considered as a non-finite nominal TAM marker, the most likely candidate for this suffix is the AGR category. At this moment, it must be clear that nominal TAM markers are followed by nominal agreement markers in syntactic nominalizations occupying argument positions of root predicates. Then, it is highly plausible to think the *-k* marker as some form of an AGR category. Considering that syntactic nominalizations with *-mEG* suffix cannot have an overt subject, it may be concluded that *-k* suffix somehow agrees with non-overt PRO subject. Even if agreement of an overtly realized marker with a non-overt category seems to be unlikely at the first sight, let us proceed without much comment on this issue.

If *-k* is considered to be an instance of the nominal subject predicate AGR category, there is no need to modify the general syntactic representation of syntactic nominalizations. In other words, syntactic nominalizations with *-mEG* suffix will perfectly fit to our schemata.



A second advantage of this analysis is to account for the semantic similarity between *-mE* and *-mEG* nominalizations. A third contribution of this line of analysis may be relevant to the following issue.

It is well-known that the two syntactic nominalizations in the following examples below are semantically equivalent (i.e., they are paraphrases of each other).

- 9a. [Gitar **çal-mak**] zor-ø-dur.
guitar play-NM difficult-3SG/F-CER(or M?)
Playing guitar is difficult.

- 9b. [Gitar **çal-ma-sı**] zor-ø-dur.
guitar play-NM-3SG/N difficult-3SG/F-CER(or M?)
Playing guitar is difficult.

If we adopt the above analysis of *-mEG* suffix into two parts as the nominal TAM suffix *-mE* and the nominal subject predicate agreement marker for PRO subjects *-k*, the syntactic representations of these two examples become almost identical:

- 10a. [PRO Gitar *çal-ma-k*] zor-ø-dur.
 guitar play-NM difficult-3SG/F-CER(or M?)
 Playing guitar is difficult.
- 10b. [pro Gitar *çal-ma-sı*] zor-ø-dur.
 guitar play-NM-3SG/N difficult-3SG/F-CER(or M?)
 Playing guitar is difficult.

Now, the only difference between these two is the predicate *çal-* 'play' of the syntactic nominalization in the first one agrees with a non-overt **PRO** subject which is capable of functioning as an anaphor or a pronominal. In the second example, the predicate agrees with a null **pro** subject, which is only pronominal and can be recovered from the agreement features of the predicate (*phi*-features, such as person and number).

Yet, there is one more complication concerning the second example. Although the agreement marker is third person singular, the sentence is interpreted as a generic statement. How can we account for this peculiar interpretation? It is in fact rather straightforward: in Turkish, there are several generic words in addition to the native *biri* 'one' or *birisi* 'one'. For instance, *adam* 'man', *insan* 'human', *kişi* 'individual' can all be employed as generic nouns in Turkish.

11. İnsan senin gibi mi yapar?
 human-NOM you-GEN as QU do-AOR-3SG/F
 Literally: Does human do as you did?
 Your deed is not a good one.

Then, it is possible to recover the syntactic nominalization with impersonal meaning as in the following way:

12. [(insan-in / biri-nin / biri-si-nin / kişi-nin, etc.) gitar *çal-ma-sı*] zor-ø-dur.
 For a human being / one / a person to play guitar is difficult.

Another support for this type of analysis of *-mEG* suffix may be related with the following constructions:

- 13a. [ev-e git-me] isteğ-i
- 13b. [yaşa-ma] hırs-ı
- 13c. [yemek yap-ma] tutku-su
- 13d. [insan-lar-ı hor gör-me] saplantı-sı

In all the examples above, the semantics of the square bracketed parts is to a great extent identical with the following infinitival clauses (i.e., syntactic nominalizations with *-mEG* suffix).

- 14a. [ev-e git-mek]
- 14b. [yaşa-mak]
- 14c. [yemek yap-mak]
- 14d. [insan-lar-ı hor gör-mek]

However, when the forms with *-mEG* suffix are combined with the head nouns, *istek* 'desire', *hırs* 'ambition', *tutku* 'passion', and *saplantı* 'obsession' the resulting constructions are either ungrammatical or rather marked:

- 15a. ~[ev-e git-mek] isteğ-i
- 15b. ~[yaşa-mak] hırs-ı
- 15c. ~[yemek yap-mak] tutku-su
- 15d. ~[insan-lar-ı hor gör-mek] saplantı-sı

What is the reason for this deviance or markedness? It is most probably due to the existence of two Agreement suffixes if we assume that the suffix *-k* is also an Agreement marker. Apparently, the head noun *istek* in (15a) for instance requires a TAMP, not an AGRP, as its complement.

- 16a. [ev-e git-me] isteğ-i
- 16b. [yaşa-ma] hırs-ı
- 16c. [yemek yap-ma] tutku-su
- 16d. [insan-lar-ı hor gör-me] saplantı-sı

Compare with the following:

- 17a. * [Ben-im ev-e git-me-m] isteğ-i
 17b. * [On-un yaşa-ma-sı] hırs-ı
 17c. * [Siz-in yemek yap-ma-nız] tutku-su
 17d. * [Onlar-in insan-lar-ı hor gör-me-leri] saplantı-sı
- 18a. **Ben-im** [ev-e git-me] isteğ-im
 18b. **On-un** [yaşa-ma] hırs-ı
 18c. **Siz-in** [yemek yap-ma] tutku-nuz
 18d. **Onlar-in** [insan-lar-ı hor gör-me] saplantı-ları

A tentative account for the deviance of the forms with *-mEG* suffix may be this. Since a syntactic nominalization with a *-mEG* suffix involves a subject position (unlike a TAMP), this is inconsistent with the AGR category on the head noun *istek* 'desire', for instance. While the suffix *-i* signals a third person singular impersonal **pro**, the agreement suffix on the predicate *git-* 'go' signals a generic PRO. It is probably this that causes some problems. However, as it has been indicted that the interpretation problem is not so big as the ones with overt Genitive subjects, such as * [ben-im ev-e git-me-m] isteğ-i which is apparently worse and which can be considered as ungrammatical.

To conclude this section, it is vital to recall that these arguments are extremely tentative and further analyses are strongly required with respect to a wider range of data concerning syntactic nominalizations with *-mEG* marker.

6.3. The Conclusion

Section (6.3) tries to derive concluding remarks on the subject matter. These concluding remarks concerning the internal syntactic structure of syntactic nominalizations in Turkish may be summarized as in the following way:

1. A **syntactic nominalization** is an **AGRNP** (i.e., nominal agreement phrase), which is the syntactic projection of the functional head category **AGRN** (i.e., nominal agreement). The head AGRN in syntactic nominalizations is different from the corresponding functional category in finite clauses, namely the finite agreement (i.e., AGRF) in terms of its **finiteness** status and this characteristic can be represented by means of syntactic feature matrices. Then, it is plausible to state that while the AGRN in syntactic nominalizations is always [**-finite**], the corresponding category in finite

clauses (that is, finite AGRF) is always [**+finite**]. This distinction in their feature complexes leads a difference in their syntactic status: while the former is always a constituent of a root sentence, the latter may be a constituent clause or it may be an independent simple sentence.

2. The functional head category AGRN in a syntactic nominalization takes a **NUMP** as its complement. In this respect, a syntactic nominalization is totally parallel to a possessive noun phrase, a traditional name given to a noun phrase which includes an AGRN category as well as an overt Genitive subject or a **pro** (null but not arbitrary) subject. In both syntactic nominalization and possessive noun phrase, the complement of AGRN category, i.e., the NUMP, is headed by the functional syntactic category **NUM**, which is morphologically realized by means of either a plural marker {**-IEr**} or a singular marker {**-ø**}, known as **zero morpheme** in Turkish morphology.

3. What differentiates between a syntactic nominalization and a possessive noun phrase is the type of complement phrase that the functional head **NUM** selects.

In a possessive noun phrase, the functional head **NUM** takes an **NP** (as the maximal syntactic projection of the lexical head noun, **N**). Recall that this study assumes that the descriptive term noun phrase corresponds to a **DP** (or perhaps more correctly to an **AGRNP** for Turkish on the empirical grounds). The maximal projection **NP** is regularly selected by the **NUM** category in a noun phrase. In contrast, the functional category **NUM** selects a nominal **TAMP**, a syntactic projection of another functional category nominal **TAM**, which is morphologically realized by the morphemes such as **-mE**, **-(y)İş**, **-DIG**, etc. However, it is vital to note that there appears a restriction on the selectional characteristics of the functional head **NUM**. In this respect, it is surprising that the functional head **NUM** seems not to be able to select a **TAMP** which is headed by **-(y)Es** or **-(y)EcEG**, perhaps due to some semantic complications.

The functional syntactic category **TAM** has a finite equivalent in finite clauses and this finite equivalent is morphologically realized by means of the **Tense**, **Aspect** and **Mood** (Modality) markers in Turkish (such as **-DI**, **-mİş**, **-(y)EcEG**, **-Er**, **Iyor**, **-sE**, etc.).

The present study takes the three categories (i.e., Tense, Aspect, and Mood) as representing **semantic distinctions** rather than the **syntactic differentiations** (following Erguvanlı-Taylan 1996, Sezer 2001, among others). Therefore, the nominal **TAM** category in syntactic nominalizations is differentiated from the corresponding finite

TAM category in finite clauses by means of the syntactic feature referring to the finiteness value. This also holds for the subject predicate agreement category AGR, mentioned above. Similarly, the finiteness value of the AGR category in a syntactic nominalization is set as [-finite] and that of the corresponding category in a finite clause is set as [+finite].

4. In this context, it is plausible to assume that the syntactic category which is responsible for the nominal characteristic of syntactic nominalizations (that is, a **noun phrase-like** nature in terms of their syntactic behavior) even though they contain a verbal projection (i.e., the maximal syntactic projection of the verb as a lexical unit, a **VP**) is the existence of these successive functional layers. Considering the outer shells of both noun phrases and syntactic nominalizations, they essentially belong to the same basic syntactic category, namely AGRNP.

5. It is possible to assume that a nominal non-finite **TAMP** is **equivalent to an NP**, with a lexical head, i.e., **N(oun)** with respect to their syntactic status and syntactic features matrices. Minimally, it is not implausible to consider them as two distinct constituents which share the same set of syntactic features as far as their feature matrices are concerned.

6. The head category TAM of the nominal non-finite TAMP within a syntactic nominalization takes a **VP** as its complement. It is well-known that VP is the maximal syntactic projection of the lexical category **V(erb)**. If it is assumed that the **Subject-Inside-VP Hypothesis** is correct, then, the VP contains **all the arguments** of the verb in addition to the adverbial phrases (i.e., optional elements modifying the predicate of the VP from temporal, spatial, or manner aspects) at its D-structure representation.

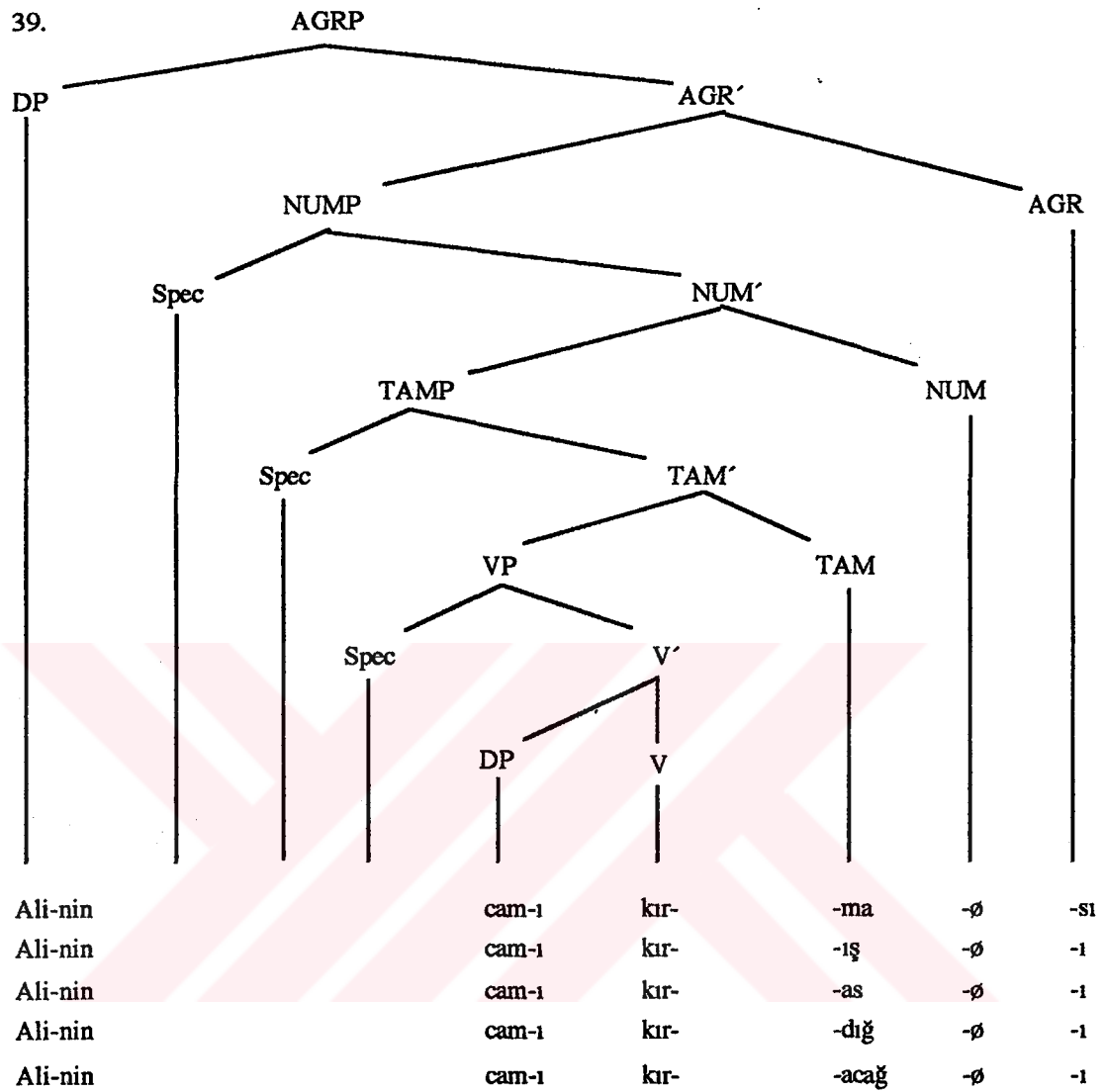
7. The constituents that a VP is capable of expressing in a syntactic nominalization is essentially the same with the ones which are found in the VP of a finite clause. As to the prototypical syntactic nominalizations, the only difference between a syntactic nominalization and a finite clause is the form of the subject noun phrase: while a finite clause has a Nominative subject noun phrase, a syntactic nominalization exhibits a Genitive noun phrase as its subject. However, in both cases, the position of the subject noun phrases are the same: both subjects occupy the Spec, AGRP position. Then, the difference in their Case forms is probably due to the type of the AGR category whose specifier position is filled by these subjects. In other words, it can be proposed that while finite verbal agreement AGR assigns Nominative Case to the noun phrase in its specifier

position (i.e., the grammatical subject position), its non-finite nominal counterpart assigns a Genitive case to the phrase in its specifier position.

8. Being a **Null Subject Language** (i.e., a **pro-Drop Language**), Turkish displays superficially subjectless clauses. It is well-known that, as long as subject and its predicate agree in person and number features, it is possible to have clauses with **pro subjects** in Turkish, and other similar languages, for that matter. Since such a subject can be recovered from the agreement features displayed on the predicate by means of the AGR category, most finite and non-finite clauses in Turkish outwardly appear to be lacking a subject. It is important to remember that all clauses have subjects by definition (by the stipulation expressed by the **Extended Projection Principle**, which holds for both finite and non-finite clauses at **S-structure** level of syntactic representation).

Then, let us try to represent the syntactic structure of the following syntactic nominalizations in Turkish:

- 38a. Ali-nin cam-ı kır-ma-sı
- 38b. Ali-nin cam-ı kır-ış-ı
- 38c. Ali-nin cam-ı kır-as-ı
- 38d. Ali-nin cam-ı kır-dığ-ı
- 38e. Ali-nin cam-ı kır-acağ-ı



The head and complement features of these functional categories within the syntactic nominalizations above can be represented as in the following way:

40.

	V Comp	V Head	TAM Comp	TAM Head	NUM Comp	NUM Head	AGR Comp	AGR Head
V	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
N	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
FU	+	-	-	+	+ and -	+	+	+
FI	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-

Generally speaking, the complement features of a head category must be identical with the head features of its complement category. In some cases, however, it is obvious that there is more than one values for a particular feature of a given head.

Similarly, the head category NUM can select both a constituent which is headed by a functional category as well as a constituent with a lexical head.

41a. [AGRP *Ben-im* [NUMP [NP *eski değerli kitap*] *-lar*] *-im*]

41b. [AGRP *Ben-im* [NUMP [TAMP [VP *sana şiir yaz-*] *-dık*] *-lar*] *-im*]

It is clear from the examples above that there must be some room for the cases in which a number of complement choices are equally possible with a given head.



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