

ON THE NATURE OF ANAPHORIC EXPRESSIONS
KENDİ / KENDİSİ AND THE CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF TURKISH

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On the Nature of Anaphoric Expressions
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Thesis Abstract

Bilge Palaz, “On the Nature of Anaphoric Expressions *kendi/ kendisi* and the Clause Structure of Turkish”

This thesis analyzes the distributional differences between the third person singular reflexive *kendi* and its variant *kendi-si* “him/her-self + 3SGPOSS” in Turkish within the assumptions of the Binding Theory and provides an analysis that accounts for the referent choice in view of the clause structure of Turkish.

Kendi is observed to be an anaphor which obeys Condition A of the Binding Theory since it is bound by a c-commanding antecedent in its minimal domain. Given that *kendi* is not subject oriented in Turkish, a derivational account of the binding facts that hold between the two VP-internal arguments of ditransitive constructions is proposed. Also, based on the event structures and morphological properties of postpositions, a three-way distinction among postpositional phrases is suggested. It is assumed that there is an Operator related to the event structures of a certain group of bare postpositions and the Operator renders the PP an opaque domain for binding. Moreover, the morphological properties of possessive marked PPs provide evidence for the DP analysis which accounts for the distribution of *kendi* and *kendisi* as their complement since DP creates an opaque domain.

Regarding the locality and the domain of binding in Turkish, it is argued that nominalized clauses with –DIK and –MA, ECM clauses with (strong) agreement and relative clauses are CPs as opposed to Control structures, ECM constructions without agreement and adjunct clauses. From a minimalist perspective, it is claimed that nominal agreement as well as verbal agreement is realized as a feature on the C head. Based on the empirical evidence, the minimal binding domain in Turkish is proposed to be CP which is assumed to be an instance of agreement feature on the C head.

For the nature of *kendisi*, however, it is observed *kendisi* does not conform to the predictions of local binding; it has a dual nature exhibiting both anaphoric and pronominal properties as well as being sensitive to the discourse conditions. DP analysis of *kendisi* with a *pro* on its specifier licensed by {-sI} morpheme enables long-distance binding as well as local antecedents and discourse binders of *kendisi* which is the *topic* in the discourse.

Tez Özeti

Bilge Palaz, “Türkçe Cümle Yapıları ve *kendi/kendisi* Artgönderimsel İfadelerinin Yapısı Üzerine”

Bu tez, Bağlama Kuramı'nın varsayımları çerçevesinde Türkçe'de üçüncü tekil şahıs dönüşlülük adılı *kendi* ve çekimli biçimi *kendisinin* dağılımsal farklılıklarını incelemekte ve Türkçe cümle yapısını göz önünde bulundurarak bu adılların gönderim seçimlerini analiz etmektedir.

Kendi en küçük bağlama alanında k-buyurma öncülü tarafından bağlı olduğundan Bağlama Kuramı A İlkesi'ne uyduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Türkçe'de *kendi* özne odaklı olmadığından çift nesneli yapıların iki eylem öbeği iç üyesi arasındaki bağlama ilişkisini açıklayan bir yapım açıklaması öne sürülmüştür. Ayrıca, edatların biçimbilimsel özellikleri ve olay yapıları göz önünde bulundurularak edat öbekleri için üç yönlü bir ayırım önerilmektedir. Bir grup yalın edatlarda edat öbeğini bağlama açısından geçirimsiz kılan, olay yapılarına bağlı bir işleyici olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Ayrıca iyelik durumuyla nitelenmiş edat öbeklerinin biçimbilimsel özellikleri de *kendi* ve *kendisinin* dağılımını açıklayan ve geçirimsiz alan oluşturan belirteç öbeği analizini desteklemektedir.

Bu tezde Türkçe'deki yerellik ve bağlama alanı kavramları açısından, denetim yapıları, uyum taşımayan Kural-dışı Durum Belirleme tümcecikleri ve eklenti tümceciklerinin aksine, -DIK ve -MA ekleriyle isimleşmiş tümceciklerin, (güçlü) uyum taşıyan Kural-dışı Durum Belirleme tümceciklerinin ve ilgi tümceciklerinin tümleyici öbeği oldukları ileri sürülmektedir. Yetinmeci Çizgi açısından bakılarak eylemcil uyumun yanı sıra adsıl uyumun da tümleyici başında bir özellik olarak var olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Ampirik bulgulara dayanarak Türkçe'de en küçük bağlama alanının uyum özelliğini başında bulunduran tümleyici öbeği olduğu önerilmektedir.

Öte yandan *kendisi* adılının yerel bağlama ilkesine uymadığı gözlemlenmiştir. *Kendisi* söylemsel durumlara duyarlı olmasının yanı sıra hem artgönderimsel hem de adılsıl özellikler göstermektedir. *Kendisinin* {-sI} ekinin yetkilendirmesiyle belirleyicisi üzerinde bir adıl olduğu varsayılan belirteç öbeği analizi, yerel öncüllerinin yanı sıra *kendisinin* uzun mesafe bağlama ve söylemiçi konuyu gözetken söylemsel bağlama özelliklerini de açıklamaktadır.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ø	covert agreement
Φ	phi-probe
1	the 1 st Person
2	the 2 nd Person
3	the 3 rd Person
Abil	Ability
Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative
Agr	Agreement head/overt agreement
AgrP	Agreement Phrase
Aor	Aorist
AspP	Aspect Phrase
BT	the Binding Theory
C	Complementizer
CP	Complementizer Phrase
D	Determiner
Dat	Dative
DP	Determiner Phrase
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
Fut	Future
Gen	Genitive
Ger	Gerund
Loc	Locative
ModP	Modality Phrase
Neg	Negative marker
Nom	Nominative
Op	Operator
Perf	Perfective
Pl	Plural
Poss	Possessive marker
PP	Postpositional Phrase
Pres	Present
Prog	Progressive
QP	Question particle
Rel	Relativizer
Rep.Past	Reported Past
sg	Singular
T	Tense
TP	Tense Phrase
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
v	Little verb
vP	Little verb Phrase

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Aim

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the properties of third person singular reflexive forms *kendi* and *kendisi* in Turkish within the assumptions of the Binding Theory as initially formulated by Chomsky (1986b), and to provide an analysis that captures their distributional differences and referent choice considering the clause structure of Turkish.

Kendi has different functions in Turkish. Meral (2010) lists these as: reflexive, adverbial, adjectival, logophoric, emphatic. Meral also notes that *kendisi* has the same range of functions except for adjectival usage, and that, different from *kendi*; *kendisi* can also be used as a resumptive pronoun. Of all these functions, reflexive usage of *kendi* and *kendisi*, and the syntactic environments in which they occur will be discussed in this thesis. Data indicate that different from *kendi*, *kendisi* can be long-distance bound or refer to a discourse antecedent in reflexive form as illustrated below.

(1) Ayşe_i Ali'nin_j *kendin-e*_{*i/j} / *kendisin-e*_{i/j/k} araba al-acağ-ın-ı bil-iyor.

Ayşe Ali-Gen.kendi-Dat. / kendisi-Dat. car buy-Ger-3sg.-Acc know-
Pres.Progr.

‘Ayşe_i knows that Ali_j will buy a car to himself_j/her_i/him_k.’

(2) Ali_i *kendin-i*_i / *kendisin-i*_{ij} sev -iyor.

Ali self-Acc like-Prog-3rd sg.

‘Ali likes himself/him/her.’

(1) illustrates that *kendi* ‘self’ behaves as a typical anaphor. It is bound only by the subject of its own clause but cannot be bound by the subject of the matrix clause as opposed to *kendisi*. *Kendisi* ‘self-Poss’ in (2) exhibits anaphoric properties as it can be co-indexed with the subject of its clause. However, *kendisi* can also have disjoint reference, as indicated by the pronominal reading it receives in (2).

It will be argued that *kendi* is the true anaphor in Turkish and that the presence of the agreement morpheme *-si* in the case of *kendisi* renders the pronominal reading available.

1.2. Anaphors

Reflexive usages of these two forms indicate that they are dependent forms in Turkish. Dependency between two positions in a configuration which is the result of coindexation between the constituents whose interpretation has the same value/referent in the real world is referred as anaphora (Huang, 2000). The distribution of anaphoric elements of many genetically unrelated and typologically dissimilar languages appears the same; the antecedents that c-command anaphors are in the same local domain as the anaphoric element, while other forms must be disjoint from their antecedents within that same domain. In other words, the occurrence of the anaphoric elements conforms to the same distributional restrictions which are known as Binding (cf. Chomsky, 1981, 1986b). Anaphora, as in the case

of *kendi* and *kendisi* in Turkish, has been an intriguing topic to study since there are also a various types of long distance reflexives which differ with regard to whether their distribution is subject to syntactic conditions (Pica, 1987) or discourse conditions (Sells, 1987). *kendi* and its inflected variant *kendi-si* will be discussed in this respect. Basic questions to be answered are;

- (i) What is the status of *kendi* and *kendisi* as anaphoric and pronominal elements?
- (ii) Does *kendi* behave as a true anaphor in accordance with the Condition A of the Binding Theory? What syntactic evidence is observed to confirm its anaphoric nature?
- (iii) What defines the domain of binding in Turkish?
- (iv) What is the function of {-sı} morpheme in *kendisi*? What kind of a role does {-sı} play in referent choice of *kendisi* different from *kendi*?

Based on the data, it will be argued that *kendi* obeys Condition A of the Binding Theory, thus it is an anaphor. *Kendisi*, on the other hand, is bound by non-local antecedents and can be disjoint from the antecedent within its domain.

I will first discuss that *kendi* is an anaphor being bound by a c-commanding antecedent in its minimal domain which agrees with *kendi* in terms of its ϕ -features even if the subject is not coreferential. Given that it is not required for anaphors to be subject-oriented in Turkish, I will propose a derivational account of the binding facts

that hold between the two VP-internal arguments of ditransitive constructions.

Within these lines, I will claim that binding is an anywhere condition which holds before or after Internal Merge excluding OCC triggered movement (cf. Chomsky, 2001) in Turkish. Furthermore, based on the event structures and morphological properties of postpositions, I will suggest a three-way distinction among postpositional phrases in Turkish which accounts for the distribution of *kendi* and *kendisi* as the complement of PPs since certain postpositions render the PP or DP an opaque domain for anaphor binding resulting from their event structure or clausal architecture.

These arguments lead us to question the nature of the syntactic domain and locality notions in Turkish. Within the light of existent assumptions on the clause structure of subordinate clauses (Kornfilt, 1984, 2003, 2007; Ulutaş, 2006; Meral, 2010; Kennelly, 1992), semantics of nominalizers (Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1998), and the availability of the topicalization and scrambling, I will argue that nominalized clauses are CPs. Evidence from nominalized clauses with -MA and -DIK, clauses with verbal complements (ECM-type clauses) and relative clauses indicate that they constitute an opaque domain for binding being CPs. Control structures, ECM constructions without agreement and adjunct clauses lack a CP hence they are transparent domains for binding. From a minimalist perspective and within the spirit of Kural (1992) and Ulutaş (2006)'s assumptions, I will argue that nominal agreement as well as verbal agreement is realized as a feature on the C head and CP determines the domain of Binding in Turkish.

Kendisi, as opposed to *kendi*, does not obey Condition A yet it has a dual function exhibiting both anaphoric and pronominal properties as well as being sensitive to the discourse conditions. Within the literature, there are several accounts

which discuss the conditions that obtain in the case of *kendisi* (Özsoy, 1983; Kornfilt, 2001b; Safir, 2004; Meral, 2010). Following these studies and the spirit of Kornfilt (2001b)'s AgrP analysis, I will suggest that *kendisi* is a DP, which is in line with the Minimalist framework (Chomsky, 2001), and there is a *pro* in its specifier. The root, *kendi-*, results in the anaphoric behavior of *kendisi* and *pro* results in the pronominal nature. *Kendisi* also yields ambiguity in the presence of more than one possible antecedent which meets the Φ -feature requirement for coreference. It will also be proposed that the referent choice of *kendisi* is discourse-sensitive and following Özsoy (1990)'s claim, the relevant feature which licenses *kendisi* is proposed to be the *topic* in Turkish as opposed to the logophoric function of long-distance reflexives in well-documented African or European languages (Sells, 1987; Reuland, 2001).

1.3. Methodology

The data used in this thesis is mainly compiled from 15 speakers of Turkish who come from different educational and regional backgrounds and who have a little knowledge of a second language. Note that there are some dialectical differences which affect their judgments on anaphoric dependencies. In order to have more systematic results, three questionnaires are given to the participants as well as interviewing with them to ask for confirmation regarding their judgments.

The questionnaires consist of examples where *kendi* and *kendisi* occurs as the internal arguments of transitive and ditransitive constructions, the complement of different types of postpositions, and the arguments of complex structures such as nominalized clauses, ECM clauses and relative clauses. Various techniques such as 'fill in the blanks', 'choose the appropriate answer(s)' and 'tick the grammatical

statements' are used in the questionnaires¹. The results are reflected within the discussion in this thesis and it is noted when the dialect split is crucial in terms of the direction of the discussion and assumptions based on them.

1.4. Reflexives in Turkish

Reflexivization is done via verbal morphology and free lexemes in Turkish and the former will be discussed in this thesis. In Turkish, *kendi-* and its inflected forms for person and number are used as reflexive forms. The chart below illustrates the person/number marking of the reflexive pronouns in Turkish.

	Reflexive Pronouns
1 st person singular	kendi-m
2 nd person singular	kendi-n
3 rd person singular	kendi-Ø / kendi-si
1 st person plural	kendi-miz
2 nd person plural	kendi-niz
3 rd person plural	kendi-leri

Different from the other persons, the third person singular reflexive have two forms as it is illustrated, *kendi* “him/her-self”, and its inflected variant *kendi-si* “him/her-self + -si”. Based on the fact that there are two different reflexive forms for 3rd person singular, I predict that they must meet different requirements to convey the message in a natural language, which will be the focus of this thesis.

¹ Samples of questionnaires can be found in the Appendixes.

1.5. Layout of the Thesis

The discussion in this thesis is organized as follows: Chapter II presents the syntactic theory of anaphora which attempts to provide the universal principles to regulate the distributional properties of the anaphoric expressions, which is referred as the Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1986b). The rationale and the basic notions of BT, which will be referred throughout this thesis, will be introduced and the evolution of the Binding Theory from the early years of the Generative Framework (1973) to the most recent Minimalist Program (2000s) will be discussed.

Chapter III focuses on the nature of the dependent forms *kendi* and *kendisi* in Turkish with respect to their distributional properties in various syntactic configurations. The chapter proposes an analysis of ditransitive structures of Turkish within the light of Pylkkänen (2002, 2008)'s applicative approach. The chapter also investigates the architecture of PPs and based on the complementarity *kendi* and *kendisi* in PP constructions argues that a particular group of PPs headed by bare postpositions differ from the others and PPs whose head is marked with a possessive morpheme are in fact adjunct DPs.

Chapter IV is mainly concerned with the definition of the minimal binding domain in Turkish considering the structural properties of the complex clauses. Based on the empirical evidence, clauses nominalized with –DIK (-EçEK) and –MA, ECM clauses with (strong) agreement and the relative clauses are observed to be opaque domains for anaphor binding whereas control structures, ECM clauses without agreement and adjunct clauses are transparent. I claim that what these entire opaque domains share is being CPs based on the independent evidence.

In Chapter V, I discuss the antilocal and discourse bound properties of *kendisi* within the light of the assumptions in the literature on long-distance reflexives (Pica, 1987; Cole, Hermon and Huang, 2001) and logophoricity (Sells, 1987; Reuland, 2001). With regard to the dual status of *kendisi*'s being neither a true anaphor nor a pronominal expression, which is well-recorded in the literature (Kornfilt, 2001b; Safir, 2004; Meral, 2010), as well as the discourse factors conditioning its distribution, I conclude that *kendisi* is a DP projection with *pro* in its specifier which extends the binding domain.

Chapter VI is the conclusion summarizing the claims discussed throughout the thesis and presenting the issues for further research.

CHAPTER II

BINDING THEORY

Anaphora is based on the dependency between two items where the interpretation of one category of expression is dependent on the interpretation of another. There have been several attempts to account for the anaphora question within the literature.

Anaphora has been shown to be related to syntax, semantics and pragmatics. This chapter presents the syntactic theory of anaphora, the Binding Theory, and discusses the evolution of the Binding Theory from the early years of the Generative Framework (1973) to the most recent Minimalist Program (2000s).

2.1. Binding Theory and the Generative Framework

The discussion of binding from 1973 to 1981 focused on the assumption of the complementarity of pronouns and anaphors, and defining the binding domain. Yet later research raises further questions such as the level(s) at which binding applies, how binding relations are established in Minimalist Program and the nature of binding.

2.1.1. Binding Theory in Principles and Parameters

The basic and the most important notions of the Binding Theory were shaped within the Principles and Parameters Approach which also embodied many obstacles such as the complementarity of anaphors and pronouns.

2.1.1.1. Chomsky (1973, 1976, 1980)

To distinguish between pronouns and other DPs (or NPs) in (1a-b), Chomsky (1973) proposed Disjoint Reference (DR) “which assigns disjoint reference to a pair (NP, pronoun)”.

- (1) a. * Charles_i believes him_i to be asleep.
b. Charles_i believes him_j to be asleep.

According to DR, a pronoun and its antecedent cannot refer to the same entity, so (1-a) yields ungrammaticality whereas (1-b) is grammatical because the pronoun and NP refer to a disjoint entity.

Yet bound interpretation of pronouns is needed as (2 a-b) exemplify.

- (2) a. Charles_i thinks that Mary loves him_i.
b. Charles_i thinks that he_i loves Mary.

Hence, Chomsky (1973) formulated Tensed-S Condition (TSC) to block the application of DR in such cases.

(3) *Tensed-S Condition:*

No rule can involve X, Y in the structure

... X ... [α ... Y ...]...

Where α is a tensed sentence.

(Chomsky 1973:238)

TSC, on the other hand, does not rule out some constructions that are ungrammatical as exemplified below in (4).

(4) * The students_i laughed at [the teacher's picture of each other_i]

There is not an intervening tensed clause boundary, so (4) does not pose a problem according to TSC yet it yields ungrammaticality. Hence Chomsky (1973) proposes Specified Subject Condition (SSC) that enables binding not to apply in cases where TSC cannot rule out binding.

(5) *Specified Subject Condition (SSC):*

No rule can involve X, Y in the structure

... X ... [α ... Z ... -WYV ...] ...

where Z is the specified subject of WYV in α .

(Chomsky 1973:239)

In order for SSC to apply, subjects should be ‘specified’ where ‘specified’ means lexical subjects, PRO under control and traces. However, if the subject is controlled by X or a category containing X, it is not specified with respect to X (Chomsky, 1973).

(6) * They_j persuaded the teacher_i [PRO_i to help each other_j]

(7) The teacher_j persuaded them_i [PRO_i to help each other_j]

(6) is ungrammatical; PRO is not controlled by the matrix subject *they*, because persuade is an object control verb, so PRO is specified with respect to *they*, which violates the movement of *each* and yields ungrammaticality. In (7), *them* controls PRO as it is the object and PRO is not specified with respect to *them*; there is not an intervening specified subject to block *each* movement, so (7) is grammatical.

There were controversial arguments for SSC because the definition of specified subject was blurry. Chomsky (1976) treats NP-traces as anaphors, which is an attempt to assimilate constraints on binding to constraints on movement. Lasnik (1989), however, stated that traces and PRO (nonlexical subjects) can act as antecedents. He therefore argued that there is no need for the term ‘specified’. According to Lasnik (1989), the (un)grammaticality of above examples (6-7) can still be explained without using ‘specified’ as; (6) is ungrammatical since the antecedent of *each other*, PRO, is not controlled (coindexed) by a required antecedent yet (7) is grammatical because PRO is controlled by a required antecedent.

Chomsky realized that SSC and TSC can apply redundantly hence they are also unified under the name of “Opacity condition” which is defined as in (8);

(8) *The Opacity Condition:*

If α is in the domain of the subject of β , β minimal, then α cannot be free in β .

(Chomsky 1980:13)

However, the Opacity Condition cannot explain the cases such as;

(9) * The students_i expected [that each other_i would pass the exam.]

(10) The students_i expected [that the scores of each other_i would be high.]

The Opacity Condition predicts both (9) and (10) as ungrammatical whereas (9) is ungrammatical. Hence, Chomsky (1980) proposed the Nominative Island Condition (NIC). This constraint prevents a nominative anaphor's being free in CP, so predicts (9) as ungrammatical as *each other* holds Nominative Case and free in CP. Yet NIC does not apply for (10) since nominative marked phrase is the whole DP, not *each other*.

With the new constructs such as the Opacity Condition and NIC, the term boundness is defined as “[A]n anaphor α is *bound* in β if there is a category c -commanding it and co-indexed with it in β ; otherwise, α is *free* in β .” (Chomsky, 1980). Besides, Chomsky (1980) formalized the binding constructs. He unified reciprocals, PRO and trace as “anaphors”, thus simplified their categorization to have a more compact theory of binding.

2.1.1.2. Chomsky (1981, 1986b)

The following attempt to capture the binding relations in syntax is defining the domain where binding relations apply. Chomsky (1981) states;

The binding theory characterizes two domains as opaque in the sense that an anaphor cannot be free in these domains and a pronoun is disjoint in reference from an 'antecedent' within them. These two notions of 'freedom' is generalized in the OB-framework in terms of the notion 'free'. Thus, anaphors and pronouns cannot be free in an opaque domain...

(Chomsky, 1981:153)

In Chomsky (1981), it was emphasized that rather than subjects or objects as antecedents, c-command is the determining factor for pronouns and anaphors to be free or bound with respect to the binding operations. Within the insights of boundness and c-command in binding relations, *Binding Conditions* that account for the distribution of anaphors and pronouns in a more unified way were proposed in Chomsky (1981) (and developed further in his following studies (1986b)).

(11) The Binding Conditions:

Condition A: An anaphor is bound in a local domain.

Condition B: A pronominal is free in a local domain.

Condition C: An R-expression is free (in the domain of the head of its chain).

Condition A captures anaphors, structures such as *himself/herself* in English and the principle states that their antecedents should exist within the same local domain as the anaphors. Condition B is for pronouns such as *him/her* in English and as opposed to the anaphors, their referents should not be within the same local domain.

Condition C is for R-expressions (proper names and variables) and they need to be free. A sample illustration of these principles is as follows:

(12) Mary_i likes herself_i.

(13) Mary_i likes her_{*i/j}.

(14) Mary_i likes Mary_j.

Herself is bound with *Mary* in (12) according to Principle A yet *her* cannot be bound with *Mary* in (13) according to Principle B. Two proper nouns in (14) cannot be coreferential according to Principle C.

The term *governing category* as a local binding domain first appeared in Chomsky (1981) and it is defined as “ β is a *governing category* for α iff β is the minimal category containing α , a governor of α , and a SUBJECT accessible to α ”.

For infinitival clauses and DPs, the matrix subject is the accessible SUBJECT as in (15). Yet DP is GC of the anaphor in (16) since *my* becomes the accessible SUBJECT yielding ungrammaticality;

(15) They heard [_{DP} the/ \emptyset stories about each other]

(16) *They heard [_{DP} my stories about each other]

(Chomsky, 1981)

Chomsky (1986b) also notes that the antecedent of an anaphor does not need to be a subject as in (17).

(17) I told them_i about [each other]_i

2.1.1.3. Complete Functional Complex

It is discussed in Chomsky (1986b) that governing category for pronouns and anaphors should be different considering the examples provided below.

(18) a. The children_i like [_{DP} each other's_i friends]

b. The children_i like [_{DP} their_i friends]

In order to differentiate GC of anaphors and pronouns, Chomsky (1986b) comes up with the notion of Complete Functional Complex (CFC).

(19) *Complete Functional Complex (CFC):*

Complete Functional Complex is a maximal projection where all grammatical functions compatible with its head are realized.

In parallel to this, GC is redefined as; “[T]he relevant governing category for an expression α is the least CFC containing a governor or α in which α could satisfy the binding theory with some indexing (perhaps not the actual indexing of the expression under investigation).” (Chomsky, 1986b). Thus, Chomsky (1986b) indicate that

anaphor in (18-a) and the pronoun in (18-b) are still in complementary distribution since the relevant GC for the anaphor is the clause in (18-a) yet GC of pronoun in (18-b) is DP. As such, the requirement of an accessible subject is maintained only for the anaphors, not for pronouns.

All these attempts in GB framework aim at defining the anaphoric dependencies cross-linguistically. With the emergence of the minimalist program, however, some theoretical challenges to binding are raised.

2.2. Binding Theory and the Minimalist Program

At the core of the Minimalist Programme lies the notion of “less is more”. MP attempts to reduce the principles of grammar to economy considerations in order to get the ideal computational system. To this end, SS and DS are reduced to PF. According to MP, words are selected from a lexical array and utterances are constructed in a bottom-up fashion via MERGE and MOVE. *Derivation by Phase* framework of the programme argues that valuation of features is done by Agree. This process involves the operation of Agree to match the unvalued feature (probe) with the value (goal) where probe c-commands the goal. Probe creates a syntactic domain in this process, so government is eliminated in the Minimalist Programme. At some point from PF to LF (conceptual intentional part), a point called Spell-Out exists where further operations can occur such as the deletion of the unvalued (thus semantically uninterpretable) features (Hornstein, Nunes, Grohman, 2005; Hicks, 2009).

One challenge in MP regarding binding is redefining locality because some concepts shaping the notion of locality in GB, such as government, are dispensed in the new programme. Chomsky (1995) first offered minimality link condition to determine the locality constraints on Agree:

(20) *Minimal Link Condition (MLC):*

K attracts α only if there is no β , β closer to K than α , such that K attracts β .

(Chomsky, 1995)

Besides, the nature of binding itself should be reconsidered since there is no more a specific module of grammar yet binding should follow the more global principles (Hicks, 2009). Chomsky (1993) reformulates the binding conditions within this light (considering D as a local domain);

- (21) a. If α is an anaphor, interpret it as coreferential with a c-commanding phrase in D.
- b. If α is a pronominal, interpret it as disjoint from every c-commanding phrase in D.

Yet the properties of a local domain and why that particular domain is the required one are the questions to be answered.

In *Derivation by Phase* framework, there is a kind of return to *barriers* offered by Chomsky (1986a) in GB since there exist *phases* from which extraction cannot take place even if MLC is satisfied. At least CP and ν P are considered as phases and elements in them can be extracted only when they are in an edge position (Spec CP or Spec ν P). Phases are required to reduce the computational load of the brain and it is thought that when they are completed, phases are transferred to interfaces and their content is inaccessible to the computation. Yet, edges can contain unvalued features. Constituents in an edge position need to be accessible in the next phase. Hence, Chomsky (2000) proposed *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC) which states that the material in the phase-edge cannot be transferred to the interfaces until the next phase is completed. This assures that the accessible part of phases is edges whereas *domain* of the phase is still inaccessible when the head of the next phase is merged (Hornstein, Nunes, Grohman, 2005; Hicks, 2009).

Another theoretical challenge within the Minimalist Programme is to decide on the level at which binding applies. Firstly, DS and SS are eliminated in minimalism and the definition of LF has changed. These certainly affect the binding because binding relations were thought to be established in any (or one) of these three levels. The current question is whether binding relations are established derivationally considering the economy constraint (at narrow syntax) or established at LF.

The latter idea is adopted by Chomsky (1993) and Chomsky (1995) following *Inclusiveness Condition* that prohibits the entrance of syntactic objects with semantic values to the derivation after the numeration. Thus, indices are not acceptable syntactic objects as they do not exist in the numeration. In parallel to this, Chomsky (1993) uses *reconstruction* to support his claim. He considers sentences such as;

(22) John_i wondered [[which picture of himself_{i/j}]]_k [Bill_i took *t_k*]]

In line with Chomsky (1993)'s ideas, Hornstein, Nunes, Grohman (2005) proposes that LF interpretation of binding is an appropriate account empirically, as well, considering the idiomatic interpretation and binding correlation.

Hicks (2009), on the other hand, challenges this idea indicating that it is debatable whether interpretative parts of anaphoric expressions such as scope, semantics of variable binding and idiomatic interpretations belong to Condition A. It is also notable that Condition B is thought to apply at narrow syntax because it is sensitive to the factors irrelevant at LF such as case features, verbal agreement and phonological factors that affect the behavior of pronouns. Hence, Hicks (2009) states, anaphor binding should apply at narrow syntax which is also theoretically more desirable.

There are also post-Binding theory approaches to anaphoric relations where proposals which are based on movement and other narrow syntactic operations have been made as in Hornstein (2001). Hornstein (2001) tries to exclude the Binding Theory totally by claiming that Principle A and B of binding theory can be reduced to theory of movement and anaphors, in fact, are the final realized forms of copies/traces resulting from overt A-movement in syntax. He asserts that local anaphora is parallel to Obligatory Control (OC) structures which can be considered as NP traces and pronoun binding is parallel to the non-obligatory control.

Within the Minimalist Programme, this model proposes for a sentence such as [John_i likes himself_i]; that in building up the tree, nominative case marked *John* is merged with accusative case marked *self* first, then this structure merges with the

verb, *like* as its object. Then *John* moves up in the tree to take subject theta-role leaving a copy / an NP trace behind and then moves further to check its nominative case. As such, accusative case problem of *self* is solved. However, *self* cannot exist alone in English as a bound-morpheme, so a pronoun is required to support the morphological needs of *self*.

According to copy theory, an element merged at PF can be coupled by movement and lower copies can be deleted leaving only the highest copy apparent at PF. At LF, on the other hand, the highest copy is deleted. Hence, the locality problem of anaphora at PF can be solved via reconstruction at LF (Hornstein, 2001; Hornstein, Nunes, Grohman, 2005). Hornstein (2001) also tries to account for the behavior of non-locally bound reflexives claiming that they are similar to Nonobligatory Control structures, and that they can be paraphrased with pronouns.

In this thesis, the basic tenets of the Binding Theory and the Minimalist Program will be employed in the Chomskyan sense. BT attempts to provide the principles which regulate the different behavior and distributional properties of the anaphoric expressions in languages. The term *pronominal* will be used to refer to the linguistic items which obey Principle B of BT, the term *anaphor* for the linguistic items which obey Principle A of the BT.

CHAPTER III

CONDITION A and *KENDİ/KENDİSİ*

This chapter aims to determine the nature of the dependent forms *kendi* and *kendisi* in Turkish with respect to their distributional properties in various syntactic configurations and their relation with a potential antecedent in terms of binding. It will be argued that *kendi* functions as an anaphor in Turkish, contrasting with the pronoun *o* in the environments in which *kendi* is licensed. The data indicate that *kendi* chooses a local c-commanding binder in accordance with Principle A of the Binding Theory. *Kendisi*, on the other hand, does not obey Principle A. It has a dual function and as well as having anaphoric interpretations, it is also long-distance bound or it has some other discourse functions².

The relevant binding domain is the whole clause for simplex clauses since it is the minimal domain where the anaphor, its governor and the accessible subject occur (cf. Chomsky, 1982). Ditransitive constructions suggest that binding, which is not subject-oriented in Turkish, is an anywhere condition which holds throughout Merge and case-triggered Move yet OCC triggered movement interferes with binding relations. As the complement of a postposition, *kendi* is bound by the subject of its clause when there is not an Operator that redefines a local domain. The binding domain is argued to be not as extended as the whole clause due to the presence of an event operator within certain PPs. Furthermore, agreement, which is realized as a feature on the D head of DP (traditionally referred as PPs headed by possessive

² Distributional properties of *kendisi* and its functions will be discussed in more detailed in Chapter 5.

marked postpositions), creates an opaque domain for anaphor binding. The fact that *kendi* is bound by an antecedent in its own domain in various structures presents evidence for *kendi*'s being an anaphor in Turkish.

3.1. *Kendi* and Condition A

3.1.1. *Kendi* as an Anaphor

Third person singular reflexive *kendi* in Turkish occurs as the internal argument in simplex clauses. Following the definition of binding in Chomsky (1981), *kendi* is to be bound iff there is an NP such that *kendi* and NP are coindexed and this NP c-commands *kendi*. Adopting this definition, binding of *kendi* and NP is not possible in (1) since *kendi* lacks a c-commanding antecedent.

- (1) *Kendi*_{*i} ayna-da çocuk_i gör-dü.
kendi-Nom mirror-Dat. child see-Past
 ‘Himself_{*i} saw the child_i on the mirror.’

Yet *kendi* is bound by a c-commanding NP which is syntactically expressed in the same domain when the basic conditions for anaphoric coreference are satisfied. It is coindexed with the potential antecedent as opposed to third person singular pronoun *o*.

- (2) [Çocuk_i ayna-da kendin-i_i/o-nu_j/_{*i} gör-dü.]
 Child mirror-Dat. *kendi*-Acc/3SG-Acc see-Past
 ‘The child_i saw himself_i / him_{*i/j} on the mirror.’

Chomsky's (1981) Principle A which states that "an anaphor must be bound in its governing category" captures such occurrences of *kendi* in Turkish. As in (2), *kendi* is bound by the coreferential subject within the minimal domain which contains the subject and the internal argument, satisfying Condition A of the Binding Theory. *kendi* in (2) contrasts with the third person singular pronoun *o*. In accordance with Principle B of Binding Theory, the third person singular pronoun *o* is not bound by the subject in its own domain but the subject *Çocuk* 'child' and the pronoun are disjoint in reference.

Kendi also occurs as the second argument in simplex clauses as in (3) or as the oblique object as in (4) when the minimal conditions for anaphors are satisfied. In sentences (3) and (4), *kendi* is bound by a potential antecedent which is the coreferential subject in the minimal domain. In this regard, *kendi* obeys the anaphor condition in contrast to the pronoun *o*.

(3) [Ayşe_i kendin-e_i /o-na_j/*_i yeni bir elbise al-dı.]

Ayşe kendi-Dat. /3SG-Dat. new a dress buy-Past

'Ayşe_i bought a new dress for herself_i / her_{*i/j}.'

(4) [Ali_i tüm gün kendin-den_i /o-ndan_j/*_i bahset-ti.]

Ali whole day kendi-Abl. /3SG-Abl. talk-Past.

'Ali_i talked about himself_i / him_{*i/j} the whole day.'

Based on the distinction between the grammaticality judgments *kendi* and *o* receive, I conclude that *kendi* functions as an anaphor in Turkish in the sense of Condition A, while *o* obeys Condition B. *kendi* is coreferential with a c-commanding potential

antecedent within its domain. Hence, *kendi* is an anaphor which is bound by a local antecedent in its own domain in contrast with the personal pronoun *o* which is free within the same domain.

3.1.2. Condition A as an “Anywhere” Condition

The distributional property of *kendi* in terms of its anaphoric nature in transitive constructions is concluded to be an anaphoric relation. *kendi* also occurs in the ditransitive constructions in Turkish as exemplified below.

(5) Ali_i Ayşe-y_j kendin-e_{i/j} sor-du.

Ali Ayşe-Acc. kendi-Dat. ask-Past.

Intended meaning: (i) ‘Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to himself_i.’

(ii) ‘Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to her_j.’

(6) Ali_i Ayşe-ye_j kendin-i_{i/j} sor-du.

Ali Ayşe-Dat. kendi-Acc. ask-Past.

Intended meaning: (i) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person he_i is.’

(ii) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person she_j is.’

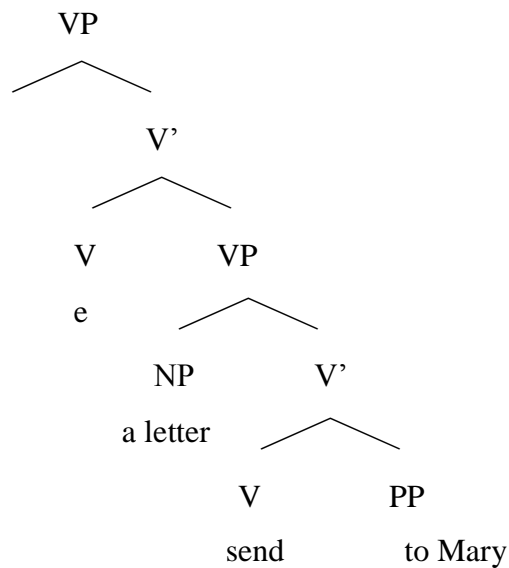
These examples illustrate that *kendi* occurs both as the direct object and the indirect object in Turkish and grammatical. Coreferential subject is always a potential binder and also *kendi* as the direct object or the indirect object is bound by the other object which agrees with it in terms of person and number. Based on this, I propose that Turkish ditransitive constructions are different from English since there is an

asymmetrical relation between the direct object and the indirect object in English. Yet the asymmetrical relation between the two objects is not observed in Turkish as (5) and (6) illustrate; both the direct object and the indirect object occur in the domain of the other. The base structure in Turkish is assumed to be < IO, DO > in which DO is merged as the sister of V and IO is merged above; as the specifier of Applicative head where it checks its case. This structure is referred as *high applicative* in Pykkänen (2002). Ditransitive constructions presented in this study have two distinct derivations; (i) < DO, IO >, and (ii) < IO, DO >. The order in (i) in which the direct object occurs above the indirect object is suggested to be one derivation resulting from case checking requirement of accusative marked DOs, and (ii) is assumed to result from information structure. Both movements are targeted to the specifier position of vP adopting multiple specifier assumption of Chomsky (2001). Before discussing the theoretical and empirical evidence of the assumed structure of ditransitive constructions in Turkish and its implication in terms of binding, I will mention the prominent proposals for ditransitive constructions in the literature.

According to Larson (1988), ditransitive verbs in English are assumed to be in two different structures; the double object and to-dative constructions. Based on the binding relations between the direct object and the indirect object in double object constructions in English, Larson (1988) argues that there is an asymmetric relation between the two complements in to-dative constructions using binding relations in English. He states that the indirect object is to be in the domain of the

direct object to meet the binding requirements³. Based on that, he assumes that the indirect object forms a constituent with the verb and direct object is excluded. He also assumes V-raising according to which the verb raises to Spec,VP to assign Case to the direct object. As the indirect object is a PP, Case is assigned to it by the preposition. VP domain for Larson (1988)'s to-dative construction is illustrated below.

(7) e.g.: I sent a letter to Mary.



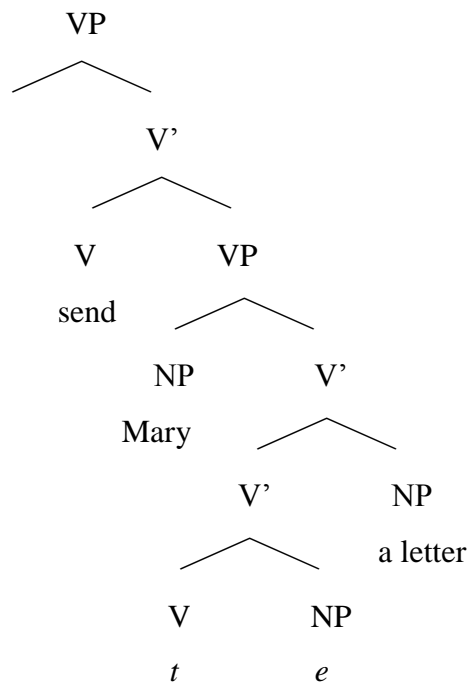
³ Larson (1988) illustrates the asymmetric relationship between the two objects of the ditransitives and the requirement of indirect object's being in the domain of the direct object as follows.

- a. I showed Mary herself.
- b. * I showed herself Mary.

As (a) is grammatical yet (b) yields ungrammaticality, the indirect object cannot be higher than the direct object in the assumed structure of ditransitives. The same asymmetry is observed in quantifier-pronoun binding and weak crossover effect.

Double object constructions, on the other hand, differ from the structure above and they are claimed to be derived from to-dative constructions via *Dative Shift* in Larson (1988). He proposes an operation similar to Passive in which the dative case of the indirect object that is assigned through the preposition *to* is absorbed. The direct object in the Spec, VP position in (7) undergoes *argument demotion* which assumes that “if α is a theta role assigned by X^i , then α may be assigned (up to optionality) to an adjunct of X^i .” (Larson, 1988). Thus, direct object occurs adjoined to V’ and the caseless indirect object moves up to receive its case from the verb. The assumed double object construction is illustrated in (8).

(8) e.g.: I sent Mary a letter.



More recent studies propose an alternative analysis of ditransitive constructions in which a distinct functional projection is proposed within vP. According to the Applicative head analysis of double object constructions proposed by Marantz (1993), an Applicative Phrase is projected between the VP and vP. Marantz (1993) holds that Applicative takes an event as its argument and introduces an individual related to that event. Structurally, theme (DO) is merged with V constituting a VP which is merged as the sister of Applicative V. Goal (IO) is assumed to be external to the event described by VP; hence, IO is merged above App. This construction is illustrated in (9).

(9) [_{VP} IO [_{V'} APPL [_{VP} DO V]]]

Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) also assumes the applicative analysis proposing that there are two applicative structures. She argues for a *high* and *low applicative* analysis based on the semantic differences between the verbs. The assumed syntactic structures are illustrated below:

(10) High Applicatives:

[_{VoiceP} DP_{AGENT} [_{Voice'} Voice [_{AppIP} DP_{BNF/LOC/INSTR...} [_{AppI'} Appl [_{VP} V DP]]]]]

Low Applicatives:

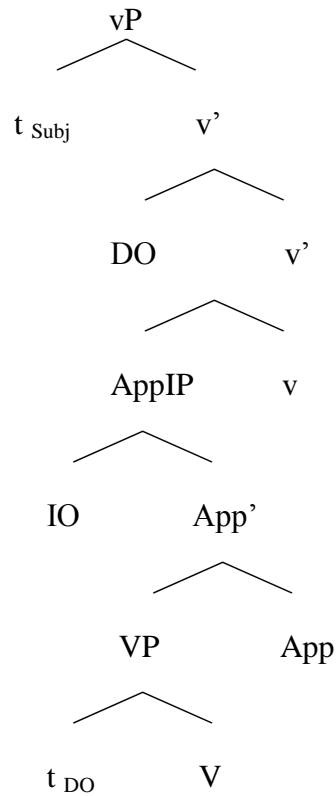
[_{VoiceP} DP_{AGENT} [_{Voice'} Voice [_{VP} V [_{AppIP} DP_{GOAL/SOURCE} [_{AppI'} Appl DP_{THEME}]]]]]

In the light of these studies, I attempt to account for the syntactic structure of ditransitive constructions in Turkish. To start with, Turkish does not make a categorical distinction as opposed to English between NP and PP constructions between the two VP-internal arguments of a ditransitive verb construction. Both indirect and direct objects are NPs, and the indirect object is dative marked and the direct object is accusative marked. Moreover, the order of the two arguments can appear in either way as (11 a-b) illustrate.

- (11) a. Ali çiçeğ-i Ayşe-ye ver-di.
Ali flower-Acc. Ayşe-Dat. give-Past.
'Ali gave the flower to Ayşe.'
- b. Ali Ayşe-ye çiçeğ-i ver-di.
Ali Ayşe-Dat. flower-Acc. give-Past.
'Ali gave the flower to Ayşe.'

Within the literature, there are several accounts of such order permutations given. One is that the variation is the result of scrambling. Hence it is possible Turkish seems to have one basic order and the other can be assumed to be derived from it via scrambling. I assume that < IO, DO > is the base order in Turkish and the construction below, <DO, IO> is derived from it.

(12)



App and v are the probes for the Case-agreement system. Applicative checks the dative case on the indirect object in its Spec. v canonically checks Acc case so v checks Acc case on the direct object. Therefore, I assume that direct object overtly moves up to Spec vP from its merge position for case reasons in line with Arslan-Kechriotis (2006)'s proposal. Direct object is accusative marked and overt accusative marking in Turkish is an indication of a noun's being specific and outside of VP (Kennelly, 1994; Zidani-Eroğlu, 1997 and Kelepir, 2001). According to Arslan-Kechriotis (2006), specific NPs have a strong case feature. This triggers the movement out of their merge position and to Spec vP. When the direct object is not

overtly accusative marked hence not specific, it does not need to move out of its merge position⁴.

Note furthermore that the structure in (12) corresponds to high applicative analysis of Pylkkänen (2002). Pylkkänen asserts that high applicatives can combine with unergatives and stative verbs as opposed to low applicatives. Tonyalı (2013) discusses double object constructions in Turkish and concludes with a hypothesis that unifies applicative structures under a high applicative construction should be adopted for Turkish. She indicates that a non-core dative can be added to the stative verbs such as *tut-* ‘to hold’, and an extra argument, malefactive, can be added to the unergatives such as *süslen-* ‘to make up’ in Turkish.

- (13) Ahmet_i kadına_j paltosunu_j tuttu.
 Ahmet.NOM woman.DAT coat.3PS.ACC hold-PAST.3PS.
 ‘Ahmet held her coat for the woman so that she could put it on.’

- (14) Betül sevgilisine süsleniyor.
 Betül lover.3PS.DAT makeup.REFL.IMPERF.3PS
 ‘Betül is dressing/making up for her boyfriend.’

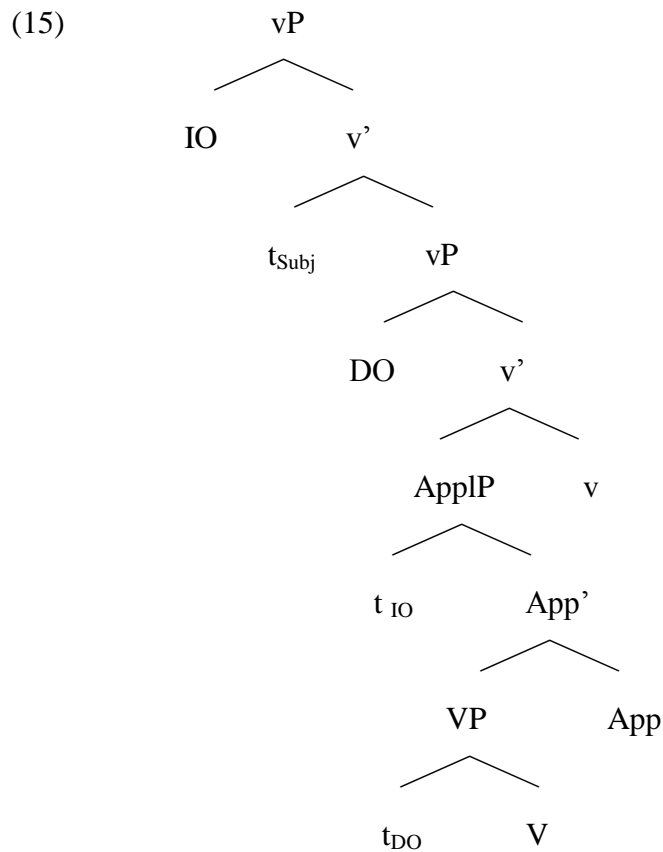
[(Tonyalı, 2013) Examles (13-a) and (20a) respectively]

⁴ Pollock (1989) argues that manner adverbs mark the left edge of the VP domain, hence they can be used to show that in Turkish, overtly accusative marked objects move out of their merge position to check case whereas non-referential objects stay in-situ as illustrated in Arslan-Kechriotis (2006).

- a. *Ali- \emptyset güzel sarkı-yı söyle-di- \emptyset .
 Ali-nom beautiful song-acc say-past-3sg
 intended: ‘Ali sang the song beautifully.’
 b. Ali- \emptyset sarkı-yı güzel söyle-di- \emptyset .
 Ali-nom song-acc beautiful say-past-3sg
 ‘Ali sang the song beautifully.’

Note that direct objects discussed in this study are all accusative marked so specific. Hence, they are all assumed to overtly move Spec vP out of their merge position yielding <DO, IO> structure.

Ditransitives in Turkish is not a well-studied topic yet I also adopt the view that Applicative head is projected above VP in Turkish parallel to Tonyalı (2013)'s arguments. She also claims that Turkish can parameterize Move before Merge and thereby account for the DO moving over the IO. Different from her, however, I suggest DO over IO order is an instance of case checking as it has been discussed. Furthermore, I assume that the structure which is $\langle \text{IO}, \text{DO} \rangle$ as in (11-b) is derived from the structure in (12). This assumption solely is not theoretically desirable if there is not an independent reason for the indirect object to be scrambled off leading another derivation from the already derived one. In fact, however, it is accountable as an instance of internal Merge because of discourse related properties, OCC feature. According to Chomsky (2001) OCC is an occurrence of β which is available only when it provides new interpretation. For $\langle \text{IO}, \text{DO} \rangle$ construction, I assume that v comes into the derivation with topic related OCC feature which leads to the projection of another Spec position of vP . Uninterpretable OCC feature at v attracts IO to Spec vP to check its feature in the derived structure which is illustrated below.



The assumptions about the <DO, IO> order as in (12) and the order < IO, DO > as in (15) are also empirically attested based on the binding relations. Starting with the base structure, *kendi* as the indirect object is bound by the coreferential subject which c-commands *kendi* in its minimal domain as in (16). ϕ features of DO and the anaphor match and DO is a potential antecedent c-commanding the anaphor in its minimal domain after case triggered movement to spec vP. Thus, anaphor is coindexed with the coreferential subject and with DO yielding ambiguity.

(16) Ali_i Ayşe-yi_j kendin-e_{i/j} sor-du.

Ali Ayşe-Acc. kendi-Dat. ask-Past.

Intended meaning: (i) ‘Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to himself_i.’

(ii) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person she_j is.’

This structure indicates that coindexation of the anaphor with its potential antecedents seems to hold after all operations (External Merge and case checking-Internal Merge) occur. The direct object moves out of its merge position for case reasons and at Spec vP, DO is above *kendi* in the structure; c-command requirement is met and binding relation holds obeying Condition A.

Another evidence for binding being an anywhere condition in Turkish is that indirect object which occurs on the right of *kendi* can bind it even it does not c-command the anaphor after the internal merge. Anaphors as DO are bound by IO when the antecedent IO occurs below the anaphor in the surface structure. Based on the ambiguity of the example in (17), I propose that binding relation between DO and IO can also be established in their first merge positions; therefore, the movement of DO to Spec vP does not interfere with the binding.

(17) Ali_i kendin-i_{i/j} Ayşey-e_j t_{DO} sor-du.

Ali kendi-Acc. Ayşe-Dat. ask-Past.

Intended meaning: (i) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person he_i is.’

(ii) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person she_j is.’

Examples (16) and (17) conforms to the assumed derived structure in (12) since the anaphor *kendi* can be bound by an object which meets the c-command requirement in

its merge position or after the internal merge triggered by case reasons. The same relationship between IO and DO holds when the matrix subject is not coreferential with the anaphor. When the subject of the clause does not agree with the anaphor in terms of number, it does not serve as a potential antecedent for the anaphor. Hence, (18) is grammatical and only DO in its moved position binds the anaphor.

(18) Ünlü şarkıcı-yı_i kendin-e_i sor-duk.

Famous singer-Acc. kendi-Dat. ask-Past.

Intended meaning: ‘We asked the famous singer_i to him_i.’

Our data so far also imply that binding relations can hold both at the first merge positions of the arguments and after the internal merge which is triggered for case reasons. Hence, it seems that binding holds throughout the derivation. To test this hypothesis further, binding relations in derived constructions; <IO, DO> such as in (15), should also be accounted. Recall that IO moves out of its merge position, to Spec vP to check the uninterpretable OCC feature which is related to Topic feature at v. This operation yields the derived ditransitive construction order in Turkish which is < IO, DO >. NP which occurs as the indirect object can bind the anaphor which is in its c-command domain in the derived structure as (19) illustrates.

(19) Ali_i Ayşe-ye_j kendin-i_{i/j} sor-du.

Ali Ayşe-Dat. kendi-Acc. ask-Past.

Intended meaning: (i) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person he_i is.’

(ii) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person she_j is.’

On the other hand, direct object cannot bind *kendi* which occurs as the indirect object after topic related movement of IO as illustrated below.

(20) Ali_i kendin-e_{i/*j} Ayşe-yi_j sor-du.

Ali. kendi-Dat. Ayşe-Acc ask-Past.

Intended meaning: ‘Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to himself_i.’

It has been observed that binding relations can occur before or after internal merge as illustrated in (16, 17, 18) when the movement is triggered by Case. However, it is empirically attested in (20) that binding relations are established after OCC triggered internal merge comparing (16) and (20). DO does not c-command IO at the derived structure above, thus the anaphor and DO’s being disjoint in reference is not unexpected.

Based on this evidence, I conclude that OCC triggered movement interferes with binding relations whereas case triggered movement does not. This implies that even if both Case checking and topic related OCC are considered to be the instances of the same operation which is referred as Internal Merge (cf. Chomsky, 2001), they differ in their interaction with binding relations. Binding occurs throughout the derivation when the internal Merge is triggered by case, yet it reads off the surface structure after topic related movement.

The data discussed so far suggest two basic properties of the ditransitive constructions in Turkish in relation to anaphor binding. First, there is an Applicative Phrase above VP and < IO, DO > is the base structure. < DO, IO > order displays the derived order of ditransitive constructions in Turkish when the direct object is

specific. This is theoretically accountable since DO checks its case with v at Spec, v , and IO checks its case with Applicative at Spec,App, which is IO's merge position. < IO, DO > order is derived via scrambling which is triggered by the information structure. Empirical evidence indicates that there is not an asymmetrical relation between DO and IO in Turkish, and binding occurs throughout the derivation in < DO, IO > structure. Binding relations confirm this assumption since *kendi*, which behaves in accordance with the Condition A of the Binding Theory, can be bound by the other argument in merge position or after internal merge. For < IO, DO > structure, however, binding occurs only after OCC triggered movement. This indicates that case related movement and topic driven movement are different by nature and topic related movement interferes with binding.

Another implication of the occurrence of *kendi* in ditransitive constructions is that an object which agrees with the anaphor in terms of its ϕ -features can bind it even if the subject is not coreferential. Hence, being not necessarily bound by the matrix subject, the anaphor *kendi* in Turkish can be coindexed with another potential antecedent in its domain, which indicates that anaphor binding is not subject oriented in Turkish⁵.

⁵ *Subject orientation* states that an anaphor is bound by a c-commanding subject even when there is another potential binder as the object in the minimal domain. It is not a requirement for Condition A yet it is observed in several languages such as *ziji* in Chinese (Huang and Liu, 2001; Polard and Xue, 2001) and *sig* in Icelandic (Reuland, 2001).

Subject orientation does not hold for Turkish as Göksel and Kerslake (2005) and Meral (2010) also state that the first person marked reflexive pronoun *kendim* in Turkish can be bound by a non-subject which agrees with it in terms of person and number. This is illustrated below.

- (1) Sanki bana kendi-m-i anlatıyorlardı.
 I(dat) self-1sg.poss-acc
 “[It was] as if they were talking to me about myself”

[Göksel and Kerslake (2005:268) Example (34)]

3.1.3. Kendisi in Simple Clauses

In this section, the properties of *kendisi* will be discussed. It will be pointed out that although the distributional properties of *kendisi* are similar to *kendi* in simple clauses, they display differences in terms of their referent choice. As well as having local antecedents, *kendisi* is also interpreted to be bound by an antecedent external to the immediate syntactic environment.

Kendisi is judged to be grammatical when it is the internal argument as (21) illustrates. It is bound by the coreferential subject. Nevertheless (21) also has a reading in which *kendisi* refers to a third party. Note that the first reading that is assigned to *kendisi* in this context is generally the one in which the referent is an entity in the discourse or in the speakers' mind.

- (21) [Çocuk_i ayna-da kendisin-i_{i/j} gör-dü.]
Child mirror-Dat. *kendisi*-Acc. see-Past.
'The child_i saw himself_i / him_j on the mirror.'

Thus, (21) is ambiguous having an anaphoric reading, and referring to a person in the discourse other than the subject. In this usage, *kendisi* violates Condition A. It has a dual function; it is both bound by a coreferential subject in its own domain and it is used to refer to a discourse binder rather than the subject in the minimal domain.

Thus, *kendisi* is not a true anaphor as opposed to *kendi*.

Kendisi occurs as the second argument as in (22) and as the oblique object as in (23) again, but the same dual function and the discourse binder effect as in (21) exists.

(22) [Ayşe_i kendisin-e_{i/j} yeni bir elbise al-dı.]
Ayşe kendisi-Dat. new a dress buy-Past
'Ayşe_i bought a new dress for herself_i / her_j'

(23) [Ali_i tüm gün kendisin-den_{i/j} bahset-ti.]
Ali whole day kendisi-Abl. talk-Past.
'Ali_i talked about himself_i / him_j the whole day.'

Kendisi is ambiguous between a coreferential and a disjoint reference reading above.

It refers to a second binder in the discourse or in the speaker's mind as well as the subject of the clause. It can have an anaphoric reading when it is bound by a coreferential subject in its minimal domain, yet its primary function is to express disjoint reference. Hence, it violates Condition A again.

Recall that subject orientation does not hold for *kendi* in Turkish. Similarly, *kendisi* is not necessarily bound by the subject in ditransitive constructions. The coreferential subject and the object can bind *kendisi* as they do *kendi*. Yet, the prominent referent of *kendisi* is not within the clause as opposed to *kendi*. It has a disjoint reference, a third person in the discourse, similar to its behavior in the transitive constructions.

(24) Ünlü şarkıcı-yı_i kendisin-e_{i/j} sor-duk.
Famous singer-Acc. kendi-Dat. ask-Past.
'We asked the famous singer_i to him_j / himself_i.'

(25) Ali_i Ayşe-ye_j kendisin-_{i_j/k} sor-du.

Ali Ayşe-Dat. kendi-Acc. ask-Past.

Intended meaning: (i) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person she / he_k is.’

(ii) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person he_i is.’

(iii) ‘Ali_i asked Ayşe_j what kind of a person she_j is.’

Kendisi is also grammatical in environments where *kendi* yields ungrammaticality.

Recall that the anaphor which occurs as IO cannot be bound by DO in the derived <IO, DO> structure since the potential antecedent as DO does not meet c-command requirement for binding at the surface structure and binding reads off the surface structure in such constructions. Yet *kendisi* can be coindexed with DO as in (26) yielding ambiguity.

(26) Ali_i kendisin-_{e_i/k} Ayşe-yi_j sor-du.

Ali. kendisi-Dat. Ayşe-Acc ask-Past.

Intended meanings: (i) ‘Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to himself_i.’

(ii) ‘Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to her_j.’

(iii) ‘Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to her/him_k.’

Moreover, *kendisi* can be bound by IO lacking a c-commanding antecedent within its own domain and grammatical as in (27) below.

(27) Kendisin-_{e_i/j} ünlü şarkıcıy-ı_i sor-duk.

kendisi-Dat famous singer-Acc ask-Past-1pl.

Intended meaning: ‘We asked the famous singer_i to himself_i/him_j.’

Based on the data presented so far, it is clear that *kendi* occurs within the same minimal domain with its antecedent in simple clauses. When there is more than one potential binder in its local domain, both a coreferential subject and the coreferential argument in the object position can bind *kendi* as long as Condition A is satisfied. However, *kendisi* is not a true anaphor. It is bound in its own domain yet not necessarily obeys Condition A. It also takes its reference from the discourse; it can be coindexed with another party outside of the clause. *-si* morpheme attached to the anaphoric root *kendi* is in fact an indication of the multiple function of *kendisi*. Hence, *kendisi* displays both anaphoric and pronominal properties⁶.

3.2. *Kendi* and *Kendisi* as the Complement of Postpositions

The data in the previous section provided evidence that *kendi* behaves as an anaphor but *kendisi* has discourse reference as well as local binders. To this end, I conclude that *kendi* is locally bound in its own domain yet *kendisi* is not. Yet both *kendi* and *kendisi* can be used interchangeably for most speakers of Turkish when they are bound by a local antecedent. Interestingly, however, their occurrence in postpositional phrases in Turkish exhibit complementary distribution⁷. Licensing environments of *kendi* and *kendisi* to occur in Turkish differ as examples (28, 29) illustrate.

⁶ The assumptions on the nature of *kendisi* and its clausal structure as well as the discourse factors affecting its distribution will be discussed in a more detailed way in Chapter 5.

⁷ The data presented is based on the judgments of 15 native speakers of Turkish. Note that there is a dialectal difference in terms of accepting *kendi* as the complement of some postpositions. Speakers of Dialect A do not accept *kendi* as the complement of some certain postpositions, which is discussed in this thesis. The speakers of Dialect B, on the other hand, seem to be more tolerant in terms of the distribution of *kendi* and *kendisi* as the complement of postpositions.

- (28) Ayşe_i [kendin-e_i / kendisine_{i/j} göre] başarılı ol-du.
 Ayşe kendi-Dat. / kendisi-Dar. according to successful become-Past
 ‘Ayşe_i became successful according to herself_i.’
- (29) Ayşe_i benim-le [* kendi_i / kendisi_{i/j} hakkında] pek konuş-ma-z.
 Ayşe I-with * kendi / kendisi about much talk-Neg.-Aorist
 ‘Ayşe_i does not talk about herself_i much.’

According to the data, it is observed that grammaticality judgments of *kendi* and *kendisi* differ within the same clause. This implies that there are some other mechanisms or constructions in some group of postpositional phrases which create a minimal domain for *kendi* to be ungrammatical even if the antecedent and the anaphor occur within the same clause. To discuss these mechanisms, the properties and the phrasal architecture of postpositions will be mentioned first.

There are two categories of postpositional phrases in Turkish; PPs headed by bare postpositions like *için* ‘for’, *göre* ‘according to’ and *önce* ‘before’, and ; PPs headed by possessive-marked postpositions such as *yerine* ‘instead’ and *hakkında* ‘about’ (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005). Some bare postpositions⁸ are exemplified in (30, 31, 32) and possessive marked postpositions in (33, 34).

⁸ Göksel and Kerslake (2005) lists bare postpositions in Turkish as follows:

Bare postpositions whose complements are left in the non-case-marked form: *gibi* ‘like’, *için* ‘for’, *-(y)la/ile* ‘with’, ‘by’, *kadar* ‘as...as’.

Bare postpositions taking dative complements: *doğru* ‘towards’, *göre* ‘according to’, *kadar* ‘until’, ‘as far as’, *rağmen/karşın* ‘in spite of’.

Bare postpositions taking ablative complements: *baska/ gayrı* ‘apart from’, ‘other than’, *beri* ‘since’, ‘for’, *bu yana* ‘since’, *itibaren* ‘from’, ‘with effect from’, *önce/ evvel* ‘before’, *sonra* ‘after’, *yana* ‘as regards’, ‘in favour of’.

- (30) *Ali gibi*
 ‘like Ali’
- (31) *Ali için*
 ‘for Ali’
- (32) *Ali’ye göre*
 ‘according to Ali’
- (33) *Ali (nin) hakkında*
 ‘about Ali’
- (34) *Ali (nin) yerine*
 ‘instead of Ali’

This categorization is based on the morphological properties of the postpositions, i.e. whether the postposition is possessive marked or not. As an alternative to this categorization, I argue that there is a three-way distinction among postpositions in Turkish. Certain postpositions which are traditionally included in PPs headed by bare postpositions group also exhibit variation in terms of their complement choice and case marking of their complements. Based on that, I argue that the structure of certain bare postpositions differs from the others. I further suggest that PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions are actually DPs functioning as adjuncts.

I basically claim that (i) distributional properties and ungrammaticality resulting from the usage of *kendi* with some certain bare postpositions can be explained by the assumption that the phrasal structure of all bare PPs is not the same in Turkish, and (ii) PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions are DP projections and agreement is realized as a feature at D head constituting an opaque domain for anaphor binding. These hypotheses are in line with the claim that *kendi* chooses a local antecedent in its minimal domain, which proves its anaphoric nature, but *kendisi* does not.

Before starting to discuss these hypotheses, the first assumption to consider is that *kendi* should be grammatical as a complement of all postpositions because there is not a clause boundary constituting a local domain within a PP. However, *kendi* is not grammatical as a complement of some PPs, as illustrated below.

- (35) Ayşe_i [kendin-e_i göre] başarılı ol-du.
 Ayşe kendi-Dat. according to successful become-Past
 ‘Ayşe_i became successful according to herself_i.’
- (36) * Ayşe_i bütün yıl [kendi_i için] çalış-tı.
 Ayşe whole year *kendi* for study-Past.
 ‘Ayşe_i studied for herself_i the whole year.’
- (37) * Ayşe_i benim-le [kendi_i hakkında] pek konuş-ma-z.
 Ayşe I-with kendi about much talk-Neg.-Aorist
 ‘Ayşe_i does not talk about herself_i much.’

Both (35) and (36) are PPs headed by a bare postposition yet *kendi* is ungrammatical as a complement of *için* in (36). This is in line with the hypothesis (i), which assumes a difference in the structures of these bare postpositions because it is apparent that some bare postpositions, such as *için* gives rise to unexpected problems in terms of binding *kendi*. *hakkında* in (37) is a possessive marked postposition which cannot take *kendi* as its complement. This is the motivation for assuming that possessive marked postpositions have a different syntactic configuration than bare PPs, and that they create a domain (as their morphology implies) which results in the locality problem for *kendi* and yields ungrammaticality. Another motivation for our assumptions is the fact that *için*-type bare PPs and phrases headed by possessive marked postpositions are grammatical when *kendisi* occur as their complements contra to *kendi*. Distributional properties of *kendi* and *kendisi* in simple clauses in the preceding section indicate that *kendi* obeys locality restrictions for binding whereas *kendisi* does not. Hence, the fact that *kendisi* as a complement of some bare postpositions and possessive marked postpositions which cannot occur with *kendi* gives rise to the question if there exists some other considerations which create a local domain within such kinds of PPs.

3.2.1. Bare Postpositions and *Kendi* / *Kendisi*

To discuss our claim in (i), which indicates that the syntactic structure of all PPs headed by a bare postposition are not the same, the difference between PPs headed by a bare postposition becomes apparent in those cases where the complements of PPs are NPs. The main morphological difference between the complements of *için*, and *göre* and *önce* is that *için* requires null-case marked complements whereas the

case of complements of the latter are morphologically overt; *göre* requires dative marked and *önce* requires ablative marked NPs as stated in Göksel and Kerslake (2005).

- (38) Ayşe bütün yıl [Ali-Ø için] çalış-tı.
Ayşe whole year Ali for study-Past.
'Ayşe studied for Ali the whole year.'

- (39) Ayşe [Ali-ye göre] başarılı ol-du.
Ayşe Ali-Dat. according to successful become-Past
'Ayşe became successful according to Ali.'

- (40) Ayşe [Ahmet-ten önce] Ali'yi düşün-ür.
Ayşe Ahmet-Abl. before Ali-Acc think-Aor
'Ayşe thinks of Ali before Ahmet.'

Recall that PPs headed by bare postpositions exhibit a parallel difference in terms of the occurrence of *kendi* as their complements. To repeat, *kendi* can occur as the complement of a group of PPs headed by bare postpositions. Note that these postpositions, such as *göre*, *doğru*, and *önce* are the ones that normally occur with an NP whose case is morphologically overt, and *kendi* is a legitimate reflexive to occur with them as illustrated in (41) and (42).

- (41) Ayşe_i [kendin-e_i doğru] koş-an kopek-ten kork-tu.
 Ayşe kendi-Dat. towards run-Rel. dog-Abl. afraid-Past
 ‘Ayşe_i is afraid of the dog that runs towards her_i.’
- (42) Ayşe_i [kendin-den_i önce] Ali’yi düşün-ür.
 Ayşe kendi-Abl. before Ali-Acc think-Aorist
 ‘Ayşe_i thinks of Ali before herself_i.’

However, bare postpositions such as *için*, *kadar*, *gibi*, *ile* that normally require null-case marked complements do not license *kendi* to occur as their complement as exemplified in (43) and (44). Yet *kendisi* can occur as their complements coindexed with the coreferential subject.

- (43) Ayşe_i bütün yıl [* kendi_i / kendisi_i için] çalış-tı.
 Ayşe whole year *kendi* / *kendisi* for study-Past.
 Intended meaning: ‘Ayşe_i studied for herself_i the whole year.’
- (44) Ayşe_i kimse-yi [* kendi_i / kendisi_i kadar] sev-me-z.
 Ayşe nobody-Acc. *kendi* / *kendisi* as much as like-Neg.-Aorist
 Intended meaning: ‘Ayşe_i likes nobody as much as herself_i.’

As the examples above illustrate, bare postpositions in Turkish can also be partitioned in two groups considering their complement choice. First group of PPs headed by bare postpositions such as *için* behaves differently from PPs headed by

bare postpositions such as *göre* and *önce* in terms of their complement choice. This is summarized in the table below.

(45)

Complements	Bare Postpositions
	PP I
NP (null-case marked) * kendi	için, ile, kadar, gibi
	PP II
NP - Dative case marked kendin-e	göre, doğru
NP – Ablative case marked kendin-den	önce, başka

The contrast between the two groups of PPs headed by bare postpositions is more apparent when the complement of postpositions is a third person singular pronoun, *o*.

To illustrate this;

(46) a. Ayşe [Ali-ye göre] başarılı ol-du.

Ayşe Ali-Dat. according to successful become-Past

‘Ayşe became successful according to Ali.’

b. Ayşe [on-a göre] başarılı ol-du.

Ayşe 3rd person singular -Dat. according to successful become-Past

‘Ayşe became successful according to him.’

(47) a. Ayşe [Ahmet-ten önce] Ali'yi düşün-ür.
Ayşe Ahmet-Abl. before Ali-Acc think-Aorist
'Ayşe thinks of Ali before Ahmet.'

b. Ayşe [on-dan önce] Ali'yi düşün-ür.
Ayşe 3rd person singular -Abl. before Ali-Acc think-Aorist
'Ayşe thinks of Ali before him.'

Case marking on the complements in examples (46 a-b) and (47 a-b) are the same; as the complement of PP-II postpositions, third person singular pronoun *o* takes the same case marker as an NP does since these postpositions are lexicalized with a case marker. It is assumed that in the lexicon, *göre* is listed as '-e göre', and *önce* is listed as '-den önce'. Thus, it is expected that their complements would be marked with the same case regardless of their category; a proper noun such as *Ali*, a pronoun such as *o*, or an anaphor such as *kendi*.

On the other hand, third person singular pronoun is Genitive marked as a complement of PP-I postpositions whereas NP is null-case marked.

(48) a. Ayşe kimse-yi [Ali-Ø kadar] sev-me-z.
Ayşe nobody-Acc. Ali as much as like-Neg.-Aor
Intended meaning: 'Ayşe_i likes nobody as much as Ali.'

b. Ayşe kimse-yi [o-nun kadar] sev-me-z.
Ayşe nobody-Acc. 3rd ps.-Gen as much as like-Neg.-Aor
Intended meaning: 'Ayşe_i likes nobody as much as him.'

This leads us to question the genitive marking on the complement of *için*-type postpositions. This is not a very surprising case for Turkish, though. Subjects in Turkish normally receive Nominative case yet Kornfilt (2001a) notes that the subject of nominalized subordinate clauses in Turkish can get overt (genitive) case as exemplified below.

- (49) Ali [[baba -sın -ın iste -diğ -i] kadar] başarı-lı
 Ali father-3sg-Gen want-Fn-3sg. as much as success-with
 ol -a -ma -mış
 become-Abil-Neg-Past

‘(It is said that) Ali wasn’t able to become as successful as his father wanted.’

[Kornfilt (2001a: 196)]

It is proposed in Kornfilt (2001a) that genitive case on the subject results from either an Agr element (and the clause that it heads) which is theta-governed by the higher predicate, or an Agr head that receives the index of a comparative or a relativized operator. Mentioned Agr element is what heads the nominalized subordinate clause according to Kornfilt (2001a), and *kadar* results in the occurrence of a comparative Operator in the structure in (49) because of its semantics. Nominalized subordinate clause and its head (Agr) is not governed by the higher predicate as it is an adjunct, but the subject of the nominalized clause gets genitive marking because Agr is coindexed with the comparative Operator of *kadar*.

In line with Kornfilt (2001a)'s claim, I propose that PP-I bare postpositions *için, ile, kadar, gibi* come to the derivation with an operator resulting from their event structure. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) argue that syntactic structure of a sentence can be determined by the lexical property of a verb following Chomsky (1986b)'s claim that s-selection (semantic selection) determines c-selection (categorical selection). That is, event structure of a verb determines the syntactic structure; whether it is transitive, intransitive, ergative or unergative. As for the relation of this claim to my analysis, I follow the spirit of Becker and Arms (1969) who link prepositions and verbs demonstrating the underlying similarity between prepositional phrases and verb phrases. Becker and Arms (1969) claim that prepositions (postpositions in Turkish) can be considered as predicates similar to verbs since they share certain features. Within these lines, postpositions in Turkish, which are categorized as PP-I, can have the predicative reading as illustrated below.

- (50) Ben sen-in kadar biber gazın-a maruz kal-ma-dı-m.
 I you-Gen as much as tear gas-Dat be exposed to-Neg.-Past-1sg.
 'I wasn't exposed to as much tear gas as you (were).'

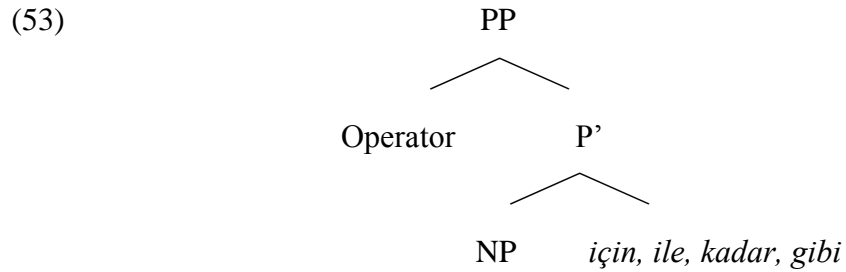
Postposition *kadar* 'as much as' is thematically related to its complement and the complement of PP, *sen* behaves like an agent of the predicate.

Another similarity between PPs and predicates is that parallel to Jakoff (1968)'s argument for English, 'instrumental' meaning conveyed via *ile* 'with' in Turkish can be expressed with the verb *kullan-* 'use', as well.

- (51) Polis gösterici-ler-i tazyikli su-yla dağıt-tı.
 Police demonstrator-Pl-Acc pressurized water-with scatter-Past.
 ‘The police scattered the demonstrators with pressurized water.’
- (52) Polis gösterici-ler-i tazyikli su kullan-arak
 Police demonstrator-Pl-Acc pressurized water use-by
 dağıt-tı.
 scatter-Past.
 ‘The police scattered the demonstrators by using pressurized water.’

That is, the meaning which is expressed with a verb can also be expressed with PP-I postposition *ile* ‘with’ in Turkish. This semantic sameness provides another evidence for the predicative nature of PP-I postpositions. Hence, I suggest event structures are reflected in linguistic forms of PP-I postpositions in Turkish. Moreover, following the spirit of Kornfilt (2001a)’s claim for the genitive marked subjects of nominalized subordinate clauses in Turkish, I assume there is an Operator participating in the case marking potential of PP-I postpositions. Semantically, *için* ‘for’ gives a reason, *ile* ‘with’ means togetherness, *kadar* ‘as much as’ is a comparative, and *gibi* ‘similar to’ means similarity. Hence, *için* occurs with a reason Operator, *kadar* occurs with a comparative Operator, and *ile* and *gibi* occur with event Operators. Operators of PP-I postpositions trigger genitive case marking of pronouns as their complements as in (48) and they also define a local domain in which *kendi* is illegitimate because it lacks an antecedent in its own minimal domain. Different from Kornfilt (2001a), however, I propose that an Agr head is not required to assign Genitive to the complement of postpositions and to define a domain for binding. Defining a

governing domain is not unexpected for the mentioned postpositions considering that they govern their complements and the Operator they occur with make their governing domain opaque. The assumed configuration of PP-I postpositions is schematized below.



Structure in (53) answers the question of NP complements of PP- I postpositions’ being genitive marked. PP-II postpositions have a very similar structure yet they do not have an Operator; hence, their complements receive dative or ablative case resulting from lexical properties of these postpositions. Operator in [Spec, PP] of PP-I results from the semantics of the postpositions as it is also discussed in Kornfilt (2001a). Yet different from Kornfilt’s claim, I propose that some postpositions such as *göre*, *önce* and *sonra*, which belong to PP-II according to the categorization in this study, do not involve an operator.

Kornfilt (2001a) states that as well as comparative semantics, postpositions that can be interpreted as free relatives involve an operator. According to her analysis, *göre* is a Free Relative involving an Operator as the embedded subject receives genitive case in the following example.

- (54) [[Oya-nın duy-duğ-un] -a göre] Ali deprem -de
 Oya-Gen hear-FN-3sg-Dat *according to* Ali earthquake-Loc
 vefat et-miş.
 die-Rep.Past
 ‘According to what Oya heard, Ali died in the earthquake.’

[Kornfilt (2001a:195), Example (17)]

It is also proposed in Kornfilt (2001a) that postpositions such as *önce*, *sonra*, *kadar* involve an operator because they are temporal comparatives. Their implied meanings are ‘earlier than’ for *önce*, ‘later than’ for *sonra*, and ‘until’ for *kadar*. Thus, they should also involve an operator (Kornfilt, 2001a).

As opposed to Kornfilt (2001a), I propose that postpositions that have free relative meaning and temporal comparatives do not introduce an operator to the structure. The first argument supporting this claim is that complements of *göre* are never genitive marked but they receive dative case marking as mentioned above. To repeat it;

- (55) Ayşe_i [Ali-ye / on-a / kendin- e_i göre] başarılı ol-du.
 Ayşe Ali-Dat. /3sg.-Dat./kendi-Dat. according to successful become-Past
 ‘Ayşe_i became successful according to Ali / him / herself.’

Lacking an Operator, *göre* does not constitute an opaque domain for binding and as such licenses *kendi* as its complement as I have discussed.

Secondly, temporal comparatives do not involve an operator, either. Kornfilt (2001a)’s assertion can be tested best via two different meanings of *kadar*.

Semantically, *kadar* implies (i) comparison of two entities, which can be translated as ‘as much as’, and (ii) temporal comparison which can be translated as ‘until’. (56-a) illustrates (i) and (56-b) illustrates (ii).

(56) a. Ali_i kimse-yi [kendisi_i kadar] sev-me-z.

Ali nobody-Acc. kendisi as much as like-Neg.-Aorist

‘Ali_i likes nobody as much as himself_i.’

b. Ali_i kendin-e_i gel-en-e kadar hiçbir şey söyle-me-di.

Ali kendi-Dat. come-Ger.-Dat. until nothing tell-Neg.-Past.

‘Ali_i told nothing until he_i became conscious again.’

Note that as opposed to comparative *kadar* in (56-a), temporal *kadar* in (56-b) requires dative case marking on its complement. This implies that temporal comparatives do not involve an operator that defines an opaque domain for binding.

To summarize so far, I claim that the reason why certain PPs headed by bare postpositions such as *kadar*, *ile*, *için*, *gibi* do not license *kendi* as their complement result from their predicative nature and the Operator which is an instance of their event structures since the Operator on [Spec, PP] renders PP an opaque domain for binding as well as checking the Genitive case on their complements. A further evidence to Operator claim can be the cases in which the complements of PPs headed by PP-I postpositions cannot be post-verbally scrambled as illustrated below.

(57) a. Ali Ayşe-nin_i yeni kitab-ı_i için bir parti düzenle-di.
Ali Ayşe-Gen. new book-3sgPoss for a party arrange-Past
'Ali arranged a party for Ayşe's new book.'

b. * Ali yeni kitab-ı_i için bir parti düzenle-di Ayşe-nin_i.⁹
Ali new book-3sgPoss for a party arrange-Past Ayşe-Gen.
Intended meaning: 'Ali arranged a party for Ayşe's new book.'

(58) a. Ali Ayşe-nin_i kardeş-i_i kadar çok çalış-tı.
Ali Ayşe-Gen. brother-Poss as much as very work-Past.
'Ali worked as much as Ayşe's brother.'

b. * Ali kardeş-i_i kadar çok çalış-tı Ayşe-nin_i.
Ali brother-Poss as much as very work-Past. Ayşe-Gen.
Intended meaning: 'Ali worked as much as Ayşe's brother.'

Post-verbal scrambling of the complement of PPs headed by PP-I postpositions is ungrammatical as (57-b) and (58-b) indicate. This provides evidence for the claim that the Operator PP-I postpositions come to the derivation which renders the domain opaque for syntactic operations such as binding and scrambling.

⁹ The data presented is based on the grammaticality judgments of Dialect A, who also do not accept *kendi* as the complement of PPs headed by PP-I postpositions. Note that more tolerant speakers of Dialect B can find (57-b) and (58-b) acceptable as they find *kendi* as the complement of PPs headed by PP-I postpositions acceptable yet the analysis I propose is based on the judgments of the speakers of Dialect A as I have indicated so far.

To return to the first basic claim at the beginning of the section that the structure of all bare PPs is not the same in Turkish, the proposal in this study solves the problem of *kendi*'s being illegitimate with PP-I postpositions. Operators PP-I involve make PPs headed by PP-I postpositions an opaque domain for binding. The anaphor *kendi* lacks a coreferential subject within its domain yielding ungrammaticality. Yet lacking the Operator, PPs headed by PP-II postpositions do not create a local domain within the PP; they remain as transparent domains for *kendi* to be bound by the coreferential subject of the clause.

3.2.2. Possessive Marked Postpositions and *Kendi/Kendisi*

Recall the second basic claim of this section which suggests that PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions are in fact DP projections and agreement is realized as a feature at D head which prevents the occurrence of *kendi* as the complement of DP. The reasons and implications of this claim will be discussed in this section.

The possessive marked postpositions in Turkish carry a possessive marking as the name implies and they are derived from nouns. After the possessive marker, an ablative, dative or locative case marker occurs according to the meaning which will be conveyed. The illustration in (59) shows the morphological properties of a possessive marked postposition, *hakkında* 'about':

- (59) hakk -in -da
 noun root 'right' -3sg. -Loc.

To repeat the example at the beginning of this section, a postpositional phrase with *hakkında* is as follows.

- (60) Ali (*nin*) hakk *-in* -da
 Ali (-Gen) right-3sg. –Loc.
 ‘about Ali’

Note that the morphological structure of (60) above is the same of a possessive NP as in (61).

- (61) Ali *-nin* araba *-sı*
 Ali -Gen car-3sg.
 ‘Ali’s car’

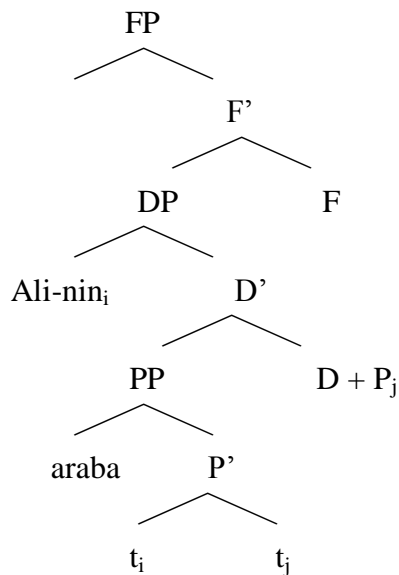
Both PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions and Possessive NPs in Turkish agree with their complements in terms of number and person, and their complement is genitive marked when it is definite and referential. This morphological identity implies that their syntactic structure can be the same. In Kornfilt (1984), it is stated that genitive case marking on the complements of Possessive NPs results from Agr head yet genitive on the complement of PPs is an instance of case insertion.

However, there is not a salient reason for PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions to have a different phrase structure than Possessive NPs. Furthermore, mentioned PPs have a noun root and a possessive marker as Possessive NPs do.

These similarities lead to assume that the clause structure of PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions is the same as possessive NPs in Turkish.

Possessive NPs Turkish is typically assumed to be a PossP or AgrP and the genitive case is assumed to be assigned via the head of the phrase. PossP or AgrP is suggested to host the possessor in its Spec, the possessive agreement in its head and the possessed NP in its complement position (Kornfilt 1984, 1997, Özsoy 1994, Yüksek 1998, Arslan-Kechriotis 2006, 2009, Göksel 2009). An alternative analysis is suggested in Zimmer, Öztürk and Erguvanlı-Taylan (to appear) which considers the syntactic and discourse-related properties of different types of genitive-possessive constructions. They argue that such constructions are DP which involve a PP. Certain types of genitive possessive constructions have compositional semantics and a predicative relationship between the possessor and possessed is established first within a PP. The assumed structure is illustrated below.

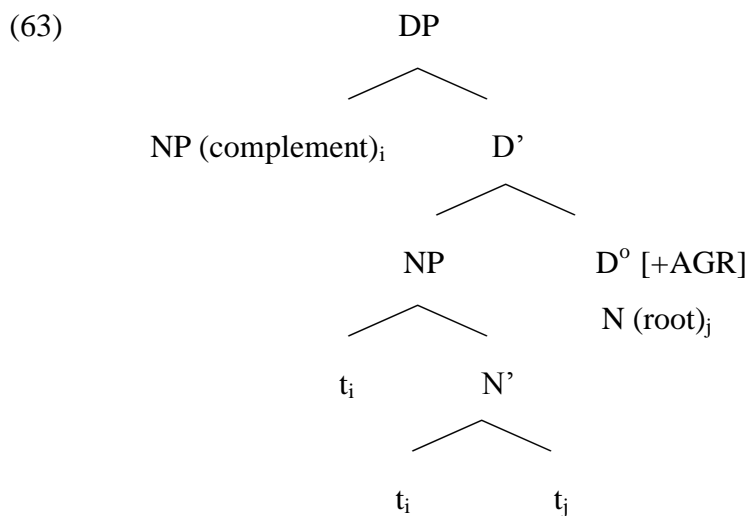
(62)



[(Zimmer, Öztürk and Erguvanlı-Taylan, to appear)]

They claim that the possessor is introduced in the complement position of the PP and the possessed in its Spec. The P head raises into D and the possessor raises into Spec, DP. The complex head P+D, then, checks the genitive case on the possessor. FP projection above DP is considered to be the nominal counterpart of CP which checks the discourse-related features.

Similar to the genitive-possessive analysis of Zimmer, Öztürk and Erguvanlı-Taylan (to appear), I propose PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions in Turkish are DP projections which function as adjunct phrases. Different from them, I do not assume a PP below DP. Considering the nominal nature of the possessive marked postpositions, I suggest that they are introduced on the N head from where they raise to D head and receive the possessive marking. From a minimalist perspective, I argue that D head carries [+AGR] feature. The root moves to D^o to check agreement and the complement NP moves to [Spec, DP] to check genitive case and satisfy EPP. The assumed structure is illustrated below.



The structure in (63) sheds a light on the distributional properties of *kendi* and *kendisi* as the complement of these adjunct DPs, as well. *kendi* does not occur as the complement whereas *kendisi* is grammatical since DP constitutes an opaque domain for binding resulting from Agr feature on the D head. The examples are repeated below.

- (64) a. * Ayşe_i benim-le [kendi_i hakkında] pek konuş-ma-z.

Ayşe I-with *kendi* about much talk-Neg.-Aor

Intended meaning: ‘Ayşe_i does not talk to me about herself_i much.’

- b. Ayşe_i benim-le [kendisi_i hakkında] pek konuş-ma-z.

Ayşe I-with *kendisi* about much talk-Neg.-Aor

‘Ayşe_i does not talk to me about herself_i much.’

- (65) a. * Ali_i bu konu-da kendi_i yerine Ayşe-ye güven-iyor.

Ali this issue-Loc. kendi instead Ayşe-Dat. trust-Present Prog.

Intended meaning: ‘On this issue, Ali_i trusts Ayşe instead of (rather than) himself_i.’

- b. Ali_i bu konu-da kendisin-in_i yerine Ayşe-ye güven-iyor.

Ali this issue-Loc. kendisi-Gen. instead Ayşe-Dat. trust-Present Prog.

‘On this issue, Ali_i trusts Ayşe instead of (rather than) himself_i.’

Hence, it is evident according to (64-a) and (65-a) that adjunct DPs, which are traditionally referred as PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions, create a governing domain which is the minimal category containing an anaphor (*kendi*) and a governor of the anaphor (*Agr* on the D head). *kendi* becomes illicit as a complement of these postpositions as it lacks a c-commanding antecedent in its governing domain; it violates Condition A. *kendisi* as in (64-b) and (65-b), on the other hand, occurs in this environment irrespective of Condition A since it is not a true anaphor but acts as a long-distance bound reflexive.

To sum up the discussion so far, I suggest a three-way distinction among postpositional constructions in Turkish based on the theoretical considerations and empirical evidence. The clausal nature of postpositions headed by PP-I differs from the ones headed by PP-II due to the presence of the Operator related to the event structures of PP-I postpositions; and the morphological properties of possessive marked postpositions as well as the data based on the binding relations provides evidence for the DP projection analysis of PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions whose head hosts *Agr* hence defines the minimal domain for binding.

3.3. Summary

The distributional properties of *kendi* and *kendisi* in simple clauses indicate that *kendi* is an anaphor bound by its antecedent in its own domain but *kendisi* does not obey Condition A being long-distance bound to an antecedent or having its reference outside of the clause. Furthermore, anaphors are not subject-oriented in Turkish and binding is an anywhere condition which holds before or after Internal Merge excluding OCC triggered movement in ditransitive constructions. Within the light of the proposal in terms of the structure of postpositions suggested in this study, certain postpositions render PP or DP an opaque domain for anaphor binding resulting from their event structure or clausal architecture. *Kendi* and *kendisi* as a complement of these postpositions further suggests that *kendi* is an anaphor obeying Condition A whereas *kendisi* is licit in structures where *kendi* yields ungrammaticality in terms of binding. Thus, *kendi* and *kendisi* in Turkish are different dependent forms which display variation in terms of their syntactic distribution and function.

CHAPTER IV

DOMAIN OF BINDING IN TURKISH

This chapter focuses on the nature of the minimal domain for anaphoric dependencies and locality notion in Turkish. The following are the questions raised with respect to the definition of the minimal binding domain in Turkish;

- (i) What independent evidence is observed on the structure of embedded clauses that creates the minimal domain for binding?
- (ii) How does tense and agreement play a role on creating the minimal domain for anaphor binding in Turkish?

First, it is argued that subordinate clauses are CP projections. I suggest that only embedded structures with (overt) agreement are CPs in Turkish. The second question is discussed based on the arguments about finiteness in Turkish. As proposed in George and Kornfilt (1981) and Kornfilt (1984), finiteness is determined by agreement in Turkish. These assumptions are empirically attested based on the binding relations in subordinate clauses. Control structures and ECM constructions without agreement marker on their predicates or with covert agreement marker (3rd person singular)¹⁰ cannot create opaque domain for binding. The reason why complex structures which lack agreement cannot define the minimal domain for

¹⁰ 3rd person singular agreement is assumed to be a weak feature and cannot define the local domain for binding.

binding is suggested to be their not being CP projections. This assumption is further supported by the binding relations in relative clauses and the proposal of Ulutaş (2006) which suggests agreement occurs as a feature on the C head of CPs in Turkish.

4.1. Analysis on the Structure of Subordinate Clauses in Turkish

To answer the first question about the structure of subordinate clauses in Turkish, several assumptions in the literature which suggest different clause structure analysis of subordinate structures (clauses nominalized with –DIK and –mA) with different motives will be discussed first.

4.1.1. Previous Analysis on the Subordinate Clauses as (not) being CPs

There are three basic proposals in the literature for clauses nominalized with –DIK since they differ in their views on the clause structures. Kornfilt (1984, 2003), Kural (1992) and Meral (2010) analysis clauses nominalized with –DIK as CPs; Ulutaş (2006) and Kornfilt (2007) assume a nominal head on CP, and Kennelly (1992) suggests they are DPs. As for the structure of –mA clauses, Kornfilt (1984) suggest they are CPs with a [-Operator] Comp, Kornfilt (2003, 2007), Kural (1992) and Kennelly (1992) assume they are DPs. All these analysis have implications on the nature of Agr in Turkish, finiteness and case assignment-checking properties of the subordinate clauses which are discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.1.1.1. Kornfilt (1984)

Following George and Kornfilt (1981), Kornfilt (1984) holds that clauses nominalized with –DIK are *factive nominals* and clauses nominalized with –MA are *action nominals* in Turkish. It is stated that factive nominals and action nominals differ from each other since action nominals are more transparent domains for grammatical operations such as binding according to Kornfilt (1984).

(1) * (Biz)_i [birbirimiz-in_i toplantı -ya gel-eceğ-in]-i

We e.o. -Gen meeting-Dat come-Fut-3sg-Acc

bil-iyor-du-k.

know-Pres.Prog-Past-1pl.

‘We knew that each other were going to come to the meeting’

(2) ? (Biz)_i [birbirimiz-in_i toplantı -ya gel-me-sin]-i

We e.o. -Gen meeting-Dat come-Part-3sg-Acc

isti-yor-du-k.

want-Pres.Prog-Past-1pl

‘We wanted that each other should come to the meeting’

[Kornfilt (1984:116,117) Examples (14) and (15) respectively]

Another difference Kornfilt (1984) notes that factive nominals can be independent from the matrix clause in terms of time reference whereas action nominals are dependent on the tense of the matrix clause, which suggests that factive nominals have a remainder of tense. It is noted in Kornfilt (1984) that these two types of nominals differ in being able to be a landing site for wh constituents, as well. The scope of Wh-Questions is used to prove this claim. Wh-constituents in either type of nominalized clauses can have wide scope as illustrated below.

(3) [Parti-ye kim-in gel-diğ-in]-i sor-du-n?

Party-Dat who-Gen come-DIK-3sg-Acc ask-Past-2sg

‘Who did you ask came to the party?’

(4) [Parti-ye kim-in gel-me-sin]-i isti-yor-sun?

Party-Dat who-Gen come-MA-3sg-Acc want-Prog-2sg

‘Who do you want to come to the party?’

[Kornfilt (1984:141) Examples (51b) and (52a) respectively]

On the other hand, wh-constituents can have narrow scope only in –DIK complements as observed in Kornfilt (1984).

(5) [Parti-ye kim-in gel-diğ-in]-i sor-du-m.

Party-Dat who-Gen come-DIK-3sg-Acc ask-Past-1sg

‘I asked who came to the party.’

(6) * [Parti-ye kim-in gel-me-sin]-i isti-yor-um.

Party-Dat who-Gen come-MA-3sg-Acc want-Prog-1sg

‘I want that who came to the party.’

[Kornfilt (1984:141, 142) Examples (53) and (54) respectively]

Based on this, Kornfilt (1984) argues that –DIK and –MA clauses exhibit certain differences. She explains this with the nature of Comp position in both types of clauses; the Comp position associated with –MA (and –MAK) are [-Operator] since these constructions lack tense and they cannot serve as landing sites for a Wh (or Tense) operator, hence they are transparent domains for binding. However, Comp position in –DIK clauses is of [+Operator] by nature so that they can host operators such as Wh and tense, and they are opaque domains for binding.

4.1.1.2. Kornfilt (2003)

A similar distinction between nominal indicatives (-DIK clauses) and subjunctives (-MA clauses) is held in Kornfilt (2003) with respect to tense and hosting a wh-operator. Moreover, Kornfilt (2003) further argues that nominal indicatives and subjunctives also differ in terms of licensing properties of the subject case. She states that genuine subject case in Turkish is Nominative or Genitive which is licensed by verbal or nominative Agr respectively. Nominal subjunctive clauses are homogeneously nominal, thus nominal Agr they carry is fully licensed. As such,

nominal subjunctives can license the subject case (genitive) irrespective of being argument (7) or adjunct (8) of the matrix clause.

(7) [Sen-in yarın ev-de yemek pişir-me-n]-i isti-yor-um.

You-Gen tomorrow home-Loc food cook-NFN-3sg-Acc want-Prs Prog-1sg

‘I want for you to cook food at home tomorrow;

‘I want that you should cook food at home tomorrow.’

[Kornfilt (2003:139) Example: 6b]

(8) [Sen-in yemek pişir-me-n] için] ben ev-de kal-dı-m.

You(Sg)-Gen food cook-NFN-3sg for I house-Loc go-Past-1sg

‘I stayed at home so that you should cook (for you to cook)’

[Kornfilt (2003:153) Example: 23]

The contrast, however, is between the argument and adjunct factive clauses since the subject of the former is Genitive as expected (9), yet the subject of the adjunct factive clause is marked with default case (Nominative) (10).

(9) [Sen-in dün sabah ev-de yemek pişir-diğ-in]-i duy-du-m.

You-Gen yesterday morning home-Loc food cook-FN-2sg-Acc hear-Past-1sg

‘I heard/believed that you had been cooking/were cooking/cooked/had

cooked food at home yesterday morning.’

[Kornfilt (2003:139) Example: 6a]

- (10) [Sen konser-e git-tiğ-in] -de ben ev-e dön-üyor-du-m.
You concert-Dat go-FN-3sg-Loc I home-Dat return-Prog-Past-1sg
'When you were going to the concert (at your going to the concert), I
returned home'

[Kornfilt (2003:152) Example: 22]

According to Kornfilt, the difference between the subject case of argument and adjunct indicative clauses results from the nature of the indicative. Agr element in indicative clauses needs to be licensed itself to be able to license the subject case since –DIK is categorically hybrid. In adjunct indicative clauses, Agr is not licensed by a primary θ -index or a referential index, thus the subject is in default case, not in Genitive. However, there is not such a difference for the subjects of argument and adjunct subjunctive clauses since –MA is fully nominal and does not need any licensing mechanism.

Taking into account these differences such as being able to license the subject case, hosting a wh-operator, having a tense operator and being transparent domains for binding or not; Kornfilt (2003) states that both –MA and –DIK clauses are DPs yet only –DIK is also a CP. That's why indicative nominals (-DIK), which occurs between TAM and CP, requires another licensing mechanism to license the subject case as opposed to purely nominal subjunctive clauses.

4.1.1.3. Kornfilt (2007)

The distinction between –MA and –DIK clauses as previously noted is held in Kornfilt (2007). Referring to the scope of *wh* questions test in her previous studies, Kornfilt (2007) holds the argument that –MA clauses cannot be CPs as opposed to –DIK clauses. Assuming *Agr* in Turkish expresses categorical features as well as phi-features and following Miyagawa’s typological distinction between focus vs. agreement prominent languages, Kornfilt (2007) suggests that Turkish is a focus prominent language since the primary function of *Agr* is to express category features in Turkish rather than phi-features.

She suggests that *Agr* occurs in a distinct *n* head in –DIK clauses. –DIK clauses are categorically hybrid expressing both verbal and nominal properties; hence they are CPs dominated by *nP* when they occur as argument clauses and *Agr* rises to *n* head turning the clause into a nominal clause. As such, *Agr* in *n* head can license the subject case (Genitive) in argument clauses as observed in her previous studies (9). Adjunct clauses, however, are ModPs and *nPs* are in complementary distribution with ModPs. Lacking an *nP* projection in adjunct clauses, *Agr* cannot rise to *n* head and cannot license the subject case (Genitive), thus the subject of nominal indicative clauses as adjuncts carries default (Nominative) case as in (10) above and in (12). Indicative nominals as argument and adjunct clauses are illustrated below respectively.

- (11) [[[[Sen-in [[yemek pişir]_{VP} –diğ]_{T/FNP} *t_i]_{AgP} *t_i]_{CP} –in_i]_{nP} –i]_{KP}
 You-Gen food cook -FN -2sg -Acc
 ‘...(that) you had been cooking/were cooking/cooked/had cooked food.’**

- (12) [[[Ben [yemek pişir]_{VP} -diğ]_{T/FNP t_i}]_{AgrP} -im_i]_{ModP} -den]_{IKP}
 I (Nom) food cook -FN -1sg -Abl
 ‘Because I had been cooking/were cooking/cooked/had cooked
 food....’

[Kornfilt (2007:31, 32) Examples 1 and 6’]

For the subjunctive nominal clauses, on the other hand, the subject is licensed by Agr both in adjunct and argument clauses as in (7, 8) since there is no *nP* projection in such constructions yet Agr is licensed domain-internally as subjunctive nominals are homogenously nominal.

4.1.1.4. Kural (1992)

Kural (1992) proposes an alternative categorization and analysis of subordinate clauses in Turkish. (13) illustrates the traditional categorization (Underhill, 1976), and (14) is Kural (1992)’s assumption.

(13)	<u>Category</u>	<u>Conventional analysis</u>
	a. -DIK-	gerundive
	b. -EcEK-	gerundive
	c. -mE-	gerundive
	d. -mEK	infinitive
	e. -Iş-	deverbal nominal

(14)	<u>Category</u>	<u>Alternative analysis</u>
	a. –DIK-	past; cf. main clause past -DI-
	b. –EcEK-	future; cf. main clause future -EcEK-
	c. –mE-	infinitive
	d. –mEK	infinitive
	e. –İş-	true gerundive; equivalent to English <i>-ing</i>

[Kural (1992:18) (1) and (2) respectively]

He basically proposes that (i) ‘K’ is a C head in –DIK-, –EcEK- and –mEK clauses, and (ii) Agr does not occur as an independent head in syntax.

First, Kural (1992) analyses the nominalization morphemes with ‘-K’, such as ‘-DIK’, as ‘-DI-’ and ‘-K’, where ‘-DI’ corresponds to the past tense marker and ‘-K’ to the C head. Therefore, there should be a CP projection in subordinate clauses nominalized with –DIK. The CP Kural (1992) assumes is in nominal nature. As evidence to his analysis, he states that the absence of CP (‘K’) extends the disjoint reference domain of pronominal elements.

- (15) a. Ahmet-Ø_i [*pro*_i Ankara-ya git-tiğ-i]-ni san-ıyor-Ø
A.-Nom 3sg. Ankara-Dat go-Past-Comp-Agr-Acc think-Prs-Agr
‘Ahmet thinks he went to Ankara.’

b. * Ahmet- \emptyset_i [*pro*_i Ankara-ya git-ti] san-iyor- \emptyset
 A.-Nom 3sg. Ankara-Dat go-Past think-Prs-Agr
 ‘Ahmet thinks he went to Ankara.’

[Kural (1992:34) Example (46a-b)]

According to Kural, the subordinate clause, which occurs as the CP because of ‘-K’, is the domain of binding in (15-a), thus the pronominal element *pro* can be bound by the matrix subject since they do not occur in the same domain. Yet the absence of CP in (15-b) indicates the absence of the binding domain in the subordinate clause. Hence, the antecedent and *pro* occur in the same domain violating Condition B and yielding ungrammaticality.

Kural (1992) further argues that the order of C head and Agr head on the verbal form of the subordinate clauses provides evidence for the claim in (ii) which indicates that the subordinate Agr is not an independent head. Assuming ‘K’ in ‘-DIK’ is a C head, Agr is supposed to follow this C head in a structure like (16).

(16) pro [Ahmet-in koş-tu-ğ-u]-nu bil-iyor-um.
 1sg A.-Gen run-Past-Comp-Agr-Acc know-Pres-Agr
 ‘I know that Ali ran’

[Kural (1992:38) Example (58)]

In order to yield V-T-C-Agr order on the embedded verb, Agr head should occur outside C^o, which will lead to several problems such as the scope of the object QPs

as Kural (1992) observes. Wh-phrases take unambiguous scope over subject QPs in Turkish as illustrated below.

- (17) Herkes-Ø kim-i gör-dü-Ø ?
Everyone-Nom who-Acc see-Past-Agr
'Who did everyone see?'

- a. For which x, x a human, everyone saw x?
- b. * For every y, y a human, who did y see?

- (18) *pro* [herkes-in kim-i gör-düğ-ü]-nü sor-du-m.
1sg everyone-Gen who-Acc see-Past-Comp-Agr-Acc ask-Past-Agr
'I asked who everyone saw'

- a. I asked for which x, x a human, everyone saw x.
- b. * I asked for every y, y a human, who y saw.

[Kural (1992:39) Examples (61) and (62) respectively]

For the wh-phrase to take wide scope, it should move to [Spec, CP] at LF, which should be above the subject. Yet if Agr occurs as a distinct head above CP, readings in (b) are supposed to be grammatical since the subject QP would occur at [Spec, AgrP] above CP from where it c-commands the wh-phrase.

Another evidence comes from the scrambling to the presubject position in subordinate clauses.

- (19) Berna-Ø dün [okul-a_i Ahmet-in t_i gid-eceğ-Ø-i] -ni
 B.-Nom yesterday school-Dat A.-Gen go-Fut-Comp-Agr-Acc
 duy-du-Ø.
 hear-past-Agr
 ‘Berna heard yesterday that Ahmet went to school.’

[Kural (1992:40) Example (63)]

If the subject occur at the highest position, [Spec, AgrP] in (19), scrambling is supposed to be ungrammatical since elements scrambled to the presubject position occur at [Spec, CP], which would be, in this case, below the subject in the structure.

All these indicates that subjects must be lower than C^o (-K) according to Kural (1992). Hence, he proposes that Agr does not occur as an independent head yet it is a bundle of syntactic features and there is a feature percolation mechanism to license the genitive subject in subordinate clauses.

4.1.1.5. Ulutaş (2006)

Within the basic assumptions of Minimalist Program as proposed by Chomsky (2000), Ulutaş (2006) suggests lexical verb moves to T head in Turkish resulting from morphological selectional properties ([uV] feature) of the functional projections. Lexical verb can move to the closest functional head, and a copula (*ol-* or *i-* dependent on the nature of the functional head) is inserted to satisfy m-selectional properties of a higher functional head when present in the configuration. His proposal of V-to-T movement is also based on the independent syntactic

evidence such as object shift, NPI licensing requirements and scope relations in Turkish. The adverb *sabırla* in (20) is a low adverb indicating the object moved out of VP domain and the c-command requirement of negation on NPIs in Turkish suggests that verb has moved to the functional domain as the sentence is grammatical.

(20) [Ali_k kimse-yi_i [t_k [sabırla t_i t_j]] dinle_j-me-di].
TP vP VP

noone-Acc patiently listen-Neg-Past

“Ali didn’t listen to anyone patiently.”

[Ulutaş (2006: 44) Example 3]

Similarly, Ulutaş (2006) points out that the scope of negation with respect to quantifiers provides evidence for V-to-T movement in Turkish. Scope of quantifiers like *bütün* ‘all’ is determined by their surface c-command relations and (21) illustrates that negation should occur higher than the quantifier in the structure to provide “NEG> Quantifier” reading.

(21) Ali [bütün elma-lar-ı]_i [hızlı hızlı t_i t_j] ye_j-me-di].
TP VP

all apple-Plu-Acc quickly eat-Neg-Past

(= He ate some of them quickly but not all of them) (NEG>all, *all>NEG)

[Ulutaş (2006: 45) Example 4]

Ulutaş (2006) also asserts that V does not move to C through T as opposed to Kural (1992) based on the data from relative clause constructions. Yet he proposes a feature percolation analysis from C to T assuming that C head carries both AGR and FOC features, which percolates down to T head in the course of derivation. He claims that the relativization strategy in Turkish is determined depending on the percolation of the strong feature; AGR or FOC. If FOC feature is stronger than AGR, FOC percolates down to T⁰ yielding subject relativization (-(y)An) strategy. Relativized N head moves to Spec TP and then Spec CP to check the weak AGR feature at C head.

- (22) [[t_i [t_i [kitap oku]-yan]] adam_i] -(y)An strategy (Subj. Rel.)
CP(=RC) TP VP NP
- book read-SR man
- “the man who reads a book”

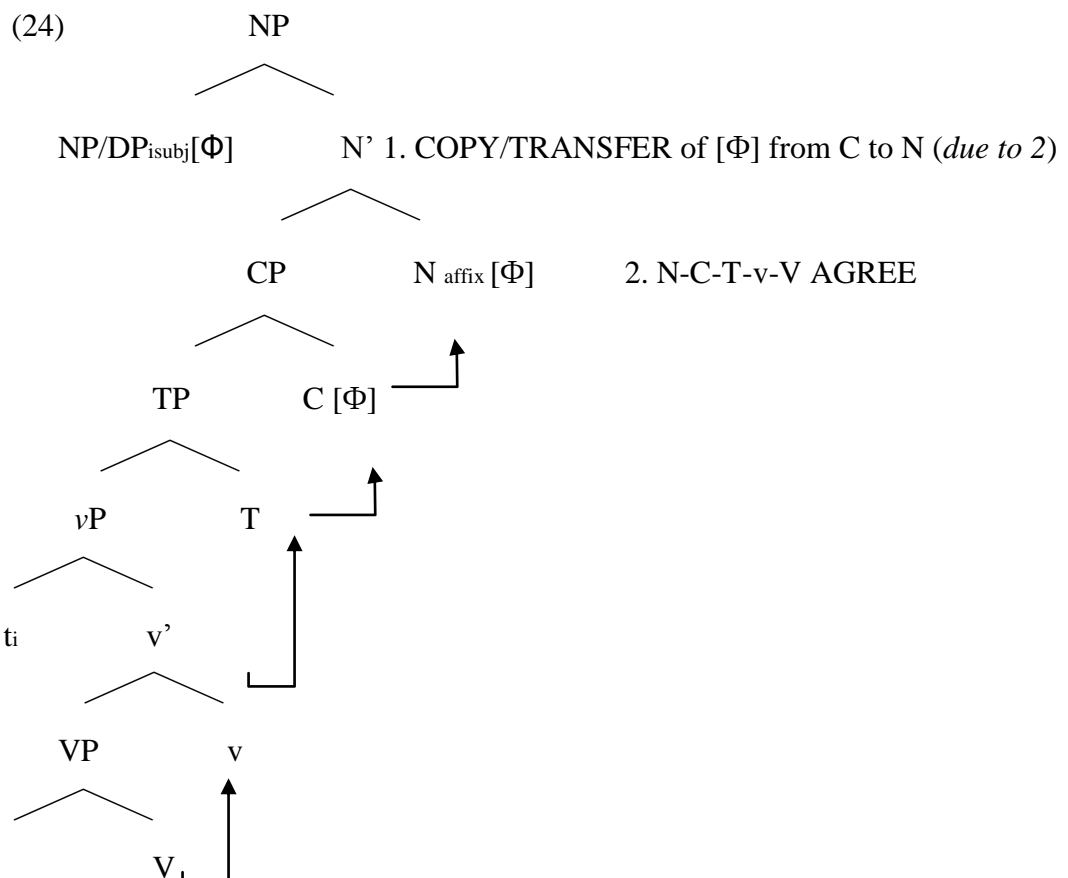
[Ulutaş (2006: 63) Example 1]

As for the non-subject derivation (–DIK strategy), he claims that strong feature at C head is AGR and it percolates down to T head. In order to check the strong AGR at TP level, the subject moves to Spec TP and gets genitive marker. CP has the weak FOC feature and it attracts the relativized head to Spec CP to check FOC feature.

- (23) [[t_i [adam-in [dün t_i oku]-duğ-u]] kitap_i] –DIK st. (Non-subj.R.)
CP(=RC) TP VP NP
- man-GEN yesterday read-NSR-POSS book
- “the book that the man read yesterday”

[Ulutaş (2006: 63) Example 2]

It is also argued in Ulutaş (2006) that feature percolation is a two-way phenomenon. Genitive case on the subject of the nominalized (indicative/factive) embedded clauses is ensured through the same feature percolation mechanism but in the different direction (from C° to null N°). He suggests –DIK have a null and affixal N head upon CP. Assuming features can also percolate up to a higher head from C, he suggests an upward feature percolation from C head to N head for –DIK clauses and indicates that the genitive Case in such constructions is licensed via this upward feature percolation mechanism. The assumed structure of Ulutaş (2006) is illustrated below.



[Ulutaş (2006: 79) Example 20]

4.1.1.6. Meral (2010)

Meral (2010) argues against the feature inheritance as proposed in Chomsky (2005, 2007) for Turkish, and the idea that finiteness, subject licensing and binding domain are determined by a sole syntactic category such as tense or agreement. According to Meral (2010), the ungrammaticality of (25-b) illustrates that case is not licensed by T.

- (25) a. Biz [sen taşın-dı-n] san-dı-k
we you move-PAST-2sg think-PAST-1pl
“We thought that you moved.”
- b. *Biz [sen taşın-dı] san-dı-k
we you move-PAST think-PAST-1pl
“We thought you moved”

[(Meral, 2010:231) Examples 30a-b]

As for the claim that Agr licenses subject case, quantifier subjects as in (26a-b) causes problems since Φ -features of the subject and the agreement does not match in (26-a) yet it is grammatical.

- (26) a. Birimiz gel-di- \emptyset
one.of.us come-PAST-3sg
“One of us came”

b. Birimiz gel-di-k.
 one.of.us come-PAST-1pl
 “One of us came”

[(Meral, 2010:232) Examples 31a-b]

He suggests that subject licensing occurs in C domain in Turkish proposing V-to-T-to-C movement. As an evidence for the claim that V is at C in Turkish, Meral (2010) uses the licensing of NPI elements. NPI elements must be c-commanded by negation and (27a-b) indicate that negation is above NPI, at CP level.

(27) a. Kimse koş-ma-dı.
 nobody run-NEG-PAST
 “Nobody ran.”

b. Ahmet [kimse-nin koş –ma -dı -ğ -ın]-1 san-ıyor.
 Ahmet nobody-GEN run-NEG-PAST-COMP-AGR-ACC think-IMP
 “Ahmet thinks that nobody has run.”

[(Meral, 2010) Examples taken from Kural (1992) (54a), (55b) respectively]

He does not consider Agr as a syntactically active feature and he proposes that subordinate clauses are CPs in Turkish irrespective of their being argument or adjunct of the matrix clause. He also opposes the claim that finiteness creates an

opaque domain for grammatical operations such as binding. He bases his arguments on the proposal that A-domain is not very active in Turkish and the grammatical operations are instances of operator-variable chains, which indicates a very active A' domain, namely a rich CP layer. Within these lines, he assumes that non-finite clauses (clauses nominalized with –DIK and -ECEK) are CPs with a null head taking an AspP as their complement. They do not have a TP projection since they do not denote tense as illustrated below, but have aspectual features.

(28) a. Ali-nin yarın Ankara-ya gid-eceğ-in-i
 Ali-GEN tomorrow Ankara-DAT go-NOM-3sg-ACC
 bil-iyor-um.
 know-PROG-1sg.
 “I know that Ali will go to Ankara tomorrow”

b. Ali-nin yarın Ankara-ya git-tiğ-in-i
 Ali-GEN tomorrow Ankara-DAT go-NOM-3sg-ACC
 bil-iyor-um.
 know-PROG-1sg.
 “I know that Ali will go to Ankara tomorrow”

[(Meral, 2010:313) Examples 63a-b]

The licensing mechanisms he suggests requires a rich left periphery, i.e. the presence of Force, Topic, Focus and Fin heads yet he proposes that these functional categories have their own maximal projections; they do not occur as features on the C head.

TopP hosts operator variable chains, and topicalized constituents; FinP participates in subject case licensing and creates a distance between the Spec-TP and Spec-TopP position to license resumptives. As for the FocusP, he holds the proposal as put forth in Göksel and Özsoy (2000, 2002) that there is a focus field in the left of the verb for both contrastive and presentational focus. Another functional category at CP level, the ForceP, is needed to indicate the sentence's being a declarative or an interrogative sentence.

4.1.1.7. Kennelly (1992)

Kennelly (1992) suggests that Turkish subordinate clauses, excluding direct complements, cannot be CPs. She argues that they are DPs over IP. First evidence she proposes is that they do not allow backgrounding of elements to immediately postverbal position which she claims to prove that there is not a CP layer to which scrambled NP can adjoin.

(29) pro [Can t_i aldı] kitabı_i sandım.
 took book-ACC I.believed
 "I believed that Can took the book"

(30) *pro [Can'ın t_i aldığın-]₋₁ kitab-ı_i sandım.
 GEN3 take-[- FUT]-AGRN3-ACC book-ACC I.believed
 "I believed that Can took the book"

[Kennelly (1992:64-65) Examples (13b) and (11b) respectively]

Another argument Kennelly (1992) proposes with respect to subordinate clauses not being CPs is about the scope of embedded yes-no questions within such constructions. She observes that in contrast to direct complements (32), subordinate clauses cannot have an embedded yes-no question with narrow scope (31) since there is not a CP layer to host the scope determining Q feature in subordinate clauses.

(31) pro [_{DP} Can'ın gidip gitmediğin-]i merak ed-iyor-um.
 GEN3 go-'Ip' go-NEG-[-FUT]-AGRN3-ACC I.wonder
 "I wonder if Can (has) left"

(32) pro [Can gitti] mi merak ed-iyor-um.
 went Q I.wonder
 "I wonder if Can (has) left"

[Kennelly (1992:68) Examples (16) and (18) respectively]

Kennelly (1992) also discusses that NPI licensing in embedded structures provides further evidence for the nonexistence of a CP layer in such constructions. In direct complement clauses, the negation on the matrix verb cannot have scope over NPI in the embedded clause hence ungrammaticality as in (33a-b) whereas the scope of negation is not blocked in subordinate non-finite clauses as in (34a-b).

(33) a. pro [Kimse sigara içmedi] zannediyorum.

nobody didn't smoke I.believe

“I believe/think that nobody smoked”

b. *pro Kimse sigara içti zannetmiyorum.

nobody smoked I.don't.believe

“I don't believe/think that anybody smoked”

[Kennelly (1992:72) Examples (29a) and (29b) respectively]

(34) a. pro [DP Kimsenin sigara içmediğin-]i söyledim.

nobody-GEN3 smoke-NEG-[-FUT]-AGRN3-ACC I.said

“I said that nobody smoked”

b. pro [DP Kimsenin sigara içtiğin-]i söylemedim.

nobody-GEN3 smoke-[-FUT]-AGRN3-ACC I.didn't.said

“I didn't say that anybody smoked”

[Kennelly (1992) Examples (27a) and (27b) respectively]

4.1.1.8. Counterevidence to DP Analysis

Kennelly (1992)'s argument for subordinate structures' being DPs and the tests she uses to provide evidence for her proposal are challenged in the literature.

As a counterexample of subordinate clauses being DPs, Aygen (2002) indicates that NPs can be scrambled within a non-finite clause as exemplified below.

- (35) Ben-Ø [Kürsat-in t_i kır-dığ-ın]-a cam-ı inan-ıyor-um.
I-Nom -Gen break-asp-agr-Dat glass-Acc believe-prog-1sagr
“I believe that Kürsat broke the glass”

[Aygen (2002:111) Example (108)]

To discuss the validity of Kennelly (1992)'s embedded yes-no questions' scope test, Meral (2010) suggest that both structures in (31) and (32) have question interpretation hence both structures can host a Q element. Q element in (31) can be phonetically unrealized yet existent implying there can be a CP layer to host it.

NPI licensing is also questioned to be a valid test to decide the inner structure of subordinate clauses since there are several counterarguments within the literature against Neg raising analysis of Kennelly (1992). Kornfilt (1984) and Kelepir (2001) state that when the embedded subject of the finite clause is marked with accusative case, NPI can be licensed. Moreover, Meral (2010) notes that Neg raising seems to be possible crossing a CP layer as illustrated below.

- (36) Kimse sigara iç-me-di diye düşün-üyor-um.
nobody smoke-NEG-PAST COMP think-PROG-1sg
“I think that nobody smoked”
- (37) ?Kimse sigara iç-ti diye düşün-mü-yor-um
nobody smoke-PAST COMP think-NEG-PROG-1sg
“I don’t think that anybody smoked”

[Meral (2010) Examples (55a) and (55b) respectively]

4.1.2. An Alternative Analysis

I propose an alternative analysis for the subordinate clauses based on the semantic properties of the nominalizers, the scope of wh questions, topicalization and scrambling in such constructions. Different from the analysis within the literature, I suggest that both –DIK and –MA clauses are CPs in Turkish. The next section discusses the event structure analysis which motivates the ModP analysis of –DIK and –MA clauses and the following section provides empirical evidence for the occurrence of a CP over ModP for both –DIK and –MA clauses.

4.1.2.1. Event Structure of –DIK and –MA

Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998) discusses nominalized clauses in Turkish from a semantic point of view. It is discussed in Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998) that grouping nominalized complements as *action nominals* and *factive nominals* is inadequate considering the fact that epistemic and deontic modality motivate the choice of the nominalizer in such constructions. Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998) notes that factive nominals and action nominals occur as the results of distinct semantic values attributed to the propositions which are in accordance with the modality of the matrix verb.

As opposed to the analysis that –DIK expresses past or non-future temporal reference, Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998) indicates that temporal/aspectual reference is associated with the larger context resulting from the semantics of adverbials or verbs –DIK occurs with. In fact, what –DIK reflects is the modal notion of ‘certainty’ hence it is a marker of epistemic modality. –MA complements, on the other hand, express deontic modality referring to a reaction or behavior of the agent. That’s why, according to Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998), main verbs reflecting epistemic modality such as *inan-* ‘believe’, *pişman ol-* ‘to regret’ and *san-* ‘to suppose’ select complements nominalized with –DIK as in (38) whereas verbs reflecting deontic modality, such as *iste-* ‘to ask for’, *umut et-* ‘to hope’ and *beğen-* ‘to like’ occur with clauses nominalized with –MA as in (39).

- (38) Ali [ben-im on-u takip et-tiğ-im / * et-me-m] e inan-ıyor.
Ali I-Gen he-Acc follow-Nom-Poss1sg -Dat believe-Prog
‘Ali believes that I am following him’

- (39) Ali [ben-im İngilizce öğren-me-m / *öğren-diğ-im] i bekli-yor.
 Ali I-Gen English learn-Nom-Poss1sg -Acc expect-Prog
 ‘Ali expects that I learn English’

[Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998) Examples (9a-b) and (10a-b) respectively]

Thus, it is proposed in Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998) that nominalizers –DIK / - ECEK and –MA carry modal notions parallel to the matrix verbs they co-occur with. She states that nominalized clauses with –DIK / - ECEK express an event/state about which the speaker reflects his/her commitment, hence epistemic modality; and nominalized clauses with –MA express a particular action/behavior of the agent referring to the deontic modality.

4.1.2.2. The Scope of Wh-Questions and More Evidence

Recall Kornfilt (2003, 2006, 2007)’s claim that –MA clauses cannot be CPs since they cannot host wh constituents. She claims that wh question words cannot have narrow scope reading in –MA clauses. As opposed to her, I observe that narrow scope interpretation of wh questions is possible as illustrated below.

- (40) (Sen) Ali-nin sen-in için ne-ler yap-ma-sin-i bekli-yor-sun?/.
 (You) Ali-Gen you-Gen for what-Pl do-Ger-3sg-Acc wait-Prog-3sg
- (i) What do you expect Ali to do for you?
 (ii) You expect Ali to do so many (impossible) things for you.

Wh constituent takes wide scope in (40) for the first reading which is interrogative reading. –MA clause can also have the rhetorical question reading in (ii) which means Ali does not even do little things for you (i.e. buying a flower) and you expect him to do impossible things (i.e. to buy a house). A parallel example is presented below with the question word *hangi* ‘which’.

(41) Öğrenci-ler-e hangi kelime-ler-i telafuz et-me-sin-i
Student-Pl-Dat. which word-Pl.-Acc pronounce-Ger-3sg-Acc
öğret-e-me-miş?/.
teach-Abil.-Neg-Rep.Past

(i) Which words couldn't s/he teach the students to pronounce?

(ii) S/he couldn't teach the students which words to pronounce.

Wh constituent takes wide scope in (i) resulting in the interrogative interpretation. Moreover, it can also have narrow scope yielding the reading in (ii).

A counterargument against the examples provided above can be the claim that verbs like *bekle-* ‘to wait/hope’ and *öğret-* ‘to teach’ do not subcategorize for [+WH] CPs as opposed to verbs such as *sor-* ‘ask’.¹¹ This argument also holds for Kornfilt’s claim since she uses *iste-* ‘want’ to indicate that –MA clauses cannot be CPs. Yet if wh-scope test is not a valid argument to test the nature of –MA clauses, then Kornfilt’s claim cannot provide evidence for her argument that –MA clauses cannot host wh constituents hence they cannot be CPs.

¹¹ I thank Meltem Kelepir for indicating this.

Furthermore, -MA clauses' being CPs can also be tested using topicalization and scrambling. (42) illustrates that the subject of the embedded clause can be topicalized which indicates that -MA clause should have a landing site (CP) to host the topicalized element.

- (42) [Ahmet-in ise bu kitab-ı oku-ma-sın]-ı isti-yor-um.
 Ahmet-Gen as for this book-Acc. read-Ger-sg-Acc. want-Pres.Prog.-1sg.
 'As for Ahmet, I want him to read this book.'

Another evidence is that NPs can be scrambled to a post-verbal position within -MA clauses.

- (43) Ben-Ø [Ali-nin t_i kır -ma -sın] -a cam-ı kız-dı-m.
 I-Nom Ali-Gen break-Ger-3sg-Dat glass-Acc get angry-Past-1sg.
 'I got angry that Ali broke the glass.'

These examples provide evidence that clauses nominalized with -MA should have a layer above ModP to host such grammatical operations as topicalization similar to -DIK clauses, hence there is no reason to claim that they are not CP projections.

4.1.2.3. Subordinate Clauses as CPs

Taking into consideration all the assumptions on the clausal structure of nominalized clauses in Turkish, I suggest that both –DIK / - ECEK and –MA complements are CP projections based on the theoretical and empirical evidence.

Theoretical basis of this assumption comes from the semantics of the nominalizers. Following Meral (2010), I assume that nominalized clauses do not have TP projections and within the light of Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998)'s assumptions, I propose that nominalized clauses with –DIK / - ECEK and –MA occur as ModP projections which are headed by the modality they have. There is a CP projection above ModP, which is theoretically and empirically accounted for, as well. A counterargument to the claim that clauses nominalized with –MA have a CP is discussed in Kornfilt (2003, 2007) and Kennelly (1992). Kornfilt argues that wh-constituents cannot have narrow scope hence there cannot be a landing site (CP) within the subordinate clause. As opposed to Kornfilt's claim, however, I observe that wh-constituents in clauses nominalized with –MA can have narrow scope reading as well as wide scope. Scrambling and topicalization provide more evidence which indicate that they should be CP projections.

Adopting the view that subordinate clauses are CPs, I follow Kural (1992) and Ulutaş (2006) and assume that agreement is not a distinct head yet occurs as a feature on the C head. However, different from Ulutaş (2006) and Kornfilt (2007), I do not assume a nominal head above CP yet I suggest CP is nominal by nature in subordinate nominalized clauses in accordance with Kural (1992)'s proposal. I further suggest that strong Agr feature on the C head of both –MA and –DIK clauses

defines the minimal domain for binding in Turkish, which will be discussed in the following sections in a more detailed way.

4.2. Anaphors and Domain of Binding

4.2.1. Theoretical Issues

There are two prominent claims in the literature for the definition of the minimal binding domain for anaphoric relations. Based on the formulation of the syntactic dependencies in languages as Binding Principles, a local domain in which an anaphor can be bound by its antecedent is first defined in Chomsky (1981) and reformulated in Chomsky (1986b) as mentioned in Chapter 2. Chomsky (1986b) defines the local domain for an anaphor as the minimal complete functional complex (CFC) in which the anaphor is governed. The minimal CFC is a maximal projection where all grammatical functions compatible with its head are realized.

An alternative proposal is made by Safir (2004) who states that “There is little conceptual rationale for the existence of principles.” Instead, he proposes an analysis based on the competition of the dependent forms¹². It is claimed in Safir (2004) that the domain of anaphora is smaller than the domain of A-chain links. He states that an anaphor must be anteceded in Domain D, which is defined as follows;

¹² See Safir (2004) for a detailed discussion of the competition of the forms (FTIP) analysis.

- (i) *Domain D*: The domain for X is the minimal maximal extended projection containing X (and a head that c-commands X).

(Safir, 2004; 150)

According to Safir (2004), the minimal maximal projection for Spec of an IP (TP) which is a complement of a verb is VP. Yet he suggests that CP complement is a minimal maximal domain itself, not dependent on V. As such, for instance, tensed clauses and ECM clauses in English can be distinguished. An anaphor is bound in its own clause, which is a CP. However, the subject of ECM can be bound by the matrix subject since it occupies at Spec TP of TP complement of V, the minimal domain for binding of the embedded subject is VP.

4.2.2. Agreement as the Determiner of Binding Domain

The proposal that finiteness is defined by agreement in Turkish is first suggested in George and Kornfilt (1981) and held in her following studies. The first evidence comes from the raising verbs as mentioned in Meral (2010) as in (44), and the second evidence comes from the binding relations as in (45).

- (44) Biz_i san-a [t_i içki iç-ti] gibi görün-dü-k.
we you-DAT alcohol drink-PAST appear-PAST-AGR
“We appeared to you to have drunk alcohol”

- (45) * (Sen_i) [kendi-n_i-in başarı-ya ulaş-tığ-ın]-₁ san-ıyor-sun.
 2sg self-2sg-Gen success-Dat reach-Ger-2sg-Acc believe-Pres-2sg
 ‘You believe yourself succeeded.’

[George and Kornfilt, 1981; Ex:47]

(44) indicates that tense cannot determine finiteness since the subject of a tensed embedded clause can raise to the subject position of the matrix clause. (45) indicates that as opposed to tense, agreement defines finiteness in Turkish since grammatical operations such as binding cannot cross over the embedded clause whose predicate carry an agreement marker.

Direct complements provide further evidence for tense’s being not the determiner of the binding domain in Turkish. Kornfilt (1984) states, embedded verbs can be marked with tense and agreement as in (46) below, which are referred as Direct Complements. Embedded structures can also be marked with tense lacking agreement as in (47). Examples (46) and (47) illustrate that tense is not an intervener for binding the reciprocal *birbiri* ‘each other’ in the complement clause by the matrix subject; the determiner of the domain for binding to apply is not tense in Turkish.

- (46) * Biz [*birbirimiz* sinema-ya gi-ti-k] san-ıyor-du-k.
 We each other-Nom. cinema-Dat. go-Past-1pl think-Prog-Past-1pl.
 Intended meaning: “We thought each other went to the cinema”

- (47) Biz [*birbirimiz-i* sinema-ya gi-ti] san-ıyor-du-k.
 We each other-Acc. cinema-Dat. go-Past think-Prog-Past-1pl.
 “We thought each other went to the cinema”

[Kornfilt, 1984; Ex: 24a-b]

Similar to the reciprocal binding which obeys Condition A, the minimal domain for anaphor binding in Turkish is not determined by tense, either. Tense is not an intervener for the matrix subject’s binding the subject of ECM construction in (48) parallel to the reciprocal binding.

- (48) Ali_i [*kendin-i_i* İstanbul-a gid-iyor] san-ıyor.
 Ali himself-Acc Istanbul-Dat go-Prog think-PROG
 “Ali considers himself going to Istanbul”

[Meral, 2012; Ex: 35]

As stated by Meral (2010), the embedded verb in (48) is marked for tense yet *kendi* in ECM clause and the subject in the matrix clause are coindexed and grammatical. This proves that tense is not the determiner of minimal binding domain for anaphors in Turkish.

Within the light of the assumption that agreement determines the domain of binding (George and Kornfilt, 1981 and Kornfilt, 1984), yet as opposed to Meral (2010)’s claim that binding domain in Turkish cannot be determined by a syntactic category such as agreement, I claim that agreement on the C head of CP determines

the domain of binding in Turkish. The distributional properties of *kendi* in nominalized clauses, *kendi* in various types of ECM constructions and relative clauses are discussed in this respect to provide empirical evidence for this claim.

4.3. *Kendi* in Complex Clauses

4.3.1. -DIK Clauses and *Kendi*

Clauses nominalized with {-DIK} or {-EceK} are referred as *factive nominals* in Kornfilt (1984). They have remainder of tense (Kornfilt, 1984) and nominal agreement.

- (49) Ali [Ayşe'nin bugün/yarın gid-eceğ-in] -i bil-iyor.
Ali Ayşe-Gen. today/tomorrow go-Ger-3sg.-Acc know-Pres.Progr.
'Ali knows that Ayşe will go today /tomorrow.'

- (50) Ali [Ayşe'nin dün git-tiğ-in] -i bil-iyor.
Ali Ayşe-Gen. yesterday go-Ger-3sg.-Acc know-Pres.Progr.
'Ali knows that Ayşe went yesterday.'

It is suggested in section 4.1.3. that -DIK complements are CP projections. It will be further claimed that they create the minimal domain for anaphor binding as being CP projections. In line with Kornfilt (1984), I assume that agreement makes the embedded structure opaque for binding relations and defines the minimal domain for anaphor binding in -DIK complements. I further suggest that nominal clauses are CP

projections on whose head nominal agreement is realized as a feature. As such, they can create the minimal domain for binding.

This proposal suggests that –DIK clauses are opaque domains for binding, which is supported by binding relations. In those cases in which *kendi* occurs as the internal argument of the embedded verb in –DIK clauses, it cannot be bound by the matrix subject. The example below illustrates that even when the world knowledge forces coreferentiality between the matrix subject and *kendi*, (51) is not acceptable for speakers of Turkish.

- (51) *Tembel öğrenci_i [öğretmen-in_j kendin-e_i matematikten iki ver-eceğ]-
Lazy student teacher-Gen. kendi-Dat. maths-Abl. two give-Ger
in-i bil-yor.
-3sg.-Acc know-Pres.Progr.
Intended meaning: ‘The lazy student_i knows the teacher_j will give him_i
a two on Maths.’

Native speakers’ comment on such a sentence is that they would expect the teacher to grade himself/herself, which is not possible because of the world knowledge that a teacher cannot grade himself/herself yet the student. In order to make that sentence acceptable, most of the speakers correct the sentence by using *kendisi* or a third person singular pronoun, *o*, as in (52).

- (52) Tembel öğrenci_i [öğretmen-in_j kendisin-e_i /on-a_i matematikten beş
 Lazy student teacher-Gen. kendisi-Dat./ Pron.-Dat. maths-Abl. five
 ver-eceğ]-in-i bil-iyor.
 give-Ger -3sg.-Acc know-Pres.Progr.
 ‘The lazy student_i knows the teacher_j to give him_i five on Maths.’

Moreover, example (53) below illustrates that *kendi* is interpreted as coreferential with the subject within the same clause, not with the matrix subject which occurs outside of the domain of the anaphor. Hence, no ambiguity arises in (53) since *kendi* can be coreferential with only *Ali* in its own domain.

- (53) Ayşe_i [Ali’nin_j kendin-e*_{i/j} araba al-acağ-ın] -i bil-iyor.
 Ayşe Ali-Gen. kendi-Dat. car buy-Ger-3sg.-Acc know-Pres.Progr.
 ‘Ayşe knows that Ali will buy a car to himself.’

Furthermore, *kendi* in the subject position of –DIK clauses as in (54) is not acceptable for most speakers whereas the same sentence is grammatical without *kendi* as exemplified in (55). *pro* in (55) can be coreferential with the matrix subject.

- (54) * Ali [kendin-in Ankara’ya yarın gid-eceğ-in] -i bil-iyor.
 Ali kendi-Gen. Ankara-Dat. tomorrow go-Ger-3sg.-Acc know-Pres.Progr.
 Intended meaning: ‘Ali knows that himself will go to Ankara tomorrow.’

- (55) Ali_i [pro_{i/j} Ankara'ya yarın gid-eceğ-in] -i bil-iyor.
 Ali Ankara-Dat tomorrow go-Ger-3sg.-Acc know-Pres.Progr.
 'Ali knows that him(self) will go to Ankara tomorrow.'

(54) indicates that *kendi* as the subject of the embedded clause is not acceptable when the embedded verb is inflected with the third person singular morpheme in –DIK clauses. This shows that agreement on the embedded predicate in nominals does not license the existence of *kendi* as the subject of the embedded clause since it lacks an antecedent in its own domain.

So far, it has been proved that tense cannot create the minimal domain for anaphor binding in Turkish yet agreement does. Anaphor binding in –DIK clauses provides evidence for the fact that agreement defines a local domain for binding of the anaphoric expressions. To test further our claim that it is agreement that makes the domain opaque for binding, anaphor binding in –MA clauses will be analyzed in the following section.

4.3.2. –MA Clauses and *Kendi*

Clauses nominalized with { -mA } are completely dependent on the matrix clause with respect to tense because they lack a tense operator as opposed to –DIK clauses (Kornfilt, 1984). { -mA } is followed with a nominal agreement marker as illustrated in (56). Their subject is genitive marked since the embedded verb has agreement marker¹³.

¹³ See the previous chapter example (49) for a more detailed explanation of the existence of the genitive marker on the embedded subject.

- (56) Ali [Ayşe'nin bugün/yarın git-me-sin]-i isti-yor.
 Ali Ayşe-Gen. today/tomorrow go-Ger -3sg.-Acc want-Pres.Progr.
 'Ali wants Ayşe to go today/tomorrow.'

Recall that the domain of binding in Turkish is proposed to be defined by agreement. Moreover, I suggest –MA clauses are CP projections similar to –DIK clauses and CP is the relevant binding domain for an anaphoric expression. Following these claims, binding of an anaphor which occurs in the embedded clause by the matrix subject is to be ungrammatical. *kendisi*, on the other hand, and third person singular pronoun *o* are grammatical in the same environment since they can be bound outside of their minimal domains.

- (57) Ali_i [biz-im_j * kendin-den_i / kendisin-den_i / on-dan_{i/k} bahset-me-miz]
 Ali we-Gen. *kendi*-Abl. / *kendisi*-Abl / *him*-Abl. talk-Ger.-3sg.-
 -i isti-yor.
 Acc want-Prog.
 'Ali_i wants us to talk about *himself_i / him_i / him_{i/k}.'

Similarly, *kendi* is bound by the embedded subject in such constructions and grammatical, and the sentence is not ambiguous since the matrix subject, which is not in the minimal domain with the anaphor, cannot bind *kendi*.

- (58) Ali_i [Ayşe'nin_j kendin-den_{*i/j} bahset-me-sin] -i isti-yor.
 Ali Ayşe-Gen. *kendi*-Abl. talk-Ger.-3sg.-Acc want-Prog
 'Ali wants Ayşe to talk about herself / *him.'

Data on binding relations in –MA clauses, as well as –DIK clauses, provide evidence for the claim that agreement implies the existence of a CP projection which is the determiner of the minimal binding domain in Turkish as opposed to Kornfilt (1984)'s claim that –MA clauses are transparent domains for binding.

On the other hand, *kendi* can be coindexed with the matrix subject for some speakers of Turkish in –MA clauses when the subject of the embedded clause is *pro* as (59) illustrates.

- (59) Ali_i [pro_{i/j} kendin-den_{i/j} bahset-me-sin] -i çok sev-er.
 Ali *kendi*-Abl. talk-Ger.-3sg.-Acc very much like-Aor
 'Ali likes to talk about himself very much.'

Such occurrences of the anaphor seem to be a counterexample to the claim that agreement makes a domain opaque for binding since the anaphor is coindexed with the matrix subject. Yet there is an important factor permitting the anaphor's being coindexed with the matrix subject. Note that *kendi* in (59) is bound by *pro* within its own domain, hence *kendi* can be coreferential with either the matrix subject or a discourse binder as *pro* can. Kornfilt (1984) notes that *pro* as the subject of such constructions is free and can refer to an antecedent outside of its domain. Özsoy (1987b) also discusses such occurrences of *pro* and concludes that *pro* in subject position of embedded clauses can refer to an antecedent in the higher clause.

If *pro* is attributed to a value within the discourse rather than *Ali* in (59), *kendi*, which *pro* syntactically binds, is attributed to the same value. Assuming *X* as a distinct person in the discourse, (59) can also have the reading ‘Ali likes it very much when *X* talks about *Xself*.’ In this respect, *X* is a different person in the discourse which *pro* can take as its antecedent, and *kendi* can be coreferential with *X*. In other words, *pro* syntactically binds *kendi* within its own domain yet *pro* does not have an identity itself; thus, takes its value via coreference, and so does *kendi*. Such a value match does not violate the constraint on anaphor binding and does not violate the domain restriction since coreference is beyond the regulations of formal syntax as mentioned in several studies in the literature (Reinhart, 1983; Safir, 2004; and Partee, 2008 among many others).

Similarly, Meral (2010) states that *pro* in complement clauses can be interpreted as (i) bound variables which are licensed via an operator-variable configuration, and (ii) discourse bound pronominals which have deictic nature. In our data presented in (59), *kendi* is referentially dependent on *pro* which c-commands it within its binding domain in accordance with Condition A, and the value attributed to the anaphor depends on the value attributed to *pro* via bound variable interpretation or discourse. Hence, (59) is not a counter evidence for the claim that agreement marked action nominals are CPs creating an opaque domain for binding.

As a further evidence for the proposal that agreement, which is realized as a feature on the C head of the CP, creates the minimal domain for anaphor binding, anaphoric relations in control structures which lack agreement will be discussed next.

4.3.3. Control Structures

Clauses with {-mAK} are considered as control structures in Turkish (George and Kornfilt, 1981). Their subject is realized as PRO since it is not governed (Özsoy, 1987b). (60) is an illustration of a control structure in Turkish.

- (60) Ali [PRO Ankara'ya yarın git-me-]-yi isti-yor.
Ali Ankara-Dat tomorrow go-Ger -3sg.-Acc want-Pres.Progr.
'Ali wants to go to Ankara tomorrow.'

Recall that in line with the previous assumptions in the literature, I assume that agreement makes the embedded structure opaque for binding relations and defines the minimal domain for anaphor binding. Moreover, I expand this claim by suggesting that –DIK and –MA clauses which carry nominal agreement are CP projections and CP is the relevant binding domain for an anaphor as the complement of nominalized clauses. In this respect, minimal domain for control constructions which lack an agreement marker hence a CP projection such as (60) should be the whole clause and the anaphor *kendi* which occurs as the complement of control structure is to be bound by the matrix subject as illustrated in (61) and (62).

- (61) Ali_i [PRO_i kendin-den bahset-me]-yi isti-yor.
Ali *kendi*-Abl. talk-Ger.-Acc want-Prog
'Ali wants to talk about himself.'

- (62) Ali_i Ayşe-ye_j [kendin-den_{i/j} bahset-me]-yi isti-yor.
 Ali Ayşe-Dat. kendi-Abl. talk-Ger.-Acc want-Prog
 ‘Ali wants to talk to Ayşe about himself/her.’

Control structures are considered to be DPs in Kornfilt (2007), thus lacking a CP projection, they are opaque domains for binding as opposed to –DIK and –MA clauses.

To expand the discussion on binding domain for anaphors, and to support the claim that agreement as a feature hosted on the C head of a CP projection constitutes the minimal domain for anaphor binding, occurrence of *kendi* as the complement of ECM clauses will be discussed in the following section.

4.3.4. *Kendi* and ECM Constructions

Following the claim that agreement defines the binding domain, ECM constructions can be transparent or opaque domains for binding depending on the existence of agreement on the ECM predicate. Özsoy (2001) distinguishes between three types of ECM clauses in Turkish;

(i) [[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}] V]

(ii) [[DP_{NOM} XP_{+AGR}] V]

(iii) [[DP_{ACC} XP_{+AGR}] V]

Of these three types, Özsoy (2001) notes that the only transparent domain for binding is $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{AGR}] V]$ constructions when X is realized as DP or PP. $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{AGR}] V]$ with VP and AdjP predicates are claimed to be opaque domains for anaphor binding.

(63) (Sen) [ben-i kendi-n-e / *san-a yakın san -iyor -sun.
 You I-ACC self-2POSS-DAT / *you-DAT close consider-PROG-2SG
 ‘You consider me (to be) close to yourself/*you.’

(64) (Biz) [siz -i biz-den /*kendi-miz -den bahsed-iyor
 We you(pl)-Acc we-Abl /self-1pl.poss-Abl talk about-Prog
 san -iyor -du -k
 consider-Prog-Past-1pl.
 ‘We consider you to be talking about us / *ourselves.’

[Özsoy (2001) Examples (20a) and (19a)]

In this respect, anaphor’s being bound by the matrix subject in (64) would be a violation of Condition A since *kendi* is the internal argument of the verbal complement clause which is a $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{AGR}] V]$ with VP construction. According to Özsoy (2001), the minimal domain for anaphor binding is expected to be ECM clause since the predicate of ECM is a VP which constitutes an opaque domain for binding.

I adopt Özsoy (2001)'s claim that constructions such as (ii) and (iii) where embedded predicate has agreement marker constitute an opaque domain for anaphor binding as opposed to constructions such as (i) where the embedded predicate lacks agreement marker. The contrast between (65) and (66) below illustrates this.

(65) * Ali_i [biz-i_j kendin-e_i gül-üyor-uz] san-dı.
 Ali we-Acc kendi-Dat laugh-Prog-1pl think-Past
 Intended meaning: ‘Ali_i thought we were laughing at him_i’

(66) Ali_i [biz-i_j kendin-e_i gül-üyor] san-dı.¹⁴
 Ali we-Acc kendi-Dat laugh-Prog think-Past
 Intended meaning: ‘Ali_i thought we were laughing at him_i’

Yet as opposed to Özsoy (2001), *kendi* does not yield ungrammaticality in (66) above with a verbal embedded predicate contrary to (64). Similarly, *kendi* is bound by the matrix subject in (67) when ECM construction has an adjectival predicate and grammatical.

(67) Ali_i [kendin-i_i akıllı] san-ıyor.
 Ali himself-Acc clever think-Prog.
 ‘Ali considers himself clever.’

¹⁴ [[DPACC XP-AGR] V] type of ECM constructions is not acceptable in some dialects of Turkish. Yet anaphor binding as exemplified in (66) is licensed in dialects which have such constructions.

In fact, other reflexive pronouns as well as *kendi* as the subject or internal argument of $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}]$ with AdjP or V predicate constructions can be bound by the matrix subject in Turkish. Hence, such occurrence of anaphors in Turkish is not peculiar to *kendi*.

- (68) Ben_i [kendi -m -i_i akıllı] san-ıyor-um.
 I myself-1sg-Acc clever think-Prog-1sg.
 ‘I consider myself clever.’

- (69) Ben_i [Ali-yi kendi -m -e_i gül-üyor] san-dı-m.¹⁵
 I Ali-Acc myself-1sg-Dat laugh-Prog think-Past-1sg
 ‘I thought Ali was laughing at me.’

Based on the grammaticality judgments, anaphors in (66), (67), (68) and (69) do not violate Condition A. The embedded predicates do not have agreement markers or the agreement marker is not overt; thus, irrespective of the predicate type, they do not constitute a minimal domain for anaphor binding. In parallel to this, a similar

¹⁵ All ECM constructions of $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}] V]$ type are judged to be grammatical when the matrix subject binds the anaphor as the subject or the complement of the embedded clause. The only exception is;

- (1) * Ali_i [siz-i_j kendin-e_i gül-üyor] san-dı.
 Ali you(pl)-Acc kendi-Dat laugh-Prog think-Past
 Intended meaning: ‘Ali_i thought you(pl) were laughing at him_i’

I assume that there are some discourse factors rather than a syntactic explanation for the relation between the second person plural and the other persons in Turkish, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. *siz* ‘you (pl)’ indicates discrepancy in all other sets of data yielding grammaticality for anaphor binding in $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{+AGR}] V]$ constructions and ungrammaticality for pronominal binding in $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}] V]$ constructions contrary to the other persons and the assumptions of the theory. I suggest Özsoy (2001)’s data illustrated in (64) can also be affected from such discourse features of *siz* hence yields ungrammaticality for anaphor binding.

construction becomes ambiguous when both the matrix subject and the accusative marked subject of the embedded clause agrees with the anaphor in terms of its Φ -features hence the matrix subject can also bind the anaphor as exemplified below.

- (70) Ali_i [Ayşey-i_j kendin-e_{i/j} gül-üyor] san-dı.
 Ali Ayşe-Acc kendi-Dat laugh-Prog think-Past
 ‘Ali_i thought Ayşe was laughing at him_i / herself_j’

A counter argument against the assumption of agreement’s creating the domain of anaphor binding can be that ECM predicates in constructions such as (70) also have agreement which is not phonologically realized since it is the third person singular. Hence, I restate the proposal as strong agreement creates the domain for anaphor binding. I consider 3rd person singular agreement as weak in Turkish, thus I assume that it cannot make the domain opaque for binding.

So far, our data prove that regardless of the type of the predicate, $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}] V]$ constructions create a transparent domain for binding and NPs as the subject or internal argument of the embedded structures can be bound by the matrix subject. I assume that $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}] V]$ constructions are TP projections in Turkish hence the relevant domain for binding is not the embedded structure. In accordance with the assumptions of Safir (2004), TP complements of V is dependent on the matrix subject whereas CP complements can create the minimal domain for binding. This contrast exists in Turkish comparing anaphor binding in $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}] V]$ with $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{+AGR}] V]$ constructions. To repeat the examples;

(71) Ali_i [biz-i_j kendin-e_i gül-üyor] san-dı.
 Ali we-Acc kendi-Dat laugh-Prog think-Past
 ‘Ali thought we were laughing at him’

(72) * Ali_i [biz-i_j kendin-e_i gül-üyor-uz] san-dı.
 Ali we-Acc kendi-Dat laugh-Prog-1pl think-Past
 Intended meaning: ‘Ali thought we were laughing at him’

Verbal agreement on the embedded predicate makes the domain opaque for binding as a comparison of (71) and (72) indicates. I propose that being a CP projection, $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{+AGR}] V]$ constructions define the minimal domain for anaphor binding.

What seems to be a counterexample to this view is the grammaticality of the matrix subject’s binding the accusative marked subject of $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{+AGR}] V]$ constructions. To illustrate;

(73) (Ben) kendi-m-i Ali’ye aşık ol-uyor-um san-dı-m.
 (I) kendi-1sg-Acc Ali-Dat love-Prog-1sg think-Past-1sg
 Intended meaning: ‘I thought I was falling in love with Ali.’

Embedded structure in (73) is suggested to be a CP since there is a verbal agreement marker on the embedded predicate. In this case, accusative marked NP which is an anaphor in (73) is not supposed to be bound outside of its own domain.

Note that anaphors which are considered as the subjects of ECM constructions are all accusative marked. There are several claims in the literature which try to account for the accusative marking on the embedded subject of ECM

constructions. Zidani-Eroğlu (1997) suggests that Acc-marked subjects of ECMs should occupy a position in the matrix clause and assumes a raising analysis for the accusative marked subject of the ECM constructions to the matrix clause before Spell-Out. Özsoy (2001) proposes that Acc-marked NPs raises to Spec AgrOP of the matrix clause to check for case. İnce (2006) claims that Accusative subjects and Nominative subjects of the embedded clauses occupy different positions. Yet different from the others, İnce (2006) suggests that accusative subject is merged at the matrix clause¹⁶. Similar to his claim, I propose that there is a *pro* in the subject position of the ECM structure which is coindexed with the accusative marked NP above. Binding relations such as those in (73) does not violate the principle on anaphor binding since the accusative marked NP occurs outside the domain of the ECM structure; thus, the matrix subject grammatically binds the accusative marked NP within its own domain.

Based on the evidence presented so far, it is concluded that tense cannot define a domain for binding in Turkish yet agreement does. ECM constructions without agreement on the embedded predicate are transparent domains for binding yet overt agreement makes the domain opaque. This also implies that an embedded clause possessing agreement marker on its predicate is a CP whereas the lack of agreement suggests the embedded clause is a TP projection hence not the minimal domain for binding. Anaphors grammatically occur as the complement of the $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}] V]$ constructions being bound by the matrix subject since AGRless ECM constructions do not constitute the minimal domain. However, anaphors cannot be bound by the matrix subject as the internal arguments of $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{+AGR}] V]$

¹⁶ He uses idiom test to verify his assumption. See İnce (2006) for a detailed discussion.

constructions, where the embedded predicate has strong agreement since the embedded clause is a CP. Hence, the facts are in compliance with the assumption that agreement is realized as a feature on the C head and creates the minimal domain for anaphor binding in ECM constructions with overt agreement in Turkish. Moreover, anaphors which occur as the accusative marked NPs of ECM constructions can be bound by the matrix subject without violating Condition A since they are interpreted at the Spec vP of the matrix clause.

Binding relations in ECM constructions, as well as –DIK and –MA clauses, support the proposal that agreement, which is realized on the C head of the CP projections, defines the minimal domain for anaphor binding in accordance with Safir (2004)'s assumptions. In the following section, relative clauses and *kendi* as their complement will be investigated to provide further evidence for this claim.

4.3.5. *Kendi* in Relative Clauses

In Turkish, there are two types of relativization strategies; object relativization and subject relativization. When the noun coreferential with the head noun is the subject, subject relativization strategy is used. - (y)An is realized on the verb for non-future or future morpheme –*EcEK*. If the relativized element is a head noun other than the subject, object relativization occurs. The aspectual marker on the verb is –*DIK* for non-future or future morpheme –*EcEK*. (Underhill 1972; Hankamer and Knecht, 1976; Kornfilt 1987, 2000; Özsoy 1998 among many others)

For the derivation of relative clauses, a raising analysis is proposed in Kornfilt (1997). Özsoy (1998) analyzes Turkish relative clauses as DPs in which D⁰

is occupied by the relativized head that raises from Spec VP, leaving behind a variable at Spec IP which is coindexed by an operator at Spec DP for *-(y)An* strategy.

$$(74) \quad \text{DP}[_{\text{DP}} \text{Op}_i [_{\text{IP}} e_i [_{\text{VP}} [t_i \text{ uyuyan}]]] \text{ aslan}_i]$$

For *-DIK* strategy, there is an AgrP above the embedded DP which checks the genitive case marking on the embedded subject.

$$(75) \quad \text{DP}[_{\text{AGRP}} [\text{ aslanın}_j [_{\text{DP}} \text{Op}_i [_{\text{IP}} t_j [_{\text{VP}} t_j e_i \text{ kovaladığı}]]]]] \text{ geyik}_i]$$

Ulutaş (2006) also proposes a similar analysis yet he considers relative clauses as CPs. C head is the determinant of the nature of the relativization strategy according to Ulutaş (2006). C head carries both AGR and FOC features, which percolates down to T head in the course of derivation. If FOC feature is stronger than AGR, FOC percolates down to T^o yielding *-(y)An* strategy. Relativized N head moves to Spec TP and then Spec CP to check the weak AGR feature at C head.

According to Ulutaş (2006)'s analysis, (76) is an illustration of the subject relative clause in Turkish;

$$(76) \quad \text{NP}[_{\text{CP}} t_i [_{\text{TP}} t_i [_{\text{VP}} [\text{ Türkiye'den bahseden}]]]] \text{ kadın}_i]$$

As for *-DIK* strategy, Ulutaş (2006) claims that strong feature at C head is AGR and it percolates down to T head. In order to check the strong AGR at TP level, the subject moves to Spec TP and gets genitive marker. CP has the weak FOC feature and it attracts the relativized head to Spec CP to check FOC feature.

According to Ulutaş (2006)'s analysis, the derivation of object relative clause is as follows:

(77) NP_{CP} t_i [TP Ayşe'nin [VP [kendine aldığı]]] elbise_i]

The derivation of Ulutaş (2006) is used for our purposes to test the nature of *kendi* in Turkish since CP is considered to be the relevant domain for binding in embedded constructions and I do not consider agreement as a distinct projection in syntax following Kural (1992), Ulutaş (2006) and Meal (2010).

Data on the binding relations in Turkish relative clauses indicate that relative clauses constitute opaque domains for binding. *kendi* as the internal argument or the oblique object of the predicate of the relative clause can be coindexed with the relativized noun at N^o.

(78) Ali_j NP_{CP} [t_i TP [t_i VP [durmadan kendin-den_i bahsed-en]]] adam-ı_i]
 Ali continuously kendi-Abl. talk-Rel. man-Acc.
 sev-iyor.
 love-Pres.Prog.
 'Ali_j loves the man_i who continuously talks about himself_i'

(79) NP_{CP} [t_i TP [t_i VP [Durmadan kendin-i_i öv-en]]] adam_i] Ali'yle_j
 continuously kendi-Acc. boast-Rel. man Ali with
 konuş-uyor.
 talk-Pres.Prog.
 'The man_i who continuously boasts about himself_i talks to Ali_j.'

Examples above indicate that *adam* is coreferential with *kendi* even if *Ali* seems to be a possible antecedent of *kendi* according to the linear order of them, especially of (78). *kendi* is bound to *adam*; its trace c-commands *kendi* and it is within the same domain (CP) as *kendi* whereas *Ali* is the highest subject in the structure.

A parallel relation is observed in object relative clauses. *kendi* is bound by the genitive marked subject of the object relative clause which is within the same CP domain as *kendi*, not by the highest subject.

- (80) Fatma_k NP[CP t_i [TP Ayşe-nin_j [VP [kendin-e_{j/*k} al-dığ-ı]] elbise_i]-yi_i
 Fatma Ayşe-Gen. kendi-Dat. buy-Rel.-Acc. dress-Acc.
 kaybet-ti.
 lose-Past
 ‘Fatma_j lost the dress that Ayşe_i bought for herself_i.’

The fact that *kendi* cannot be bound by the highest subject in relative clauses is also supported by (81) in which *kendi* as the subject of the object relative clause does not have a proper antecedent within its own domain yielding ungrammaticality.

- (81) * Fatma_j NP[CP t_i [TP kendi-nin_m [VP [Ayşe-ye_k al-dığ-ı]] elbise_i]-yi_i
 Fatma kendi-Gen. Ayşe-Dat. buy-Rel.-Acc. dress-Acc.
 kaybet-ti.
 lose-Past
 Intended meaning: ‘Fatma lost the dress that Ayşe_i bought for herself_i.’

Our data indicate that *kendi* in subject relative clauses is bound to the relativized noun via its trace within the CP domain and *kendi* in object relative clauses is bound to the genitive-marked embedded subject in Spec TP. When there is not a c-commanding antecedent within the relative clause (CP), ungrammaticality arises. Thus, *kendi* is bound to an antecedent within the same CP domain in relative clauses similar to the other embedded structures discussed in the previous sections.

4.3.6. Further Evidence From Adjunct Clauses

I have argued so far that what opaque domains for anaphor binding share is verbal or nominal agreement which is realized on the C head. This claim is based on the independent evidence that –MA and –DIK complements, ECM constructions with agreement and relative clauses are CPs. Similar to control structures and ECM constructions without (strong) agreement, adjunct clauses which lack agreement hence a CP domain are transparent domains for binding as illustrated below.

- (82) Ali_i hiçkimse-ye_j kendin-i_i göster-meden oda-dan çık-tı.
 Ali nobody-Dat. kendi-Acc. show-before room-Abl. leave-Past.
 ‘Ali left the room without showing himself to anyone.’

- (83) Ayşe_i öğretmen_j kendin-e_i seslen-ince uyan-dı.
 Ayşe teacher kendi-Dat. call-when wake-Past
 ‘Ayşe woke up when the teacher called her’

Kendi as the complement of adjunct clauses which is bound by an antecedent within the matrix clause provides further evidence that agreement on the C head of CP determines the domain of binding in Turkish.

4.4. Summary

Based on the empirical evidence on embedded constructions, it is concluded that the relevant domain for binding in Turkish is not determined by Tense. Agr determines the domain for anaphor binding. It is observed that embedded clauses that lack Agr are totally transparent for binding permitting anaphors to be bound by an element at the matrix clause yet clauses with (strong) agreement markers are opaque domains. Clauses nominalized with –DIK and –MA provide evidence for the claim that agreement defines the minimal domain for binding. These constructions are proposed to be CP projections based on independent evidence, such as modality, topicalization and scrambling, and agreement is proposed to occur as a feature on the C head of CP.

Similarly, ECM constructions with strong agreement are claimed to be CP projections and to define the minimal domain for binding. $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{+AGR}] V]$ constructions differ from other ECM clauses whose embedded predicate lack agreement and the former create an opaque domain for binding whereas embedded predicates lacking agreement morphology fail to do so. Accusative marked NPs which are realized as the subjects of ECM constructions, on the other hand, can be bound by the matrix subject since they are assumed to be merged at the matrix clause. As opposed to $[[DP_{ACC} XP_{-AGR}] V]$ constructions and control structures which are not CPs, embedded structures with agreement markers create the minimal maximal projection which defines the domain of binding in Turkish.

Binding relations in relative clauses, which are also proposed to be CP projections, support the idea that CP is the relevant binding domain in Turkish and agreement, which is hosted on the C head of CP, renders the domain opaque as opposed to adjunct clauses and control structures which lack a CP projection and transparent domains for binding. Thus, I assume in the light of Safir (2004)'s definition of the domain for binding that CP creates the minimal domain for anaphor binding yet TP is an opaque domain in Turkish.

CHAPTER V

ON THE NATURE OF *KENDİSİ*

In previous chapters I have discussed that *kendi* is an anaphoric expression in Turkish and have shown that it obeys Condition A of the BT. The domain in which *kendi* is bound by an antecedent is determined by agreement, which is realized on the head of CP or DP (as in the case of PPs). *kendisi*, on the other hand, is observed to violate Condition A since it is bound by an antecedent outside of the relevant binding domain or takes its reference within the discourse. With respect to such occurrences of *kendisi*, the basic questions are;

- (i) What is the status of *kendisi* as an anaphoric and pronominal element?
- (ii) Are there any syntactic motivations for the long-distance and discourse binding properties of *kendisi*?
- (iii) What is the status of *kendisi* as a logophor?
- (iv) Do discourse-related features play a role on the binding properties of *kendisi*?

To answer these questions, I will first present how similar (non)anaphoric - (non)pronominal elements are accounted for in the literature and how the dual nature of *kendisi* has been handled in Turkish. Within the light of these assumptions and the distribution of *kendisi* which is discussed throughout this study, I propose that *kendisi* is a DP which hosts a *pro* in its specifier and antilocal binding of *kendisi* is

licensed via its clause structure. Furthermore, *kendisi* is also sensitive to discourse properties and inter-clausal binding property of *kendisi* is regulated by the *topic* presented in the discourse.

5.1. Assumptions on the Long-Distance Bound Forms

In many languages, there are a number of dependent forms which obeys the conditions of BT yet there are also a number of dependent forms which challenge the conditions of BT such as *sig* in Icelandic (Sells, 1987; Reuland, 2001), *ziji* in Chinese (Huang, 1984; Cole, Hermon and Sung, 1990; Polard and Xue, 2001), *dirinya* in Malay (Cole, Peter and Hermon, 1998), *propri* in Italian (Sells, 1987; Chierchia, 1989), *sebjja* in Russian (Rappaport, 1986) among many others. Assumptions to deal with the long-distance bound forms differ in terms of whether they focus on the syntactic or discourse-related properties. These accounts can be summarized as follows:

- (i) Long-distance bound forms are *long-distance reflexives* based on their syntactic properties.
- (ii) Long-distance bound forms are *logophors* based on some discourse function which conditions the distribution of long-distance anaphora.

The main points of these assumptions with examples from several languages will be presented in the following sections.

5.1.1. Long-Distance Reflexives: A summary and Basic Characteristics

Giorgi (1984) distinguishes between *strict anaphors* and *long distance anaphors* based on the observation that strict anaphors obey Condition A of BT having an antecedent within their governing category whereas the referent of the long distance anaphors are not so constrained. Cole, Hermon and Huang (2001) summarize Pica (1987)'s observation that long distance anaphors share some certain characteristics;

- a) Long-distance reflexives are monomorphemic.
- b) They take subject antecedents.
- c) Their occurrence can, in many languages, be restricted to environments in which the antecedent and reflexive are found in specific domains (i.e., specific types of IPs such as infinitival or subjunctive).

Cole, Hermon and Huang (2001) notes that another characteristics of long-distance reflexives is the “Blocking Effect”, which is observed in Chinese (Y.-H. Huang, 1984; Tang, 1985, 1989). Blocking effect refers to cases in which the subject of the subordinate clause differs from the subject of the matrix clause in terms of person feature and the subordinate subject blocks the matrix subject from anteceding the long-distance anaphor.

However, Cole, Hermon and Huang (2001) note that there is a variety of counterexamples to the characteristics presented above. Thus, they state that long-distance reflexives across languages differ typologically and this typological distinctness affects their behavior. According to Cole, Hermon and Huang (2001),

long-distance reflexives can be categorized as a bound anaphor or a pronoun. Bound anaphors generally require c-commanding antecedents, they do not allow extra sentential antecedents and only sloppy reading is available in VP ellipsis. However, pronouns enter into both binding and coreference relations, extra sentential antecedents are possible and they favor both strict and sloppy readings under VP ellipsis. The similarity between long-distance reflexives and the bound anaphors or pronouns also has an effect on their characteristics in a particular language. For instance, the first generalization of Pica (1987) states that long-distance reflexives are monomorphemic. Yet this is not true for several languages since in these languages the reflexive consists of two morphemes e.g.: *diri-nya* in Malay, *kendi-si* in Turkish. Cole, Hermon and Huang (2001) argue that the difference on the monomorphemicity is related to the behavior of the long-distance reflexives in languages; long-distance reflexives which behave like bound anaphors are monomorphemic whereas the ones which behave like pronouns are not.

Such characterizations of long-distance reflexives are syntactic in nature. Yet there are theories which claim that long-distance binding of anaphora is conditioned by discourse requirements which are unified under *logophoricity*.

5.1.2. On Logophoricity

Logophoricity is first introduced by Hagège (1974) to describe a certain group of personal pronouns that are used in reported speech in some African languages. Logophoric pronouns are taken to refer to the person whose speech is reported. Subsequent research has indicated that long-distance reflexives can also exhibit

logophoric properties and their antilocal behavior is attempted to be explained via these properties.

5.1.2.1. Sells (1987)

In general, logophoric pronouns are the arguments of predicates of communication and mental experience. Clements (1975) states that the antecedent of logophoric pronoun must be the one “whose speech, thoughts, feelings, or general state of consciousness are reported.”. Sells (1987) discusses data from various languages such as Japanese, Icelandic, Italian, and several African languages like Mundang, Tuburi, Gokana and Ewe and concludes that there is not a unified notion of logophoricity and that logophoricity cannot be explained based solely on a feature like the presence of a subject. Rather, he suggests, role predicates based on the notions like *self*, *source*, and *pivot* should be considered to understand and explain the nature of the logophoric pronouns. *Source* is the speaker, *self* is the one whose mind is being reported and *PIVOT* expresses from whose point of view the report is made.

Sells notes that logophoricity is found in many African languages.

Logophoric pronouns are different from anaphors in that their antecedent is not generally within the same local domain and they differ from the regular pronouns since they are coreferential with a specific antecedent whose mental state is reported.

To illustrate from Mundang;

- (1) à rí ʒɪ̀ Iwà fàn sà:
 Pro say Log find thing beauty
 'He_i said that he_i had found something beautiful.'

[(Sells, 1987:446) Example (1-b)]

As can be seen in the example, logophoric pronoun is coreferential with the matrix subject where the matrix verb is *say*, which is a very common verb used with the logophoric pronouns, hence is called a 'logocentric' verb.

The argument which is coreferential with the logophoric pronoun is not necessarily the subject as in Gokana.

- (2) lebaree ko ae de-e a gia
 Lebare said Pro ate-Log Pro yams
 'Lebare_i said he_i ate his_i yams.'
 'Lebare_i said he_j ate his_i yams.'
 'Lebare_i said he_i ate his_j yams.'

[(Sells, 1987:448) Example (8)]

Ewe is another language where logophoric pronouns appear. Similar to the languages discussed so far, logophoric pronoun occurs with the verb *say* or logophoricity is realized with psychological predicates as illustrated.

- (3) ana kp: dyidzo be ye-dyi vi
Ana see happiness Comp Log-bear child
'Ana_i was happy that she_i bore a child.'

[(Sells, 1987:449) Examples (12)]

It is argued in Sells (1987) that *source* is the relevant notion to understand the logophoricity in (3) as the verb *be* implies, and with psychological verbs, *self* is the relevant notion because such verbs imply that the antecedent's mind is reported.

Besides the logophoric pronouns in African languages discussed so far, Sells notes that reflexive pronouns in some languages show logophoric properties, especially when they are long-distance bound. In Icelandic, for instance, the antecedent of a non-clause-bounded reflexive must be both logophoric and a grammatical subject. The relevant role for the logophoricity in Icelandic is *source*; as the logophoricity is licensed when the antecedent of a logophoric pronoun is 'the speaker' as in (4), whereas (5) is ungrammatical.

- (4) Hann_i sagoi [ao sig_i vantaoui haefileika].
he_i said [that self_i lacked ability]
'He_i said that he_i lacked ability.'

- (5) *Honumi var sagt [ad sigi vantaði haefileika].
he_i was told [that self_i lacked ability]
'He_i was told that he_i lacked ability.'

[(Sells, 1987:450) Examples (17) and (18)]

As the logophoric element is in fact a reflexive in Icelandic, one wonders whether c-command relation holds. Sells (1987) claims that it doesn't have to, as the example (6) indicates;

- (6) Skoðun Siggu_i er [ad sig_i vanti hefileika].
opinion Sigga_i's is [that self_i lacks ability]
'Sigga_i's opinion is that she_i lacks ability.'

[(Sells, 1987:451) Example (23)]

Logophoric binding can also occur across clauses in Icelandic as illustrated in (7). Sells proposes that the reason is that antecedent's point of view is conveyed in the discourse.

- (7) Formaourinn_i varð oskaplega reiður. Tillagan vxri avivirðileg.
The-chairman_i became furiously angry. The-proposal was (subj) outrageous.
Vari henni beint gegn ser_i personulega.
Was(subj) it aimed at self_i personally.

[(Sells, 1987:453) Example (26)]

Similar to Icelandic *sig*, Japanese reflexive *zibun* can be used as a logophoric pronoun. Yet different from Icelandic, antecedent of *zibun* must be a grammatical subject or a logophor. Similar to Icelandic, *zibun* binding can operate across clauses.

- (8) Taroo_i wa totemo kanasigat-tei-ta. Yosiko ga Takasi ga zibun_i o hihansita
 Taroo_i Top very sad-Prog-Past Yosiko Subj Takasi Subj self_i Obj criticized
 noni bengosi-nakat-ta kara da.
 though defend-not-Past because Cop
 'Taroo_i was very sad. It is because Yosiko did not defend (him) though Takasi
 criticized him_i.'

[(Sells, 1987:455) Example (35)]

Sells also makes interesting observation in terms of Italian long-distance anaphor,
proprio. *Proprio* can be long-distance bound with multiple possible antecedents.

- (9) Gianni_i ritiene che Osvaldo_j sia convinto che quella casa appartengaa ncora
 Gianni_i believes that Osvaldo_j is persuaded that that house belongs
 alla propria_{i/j} famiglia.
 to self_{i/j}'s family.

[(Sells, 1987:475) Example (81)]

Proprio shows logophoric properties since it cannot take a transitive verb's object as
 its antecedent (10), but it can take the object of a psych-verb (11).

- (10) *La propria_i moglie ha assassinato Osvaldo_i.
 Self_i's wife murdered Osvaldo_i.

- (11) La propria_i salute preoccupa molto Osvaldo_i.
 Self_i's health worries very much Osvaldo_i.

[(Sells, 1987:476) Examples (83-a,b)]

Considering the licensing properties of logophoricity of all these languages, Sells asserts that logophoricity cannot be unified based on a sole property, such as the existence of a subject or subjunctive mood, yet there are some roles in discourse such as *source*, *self* and *pivot* that make logophoric binding possible. Logophoric pronouns bind an NP in the structure that is associated with a particular role. Sells basically proposes that different predicate types introduce different roles in discourse to license logophoric binding.

5.1.2.2. Reuland (2001)

Reuland (2001) also discusses what logophoric use of anaphors means and under which conditions logophoricity is in effect. He analyzes the interpretations of Icelandic *sig* in subjunctives and infinitival clauses. First, *sig* in subjunctive clauses can take a non-c-commanding argument as its antecedent.

- (12) [_{NP} Skoðun Jóns_i] er [að sig_i vanta hæfileika]
 Opinion John's is that SIG-Acc lacks-Subj talents
 'John's opinion is that he lacks talents.'

[(Reuland, 2001:343) Example (1)]

In infinitival clauses, however, *sig* needs a c-commanding antecedent.

- (13) [_{NP} Skoðun Jóns_i]_j virðist [t_j vera hættuleg fyrir sig_i]
Opinion John's seems be-Inf dangerous for SIG
'John's opinion seems to be dangerous for him.'

[(Reuland, 2001:344) Example (3-a)]

The unexpected use of *sig* is related to the discourse status of the antecedent, which is a person distinct from the speaker or narrator whose point of view is reflected in the sentence. Moreover, in order to explain the difference in binding relations of *sig* with the possible antecedents in subjunctive and in infinitival clauses, Reuland discusses the chain formation analysis as well as the logophoric use of *sig*.

First, Reuland claims that the relation between α and β in configurations like “[α 'sV] V [β ...]” cannot be A-binding relation because α does not c-command β . This relation can be of variable binding or coreference. Reuland eliminates the possibilities of anaphor binding and variable binding considering long-distance subjunctive cases. Besides, deficiency thesis of Bouchard's (1984), which asserts that a DP must have a full specification of Φ -features in order to be interpreted, must be dropped since there is not a source for *sig* to get its Φ -features.

In terms of interpretability of *sig*, Reuland assumes the null hypothesis that is;

- (14) “If α has fewer Φ -features than β , there are fewer constraints on the interpretation of α than on the interpretation of β .”

[(Reuland, 2001:350) (16)]

Reuland states that there is plenty of cross-linguistics evidence (*zich* in Dutch, and anaphors in Slavic languages) proving this hypothesis. Hence, anaphors lacking some Φ -features do not have to have a syntactic binder and they have wider range of application as in the case of *sig*. Reuland also claims that free versus bound interpretation of pronominal elements is decided upon the economy principle, the number of cross-modular operations, and the cheapest operation is the chain formation compared to variable binding and independent interpretation of elements. As a result, Reuland gives up the deficiency thesis and claims that binding of simplex anaphors, such as *sig*, is a result of chain formation as illustrated below.

(15) DP [_{V/I}..... Φ_{Agr} Φ_{sig} ] sig

[(Reuland, 2001:354) (21)]

On the other hand, there are cases where anaphors can act freely. *sig* in subjunctive clauses acts like a pronominal and Reuland claims that the subjunctive morphology on the verb causes this by forming an Operator that prevents a chain formation between DP and α as illustrated below.

(16) [_{OP} [_{V/I}..... Φ_{Agr} Φ_{α} ]_i OP] DP.....t_i..... α

[(Reuland, 2001:356) (24)]

In such environments where the chain formation is blocked, anaphor gets the logophoric interpretation according to Reuland.

As well as these various kinds of approaches to the properties of long-distance anaphora considering the syntactic properties or discourse functions, which are assumed to regulate the distribution of long-distance forms, *kendisi* in Turkish is also examined as a long-distance form and a number of assumptions are made to explain its syntactic nature and discourse-sensitive properties.

5.1.3. Assumptions on *Kendisi*

Within the literature, there are several accounts which discuss the conditions that obtain in the case of *kendisi* in Turkish. *Kendisi* does not conform to the predictions of local binding (Özsoy, 1990; Kornfilt, 2001b; Safir, 2004; Meral, 2010). Özsoy (1990) considers *kendisi* as a discourse reflexive whose distribution is regulated by *topic* in the discourse, Kornfilt (2001b) proposes *kendisi* has phrasal properties, hence it is an AgrP, Safir (2004) claims it is an *unbounded dependent form* (UD-form) and Meral (2010) considers binding as an instance of A' chain in Turkish and analyzes {-sI} morpheme on *kendisi* as the minimal copy of its antecedent.

5.1.3.1. Özsoy (1990)

Özsoy (1990) discusses the discourse functions and inter-clausal usage of *kendisi* and suggests that there is a topic requirement in order to license *kendisi* referring to an antecedent in the discourse. She observes that *kendisi* refers to the prominent topic in the discourse irrespective of the existence of another potential binder. The text in

(17), which is taken from a newspaper, illustrates this. The prominent topic in the discourse is *Admiral Kidd*, and even if there is another potential antecedent, *the briefing officer*, which occurs between the antecedent and *kendisi*, the reader knows that *kendisi* refers to *Admiral Kidd*.

(17) Bu Amiral Kidd öyle yapmıyor. Brifing subayı konuşurken sözünü kesip araya giriyor. Kendisi anlatıyor, bitirince sözü gene brifing subayına veriyor.

‘Admiral Kidd_i does not do such that. (He_i) interrupts the briefing officer_j while he_j is speaking. He_{i/*j} speaks, then he gives floor to briefing officer_j again.’

[(Özsoy, 1990:36) Example (1)]

Further evidence for the topic requirement for *kendisi* is provided by the fact that third person singular pronoun, *o*, is used to refer to the person who is not the topic in the discourse.

(18) Sonra Asuman’a geçti. Ona yürekli kolye almayı düşünürdü hep. Parası olsa alırdı, ah çokça parası olsa. Sormuştu. Öyle bir kolyeye yetmiş lira istemişlerdi. (s.28).

‘Then he_i passed to Asuman_j. He always thinks about buying a necklace with a heart for her. If he had money, he would. If only he had a lot of money. He has asked (its price). They wanted seventy liras for such a necklace. (page: 28). ’

[(Özsoy, 1990:37) Example (6)]

As Özsoy notes, *Asuman* is a proper antecedent in this text for *kendisi* in terms of its Φ -features, yet *o* is used to refer to her since she is not the topic in the discourse.

Özsoy also indicates that if there is a subsection and a distinct topic of the subsection as well as a prominent topic within the discourse, *o* is used to refer to the topic of the subsection and *kendisi* is used to refer to the main topic. The main topic of the text below is *Emin Bey*, and the topic of the subsection is *Perihan*, That's why *o* is interpreted as coreferential with *Perihan* whereas *kendisi* refers to *Emin Bey*.

- (19) Perihan yakın çevresiyle arasına gerilen, ikinci çok daha güçlü siperdi. Hiç bir şey, olay, duygu, ona çarpmadan, onunla hesaplaşmadan *kendisine* ulaşmazdı.

‘Perihan is the second strongest barricade which is built between him and his immediate vicinity. Nothing, not an event, not an emotion can reach *him* without knocking against her and settle accounts with her.’

[(Özsoy, 1990:38) Example (8)]

As all the examples indicate, Özsoy investigates the inter-clausal usage of *kendisi* and the discourse effects determining its usage and concludes that the prominent topic within the discourse licenses *kendisi*. *kendisi* is used to refer to the main topic in the discourse whereas *o* is used to refer to the topics of the subsections in a text and for alienation purposes.

5.1.3.2. Kornfilt (2001b)

Kornfilt (2001b) discusses the nature of the third person singular inflected reflexive form, *kendisi*, with respect to its distributional properties and question the syntactic structure of this form. She observes that *kendisi* exhibit different binding properties from *kendi* in a local domain since *kendisi* is also bound by a discourse antecedent.

(20) a. Ahmet_i kendin-i_i çok beğen-iyor-muş
Ahmet self –Acc. very admire-Prog-Rep.Past
'(They say that) Ahmet admires himself very much.'

b. Ahmet_i kendi-sin-i_{i/j} çok beğen-iyor-muş
Ahmet self -3sg.-Acc. very admire-Prog-Rep.Past
'(They say that) Ahmet admires himself/him very much.'

[(Kornfilt, 2001b:198) Examples (3a-b)]

She also compares *kendisi* with the third person singular pronoun *o* and notes that they pattern together in being bound by an antilocal antecedent.

(21) a. Fatma_j [Ahmet-in_i on-u_{*i/j/k} çok beğen-diğ-in]-i
Fatma Ahmet-Gen. (s)he-Acc. very admire-Ger.-3sg.-Acc
bil-iyor.
know-Pres.Prog.
'Fatma_j knows that Ahmet_i admires him/her_{*i/j/k} very much.'

b. Fatmaj [Ahmet-ini kendi-sin-ii/j/k çok beğen-diğ-in]-i

Fatma Ahmet-Gen. self -3sg.-Acc. very admire-Ger.-3sg.-Acc

bil-iyor.

know-Pres.Prog.

‘Fatma_j knows that Ahmet_i admires self_{i/j/k} very much.’

[(Kornfilt, 2001b:198) Examples (4b-c)]

Data indicate that *kendisi* acts like an anaphor locally yet it acts like a pronominal nonlocally. It cannot be a pronominal since pronominals obey Condition B and they are disjoint from a local antecedent as opposed to the local binding properties of *kendisi* as in (21b). The next question Kornfilt raises is whether *kendisi* can be a Long Distance (LD) reflexive. Kornfilt states that LD-reflexives are noted to share two basic properties within the literature; (i) they are subject-oriented, (ii) they are monomorphemic. *kendisi* cannot be categorized as a LD-reflexive since it is polymorphemic and not subject-oriented. It can also be bound by the object as illustrated below.

(22) Ali_i Ahmed-e_j [Selim-in_k kendi-sin-i_{i/j/k} çok beğen-diğ-in]

Ali Ahmet-Dat. Selim-Gen. self -3sg.-Acc. very admire-Ger.-3sg.

-i söyle-di.

-Acc say-Past.

‘Ali_i told Ahmet_j that Selim_k admires him(self)_{i/j/k} very much.’

[(Kornfilt, 2001b:205) Example (9b)]

Based on the paradoxical behavior and hybrid nature of *kendisi*, Kornfilt claims that it is an Agreement Phrase (AgrP) whose specifier is a phonologically empty pronominal *pro*. She assumes that possessive DPs are also headed by AgrP with various specifiers as in (23) and (24), and *pro* being one of them as in (25).

(23) Ali-nin araba-sı
Ali-Gen. car-3sg.
'Ali's car'

(24) on-un araba-sı
s/he-Gen. car-3sg.
'His/her car'

(25) pro araba-sı
car-3sg.
'[His/her] car'

[(Kornfilt, 2001b:206-207) Examples (11), (12) and (13)]

Parallel to the possessive DPs, she proposes the structure below for *kendisi*. She states that inflection on the reflexive licenses *pro* in the specifier of AgrP.

(26) pro kendi-si
self-3sg.
'[His/her] self (i.e. himself/herself)'

[(Kornfilt, 2001b:207) Example (14)]

The fact that the specifier of AgrP can be realized as an overt possessor, R-expression, provides empirical evidence for her claim.

- (27) Kitab-ı [Ahmed-in_i kendi-sin-e_i] ver-di-m.
book-Acc. Ahmet-Gen. self-3sg.-Dat. give-Past.-1sg.
“I gave the book to Ahmet himself”

[(Kornfilt, 2001b:209) Example (18)]

Assuming AgrP analysis of *kendisi* as in (26), Kornfilt states that the binding domain for the reflexive and *pro* is AgrP. Reflexive is bound by a local antecedent, *pro*, in its own domain obeying Condition A. *pro* obeys Condition B of the BT being bound by an antecedent outside of its domain (AgrP) so that long distance binding property of *kendisi* is explained.

5.1.3.3. Safir (2004)

Safir (2004) indicates that there are syntactically unrestricted forms in languages with respect to his analysis of anaphora which is based on the competition of the dependent forms. He names these forms as unbounded dependent forms (UD-forms) indicating that their antecedents are not syntactically restricted by tense or islands.

The properties of UD-Forms are listed as;

- (28) a) They can be anteceded beyond the domain of the tensed or indicative sentence.
- b) They can appear as the subject of a tensed or indicative sentence.
- c) Their antecedent can be outside of a relative clause in which they are embedded.
- d) They do not always have to have a c-commanding antecedent.
- e) They do not always have to have a sentence-internal antecedent.
- f) They typically permit split antecedents.
- g) They are sensitive to discourse perspective effects.

[(Safir, 2004:174) (52)]

He states that *kendisi* is not an anaphor in Turkish, but a UD-form since it can be anteceded beyond the domain of a tensed or indicative sentence as in (29) and it occurs as the subject of a tensed or indicative sentence as in (30).

- (29) Hasan [Zeyneb-in [Ali-nin kendi-sin-i sev-diğ-in-i] bildiğ-
 Hasan Zeynep-Gen. Ali-Gen. KENDİ-3s-Acc love-Ger.-3sg-Acc know- Ger.-
 in-i] san-ıyor.
 3sg-Acc think-Prog.

‘Hasan_i thinks that Zeynep_j knows that Ali loves KENDİ-SI_{i/j}’

- (30) Ali Oya-ya [Ankara-ya kendilerin-in gönder-il-eceğ-in-i] söyle-di.
 Ali Oya-Dat. Ankara-Dat. KENDİ-3pl-Gen. send-Past-Fut-3sg-Acc tell-Past
 ‘Ali_i told Oya_j that they_{i+j} would get sent to Ankara.’

[(Safir, 2004:175) (53-b) and (54-b)]

(30) also provides evidence for the claim that UD-forms can have split antecedents as opposed to anaphors. Furthermore, Safir (2004) states that *kendisi* does not have to have a c-commanding antecedent as in (31), or not even a sentence-internal antecedent as in (32).

(31) Oya-nın kendi-sin-i beğen-diğ-i] Ahmet-çe bil-in-iyor-du.

Oya-Gen KENDİ-3s-Acc admire-Ger-3sg] Ahmet-by know-Pass.-Prog.-Past
'Oya's admiring him was known to Ahmet.'

(32) *Ali* hakkında Ahmet ne düşünüyor? Ahmet *kendi-sin-i* çok beğen

Ali about Ahmet what think-Prog? Ahmet KENDİ-3s-Acc very admire
-iyor-muş.

-Prog.-rep.past

'What does Ahmet think of *Ali*? (They say that) Ahmet admires *him* very much.'

[(Safir, 2004:176) (55-b) and (56-b)]

Based on the properties of *kendisi*, which conform to his proposal for unbounded forms, Safir (2004) indicates that *kendisi* is not an anaphor in Turkish but a UD-form.

5.1.3.4. Meral (2010)

Meral (2010) claims that binding is an instance of operator-variable chain and *kendi* and *kendisi* behave as variables in Turkish. The binding chain Meral (2010) proposes is A' chain since the Op moves to the C domain leaving the anaphor behind. This system is illustrated below.

(33) Binding chain

[OP_i [Clause [t_i anaphor_i]]]
 Move

[(Meral, 2010:224) (36)]

He argues that treating binding as an instance of A' chain solves the problems resulting from long-distance binding properties of *kendi*.

(34) Ahmet_i [pro_m kendin-e_i bir takım elbise al-ma-m]-₁ ist-iyor.

Ahmet himself-DAT a suit buy-NOM-1sg-ACC want-PROG

“Ahmet wants me to buy a suit for himself.”

(35) [C Domain1 OP_i [T Domain1 Ahmet_i ... [C Domain2 t_i [T Domain2

[t_i+kendin-e_i]]]

[(Meral, 2010:226) (40) and (41)]

He considers the sentence in (34) grammatical in which *kendi* in the embedded clause bound by the matrix subject¹⁷, which is a violation of Condition A of BT. The A'-chain analysis he proposes explains the grammaticality since the Op cyclically moves to the intermediate C domain then to the C domain of the matrix clause, so that it can bind the variable *kendi* and relate it to its antecedent.

He states that *kendisi* is different from *kendi* due to the presence of the 3rd person possessive marker on it which acts as a minimal copy of its antecedent. To provide evidence, Meral indicates that 3rd person possessive markers ‘-sI’ and ‘-lArI’ behave as variables bound by the quantificational expressions.

- (36) a. Herkes_i anne-sin-i_{i/k} sev-er
 everyone mother-3sg-ACC love-AOR
 “Everyone loves his mother”
- b. Bütün çocuk-lar_i oyuncak-ların_i-ı sev-er.
 all kid-pl toy-3pl-ACC love-AOR
 “All children love their toys”

[(Meral, 2010:236) (50a-b)]

¹⁷ Note that according to the judgments I get throughout this thesis, a sentence like (34) is not acceptable yet *kendisi* instead of *kendi* is judged to be grammatical. This also indicates the dialectal variety in Turkish. Hence, Meral (2010)’s analysis is based on the data from Dialect A which permits long-distance binding of *kendi* whereas the data I present is based on the grammaticality judgments of Dialect B, which does not allow long-distance binding of *kendi* and seemed to be ranked higher in number according to the results of the questionnaire I distributed.

(36-a) and (36-b) are ambiguous between the bound variable reading (e.g.: there is no particular mother or toy to refer to) and deictic reading (e.g.: there is a particular mother which everyone loves and toys belonging to a different person).

Meral observes that ‘-sI’ also turns bare adverbs into nouns which makes them licit as the subject of a clause.

(37) a. *İçeri / dışarı / geri / ileri bugün karanlık.

inside / outside / back / forward today dark

“The inside / outside / back / forward is dark today”

b. İçeri-si / dışarı- sı / geri-si / ileri-si bugün karanlık.

inside-3sg / outside-3sg / back-3sg / forward-3sg today dark

“The inside / outside / back / forward is dark today”

[(Meral, 2010:240) (56a-b)]

Based on these data, Meral (2010) suggests that {-sI} is the minimal copy of a discourse or a pragmatic antecedent which makes the structures above grammatical. Therefore, Meral analyzes *kendisi* as a multifunctional form different from *kendi*. {-sI} in *kendisi* stands for the minimal copy of its antecedent and *kendisi* behaves as an anaphor when there is an A’ operator in the structure. In the absence of an operator, it behaves as a pronominal and takes its antecedent in the previous discourse.

5.2. An Alternative Analysis of *Kendisi*

5.2.1. *Kendisi* as a (Non)anaphoric and (Non)pronominal Element

As pointed out in the literature (Kornfilt, 2001b) and throughout this study, *kendisi* has a dual status behaving both like an anaphor and a pronominal. Recall that in a minimal domain, *kendisi* can be anteceded by a local binder. In this respect, *kendisi* is similar to the anaphor, *kendi*, yet it differs from 3rd person singular pronoun *o*. *kendisi* can also be coreferential with an antecedent in the discourse contra to *kendi*.

- (38) [Ayşe_i kendisin-e_{i/j} / kendin-e_i/o-na_{j/*i} yeni bir elbise al-dı.]
Ayşe kendisi-Dat. / kendi-Dat. /3SG-Dat. new a dress buy-Past
'Ayşe_i bought a new dress for herself_i/ her_{*i/j}.'

Notice furthermore that *kendisi* is grammatical in environments where *kendi* yields ungrammaticality. First, *kendisi* in an IO position in ditransitive constructions can be bound by DO in the derived <IO, DO> structure as opposed to *kendi*. Recall from chapter 3 that such a binding relation is supposed to violate Condition A yet *kendisi* can be coindexed with DO as in (39) yielding ambiguity.

- (39) Ali_i kendine_{i/*j} / kendisin-e_{i/j/k} Ayşe-yi_j sor-du.
Ali. Kendi-Dat. / kendisi-Dat. Ayşe-Acc ask-Past.

Intended meanings: (i) 'Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to himself_i.'

(ii) 'Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to her_j.'

(iii) 'Ali_i asked what kind of a person Ayşe_j is to her/him_k.'

Similarly, *kendisi* can be bound by DO lacking a c-commanding antecedent within its own domain and grammatical as opposed to *kendi*.

- (40) Kendisin- e_{ij} / kendin- e_{*i} ünlü şarkıcıy- 1_i sor-duk.
kendisi-Dat / kendi-Dat. famous singer-Acc ask-Past-1pl.
Intended meaning: ‘We asked the famous singer $_i$ to himself $_i$ /him $_j$.’

Moreover, *kendi* and *kendisi* exhibit complementary distribution as the complement of PPs as presented in Chapter 3. To repeat; *kendi* can be the complement of PP-I bare postpositions as in (41) whereas *kendisi* is grammatical as the complement of PP-II as in (42) since PP-II postpositions occur with an Operator as the result of their event structure, which renders the domain opaque for binding.

- (41) Ayşe $_i$ [_{PP} kendin- e_i göre] başarılı ol-du.
Ayşe kendi-Dat. according to successful become-Past
‘Ayşe $_i$ became successful according to herself $_i$.’

- (42) Ayşe $_i$ bütün yıl [_{PP} kendisi $_i$ için] çalış-tı.
Ayşe whole year *kendi* for study-Past.
‘Ayşe $_i$ studied for herself $_i$ the whole year.’

DPs (PPs in traditional terms) headed by possessive marked postpositions also choose *kendisi* over *kendi* as their complements as in (43) since agreement on the D head of DP creates an opaque domain for binding.

(43) Ayşe_i [_{DP} kendisi_i hakkında] pek konuş-ma-z.

Ayşe kendi about much talk-Neg.-Aorist

‘Ayşe_i does not talk about herself_i much.’

Therefore, even if *kendisi* seems to behave like an anaphor when it is anteceded by a local binder, it clearly violates Condition A in mentioned environments hence not a true anaphor. The distribution of *kendisi* in subordinate clauses provides further evidence for its (non)anaphoric nature. As it is discussed in Chapter 4, the relevant domain for anaphor binding in Turkish is determined by (strong) Agr on the C head of subordinate CPs and *kendi* in such embedded structures as –DIK (or –EcEK), -mA clauses, ECM constructions and relative clauses cannot be bound by the matrix subject. However, *kendisi* behaves like a pronominal and bound by a long-distance antecedent in these environments which are illustrated respectively.

(44) Tembel öğrenci_i [_{CP} öğretmen-in_j kendin-e*_{i/j} / kendisin-e_i /on-a_i

Lazy student teacher-Gen. kendi-Dat. /kendisi-Dat./ Pron.-Dat.

matematik- ten beş ver- ver-eceğ]-in-i bil-yor.

maths-Abl. five give-Ger -3sg.-Acc know-Pres.Progr.

‘The lazy student_i knows the teacher_j to give him_i five on Maths.’

(45) Ali_i [_{CP} biz-im_j * kendin-den_i / kendisin-den_i /on-dan_{i/k} bahset-me-miz]

Ali we-Gen. kendi-Abl. / kendisi-Abl / him-Abl. talk-Ger.-3rd sing.-

-i isti-yor.

Acc want-Prog

‘Ali_i wants us to talk about *himself_i / him_i / him_{i/k}.’

- (46) Ali_i [CP biz-i_j * kendin-e_i / kendisin-e_i /on-a_i gül-üyor-uz]
 Ali we-Acc kendi-Dat. /kendisi-Dat./ Pron.-Dat. laugh-Prog-1pl
 san-dı.
 think-Past.
 ‘Ali thought we were laughing at him.’

- (47) Fatma_k [CP Ayşe-nin_j kendin-e_j/*_k / kendisin-e_i /on-a_{k/i} al -dığ -
 Fatma Ayşe-Gen. kendi-Dat. /kendisi-Dat./ Pron.-Dat. buy-Rel.-
 1 elbise_i]-yi_i kaybet-ti.
 Acc. dress-Acc. lose-Past
 ‘Fatma_k lost the dress that Ayşe_j bought for herself_i/ her_{k/i}.’

Therefore, the distributional properties of *kendisi* which are discussed in this study are in line with Kornfilt (2001b)’s observation in that *kendisi* exhibits both anaphoric and pronominal properties. Thus, it cannot be categorized as only one of them.

5.2.2. Phrase Structure of *Kendisi*

I claim that the dual nature of *kendisi* is due to {-sI} morpheme. Similar to Kornfilt (2001b)’s assumption, I propose that there is a *pro* which is licensed by {-sI} morpheme on *kendisi* and this *pro* enables *kendisi* to be bound by an antecedent out of its minimal domain. Different from Kornfilt (2001b), however, I propose a different phrasal architecture for *kendisi*. I suggest *kendisi* is a DP projection and *pro* occurs at [Spec, DP] and {-sI} occurs on the D head. DP analysis of *kendisi* does not cause any empirical loss since [Spec, DP] can host nouns and pronouns similar to

Kornfilt (2001b)'s AgrP analysis and furthermore, DP analysis is theoretically more desirable within the light of the Minimalist Program (cf. Chomsky, 2001) and the previous discussions in this study. The assumed structure of *kendisi* is illustrated below.

(48) [DP *pro* [D' [NP *kendi*] -si]]

Kendisi is locally bound by *pro* in its domain, DP, in accordance with the Condition A of the BT. The pronominal specifier, which obeys Condition B, is free within that same domain; *pro* is bound by an antecedent outside of DP. To this end, *kendisi* is bound by *pro* in its own domain, DP, and it can be coreferential with an antecedent outside of its domain via *pro*; thus, it is still indirectly bound by an antecedent in environments where *kendi* and *kendisi* seem to be in free variation.¹⁸

Recall the environments where *kendi* and *kendisi* seem to be in complementary distribution; simple clauses. (49) illustrates indirect binding properties of *kendisi* in such environments.

(49) Ali_i kendin-e_i / pro_{i/j} kendisin-e_{i/j} bir araba al-di.
 Ali kendi-Dat / kendisi-Dat a car buy-Past.
 'Ali_i bought a car to him_j/himself_i.'

¹⁸ An alternative proposal for the dual nature and the long-distance properties of *kendisi*, which is brought to my attention by Balkız Öztürk, can be the claim that there are in fact two occurrences of *kendi* in Turkish. One of them is the anaphor which is discussed throughout this study and the other *kendi* can be assumed to be its nominal counterpart which means *self*. In this case, *kendisi* is possessive marked form of the nominal *kendi* which is used to indicate inalienable possession. Whether this analysis can be generalized to other forms of *kendi* needs further investigation.

The coreferentiality between the subject, *Ali*, and *kendisi* is not a local binding when DP analysis of *kendisi* is adopted since the antecedent is outside of the domain of *kendisi*, which is considered to be DP, even in simple clauses as in (49). Yet *kendisi* is coindexed with *Ali* hence gets the same value/reference via *pro*, which obeys Condition B of the BT hence be bound by an antecedent outside of DP.

DP analysis of *kendisi* can also explain the cases where *kendisi* is bound by a discourse antecedent since *pro* can get a reference within the discourse hence *kendisi* has the same value via coindexation.

- (50) *Ödev-i* *pro_i* *kendisin-e_i* *teslim et-ti-k.*
 Homework-Acc *kendisi-Dat* submit-Past-1st pl.
 ‘We submitted the homework to him/her.’

The realization of *pro* can also be an overt pronoun, *o*, or a proper noun, which provides further evidence for the DP analysis.

- (51) *Ödev-i* *Ali Hoca’nn_i* *kendisin-e_i* *teslim et-ti-k.*
 Homework-Acc *Ali* instructor-Gen *kendisi-Dat* submit-Past-1st pl.
 ‘We submitted the homework to Instructor Ali himself.’

- (52) ? Ödev-i on-un_i kendisin-e_i teslim et-ti-k.¹⁹
 Homework-Acc 3rd sg.pr-Gen kendisi-Dat submit-Past-1st pl.
 ‘We submitted the homework to him/her.’

Notice furthermore that *kendisi* and binding in Turkish cannot be analyzed as an instance of a chain relation different from Reuland (2001) and Meral (2010). Reuland (2001)’s analysis does not hold for *kendisi* in Turkish since the null hypothesis which is stated as “If α has fewer Φ -features than β , there are fewer constraints on the interpretation of α than on the interpretation of β .” is not adequate to differentiate between *kendi* and *kendisi* in Turkish as they have the same Φ -features. I also do not favor Meral (2010)’s analysis since *kendi* does not exhibit antilocal behavior according to the data and the analysis presented in this study; hence, I conclude *kendi* as a true anaphor in Chapter 3. Moreover, chain analysis and minimal copy assumption of Meral cannot explain the antilocal behavior of *kendisi* in ditransitive constructions and as the complement of postpositions. Therefore, it is proposed that

¹⁹ (52) is not acceptable for some speaker of Turkish despite the expectation that *o*, which obeys Condition B of the BT similar to *pro*, should be grammatical when it is bound by an antecedent outside of DP. The reason why the overt pronoun is marginal where *pro* is grammatical is due to “Avoid Pronoun” principle as proposed in Chomsky (1981), which states that in positions where *pro* is licensed, an overt pronominal would be ungrammatical or marginal. In (52), *pro* which is bound by a discourse antecedent is grammatical, hence *o* is marginal in accordance with the Avoid Pronoun Principle. This marginality is more apparent when the antecedent of the overt pronoun is within the clause when the domain is smaller than in (52) as illustrated.

- (1) Ayşe_i bu elbise-yi pro_i kendisin-e_i al-d_i.
 Ayşe this dress-Acc. kendisi-Dat. buy-Past.
 ‘Ayşe bought this dress for herself.’
- (2) * Ayşe_i bu elbise-yi on-un_i kendisin-e_i al-d_i.
 Ayşe this dress-Acc. 3rd sg.pr-Gen kendisi-Dat. buy-Past.
 Intended meaning: ‘Ayşe bought this dress for herself.’

the difference between the distribution of *kendi* and *kendisi* and the (non)anaphoric and (non)pronominal nature of *kendisi* is best accounted for by adopting the phrasal architecture of *kendisi* as suggested in (48).

5.2.3. *Kendisi* as a (Non)logophor

As well as non-clause bounded antecedents, *kendisi* is also observed to take its antecedent within the discourse as noted in the literature and in this study. Whether certain discourse-related properties affect licensing of *kendisi* and whether *kendisi* can be categorized as a logophor will be discussed in this section.

Within the literature, the effect of discourse-related properties on long-distance bound anaphora is attempted to be associated with logophoricity. Recall Sells (1987)'s claim that role predicates based on the notions like *self*, *source*, and *pivot* should be considered to understand and explain the nature of the long-distance bound forms referred as logophors. *Self* is defined as the person whose mind is reported, *source* is the speaker and *pivot* is considered to refer to the person from whose point of view the report is made. It is also discussed that with psychological verbs, *self* is the relevant notion because such verbs imply that the antecedent's mind is reported. *Source* is the relevant notion to understand the logophoricity when the predicate is *be*, and *pivot* is the relevant notion with the predicate *say*. In Turkish, on the other hand, *kendisi* is licensed by all of these predicates as illustrated below.

- (53) Ayşe_i Ali-nin_j kendisin-e_{i/j/k} kötü bir şey yap-ma-sın-dan
 Ayşe Ali-Gen. kendisi-Dat. bad a thing do-MA-3sg-Abl.
 kork-uyor.
 afraid-Pres.Prog.
 ‘Ayşe_i is afraid that Ali_j will do something bad to himself_j/her_i/him_k.’
- (54) Ayşe_i Ali-nin_j kendisin-e_{i/j/k} araba al-ma-sın-a mutlu
 Ayşe Ali-Gen. kendisi-Dat. car buy-MA-3sg-Dat. happy
 ol-du.
 become-Past.
 ‘Ayşe_i is happy that that Ali_j has bought a car for himself_j/her_i/him_k.’
- (55) Ayşe_i Ali-nin_j kendisin-den_{i/j/k} utan-dığ-ın-ı söyle-di.
 Ayşe Ali-Gen. kendisi-Abl. ashamed-DIK-3sg-Acc. say-Past.
 ‘Ayşe_i said that Ali_j is ashamed of himself_j/her_i/him_k.’

Notice that *kendisi* can be anteceded by a local antecedent or the matrix subject which can be named as the source, self or pivot in Sell (1987)’s terms. Therefore, it seems to exhibit all predicate roles and the logophoric properties. Yet *kendisi* is judged to be grammatical referring to a third person from the discourse that is not related with the role predicates at all. Furthermore, *kendisi* is licensed as a long-distance bound form when there is not a role predicate involved in the structure as illustrated below.

(56) Ayşe_i Ali-nin_j kendisin-den_{i/j/k} utan-dıĝ-ın-ı hatırla-dı.
 Ayşe Ali-Gen. kendisi-Abl. ashamed-DIK-3sg-Acc. remember-Past.
 ‘Ayşe_i remembered that Ali_j is ashamed of himself_j/her_i/him_k.’

(57) Ayşe_i Ali-nin_j kendisin-e_{i/j/k} araba al-dıĝ-ın-ı gör-dü.
 Ayşe Ali-Gen. kendisi-Dat. car buy-DIK-3sg-Acc. see-Past.
 ‘Ayşe_i saw that Ali_j bought a car for himself_j/her_i/him_k.’

The data indicates that *kendisi* does not require a role predicate to get licensed as a long-distance bound form in the structures above. Then, the next question will be what determines its occurrence and antecedent choice and whether a certain discourse-related property rather than logophoricity has an effect on licensing mechanism of *kendisi*.

5.2.4. Discourse Functions

Within the light of the assumptions made in Özsoy (1990), I claim that distribution of *kendisi* and its antecedent choice within the discourse is not arbitrary yet *topic* is the relevant notion in Turkish to license the non-clause bounded binding properties of *kendisi*. I have pointed out all three possible antecedents of *kendisi* in (56, 57) in the previous section. Those sentences are ambiguous in Turkish when they are uttered out-of-blue. However, following Özsoy (1990), I suggest that ambiguity is lost and *kendisi* chooses the topic as its antecedent within the discourse. To illustrate this, the same sentence in (56) is repeated in three different discourses where it refers to three different topics.

(58) Ayşe_i o partiye gitmeyi çok istiyordu. Ama yalnız gidemezdi. Birilerini aramayı düşündü, mesela Ali'y_j. Ama sonra Ali'nin_j kendisinden_i utanacağını hatırladı. Onu_j aramaktan vazgeçti.

‘Ayşe_i really wanted to go to that party. Yet she_i could not go there on her own. She_i thought about calling someone, such as Ali_j. Then she_i remembered that Ali_j is ashamed of her_i. She_i gave up the idea of calling him_j.’

(59) Ali_j Ayşe_i ne dediyse ikna olmamıştı. Neden sürekli böyle üstünü başını çekiştiriyordu? Kimseye bakamıyor, başını yerden kaldırmıyordu. Tam kızmaya başlayacaktı ki, sonra kendisinden_i utanacağını hatırladı. Bu kılık kıyafetiyle güzel giyimli, zengin insanların arasında sıkıldığını söylemişti daha birkaç gün önce.

‘Ali_j was not convinced whatever Ayşe_i said. Why was he_j always tugging at his_j sleeve? He_j could not look at anyone but just looking down. She_i was just about to get angry, then she_i remembered that he_j was ashamed of himself_j. He_j said just a few days ago that with these clothes of his_j, he_j gets bored among such well-dressed, rich people.

(60) Nasıl birisi acaba diye düşündü Ayşe_i. Beraber dışarı çıkmıyorlar hiç, Ali_j bir arkadaşıyla bile tanıştırmadı daha. Kampüste yanında bile görmemişti hatta. Sonra Ali'nin_j kendisinden_k utandığını hatırladı, geçenlerde anlatmıştı ona_i. “Zavallı kız_k” diye düşündü...

‘Ayşe_i wondered what kind of a person she_k is. They never go out together, Ali_j has not introduced her_k any of his_j friends yet. She_i even does not see her_k by him_j on the campus. Then she_i remembered that Ali_j is ashamed of her_k, he_j told her_i a few days ago. “Poor girl_k” she_i thought...

The topic of (58) is *Ayşe*, (59) is *Ali*, and Ali's girlfriend (*kız*) is the topic in (60). *kendisi*, which occurs in the same sentence without a logophoric predicate, refers to these various topics in all these three examples respectively. When another person rather than the topic is desired to be referred, the third person pronoun, *o* is used. This clearly indicates that *kendisi* is sensitive to discourse functions, more specifically to the topic, in Turkish.

5.3. Summary

The discussion in this chapter sheds light on the syntactic architecture and discourse-related properties of *kendisi*. Being a long-distance bound form, *kendisi* has a dual nature exhibiting both anaphoric and pronominal properties. Thus, it is proposed that *kendisi* is a DP and there is a *pro* in its specifier. The root, *kendi-*, results in the behavior of *kendisi* as an anaphor and *pro* results in its pronominal nature.

Furthermore, *kendisi* might yield ambiguity when there is more than one possible antecedent which meets the Φ -feature requirement for coreference. It is also proposed that the referent choice of *kendisi* is not arbitrary in such environments and *kendisi* is discourse-sensitive. Yet it cannot be categorized as a logophor since the relevant feature which licenses *kendisi* is the topic in Turkish as opposed to the logophoric function of long-distance reflexives in well-documented African or European languages.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary of the Claims

In this thesis, I argued that anaphoric dependencies in Turkish are regulated by the principles of the Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1986b). The third person reflexive *kendi* is a true anaphor obeying the Principle A of the BT. The data show that *kendi* is bound by a c-commanding antecedent in its minimal domain which agrees with *kendi* in terms of its ϕ -features whereas *kendisi* with its hybrid nature is both bound by a local antecedent and is coreferential with a discourse referent.

Coreferentiality between *kendi* and its antecedent also indicates that anaphor binding is not subject-oriented in Turkish; a VP-internal argument of a ditransitive verb can bind the other argument. Having argued in favor of the presence of an Applicative head which is projected between the VP and vP (Marantz, 1993), I proposed a high applicative analysis of ditransitives (Pylkkänen, 2002, 2008) where DO is merged as the sister of VP and IO is merged as the sister of ApplP. DO over IO order is an instance of case checking since it is well-recorded in the literature that overt accusative marking is an indication of specificity and of the noun being outside of VP in Turkish (Kennelly, 1994; Zidani-Eroğlu, 1997 and Kelepir, 2001). I claim that IO over DO is an indication of another derivation where *v* comes into the derivation with topic related OCC feature (cf. Chomsky, 2001) which attracts IO to [Spec, vP]. Adopting these derivations and based on the binding relations in

ditransitive constructions, I suggest that binding is an anywhere condition in Turkish which holds before or after Internal Merge excluding OCC triggered movement.

Focusing next on PPs, I have argued that there is a three-way distinction among postpositional phrases in Turkish. I proposed a novel structure analysis of postpositional phrases (PPs) in Turkish based on their semantic and morphological properties, supported by the empirical evidence which comes from the case marking properties of the NP complements of PPs. First, I argued that the clause structure of PPs headed by a particular group of bare postpositions differ from the others due to the presence of the Operator related to the event structures of postpositions based on the claims that PPs are considered to be predicates (cf. Becker and Arms, 1969) similar to verbs and the lexical property of a verb can determine its syntactic structure (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995). Following the spirit of Kornfilt (2001a)'s claim for the genitive marked subjects of nominalized subordinate clauses in Turkish, I assume the Operator also result in the genitive case marking potential of PP-I postpositions. As such, I argue that PPs headed by bare postpositions should be further categorized into two as PP-I and PP-II regarding the existence of the Operator. Second, I claim that the morphological properties of PPs headed by possessive marked postpositions and the genitive marking on the NP complements provide evidence for their being DPs following the spirit of Zimmer, Öztürk and Erguvanlı-Taylan (to appear)'s proposal for the structure of genitive-possessive constructions. This proposal on the structure of PPs headed by bare postpositions and possessive marked postpositions accounts for the distribution of *kendi* and *kendisi* as their complements. PPs headed by PP-I render the PP an opaque domain for anaphor binding resulting from their event structure hence *kendi*, lacking an antecedent within PP, is ungrammatical as their complement. Similarly, *kendi* does not occur as the

complement of adjunct DPs whereas *kendisi* is grammatical since DP constitutes an opaque domain for binding resulting from Agr feature on the D head.

Next, I have questioned the nature of binding domain in Turkish based on the clausal architecture of the embedded structures. I have argued that nominalized clauses are CPs over ModPs based on the semantics of nominalizers (Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1998), and the availability of topicalization and scrambling in these constructions. Being CPs, nominalized clauses with -MA and -DIK, ECM clauses with (strong) agreement and relative clauses are opaque domains for binding whereas control structures, ECM constructions without agreement and adjunct clauses, which lack a CP, are transparent domains for binding. Following George and Kornfilt (1981) and Kornfilt (1984), agreement is proposed to determine the domain for anaphor binding and within the light of the assumptions of Kural (1992) and Ulutaş (2006), I have argued that nominal agreement as well as verbal agreement is realized as a feature on the C head. I have concluded that the minimal binding domain of a complement of a verb in Turkish is CP (cf. Safir, 2004), which is determined by the strong Agr feature on the C head.

Lastly, I have discussed the anaphoric, pronominal and logophoric nature of *kendisi*. *kendisi* is observed to be coreferential with the antecedents outside of its minimal domain which follows the discussions on *kendisi* in the literature (Özsoy, 1983; Kornfilt, 2001b; Safir, 2004; Meral, 2010). I have also observed that distributional properties of *kendisi* cannot be regulated by syntactic conditions on long-distance reflexives as proposed by Pica (1987) or by particular discourse conditions such as *self*, *source* or *pivot* which are referred to as logophoricity (Sells, 1987) as opposed to the long-distance bound forms in African or European languages. *kendisi* exhibits both anaphoric and pronominal behavior and following

Kornfilt (2001b), I have proposed a DP analysis of *kendisi* which hosts a *pro* in its specifier. *pro* extends the binding domain, thus antilocal binding of *kendisi* is licensed via its phrase structure. *kendisi* is also sensitive to discourse properties and inter-clausal binding property of *kendisi* is regulated by the *topic* presented in the discourse as it is suggested in Özsoy (1990). Therefore, I have concluded that discourse features should also be considered as well as a syntactic analysis to explain the antilocal and inter-clausal binding properties of *kendisi*.

6.2. Remaining Issues for Future Research

This thesis considers a number of questions regarding the anaphoric dependencies in Turkish, domain of binding and has some arguments on the clause structure of Turkish ditransitive constructions, postpositional phrases and subordinate clauses yet there are several issues which need to be investigated further.

First, the claims on anaphoric dependencies in Turkish need to be more conclusive since I focus on the third person reflexive pronouns excluding the other persons and reciprocals. As I also stated in a footnote in Chapter 4, there seem to be some discourse factors rather than a syntactic explanation for the relation between the second person plural and the other persons in Turkish since *siz* ‘you (pl)’ indicates discrepancy yielding grammaticality for anaphor binding in some opaque domains and ungrammaticality for pronominal binding in some transparent domains contrary to the assumptions of the theory.

Another issue which needs further research is the dialect split and the nature of *kendi* in Dialect B in terms of binding. All the analyses and claims I put forth on the nature of *kendi* is based on the judgments of the speakers of Dialect A as I

mentioned in the introduction and throughout the thesis. Note that there is also Dialect B speakers of which do not agree with some of the grammaticality judgments I have discussed. The particular environments where the dialect split is most apparent are the occurrence of *kendi* as the complement of postpositions and the embedded structures. Whether Dialect A and B differ in certain other environments needs further investigation yet based on the data presented in this thesis, the basic difference between these two dialects exist in accordance with the agreement. Whereas *kendi* behaves as a true anaphor and the domain of binding is determined by agreement feature for the speakers of Dialect A as I claimed in this thesis, the grammaticality judgments of the speakers of Dialect B imply that agreement does not create an opaque domain for anaphor binding in Dialect B. Further investigation is required to determine the binding domain and to account for the true nature of *kendi* in Dialect B.

Discourse conditioned distribution of anaphora also needs further study to investigate whether there are other languages which are sensitive to discourse factors rather than the role predicates of the logophoricity as in the case of *kendisi* in Turkish, or whether topic can also be categorized as a role predicate under the term logophoricity.

Dispensed with most of the constructs of Government and Binding era and to consider more economical solutions to operations in syntax, there here have been attempts to reduce anaphoric dependencies to narrow syntactic operations. Regarding the minimalist assumptions of Chomsky (2000) and Hicks (2009), whether anaphora condition can be reduced to Agree relation at narrow syntax is another interesting issue worth questioning. Providing possible answers to this question requires a lot of cross-linguistic observations, which I believe will be addressed in future studies.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Bu çalışmanın amacı anadili Türkçe olan insanların bazı cümleler hakkındaki dilbilgisel yargılarını ve belli ifadelerin bu konuşmacılar için ne ifade ettiğini değerlendirmektir. Çalışmanın verileri sadece Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dilbilim Bölümü'nde kullanılacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz için çok teşekkür ederiz.

Bilge Palaz
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi
Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi
Dilbilim yüksek lisans programı öğrencisi

A. Aşağıdaki tümcelerde bulunan boşlukları *kendi/kendisi* sözcüklerinden uygun olanı ile doldurunuz. Bu sözcüklere anlamlı olacak şekilde ekler (-e, -i, -de, -den, -yle) getirebilirsiniz

1. Ayşe _____ alay ediyor.
2. Ayşe kimseyi _____ kadar sevmez.
3. Ayşe _____ yeni bir elbise almış.
4. Ayşe çiçeği _____ için aldı.
5. Ayşe _____ çok güzel sanıyor.
6. Ayşe _____ Ali'yi sordu.
7. Ayşe _____ Ali'den daha çok önemsiyor.
8. Ali tüm gün _____ bahsetti.
9. Ayşe _____ göre başarılı oldu.
10. Ayşe _____ Ankara'ya gidecek sanıyor.

B. Aşağıdaki cümlelerde boşlukları altı çizili sözcükleri ifade eden *kendi/kendisi* sözcüklerinden uygun olanı ile doldurunuz.

(1) a. Durmadan _____ öven adam Ali'yi çok seviyor.

b. Durmadan _____ öven adam Ali'yi çok seviyor.

(2)a. Ayşe Ali'nin _____ utandığını düşünüyor.

b. Ayşe Ali'nin _____ utandığını düşünüyor.

(3) a. Ayşe Ali'ye _____ sordu.

b. Ayşe Ali'ye _____ sordu.

(4) a. Ayşe Ali'yi _____ sordu.

b. Ayşe Ali'yi _____ sordu.

(5) a. Durmadan _____ bahseden adam Ali'yi çok seviyor.

b. Durmadan _____ bahseden adam Ali'yi çok seviyor.

(6)a. Ayşe aynada _____ bakan adamdan korktu.

b. Ayşe aynada _____ bakan adamdan korktu.

(7)a. Ayşe Ali'nin _____ âşık olduğuna inanıyor.

b. Ayşe Ali'nin _____ âşık olduğuna inanıyor.

TEŞEKKÜRLERİMLE

APPENDIX B

Bu çalışmanın amacı anadili Türkçe olan insanların bazı cümleler hakkındaki dilbilgisel yargılarını ve belli ifadelerin bu konuşmacılar için ne ifade ettiğini değerlendirmektir. Çalışmanın verileri sadece Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dilbilim Bölümü'nde kullanılacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz için çok teşekkür ederiz.

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Dilbilim yüksek lisans programı öğrencisi

A. Aşağıdaki tümcelerde bulunan boşluklara gelebilecek uygun ifadeyi yuvarlak içine alınız. Eğer iki ifade de olabiliyorsa ikisini de seçebilirsiniz.

1. Çocuk aynadan *kendini / kendisini* gördü.
2. Ayşe benimle *kendi / kendisi* hakkında pek konuşmaz.
3. Ayşe *kendine / kendisine* çiçek aldı.
4. Ayşe *kendi / kendisi* için çiçek aldı.
5. Ayşe *kendine / kendisine* yeni bir elbise almış.
6. Ayşe *kendini / kendisini* çok güzel sanıyor.
7. Ali tüm gün *kendinden / kendisinden* bahsetti.
8. Ali bu konuda *kendinin / kendisinin* yerine Ayşe'ye güveniyor.

B. Aşağıdaki cümlelerde boşlukları altı çizili sözcükleri ifade eden *kendi/kendisi* sözcüklerinden hangisinin gelebileceğini seçiniz. Eğer iki ifade de olabiliyorsa ikisini de seçebilirsiniz.

- (1) a. Zeynep yakışıklı çocuğun *kendini / kendisini* beğendiğini düşünüyor.
b. Zeynep yakışıklı çocuğun *kendini / kendisini* beğendiğini düşünüyor.

- (2) a. Ayşe Aylin'e *kendine / kendisine* aldığı elbiseyi gösterdi.
b. Ayşe Aylin'e *kendine / kendisine* aldığı elbiseyi gösterdi.
- (3) a. Ali Ayşe'yi *kendine / kendisine* aldığı eve götürdü.
b. Ali Ayşe'yi *kendine / kendisine* aldığı eve götürdü.
- (4) a. Ayşe Ali *kendine / kendisine* bilet almadığı için konsere gitmedi.
b. Ayşe Ali *kendine / kendisine* bilet almadığı için konsere gitmedi.
- (5) a. Ayşe Ali'ye *kendine / kendisine* bilet almamasını söyledi.
b. Ayşe Ali'ye *kendine / kendisine* bilet almamasını söyledi.
- (6) a. Ayşe Aylin'e *kendine / kendisine* ev alan çocuğu gösterdi.
b. a. Ayşe Aylin'e *kendine / kendisine* ev alan çocuğu gösterdi.
c. a. Ayşe Aylin'e *kendine / kendisine* ev alan çocuğu gösterdi.

TEŞEKKÜRLERİMLE

APPENDIX C

Bu çalışmanın amacı anadili Türkçe olan insanların bazı cümleler hakkındaki dilbilgisel yargılarını ve belli ifadelerin bu konuşmacılar için ne ifade ettiğini değerlendirmektir. Çalışmanın verileri sadece Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dilbilim Bölümü'nde kullanılacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz için çok teşekkür ederiz.

Bilge Palaz
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi
Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi
Dilbilim yüksek lisans programı öğrencisi

Aşağıdaki cümleler sizin için doğru-kabul edilebilirse yanına (✓) işareti koyunuz.

Doğru olmayan/kabul edilemez olan cümlelerin yanına (*) işareti koyunuz.

1. Siz bizi kendinize gülüyor sandınız.
2. Ali sizi kendine gülüyor sandı.
3. Biz Ali'yi kendimize gülüyor sandık.
4. Ben Ali'yi kendime gülüyor sandım.
5. Siz bizi size gülüyor sandınız.
6. Ali sizi kendine gülüyorsunuz sandı.
7. Biz Ali'yi bize gülüyor sandık.
8. Siz Ali'yi kendinize gülüyor sandınız.
9. Siz bizi kendinize gülüyoruz sandınız.
10. Ali sizi ona gülüyor sandı. (ona=Ali anlamında)

11. Ali sizi ona gülüyorsunuz sandı.
12. Ben Ali'yi bana gülüyor sandım.
13. Ali bizi kendine gülüyoruz sandı.
14. Ali Ayşe'yi kendine gülüyor sandı. (Ali=Ayşe)
15. Ali ben ona gülüyorum sandı. (o=Ali)
16. Ali biz kendine gülüyoruz sandı.
17. Siz Ali kendinize gülüyor sandınız.
18. Ali ben kendine gülüyorum sandı.
19. Ayşe Ali'nin kendine araba alacağını biliyor. (kendi=Ayşe)
20. Tembel öğrenci öğretmenin kendine matematikten iki vereceğini düşünüyor.
21. (Biz) Ali'nin kendimizde bahsetmesini istedik.
22. Ali bizim kendinden bahsetmemizi istedi.
23. Ali Ayşe'nin kendinden bahsetmesini istiyor. (kendi=Ali)
24. Ayşe Ali'nin kendine araba almasını istiyor. (kendi=Ayşe)

TEŞEKKÜRLERİMLE

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