NON-STRUCTURAL DATIVES IN TURKISH

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Non-structural Datives in Turkish

This thesis investigates the meanings and functions of the dative case in Turkish by examining its syntactic and semantic properties in relation to the event structure. Specifically, it analyzes how the distinct meanings of dative verbs in Turkish give rise to different argument realization patterns and how constructions in which dative case marked objects appear can be represented in a morphosyntactic frame, in the light of recent research couched within theories of argument and event structure. A three way distinction of non-structural datives in Turkish is proposed based on their syntactic and semantic properties. (i) Core datives appearing in ditransitive constructions, which are datives required by the argument structure of the verb. Syntactic evidence indicates that dative objects of canonical ditransitive verbs are base-generated in two positions; a high possessor and lower spatial goal PP and are associated with a postpositional ditransitive structure. (ii) Dative objects appearing as the sole internal argument of the verb. Verbs with sole dative complements exhibit the properties of Non Core Transitive Verbs (Levin, 1999), whose roots can lexically license a dative DP or PP. (iii) Non-core datives added to the argument structure of a transitive or intransitive predicate, which are neither semantically entailed nor syntactically licensed by the verb. A high applicative structure, as proposed by Pylkkänen (2002), is assumed for non-core datives in Turkish, which can combine with agentive transitive or intransitive events and non-agentive unaccusative events, introduced via high applicative heads, related to the VP as bene-/malefactives, recipients or experiencers.

ÖZET

Türkçe'deki Yapısal Olmayan Yönelme Durumu (Datif)

Bu tez, Türkçe'deki yapısal olmayan yönelme durumu ekinin (datif) anlam ve işlevlerini, sözdizimsel ve anlamsal özelliklerini inceleyerek araştırmaktadır. Söz konusu özellikler, eylemin olay yapısı ile ilişkilendirilerek çözümlenmektedir. Bu çalışma özellikle farklı anlam taşıyan yönelme durumu yüklenmiş nesne alan eylemlerin ve yönelme durumu yüklenmiş üyelerin bulundukları kuruluşları biçimsözdizimsel olarak üye yapısı kuramları ve araştırmaları çerçevesinde incelemektedir. Sözdizimsel ve anlamsal özelliklerine dayanarak, Türkçe'de yapısal olmayan yönelme durumu ile belirlenmiş nesneler için üç yönlü bir ayrım önerilmektedir. (i) Çift-geçişli yapılarda bulunan ve eylemin üye yapısı tarafından gerekli olan yönelme durumu yüklenmiş üyeler. Bunların iki pozisyonda, yüksek ve alçak olarak, üretildiği varsayılmaktadır ve sözdizimsel bulgular doğrultusunda ilgeçsel bir yapı ile uyumlu oldukları gözlemlenmektedir. (ii) Eylemin tek içsel üyesi olan yönelme durumu yüklü nesneler. Bu nesnelere sözlüksel olarak eylemin çekirdek anlamını içeren kök tarafından izin verildiği varsayılmaktadır. (iii) Temel üye olmayan yönelme durumu yüklenmiş öğeler. Bunlar eylemin üye yapısı tarafından anlamsal veya yapısal olarak gerek duyulmayan ve izin verilmeyen üyeler olup geçişli veya geçişsiz eylemlerle beraber görülebilirler. Bu tür temel olmayan yönelme durumu yüklenmiş üyeler için Pylkkänen'nin (2002) 'yüksek aplikatif' yapısı önerilmektedir.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSES

1	1st Person
2	2nd Person
3	3rd Person
Abil	ability/possibility
Abl	ablative case
Acc	accusative case
Aor	aorist
Appl	applicative
Caus	causative
Cl	clitic
Com	comitative
Cond	conditional
Dat	dative case
Evid	evidential
Fut	future
Lit.	literally
Loc	locative case
Gen	genitive
Imper	imperative
Inf	infinitival marker
Int	interrogative
Neg	negative marker
Nom	nominative
Nomin	nominalizer
Opt	optative
Part	particle
Pass	passive
Past	past tense marker
Perf	perfective
Pl	plural
Poss	possessive
PP	postpositional phrase
Prog	progressive marker
Recip	reciprocal
Refl	reflexive
Rel	relativizer
Sg	singular
T	tense
TP	tense phrase
V	verb
VP	little verb

vP	little verb phrase
Subj	subject
Obj	object

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Aim

This thesis aims to explore the meanings and functions of datives in Turkish by looking at the syntax and semantics of dative case in Turkish. The main issue that will initially be examined is: (i) can the distinct meanings of dative verbs in Turkish be represented structurally, if so (ii) how should these distinct meanings of dative verbs be structurally represented in a morphosyntactic frame? To analyze the questions posed above, I propose a distinction that needs to be made between:

- (i) dative argument DPs that are the sole object of the verb and are lexically licensed, shown in example (1)
- (ii) ditransitive constructions in which the dative marked DP or PP is the indirect object of the verb, exhibited in (2)
- (iii) non-core datives that are added to the event VP as additional or extra affected event participants, which are neither semantically entailed nor syntactically licensed by the verb, exemplified in (3)

(1) Komşu-lar yaşlı adam-a yardım et-ti.
neighbour-Pl old man-Dat help do-Past
'The neighbours helped the old man.'

(2) Kız ödev-i arkadaş-ın-a ver-di.
girl homework-Acc friend-3Sg.Poss-Dat give-Past
'The girl gave the homework to her friend.'

(3) Ömer arkadaş-ın-a fotokopi çek-ti.
Ömer friend-3Sg.Poss-Dat photocopy pull/draw-Past
'Ömer photocopied (something) for his friend.'

Thus, the primary aim of this thesis is to postulate that the distinct semantic meanings of dative verbs and the constructions in which dative arguments appear should be assigned structural representations that correlate with their behavioural properties. This thesis analyzes three types of datives appearing in the constructions presented in (1-3) by discussing their semantic and syntactic properties and looking at event structure relations. Accordingly, this research (i) attempts to posit an event structure that we can assign to verbs that appear with sole dative complements, (ii) provides an analysis of the syntactic realization of dative case marked arguments in Turkish ditransitive constructions with respect to their semantic properties and (iii) one of the main concerns will be accounting for the semantic and syntactic licensing of non-core dative arguments into the argument structure by looking at the properties of the event structure, which plays a significant role in the introduction of non-core datives.

The scope of this thesis is confined to non-structural dative case in Turkish; thus, causees which receive structural dative case in Turkish causative constructions are not examined in this study. Further grammatical functions of the dative case in Turkish, such as the dative marking a purpose clause or the dative encoding duration or a boundary are also not included in this work.

1.2 Datives cross-linguistically and the issues they raise

Dative arguments have posed a challenge for many researchers because while the dative case constitutes a morphological category, dative case marked arguments display mixed semantic and syntactic properties that are sometimes unpredictable and difficult to account for. Prototypically the dative case is associated with the semantic role of 'recipient', as shown in the example in (4), reflecting the case label 'dative', which in Latin, etymologically means 'pertaining to giving'. In the traditional sense, as a

grammatical concept, dative case has the syntactic function of marking indirect objects in languages. However, as is attested cross-linguistically, the dative can encode a wide range of semantic roles and express a variety of grammatical functions besides marking goals, recipients or indirect objects.

(4) Pablo le mandó un diccionario a Gabi
Pablo Cl.Dat sent a dictionary Gabi.Dat
'Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary'

[(Cuervo, 2003, p. 29) example (29a)]

For example, there are dative marked possessors (6) or experiencer subjects in many languages, e.g. Icelandic *quirky* dative experiencer subjects, shown in (5).

(5) Henni leiddust strákarnir
her-Dat bored-3.Pl the boys-Pl. Nom
'She found the boys boring'

(Sigurðsson, 1996, p. 1)

(6) A Laura le sobraron veinte pesos
Laura.Dat Cl.Dat were-extra.Pl twenty pesos
'Laura had twenty pesos left.'
(Lit. 'To Laura were extra twenty pesos')

[(Cuervo, 2003, p. 30) example (38)]

In many languages, datives denoting a broad range of meanings, such as recipient, possessor, goal, bene-/malefactive, ethical dative or experiencer can appear with a variety of verbs, such as unaccusative (psychological) predicates (7), transitive activities (8), inchoatives (9a) and lexical causative verbs (9b), stative verbs (10) or unergatives (11).

(7) Va´clav scha´zi´ Marii. (*Experiencer*) Czech
Va´clav.Nom lacks Mary.Dat
'Mary misses Va´clav.'

[(Filip, 1996) example (7c)]

(8) Emre anne-sin-e yemek hazırla-dı. (*Benefactive*) Turkish
Emre.Nom mother.3Sg.Poss-Dat food prepare-Past
'Emre prepared food for his mother.'

(9) a. Der Spiegel ist mir zerbrochen. (*Malefactive/Ethical dative*) German
the mirror.Nom is 1Sg.Dat broke.Participle
'The mirror broke on me.'

b. Emilio le rompio la radio a Carolina. (*Malefactive*) Spanish
Emilio.Nom Cl.Dat broke the radio Carolina.Dat
'Emilio broke the radio on Carolina'
(Lit. 'Emilio broke Carolina the radio')
[(Cuervo, 2003, p.30) example (35)]

(10) Petra hat mir die Tasche gehalten. (*External possessor/Benefactive*) German
Petra.Nom has 1Sg.Dat the bag hold.Participle
'Petra held my bag for me.'

(11) Schlaf mir bitte nicht ein! (*Ethical dative*) German
Sleep.Imper. 1Sg.Dat please Neg in
'Please, don't fall asleep on me!' or 'Don't you dare fall asleep!'

The various dative types exhibited and exemplified above have all received analyses in the literature (for possessor dative constructions see Lee-Schoenfeld (2005) and Haspelmath (1999); for unintentional human dative causers and experiencers see Kallulli (2006); for recipients see Lambert (2010); for benefactives and malefactives see Smith (2005) and Zúñiga & Kittilä (2010)). These datives have been associated with the notion of human 'affectedness' (Cuervo, 2003; Marantz, 2013) because it has been observed that in many languages human participants of an event, who are interpreted to be positively or adversely affected by the event are often marked in the dative case.

An insightful analysis that combines dative case marking and 'affectedness' is Croft's (1991) causal approach to the conceptualization of events, which captures the

notion of direct affectedness and the peripheral nature of affected dative participants in an event. Croft (1991) accounts for the systematic polysemy of certain semantic roles by positing an argument linking force-dynamics event structure model. Accordingly, in the causal chain, the transfer of force reaches the endpoint at the direct object, patient, delimiting the event, thus, the theme is directly affected by the transmission of force. Peripheral event participant obliques, which either precede the endpoint (antecedent obliques) or follow the endpoint (subsequent obliques) are distinguished with respect to their positions to the endpoint, i.e. the direct object. While also being affected by the event, the affectedness of these participants is not 'direct' as in the sense of the affectedness of the theme/patient. Croft claims that oblique morphosyntactic case markers can generally be categorized as either antecedent or subsequent, naturally with respect to their positions of the endpoint. Thus, the dative case marker, which is a subsequent oblique can encode a variety of semantically related roles such as allative (spatial goal), recipient, bene/malefactive or purpose.

There are case-theoretical implications for the mapping of the affectedness semantics of the dative onto the syntax. With respect to Case within the Generative orientation, the standard Case Theory distinguishes between structural Case and non-structural Case. Woolford (2006) proposes that non-structural case should be further distinguished as lexical, idiosyncratic Case, which is assigned lexically within the VP proper by the verb and inherent Case, which is assigned by little v type heads outside VP. Lexical Case and inherent Case are in complementary distribution; while lexical Case occurs on internal arguments (themes) and is unpredictable, inherent Case occurs on external arguments and shifted DP goals and is associated with certain theta

positions; thus, is regular and predictable. Accordingly, the predictable type datives are the inherent dative Case DPs on goals, whereas lexically assigned dative Case arguments are idiosyncratic and unpredictable. Woolford's distinction of non-structural Case assignment is compatible with the recent view in the Minimalist Program, in which several researchers have proposed that shifted dative DP goals (as e.g. in an English DOC) and external arguments should both be licensed by functional heads outside the VP proper. Inherent Case dative DPs have received an applicative analysis in the literature, whereby the functional head that licenses and introduces them into the argument structure of the verb is an applicative head (Marantz, 1993; McGinnis, 1998, 2001; Pylkkänen, 2002; Cuervo, 2003; McFadden, 2006). Thus, in the recent literature, datives have typically been identified with applicative heads, which add additional, non-core arguments to the verb.

The discussion so far has revealed that datives are non-canonical object or subject DPs that come in many varieties; therefore, treating datives under a uniform analysis with regards to their syntactic and semantic properties is a challenging undertaking. It is in order at this point to review some approaches on the notion of 'objecthood' and 'argumenthood' with respect to datives. The work of most scholars implies that dative DPs are non-canonical objects that are not 'true' arguments of the verb. Levin (1999) discusses the notion of object, which in its prototypical sense, bears the semantic role of 'patient'. Yet, as Levin argues, in many languages such as English, transitive verbs allow for objects that do not have the properties of 'patients' or have a wide range of semantic roles that do not fit the patient profile. This being the case, it is impossible to subsume such objects under a uniform semantic characterization of 'object'. Levin's observation is that, cross-linguistically, arguments of transitive verbs which on the

surface seem to be the direct object of the verb are licensed in different ways. Some verbs are necessarily transitive in that the thematic role that these verbs assign to their direct objects conforms to the semantic properties of patient; Levin calls these Core Transitive Verbs (CTV). In contrast, objects of transitive verbs that cannot be defined or brought under a unified semantic characterization of 'patient' and which are defined by this lack of characterization are Non-Core Transitive Verbs (NCTV). Levin argues that cross-linguistically this distinction is reflected in languages; the translation equivalents of English CTVs are transitive verbs in other languages, whereas the equivalents of NCTVs can be intransitives or obliques in other languages. Levin's study indicates that verbs which license sole dative objects (obliques) are non-core transitive verbs. As for the argumenthood of dative objects which are not sole complements of the verb, Hole (2012) proposes that 'free datives' i.e. dative object DPs that are neither semantically entailed nor syntactically licensed by the verb (such as benefactives) should be differentiated from the dative DPs of ditransitive verbs such as *give*, *show* or *send*, which are subcategorized for by the verb. This means that while a free dative object can be omitted without leaving any 'syntactic or semantic residue', dropping a dative object of a ditransitive verb can change the meaning of the sentence or cause a marked structure. This suggests that free dative arguments are non-argument datives or 'non-core datives' that are not even semantically expected or implied by the verb, while dative objects of ditransitives are semantically entailed and required by the argument structure of the verb.

To summarize what has been discussed in this section, most theoretical orientations agree that datives are non-canonical arguments, however, their (non)

argument status is represented hence treated differently with respect to the argument licensing assumptions of the theoretical framework.

The syntactic realization of dative arguments has been assumed to be predictable from the meaning of dative verbs. With the aim of finding a correlation between the syntactic structure and the meaning of verbs, lexical semantic research has looked into the verb meanings of dative verbs. Accordingly, lexical semantic research on the argument structure of dative verbs posits that dative verbs that take part in the English dative alternation correspond to two different event types; *caused possession* and *caused motion* (Krifka, 1999; Harley, 2003). In the dative alternation, verbs exhibit two realizations of the seemingly same arguments, illustrated in (12a) and (12b) with the verb 'give', which are generally referred to as the double object variant and the *to* (ditransitive) variant respectively:

(12) a. Peter gave Tom a book. (Double Object Construction)

b. Peter gave a book to Tom. (*to* ditransitive variant)

It has been argued that the variants are associated with two different meanings; under this approach, the double object variant is associated with caused possession, while the *to* variant is associated with caused motion. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2008), however, challenge this multi-meaning approach and posit a 'verb sensitive approach' to the argument realization of ditransitive dative verbs.

To conclude, datives cross-linguistically exhibit various types, hence, as we have seen, this has raised several issues in the literature with respect to their analyses.

1.3 Dative patterns in Turkish

In descriptive accounts of Turkish grammar, datives have generally been distinguished with respect to their grammatical functions, for example, the following functions (amongst others) have been identified; Turkish datives can appear as verbal complements e.g. (13), certain postpositions can license the dative as their complements (14), particular adjectives select dative complements (15) or a purpose clause can be marked with the dative case usually when the main verb is a 'go-type' verb of motion (16).

(13) a. Seda Meltem-e güven-iyor.
Seda Meltem-Dat trust-prog
'Seda trusts Meltem.'

b. Çocuk kedi-ye bak-tı.
child cat-Dat look-Past
'The child looked at the cat.'

(14) Ali-ye göre bu ev çok pahalı.
Ali-Dat according this house very expensive
'This house is very expensive for Ali/according to Ali.'

(15) Şehir-e çok uzak otur-uyor.
city-Dat very far live-prog
'He/she lives very far from the city.'

(16) Onu gör-meğ-e Istanbul-a gid-iyor-um.
he/she.Acc see-nomin-Dat Istanbul-Dat go-Prog-1Sg
'I'm going to Istanbul to see him/her.'

However, the scope of this thesis, providing a different perspective, is confined to the analysis of datives as verbal arguments and what appear to be verbal arguments, i.e. datives as extra (additional) participants in the events described by the verb. To this end,

we need to look at the properties of events with which datives can appear or combine.

Dative arguments (or non-core arguments) in Turkish can combine with a variety of verb types, encoding various semantic roles.

(i) a dative can be lexically assigned by the verb as its sole complement (17) (also illustrated in (13)) or it can appear with a psych-verb (18):

(17) Çocuk masa-ya vur-du. → The dative encodes a *Location* (*surface of contact*)
child table-Dat hit-Past
'The child hit the table.'

(18) Kadın çocuğ-a çok kız-dı. → *Emotional Target* or *Source*
woman child-Dat very angry-Past
'The woman got very angry with the child.'

(ii) datives can combine with transitive activity verbs:

(19) Ahmet bana para çek-iyor → *Benefactive*
Ahmet I.Dat money draw-Prog
'Ahmet is drawing out money for me.'

They typically appear in ditransitive constructions:

(20) Şirket bilet-ler-i Seda-ya gönder-di. → *Goal/Recipient*
company ticket-Pl-Acc Seda-Dat send-Past.
'The company sent the tickets to Seda.'

(iii) a dative can appear with transitive stative predicates:

(21) Ali yaşlı çift-e şemsiye tut-tu. → *Benefactive*
Ali old couple-Dat umbrella hold-Past
'Ali held an umbrella for the old couple.'

(iv) datives can combine with unergatives:

(22) Başbakan-ımız-a dans et-mek isti-yor-um. → *Benefactive*
prime minister.1Poss.Pl-Dat dance do-Inf. want-Prog-1Sg
'I'd like to dance for our Prime Minister.'

(v) datives can appear with dynamic unaccusative predicates:

(23) a. Berna-ya piyango çık-tı. → *Benefactive*
Berna-Dat lottery emerge-Past
'Berna won the lottery.'
Lit. 'To Berna emerged the lottery.'

b. Esra-ya fırsat doğ-du. → *Experiencer*
Esra-Dat opportunity rise-Past
'An opportunity came up for Esra.'
Lit. 'To Esra arose an opportunity.'

c. Bana uyku çök-tü. → *Experiencer*
I.Dat sleep collapse-Past
'I suddenly feel extremely tired.'
Lit. 'Sleep has befallen me.'

(vi) datives also combine with unaccusative stative predicates:

(24) Nazlı-ya bütün pasta kal-dı. → *Benefactive*
Nazlı-Dat whole cake remain-Past
'The whole cake remained for Nazlı.'
Lit. 'To Nazlı was left the whole cake.'

(vii) with stative non-verbal existential predicates:

(25) a. Nazlı-ya haber var. → *Recipient*
Nazlı-Dat news exist
'There is some news for Nazlı.'

(viii) with stative non-verbal adjectival predicates:

(26) a. Ulaşım emekli-ler-e bedava . → *Benefactive*
transportation pensioner-Pl-Dat free of charge
'Transportation is free of charge for pensioners.'

b. Burcu-ya bu elbise çok dar. → *Experiencer*
Burcu-Dat this dress very tight
'This dress is too tight for Burcu.'

c. Burcu-ya hayat güzel. → *Experiencer/Benefactive*
Burcu-Dat life beautiful
'Life is good for Burcu.'

(ix) Datives can combine with lexical causative verbs (27):

(27) Ahmet kız-a kapı-yı aç-tı. → *Benefactive*
Ahmet girl-Dat door-Acc open-Past
'Ahmet opened the door for the girl.

(x) Datives appear in productive causative constructions[1] with causativized transitive verbs:

(28) Ahmet kız-a kapı-yı aç-tır-dı. → *Causee*
Ahmet girl-Dat door-Acc open-Caus-Past
'Ahmet got the girl to open the door'

The sentences in (17-28) illustrate that datives in Turkish can appear with a variety of verb types, denoting different semantic roles. In this thesis, I will examine (i) datives in ditransitives, (ii) dative objects appearing as the sole complement of the verb and (iii) non-core datives added to agentive activity verbs, lexical causatives, unaccusative predicates and stative non-verbal predicates. More specifically, I will look at how datives are semantically related to the event denoted by the predicates.

As has been shown in 1.2, the literature on datives in Indo-European languages with a focus on Central-European languages is extensive, as a result of which, datives appearing specifically in the English double object construction (DOC) and the *to*-ditransitive variant have been studied in depth. For example, the grammaticality contrast

[1] Since the scope of this thesis is limited to non-structural datives, causees which receive structural dative case in productive causative constructions are left for further research.

observed in the English sentences in (29a-c) has been accounted for by different researchers (see Goldberg, 1995; Cuervo, 2003).

(29) a. *I opened Peter the door.

b. *The door opened Peter.

c. I opened Peter a beer.

Theoretical approaches on argument structure converge on the idea (although different explanations are asserted) that the verb *open* is grammatical in the English DOC in (29c) because verbal roots can participate in different event types and the verbal root *open-* in the DOC expresses a dynamic activity verb. Therefore, in the DOC, which itself has the structural meaning of an implication of 'transfer of possession', the dative argument *Peter* can only be interpreted as related to the theme as a recipient. The incompatibility of *open-* in the constructions in (29a) and (29b), on the other hand, is attributed to English lacking an affected applicative head (Cuervo, 2003, p. 149). The implication of this analysis is that in (29a) the non-core dative participant in English cannot be related to the resultant state of the event, i.e. the open state of the door. However, when we look at the corresponding Turkish sentences in (30), we do not observe the same contrast in grammaticality. Whereas the inchoative event is incompatible with a dative argument in (30b), a dative participant can felicitously appear with *open* as a causative change of state verb in (30a), as well as in the construction in (30c), which is ostensibly similar to the English DOC in (29c).

(30) a. Ahmet kız-a kapı-yı aç-tı.
Ahmet girl-Dat door-Acc open-Past
'Ahmet opened the door for the girl.'

b. *Kız-a kapı aç-ıl-dı. (only grammatical as a passive construction)
girl-Dat door open-Pass-Past
Lit. 'To the girl opened a door.'

c. Ahmet kız-a bir bira aç-tı.
Ahmet girl-Dat a beer open-Past
'Ahmet opened a beer for the girl.'

This result raises several questions for dative arguments in Turkish which can (or cannot) appear in different event types (or stative eventualities) expressed by the verb. Questions pertaining to the issue above which need to be addressed are as follows:

- (i) If a dative DP can be added to the event(s) denoted by (30a) and (30c), does this indicate that the verbal root *aç-* 'open' expresses the same type of event in (30a) and (30c)?
- (ii) Is the Turkish sentence in (30c) an English type DOC, i.e. does Turkish have the English type DOC or lack it?
- (iii) With respect to questions (i) and (ii); is the dative DP *kız* 'girl' related to the events expressed in (30a) and (30c) bearing the same semantic participant role?
- (iv) If a dative DP in Turkish, such as in (30a), can be related to the resultant state of the event , why can the dative DP not be related to the resultant state of the inchoative verb in (30b)?

Thus, this thesis aims to provide answers to the issues raised by dative arguments in Turkish.

1.4 Previous accounts of datives in Turkish

In 1.3 it has been demonstrated that datives in Turkish can combine with a variety of predicates, such as transitive verbs, ditransitives, unergatives, unaccusatives, statives or nonverbal predicates, denoting different semantic roles, such as location, recipient,

experiencer or bene-/malefactive. Thus, dative DPs in Turkish can (i) be lexically licensed as the sole object of the verb, illustrated in (31), (ii) appear in ditransitive constructions (32) and (iii) be added to an event as extra, non-core participants (33).

(31) Bebeğ-in-e ilk kez dokun-du. (*surface of contact*)
baby-3Sg.Poss-Dat first time touch-Past
'She/he touched her baby for the first time.'

(32) Kadın-a fotoğraf-lar-ı göster-di. (*experiencer-recipient of stimulus*)
woman-Dat photograph-Pl-Acc show-past
'She/he showed the woman the photographs.'

(33) İş yine ban-a kal-dı. (*malefactive*)
work again I.Dat remain-Past
'The work remains for me (to do) again.'

While there are accounts on ditransitive constructions (Öztürk, 2005, 2007; Özkan, 2013), which will be discussed in Chapter 2, no comprehensive study which analyzes Turkish datives in the literature exists[2]. Thus, I will present Haig's (1996) perspective that proposes a unified analysis of the dative case in Turkish.

Haig argues that the breadth of the full array of semantic meanings and grammatical functions of the dative cannot be subsumed under a core semantic meaning such as 'Goal' because while we may be able to associate or extend the Goal meaning to

[2] There are accounts of goal marking morphemes in Old Turkic. Various functions of a single morpheme or overlapping functions of morphological case markers are attested in Old Turkic, e.g. both the dative case marker and the directive (allative) case suffix encoded locative functions in addition to the allative. Tekin (1968, p.130-132) identifies a variety of semantic roles and functions of the *dative-locative* case marker -qa /-kä in Old Turkic, whereby it can, e.g., encode a beneficiary role and function or in Tekin's words "an adverbial complement indicating the object for the benefit of which the action is fulfilled". It can indicate the place of an action, i.e. location, as well as 'indicating the object towards which the action is performed' and thus overlaps with one of the directive case marker suffixes, –GArU, of Old Turkic (see Alimov (2011) and Erickson (2002) for hypotheses on the grammaticalization of –GArU). The other forms, -ra ~-rä, -ru ~-rü, -rï ~-ri of the directive case suffix in old Turkic, which Tekin (1968) refers to as the *directive case* and Erdal (2004) as the *directive-locative*, are evident only with a limited number of nominals (Erdal, 2004;Korkmaz, 1994) but occur in frozen forms such as "soŋïra 'at the very end'. In addition, Erdal (2004) distinguishes one of the functions of the *dative* marker -kA to denote time, hence subsumes this function under the rubric *temporal dative.*

the semantic role of Recipient, it is not apparent why the arguments of some transitive verbs such as *göster*- 'show' or *sok*- 'cause to enter', which are assigned dative case, should be associated with a Goal meaning. Instead of arguing for a core meaning for dative, Haig proposes that the dative in Turkish can be considered a default case based on the 'default dative case principle' by Van Valin's (1993) principles of case assignment. Van Valin proposes a macrorole hierarchy, where the most unmarked Actor macrorole on the left end of the hierarchy is the Agent, and the most unmarked Undergoer macrorole on the right end is the Patient. After case assignment of Actor and Undergoer macroroles has taken place, if there are any non-macroroles that are assigned case, these usually receive default dative case, as suggested by Van Valin. Haig proposes that these principles can be applied to transitive Turkish verbs. For example, with the verb *ver*- 'give'; the Agent would be the Actor receiving nominative case, the entity undergoing change of possession is the Theme under the Undergoer macrorole, receiving accusative case, and finally the non-macrorole of the third NP would be assigned dative case by default, regardless of its thematic role. On the other hand, with the verb *göster*- 'show', after the macroroles of Actor-Agent and Theme-Undergoer have been assigned nominative and accusative, respectively in the hierarchy, the non-macrorole of Experiencer receives dative case by the default principle. The implication of this approach is that non-macroroles of transitive verbs are assigned default dative case, irrespective of their semantic roles. Consequently, "the dative is the unmarked case for the arguments of transitive verbs that have non-macroroles" (Haig, 1996, p. 5). Under Haig's proposal dative case marked causees in causative constructions are also subject to the same principle. In support of his analysis, Haig illustrates how the

principle can further be applied to what he calls ‘re-activated passives’; namely transitive verbs with passive morphology but without a passive meaning as in (34a-c).

(34) a. Gemi fırtına-ya tut-ul-muş.
ship storm-Dat catch-Pass-Perf.
‘The ship was caught in a storm.’

b. Ahmet onlar-a kır-ıl-dı.
Ahmet they-Dat break-Pass-Past
‘Ahmet was deeply disappointed by/in them.’

c. Birden karşı-m-a dik-il-di.
suddenly opposite-1Sg.Poss-Dat erect-Pass-Past
‘He/she suddenly appeared in front of me.’

[(Haig, 1996) examples (11), (13) and (17) respectively)]

However, while this approach may explain the absence of accusative case in verbs with passive morphology, it is still not adequate in terms of explaining the presence of the dative case. Let us consider the sentence in (34c):

(i) In the active counterpart of the sentence in (34c), as shown in (35a), *karşım* ‘my opposite’ would still be marked by the dative case; therefore when the sentence is passivized the inherent dative case marking would be preserved. As expected, it is the accusative case on the direct object that has been absorbed in the passive in (34c) not the dative case on *karşım*.

(35) a. Birden on-u karşı-m-a dik-ti.
suddenly he/she-Acc opposite-1Sg.Poss-Dat erect-Past
Lit. ‘He/she suddenly put/erected it/him/her right in front of me.’

This suggests that we cannot attribute the presence of the dative case in the above sentences to the ‘re-activated passives’.

(ii) The default dative case principle would not be able to account for the use of the locative case, shown in (35b), instead of the dative in the sentence in (34c).

b. (Birden) karşı-m-da dik-il-di.
(suddenly) opposite-1Sg.Poss-Loc erect-Pass-Past
'He/she (suddenly) stood in front of me.'

There is a fine-grained semantic distinction induced by locative vs. dative marking on the NP *karşım*, which changes the meaning of the sentence. While the former denotes a static location, the latter implies a dynamic location. Although Haig acknowledges this semantic distinction in the Locative area of the hierarchy, he does not explicitly explain how this is incorporated into his default dative principle, which assigns default dative case to non-macroroles.

(iii) Finally, Haig's theory would not be able to account for transitive verbs which take sole objects bearing the same semantic role but are marked by the dative case marker or by the accusative, as in –(*y*)*A seslen*- 'call' and –(*y*)*I çağır*- 'call' respectively.

1.5 The data

The empirical basis of the analysis in this thesis is from Turkish data which is the outcome of a two-year compilation of spoken and written corpus based on examples from language uttered by Turkish native speakers in spontaneous, natural speech environments as well as language from newspapers, the Internet, books or television.

The grammaticality judgments in Chapter 2 reflect the results of a questionnaire conducted on forty native speakers of Turkish from diverse regional backgrounds, none of whom are linguists. The question types utilized in the questionnaire mainly consist of rating sentences in terms of their acceptability and choosing the appropriate interpretation of a specific structure. In order to confirm the participants' grammaticality

judgments in the survey, the questions have been discussed in the form of an interview with twenty of the participants who took the questionnaire. The remaining twenty participants answered the questions only in the form of a questionnaire.

The acceptability judgments throughout the thesis, as specified in relevant sections when necessary, consist of the judgments of groups of five to ten native speakers as well as my own. The German sentences provided in some sections are my own examples and are based on my own judgment of grammaticality as a bilingual speaker of Turkish-German.

1.6 Outline of thesis

The analytical body of this thesis is made up of Chapters 2 to 5. The discussion in this thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 provides an analysis for Turkish double object constructions based on the typology established by Pylkkänen (2002), which categorizes languages cross-linguistically with respect to whether they exhibit high or low applicative constructions. Accordingly, I provide an analysis of (i) core dative objects in ditransitive constructions and (ii) non-core datives added to the event via high applicative heads. Chapter 3 is concerned with the Event Structure of Turkish ditransitive constructions as well as dative objects that appear as sole complements of the verb. Hence in Chapter 3, an overview of analyses by several researchers pertaining to the lexical semantic decomposition of predicates, which are adopted in this thesis, are presented and discussed. In the light of these, Chapter 3 proposes a three-way distinction of inherent (non-structural) datives in Turkish with respect to their event structures and syntactic configurations, which correlate with their semantic interpretations.

In Chapters 4 and 5, the properties of non-core datives combining with verbal and nonverbal predicates, respectively are examined. Chapter 4 investigates the properties of

the event structure which permit non-core datives as experiencers, recipients and/or bene-/malefactive participants. I will argue that Turkish non-core datives tend to combine more productively with simplex events which do not project a result state in the syntax rather than with complex events which denote a resultant state. With respect to the event type, the general pattern we observe is that Turkish non-core datives combine as recipients or benefactives with simple activity events and as experiencers with dynamic unaccusative events. Finally, in Chapter 5, which focuses on nonverbal predicates, I will posit that non-core datives in Turkish can productively combine with (i) a particular predicative adjectival construction that will further be subdivided with respect to the scalar properties of adjectives which determine the semantics of the construction and (ii) with the existential construction as mainly an intended recipient of the theme argument or as an individual who is 'deprived' of an entity due to its absence.

CHAPTER 2

CATEGORIZING TURKISH AS A HIGH APPLICATIVE LANGUAGE[3]

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates potential applicative constructions in Turkish, with respect to Pylkkänen's established high vs. low applicative typology, by looking at the properties of first, prototypical ditransitive verbs in Turkish, where there are core datives required by the argument structure of the verb and second, non-core datives which are arguments added to the argument structure of an intransitive or a transitive predicate. I will show that with regards to the behavior of prototypical ditransitive verbs in Turkish, which semantically correspond to Pylkkänen's low applicative structure, there is no syntactic evidence to argue against a postpositional ditransitive analysis for such verbs; thus, they should be treated as postpositional ditransitives. As for non-core datives, I will argue that a low applicative analysis is problematic for Turkish, where non-core datives can only be accounted for via high applicative constructions.

2.2 Pylkkänen's high vs. low applicative distinction

In terms of its basic definition, applicatives are valency increasing morphemes which are attached to the verbal stem. In standard applicative constructions, the argument structure augmenting verbal applicative affix introduces an additional semantic role, typically a benefactive or an instrumental, to the structure, in addition to arguments which are lexically selected by the verb. Thus, the process of applicativization is reminiscent of causativization, in that both processes add a new 'non-core' nominal argument; while a causative adds an additional agent causer, an applicative adds an 'affected' non-agent participant to the argument structure of the verb. An applicative as a morphosyntactic

[3] The analysis in this chapter is based on my work in Tonyalı (to appear).

element is a functional head, which similar to the external argument introducing head Voice can add an extra, 'non-core' object to the argument structure of the verb, one which is not projected by the verb. The term applicative has been extended to constructions with non-overt applicative morphology, where an applicative head can license an affected non-core participant and introduce it into the structure of the verb. Marantz (1993) has posited that based on applicative constructions in Bantu languages, the indirect object in the English double object construction is introduced by an applicative head.

Building on this analysis, Pylkkänen (2002) has proposed that cross-linguistically languages exhibit two types of applicative constructions: i. Low applicatives, which denote a relation between two individuals, necessarily implying a transfer of TO or FROM the possession of and ii. High applicatives, which denote a relation between an individual and an event, being introduced above the VP.

(1) a. I baked **him** a cake.

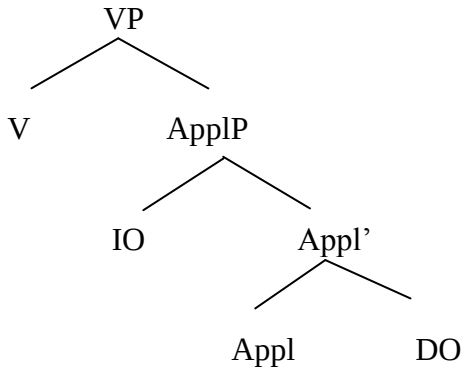
b. N-ã-ĩ-lyì-í-à **m-kà** k-élyá
FOC-1SG-PRES-eat-APPL-FV **1-wife** 7-food
'He is eating food for his wife.'

[(Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 17) examples (11b) and (12a)]

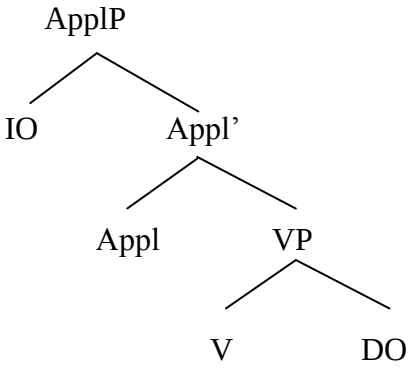
She argues that the cross-linguistic variations that are evident in the properties of applicative constructions can be accounted for on the basis of the contrast between the English double object construction (1a) and the Chaga double object construction (1b), both of which have an indirect object that is an additional (non-core) benefactive argument introduced via a functional applicative head into the argument structure of the verb.

In both constructions, namely, the English double object construction (henceforth DOC) in (1a) and the Chaga benefactive high applicative in (1b), the applied benefactive argument, indirect object (IO) asymmetrically c-commands the direct object (DO), i.e., the theme. However despite the apparent similarity between the two constructions, semantically a high applicative head relates the applied argument to the event that is described by the verb, whereas a low applicative head does not relate the applied argument to the verb but to the direct object, theme DP, implying a directional transfer of possession TO or FROM:

Low applicative:



High applicative:



This being the case, the semantic interpretations of the low applicative head in (1a) and the high applicative head in (1b) are fundamentally different. In (1b) the benefactive argument *wife* cannot be related to the theme DP in a possessive sense since 'the food' has been consumed. The additional benefactive argument is related to the event of 'eating'. In (1a) on the other hand, the benefactive argument 'him' must bear a relation to the theme DP 'cake' because the DOC in English can only be interpreted as 'I have baked a cake with the intention of the cake going into his possession', hence it cannot mean 'I have done the baking for him so that he does not have to do it or so as to

demonstrate how it is done.' Pylkkänen's analysis of the English DOC is compatible with Goldberg's (1995) view, which posits that the English DOC encodes 'caused possession'; the central sense of this construction being 'an intended transfer of possession'.

The high vs. low applicative distinction has implications with respect to the transitivity properties of the verb, in that low applicative heads must combine with transitive verbs, i.e. the direct object is obligatory as it has to be related to the applied argument.

Pylkkänen presents certain diagnostics for distinguishing between high and low applicatives:

a. In low applicatives transfer of possession is an entailment.

b. Only high applicatives can combine with unergatives.

c. Only high applicatives can combine with stative verbs.

Thus, since low applicatives imply transfer of possession, the stative verb 'held' in the English DOC in (2a) is predicted to be ungrammatical because an event of holding a bag does not result in the theme DP going into the possession of the applied argument (Pylkkänen, 2002, p. 19). In contrast, (2b) and (2c) are grammatical because Albanian (2b) and Luganda (2c) instantiate high applicatives, therefore the applied argument, introduced by an applicative head merged above the verb, can combine with an unergative. Semantically, the extra participant is interpreted to be in a benefactive relation to the unergative event, i.e. the 'running' and 'walking' actions in (2b) and (2c) respectively, are performed for the benefit of the extra participant.

(2) a.*John held Mary the bag.

b. I vrapova. (Albanian)
him(Dat.CL) ran.1Sg
'I ran for him.

c. Mukasa ya-tambu-le-dde Katonga (Luganda)
Mukasa Past-walk-APPL-Past Katonga
'Mukasa walked for Katonga'

[(Pylkkänen, 2002) examples (15a), (33a) and (31a) respectively]

With respect to passivization, while in a symmetric language that instantiates high applicatives, either the applied argument (IO) or the theme (DO) can raise to the subject position (3a-b) due to the availability of an escape hatch (McGinnis, 2001), in an asymmetric low applicative language only the higher IO can raise to the subject position, as evidenced by the grammaticality of (4a), in contrast to the ungrammaticality of (4b).

(3) a. **Umukoôbwa** a-ra-andik-ir-w-a *t* íbárúwa n'ûmuhuûngu.
girl SP-PRES-write-APPL-PASS-ASP letter by boy
'**The girl** is having the letter written for her by the boy.'

b. Íbárúwa i-ra-andik-ir-w-a **umukoôbwa** *t* n'ûmuhuûngu.
letter SP-PRES-write-APPL-PASS-ASP girl by boy
'The letter is written for **the girl** by the boy.' (Kinyarwanda)

(4) a. **Honum** var gefin bókin.
him.DAT was given.NOM the book.NOM
'**He** was given the book.'

b. * Bókin var gefin **honum**.
the book.NOM was given.NOM him.DAT
'The book was given to **him**.' (Icelandic)

[(McGinnis, 2001) examples (4a), (4b), (20a) and (20b) respectively]

2.2.1 Low applicatives or postpositional ditransitives?

In Turkish, at first look, DOCs which denote transfer of possession between a dative goal/recipient and an accusative theme appear as good candidates for low applicatives, as shown in (5a) and (5b):[4]

(5) a. Hasarlı ürün-ü$_i$ pro$_i$/$_j$ mağaza-sın-a iade et-ti-m. DO>IO
damaged product-Acc store-3sg.Poss-Dat return do-Past-1Sg
'I returned the product to its store.'

b. [pro$_i$/$_j$ mağaza-sın-a]$_k$ hasarlı ürün-ü$_i$ **t**$_k$ ***bu sabah*** iade et-ti-m. IO>DO
store-3Sg.Poss-Dat damaged product-Acc this morning return do-Past-1Sg
'I returned the product to its store this morning.'

However, the goal originates in a position below the direct object (theme) and thus it follows that the indirect object does not asymmetrically c-command the direct object unlike what is predicted by the low applicative hypothesis. It can be observed that in (5a) the accusative DO (theme) preceding the IO (goal) binds into the dative argument and in (5b) although the goal has scrambled over the theme, the same binding relationship is maintained. This implies that the goal which undergoes A'-movement to a position above the theme can reconstruct and be bound by the theme which c-commands it.

Similarly, in (6a) the relation between the accusative theme and the animate dative goal encodes directional transfer of possession, which is an entailment for a low applicative. As is evident by binding relations, the goal is bound and asymmetrically c-commanded by the DO theme, producing the DO$_{\text{THEME}}$ > IO$_{\text{GOAL}}$ order. In (6b)

[4] With respect to animacy, although the 'goal' *store* is a location, it is construed as 'a body consisting of animate participants'; thus, it is capable of reception. This is evident in the English DOC 'I sent the store an email' where the IO encodes a recipient.

contrastive focus is introduced. As observed by Kural (1992) and also in Öztürk (2007), in Turkish the presence of preverbal contrastive focus yields A-bar movement effects. Thus in (6b), the theme following the dative goal can bind into it due to the goal being able to reconstruct below the theme.

(6) a. Her kargo-yu $_i$ alıcı-sın-a $_i$ gönder-di-m. DO>IO
each package-Acc recipient-3Sg.Poss-Dat send-Past-1Sg
'I sent each/every package to its recipient.'

b. Alıcı-sın-a $_i$ her kargo-yu $_i$ ***sabah*** gönder-di-m. IO>DO
recipient-3Sg.Poss-Dat each package-Acc morning send-Past-1Sg
Lit. 'I sent its recipient each/every package in the morning.'

When, as illustrated in (6c), the possessor-possessee relation is reversed, whereby the dative goal becomes the possessor of the accusative theme, the sentence appears somewhat infelicitous but can be improved via contrastive focus in (6d), which suggests that there is a high possessor goal position generating the IO$_{\text{POSS-GOAL}}$>DO$_{\text{THEME}}$ basic order.

c. ?Kargo-sun-u her alıcı-ya gönder-di-m. DO>IO
package-3Sg.Poss-Acc each recipient-Dat send-Past-1Sg
Lit: 'I sent his/her package to each/every recipient.'

d. Kargo-sun-u$_i$ her alıcı-ya$_i$ ***şimdi*** gönder-di-m.
package-3Sg.Poss-Acc each recipient-Dat now send-Past-1Sg
'I just sent each/every recipient his/her package.'

The examples in (5-6) are in support of Öztürk's (2007) observation that the relative ordering of themes and goals in Turkish ditransitive constructions is both < IO, DO > and < DO, IO >. Thus, each order, the high possessional goal position configuration and the low locative goal position configuration, should be analyzed as base-generated:

high goal $_{\text{(Possessive)}}$ .....theme..... low goal $_{\text{(Locative)}}$

This proposed ordering of the internal arguments of Turkish ditransitive verbs as well as further claims made in this chapter have been supported by a questionnaire that I conducted on forty native speakers of Turkish, all from similar educational but diverse regional backgrounds. The questionnaire has mainly been based on grammaticality judgments, consisting of sentences that the informants had to rate in terms of their acceptability [5] (see Appendix).

I propose that the locative semantic role of the dative case marked IO yielding the < DO, IO > basic order can be subsumed under 'spatial goal' including animate entities. As shown in (7), with *send*- type verbs such as *yolla- /gönder-*, when both the theme and goal argument are animate, the IO goal originates in a position below the DO theme. This is evidenced by the grammaticality of (7a) and (7c):[6]

(7) a. Ayşe-yi falcı-ya yolla-dı-m. DO>IO
Ayşe-Acc fortune teller-Dat send-Past-1Sg
'I sent Ayşe to a fortune-teller.'

b. ?Falcı-ya Ayşe-yi yolla-dı-m. IO>DO
fortune teller-Dat Ayşe-Acc send-Past-1Sg
Lit.'I sent the fortune-teller Ayşe.'

c. Kadın-ı doktor-a yolla-dı-m. DO>IO
woman-Acc doctor-Dat send-Past-1Sg
'I sent the woman to the doctor.'

d. ?Doktor-a kadın-ı yolla-dı-m. IO>DO
doctor-Dat woman-Acc send-Past-1Sg
Lit.'I sent the doctor the woman.'

[5] Another question type used in the questionnaire is where informants choose the appropriate provided interpretation(s) of the sentences.

[6] As there cannot be a possessive relation in the sentences in (7) pronominal variable binding does not apply; however, based on the judgments of 40 native speakers, 100% of the subjects in my test have rated the IO>DO order as unnatural and awkward. Therefore, I conclude that the DO>IO order in (7a/c) is unmarked and grammatical.

The felicitous Theme>Goal configuration in these sentences[7] can be attributed to the syntactic position of the animate arguments. The animate high goal IO in (7b) and (7d) is construed as the recipient (possessional goal) of the animate theme; however, since naturally the doctor or fortune teller cannot come to possess the animate theme, the acceptability of the order in the sentences is degraded,[8] whereas previously in the examples in (6) the animate IO can either be realized as a spatial goal (a spatial endpoint) as in (6a-b) or as the recipient/ possessor (6c-d) of the inanimate theme; hence permitting both Acc>Dat and Dat>Acc orders. Thus, this is consistent with Öztürk's high goal (possessive) and low goal (locative) proposal, implying that a low animate goal encodes a spatial goal rather than a recipient/possessor.

When there is an 'inalienable possession' relation between an animate theme and an animate goal, whereby the theme is the possessor and the goal the possessee, as predicted by the hypothesis, the DO >IO $_{\text{SPATIAL GOAL}}$ order in (8a) is fully grammatical. However in (8), unlike the examples in (7), the IO>DO order illustrated in (8b) has also been judged to be acceptable and felicitous by the informants in my poll, in fact (8b) has been rated to be more felicitous than (8a) by 30% of the informants, corresponding to 12 people out of forty.

(8) a. Kız-ı $_{i}$ teyze-sin-e $_{i}$ yolla-dı-m. DO>IO
girl-Acc aunt-3Sg.Poss-Dat send-Past-1Sg
'I sent the girl to her aunt('s).'

[7] My study does not include indefinite theme and goal arguments. I would like to thank Prof. Eser Taylan for noting that when both, the animate theme and animate goal arguments are indefinite, as shown in (i), the Theme >Goal order is the preferred, more felicitous ordering, which is in support of my proposal.
(i) Bir çocuğ-u bir falcı-ya yolla-dı-m.
a child-Acc a fortune-teller-Dat send-Past-1Sg
'I sent a child to a fortune-teller.'

[8] The IO>DO order in the sentences in (7) is felicitous only when it is used for the purpose of contrastive focus.

b. Teyze-sin-e $_i$ kız-ı $_i$ yolla-dı-m.[9] IO>DO
aunt-3Sg.Poss-Dat girl-Acc send-Past-1Sg
'I sent the girl to her aunt('s).' Lit.'I sent her aunt the girl.

The acceptability of (8b) can be accounted for in two ways depending on interpretational differences:

(i) Syntactically there may be reconstruction effects, although there is no evidence for A'-movement. This would suggest that the goal can be interpreted in its low position, encoding an animate spatial goal as in (8a). (ii) Stemming from the nature of inalienable possession as well as the high position of the goal in (8b), the high goal may be construed as a possessor/recipient, rendering the sentence grammatical.

In (9) it can be observed that when there is again an inalienable possessive relation between the two arguments, the high animate goal is realized as the possessor/recipient of the animate theme, which is bound by the goal, yielding the IO $_{\text{POSS-GOAL}}$>DO order.

(9) Anne-ler-e$_i$ çocuk-lar-ın-ı$_i$ yolla-dı-m. IO>DO
mother-Pl-Dat child-Pl-3Pl.Poss-Acc send-Past-1Sg
Lit. 'I sent the mothers their children.'

Further corroboration for a high possessor goal and a low animate/inanimate spatial goal is illustrated in Öztürk's (2007) example in (10a) when there are two goals in a sentence.

(10) a. Ali bana kitab-ı Ankara-ya yolla-dı.
Ali I.Dat book-Acc Ankara-Dat send-Past
'Ali sent me the book to Ankara.'

[(Öztürk, 2007) example (14)]

Öztürk notes that this sentence is not fully acceptable due to the double-case restriction in Turkish. However, what is significant is that when the high animate goal follows both

[9] This is the only sentence pair with an animate goal and theme (besides (7)), in which the IO>DO order has been rated as felicitous by the informants in my poll.

the theme and the locative goal as in (10b) the sentence receives a somewhat different interpretation.[10]

b. Ali kitab-ı Ankara-ya bana yolla-dı.
Ali book-Acc Ankara-Dat I.Dat send-Past
Lit. 'Ali sent the book to Ankara to me '

While (10a) is construed as 'my being in Ankara is not required', (10b) has a slightly different interpretation in that 'my being in Ankara is required'.

This again provides support for the hypothesis that high goal arguments are realized as possessors, as in (10a), and low animate goals as spatial goals, as illustrated in (10b).[11] When the animate goal is in a lower position than the theme, as exhibited in (10b), the animate entity is not necessarily interpreted as the resulting possessor of the theme but it may merely denote a location where the book is sent to. However, in (10a) the high goal implicates the intended recipient who will eventually come to possess the book; hence is not necessarily required to be physically present in Ankara. Consequently, what the sentences in (7-10) indicate is that high goals are realized as possessors of the theme argument while low (in)animate goals express spatial regions. We observe this especially by the low generated position of the animate goal in the examples in (7), in which a possessive relation between the two arguments cannot exist.

With regards to scope facts, the DO (theme) and the IO (goal) in (11) can take inverse scope. This is corroborated by Kelepir's (2001) observation that in Turkish a lower existential QP can scope over a higher universal QP.[12]

[10] 39 out of 40 subjects in the survey interpreted (10a) as 'my being in Ankara is not required' and (10b) as 'my being in Ankara is required'.
[11] The higher merged argument may also be realized as a benefactive, yet this needs further investigation.
[12] With regards to the scopal behaviour of existential and universal quantifier phrases, Kelepir (2001) argues that scope is rigid in Turkish and her observation is that the universal quantifier object cannot take

(11) a. Her çocuğ-a bir oyun-u ver-di-m. ∀ > ∃,∃ > ∀
each child-Dat a game-Acc give-Past-1Sg
'I gave each/every child a game.' (different or a specific game)

b. Her oyun-u bir çocuğ-a ver-di-m. ∀ > ∃,∃ > ∀
each game-Acc a child-Dat give-Past-1Sg
'I gave each/every game to a child.' (different or a specific child)

In English, ditransitive verbs usually permit two distinct underlying structures associated with different argument structures; the DOC, shown in (12a,a') and the *to*-ditransitive construction (prepositional ditransitive) in (12b,b').

(12) a. Ozzy gave a girl every telescope. *every > a

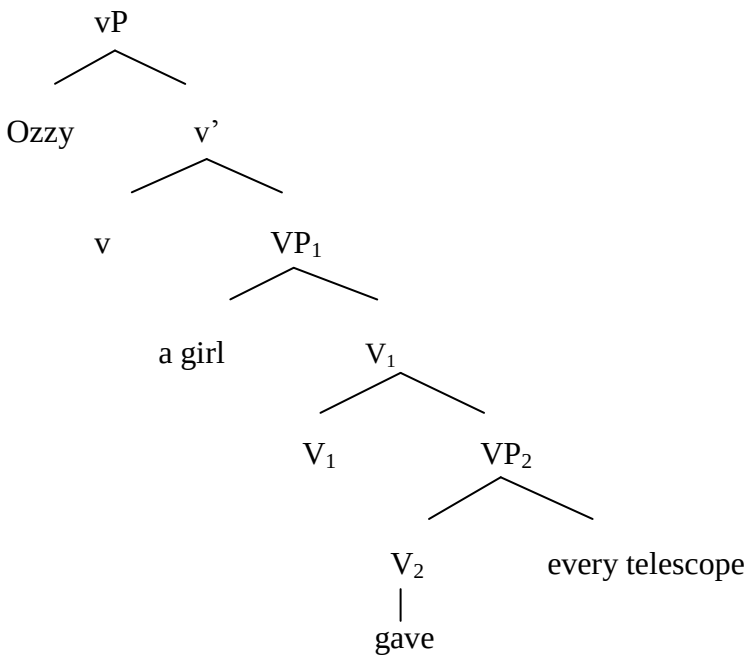
b. The teacher gave a book to every student. every > a

[(Bruening, 2001, p. 260) examples (57a) and (57b)]

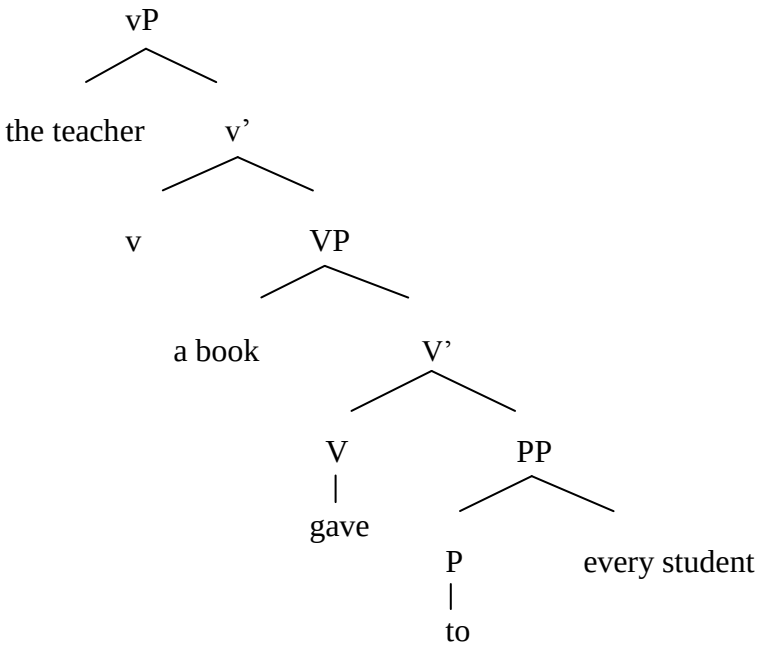
While in an English low applicative DOC, where the indirect object asymmetrically c-commands the direct object, scope is frozen (12a, a'), in Turkish we get scope ambiguity (11a-b). This implies that in Turkish the DO and IO must be part of the same minimal domain, inside the same immediate VP, as opposed to an English DOC (Bruening, 2001). This also suggests that the sentences in (11a-b) have the same structure as the English *to*-ditransitive structure in (12b), illustrated in (12b'), where scope is free.

scope over the accusative-indefinite (existential) subject. However, the scopal behavior of the objects of ditransitives has not been researched in her work.

(12a')



(12b')



In a frozen scope environment, the hierarchical order of the raised object quantifiers cannot change, which are introduced in different verbal projections (12a'). In contrast, in

a pre/postpositional ditransitive construction, shown in (12b'), where two quantified arguments are equidistant to a head, scope is not frozen but free, as in (12b) and (11a-b).

Given the scope and binding facts, Turkish DOCs, where the theme asymmetrically c-commands the goal, should be analyzed as prototypical postpositional ditransitive constructions, as illustrated in the English *to*-ditransitive structure in (12b'), and not low applicative constructions. Thus, Turkish cannot be categorized as a low applicative language. Furthermore, these findings indicate that the Turkish ditransitive constructions which have been analyzed are compatible with neither a low nor a high applicative structure.

2.2.2 Evidence from idiomatic constructions

My analysis suggests that there is a dual pattern of ditransitive verbs in Turkish and not a single underlying order of goal and theme arguments. The implication of this claim is that there are two distinguished base-generated structures permitting both IO_{GOAL}>DO_{THEME} and DO_{THEME}> IO_{GOAL} configurations with distinct goal types. The last piece of evidence for the proposed dual pattern comes from idiomatic constructions.[13] According to Larson (1988), his postulation that the *to*-ditransitive construction (see (12b')) is the underlying structure of English ditransitive verbs is sustained by his hypothesis of phrasal idioms. Larson asserts that phrasal idioms denote that parts of an idiom of a ditransitive verb, such as Verb +Goal have been base-generated adjacent to each other.

Given that idioms generated with a goal or theme argument and a ditransitive verb form a constituent, scrambling the argument that is part of the constituent should result

[13] I wish to thank Shigeru Miyagawa for suggesting that I examine the behavior of idioms in Turkish to support my analysis of the two base generated orders in ditransitive verbs.

in a degraded interpretation of the idiomatic construction. In Turkish, idioms that are formed with both [Goal + Ditransitive verb] and [Theme + Ditransitive Verb] can be attested. In the idioms examined below only the goal or theme argument combined with the ditransitive verb is a constituent that conveys idiomatic meaning. Thus, the theme argument in the example in (13) is a non-idiomatic DP. The sentence in (13a) illustrates an idiom formed with the dative goal 'el-e' *hand* and the ditransitive verb *ver-* 'give', generated in the basic Theme> Goal order.

(13) a. Ahmet ben-i el-e ver-di. Theme> Goal
Ahmet I-Acc hand-Dat give-Past
'Ahmet gave me away.'

b.*Ahmet el-e ben-i ver-di.
Ahmet hand-Dat I-Acc give-Past

In (13b) we observe that when the goal that is part of the [Goal + Ditransitive verb] constituent is scrambled over the theme, the idiomatic meaning of the sentence is degraded and the sentence becomes ungrammatical.

(14) exhibits an example of an idiom formed by [Theme + Ditransitive Verb] with the verb *göster-* 'show' and a reduplicated accusative theme in the Goal>Theme order. As evidenced by the unacceptability of (14b), scrambling of the theme argument leads to the degradation of the idiomatic interpretation.

(14) a. Ali bana Hanya-yı Konya-yı göster-di. Goal>Theme
Ali I.Dat Hania-Acc Konya-Acc show-Past
'Ali showed me what's what.'

b. *Ali Hanya-yı Konya-yı bana göster-di.
Ali Hania-Acc Konya-Acc I.Dat show-Past

More idiomatic constructions in Turkish, shown in (15-17), formed with a goal or theme argument and a ditransitive verb suggest that there is not a single underlying order but both Theme> Goal and Goal>Theme orders must be base generated.

(15) a. Onu Allah-a havale et-ti-m. Theme> Goal
she/he.Acc God-Dat transfer do-Past-1Sg
'I will leave (have left) his/her punishment to God.'
Lit. 'I have sent/transferred her/him to God.'

b. *Allah-a onu havale et-ti-m.
God-Dat she/he.Acc transfer do-Past-1Sg

(16) a. Adam herkes-i tonga-ya getir-di. Theme>Goal
man everyone-Acc trap-Dat bring-Past
'The man tricked everyone.'

b. *Adam tonga-ya herkes-i getir-di.
man trap-Dat everyone-Acc bring-Past

(17) a. İktidar hükümet yanlı-lar-ın-a gaz-ı ver-di. Goal>Theme
ruling party government supporter-Pl-3Pl.Poss-Dat gas-Acc give-Past
'The ruling party motivated/encouraged the supporters of the government.'

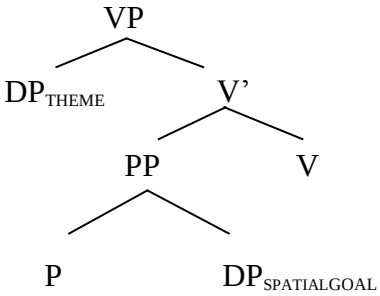
b. *İktidar gaz-ı hükümet yanlı-lar-ın-a ver-di.
ruling party gas-Acc government supporter-Pl-3Pl.Poss-Dat give-Past

The idiomatic meaning in (17b) does not exist because the theme that forms an idiomatic constituent with the verb *ver-* 'give' has scrambled over the goal argument, causing the sentence to literally correspond to a translation equivalent to 'The ruling party has supplied the supporters of the government with the gas' or in a political context 'The ruling party has exposed the supporters of the government to gas'.

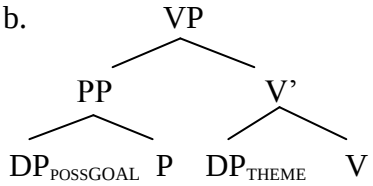
On Larson's assumption of phrasal idioms of ditransitive verbs, the data illustrated above provides evidence for the base- generated hypothesis of both orders in Turkish;

the Theme> Goal order and the Goal>Theme order. If we argued that Turkish had a single basic hierarchical ordering of goal and theme arguments in ditransitives, e.g. the Goal>Theme order and the other order were derived by movement of the theme across the goal, then we would not expect to find a part of an idiom generated as [Goal + Ditransitive verb] (Miyagawa, 2004). However, we have seen from the data above that this is not the case in Turkish and both [Goal + Ditransitive verb] and [Theme + Ditransitive Verb] constituents exist in Turkish phrasal idioms. It should also be noted that Turkish allows both orders with the same verb *ver-* 'give' in the idiomatic expressions exhibited in (13) and (17), indicating further that there is not a basic underlying order. Based on these findings, my proposal for Turkish postpositional ditransitives is that the orders illustrated in (18a) and (18b) are both base-generated. As discussed in 2.2.1, when the goal is animate in the Goal>Theme order, it is construed as a possessor whereas low goals in the Theme> Goal tend to be interpreted as spatial goals.

(18) a.



b.



2.3 Properties of non-core datives in Turkish introduced by high applicative heads

When we turn to the properties of non-core dative arguments in Turkish, which should be analyzed as peripheral, additional arguments of the event VP, we see that, with respect to Pylkkänen's verb semantics diagnostic, non-core datives are compatible with a high applicative construction since they can be added to transitive verbs as well as stative verbs and unergatives, as has already been illustrated in Chapter 1.3. I propose that these extra participants of the event VP (19-22) can be subsumed under the 'affectee' semantic role whereby the additional participant is either the beneficiary or the maleficiary of the event.

The examples in (19a) and (19b) exhibit that a non-core benefactive dative argument can be added to the stative verb *tut-* 'hold':

(19) a. Bana şu çanta-yı bir tut-ar mı-sın?
I.Dat this bag-Acc one hold-Aor Int-2Sg
'Can/will you just hold this bag for me?'

b. Güvenlik görevli-si bana şemsiye-(yi) tut-tu.
security guard-3Sg.Poss I.Dat umbrella-(Acc) hold-Past
'The security guard held an (the) umbrella for me.'

Non-core dative arguments also can combine with unergatives and with reflexive verbs, shown in (20a-b) and (20c-d), respectively, where the applied argument is introduced by a high applicative head as a beneficiary to the event VP:

(20) a. Ona çalış-ıyor-um.
she/he.Dat work-Prog-1Sg
'I'm working for his/her benefit.'

b. Başbakan-ımız-a dans et-mek isti-yor-um.
prime minister.1Poss.Pl-Dat dans do-Inf. want-Prog-1Sg
'I'd like to dance for our Prime Minister.'

c. Berna sevgili-sin-e süsle-n-miş.
Berna lover-3Sg.Poss-Dat embellish-Refl-Perf
'Berna has made up/dressed up for her boyfriend.'

d. Kim-e giy-in-miş böyle sabah sabah?
who-Dat dress-Refl-Perf so/such morning
'Who did she/he dress up for at such an early hour in the morning?'

While in (20c-d) a benefactive argument has been added to a reflexive verb, in (21) the reflexive combines with a malefactive non-core argument:

(21) Biz-e (parası yok diye) dellen-di.
we-Dat flip out.Refl-Past
'He/she flipped out on us (because he/she doesn't have any money).'

Non-core malefactive or benefactive arguments can also be added to transitive verbs shown in (22), where there is no implication of transfer of possession or where transfer of possession may be a secondary notion. We observe that in the examples in (22a-d) the added argument is a malefactive which is affected adversely by the event whereas in (22e-g) the non-core dative has been introduced as a beneficiary to the event VP. While the sentence in (22f), which denotes a possessive relation between the agent and the applied benefactive, has been classified as a benefactive-recipient type construction based on cross-linguistic typological classification, a possessive reading is rather vague in the benefactive construction in (22e), which has an implicit theme DP, and in (22g) where the theme argument is realized overtly.

(22) a. Hasta-lar-ı hekim-ler-e düşman et-ti-ler.
patient-Pl-Acc doctor-Pl-Dat enemy do-Past-3Pl
Lit. 'They caused the patients to become enemies of the doctors.'
'They caused the doctors to make enemies of their patients.'

b. Koca dünya-yı bana dar et-ti.
huge world-Acc I.Dat narrow do-Past
'He/she has made life unbearable for me.'

c. Bana bayram-ı zehir et-ti-ler.
I.Dat bayram-Acc poison do-Past-3Pl
'They have ruined bayram (religious holiday) for me.'

d. Sivas katliamı bana hayat-ı zindan et-ti.
Sivas massacre I.Dat life-Acc dungeon do-Past
'The Sivas massacre made life unbearable for me.'

e. Bana da bas-ar mı-sın? (the implicit theme is '*Akbil*', a transportation pass)
I.Dat too press-Aor Int-2Sg
'Can you beep me through, too?'

f. Ona çok özel bir içki hazırla-dı.
she/he.Dat very special a drink prepare-Past
'She/he made her/him a very special drink.'

g. Ona saç-ım-ı süpürge et-ti-m.
she/he.Dat hair-1Sg.Poss-Acc broom make/do-Past-1Sg
'I have worked very hard for him/her, making sacrifices for him/her.'

As is evident from the examples in (19-22), non-core datives in Turkish are semantically related to the event VP as benefactive or malefactive (affectees) applied arguments that are introduced by high applicative heads, irrespective of whether the theme DP in transitive verbs goes into the possession of the applied benefactive argument or not.

2.3.1 Syntactic licensing of a Turkish high applicative

Locality-based accounts have proposed that in symmetric languages with high applicatives both the IO and DO can raise to the subject position whereas in asymmetric languages with low applicatives only the IO can undergo passivization. In a symmetric high applicative construction, via the projection of an extra specifier position both

objects reside at some point in the derivation in the same minimal domain and thus either one is eligible to move to v or T, while in asymmetric languages the IO goal blocks the movement of the DO to a higher head (McGinnis, 2001; Anagnostopoulou, 2003). A similar 'escape hatch' approach has been employed by Georgala (2012) in the syntactic licensing of her symmetric thematic applicatives with an additional parameter of the ordering of Move and Merge to account for the movement of the lower DO (theme) over the higher IO (goal).

In Turkish, however, only asymmetric theme passivization is attested, shown in (23a), and as is evident by the ungrammaticality of (23b), the dative marked IO can never be passivized.

(23) a. Şemsiye bana tut-ul-du.
umbrella.Nom I.Dat hold-Pass-Past
'The umbrella was held for me.'

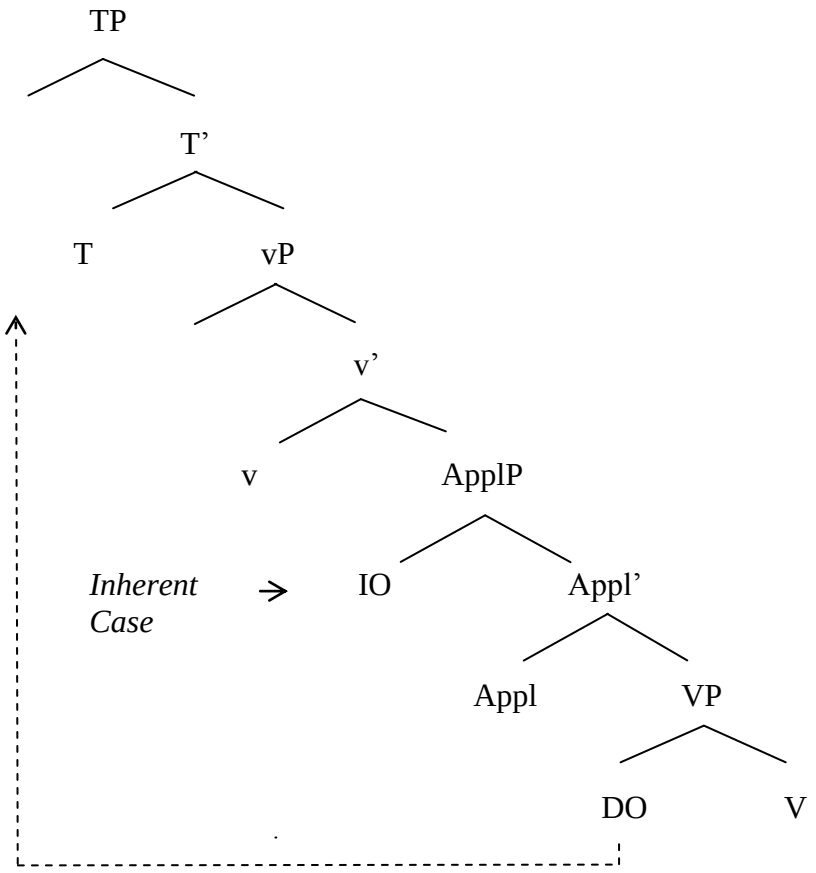
b. *Ben şemsiye-(yi) tut-ul-du-m.
I.Nom umbrella-(Acc) hold-Pass-Past-1Sg.
'I was held the umbrella.'

In a Turkish double object construction the theme bears structural accusative case, which under passivization alternates with nominative case. However, dative case never alternates with nominative or never surfaces as nominative in passivization; thus, exhibits inherent case properties.

In a high applicative construction the applied argument DP is licensed by Appl upon merge in [Spec, ApplP] and has its inherent dative case valued. Due to its inherent case properties, the IO bearing dative case does not constitute an intervener for the DO to agree with v or T and thus the movement of the lower theme DO over the higher merged IO does not violate locality. This correctly predicts asymmetric theme

passivization in a Turkish high applicative construction (24). The high applicative configuration in (24) is posited for non-core dative participants that are added to an event, hence are neither semantically entailed nor syntactically licensed by the verb, contrary postpositional ditransitives.

(24)



2.3.2 McFadden's analysis of German inherent datives

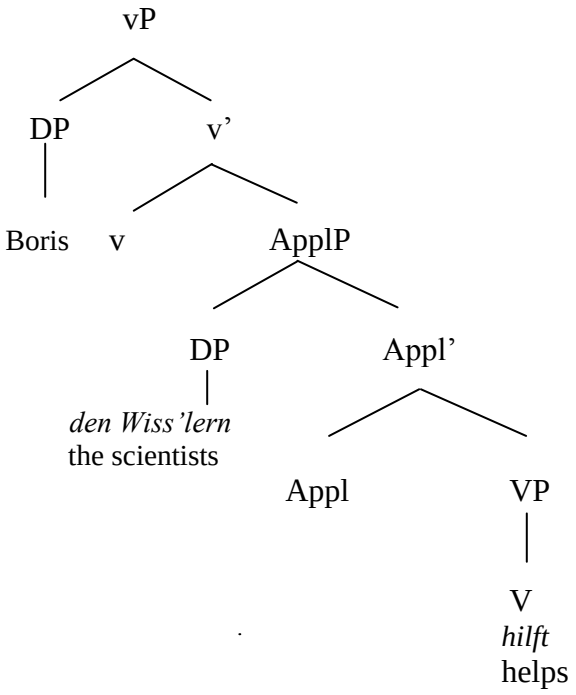
In line with Minimalist syntax, which proposes structurally distinct representations for dative DPs, McFadden (2006) proposes a high applicative construction for sole dative objects in his analysis of inherent datives in German. He argues that sole dative objects pattern with indirect objects of ditransitives, i.e. both are structurally distinct compared to direct object DPs, therefore the advantage of this framework is that it posits a

structure of dative object DPs which can be distinguished from the configuration of canonical, direct objects. The implication of this is that a verb, such as *helfen* 'help' (25), which lexically assigns dative case to its object/complement, is structurally treated like an unergative verb to which an applied, non-core dative DP is added via an applicative head.

(25) Boris hat den Wissenschaftlern geholfen.
Boris has [the scientists]$_{Dat}$ helped.
'Boris helped the scientists.'

Thus, McFadden claims that the structure of sole dative objects of verbs such as *helfen* 'help' can be viewed as either a ditransitive, in which the direct object is missing, or alternatively, another perspective would be to treat sole dative objects as unergatives with an additional dative argument DP. The structure for sole dative objects in German, which McFadden proposes, is laid out below in (26), corresponding to the sentence in (25):

(26)



(adapted from McFadden, 2006)

In his analysis it is explicit that dative DPs are not arguments licensed by the verb, both inherent dative objects (recipients/goals) and lexical sole dative objects are licensed into the argument structure by functional heads as added arguments. Under this perspective, lexical and inherent datives are treated as a single argument type, structurally distinct from direct objects. This suggests that sole dative objects cannot appear as complements of the verb, unlike Levin's (1999) NCTVs, in which the transitive verb root can lexically license an oblique dative as the sole complement of the verb. McFadden provides evidence for the behavioral similarity of sole dative objects and inherent dative objects of ditransitives. He argues that the fact that an accusative object DP can be added to the verb *glauben* 'believe' which takes a sole dative object (shown in (27a-b)) indicates that the sole dative object cannot be considered a complement of the verb as in the configuration of a direct object.

(27) a. Er glaubt seinem Bruder.
he believes [his brother]$_{Dat}$
'He believes his bother.'

b. Er glaubt seinem Bruder die Geschichte.
he believes [his brother]$_{Dat}$ [the story]$_{Acc}$
roughly: 'He believes his brother's story.'

[(McFadden, 2006) examples (17a) and (17b)]

While this is the case with some verbs in German, the same verb *inan-* 'believe' in Turkish, which also takes a sole dative complement, does not allow an accusative theme to be added to the construction, as is evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (28b):

(28) a. Ali kardeş-in-e inan-ıyor.
Ali brother-3Sg.Poss-Dat believe-Prog
'Ali believes his brother.'

b. *Ali kardeş-in-e hikaye-yi inan-ıyor.
Ali brother-3Sg.Poss-Dat story-Acc believe-Prog
Intended meaning: 'Ali believes his brother's story.'

As discussed in this chapter, I propose a high applicative construction for non-core dative objects in Turkish which are not licensed by the verb; however, for sole dative objects in Turkish, which are lexically licensed by the verb, I will posit an analysis different from McFadden's in Chapter 3.

2.4 Özkan's (2013) and Palaz's (2013) analyses on Turkish double object constructions

While Turkish double object constructions also receive a high applicative analysis under Özkan's (2013) and Palaz's (2013) approaches, they diverge from my analysis in that (i) they assert that the underlying ordering of goal and theme arguments in a Turkish double object construction is Goal >Theme and (ii) therefore all double object constructions receive a uniform high applicative analysis. However, Palaz also notes that her proposal for Turkish DOCs does not include indirect objects which denote spatial locations. Furthermore, she does not make a distinction between dative argument DPs which are added to the event as extra participants and dative DPs that are semantically entailed by the verb. Özkan acknowledges and agrees with Öztürk's (2007) proposal for a low Goal (Theme > Goal) position for spatial goals with verbs such as 'put' (though she does not elaborate on these verbs), yet claims that evidence for this position is not adequate and this ordering is supported by a structure that does not really exist in Turkish, referring to the sentences in (10a-b) above, repeated as (29a-b) below.

(29) a. Ali bana kitab-ı Ankara-ya yolla-dı.
Ali I.Dat book-Acc Ankara-Dat send-Past
'Ali sent me the book to Ankara.'

b. Ali kitab-ı Ankara-ya bana yolla-dı.
Ali book-Acc Ankara-Dat I.Dat send-Past
Lit. 'Ali sent the book to Ankara to me.'

[(Öztürk, 2007) example (14)]

However, as discussed in 2.2.1, the acceptability judgments of forty native speakers in my survey have illustrated that this is a structure which exists in Turkish and which is associated with different interpretations that provide support for the high possessor goal and low spatial goal position. Furthermore, my analysis has defended and thoroughly examined spatial goals, exhibiting that Turkish has a low goal position. In line with Palaz, Özkan's analysis of a high goal position in Turkish is based on indirect objects that do not denote spatial goals. Özkan further claims that unlike in Japanese, the animacy of the goal does not play a role in Turkish with respect to its argument realization; however, my analysis has clearly exhibited that animacy does play a role. Finally, Özkan unifies Turkish double object constructions under a high applicative structure, not making a distinction between prototypical ditransitive verbs or other event types which do not semantically entail an event participant.

2.5 Conclusion

To conclude, Turkish appears to challenge the low applicative structure proposed by Pylkkänen (2002) in that the diagnostics for identifying a low vs. high applicative construction cannot provide a clear distinction for Turkish; therefore a hypothesis that unifies non-core, additional datives under a high applicative construction should be adopted for Turkish. The implication of my analysis is that while I propose a high

applicative structure (24) for non-core datives in Turkish, ditransitive constructions do not receive a high applicative analysis under my approach. My analysis predicts that a postpositional ditransitive structure for Turkish should express that there are two goal positions; a lower spatial goal PP generated below the direct object and a high animate PP goal, both within the lexical VP, (18a) and (18b) respectively. This analysis is also compatible with Cuervo's (2003), who proposes two different structures for Spanish double object constructions. While she assumes a low applicative construction for a Spanish DOC, patterning syntactically and semantically with an English DOC, she proposes a distinct structure for a dative spatial goal that expresses a directional PP. In her prepositional ditransitive structure, the theme asymmetrically c-commands the lower DP goal, as in the structure in (18a).

The claim presented and defended in Chapter 2 and throughout the thesis is that dative objects of ditransitive verbs in Turkish have different syntactic and semantic properties[14] from dative DPs added to an event in a high applicative construction since the semantics of a high applicative is different from a postpositional ditransitive construction. It is also explicit in this chapter that Turkish does not have the English type DOC. As shown, a Turkish double object construction does not share the fundamental syntactic properties of an English DOC. We have seen in Chapter 2.2.1 that the syntactic position of a dative argument DP with particular ditransitive verbs i.e. its syntactic realization contributes to its semantic interpretation (recall that a high goal is interpreted as a possessional goal with 'send'-type verbs); however, this does not suggest that there is a construction per se which denotes 'transfer of possession'

[14] Compatible with my analysis, Boneh and Nash (2010, 2013) argue that French datives in canonical ditransitives are core datives with respect to their different semantic and syntactic properties from non-core datives, which are not selected by the verb.

corresponding to an English type DOC. In the following chapter I will posit an event structure associated with ditransitive verbs in Turkish.

CHAPTER 3

EVENT STRUCTURE I: CORE DATIVES AND LEXICALLY LICENSED DATIVES

3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on the properties of the event structure of ditransitive verbs and verbs that can appear with sole dative objects. This chapter initially discusses the analyses that pertain to the structural representation of types of events. The main claim of this thesis is that the semantic and syntactic properties of (i) core datives in ditransitives, (ii) non-core dative participant DPs in high applicatives and (iii) lexically licensed dative object DPs as the sole complement of the verb and unergative verbs combining with dative objects should be distinguished based on their syntactic and semantic behaviour. In Chapter 2, I have presented evidence against an applicative analysis of prototypical ditransitives in Turkish such as 'give' or 'send' type verbs and in favour of a postpositional configuration. In this chapter, I will propose an event structure for datives in ditransitive constructions based on Levin and Rappaport Hovav's (2007, 2011) (henceforth L&RH) 'Verb-Sensitive' approach. Concomitantly, I will argue that the structures in (1a), (1b) and (1c) do not form a natural class.

(1) a. Ali Seda-ya para-yı ver-di. Ditransitive
Ali Seda-Dat money-Acc give-Past
'Ali gave Seda the money.'

b. Ali Seda-ya ev-i al-dı. Non-core dative argument
Ali Seda-Dat house-Acc buy-Past
'Ali bought Seda the house.'

c. Ali Seda-ya gül-dü. Lexically licensed dative object
Ali Seda-Dat laugh-Past
'Ali laughed at Seda.'

Under my analysis, the sentences above have distinct syntactic configurations; hence are associated with different event structures. The recipient dative argument in (1a) is generated in the lexical VP as a PP, whereas the benefactive dative object in (1b) is an applied argument, introduced to an event by a high applicative head above the lexical VP. On the other hand, the unergative verb combined with a dative object in (1c) is not compatible with the semantics of a high applicative; syntactically the dative object should not be externally related to the event but should be generated within the VP proper, semantically encoding a conceptual target or source. In terms of its event structure, I propose a simple event structure for (1c).

3.2 Approaches to the event structure

The analysis of verb meanings, within the research of lexical semantics, involves decomposing the meaning of verbs and representing them structurally as lexical predicate decompositions or event structures (for nonstative eventualities). One dominant approach to exploring verb meanings has been through an analysis of their lexical aspectual properties and subsequently a classification of verbs with respect to 'Aktionsart'. Vendler (1957) proposed that event types can be distinguished and identified according to their aspectual classes, wherein verbal predicates and VPs are classified in terms of the temporal contours of the events in their denotation. Vendler's inventory of aspectual classes, comprising activities, accomplishments, achievements and states, are the most widely employed classification of event types.

Considerable variation in the structural representation of verb meanings exists in the literature contingent on the orientation or approach of conceptualizing events, which assume different semantic properties of events to be grammatically relevant, such as lexical aspect. As a result, there are fundamental differences in the semantic representations of events. Event complexity, for instance, has been defined based on the aspectual property of telicity by some researchers. Under this definition, any event which is telic is assigned a complex event structure, e.g. both causative and inchoative change of state verbs have a complex event structure. In contrast, L&RH's (1999) approach posits that only causative verbs, where the properties of the event are not aligned temporally and the verb is associated with both subevents, have a complex event structure, implying that causation should not be reduced to telicity. There is further disagreement on the representation of accomplishment predicates. While some researchers, following Dowty (1979), assign accomplishments a causative event structure consisting of two subevents, others (L&RH, 1999; Van Valin and La Polla, 1997; Filip, 2012) argue against a uniform treatment of accomplishments as causatives. Under L&RH's (1999, 2005) analysis, accomplishment verbs of creation, such as *write* or *build* and verbs of consumption, such as *eat* or *drink* are associated with a simple, non-causative event structure template consisting of one subevent, hence such verbs are not assigned a causative complex event structure. This stems from the nature of these predicates wherein the activity and the process, e.g. of an entity coming into existence or disappearing, are necessarily temporally dependent, unfolding together as opposed to a causative, where the subevents are not temporally aligned, i.e. can be independent.

Finally, it is assumed by several researchers (L&RH 1998; Hale &Keyser 1993; Jackendoff 1996a) that word meanings are composed of two building blocks; (i) a

structural feature of its meaning represented with event structure templates defining possible event types (ii) the root or core meaning of the word reflecting its idiosyncratic meaning component. This will also be the approach taken in this thesis.

In what follows, I will present and discuss various approaches and proposals of lexical predicate decompositions, which assume similar properties to be grammatically relevant in the representation of verb meanings. While these proposals pertain to the approaches of both lexicalist vs. syntactic orientations, I will not elaborate on the implications of this divide, as it is outside the scope of this thesis.

3.2.1 Tenny (1994, 2000)

Tenny identifies four verb classes based on their aspectual properties of having an inner or 'core' event of 'becoming' into a terminal state in their lexical semantic representations. These four verb classes include (a) change of state verbs (b) incremental theme verbs of creation/consumption (c) verbs of motion to a goal and (d) verbs of putting.

(2) a. Peter melted the ice. (change of state)

b. Peter built a castle. (creation/consumption)

c. Peter ran to the station. (motion to a goal)

d. Peter put the vase on the desk. (change of location)

In (2a) there is an inner inchoative event of the theme argument describing its change of state, in (2b) the event progresses as Peter builds or creates the castle in increments of time and culminates in a final state when the castle is built. In (2c) the implicit path provides the incremental theme, which according to Tenny can be measured out, and reaches its end at the goal, and finally in (2d) the change of location of the theme argument provides an endstate entailment.

Tenny argues that verbs belonging to these classes have a separable inner event which involves a change in their direct objects becoming into a final, resultant state (i.e. telicity), represented by an abstract BECOME predicate and a state argument. Thus, the assumption here is that these verb classes are represented by complex event structures involving an outer event of 'Causation' and a core event of change. In contrast, verbs of contact, such as *hit* or *touch*, psychological verbs, such as *love* or *know* and verbs of perception, such as *see* or *hear* do not have an incremental theme undergoing a change of state or a causation component; thus, these verbs cannot be represented as complex events. Tenny employs certain diagnostics, such as adverbial modification to distinguish between verbs with core events and verbs that do not have a core event in their event structures. For example, one of the diagnostics used is the scope taking restitutive reading test with adverbials, such as 'again', to find out whether an event has a complex event structure with a core event. In a complex event, the adverb 'again' can take scope over the entire event (3b) or over the subevent of the final state (3c), yielding ambiguity in its interpretation.

(3) a. Peter closed the window again.

b. Peter, again, performed the activity of closing the window. (repetitive)

c. The window had been in a closed state before and Peter caused the window to be in this state one more time (we do not know if anyone had closed it) (restitutive)

Contrasting with complex predicate representations, verbs which do not have complex event structures should not allow the restitutive reading, as is illustrated in the example in (4).

(4) Peter hit the table again. (only repetitive reading available)

3.2.2 L&RH's (1998, 1999, 2005) and Levin's (1999) proposal

L&RH (1998, 1999, 2005) and Levin (1999) propose event structure templates which define semantic verb classes that share syntactic properties. Their event representations make a crucial distinction between a simple event structure template (5) and a complex event structure template (6). Levin (1999) notes that the event structure templates proposed are not necessarily aspectually defined. However, the simple vs. complex event structure distinction is based on the property of 'temporal dependence of subevents', which is a quasi-aspectual notion, and this crucial distinction also reflects the different ways of licensing arguments. In a complex event, the causing subevent needs not temporally extend to the subevent of BECOME, suggesting that each subevent is associated with its own temporally aligned properties, unlike a simple event, where there is one subevent in which the activity and process unfold together.

(5) *Simple Event Structure*, consisting of one subevent.

a. [x ACT <$_{MANNER}$>] associated with activities

b. [BECOME [x <*STATE*>]] associated with achievements

c. [x ACT <*STATE*>] an aspectually characterized stative event type

(6) *Complex Event Structure*, consisting of two subevents.

[[x ACT <$_{MANNER}$>] CAUSE [BECOME [y <*STATE*>]]]

According to the event structure templates in (5) and (6), the italicized script in angle brackets represents the 'roots'. Roots can be integrated into the event schemas as arguments, shown in (5b/c) and (6) or as modifiers of predicates notated through subscripts, as in (5a).

Licensing of arguments

Levin (1999) argues that the idiosyncratic verb root can license arguments which are not licensed by the event structure. To illustrate, in (7) and (8) both sentences have the same simple activity type event structure but the number of arguments is not the same.

(7) Pat ran.

(8) Leslie swept the floor.

[(Levin, 1999) examples (8a) and (8b)]

In Levin's terms, the 'constant' (or later referred to as 'root' in L&RH, 2005) is the verb's core meaning which is idiosyncratic to the verb and which can semantically license an object DP. Levin represents the semantically licensed participant by using a **y** in the event structure template (9).

(9) [x ACT <*SWEEP*> **y**]

Thus while both (7) and (8) are associated with a simple event structure and denote a manner of acting, an object can be licensed by the meaning of *sweep*, whereas the nature of the root *run* only specifies one participant. This suggests that both unergatives and noncausative transitive verbs are assigned a simple event structure.

A complex event structure contrasts with a simple event structure in that the event participants are not only licensed by the root but also by the argument structure, this implies that the objects of verbs, such as *break* or *open* are licensed semantically by their roots as well as syntactically by the event structure. On this view, there are two types of DP arguments in the syntax; those participants that are associated with the event structure (participants of a complex event structure) and those that are not linked to a position in the event structure (arguments licensed by roots in a simple event structure).

A significant implication of this hypothesis is that the objects of these two event structures should display different properties.

The CTV vs. NCTV distinction

As discussed in 1.2, with regards to objecthood and argumenthood, Levin argues that the arguments of transitive verbs are not licensed in the same way. Thus, she posits a distinction in the licensing of the arguments of Core transitive verbs (CTV) and Non-core transitive verbs (NCTV), which is reflected in the event structure of the verb. The contrast lies in which component of the verb meaning accounts for the licensing of participants; its idiosyncratic core meaning i.e. the root or the event structure. The objects of CTVS such as *break*, *kill*, *destroy*, which are obligatorily transitive crosslinguistically, are licensed not only by the root but also by the event structure. Therefore, CTVs have a complex event structure. In contrast NCTVs, which have oblique counterparts across languages, license their objects semantically by the lexical meaning of the verb; hence are associated with a simple event structure, such as *sweep* in (8). Levin's observation is that cross-linguistically transitive verbs which have PP or oblique complements correspond to NCTVs in English. For example, some Hungarian verbs such as *felel* 'answer' or *integet* 'greet', which have sole dative complements, have transitive English counterparts which are NCTVs. The prediction is that, if a transitive verb in English has near-synonyms which are intransitive and introduce their arguments via prepositions, then this verb is a NCTV. For instance, *demand* is a NCTV because its near-synonym *ask* cannot take a direct object but must introduce its argument with the preposition *for*. With regards to Turkish, consider the verb *bekle-* 'wait' which takes an accusative object, contrasting with its English NCTV counterpart 'wait' which is intransitive in the sense that it must introduce its object with a preposition. Thus, the

implication of this observation is that there exist near synonymous objects and obliques of NCTVs which have the same semantic role.

In terms of its event structure prediction, the NCTV hypothesis is also compatible with Tenny's proposal in that e.g. verbs of contact, such as (10), should not have a grammatically complex structural representation since the object does not provide an incremental theme undergoing any change or a theme which is affected incrementally.

(10) Peter touched the table.

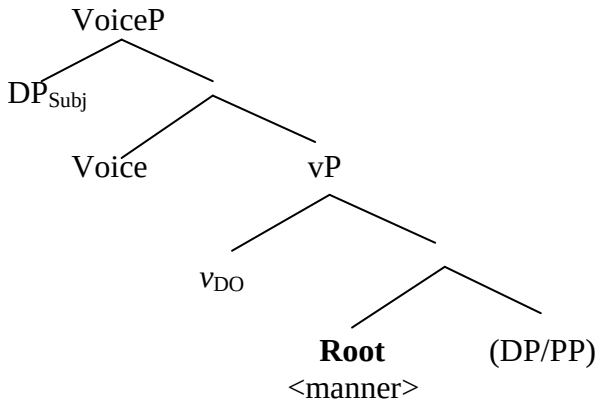
Accomplishments and causatives

L&RH (1999, 2005) argue against defining causation in terms of aspectual classification because causative verb classes do not display uniform temporal properties. For instance, degree achievements, such as *cool, widen* or *harden* are causative when transitive and noncausative when intransitive, regardless of their telicity. These verbs show both telic and atelic uses. Under their approach, which is contrary to Tenny's, a complex event should be defined by the notion of causation and not by the aspectual property of 'telicity' or the event type 'accomplishment', suggesting that only causatives are to be associated with a complex event structure. Thus, their prediction is that accomplishments need not have a complex event structure and causatives are not necessarily of the accomplishment type event. This implies that their approach predicts distinct representations for change of state verbs, such as *break* or *open,* associated with a complex event structure (in both their transitive and intransitive uses) and for verbs of consumption/creation such as, *eat* or *draw*, being assigned a simple event structure. L&RH (1998) assume that the lexical semantic representation of transitive *break* and intransitive *break* is the same, with the only difference being that in the intransitive form of *break* the external cause is not projected.

3.2.3 Cuervo (2003)

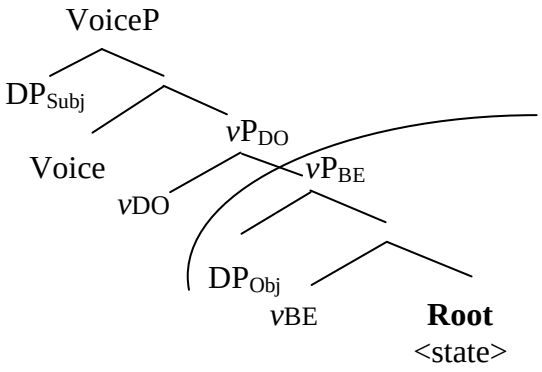
Cuervo proposes that event predicates are built from verbal functional heads, little *v* and a root which is based on the semantic compatibility of the core meaning of the root and the event type expressed by little *v*. There are three types of event introducing little *v*; *v*DO corresponds to dynamic, agentive ACTIVITIES such as *dance* or *sweep*, *v*GO represents verbs of CHANGE, corresponding to simple dynamic unaccusatives, such as *fall* or *arrive* and finally *v*BE introduces STATES, such as *like* or *admire*. In contrast to the simple event structures, complex or bi-eventive causative and inchoative structures are created by the combination of these simple event types. In line with Levin, Cuervo assumes that roots can semantically license arguments which are compatible with their lexical meanings but which are not licensed by the event structure of the verb. Her structural representations for dynamic activities, causatives and inchoatives, which are relevant for the purposes of this thesis, are illustrated in (11-13).

(11) *Noncausative activities*

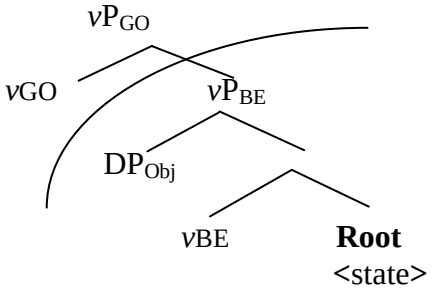


(Cuervo, 2003, p. 111)

(12) *Causatives*



(13) *Inchoatives*



(Cuervo, 2003, p. 106)

Note that contrary to Levin, Cuervo proposes distinct syntactic representations for inchoatives and causatives, both of which have complex, bi-eventive structures. While these share the same (lower) end result, *v*BE, of the structure, the higher structure is different in that the external argument, the causer, is projected in causatives, yet the inchoative structure does not license Voice. Also note that in (12) and (13) the object DP is licensed as the subject of the lower event; it is lexicalized by the verb and cannot be omitted.

As for the noncausative activity construction in (11), this structure corresponds to Levin's simple event structure in that it has the same properties. This structure represents dynamic agentive activities. The verb in this configuration can be an unergative or the root can semantically license a complement DP or PP. As opposed to a causative structure, where the inner object DP is obligatory, the object DP in this configuration is not licensed by the structure. The representation in (11) corresponds to Levin's NCTV category, which includes unergatives and transitive verbs with oblique complements, while (12) corresponds to CTVs which have obligatory non-agent arguments licensed by the structure.

3.2.4 Ramchand (2002, 2008)

According to Ramchand's lexical-syntactic approach, in the spirit of Hale and Keyser (2002), the syntactic projections of arguments are based on the event structure, i.e. in her model of analysing argument structure, the event structure is reflected in syntactic projections, illustrated in (16). In Ramchand's approach, the representation of verbs and arguments are based on both, the event structure and aspectual notions; thus, her event representations are aspectually motivated. Ramchand's approach posits a three-way decomposition of subevents;

(14) a. *Initiation* – a cause subevent

b. *Process* – a process subevent

c. *Result* – a cause subevent

Her syntactic projections are defined followingly:

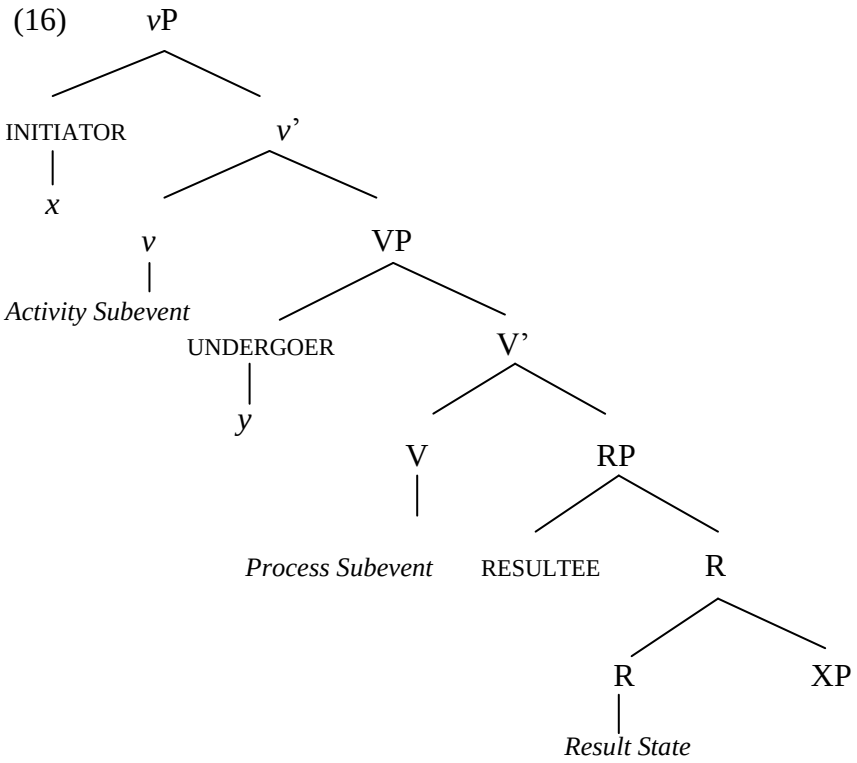
(15) a. a *causing* projection - initP: introduces causation or the initiation event, licensing the INITIATOR (external argument)

b. a *process* projection – procP: the nature of the process of change is specified and an UNDERGOER is licensed

c. a *result* projection- resP: represents the 'telos' or 'result state, and licenses a RESULTEE who holds the result state.

An illustration of Ramchand's event structure representation is given in (16):

(16)



(adapted from Ramchand, 2002)

Ramchand's approach accounts for aspectual compositionality which sometimes arises due to the combination of incremental theme verbs and quantized themes. Thus, Ramchand argues that agentive activity verbs which are not obligatorily accomplishments i.e. where there is no Result Phrase (RP) in the first phase syntax, yet give rise to telicity by entailment, can project a RP as the verbal complement.

Examples of Ramchand's lexical entries for verbs are illustrated in (17);

(17) a. push: [v, V]

b. dance: [v_i, V_i]

According to these entries, *push* is a transitive activity verb or in her terms a 'process transitive' consisting of two subevents; an activity (initiating/activity subevent) and a process (process subevent) with two different arguments, and *initiator* and an *undergoer*. The verb *dance* has the same event structure as a process transitive, however the *initiator* and the *undergoer*, as exhibited by coindexation on the heads, are identical, thus, the entry represents an unergative.

3.3 The event structure of ditransitives in Turkish

Chapter 2 has posited a syntactic configuration of ditransitive constructions in Turkish. In this section I will provide an analysis of the event structure of dative objects in ditransitives, which is compatible with the < IO_{DAT}, DO_{ACC} > and <DO_{ACC}, IO_{DAT} > syntactic frame proposed in Chapter 2.2.1. Following L&RH (2008) and Levin (2011), I assume a 'Verb-Sensitive' approach to account for the event structure of ditransitive constructions in Turkish. A close inspection of the event structure of these dative verbs will reveal that dative arguments in ditransitive constructions behave differently with respect to their semantic and syntactic properties from non-core datives that are added to the event in a high applicative configuration. This substantiates the claim held in Chapter 2 that these two different constructions cannot receive a uniform analysis. Therefore, before proposing an analysis of the event structure of datives in ditransitives, I will briefly illustrate how the properties of dative arguments in ditransitive structures differ from non-core datives in a high applicative construction, whose event structure will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

3.3.1 Evidence for the distinct properties of dative objects in ditransitives and dative objects in high applicative constructions

In this section I will provide further evidence that calls for a structural and semantic distinction between the properties of dative arguments in ditransitives and non-core datives in a high applicative configuration. My claim is that the sentence in (18), which has a ditransitive verb, and the one in (19), which illustrates a high applicative construction, do not form a natural class.

(18) Seda çoçuğ-a oyun-u ver-di/yolla-dı/göster-di.
Seda child-Da game-Acc give-/send-/ show-Past
'Seda gave/sent/showed the child the game.'

(19) Kız-lar-a meyve yıka-dı-m/soy-du-m/hazırla-dı-m.
girl-Pl-Dat fruit wash- /peel- /prepare-Past-1Sg
'I've washed/peeled/prepared fruit for the girls.'

(i) Implicit object

In (18) the dative marked DP is an argument of the root, i.e. it is lexicalized by the core meaning of the verb whereas in (19) the verb does not lexicalize the dative participant; thus, it is added to the event as an extra participant via an applicative head. As discussed in Chapter 2.3 the benefactive argument in (19) is added to event as a non-core dative argument; hence is neither lexically entailed nor syntactically licensed by the verb. In (18), 'Seda oyunu verdi/yolladı/gösterdi' is perfectly grammatical without the indirect dative object; however, a recipient/spatial goal is strongly implied, therefore the sentence would not make any sense in a context that did not include an implicit object. 'Seda oyunu verdi/yolladı/gösterdi' entails → birisine/bir yere (to someone/somewhere). In contrast, (19) 'Meyve yıkadım/soydum/hazırladım' does not have an implicit object, since it is perfectly natural to wash/peel or prepare fruit without a potential benefactive

argument. As a result, 'Meyve yıkadım/soydum/hazırladım' does not entail ≠ a third participant.

(ii) Semantics of the dative object

The ditransitive sentence in (18) has a directional/allative sense, in such a construction the dative object semantically encodes a goal, a recipient, an addressee or an experiencer who is the recipient of a perceptual stimulus. The action is directional in the sense that it is directed towards an abstract goal. This notion is also captured by the case label of the dative in traditional Turkish grammar books, where the Turkish dative case marker is named based on its dominant directional, goal marking *allative* sense, 'a state of movement to/towards'. In contrast, we do not obtain this directional/allative sense in (19) with a benefactive construction, which encodes that an action has been performed for the benefit of the dative participant. Consequently, while the dative case marked object in (19) can be paraphrased with the postposition *için* 'for', shown in (20a), the dative object in (18) cannot be paraphrased by *için*, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (20b).

(20) a. Kız-lar *için* meyve yıka-dı-m/soy-du-m/hazırla-dı-m.
girl-Pl for fruit wash- /peel- /prepare-Past-1Sg
'I've washed/peeled/prepared fruit for the girls.'

b. *Seda çocuk *için* oyun-u ver-di/yolla-dı/göster-di.
Seda child for game-Acc give-/send-/show-Past
'Seda gave/sent/showed the game for the child.'

The only available reading for (20b), which is somewhat odd, is a benefactive reading in which the child is interpreted as the benefactive argument of a ditransitive event that has an implicit recipient/goal. In this reading, the agent 'Seda' substitutes the 'child' in carrying out the event of giving, sending or showing the game to someone/somewhere.

Moreover, if we do not distinguish between dative objects appearing in ditransitives and high applicative structures or dative objects combined with different types of predicates and consequently assume a high applicative structure for all Turkish double object constructions, as has been argued by Özkan (2013), it will be a challenge to account for the interpretational differences in (21-23) with the verbs *gül-* 'laugh' /'smile, *pişir-* 'cook' and *yaz-* 'write', all of which are combined with a dative object.

(21) Seda çocuğ-a gül-dü. ≠ Seda çocuk için gül-dü.
Seda child-Dat laugh-Past Seda child for laugh-Past
'Seda laughed at the child.' 'Seda laughed for the child.'

(22) Seda kız-ın-a yemek pişir-di. = Seda kız-ı için yemek pişir-di.
Seda daughter-Dat food cook-Past Seda daughter-3Sg.Poss for food cook-Past
'Seda cooked her daughter food.' 'Seda cooked food for her daughter.'

(23) Seda anne-sin-e mektup yaz-dı.≠ Seda anne-si için mektup yaz-dı
Seda mother-3Sg.Poss-Dat letter write-Past mother-3Sg.Poss for letter write-Past
'Seda wrote a letter to her mother.' 'Seda wrote a letter for her mother.'

In (21) a dative object has been combined with the unergative verb *gül-* 'laugh' and in (22) with the lexical causative *pişir-* 'cook'. Under a high applicative analysis the applied arguments would be interpreted as additional dative participants added to the event as benefactives, related externally to the event. Recall that this is the semantics of high applicatives proposed by Pylkkänen (2002), (see Chapter 2 examples (2b) and (2c)). However, while (22) indeed has a benefactive sense, meaning Seda cooked food for her daughter; hence can be paraphrased with *için* 'for', the sentence in (21) does not mean that Seda laughed for the benefit of the child, therefore cannot be paraphrased by *için*, i.e. in (21) the dative participant 'child' is not related to the event as a benefactive. The sentence in (21) has a strong directional sense, whereby the dative object with the

unergative verb should be interpreted as a conceptual target or source. My analysis posits that the sentence in (21) should be assigned a simple event structure, as will be discussed in detail in 3.4, which is associated with NCTVs, in which the lexical root can semantically select a dative DP or PP. In contrast, in (22) the lexical causative verb *pişir*- 'cook' does not license or semantically entail a dative object, therefore the dative DP is introduced by a functional head; an applicative head. As for the sentence in (23), if we argue that this is a high applicative structure, then, our hypothesis will not be able to account for the contrast in the interpretations of (22) and (23). In both sentences, (22) and (23), a dative object has been combined with a verb of creation; cooking food and writing a letter respectively. However, while (22) entails that the agent has cooked the food for her daughter and can be paraphrased with *için* 'for', (23) does not entail that the agent wrote the letter *for* her mother. In fact, when *için* is used in (23) we may obtain a benefactive sense and a different interpretation corresponding to 'Seda wrote the letter *on behalf of* her mother or *for* her mother so that she would not have to do it.' Under my analysis, the verb *yaz*- 'write' can also be used unergatively, illustrated in (24), hence is assigned a simple event structure similar to the unergative verb *gül*- 'laugh'.

(24) El-im acı-yor, bugün çok yaz-dı-m.
hand-1Sg.Poss hurt-Prog today much write-Past-1Sg
'My hand hurts, I wrote a lot today.'

Semantically, an animate dative object combined with *yaz*- 'write' in its unergative use can only be interpreted as an addressee and not a benefactive or not even a recipient since there is no theme to undergo a change of possession. Consider the sentence in (25) in the context of someone keeping a diary and writing in it.

(25) Defne günlüğ-ün-de her gün eski sevgili-sin-e yaz-ar.
Defne diary-3Sg.Poss-loc every day old lover-3Sg.Poss-Dat write-Aor.
'Defne writes to her ex-boyfriend every day in her diary.'

The dative object is interpreted as an addressee; this sentence does not mean that Defne is writing for the benefit of someone, neither does it entail or imply that there is a theme to the possession of the dative participant, since naturally one would only keep a diary for one's own use. The verbal root *yaz-* 'write' can also participate in a ditransitive event as in the example in (23) when there is a theme argument because an event of writing a letter entails a third participant. Compatible with my analysis of ditransitives, the sentence in (23) has a strong directional/allative sense whereby the dative is interpreted as an abstract target; an addressee or a potential recipient of the theme argument 'letter'. Similar in behaviour to the ditransitive construction in (18), paraphrasing (23) with *için* 'for' also yields a different interpretation of the sentence.

(iii) Different event structures

Finally, the sentences in (18) and (19) are associated with different event structures. While ditransitive constructions have a complex event structure involving temporally isolatable subevents, a high applicative is not the same in that the dative participant can be combined with different event types hence yielding both simple or complex event structures. For instance, benefactive dative participants in Turkish can be combined with events associated with a simple or complex event structure (although a complex structure is constrained in Turkish as will be discussed in Chapter 4).

When we utilize the scope taking restitutive reading test with the adverbial *tekrar/yine* 'again', we observe a contrast in the event structures of the ditransitive construction in (26a) and the benefactive construction in (26b). It has been argued that if

a verb lexicalizes a resultant state, the expectation is that it should be ambiguous with the adverb *tekrar*/*yine* 'again'.

(26) a. Seda Burcu-ya film-i tekrar/yine göster-di. (restitutive reading)
Seda Burcu-Dat film-Acc again show-Past
'Seda showed Burcu the movie again.'

b. Seda Burcu-ya pasta-yı tekrar/yine yap-tı. (only repetitive reading)
Seda Burcu-Dat cake-Acc again make-Past
'Seda baked the cake for Burcu again.'

While in (26a) the sentence can imply that the movie had been watched by Burcu before, without the agent Seda showing the movie to her in every instance of Burcu watching the film, i.e. *tekrar/yine* 'again' can take scope over the resultant state of the complex event, (26b) can only mean that the agent repeated the event of baking; thus, there were two events of cake having been baked by Seda. Under the assumption that the adverbial 'again' can scope over the resultant state, this may indicate that (26b) denotes a simple event structure and not a complex, causative structure as opposed to the ditransitive construction. However, the semantic notion of restitution and repetition and morphemes expressing restitution in Turkish require further research (Güven, in press); therefore, until a comprenesive study on the interaction of restitution/repetition expressing adverbials with the event structure has been carried out, I will not employ this diagnostics to identify a simple vs. complex event structure for Turkish verbs.[15]

The accomplishment verb in (26b) is a verb of creation with an incremental theme. Following L&RH's argument (see 3.2.2), since the creation of the cake culminating at

[15] I would like to thank Prof.Eser Taylan for pointing out to me that the sentence in (i), which under my analysis should have a simple event structure because the predicate is a verb of creation, can have a restitutive reading when modified by the adverb *tekrar* 'again'.
(i) Bana elbise-yi tekrar dik-ti. (repetitive and restitutive reading)
I.Dat dress-Acc again sew-Past
'He/she sewed the dress again for me.'

an endstate involves the perceived subevents to unfold together in time, i.e. the creation of the cake takes place in increments of time whereby the event reaches an endpoint only when the cake has been created (the resultant state), the accomplishment event of 'baking a cake' has a simple event structure.

3.3.2 L&RH's (2008) 'Verb-Sensitive' approach to ditransitive verbs

L&RH (2008) propose that 'give'-type verbs such as; *give, sell, rent, hand, pass, loan* only inherently lexicalize caused possession in their meanings, that is, the root or core of such verbs can only be associated with a change of possession or caused possession event type. Further facets of the event are specified in the root of individual verbs, such as specifying or elaborating on, for instance, that the agent uses his/her hands in the giving event of e.g. *hand.* The semantic participant roles inherently involved in this event type are; agent, theme and recipient, represented below in a distinct event schema:

(27) CAUSED POSSESSION: 'x $_{\text{Agent}}$ act cause **y** to have z $_{\text{Theme}}$' → **y** is a RECIPIENT

(adapted from Levin, 2011)

Under the verb sensitive approach, the participant roles in the caused possession event type in English can be realized in two syntactic configurations (i) the double object construction ; NP V NP NP and (ii) the *to*- prepositional ditransitive variant; NP V NP *to* NP. It is significant that this event type, regardless of its syntactic configuration, lacks a conceptual path and does not entail a physical 'transfer of possession' from a source to a goal/recipient (L&RH, 2008). Although these verbs encode transfer of possession if the nature of possession involves 'physical control' of an entity, when the type of possession is abstract without having an original possessor, these verbs merely lexicalize caused possession. 'Give'-type verbs denote a punctual two-point change of possession

(Jackendoff, 1996b) taking place between the original possessor and the recipient, causing a recipient to possess an entity. Consequently, in both syntactic configurations, the DOC in (28a) and the *to*-variant construction in (28b), only caused possession is encoded and the recipient possessor *Mary* can be realized either as the first object or as the complement of the preposition *to*.

(28) a. Peter gave Mary some documents.

b. Peter gave some documents to Mary.

On the other hand, 'send'-type verbs such as; *send, mail, ship, forward* inherently lexicalize a physical change of location thus are associated with the caused motion event type, since naturally sending something has to involve a change of location of the theme argument. Thus, while these verbs inherently take spatial goals, 'give'-type verbs do not take spatial goals (i.e. 'give'- type verbs are not compatible with true spatial PPs). Distinct from the caused possession event type, the caused motion event schema as proposed by Levin is represented below:

(29) CAUSED MOTION: 'x_{Agent} act cause z $_{Theme}$ to be at **y**' → **y** is a SPATIAL GOAL

(adapted from Levin, 2011)

The caused motion event type is associated with the *to*- prepositional ditransitive variant syntactic configuration. However, the roots of 'send'- type verbs although not inherently lexicalizing caused possession, may also be associated with the caused possession event type in some languages; suggesting that both the DOC and the *to*-variant morphosyntactic frames are available for 'send'- type verbs, as evidenced by (30a-c).

(30) a. Peter sent some documents to the office. (spatial goal- caused motion)

b. Peter sent some documents to Mary. (caused motion or caused possession where Mary is interpreted as a recipient).

c. Peter sent Mary some documents. (caused possession - Mary is interpreted as the recipient)

As has been observed by Levin, 'send'-type verbs display a constraint pertaining to the animacy of the theme argument and its interaction with the event types which are realized in the two different syntactic frames. Recall that the very same restriction has been observed in 2.2.1 example (7a-d), with the Turkish ditransitive verb *yolla-* 'send', where the IO >DO order of two animate non-agent arguments is not acceptable, suggesting an available low goal position for Turkish ditransitives ((7b) is repeated below as (31)):

(31) ? Falcı-ya Ayşe-yi yolla-dı-m. IO>DO
fortune teller-Dat Ayşe-Acc send-Past-1Sg
Lit.'I sent the fortune-teller Ayşe.'

Levin attributes the ungrammaticality of such examples to the event type that a verb lexicalizes, i.e. since 'send' does not lexicalize caused possession when the goal/recipient is realized as the first object in a DOC, it is interpreted as an intended possessor. However, under the assumption that Turkish does not have the English type DOC, which encodes caused possession, this argument cannot be valid for Turkish.

The Verb-Sensitive approach with its associations between the types of dative verbs, its meanings and available syntactic configurations is presented below in (32). This approach identifies (i) associations between the verb type and its event type as well as between (ii) the event type and its syntactic configuration or morphosyntactic frame.

(32)

	to-variant	double object variant
give	caused possession	caused possession
send (inanimate theme)	caused motion or caused possession	caused possession
send (animate theme)	caused motion	_____

(adapted from Levin, 2011)

Accordingly, under this approach, the English type DOC is only associated with, hence only encodes caused possession, whereas the caused possession event type is not only associated with the DOC but also with the *to*-variant construction.

3.3.3 A 'Verb-Sensitive' approach to Turkish ditransitives

We have seen in Chapter 2 that in Turkish ditransitives, theme arguments and goals/ recipients can be realized in two syntactic configurations; IO_{GOAL}>DO_{THEME} and DO_{THEME}> IO_{GOAL}. Thus, I have argued that there is a high possessional goal position and a low spatial goal position available. My analysis is compatible with the verb sensitive approach with some minor modification. In line with Levin, I argue that 'give' -type verbs in Turkish, such as; *ver-* 'give', *sat-* 'sell', *kirala-* 'rent', *teslim et-* 'submit' only encode caused possession, as schematized in (27), when realized in both the high goal configuration (33a) or the low goal configuration (33b). This type of dative verb entails three arguments, hence lexically selects a dative case marked recipient participant role.

(33) a. Ali genç çift-e ev-i kirala-dı.
Ali young couple-Dat house-Acc rent-Past
'Ali rented the young couple the house.'

b. Ali evi-i genç çift-e kirala-dı.
Ali house-Acc young couple-Dat rent-Past
'Ali rented the house to the young couple.'

The verb root sat_V further elaborates on the change of possession event specifying that money is involved in the two-point transaction.

Following Levin, I assume the complex event structure in (34) for 'give'-type Turkish ditransitive verbs, which can be realized in both syntactic configurations, as in (33a) and (33b).

(34) [[x ACT] CAUSE [BECOME [y HAVE$<_{\text{POSS-TYPE}}>$ z]]]

(Levin, 2011)

Note that the abstract predicates employed are; CAUSE indicating a complex event, BECOME denoting a subevent or in Tenny's (2000) terms a core event of 'becoming' into a terminal state, thus representing the core of telicity, and the abstract predicate HAVE encoding 'possession'.

As mentioned earlier in 3.3.2, 'give'-type dative verbs denote a two-point punctual change of possession, involving an original possessor and a recipient. Due to the nature of such verbs, which lexicalize caused possession, a successful transaction is entailed. We can observe this entailment in the interaction of 'give'-type verbs with the marker *-mIş* in its evidential function. *-mIş* as an evidential marker encodes events not consciously or directly experienced by the speaker but which are inferred based on a resultant state or on hearsay (Slobin & Aksu, 1982). When the evidential marker is

employed by a speaker who is the projected possessor or recipient of a 'give'-type event, the sentence becomes semantically awkward or infelicitous since both the original possessor and the projected possessor must be conscious of a successful change of possession.

Consider the contrast in acceptability of the 'give'-type verbs, which involve possession based on 'physical control', compared with 'send'-type verbs:

(35) a.? Emre bana bisiklet-i sat-mış. (on an evidential reading)
Emre I.Dat bicycle-Acc sell-Evid
'Emre evidently sold me the bike.'

b.? Emre bana para-yı ver-miş. (on an evidential reading)
Emre I.Dat money-Acc give-Evid
'Emre evidently gave me the money.'

c. Emre bana bisiklet-i yolla-mış. (on an evidential reading)
Emre I.Dat bicycle-Acc send-Evid
'Emre evidently sent me the bike.'

d. Emre bana para-yı yolla-mış. (on an evidential reading)
Emre I.Dat money-Acc send-Evid
'Emre evidently sent me the money.'

While the sentences in (35c-d) are perfectly grammatical and acceptable, (35a-b) are awkward since a recipient in a successful transfer event is construed as someone who is not only capable of reception but also aware of the successful transaction. Thus, one cannot produce the sentences in (35a-b) upon seeing the resultant state, i.e. the bicycle or the money that have undergone change of possession using the evidential marker, unless we imagine a scenario in which the recipient is unaware of the successful transfer, which would be odd. When *-mIş* denotes hearsay in the same sentences, it can be interpreted as sarcasm, implying that the event is supposedly said to have taken place without the

speaker being conscious of it. On the other hand, we do not get any infelicity or awkwardness with the verb *yolla-* 'send' since successful transfer is not entailed or lexicalized in 'send'-type verbs. Two interpretations are available for the sentences where *-mIş* functions as an evidential marker; upon seeing the resultant state, i.e. the arrival of the bicycle or the money, the sentences in (35c-d) would mean that the intended recipient is not aware of the causing subevent i.e. the agent sending off the theme, but can infer it from the evidence which indicates that the theme has arrived at its destination regardless of successful transfer. (ii) *-mIş* can encode hearsay, suggesting that the causing subevent is said to have taken place but the intended recipient has not witnessed the successful transfer of the theme. This suggests that with 'send'-type verbs the attainment of the goal is not entailed because in such verbs the causing subevent of 'sending' and the theme's traversal of the path, which are temporally not dependent, correspond to a punctual subevent followed by a durative subevent (Rappaport Hovav 2008).

Taking now a look at 'send'-type verbs in Turkish in more detail, these lexicalize caused motion, as represented in (29), taking three arguments; an agent, a theme and a spatial goal. My claim is that the caused motion event type in Turkish is associated with a low goal configuration. Following Levin, I propose the event structure in (36) for such verbs in Turkish.

(36) [[x ACT$<_{\text{SEND}}>$] CAUSE [y GO [PATH z]]]

(Levin, 2011)

Aspectually, 'send'-type verbs as illustrated in (35c) and (35d) are also punctual; however, they are different in that the implied path includes a durative event. These verbs select a spatial goal and a PATH on which the theme argument moves along.

‘Send’-type verbs are also assigned a complex event structure, evidenced by the CAUSE predicate. Recall that as discussed in 3.2., according to L&RH (1999, 2005), event complexity is not defined in terms of a resultant state i.e. the result state definition of telicity but with respect to the temporal alignment of the subevents. Thus, as discussed in the examples in (35c-d), the punctual causing subevent of the agent sending off the theme and the durative subevent of the theme traversing along the path are temporally independent.

When the theme is inanimate and a recipient is available ‘send’-type verbs can also be associated with caused possession (as in (35c-d)). As earlier discussed in Chapter 2, verbs such as *yolla-/gönder-* ‘send’ can be realized in two syntactic configurations in Turkish; the low goal configuration or the high goal configuration, with a constraint on the animacy of the theme. However, the argument realization options for ‘sent’-type verbs in Turkish are less restricted than in English. Consider the sentences below.

(37) a. Burcu Elif-e malzeme-ler-i yolla-dı. (High Goal-caused possession)
Burcu Elif-Dat material-Pl-Acc send-Past
‘Burcu sent Elif the materials/equipment’

b. Burcu Ankara-ya malzeme-ler-i yolla-dı. (High Goal-caused motion)
Burcu Ankara-Dat material-Pl-Acc send-Past
‘Burcu sent the materials/equipment to Ankara.’

c. Burcu malzeme-ler-i Ankara’ya yolla-dı. (Low Goal-caused motion)
Burcu material-Pl-Acc Ankara-Dat send-Past
‘Burcu sent the materials/equipment to Ankara.’

d. Burcu malzeme-ler-i Elif-e yolla-dı. (Low Goal- caused motion
Burcu material-Pl-Acc Elif-Dat send-Past or caused possession)
‘Burcu sent the materials/equipment to Elif.’

e. ? Burcu doktor-a Elif-i yolla-dı. (High goal configuration not available)
Burcu doctor-Dat Elif-Acc send-Past
'Burcu sent the doctor Elif.'

When we have an inanimate theme and an animate recipient realized as a high goal (37a), the high goal is interpreted as a projected possessor as has been illustrated in Chapter 2, despite *yolla-* lexicalizing caused motion and not caused possession. This makes sense since the change of location in the theme causes the theme to be possessed by a new potential possessor. This is reminiscent of the English DOC in which the first argument is interpreted as a possessional goal and which is only associated with caused possession; thus, one might be tempted to claim that the Turkish high goal configuration corresponds to the English double object construction. However, (37b) shows that this cannot be the case because unlike in English, a spatial goal in Turkish can also be realized in the high goal configuration. Clearly, since the city Ankara is not capable of reception, the dative cased marked object can only denote a spatial location, consequently, the event merely encodes caused motion. [16] On the other hand with the inanimate theme in (37c) and (37d), the dative marked goals which are realized in the low goal configuration are both interpreted as spatial goals, denoting caused motion; however, in (37d) the animate goal may also be interpreted as the potential possessor. (37e) is infelicitous, unless it is used for the purpose of contrastive focus, because the high animate goal 'doktor' is interpreted as the possessor of the animate theme 'Elif'. Since there cannot be a possessive relation between these two animate arguments, i.e. the doctor cannot possess Elif, this order is not felicitous. This ordering may only be possible if we construe Elif as e.g. the doctor's assistant and create a possessive relation

[16] The recipient reading is only possible when 'Ankara' is interpreted as an institutional body of animate participants.

between the two arguments. This substantiates the claim that a high animate dative goal in Turkish is interpreted as a possessor of the theme, encoding caused possession, which leads to infelicity in this realization. In support of my arguments in Chapter 2.2.1, this indicates that the syntactic configuration available in this case for (37e) is only a low goal configuration because the caused motion event type which encodes the traversal of the theme on a path is associated with a low-spatial goal syntactic frame.

In (38), I propose a verb-sensitive approach for 'give' and 'send'-type ditransitive verbs for Turkish in the spirit of L&RH.

(38)

	Low-Goal	High Goal
ver-	caused possession	caused possession
yolla- (inanimate theme)	caused motion or caused possession	caused possession or caused motion
yolla- (animate theme)	caused motion	_____

This result indicates that Turkish has wider argument realization options of dative objects than English in that both event types, caused motion and caused possession can be realized by the low and high goal configurations.

3.4 Dative objects that are lexically licensed as sole complements of the verb and unergative verbs appearing with sole dative objects

In this section I will examine the properties of dative objects that are lexically licensed as the sole complement of the verb as well as unergatives appearing with sole dative objects. The main claim will be that both display the properties of NCTVs and are thus

compatible with a simple event structure in the lines of Levin (1999) and Cuervo (2003). My proposal is that transitive verbs under the NCTV category can take sole dative complements which are licensed semantically by the idiosyncratic meanings of the roots. As for unergative verbs combining with postpositional dative complements; in the literature of prepositions/postpositions it has been assumed that there are two types of prepositions; lexical and functional. The Turkish dative marker as a postposition has lexical properties in that it has notional meaning and can denote an event, e.g. it can denote a boundary. Thus, intransitive unergative verbs such as *bağır-* 'shout' or *gül-* 'laugh' can take a PP (postpositional phrase) dative complement because the meaning lexicalized by the idiosyncratic root of the verb is compatible with the spatial, *directional* meaning lexicalized in the Turkish dative case marker. The main properties predicted of verbs with sole dative complements and unergatives with PP dative complements under my analysis are discussed in 3.4.1.

3.4.1. Properties of Turkish NCTVs with dative objects

(i) They are not licensed as the objects of CTVs

This suggests that the meaning component of the verb which is responsible for licensing sole dative complements in Turkish is not the event structure. Therefore, unlike the objects of CTVs which have a causative, complex event structure, the prediction is that verbs with such dative objects, as exhibited in the sentence in (39) can only be associated with a simple event structure.

(39) Ali adam-a tekrar vur-du/ bak-tı /gül-dü /bağır-dı.
Ali man-Dat again hit-Past/look-Past/laugh-Past/shout-Past
'Ali hit/looked at/laughed at/ looked at the man again.'

Thus, in (39) verbs which select sole dative object DPs or PPs are associated with a simple event structure, which does not express a resultant state.

(ii) They are licensed by the root of the verb

Compatible with a simple event structure of NCTVs, dative objects are licensed semantically by the idiosyncratic root of the verb, thus are not required participants by the event structure. While some of the semantic roles of PP dative complements (i.e. those which encode a spatial or abstract directional meaning) can be subsumed under certain categories, it is impossible to semantically characterize other roles, which further indicates that such datives are objects of NCVTs. Besides their transitive use, shown in (40b), these verbs can also be used intransitively, as in (40a), unlike CTVs which have objects required and licensed by the complex event structure. (41b) and (42b) exhibit two unergative verbs, assigned a simple event structure, which can lexically select PP dative complements.

(40) a. Ali çok yardım et-ti.
Ali much help do-Past
'Ali helped a lot.'

b. Ali bana yardım et-ti.
Ali I.Dat help do-Past
'Ali helped me.'

(41) a. Burcu çok gül-dü.
Burcu much laugh-Past
'Burcu laughed a lot.'

b. Burcu film-e çok gül-dü.
Burcu film-Dat much laugh-Past
'Burcu laughed a lot at/about the film.'

(42) a. Burcu ağla-dı.
Burcu cry-Past
'Burcu cried.'

b. Burcu film-e ağla-dı.
Burcu film-Dat cry-Past
'Burcu cried about the film.'

Note that as discussed in Chapter 2.3.2, the example in (40b) has received a high applicative analysis by McFadden (2006) for sole dative objects in German. Contrary to my analysis, under his approach these verbs are treated as unergatives with an applied dative object above the VP.

(iii) Most dative objects do not provide incremental themes

Verbs that license sole dative objects do not have an incremental theme undergoing a change of state, in the sense of Tenny; thus, such verbs should not have an inner event of BECOME in their event structures. Consider verbs of contact in Turkish, such as *dokun-/değ-* 'touch' or *sürtün-* 'rub against', shown in (43), which have dative complements; we cannot argue that the objects of such verbs are affected incrementally denoting a change of state.

(43) a. Kirli duvar-a değ-di-m.
dirty wall-Dat touch-Past-1Sg.
'I touched the dirty wall.'

b. Islak el-i-yle cam-a dokun-du.
wet hand-3Sg.Poss-Com glass-Dat touch-Past
'He/she touched the glass with his/her wet hand.'

c. Çamur-lu kedi kapı-ya sürtün-dü.
mud-Adj cat door-Dat rub-Past
'The muddy cat rubbed against the door.'

In (43a) the dative object *duvar* ‘wall’ does not undergo any change of state as a result of the agent touching it, on the contrary, it could be claimed that the agent may be affected by getting dirt on him or her. In (43b/c) the dative objects are affected in that they might get some substance on their surfaces; however, this affectedness is not grammatically relevant in the sense of Croft (see 1.2) or Tenny, as it cannot delimit or measure out the event. None of these verbs encode an endstate as a result of a change in their objects, therefore, the events in their denotation cannot be telic.

In the literature, incremental themes have been associated with direct objects. While dative objects in Turkish are not direct objects in this sense, objects marked with the accusative case need not always be direct objects undergoing a change and delimiting the event, either. In (44), a synonym of the NCTV *dokun-* ‘touch’, *elle-* ‘touch (by using one’s hands)’ has an accusative object. Both verbs are NCTVs, while *dokun-* takes a dative complement, *elle-* ‘touch’ has an accusative marked object. It cannot be claimed that in this case the accusative object of *elle-* is an incremental theme undergoing a change while the object of *dokun-* is not.

(44) Islak el-i-yle cam-ı elle-di.
wet hand-3Sg.Poss-Com glass-Acc touch-Past
‘He/she touched the glass with his/her wet hand.’

However, in the accusative/oblique alternation in (45), we can observe that the accusative case denotes a change of state (although not incremental) in its object, inducing telicity; in contrast, the dative case marked object cannot induce telicity since there is no resultant change of state in its object.

(45) a. Polis gösterici-yi vur-du.
police demonstrator-Acc shoot-Past
'The police shot the demonstrator.'

b. Polis gösterici-ye vur-du.
Polis demonstrator-Dat hit-Past
'The police hit the demonstrator.'

For Turkish, the notion of 'direct objecthood' in these sentences above can be captured by the CTV vs. NCTV distinction. The verb *vur*- in (45a) corresponds to 'shoot'; however, it is different from 'shoot' in English or *schießen* 'shoot' in German in that it cannot be used unergatively describing a specific manner; therefore, *vur*- in (45a) cannot undergo impersonal passive as has been predicted of unergatives in Turkish, evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (45c):

c. *Dün tüm gün bura-da vur-ul-du.
yesterday whole day here-Loc shoot-Pass-Past
'It was shot here all day yesterday.'

Consequently, the accusative object is a prototypical patient argument, thus, *vur*- in (45a) is a CTV; however, in (45b) when the internal argument is an oblique dative object, *vur*- means to 'hit' and should be categorized as a NCTV.

With regards to telicity, the notion of incremental theme is independent of telicity (Filip, 1999; Ramchand, 2002; L&RH, 2005). For instance, degree achievement verbs have an incremental theme in their event structures regardless of telicity, i.e. they can be atelic. There are telic achievements verbs denoting a punctual change (as in (45a)) in their theme arguments which do not have incremental themes. We have seen that ditransitive verbs in Turkish which describe a change of state or location in their theme arguments are telic but the theme is not affected in increments of time. For example, the

theme in a change of possession event (as in (33a/b)) is not affected incrementally. The observation in my research is that dative objects as sole complements of the verb do not induce telicity unless they denote a goal which provides a bound, delimiting the event.

(46) a. Gösterici-ler bir saat-te Taksim-e yürü-dü.
demonstrator-Pl one hour-Loc Taksim-Dat walk-Past
'The demonstrators walked to Taksim in one hour.'

It is the dative goal argument that induces telicity by providing a bound to the event. Tenny argues that the event structure of a verb of motion to a goal includes an implicit path which is an incremental theme that can be modified by measuring out the event. However, in Turkish, as shown in (46), it is impossible to modify the path by using adverbial modifiers such as *kısmen* 'partly', *yarı yarıya* 'half' or *yarı yol* 'halfway'.

b. *Gösterici-ler kısmen/yarı yarıya/yarı yol Taksim-e yürü-dü.
demonstrator-Pl partly/half/halfway Taksim-Dat walk-Past
'The demonstrators walked halfway to Taksim.'

This leads to the conclusion that Turkish dative verbs do not have implicit or explicit incremental themes in their event structures, yet, dative goals can induce telicity by delimiting the event.

(iv) Verbs with dative objects have synonym equivalents whose objects are marked by the accusative case or other obliques which are predicted to be NCTVs

There exist near synonymous pairs of NCTVs with dative objects and NCTVs which have objects marked by the accusative case (or by obliques) bearing the same semantic role in Turkish. We have seen one such example in (43) and (44) with the verbs *dokun-* taking a dative complement and *elle-* with an accusative object respectively, both of which mean to 'touch'. The internal arguments in these sentences bear the same semantic role, i.e. 'a surface with which one comes into contact'. More examples can be

provided for verbs with near synonymous dative and accusative arguments which have the same semantic role, shown in (47).

(47) *kıskan*- 'be jealous of' (Acc) - *imren*- 'envy' (Dat)

seyret- 'watch', *izle*-'watch' (Acc) - *bak*- 'look at' (Dat)

çağır- 'call' (Acc) - *seslen*- 'call' (Dat)

özle- 'miss' (Acc) - *hasret kal*- 'miss' (Dat)

The implication of this is that the near synonym translation equivalents of these NCTVs in other languages are expected to be NCTVs which can be intransitives or obliques but not CTVs. In line with Levin, my prediction is that we should not be able to find near synonymous pairs of CTVs in Turkish, such as *kır*- 'break', *parçala*- 'dismember' or *çatlat*- 'crack', whose objects are marked with the dative case.

3.4.2 The event structure of NCTVs with dative objects

The event structure I propose for Turkish dative complements is based on Levin's simple event structure of NCTVs and Cuervo's representation of noncausative activities, which are compatible with each other. I assume the same structure for transitive verbs licensing a sole dative object as a complement and for unergatives with PP dative complements. This analysis is supported by substantial work in the recent literature of goal and path PPs, where it has been argued that goal PPs of motion verbs are generated as VP internal arguments (Lee et al. (1998), Chae (1999, 2000), Zubizarreta and Oh (2007), Folli and Harley (2006), Hoekstra (1999), Zato (2014) amongst others).[17]

[17] In the literature of goal marking PPs, goal PPs of verbs of motion have been argued to be VP internal complements. Lee et al. (1998), Chae (1999; 2000) and Zubizarreta & Oh (2007) argue that when goal marking PPs give rise to telicity, hence affecting the event property, the PP is generated as a complement and not as an adjunct. Locative PPs that do not induce telicity are adjuncts, such as in 'She walked in the park for hours'. Similarly, Folli & Harley (2006) claim that path and goal PPs are generated as VP internal arguments as opposed to locative PPs which are adjuncts. They show that reversing the order of two locative PPs, which modify the event, does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence;however,

Furthermore, the NCTV vs. CTV distinction naturally discriminates direct objects as canonical objects assigning them a distinct event structure from NCTVs, which have oblique objects or are intransitives which introduce their objects via adpositions. Consider the sentences in (48a) and (48b) with the transitive verb *dokun-* 'touch' and the unergative verb *gül-* 'laugh', both of which have been discussed before.

(48) a. Çocuk kadın-a dokun-du.
child woman-Dat touch-Past
'The child touched the woman.'

b. Çocuk kadın-a gül-dü.
man woman-Dat laugh-Past
'The child laughed at/about the woman.'

My hypothesis predicts that the dative complement DP *kadına* in (48a) is licensed semantically by the idiosyncratic meaning of the root, since touching entails that one comes into contact with the surface of an object or an entity. The dative participant is not a structure participant in that the event structure does not license the dative but the dative participant is inserted in the event structure template via the licensing of the root. Similarly, in (48b) the root of the unergative verb *gül-* 'laugh' can lexically select a directional PP denoting an abstract conceptual or perceptual target/source[18] of one's laughter. This analysis is also compatible with Reinhart's (2002) theta theory which posits that targets are realized as PPs. Although (48b) is different from (48a) in the sense that a manner of 'laughing' is associated with a single agent participant, it can semantically be combined with a directional postpositional phrase because the root of

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reversing the order of a locative PP and a path or goal PP degrades the sentence, which indicates that the path/goal PP is in the VP internal position and not in an adjunct position. Compatible with the above analyses, Zato (2014) proposes a unified syntactic treatment of argument and complement PPs, distinguishing these from locative adjunct PPs which are not selected by the verb.

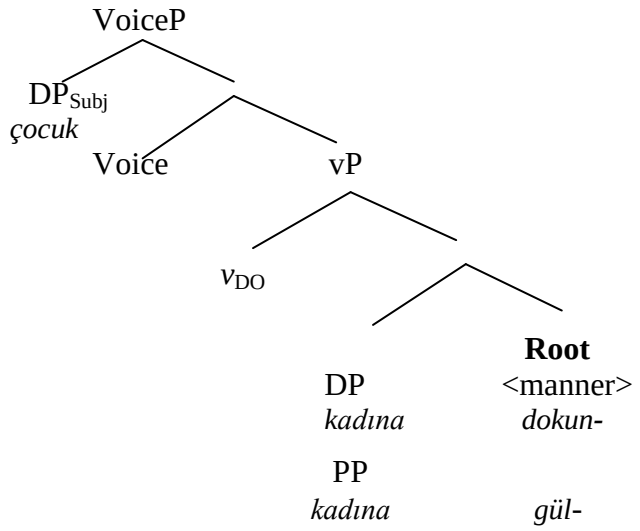
[18] My analysis is in line with Landau's (2010) claim that mental targets are construed as 'locations'; thus in the syntax these locations are PPs.

gül- is compatible with this directional sense of the dative. Note that (48b) is ambiguous in Turkish in that the dative participant can be the perceptual source of one's laughing, meaning 'the child laughed about the woman' or it can mean that the woman is the target of the child's smile, i.e. 'the child smiled/laughed at the woman'. An event structure template for (48a) is represented below in (49):

(49) [x ACT <$_{DOKUN}$> **y**] → **y** is the dative object *kadına*

As discussed in 3.2.2., Levin's simple event structure template corresponds to Cuervo's noncausative activities in that (i) there is an event of 'acting' which is specified by the root (ii) the complement of the verbal root can be a DP or a PP[19] (iii) the object is licensed semantically by the root as its complement (iv) this structure applies to unergatives, thus an object is not required. Accordingly, the sentences in (48a/b) can be represented as shown in (50), based on Cuervo's noncausative activities:

(50)



[19] Miyagawa (1989) shows that in Japanese dative Case can be Case in PP or DP; he distinguishes datives as DPs vs.PPs via classifier scrambling tests.

This hypothesis for Turkish datives is able to account for the difference in the semantics of the sentences in (51a) and (51b) as well as the similar semantics of the sentences in (52a) and (52b).

(51) a. Adam-lar hükümet-e çalış-ıyor.
man-Pl government-Dat work-Prog
'The men are working for/for the benefit of the government.'

b. Çocuk bu sefer konu-ya/ ders-e çalış-tı.
child this time subject-Dat/lesson-Dat work-Past
'This time the child worked on the subject/studied.'

In (51a) the unergative verb *çalış*- 'work' neither licenses the dative benefactive *hükümet* 'government' syntactically nor semantically, the benefactive is not even an expected participant of the event; the dative is added to the event as an extra participant. As discussed in Chapter 2, the syntactic configuration for (51a) is compatible with a high applicative. Semantically the dative object is a benefactive argument, encoding a participant for whose benefit the action of 'working' has been performed. In contrast, in (51b), the dative object is semantically licensed by the root of the verb and is a participant of a simple event structure; it is a complement of the agentive activity verb *çalış*- and different from (51a), *çalış*- here is not used unergatively. Semantically, the inanimate theme *ders*- 'lesson' cannot be a benefactive but is construed as a conceptual target, which as I will argue in the following section is a sense extension of the directional/allative sense of the Turkish dative marker. The dative argument is a conceptual target in the sense that one concentrates or focuses their mental powers on it. Evidently, the semantics of these two sentences with the same verbal root is fundamentally different; therefore, I assume that the distinct senses of the Turkish dative

cannot be captured by a theory that does not discriminate amongst the different meanings. Taking now a look at (52a) and (52b):

(52) a. Nazlı arkadaş-ın-a koş-tu.
Nazlı friend-3Sg.Poss-Dat run-Past
'Nazlı ran towards/to her friend.'

b. Nazlı arkadaş-ın-a bak-tı.
Nazlı friend-3Sg.Poss-Dat look-Past
'Nazlı looked at her friend.'

Both (52a) and (52b) under my analysis can be represented by the simple event structure in (49) and the representation in (50). (52a) does not display the properties of a high applicative structure because the semantics for a high applicative as proposed by Pylkkänen is incompatible with (52a). Recall that the corresponding Albanian sentence for (52a), as demonstrated in Chapter 2 example (2b) means that the agent performed the running event 'for the benefit' of the applied argument, i.e. 'someone runs for a friend'. Evidently, this is not the case in (52a), which has the event structure of a manner of motion verb to a goal. The dative goal here is used in its prototypical spatial allative sense, denoting 'to or towards a goal' thus the event type encoded is 'directed motion'. Although an event of 'running' is construed as having one structure participant and the manner verb 'run' in English does not lexicalize a path hence a goal (L&RH, 2005), I argue that the verbal root of *koş-* lexicalizes a dative goal in Turkish. Contrary to Tenny's hypothesis, which posits that manner of motion verbs to a goal, such as 'run' with a directional PP complement are complex events, L&R (2005) employ a simple event structure for such verbs because the activity of 'running' and reaching the goal are temporally dependent, unfolding together. However, they argue that the path which is described by the directional phrase is not entailed by the verb. I propose that for Turkish

manner of motion verbs, a path can be entailed because such verbs lexicalize direction. Talmy (1985) hypothesizes that the roots of motion verbs lexicalize different notions across languages, as a result of which, languages pattern with verb-framed languages or satellite framed languages. Turkish has been shown to be a verb-framed language (Özçalışkan & Slobin, 2003), suggesting that in Turkish, motion verbs can lexicalize a direction and a path. In Turkish some manner of motion verbs can be used with directional PP complements (53a) while others cannot (53b).

(53) a. Kız istasyon-a yürü-dü.
girl station-Dat walk-Past
'The girl walked to the station.'

b. *Kız istasyon-a dans et-ti.
girl station-Dat dance do-Past
'The girl danced into the station.'

Unlike satellite framed languages, such as English, we observe that in Turkish the roots of some manner of motion verbs entail a path along which there is directed displacement, thus, these verbs in Turkish semantically lexicalize a dative goal and are ungrammatical with the locative case denoting static location, as evidenced by the contrast in (54a-b).[20]

(54) a. Kız yer-e atla-dı.
girl ground-Dat jump-Past
'The girl jumped onto the ground.'

b. *Kız yer-de atla-dı.
girl ground-Loc jump-Past
'The girl jumped on the ground.'

[20] For the interpretation in (54b), Turkish employs another lexical item; *zıpla-*, which lexicalizes a static location: Kız yer-de zıpladı vs. *Kız yer-e zıpla-dı.
girl ground-Loc jump-Past girl ground-Dat jump-Past

As for the NCTV in (52a), the agentive perception verb *bak-* 'look at' selects a dative object, which is compatible with the directional sense of the allative; thus, it expresses a perceptual target and is a sense extension of the allative denoting a 'mental goal'. In line with my proposal, Croft (1993), for example, describes activity verbs of perception such as 'look at' as verbs lexicalizing an experiencer who directs his/her attention towards a theme. While the NCTV 'look' in English is intransitive in that it must introduce its object through the preposition 'at', *bak-* in Turkish does not behave as an unergative verb because it cannot undergo the impersonal passive construction.

* *Bugün toplantıda hep bakıldı.* 'Today it was looked at all the time at the meeting'.

The data in (53-54) implies that some manner of motion verbs in Turkish have roots which lexicalize a directional PP goal complement, while others do not. In order to distinguish unergative manner of motion verbs that lexicalize a dative goal inducing telicity and thus providing an endpoint to the event, e.g. *koş-* 'run' (52a) from unergative manner of motion verbs that do not lexicalize a dative goal, such as *dans et-* 'dance', in (53b), as well as from unergatives such as *bağır-* 'shout', which license more abstract conceptual dative targets without inducing telicity, we could propose that the combination of certain manner of motion verbs with dative goal complements renders the event telic. For instance, the verbs in (55a) lexicalize a path hence can be used with a dative goal and can denote a telic event whereas the verbs in (55b) do not lexicalize a path and are not allowed to appear with dative goals.

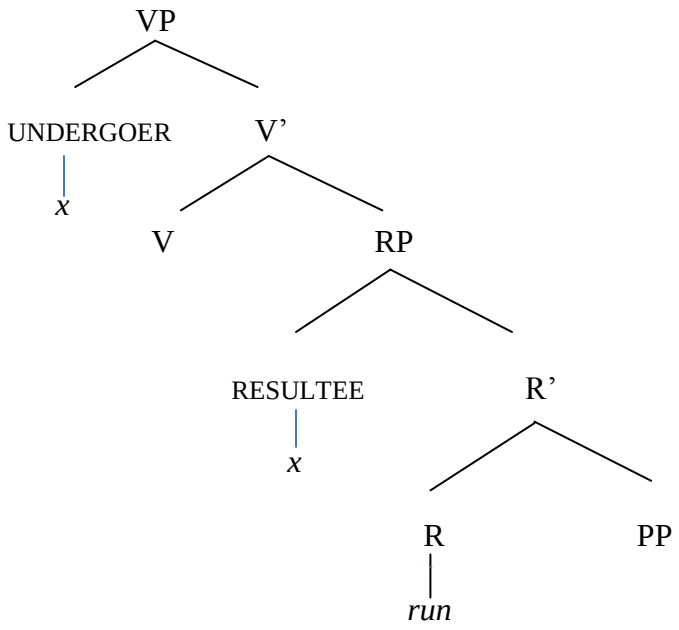
(55) a. *uç*- 'fly', *atla*- 'jump', *koş*- 'run', *yürü*- 'walk', *yüz*- 'swim', *tırman*- 'climb'

b. *dans et*-[21] dance, *emekle*- 'crawl on all fours', *topalla*- 'limp,

sürün- 'creep/crawl', *sendele*- 'stagger', *dolaş*- 'wander'

Ramchand (2002) for example, proposes that some Italian manner of motion verbs, such as *correre* 'run' and *saltare* 'jump' have a '+R' feature that licenses a result phrase (RP), which is responsible for specifying the endpoint of the event. In contrast, the manner of motion verbs *danzare* 'dance' and *nuotare* 'swim' do not lexicalize a directional PP thus lack the R feature; therefore these verbs cannot be used with directional complements. Ramchand proposes the lexical semantic representation of manner of motion verbs which take directional goals, as illustrated in (56):

(56)



[21] Note that in Chapter 2 I have shown that *dans et*- 'dance' can combine with a dative benefactive in a high applicative configuration.

The structure shows that the verbal complement is a Result Phrase headed by R which takes a PP complement. In the same fashion, we could propose that for Turkish manner of motion verbs which take directional dative goal complements and induce telicity, as the verbs shown in (55a), the verbal complement is an RP with the dative heading the postpositional phrase.

Going back to the structural similarity in the sentences in (52), it may be argued that in both sentences, in (52a) and (52b), the event is linguistically conceptualized as a 'directional' relationship, a spatial and an abstract one respectively, between the subject and the dative goal; however, these structures contrast in that the events differ in terms of their aspectual property of telicity.

Finally, predicates, such as *dokun-* 'touch' (as discussed above), *telefon et-* 'phone' or *başla-* 'start', which take sole dative complements, licence their dative arguments semantically, since naturally an event of 'touching' or 'telephoning' involves two participants; however, it is not possible to characterize the semantic roles of many such predicates with dative complements, which are therefore characterized by the lack of this property as NCTVs.

3.4.3 The semantics of the dative in Turkish

The discussion so far has revealed that while the dative in Turkish encodes a directional allative in the spatial domain, it can also denote more abstract sense extensions of the directional meaning of the allative in other non-spatial domains, such as the social and mental domains. Rice & Kabata (2007) suggest that cross-linguistically allative markers which denote motion to or towards a goal have metaphorically extended to more abstract domains because not only places but also people and purposes can be construed as 'goals' or destinations. Thus, under this view, my claim is that some semantic roles of

the Turkish dative case marker can be subsumed under its allative meaning with its further semantic sense extensions. However, it is challenging to characterize other semantic roles through an approach where the polysemous meanings of the dative are associated with one another forming a cluster of semantic distinctions that are related in terms of a chain of similarity. In 3.4.3.1, I present the semantic roles of dative complements, which I have identified, specifically for this configuration.

3.4.3.1 Semantic roles

(i) The dative as a *spatial goal* in its allative sense, as a directional complement:

As elaborated on in 3.4.2., some unergative verbs of manner of motion, which lexicalize a path in their meanings can semantically license a dative goal (see (55a)).

(ii) The dative can denote a *dynamic location* with motion verbs, such as;

(57) *otur*- 'sit'

bin- 'ride/get on'

yaz- 'write'

yat- 'lie'

koy- 'put'

bas- 'press/step'

In (58a) and (58b) the dative object denotes a dynamic location as opposed to a static location which is expressed with the locative marker *-DA* in Turkish.

(58) a. Ali peçete-ye yaz-dı.
Ali napkin-Dat write-Past
'Ali wrote on a napkin.'

b. Ali yer-e yat-tı.
Ali ground-Dat lie-Past
'Ali lay down on the floor.'

It should be noted that different from dative goal PPs, when the dative marks a dynamic location, it need not render the event telic, as has been exhibited by the example in (58c), in which the event is compatible with a durative adverbial modifier.[22]

c. Ali beş dakika boyunca peçete-ye yaz-dı.
Ali five minutes during napkin-Dat write-Past
'Ali wrote on a napkin for five minutes.'

(iii) The dative can mark a *perceptual* or *conceptual target* or *source.*

As hypothesized by Rice & Kabata (2007), the directional allative sense of goal marking morphemes can extend to the mental domain, marking mental predications. Rice and Kabata posit that there is an ambiguity between what we construe as a mental goal/target and a mental source because humans interpret perception and conceptualization in terms of 'motion' thus the conceiver/perceiver can be interpreted as moving towards the concept or percept or the concept/percept may be construed as moving towards the conceiver/perceiver. For example, in *bir şeye bakmak* 'to look at something' the perceiver is moving towards the entity marked with the dative whereas in *bana çok hoş görünüyor* 'it seems/appears to be nice to me' the percept is moving towards the entity marked with dative, that is the perceiver. It appears that in Turkish the dative often encodes the percept/concept towards which the perceiver/conceiver moves. Verbs with such abstract dative complements may include:

[22] A dative PP marking a dynamic location can also denote a telic event, as shown in (i);
(i) Ali para-yı iki saniye-de masa-ya koy-du.
Ali money-Acc two second-Loc table-Dat put-Past
'Ali put the money on the table in two seconds.'
The argument vs. adjunct status of the Turkish dative marking a dynamic location requires further research. In relation to this observation, what could be investigated is whether or how much of the 'goal' or allative sense is retained when the dative expresses a dynamic location. For reasons of space, this broad issue will not be investigated in this study.

(59) *gül-* ‘laugh’

bak- ‘look at’

göz at- ‘take a look at something’

yoğunlaş- /konsantre ol- ‘concentrate on’

seyirci kal-‘observe passively’

kafa patlat- ‘think/try to work out’

kulak ver- ‘listen carefully’

Recall that a dative complement with *gül-* ‘laugh’, shown in (48b), can be ambiguous in that it can be construed as a target or a source. Similarly, in (60) the dative object ‘Cem Yılmaz’ can be the source of one’s laughing, since this well-known comedian makes people laugh or it may also be possible to conceptualize him as the target of one’s laughter.

(60) Anne-m Cem Yılmaz-a çok gül-er.
mother-1Sg.Poss Cem Yılmaz-Dat very laugh-Aor
‘My mother laugh a lot about/at Cem Yılmaz.’

(iv) The dative can mark an *emotional target*/*source.*

In accordance with the hypothesis discussed above, a mental target or source can also denote a sense extension which I have distinguished *as Emotional Target* or *Source.* This may have developed out of conceptual senses, expressing a target/source of one’s internally driven psychological changes. Verbs with the dative as an emotional target or source can include:

(61) *ağla-* 'cry'

kız- 'get angry/scold someone'

sevin- 'become happy'

şaş- 'to be surprised'

üzül- 'get upset'

sinirlen- 'get angry/upset'

öfkelen- 'become furious'

It should be noted that Nakipoğlu-Demiralp (2001) categorizes verbs such as *şaş-*, *üzül-*, *sinirlen-* as unergatives based on the property of volitional 'internal instigation' and shows that these can undergo impersonal passive in Turkish. The ambiguity of a dative participant's construal as a source or target of one's emotions can also be observed in (62), in this case leading to different interpretations of the sentence.

(62) Kız hoca-ya ağla-dı.
girl teacher-Dat cry-Past
'The girl cried about/whined on the teacher.'

The sentence in (62) can be interpreted as (i) the girl cried because she is upset about something that happened to her teacher, e.g. her teacher died; thus, the dative participant is the source of her crying or (ii) it can mean that the teacher is the target of the girl's crying in that she is 'whining on' the teacher.

(v) The dative in Turkish can encode an *addressee.*

Again, as a more abstract sense extension of its directional allative meaning, Addressees are expressed as dative participants. Verbs that take a dative addressee can be exemplified as in (63):

(63) *söyle-* ‘say’, *de-* ‘say, tell’

sor- ‘ask’, *anlat-* ‘tell’

hitap et- ‘address’, *seslen-* ‘call’

bağır- ‘shout at’, *yaz-* ‘write’

It should be noted that *söyle-*, *de- anlat-* and *sor-* have implicit or explicit theme arguments and can also take part in ditransitive constructions. Also, as discussed in section 3.3.1, *yaz-* can be used unergatively combined with an addressee, as has been shown in (25), or in a ditransitive construction, illustrated in (23).

It is also interesting to note the contrast in the semantic roles of the dative participant *bana* ‘I.Dat’ in (64a) and (64b), realized in different structures.

(64) a. Daha başka şey-ler var-sa bana email yaz. (Addressee-Recipient)
more different thing-Pl exist-Cond. I.Dat email write.Imper.
‘If there is anything else, write me an email.’

b. Tarif-i bana kağıd-a yaz-ar mı-sın? (Benefactive)
recipe-Acc I.Dat paper-Dat write-Aor Int-2Sg.
‘Could you write the recipe on a piece of paper for me?’

The dative participant in (64a) is interpreted as the *addressee* or *recipient* of the email and the root *yaz-* ‘write’ participates in a ditransitive construction. In contrast, in (64b) the dative does not have the semantic role of an addressee, since one can naturally not be the addressee of a recipe. In (64b) the dative is an applied argument, added to the event as a *benefactive*. The structural and semantic contrast is also supported by the fact that the dative argument in (64b) can be paraphrased with *benim için* ‘for me’ while this is not possible in (64a).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that verbal roots that take dative objects can participate in different constructions, which are compatible with the distinct meanings of datives in Turkish. Thus, I have shown that the syntactic realizations in which datives appear correlate with their semantic interpretations. Accordingly, I have proposed a three-way distinction for datives with non-structural case: (i) Datives in ditransitive constructions, (ii) Dative DPs or PPs as sole complements of the verb and (iii) Datives added to the event as additional arguments. The table below in (65) reflects the properties of datives which have been discussed so far. The following chapters will examine the properties of datives added to events or states as extra arguments in a high applicative construction.

(65)

Table 1. Non-structural Datives in Turkish (to be revised in Chapter 4)

Sense of Dative	Allative-Directional Sense				Non-Allative Sense	
Semantic Role	Recipient-Possessor Addressee Experiencer	Spatial Goal		Conceptual/ Perceptual/ Emotional Target or Source Addressee	Uncategorized Semantic Roles	Benefactive/ Malefactive Experiencer
Verb Type	Ditransitive (e.g. *ver-*, *göster-*)	Ditransitive (e.g. *yolla-*, *gönder-*)	Manner of Motion (e.g. *koş-*, *atla-*)	NCTV (e.g. *bak-*, *bağır-*, *gül-*)	NCTV (e.g. *yardım et-*, *dokun-*)	transitive activities, unergatives, statives, lexical causatives, unaccusatives, non-verbal predicates (existential + adjectival predicates)
Construction Type	Postpositional Ditransitive Construction	Postpositional Ditransitive Construction	Verb + PP Complement	Verb + PP Complement	Verb + DP Complement	High Applicative
Event Structure	Complex	Complex	Simple	Simple	Simple	to be discussed

CHAPTER 4

EVENT STRUCTURE 2: NON-CORE DATIVES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter proposes an analysis for the properties of the event structure to which non-core datives are added via high applicative heads as experiencers, recipients and/or bene-/malefactive participants. The main claim defended in this chapter is that non-core datives in Turkish tend to occur with simplex events rather than with events with a complex event structure. The events under discussion in this chapter are agentive transitive and intransitive events and non-agentive unaccusative events. The distinction between simple and complex events is based on Cuervo's (2003) proposal for non-causative activities vs. causative complex event structures, which correspond to Levin's (1999) NCTVs and CTVs, respectively, as well as on Cuervo's simple dynamic unaccusative vs. bi-eventive, complex inchoative structures. Accordingly, the notion of event complexity within this analysis is based on Cuervo's hypothesis of simple vs. complex events, which is not aspectually motivated (although the temporal dependence of subevents is a quasi-aspectual notion). Thus, what we observe in Turkish is that non-core datives can be applied to agentive events associated with Cuervo's simple non-causative activity structure, whereas adding a non-core dative to an event associated with a complex causative structure, which denotes a resultant state, is generally perceived as infelicitous, as illustrated by the grammaticality contrast in (1) and (2).

(1) Ben ye-me-yeceğ-im, Meliha teyze-m bana yumurta kır-dı.
I eat-Neg-Fut-1Sg. Meliha aunt-1Sg.Poss I.Dat egg break-Past
Lit.'I will not eat, my aunt Meliha broke me egg.'

(2) Ben ye-me-yeceğ-im,*Meliha teyze-m bana yumurta-yı kır-dı.
I eat-Neg-Fut-1Sg. Meliha aunt-1Sg.Poss I.Dat egg-Acc break-Past
Lit.'I will not eat, my aunt Meliha broke me the egg.'

I argue that in the simplex event in (1), which does not express a resultant state, the dative is semantically related to the activity event (vP_{DO}) as a benefactive-recipient of what is implied by the activity, most saliently, in this case, 'the agent's engaging in an activity of omelette making'. In contrast, in the complex event in (2), the dative is not interpreted as the recipient of the resultant state of 'the broken egg'. Relating a non-core dative to the result state denoted by a complex causative structure has restrictions in Turkish, confining such a structure to few predicates and to specific, limited contexts, the nature of which will be discussed in this chapter. In the same vein, non-core datives can be combined with simple dynamic unaccusative events (vP_{GO}), which are mono-eventive, shown in (3), while adding a dative to an inchoative event that denotes a change of state in the theme argument yields ungrammaticality (4).

(3) Öğrenci-ye büyük ikramiye çık-tı.
student-Dat big prize emerge/appear/come out-Past
'A student won/got the biggest lottery prize.'

(4) *Ayşe-ye vazo kır-ıl-dı.
Ayşe-Dat vase break-Pass-Past
Intended meaning: 'The vase broke on Ayşe/Ayşe accidentally broke the vase.'

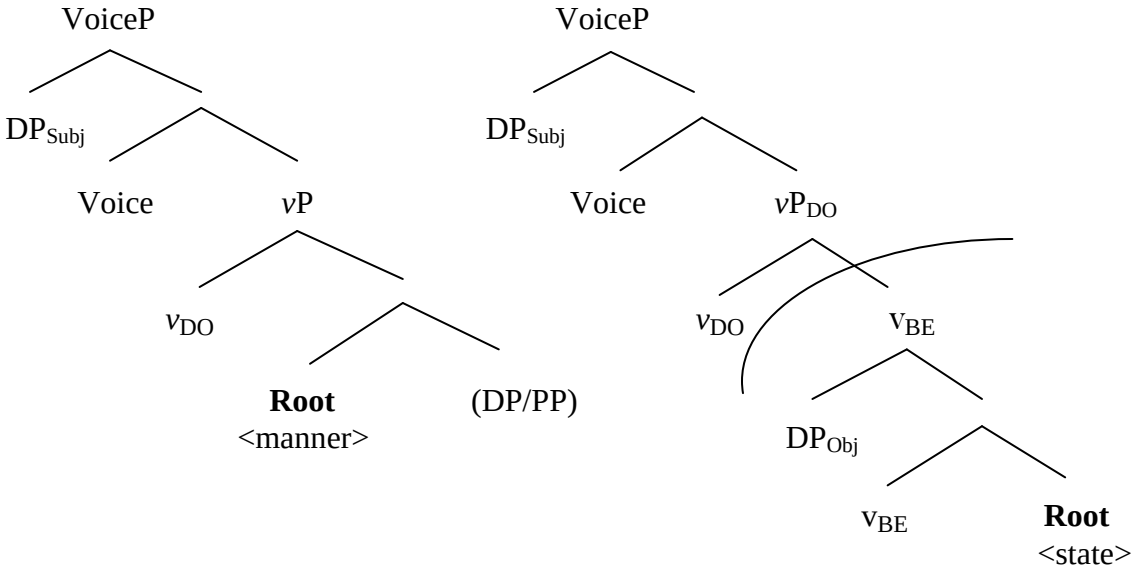
Similar to the grammatical sentence in (1), where the dative is added to a simplex event as a recipient, the experiencer or benefactive dative in (3) is interpreted as the recipient of the 'lottery', while the dative participant in (4) cannot be related in anyway i.e. neither as a malefactive nor as a recipient or benefactive to the endstate of the change which the theme argument undergoes.

4.2 Cuervo's (2003) distinction between simple and complex events

In Chapter 3, I presented Cuervo's proposed event representations for non-causative activities, causatives and inchoatives. In this section I will briefly review her proposal with respect to the simple vs. complex events distinction and discuss the implications of her hypothesis for Turkish. Cuervo's representations for non-causative activities and causatives are repeated below for ease of reference.

Non-causative activities vs. causatives structures:

(5) a. *Non-causative activities* b. *Causatives*



Recall that the properties of Cuervo's structures for non-causative activities (5a) and causatives (5b) correspond to the properties of Levin's (1999) NCTVs and CTVs respectively. While (5a) represents dynamic agentive activities, which do not need to have objects, i.e. can be unergatives or transitive verbs that license their objects semantically via the idiosyncratic verbal root; thus, display the properties of NCTVs, (5b) represents complex causative events (CTVs) whose objects are licensed obligatorily

by the event structure as well as by the root of the verb; thus, the object in (5b) is a canonical object which conforms to the prototypical characterization of 'patient' (Levin 1999). As a result of this distinction, the simple structure in (5a) does not project a result state in the syntax, only a 'manner of acting' is specified, unlike (5b), which involves a higher causing event of 'doing' (v_{DO}) and a caused resultant state verbalized by v_{BE} i.e. a change of state in the object, necessarily projected in the syntax. Cuervo assumes that event predicates are built by combining or merging a root with a verbal functional head i.e. little *v* event introducers. Under this assumption, a verbal root can participate in different events in that it can combine with different verbalizing heads based on its semantic compatibility with the event expressed by little *v*, e.g. a root such as *break-* or *open-* can participate in a causative and inchoative event by combining with v_{BE} or in an activity event by combining with v_{DO}.

Implications of Cuervo's hypothesis for Turkish

As discussed above, Cuervo's account predicts that a root can participate in different types of events, as a result, e.g. change of state verbs such as *open* or *melt*, can be interpreted as dynamic non-causative activity predicates or as causatives, depending on the semantic compatibility of the roots *open-* or *melt-* with these events. This hypothesis also makes correct predictions for interpreting dynamic non-causative activities vs. causatives in Turkish. It can be argued that verbs of change of state, such as *kır-* 'break' or *erit-* 'melt', which take part in the causative/inchoative alternation, can be interpreted as activities when the theme is a bare nominal and a causative when the theme is marked by the accusative case.

Verbs that describe a change of state and take part in the causative-inchoative alternation can have a non-agentive cause (6a/b) or an animate agentive causer (6c).

(6) a. Rüzgar ayna-yı kır-dı.
wind mirror-Acc break-Past
'The wind broke the mirror.'

b. Güneş buz-u eri-t-ti.
sun ice-Acc melt-Caus-Past
'The sun melted the ice.'

c. Ahmet buz-u kır-dı/ eri-t-ti.
Ahmet ice-Acc break-Past/melt-Caus-Past
'Ahmet broke/melted the ice.'

We observe that when the theme argument is a bare noun, the sentence becomes ungrammatical with a non-agentive cause (7a/b) but not with an agent (7c).

(7) a.*Rüzgar ayna kır-dı.
wind mirror break-Past
*'The wind broke mirror.'

b.* Güneş buz eri-t-ti.
sun ice melt-Caus-Past
* 'The sun melted ice.'

c. Ahmet (tüm gün) buz kır-dı/ buz eri-t-ti.
Ahmet (all day) ice break-Past/ice melt-Caus-Past
'Ahmet broke/melted ice all day.'

This may suggest that the non-agentive cause in (7a/b) is incompatible with the event where the theme argument is a bare NP because the event denotes an activity. On the other hand, the agentive causer in (7c) can be the subject (agent) of an event that expresses an activity. The difference in the interpretations of (6c) and (7c) may be explained followingly: in (6c) the agent is merely the cause of the ice breaking as in e.g.

Ahmet accidentally stepped on the ice and caused it to break, in Levin's terms, there would be two temporally independent subevents, whereas in (7c) the agent manipulates the ice, therefore is engaged in a deliberate activity of breaking or melting the ice; the activity and process of the ice breaking or melting unfold together and a final state is not entailed. This contrast can also be illustrated with the use of the adverb *kazayla* 'accidentally', which is incompatible with (7c), shown in (8a), since engaging in an activity accidentally does not make any sense, but which is compatible with (6c), shown under (8b), indicating that one might be the involuntary cause of the ice breaking.

(8) a.*/? Ahmet kaza-yla buz kır-dı/ buz eri-t-ti.
Ahmet accident-Com ice break-Past/ ice melt-Caus-Past
'Ahmet accidentally broke ice.'

b. Ahmet kaza-yla buz-u kır-dı.
Ahmet accident-Com. ice-Acc break-Past
'Ahmet accidentally broke the ice.'

This suggests that the causative structure represented in (5b) can imply a non-agentive causer or cause, i.e. 'Ahmet was the cause of the ice breaking' while the representation in (5a) denotes agency of the root *kır-* 'break'.

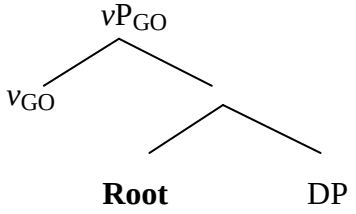
The implication of this observation is that, Turkish verbs of change in their transitive use can be associated with two different structural representations; hence interpretations. While (6c) is associated with Cuervo's causative structure in (5b), (7c) should be assigned the noncausative activity structure in (5a). Under Tenny's hypothesis, the bare nominal does not provide an incremental theme unlike the accusative case marked theme, which can measure out the event. Thus, this would correctly predict that only the sentence in (6c) has an inner core event, i.e. has a complex structure. However, as I have argued and shown in Chapter 3, we cannot conclude that

accusative case marked objects in Turkish provide incremental themes. Finally, under Levin's hypothesis, her theory does not predict distinct structures for (6c) and (7c) since change of state verbs are associated with a complex event structure.

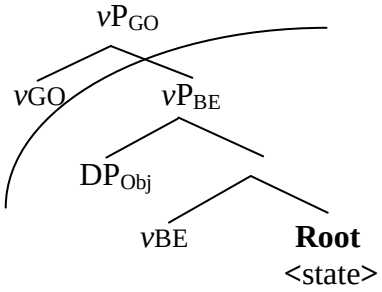
Simple Dynamic Unaccusatives vs. Inchoatives

Cuervo's simplex vs. complex event representation distinction extends to unaccusatives. Accordingly, her unaccusative structures are (i) unaccusatives denoting simple changes of movement or happening (she refers to these as 'simple verbs of change') in the internal theme argument, such as *come*, *arrive*, *happen*, which are formed by merging a root with dynamic vGO , illustrated below in (9a), and (ii) unaccusative verbs that denote a change of state in the theme argument composed of two events, a subevent of change or movement (dynamic vGO) and a resultant state, (stative vBE) , corresponding to the structure of inchoatives, as already briefly presented in Chapter 3 (13), repeated below for ease of reference under (9b). This crucial distinction suggests that the structure in (9b) involves 'move and/or change'and a 'result state', while (9a) only implies 'move and/or change'. Thus, according to Cuervo's distinction, the event structure of simple unaccusatives is mono-eventive, while the structure of inchoatives is associated with a bi-eventive representation.

(9) a. *Simple Dynamic Unaccusative*



b. *Inchoatives*



(Cuervo, 2003, p. 132)

Cuervo's theory predicts that just as there are verbal roots that can appear in a causative event and an activity, there are also roots that can participate in both, a simple unaccusative event of change and an inchoative event of change of state. To support her claim that simple dynamic unaccusatives are mono-eventive whereas inchoatives are bi-eventive, Cuervo employs the *casi* 'almost' test. Accordingly, bi-eventive structures modified by *casi* should be ambiguous because *casi* can either scope over the higher vP_{GO} or the lower state vP_{BE}, while this ambiguity should not hold for mono-eventive structures verbalized by vGO.

To conclude, the distinction between Cuervo's simple and complex unaccusative structures is that vGO (9a) denotes simple changes of movement and happening whereas vGO+vBE (9b) expresses a change (vGO),which results in a final state or location (vBE) of the theme. Similarly, roots specifying a manner of acting verbalized by vDO (5a), represent a single event of acting or 'doing', contrasting with causative events which embed a caused state of the object (vBE) under a higher causing event (vDO), shown in (5b).

4.3 Non-core datives combining with simple non-causative activities

High applied non-core datives in Turkish can felicitously combine with the simple event structure presented in (5a), which expresses an activity (vP_{DO}) as mostly recipient-benefactives, exhibited in the examples in (10-14).

(10) Dün çarşı-dan oğlu-m-a alışveriş yap-tı-m.
yesterday market-Abl. son.1Sg.Poss-Dat shopping do-Past-1Sg
'I did some shopping for my son at the market yesterday.'

(11) Kız-lar-a meyve yıka-dı-m.
girl-Pl-.Dat fruit wash-Past-1Sg.
'I've washed fruit for the girls.'

(12) Seda kardeş-in-e kazak ör-dü.
Seda sibling-3Sg.Poss jumper knit-Past
'Seda knitted her sister a jumper.'
Lit.'Seda did jumper knitting for her sister.'

(13) Ahmet bana para çek-iyor.
Ahmet I.Dat money draw-Prog
'Ahmet is drawing out money for me.'

(14) Anne-m bana kek yap-tı/ yemek yap-tı/ dolma sar-dı.
mother-1Sg.Poss I.Dat cake make-Past/food make-Past/dolma roll-Past
'My mother made me a cake/made me food/ rolled stuffed vine leaves for me.'

When we look at the properties of the event structure in the sentences in (10-14), which permit a non-core dative, we observe that the events are composed of a transitive activity verb, mostly a verb of creation, and a bare non-case marked theme. Such predicates with immediately preverbal non-case marked bare themes exhibit an instance of pseudo-incorporation in Turkish (Öztürk, 2005, 2009), denoting activities.[23] This

[23] Öztürk (2005) has shown that immediately preverbal NPs and non-specific indefinites both have the same structure in that they exhibit cases of complex predicate formation.

suggests that there is a single event of 'acting' or 'doing' e.g. 'doing shopping', 'jumper knitting' or 'cake/food making' whereby the object is licensed semantically by the idiosyncratic verbal root specifying a 'manner'(Levin 1999); thus, none of the verbs lexicalize the resultant state of their objects. Therefore, the predicates in (10-14) express simple non-causative activities corresponding to Cuervo's event representation in (5a) as well as to Levin's simple event structure (illustrated in Chapter 3 (5a)) proposed for NCTVs.

The simple non-causative activities event structure (5a) proposal for non-core datives is consistent and compatible with my previous analysis of the different, hence contrasting event structures associated with core datives in ditransitives, which have a complex event structure, and non-core recipient-benefactive datives in a high applicative configuration, which I argued have a simple event structure. Recall that in Chapter 3.3.1, I claimed that the event structure of a non-core dative benefactive-recipient applied to an event of 'baking a cake' (see (26b) Chapter 3) is simple, unlike the complex event structure of a ditransitive construction. A similar example is repeated below under (15);

(15) Seda Burcu-ya yemeğ-i/ pasta-yı yap-tı. [24]
Seda Burcu-Dat food-Acc/ cake-Acc make-Past
'Seda cooked the meal/baked the cake for Burcu.'

[24] Please note that I have used an accusative marked theme in this example in order to compare and contrast the event structure of a high applicative construction with a non-core dative to that of a ditransitive construction where the theme is accusative case marked too (see example (26b) Chapter 3). However, in a benefactive-recipient construction with a verb of creation, marking the theme with accusative case is semantically odd or even sometimes ungrammatical in Turkish since the entity i.e. the theme argument only comes into existence once its creation is completed. Thus, given that the accusative case marker in Turkish can be characterized as a marker of 'presupposition of existence' (Kelepir 2001), accusative case marking on the theme argument is semantically undesired. What is of interest for the purposes of this thesis is that, accusative case marking on the object does not change the event structure of events associated with the simple non-causative activities event representation in (5a) , which corresponds to Levin's NCTVs (although it does affect their (a)telicity; however, as argued in Chapter 3, event complexity is independent from telicity.)

Following L&RH's (2005) argument, which has been discussed in 3.2.2, verbs of creation or incremental theme verbs are assigned a simple event structure because the creation of, e.g. the cake and its final creation, i.e. the endpoint of the event, unfold together in time as opposed to a complex causative event where the subevents are not temporally aligned.

Semantically, the non-core dative participant in the sentences in (10-14) is construed as the intended recipient of the theme and denotes a benefactive. With respect to the semantic role of 'benefactive', Van Valin and LaPolla (1997, p. 383) identify three subtypes of benefactive constructions based on cross-linguistic typological classification: the *benefactive-recipient* type, which implies a transfer of possession, the *plain benefactive* type, in which the beneficiary act is performed by the agent purely for the benefit of the participant, e.g. to entertain/amuse the beneficiary and finally the *deputative type* whereby the agent performs the act/event instead of the beneficiary participant i.e. the benefactor (agent) replaces the benefactive.

Note that, with respect to this distinction, the sentence in (10) 'doing shopping for someone', is not interpreted as 'the agent substituted the dative-beneficiary by doing shopping for him/her' but it means that 'the agent (woman) did some shopping to buy something for her son', implying that the dative is not a *deputative* type but a benefactive-recipient. However, this does not necessarily imply that there is a physical change of possession entailment for dative benefactive constructions in Turkish, a non-core dative benefactive can also be interpreted as the recipient of an abstract entity. Non-core dative benefactives also combine with intransitive activity verbs (as previously argued in Chapter 2) associated with the simple non-causative activities event structure

in (5a). As illustrated in Chapter 1, a non-core dative benefactive can be added to the verb *dans et-* 'dance', repeated below in (16a).

(16) a. Başbakan-ımız-a dans et-mek isti-yor-um.
prime minister.1Poss.Pl-Dat dance do-Inf. want-Prog-1Sg
'I'd like to dance for our Prime Minister.'

It is hardly controversial to argue that there is no transfer of possession implication in the example in (16a); however, 'dancing for the Prime Minister' may still be conceptualized as an event where the Prime Minister receives 'an abstract dance' as the beneficiary of the event, hence is a recipient of an abstract entity. The same line of argumentation can be extended to a benefactive construction which involves 'singing for someone', as shown in (16b).[25]

b. Şahan Gökbar Erdoğan-a şarkı söyle-di.
Şahan Gökbar Erdoğan-Dat song sing-Past
'Şahan Gökbar sang/sang a song for Erdoğan.'

The non-core dative benefactive in (16b) can be interpreted as the recipient of an abstract entity i.e. 'a song' as well as the beneficiary of an event of performing some form of entertainment. According to Van Valin and LaPolla's classification, for example, this type of benefaction is subsumed under the *plain benefactive* type, in which the beneficiary act is performed by the agent purely for the benefit of the participant so as to entertain or amuse him/her.

[25] Note that Jackendoff (1990a) argues that a corresponding sentence in English *'Enrico sang the Queen a song' is ungrammatical because, as Jackendoff argues, the Queen cannot be interpreted as the intended recipient of the song. The intended meaning can only be an event of performing some form of entertainment for the benefit of the Queen in her presence. However, the interpretation of the sentence in Turkish, in (16b), may be that the agent sang the song in the presence of the former Prime Minister to entertain him or that the Prime Minister is merely the recipient of the song, addressed to him, hence the singing need not be performed in his presence. In either case, in Turkish, the dative-beneficiary can be interpreted as the recipient of the song.

Therefore, I argue that in Turkish, non-core datives are related to the activity vP_{DO} as benefactive -recipients of a physical or abstract entity, which has been exhibited by the sentences in (10-16).

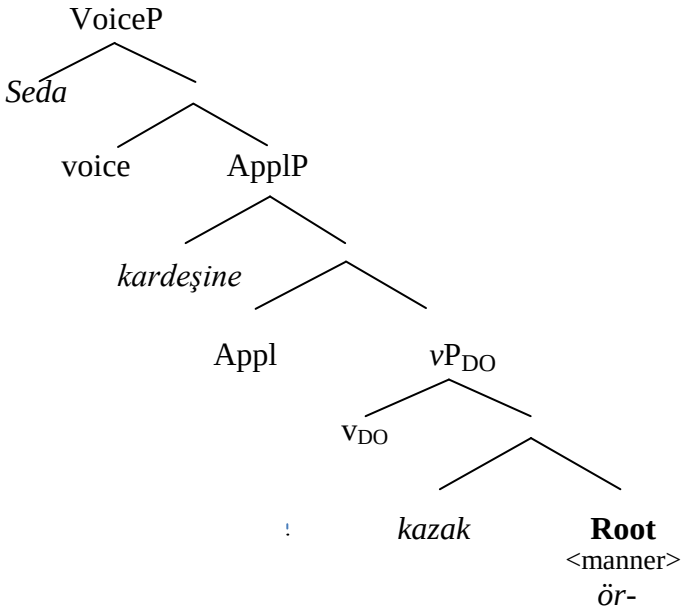
Combining other intransitive activity verbs with a dative as a non-core benefactive can lead to ungrammaticality, as evidenced by the infelicity in (17).

(17) * Burcu Elif-e yürü-dü / koş-tu. (under a benefactive reading)
Burcu Elif-Dat walk-Past run-Past
Intended meaning: 'Burcu walked/ran for Elif.'

The ungrammaticality under a benefaction reading arises in connection with the observation that the roots of particular NCTVs in Turkish, as discussed in Chapter 3, lexicalize a dative object or a directional path (see (55a) in Chapter 3) that is compatible with the goal/target meaning of the dative. Recall that since motion verbs such as *koş*- 'run' or *yürü*-'walk' lexicalize a path in Turkish , when they appear with a dative object they are interpreted as goals, inducing telicity, and not as beneficiaries. Thus, as a result, the verbs in (17) taking dative objects cannot be analyzed under a high applicative configuration, but the PP dative complements within the lexical VP are interpreted as goals. Hence a semantically correlating interpretation is 'Burcu walked/ran towards/to Elif or Burcu aggressively walked towards Elif in an attempt to attack her'.

Finally, in line with my proposal of a high applicative configuration for Turkish non-core datives, my analysis posits that a non-core dative is introduced high in the structure, licensed by a high ApplP taking the whole activity event vP_{DO} as its argument. I represent this structure in (18). The sentence below corresponds to the sentence in (12).

(18)



4.4 Non-core datives appearing in unaccusative events

In this section I will show that a high applied non-core dative can combine with unaccusative predicates that are non-agentive dynamic unaccusatives, corresponding to Cuervo's simple dynamic unaccusative structure presented in (9a). When a dative appears with a dynamic unaccusative event, the dative is usually interpreted as an experiencer, recipient or bene-/malefactive who is externally related to an event of 'happening' or 'arising'. In such constructions the dative exhibits subject like properties because it is higher in the structure, e.g (19a-b). A non-core dative applied to an unaccusative event can also be a psychological experiencer. Psychological experiencers in Turkish are generally nominative, however, according to my research, although a non-core dative experiencer in Turkish cannot be applied to an event that expresses a psychological stative state, a high dative experiencer undergoing a change of emotion can be combined with a dynamic unaccusative event in the particular *geldi*, *bastı* and

çöktü constructions (which will be analyzed in 4.4.2), expressing that one has been overcome by a particular feeling. [26] Again, in such a construction the non-core dative appears to be the surface subject of the sentence, as illustrated in (20).

(19) a. Küçük Ayşe-ye şans doğ-du. (unmarked word order)
little Ayşe-Dat luck arise-Past
'An opportunity/luck arose for Ayşe'

b. Şans küçük Ayşe-ye doğ-du. (contrastive focus)
luck little Ayşe-Dat luck arise-Past

(20) Dizi-ler-den insanlar-a fenalık gel-di.
series-Pl-Abl people-Dat fatigue come-Past
'People are/feel fed up with TV series.'
Lit. 'People have been overcome by fatigue because of series.'

The main argument held in this section is that Turkish experiencer datives (or they can be related to the event as bene-/malefactive or recipients) combine with simple dynamic unaccusative events that denote an event or entity which 'comes into existence' or an event of 'happening'. Thus, the change of the internal theme argument of the unaccusative verb pertains to its coming into existence rather than its change of state. This suggests that non-core datives combine with the simplex unaccusative structure in (9a) but not with the complex, bi-eventive inchoative structure in (9b). Therefore, the

[26] Recall that as shown in Chapter 3, with psych verbs such as *kız-* 'get angry' or *üzül-* 'get upset', I have argued that the dative object is lexically licensed as a mental target or source and the experiencer is nominative. However, the stative predicate *hitap et-* 'appeal to' does have a dative experiencer in Turkish;
(i) Bu fikir *bana* hitap ed-iyor.
this idea.nom I.dat adress do-Prog.
'This idea appeals to me.'
In this particular instance it may be argued that a non-core dative experiencer has been added to a stative unaccusative predicate. However, within my hypothesis, we cannot argue that the dative *bana* is added to the unaccusative state *bu fikir hitap ediyor* because *hitap et-* lexicalizes a dative experiencer in contrast to the unaccusative predicates which will be analyzed in this chapter. According to my analysis, the predicate *hitap et-* has probably semantically stretched from its meaning 'address someone' to 'appeal to someone'. In Chapter 3 I have shown that the dative as an *addresse* has a directional, allative sense , analyzed as a PP. Landau (2010) for example proposes that dative experiencers as in the above sentence are generated inside the lexical VP as PPs. Furthermore, the dative experiencers analyzed in this chapter have subject like properties, appearing higher in the structure unlike the sentence in (i).

dative is semantically related to an event of happening or 'occurring' as a bene-/malefactive or experiencer, or to an event denoting an entity that suddenly 'comes into being' as a recipient, illustrated in (21). However, when the event merely denotes a change of state in the theme argument, a dative cannot be applied to the event hence it cannot be semantically related to the event, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (22). This contrasts with languages such as German, Spanish or Balkan languages, which allow datives in inchoatives, usually interpreted as unintentional causers of the event, exhibited by the sentences in (23a-b), (see also Chapter 1 (9a)).

(21) Öğrenci-ye büyük ikramiye çık-tı.
student-Dat big prize appear/come out-Past
'A student won the biggest lottery prize.'
Lit. 'To a student the biggest lottery prize came out/appeared.'

(22) *Ayşe-ye vazo kır-ıl-dı.
Ayşe-Dat vase break-Pass-Past
'The vase broke on Ayşe/Ayşe accidentally broke the vase.'

(23) a. Der Ayşe ist die Vase zerbrochen. (German)
the.Dat Ayşe is the vase.Nom broken
'Ayşe broke the vase accidentally.'

b. Benit i-u thye dritarja. (Albanian)
Ben-Dat Dat.Cl.3Sg-Nact broke.Aor.3Sg window.Nom
'Ben unintentionally broke the window.'

[(Kallulli, 2006) example (3a)]

4.4.1 Properties of unaccusative predicates with non-core datives

The data in (24- 31) illustrate non-core dative experiencers (or recipient and/or bene-/malefactives) applied to events, which are unaccusative by the criteria of their inability to undergo the impersonal passive construction (Nakipoğlu-Demiralp 2001). The pattern that we observe is that in the grammatical sentences in (24-30); (i) the change in the

theme argument of the verbs *çık*- 'emerge /appear', *doğ*- 'be born/arise', *ol*-'happen' denotes 'coming into existence', something 'happening' or a situation 'arising', and (ii) the change of the theme argument in the unaccusative predicates *gel*- and *çök*- 'collapse' (29-30) denotes 'movement' while the dative experiencer combined with these events encodes an entity undergoing a change of mental state. In contrast, the ungrammatical sentences in (31) with unaccusatives *eri*- 'melt', *kapan*- 'close' and *açıl*- 'open' express a change of state in the theme argument, corresponding to Cuervo's inchoative structure in (9b), which embeds a resultant state (v_{BE}).

(24) a. Emekli-ye borç çık-tı.
pensioner-Dat debt appear/emerge-Past
Lit. 'Debts appeared/emerged for pensioners.
'Debts appeared (out of nowhere) for pensioners.'

b. Öğrenci-ler-e af çık-tı.
student-Pl-Dat pardon emerge-Past
Lit. 'A general pardon came out/emerged for students.'
'A general pardon has been issued for students.'

c. Bana iş/masraf çık-tı.
I.Dat work/expense emerge-Past
Lit. 'Work/expenses emerged for me.'

(25) a. Kız-a piyango/ikramiye çık-tı.
girl-Dat lottery/prize emerge-Past
'The girl won the lottery.'

b. Çekiliş-te bana kitap çık-tı.
draw-Loc I.Dat book emerge-Past
'I got a book in the draw.'

(26) Genç webmaster-lar-a gün/şans doğ-du.
young webmaster-Pl-Dat day/luck be born/arise-Past
Lit. 'A day/luck arose for young webmasters.'
'Young webmasters have got lucky.'

(27) Ortadoğu-da Erdoğan-a fırsat doğ-du.
middle east Erdoğan-Dat opportunity be born/arise-Past
'An opportunity arose for Erdoğan in the Middle East.'

(28) Seda-ya çok güzel/kötü birşey/ birşey ol-du.
Seda-Dat very nice/ bad something/ something happen-Past
'Something good/bad/something happened to Seda.'

(29) Bana daral gel-di.
I.Dat oppression come-Past
Lit.'I have been overcome/overwhelmed by feelings of oppression.'

(30) Bana uyku çök-tü.
I.Dat sleep collapse-Past
Lit. 'Sleep has befallen me.'
'I feel tired all of a sudden.'

(31) *Seda-ya dondurma eri-di/ kapı kapa-n-dı/ cam aç-ıl-dı.
Seda-Dat ice cream melt-Past/door close-Pass-Past/window open-Pass-Past
'The ice cream melted/the door closed/the window opened on Seda.'

This observation suggests that the simple unaccusative events in (24-30) are mono-eventive, simple changes of movement, contrasting with the structure of the events in (31), which are complex inchoatives embedding a resultant state of the object. The difference in event structure complexity can be diagnosed when the events are modified by *neredeyse* 'almost' to identify ambiguity:

(32) Neredeyse iş/masraf çık-tı. (unambiguous)
almost work/expense emerge-Past
'Work/expenses almost came up but they did not.'

(33) Neredeyse dondurma eri-di/ kapı kapa-n-dı/ cam aç-ıl-dı. (ambiguous)
almost ice cream melt-Past/door close-Pass-Past/window open-Pass-Past
'The ice cream/door/window almost melted/closed/opened.'

1. 'The ice cream almost started to melt/the door almost closed/the window almost opened by starting to move but it did not happen .' (scoping over v_{GO})

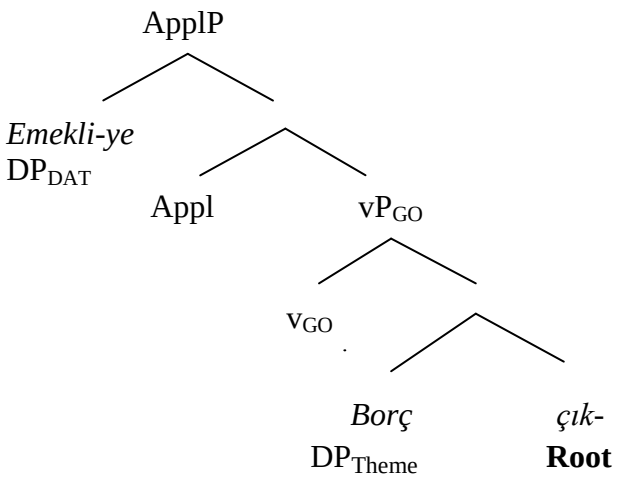
2. 'The ice cream/door/window started to melt/close/open by moving but they did not completely melt/close/open.' (scoping over v_{BE})

We also observe that in the sentences in (24-27), the non-core dative can be interpreted as the recipient of the bare theme, which can be a physical entity or an abstract entity as in e.g. (24a) and (24c) where the non-core dative is the recipient of 'debts', 'work' or 'expenses', hence being related to the events as a recipient-malefactive. This is similar to the constructions discussed in 4.3, in which the non-core dative is related to a simple agentive activity vP_{DO} as the recipient of a physical or abstract entity, mostly as a beneficiary. On the other hand, in the events in (28-30), the dative is construed as the experiencer of the events, affected positively or adversely.

To conclude, the data in (24-31) indicate that simple dynamic unaccusative events, in the sense of Cuervo (2003), corresponding to the simplex unaccusative structure in (9a), which relate a dative participant to an event of happening/movement, are grammatical in Turkish whereas inchoative verbs of change of state, as those in (31), do not permit a non-core dative as an experiencer, recipient or bene-/malefactive. Under Cuervo's assumptions, this means, verbal roots in Turkish verbalized by v_{GO} (simple unaccusative changes) denoting movement or happening permit a non-core dative participant who is externally related to events of happenings, situations arising or coming into existence as an experiencer or recipient. In contrast, inchoatives that

necessarily denote a change of state in the theme argument, verbalized by vGO+vBE do not permit non-core datives; neither as experiencers, bene-/malefactives nor as recipients of the event. This further implies that Turkish has restrictions in relating a non-core dative to the resultant state of an event. Following Cuervo's proposal, the structure of a non-core dative applied to an unaccusative event as an experiencer, bene-/malefactive or recipient via a high applicative head is illustrated in (34).

(34)



4.4.2 Non-core datives as psychological experiencers

As illustrated in 4.4.1, by the examples in (29-30), a non-core dative can be combined with simple dynamic changes of movement (vGO), in the sense of Cuervo, as a psychological experiencer of a change of emotion. While the unaccusative event is a simple change corresponding to the structure in (9a), i.e. the experiencer dative is not affected by a 'change of state' but by movement , it may be argued that it is actually the dative participant him/herself who is undergoing a change of mental state or emotion in such a construction, as illustrated in (35a-c). (Note that (35b) has been presented earlier under (30)).

(35) a. Bana fenalık gel-di.
I.Dat fatigue come-Past
Lit.'Fatigue has come upon me.'
'I feel fatigued'

b. Bana uyku çök-tü.
I.Dat sleep collapse-Past
Lit. 'Sleep has befallen me.'

c. Bana sıcak bas-tı.
I.Dat heat inundate-Past
Lit. 'I have been inundated with heat.'

In the sentences in (35a-c), the dative undergoes a change of emotion/feeling, by feeling fed up, tired or being overcome by a hot flush. What we observe is that the dative experiencer is interpreted as the location upon which the simple event of 'movement' falls. This observation is compatible with Landau's (2010) proposal of experiencers. Based on the idea that human beings conceive an entity against a spatial domain i.e. cognitive associations are conceptualized as metaphorical extensions of the spatial domain, Landau (2010) proposes that experiencers are mental locations or 'destinations of mental states'. He argues that this is so because the experiencer is a location which can host feelings or emotions, suggesting that the mental state is able to reside within the experiencer. Turkish appears to be a language in which this cognitive relation is explicitly represented. For example, in the sentences in (20), (29-30) and (35a-b) the dative experiencer is construed and encoded as the location of the events in that the feelings expressed by the theme arguments, e.g. *fenalık* 'fatigue', *daral* 'oppression' , *uyku* 'sleep' and *sıcak* 'heat' 'move into' or 'collapse onto' the dative experiencers which are conceptualized as locations. Thus, in these sentences, it is not the theme that undergoes a change of state but the dative experiencers affected by the event are

undergoing a change of mental state by suddenly feeling depressed, fed up or tired. Such feelings, which move or collapse onto dative experiencers can be extended to more emotions, illustrated under (36a-c):

(36) a. Bana bıkkınlık/ sıkıntı/ sinir/ bulantı gel-di.
I.Dat boredom/anxiety/ nervousness /nausea come-Past
'I feel bored/anxious/nervous/nauseous.'

b. Bana tembellik/ağırlık/ rehavet çök-tü.
I.Dat laziness/ heaviness/languor /(drowsiness) collapse-Past
'I suddenly started to feel lazy/heavy/ tired.'

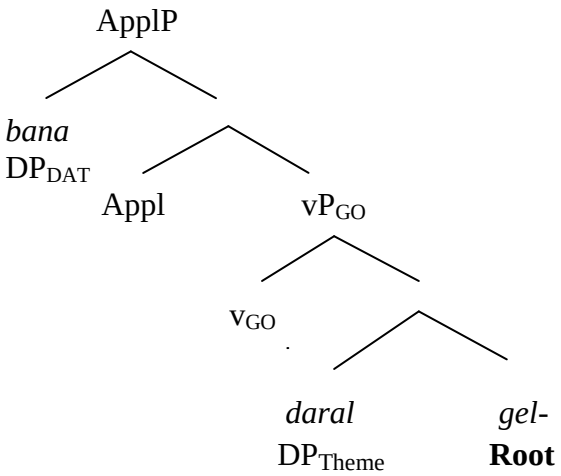
c. Bana sıcak/ter/fenalık bas-tı.
I.Dat heat/sweat/fatigue inundate-Past
'I suddenly feel hot/ sweaty/ fatigued.'

Although psychological experiencers of an event are usually not marked with the dative case in Turkish (as far as my research has revealed), these constructions appear to be productive. What is interesting about the construction in (36c) with *bas-* is that although the dative experiencer is construed as a 'mental location', when the location denotes a physical, spatial area/place, Turkish prefers to mark such locations with the accusative case and not the dative case, illustrated in (36d).

d. Ev-im-i /*-e böcek bas-tı.
house.1Sg.Poss-Acc insect inundate-Past
'My house has been inundated with insects.'

It should also be noted that semantically, these constructions, especially with *gel-* and *bas-*, imply that the dative experiencer undergoes a sudden change of feeling caused by some possible psychological disturbance and not that one merely feels 'tired, fatigued or hot' for physical reasons. The high applicative structure for psychological dative experiencers, corresponding to the sentences in (36a-c) is illustrated in (36'):

(36')



In support of the high applicative analysis, the experiencer datives in these constructions are introduced high in the structure, as evidenced by the degraded word order in (37a-c), which is only acceptable when the immediately preverbal dative experiencer is in focus position:

(37) a. *Daral bana gel-di.
oppression I.Dat come-Past
'I have been overcome by feelings of oppression.'

b. *Uyku bana çök-tü.
sleep I.Dat collapse-Past
'Sleep has befallen me.'

c. *Sıcak bana bas-tı.
heat I.Dat inundate-Past
'I have been overcome by/inundated with heat.'

Furthermore, a high non-core dative introduced as an applied argument contrasts with the event structure of an event whose verbal root *gel-* 'come' lexicalizes a directional path and a dative PP goal, shown in (38a).

(38) a. Ali ev-e gel-di. (unmarked word order)
Ali house-Dat come-Past
'Ali came home'

The low dative goal in (38a) is used in its prototypical spatial allative sense and denotes 'to or towards a goal' thus the event type encoded is 'directed motion'. Therefore, as discussed in Chapter 3, the PP goal is within the lexical VP because verbs of directed motion such as *gel-* 'come', *git-* 'go', *var-* 'arrive' or *çık-* 'go out' lexicalize a spatial dative goal PP in Turkish.[27] Thus, my proposal for the event structure of verbs of motion lexicalizing a dative goal, as proposed in Chapter 3.4.2., extends to unaccusative verbs of directed motion in that the dative goal is VP internal. The analysis that goal PPs of unaccusative verbs of directed motion are VP internal arguments is supported by the work of Hoekstra (1999), Tortora (1998), L&RH (1995) and Folli & Harley (2006) amongst others. It has been argued that directed motion verbs are inherently associated with the concept of a path; thus, the goal is entailed by the meaning of the verb, i.e. such goal PPs are subcategorized for by the verb. (38a) exhibits the unmarked word order with the theme preceding the spatial goal; however, when the low dative goal is higher in the structure, as in (38b), the sentence is only felicitous when the theme is in focus position. Similarly, the sentence in (38c) with the unaccusative verb *çık-* 'go out', exhibits the unmarked word order, whereas (38d), where the dative goal PP is high in the structure, is the marked order with the theme being in focus position.

[27] It should be noted that the verb *çık-* in Turkish has many different meanings, such as 'leave', 'go out', 'go up', 'increase', 'ascend','go outside', amongst few of its meaning, or as has been discussed in this Chapter, 'to emerge /appear'. Thus, for example, when *çık-* is used in its 'emerge/appear' sense it does not lexicalize a path/goal or location, as illustrated by the examples in (24) and (25). However, when *çık-* corresponds to 'go out' denoting directed motion, it selects a dative dynamic location because the event implies a path, in that one 'goes out from a source to a goal'.

b. Ev-e Ali gel-di.
house-Dat Ali come-Past
'It was Ali who came home.'

c. Ali balkon-a çık-tı.
Ali balcony-Dat go out-Past
'Ali went out on the balcony.'

d. Balkon-a Ali çık-tı.
balcony-Dat Ali go out-Past
'It was Ali who went out on the balcony.'

This indicates that non-core experiencer datives must be introduced higher in the structure, contrasting with low goal dative PPs, which are lexically licensed by the root of the verb.[28]This in turn is in support of the main claim of this thesis which posits that the syntactic configurations of different types of datives in Turkish correlate with their semantic interpretations.

4.5 Non-core datives with change of state accomplishments

In the previous sections I have shown that non-core datives in Turkish favour combining with simplex events. This section will argue that the same pattern extends to instances when a non-core dative is added to agentive events with change of state predicates such as *kır*- 'break' or *aç*- 'open', which have, in the literature, been classified as accomplishments or 'change of state accomplishments' denoting an instantaneous, punctual change of state (Rothstein, 2012). I will illustrate that a non-core dative as a recipient can felicitously combine with such predicates when the event is interpreted as

[28] It may be argued that a high dative experiencer is also lexicalized as a PP goal by the verb *gel*- 'come'. Although it is possible that as a result of semantic extension a spatial goal extended to animate experiencers as locations, it does not change the fact that an experiencer dative in this construction is introduced high in the structure, displaying subject like properties, as opposed to a low goal PP. Furthermore, we cannot argue that *bas*- lexicalizes a dative object, since as shown above, the location can be case marked by the accusative case.

an activity, corresponding to Cuervo's simple non-causative activities structure in (5a), shown in (39a), whereas a non-core dative is restricted when combining with change of state verbs whose event structure corresponds to the complex causative structure in (5b), embedding a resultant state, as exemplified in (39b).

(39) a. Seda kardeş-in-e şarap aç-tı. (recipient)
Seda sibling-3Sg.Poss wine open-Past
'Seda opened wine for her sister.'

b. Seda kardeş-in-e kapı-yı aç-tı. (benefactive)
Seda sibling-3Sg.Poss door-Acc open-Past
'Seda opened the door for her sister.'

It follows that a non-core dative added to a complex causative structure is not interpreted as a recipient but a participant who benefits from the resultant state of the event. This is most probably the reason why this construction is restricted in Turkish, because as we have seen in the previous section with the case of bi-eventive inchoatives, Turkish has constraints on relating a non-core dative to the resultant state of an event which expresses a change of state in the theme argument.

In 4.2, I have argued that Cuervo's theory, which assumes that roots participate in different event structures, has significant implications for Turkish. To briefly repeat the claim; I claimed and exhibited that in Turkish, change of state verbs e.g. *kır*- 'break' or *erit*- 'melt' can be interpreted as agentive activities, associated with the simple non-causative activities structure in (5a) when the theme is a non-case marked bare nominal, and as a complex causative associated with the causative structure in (5b), when the theme is marked by the accusative case.

(40) a. Nazlı/*basınç yumurta kır-dı. (non-causative activity)
Nazlı /*pressure egg break-Past
'Nazlı/*the pressure did egg breaking/broke egg.'

b. Nazlı/basınç yumurta-yı kır-dı. (causative)
Nazlı /pressure egg-Acc break-Past
'Nazlı/the pressure broke the egg.'

The event in (40a) whose theme NP is bare non-case marked is incompatible with a non-agentive cause, indicating that its event structure can only be associated with a simple activity structure, not projecting a resultant state in the syntax. In contrast, (40b), which is compatible with a non-agentive cause, expresses a complex causative event, embedding a result state.

Thus, it follows that when a non-core dative appears with a change of state verb which expresses a simple activity, in that it corresponds to the structure in (5a), the dative is interpreted as a recipient, rendering this structure grammatical.[29] In contrast, a change of state verb denoting a complex causative event, yields infelicity, as has also been illustrated in the introduction section of this chapter in (1) and (2), repeated below under the contrast of (41a) and (41b).

(41) a. Ben ye-me-yeceğ-im, Meliha teyze-m bana yumurta kır-dı.
I eat-Neg-Fut-1Sg. Meliha aunt-1Sg.Poss- I.Dat egg break-Past
Lit.'I will not eat, my aunt Meliha broke me egg.'

[29] For example in sentence in (39a), the dative is interpreted as a recipient; however, when the event is complex as in (i) Seda kardeş-in-e şarab-ı aç-tı.
Seda sibling-3Sg.Poss wine open-Past
'Seda opened wine for her sister.'
the sentence has been rated as awkward or unacceptable by most of my native speaker consultants, while few found the sentence acceptable in a context where the benefaction denotes deputative type benefaction, i.e., the agent substitutes the dative in undertaking the activity. This indicates that the dative-benefactive is not saliently interpreted as a recipient when the event denotes a complex event, as in (i).

b. Ben ye-me-yeceğ-im,*Meliha teyze-m bana yumurta-yı kır-dı.[30]
I eat-Neg-Fut-1Sg. Meliha aunt-1Sg.Poss- I.Dat egg-Acc break-Past
Lit.'I will not eat, my aunt Meliha broke me the egg.'

The dative in (41a) is related to the simple activity vP_{DO} as a benefactive-recipient, which is exactly the same interpretation we obtain, as already discussed in 4.2., when non-core datives combine with verbs of creation or transitive/intransitive activity verbs as recipients of a physical or abstract entity. In contrast, in (41b), the dative cannot be related to the resultant state of the event as a recipient; relating the dative to the resultant state in this sentence is perceived as ungrammatical in Turkish, although not severely unacceptable (in the following section I will further discuss how the sentence could be interpreted in limited contexts).

Recall that in Spanish or German a dative appearing with the change of state verb 'break' corresponding to the complex causative representation in (5b) would be interpreted as a malefactive structure, where the non-core dative is related to the result of the event as a malefactive. Consider the Spanish sentence in Chapter 1 (9b), repeated below for ease of reference under (42):

(42) Emilio le rompio la radio a Carolina.
Emilio.Nom Cl.Dat broke the radio Carolina.Dat
'Emilio broke the radio on Carolina'
(Lit. 'Emilio broke Carolina the radio')

[30] It should be noted that plural NPs may yield different results but have not been included in this study because there is no research on the plural semantics of NPs in Turkish which examines how plural takes scope over the event structure. Hence this analysis is not within the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, it is also worth noting that if we argued that this sentence is semantically odd because the theme is a singular NP, then we would not be able to account for the grammaticality of the example in (i) where the benefactive participant has been introduced by the postposition *için* 'for', which has been rated as perfectly acceptable by native speaker consultants.
(i) Seda Ali için yumurta-yı/ fındığ-ı kır-dı.
Seda Ali for egg-Acc/ nut-Acc break-Past
'Seda broke the egg/ nut for Ali.'

There is no change of possession between the agent and the dative Carolina. The non-core dative is only related to the resultant state of a broken radio. This implies that Emilio need not have manipulated the radio to break it but he may have caused the radio to break, which relates Carolina to the event as a malefactive. However, in Turkish such malefactive constructions do not exist.[31] A non-core dative-benefactive in Turkish, though, can appear with the causative event structure in (5b), with only few predicates as far as my research has revealed. One such example, already shown in (39b), is with *kapı-yı aç-* 'open the door', where the non-core dative is clearly not related to the event as a recipient but one who benefits from the 'open state' of the door.

To further illustrate and support my claim, the sentences in (43-47) exhibit non-core datives combined with change of state verbs with bare non-case marked themes expressing activities , and datives combined with the same change of state verbs (48-50), denoting the complex event structure in (5b).[32] We observe that in (43-47) the non-core participant is interpreted as a recipient, while in the few examples in (48-50) the non-core dative can only be construed as a benefactive of the resultant state of the event.

(43) Ayşe bana çorba ısı-t-tı.
Ayşe I.Dat soup heat-Caus-Past
'Ayşe warmed up some soup for me.'

(44) Baba-m bana rakı / bira aç-tı.
father-1Sg.Poss I.Dat rakı/ beer open-Past
'My father opened (a bottle of) rakı/beer for me.'

[31] In Chapter 2, I have given examples of a malefactive construction in Turkish, formed exclusively with the light verb *et-* 'do', in the examples (22a-d). This is a particular malefactive construction in Turkish, which I will leave for further research since the properties of the event structure require extensive investigation. We observe that in this particular construction, different from malefactives in Spanish or German, malefaction has to be expressed through lexical means.

[32] Please notice that my argument for bare non-case marked themes here also extends to non-specific indefinites. As explained in footnote 23, Öztürk (2005) proposes the same structure for immediately preverbal bare themes and non-specific indefinites.

(45) Çocuk-lar-a bilgisayar-da oyun aç-tı-m.
children-Pl-Dat computer-Loc game open-Past-1Sg.
'I opened a game on the computer for the children.'

(46) Bana da fındık kır-ar mı-sın?
I.Dat too nut break-Aor Int-2Sg.
'Can you break some nuts for me, too?'

(47) Anne-m bana patates kızar-t-tı.
mother-1Sg.Poss I.Dat potato fry-Caus-Past
'My mother fried potatoes for me.'

(48) Hırsız-a kapı-yı aç-tı .
burglar-Dat door-Acc open-Past
'She opened the door for the burglar.'

(49) PKK bize yirmi dört gün sonra yol-u aç-tı .
PKK we-Dat twenty four day after road-Acc open-Past.
'PKK opened the road after twenty-four days for us.'

(50) Turist amca bana akordiyon-u tamir et-ti.'[33]
tourist uncle I.Dat accordion-Acc I mend do-Past
'The tourist (uncle) fixed the accordion for me.'

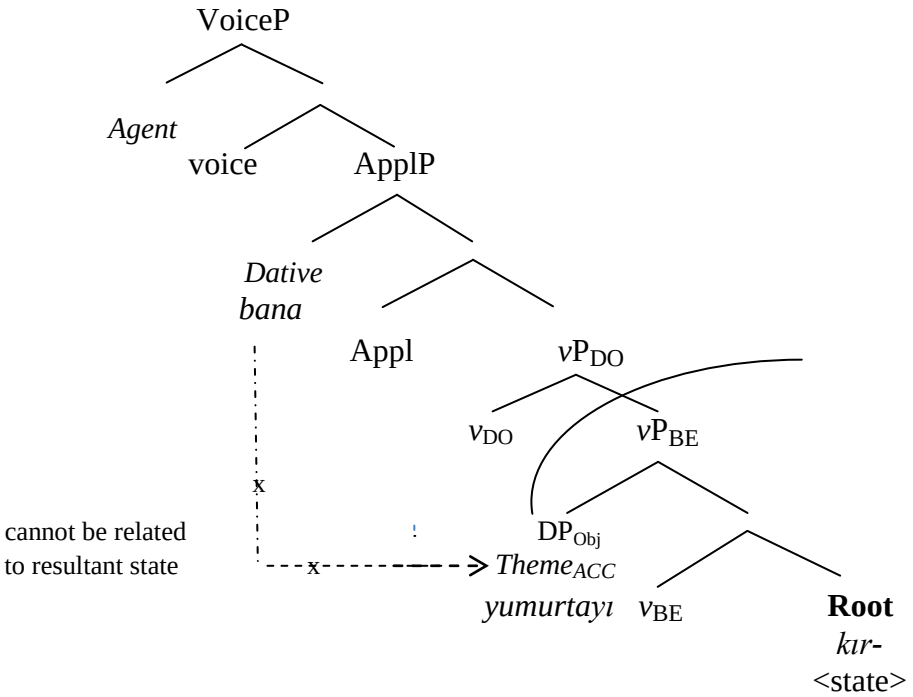
In the sentences in (43-47) the non-core datives can only be related to the simple non-causative activity event (vP_{DO}) as a recipient of a physical or abstract entity (e.g. in (45) the children receive a virtual 'game'); crucially, the salient interpretation of the sentences does not denote that the agent substitutes the benefactive dative by performing the activity. Conversely, in (48-50) the non-core dative cannot be related to the complex causative event structure as a recipient but only as someone who benefits from what the resultant state of the event denotes. For example, in (48) the agent can be interpreted as

[33] Note that a corresponding sentence in English *'I'll fix you the radiator' is argued to be ungrammatical in English, by Nisbet (2005) because there is no transfer of possession implied, but merely benefiting from some service.

the unintentional causer of the event, in a context where she/he causes the door to open by pressing the buzzer and letting in the burglars unintentionally; thus, the burglars benefit from the caused state.

Therefore, I conclude that non-core datives in Turkish can be added to change of state predicates which are interpreted as activities, corresponding to the simple non-causative activities structure in (5a). We further observe that in such constructions the dative is related to the event as a recipient of a physical or abstract entity. The structure I assume for these constructions is the same as the simplex construction already illustrated in (18), where a high applied dative is related to the whole vP_{DO} event. In contrast, combining a non-core dative with change of state predicates associated with the complex causative structure in (5b), is restricted or problematic in Turkish, since Turkish has constraints on relating the dative to the resultant state of the event, illustrated in (51):

(51)



4.6 Conclusion and loosening the syntactic restrictions on non-core datives as benefactives

The data and discussion in this chapter has exhibited that non-core datives in Turkish can combine with events that have a simple event structure as experiencers, recipients or bene-/malefactives, while adding a dative to an event with a complex event structure embedding a result is constrained in Turkish. The discussion has also suggested that in benefactive constructions in Turkish, the dative is often related to the event as a recipient of a physical or abstract entity (or a malefactive who is the recipient of something undesired, as in (24a) and (24c)). Thus, it has been implied that in these constructions the dative is not interpreted as participant who benefits from an event in which the agent substitutes the benefactive by undertaking the action, as is the case in the English example in (52), which denotes that the agent performs the activity by replacing the benefactive:

(52) She counted the exam papers for me.

Recall that this type of benefaction has been categorized as the *deputative* type benefactive by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), who identify two further subtypes of benefactive constructions: the *benefactive-recipient* type, which implies a change of possession and the *plain benefactive* type, in which the beneficiary act is performed by the agent purely for the benefit of the beneficiary for the purpose of e.g. entertaining or amusing the benefactive participant. Thus, with respect to the claims and observations in this chapter, this indicates that non-core dative benefactives in Turkish can function as benefactive-recipients or as plain benefactives (e.g. *dans et-*, *şarkı söyle-*), (although I have argued that with these events the benefactive receives an abstract entity) but not as deputative benefactives i.e. the deputative semantics does not exist with the

constructions which have been examined in this chapter, suggesting that dative benefactives in Turkish do not allow the deputative semantics proposed by Van Valin and LaPolla. This again is confirmed by the oddness of (53), which has been rated as unacceptable or infelicitous by all the native speakers I have consulted.

(53) ?/*Ali Seda-ya araba-yı park et-ti/ bulaşık yıka-dı.
Ali Seda-Dat car-Acc park do-Past/dish wash-Past
Intended meaning: 'Ali parked the car for Seda/washed the dishes for Seda so that she wouldn't have to do it.'

However, according to my research, the deputative semantics can occur with the dative-benefactive construction in Turkish, in limited contexts, namely in an immediate presentational context. When the discourse is of an immediate nature, denoting specifically an offer or request, expressed through the use of the aorist *-Ir/Er* and/or optative markers *-(y)E* respectively, the dative benefactive can function as a deputative benefactive, illustrated below in (54-56):

(54) Tahta-yı siz-e sil-e-yim. (in a context where the beneficiary is a teacher)
board-Acc you-Dat wipe-Opt-1Sg
'Let me clean the board for you.'

(55) Sana say-a-yım kağıt-lar-ı.
you.Dat count-Opt-1Sg paper-Pl-Acc
'I'll count the papers for you.'

(56) Bana şu ambalaj-ı/ şişe-yi aç-ar mı-sın?
I.Dat this packaging-Acc bottle-Acc open-Aor Int-2Sg.
'Can you open this packaging for me?'

In the sentences in (54-56) the dative is interpreted as a beneficiary who is replaced by the agent in undertaking the activities, suggesting that the sentences imply 'the agent performs the action so that the beneficiary does not have to perform the action'.

Note that due to the immediate nature of the context, the dative benefactive and/or the agent are in the first or second person, as the above examples illustrate. Furthermore, when deputative semantics does appear in such contexts, the syntactic restrictions are also lifted or relaxed, implying that a non-core dative can be added to a complex causative structure interpreted as a participant who benefits from the event in which the agent replaces him/her, as shown in (56). Note that the beneficiary is still not construed as a recipient when added to a complex causative structure, i.e. the dative does not receive 'packaging' or a 'bottle' but benefits from the agent's 'opening the packaging or bottle', hence the whole event. However, what is significant is that in these contexts datives can be added to complex causative events.

Finally, as for the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (2), '*bana yumurtayı kırdı'* presented in the introduction section, it is possible to render the sentence grammatical when placed in an immediate context, with deputative semantics. In fact, my native speaker consultants who found the sentence in (2) ungrammatical because (i) it was not clear to them what it denoted and (ii) they could not construe the dative as a recipient, did rate the sentence in (57) as acceptable, specifically in a context where e.g. one (the beneficiary) has their hands full while cooking or baking and requests that the benefactor (agent) undertakes the action, i.e. 'breaking the egg' as a favour. This indicates that in (2) we can attribute the ungrammaticality of the sentences to the lack of deputative semantics observed in Turkish dative-benefactives.

(57) Bana şu yumurta-yı (bir) kır-ar mı-sın?
I.Dat this egg-Acc (one) break-Aor Int-2Sg.
'Can/will you just break this egg for me?'

It is also worth noting that in different contexts or other syntactic environments, the restrictions on non-core datives combining with change of state accomplishments, appear to be lifted, too.[34] For example, as shown in (58), when the properties of the definite theme argument are specified, the non-core dative is allowed to combine with the verb *kır-* 'break', in which it is interpreted as a recipient-benefactive. Also, when the non-core dative is in focus position following the plural NP, as shown in (59), the non-core dative can felicitously combine with the event interpreted as either a recipient-benefactive or a deputative type benefactive (although as stated in footnote 30, plural NPs may yield different results over the event structure).

(58) Bana dolap-ta kal-an son bıldırcın yumurta-sın-ı kır-dı.
I.Dat cupboard-Loc remain-Rel last quail egg-Poss-Acc break-Past
'He/she broke the last quail egg for me which was left in the fridge.'

(59) Odun-lar-ı sana kır-dı-m.
wood-Pl-Acc you.Dat break-Past-1Sg
'I chopped the wood for you.'

To conclude the discussion, there are syntactic restrictions in Turkish on combining non-core datives with event types. The pattern that we observe is that dative participants can generally felicitously combine with simplex events, which do not denote a resultant state, as experiencers or recipients of a physical or abstract entity, being positively or adversely affected by the event. Relating a non-core dative to the resultant state of a complex event in Turkish, however, is generally restricted or sometimes not allowed. Furthermore, while dative-benefactives in Turkish do not encode deputative benefaction, when the context is of an immediate nature, dative-benefactives do exhibit

[34] I would like to thank my committee members Prof. Eser Taylan and Assoc.Prof. Mine Güven for pointing this out to me.

deputative semantics. Thus, in such contexts, the syntactic restrictions we have identified are loosened, in that dative participants are allowed to combine with both simple and complex causative events.

Finally, a revised version of the proposed distinction of Turkish datives with respect to their syntactic and semantic properties is given below in (60):

(60)

Table 2. Non-structural Datives in Turkish

Sense of Dative	Allative-Directional Sense				Non-Allative Sense	
Semantic Role	Recipient-Possessor Addressee Experiencer	Spatial Goal		Conceptual/ Perceptual/ Emotional Target or Source Addressee	Uncategorized Semantic Roles	Recipient Bene-/malefactive (Psychological) Experiencer
Verb Type	Ditransitive (e.g. *ver-*, *göster-*)	Ditransitive (e.g. *yolla-*, *gönder-*)	Manner of Motion and Directed Motion (e.g. *koş-*, *atla-*, *gel-*, *git-*)	NCTV (e.g. (*bak-*, *bağır-*, *gül-*)	NCTV (e.g. *yardım et-*, *dokun-*)	transitive and intransitive activities e.g. *ör-*, *pasta yap-*, *dans et-*, transitive statives e.g. *tut-*, change of state accomplishments e.g. *aç-*, dynamic unaccusatives e.g. *çık-*, *doğ-* *çök-*, non-verbal predicates (existential + adjectival predicates)
Construction Type	Postpositional Ditransitive Construction	Postpositional Ditransitive Construction	Verb + PP Complement	Verb + PP Complement	Verb + DP Complement	High Applicative
Event Structure	Complex	Complex	Simple	Simple	Simple	Simple Complex (constrained)

CHAPTER 5

NON-CORE DATIVES WITH NON-VERBAL PREDICATES

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on high non-core datives combining with stative non-verbal predicates in Turkish. With respect to Maienborn's (2003) distinction of statives, we observe that non-core datives in Turkish appear with Kimian states in copular constructions, which as predicted by Maienborn's theory, do not have an underlying Davidsonian event argument. Specifically, two particular nonverbal copular constructions which non-core datives appear with will be investigated throughout this chapter.[35]

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[35]This Chapter does not include non-core datives with stative verbal predicates because according to my research there are only very few stative verbs in Turkish that a non-core dative can combine with. Two of such verbs, the unaccusative verb *kal-* 'be left/remain' and the transitive verb *tut-* 'hold' have been introduced in Chapter1 (examples (24) and (33)) and Chapter 2 (examples (19a) and (19b)) respectively. Similar examples are repeated below in (i) and (ii).

(i) Güvenlik görevli-si bana şemsiye-yi tut-tu kapı-ya kadar.
security guard-Poss I.Dat umbrella-Acc hold-Past door-Dat up to
'The security guard held the umbrella for me up to the door.'

(ii) Misafir-ler-e hiç yemek kal-ma-mış-tı.
guest-Pl-Dat no/none food remain-Neg-Evid-Past
'There was no food left for the guests.'
Lit.'To the guests no food remained/was left.'

However, since there is not much literature on stative verbs in Turkish, further research on Turkish statives is required, before we can study their interaction with datives, which does not fall within the scope of this thesis.

Other stative verbs in Turkish can appear with dative objects; however, under my analysis these are not non-core datives introduced via high applicative heads but dative objects which are lexically licensed by the verb being VP internal. *a) Subject-experiencers with dative objects*:
Stative verbs such as *güven-* 'trust', *inan-* 'believe' or *imren* 'envy' in Turkish have a nominative experiencer and a dative object.

(iii) Ali kardeş-in-e güven-iyor/ inan-ıyor/ imren-iyor.
Ali.Nom sibling-3Sg.Poss-Dat trust-Prog / believe-Prog./envy-Prog.
'Ali trusts/believes his brother/sister.'

In Chapter 3, I have argued that psych verbs such as *kız-* 'get angry' or *imren-* 'envy' are NCTVs with a simple event structure, their oblique dative objects being licensed as the sole complement of the verb by the idiosyncratic root. I have claimed that dative case marking on the objects of these verbs stems from the dative in Turkish semantically encoding an 'emotional or conceptual target'. This has suggested that these psych verbs have an external argument; a subject experiencer. Kratzer (2000), for example, treats subjects-experiencer psych verbs such as *hate, love* or *know* as transitive verbs which assign accusative case to their objects. Thus, under her analysis subject-experiencer verbs containing $\text{Voice}_{\text{Stative}}$ introduce an external (experiencer) argument unlike stative unaccusatives such as existentials or dative-experiencer

When a high applicative head takes a stative vP_{BE} as its complement, I propose two semantically and syntactically distinct nonverbal constructions to which a high non-core dative can be applied in Turkish. Nonverbal predicates in Turkish can have a substantive predicate or an existential predicate (Tura, 1986; Taylan, 1987). With regards to this division, non-core datives can appear in the following constructions: (i) a nonverbal construction composed of an adjectival (substantive) predicate and a theme argument whose property is expressed, which I will refer to as a *predicative adjectival construction*, following Wetzer (1996), exhibited by examples (1) and (2), and (ii) an *existential construction*; composed of the nonverbal existential predicate *var*/*yok* and a theme argument, whose existence is asserted, shown in (3).

(object) verbs which lack voice. In line with my analysis, Rothmayr (2009) also analyzes the structure of German stative subject-experiencer verbs, i.e. psych verbs, as patterning with eventive transitive verbs with sole object complements and an external argument. For present purposes, I will leave a detailed analysis of subject experiencers of stative psych verbs in Turkish to further research. Crucially, what is of importance for the purposes of this thesis is that such dative objects in Turkish are lexically licensed, VP internal objects hence cannot receive a high applicative, non-core dative analysis.

b) Dative-experiencer objects:

In the previous chapter I argued that Turkish only has few verbs with dative psychological experiencers and have proposed a particular dative psychological experiencer construction in 4.4.2, where the dative experiencer is a non-core argument applied to dynamic unaccusative verbs (vGO) of motion/movement. However, there are also few (according to my research) dative experiencer objects of stative verbs in Turkish, such as *hitap et-* 'appeal to', *yakış-* 'suit' or *ait* 'belong to'(nonverbal predicate), (please refer to footnote 26 in Ch.4 for my analysis of *hitap et-*). Belletti & Rizzi (1988) refer to such verbs as the *piacere*-class (or the 'appeal to' class), being associated with an unaccusative structure (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; Pesetsky, 1995; Kratzer, 2002; Landau, 2010) i.e., a *nominative* theme and a *dative* experiencer object, lacking voice. Thus, according to this hypothesis, the theme and the dative object of the unaccusative verb are both VP internal. In line with this analysis, these dative objects in Turkish do not receive a high applicative analysis within my proposal because these datives are semantically entailed by the verb. Furthermore, unlike the psychological dative constructions proposed in 4.4.2, we observe that experiencer dative objects of verbs such as *hitap et-* 'appeal to' do not appear to be high in the structure. According to native speaker judgments, (iv) exhibits the unmarked word order.

(iv) Bu tarz genç kız-lar-a hitap ed-iyor/ yakış-ıyor.
this style young girl-Pl-Dat appeal do-Prog/ suit-Prog
'This style appeals to/suits young girls.'

To conclude, I propose that dative experiencer objects of stative verbs and dative objects with subject-experiencers are lexically licensed; however, my proposal is only tentative because I believe in order to make any substantial claims, detailed research and a comprehensive study of dative experiencer objects of psych verbs in Turkish is required, which does not fall within the scope of this study.

(1) Bu pantolon bana dar. (totally open scale adjective)
this trouser I.Dat narrow
'These trousers are tight for me/too tight for me.'

(2) Müşteri-ler-e mağaza tüm gün açık. (totally closed scale adjective)
customer-Pl-Dat store all day open
'The store is open all day for customers.'

(3) Leyla-ya haber var / yok.
Leyla-Dat news exist / exist.Neg.
'There is some news for Leyla/ There is no news for Leyla.'

Semantically, a non-core dative combined with the predicative adjectival construction in (i) denotes either a) an individual for whom the physical property of the entity is suitable/useful for their specific purposes or standards, exemplified in (1), or b) an individual who is permitted to benefit or prohibited from benefiting from the state or property pertaining to the entity, illustrated in (2). In accordance with this observation, I will further sub-divide the predicative adjectival construction on the basis of the two distinct meanings observed in (1) and (2), which is in relation to the semantic properties of the adjectival predicates in these constructions, by employing a scalarity approach to adjectives, as proposed by Kennedy & McNally (2005).

With respect to the existential construction in (ii), which does not express a property of the theme argument but merely its existence, the general pattern we observe is that the non-core dative can semantically relate to the existential construction as either the recipient of the theme or when *var* 'exist' is negated, in its negated form *yok*, as an individual who does not receive the theme argument thus due to its absence, as illustrated by the example in (3), or an individual who is 'deprived' of the theme.

Finally, I will propose that the high applied non-core datives occuring in these constructions combine with a stative unaccusative structure, following the assumptions of several scholars (Burzio, 1986; L&RH, 1995; Harves, 2003; Cuervo, 2003, 2010) who assume that existential constructions are associated with an underlying unaccusative structure and following the hypothesis of Cuervo (2003, 2010) who assigns an unaccusative structure to predicational copular constructions.

5.2 Kimian states vs. Davidsonian states

In the literature of argument structure, scholars of different frameworks generally converge on the view that stative verbs are associated with a simple, non-complex predicate decomposition, suggesting that the structure of statives is less complex than eventive verbs. For example, under constructionist assumptions (Goldberg, 1995; Jackendoff, 1990b; Marantz, 1997) stative verbs are simple predicates which do not have an event structure. According to Kratzer (1995), all statives are in the class of individual- level predicates, further distinguished as unaccusative and non-unaccusative individual-level predicates, which lack the underlying Davidsonian event argument, while all stage-level predicates have an event argument. Under projectionist views (L&RH, 1998; Hale and Keyser, 2002) statives are treated as a homogenous class having a single, uniform argument structure with different argument realization patterns. Similarly, according to Ramchand (2002), who adopts a Post-Davidsonian view, statives behave completely homogenously, without involving any systematic subgroups.

Maienborn (2003), however, proposes that two kinds of states should be distinguished with regards to the ontological type of argument they contain; the class of *Kimian* states and the class of *Davidsonian* states. According to this distinction, Davidsonian states, such as *sit, sleep* or *lie* contain a stative Davidsonian event

argument, while Kimian states have an ontologically different type of argument, a Kimian state argument which does not denote an event. The class of Kimian states consists of stative verbs such as *know, resemble* or *own* and copular constructions. A Kimian state denotes a property which is instantiated at a particular time (Rothmayr, 2009). According to Maienborn, copular constructions denoting both stage-level predicates such as *be tired* (a temporary state) and individual-level predicates such as *be clever* (a more or less permanent property) express a Kimian state. A significant property of the Kimian/Davidsonian divide is that the nature of Kimian states is 'abstract', while Davidsonian states are more 'concrete' states which can be perceived. Maienborn establishes criteria to distinguish between the properties of Kimian and Davidsonian states to illustrate the different underlying arguments these states contain. Contra to the views of Maienborn and Kratzer, which assume that statives do not have a Davidsonian event argument (although Maienborn distinguishes Davidsonian states), Roy (2013) argues that all stative eventualities have an underlying Davidsonian event argument, including nonverbal statives. With respect to statives containing or lacking a Davidsonian event argument, I will follow the assumptions of Maienborn (2003), which will be supported in the following section.

With regards to Maienborn's established criteria, Rothmayr (2009) employs specific syntactic tests to identify the two types of states expressed by German stative predicates:

1. Kimian states being abstract cannot function as infinitival complements (non-sentential complements) of perception verbs while Davidsonian states can; thus, for example, *'I saw him resemble his father' expresses a Kimian state.

2. Manner adverbials modifying the event are only compatible with Davidsonian states, e.g. ‘She sat quietly at the table’, denotes a Davidsonian state.

3. A locative modifier can appear with both states; however, when a locative modifier occurs with a Kimian state it can only be interpreted as a ‘frame-setting adverbial’, not as an eventuality-related locative modifier, e.g. ‘The dress fitted me in front of the mirror’ cannot mean that the ‘fitting’ event took place in front of the mirror.

4. Degree modification; the modifier *ein bisschen* ‘a little’ is ambiguous with Davidsonian states in that it can either function as a degree modifier or as a temporal modifier modifying the temporal extent of the event, i.e. it can have an eventive reading. However, the eventive reading is not available in Kimian states, only degree modification holds with Kimian states, e.g. ‘The dress suited her a little.’ cannot have an eventive, time-span reading.

5.2.1 Evidence for Kimian states: Non-core datives combine with nonverbal predicates that express Kimian states

In this section I will show that non-core datives as benefactives, experiencers (not as psychological experiencers) and recipients can productively combine with the predicative adjectival construction (henceforth PAC) and existential construction, illustrated in 5.1, which are predicted to have a Kimian state argument and not an underlying Davidsonian event argument with respect to Maienborn’s criterion.

In (4a-b) non-core datives appear with the PAC, which has the adjectival predicates, *kapalı* ‘closed’ and *yüksek* ‘high’, respectively and an internal theme argument, appearing in these examples in subject position. Similarly in (5), a non-core dative is added to the existential construction, composed of the existential predicate *var* and a theme argument which follows the non-core dative.

(4) a. Havuz halk-a kapalı.
pool public-Dat closed
'The pool is closed to the public.'

b. Bu topuk-lar bana yüksek.
these heel-Pl I.Dat high
'These heels are (too) high for me.'

(5) a. Ali-ye zarf var.
Ali-Dat envelope exist
'There is an envelope for Ali.'

b. Herkes-e zam var.
everybody-Dat rise exist
'Everyone gets a pay rise.'

According to Maienborn (2003), copular sentences do not have a Davidsonian argument, therefore, we should expect these constructions to express Kimian states. When we apply two of the most commonly employed tests in (6-7), which can detect an underlying Davidsonian event argument, we observe that the tests indicate that Maienborn's prediction is borne out.

Manner adverbial:

(6) a. Havuz *gizlice/*hızlıca halk-a kapalı. (incompatible)
pool *gizlice/*quickly public-Dat closed
'The pool is *secretly/*quickly closed to the public.'

b. Bu topuk-lar bana *gizlice/*zarifçe yüksek. (incompatible)
these heel-Pl I.Dat *secretly/*elegantly high
'These heels are *secretly/*elegantly high for me.'

c. Ali-ye *hızlıca/*gizlice zarf var. (incompatible)
Ali-Dat *quickly/*secretly envelope exist
'There is *quickly/*secretly an envelope for Ali.'

d. Herkes-e *hızlıca/*gizlice zam var. (incompatible)
everybody-Dat *quickly/*secretly rise exist
'There is *quickly/*secretly a pay rise for everyone.'

The fact that adverbial modification with a manner adverb is ungrammatical with all the above sentences indicates that there cannot be an underlying Davidsonian event argument in the states in question. This is further supported by the degree modification diagnostics in (7), shown below, where degree modification leads to ungrammaticality or only degree modification is available but an eventive reading, which indicates a Davidsonian argument, is not available, i.e. none of the statives below can mean that there is an event taking place for a short period. For example, (7b) cannot have an eventive reading meaning that 'the heels are high for me for a little while', it can only modify the degree of the adjective. Similarly, (7a) cannot mean that the pool is closed to the public for a brief period, in fact the closed scale adjective *kapalı* 'closed' yields ungrammaticality with *biraz* modification.

Degree modification:

(7) a. Havuz halk-a *biraz kapalı. (ungrammatical)
pool public-Dat closed
'The pool is *a little closed to the public.'

b. Bana bu topuk-lar biraz yüksek. (only degree modification)
I.Dat these heel-Pl a little high
'These heels are a little (too) high for me.'

c. Ali-ye *biraz zarf var. (ungrammatical)
Ali-Dat *a little envelope exist
'There is *a little envelope for Ali.'

d. Herkes-e biraz zam var. (only degree modification)
everybody-Dat a little rise exist
'There is a little pay rise for everyone.'

To sum up, these facts are in support of Maienborn's claim that copular sentences can only express Kimian states and can never refer to an underlying Davidsonian argument.

5.3 Properties of Non-core datives appearing in the PAC

In this section, we will examine the semantic and syntactic properties of the predicative adjectival construction (PAC) when combined with a non-core dative, which represents a productive construction in Turkish. Based on a scalarity approach on the structure of adjectives (Kennedy & McNally, 2005; Kennedy, 2007), I will account for the two distinct meanings associated with this construction in combination with a non-core dative, which can be observed in the previous examples in (4a) and (4b), repeated below under (8a) and (8b):

(8) a. Havuz halk-a kapalı.
pool public-Dat closed
'The pool is closed to the public.'

b. Bu topuk-lar bana yüksek.
these heel-Pl I.Dat high
'These heels are (too) high for me.'

While in (8a) the non-core dative is related to the stative eventuality as an individual who is not permitted to benefit from the state of the pool as it is 'closed', in (8b) the non-core dative is an individual for whose standards or purposes the heels are not suitable or useful because they are 'too high'.

The claim will be that the scalar properties of adjectives determine the two distinct meanings exhibited by this construction, as observed in (8a) and (8b). That is, when a

non-core dative combines with the PAC, the properties of the adjectival predicate lead to two semantically distinct constructions. In this respect, specifically, the distinction of gradable vs. non-gradable adjectives and the characterization of relative vs. absolute gradable adjectives corresponding to an open or closed scale structure, respectively will be of significance. In what follows, I will review Kennedy & McNally's (2005) approach on the scalar structure of adjectives and finally posit that the PAC with a non-core dative participant needs to be sub-divided with respect to the semantic properties of adjectival predicates.[36]

5.3.1 Kennedy & McNally (2005) and Kennedy (2007)

The first significant distinction of adjectives is with respect to their gradability or 'scalarity'. Gradable adjectives map their arguments onto scales, which are ordered sets of degrees along some dimension such as cost, height, weight etc. (Kennedy, 2007). Thus a scale is an abstract representation of degrees or measurement, which has maximal or minimal elements or degrees, suggesting that gradable adjectives denote a measure function. An adjective which is gradable can be mapped onto degrees or measures of values, therefore degree morphology, such as comparative morphemes or degree intensifiers can modify gradable adjectives whereas non-gradable or non-scalar adjectives cannot be modified by measure or degree adverbs. It is assumed that gradable

[36] It should also be noted that with respect to the position of non-core datives in this construction, non-core datives can follow the theme, as in the example in (8b) or they can occur in sentence initial position;

(i) Bana bu topuk-lar yüksek.
I.Dat these heel-Pl high
'These heels are (too) high for me.'

Both orders are acceptable, and it may even be argued that in this construction the theme is in topic position and the non-core dative is usually in immediately preverbal focus position because specifically with relative adjectives the non-core dative is an individual whose relative standards determine the truth value of the adjective, i.e. the dative bears new information (as will be argued throughout the chapter). The word order of the adjectival predicate and the theme is not freely reversible (see Tura, 1986 for definiteness and referentiality in nonverbal sentences).

adjectives are associated with a scale e.g. in the case of (9a) a 'scale of tallness', hence have scalar structure, unlike non-gradable adjectives which are therefore not compatible with degree modification, shown in (9b).

(9) a. Peter is taller than his brother.

b. */?This bomb is more nuclear than that bomb.

The second crucial distinction is the basic division between 'relative' and 'absolute' gradable adjectives. According to this division, gradable adjectives that are associated with fully open scales such as *tall* or *expensive* have relative standards, while gradable adjectives making use of fully or partially closed scales such as *closed* or *dangerous* respectively have absolute standards. The relative and absolute standards are defined and determined with respect to the property of the scale; scale structure consists of minimal and /or maximal values or elements, i.e. there can be limits or bounds at the lower (minimal) degree or at an upper (maximal) degree of the scale or in the case of fully open scales there are no upper or lower limits. For example, relative adjectives such as *tall, expensive, fast* or *big* do not have minimal or maximal set standards at either end of the scale, i.e. these have fully or totally open scales. In contrast, absolute adjectives have fixed minimal or maximal values or standards of their respective scales, suggesting that either one end (the lower or higher end) or both ends (lower and higher ends) of the scale are closed. For instance, absolute adjectives which have minimum values such as *dangerous, bent* or *dirty* are associated with a 'lower closed scale' meaning that the minimal lower end of the scale is closed. One diagnostics for these is that they cannot be modified by 'completely' but 'slightly' should be felicitous, possibly because 'slightly' denotes a degree which is a little bit above the minimum. Absolute adjectives which have their standards or values fixed at the upper maximal bound i.e.

'upper closed scale' adjectives such as *straight, safe,* or *pure* lack a minimum standard but make use of their higher bound. This means that e.g. *safe* is true of an entity or object if it has a maximal degree of *safeness*. Unlike lower closed adjectives, these can be modified by 'completely' having an upper limit but not by 'slightly' since these lack a minimum limit that can be modified. When both minimum and maximum ends of the scale are closed, i.e. the adjective is associated with a fully or 'totally closed scale' such as *open, closed, full* or *empty,* it is available for modification with proportional modifiers such as 'completely', 'half' or 'partly' because both minimal and maximal degrees on the scale of such gradable adjectives are bound, i.e. closed. The scalar structure hypothesis of 'gradable adjectives' is illustrated below in (10):

(10)

1. Totally open scale adjectives (*Relative* adjectives) e.g. *expensive*

no minimal lower limit ---------- no maximal upper limit

2. Totally closed scale adjectives (*Absolute* adjectives) e.g. *open*

minimal lower limit **I**----------**I** *maximal* upper limit

3. Upper closed scale adjectives (*Absolute* adjectives) e.g. *safe*

no minimal lower limit ----------**I** *maximal* upper limit

4. Lower closed scale adjectives (*Absolute* adjectives) e.g. *dangerous*

minimal lower limit **I**---------- no maximal upper limit

The crucial properties of totally open scale adjectives, 1 (*relative* adjectives) and the three other closed scale *absolute* adjectives, 2, 3 and 4, which have at least one closed scale on either or both ends of the scale, differ greatly with respect to 'vagueness' of their standards. While the standards of absolute adjectives are fixed at a minimum or

maximum bound on the scale, the standards of relative adjectives which lack a minimal or maximal endpoint are 'relative' and vague. Thus, these distinct standards of comparison, which are determined relative to a comparison class of entities, lead to the *relative* vs. *absolute* distinction or the contrast in the semantics of gradable adjectives. Absolute adjectives do not need reference to context, suggesting that their standards are clear, non-vague because these adjectives have a minimal or maximal degree of the concept that is measured, e.g. an entity or object is *safe* if it has a maximum degree of safeness or safety, or an object is *open* if it has a minimal degree of openness or aperture. The implication of this is that according to this hypothesis, the standard of comparison for absolute adjectives is not context-dependent.

In contrast, an important property of relative adjectives that sets them apart from absolute adjectives is their *vagueness*. Relative adjectives are vague because they have context-dependent standards of comparison. Their truth conditions vary when the context or comparison standards are changed. For instance, a statement such as the one in (11) is vague because it may be judged true or false depending on the context in which it is used, suggesting that the context determines whether the sentence is true or false.

(11) The coffee in Rome is expensive.

(Kennedy, 2007)

If the standard of comparison is set in relation to other Italian cities, the sentence can be true but if it is asserted in comparison to the class of American cities, it can be false. Thus, the standard value of relative gradable adjectives is determined with respect to a comparison class which is contextually conditioned, contrasting with absolute adjectives which have their standards fixed at particular values or degrees, i.e. a maximal and/or

minimal bound. Fully open scale adjectives, which lack minimal or maximal values on the scale, therefore do not have absolute standards, their standards are relative to the comparison class. For example, for a statement such as 'Peter is *tall*' to be true or false there must be a standard value of a class of comparison, e.g. this sentence may be true in Japan, while in Holland it may be considered false. This suggests that the standard of 'tallness' depends on a contextually determined class of comparison.

5.3.2 The implications of the scalarity approach on the PAC with non-core datives

The distinction of scalar, gradable adjectives and non-scalar, non-gradable adjectives as well as the semantic division of *relative* vs. *absolute* adjectives is relevant to the distinct semantics we observe in the PAC when combined with a non-core dative. Accordingly, I posit two constructions with distinct senses;

(i) When a non-core dative is combined with the PAC whose adjectival predicate is a gradable relative adjective , i.e. it is associated with a totally open scale, as presented in (12), the semantics of the construction corresponds to: 'the non-core dative is an individual for whose standards or purposes the physical property of an object is useful or suitable'.

(12) Bu çanta bana büyük /küçük. (totally open scale)
this bag I.Dat big/ small
'This bag is too big/small for me.'

I will refer to the non-core dative in this construction as an *experiencer* (not a psychological experiencer) and I will refer to the semantics or central sense associated with the above construction as 'the *relative suitability sense*'.

(ii) When a non-core dative is combined with the PAC whose adjectival predicate is either a) a gradable absolute adjective, i.e. it is associated with a closed scale with

minimally and/or maximally fixed bounds or b) a non-gradable, non-scalar adjective, as shown by the examples in (13a) and (13b) respectively, the semantics of the construction corresponds to: 'the non-core dative is an individual who is permitted to benefit or prohibited from benefiting from the state or property pertaining to the entity, as a benefactive or malefactive, and/or the non-core dative is an individual who is positively or adversely affected by the property of the entity.

(13) a. Müşteri-ler-e mağaza tüm gün açık. (totally closed scale)
customer-Pl-Dat store all day open
'The store is open all day for customers.'

b. Alışveriş merkezi trans kadın-lar-a yasak. (non-gradable)
shopping mall trans woman-Pl-Dat forbidden
Lit.'The shopping mall is forbidden/prohibited for transsexual women.'
'Transsexual women are not allowed in the shopping mall.'

Thus, I will refer to the semantics of this construction as 'the *permissive-benefactive sense*'. Please note that the adjectival predicate *yasak* 'forbidden' in (13b) has been categorized as a non-gradable adjective due to its semantic incompatibility with comparative morphology, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (14).

(14) *Burada yüzmek, orada yüzmek-ten daha yasak.

*'Swimming here is more prohibited than swimming there.'

5.3.2.1 Properties of the *Relative Suitability* construction

(i) Its semantic sense

In the *relative suitability* construction, the adjectives are totally open scale relative adjectives; therefore, the truth conditions of such adjectival predicates will display variability depending on context. For instance in (12), 'the bag' being *big* or *small* is a vague property and may be true or false under varying conditions. Thus, when a non-

core dative individual is combined with a PAC expressing relative adjectives, it denotes that the relative property of the bag, i.e. its being *big* or *small* is determined by the standards of the non-core dative.Therefore, the standard value of comparison of the physical property of the object, such as its dimension or weight, is only determined according to the needs of the non-core dative participant. In (12) *Bu çanta bana büyük*, the bag may be 'too big' for one's use while it may be 'too small' for the use of another individual.

To sum up, in this construction the non-core dative is an individual who is establishing the standards of comparison with respect to their own needs in terms of how suitable or useful the physical property of the entity is for their purpose. Some examples of relative adjectival predicates with which non-core datives can combine denoting the proposed sense of *relative suitability* are illustrated below in (15). These adjectives are associated with a totally open scale, lacking a minimal or maximal degree or value according to the hypothesis established by Kennedy & McNally (2005). Given that the core semantic meaning of this construction is the suitability of objects for an individual, we observe that the relative adjectives within this structure are frequently typical dimensional/measure adjectives.

(15) *pahalı* 'expensive' e.g. *ev pahalı* 'the house is expensive.'

düşük 'low' e.g *maaş düşük* 'the salary is low.'

yüksek 'high' e.g *fiyat yüksek* 'the price is high.'

iyi 'good' e.g. *burası iyi* 'this place is good/fine.'

uygun 'suitable' e.g. *iş uygun* 'this job is suitable.'

uzun 'long' e.g. *etek uzun* 'the skirt is long.'

kısa 'short' e.g. *saç modeli kısa* 'the hairstyle is short.'

bol ‘loose/baggy’e.g. *pantolon bol* ‘the pants are baggy.’

dar ‘tight/narrow’ e.g. *elbise dar* ‘the dress is tight.’

büyük ‘big’ e.g. *bavul büyük* ‘the suitcase is big.’

küçük ‘small’e.g. *oda küçük* ‘the room is small.’

açık ‘light/weak’ e.g. *saç tonu açık* ‘this tone hair colour is light.’

koyu ‘dark/strong’ e.g. *kahve koyu* ‘the coffee is strong.’

zor ‘difficult’ e.g. *kitap zor* ‘the book is difficult.’

acı ‘spicy/hot’ e.g. *yemek acı* ‘the food is (spicy) hot.’

uzak/sapa ‘far/remote’ e.g. *orası uzak/sapa* ‘that place is far/remote.’

yakın ‘near/close’ e.g. *Taksim yakın* ‘Taksim is close.’

To the list of property denoting adjectives we can also add adjectives expressing quantity. An adjective of quantity such as *az* ‘little’ or *çok* ‘much’ appearing with a dative participant expresses that the quantity is relative with reference to the context, which is determined by the non-core dative’s standards, shown in (16):

(16) Bu çorba bana yeterli/ az/ çok.
this soup I.Dat adequate/little/much
‘This soup is adequate/too little/ too much for me.’

(17a-d) illustrate non-core datives combined with adjectival predicates, which have totally open scales, thus denoting the proposed sense of *relative suitability*.

(17) a. Bu daire çok güzel ama Burcu-ya pahalı.
this flat very nice but Burcu-Dat expensive
‘This flat is very nice but it’s (too) expensive for Burcu.’

b. İş-i beğen-di-m ama maaş-ı bana düşük.
work-Acc like-Past-1Sg. but salary-3Sg.Poss I.Dat low
‘I like the job but the salary is too low for me.’

c. Avcılar-a gid-e-me-m, orası bana çok uzak.
Avcılar-Dat go-Abil-Neg-1Sg. there I.Dat very far
'I can't go to Avcılar, it's too far (away) for me.'

d. Bu ton bana biraz açık, pek sev-me-di-m.
this tone I.Dat little light much like-Neg-Past-1Sg.
'This tone is a little light for me, I don't like it very much.'

The sentences in (17) denote that the property of the object expressed by the relative adjective is not suitable/ useful for the purpose of the non-core dative participant, i.e. according to their own standards. For example (17a) denotes that the price of the flat is not suitable/ appropriate for Burcu's budget. In (17c) the area *Avcılar* 'being far' is only relative to where the dative individual lives as well as what she/he considers 'far', thus for another individual the same distance may not be considered far.

Since in this construction the scalar properties of the relative adjectives denote a fully open scale, the usage of an absolute adjective with a minimally or maximally fixed closed degree or a totally closed scale can lead to semantic anomaly, as shown in (18).

(18) ?? Bu araba bana tehlikeli/güvenli.[37]
this car I.Dat dangerous/safe
Intended meaning; 'This car is dangerous/safe for me/my needs and purposes.'

The sentence in (18) cannot mean that the particular car is unsuitable or suitable according to or in relation to the standards of the dative participant in that it is 'dangerous' or 'safe' respectively. The absolute adjective *tehlikeli* 'dangerous' has a minimal lower closed scale while the absolute adjective *güvenli* 'safe' has a higher maximal bound. Thus, under my hypothesis we should be able to use absolute adjectives

[37] Note that this sentence is grammatical when the non-core participant is introduced with the postposition *için* 'for' and is not marked with dative case but with the genitive when it is a pronoun:
(i) Bu araba ben-im için tehlikeli/güvenli.
this car I-1Gen for dangerous/ safe
'This car is dangerous/safe for me.'

only with the second, *permissive-benefactive sense* construction. This prediction is borne out, as evidenced by the grammaticality of (19):

(19) Sosyal paylaşım site-ler-i çocuklar-a tehlikeli.
social sharing site-Pl-Poss children-Dat dangerous
'Social networking websites are dangerous for children.'

Notice that different from the *relative suitability* construction, the sentence in (19) does not denote 'according to the standards of children, social networking sites are dangerous'; what (19) expresses is that the general assumption is that social networking sites pose a danger for children according to expert views of e.g. psychologists. Thus, the non-core dative participant is a group of individuals who are adversely affected by this property of social networking sites, i.e. their being *dangerous.*

(ii) compatibility with the postposition *göre* 'according to'

Another significant property of the *relative suitability* construction is that the postposition *göre* 'according to' can follow a non-core dative; this makes perfect sense since the central sense of the construction is 'according to/relative to one's standards'. However, the aim of my proposal is to introduce non-core dative participants into the argument structure of the predicate without the postposition *göre*, in a more constrained construction, hence sense. The postposition *göre* governs the dative case in Turkish, thus in a wide sense and usage *göre* means 'according to/in relation to', unlike the construction I am proposing which is restricted to only relative adjectives involving a narrow sense of 'an entity being (in)appropriate for one's use, purpose or standards'.

This can be exhibited by the grammaticality contrast in (20a) and (20b), where the adjective *rezil* 'disgraceful' must be introduced by the postposition *göre* because the semantics of the sentence is incompatible with the *relative suitability* construction which I propose.

(20) a. Bu adam-lar bana göre rezil.
these man-Pl I.Dat according to disgraceful
'To me these men are disgraceful.'

b. *Bu adam-lar bana rezil.

(iii) can appear with the verb *gel-* 'come'

A further interesting property of this construction is that it can appear with the verbal predicate *gel-* 'come', shown in (21). Note that this is example (1) from the Introduction section with the verb *gel-* added to the construction.

(21) Bu pantolon bana dar gel-di.
this trouser I.Dat narrow come-Past
'These trousers are too tight for me.'

When the predicate of the sentence is *gel-*, it adds a notion of 'I am experiencing that the fitting of these trousers is too tight' to the construction.

Now, consider the sentence in (22);

(22) Bu daire çok güzel ama Burcu-ya pahalı gel-di.
this flat very nice but Burcu-Dat expensive come-Past
'This flat is very nice but it's (too) expensive for Burcu.'

In (22) *gel-* adds again a similar notion in that the non-core dative participant Burcu finds the price of the flat too high for her standards.

The predicate *gel-* frequently occurs with adjectives describing a property of food, adding the sense of 'food not agreeing with me', shown in (23):

(23) Bu yemek bana ağır/ tuzlu/yağlı gel-di.
this food I.Dat heavy /salty/ greasy come-Past
'I find this food too heavy/ salty /greasy for me.'

It could even be argued that in (23) the construction is losing its 'suitable for one's relative standards' sense and is shifting to 'an entity agreeing/disagreeing with someone's physical needs', or having a 'helping effect' as exhibited, in (24) below.

(24) Bu yemek/ ilaçlar bana (çok) iyi gel-di.
this food/medication I.Dat very good come-Past
'This food / medication has helped me/done me good.'

The above sentences indicate that *gel-* can be added to this particular construction because it has the notion of 'an individual (dative) experiencing the property of an object as e.g. big/small/good, relative to their needs', which is compatible with the *relative suitability* sense.[38]

To conclude, the *relative suitability* construction is only compatible with relative gradable adjectival predicates denoting a specific sense of 'an object/entity being suitable for an individual's use, purpose or standards'.

5.3.2.2 Properties of the *Permissive-Benefactive Sense* construction

In the *permissive-benefactive sense* construction the adjectives are either gradable absolute adjectives, illustrated in (25a), or non-gradable adjectives which are not associated with a scalar structure, shown under (25b).

(25) a. Tuz tansiyon hasta-lar-ın-a zararlı.
salt pressure patient-Pl-Poss-Dat harmful
'Salt is harmful for high blood pressure patients.'

[38] Clearly, the distinct semantics of this construction with *gel-* merits further research, not only with respect to its semantic properties but also its aspectual properties, which exhibit varying behaviour e.g. while (21) according to the tests I have employed in this chapter expresses a Kimian state, (24) contains an underlying Davidsonian event argument based on its compatibility with a manner adverbial.
However, for reasons of space, I will leave the analysis of this particular construction for further research.

b. Yarın öğrenci-ler-e giriş ücretsiz.
tomorrow student-Pl-Dat entrance free
'Tomorrow, entrance is free of charge for students.'

In (25a), the sentence denotes that it has been established by physicians that salt is considered to be 'harmful' (a minimal lower closed scale adjective) for people with high blood pressure; thus, they are adversely affected by it. In (25b), the adjectival predicate is not gradable, therefore the sentence expresses that students are permitted to benefit from the state of 'entrance being free' i.e. the property pertaining to 'entrance'. Notice that in neither of the sentences does the construction denote 'according to or relative to the standards of the (non-core dative) individuals does the property of the theme hold', i.e. contrasting with the *relative suitability* construction, the non-core dative participant is not an individual according to whose standards the property expressed by the adjective is relative, e.g. people with high blood pressure do not establish the standards of 'harm'. Examples of adjectival predicates used in this construction are further illustrated in (26a-f), expressing the proposed *permissive-benefactive sense* for non-core datives.

(26) a. Röntgen hamile-ler-e zararlı/ tehlikeli.
x-rays pregnant-Pl-Dat harmful/dangerous
'X-rays are harmful/dangerous for pregnant women.'

b. Kampanya emekli-ler-e bedava.
campaign pensioner-Pl-Dat free of charge
'This campaign is free of charge for pensioners.'

c. Iran-da-ki nükleer santral turist-ler-e açık/ kapalı.
Iran-Loc-Adj nuclear plant tourist-Pl-Dat open / closed
'The nuclear plant in Iran is open/ closed to tourists.'

d. Bu kampanya sadece üye-ler-e özel.
this campaign exclusively member-Pl-Dat private/special.
'This campaign is exclusively special for members.'

e. Türkiye-de, gül-mek kadın-lar-a yasak / günah/haram .
Turkey-Dat laugh-Nomin womanl-Pl-Dat prohibited/ sinful/forbidden religiously.
'In Turkey, laughing is prohibited for women/considered sinful.'

f. Erkek-ler-e maç-lar-da küfür serbest.
man-Pl-Dat game-Pl-Dat swearing free/permissible
'Men are allowed to swear in football games.'

In all the above sentences, the core semantic sense is that the non-core dative participant is an individual who is permitted or prohibited from benefiting from the property of the entity in question or an individual who is positively or adversely affected by the property of what the adjective denotes.

A distinguishing property of this construction is that different from the *relative suitability* construction, the sentences above are not compatible with the postposition *göre* 'according to':

(27) a. Röntgen hamile-ler-e * göre zararlı/tehlikeli .
x-rays pregnant-Pl-Dat according to harmful/ dangerous
?'X-rays are harmful/ dangerous according to pregnant women.'

Notice that *göre* changes the meaning of the sentence in that it can only mean 'according to pregnant women x-rays are harmful/dangerous', which is semantically odd since they are not some body of authority who can establish the standards which determine the harmful or dangerous status of x-rays.

b. Iran-da-ki nükleer santral turist-ler-e *göre açık/ kapalı.
Iran-Loc-Adj nuclear plant tourist-Pl-Dat according to open / closed
*'The nuclear plant in Iran is open/ closed according to tourists.'

(27b) is ungrammatical; however, when *göre* does occur in (27b) it completely changes the meaning of the sentence in that it can mean 'according to tourists' reports the nuclear plant in Iran is open or closed.'

However, the non-core dative in the *permissive-benefactive sense* construction can be paraphrased by the postposition *için* 'for', shown in (28a);

(28) a. Röntgen hamile-ler için zararlı/ tehlikeli.
x-rays pregnant-Pl for harmful /dangerous
'X-rays are harmful/ dangerous for pregnant women.'

Although with a totally closed scale absolute adjective, *için* 'for' appears to be odd, as exhibited in (28b).

b. ?? Iran-da-ki nükleer santral turist-ler için açık/ kapalı.
Iran-Loc-Adj nuclear plant tourist-Pl for open / closed
'The nuclear plant in Iran is open/ closed for tourists.'

A further distinguishing property of this construction is that, in contrast to the *relative suitability sense* construction, the verb *gel-* 'come' cannot occur as the predicate of the *permissive-benefactive sense* construction, exhibited by the ungrammaticality of (29a) and (29b), where *gel-* is incompatible with this construction.

(29) a *Iran-da-ki nükleer santral turist-ler-e açık/ kapalı gel-di.
Iran-Loc-Adj nuclear plant tourist-Pl-Dat open /closed come-Past
Intended meaning: 'The tourists experienced the nuclear plant to be open/closed.'

b. *Bu kampanya sadece üye-ler-e özel gel-di.
this campaign exclusively member-Pl-Dat private/special come-Past
'Members experienced/find this campaign to be exclusively special for them.'

It is possible to attribute this ungrammaticality to the lack of experiencer semantics of the non-core dative in this particular construction, since in this construction, as has been argued, a non-core dative has the role of a bene-/malefactive, affected by the stative eventuality.

To conclude the discussion, the two constructions in question are semantically distinct with respect to their core semantic senses. This in turn stems from the scalar properties of their adjectival predicates in that they are characterized as gradable vs. non- gradable adjectives and/or totally open scale relative adjectives vs. absolute adjectives. The following is a schematized summary of the distinguishing properties of the two constructions:

(30)

Relative Suitability Sense Construction

- the adjective is a totally open scale relative adjective
- non-core datives are experiencers (of a non-psychological state)
- the PP *göre* is semantically compatible with this construction
- the verb *gel-* can be added to this construction

Permissive Benefactive Sense Construction

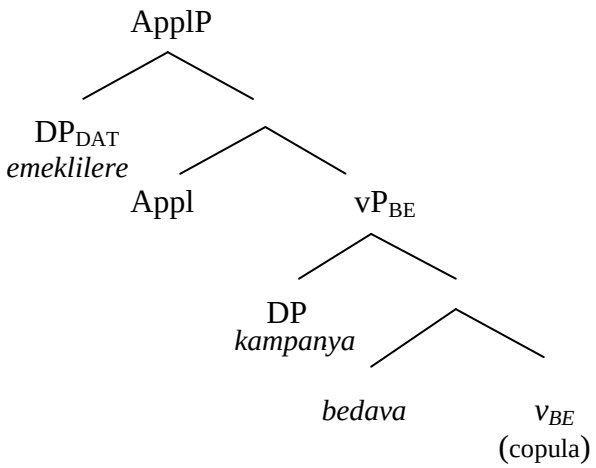
- the adjective is an absolute gradable or non-gradable adjective
- non-core datives are benefactives or malefactives
- *göre* is not compatible with this construction
- the verb *gel-* cannot be added to the construction

With regards to the structure of non-core datives combining with the PAC, under the hypothesis assumed in this thesis, a non-core dative licensed by a high applicative can take a stative vP as its complement. The implication of this hypothesis is that the datives in this configuration are not arguments licensed by the nonverbal predicate. In

the previous section I have demonstrated that when a non-core dative is added to the structure of the proposed PAC, it is semantically related to the stative eventuality as an experiencer, benefactive or malefactive, associated with a particular semantics. With respect to the structure of the PAC, I will follow the assumptions of Cuervo (2003, 2010), which are also compatible with Roy's (2013) proposal of a unified structure of predicational copular sentences. The copular construction investigated in 5.3., expresses a predicational relation between the subject (theme) and the predicate, in that the predicate expresses a property of the theme. Cuervo assumes the structure of adjectival predicates to be unaccusative, where the internal theme argument is licensed as a subject i.e. a specifier of the predicate verbalized by vBE, not as a complement. Under her theory, the reason for the theme being licensed as a subject is due to the predicational relationship between the theme and the predicate, which expresses a property of the subject (theme).

Following these assumptions, the structure I propose for non-core datives combined with the PAC is illustrated below in (31). The structure below corresponds to the sentence in (26b). I also assume that the nonverbal predicate has a phonologically null copular morpheme (Kornfilt, 1996) which is only realized when it is inflected.

(31)



According to this proposal the non-core dative in (31) is an external argument, added to the stative unaccusative PAC through a high applicative head.

5.4 Non-core datives in existential constructions

The Turkish existential construction formed with the nonverbal predicate *var* 'exist' and its negative counterpart *yok* 'not exist' (see Kelepir, 2001 for morphological evidence that *var*/*yok* is a participle) expresses or asserts the existence of an entity. The single theme argument or 'subject' (based on and following the assumption that an existential structure is associated with an unaccusative structure (Burzio, 1986; L&RH, 1995; Harves, 2003; Cuervo, 2003) or with 'locative predication' (Freeze, 1992)) can be a bare noun, an indefinite or a bare plural. The ordering of the constituents in a Turkish existential construction is rather rigid in that the theme is confined to immediately preverbal position (Taylan, 1987), as shown below the theme *olay* 'incident' cannot precede the locative phrase.[39]

[39] Kelepir (2001) following Freeze (1992) assumes a locative predication structure for Turkish existential constructions. This hypothesis is premised on the assumption that existential constructions involve locative predication.

(32) a.*Olay meclis-te var.
incident parliament-Loc exist

b. Meclis-te olay var.
parliament incident exist
'There has been an incident at the parliament.'

The reason for this strict ordering is because the theme cannot be interpreted existentially when it appears outside the VP, in order for it to be interpreted existentially, it must be within its position in VP (Kelepir, 2001). Note that the strict ordering of the existential construction contrasts with the PAC, where we have seen that when the construction is combined with a non-core dative, the theme can be in sentence-initial position or in immediately preverbal position, repeated below in (33a-b).

(33) a. Mağaza müşteri-ler-e tüm gün açık.
store customer-Pl-Dat all day open
'The store is open all day for customers.'

b. Müşteri-ler-e mağaza tüm gün açık.
customer-Pl-Dat store all day open
'The store is open all day for customers.'

As a result of the specific ordering of constituents in an existential construction, a non-core dative cannot follow the theme argument, unless there is contrastive focus.

(34) a. Çocuk-lar-a pasta var.
child-Pl-Dat cake exist
'There is (some) cake for the children.'

b. Pasta çocuk-lar-a var, büyük-ler-e yok. (contrastive focus)
cake child-Pl-Dat exist, adult-Pl-Dat exist.Neg.
'There is cake for the children, not for the adults.'

However, in the order in (34b), the theme *pasta* 'cake' loses its existential reading; thus, the order is only acceptable in a context where the theme has presuppositional reading,

as in the above example, or e.g. with partitive interpretation, again in a presuppositional context, shown in (34d):

c. *Bir haber sana var.
a news you.Dat exist
'There is some news for you.'

d. Bir haber sana var, bir haber anne-n-e var.
a news you.Dat exist a news mother-2Sg.Poss-Dat exist
'There is news for you and news for your mother.'

These facts suggest that non-core datives in the existential construction cannot follow the theme argument. When there is a locative phrase the non-core dative can either follow or precede the locative, as we will see in the following section.

5.4.1 Semantic properties of non-core datives appearing in the existential construction

A non-core dative in Turkish can combine with an existential construction, where it is interpreted as the recipient of the theme when the existential predicate *var* is affirmative or as an individual who cannot receive the theme due to its absence or non-existence when the the existential predicate is negated, in its form *yok* 'not exist', illustrated by the examples (35a) and (35b) respectively.

(35) a. Sigorta yap-tır-ma-yan-a ceza var.
insurance do-Caus-Neg-Rel-Dat fine exist
Lit. 'A fine exists for those who don't get insured.'
'Those who do not get insured will receive a fine.'

b. Kimse-ye ceza yok.
no one-Dat fine/penalty exist.Neg
Lit. 'A penalty does not exist for anybody.'
'No one receives/will receive a fine/penalty.'

However, as shown by the examples in (35), non-core datives need not be recipients of a physical entity but they can denote recipients of an abstract entity. Furthermore, they can

be interpreted as both benefactives and malefactives, depending on contextual entailment. For instance, in (35a), the non-core dative participant is to receive 'a fine'; thus, being adversely affected expresses a malefactive. I will refer to this specific semantic role as a 'recipient-malefactive'. Similarly, in (35b) the sentence entails not receiving a fine or penalty in that it denotes the absence of it, therefore, the non-core dative is not interpreted as a malefactive, but as someone who benefits by not receiving a penalty, i.e. from the non-existence of a penalty.

Although non-core datives in existentials appear to be semantically directly related to the theme argument, which is in line with a low applicative hypothesis, this assumption cannot be correct. I argue that the semantic relation of the non-core dative participant to the stative eventuality observed in (35a-b) is in support of the proposed high applicative analysis. This relation is compatible with the semantics of a high applicative (as proposed by Pylkkänen) in that the non-core dative is related to the stative eventuality and not merely to the theme as a recipient. As is evident from the sentences in (35a-b), firstly, this construction also entails a 'lack of/absence of ' or 'deprived of an entity' semantics , in which case the non-core dative is an individual who does not receive what the theme denotes;thus, this semantics is incompatible with the semantic entailments of a low applicative. Secondly, non-core-datives in this construction are not always interpreted as recipients of the theme, as further examples throughout this section will exhibit. Finally, an implied notion of transfer of possession in this construction, be it abstract or physical, is not entailed since there is no original possessor denoted in the existential construction. For example, in (35a), it can hardly be argued that *ceza* 'a fine' is transferred from the original possessor to the potential recipient as there can plausibly be no relationship in which the original possessor

possesses ‘a fine’. However, an original possessor can contextually be implied, when the non-core dative is interpreted as the recipient[40] of a physical object, e.g. a gift, shown in (36), whose presence implies an original possessor.

(36) Sana hediye var.
you.Dat gift exist
‘There is a gift for you.’

Yet, arguing that there is implied change of possession or transfer as such appears to be far-fetched. Interestingly, though, when a non-core dative appears in the Genitive Possessor Construction, as will be shown in this section, or with an ablative source denoting the original sender, we may argue that there is an implied transfer of possession.

Below I present examples of non-core datives combining with the existential construction, where the dative participant can be the recipient of a physical entity (37), a recipient of an abstract entity (38) or a malefactive due to the absence of the theme, shown in (39-40):

(37) Sana bir zarf var.
you.Dat a envelope exist.
‘There is an envelope for you.’

(38) a. Ali-ye Ankara-dan haber var.
Ali-Dat Ankara-Abl. news exist
‘There is some news for Ali from Ankara.’

b. Hasan-dan sana selam var.
Hasan-Abl you.Dat greetings exist
‘There are greetings for you from Hasan.’

[40] Although, throughout this thesis I may categorize such non-core datives as recipients, the notion of recipient here should not be taken as that of ‘recipient’ conforming to its prototypical characterization.

(39) Sigara iç-en kişi-ye iş yok.
cigarette smoke-Rel person-Dat work exist.Neg
'There is no work for smokers.'

(40) Ahmet Davutoğlu: Fitneci-ler-e izin yok.
Ahmet Davutoğlu: mischief maker-Pl-Dat permission exist.Neg
Ahmet Davutoğlu (Turkish Prime Minister): 'Mischief-makers are not granted permission.' (www.ahaber.com)

We observe that in (38a) Ali is an intended recipient of some news whose source or sender is expressed by ablative case marking on the location *Ankara*. The salient interpretation here is that the inanimate location *Ankara* is construed as an animate body of 'senders', capable of sending. Similarly, in (38b) greetings are interpreted as 'sent' or transferred from the sender Hasan, marked with ablative case, to the recipient *sana* 'you.Dat'. Therefore, in (38a-b), different from the other sentences in (37), (39) and (40), transfer of possession from the source to the recipient is explicitly expressed. In contrast in (39) and (40) the non-core dative is interpreted as an individual who is deprived of an entity, i.e. *iş* 'work' and *izin* 'permission' due to its non-existence.

The structure of existentials, according to some scholars (Freeze 1992) is semantically viewed as a type of locative predication, which rests on the assumption that in existentials and copular locatives the main predicate is a locative predicate. Thus, under this view existentials and locative copular constructions have the same underlying structure. When we take a look at the Turkish existential construction in (41), which has a locative phrase, we see that in line with the above view, the main predicate predicates a location; however, it is difficult to argue that the existential predicates in (42a-b), which have non-core datives appearing in their structures, predicate a location.

(41) Türkiye-de elektrik kesinti-si var.
Turkey-Dat power cut-Poss exist
'There is a power cut/outage in Turkey.'

(42) a. Sana haber var.
you.Dat news exist
'There is some news for you.'

b. Memur-lar-a zam var.
public servant-Pl-Dat rise exist
'There is/will be a pay rise for public/civil servants.'

(42a) denotes that the non-core dative participant is the potential recipient of some news; no predication of location is implied or required. It may be argued that in (42b) the implied location could be *Türkiye-de* 'in Turkey', yet one could also argue that the existential merely expresses 'the availability or approaching of a pay rise'. We have seen that in the previous examples of non-core datives with existentials, a locative phrase was also not expressed. However, non-core datives can occur with locative phrases in existentials:

(43) Ev-de sana sürpriz / iş var.
house-Loc you.Dat surprise/ work exist
Lit. 'There is a surprise/ some work for you at the house.'
'A surprise/ some work is expecting you at home.'

Maybe the absence or lack of requirement of a locative phrase in existentials with non-core datives, as the previous examples have exhibited, can be attributed to the different semantics of the existential construction combined with dative participants, namely its 'recipient' or 'lack of (deprivation)' semantics, where locative predication is not required or is secondary.

An interesting semantic property of the existential construction has been noted by Tura (1986). She argues that some existential sentences are derived from verbal predicates which denote events, such as happening, approaching or coming out and are concealed under existential *var*/*yok*. She refers to such existential sentences as *concealed existentials*. We also observe this proposed semantics in existential appearing with non-core datives. Consider the sentences below.

(44) a. Erken yat-ıyor-um, sabah bana iş var.
early lie-Prog-1Sg morning I.Dat work exist.
'I'am going to bed, I have to go to work in the morning.'

b. Siz-e yarın misafir var.
you-Dat tomorrow guest exist
My translation: 'You have some guests tomorrow.'

(Tura, 1986, p. 81)

The sentence in (44a) denotes obligation in that the non-core dative has to go to work, i.e. an event concealed under an existential construction is approaching or about to happen, similarly in (44b) the non-core dative expresses an individual who is expecting guests. The sentence in (42b) appears to be a concealed existential as well in that it denotes 'a pay rise is about to come for civil-servants'.

Finally, non-core datives can also combine with the Genitive Possessor Construction whose predicate is existential *yok*/*var*, whereby the sentence denotes transfer of possession from the genitive possessor to the dative recipient.
Kelepir (2001) classifies possessor constructions in Turkish as the Genitive Possessor Construction (GPC) and the Locative Possessive Construction (LPC), (see Kelepir, 2001

for their differences). Thus, what is interesting is that non-core datives can appear in the GPC (55a) but appear to be ungrammatical with the LPC (45b).[41]

(45) a. Ben-im sana haber-im var.
I-1Gen you.Dat news- 1Sg.Poss exist
'I have news for you.'

b. *Ben-de sana haber var.
I-Loc you.Dat news exist
Intended meaning: 'I have news for you.'

Note that in (45a) the interpretation of the sentence is 'I am the possessor of news which I will pass on to you'. Therefore, we can argue that this sentence implies abstract transfer of an entity from the possessor to the non-core dative recipient. Further examples of the GPC with non-core datives convey the same possessor-recipient semantics, as illustrated in (46a-c).

(46) a. Ali-nin sana selam-ı var.
Ali-3Gen you.Dat greetings-3Sg.Poss exist
'Ali sends you his greetings.'

b. (Ben-im) çocuk-lar-a bir şarkı-m var.
(I-1Gen) child-Pl-Dat a song-1Sg.Poss exist
'I have a song for the children (to sing to them).'

c. Seda-ya müjde-m var.
Seda-Dat good news-1Sg.Poss exist
'I have some good news for Seda.'

To conclude the discussion, I have argued that the core semantics of a non-core dative appearing in an existential construction is that of an individual 'receiving ' or 'being deprived of' a physical or abstract entity. Furthermore, I have established that

[41] At this stage, the only answer I can propose for the ungrammaticality of non-core datives with the LPC is that it could be the case that there is a mismatch between the locative semantics and the recipient semantics which may require a dynamic construal. For now, I leave this issue open for further research.

there may sometimes be an implication of transfer of possession depending on contextual entailment, or particularly when an ablative source is specified or when the non-core dative appears in the GPC.

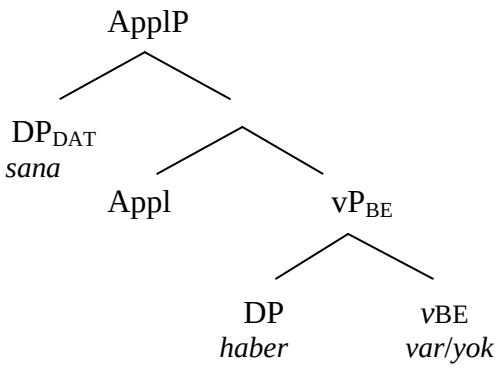
5.4.2 The structure of non-core datives combining with the existential construction

With regards to the structure of non-core datives combining with existentials, existential constructions have been associated with an unaccusative structure by some scholars (Burzio, 1986; L&RH, 1995; Harves, 2003), in which the predicate is an unaccusative predicate with an underlying theme argument. In existential constructions, the theme argument does not express a property of the theme, contrasting with the PAC in this respect; thus, the relation between the theme (subject) and the predicate is not predicational. Cuervo (2003, 2010) also assumes an unaccusative structure for existentials and proposes that the relation between the theme and the predicate should be represented as a complement (object)-predicate relation because there is no predication relation. However, different from my analysis she assumes a low applicative analysis for Spanish datives combining with existentials based on the semantic properties of the structure.

According to Cuervo's analysis, the simple structure for stative unaccusatives contrasts with dynamic unaccusative changes of happening (as proposed in Chapter 4) only in that the feature of the verbal head in the former is vBE and in the latter the verb is verbalized by vGO.

In light of the above hypotheses, adopting Cuervo's structure for existentials, the structure I assume for Turkish high non-core datives combining with existentials is illustrated in (47), corresponding to the sentence in (47').

(47)



(47') Sana haber var.
you.Dat news exist
'There is some news for you.'

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has mainly argued that non-core datives in Turkish can appear with nonverbal predicates in the predicative adjectival construction (PAC) and in the existential *var*/*yok* construction. The construction comprising a non-core dative combined with the PAC has further been sub-divided with respect to the scalar properties of adjectives based on their characterization as gradable vs. non-gradable and relative vs. absolute. I have proposed two semantically distinct constructions based on this division; the *relative suitability* sense and the *permissive benefactive* sense. It has been demonstrated that in the former non-core datives denote experiencers, while in the latter their semantic role is compatible with that of a bene-/malefactive and incompatible with an experiencer semantic role. In contrast, non-core datives appearing with the existential construction generally have the semantics of an individual receiving an abstract or physical entity or being deprived of an entity due its non-existence.

Finally, what we have observed in this chapter is that the different semantic roles of non-core datives appearing in the constructions investigated correlate with the distinct semantics of the constructions.[42]

[42]There are still some unresolved issues, for instance, consider the example below, which has been presented in Chapter 1 as example (26c), repeated below in (i):

(i) Burcu-ya hayat güzel.
Burcu-Dat life beautiful
'Life is good for Burcu.'

Given that the adjective güzel 'beautiful' is a relative adjective, the construction is predicted to have the relative suitability sense. However, the sentence does not involve the 'an entity is suitable for one's purposes' semantics, therefore, it is incompatible with the relative suitability semantics. On the other hand, the permissive-benefactive sense is also not compatible with the sentence because the adjective is not a closed scale or a non-gradable adjective. I assume that the sentence in (i) has an idiomatic flavour expressing that an individual experiences life as beautiful, thus, it could be argued to be a semantic extension of the relative suitability sense. The construction does not appear to be productive because the same construction cannot express 'an individual is experiencing life as dull or bad', as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (ii):

(ii) *Burcu-ya hayat sıkıcı/ kötü.
Burcu-Dat life dull/ bad
Intended meaning: 'Life is dull/bad for Burcu.'

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of the claims and proposal

This thesis has proposed a three way distinction of datives in Turkish based on their distinct semantic and syntactic properties: (i) core datives in ditransitive constructions, (ii) dative objects which are lexically licensed by the idiosyncratic verb root as the sole complement of the verb and (iii) non-core datives in a high applicative configuration. In Chapter 2, I have argued that dative objects in ditransitives are core arguments required by the argument structure of the verb and in accordance with this hypothesis, I posited a postpositional ditransitive structure for prototypical ditransitive verbs such as 'give'or 'send', which have two base generated goal positions; a lower spatial goal PP generated below the direct object and a high animate PP recipient-possessor goal, both within the lexical VP. In Chapter 3, in line with the dual hierarchical pattern of dative goals, I have proposed a verb sensitive approach for ditransitive verbs in Turkish, following L&RH (2008). I have argued that 'give'-type verbs in Turkish which are associated with a complex event structure only encode caused possession and their dative participant roles can be realized in both a high or a low goal configuration. In contrast, 'send'-type verbs, which are also associated with a complex event structure, inherently lexicalize caused motion and have more restricted argument realization options for dative objects because the caused motion event type in Turkish is associated with a low goal syntactic frame.

Again in Chapter 3, with respect to dative objects which are the sole internal argument of the verb, I have claimed and demonstrated that such dative objects display the properties of NCTVs (Levin 1999) with a simple event structure, in that these are lexically licenced by the idiosyncratic meaning of the verb root and not by the event structure, contrasting with CTVs. I have extended this proposal to unergatives appearing with sole dative objects, which are compatible with the properties of NCTVs; thus, I have argued that unergative verbs can take a PP (postpositional phrase) dative complement because the meaning lexicalized by the idiosyncratic root of the verb is compatible with the spatial, *directional/allative* meaning lexicalized in the Turkish dative case marker. Hence, I have proposed that such dative objects denote an abstract conceptual or perceptual target/source expressing the prototypical directional sense of an allative. I have further shown that the NCTV vs. CTV distinction is also able to capture the notion of 'direct objecthood' in Turkish in that dative objects do not conform to the characterization of 'prototypical patient' in Turkish.

With respect to the structure of events which permit a non-core dative introduced through a high applicative head, in Chapter 4, it has been argued that the general observed pattern in Turkish is that non-core datives as bene-/malefactives, recipients or experiencers prefer to be combined with events that have a simplex event structure rather than with events associated with a complex event structure. While high non-core datives in Turkish can appear with agentive transitive and intransitive events as well as non-agentive unaccusative events, there appear to be constraints on non-core datives combining with complex events that project a resultant state in the syntax, with respect to Cuervo's (2003) simple vs. complex event representations, which are compatible with Levin's NCTVS vs. CTVs event structure distinction. I have argued that semantically

non-core datives in Turkish productively combine with simple activity events as benefactive-recipients of an physical or abstract entity, where the event does not necessarily encode change of possession. Another significant observation has been that non-core experiencer datives combined with unaccusative events exhibit subject like properties because they appear higher in the structure. Furthermore, I have shown that non-core datives, specifically with dynamic unaccusative events express psychological experiencers undergoing a mental change of state.

Finally, in Chapter 5, non-core datives in Turkish have been shown to productively combine with predicational copular and existential constructions as experiencers, bene-/malefactives and recipients respectively. I have proposed two semantically distinct predicative adjectival constructions which non-core datives can combine with as either experiencers or bene-/malefactives, contingent on the scalar properties of the adjectival predicate which determines the semantics associated with this construction. When a non-core dative is combined with an existential construction, it has been argued that the non-core participant is interpreted as an individual who is the recipient of an abstract or physical entity, without entailing an implication of transfer of possession, or as an individual who is deprived of an entity due to its absence.

6.2 Implications of hypothesis and issues remaining for further research

The analysis I have posited for datives has shown how their semantic interpretations correlate with their syntactic realizations. The implication of this claim is that the distinct senses of the Turkish dative cannot be captured by a theory that does not distinguish amongst the different meanings and interpretations of the dative case appearing in different syntactic frames associated with distinct underlying structures. For instance, if we unified Turkish datives under a high applicative structure, we would not

be able to account for the interpretational differences we observe in e.g. transitive or intransitive verbs combining with dative objects.

The study has demonstrated that Turkish dative objects, specifically sole complements of verbs, comply with the cross-linguistic pattern of datives having a 'non-canonical' argument status, in that dative objects in Turkish do not conform to the prototypical sense of object which bears the semantic role of 'patient'. I have furthermore shown that as has been attested cross-linguistically Turkish datives do come in many varieties, thus, I have attempted to account for the syntax and semantics associated with the distinct meanings of datives. In line with this approach, the next step of research could be as follows. My analysis for non-core datives has implied that such dative participants are external arguments; therefore, a further way of analyzing a high applicative structure with non-core datives could be under the assumption that these external arguments pattern with subjects in that they are not arguments of the verb. Given that the interpretation of external arguments is predictable from the event structure in that the interpretation of the external argument depends on the interpretation of the event VP, e.g. if the event is an activity, then the external argument expresses an agent, we may be able to hypothesize that the interpretation of non-core datives can be derived from the properties of the event structure. For example, we have observed that non-core dative participants in Turkish combined with simple dynamic unaccusative events are generally interpreted as experiencers or psychological experiencers; thus, such an approach could further be explored.

A significant implication of my study, which raises issues that need to be addressed in another study, is the argument vs. adjunct status of dative spatial PPs. My research has suggested that datives in Turkish, with the exception of non-core datives in

a high applicative configuration, pattern as arguments. I have argued that dative goal PPs are generated VP internally, in argument position and not in adjunct position; however, as noted in footnote 22 Chapter 3, the status of dative PPs which mark a dynamic location requires further research, whereby such datives should be examined in relation to the Turkish locative case marker *-DA*, which denotes a static location and has generally been analyzed as an adjunct.

A yet further issue, which requires to be investigated with respect to non-core datives, is datives appearing with stative verbal predicates, which my analysis has lacked. However, before undertaking such an examination and making any substantial claims, an extensive study on stative verbs in Turkish has to be carried out. There are also instances of unresolved data within my analysis which need further investigation. For example, in Chapter 4 I have argued that there is a restriction on Turkish non-core datives combining with the complex event structure of change of state verbs which denote a resultant state. While this is the observed general pattern, there are some counterexamples to this observation, such as the reflexive verbs *giyin-* 'dress' and *süslen-* 'dress up/make up', shown in (1) (also illustrated in Chapter 2 (20c-d)), which permit a non-core dative benefactive although the event denotes a change of state which the agent undergoes.

(1) Sen süsle-n-me-z-di-n set-te-ki-ler-e.
you embellish-Refl-Neg-Aor-Past-2Sg set-Loc-Rel-Pl-Dat
'You never used to dress up for the people on the movie set.'

Finally, my limited study has mainly involved datives as animate participants with respect to their argument realization patterns; therefore, for further research purposes, the study on Turkish datives could be extended to the dative case marker in Turkish including its further grammatical functions by for example, analysing constructions which feature dative-marked constituents.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE:
THE RELATIVE ORDERING OF THE INTERNAL ARGUMENTS OF A TURKISH DITRANSITIVE STRUCTURE

Bu anketin amacı anadili Türkçe olan kişilerin araştırılan cümle yapıları üzerindeki dilbilgisel yargılarını değerlendirmek ve buna bağlı olarak incelenen yapılardaki söz diziminin ne şekilde yorumlandığını öğrenmektir. Anket sonucu elde edilen veriler sadece Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dilbilim Bölümü'ndeki tez çalışmam dahilinde kullanılacaktır.
Çalışmaya katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim.

Nil Tonyalı
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi
Dilbilim Bölümü Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi

A. 1-4 arası cümleleri aşağıdaki şekillerden hangileri tanımlıyor? Eğer birden fazla şekil olabiliyorsa lüften işaretleyin.

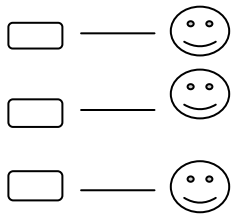
1. Her çocuğa bir filmi gösterdim. a. b. c.

2. Her filmi bir çocuğa gösterdim. a. b. c.

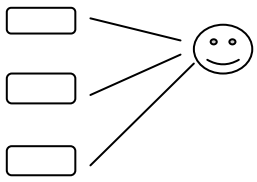
3. Her çocuğa bir oyunu verdim. a. b. c.

4. Her oyunu bir çocuğa verdim a. b. c.

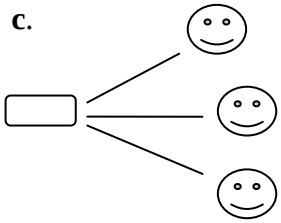
a.



b.



c.



B. Aşağıdaki cümle çiftlerini *iyi* (İ), *daha az iyi* (A) veya *kötü* (K) olarak değerlendirin. Cümlenin yanına (İ), (A) veya (K) işaretlerinden birisini koyun.

1. a. Ayşe'yi falcıya yolladım. _____

   b. Falcıya Ayşe'yi yolladım. _____

2. a. Kızı teyzesine yolladı. _____

   b. Teyzesine kızı yolladı. _____

3. a. Ayşe beni doktora gönderdi. _____

   b. Ayşe doktora beni gönderdi. _____

C. Aşağıdaki A ve D arası cümleleri okuyun.

A. Ayşe Ali'yi İsviçre'ye doktora yolladı. _____

B. Ayşe Ali'yi doktora İsviçre'ye yolladı. _____

C. Ayşe doktora Ali'yi İsviçre'ye yolladı. _____

D. Ayşe doktora İsviçre'ye Ali'yi yolladı. _____

Şimdi lütfen cümleleri aşağıdaki kabul edilebilirlik skalasına göre değerlendirin. 1-4 arası rakamı cümlenin yanına yazın.

1 = çok iyi, olur, kolay anlaşılıyor
2 = olabilir
3 = belki olabilir ama tuhaf ve zor anlaşılıyor
4 = hiç olmaz

Not: Her cümle için farklı bir değerlendirme gerekmiyor. Bazı cümlelere aynı rakamı da verebilirsiniz.

D.
1. A ve C arasındaki cümleleri aşağıdaki skalaya göre değerlendirin.

A. Ali bana kitabı Ankara'ya yolladı. _____

B. Ali kitabı bana Ankara'ya yolladı. _____

C. Ali kitabı Ankara'ya bana yolladı. _____

1 = çok iyi, olur, kolay anlaşılıyor
2 = olabilir
3 = belki olabilir ama tuhaf ve zor anlaşılıyor
4 = hiç olmaz

2. Sizce hangi cümle(lerde) '*benim*' Ankara'da olmam şart değil? _____

3. Hangi cümle(lerde) '*benim*' Ankara'da olmam şart? _____

E. Aşağıdaki cümleyi sizce en iyi şekilde tamamlayan *a* veya *b* şıkkını seçin.

1. Evimde hiç yer yok bu nedenle _____

a. kolileri ablama yolladım.

b. ablama kolileri yolladım.

Katıldığınız için teşekkürler!

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