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언어학석사학위논문

# Turkish Resultative Constructions

터키어 결과 구문의 구조

2019년 07월

서울대학교 대학원

언어학과 언어학전공

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이 논문을 문학석사 학위논문으로 제출함

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# Turkish Resultative Constructions

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## Abstract

# Turkish Resultative Constructions

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Although resultative constructions have been widely studied cross-linguistically, especially in English grammar (Bowers, 1993; Carrier and Randall, 1992; Hoekstra, 1988; Radford, 2009; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001; 1974; Simpson, 1983), research focusing on Turkish resultative constructions is very scarce. This study investigates the availability of the resultative constructions, especially adjectival ones, in Turkish and examines their syntactic natures. Turkish RCs are discussed, and their syntactic structures are analysed.

In the light of previous studies (Turgay, 2013; Ko, 2015), the main argument is that Turkish has two types of resultatives; *-AsIyA* and AP type and considering the semantic relation between the DPs and result XP, both have small clause structures (Aarts, 1992; Hoekstra, 1988; Stowell, 1981, 1983). First, it was investigated if AP types RCs are available in Turkish. Although it is considered as v-framed language and does not allow DMCs, it was concluded that Turkish has AP type RCs but only the weak ones (Washio, 1997).

As for *-AsIyA* structures, it is shown that the subject of the result XP can be either accusative or nominative marked and that these two different marked constructions exhibit different structural features like Korean *-key* resultatives. Thus, it is illustrated that adoption of Ko's adjunct small clause analysis captures their properties well.

Considering the similarities between Korean *pound-type -lo* RCs and Turkish AP-type RCs such as predicate fronting, predicate right-dislocation and predicate omission, it is presented that Turkish AP type RCs pattern with Korean *pound-type -lo* RCs and adoption of complement small clause analysis including PRO, argued by Ko (2015), on this type works well.

In conclusion, small clause structures with different merge nodes; adjunct small clause and complement small clause, account for both types of Turkish RCs; *-AsIyA* and AP-type respectively. This analysis also captures the differences between the NOM and ACC cased *-AsIyA* constructions. Thus, the present study provides a unified analysis for both types of resultatives in Turkish.

**Keywords:** Turkish resultative, syntactic analysis of resultatives, English resultatives, Korean resultatives, small clause

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# Table of Contents

<b>I.</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	The Motivation and Purpose of the Study .....	4
1.2	Organization of Thesis.....	4
<b>II.</b>	<b>THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1	Language Variation in RCs.....	5
2.1.1	English .....	5
2.1.2	German.....	17
2.1.3	Romance Languages .....	20
2.1.4	Chinese.....	23
2.1.5	Japanese .....	25
2.1.6	Korean.....	26
2.2	Summary and Conclusion.....	35
<b>III.</b>	<b>TURKISH RESULTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.....</b>	<b>36</b>
3.1	Previous Study on Turkish RCs.....	36
3.2	The Proposal.....	49

3.3	Analysis .....	51
3.3.1	-AsIyA type.....	51
3.3.2	AP type.....	61
3.4	Implications.....	71
<b>IV.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>77</b>
4.1	Summary.....	77
4.2	Limitations and Issues for further Research .....	80
	<b>References .....</b>	<b>83</b>
	<b>Abstract (Korean) .....</b>	<b>88</b>



# List of Figures

Figure 1 : Small Clause Analysis (Hoekstra, 1988) .....	13
Figure 2: Ternary Branching Analysis (Carrier and Randall, 1992, p180) ....	14
Figure 3 Hybrid Small Clause Structure (Carrier and Randall, 1992, p.210)	15
Figure 4: Raising Analysis (Kratzer, 2004, p. 4).....	18
Figure 5: Complex Predicate Analysis (Müller, 2006, p.241).....	19
Figure 6: Structure of example (43) .....	21
Figure 7: Structure of example (44) .....	21
Figure 8: Chinese <i>-de</i> Resultatives (Huang, Li and Li, 2009).....	24
Figure 9: Chinese Resultatives (Huang, Li and Li, 2009).....	24
Figure 10: Clausal Adjunct Analysis (Shim and Den Dikken, 2007, pg.5)....	29
Figure 11: Pound type <i>-lo</i> (p.357)      Figure 12: Make type <i>-lo</i> (p.357).....	32
Figure 13: NOM- <i>key</i> (p.369).....	34
Figure 14: ACC- <i>key</i> (p.369).....	34
Figure 15: Adjunct Clause Analysis of <i>-AsIyA</i> .....	42
Figure 16: AP-type Small Clause Analysis (Adopted from Ko (2015)).....	49
Figure 17: ACC- <i>AsIyA</i> type                      Figure 18: NOM - <i>AsIyA</i> type ...	50
Figure 19: ACC – <i>AsIyA</i> type      Figure 20: NOM– <i>AsIyA</i> type .....	58
Figure 21: Korean ACC type                      Figure 22: Turkish AP type .....	68

# List of Tables

Table 1. Typology of Korean RCs.....	31
Table 2. Typology of Resultatives.....	73

# Chapter I

## INTRODUCTION

Resultative constructions (RCs) across languages are used to express the result of an action described by the main verb (Simpson, 1983). A well-known example of this construction is given below;

- (1) John hammers the metal flat.

In (1), the verb 'hammer' is followed by a noun 'the metal', and a result phrase 'flat' (hereafter referred to be XP) indicating the result of the action described by the verb. Here in this example the affected phrase by the verb 'hammer' is the object 'the metal' which becomes 'flat' as a result of the action.

There has been a debate as to whether all languages have these constructions. Thus, the availability and the variations of them in different languages have been widely discussed. Speaking of variations of English RCs, for example, the XP in RCs can be an adjective phrase (AP), a noun phrase (NP) or a preposition (PP) as seen in (2). (Carrier and Randall, 1992)

- (2) a. She painted the barn [AP red].  
b. They ran their sneakers [NP a dingy shade of grey].  
c. They ran their sneakers [PP to tatters]

(Lee, 1995, p.57)

Yet, some languages are known as having only PP resultatives while some other do

allow only AP type RCs. Napoli (1992), for instance, suggests that Italian allows only PP resultatives.

The present study examines the availability and variation of Turkish RCs and focuses on the ones that contain an adjectival resultative secondary predicate, rather than the PP and NP phrases.

In addition to the categorization of resultatives by the type of result phrase, the NP affected by the result of the action plays a crucial role as well. In the example (1), we have stated that affected phrase by the verb 'hammer' is the object 'the metal' which becomes 'flat' as a result of the action. This is an example for predication of an object which is often called object-oriented RCs.

In 1983, Simpson argued that resultative phrases may be predicated only of the object of verb, never the subject as follows;

(3) The controller of a resultative attribute must be an OBJECT, whether that OBJECT is a surface OBJECT, as in transitive verbs, or an underlying OBJECT, as in passives and intransitive verbs of the Unaccusative class, or whether the OBJECT is a fake reflexive, as in intransitive verbs of the unergative class.

(Simpson, 1983:142)

This generalization is often called Direct Object Restriction (DOR). However, it is also argued that there are some RCs affecting the subject of the sentences. (Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001; Takami 1998; Wechsler, 1997)

(4) The wise men followed the star out of Bethlehem.

(Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001, p. 770)

In example (4), the thing being 'out of Bethlehem' as a result of the action is "the wise men", that is, the subject of the sentence, which is often called "subject-oriented" RCs in

literature. (Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001)

There is one more point we should clarify regarding the distinction of the resultative constructions. In the example (5) below, we see quite similar construction to RCs on the surface.

(5) John drank the tea hot.

It is commonly assumed that both resultatives and depictives have secondary predicate construction (Hoekstra, 1984, 1988; Rothstein, 1985; Rappaport, 1990; Napoli, 1992). Yet, the XP *hot* here does not express the result of the action *drink* conducted by John. That is, the NP, *tea* does not become *hot* as a result of drinking. Rather, it implies the state of the NP while John drinks it.

Resultative constructions have been extensively discussed in current linguistic theory. (Bowers, 1993; Carrier and Randall, 1992; Cheng Huang, 1994; Eckardt, 2003; Hoekstra, 1988; Hong, 2005; Huang, Li Li, 2009; Jun, 2009; Ko, 2015; Kratzer, 2004; Müller, 2006; Nakazawa, 2008; Napoli, 1992; Radford, 2009; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001; 1974; Simpson, 1983; Shim and Den Dikken, 2007; Sybesma, 1999; Takamine, 2007; Washio, 1997; Wechsler and Noh, 2001). Rarity and variation of RCs across languages has made it a focal point of much linguistic research. The present study pays particular attention to AP type resultatives and reviews the structures of them in different languages. The aim of the study is to discuss the availability of them in Turkish and their syntactic properties.

## **1.1 The Motivation and Purpose of the Study**

As mentioned before, resultative constructions have been widely studied cross-linguistically (Bowers, 1993; Carrier and Randall, 1992; Hoekstra, 1988; Radford, 2009; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001; 1974; Simpson, 1983). However, research focusing on Turkish resultative constructions is very scarce. Thus, the aim of the study is to investigate the presence or absence of resultative constructions in Turkish by pointing out syntactic features of resultative constructions in different languages. I note the similarities and differences in languages to get a better understanding of structures with resultative meanings. By doing so, the present study aims to shed light on the syntactic properties Turkish RCs and contribute to the linguistic study of the Turkish language.

## **1.2 Organization of Thesis**

This study focuses on investigating syntactic properties of Turkish resultative constructions. The thesis consists of four chapters; the first chapter introduces the motivation and purpose of the study. Chapter II re-views the previous literature on RCs, organized by language, and address cross-linguistic differences. Chapter III examines the availability of AP type RCs in Turkish language according to the typological studies and properties of Turkish RCs by providing critical reviews on previous studies on Turkish RCs. Chapter IV summarizes the discussion and presents the limitations of the study and gives suggestions for future research.

## Chapter II

# THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This section discusses some theoretical issues that are most directly relevant to an analysis of RCs. Section 2.1 discusses how the RCs differ from each other from a cross-linguistic perspective. Each subsection addresses the syntactic analysis of RCs in different languages respectively; In particular, we will review studies on English, German, Romance languages, Chinese, Japanese and Korean. The structures including an AP are mostly the focal point in each section.

### 2.1 Language Variation in RCs

This section presents typological differences between languages in terms of the AP-type RCs. A number of works dealing with the semantic and syntactic properties of resultatives have contributed to the understanding of RC structures in various languages. In particular, we focus on the availability of AP resultatives, English-type resultatives, whose syntax varies cross-linguistically.

#### 2.1.1 English

There has been a considerably wide discussion on syntactic accounts of English RCs over the years (Baker, 2003; Bowers, 1993; Carrier and Randall, 1992; Dowty, 1979; Embick, 2004; Green, 1972; Hoekstra, 1988; Larson, 1988, 1990; Lee, 1996; Radford, 1997, 2009; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001; Rothstein, 1983; Schein, 1982; Simpson, 1983) Syntactic

analyses mostly concerned about the argument status of the result phrase and theta role assignment. Therefore, before we present the syntactic analyses, first, I will overview the argument structure of an RC briefly. According to Carrier and Randall's definition; "The lexical entry of each verb specifies what in recent approaches is called a verb's Argument Structure (p.5)".

According to Hale and Keyser (2002), argument structure is "determined by properties of lexical items and they must appear in the syntactic configurations". The argument structure of a verb tells us the number of arguments to be satisfied, so the verb's selectional restriction determines argumenthood. For instance, the verb *put* takes three obligatory arguments (Carrier and Randall, 1992). The example (6a) is ungrammatical since it is not compatible with the inherent argument structure of the verb, that is, it lacks its arguments, *theme* and *goal*.

- (6) a. \*The students put.
- b. The students put the books on the table.

Apart from the example above, the verb's argument selection does also play a role in judging semantic feasibility of the sentence. The sentence in (7), for instance, illustrates the apparent violation of a selection restriction on arguments. Even though the verb in (7) takes its internal argument, the sentence is still ungrammatical.

- (7) \*Alice drank a table. (Unselected argument)

In (7), ungrammaticality arises because the verb "drink" semantically selects something that we can drink for which *a table* is not an acceptable option.

Likewise, RC structures illustrate some violation of a selection restriction to be accounted for. Consider the examples presented below;



- (8) a. John drank the teapot empty.  
b. \*John drank the teapot.  
c. \*John drank.

(Turgay, 2013, p.17)

In contrast to (7), the unselected argument “the teapot” in (8a) with an RC causes no problem for the grammaticality of the sentence although it is not acceptable when we eliminate the result XP like in (8b). Further, (8c) also shows that the verb drink requires an internal argument since the lack of it makes the sentence ungrammatical.

An interesting problem also arises when we consider the selected argument as given in (9); single item seems to be an argument for two different entities.

- (9) John hammered the metal flat.

In (9) “the metal” is semantically selected internal argument of the verb “hammer” but also it is the external argument of “flat”: namely that, it seems to be argument of the primary predicate and the secondary predicate at the same time.

Along the same line, it is not clear how a theta role is assigned to the post verbal NP. One might say that it is assigned by the verb head, by the result XP or by both. The last one is an apparent violation of the theta theory of Chomsky (1981) as provided in (10). Chomsky defines Theta Criterion as follows:

- (10) Theta Criterion

Each argument bears one and only one theta-role, and each theta-role is assigned to one and only one argument.

(Chomsky, 1981, p. 36)

Therefore, if we assume that the theta role of post-verbal NP is assigned by the verb only,

the example in (11b) would be grammatical, which is not the case, however. If we assume that the theta role of NP is assigned by the result XP only, the main verb cannot assign a theta role, which would make the sentence ungrammatical, contrary to fact. Put differently, if the theta role of NP is assigned by the result XP only, it is hard to make a distinction between grammatical (11a) vs. ungrammatical (11c).

- (11) a. John drank the teapot empty.  
b. \*John drank the teapot.  
c. \*John drank.

(Turgay, 2013, p.17)

As the post verbal NP seems to be argument of both the main verb and the result XP, we might say that two theta roles seem to be assigned to one argument. As for the example (9), for instance, “the metal” takes a “patient” theta role by the matrix verb “hammer”, and also a “theme” theta role by the adjective flat. This approach, however, would pose a challenge to the theta criterion Chomsky (1981) as provided in (10). How to reconcile the existence of RCs and theta criterion in the grammar is an important issue to resolve.

Further, the status of the result XP is another concern for argument structure. It has been argued that the result XP (as well as the resultative subject) is s-selected by the matrix verb. Thus, not all adjectives are acceptable in these RC structures as given below;

- (12) a. He drove her crazy /\*happy. (Carrier and Randall, 1992, p. 184)  
b. Mary dyed her hair red/\*pretty/\*wet. (Wechsler and Noh, 2001, p. 412)

The restriction on result XP adds up to the conclusion that it is an argument of the matrix verb, that is, also directly theta marked by the verb. (Carrier and Randall, 1992)

In what follows, we will overview the analyses proposed to account for English RCs by addressing the problems discussed above.

One of the subjects mainly discussed in RC analysis is small clause structure (SC) which

refers to a unit formed by a string of NP XP in which there is subject-predicate relation between post-verbal NP and XP. (Stowell 1981, 1983; Chomsky 1981; Aarts 1992)

There has been considerable debate on the proper syntactic treatment of small clauses. The main discussion is about constituency. According to the supporters of SC analysis, the string of NP XP is semantically and syntactically a unit rather than two separate arguments. (Stowell 1981, 1983; Chomsky 1981, Safir 1983) Chomsky (1986a: 91) notes that the main verb selects a 'proposition' semantically (s-select). Thus, a theta role is assigned to the [NP XP] string as a whole, rather than two theta roles assigned to two distinct arguments. Hence, the string [NP XP] forms a single constituent and should have a clausal interpretation.

Aarts (1992) provides several supporting arguments for the constituency of the string in his study. First, considering the examples (13) and (14),

(13) I consider this man an idiot.

(14) I consider [this man an idiot] and [that man a genius]

(Aarts 1992: 37)

Since the constituents syntactically treated as likes can be coordinated, the strings in (14); [this man an idiot] and [that man a genius] should be noticed as units. (Aarts, 1992)

Secondly, if we consider the semantic relation of post verbal NP, "it" pronoun in the example below, we can say that it cannot be an argument of the matrix clause semantically;

(15) I consider it a beautiful day.

(Aarts, 1992: 38)

What is being considered here is not 'it' but rather 'it is a beautiful day' as a whole. Thus, the main verb assigns the propositional theta role to the whole string; hence, it should be noticed as clausal element in the structure.

Another reason for the existence of SCs can be captured by the possibility to have sentential adverbials perhaps and probably;

(16) I thought [it perhaps a pity] at that time, but his motivation was pessimism about academic job prospects.

(17) I must admit that I have found [these summer international schools probably the most rewarding part of my work].

(Aarts 1992: 45)

The bracketed strings can be paraphrased as full sentences as in (18) and (19) suggesting that the strings in (16) and (17) are syntactically clauses.

(18) It was perhaps a pity

(19) These summer international schools are probably the most rewarding part of my work.

One other reason for considering a NP XP string as a small clause is that the post verbal NP in the [V NP XP] construction is syntactically a subject.

(20) I thought [the prime minister herself a controversial person].

(Aarts 1992: 47)

Based on the assumption in which a floating emphatic reflexive can only be related to a subject expression, the post verbal NP in (7) is a subject and so the bracketed string must be a clause.

There is one more issue about SCs, Aarts (1992) highlighted, is that they can also occur as adjuncts given in (21a) and as complements to prepositions seen in (21b).

(21) a. [<sub>sc</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> a journalist by profession], Mr. Cosmos<sub>i</sub> has written an excellent book on the behaviour of British tourists on Portuguese beaches.

(Aarts 1992: 39)

b. With [<sub>SC</sub> Dick Cavett on television], what's the point in going out?

(Radford 1988b: 328)

Further, the categorical status of the small clause has also been a focus of studies. Stowell (1981) assumes that the predicate XP can be an adjective phrase (AP), a verb phrase (VP), a prepositional phrase (PP) or a noun phrase (NP), as seen below;

(22) I consider [<sub>AP</sub> John very stupid].

(23) We feared [<sub>VP</sub> John killed by the enemy].

(24) I expect [<sub>PP</sub> that sailor off the ship (by midnight)].

(Stowell 1981: 257–259)

(25) I declare [<sub>NP</sub> Mary the winner].

(Aarts 1992: 21)

In the light of the above discussion, there has been a debate in linguistic literature as to whether Small Clause Theory can account for the resultative constructions.

#### Binary Small Clause Analysis (Hoekstra, 1988)

In 1988, Binary small clause analysis by Hoekstra, based on the idea that all syntactic branching is binary is proposed to account for English RCs. The main idea of Hoekstra's analysis is that the post-verbal NP and the result XP are in a predicational relation, that is, constitute a small clause (SC).

Hoekstra notes first that there is no semantic relation between the verb and the object although the semantic relation between the post verbal NP and the result XP is obvious. As for evidence, Hoekstra provides examples like (26);

(26) The clock ticked *the baby awake*

In (26), the argument structure of the verb *tick* does not allow a direct object like *baby* and the baby is semantically related to *awake*, which makes the small clause analysis sound for RCs.

However, when we think about the theta role assignment in transitive verb-based RCs, the problem arises. For example, in (27) the verb *water* takes an argument, namely the object here the tulips. Yet in a small clause the object *tulips* gets a theta role from the head adjective, too.

(27) Mary watered *the tulips flat*.

Hoekstra builds his argument on Jayaseelan's (1984) Small clause rules (28). That is, theta role assignment in Hoekstra's analysis relies on the assumption that argument structure of the main verb changes in RCs, the transitive verb in RCs gets de-transitivized.

(28) Small Clause Rule

- it adds a small clause complement to the verb
- it eliminates the internal arguments of the verb
- it gives the verb a causative reading

(Hoekstra, 1988, p. 124)

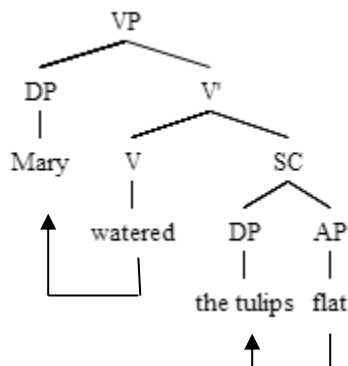
The Small Clause Rule (28) provides an explanation for the question how both (29a) and (29b) are grammatical

- (29) a. John hammered the metal.  
b. John hammered the metal flat.

The verb “hammer” here requires an internal argument, that is, (29a) is grammatical satisfying its argument structure. In (29b), however, small clause rule eliminates the internal arguments first, and then adds a small clause which is theta marked as a whole by the verb.

This rule implies that SC in example (29b) above is attached to the main verb as a complement. The post verbal NP is directly theta marked by AP and the whole SC is theta-marked by matrix V as presented in Figure 1.

**Figure 1 : Small Clause Analysis (Hoekstra, 1988)**



Therefore, in Hoekstra’s analysis, no problem emerges with respect to theta role assignment. Because all matrix Vs are intransitive, post-verbal DPs receive their theta roles from secondary predicate only, never from matrix predicates. That is, it becomes the subject of the small clause. Needless to say, since all matrix verbs take small clause complements, DOR becomes redundant under this analysis.

Ternary Branching Analyses (Carrier and Randall, 1992)

Hoekstra’s analysis has been criticized by Carrier and Randall (1992) for not accounting for the selection of the result phrase XP. Carrier and Randall (1992) argued that the result phrase XP is restricted by the matrix verb as given in (30).

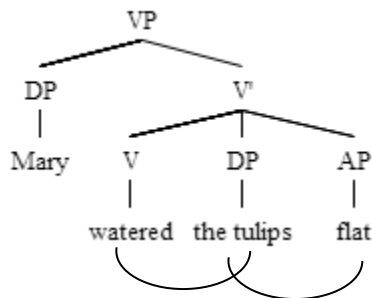
- (30) He drove her crazy/\*happy. (Carrier and Randall, 1992, pg.184)

Considering that not all adjectives are allowed in these sentences, which implies that the AP is selected by the matrix verb, Carrier and Randall (1992) argued that *the result phrase should be directly theta marked by the matrix verb*. That is, Carrier and Randall argue that the post-verbal NP and the result phrase, here is an AP, are arguments of the verb. (Green (1972; 1974), Randall (1982), Schein (1982), Rothstein (1983), Simpson (1983; 1986), Rappaport (1986))

Carrier and Randall (1992) propose that the verb, the post-verbal NP, and the result-XP are all sisters under the ternary branching node VP, violating the tradition of binary branching, as depicted in Figure 2.

(31) The gardener watered the tulips flat.

(Carrier and Randall, 1992, pg.2)



**Figure 2: Ternary Branching Analysis (Carrier and Randall, 1992, p180)**

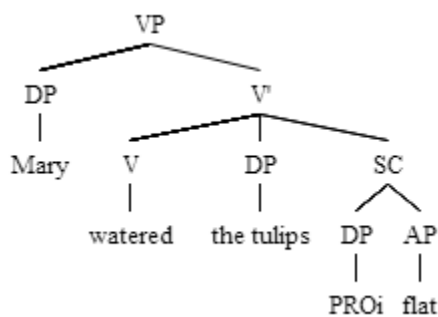
Under the Binary SC Analysis, the verb *water* in (31) is assumed to be de-transitivized so to assign its theta role to the entire SC constituent. Thus, *the tulips* is not a sister of the verb as it is not its argument. Needless to say, it cannot receive a  $\theta$ -role from the verb *water* anymore. Carrier and Randall (1992) criticize this analysis for suppressing the direct internal argument and adding an SC argument to get a resultative construction. Under the Ternary Analysis, as *the tulips* is a sister and also the argument of the verb, it is still assigned the  $\theta$ -role from the verb.



Carrier and Randall argue that the Ternary Analysis does not pose a problem for the verbs' argument structures in resultative sentences; it only adds the result phrase as an argument. This analysis, hence, is based on the assumption that an XP can have more than one theta-role if there is more than one source as presented in Figure 2.

### Hybrid Small Clause Analysis

Carrier and Randall also propose another structure to account for RCs, called Hybrid Small Clause analysis which is a middle ground between the other two analyses although they provide arguments against it and ultimately reject it (Carrier and Randall, 1992)



**Figure 3 Hybrid Small Clause Structure (Carrier and Randall, 1992, p.210)**

According to Hybrid SC analysis, the results XP and the post-verbal DP form a constituent with the help of PRO. That is, PRO is controlled by the sister of the verb. Just like the Binary Small Clause Analysis of Hoekstra (1988), there is no way for the matrix V to select the result XP.

Another study that attempts to account for English RCs is Bowers' (1993, 2002) analysis called PrP approach. Bowers argues for a raising analysis. He states that the reflexive in (32) is not in  $\theta$ -position as the interpretation suggests.

(32) John ate himself sick.

(Bowers, 1993, p. 621)

However, (33) shows a transitive example in which the reflexive is in  $\theta$ - position. The standard SC analysis suggests that the reflexive in (33) is an object of the verb while (32) is not.

(33) John perjured himself.

Bowers (1993) notes that raising is involved in the derivation of transitive SC complements assuming that the object position is a possible  $\theta$ -position. (p.622)

(34) a. [IP [PrP John<sub>i</sub> [Pr' ate<sub>j</sub> [VP himself<sub>i</sub> [V'e<sub>j</sub> [PrP t<sub>i</sub> [Pr' e<sub>j</sub> sick]]]]]]]]  
b. [IP . . . [PrP John<sub>i</sub> [Pr' perjured<sub>j</sub> [vp himself<sub>i</sub> [v, e<sub>j</sub> I ]]]]

(Bowers, 1993, p. 622)

Under his analysis, the objects are raised to [Spec, VP] position from its base position, from lower [Spec, PrP] and verb and XP form a constituent as it is presented above (34).

Radford (2009) also, supporting the complex predicate analysis, argues that the verb and AP form a constituent.

(35) [vp The acid will [v' turn<sub>i</sub>+ $\emptyset$  [VP the litmus-paper [V' tired]]]]

(Radford, 2009, p. 354)

Under his proposal, in the example given above the verb and AP both are based generated in the head V position and merge as a constituent. His analysis also supports the argument that English resultatives are complements.

Although there exist different structures proposed to account English RCs over the years,

many of recent studies that attempt a syntactic analysis, however, seem to converge on complementhood of English resultatives (Baker, 2003; Bowers 1993, 2002; Carrier and Randall, 1992; Embick, 2004; Larson, 1988, 1990; Radford, 1997; Simpson, 1983)

## 2.1.2 German

The availability of AP resultative constructions, English type resultatives, in German has been also the focal point of various studies and it has been noted that German allows adjectival resultatives (Kratzer, 2004; Müller, 2006).

(36) Die Teekanne leer trinken

The teapot empty drink

(Kratzer, 2004, p.3)

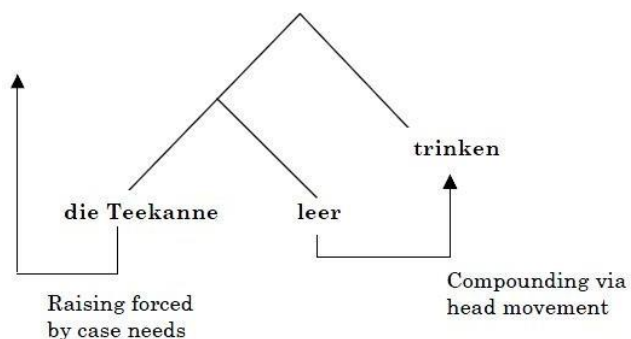
‘To drink the teapot empty’

(37) Sie streicht die Tür schwarz.

“She paints the door black”

(Müller, pg. 209)

Kratzer (2004) defends a raising analysis for all adjectival resultatives similar to Hoekstra’s. This is presented in Figure 4.



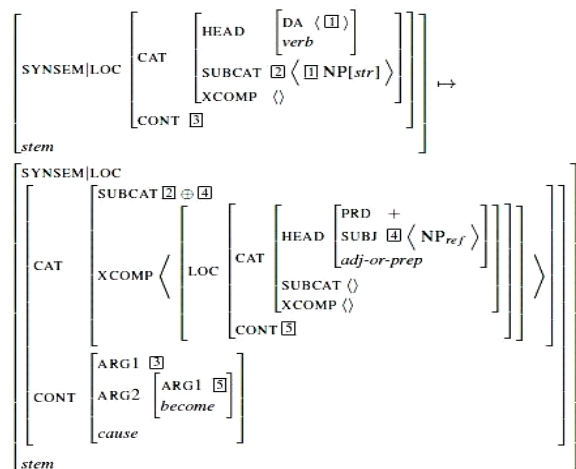
#### Figure 4: Raising Analysis (Kratzer, 2004, p. 4)

According to Kratzer, the direct object of the verb is base generated within the adjective projection. Yet, as the adjective head is not verbal, that is, does not have a Voice; it cannot check its Case features. Thus, it is raised to direct object position of the “compound *leer trinken* (empty drink)”. (pg.5) Kratzer (2004) points out that transitivity plays an important role in resultative constructions. Since this analysis assumes that the direct object in resultatives is always raised from their base generation, namely, syntactically derived; it is argued that the verbs in these constructions should not have a direct object argument of their own at first. (pg.8)

Although Kratzer (2004) argues that AP type Resultative constructions are available in German, she also points out that German lacks an overt morphological marker for adverbs, which makes hard to distinguish between an adjective and an adverb in resultative structures.

Müller (2006) proposed a complex predicate analysis for this structure like the recent analysis for English ones. Having investigated that in some RCs there is no semantic relationship between the matrix verb and the accusative NP, he notes that the transitive and intransitive verbs in RCs show differences. After reviewing the analysis which suggests the transitivity of intransitive verbs in German (Oppenrieder 1991, Wunderlich 1995; 1997a), Müller argues for a lexical rule that applies to the intransitive verb to add information about the secondary predicate and the raised object. (p.241). Müller also follows the assumption of an abstract logical operator *cause* to relate two events which is argued by Dowty (1979, p. 99). This analysis is presented as follows in Figure 5.

Lexical Rule for Resultatives with Unergative Verbs:



**Figure 5: Complex Predicate Analysis (Müller, 2006, p.241)**

Eckardt (2003), on the other hand, argues that resultative phrase in the example below (38) functions as an adverb. Eckardt (2003) considers *schwer*, ‘heavy’ as “a result-oriented adverb” based on its function.

- (38) a. Hans den Wagen schwer belud.  
 “Hans the carriage heavily loaded”  
 b. Beate baute den Drachen solide  
 “Beate built the kite solidly”

(Eckardt, 2003, p. 265)

In a nutshell, although there exist different arguments concerning AP type RCs, it is widely considered that they are allowed in German. (Kratzer, 2004; Müller, 2006)

### 2.1.3 Romance Languages

In this section, RCs in Italian and French are reviewed as romance languages. Of the studies focusing on Italian RCs, Napoli (1992) argues that Italian has only PP and very

restrictedly AP-type RCs. First, Napoli (1992) points out that a PP type occur freely in Italian as given in (39).

- (39) a. Ho spinto il pianoforte [dal salotto alla / nella sala da pranzo].  
'I pushed the piano [from the living room into the dining room].'  
b. Ho calciato la palla [nell'angolo].  
'I kicked the ball [into the corner].'  
c. Ho messo il biscotto [nel gelato].  
'I put the cookie [in the ice cream].' (pg. 60)

Considering AP-type RCs, Napoli (1992) draws an attention to the semantic relation between primary and secondary predicates.

(40) I cut her hair [short].

For the sentence like (40) expressing result, Napoli (1992) shows secondary predicate's semantic interaction with the verb as in (42)

(41) X Verbs Y [Z].

(42) X causes Y to become Z by Verbing Y. (p.55)

As for syntactic concern, she favours the analysis given in (43) over the SC analysis following the assumption in which resultatives and the NP/APs are sisters to the verb (Halliday, 1967; Levin Simpson, 1981; Andrews, 1982; Simpson, 1982; Rothstein, 1983; Carrier Randall, 1988; Roberts, 1988; and McNulty, 1988, among others).

(43) I [v'' Cut [N'' her hair] [A'' short]].

(44) I [v" cut [SC [her hair] [A" short]]]. (p.55)

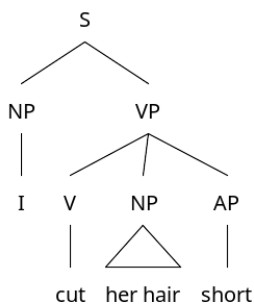


Figure 6: Structure of example (43)

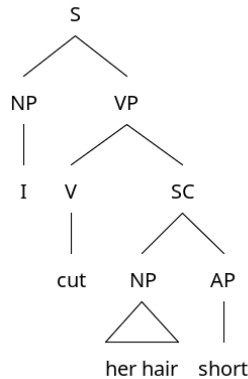


Figure 7: Structure of example (44)

Furthermore, based on her semantic and syntactic assumptions, Napoli (1992) explains the restriction over Italian AP resultatives by a semantic interpretation rule which, I believe, corresponds to the distinction of Washio (1997)’s WEAK and STRONG resultatives.

(45) *Resultative Interpretation*

In a sentence with a resultative AP, the primary predicate must be interpreted as focusing on the endpoint of the activity denoted by that predicate.

(Napoli, 1992, p. 75)

The rule above defines RCs very much like weak resultatives that may also be the reason for fewer appearances of them in Italian. In addition, Napoli states that there are also pragmatic factors on Italian RCs. The examples given in (46) indicates Napoli’s “Instantaneous effect” on RCs. (p.83)

(46) a. \*Gianni ha martellato il metallo [piatto].

Gianni hammered the metal [flat].’

b. ?Gianni ha martellato la carta stagnola [piatta].

“Gianni hammered the tin foil [flat].’

(Napoli, 1992, p.77)

A different object in *la carta stagnola* (the tin foil) makes the sentence sound better for instance. Since the tin foil becomes flat very instantly as a result of hammering while it takes longer for a metal.

Early studies on French RCs suggest that that there are no resultative constructions in French (Green (1973), Talmy (1985), Levin and Rappaport (1988)) without concerning the weak vs. strong distinction in Washio's terms. Washio (1997) states that strong resultatives are not acceptable in French regardless of transitivity, as given in (47).

- (47) a.\* Il a marché les jambes raides.  
'He walked his legs off (lit., stiff)' (intransitive)  
b.\* Ils ont ri l'orateur silencieux.  
'They laughed the speaker into silence.'

(Washio 1997, p.27)

- (48) a.\* Les chevaux ont traîné les rondins lisses.  
'The horses dragged the logs smooth.' (transitive)  
b.\* Jean a battu Marie sanglante.  
'John beat Mary bloody.'

When it comes to weak resultatives, although it is suggested that they are also not acceptable in French by some researchers, Washio (1997) notes that French speakers find the examples below (49) natural and acceptable (p.29);

- (49) a. Marie a peinturé le mur bleu.  
Marie has painted the wall blue.  
'Marie painted the wall blue.'



b. Marie. s'est. teint les cheveux noirs.  
 Marie. refl-is dyed. the hair black  
 'Marie dyed her hair black.'

(Burnett Troberg, 2014)

Washio also points out that the speakers' judgments might vary depending on example, so it is the case that French does not allow weak RCs as freely as English does.

As discussed above, the studies focusing on Romance languages such as Italian and French mostly agree on the restriction of resultative constructions as counterparts to English AP type. (Haider, 2016; Napoli, 1992; Washio, 1997)

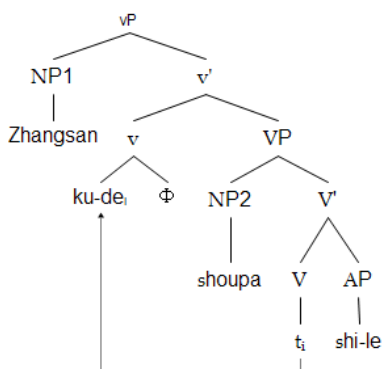
## 2.1.4 Chinese

The resultative structures widely discussed in Chinese literature is the V-V verb compounds and *V-de* VP phrases. (Cheng Huang, 1994; Sybesma, 1999; Li, 1990; Huang, Li Li, 2009; Jun, 2009). Cheng and Huang suggest that V-V verb compounds can be treated like mono-morphemic verbs. According to Sybesma (1999), Chinese resultatives are like the English counterparts though they are in two forms. He assumes that Chinese resultative constructions can be captured by a projection between matrix predicate and the result phrase, which involves a movement or an insertion of 'de'.

Huang, Li and Li (2009) adopt Larson's (1988) structure to account for Chinese resultatives assuming that they have a parallel structure to English RCs. They argue that in two verbs compound structure, one of the verbs based generated in inner VP moves up to outer vP head and the element 'de' is treated as an affix.

(50) a. Zhangsan ku-de shoupa shi-le  
 Zhangsan cry-DE. handkerchief. wet-PERF

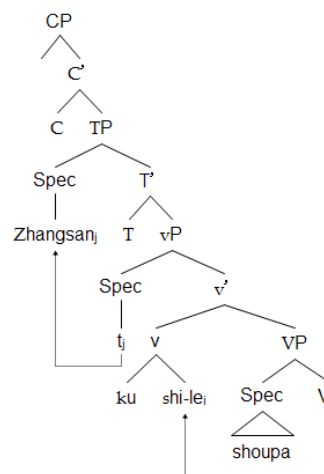
“Zhangsan cried and as a result the handkerchief got wet.”



**Figure 8: Chinese *-de* Resultatives**  
(Huang, Li and Li, 2009)

b. Zhangsan      ku-shi-le      shou-pa  
 Zhangsan    cry-wet-PERF    handkerchief  
 “Zhangsan cried and as a result the handkerchief got wet.”

(Huang, Li and Li, 2009, p. 140)



**Figure 9: Chinese Resultatives**  
(Huang, Li and Li, 2009)

In the example above (50), the phrase, *ku-shi*, ‘cry-wet’ functions as a complex lexical predicate, which means that Chinese resultative phrases behave like complements do in English as the translation suggests.

### 2.1.5 Japanese

According to Nakazawa (2008), Japanese does not obey Direct Object Restriction by allowing other arguments to be the semantic subjects of the resultative phrases. Nakazawa

(2008) notes that there is no morphological form specific to resultatives in Japanese. Adjectival nouns are suffixed by *-ni*, and adjectives are suffixed by *-ku* in resultative phrases. Yet, these suffixes can mark not only resultatives but also coordinate and subordinate clauses, and adverbials, which causes ambiguity between resultative readings and adverbial readings.

Furthermore, Nakazawa (2008) proposes that Japanese exhibit behaviours similar to adjuncts by focusing on the fact that Japanese does not allow fake objects and resultative phrases are syntactically optional. Iteration is also possible, as shown in (51), which is another supporting fact for the adjunct analysis of RCs in Japanese.

- (51) Taro-ga kabe-o siro-ku kirei-ni nutta.  
 Taro-NOM wall-ACC white-KU beautiful-NI paint-PAST  
 ‘Taro painted a wall white and beautiful.’

(Nakazawa, 2008, p. 33)

Takamine (2007) following Washio (1997) draws attention to two-way distinction of resultative predicates in her study. Washio (1997) classifies RCs into two: weak versus strong. The ones in which the resultant state is implied by the matrix verb are called Weak RCs. This implied resultant state is lexically related to the matrix predicate. For instance, in *Jane painted her room blue*, the matrix predicate painted already implies that the room ends up colored. The matrix verb in strong RCs, on the other hand, does not imply a state. In *Mary danced herself dizzy*, the matrix verb danced does not imply feeling dizzy.

A proposal that weak resultatives can be syntactically divided into two in Japanese is put forward by Takamine (2007). Takamine (2007) divided them as “spread” type and “polish” type resultatives with regard to their behaviours in honorification and “again” modification. Takamine (2007) argues that “spread” resultatives behave like complements while “polish” resultatives are adjuncts.

- (52) a. Taro-ga pan kiji-o usu-ku nobashita.

Taro-nom bread dough-ACC thin-ku spread.past *spread type*  
 ‘Taro spread the dough thin’

b. Taro-ga yuka-o kirei-ni migaita.  
 Taro-nom floor-ACC clean-ni polish.past *polish type*  
 ‘Taro polished the floor clean’

(Takamine, 2007, p.106)

### 2.1.6 Korean

Resultative constructions have been a widely discussed topic in Korean literature as well (Acedo 2012; Kim, 1999; Kim, 2006; Ko, 2010, Ko 2011-14; Shim and Dikken 2007; Son & Svenonius, 2008; Wechsler Noh, 2001). Kim (1999) pointed out the main differences between Korean and English RCs and argued that Korean resultatives cannot be accounted as a whole. He followed Wechsler’s (1996, 1997) study basing on the distinction of verbs as raising and equi. He favoured a hybrid analysis in which the transitive and unergative RCs are treated differently and also proposed a lexical rule for the formation of the construction.

Lee and Lee (2003) proposed the complement analysis claiming that AP in constructions is selected by the matrix V.

Hong (2005) supported the adjunct analysis for Korean RCs and assumed that Korean *key* RCs showed the same pattern with the small clauses having both NOM and ACC marked object such as in (53).

(53) a. John-I [mos-ul napcakha-key] twutulki-ess-ta  
 John-nom nail-acc flat-key pound-past  
 ‘John pounded the nail flat’

b. John-i [mos-i napcakha-key] twutulki-ess-ta  
 John-nom nail-nom flat-key pound-past  
 ‘John pounded the nail flat’

(Hong, 2005, p. 130)

The claim made by Son (2008) divides Korean RCs into two groups as selected object RCs requiring the resultative predicate to be “stative” as shown in (54a) and unselected object RCs in which the predicate is “eventive” as seen in (54b).

(54) a. Chelswu-ka chayksang-ul/\*i kkaykkusha-key takk-ass-ta.  
 Chelswu-nom desk- acc/nom clean-key wipe-past-dc  
 ‘Chelswu wiped the table clean’

b. Chelswu-ka mok-i/\*ul swi-key solichi-ess-ta.  
 Chelswu-nom throat-nom/acc get.hoarse-key scream-past-dc  
 ‘Chelswu screamed so much that he got hoarse’

(Son, 2008, pg. 94-95)

Besides, Son (2008) noted that these two groups have different merge nodes: while the stative ones are considered as being inside VP, eventive resultatives are merged outside VP.

Song (2005) and Yeo (2006) also preferred split analysis pointing out the differences between selected and unselected object RCs. That is, they assumed that only the selected object predicates are the small clause type RCs.

On the other hand, a proposal put forward by Shim and Den Dikken (2007) is that Korean RCs are not small clause constructions like their English counterparts, but they behave as adjuncts. Shim and Den Dikken (2007) mostly concerned with the difference between adjunct and complement analysis of RCs in their study. The main assumption is that English type

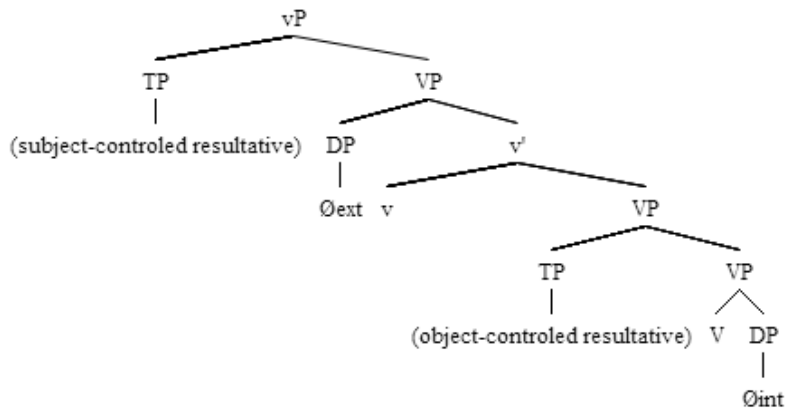
resultatives are complements in which resultatives are base generated in the minimal V' suggesting that they are always predicated of the object, which confirms Simpson's Law (1983a). Simpson (1983b) points out that this generalization does not hold for all languages and some allows the predication of external argument. So the different analyses come up for different languages.

Shim and Den Dikken (2007) examine Korean resultatives comparing to English counterparts in detail. They draw attention first to the different case marking of the XP in RCs like in (55a) and (55b) noting that they have the same resultative meaning without difference.

- (55) a. Jim-I     patak-ul     hayah-key     chilha-ess-ta  
          Jim-NOM   floor-ACC   white-KEY     paint-PAST-DECL a'. cN.
- b. Jim-I     patak-i     hayah-key     chilha-ess-ta  
          Jim-NOM   floor-NOM   white-KEY     paint-PAST-DECL

(Shim and Den Dikken, 2007, pg.5)

The focus of their proposal is that Korean RC predicates project "clausal" as adjuncts and they are adjoined different projections in accordance with case marking. The structure is presented in Figure 6.



**Figure 10: Clausal Adjunct Analysis (Shim and Den Dikken, 2007, pg.5)**

They provide evidence for the adjunct status of RCs via VP-replacement and recursion. The form *kuleh* (like “do so” in English) can target minimal VP (56a) or a larger segment of VP with an adjunct like in (56b).

- (56) a. Jim-i      chenchenhi.    pap-lul      mek-ess-ko      Susana-nun  
          Jim-NOM    slowly      rice-ACC.    eat-PST-CONJ    Susana-TOP  
          ppalli      *kuleh-ess-ta*  
          quickly.    PROFM-PAST-DECL  
          ‘Jim ate the rice slowly, and Susana did so quickly’

- b. Jim-i    chenchenhi    pap-lul    mek-ess-ko      Susana-nun  
          Jim-NOM    slowly      rice-ACC    eat-PST-CONJ    Susana-TOP  
                     *kuleh-ess-ta*  
                     PROFM-PAST- DECL  
          ‘Jim ate the rice slowly, and Susana did so, too’

- (57) a. Jim-i      meli-lul      nolah-key      yemsaykha-ko

Jim-NOM hair-ACC yellow-KEY dye-CONJ  
 Susana-nun ppalkah-key kuleh- ess-ta  
 Susana-TOP red-KEY PROFM- PAST- DECL

\*‘Jim dyed his hair yellow, and Susana did so red’

(Shim and Den Dikken, 2007, pg.8)

However, degradation in grammaticality appears when it is supposed to replace just the verb as seen in (57).

(58) ??\*Jim-I chenzhenhi pap-lul mek-ess-ko Susana-nun  
 Jim-NOM slowly rice-ACC eat-PST Susana-TOP  
 kimchi-lul kuleh- ess-ta  
 kimchi-ACC PROFM- PAST-DECL

\*‘Jim ate the rice slowly, and Susana did so the kimchi’

(Shim and Den Dikken, 2007, pg.8)

The claim that Korean RCs are not in minimal VP is borne out with above observation. Another evidence put forward by Shim and Den Dikken (2007) is recursion. In Korean, more than one result phrase can be added in RCs such as in (58), which implies their adjunct status once more.

(59) Jim-I patak-ul hayah-key panccaki-key chilha-ess-ta  
 Jim-NOM floor-ACC white-KEY twinkle-KEY paint-PAST-DECL

\*‘Jim painted the floor white shiny’

Another strong argument by Shim and Den Dikken is the existence of *pro* in Korean RCs. Their claim results from the different case markings as NOM and ACC without semantic



difference (59).

- (60) a. Jim-i     patak-ul     hayah-key     chilha-ess-ta.  
          Jim-NOM floor-ACC   white-KEY     paint-PAST-DECL
- b. Jim-I     patak-i     hayah-key     chilha-ess-ta  
          Jim-NOM   floor-NOM   white-KEY     paint-PAST-DECL

(Shim and Den Dikken, 2007, p.5)

As the secondary predicates are assumed as TPs adjoined to vP or VP, the subject of TP can be overt and marked with NOM case as *patak* in (59b) or it can be a null *pro* controlled by the ACC cased object of the matrix verb as in (59a).

A recent work of Ko (2015) analyses Korean RCs as small clauses adopting Relator analysis by Den Dikken (2006). Ko argues the existence of two different types of SCs in Korean and they can be distinguished by the verbs’ semantic characteristics which lead them to have different argument structures. One implies the “change of state” such as *pound* while the other like *make* is called “denature verbs”.

Assuming RCs as small clauses, Ko deals with the structures of two different resultative constructions; *-lo* and *-key*. Ko (2015) divides them into four types pointing out their nodes of merge; complement or adjunct and the presence or absence of a null subject as seen in the table below.

Table 1: Typology of Korean RCs (Ko, 2015, p. 349)

	Null SC-subject	Overt SC-subject
Complement	Type I	Type II
Adjunct	Type III	Type IV

The argument of Ko (2015) is that *-lo* type resultatives given in (60) indicate complement

type characteristics. DOR (Simpson, 1983) that allows only the object of the verb to be predicated holds for *-lo* type RCs in Korean.

(61) a. Apeci-nun khong-ul kalwu-lo ppahassta *pound-type*  
 father-Top bean-Acc powder-Res pounded  
 'The father pounded (the/some) beans into powder.'

b. Mapepsa-nun mwul-ul photocwu-lo mantulessta *make-type*  
 magician-Top water-Acc wine-Res made  
 'A magician turned water into wine.' (=A magician made wine out of water.)

(Ko, 2015)

She puts emphasis on the existence of *pro* in structural representation and argues syntactic structure as complements for *-lo* type RCs as presented in Figure 8.

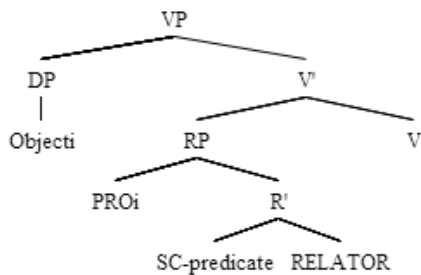


Figure 11: Pound type *-lo* (p.357)

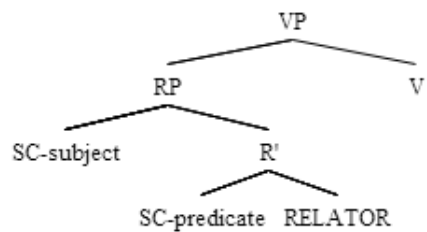


Figure 12: Make type *-lo* (p.357)

However, in *-key* type, the subject of the main verb can also be predicated as shown in (61).

- (62) a. Susana-ka Jim-ul aphu-key ttayliessta.  
 Susana-NOM Jim-ACC in.pain-RES hit  
 'Susana<sub>i</sub> hit Jim<sub>j</sub> so that she<sub>i</sub>/he<sub>j</sub> was in pain.'

(Ko, 2011)

- b. Susana-ka Jim-ul [son-i aphu-key] ttayliessta.  
 Susana-NOM Jim-ACC hand-Nom in.pain-RES hit  
 'Susana<sub>i</sub> hit Jim<sub>j</sub> so that her<sub>i</sub>/his<sub>j</sub> hand was in pain.'

Besides, iteration is not allowed in *-lo* type RCs while more than one resultative phrase in a *-key* type resultative clause can exist. The examples are presented below;

- (63) a. Cheli-ka micangwon-eyse meli-lul tanpal-lo C.-Nom  
 hairshop-at hair-ACC short.cut-Res  
 (\*nolansayk-ulo) calassta  
 yellow-Res cut.

'Cheli cut his hair short (and yellow).'

- b. Cheli-ka pyek-ul nun-ey cal ttuy-key mesiss-key  
 C.-Nom wall-ACC eye-to well be.seen-Res stylish-Res  
 ppalkah-key chil- hayessta  
 red-Res painted'

'Cheli painted the wall so that it stands out, looks stylish and is red.'

(Hong, 2011)

Another point to worth mentioning here is the Case marking. As we notice in previous examples, *-key* type predicate allow its subject to be marked nominative or accusative although nominative Case in *-lo* type predicates is ungrammatical.

- (64) \* Apeci-nun khong-i kalwu-lo ppahassta  
 father-Top bean-NOM powder-Res pound-PST  
 'The father pounded beans into powder.'

She provides the structures as adjuncts for *-key* type as seen in Figure 9 for NOM cased DPs and Figure 10 for ACC type.

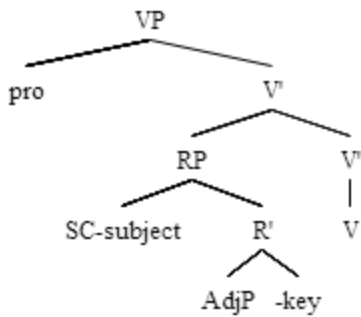


Figure 13: NOM-key (p.369)

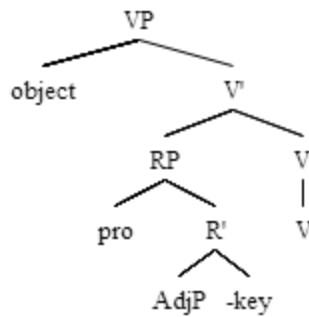


Figure 14: ACC-key (p.369)

Although there has been a discussion on the status of Korean resultative constructions over the years, recent studies suggest that AP-*key* constructions are adjuncts. (Shim and Dikken 2007; Ko, 2010; Ko 2011-14, Acedo-Matellán, 2012). It is also noteworthy that Korean has another resultative construction which is a complement, as well, marked by *-lo* (Ko 2015).

## 2.2 Summary and Conclusion

In discussing availability of RC in different languages, the section reviewed previous research on English, German, Romance languages, Chinese, Japanese and Korean. This discussion also takes attention to the different types of RC such as PP, AP, NP, cross linguistically. It provides examples showing that some languages allow all types while some other allow only one type or two or none.

The main analyses discussed are a small clause theory and its relation to RCs, namely, Hoekstra's (1988) Binary Small Clause Analysis and Carrier and Randall's (1992) Ternary Branching Analysis. Under Binary Small Clause Analysis, it is assumed that the matrix verbs are always intransitive and object NP and the result XP constitutes a small clause. On the other hand, under Ternary Branching Analysis, the result XP and post verbal NP are considered as arguments of the verb, that is, suggested as sisters syntactically.

Bearing the research of RC structures in different languages in mind, I will examine Turkish resultative constructions in the next section. The focus of the present investigation will be on the AP type resultatives.

## Chapter III

# TURKISH RESULTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

### 3.1 Previous Study

Although syntactic properties of resultative constructions (RC) in languages have been discussed extensively, there has been very little research on Turkish RCs in the literature. A recent study by Turgay (2013), however, proposed a syntactic analysis and interpretation on Turkish RCs in detail. I will review Turgay's (2013) analysis in section 3.1 and turn to my analysis departing from Turgay (2013) in sections 3.2 and 3.3.

Turkish people tend to use “-e kadar (until, till)” constructions mostly to convey a resultative meaning. However, two other types are available for expressing result meaning. First, more common than the last one but still very limited, is “-AsIyA” type, which is an affix added to a bare verb and the other is AP-type resultative, namely English type RCs.

Turgay (2013) draws an attention to two types of RCs; -AsIyA type and AP type, and proposes that Turkish lacks a small clause complement and an AP-type RCs. Turgay (2013) analyses -AsIyA type as TP adjunct clauses and AP-type as adverbials respectively.

#### *The -AsIyA type*

Let us first consider Turgay's (2013) analysis on the -AsIyA type clause. In Turkish, -AsIyA type consists of an infinitive verb with a suffix “-AsIyA” which gives the sentence resultative meaning, similar to ‘till’ in English. Turgay (2013) divides them into two as

unergative-based and transitive-based ones, and he mainly focuses on unergative-based constructions.

Turgay (2013) argues for the adjunct clause status *-AsIyA* type clause based on syntactic phenomena such as case marking, passivization, and adverbial scope. One of the most important points in his analysis is case marking of the subject of the resultative phrase. Turgay (2013) argues that the subject DP in unergative structures can only be case marked as nominative Case.

(65) a. Köpek           **bebek**            uyan-asıya            havladı.  
           Dog            baby.NOM            wake up-(y)AsIyA        barked  
           ‘The dog barked the baby awake.’

b. Özgür            **sesi**            kısıl-asıya            bağırdı.  
           Özgür his voice NOM            get hoarse-(y) AsIyA        shouted  
           ‘Özgür shouted himself hoarse.’

(Turgay, 2013, p. 69)

Turgay (2013) compares case markings on the subject DP in coordinate clauses, embedded clauses and small clauses. (65a-b) show that the subject of a coordinate clause and embedded clause must be marked NOM, whereas the subject in a nominalized embedded clause must be marked with GEN, as shown in (65c).

(66) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Biz-Ø / \*-i            başkan-la            konuş-tu-k],  
           we-NOM / -ACC            president-with        speak-PST-1PL  
           böylece            [<sub>CP</sub> toplantı-Ø / \*-y1            erken            başla-dı].  
           thus            meeting-NOM / -ACC            early            start-PST.  
           ‘We talked with the president; thus, the meeting started early.’

b. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Toplantı-Ø / \*-y<sub>1</sub> erken başla-sın diye]  
 meeting-NOM / -ACC early start-DES so that  
 başkan-la konuş-tu-k].  
 presiden-with speak-PST-3PL

‘We talked with the president so that the meeting would start early.’

c. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> Toplantı-nın / \*-y<sub>1</sub> erken başla-ma-sı için]  
 meeting-GEN / -ACC early start-NOML-POSS for  
 başkan-la konuş-tu-k].  
 president-with speak-PST-3PL

‘We talked with the president in order for the meeting to start early.’ (p.71)

Turgay (2013) notes that *–AsIyA* constructions pattern with a full clause structure like (65b) with having only NOM case on the subject, with a special attention to (66)

(67) Köpek bebek-Ø / \*-i uyan-asıya havla-dı.  
 dog baby-NOM / -ACC wake up-(y)AsIyA bark-PST

‘The dog barked the baby awake.’

In the case of (non-resultative) small clauses, by contrast, the subject can be marked with an ACC case whereas it becomes ungrammatical when the subject is NOM marked. Put differently, Turgay (2013) views that the (non-resultative) small clause (67) significantly differs from a resultative *–AsIyA* constructions seen in (66) in terms of the case marking on the subject. While the case marking of DP must be ACC in the complement type constructions like complement small clause example below, the subject DP can be marked by both accusative and nominative Case, which is an evidence for adjunct status of them.



- (68) Çocuklar [sc babaların-ı / \*-Ø yenilmez] gör-ür.  
 children their fathers-ACC / -NOM invincible consider-AOR  
 ‘Children consider their fathers invincible.’

Turgay (2013) suggests passivization as another supporting factor for his claim. The subject of a clausal structure like (68a) cannot be raised into a subject of the main clause after passivization, as in (68b). Turgay (2013) argues that *-AsIyA* constructions behave similarly, as in the given example (69) (but the ACC marked ones can also be a passive structure, see (96) for the example based on ACC-marked resultative subject)

(69)

- a. Leyla-Ø [CP gözleri-Ø ağrı-yınca-ya kadar] oku-du-Ø.  
 Leyla-NOM her eyes-NOM strain-CONV-DAT until read-PST  
 ‘Leyla read until her eyes strained.’

- b. \*Gözler-Ø [CP ağrı-yınca-ya kadar] oku-n-du.  
 eyes-NOM strain-CONV-DAT until read-PASS-PST  
 Int.: ‘Eyes were read blind.’

- (70) a. Köpek-Ø [CP bebek-Ø uyan-asıya] havla-dı.  
 dog-NOM baby-NOM wakeup-(y)AsIyA brk-PST  
 ‘The dog barked the baby awake.’

- b. \*Bebek-Ø [CP uyan-asıya] havla-n-dı-Ø.  
 baby-NOM wake up-(y)AsIyA bark-PASS-PST-3SG  
 Int.: ‘The baby was barked awake.’

While it is not possible to make a subject of a clausal element a passive subject, non-resultative small clause structures allow active-passive alternation. For instance, the subject

of the non-resultative small clause in (70a) becomes a passive subject, as in (70b) in sharp contrast to the examples above.

(71) a. Çocuklar-Ø [sc babaların-1 / \*-Ø yenilmez] gör-ür.  
 children-NOM their fathers-ACC /-NOM invincible consider-AOR  
 ‘Children consider their fathers invincible.’

b. Babalar-Ø [sc yenilmez] gör-ül-ür.  
 fathers-NOM invincible consider-PASS-AOR  
 ‘Fathers are considered invincible.’

Lastly, Turgay (2013) pays a close attention to the adverbial scope of the resultative construction. Based on the premise that an adverb cannot take scope over the matrix verb when merged within the embedded clause, it is suggested that NOM-AsIyA behaves as a tensed clause. As the adverb *dün* ‘yesterday’ is sitting inside the embedded clause, it cannot take scope over the matrix verb *söyledi* ‘said’ as in (71a). Yet, (71b) shows that it is possible when the adverb is placed outside the embedded clause.

(72) a. Melda-Ø [CP Tümer’-in dün öl-düğün-ü] söyle-di.  
 Melda-NOM Tümer-GEN yesterday die-NOML-ACC say-PST  
 cannot mean: ‘Melda said yesterday that Tümer died.’

b. Melda-Ø [CP Tümer’in öl-düğün-ü] dün söyle-di.  
 Melda-NOM Tümer-GEN die-NOML-ACC yesterday say-PST  
 can mean: ‘Melda said yesterday that Tümer died.’

Turgay’s discussion so far concentrates on unergative verbs. The differences with regard

to transitive and unergative forms are also pointed out. As for transitive structures, it is argued that the DP in transitive –AsIyA forms is the object of the main verb. In terms of adverbial scope, the NOM and ACC examples are presented in Turgay’s (2013) study as follows;

- (73) a. \*Melda-Ø [CP nefesi-Ø dün kesil-esiye] koş-tu.  
Melda-NOM her breath-NOM yesterday short-(y)AsIyA run-PST  
cannot mean: ‘Melda yesterday ran herself breathless.’
- b. Melda-Ø Tümer’-i dün [CP öl-esiye] döv-dü.  
Melda-NOM Tümer-ACC yesterday die-(y)AsIyA beat-PST  
can mean: ‘Melda yesterday beat Tümer to death.’

Turgay (2013) suggests that the adverb in (72b) can scope over the matrix verb since the DP in the accusative-marked form is the object of the matrix verb while it is not possible in (72a) like the embedded clauses presented in (71).

The *pro* indexation is argued to be another evidence for adjunct status of them. When the subject DP is marked ACC, the interpretation of *pro* becomes ambiguous, that is, it depends on the context. Both the object of the main verb or the subject of the main verb can be interpreted as the subject of –AsIyA clauses.

- (74) Tuna-Ø<sub>i</sub> Tümer’<sub>j</sub> [pro<sub>i/j</sub> öl-esiye] döv-dü.  
Tuna-NOM Tümer-ACC pro die-(y)AsIyA beat-PST

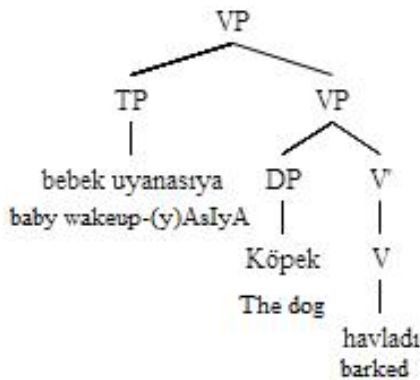
Interpretation 1: ‘Tuna beat Tümer to death.’ > Tümer died as a result of beating.’

Interpretation 2: ‘Tuna beat Tümer to death.’ > Tuna died as a result of beating.

(Turgay, 2013, p. 79)

Turgay (2013) argues that –AsIyA clauses are adjunct clauses including a T(ense) node

since the subject can get NOM Case, which is an argument very similar to Den Dikken’s for Korean RCs. Turgay (2013) suggests a structural representation for these constructions as in Figure 11.



“The dog barked the baby awake”

**Figure 15: Adjunct Clause Analysis of -AsIyA**  
(Turgay, 2013, p.79)

In this representation, the result clause is merged as an adjunct rather than as a complement, as being different from the canonical resultative phrases, just like Korean *-key* resultatives we discussed before. The important point here in Turgay’s (2013) argument is that the subjects of these clauses are never the syntactic object of the matrix verb.

### *The AP-type*

As for the AP-type RCs in Turkish, Turgay (2013) notes that the result XP in Turkish RCs are in the same tensed clause with the matrix V like English counterparts, drawing evidence from co-referentiality of *pro* and negation constraints.

Turgay (2013) assumes that *pro* would be freely interpreted co-referentially with either the object or the matrix subject if the RC is tensed clause apart from the matrix verb, and compares the AP type with *-AsIyA* constructions. He assumes the *-AsIyA* type RCs as tensed clauses. If RCs are tensed projections including a *pro* as a subject, then the *pro* in these sentences must be free as it is the case for *-AsIyA* type, presented again below (74). The example (74) demonstrates that *pro* subjects can be interpreted as the matrix objects or as matrix subjects in *-AsIyA* types.

- (75) a. Tuna-Ø<sub>i</sub> Tümer'i<sub>j</sub> [pro<sub>i/j</sub>öl-esiye] döv-dü.  
 Tuna-NOM Tümer- ACC pro die-(y)AsIyA beat-PST

Interpretation 1: 'Tuna beat Tümer to death.' ⇒ Tümer died as a result.

Interpretation 2: 'Tuna beat Tümer to death.' ⇒ Tuna died as a result.

However, it is obvious that for the *pro* in below example (75) "Leyla" cannot be the antecedent, the only possible target is the object "oda (room)". Turgay (2013) interprets the contrast between (74) and (75) to mean that the AP type RCs do not include a full tensed clause (Turgay, 2013)

- (76) Leyla-Ø<sub>i</sub> oda-y<sub>j</sub> pro\*<sub>i/j</sub> masmavi boya-dı.  
 Leyla-NOM room-ACC pro blue paint-PST cannot mean:  
 'Leyla got blue as a result of painting the room.'

(Turgay, 2013, p. 94)

Turgay (2013) suggested negation constraints as diagnostics for mono-clausal structures of RCs. Considering the example in (76), it is possible to negate the embedded tensed clause. Yet, negation of a resultative predicate is ungrammatical as presented in (77).

- (77) Can-Ø parti-de deg̃il-di-Ø diye hep-imiz  
 Can-NOM party-LOC NEG-PST-3SG because all-3PL.POSS  
 şaşır-dı-k.  
 get surprise-PST-3PL

'We were all surprised that Can was not at the party.'

(78) \*Leyla-Ø masa-y1 tertemiz değil sil-di.  
 Leyla-NOM table-ACC clean NEG wipe-PST  
 Int.: ‘Leyla wiped the table not clean.’

(Turgay, 2013, p. 96)

For the record here, in situations like “Leyla is working hastily, so that she wiped the table not clean.”, it is still not possible to negate the -AsIyA clause, rather we negate the matrix clause and say “Leyla masayı tertemiz sil-**me**-di (Leyla did not wipe the table not clean)”.

The example (76) is grammatical because the embedded clause has a Tense node. On the other hand, negation makes the example in (77) ungrammatical, which notes that it is not a tensed clause. Turgay (2013) suggest that AP-result phrases are integrated inside the same tensed clause with the matrix V, thus not associated with another tensed clause.

Turgay (2013) examines Turkish RC data to decide on the merge node of result XP and bases his study on linguistic phenomena; reduplication, coordination, ellipsis and telicity. He argues that the result XPs may be considered as adverbs based on their functions, which leads to an adjunct analysis as well. I will briefly review his point here.

Uygun (2009) states that Turkish provides no morphological distinction between words of nominal class, rather the criteria that decides their category is the syntactic environment they are in. Following the workings of Uygun (2009) and basing on the examples which do not distinguish between adjectives and adverbs looking identical, Turgay (2013) assumes that the result XPs may be noticed as adverbs.

Turgay’s examples in (78) illustrate that Turkish adverbs and adjectives are not morphologically different, which makes hard to distinguish between them.

(79) Adjective

hızlı not ‘quick note’

açık söz ‘clear word’

Adverb

hızlı yaz- ‘write quickly’

açık konuş- ‘speak clearly’

farklı tavır ‘different behavior’

farklı davran- ‘behave differently’

He emphasizes that reduplication is a way to derive adverbs as seen below;

	<u>*Reduplication as adjective</u>	<u>Reduplication as adverb</u>	
(80)	yavas, slow	*yavas, yavas, araba (a) slow car	yavas yavas, sür- drive slowly

He proposes that the APs in RCs function as adverbs noting that (partial) reduplication of them make the sentence more acceptable as in (80).

(81)	Melda-Ø	masa-yı	?temiz / tertemiz	sil-di.
	Melda-NOM	table-ACC	clean / clean.REDUP	wipe-PST
	‘Melda wiped the table clean.’			

It is noteworthy, however, that partial (emphatic) reduplication is used for accentuating the quality of an adjective while doublings of nouns, adjectives and adverbs function as adverbials (Göksel and Celia 2005). The examples of partial reduplication (81) and doubling (82) are given below. Some of XPs in Turgay’s study are partial reduplications whereas some are doubling examples.

(82)	<i>uzun</i> ‘long’ → <i>upuzun</i> ‘very long’
	<i>güzel</i> ‘pretty’ → <i>güpgüzel</i> ‘very pretty’ (Göksel and Celia, 2005, p.90)

(83)	<i>yavaş yavaş</i> ‘slowly’
	<i>çabuk çabuk</i> ‘quickly’
	<i>kapı kapı</i> ‘from door to door’ (Göksel and Celia, 2005, p.90)

It is also argued in this study that result APs can be coordinated with adverbs noting that they are structurally alike. (However, I think, the examples below are degraded.)

(84) a. Melda-Ø masa-yı yavaşça ve tertemiz sil-di.  
Melda-NOM table-ACC slowly and clean.REDUP wipe-PST  
'Melda wiped the table clean and slowly.'

b. ?Hasan-Ø odasının derhal ve masmavi boya-malı.  
Hasan-NOM his room-ACC immediately and blue.REDUP paint-NEC  
'Hasan must paint his room blue and immediately.'

c. ?Gül-Ø soğanlar-ı hemen ve ince ince doğra-dı.  
Gül-NOM onions-ACC right away and thin.REDUP chop-PST  
'Gül chopped the onions thin and right away.'

(Turgay, 2013, p.105)

Considering the coordination examples above, when we omit the conjunction "ve (and)", grammatical degradation disappears.

(85) a. Melda-Ø masa-yı yavaşça tertemiz sil-di.  
Melda-NOM table-ACC slowly clean.REDUP wipe-PST  
'Melda wiped the table clean and slowly.'

b. Hasan-Ø odasının derhal masmavi boya-malı.  
Hasan-NOM his room-ACC immediately blue.REDUP paint-NEC  
'Hasan must paint his room blue and immediately.'



c. Gül-Ø soğanlar-ı hemen ince ince doğra-dı.  
 Gül-NOM onions-ACC right away thin.REDUP chop-PST  
 ‘Gül chopped the onions thin and right away.’

Turgay (2013), further, put forward that ellipsis and *dA* replacement tests, and argue that the result XP is an adverbial adjunct like manner adverbs. Turgay (2013) assumes that *dA* replacement can target maximal VPs (verb + direct object + adjunct) whereas while ellipsis can target minimal VP (verb + direct object) or just the verb noting the examples in (85).

(86)

a. Leyla-Ø çayın-ı yavaş iç-ti; Necla-Ø da.  
 Leyla-NOM her tea-ACC slowly drink-PST Necla-NOM dA  
 ‘Leyla drank her tea slowly; Necla did so too.’

b. Leyla-Ø çayın-I. yavaş iç-ti; Necla-Ø hızlı.  
 Leyla-NOM her tea-ACC slowly drink-PST Necla-NOM quickly  
 ‘Leyla drank her tea slowly; Necla did so quickly.’

c. ??Leyla-Ø çayın-ı yavaş iç-ti; Necla-Ø kahvesin-i.  
 Leyla-NOM her tea-ACC slowly drink-PST Necla-NOM her coffee-ACC  
 Int.: ‘Leyla drank her tea slowly; Necla did so her coffee.’

d. Leyla-Ø + çayın-ı iç-ti; Necla-Ø kahvesin-i.  
 Leyla-NOM her tea-ACC drink-PST Necla-NOM her coffee-ACC  
 ‘Leyla drank her tea; Necla did so her coffee.’

It is argued that result XPs behave the same in terms of ellipsis and *dA* replacement, as presented below.

(87)

a. Özgür-Ø odasının-1 masmavi boya-dı; Onur-Ø da.  
 Özgür-NOM his room-ACC blue paint-PST Onur-NOM dA  
 ‘Özgür painted his room blue; Onur did so too.’

b. Özgür-Ø odasının-1 masmavi boya-dı Onur-Ø kıpkırmızı.  
 Özgür-NOM his room-ACC blue paint-PST Onur-NOM red  
 ‘Özgür painted his room blue; Onur did so red.’

c.??Özgür-Ø odasının-1 masmavi boya-dı; Onur-Ø arabasının-1.  
 Özgür-NOM his room-ACC blue paint-PST Onur-NOM his car-ACC  
 ‘Özgür painted his room blue; Onur did so his car.’

*dA* replacement (do so), as seen in examples (86a) and (87a) can target VP + adverb, VP + resultative. Likewise, (86b) and (87b) show that deleting the object and VP excluding the adverb or resultative AP is possible. Lastly, they behave the same in situations in which the object is left behind ellipsis, as the examples in (86c) and (87c) suggest.

In sum, Turgay (2013) conclude that Turkish does not allow Small Clause RCs. Considering the NOM cased subject in *-AsIyA* structures, it is argued that they are bi-clausal based on the assumption that nominative case is assigned by T(ense) head. Their behavior with respect to passivization and adverbial scope is provided as evidence for their clausal status. It was also argued that unlike *-AsIyA* type, in AP type RCs, the result XP is in the same tensed clause with the main verb. The fact that *pro* in AP-types RCs can only refer to the direct object of the matrix verb and that the result XP cannot be negated suggests that it is included into a verbal structure according to Turgay (2013). His main proposal is that the AP-type RC is an adverbial adjunct rather than a complement, unlike English. He supported his argument by examining their behavior in terms of reduplication, coordination, *dA* replacement and ellipsis.

## 3.2 The Proposal

This study mainly has three major proposals. Turkish has two kinds of RCs as we call “-AsIyA” type and AP type and their syntactic structures are very similar to Korean two types of RCs. Considering these similarities, the present study, following Ko (2015) proposes that these constructions are small clauses with different merge nodes.

Firstly, as for the AP type RCs, we will discuss in next section, availability of this type in languages is assumed to depend on some characteristics such as v-framed, s-framed language distinction according to the typological studies. Following Son and Svenonius (2008), I assume that there is no clear correlation between the presence of directed motion constructions (DMCs) and RCs and also distribution of v-framed, s-framed languages which I will discuss later in section 3.4, is not a barrier to occurrence of AP resultatives.

I propose that Turkish has AP type RCs, yet, according to Washio’s (1997) distinction, it is noted in the literature that only the weak RCs are allowed in Turkish. The strong ones, thus the unselected object RCs are not available in Turkish. Thus, this study focuses on weak AP type resultatives in Turkish.

I adopt Ko’s (2015) analysis for complement type RCs in Korean including *PRO* in the small clause noting the similarities between Korean and Turkish. Especially, with respect to case marking, in Turkish AP type RCs target NP can only be marked with ACC like the Korean *-lo* type RCs conforming DOR. Yet, departing from Ko’s (2015) analysis, I did not differentiate between verbs, like *pound-type* and *make-type as* in Korean.

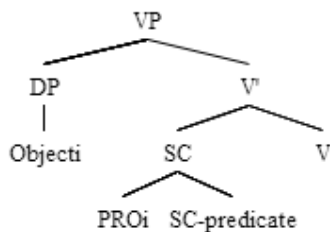


Figure 16: AP-type Small Clause Analysis (Adopted from Ko (2015))

The present study also provides the inner structure of *-AsIyA* type resultatives which is mentioned in Turgay (2013)’s study. Following Turgay (2013), I assume them as adjuncts as well. However, departing from Turgay (2013), I argue that they are also small clause adjuncts, and I extend Ko’s adjunct small clause analysis for *-key* resultatives in Korean to *-AsIyA* phrases in Turkish, which leads to a uniformed resultative analysis in Turkish as small clauses. Although *-key* type RCs in Korean and Turkish AP type RCs are quite similar, there are also some differences between them. While Korean *-key* resultatives can be negated, Turkish *-AsIyA* type doesn’t allow negation, which shows that Turkish ones are smaller clauses than Korean *-key* RCs.

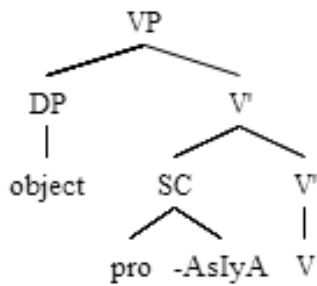


Figure 17: ACC- *AsIyA* type

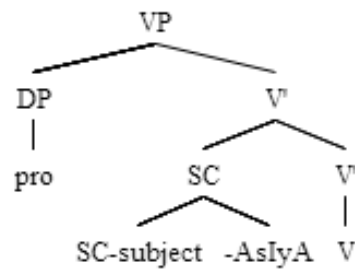


Figure 18: NOM- *AsIyA* type

Syntactic properties of these two types of RCs, “*-AsIyA*” and AP type, will be discussed in the next section.



The structures above are realized as the examples in (89);

(90)a. Herkes [ ben- I Ankara- ya git- ti ] san–yor.

Everyone I- ACC – DAT go- past consider –PROG

“Everyone considers me to have gone to Ankara”

b. Biz [ sen Ankara- ya git- ti- **n** ] san –dı- k .

We I- NOM – DAT go- past- **2SG** consider – PAST- 1PL

“We considered you (to have) gone to Ankara”

c. Herkes [ ben- I Ankara- ya git- ti- **m** ] san –yor.

Everyone I- ACC – DAT go- past-**1SG** consider –PROG

“Everyone considers me to have gone to Ankara”

(Özsoy, 2001, p.216)

Both examples (90b) and (90a) include agreement markers *-n* for second singular subject and *-m* for first singular subject respectively, (90a), however, does not have an agreement marker on the embedded verb.

When we consider the entailment in these structures, it is clear that the DPs in type “*a*” construction are not theta marked by matrix verb.

(91) \* (Ben) seni sandım .

I you-ACC consider-PAST-1SG

“I considered you.”

*Type a* has the same pattern of morpho-syntactic behaviour of clauses considered as small clauses in English. The XPs are deficient (agreement marker) in terms of the functional categories associated with fully inflected sentences. DPs are thematically related to lower predicates and accusative marked. Özsoy (2001) differentiate their characteristics depending

on the type of XP and suggest that verbal small clauses can have T markers while small clauses composed of AP, DP or PP lack an overt T marker.

(92)a . Herkes [ben-I Ankara-ya git-ti/ -iyor ecek] sanıyor.  
 Everyone I-ACC DAT go PAST/ PROG/ FUT considerPROG  
 “Everyone considers me to have be gone /going to Ankara.”

b. Herkes [ben-I mutlu/ avukat/- o na karşı] sanıyor  
 everyone I-ACC happy/ lawyer/ he DAT against consider-PROG  
 “Everyone considers me (to be) happy/ a lawyer/ against him.”

c. \*Herkes [ben-I mutlu-ydu/ avukat-tı / o na  
 everyone I-ACC happy PAST/lawyer PAST/ he-DAT  
 karşı-ydı ] san-ıyor  
 against-PAST consider-PROG  
 “Everyone considers me (to have) been happy/a lawyer/against him.”

(Özsoy, 2001, p.220)

Turning to the *-AsIyA* constructions, it is crucial to note that agreement inflection, tense or negation is not allowed in either unergative and transitive verbs, as presented in (94), (95) and (96). The ungrammaticality of (94-96) suggests that an *-AsIyA* clause with an ACC subject behaves like (non-resultative) small clause structures instead of a full embedded clause (contra Turgay 2013).

(93) a. Nefise Şeyda-yı ölesiye dövdü  
 Nefise-NOM Ş.ACC die-(y)AsIyA beat  
 ‘Nefise beat Şeyda to death.’

b. Köpek bebek uyan-asıya havladı.  
 Dog baby.NOM wake up-(y)AsIyA barked  
 ‘The dog barked the baby awake.’

(94) Tense

a. Nefise Şeyda-yı öl-\*dI/EcEk/Iyor yesiye dövdü.  
 N-NOM Ş-ACC pro die-PST/FUT/CONT-(y)AsIyA beat-PST  
 b. Köpek bebek uyan-\*dI/EcEk/Iyor -asıya havladı.  
 Dog baby.NOM wake up-PST/FUT/CONT -(y)AsIyA barked

(95) Agreement inflection

a. \*Nefise sen-I öl-\*dI-n-y-esiye dövdü.  
 N-NOM you-ACC pro die-PST-2SG(y)AsIyA beat-PST  
 b. Köpek sen uyan-\*dI-n -asıya havladı.  
 Dog you.NOM wake up- PST-2SG -(y)AsIyA barked

(96) Negation

a. Nefise Şeyda-yı öl-\*mE-yesiye dövdü.  
 N-NOM Ş-ACC pro die-Neg-(y)AsIyA beat-PST  
 b. Köpek bebek uyan-\*mE-asıya havladı.  
 Dog baby.NOM wake up-Neg -(y)AsIyA barked

Following Özsoy (2001), and so considering the lack of agreement, tense and negation markers, the present study argues that both types of –AsIyA constructions are small clauses. It also cannot be disregarded the semantic relation between the DP and predicate.

Note also that an -AsIyA clause with an ACC marked subject behaves just like small clause structures in terms of case marking and passivization as well, as shown in (97-98). The SC-subject is ACC-marked and the object of the matrix verb is interpreted as the antecedent of



the subject of the small clause. The ACC-marked subject in (98a) with the *-AsIyA* clause can be raised into a NOM-marked passive structure like small clause example shown in (70) unlike NOM-marked forms. The syntactic similarity between (non-resultative) small clauses and *-AsIyA* clause with an ACC SC-subject strongly suggests that they are small clauses instead of a full clause, contra Turgay (2013).

#### Case marking

- (97) Nefise                    Şeyda-yı/ \*-Ø                    ölesiye                    dövdü  
 Nefise-NOM    Ş.ACC /-NOM    die-(y)AsIyA                    beaten  
 ‘Nefise beat Şeyda to death.’

#### Passive

- (98) a. Nefise Ø                    **Şeyda’yı**    [öl-esiye]                    döv-dü.  
 Nefise -NOM    Şeyda -ACC    die-(y)AsIyA    beat-PST  
 ‘Nefise beat Şeyda to death.’

- b. **Şeyda**                    ölesiye                    dövüldü.  
 Şeyda -Nom                    die-(y)AsIyA                    beat-PASS-PST  
 ‘Şeyda is beaten to death.’

- (99) a. Çocuklar-Ø                    [sc babaların-ı                    yenilmez]                    gör-ür.  
 children-NOM                    their fathers-ACC                    invincible    consider-AOR<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Children consider their fathers invincible.’

- b. Babalar-Ø                    [sc yenilmez]                    gör-ül-ür.  
 fathers-NOM                    invincible                    consider-PASS-AOR

---

<sup>1</sup> Aorist verb form suffix

‘Fathers are considered invincible.’

(Turgay, 2013, p.75)

NOM- marked forms, though, show some differences with the examples above regarding case marking and active-passive alternation. The fixed ordering of SC- subject and predicate in NOM-marked constructions, unlike the ACC-type is salient. The example repeated here given in Turgay’s study for adverbial scope of “dün (yesterday)” is actually good evidence for fixed ordering of SC-subject and predicated as the proposal suggested.

- (100) \*Melda-Ø [CP nefesi-Ø dün kesil-esiye] koş-tu.  
Melda-NOM her breath-NOM yesterday short-(y)AsIyA run-PST  
cannot mean: ‘Melda yesterday ran herself breathless.’

We see that the adverb *dün* (yesterday) is not even fine with reading inside the construction, unlike the embedded clauses presented in (71). This point may be explained easily under my proposal; the ordering of the SC-subject and SC predicate in NOM-AsIyA constructions is fixed, which suggest that the SC-subject and the SC-predicate are merged within a small clause domain.<sup>2</sup> Thus, no adverbial may intervene between the subject and the resultative predicate under the structure that I propose.

Optionality of these structures is also worth mentioning; omitting the whole structure from the sentence does not affect the grammaticality unlike the complement small clauses

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<sup>2</sup> The reason behind the ordering constraint in small clause domain can be anti-locality

*Anti-locality*

Complement cannot merge into the specifier of its own head.

(Abels 2003, Grohmann 2003)

Moving to its own specifier for the SC-predicate, is noted a too local movement. Under this constraint, the ordering between the SC-subject and the SC-predicate is fixed within the small clause assuring that the SC-subject precedes the SC-predicate in the higher domains. . (Ko, 2015a, p. 262)  
Predicate fronting which is discussed later is not possible due to anti-locality as well.

presented above. Two different case markings and the optionality and pro indexation in ACC-type we discussed below in (99) suggest that they are adjuncts.

As the two different interpretations in (101) suggest (Turgay 2013), the affected phrase by the action “öl-(die)” might be either *Tümer* or *Tuna* just like the way it is the case for Korean *-key* RCs given in (102).

- (101) Tuna-Ø<sub>i</sub>            Tümer’i<sub>j</sub>            [pro<sub>i/j</sub> öl-esiye]            döv-dü.  
           Tuna-NOM            Tümer-ACC            pro            die-(y)AsIyA            beat-PST

Interpretation 1: ‘Tuna beat Tümer to death.’ > Tümer died as a result of beating.

Interpretation 2: ‘Tuna beat Tümer to death.’ > Tuna died as a result of beating.

(Turgay, 2013, p. 79)

- (102) a. Susana-ka            Jim-ul            aphu-key            ttayliessta.  
           Susana-NOM            Jim-ACC            in.pain-RES            hit.

’Susana<sub>i</sub> hit Jim<sub>j</sub> so that she<sub>i</sub>/he<sub>j</sub> was in pain.’

- b. Susana-ka            Jim-ul            [son-i            aphu-key]            ttayliessta.  
           Susana-NOM            Jim-ACC            hand-Nom            in.pain-RES            hit

’Susana<sub>i</sub> hit Jim<sub>j</sub> so that her<sub>i</sub>/his<sub>j</sub> hand was in pain.’

(Ko, 2015, p. 367)

Given the similarities with small clauses and *-AsIyA* constructions, the present study proposes that they are both small clauses. Based on Aarts’s (1992) argument that small clauses can also be adjuncts, I argue that these *-AsIyA* phrases form adjunct small clauses. Considering their structural similarities with Korean *-key* resultatives, I suggest that the Korean *-key* type adjunct small clause RELATOR analysis by Ko (2015) can be adopted for their inner structure as given before and are presented below again.

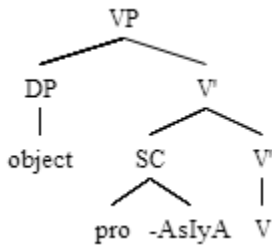


Figure 19: ACC -AsIyA type

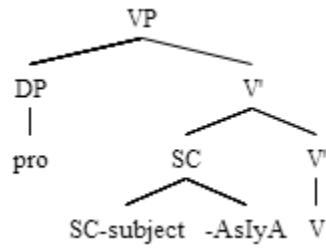


Figure 20: NOM-AsIyA type

I propose that when the SC-subject is marked with an ACC, it is a true object of the main verb with the SC being an adjunct to the main predicate. When the SC-subject is marked with an NOM, the SC-subject and the SC-predicate are merged together within the SC.

The current proposal explains that the resultative subject can be marked either by a NOM Case or by an ACC case, and Turkish -AsIyA constructions may violate DOR as they are merged as an adjunct small clause.

Ko (2015) proposes that SCs undergo cyclic Spell-out and cyclic linearization. While the ordering between object and SC-predicate in the structure in Figure 19 is not fixed, the relation between the SC-subject and the SC-predicate in Figure 20 is fixed under cyclic Spell-out (Ko 2015: 357). Thus, the prediction follows that Turkish AsIyA resultatives would show different ordering restrictions as shown by Korean resultative constructions and this is indeed the case.

- (103) \* Köpek            **uyanasıya**        **bebek**            havladı  
           the dog-Nom    wake up-AsIyA    the baby-Nom    bark-ed  
           “The dog barked the baby awake.”

- (104) Tuna                **ölesiye**            **Tümeri**            dövdi.  
           Tuna-Nom        die-AsIyA        Tümer-Acc        beat-PST

‘Tuna beat Tümer to death.’

Under the present proposal, the ACC-*AsIyA* resultatives and the NOM-*AsIyA* resultatives are assumed to have different argument structures. That is, in the ACC-*AsIyA* type, the main verb takes a noun as its complement and the small clause consist of a null subject interpreted as the object, as in Figure 19. In the NOM-*AsIyA* type, Figure 20, however, the nominative SC-subject is combined within the small clause.

We thus predict that these *-AsIyA* constructions would behave in the same way with Korean *-key* resultatives in terms of predicate fronting, predicate right-dislocation and predicate omission. The ACC-*AsIyA* resultative patterns with the ACC-*key* type, while the NOM-*AsIyA* resultative does with the NOM-*key* type.

While predicate fronting does not affect its grammaticality with the ACC-*AsIyA* resultative (105a), it is not possible with the NOM-*AsIyA* resultative on the other hand, as in (105b).

(105) a. **Ölesiye**      Tuna              **Tümeri**              dövdi.  
 die-*AsIyA*      Tuna-Nom      Tümer-Acc      beat-PST  
 ‘Tuna beat Tümer to death.’

b.\* **Uyanasıya**      köpek              **bebek**              havladı.  
 wake up-*AsIyA*      the dog-Nom      the baby-Nom      bark-PST  
 ‘The dog barked the baby awake.’

Another diagnostic Ko (2015) used in her study is predicate right-dislocation. As predicted, it is possible with the ACC-*AsIyA* resultative (106a), yet it makes the sentence ungrammatical with the NOM-*AsIyA* resultative (106b).

(106) a. Tuna              **Tümeri**              dövdi              **ölesiye.**

Tuna-Nom      Tümer-Acc      beat-PST      die-AsIyA

‘Tuna beat Tümer to death.’

b. \* Köpek      **bebek**      havladı      **uyanasiya.**

the dog-Nom    the baby-Nom    bark-ed      wake up-AsIyA

‘The dog barked the baby awake.’

Also, the examples in (107a) show that grammaticality is maintained when we omit the predicate in the ACC-AsIyA resultative. In contrast, omission of the predicate causes ungrammaticality in the NOM-AsIyA resultative (107b).

(107) a. Tuna      **Tümeri**      **(ölesiye)**      dövdi.

Tuna-Nom      Tümer-Acc      die-AsIyA      beat-PST

‘Tuna beat Tümer.’

b. Köpek      **bebek**      **\*(uyanasiya)**      havladı.

the dog-Nom    the baby-Nom    wake up-AsIyA    bark-PST

\*‘The dog barked the baby.’

In a nutshell, as we have seen the examples in different languages (Levin and Rappaport, 1995; Ko, 2015), complement type resultatives obey the DOR (direct object restriction). That is, only the object of the main verb is interpreted as the subject of the resultative predicate. Crucially, however, the adjunct type resultatives do not obey the DOR (Simpson 1983). In chapter II, it is reviewed that Korean *-key* resultatives do not obey DOR (Shim and Den Dikken 2009, Wechsler and Noh 2001, Ko 2011, Hong 2011, Lee 2014), so categorized as adjunct type. Turkish *-AsIyA* resultatives behave in the same way. In *-AsIyA* resultatives, both the object of the main verb and the subject of the main verb can be interpreted as the subject of the resultative predicate. In some cases, it can also be associated with an element

in the discourse, which leads us to an adjunct analysis.

Besides, the case marking is another evidence for their adjunct status. The resultative subject in these constructions can be marked by nominative or accusative Case. Different case marking of *-AsIyA* resultatives brings about different argument structures and characteristics. *Nom-AsIyA* and *ACC-AsIyA* differentiate in the same way with the *Nom-key* and *Acc-key* resultatives in Korean. The structures proposed above suggest that *NOM-AsIyA* has a fixed ordering of SC-subject and SC predicate. Thus, this type does not allow predicate fronting, predicate right-dislocation and predicate omission. In *ACC-AsIyA* constructions, on the other hand, all of them are possible. It is important that this analysis captures differences between two types as well.

Adoption of the small clause analysis of Ko (2015) not only captures the contrasts between different case marked types of *-AsIyA* resultatives but also leads to a uniformed RC analysis in Turkish with AP type which will be investigated deeply in the next section.

### 3.3.2 AP type

AP type resultatives are the ones in which the result of an action described by the main verb is expressed by an adjective as provided in (108).

- (108) a. John hammered the metal flat.  
b. John painted the wall white.

As discussed in literature review section before, in above examples, the objects are affected phrases by the verb and results of the actions are expressed by adjectives “flat” and “white”.

This type of RCs mostly discussed cross linguistically in literature, is English type RCs which are the resultatives including an adjective. Turkish example is given in (109) below.

- (109) Nefise      saç-ı-nı      **kısa**      kesti.

Nefise hair- poss 3.sing-ACC short cut-PAST.

“Nefise cut her hair short.”

The adjectives that can occur in RCs are very limited, though. the type of adjective is not precise, but the ones I can think of as resultatives are “küt (bob haircut)”, “kısa (short)”, “ince (thin)”, “kalın (thick)”, “yamuk (awry),” “temiz (clean)”, “düz (straight)” and colors, which are mostly the adjectives describing the shape or form of an object.

Before going into detail in analysis of AP type RCs, it is better to mention depictives which look quite similar on the surface and adjunct constructions the XP in depictive construction can be associated with object or the subject of the sentence. Georgala (2011) gives Turkish depictive examples as presented below;

(110) a. Orhan turist-e bira-yı<sub>j</sub> ılık<sub>j</sub> servis etti  
Orhan.NOM tourist-DAT beer-ACC lukewarm service-ed  
‘Orhan served the tourist the beer lukewarm.’

b. Orhan<sub>i</sub> turist-e bira-yı<sub>j</sub> çıplak<sub>i/\*j</sub> servis etti  
Orhan.NOM. tourist-DAT beer-ACC naked service-ed  
‘Orhan served the tourist the beer naked.’

c. Arkadaş-lar-ımız<sub>i</sub> Münih-ten yorgun<sub>i</sub> döndü  
friend-PL-POSS.1PL. Munich-ABL tired return-ed  
‘Our friends came back from Munich tired.’

(Georgala & L. Friedman, 2011, p.111)

d. Çay-ı soguk iç-ti-k  
tea-ACC cold drink-PST-1PL  
‘We drank the tea cold.’



(Boeder & Schroeder 1998: 221)

Although they have very similar structures on the surface, unlike resultatives, depictives are adjunct projections as the referentiality facts suggested.

This section investigates the syntactic nature of Turkish AP-type RCs. As we discussed in the previous section, the unselected object resultatives which are mostly strong RCs (Washio, 1997) are not available in Turkish as can be seen in the examples in (110b).

(111) a. Ali duvar-ı mavi boyadı.

Ali wall-ACC blue paint-PST

“Ali painted wall blue”

b. \*Ali ayakkabılarını yırtık koştu

Ali shoes-ACC threadbare run-PST

“Ali ran his shoes threadbare”

In addition, in study of RCs, it has been noted that it is not always the object of the sentence being affected by the action and the result. In (4), repeated here as (111), it is quite clear that the thing being ‘out of Bethlehem’ as a result of the action is “the wise men”, that is, the subject of the sentence. (Rappaport Hovav and Levin, 2001)

(112) The wise men followed the star out of Bethlehem.

(Wechsler, 1997, p.313)

Although it is suggested that it is possible in English, Turkish does not have subject oriented RCs as shown in the example (112).

(113) \*Bilginler yıldızı Bethlehem’den dışarı takip etti.

The wise men the star-ACC B-LOC out follow-ed

“The wise men followed the star out of Bethlehem.

Regarding the target NP in RCs, it has been noted that the secondary predicate cannot predicate of the subject but must predicate of its direct object conforming DOR in which only the object of the main verb is interpreted as the subject of the resultative predicate. As argued by Levin and Rappaport (1995), it is the main characteristic of the complement type resultatives. This restriction applies to Turkish RCs as seen. We see that the NP affected by resultative XP is always the object and ACC cased.

- (114) a. Ali duvar-1 /\* Ø **mavi** boyadı.  
 Ali wall-ACC / \*NOM blue paint-PST  
 “Ali painted wall blue”

Thus, the selected object AP type resultatives will be the focus of the present investigation.

Before moving on, it is worth to mention the distinction of “weak” or “strong” resultatives first since it plays an important role in capturing cross-linguistic distribution of RCs. Washio (1997) points out that the APs in some resultatives, which are called STRONG resultatives, “add a new piece of information that is not predictable from the basic sense of the verb” like the ones in (114). The verbs in examples given in (115) though make the results predictable are called weak resultatives.

- (115) a. The horses dragged the logs smooth  
 drag: to pull along with great effort.  
 b. The jockeys raced the horses sweaty.  
 race: to cause to run a race.

(Washio, 1997, p. 7)

- (116) a. Mary dyed the dress pink

dye: to give a (different) color to (something) by means of dye

b. He wiped the table clean.

wipe: to rub (a surface or object), e.g., with a cloth or against another surface, in order to remove dirt, liquid, etc. [emphasis added]

(Washio, 1997, p.10)

In other words, the matrix verbs in weak resultatives lexically imply a result state and so result phrases do not introduce a new state (Rappaport Hovav Levin, 2001, p. 780). According to this distinction, it has been suggested that Japanese; Italian and French only allow weak RCs (Hoshino, 1996; Washio R., 1997; Hasegawa, 1998; Napoli, 1992; Legendre, 1997). With regard to Turkish, it has been widely acknowledged that Turkish also patterns with weak RCs only as the examples in (116) and (117) illustrate;

(117) a. \* Ali      çaydanlığı-ı      boş      iç-ti  
          Ali      teapot-ACC      empty      drink-PAST  
          ‘Ali drank the teapot empty’

b. \* Jokeyler      atlar- ı      terli      koş-tu.  
          the jockeys      horses-ACC      sweaty      race-PAST  
          ‘The jockeys raced the horses sweaty.’

The examples in (116) demonstrate ungrammaticality of the strong resultatives in Turkish. Yet, when it comes to weak ones, it doesn’t pose any problem as provided in (117) below.

(118) a. Merve saç-ı-nı kısa kes-ti  
          Merve hair-Poss-ACC short cut-PAST

'Merve cut her hair short.'

b. Seda araba-yı mavi boya-dı.

Seda car-ACC blue dye-PAST

'Seda dyed the car blue'

In sum, the present study argues that Turkish has resultative constructions including an AP. Yet, it only has weak resultatives and they are very limited when compared to English.

Whether the result phrase is an adjective or actually an adverb has been long discussed in literature (Eckardt, 2003; Shim and Den Dikken, 2007; Wechsler and Noh, 2001 among others). Like the study of Turgay's (2013) which regard the result phrase as an adverb, a similar explanation is put forward by Eckardt (2003) for German RCs. Eckardt (2003) noted that German lacks an overt marker which distinguishes between an adjective and adverb as we discussed before in section 2. As the translation 'heavily' and 'solidly' suggest in (118), Eckardt (2003), assumed the adjectives as adverbs based on their functions although *schwer*, 'heavy' and *solide* 'solid' are adjectives in German.

(119) a. Hans den Wagen schwer belud.

Hans the carriage heavily loaded

"Hans loaded the carriage heavy"

b. Beate baute den Drachen solide

Beate built the kite solidly

"Beate built the kite solid"

However, it is impossible for *blue* to be expressed by *blue*ly in the Turkish example below.

(120) Ali duvarı mavi boyadı.

Ali wall-ACC blue paint-PST.

“Ali painted the wall blue.”

Further, it is considered that nouns and adjectives are classified as nominals in linguistic study since they have a lot of shared morphological and syntactic properties in many languages. Based on this assumption, if we consider the example given below (120), we see that the AP *blue* here can be replaced by an NP ‘*koyu renk*’ (dark color), and it does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence.

(121) Ali duvarı koyu renk boyadı.

Ali wall-ACC dark color paint-PST.

“Ali painted the wall dark colour.”

Arguing against the idea in which the result XP is an adverb (cf. Turgay 2013), the present study regards the result AP as an adjective rather than an adverb. Further, considering the undeniable fact that the NP and the result XP are semantically related, I assume that the relation between two is assured by a complement relationship between small clause structure and a main verb.

The fact that only the object of the sentence can be the subject of the result predicate is an evidence for its complement status, as discussed in Levin and Rappaport (1995). Based on the study of Aarts in which small clauses can have null subjects, I propose that *Turkish AP type resultatives are small clause complement* including a null subject, following Ko (2015).

Specifically, taking into account that the structure of the resultatives in Turkish exhibit a close similarity with Korean *-lo* resultatives, I adopt Ko’s (2014) complement small clause analysis of *pound type -lo* resultatives for the inner structure of Turkish RCs. Ko argues that null subject can be merged inside a complement small clause (cf. Aarts 1992).

Following Ko (2015), I adopt her analysis of complement RCs in Korean for Turkish

AP-type RC as presented below, which contains a null PRO<sup>3</sup> within an SC controlled by the object.

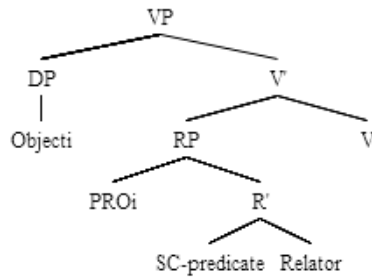


Figure 21: Korean ACC type

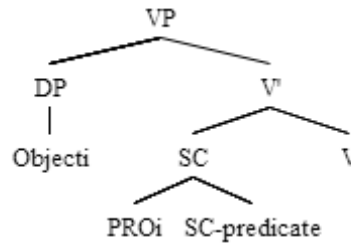


Figure 22: Turkish AP type

As mentioned before, small clause (SC) is a term defining the subject-predicate relation between post-verbal NP and XP, hence they are considered to be a unit. (Stowell 1981, 1983; Chomsky 1981, Aarts 1992). When we consider the semantic relation between the matrix object and AP in Turkish RCs, we see that they form a unit, namely a small clause (Aarts, 1992). Following Aarts (1992) and Ko (2015), the present study proposes that Turkish AP type RCs are also small clauses but with a different merge node from the *-AsIyA* type: the AP type is a complement SC whereas the like *-AsIyA* type is an adjunct SC.

Note that the semantic relationship between the main verb and the object in Turkish, we can see that (121a) entails (121b). This indicates that the object is true of the verb, not a subject of the main verb.

(122) a. Ali      masayı      tertemiz      sildi.

“Ali wiped the table clean”

b. Ali      masayı      sildi.

“Ali wiped the table.”

<sup>3</sup> In this type, it is big PRO as it is controlled by the object.

Ko (2015) diagnoses its small clause structure containing a PRO inside with several syntactic phenomena; predicate fronting, predicate right-dislocation and predicate omission. In the case of predicate fronting, it is possible because it is not really out of SC, rather it is a (SC) RP-fronting with a PRO subject. In the structures Figure 21 and Figure 22, as the matrix object is externally merged in a separate domain from RP, the RP may be fronted over the object. This changes the ordering in the whole sentence, yet, it does not affect the ordering in RP domain. Thus, the movement of the small clause does not cause any contradiction and grammaticality of the sentence is maintained in Korean. (p.359)

Likewise, predicate fronting is also possible in Turkish without affecting the resultative meaning of the sentence as seen in (122).<sup>4</sup> Under the structure in Figure 19, the small clause as a whole [<sub>SC</sub> PRO tertemiz] is fronted and it does not cause any grammaticality problems.

- (123) a. ? Tertemiz                      Ali                      masay1                      sildi.  
 a'. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>SC</sub> PRO tertemiz]<sub>1</sub>] [Ali    [<sub>VP</sub> masa-y1    t<sub>1</sub>    ppahassta]]]  
 “Ali wiped the table clean”

As for predicate right-dislocation, assuming that the small clause is a closed domain and it can move to the right side of the vP. Thus, it does not affect grammaticality of the sentences. Under the proposal, it is predicted that predicate right-dislocation is possible in AP-type RCs as presented below (123), which is indeed the case. The sentence (118a) does not lose its resultative meaning when the small clause is right-dislocated.

- (124) a. Ali                      masay1                      sildi                      tertemiz.  
 a'. [<sub>VP</sub> Ali    [<sub>VP</sub> masa-y-1-    t<sub>1</sub>    sildi ] [<sub>SC</sub> PRO tertemiz]<sub>1</sub> ]  
 “Ali wiped the table clean”

---

<sup>4</sup> Judgment variations: Some people found it a bit strange. I think there is a need to take a small pause just after the AP “tertemiz” to make sure that it does not define the subject “Ali”.

Furthermore, the fact that omission of the result AP does not lead to any ungrammaticality is well captured under the current proposal. Assuming that the DP is the object of the matrix verb and result AP is a small clause including a PRO, omission of the entire small clause does not pose any problem in terms of grammaticality as well, as presented in (124).

- (125) Ali    masayı            (mavi)    boyadı.  
           Ali    the table –ACC    (blue)    paint-PST  
           “Ali painted the table.”

Lastly, there is one more point worth mentioning here; iteration of resultative constructions. Iteration of resultatives is restricted in complement type RCs. In contrast to general assumption limiting the occurrence of more than one result XP, Turkish allows several result XPs in some sentences as given in (125).

- (126) Seda            saçını            kısa    düz            kesti.  
           Seda-NOM hair-ACC    short    straight    cut-PST.  
           Lit. “Seda cut her hair short straight.”

Iteration of the constructions seems to favour an adjunct analysis; however, AP type RCs in Turkish obey DOR and also can only be ACC marked, which is a strong argument in favour of complementhood of them. (Levin and Rappaport, 1995), but I leave it for future research how multiple complements are allowed under the current proposal.

In sum, we see, in this section, that AP-type RCs are available in Turkish and their syntactic structures are compatible with small clauses containing a PRO within. Besides the adoption of Ko’s (2015) analysis for *pound type -lo* resultatives in Korean captures their properties well, as expected.



### 3.4. Implications

Availability of AP type RCs cross linguistically is a significant issue concerning the study of RCs. It is noted in literature that not all languages allow AP type resultatives and the reason behind has been a focus of typological studies recently. (Acedo-Matellán, (2012); Gehrke (2008); Mateu, 2000,2011; Svenonius (2004), Son Svenonius (2008); Synder, 2011; Talmy 1991, 2000)

Talmy (1991, 2000) classified languages into two major groups as s(atellite) -framed and v(erb)-framed with regard to the way events of change are realised. In S-framed languages like English, the change is expressed by an independent element from the verb, which is called satellite. On the other hand, while verb-framed languages the element encoding change and the verb are one and the same morpheme or root. Analysis of a motion event into components in two different types of languages; English and Catalan are illustrated in (126).

(127) a. [The ball] Figure [rolled] Event + Co-event [in [to] Path [the pit] Ground]  
Core schema

b. [La pilota] Figure va [ [entrar] Event + Core schema a [l clot] Ground [rodolant]  
Co- event

the ball PST.3.SG go-in.INF at=the pit rolling

(Acedo-Matellán, 2012, p.3)

The components in this structure are; Figure is the entity which moves in relation to another entity taken as reference; the dynamic or static relation between Figure and Ground is the Path; Core schema is the ordered set of Path + Ground; an event accompanying the main motion event is the Co- event.

As the presentation suggests, s-framed language English allows the verb to combine with a goal PP, which makes the structure a well-formed directed motion construction (DMC). On the other hand, v-framed language Catalan cannot license a goal PP. That is, in former structure,

the Path expressing changes independently from the V as a satellite. Thus, a manner-expressing root can conflate directly with the V head. In latter construction, the Path combines with the V, so they are one. In (126a), PathP (in) to the pit is the satellite to the V, and the Co-Event verb ran merges directly with the V. In (126b), however, the PathP head expressing direction (Pathdir) is obligatorily combined with the V not letting any other element to conflate to the V.

This analysis and distinction are also applied to resultative construction including an AP by Talmy (1991, 2000). German as an s-framed language expresses the result by an adjective which is independent from the verb while v-framed Spanish tells the result state by the matrix verb. The examples from both languages are presented below;

- (128) a. Der Hund hat [den Schuh] Figure [kaputt] Core schema –  
the dog has the shoe in-pieces  
[gebissen] Event + Co-event  
-bite.PST.PART  
‘The dog bit the shoe to pieces.’ German
- b. El perro [destrozo´] Event + Core schema [el zapato] Figure  
the dog destroy.PST.3.SG the shoe  
[a mordiscos] Co-event Spanish  
to bites

In addition to the directed motion examples in (121), the resultative examples in (122) illustrate that German is a satellite-framed language while Spanish is a verb-framed language, which implies a correlation between DMCs and resultative in a sense.

Likewise, Aske (1989) argued that directed motion constructions and RCs have identical structures. Aske (1989) noted that the difference between them is the ending point; DMCs

express change of location in which the figure ends up while RCs express change of state that the figure ends up. Namely, Aske (1989) suggests a correlation saying that a language allows adjectival resultatives if it allows DMCs.

Snyder (1995, 2001) investigates the relation between productive noun-noun compounding and complex predicate types across languages. He suggests that the languages allowing productive noun-noun compounding like English also permit the complex predicate structures such as verb particle constructions, resultatives, and dative constructions. Snyder (2001), thus, argues that both RCs and DMCs are subject to a single parameter.

Following the workings of Talmy (2000), Acedo-Matellán (2012) proposed a morphological specification like seen in Table 2 to capture the cross linguistic variation of RCs more accurately.

Acedo-Matellán (2012) notes that the Path in v-framed languages be marked as + conflating following Mateu (2002). Needless to say, it is marked as -conflating in s-framed languages and proposed to be classified as -affixal, + affixal or unspecified within.

Table 2: Typology of Resultatives (Acedo-Matellán, 2012, p.20)

		AVAILABILITY OF RESULTATIVE SECONDARY PREDICATES		AGREEMENT MORPHOLOGY ON THE PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE
		PARTICLES	AP	
MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES OF PATH	-CONFLATING (S-FRAMED LANGUGAES)		(+) ?	+
		-AFFIXAL (ENGLISH)	+	-
		UNSPECIFIED (ICELANDIC)	+	+
				-
				(+) ?
	+AFFIXAL (LATINI SLAVIC)		-	
+CONFLATING (V-FRAMED LANGUAGES)		-	+	
			-	

According to Talmy's (2000) typology on directed motion constructions, Turkish is

classified as V-framed language like Japanese and Korean, in which AP-type RCs are not supposed to be allowed.

As suggested Talmy (2000), if there is correlation between DMCs and RCs that holds cross linguistically, Turkish is supposed to disallow adjectival resultatives since it does not allow telic DMCs. However, Son and Svenonius (2008) provided counterexamples from different languages suggesting that this correlation does not hold. Spanish and Korean are classified as “verb-framed” languages, in which motion is often conflated with path in the verb (Son 2006, 2007; Oh 2007).

(129) a. La botella entró a la cueva (flotando). Spanish  
 the bottle moved. in LOC the cave floating  
 ‘The bottle floated into the cave’ (Lit. ‘The bottle went into the cave floating’)

b. Mary-ka cip-ey (ttwi-e) tul-e-ka-(a)ss-ta. Korean  
 Mary-NOM house-LOC run-LINKER in-LINKER-go-PAST-DC  
 ‘Mary ran into the house’ (Lit. ‘Mary went into the house running’)  
 (Son and Svenonius, 2008, p.1)

Manner of motion verbs cannot by themselves license directed motion interpretations with goal PPs in these languages, as seen below.

(130) a. Juan {??corrió / \*anduvó/ \*gateó} a la tienda.  
 Juan ran / walked / crawled LOC the store  
 ‘John ran/walked/crawled to the store’ Spanish

b. \*Mary-ka cip-ey ttwi/ kelg-ess-ta.

Mary-NOM house-LOC run/ walk-PAST-DC

‘Mary ran/walk to the house’ Korean

(Son and Svenonius, 2008, p.1 exp 3)

However, Korean and Japanese which are classified as v-framed languages allow adjectival resultatives, as in (125) and (126),

Korean

(131) a. Inho-ka kkangthong-ul napcakha-key twutulki-ess-ta.

Inho-NOM can-ACC flat-KEY pound-PAST-DC

‘Inho pounded the can flat’

b. Yenghi-ka sikthak-ul kkaykkusha-key takk-ass-ta.

Yenghi-NOM table-ACC clean-KE wipe-PAST- DC

‘Yenghi wiped the table clean’

(Son and Svenonius, 2008, p.4)

Japanese

(132) a. John-ga teeburu-o kirei-ni huita.

John-NOM table-ACC clean-NI wipe.PAST

‘John wiped the table clean

b. John-ga kinzoku-o taira-ni nobasita.

John-NOM metal-ACC flat-NI flatten.PAST

‘John flattened the metal’

(Washio 1997)

In a nutshell, Son and Svenonius (2008) state that there are languages allowing AP type resultative although they do not have DMCs and the languages having DMCs and not allowing

AP resultatives also exist. In the light of the examples provided they concluded that there is not a correlation between availability of AP resultatives and directed motion constructions.

Therefore, following Son and Svenonius (2008) and taking Korean examples in consideration, with the absence of a clear correlation between the availability of DMCs and AP RCs, I assume that Turkish has AP resultatives although it does not allow DMCs and PP resultatives.

## Chapter IV

# CONCLUSION

### 4.1 Summary and Conclusion

The present study aimed to investigate and account for Turkish resultative constructions. As the resultative constructions have been long discussed, it, first provides the previous research on different languages such as English, German, Romance languages, Chinese, Japanese and Korean in chapter II.

Chapter III discussed Turkish RCs and analysed their syntactic structures. The main argument was that Turkish has two types of resultatives; *-AsIyA* and AP type and considering the semantic relation between the DPs and result XP, both have small clause structures. (Aarts, 1992; Hoekstra, 1988; Stowell, 1981, 1983). First, it was investigated if AP types RCs are available in Turkish. Although it is considered as v-framed language and does not allow DMCs, it was concluded that Turkish has AP type RCs but only the weak ones (Washio, 1997). Then the question to discuss next was whether they are complements or not.

In Section 3.2.1, as for *-AsIyA* structures, it was demonstrated that these constructions are formed with a DP and a bare verb added the suffix “*-AsIyA*”. First thing we paid attention was that in Korean, a resultative predicate being predicated of not only an object but also a subject is permitted. Also, with regard to the case marking of the DP, it was shown that the subject of the result XP can be either accusative or nominative marked, which is not possible for complement type RC. (Rappaport and Levin, 1992) Also, these two different marked constructions exhibit different structural features like Korean *-key* resultatives. Therefore, it was shown that adoption of Ko’s adjunct small clause analysis

captures their properties well. When the subject of the result XP is NOM, predicate fronting, right-dislocation and omission as a whole is possible. Yet the partial, namely, only the predicate without its subject is on the spot, fronting, right-dislocation and omission make the sentence ungrammatical as suggested. In the case of ACC type, on the other hand, the small clause containing a *pro* and the predicate can be fronted, right-dislocated and omitted; leaving the ACC cased DP behind. Another point supporting its different argument structure and adjunct status is that *pro* in these constructions is free. That is, its antecedent might be either the subject or the object, further it can also be discourse dependent. Lastly, the observation that they cannot get negation and agreement marker lend further support to the argument that they are small clause structures.

In Section 3.2.2, syntactic properties of AP-type RCs are investigated. First, it was shown that AP-type RCs are within the same tensed clause with the matrix verb based on the facts about negation and PRO referentiality (Turgay, 2013). Discussion whether they are complements or adjuncts was one of the main concerns. This section concluded that the strongest evidence came from the DOR. Turkish AP type RCs, unlike the *-AsIyA* type, can only be predicated of the object conforming DOR. (Simpson 1983; Levin and Rappaport, 1995; Kratzer, 2004)

Further, in Section 3.2.2, the similarities between Korean *pound-type -lo* RCs and Turkish AP-type RCs were presented. And it was shown that Turkish AP type RCs pattern with Korean *pound-type -lo* RCs and adoption of complement small clause analysis including PRO, argued by Ko (2015), on this type works well. This argument was supported by their behaviour in case of predicate fronting, predicate right-dislocation and predicate omission.

In conclusion, small clause structures with different merge nodes; adjunct small clause and complement small clause, account for both types of Turkish RCs; *-AsIyA* and AP-



type respectively. This analysis also captures the differences between the NOM and ACC cased *-AsIyA* constructions. Thus, the present study provides a unified analysis for both types of resultatives in Turkish.

## 4.2 Limitations and Issues for further Research

In the first three sections, the syntactic nature of Turkish RCs is examined, and small clause analysis is proposed to account for both types. However, there are several issues which are directly related to the analyses and proposals suggested in this study.

In this section, I briefly discuss some of them. First, in Chapter 3, it is concluded that AP type RCs in Turkish have small clause complement structures that merges inside the minimal VP. Yet, as mentioned before, iteration facts in Turkish AP RC illustrate the need for further investigation. Iteration of resultatives is restricted in complement type RCs. In contrast to general assumption limiting the occurrence of more than one result XP, Turkish allows several result XPs in some sentences as given in (131).

- (133) Seda            saçını            kısa    düz            kesti.  
Seda-NOM hair-ACC short straight cut-PST.  
Lit. “Seda cut her hair short straight.”

Another problem arising from a complement analysis of AP type is about ellipsis and *dA* replacement (like “do so” in English). Constraints regarding ellipsis and *dA* replacement in Turkish seem to pose problem for the idea that RCs are merged inside the minimal VP. In Turkish, *dA* replacement can target the verb, direct object and result XP as in (132a). the example (132b) shows that ellipsis can target minimal VP, the verb and its direct object. excluding the result XP or it also can target the verb and the result XP excluding the direct object as in (132c). In the last example (132d), the verb itself is the target and the direct object and the result XP are excluded.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ellipsis occurs in variations as seen in above examples. The examples made me to question if they can be explained by argument ellipsis in Turkish, which I will leave it for future research for now.

(134) a. Özgür-Ø odasının-ı masmavi boya-dı; Onur-Ø da.  
Özgür-NOM his room-ACC blue paint-PST Onur-NOM dA  
Lit. 'Özgür painted his room blue; Onur did so too.'

b. Özgür-Ø odasının-ı masmavi boya-dı; Onur-Ø kıpkırmızı.  
Özgür-NOM his room-ACC blue paint-PST Onur-NOM red  
Lit. 'Özgür painted his room blue; Onur did so red.'

c. Özgür-Ø odasının-ı masmavi boya-dı; Onur-Ø arabasının-ı.  
Ö.-NOM his room-ACC blue paint-PST Onur-NOM his car-ACC  
Lit. 'Özgür painted his room blue; Onur did so his car.'

(Turgay, 2013, p. 108)

d. Şeyda evini kırmızı boyadı; Nefise arabasını mavi.  
Ş.-NOM her house -ACC red paint-PST N-NOM her car-ACC blue.  
Lit. 'Şeyda painted her house red; Nefise did so her car blue.'

The issues about iteration and ellipsis that the present study could not account for need to be addressed and investigated further.

Lastly, Spinner and Gass (2015) argue that linguistic theories and second language acquisition (SLA) studies have a bidirectional relationship. As SLA studies take linguistic theories into account, further develop hypothesis in accordance with these theories, also results of SLA studies can provide us a better understanding of linguistic concepts. Spinner and Gass (2015) point out that SLA data help linguists examining the characteristics of both native and target languages. In addition, it is noted literature that first language/native language (L1) appears to influence second language (L2) learners' L2 performance and L2 judgments. (Ionin and Montrul, 2010; Jiang, 2000; Kroll and Stewart, 1994; Kubota, 1998; Ringbom, 1992; Wode, 1977).

In a previous acquisition study conducted by Kim Su Jeong (2016) which examines

the understanding of Korean learners of English RCs, the results demonstrate that both comprehension and production of English RCs by Korean learners were affected by their first language. Thus, learners tended to use adjunct clauses rather than complements since *-key* resultatives are adjuncts in their mother tongue, as linguistic data suggested. Likewise, for the sake of present study, I believe that the comprehension and production of Turkish learners of English may be also an evidence for the syntactic status of resultative constructions.

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## 국문초록

본 연구에서는 개별 언어 별로 상당한 변이성을 보여주는 결과 구문의(Eckardt, 2003; Legendre, 1997; Nakazawa, 2008; Napoli, 1992) 여러 언어의 형태 대조를 통하여 터키어 결과 구문의 형태를 밝히고 이들의 통사적 특징들을 파악하려 하였다. 특히, 영어 결과 구문에 대한 연구는 폭넓게 이루어져 왔지만, 터키어의 결과 구문에 초점을 둔 연구는 매우 드물었다.

선행 연구 Turgay (2013)을 바탕으로 이 논문은 터키어에 동사-*As/yA* 형과 형용사 (AP) 형, 두 가지 형태의 결과 구문이 존재함을 강조한다. 그러나 이전 연구와 달리 두 형태 모두가 소절 구조를 갖는다는 통합적인 주장을 한다. 하지만 본 논문에서는 동사-*As/yA* 형을 부가소절로 보고 형용사 (AP) 형은 보어 (complement)로 분석하고자 한다.

결과 구문의 한 종류로서 동사-*As/yA* 형의 구조는 한국어의 “-게” 형 결과 구문과 비슷하게 술어의 주어가 취한 격에 따라 통사적 특성을 나타낸다. 이에 따라 본 논문에서는 Ko(2015)의 부가 소절 분석을 터키어의 결과 구문의 형태에 적용하여 이 유형의 통사적 도출에 대한 새로운 제안을 하고자 한다. 이와

관련하여 3.1절에서는 *-AslyA* 형의 구조적 성격의 분석을 제시하고 있다.

또한, 터키어는 Talmy(2000)의 어휘화 유형 이론에서 제안한 동사형 언어에 속하지만, 본 연구에서는 터키어에서 형용사가 결과 상태를 가리키는 보어 유형이 될 수 있다고 지적한다. 그러나, 주목할 점은 터키어 형용사 결과구문은 목적어의 상태 변화를 함의하는 동사의 보어로만 사용된다는 것이다 (Washio, 1997). 이 유형은 또한 한국어의 pound-형 “-로” 결과 구문과 같이 술어 전치, 우측 전위, 좌측 전위, 술어 생략 현상에 있어서 유사한 특징을 보여준다. 따라서 Ko (2015)의 분석에서처럼 술어의 주어는 주절 동사의 목적어에 해당하며 이를 통제하는 PRO와 형용사가 소절을 이룬다. 결론적으로 본 연구는 터키어의 두 가지 유형의 결과 구문에 대한 통합적인 분석을 제공한다.

주요어 : 터키어, 터키어 결과 구문, 결과 구문의 통사적 구조, 영어 결과 구문, 한국어 결과 구문

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