



## On the Syntax and Semantics of Depictives in Turkish

Semra BATURAY MERAL\* , Hasan Mesut MERAL\*\* 



\* (Araş. Gör. Dr.), Yıldız Technical University,  
Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Department of  
Western Languages and Literatures,  
Istanbul, Türkiye,

\*\* (Doç. Dr.), Yıldız Technical University, Faculty  
of Education, Department of Turkish Education,  
Istanbul, Türkiye

ORCID: B.M. 0000-0002-2231-361X;  
H.M.M. 0000-0002-4215-7378

**Corresponding author:**

Hasan Mesut MERAL,  
Yıldız Technical University, Faculty of Education,  
Department of Turkish Education,  
Istanbul, Türkiye  
E-posta: hmeral@yildiz.edu.tr

**Submitted:** 18.08.2022

**Accepted:** 20.12.2022

**Published Online:** 01.01.2023

**Citation:** Baturay Meral, S. & Meral, H.M. (2022).

"On the syntax and semantics of depictives in  
Turkish. *Dilbilim Dergisi - Journal of Linguistics*,  
39, 17-33.

<https://doi.org/10.26650/jol.2022.1164029>

### ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the depictive secondary predication in the Turkish language with respect to its syntax and semantics and focuses on two issues: (i) theta role assignment and (ii) checking the case of the nominal argument as either the subject or object. This study proposes that depictive secondary predication structures include a depictive predicate whose function is to modify the subject or object argument of the main verb, and the depictive predicate is an adjunct of the main predicate, unlike resultative predicates which are complements. The study also proposes the syntactic derivation of the depictive structures to be explainable under the hybrid small clause analysis, according to which the small clause adjoins to the verb phrase (VP). The subject position of the small clause is filled with a pronominal determiner phrase (PRO), which takes the theta role of the depictive predicate.

**Keywords:** Depictives, secondary predication, hybrid small clause analysis, Turkish syntax

## 1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate depictive structures in Turkish with respect to their syntax and semantics and is interested in two issues: (i) theta role assignment and (ii) case checking. Following Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004), this paper proposes depictive structures to include a depictive predicate whose function is to modify the subject or the object argument of the main verb, with the depictive predicate being an adjunct of the main predicate, unlike the resultative predicates which are complements. This paper also proposes the syntactic derivation of depictive structures to be explainable under the hybrid small clause analysis, according to which the small clause adjoins to the verb phrase (VP). The subject position of the small clause is filled with a pronominal determiner phrase (PRO), which takes the theta role of the depictive predicate.

The paper will begin by explaining what a depictive structure is and how it differs from adverbial modifiers: A depictive structure includes a predicate that describes the subject or object of the main predicate. The former is called a subject-oriented and the latter an object-oriented depictive secondary predicate. The function of a depictive is to make nominal expressions more descriptive and restrictive in order to raise their reference (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann, 2004, p. 61). One initial and important point regarding depictives is that although they are similar to adverbials, they differ with respect to the modification they establish. Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004, p. 61) pointed out that adverbials modify a predicate, while depictives assign a specific property to the subject or object of the main predicate. This is the main difference between adverbials and depictives, which are illustrated in Examples 1a and 1b. In Example 1a, the depictive phrase *hungry* establishes a predicative relationship with *John* as the subject of the main predicate *ate*.

- (1) a.        *John ate the apple hungry.*  
       b.        *John ate the apple very quickly.*

In Example 1a, the meaning is that *John ate the apple and he was hungry while eating it*. However, Example 1b has no meaning such as *John ate the apple and he was quick while eating*. Instead, the adverb *very quickly* describes how the action denoted by the verb is carried out. Thus, one can say that depictives provide information about the arguments of the main predicate, while adverbs provide information about the event expressed by the verb.

Similar structures are also found in Turkish, as has been pointed out by Schroder (2000) as well as others. Accordingly, some adjectives establish a predicative relationship with the arguments of the main predicate. These are given in Examples 2a and 2b below, with depictives presented in bold print.

- (2) a.        *Ali        çay-ı        **keyifsiz** iç-ti.*  
               *Ali        tea-acc without.joy drink-past*  
               Intended reading: “Ali drank the tea unhappy.”

- b. *Ali çay-ı                   şekersiz iç-ti.*  
 Ali tea-acc               without.sugar drink-past  
 “Ali drank the tea without sugar.”

In Example 2a, the depictive phrase *keyifsiz* [without joy] relates something about the emotional condition of Ali, who is interpreted as the subject of the main predicate. The meaning is *Ali drank the tea, and while doing this, he was unhappy*. However, in Example 2b, the depictive phrase *şekersiz* ‘no sugar’ tells us about the physical properties of the tea which is interpreted as the object of the main predicate. The bold constituents in Examples 2a and 2b are considered secondary predicates that describe the subject and the object arguments of the main verb *iç-* [drink].

This paper will question two things: (i) the exact nature of depictive structures and (ii) case and theta role assignment of the noun phrases (NPs) in the depictives. In this context, the paper will try to explain the structures of depictives in Turkish within different types of analyses and claim the most appropriate analysis for Turkish depictives to appear to be the hybrid small clause analysis. With this aim, the article will discuss the ungrammaticality of the sentence in Example 3b and the grammaticality of Examples 3a and 3c by focusing on the phenomena of case checking and theta role assignment with regard to the language.

- (3) a. *Ahmet                   çay-ı                   **sıcak**   sev-er.*  
 Ahmet                   tea-acc hot           like-aor  
 “Ahmet likes the tea hot.”
- b. *\*Ahmet çay-ı                   sev-er                   **sıcak.***  
 Ahmet                   tea-acc like-aor hot  
 “Ahmet likes the tea hot.”
- c. *Çay-ı Ahmet **sıcak** sev-er.*  
 tea-acc Ahmet hot           like-aor  
 “Ahmet likes the tea hot.”  
*\*Ahmet sıcak çay-ı sev-er.*  
 Ahmet hot tea-acc like-aor  
 “Ahmet likes the tea hot.” (Intended reading)

In the canonical structure (Ex. 3a), the main predicate and the depicted argument are not adjacent to each other, and the structure is grammatical. This needs an explanation in terms of case checking given that the object NP and the verb are not adjacent. In Example 3b, however, the main predicate and the depicted argument are adjacent and the structure is ungrammatical, contrary to what is expected in terms of case checking. Example 3c is similar to Example 3a in that the main predicate and the argument are not adjacent, and no ungrammaticality occurs.

Note that Example 3d is ungrammatical with the depictive reading.<sup>1</sup> At this point, the paper will question what is responsible for the case of the depicted argument, and what is responsible for the theta role of the depicted argument under the presence of two theta role-assigning predicates, a main verb, and a depictive secondary predicate. The reason behind this question is that the case is checked in a local Spec-head relationship in the minimalist program, where one NP can have only one theta role (Hornstein et al., 2005, pp. 76–116).

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 will provide a detailed description of the depictive secondary predication in terms of its crosslinguistic characteristics and investigate whether depictives are secondary predicates or complex predicates in Turkish, as well as whether they are arguments or adjuncts of the main predicate. Section 3 will focus on case checking for NPs in depictives in addition to the issue of theta role assignment. Lastly, Section 4 will provide concluding remarks.

## 2. Depictive Structures in Turkish

Schroeder (2000) stated depictives in Turkish to be secondary predicates and provided evidence for this argument by giving a context where another sentence has the same meaning as the sentence with a depictive. Consider the following:

- (4) a. *Çay-ı keyifsiz iç-ti.*  
 tea-acc without.joy drink-past  
 “S/he drank the tea unhappy.”
- b. *Çay-ı iç-ti ve bunu yaparken keyifsiz-di.*  
 tea-acc drink-past and while.doing.this unhappy-past  
 “S/he drank the tea, and while doing this, s/he was unhappy.”

The depictive secondary predicate *keyifsiz* [unhappy] in Example 4a describes the emotional state of the subject NP. Example 4b shows this depictive secondary predicate to also be able to be the main predicate in another sentence that has the same meaning. Schroder (2000) differentiated the resultative secondary predications from depictive ones by indicating that resultatives describe the result of an event expressed by the main verb, not by the depictive.<sup>2</sup> Note that both involve a secondary predication.

1 The adjective *sıcak* [hot] in 3d only modifies the noun *çay* [tea], not adding some property to it. Also, there is a semantic difference between 3a and 3d: The sentence in 3d, *Ahmet sıcak çayı sever* [Ahmet likes hot tea] does not preclude him from also liking cool/cold/iced tea. Whereas the depicted arguments of Examples 3a and 3c imply the hidden meaning that *Ahmet doesn't like cool/cold/iced tea*.

2 Resultatives have been discussed by Carrier & Randal (1992), Schroder (2000, 2008), Saito (2001), Müller (2002), Hong (2005), Meral (2005), Bruening (2018), and Gürkan (2021). Some works have discussed the differences between resultatives and depictives by focusing on the argument nature of resultatives vs. the adjunct nature of depictives. Winkler (1997) also stated that depictives are syntactic adjuncts that are added to the sentence later, while resultatives are base-generated and contribute to event composition and theta-identification and affect the main verb's interpretation. Depictives, on the other hand, are parasitic structures that depend on the main predication. Resultatives express cause-effect relationships whereas depictives state a property of the subject predicate. Depictives are freer structures than resultatives in terms of distribution and interpretation. See Bruening (2018) for a recent work on the differences between resultatives and depictives.

Schroeder (2000) stated depictives in German to describe the arguments with respect to quality, commitment, time, or state and indicates depictives in Turkish to have certain morphological characteristics: they may include (i) the suffix *-CA* which is used to depict the subjects as given in Example 5a; (ii) *kişi* as a dummy item used to describe the quality only for the subject, as given in Example 5b; (iii) reduplication, which depicts both the subject and object as in the respective Examples 5c and 5d; (iv) adjectives that establish a relationship with subjects and objects, as in Examples 5e and 5f; and (v) *bir şekilde* [in a/an x way] and *bir halde* [in x condition], which depict subjects (Ex. 5g). Examples 5a through 5g below are adapted from Schroeder (2000) with slight modifications.

- (5) a. *Sabırsız-ca yemeğim-i ye-di-m.*  
 impatient-ca my.meal-acc eat-past-1sg  
 “I ate my meal impatiently.”
- b. *Beş kişi ders çalış-tı-k.*  
 five person study-past-1pl  
 “Five of us studied.”
- c. *Kola-yı soğuk soğuk iç-ti-m.*  
 coke-accold drink-past-1sg  
 “I drank the coke cold.”
- d. *Yemeğ-i mutlu mutlu ye-di-m.*  
 meal-acc happily eat-past-1sg  
 “I ate the meal happily.”
- e. *Yumurta-yı rafadan ye-di-m.*  
 egg-acc soft-boiled eat-past-1sg  
 “I ate the egg soft boiled.”
- f. *Kitab-ı mutlu oku-du-m.*  
 book-acc happy read-past-1sg  
 “I read the book happy.”
- g. *Kızgın bir halde ev-e gel-di-m.*  
 in.an.angry.mood home-dat come-past-1sg  
 “I came home in an angry mood.”

The *-CA* added adjective *sabırsız* [impatient] in Example 5a describes the *pro* subject of the sentence rather than describing the action denoted by the verb *ye-* [eat]. Likewise, Example 5b shows the number+*kişi* construction in the *beş kişi* [five people] expression to describe the subject of the sentence as a depictive predicate. The reduplicated adjective *soğuk soğuk* ‘cold’ has nothing to do with the verb *iç-* ‘drink’ but with the object NP of the main verb, *kola-yı* [the coke]. The reduplication of the adjective in Example 5d, however, describes the subject NP of the sentence. In Examples 5e and 5f, the adjectival secondary predicates are related to the respective object and subject of the sentences. Finally, Example 5g shows the adjectival

participle *kızılmış* [angry] and the expression *bir halde* [in a/an *x* condition] to describe the subject of the main predicate.

After providing the structures that can be used as depictives in Turkish, the remainder of this section will discuss these structures' characteristics and provide evidence for the idea that the depictive phrase in Turkish is indeed a secondary predicate by using the criteria developed by Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004, p. 77). The first criterion used to define depictives is the presence of two predicates:

*Criterion 1: Depictive secondary predicate constructions contain two separate predicative elements, the main predicate and the depictive, where the state of affairs expressed by the depictive holds within the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicate:*

- (6) *Ayşe peçete-yi ıslak kulan-di.*  
 Ayşe napkin-acc wet used-past  
 "Ayşe used the napkin wet."

As seen in Example 6, *ıslak* [wet] and *kullan-* [use] are two different predicates, an adjective and a verb respectively, that assign two theta roles to their arguments in the sentence. Semantics helps one to identify that these are indeed two separate predicates describing the object NP. Note that the state of affairs expressed by the depictive predicate has the same temporality with the event denoted by the verbal predicate. The second criterion comes with the depictive predicate being controlled by the object or subject NP:

*Criterion 2: The depictive is obligatorily controlled (i.e., a formal relation exists with one participant of the main predicate, the controller, which is usually interpreted as a predicative relationship [i.e., the depictive predicates an eventuality of the controller]). The controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive.*

- (7) a. *Böřeğ-i sıcak sev-er-im.*  
 pie-acc hot like-aor-1sg  
 "I like pie hot."  
 b. *Ben oda-dan sinirli çık-tı-m.*  
 I room-abl angry go.out-past-1sg  
 "I went out of the room angry."

In Example 7a as stated above, an obligatory control relationship exists between the object NP *böřeği* [pie] and the depictive *sıcak* [hot]. The control relation lets one know what the depictive describes in the sentence. In Example 7a, the obligatory object-controlled relationship implies that *the hot thing is the pie and not something else*. The object NP also controls the main predicate due to simultaneously being its argument. Example 7b, on the other hand, is an instance of subject-controlling. The secondary predicate *sinirli* [angry] defines the subject of the main predicate, which reveals another control relationship. Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann's (2004) third criterion is related to the predication relation between the controller and the depictive predicate:

*Criterion 3: The depictive makes a predication about its controller which is at least partly independent of the predication conveyed by the main predicate (i.e., the depictive does not form a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate).*

- (8) Ayşe et-i çığ ye-di.  
 Ayşe meat-acc raw eat-past  
 “Ayşe ate the meat raw.”

Example 8 involves a predication relationship between the depictive *çığ* [raw] and the object NP *et-i* [meat]. This relationship loads meaning onto the object NP different from the main verb. One can also propose the depictive and the object NP to be coindexed, indicating that the depictive is another predicate for the object NP. It depicts the NP by means of a control relationship. The fourth criterion comes with the adjunct status of the depictive phrase:

*Criterion 4: The depictive is not an argument of the main predicate (i.e., it is not obligatory).*

- (9) a. **Ben oda-dan sinirli çık-tı-m.**  
 I room-abl angry leave-past-1sg  
 “I left the room angry.”  
 b. Ben *oda-dan* çık-tı-m.  
 I room-abl leave-past-1sg  
 “I left the room.”

In Example 9a, the depictive secondary predicate is present in the structure, while in Example 9b, it is absent. This does not cause ungrammaticality, and this fact can be taken as support for the adjunct status of the depictive predicate. In addition, the main verb does not assign a theta role to the depictive predicate. The fifth criterion is based on the idea that depictives are not simple adjectival modifiers:

*Criterion 5: The depictive does not form a low-level constituent with the controller (i.e., it does not function as a modifier of the controller).*

- (10) a. Çay-ı sıcak iç-er-im.  
 tea-acc hot drink-aor-1sg  
 “I drink tea hot.”  
 b. \*Sıcak çay-ı iç-er-im.  
 hot tea-acc drink-aor-1sg  
 “I drink tea hot.” (intended reading)

Example 10b is not a depictive construction because the function of the adjective *sıcak* [hot] is to modify the NP in this case. It does not give a theta role to the NP. The NP gets its theta role only from the main verb. On the other hand, the adjective in Example 10a is the predicate for *çay* [tea] and does give a theta role to the object NP. The last criterion for depictives comes with the depictive predicate’s status of finite versus non-finite:

*Criterion 6: The depictive is non-finite (meaning it is not marked for tense or mood categories), or the dependency of the depictive on the main predicate is indicated in other formal ways.*

- (11) a. \*Çay-ı sıcak-tı iç-ti-m.  
 tea-acc hot-aor drink-past-1sg  
 Intended reading: “I drank the tea hot.”
- b. Sen-i kaç-tı-n san-dı-m.  
 you-acc run.away-past-2sg think - past-1sg  
 “I thought you ran away.”

Examples 11a and 11b illustrate a depictive secondary predication and a finite complement clause, respectively. Small clauses do not indicate finite inflection. One must interpret the time of the event by looking at the main clause for things such as tense markers, adverbs, and time clauses. This is exemplified in Example 11a. In finite complement clauses, on the other hand, tense and agreement are expressed through morphology as given in Example 11b.

To sum up, the above-mentioned criteria can be used as evidence for the fact that Turkish has depictive constructions where the adjective is present as a secondary predicate, and this secondary predicate defines one of the arguments of the main predicate by means of a control relationship. Because the main predicate and the depictive do not always define the same argument, one cannot claim that they are complex predicates. The following section will support this analysis.

### 3. Theta Role and Case Assignment in Depictive Structures

This section discusses previous accounts that are available for certain similar structures such as resultatives, then applies these proposals to depictive structures in Turkish, and discusses which of these proposals fits best for analyzing the Turkish depictive secondary predication, beginning with the small clause analysis as discussed by Carrier and Randall (1992).

#### 3.1. Small Clause Analysis

Carrier and Randall (1992) discussed three analyses for resultatives: binary small clause (BSC), hybrid small clause (HSC), and the ternary analyses. In BSC analysis, binary branching is the core concept (Example 12a). In HSC analysis, PRO is used in the subject position of the SC (Example 12b). Finally, the structure in the Ternary analysis resembles the HSC analysis; however, the distinction is that neither PRO nor SC is present (Example 12c).

- (12) a.  $[_{IP} \text{Ali}] [_{SC} \text{süt-ü sıcak}] \text{ iç-ti}$  *Binary Small Clause*  
 Ali milk-acc hot drink-past  
 “Ali drank the milk hot.”
- b.  $[_{IP} \text{Ali süt-ü}_i] [_{PRO}_i \text{sıcak}] \text{ içti}$  *Hybrid Small Clause*
- c.  $[_{IP} \text{Ali}] [_{NP} \text{sütü}] [_{AP} \text{sıcak}] \text{ içti}$  *Ternary Analysis*

Now the paper will examine these three analyses in terms of theta role assignment. How does the non-subject NP get its theta role?<sup>3</sup>

3 A number of studies are found on small clauses in Turkish. See Özsoy (2001) and Kuram (2020). Gürkan (2021) has also advocated small clause analysis for depictive structures in Turkish.



### 3.1.1. The Binary Small Clause Analysis

In BSC analysis, the main predicate has two potential theta roles to assign to its arguments. The first theta role is assigned to the external argument, and the second theta role is assigned to the internal argument, which is not an NP but a clause. If one were to have a look at the internal structure of the small clause, an NP and an adjective head would be seen. NPs need a theta role to satisfy the theta criterion, so the adjective becomes its predicate and assigns a theme role to it. Carrier and Randall (1992) stated that, because a non-subject NP is not a direct argument of the main predicate, the main predicate cannot provide it with a theta role. This explanation seems quite valid for theta role assignment, but what has been ignored is the argument versus adjunct status of depictives: Winkler (1997), Müller (2002), and Hong (2005) stated depictive structures to not be arguments but adjuncts, which makes them different from resultatives. Section 2's discussion also showed depictives in Turkish to be adjuncts to the main predicates. If they are not arguments, how does the verb *iç-* [drink] satisfy the theta criterion? It is a two-place predicate and has to assign two theta roles to its arguments. In the BSC analysis, the internal argument is missing, so this must result in ungrammaticality.

(12) \*<sub>[IP</sub> *Ali* \_\_\_\_ <sub>[SC</sub> *süt-ü sıcak*] *iç-ti*] *Binary Small Clause*

This analysis has a problem with respect to the case assignment as well. As Meral (2005) stated, the NP is not the subject of the depictive construction. If it were, it would be able to take the nominative case (Examples 13a and 13b) as in regular exceptional case marking (ECM) subjects (Examples 13c and 13d):

- (13) a. *Ayşe* [<sub>SC</sub> *duvar-ı ıslak*] *gör-dü.*  
*Ayşe* wall-acc wet see-past  
 "Ayşe saw the wall wet."  
 b. \**Ayşe* [<sub>SC</sub> *duvar ıslak*] *gör-dü.*  
*Ayşe* wall wet see-past  
 "Ayşe saw the wall wet."  
 c. *Ayşe* [<sub>SC</sub> *sen-i git-ti*] *san-dı.*  
*Ayşe* you-acc go.out-past assume-past  
 "Ayşe assumed you had gone."  
 d. *Ayşe* [<sub>SC</sub> *sen git-ti-n*] *san-dı.*  
*Ayşe* you go.out-past-2sg assume-past  
 "Ayşe assumed you had gone."

However, the subject of the BSC cannot be viewed in the nominative case due to the ungrammaticality indicated in Example 13b. When compared with Example 13c, one can say that this may be due to small clause predicates not having tense or agreement, which makes them unsuitable for case checking. Thus, the nominative case-marked NP does not appear in the subject position of the small clause. The issue is whether small clauses in Turkish are barriers or not to case checking. Carrier & Randall (1992) stated ECM to be possible for small

clause analyses due to small clauses not being barriers, which Chomsky (1981) and Stowell (1983) both also stated. Thus, one can say that BSC analysis may be saved in terms of case checking, but theta role assignment will still be a problem.

### 3.1.2. The Ternary Analysis

Carrier & Randall (1992) took ternary analysis to be the best type for resultatives, in which the main predicate, the object NP, and the result phrase (resultative predicate) appears to be under the same node.<sup>4</sup> Thus, they are all arguments of the verb. This may be true for the resultatives that are accepted as the arguments of the main verb, but not for depictives that are adjuncts. Depictives are not arguments, hence being at the same level as the real argument would be problematic with respect to the x-bar theory. Carrier & Randall (1992) also claimed that the result predicate and its subject neither form a unit nor occupy one argument position. They proposed that the result phrase is the argument of the main verb, while the subject of the result phrase is not an argument for the main predicate. In this case, the main verb assigns its theta role to the result phrase and the resultative to the object NP. This may be valid for resultatives, but not for depictives, as they are not real arguments and are added to the sentence after the arguments. As such, the depictive phrase lack a theta role in Carrier & Randall's system. Thus, this constitutes a problem for theta role assignment. Depictives cannot obtain any theta role from the main predicate due to the fact that they are themselves predicates and not argument NPs.

(14) \**[Ayşe [[kapı-yı] [sarı] gör-dü]].* "Ayşe saw the door as yellow."

Example 14 is ungrammatical if one thinks that the main predicate assigns a theta role to the secondary predicate, which does not need any theta role due to predicates themselves being theta role assigners. In Example 14, the predicate assigns a theta role to the NP after it obtains a theta role. Thus, this does not appear to be a valid explanation.

Chomsky (1981) and Stowell (1983) also stated clauses to have subjects and small clauses to have a clausal interpretation in its logical form (LF): They must have subjects, and this subject must be within its clausal domain. However, this is not the case for the current analysis.

(15) The SUBJECT of a phrase XP is the argument of X or X-bar which is directly dominated by XP (Stowell, 1983, p. 295).

4 Carrier and Randall (1992) to resultative structures to be the arguments of the verb, according to which the main verb, the NP, and the resultative must be sisters. An asymmetrical relationship exists between the argument and syntactic structures: the verb's argument must be its sister, but not every sister of the verb is its argument. They said that only ternary analyses can provide the correct argument structure of the resultatives and opposed the small clause analysis, which says a subject and a predicate constitute a semantic unit. They excluded depictives from this analysis. See also Bruening (2018) for arguments against the small clause analysis of depictive structures.

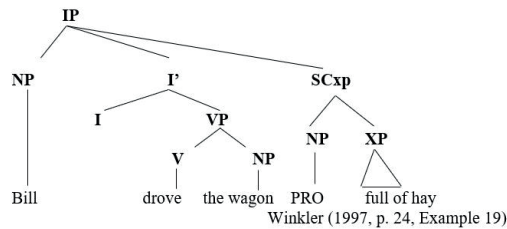
Example 15 states that the subject of a phrase must be within the phrase, not somewhere outside of the phrase. Thus, this implies that one must look for the subjects under the small clause and that the small clause must have its external argument within the phrase domain. In ternary analysis, the subject is not dominated within the same clause.

The ternary analysis is also problematic with respect to case assignment, because no clear-cut distinction exists between adjectives and nouns in Turkish. Also, because an NP can be the predicate of a small clause, *sarı* [yellow] in Example 14 can be understood as an NP, and an NP needs a case to be licensed in the sentence. However, predicate NPs do not need an overt case marking. Still, the case in Example 14 is different, because the secondary predicate *sarı* [yellow] is theta-marked by the main verb according to this analysis. Therefore, the question arises as to whether the secondary predicate *sarı* [yellow] needs a case or not. This seems to be a problem within the ternary analysis with regard to case assignment.

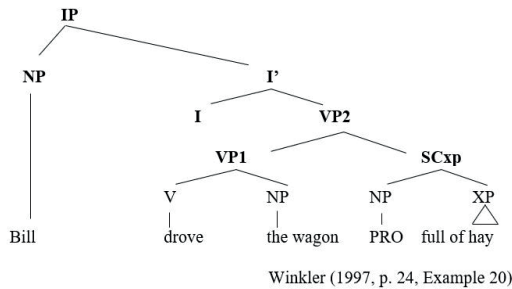
### 3.1.3. Hybrid Small Clause Analysis

Stowell (1983), Chomsky (1981), Kayne (1985), Hornstein and Lightfoot (1987), and Hoekstra (1988; as cited in Cormack & Smith, 1999) advocated for resultatives having a secondary predication relation. Stowell (1983) also argued this for depictives, stating the depictives to be adjuncts and, according to his analysis, adjunct small clauses are control structures. They can be represented as in Example 16a and/or Example 16b:

(16) a.



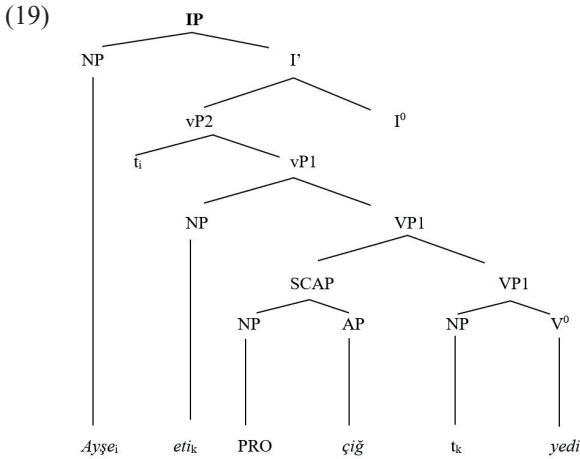
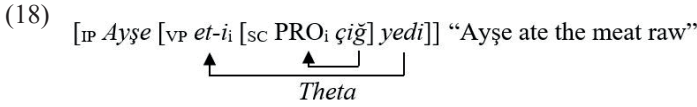
b.



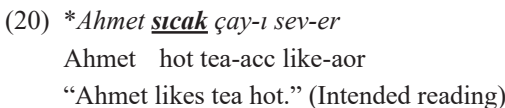
Stowell (1983) stated both representations to be possible for adjunct small clauses. In Example 16a, the verb cannot govern the PRO, and in Example 16b, the government is within VP1. Stowell (1983, p. 305, Example 46) claimed:

(17) If a lexical category appears as a subcategorized small clause complement, then it may not contain a PRO subject.

With this generalization, Stowell distinguishes complement and adjunct small clauses from each other. At the same time, however, he makes use of PRO for resultatives in order to avoid two theta roles being assigned to one NP. In terms of depictives, this analysis can be supported for Turkish. Accordingly, HSC analysis preserves both theta role assignment and case checking. Related to theta role assignment, the main verb theta-marks preverbal NP, and the secondary predicate assigns the theta role to the PRO. This is shown in Example 18, whose representation is provided in Example 19.



As seen in Example 19, the object NP is generated in the complement position of the V. Then, it moves to the Spec vP1 position to check its accusative case using the spec-head configuration. SC is adjoined to VP1, and the Spec position of the SC is filled by a PRO. PRO does not need to be case-marked, it just satisfies the theta role of the secondary predicate adjective *çiğ* [raw]. The subject NP moves from the Spec-vP2 position to the Spec-IP position for nominative case checking. Thus, no problem appears to occur with this analysis. Also, this analysis is valid for the ungrammatical case given in the paper’s Introduction. Consider Example 3d repeated here as Example 20:




In Example 20, the depictive phrase precedes the object NP, and the structure is ungrammatical in the depictive interpretation. The ungrammaticality of Example 20 can be explained within the HSC analysis. Because the PRO and depictive predicate form an adjunct, they move together to another adjunct place. In this way, the controller of PRO, which is the NP, cannot c-command it. Thus, this ungrammaticality is due to the c-command requirement in control structures. Also, the ungrammaticality of Example 3b (repeated here as Example 21) can be similarly explained:

- (21) \**Ahmet çay-ı sev-er sıcak.*  
 Ahmet tea-acc like-aor hot  
 “Ahmet likes the tea hot.”

In Example 21, the depictive predicate is in the postverbal position. If one assumes the postverbal constituents to be complementizer phrase (CP)-adjoined (as in Kural, 1993), then PRO can be seen to sit in the subject position of the small clause (SC), which occurs at the CP level. If this is so, the c-command requirement between the controller and the PRO is violated. This explains the ungrammaticality of Example 21. Thus, this article favors HSC analysis for the depictives in Turkish. However, before concluding, a discussion should occur on incorporation and complex verb proposals as potential analyses of depictive constructions in Turkish, starting with the incorporation analysis.

### 3.2. Incorporation Analysis

As Saito (2001) stated, resultative constructions may consist of the incorporation of the verb and the resultative phrase. This incorporated construction assigns only one theta role to the complement NP, as given in Example 22:

- (22) *Ayşe* [<sub>NP</sub> *oda-yı*] [<sub>V head+Adj head</sub> *temiz bıraktı.*]  


However, Saito (2001) also stated that this kind of incorporation is possible when the two predicates have the same subjects. This may be true for the object-oriented depictive secondary predication, but not for subject-oriented ones. Meral (2005) indicated that Turkish does not allow such incorporations, given that cases exist where the external arguments of the two predicates are not the same.

The incorporation analysis is also problematic for depictives due to the fact that depictives are not obligatory elements in the sentence but are adjuncts. Thus, the question is how can one claim that the main predicate and the adjunct establish such an incorporation? It does not appear to be a valid solution for theta role assignment either. If one were to claim that this incorporation is possible, why doesn't Turkish have adverb+verb incorporation, which is able to assign a theta role to the argument given that adverbials are also adjuncts?

The analysis Saito (2001) put forward is problematic in terms of case checking as well. The secondary predicate *temiz* [clean] in Example 22 is not a case checker but is instead a non-obligatory element. The only predicate that is responsible for case checking is the main verb *bırak-* [to leave]. Thus, the validity of this incorporation analysis is questionable.<sup>5</sup> Now the paper will focus on the validity of the complex verb analysis of depictives in Turkish.

### 3.3. Complex Verb Analysis

Larson (1988) proposed that double object constructions are derived from the VP-internal subject hypothesis and the single complement hypothesis. The indirect object and the main verb establish a single constituent as in Example 23.<sup>6</sup>

- (23) [John [*e* [a letter [send to Mary]]]]  
(Adapted from Larson, 1988, p. 335, Example 2a)

Larson (1988) claimed that resultatives and object-oriented depictives can be analyzed in the same way, as illustrated in Examples 24a and 24b, respectively:

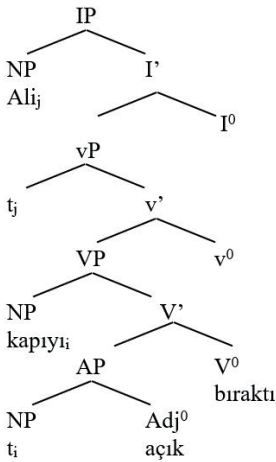
- (24) a. [Jude [*e* [a coin [hammer flat]]]]  
b. [John [*e* [fish [eat raw]]]]

Larson (1988) indicated that the verb raises to a position between Spec-VP and NP for the sake of case and agreement. Meanwhile, Saito (2001) proposed that a head that provides a theta role can move into a higher head position and assign another theta role to the NP in a higher specifier position. Also, an NP can raise into a higher spec position and obtain another theta role. These are also shown to be valid for resultatives (Saito, 2001; Meral, 2005):

- (25) *Ali kapıyı açık bıraktı.* “Ali left the door open.”


5 Saito (2001) questioned the syntax-semantics mismatch with respect to theta role assignment in resultative constructions and stated resultatives in Edo to be serial verb constructions with an unaccusative second verb. He also indicated that resultatives have argument sharing (i.e., the NP is the argument of both predicates), and this argument gets its theta role from both predicates. The resultative behaves similar to the complement of the main verb and seems to be incorporated with it. Saito (2001) suggested that two verbs assign one single theta role to one single NP. However, the secondary predicate cannot have the external argument of the main predicate. For Saito (2001), resultatives in English have a pattern similar to the those in Edo. Two predicates do not establish an incorporation relationship, which indicates a covert incorporation to be present. The common argument gets its theta role first from the secondary predicate and then it raises to be theta-marked by the main predicate.

6 Dowty (1979) also suggested the complex verb analysis, according to which the matrix verb and the resultative predicate form a new complex verb that behaves as a single syntactic unit. See also Müller (2002) for the complex verb analysis of resultatives.



from Meral (2005)

In Example 25, the complement NP merges under the result phrase AP. The adjective head within this phrase assigns a theta role to this NP. As soon as it gets the theta role, it moves to the Spec-VP position and gets another theta role from the verb head. This analysis shows that both predicates have assigned their theta roles, and the complement NP in this way has received a theta role from two different predicates. Carrier & Randall (1992) claimed an NP to be able to receive theta roles from two distinct syntactic heads. Moreover, Hornstein (1999) discussed a similar case in his movement theory of control.

(26) John<sub>i</sub> hopes [t<sub>i</sub> to leave]  


Hornstein (2001) argued that *John* merges with *leave*, checking the verb's theta-feature. After this, *John* moves to the subject position of the lower clause, checking D on INFL. Then *John* moves to the specifier position of the higher vP, checking the external theta-feature of the predicate *hopes*. Lastly, *John* moves to the matrix subject position, checking D and case. This may be valid for resultatives, but things get complicated once one considers depictives. In Hornstein's (1999), Saito's (2001), and Meral's (2005) analyses, the key point is that the moved element is a part of the obligatory constituent. In depictives, on the other hand, something gets moved from an adjunct phrase after the theta-role assignment in order to provide another theta role, which is questionable in terms of theta role assignment. Thus, Hornstein's (1999) theory of movement does not appear to be a valid option for the theta role assignment of argument NP in secondary predicate constructions.

#### 4. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to present a valid analysis for depictive constructions. In light of this aim, theta role assignment and case checking of argument NPs in secondary predicate

constructions have been discussed under the following different analyses: (i) binary small clause analysis, (ii) ternary analysis, (iii) hybrid small clause analysis, (iv) incorporation analysis, and (v) complex clause analysis. This paper proposes HSC analysis to fit best with regard to Turkish depictive constructions. In other words, the depictive and PRO that are controlled by one of the arguments of the main predicate establish a single constituent that functions as a modifier in the sentence. The depictive predicate assigns its theta role to the PRO, and the main predicate gives its theta role to the object NP.

---

**Peer-review:** Externally peer-reviewed.

**Conflict of Interest:** The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

**Grant Support:** The authors declared that this study has received no financial support.

---

## References

- Bruening, B. (2018). Depictive Secondary Predicates and Small Clause Approaches to Argument Structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 49(3), 537–559.
- Carrier, J. & Randall, H. (1992). *Argument Structure & Syntactic Structure of Resultatives*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23(2), 173-234. The MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures in Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Cormack, A. & Smith, N. (1999). *Why are depictives different from resultatives?* UCL Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Dowty, D. (1979). *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Hong, Soo-Min. (2005). “Exceptional” Case-Marking and Resultative Constructions. PhD Dissertation. University of Maryland.
- Hornstein, N. (1999). Movement and Control. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30 (1), 69-96.
- Hornstein, N. (2001). *Move! A Minimalist Theory of Construal*. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Hornstein, N., & Lightfoot, D. (1987). Predication and Pro. *Language*, 63(1), 23–52.
- Hornstein, N., Nunes, J. & Grohmann K. (2005). *Understanding Minimalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kayne, R. (1985). Principles of particle constructions. In J. Guéron, H-G. Obenauer and J-Y. Pollock (Eds.), *Grammatical Representations*, 101-140. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Kural, M. (1993). Scrambling and mixed positions. *North East Linguistics Society*, 22(1), Article 18.
- Kuram, K. (2020). Locatives as small clause predicates in Turkish. *Diyalektolog* 23, 117-138.
- Larson, R. (1988). *On Double Object Constructions*. *LI* 19(3), 335-391. The MIT Press.
- Meral, H. M. (2005). Resultatives in Turkish. In N. Lavidas, E. Nouchoutidou and M. Sionti. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 3rd Athens Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics*.
- Müller, S. (2002). *Complex Predicates*. CSLI Publications.
- Gürkan, D. Ö. (2021). Depictive secondary predicates in Turkish. *Onomázein* 51, 1-16.
- Özsoy, S. (2001). On ‘small’ clauses, other ‘bare’ verbal complements and feature checking in Turkish. In E. Erguvanli-Taylan (Ed.) *The Verb in Turkish*, 213-237. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.



- Saito, M. (2001). *Movement and Theta Roles: A Case Study with Resultatives*. The Second Tokyo Conference on Psycho-linguistics.
- Schroeder, C. (2000). *Almanca ve Türkçe'de İkincil Yüklemeler*. In A. S. Özsoy and E. Erguvanlı-Taylan (Eds.), Proceedings of 15<sup>th</sup> National conference in Turkish linguistics, 79-92. Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press.
- Schroeder, C. (2008). Adverbial modification and secondary predicates in Turkish: a typological perspective. In C. Schroeder et al. (Eds.) *Secondary Predicates in Eastern European Languages and Beyond*, 339-358. Oldenburg: BIS Verlag.
- Schultze-Berndt, E. & Himmelmann, N. (2004). Depictive Secondary Predicates in Crosslinguistic Perspective. *Linguistic Typology* 9(2), 341-350.
- Stowell, T. (1983). Subjects across categories. *The Linguistic Review* 2, 285-312.
- Winkler, S. (1997). *Focus and Secondary Predication*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin. New York.

