RELATIONAL GRAMMAR AND IMPERSONAL PASSIVES

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1. Introduction

Impersonal Passives (IPP) in Turkish are generally considered as subjectless constructions. In Turkish IPPs are defined as sentences that are subjectless on the surface structure, but have an indefinite human subject on the semantic level. Now consider the following sentences:

(1a) Bana   öğretmen yardım   et-   ti.
     I-Dat.   teacher   help   Aux.- Past-3sg
     'The teacher helped me.'

(1b) Bana   yardım   ed-   il-   di.
     I-Dat. help   Aux-   Pass.- Past
     'I was helped.'

(1c) İnsanlar   burada   yüzer-   ler.
     People-Nom.   here   swim-   pl.
     'People swim here.'

(1d) Burada   yüz-   ül-   ür.
     Here   swim-   Pass.- Aor.
     'Anybody can swim here.'

(1e) Adam burada   sigara   iç-   iyor.
     Man here   cigaret   smoke- Prog-3sg
     'The man is smoking here.'

(1f) Burada   sigara   içilmez.
     Here   cigarette smoke-Pass.-not-Aor.-3sg
     'No smoking here.'

In the sentence in (1e) the verb *içmek* is a transitive verb which takes *sigara* as a DO, and the IPP sentence in (1f) is constructed with the same transitive verb. In other words in (1f) the verb is still transitive as it has the DO *sigara*. The sentence in (1a, b), which I will call a Dative Impersonal (DI), is constructed from an intransi-

tive verb that takes a dative indirect object (IO). These constructions allow agent phrases that are animate as shown in (2):

(2a) Bana   (öğretmen tarafından)   yardım edildi.
      I-Dat.   by the teacher   help-Pass.-Past-3sg
      'I was helped by the teacher.'
(2b) Bana   (köpek tarafından)   yardım edildi.
      I-Dat.   by the dog   help-Pass.-Past-3sg
      'I was helped by the dog.'

The impersonal sentence in (1d) cannot have surface subjects as shown in (3).

(3)   *Burada   insanlar tarafından   yüzülür.
      Here   by the people   swim-Pass.-Aor.-3sg
      'Here swimming is done by people.'

Although the sentence in (1d) does not allow a subject on the surface, the implied agent is always assumed to be human.

(4)=(1d)   Burada yüzülür.
(4a)   'Anybody can swim here.'
(4b)   '*Dogs can swim here.'

Contrary to the sentences in (1b) and (1d), the sentence in (1f) is constructed from a transitive verb and, as in (1d), the implied agent is human. I will go into greater detail about the sentence in (1f) in the following section.

2. Transitive impersonal passives

It is commonly believed that IPPs are restricted to intransitive verbs, whereas PPs are restricted to transitives. In this section we will observe that IPPs in Turkish can also be constructed from transitives.

Turkish transitive IPPs' verbal morphology is not different from that of PPs. The verb is transitive, and it requires a DO in the Acc. case. However, they differ from PPs in that they appear without a surface subject and they are used only in Aorist tense (see Underhill 1990).

Let us look at the sentences in (5). (5a) is a PP. PPs in Turkish can be used with an agent phrase. On the other hand (5c) is an IPP of a transitive, and the agent cannot be expressed in these constructions.

(5a) Kitap   kadın tarafından   okundu.
      The book-Nom. by the woman   read-Pass.-Past-3sg
      'The book was read by the woman.'
(5b) Burada   kitap   okunmaz.
      Here   books   read-Pass.-not-Aor.-3sg
      'No reading here.'
(5c) *Burada   kadın tarafından   kitap   okunmaz.
      here   by the woman   book   read-not-Pass.-Aor.-3sg
      'No reading by the woman here.'

The noun *kitap* 'book' in (5b), as in (5a), is the promoted subject of the passive sentence. The difference between the PP (5a) and IPP of transitives (5b) is that in PPs the subject of the passive sentence is definite, whereas the subject of the IPP of transitives is non-specific, i.e. it is general.

In the following sections we shall discuss the other two IPPs in turn.

3. Intransitive personal passives and dative impersonals

Both intransitive IPPs and Dative Impersonals are dependent on the intransitivity of the verb. The verbal morphology of these constructions is the same as in IPPs of transitives. The verb in intransitive IPPs appears in its passive form in the Aorist and it is not inflected for person, i.e., it is only used in 3 sg form.

(6a) Burada   yüzülür.
                3sg
      'Anybody can swim here.'
(6b) *Burada   yüzülürler.
                3pl
(6c) Bana   yardım edildi.
      I-Dat.   help-Pass.-Past-3sg
      'I was helped.'

The sentence in (6a) is an intransitive IPP. The sentence in (6b) is ungrammatical, because the passive verb is used in the 3pl. form. The sentence in (6c) is a DI, and these constructions are not restricted to any tense. Dative Impersonals are not productive constructions in Turkish. Let us now look at the sentences given in (7):

(7a) Bana   öğretmen tarafından   yardım edildi.[1]
      I-Dat.   by the teacher   help-Pass.-Past-3sg
      1sg IO   *3sg*
      'I was helped by the teacher.'

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[1] Looking at the sentence in (7a) one can think that the dative NP only occurs in initial topic position. In Turkish topic can be defined as the initial constituent of a sentence. It often coincides with the subject of the sentence. In connection to this, one might think that topicalization is the main motivation for passives. However, topicalization can also be obtained in active sentences. This is illustrated in (i).

(i)   Bana   bu   yazar   çok   tesir   et - ti.
      I-Dat.   this   writer-Nom.   very   influence   Aux-Past-3sg
      'This writer has influenced me greatly.'

In a language which exhibits a free order of constituents in sentence structure, topicalization cannot be regarded as the main motivation for passivization. In Turkish the position of emphasis, that is the focus position, is of primary importance in the sentence, and topicalization is secondary; therefore we cannot say that in Turkish passives only topic plays an important role in sentence structure.

(7b)   Öğretmen bana yardım etti.
      The teacher   I-Dat.   help-Past-3sg
      3sg IO   *3sg*
      'The teacher helped me.'

The NP *bana* here is not promoted to subject, i.e. it is not the subject of the sentence, rather it is the IO of the sentence and remains in its original position in the course of passivization. If it was the subject, the verb should agree with it[2]

Here the NP *bana* is in 1sg, and the verb is in 3sg. Contrary to DI in (7a), PPs have subject-verb agreement. This is illustrated in (8):

(8a)   Biz   davet edildik.
      We-Nom.   invite-Pass.-Past-1pl
      1pl   *1pl*
      'We were invited.'

(8b)   Siz   davet edildiniz.
      You-pl-Nom.   invite-Pass.-Past-2pl
      2pl   *2pl*
      'You were invited.'

In fact, the verb *yardım etmek* 'to help' in (7) consists of two different constituents: one is the noun *yardım* 'help', and the other is the auxiliary verb *etmek* 'to do'. Verbs like *yardım etmek* 'to help', *emretmek* 'to order', *telefon etmek* 'to call', *dikkat etmek* 'to pay attention', *tesir etmek* 'to influence' are called compound verbs which require an IO in the Dative case. The nouns within the compounds behave like a DO of the verb; therefore, they can serve as the subject of the passive sentences. Consider the following sentences in (9):

(9a)   Öğretmen   bana   kitap   ver-   di.
      Teacher-Nom.   I-Dat.   book-Acc.   give-   Past-3sg
      'The teacher gave me a book.'

(9b)   Bana   öğretmen tarafından   kitap   ver-   il-   di.
      I-Dat.   teacher by   book-Nom.   give-   Pass.- Past
      'A book was given to me by the teacher.'

(9c)   Kitap   bana   ver-   il-   di.
      Book-Nom.   I-Dat.   give-   Pass.- Past
      'The book was given to me.'

(9d)   Bana   kitap   ver-   il-   di.
      I-Dat.   book-Acc.   give-   Pass.- Past
      'The book was given to me.'

(9e)   Bana   çok   kitap   ver-   il-   di.
      I-Dat.   many   book   give-   Pass.- Past
      'Many books were given to me.'

(9f)   Öğretmen   bana   yardım   et- ti.
      Teacher-Nom.   I-Dat.   help-Acc.   Aux.-Past-3sg
      'The teacher helped me.' or 'The teacher gave me help.'

(9g)   Bana öğretmen tarafından   yardım   ed-   il-   di.
      I-Dat. teacher by   help-Nom.   Aux.- Pass.- Past
      'Help was given to me by the teacher.' or 'I was help by the teacher.'

(9h)   Bana   yardım   ed-   il-   di.
      I-Dat.   help-Nom.   Aux- Pass.- Past
      'Help was given to me.' or 'I was helped.'

(9i)   Yardım   bana   ed-   il-   di.
      help-Nom.   I-Dat.   Aux-   Pass.- Past
      'Help was given to me.' or 'I was helped.'

(9j)   Bana   çok   yardım   ed-   il-   di.
      I-Dat. a lot   help   Aux.-   Pass.- Past
      'A lot of help was given to me.' or
      'I was helped a lot.'

As noticed the noun *yardım* 'help' behaves like the noun *kitap* 'book'. It can appear anywhere in the sentence and it can be modified. The difference between the verb in (9a, b, c, d, e) and the verb (9f, g, h, i, j) is that in the compound verb *yardım etmek* 'to help' the auxiliary *etmek* cannot be used alone; that is, without the noun *yardım* 'help' the auxiliary *etmek* does not carry any meaning. Thus, we cannot find a sentence like:

(10)   *Öğretmen   bana   et-   ti.
      Teacher-Nom.   I-Dat.   Aux-   Past-3sg
      'The teacher did to me.'

Another piece of evidence showing that *yardım* 'help' behaves like a DO comes from the compound constructions in Turkish.

(11a)   Ali   [Hasan- ın   ev-   e   gitti- ği- ni]   san-   ıyor.
      Ali-Nom. Hasan- Gen. house- Dat. go- Ger.- Poss. believe- Prog.-3sg
      'Ali believes that Hasan went home.'

(11b)   Ali   [kitab- ın   Hasan- a   ver-   il-   diğ- i- ni]   san-
      Ali book-Gen. Hasan- Dat. give- Pass.- Ger.- Poss.- Acc. believe-
      ıyor.
      Prog.-3sg

2

    *Bana   yardım edildim.
    I-Dat.   help-Pass.-Past-1sg
    1sg   1sg
    'To me I was helped.'

'Ali believes that the book was given to Hasan.'

(11c) Ali   [yardım-   ın   Hasan-   a   ed-   il-   diğ-   i-   ni]
      Ali   help-   Gen.   Hasan-   Dat.   Aux.-   Pass.- Ger.-   Poss.-   Acc.
      san- ıyor.
      believe- Prog.-3sg
      'Ali believes that help was given to Hasan.'

(11d) *Ali [Hasan-   nın   kitap   ver-   il-   diğ-   i-   ni]
      Ali   himself-   Gen.   book-Nom.   give-   Pass.- Ger.-   Poss.-   Acc.
      san- ıyor.
      believe- Prog.-3sg
      'Ali believes that Hasan was given to the book.'

(11e) *Ali [Hasan-   nın   yardım   ed-   il-   diğ-   i-   ni]
      Ali   Hasan-   Gen.   help-Nom.   Aux.-   Pass.- Ger.-   Poss.-   Acc.
      san- ıyor.
      believe- Prog.-3sg
      'Ali believes that Hasan was given to help.'

The complements of the main clause in (11) are called Factive Nominals. The subject of Factive Nominals[3] always takes the Genitive case. Thus, in (11a) the subject of the embedded clause is *Hasan*, because it is assigned the Gen. case; in (11b) the embedded sentence is a PP sentence, and the subject of this sentence is *kitap* 'the book', and it is also assigned the Gen. case. The embedded sentence in (11c) is a DI sentence. The noun *yardım*, here, also has the Gen. marker, and therefore it is the subject of this sentence. The sentences in (11d, e) are ill-formed sentences, because the noun *Hasan* cannot be the subject of the sentences. It can only be the IO of the sentences. After this brief introduction of the IPPs in Turkish we shall observe how RG treats these constructions.

4. The dummy of impersonal sentences

Like Turkish, German and Dutch also have impersonal passive constructions. Consider the following sentences:

(12a) German   Es wurde hier getanzt.
                'It was danced here.'
(12b) Dutch   Er wordt hier door de jonge lui veel gedanst.
                'It is danced here a lot by the young people.'
                                    (Perlmutter and Postal 1984: 107)
(12c) Turkish   Burada dans edildi.
                'It was danced here.'

[3] For more information see Kornfilt (1984), Dietrich (1995).

In the RG framework a dummy (*es* in German, *er* in Dutch) is introduced in (12a, b). As can be noticed, this dummy is not realized in the Turkish sentence in (12c). Perlmutter (1978) claims that the dummy in (12a) and (12b) is a 2, which advances to 1. In conjunction with this claim the IPP is defined as a 2 to 1 advancement process which is illustrated as in the following diagram:

(13)

getanzt   Ø   hier   es
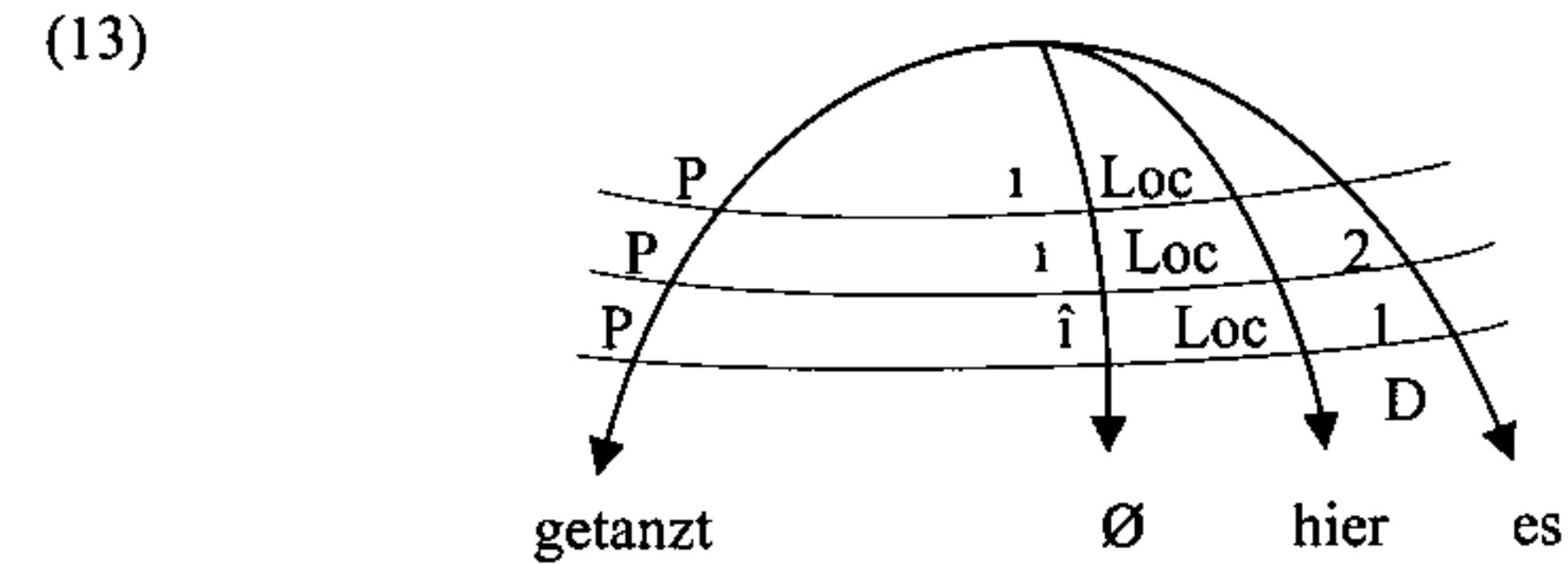
In (13) the D is a dummy which is realized as *es* in German. The dummy bears the 2-relation in the second stratum, and the 1-relation in the last stratum. Initial 1 is, here, put *en chômage*.

Let us compare the following PP with the IPP in (14):

(14) Der Käse wird von den Kindern gegessen.
      'The cheese was eaten by the children.'

gegessen   den Kindern   der Käse
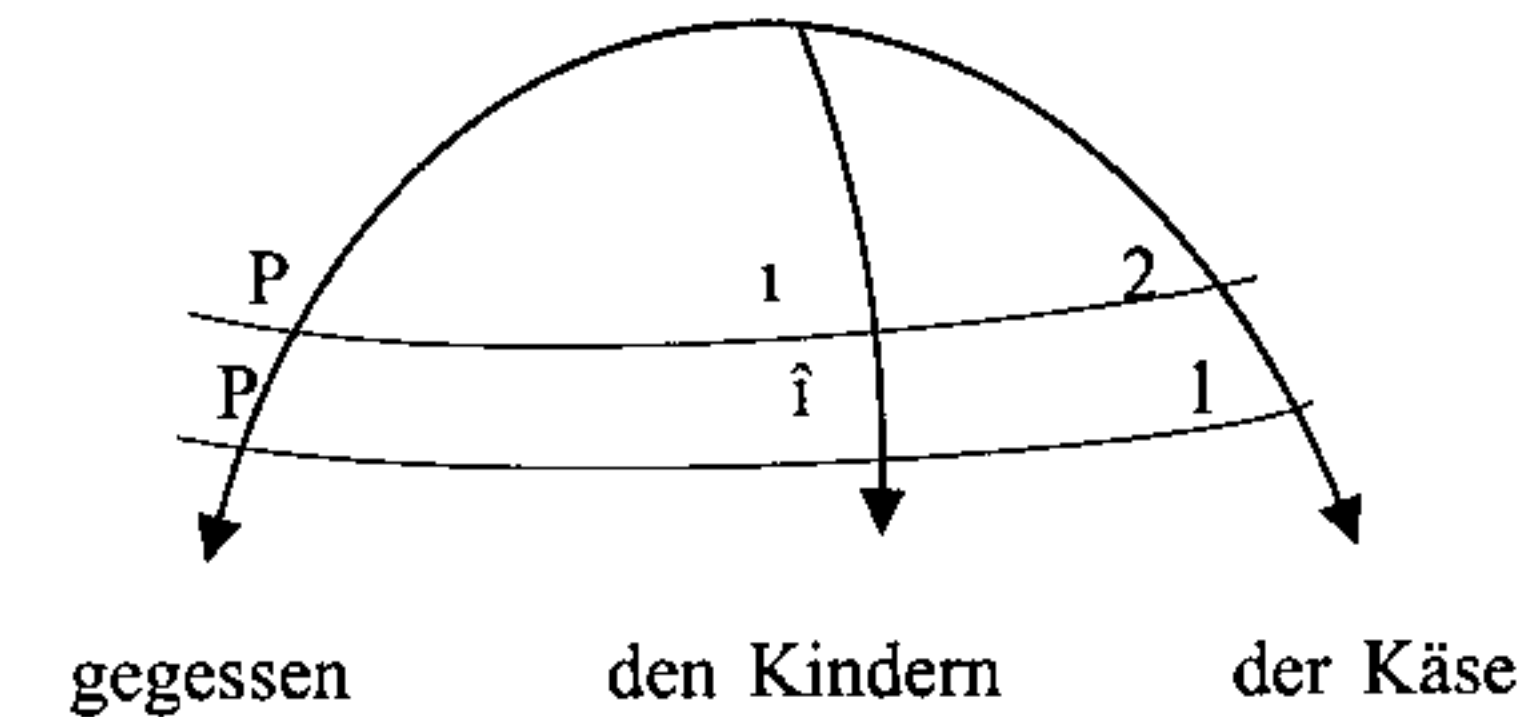
As can be noticed, both the IPP in (13) and PP in (14) have an advancement from 2 to 1. According to Perlmutter (1978) this falls under the universal characterization of passivization which involves an advancement from 2 to 1.

Proponents of RG treat dummies as subjects, because they believe that every sentence must have a final 1-arc. This condition is required by the Final 1 Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1983) which stipulates that all surface clauses must have 1's. According to Perlmutter and Postal's analysis, the dummy must be a subject, since it occupies the subject position and the verb agrees with it. This dummy enters in the second stratum, creating a transitive stratum as in PPs. Thus, the dummy was invented to preserve the Final 1 Law and the Universal Passivization Rule that requires an advancement from 2 to 1.

However, if the dummy *es* were a subject in German, the sentence in (15b) should be grammatical, because subjects in German can be placed postverbally.

(15a) Es wurde gestern getanzt.
       'There was dancing yesterday.'
(15b) * Gestern wurde es getanzt.
                 (Siewierska 1984: 109)

In (15b) the dummy *es* cannot move to the postverbal position like the pronoun *sie* in (16b).

(16a) Sie gehen heute in die Oper.
       'They are going today to the Opera.'
(16b) Heute gehen sie in die Oper.
                 (Siewierska 1984: 109)

The existential sentence given in (17) from English also shows that *there* cannot be treated as a subject.

(17a) There is a book on the table.
(17b) *There is on the table.

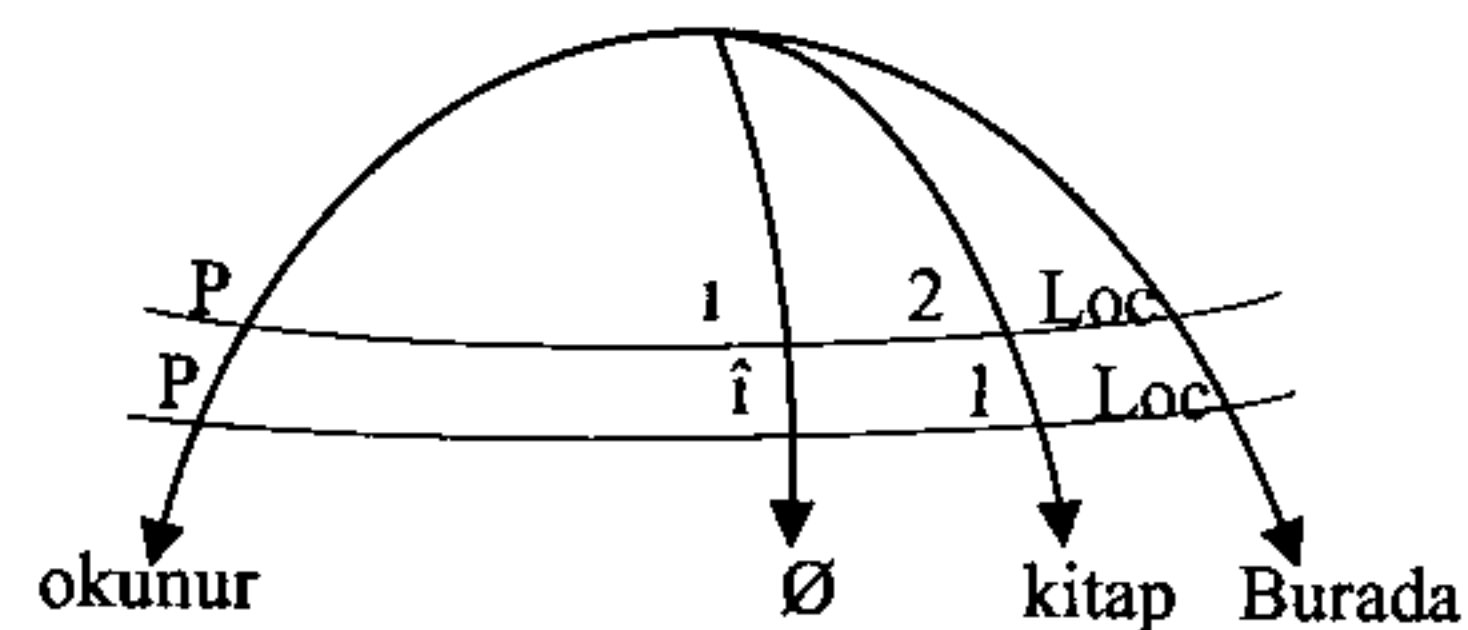The sentence in (17b) is ill-formed, because the subject of the sentence is missing.

Now, let us observe the sentences given in (18):

(18a) Burada yüzülür.
       'Anybody can swim here.'
(18b) Burada kitap okunur.
       'Anybody can read here.'

(18c)

yüzülür   Ø   Burada

(18d)

okunur   Ø   kitap Burada
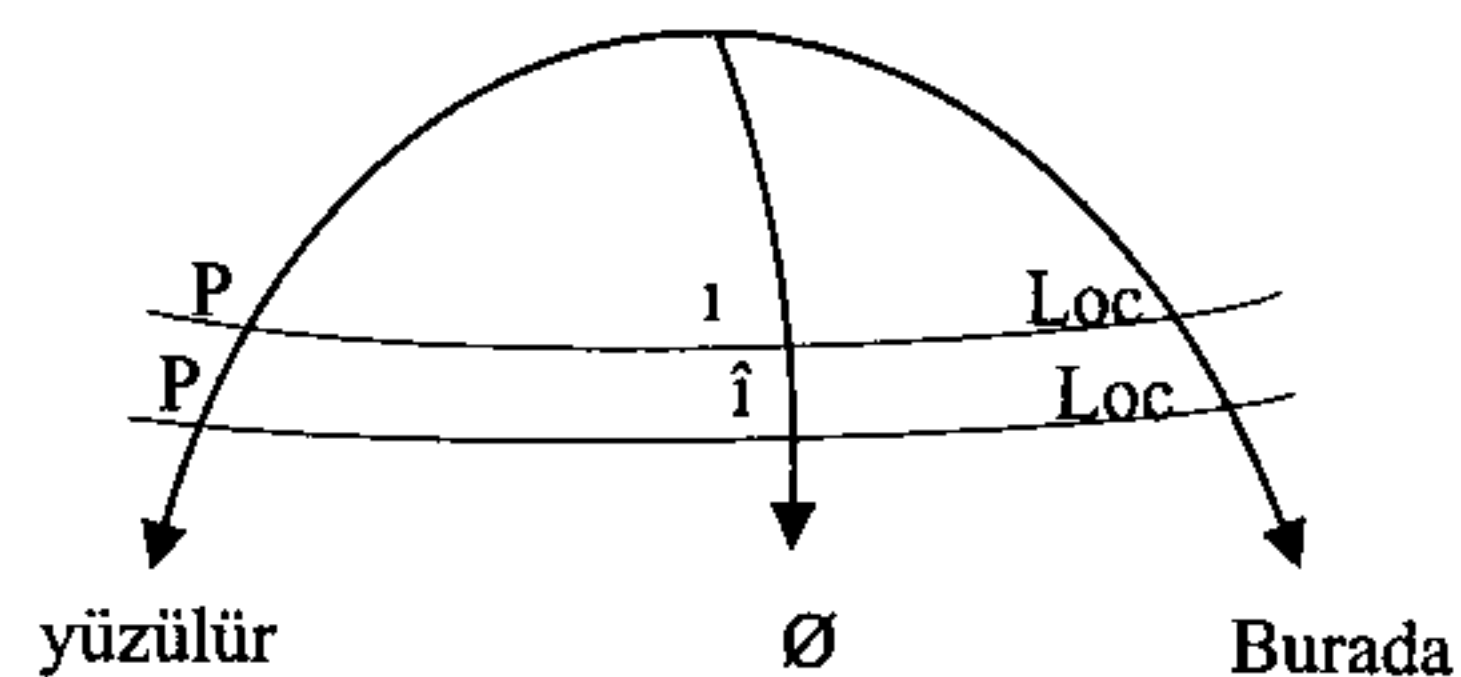
Perlmutter (1978) makes the following generalization for Turkish IPPs:

(19)   No dummies appear overtly in Turkish sentences. With this generalization incorporated in the grammar of Turkish, the surface distribution of dummies in Turkish is accounted for (Perlmutter 1978: 176).

However, as mentioned earlier, the dummy does not exist in either (18a) or (18b). The sentence (18a) is an intransitive IPP, and it does not have an initial 2. On the other hand, the sentence in (18b) is a transitive IPP, and it already has an initial 2, therefore there is no need to place a dummy to create a transitive stratum. German, English and some other languages can have a dummy in their IPPs, however, this feature cannot be treated as subjects and cannot be generalized to all languages.

Thus, the claim that an intransitive IPP is also an advancement of a 2 to 1 cannot be universally acceptable since there are languages in which IPPs do not carry initial 2.

5. Unergativity and unaccusativity

Perlmutter (1978) divides intransitive clauses into two classes, namely, unergatives and unaccusatives. The predicates of unergative clauses describe voluntary acts and the predicates of unaccusative clauses describe involuntary acts. Unergative clauses have initial 1, but no initial 2, whereas unaccusatives have initial 2, but no initial 1. He claims that IPPs of unaccusatives are impossible, whereas the IPPs of unergatives are possible. He provides the following evidence from Turkish to show that IPPs can be constructed from unergatives.

(20)   UNERGATIVES

(20a) Burada çalışılır/oynanır/bağrılır.
       'Here it is worked/played/shouted.'
(20b) Burada sık sık kavga edilir.
       'Here it is often fought.'
                 (Perlmutter 1978: 176)

His derivation of the unergative clause in (20a) is as follows:

(21)

çalışılır   Ø   D   Burada
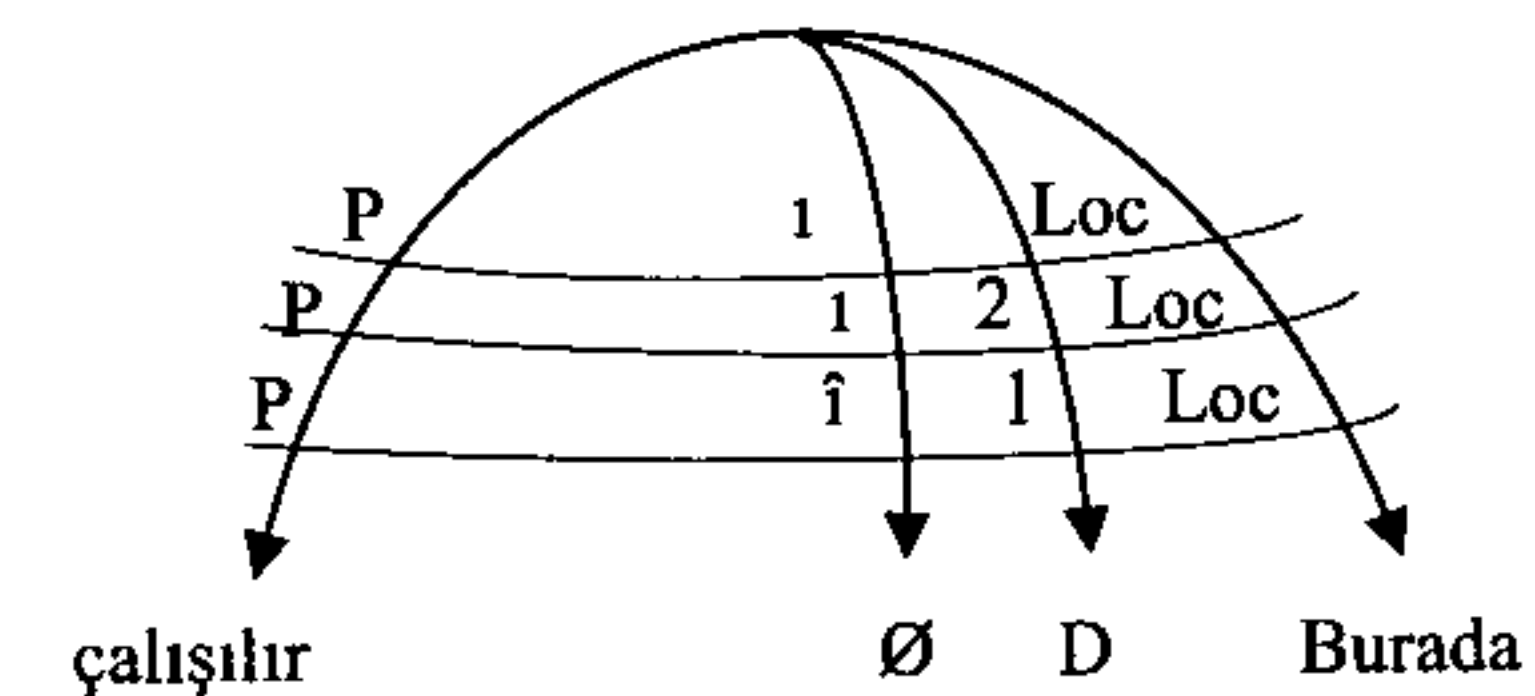
Impersonal passives of initially unaccusative clauses, for him, are impossible because the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (1-AEX) stipulates that no clause can involve more than one advancement to 1, i.e. no more than one phrase can become the subject in any sentence. The primary evidence for the 1-AEX comes from its interaction with the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978). Thus, if IPPs have an advancement to 1, then the IPP of unaccusatives will have two advancements to 1, violating the 1-AEX. This is illustrated in (22):

(22)

(Perlmutter 1978: 167)
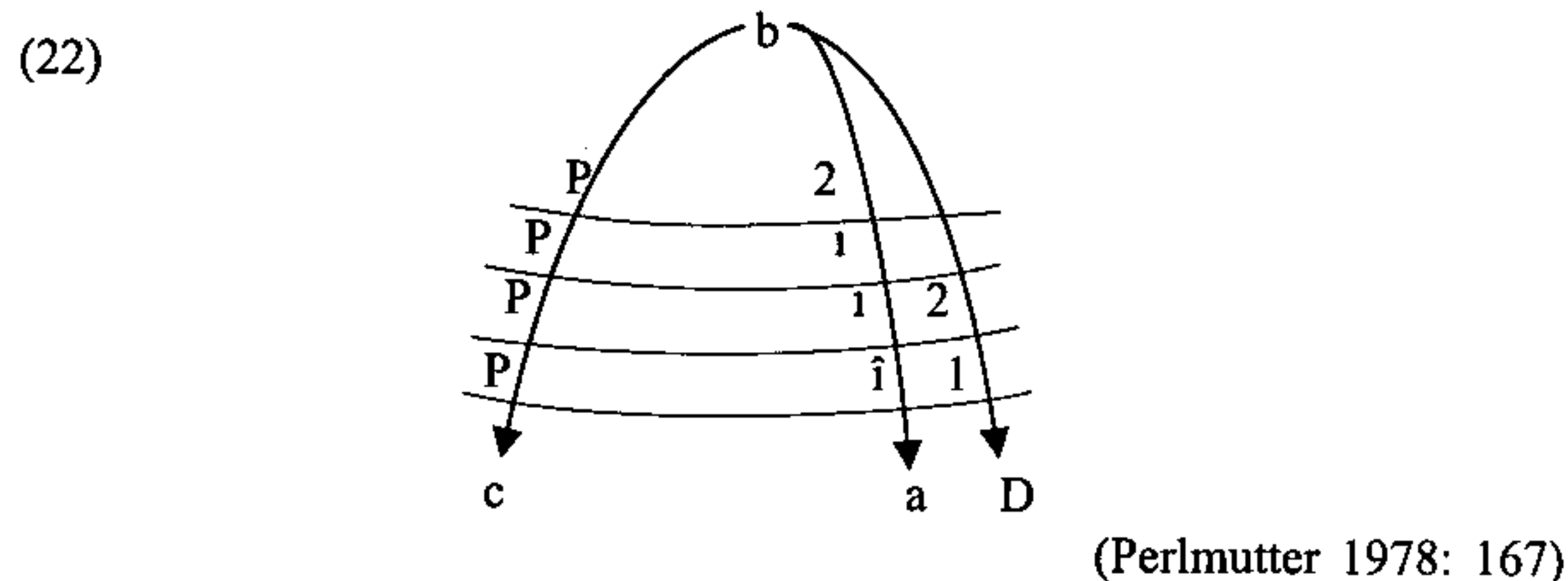
According to Perlmutter the following sentences illustrate that IPPs of unaccusatives are ill-formed in Turkish:

(23)   UNACCUSATIVES

(23a)   *Buharlaşıldı/çüründü/kokuldu.
        'It was evaporated/rotted/smelled.'
(23b)   *Sonbaharda sararılır.
        'In the fall it is yellowed.'
(23c)(*)[4]Buzun üstünde sık sık düşülür.
        'It is often fallen on the ice.'
(23d)(*)Yazın burada boğulunur.
        'In summer anybody can suffocate here.'
(23e)(*)Bu gibi durumlarda ölünür.
   'Anybody can die in such situations.'
                    (Perlmutter 1978: 177)

The sentences in (23c, d, e), which according to Perlmutter are ungrammatical, are all well-formed sentences (see also Biktimir 1986). The sentences in (23c, d, e) are used with intransitive verbs, and 2 to 1 advancement in these sentences cannot be applicable because the intransitive verbs in (23c, d, e) do not require a DO.

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[4] The sentences (23c, d, e) are given with an asterisk in the parentheses to show that they are all ungrammatical for Perlmutter.

(24a)   *Ali   top-   u   düş-   tü.
        Ali-Nom. ball-   Acc. fall- Past-3sg
        'Ali fell the ball.'
(24b)   *Sıcağ[5]- ı   boğul-   uyor-   um.
        Heat-   Acc.   suffocate- Prog.- 1sg
        'I am suffocating the heat.'
(24c)   *Adam   açlığ- ı   öl-   dü.
        Man-Nom. hunger- Acc. die-   Past-3sg
        'The man died of hunger.'

Thus, the sentences in (24) will have the following structure:

(25)
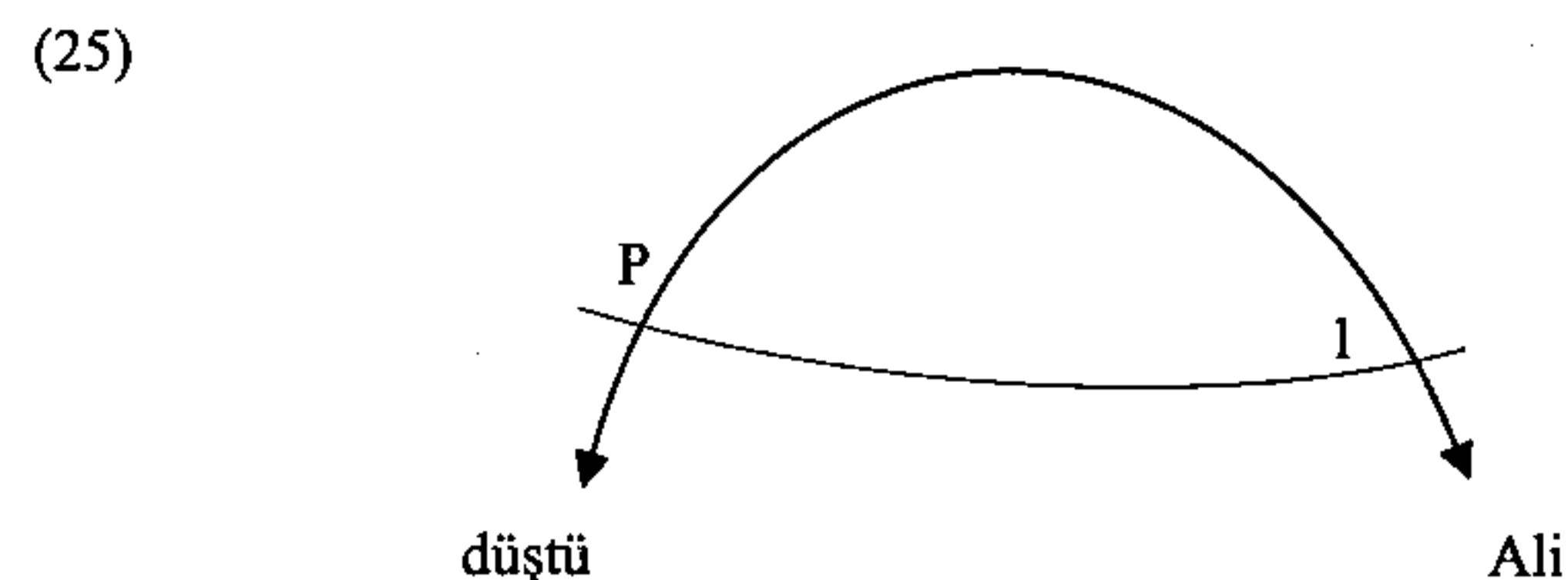
It is clear that the sentences in (24) cannot have a DO, consequently the Dummy. The dummy here is created to protect the assertion that all passive constructions must have a 2 to 1 advancement.

As to the sentences in (23a, b), IPPs cannot be formed with the sentences in (23a, b), not because they are unaccusatives, but because they do not have a indefinite human subject.

(26a)   *Ali   buharlaş- tı.
        Ali   evaporate- Past-3sg
        'Ali evaporated.'
(26b)   Su   buharlaş- tı.
        Water evaporate- Past-3sg
        'The water evaporated.'
(26c)   *Ben   ekşi- di-   m.
        I   sour- Past- 1sg
        'I became sour.'
(26d)   Süt   ekşi- di.
        Milk   sour- Past-3sg
        'The milk became sour.'

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[5] Intervocalic *k* regularly becomes *ğ*.

(26e) *Dolab-   a   yardım ed-   il-   di.
      Cabinet- Dat.   help   Aux.- Pass.- Past
      'The cabinet was helped.'

In fact, any intransitive verb in Turkish can be (impersonal) passivized as long as it has an animate subject for DIs (see 26e) and an indefinite human subject for IPPs.

It is clear that neither the Advancement analysis nor the 1-AEX explain the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (23a, b), therefore they cannot be a criterion for the impersonal passivization, and cannot be used for distinguishing the unaccusatives from unergatives.

One piece of syntactic evidence that Özkaragöz (1986) claims will distinguish the unaccusatives from unergatives is the gerund construction -ARAK. This construction is mostly used to denote simultaneous action as in (27).

(27) Adam   [koş-   arak]   gel- di.
      Adam   run-   ARAK   come- Past-3sg
      'The man came running.'

The embedded gerund constructions do not have a subject on the surface, and they follow immediately after the subject of the main clause. The subject controlled Equi must apply to these constructions. This Equi deletes a Noun Phrase from a Complement Clause in a sentence when it is identical in meaning with another Noun Phrase in the main clause of the same sentence.

(28)* Tolga [Tolga   koş-   arak] gel- di.
      Tolga Tolga   run-   ARAK   come- Past-3sg
      'Tolga Tolga came running.'

The sentence in (28) is ungrammatical, because the subject of the main clause has an identical (coreferential) subject in the embedded clause; in other words the sentence in (28) is ungrammatical, because there is no Equi.

(29) *Ali [Tolga   koş-   arak]   gel- di.
      Ali Tolga   run-   ARAK   come- Past-3sg
      'Ali Tolga came running.'

The sentence in (29), on the other hand, is ungrammatical, because the subject of the main clause and the subject of the embedded clause are not coreferential. Now consider the following sentence:

(30a) *Adam   [eri- y^6- erek]   düş- tü.
      Adam   melt-   ARAK   fall- Past-3sg
      'The man fell melting.'

(30b) Buz [eri- y-   erek]   düş- tü.
      Ice melt-   ARAK   fall- Past-3sg
      'The ice fell melting.'

The sentence in (30a) is ungrammatical because the subject of the main clause is animate and the subject in the embedded clause is inanimate. On the other hand, the sentence in (30b) is grammatical because both the subject of the main clause and the subject of the embedded clause are inanimate.

Özkaragöz (1986) applies the -ARAK test to the following IPP sentences to show that these sentences are initially unaccusative.

(31a) Burada kayılır.
      'One can slide/ski here.'
(31b) Burada düşülür.
      'One can fall here.'
(31c) Bu gölde boğulunur.
      'One can drown in this lake[7].'
      (Özkaragöz 1986: 418)

(32a) Sarhoş,   [yalpalayarak]   kaydı.
      'The drunkard, while swaying about, slipped.'
(32b) Ahmet, [kanayarak]   yere düştü.
      Ahmet, while bleeding, fell to the ground.'
      (Özkaragöz 1986: 419)

According to her, the sentences in (32) are grammatical because the -ARAK construction requires that the initial relation of the final 1 in the matrix and the embedded clauses be the same. If the predicates in (31) are initially unaccusative, as the -ARAK test indicates in (32), they should not be able to occur in either the matrix or embedded clause with an initially unergative predicate in the -ARAK construction.

(33a) (*)[8]Adam, [konuşarak]   öldü.
      'The man, while talking,   died.'
(33b) ?(*)Adam, [yüzerek]   boğuldu.
      'The man, while swimming,   drowned.'
(33c) (*)Adam,   [çalışarak]   hastalandı.
      'The man,   while working,   got sick.'
      (Özkaragöz 1986: 417)

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[6] When the -ARAK suffix is attached to a verb with a vowel stem the epenthetic -y- is inserted.

[7] Özkaragöz translates these sentences in an awkward manner. For example, the translation given for the sentence in (31a) is *Here it is slipped*. This appears to be an attempt to avoid the fact that thse sentences require an implied agent and they are formed from unergatives.

[8] In Ozkaragöz's thesis (1986) the sentences in (33) are given with an asterisk. The asterisks are given in paranthesis here because these sentences are considered grammatical by me and other native speakers. (?) indicates that the sentence is marginal.

Thus, Özkaragöz claims that the sentences in (33) are ungrammatical because the Unaccusative verbs are used with the Unergative verbs in the *-ARAK* constructions. However, I claim that the *-ARAK* test does not provide any evidence for the unaccusativity or unergativity of the sentences in (33). In fact, these sentences are all grammatical[9] sentences. Only the sentence in (33b) is marginal because the suffix *-ARAK* is used for a single action which takes place at the same time as the main verb or immediately preceding it (see Underhill 1976), and in this sentence the action described does not take place at the same time as the main verb. One cannot swim and drown at the same time.

In the following section, we shall observe that 1-AEX cannot be valid also for the double passives in Turkish.

6. 1-AEX, advancement, analysis and double passives

There are passive sentences in Turkish which allow two passive morphemes to appear one after another in the verb. These constructions are formed with intransitive and transitive verbs and the verb appears in Aorist tense.

(34a) Bu oda- da   kal- ın- ıl- ır.
      This room- Loc. stay- Pass.- Pass.- Aor.
      'One can stay in this room.'

(34b) Burada   kaybol-   un- ul- ur.
      Here   disappear- Pass.- Pass.- Aor.
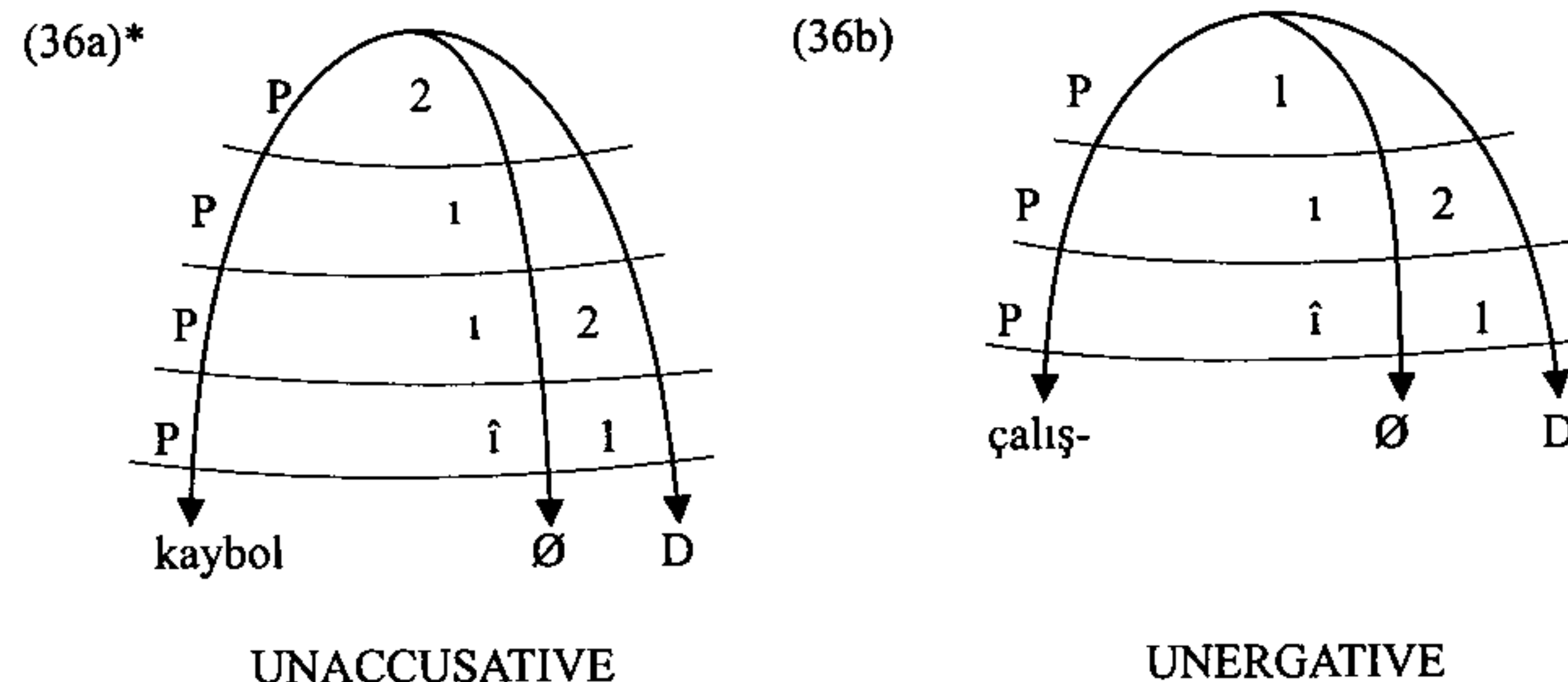   'One can disappear here.'

The surface subject cannot be overtly expressed in these constructions, instead it is implied, and this implied agent is always animate.

(35a) *Bu oda- da kadın tarafından kal- ın- ıl- ır.
      This room- Loc. woman by   stay- Pass.- Pass.- Aor.
      'It can be stayed in this room by the woman.'

(35b) *Burada   işçiler   tarafından çalış- ıl- ın- ır.
      Here   workers by   work- Pass.- Pass.- Aor.
      'It can be worked here by the workers.'

The existence of constructions like (34a, b) are counter examples to 1-AEX and the Advancement analysis. As mentioned, this hypothesis claims that the IPPs of unergative verbs are acceptable, while IPPs of unaccusative verbs are unacceptable.

(36a)*   (36b)

kaybol   Ø   D   çalış-   Ø   D

    UNACCUSATIVE   UNERGATIVE

The sentences in (34a, b) are all grammatical sentences. According to 1-AEX, however, these sentences must be ill-formed because they are constructed from initially unaccusative verbs; in other words, in the sentences (34a, b), as can be seen in (36a), there are two advancements to the subject position violating the 1-AEX. The dummy advancement exists here in order to create a transitive stratum. The following examples given in (37) also show that the IPPs of unaccusatives are possible.

(37a) Bu oda- da   kal- ın- ır.
      This room- Loc. stay- Pass.- Aor.
      'One can stay in this room.'

(37b) Bu oda- da   kal- ın- ıl- ır.
      This room- Loc. stay- Pass.- Pass.- Aor.
      'One can stay in this room.'

(37c) Buna gül-   ün- ür.
      At this laugh- Pass.- Aor.
      'One can laugh at this.'

(37d) Buna gül-   ün- ül- ür.
      At this laugh- Pass.- Pass.- Aor.
      'One can laugh at this.'

The sentences in (37a, c) are IPPs of unaccusatives and the sentences in (37b, d) are Double Passives of these IPPs and they are all grammatical.

7. The Universal Alignment Hypothesis

Perlmutter and Postal (1984) introduce the Universal Alignment Hypothesis which proposes that there is a linkage between initial grammatical relations and semantic roles. This rule is given in (38):

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[9] My claim that these sentences are grammatical is based both on my being a native speaker and on my consultations with other native speakers.

(38) THE UNIVERSAL ALIGNMENT HYPOTHESIS

> There exist principles of universal grammar which predict the initial relation borne by each nominal in a given clause from the meaning of the clause (Perlmutter and Postal 1984: 97).

According to this Hypothesis when the semantic representation of an initially intransitive clause is given, one might infer whether the initial stratum carries a 1 arc or a 2 arc. Perlmutter and Postal state that there are certain cross-linguistic parallels supporting the Universal Alignment Hypothesis. The central concept is that the verbs in languages will behave in the same way in determining initial Unaccusativity and Unergativity.

How then can we determine Unaccusative verbs and Unergative verbs?

Perlmutter and Postal classify[10] (on the basis of semantic criteria) Unaccusative and Unergative verbs as sketched in (39) and (40) (for the complete list see Perlmutter and Postal 1984: 162-163):

(39) UNERGATIVE CLAUSES

(39a) Predicates describing willed or volitional acts:

> *work, play, speak, talk, smile, grin, grimace, think, meditate, skate, ski, walk, jog, pray, study, lie, cry, whisper, shout, chirp, oink, meow,* etc.

(39b) Certain involuntary bodily processes:

> *cough, sneeze, vomit, sleep,* etc.

(40) UNACCUSATIVE CLAUSES

(40a) Predicates expressed by adjectives in English:

> The predicates describing sizes, shapes, weights, color, etc.

(40b) Predicates whose initial nuclear term is semantically a Patient:

> *burn, fall, drop, slide, slip, shake, roll, melt, freeze, darken, yellow, increase, reduce, grow, open, close, burn down, vanish, die,* etc.

(40c) Predicates of existing and happening:

> *exist, happen, occur, show up, end up,* etc.

(40d) Involuntary emission of stimuli that impinge on the senses:

> *shine, glow, clink, smell,* etc.

(40e) Aspectual predicates:

> *begin, start, stop, end,* etc.

(40f) Duratives:

> *last, remain, stay,* etc.

Thus, according to Perlmutter and Postal the difference between initially Unaccusative and initially Unergative clauses in English is semantically determined as in (39) and (40) by the universal principles of the grammar.

Do these universal principles account for initially Unaccusative and initially Unergative clauses in all languages? Rosen correctly points out (1984) that it is unlikely to predict a grammatical relation of a nominal only from a given semantic representation. Consider the following sentences:

(41a) Italian   Aiutali
                    help-them
                    Acc.

(41b) German   Hilf   ihnen
                    help   them
                    Dat.
                    (Rosen 1984: 42)

In (41) there is no Universal Alignment between initial grammatical relations and semantic relations. Notice that *them* heads a 2-arc in Italian and a 3-arc in German. Rosen claims that there must exist a level of initial grammatical relations which is distinct from final level grammatical relations and from any semantic and thematic level that might be posited. Rosen states that the initial grammatical relations must be established by syntactic tests[11], independent of meaning, because a given semantic role may map onto an initial 1 in one language and an initial 2 in an-

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[10] This classification only includes intransitive verbs.

[11] Rosen cites Özkaragöz's (1980) syntactic test -*ARAK* 'while' to show that initial grammatical relations in a Turkish intransitive clause can be established by a syntactic test. According to Özkaragöz the following sentence in (iib) is ungrammatical because the embedded verb is unaccusative and the matrix verb is unergative.

(iia) Kız oynayarak şark ısöyledi.
       'The girl sang playing.'

(iib) *Kız oynayarak kaydı.
       'The girl slipped playing.'
                    (Rosen 1984: 60)

However, the -ARAK-test does not provide any evidence that the sentence in (iib) is ill-formed, rather the sentence is grammatical (or for some speakers it is marginal). As mentioned the suffix -ARAK- does not pay any attention to the initial grammtical relations but to the time of the action.

other. For example, in the Choctaw sentence (42a) the verb *die* takes an initial 1, and in the Italian sentence (42b) the same verb takes an initial 2. Under the Universal Alignment Hypothesis, however, the sentences in (42) are parallel in form:[12]

(42a) Choctaw   Illi-   li-   tok   kiyo.
                die   1st.nom.   Past   not
                'I did not die.'

(42b) Italian   Non sono morto.
                not I-am died
                'I did not die.'
                                        (Rosen 1984: 62)

The sentences in (42) show that on the basis of meaning we cannot classify the predicates as unaccusative or unergative, that is, we cannot predict the initial grammatical relations by means of semantic representations of the clause. Therefore the Universal Alignment Hypothesis is inadequate to provide a universal characterization of Unaccusatives and Unergatives.

We have mentioned that Özkaragöz's -ARAK test does not prove to be helpful in distinguishing between unergative and unaccusative verbs in Turkish. There is, however, some syntactic evidence, namely IPPs and Imperatives, in Turkish grammar which can allow us to make the claim that in Turkish there are two kinds of intransitive verbs: unergative and unaccusative.

We have mentioned above that in Turkish IPPs are constructed from intransitive verbs that require human subjects, consequently an initial 1. Since unergatives have an initial 1, it is possible to construct IPPs from unergatives. When unergative clauses are passivized they may look like (43):

(43a) Burada   çalış-   ıl-   ır.
      Here   work-   Pass.-   Aor.
      'One can work here.'

(43b) Burada   oyna- n-   ır.
      Here   play- Pass.-   Aor.
      'One can play here.'

(43c) Burada   tartış-   ıl-   ır.
      Here   discuss- Pass.-   Aor.
      'One can discuss here.'

On the other hand, impersonal passivization of unaccusatives is not allowed as can be seen in (44):

(44a) *Burada   bat-   ıl-   ır.
       Here   sink-   Pass.-   Aor.
       'It is sank here.'

(44b) *Burada   es-   il-   ir.
       Here   blow-   Pass.-   Aor.
       'It is blown here.'

(44c) *Burada   kayna-   n-   ır.
       Here   boil-   Pass.- Aor.
       'It is boiled here.'

The sentences in (44) are unaccusatives which have initial 2 but not 1, and therefore they are ungrammatical.

Another piece of evidence which will help us to distinguish between unergatives and unaccusatives comes from imperatives. In Turkish imperatives are constructed from the following suffixes: *zero suffix, -(y)ın* or *-(y) ınız*. These suffixes are added directly to the verbs which have initial 1. This means imperatives can only be constructed from the verbs in (45) since they are the only ones that have initial 1[13].

(45a) Çalışın!
      'Work!'

(45b) Oynayın!
      'Play!'

(45c) Tartışın!

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[12] As Rosen points out there is also no universal alignment between semantic roles and initial grammatical relations in the following predicates.

		Initial Term
(iii)	Choctaw	albasha 2
		'to suffer'
	Italian	soffrire 1
		'to suffer'
                                        (Rosen 1984: 66)

[13] Imperatives can also be used to distinguish between unergatives and unaccusatives in Russian. In Russian the imperative is formed from the stem of the present tense of imperfective verbs and from the stem of the simple future tense of perfective verbs. Imperative endings are: *-i, -j* or *-'*. If the stress in the 1st person singular falls on the ending preceded by a consonant, and (a) if the personal endings are preceded by consonant +n the imperative has the ending *-i*; (b) if the stem ends in *-j*, the imperative has the ending *-j*; (c) if the 1st person singular has a consonant before the personal ending and the ending *-u* or *-ju* is not stressed, the imperative has *-'*. The verbs used in imperatives can be both transitive and intransitive, but they all must have initial 1.

(iva)	Rabotaj!	(ivb)	Igraj!	(ivc)	Spori!
	'Work!'		'Play!'		'Discuss!'
(va)	*Toni!	(vb)	*Duj!	(vc)	*Kipej!
	'Sink!'		'Blow!'		'Boil!'

'Discuss!'
(46a) *Batın!
'Sink!'
(46b) *Esin!
'Blow!'
(46c) *Kaynayın!
'Boil!'

8. Concluding remarks

It appears that the IPPs and Imperatives can play a role in determining unergativity and unaccusativity in Turkish and also in Russian. However, we have to bear in mind that the verbs like *slide, roll, sway, wave, die, start* etc. can be used both in unergative clauses and in unaccusative clauses. In order to distinguish the verbs listed above we need to be aware of the semantics of the clauses. Therefore, as previously mentioned, it is necessary to test the intransitive verbs not only on the semantic level, but also on the syntactic level.

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