CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Aim

The aim of the current study is to examine and analyze the complementation patterns in Laz, a Caucasian language, and to investigate how finiteness is established in this language. The issue of finiteness is particularly important in Caucasian languages because most Caucasian languages lack infinitival clauses and gerundive constructions (Vamling 1989), which are typical examples of non-finite constructions in languages like English. However, it will be argued that Pazar Laz being in close contact with Turkish has developed certain complementation structures which pattern with infinitival and gerundive constructions in Turkish resulting Laz having a hybrid nature[1]. This study will explore the phenomenon of (non)-finiteness in Laz and investigate its implications in finiteness theory and, specifically, try to answer following questions:

(i) What are the morpho-syntactic properties of different complementation patterns in Laz?

(ii) Does Laz pattern with Turkish in terms of infinitival clause structures, and if so, to what extent?

[1] We called this structure as a *hybrid* structure as it does not share all of the properties with the equivalent clause type in Turkish with some respect.

(iii) What are the cross-linguistic implications of finiteness in Laz?

(iv) If, Pazar Laz has developed certain nonfinite Turkic clause patterns, then can Laz be accounted for by the already available theories of finiteness? If not, how is finiteness established in Laz?

1.2. Theoretical Framework

The current study assumes the premises of both the Government and Binding Theory (GB) and the Minimalist Program (MP), for the discussion of the issue of 'finiteness'. Since the issue of finiteness has been discussed both in the GB and MP literature, we will be referring to the assumptions of both frameworks. Therefore, in the following sections a brief outline of premises of GB and MP are introduced, respectively.

1.2.1. The Government and Binding Theory

The GB framework was introduced in Chomsky (1965; 1973; 1986 and 1992), and claims to have an absolute set of principals, which are signs for the presence of Universal Grammar (UG) – an innate endowment for language. In the GB framework, the grammar is composed of four levels of representation including D-structure (Deep Structure), S-structure (Surface Structure), Logical Form (LF), and Phonetic Form (PF).

There are sub-modules in GB such as Theta Theory, Binding Theory, Case Theory, and Control Theory which are briefly explained below.

Theta Theory as a sub-module in GB deals with the relationship between a predicate and its complements. Semantic relations between predicates and their arguments are referred to in terms of thematic roles or theta roles (Θ roles). Predicates assign theta roles to their arguments depending on their thematic structure which is regulated by the Theta Criterion according to which;

i. Each argument is assigned one and only one theta role

ii. Each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument

Theta roles of a predicate are shown in a grid-format and the assignment of thematic roles is registered by means of referential indices which are associated with thematic roles.

Another sub-component of GB is *Binding Theory*, which regulates the interpretation of three types of NPs: anaphors, pronouns and R-expressions. There are three principles dealing with the NP-types listed above. The three principles of NP-interpretation below are commonly referred to as Binding Theory the principles of which are:

Principle A:

Anaphors, NPs like reflexives and reciprocals, need a local antecedent so must be bound in their governing category.

Principle B:

Pronouns may have an antecedent, but must be free locally, that is in their governing category.

Principle C:

R-expressions must be free everywhere.

Another sub-component of GB is *Case Theory*, which licenses the overt distribution of NPs in a given clause. Overt NPs are subject to the Case Filter, i.e. all NPs must be assigned case. There are different types of cases NPs can be associated with. Nominative and Accusative are structural cases in English which are assigned under government: Accusative case is assigned by a governing V or P; Nominative case is assigned by I, under government or specifier-head agreement. Another type of case is inherent case which is not assigned relationally unlike structural cases but is determined lexically. Theta Assignment and Case Filter are correlated via Visibility Condition (Chomsky 1986), which requires that an NP must have Case in order to receive a theta-role (Haegeman, 1994).

The last sub-component of GB is *Control Theory* according to which the unexpressed subject (the controlled element) is represented as PRO, which is found in the subject position of infinitival clauses as in the sentence

(1) John wants [PRO to see Mary)

The existence of PRO is basically a result of Theta Criterion which necessitates that in (1), the infinitival clause "to see Mary" has an unexpressed/ non-overt subject represented as PRO. Here the verb "see" is a transitive verb which has to have two arguments. "See" has to assign two theta roles to its arguments. Here it assigns one of its theta roles to "Mary", which is an internal argument, and the other to its external argument, which is unexpressed in the clause and this NP, is represented as PRO. Thus, PRO hosts the theta role of "see", which has to be assigned to the external argument under the theta criterion. In sentence (1), PRO is governed by the subject of matrix clause, "John". That is, PRO is anaphoric in the sentence above. However, there are sentences like (2) in which PRO is not governed, and it acts like a pronominal, which creates a contradiction between its roles being [+Anaphoric, +Pronominal] since according to Binding Theory PRO has to be both bound and free in its governing category.

(2) [PRO To be a linguists is not easy.]

Haegeman (1994) claims that PRO is inherently ungoverned, and it is licensed when it is ungoverned. Therefore, the requirement that PRO be ungoverned derives from the binding theory and from the characterization of PRO as [+Anaphor, +Pronominal].

Since case is assigned under government, and PRO is ungoverned, it bears no case. PRO avoids Case Filter by not having any phonological content, since Case Filter requires NPs with phonological content.

The common point of all the above mentioned sub-theories resides in the notion of government as defined by Haegeman (2003):

Government:

A governs B if and only if

(i) A is a governor

(ii) A m-commands B; and

(iii) no barrier intervenes between A and B

Maximal projections are barriers to government.

Governors are heads.

Another notion which will be important in the following sections is "movement" in GB. In GB, movement is free and unconstrained. It can be realized to any c-commanding position.

C-Command:

A c-commands B if and only if A does not dominate B and every X that dominates A also dominates B. (Chomsky 1986)

1.2.2. The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program (MP) explores the hypothesis that the language faculty is the optimal realization of interface conditions (Hornstein, Nunes, Grohmann, 2006). In the program the linguistic system is subject to economy restrictions, and focuses on

the conditions that are imposed on the linguistic system and its interaction with performance systems. In the Minimalist Program, unlike GB, the class of possible linguistic levels is restricted to LF and PF, the only ones required for the interaction with performance. D-Structure and S-Structure are eliminated for parsimony and economy reasons.

The Minimalist Program makes use of operations like *Move* and *Merge*. The latter shows the recursive structure of language and is more economical, while the former can apply as a *Last Resort* operation, hence cannot apply freely unlike the case in the GB framework. Derivations operate over numerations, which are selected subsets of the Lexicon. And out of comparable derivations, always the most economical derivation is opted for. Movement in derivations must obey *Shortest Move* principle, which X>Y hierarchically superior and elements cannot move a long distance when a movement over a shorter one is available. Another restriction for movement operations is another economy principle, *Procrastinate,* which requires the movement to occur only when it is needed (Marantz 1995), that is, if no strong features are involved, the checking of weak features must proceed through "covert movement", that is after Spell-Out (Hornstein, Nunes, Grohmann 2006: 47). For movement it is not enough for the attractor to have some uninterpretable features to be checked, *Greed* states the requirement of a feature that has to be checked before movement operations done.

Unlike *case assignment* in GB, in the Minimalist Program, there is *feature checking* mechanism for case in which uninterpretable case features of NP will be

paired with a functional category matching interpretable case features. Once these features match, Case Filter is satisfied and the structure converges, however when it is unchecked, the derivation crashes. Feature checking takes place via movement overtly and covertly as proposed in Chomsky (1993, 1995), however overt and covert movement of constituents are not the same. The former occurs via overt movement of the element, while in the latter the features itself move and the constituent stays in situ. In the later version of the MP in Chomsky (1998, 2001), instead of feature checking, a mechanism called *Agree* has been introduced, which allows feature checking to take place in situ through establishing a chain between a Probe and a Goal that it c-commands. In all these mechanisms in the MP, uninterpretable features are checked and deleted before Spell-Out.

In the current study the premises of GB and MP have both been taken into consideration.

1.3. Theoretical Background for Finiteness

1.3.1. Introduction

In traditional grammar, verb form is divided into two major categories: finite and non-finite verbs. The term "finite" has been used excessively in the theory of syntax; however, its meaning is not easy to pin down. The basic criterion behind such a distinction has been proposed differently for different languages and sometimes different proposals have been provided even for the same language.

One proposal is in relation to Tense. In Chomsky (1973), originally finite clauses are motivated by 'Tensed S' condition.

Tensed-S Condition (TSC):
No rule can involve X, Y in the structure ... X ... [α... Y ...] ... where α is a tensed sentence. (Chomsky 1973: 238)

The TSC accounts for the contrast in (3) and (4). In (3) passivization involves NP-movement out of an infinitival (i.e. non-tensed) clause, while in (4) the same NP is moved out of the tensed counterpart, violating the TSC.

(3) Mary is believed [t to be ill]

(4) *Mary is believed [(that) is ill]

Finiteness is also typically associated with the presence of inflectional morphology e.g. tense, agreement in English which we will discuss more in detail in the following sections. However, when we think of languages which do not have any inflectional category like Chinese and Vietnamese, it further supports the idea that an inflectional approach to finiteness is too narrow to have a universal application (Nikolaeva, 2007).

In addition, some grammarians consider the role of syntactic function as the basic criterion to define finite and nonfinite distinction in languages, and further bring

forward that nonfinite verbs tend to occur predominantly in *dependent contexts.*[2] This assumption suggests that only finite verbs can constitute independent clauses. However, as indicated in Nikolaeva (2007), there are languages like Slave, in which the same verbal form is used in all syntactic contexts (i.e. dependent and independent) and subordination is indicated only by position. Such languages show that distributional criterion is not universally applicable.

All these assumptions and examples from different languages clearly disclose the difficulty of defining the exact feature responsible for finiteness. In the following section, we will be going through the major works on finiteness and how they highlight different criteria for finiteness basing their assumptions on different properties of the language like *agreement, tense, modality, truncation*, and *information system*.

1.3.2. George & Kornfilt (1981)

In this paper, George and Kornfilt analyze Turkish sentences equivalent to their English counterparts given in (3-4) above. They put forward the importance of *agreement* as a finiteness feature in Turkish rather than *tense* which is proposed for English. All the constraints shown in Chomsky's Tensed-S Condition considered to be the same for Turkish as well, the only difference being that the relevant category is not *tense* but *agreement.*

[2] Clauses which are transparent to operations like passivization, reflexivization etc.

George and Kornfilt first show the differentiation between Direct Complement Clauses in (6), and Gerundive Constructions in (7) and (8a-b). The former shows all the same properties that root sentences have including nominative on the subject, full scale tense marking in the verbal complex, and verbal agreement markers after tense morphology as it is clear from the sentences given in (5) and (6). The examples in (7 and 8) have –mA or -DIK nominalization morphemes. While *– DIK forms*[3] differentiate only future and non-future as in (8a-b), -mA forms do not express tense at all as in (7).

(5) (biz) viski-yi iç-eceğ-iz → Root Sentence
(we) whisky-ACC drink-FUT-1pl
iç-iyor-uz
-PROG-1pl
iç-ti-k.
-PAST-1pl
"We will drink/are drinking/drank the whisky."

(6) herkes [(biz) viski-yi iç-eceğ-iz] san-ıyor-∅. →Direct Complement
everybody we whisky-ACC drink-FUT-1pl believe-PROG-3sg
-iyor-uz
-PROG-1pl
-ti-k
-PAST-1pl

[3] -DIK clauses are taken as "gerunds" im George &Kornfilt (1981) but we will kep the term "nominalizer" for these factive noun-complements (Kornfilt 1997,2001, Kennely 1996, Özsoy 1998 among others).

(7) Ahmet [(biz-im) viski-yi dün/bugün/yarın iç-me-miz]-i iste-di-∅.

(we-GEN) whisky-ACC yes./tod./tom. drink-NML-1plPOSS-ACC want-PAST-3sg

"Ahmet wanted us to drink the whisky yesterday/today/tomorrow."

(8) a. Ahmet [(biz-im) viski-yi dün/bugün iç-tiğ-imiz]-i anla-dı-∅.

yesterday/today drink-GER-POSS-ACC understand-PAST-3sg

"Ahmet understood that we drank the whisky yesterday/today."

b. Ahmet [{biz-im) viski-yi yarın iç-eceğ-imiz]-i anla-dı-∅.

tomorrow GER.FUT-POSS-ACC understand-PAST-3sg

"Ahmet understood that we will drink the whisky tomorrow.

(George and Kornfilt 1981:107-108)

George and Kornfilt propose the contrast between Direct Complements (DC) and Gerunds (GER) by suggesting that DCs are clauses, while GERs are NPs by applying various tests like the ones shown below in (9-10). In (9b) the gerund construction takes case as regular NP complements do, while DC in (9a) is ungrammatical when it takes case. In (10a-b) we observe that internal structure of an NP and GER are the same. Both take genitive-possessive suffixes. Finally, in (11a-b) 'için' *for* postposition takes NP complement and GER complement respectively, which is a support for the claim that GERs are NPs.

(9) a. * Ahmet [(biz) viski-yi iç-ti-k]-i san-ıyor-∅. → DC

drink-PAST-1pl-ACC

"Ahmet thinks that we drank the whisky."

b. Ahmet [(biz-im) viskiyi iç-me-miz]-i isti-yor-∅. → GER

drink-NML-1pl-ACC

" Ahmet wants us to drink the whisky."

(10) a. yazar-lar-ın viski-si → NP

author-pl - GEN whisky -3POSS

"The authors' whisky"

b. Ahmet [yazarlar-ın viski-yi iç-tiğ-in]-i bil-iyor-∅ → GER

drink-NML-3plPOSS

"Ahmet knows that authors drank/were drinking whisky."

(11) a. herşey-i [çocuğ-um-un geleceğ-i için] feda et-ti-m.

everything-ACC child-1POSS-GEN future-POSS for sacrifice-PAST-1sg

"I sacrificed everything for the future of my child."

b. herşey-i [çocuğ-um-un okul-a gid-ebil-me-si için]

everything-ACC child-1POSS-GEN school-DAT go-able to-NML-3sg for

feda et-ti-m.

sacrifice-PAST-1sg

"I sacrificed everything for my child's being able to go to school."

(George and Kornfilt 1981:111)

The similarity between Direct Complements and Gerunds is that both constructions can be finite and both can be nonfinite. George and Kornfilt define a finite phrase as "one whose specifier exhibits Subject Agreement where it is immaterial whether the agreement marker is taken from the nominal or the verbal paradigm" (George and Kornfilt 1981: 118). In (12a-b) there are gerundive constructions that occur in finite and nonfinite forms respectively, and in (13a-b) direct complements have finite and nonfinite forms.

Finite Gerund:

(12) a. (ben) [kız-ım-ın viski-yi iç-me-sin-]e razı ol-du-m.

I daughter-my-GEN -ACC drink-NML-3sg-DAT consent-PAST-1sg

"I consented to my daughter's drinking the whisky."

Nonfinite Gerund:

b. (ben) [viski-yi iç-meğ-]e razı ol-du-m.

drink-NML-(no agr)-DAT

"I consented to drink the whisky."

Finite Direct Complement:

(13) a. Ahmet [biz viski-yi iç-ti-k] san-ıyor-∅.

drink-PAST-1pl believe-PRE-3sg

"Ahmet thinks that we drank the whisky."

Nonfinite DC :

b. Ahmet [biz-i viski-yi iç-ti] san-ıyor.

"Ahmet thinks that we drank the whisky."

George and Kornfilt apply Reciprocal, Toppling, Passive, Disjoint Reference, Reflexivization, and Control tests to differentiate finite and nonfinite phrases. While all these tests are accessible for nonfinite clauses, they are opaque for finite ones as we can observe from the examples (14-17). In (14a) the subject *biz* "we" can control the subject of the embedded clause, *birbirimiz* "each other", while in (14b-c) the subject of the matrix clause cannot bind the embedded clause subject when the verb has been inflected with 'agreement', which is proposed to be a sign of 'finiteness' in Turkish.

"Reciprocal"

Nonfinite DC:

(14) a. (biz_i) [birbir-$imiz_i$-i viski-yi iç-ti] san-ıyor-uz.

We each other-1pl-ACC -ACC drink-PAST(No Agr) believe-PROG-1pl

"We believe each other to have drunk the whisky."

Finite DC:

b. *(biz_i) [birbir-$imiz_i$ viski-yi iç-ti-k] san-ıyor-uz.

We each other-1pl -ACC drink-PAST-1pl believe-PROG-1pl

"We believe each other drank the whisky."

Finite GER:

c. *yazar-lar$_i$ [birbir-lerin_i-in viski-yi iç-tik-leri-n-i] san-ıyor-lar.[4]

Author-pl e.o.-3pl-GEN -ACC drink-NML-3pl-ACC believe-PROG-3pl

"The authors believe that each other drank the whisky."

(George and Kornfilt 1981:118-119)

In all finite sentences (14-17), George and Kornfilt (1981) claim that the rule(s) cannot be applied due to opaque properties of finite clauses which have agreement on the verbal core. However, non-finite counterparts, in which 'agreement' is missing, the rules of *toppling* in (15a), *passivization* in (16a), and *reflexivization* in (17a) can be applied to the structures due to transparent properties of non-finite clauses.

"Toppling"

Nonfinite DC:

(15) a. dinleyici-ler [___viski-yi iç-ti] sanıyor-lar biz-i.

auditor-pl whisky-ACC drink-PAST(no agr.) believe-PROG-3pl we-ACC

"The auditors believed us to have drunk the whisky."

Finite DC:

b. * dinleyici- ler [___ viski-yi iç-ti-k] sanıyor-lar biz.

-1pl we-NOM

"The auditors believed we drank the whisky."

[4] The sentence is judged as grammatical by native speakers of Turkish.

Finite GER:

c. ? dinleyici- ler [___viski-yi iç-tiğ-imiz]-i sanıyor-lar biz-im. [5]

-NML-1pl-ACC we-GEN

" The auditors believed that we drank the whisky."

(George and Kornfilt 1981:119)

"Passive (NP-movement)"

Nonfinite DC:

(16) a. (biz) [t viski-yi iç-ti] san-ıl-ıyor-uz.

(we) -ACC drink-PAST(no agr.) believe-PASS-PROG-1pl

"We are believed to have drunk the whisky."

Finite DC:

b. *(biz) [t viski-yi iç-ti-k] san-ıl-yor-uz.[6]

-ACC drink-PAST-1pl believe-PASS-PROG-1pl.

"Attempted Reading: We are believed to have drunk the whisky."

"Reflexive"

Nonfinite DC:

(17) a. (sen_i) [kendi-n_i-i başarı-ya ulaş-mış] san-ıyor-sun.

2sg self-2sg-ACC success-DAT reach-PAST-(no agr.) believe-PROG-2sg.

"You believe yourself to have succeded."

[5] The sentence is judged as grammatical by most of native speakers of Turkish.
[6] This sentence is judged as grammatical by most of native speakers of Turkish.

Finite DC:

b. *(sen$_i$) [kendi-n$_i$ başarı-ya ulaş-mış-sın] san-ıyor-sun.
self-2sg success-DAT reach-PAST-2sg believe-PROG-2sg.
"You believe yourself succeded."

c. *(sen$_i$) [kendi-n$_i$-in başarı-ya ulaş-tığ-ın]-ı san-ıyor-sun.[7]
self-2sg-GEN success-DAT reach-NML-2sg-ACC believe-PROG-2sg
"You believe that yourself succeded."

(George and Kornfilt 1981:119-120)

Not all the tests are applied to all complement types regardless of their being finite or nonfinite. But what is innovative about George and Kornfilt (1981) they proposed 'agreement' as a related future for 'finiteness'. For a language like Turkish the presence of 'agreement', regardless of being verbal or nominal, shows if the structure is finite or not in this analysis. And their hypothesis connotes that finiteness phenomenon cannot be defined only with the presence of 'tense' but for a language like Turkish finiteness indicator is 'agreement'. Although this analysis is an important contribution to the finiteness theory in the generative framework, the syntactic evidence shown above for non-finite and finite clauses are not fully acceptable. There are sentences that have been judged as grammatical as opposed to what George and Kornfilt claimed. Furthermore, Aygen gives syntactic evidence

[7] This sentence is judged as grammatical by most of native speakers of Turkish. Although there are such ungrammatical sentences that are judged as grammatical by many native speakers, as it will not make a change in our analysis, we will not go into detail, and not argue about the claims done by the authors.

showing that this analysis of 'agreement' is not valid for Turkish by exemplifying each category (i.e. toppling, reflexivization, passivization, control etc.). For larger discussion on George and Kornfilt's analysis of 'agreement', see Aygen (2002).

We have emphasized specific examples from George&Konfilt's article as in the following chapters we use their 'agreement' test as a finiteness test for Pazar Laz. Besides, there are some shared properties between Pazar Laz and Turkish due to the fact that Pazar Laz seems to have developed an infinitival structure as a result of close contact with Turkish. 'Finite gerundive structures with '-mA' nominalizer (12) are the ones that seem to be borrowed from Turkish. George&Kornfilt claims that these constructions are 'finite' in Turkish as they are inflected with agreement. We will analyze the parallel structures in Pazar Laz to find out if they are also 'finite' or not.

1.3.3. Aygen (2002)

Aygen (2002) proposes a different analysis for the 'finiteness' feature in Turkish, for which George and Kornfilt (1981) showed the relevance of the 'agreement'. Aygen proposes that nominative case licencing feature, ie. Finiteness feature is a complex feature consisting of a mood feature[8] on C and modality feature[9] on T. She argues

[8] Mood is defined as a grammaticalization of Modality (Lyons, 1977).

Aygen takes Kiss' (1994) description of mood, and further claims that there are languages like Hungarian where tense and mood are in complementary distribution. Tense and mood are alternative realizations of the same abstract Tense head, the semantic function of which is to anchor a proposition in a possible world. Following these examples, Aygen proposes that mood feature on C and epistemic modality/tense feature on T (she also uses F(in)P) establish a complex feature for Nominative case licencing.

[9] Aygen (2002) follows Lyons (1977) who defines Tense as a specific kind of Modality. Not only Lyons (1977), but also Hockett (1958) note that what is described as tense is in fact epistemic modality

that agreement is not involved in genitive or nominative case licencing at a clausal level as discussed in George&Kornfilt. She further claims that agreement morphology on the predicates (nominal or verbal) at the sentence final position has a different function, that of marking the absence or presence of mood.

Agreement is just a morphological reflection of *mood* on C. Aygen claims that 'agreement' is located in C, since in Turkish agreement appears at the very end of the verbal complex even after the complementizer like -DIK. For instance; "[gel-diğ-**in**]-i gör-dü-m" Come-COMP-2POSS-ACC the 'agreement' morphology (i.e. possessive agreement) appears after the complementizer –DIK, which indicates that agrrement is high in the structure (Aygen, 2002).

In the following table, Aygen associates different agreement markers with different Moods. $Mood_1$ refers to the agreement that appears after mood morphemes (+Indicative {-DI} and [–Indicative,+Conditional] {-sA}). $Mood_2$ refers to [-Indicative,-Conditional] i.e optative and imperative mood. $Mood_3$ refers to [+Indicative] with Substantives, and lastly Mood/Poss is called "null Mood" which does not show any mood information at all. Thus she concludes that agreement paradigm is based on *mood* not *tense*.

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and they give evidence from Native American Languages where tense logic & modal logic are indistinguishable. According to Lyons (1977) tense as a kind of Modality:

(i) Present is a product of factivity and non-remoteness
(ii) Past is a product of factivity and remoteness.
(iii) Future is a product of non-factivity and non-remoteness.

Table 1: Agreement Paradigm in Turkish

Agreement	Person	Mood1- I.Verbal$_{Past/Cond.}$	Mood2- II.Verbal$_2$	Mood3- Substantive Nom/Adj	-/null Mood- Possessive
Singular	1st	-m	-(y)EyIm	-(y)Im	-(I)m
	2nd	-n	-(y)EsIn	-sIn	-(I)n
	3rd	-∅	-(y)E	-∅	-(s)I(n)
Plural	1st	-k	-(y)ElIm	-(y)Iz	-(I)mIz
	2nd	-nIz	-(y)EsInIz	-sInIz	-(I)nIz
	3rd	lEr	-(y)ElEr	-lEr	-lErI

As we stated above, 'agreement' is not related to 'finiteness', but it is a morphological reflection of *Mood* in Turkish. Following this claim, Aygen argues that Nominative Case licensing is related to a feature (i.e. *Mood)* in C, and another feature (i.e. *Epistemic Modality)* in T/FinP. Thus, what is called 'agreement' is *Mood,* and what is called 'tense' is in fact *Epistemic Modality* in Turkish since ECM structures which do not have a Nom subject cannot have *Epistemic Modality* as in the sentence (18b), and they only allow Aspect/Tense and *Deontic Modality* morphemes in (18a). Thus the presence of Nom case is about *Epistemic Modality* and tense morphology that can be used with a Nom subject in complement clauses is restricted with tense morphemes with *Epistemic Modality* reading.

(18) a. Ben-∅ [Kürşat-ı gel-di/-ecek/-miş/-ir/-meli/-ebilir (D)] san-dı-m.

I-NOM Kürşat-ACC come-ASP/deontic modality think-PAST-1sg

"I considered Kürşat to have come/to be coming/to have to come/to be able to come.

b. *Ben-∅ [Kürşat-ı gel-iyor-du/ecek-ti/miş-ti/∅] san-dı-m.

I-NOM -ACC come-PROG+PAST/FUT+PAST/PERF+PAST-3sg think-PAST-1sg.

"Lit: I thought that Kürşat was coming/would come/had come."

(Aygen 2002:196-197)

Aygen further argues that *C* with a *+N(ominative)* feature co-occurs with a functional head Fin/T with a *+N* feature as well. Simplified tree structures below show [+Finite], and [-Finite] clause structures in Figure 1 and 2 respectively.

In Figure 1 both CP and FinP/TP have + Nominative feature both in C and Fin/T heads. The interaction of these two head nodes results in Nominative Case assignment to the subject DP/NP. However, in Figure 2, C and Fin/T heads are deficient with

[-Nominative] feature. Genitive subject noun complements are internally ECMs: they are AspPs with an external nominal layer that licenses Genitive case, ECMs lack that nominal layer and their subjects are licensed by an external *v* of the higher clause. They both consist of AspP and if they do have any higher functional heads like FinP/TP or CP, those heads do not have [+] features for mood or modality as seen in Figure 2 above (Aygen 2002:213).

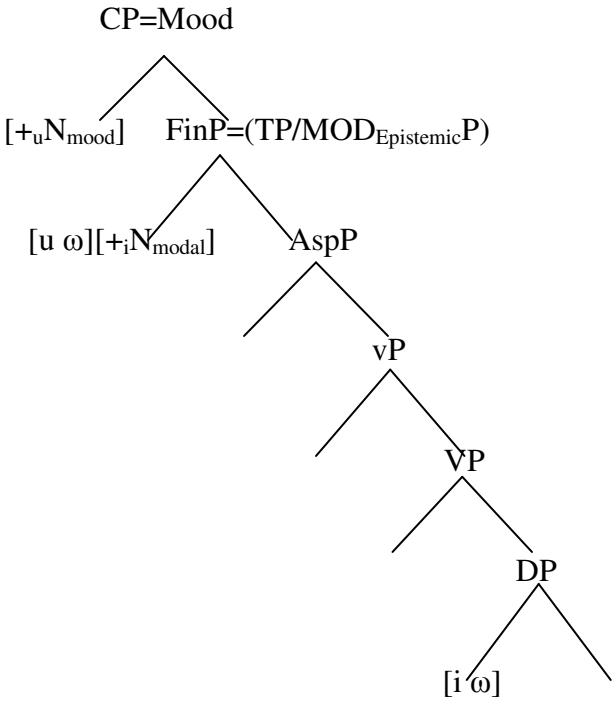

Figure 1: A simplified uniform clause structure for any given language [+Finite]

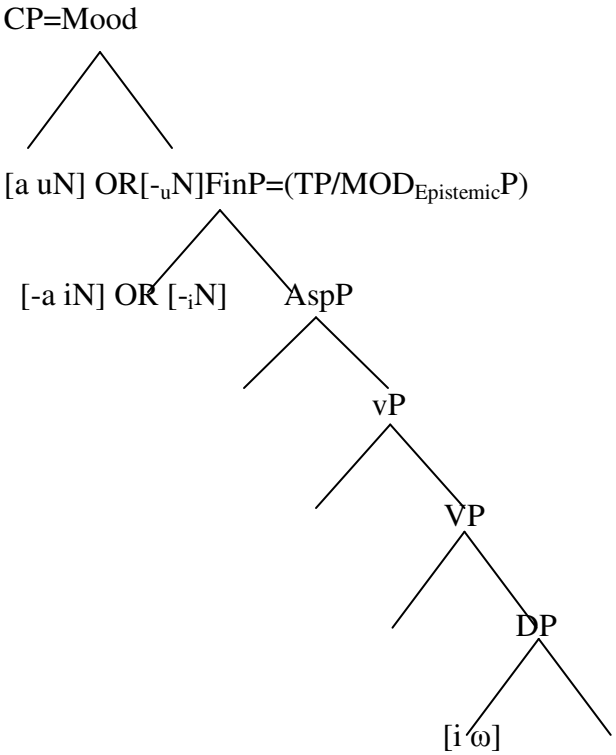

Figure 2: A simplified uniform clause structure for any given language [-Finite](ECM)

(Aygen 2002:211-212)

Based on the discussion done by Aygen, we can conclude that ECM structures with an accusative subject (i.e. [-N]) is non-finite in a language like Turkish. Not only ECM structures with Accusative subject, complement clauses with a genitive subject is also taken as non-finite in Aygen's analysis as opposed to George and Kornfilt (1981). Aygen's hypothesis explains the 'finiteness' notion from a different perspective and shows that morphological analysis is not always enough to explain the notion of 'finiteness'. Morphology and syntax is in interrraction in defining finiteness in Turkish.

We stated this analysis, as we will display the importance of the presence of epistemic vs. deontic modality notions in finite vs. nonfinite clauses respectively for Pazar Laz. In Pazar Laz data we realized modality denoting negation markers which are used in different clause types where there is a clear distinction relating their finiteness status. We will come to this issue in Chapter 3.

1.3.4. Rizzi (1997)

Rizzi (1997) analyzes the CP layer which can host complementizers, topics, operator-like elements like focalized elements, relative pronouns, interrogatives etc. as split into different functional projections, namely Force (ForceP), Topic (TopP), Focus (FocP), and Finite (FinP) from top to bottom.

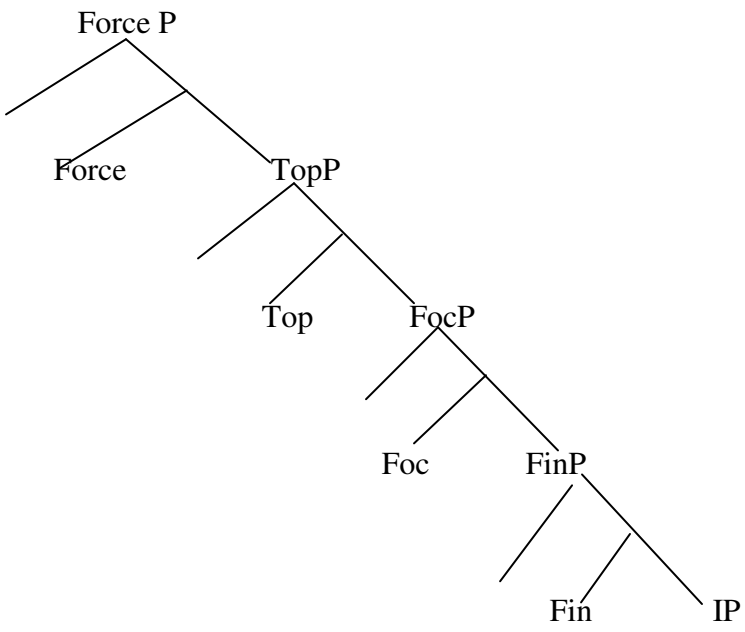

Figure 3: Split C Structure

ForceP expresses mood of the utterance like declarative, interrogative etc., FinP is in relation with IP/TP under CP layer, which means C contains a tense specification i.e. FinP, which matches the one expressed on the lower inflectional system. Rizzi claims that FinP and TP/IP layers are in interraction in the defining of finiteness as Aygen also claimed for Turkish. When a complementizer which is under FinP is finite, the inflectional system on TP is also finite as shown below in (19). Thus Rizzi proposes that C selects an IP system with the similar characteristics of finiteness including mood distinctions (i.e. indicative, subjunctive, conditional etc.), subject agreement licensing nominative case, and overt tense distinctions.

As seen in the figure 3 above, activation of 'topic' or 'focus' phrase in a sentence separates ForceP and FinP. In the sentences (19, 20), Italian provides evidence for this. There are two kinds of complementizers in Italian *che* "that", and *di* "for". The position of *che* and *di* is not consistent with the claims of assuming a unique C level. Topic *il tuo libro* 'the your book', is preceded by *che* in (19a), while it precedes *di.*

(19) a. Credo *che* il tuo libro, loro lo apprezzebbero molto.

"I believe *that* your book, they would appreciate it a lot."

b. * Credo, il tuo libro, *che* loro lo apprezzebbero molto.

"I believe, your book, *that* they would appreciate it a lot."

(20) a. * Credo *di* il tuo libro, apprezzezarlo molto

" I believe '*of*' your book to appreciate it."

b. Credo, il tuo libro, *di* apprezzarlo molto

" I believe, your book, '*of*' to appreciate it a lot."

(Rizzi, 1997:288)

Rizzi claims that *di* and *che* cannot manifest in the same position in the CP layer when we look at the position of 'topic' in terms of the position of complementizers *di* and *che* above. Thus, *che* occupies ForceP, while *di* lands at FinP. Thus, the presence of *di* "of" in F(in)P leads to a non-finite IP, while the presence of *che* "that" requires a finite IP (19, 20).

As we have seen both in Aygen (2002) and Rizzi (1997) finiteness feature can be a compact feature which includes the reaction of more than one category in the structure. In both of these analyses, finiteness feature is related to both CP and TP levels.

We indicated Rizzi's work, which is significant in showing the possible finiteness related positions in a syntactic structure. In our data analysis, we will show that the presence of certain levels like CP, TP, FinP directly indicates the finiteness status of the clauses in Pazar Laz. In Pazar Laz we observed that non-presence of some of these levels leads to non-finiteness.

1.3.5. Kalinina and Sumbatova (2007)

Kalinina and Sumbatova (2007) discuss clause structure and verbal forms in Nakh-Daghestanian languages which are East-Caucasian languages. In Nakh-Daghestanian languages the notion of 'finiteness' cannot be explained with verbal morphology (i.e. tense, agreement, person) or syntactic dependency, which are basic parametric features used in determining 'finiteness' in languages like English. They propose that in Nakh-Daghestanian languages, what is differentiating is *illocutionary force*[10] and *information structure* of finite and non-finite sentences.

[10] illocutionary force is stated as the the basic purpose of a speaker when uttering a sentence. Kalinina and Sumbatova (2007) define this notion as the asserted force of an utterance. Illocutionary force is a property of a given speech act which is not conditioned by the previous discourse. That is why the illocutionary force cannot be presupposed.

Table 2: Finite and Non-finite verb forms in Icari Dargwa (a Nakh-Daghestanian language)

	Syntactic Function	Person Marking	Traditionally defined as
Simple form (generic/habitual, hypothetical,obligative/irrealis, imperative,optative,nonoccurative)	Main Clause	+	Finite
Simple form (conditional,concessive)	Dependent Clause	+	
Verb stem/simple converb/full participle+non-past predicative	Main Clause	+	
Verb stem/simple converb/full participle+past predicative participle	Main Clause	_	
Simple form (subjunctive)	Dependent Clause	+	Non-finite
Simple converb, full participle, masdars in *–ni*	Dependent Clause	_	
Deverbal noun in *–dexx*	Main Clause	_	

As seen in the table above finite and non-finite forms can both have agreement, or lack it. Syntactically speaking, both finite and non-finite sentences can be dependent or independent. Thus this table shows us that morphological or/and syntactic perspective of 'finiteness' do not tell much for a language like Dargwa, however what finite sentences share as opposed to non-finite clauses is their *illocutionary force* and *information structure* (i.e. presupposed vs. asserted vs. neutral). The presence of asserted information which is not conditioned by the previous discourse shows that new information is a sign for 'finiteness' in Dargwa. They claim that all non-indicative simple forms, the generic/habitual forms of present, and past tense, as well as all grammatical combinations of any verb form with a predicative particle cliticized to it are analyzed as finite. Thus, regardless of the (in)dependence of the

clauses or the morphological properties of the words, if the clause has illocutionary force, then it shows the property of a finite clause.

Although the discussion regarding the *illocutionary force* and the *information structure* is not satisfactory and clear, we wanted to mention Kalinina & Sumbatova, as Nakh-Daghestanian languages are East Caucasian languages as it helped us to look at Pazar Laz data from different points of views regarding finiteness. As a genetically related language, we want to see if there is a parallelism between Laz and Dargwa in terms of 'finiteness'. In chapter 3, we show that pragmatic issues like *illocutionary force* and *information structure* do not make any difference in Pazar Laz data.

1.3.6. Adger (2007)

Adger looks at the issue of 'finiteness' from a Minimalist Perspective and proposes *truncated* structure of three levels (i.e. CP, TP and VP) and focuses on the 'finiteness' feature in these levels. Taking Rizzi's (1997) hypothesis, Adger claims that C is split into different levels including ForceP, TopP, FocP and FinP.

"C Level and Finiteness"

FinP can have [±finite] feature depending on the properties of T when T head has interpretable agreement and tense features, and Fin has uninterpretable features. Those interpretable features Agree with uninterpretable counterparts (i.e. tense, agreement) in Fin head and get deleted. Fin generally shows the properties of T as

seen in examples (21a,b). The tense in T and the tense of the complementizers are parallel to each other. This illustrates how C layer and T work cooperatively in that sense. In (21a), the complementizer *go* "that" has [-PAST] feature and the subordinate clause has *future* tense. In (21b), the complementizer is *gur* "that" that has [+PAST] feature this time, and the subordinate TP has also [+PAST] agreement on the verb, showing that CP and TP shares features in that sense.

(21) a. Deir sé *go* dtógfaidh sé an peann.
Say.PRE he that-FUT take.FUT he the pen
"He says that he will take the pen."

b. Deir sé *gur* thóg sé an peann.
Say.PRE he that.PST.t ake.PAST he the pen.
"He says that he took the pen."

(Adger, 2007:34)

Not only the tense properties, as seen in West Flemish in (22a,b), but also agreement and gender markers in T head can be duplicated in complementizer.

(22) a. dan-*k* (ik) goan.
that-1sg (I) go.
"that I go."

b. da-*se* (zie) goat.

that-3sg.FEM. (she) goes.

"that she goes." (Adger, 2007:35)

"TP Level and Finiteness"

The sentences truncated from the TP level (i.e. what is left is the domain of the clause starting from the TP level) can also be finite when uninterpretable case and agreement features of T are valued by interpretable case and agreement features of DPs as shown in (23). Underlined elements are deleted after feature checking or Agree operations.

(23) a. Agr[agr; case:nom]… DP[agr:3pl,case:] →

b. Agr[<u>agr</u>:3pl, <u>case</u>:nom]…DP[agr:3pl, <u>case</u>:nom]

The sentences truncated from TP can also be non-finite. When we think of infinitives in English, null subject of non-finite clauses are termed as PRO. PRO is acceptable when T head is endowed with [R:-], however when it is endowed with uninterpretable features [R:+], which has to be checked by an interpretable [R:+], this forces an independently referential subject to appear and rules out PRO which would have [R:-] as in (24)

(24) a. * Anson said that PRO left.

b. Anson said that *I [T:+, Agr:+, R:+] PRO[R:-]

(Adger 2007:39)

As in (25), a control clause has a specification for a C bearing uninterpretable [T:-]. This must check with and interpretable [T:-] on T/I, and it follows that T/I will bear an uninterpretable [R:-]. It follows that only PRO is possible as a subject this time.

(25) a. Anson would prefer PRO to leave.

b. Anson would prefer C[T:-] I[T:-, Agr:-, R:-] PRO[R:-]

"VP Level and Finiteness"

Adger gives examples of Verbal Noun (VN) complements in Scottish Gaelic, and proposes that these sentences do not have a TP layer either, since with these clauses it is not possible to apply syntactic processes that require TP or CP. He supports this hypothesis by showing the lack of 'infinitival' constituent questions (A-bar binding from [Spec CP]), and no 'infinitival relatives' as shown in (26,27,28).

(25) *Cha robh fhios agam dé a dhéanamh

NEG was knowledge at.me what PRT do=VN

"I did not know what to do."

(26) Cha robh fhios agam dé dhéanainn.

NEG was knowledge at.me what do=COND=1sg

"I did not know what to do."

(27) *tha am bórd air an t-seacaid agad a chur a-muigh
is the table on.it the jacket at.you PRT put=VN outside
"The table to put your jacket on is outside."

(Adger, 2007:49)

All these examples support Adger's hypothesis that VP layer truncation, meaning the leftmost level is VP in the clause structure, and VNs do not behave like infinitives as it is shown that they do not allow infinitival question formation in (26), and infinitival relatives in (27). In (27) the finite equivalent of the sentence (26) allows constituent questions, while it is impossible to have constituent questions in a VN clause.

In Chapter 3, when we analyze the complementation patterns in Pazar Laz, we will take Adger's truncation model as a base for our discussions and claims. For Pazar Laz we have observed clauses which seem to be truncated from different levels as Adger proposes, and each of these levels leads to different finiteness status.

1.4. Summary

In this chapter, we gave a general overview of the general properties of Government and Binding Theory (GB), Minimalist Program (MP) and the theories and notions that are of theoretical importance.

Finiteness notion has been discussed widely in the literature, since the indications of finiteness change for different languages; moreover, there are different analyses even for the same language as we stated above. We gave the most related

literature of “finiteness” including tense-based, agreement-based, mood-modality based finiteness theories, and displayed syntactic evidences and tests used to describe finiteness.

We emphasized the notion of “finiteness” in languages like Turkish and Nakh-Daghestanian since these languages are related to Pazar Laz with different respects. As Pazar Laz is in close contact with Turkish, and as it is genetically related to Nakh-Daghestanian languages, we will try to find out whether there is parallelism regarding finiteness issue.

CHAPTER 2

GENERAL PROPERTIES OF LAZ

2.1. Introduction:

The current chapter introduces the general properties of Pazar Laz, which is a dialect of the Laz language. Laz is a member of the South Caucasian language family, and being insufficiently described is in danger of becoming extinct. Svan, Mingrelian, Georgian and Laz are the main languages of the Kartvelian group. Laz is mainly spoken in Turkey in the Black Sea coast and in a small part of Georgia. Laz and Mingrelian languages are mostly related but because of social, geographical and political issues they are regarded as separate languages. In Figure 1 below, the genetic affiliation of Laz is shown.

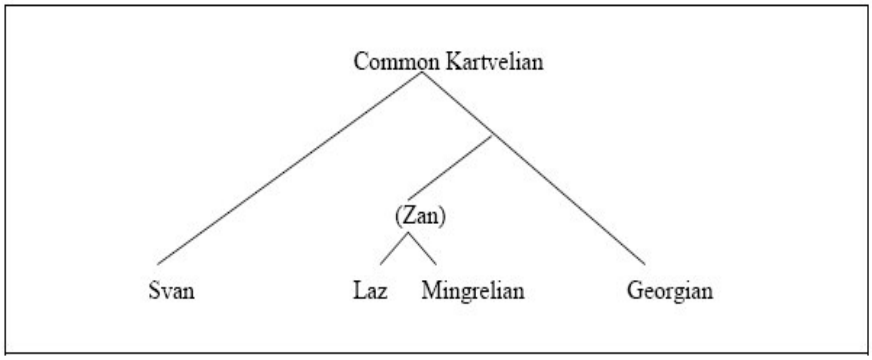

Figure 1: The genetic affiliation of Laz (Kutscher, 2005)

Laz has been under the influence of other non-Caucasian linguistic groups in the area. Turkish as an Altaic language, Greek and Armenian as Indo-European languages

have been the main groups in close contact with Laz. They have Nominative-Accusative case systems as opposed to Laz which exhibits split-ergative features[11].

2.2. Dialects of Laz

There are mainly three dialects of Laz mentioned in Chickobowa (1936), Holisky (1991) and Kutscher (2008). The main dialects are Hopa (spoken in the most eastern part of Black Sea Region in Hopa), Vitse Arkabian (spoken in Arhavi and Fındıklı districts), and Atinan (divided into two sub-dialects spoken in Pazar and Ardeşen districts.) (Kutscher, 2008:7). The main areas in which the language is spoken are shown in Figure 2 (Anderson, 1963)[12]. What Kutscher claims is that there is no mutual intelligibility among these dialects most of the time. However, we have observed that informants speaking in different dialects can communicate regardless of some phonological, morphological and syntactic differences as Holisky has also pointed out.

Among the three dialects, Hopan is the most widely spoken dialect (Kutscher, 2005). There are speakers of Hopan dialect not only in Hopa region of Turkey, but also in Georgia.

Another important issue pointed out by Kutscher is the non-presence of a standard dialect. People from different dialect regions prefer using Turkish exclusively. As a result, the separation of the dialects is increasing, as the mutual intelligibility is decreasing.

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[11] See Öztürk (2008) for the influence of the nominative-accusative systems on the case system of the Ardeşen dialect of Laz.

[12] The figure taken from (Anderson, 1963) has been modified with respect to the location of Georgia. U.S.S.R has been changed as Russia.

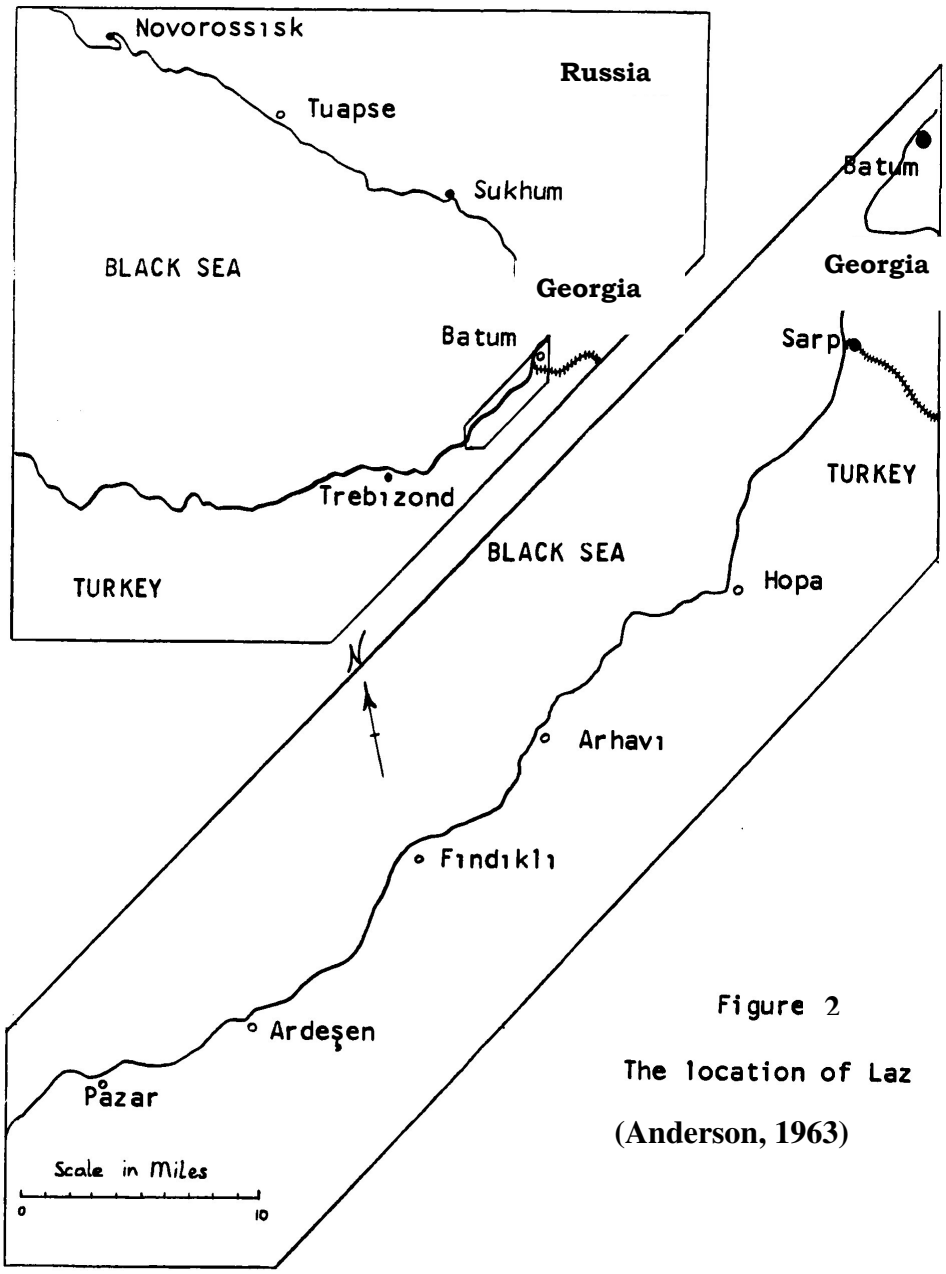

Figure 2

The location of Laz

(Anderson, 1963)

Although there are 3 different dialects of Laz language, for the current paper our main focus will be on Pazar Laz (i.e. Pazarian as in Kutscher) which is a Western branch of Laz spoken in Pazar village of Rize as shown in the Figure 2. As for the subject of our study, we have chosen Pazar Laz mainly because of the structural changes which we have observed exclusively in this dialect such as the development of a hybrid infinitival clause structure - which is missing in other dialects. Furthermore, in comparison to other Western dialects like Ardeşen, it still preserves the morphological case system.

2.3. Early Studies of Laz:

Among the early works on Laz, there are dictionary studies the first of which was written by Arnold Chikobawa (1936) who compared Georgian, Mingrelian, and Laz. Then Bucaklişi&Uzunhasanoğlu published *Lazuri-Turkuli Nenapuna* (1999) and *Didi Lazuri Nenapuna* (Bucaklişi&Uzunhasanoğlu&Aleksiva, 2007) in which the words from all dialects of Laz have been compiled. Tine Amse De Jong (in progress) has also prepared a *Lazuri-English* dictionary which is to be published.

In addition to the dictionaries, there are descriptive grammars written on Laz. In these studies general properties of Laz including phonological, morphological, syntactic properties are introduced in a descriptive way giving examples from different dialects. The first grammar book of Laz was written by Adjarian (1899), and following this work several other linguistic description of Laz have been prepared (Marr 1910; Anderson, 1963; Holisky, 1991; Kutscher, 1995,2001; Bucaklişi, 1999;

Bucaklişi&Kojima, 2003 among others). In all of these works the common aim was to put down the general properties of Laz without any recourse to theoretical discussions.

Gürpınar's (2000) work is on basic phonological and morphological properties of Pazar Laz. Öztürk (2008) is among the first theoretical studies done on Laz morpho-syntax; it is an analysis on the dialect of Ardeşen in comparison to Pazar dialect in terms of their case systems. She has mainly investigated the impact of the absence of morphological case on the morpho-syntax of Ardeşen with specific emphasis on the agreement system and the loss of the asymmetry between the syntactic positions of ergative vs. non-ergative subjects, which is observed in Pazar.[13]

2.4. The Present Analysis

2.4.1. Informants and Data Collection

The analysis offered here is based on data that has been collected mainly from one informant, İsmail Avcı-Bucaklişi who is a bilingual speaker of Turkish and Laz. As he is the co-author of *Lazuri Dictionary* and *Laz Grammar,* he is more than a naive informant.[14]

The main data collection process started with the aim of understanding the basic language structure and the verbal system by eliciting different kinds of sentence

[13] There are also several other works on Laz people, culture, and history (Özgün, 1996; Aabaşişi, 2005 among others).

[14] We collected data from İsmail Avcı-Bucaklişi regularly, however we had other informants speaking Pazar and Ardeşen dialects. We compared the structures each informant used.

structure types. Once we realized that Pazar Laz has an infinitival structure similar to that one in Turkish, as opposed to other Caucasian languages which lack nonfinite infinitival clauses, the focus of this study, that is, finiteness and complementation in Laz, took shape.

In addition to one-on-one data elicitation, we got help from already existing grammars of Laz in the literature (Bucaklişi, 1999; Gürpınar, 2000; Bucaklişi&Kojima, 2003; Kutscher, 2005).

2.4.2. General Morpho-syntactic Properties of Pazar Laz

In the following, we introduce some of the morphological and syntactic properties of Pazar Laz, which are relevant to the topic of finiteness and complementation patterns of Pazar. Given that the current work is mainly on morpho-syntax, we do not go into the phonological properties of the language which have been discussed in (Holisky, 1991; Gürpınar, 2000; Bucaklişi&Kojima, 2003; Kutscher,1999-2005).

2.4.2.1. Morphology

2.4.2.1.1. Nominal Morphology”

While the verbal morphology is quite complex, nominal morphology is fairly simple in Laz. Laz nominals express two grammatical categories; mainly number and case.

Like the other Kartvelian branch of Caucasian languages, Pazar Laz is not inflected for gender and class[15] either.

"Number"

Pazar has plural morphology for nominals as shown in (1).

(1)	Singular	Plural
	bere[16] 'child'	bere-pe 'children'
	bucxa 'fingernail'	bucxa-pe 'fingernails'
	k'oči 'man'	k'oč-epe 'men'
	ǯoɣori 'dog'	ǯoɣor-epe

As seen in the the examples above, plural marker has two forms depending on whether the preceding sound is a consonant or a vowel. If the preceding segment is a vowel *-pe* is preferred, whereas *-epe* is used when the preceding sound is a consonant, which is a common process in languages (i.e. two-vowel clusters are mostly unaccepted, so either deletion of one of these vowels or the insertion of a consonantal sound is preferred.). Although in the singular form there is a final *-i* sound in *k'* oči "man", this disappears in the plural form. This is mainly because nouns in Laz do not end with a consonant therefore the *i*[17] sound is added when they end with a consonant and is deleted when an affix starting with a vowel is attached as in *k'* oč-i versus

[15] In the current paper, only the relevant morphological properties of Laz are discussed. For a large scale morphological analysis, see Holisky, 1991; Gürpınar, 2000; and Bucaklişi&Kojima, 2003.
[16] All of the Laz data is given in phonetic transcription.
[17] *-i* suffix is attached to consonant-ending nouns which are borrowed from different languages. We have observed exactly the same process in Georgian as well. The same suffix is attached to the nouns

k' oč-epe.

"Case System"

There are six cases in Pazar Laz realized in the same way both for singulars and plurals:

Case	Ending	Example 'man'
Nominative	∅	k'oči
Ergative	-k	k'oči-*k*
Dative	-s	k'oči-*s*
Genitive	-ši	k'oči- *ši*
Ablative	-šen	k'oči- *šen*
Instrumental	-ten	k'oči-*ten*

Case markers follow the plurality marker:

(2) bere-*pe-k* k'oč-*epe-s*

child-PL-ERG man-PL-DAT

which end with a consonant originally. However Harris (1982) defines it as a kind of Nominative case attached to the nouns at some level of derivation.

2.4.2.1.2. Verbal Morphology

As many other Caucasian languages, Pazar Laz also exhibits a very rich verbal morphology, which involves prefixation, suffixation and circumfixation. There are fourteen slots within the verb complex as discussed by Holisky (1991).

(3) The Laz Verb

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

Aff – PRE-Person-Pre-ROOT-Series-t'-a-t'-ere-Person -PL--FUT--k'on/

Pt verb prefix root marker suffix t ere/ doren

1. The affirmative particle *ko.*
2. A preverb, which may be preceded by the affirmative particle.
3. A personal prefix, marking either a first or second person object (*m* or *g*) or a first person subject (*v*).
4. A pre-root vowel: *i, o, u* mark version (*i* and *a* mark intransitivity and *o* marks a causative).
5. The verb root, an obligatory member of the complex.
6. A series marker, which appears in tenses and moods of Series I. In Series III there may be a *u* in this position.
7. The imperfect stem formant *t'*.
8. The conjunctive stem formant *a.* It may directly follow the verb root or Imperfect Formant in 7.
9. A *t'* in this position necessarily follows the conjunctive formant in 8, and forms the conditional III.
10. The morpheme *ere* in this position is found only in Hopan and is used to form evidential verb forms. In certain tenses the formants of positions 7 and 8 follow *ere.* This formant can only be followed by personally suffixes and the plural marker *t* ; it is incompatible with anything in the position 13 and 14.
11. A personal suffix in this position is obligatory. There are three sets which vary with tense and mood.
12. A marker of plurality of a first and second person subject or object. The marker is often *t,* but under certain circumstances *an* or *es* is used.
13. A future formant is used in this position.
14. Either there is *k'on* which is added certain tense-aspect forms to form conditional or evidential suffixes are used. The two cannot co-occur.

(Holisky, 1991:421)

As seen in (3) above, verbs in Pazar Laz are inflected for the person and number features of the subject as well as the object. The verb also bears slots for tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality.[18] Preverbs[19] can be used to show direction, position, ability, and the slots which can bear more than one affix cannot be filled by all of the affixes at the same time as in the slot 14.

Laz verb stems generally consist of simple syllables (i.e. C, CV) and even one consonantal sound. Simple verb stems in Laz can have the following shapes: C, CC, VC, CV, CCV, CCCV, but it is generally not the case that a verb stem occur by itself, and all of the slots given above are not necessarily filled by the affixes all at once. We observed that some of these slots are obligatorily filled, while others are optional and used depending on the extra information that needs to be added. Slots 3 and 11 are obligatorily filled slots. Slot 3 can only be empty when there is not any overt agreement morpheme for the object and/or the subject NPs. As in (4), the subject is 2nd person, and the object is 3rd person. 3rd person object does not have an overt object agreement marker and 2nd person subject does not have a competing subject agreement marker, either, so the slot is not overtly filled. When there is an intransitive verb like in (5a), the slot is filled only when there is 1st person subject. 2nd and 3rd persons do not have subject agreement prefixes as in (5b,c) respectively.

[18] Only Hopan dialect of Laz has the marker for evidentiality (Holisky,1991; Kutscher,2005)
[19] These preverbs can be single vowels like *u-, i-* which show direction, or *CV* sequences like ko- which is
used for affirmative sentences.

(4) Si him u-mbaɣ.

You s(he) PV-beat=PRE

"You beat him/her."

(5) a. Ma **v**-i-bgar.

I 1subj.-PV-cry=PRE

"I cry."

b. Si i-bgar.

You PV-cry=PRE

"You cry"

c. Him i-bgar-s.

s(he) PV-cry=PRE-3sg

"S(he) cries."

Slot 11 has to be filled with subject agreement markers for the three tense/aspect sets[20] (i.e. present set, past set and modal set). The slot is not overtly filled when the subject does not have a subject agreement suffix for any of these sets. There is a detailed analysis and a list of these agreement suffixes in the following parts of the current chapter.

When the verb root consists of a C (i.e. consonant), there has to be a preverb as it is not phonologically practical to pronounce the verb root by itself. In such

[20] Information about these three tense/aspect sets are given below showing how verbs are inflected differently in each case in terms of agreement markers they get.

cases, different kinds of preverbs are obligatory (i.e the selection of preverbs change depending on the force of the sentence (i.e. affirmative, causative etc.)). In example (6), the verb root of give is *c'*, and the preverb *me-* has to be added to the verb root.

(6) Ali-k Ayşe-s svara-∅ me-c'-u

Ali-GEN Ayşe-DAT book-NOM PV-give-PAST=3sg

"Ali gave the book to Ayşe."

Tense/aspect information listed in slot 6 is another obligatory category on the verb complex. The markers of Serie I, II or III has to be coded on the verb. We gave the Serie markers in the following sections in detail.

Other than these obligatory slots given above, there are other slots used only when required by the context.

"Case – Verb Interaction"

There are four different verb classes in Pazar each displaying different case patterns as discussed in (Holisky, 1991; Öztürk, 2008). In the latter study, it was found that in Pazar Laz the distribution of case markers depends on the thematic roles of the arguments associated with verbs. Below, the main classes of verbs and the case selection of their arguments are given.

Agents, *themes* and *experiencers* are assigned *Ergative*, *Nominative* and *Dative* cases respectively. Below the verb classes in Pazar Laz and examples for each are given. Holisky (1991), and Öztürk (2008) describe these classes as follows.

Class I: transitives with agentive *ergative* subjects and *nominative* theme objects.

(7) K'oči-k svara -∅ čar-um-s.

man-ERG book- NOM write-IMP-3sg

"The man is writing book."

In the example (7), the subject *k'očі* "man" has Ergative case and the verb of the sentence is *čar-* "write" is a transitive verb which requires an agentive subject and an object. As seen in the example, the subject noun which has the theta-role of agent is assigned Ergative case, and the direct object *çitabi* "book" which is the theme is assigned Nominative case.

Class II: unaccusatives with *nominative* theme subjects

(8) K'oči-∅ c'ol-u.

man-NOM fall-PAST=3sg

"The man fell down."

In the example (8), the verb of the sentence is an intransitive-unaccusative verb *c'ol-* "fall" having a theme subject which is assigned Nominative case as the theme of the transitive verb in (7).

Class III: intransitives (unergatives) with agentive *ergative* subjects

(9) Bere-k i-bga-r-s.

child-erg preroot-cry-PRE-3sg

"The child is crying."

Above there is an intransitive-unergative verb *i-bgar* "cry" (9) with an agent subject which is this time assigned Ergative case as it is the case with the agent subject of the transitive verb in (7).

Class IV: psychological predicates with *experiencer* dative subjects

(10) Arte-**s** Ayşe-∅ eugit'in-u.

Arte-DAT Ayşe-NOM hate-PAST=3sg

"Arte hated Ayşe.

The psychological verbs, which have experiencer subjects, require Dative case on their subjects as in (10). The object of the verb, A*yşe,* is assigned Nominative case as it is the situation associated with theme subjects and objects.

In Laz, case assignment is directly related to the semantic properties of the arguments. Regardless of the functional properties of the arguments, thematic roles of the nouns in the sentence determine their case morphology. In sentences (7-10), as opposed to Nominative-Accusative languages, not the functional properties of the

arguments (i.e being a subject or an object), but their theta roles (i.e. being agents, themes, experiencers etc.) act as the only determinant factor in case selection. Given in the examples 7 and 8 and repeated below, *k'oči* "man", which functions as the subject of both sentences (11,12) has different cases in each sentence depending on the semantic role of the noun.

(11) K'oči-k çitabi -∅ čar-um-s.

man-ERG book- NOM write-IMP-3sg

"The man is writing book."

(12) K'oči-∅ c'ol-u.

man-NOM fell-PAST=3sg

"The man fell down."

All these examples lead to the question of whether there is structural case in this language since all case assignment/ checking issues seem to be related to semantic features. This question will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

"Agreement"

A verb can express person and number information regarding the subject, direct object, and the indirect object via agreement morphology. Arguments are encoded with specific agreement markers on the verb that involve both prefixes and suffixes as mentioned in Holisky (1991). Example (13) and (14) below illustrate the set of

prefixes and suffixes available in Pazar. Note that as shown in (13), the 1st person subject agreement marker *v-* has variants that change depending on the phonological environment. In (14) examples are supplied for the markers in (13). In (16) and (17) we listed the agreement suffixes and gave examples of these suffixes respectively.

(13) Agreement markers on the verb (Prefixes) :

Subject Markers:	Object Markers:
1sg/pl v- [p', p, b]	m-
2sg/pl ∅	g-
3sg/pl ∅	∅

(14)

Subject Markers	Object Markers
a. *v-ibgar* "*I* cry."	d. *m-imbaɣ* "you beat *m*e."
b. *∅-ibgar* "you cry"	e. *g-imbaɣ* "I beat *you*."
c. *∅-ibgar-s* "*he* cries"	f. *∅-imbaɣ-s* "you beat *him*"

Thus, it can be seen that verbal morphology is very complex, though has a fully-fledged system. We observed that slot 3 – the associated agreement morphemes of this slot are given above in (13)- is basicly for object agreement markers of 1st and 2nd person objects, which are *m-* and *g-* respectively (15a,b). These object agreement prefixes have a priority over subject agreement prefixes which also land in the same slot. However, when the subject is 1st person and the object is 3rd person, this slot is

filled with 1st person subject agreement marker *v-* (it has variants depending on the phonological environment.) as 3rd person object does not have a competing object agreement prefix for that slot as in (15c). When the subject is 2nd person and object is 3rd person, there is not any possible affix for slot 3, so this slot stays empty in such a case (15d).

(15) a. ma si g-i-mbaɣ

I you 2obj.-PV-beat=PRE

"I beat you."

b. si ma m-i-mbaɣ

You I 1obj.-PV-beat=PRE

"You beat me."

c. Ma him v-u-mbaɣ.

I s(he) 1subj.-PV-beat=PRE

"I beat him/her."

d. Si him u-mbaɣ

You s(he) PV-beat=PRE

"you beat him/her."

As we stated, there is a hierarchy among the object and subject agreement prefixes, objects over subjects. However, when any of these objects do not have a competing overt prefix for that slot, the slot is filled with the possible subject agreement marker.

It clearly shows that this position has to be filled regardless of the type of the agreement marker. The only case that this position is empty is when there is 2nd person subject and 3rd person object, which do not have a prefix for that position as in example (15d).

(16) Number and Agreement Markers[21] as suffixes (For subjects and objects):

	Present Set:	Past Set:	Modal Set:[22]
1p&2p	∅ (-r)	-i	∅
3ps	-n/-s	-u	-s
1pl&2pl	-t	-t	-t
3ppl	-nan/-an	-es	-n

(17)

Present Set		Past Set	
(p̌)ťax*um*[23]-∅	"I'm/you are breaking"	(p̌)ťax-*i*	"I/you broke"
ťaxum-*s*	"S(he) is breaking"	ťax-*u*	"S(he) broke"
(p̌)ťaxum-*t*	"We/You are breaking"	(p̌)ťax-*i*-*t*	"We/you broke"
ťaxum-*an*	"They are breaking"	ťax-*es*	"They broke."

[21] It is not always easy to parse the agreement markers from number markers in Pazar Laz. For example, -s suffix is 3rd person subject agreement marker (in present and modal set), while –(i)t suffix (in all sets) is 1st or 2nd person plural marker showing number.

[22] We need to mention that the suffixes listed above (12) do not always function as pure agreement or number markers. These suffixes mostly fused with tense, mood, and modality markers. For example; 3rd person agreement suffix -u under past set expresses both 3rd person agreement, and also past tense information.

[23] *-um* suffix shows imperfective mood in Laz. And *p-* prefix shows only 1st person subject agreement, it does not hold any information about 2nd person.

Mood/Modal Set

(p̌)ťax-*a*[24]-∅ "let me break" (p̌)ťax-a-*t* "let us break"

ťax-a-*s* "let him break" ťax-a-*n* "let them break"

The slot 11 is filled with subject agreement suffixes when there is any for this position. 1st person and 2nd person subjects have *–i* suffix only in past set as in (18). 3rd person singular subject has *–s* subject marker in present set and modal set, and *–u* in past set as in (19a,b,c) respectively.

(18) Si c'ol-i

you fall-PAST=2sg

"You fell down."

(19) a. Bere-k i-bgar-s

Child-ERG PV-cry=PRE-3sg

"The child cries."

b. Bere-∅ c'ol-u

child-NOM fall-PAST=3sg

"The child fell down."

c. Bere-k t'ax-a-s

child-ERG break-MOD-3sg

"Let the child break (it)."

[24] -a suffix shows optative mood in Laz.

Slot 12 is filled with plural agreement markers for subjects or objects. The number morphology is again very complex. Although there can be more than one plural argument in the structure, there can only be one plural marker for one of these arguments. 1st person and second person plurality suffix is *–t* for all sets while 3rd person plurality suffix is *–an* for the present set, *-es* for the past set and *–n* for the modal set. In example (20a) 1st person subject is plural, in (20b) only 2nd person object is plural and in (20c) both 1st person subject and 2nd person object are plural. However, in the last example there is only one suffix for both of the plural arguments as there is only one slot on the verb for the information regarding number. In example (21a) below, there is 3rd person plural subject and 1st person plural object; in (21b) the object is 2nd person plural this time. In both of the examples, the plural marker on slot 12 shows subject plural *-an*.

(20) a. ški si g-i-mbaɣ-t

we you(sg) 2obj.-PV-beat=PRE-1pl

"We beat you (sg)."

b. ma t'kva g-i-mbaɣ-t

I you(pl) 2obj.-PV-beat=PRE-2pl

"I beat you(pl). "

c. ški t'kva g-i-mbaɣ-t

we you(pl) 2obj.-PV-beat=PRE-1pl/2pl

"we bat you(pl)."

(21) a. Himuk ški m-i-mbaɣ-an

they we 1obj.-PV-beat=PRE-3pl

"They beat us."

b. Himuk tk'va g-i-mbaɣ-an

they you(pl) 2obj.-PV-beat=PRE-3pl

"They beat you(pl)."

When the arguments are 1st and 2nd persons, the plurality will be shown regardless of if the plural argument is subject or object as in (20a,b,c). However, when there is 3rd person plural subject, the plurality on the verb always show plurality of subject as in (21a,b) above. However, when there is 3rd person plural object, this information is not seen on the verb although there is not any other competing plural subject marker as in (22).

(22) Ma himuk v-u-mbaɣ

I they 1subj.-PV-beat=PRE

"I beat them"

Thus, we can conclude that plurality of the subject has a priority over the plurality of the object. However, when only the object of the sentence is plural, the plurality of the object argument will be shown on the verb if and only if there are 1st or 2nd person plural objects. The second rule is not valid for 3rd person plural objects as in (22).

There are even more complicated cases as in the example (23). There is *–an* plural marker on the verb which shows 3rd person plural. However, in the sentence (23), 3rd person subject is singular and what is plural is the second person object. The verb is inflected with 2nd person object agreement marker *g-* and slot 12 which is for plural markers has –an which shows 3rd person plural. For this case we thought that there is information about 2nd person object on the verb and there has to be information about 3rd person subject and plurality of 2nd person as well. These two forms are fused and as a result they appear like one morpheme on the verb.

(23) (Him) (tk'va) g-imbaɣ-an

(s(he)) (you(pl)) 2obj.-PV-beat=PRE-3pl

"S(he) beat you(pl)."

As we have mentioned above and as discussed in detail in Holisky (1991), verbal complex in Pazar Laz has 14 different slots for prefixes and suffixes. Person and number agreement markers occur in position 3, 11 and 12. In each position only one agreement marker can be inserted, that is why agreement markers for all arguments cannot be used at the same time and some are mutually exclusive.

This kind of a selection leads to a kind of hierarchy among the arguments although the priority of object agreement is a clear fact we can deduce from all the instances given below (24).

(24) Paradigm for subject and object Agreement/Number Markers

Subject		Object		
3sg	+	1sg	*m*-imbaγ-*s*	'he beats me'
		1pl	*m*-imbaγ-*an*	us
		2sg	*g*-imbaγ-*s*	you
		2pl	*g*-imbaγ-*a***n**	you all
		3sg&pl	umbaγ-*s*	him/them
1sg	+	2sg	*g*- imbaγ	'I beat you'
		2pl	*g*- imbaγ-*t*	you all
		3sg&pl	*v*[25]- umbaγ	him/them
3pl	+	1sg&pl	*m*- imbaγ-*an*	'They beat me/us'
		2sg&pl	*g*- imbaγ-*an*	you
		3sg&pl	umbaγ-*an*	him/them
2pl	+	1sg&pl	*m*- imbaγ-*t*	'You all beat me/us'
		3sg&pl	umbaγ-*t*	him/them

In all the examples, we have observed that there is a complex but well-organized system governing the distribution of agreement markers in slot 3 and slot 11. Object prefixes have priority over any other argument in terms of having the slot 3, however 1st person subject prefix gets the priority when the object is 3rd person.

[25] There is a hierarchy as we mentioned above. Object markers have priority over subject markers in the Slot 3. However, 3rd person does not have an overt object marker, so when the object is 3rd person and the subject is the 1st person, 1st person subject agreement marker v- replaces object argument position as shown in the chart above.

"Tense/ Aspect Series"

In Pazar, there are three tense/aspect series. Series I expresses imperfectives, Series II perfectives and Series III evidentials (Holisky, 1991). These series are important as they behave differently in terms of types of agreement and aspect markers attached to them. Besides, there is case alternation in Series III where there is inversion (we will mention *inversion structures* below). When we look at the examples under different series, we can observe that immediately attached aspect markers in Slot 6 are different in Series I and Series II given below. In Series I, the imperfective aspect markers "-um, -un" suffixes appear on the verb, while in Series II we have "-u, -er, -a" perfective suffixes as mentioned in Kojima&Bucaklişi (2003). Although Pazar Laz does not have a distinction regarding case selection between Series I and Series II, Georgian shows case distinction as well in these two series.[26] In Series III, there are differences regarding aspect markers (which generally appears as "-ap") and also case alternation. In series III, ergative case alternates with dative case and the agreement on the verb appears as default 3rd person singular in this Series.

Serie I; imperfectives

Present tense	→ c'ar-**um**-s	"(s)he is writing it"
Imperfective Aorist	→c'ar-**um**-t'-u	"(s)he was writing it."
Conjunctive	→c'ar-**um-**t'-a-s	"let him/her write it."
Imperfective Aorist Resultative	→ c'ar-**um-**t'-er-en	"(s)he has been writing."

[26] In Georgian, ergative case appears ONLY with agent subjects (i.e.transitive and unergative subjects) when the tense is in Series II in AORIST (i.e. we listed as past in out chart above.),.

Future	→t'as-**un**-an	"it will happen."
Future Imperfective	→ t'as-**un-**t'-u	"it would happen."

Series II; perfectives

Past	→(do)c'ar-**u**	"(s)he wrote it."
Past Resultative	→c'ar-**a**-s	"let him/her write it"
Past Conjunctive	→c'ar-**er**-en	"let's say he wrote it."
Future Perfective	→c'ar-**a**-t'-u	"(s)he would have written it."

Series III; evidential reading

"Inversion"

Both in Georgian and Laz the tense aspect series known as Series III is correlated with *evidential mood* (Harris 1981, 1982 for Georgian). The evidential occurs in a variety of uses-expressing an action, rather than the action itself; a presumption on the part of the speaker that the action has taken place; or the negative of a simple past action (Peikrišvili, 1974). Clauses presented in Series III show some syntactic peculiarities in both of these languages (i.e. Georgian and Laz). This process is known as *Inversion* which turns ergative subjects into dative as in sentence (25b) in Georgian as discussed in Harris (1981, 1982) and following that in (18b) in Laz. Here (25a) is in Series II, whereas the corresponding (b) sentence is in Series III with a meaning difference. In inversion constructions, the direct object of the sentence (a)

is promoted to the subject status in (b), and the verbal agreement is always in 3rd person singular which is *–u-* in the (b) sentence (Harris, 1981-1982). Furthermore, there occurs a difference in the case morphology of the arguments of the two sentences. The sentence in Series II has a subject with Ergative case *–ma*, while in the second sentence there is Dative case *–s* attached to the *glex* "peasant" which acts as the object of the sentence in (25b).[27]

(25) a. glex-ma datesa simind-i.
peasant-ACT 3S=3DO=sow=II corn-NOM
"The peasant sowed the corn."

b. turme glex**-s** da*u*tesavs simind-i.
appearantly peasant-DAT 3sg=3IO[28]=sow=III corn-NOM
"the peasant has appearantly sowed the corn."

(Harris, 1982;298)

When we take a look at the corresponding structures in Laz, we observe that case and agreement patterns in Pazar Laz alternate depending on the tense/aspect series the sentence is introduced in as in Georgian. The examples in (26) show us how the agreement patterns undergo a change depending on the three tense/ aspect Series. The example given in (26a) shows that verbs with *ergative* subjects require first person agreement prefix *v-* when inflected in Series I and II, however when the same verb types are inflected according to Series III, they show *inversion,* which results in

[27] Note that ergative is called Active case in Harris (1982). However for the sake of easiness and uniformity we have used Erg instead of Active case,
[28] -u- prefix is an indirect object marker.

having the 1st person object prefix *m-* on the verb instead of *v-* as in (26b). The subject is marked with the object prefix *m-* on the verb under *inversion* since the subject of the sentence in (a) behaves like the object of the sentence in inversion (b). "Ma" has the same form as a subject and an object pronoun, so it can be both "I" and "me".

(26) a. Ma *v*-i-bgar-*i*

I 1subj-PV-cry-PAST=1sg

"I cried."

b. Ma *m*-i-bgar-ap-*u*-*n*

I 1obj-PV-cry-ASP-*III*-PRE=3sg

" I have cried."

The verb final agreement marker also changes when the sentence is introduced in Series III due to *inversion*. Regardless of the person and number information of the actual subject, the verb final agreement marker always appears as the default third person singular in parallel with the Georgian example in (25).

Under Series III, which requires inversion, we also observe a change in case morphology similar to the Georgian example in (25). Agents which take Ergative case in Series I and Series II are marked as Dative in Series III. This is illustrated in (27) below. As seen in (27a) the agentive subject is marked as Ergative in Series I, but gets Dative in (27b) due to the change in tense/aspect series.

(27) a. Bere-k i-bgar-s. ← Series I

child-ERG preroot-drink-I=PRE=3sg

'The child is crying.'

b. Bere-s u-bgar-ap-u-n. ← Series III

child-DAT preroot-cry-ASP.-III=PRE=3sg

'The child has cried.'

(Öztürk, 2008)

Thus, Series III causes change both in case and agreement morphology due to *inversion*. Inversion is a phenomenon where the external argument becomes an internal argument. Following Harris (1982), Öztürk (2008) also argues that due to *inversion* the semantic subject –i.e. agent- no longer acts as the syntactic subject but becomes an internal argument in Laz. That is why it takes Dative case and is indicated by object agreement prefixes on the verb. Furthermore, the presence of the default third person singular agreement suffix on the verb implies the use of a covert expletive subject when the actual subject becomes an internal argument as argued by Öztürk (2008).

Note that although case and agreement patterns alternate under inversion which is a must in Series III, this alternation does not hold for all predicate classes. Case and agreement alternation is observed only for Class I (i.e. transitives with agentive *ergative* subjects and *nominative* theme objects.) and Class III (i.e. unergative verbs with agentive ergative subjects.) predicates which have agentive subjects. As discussed in detail in Harris (1982) for Georgian and Öztürk (2008) for

Laz, unaccusative predicates of Class II (Unaccusative verbs with nominative assigned theme subject.) for example do not undergo such an alternation (20b). Therefore to denote the evidential reading provided by Series III, a periphrastic construction is formed with the predicate *doren* "to be" (28c) and the past tense of the unaccusative predicate inflected for Series II is used (28a):

(28) a. Bere-∅ do-ğur-u. ← Simple past

child-NOM particle-die-PAST=3sg

"The child died."

b. *Bere-epe-∅ u-ğur-ap-u-n. ← Serie III with inversion

child-pl-NOM preroot-die-ASP-III-3sg=Modal

"Children has died."

c. Bere-epe-∅ do-ğur-u do-r-t'-u. ← Periphrastic Construction

child-pl-NOM preroot-die-PAST=3sg PV-be-IMP-PAST=3sg

"Children had died (Literally: It is the case that children died)"

(Öztürk, 2008)

Furthermore, psychological predicates, which take *dative experiencer subjects* (i.e. subjects of Class IV), regardless of tense-aspect series they are inflected with, they always require *inversion*. As in (29c) the emotion verb *ağropen* 'to love' is inflected with Series II, but still the verb has the object marker *m*-, rather than subject marker *v*-:

(29) a. Ma *v*-o-k'ap-u

I 1subj-PV-run-PAST

"I ran"

b.Ma *m*-o-k'ap-u-n

I 1obj-PV-run-ASP-serieIII-PRE=3sg

"I have run."

c. Ma si *m*-a-ğrop-i.

I you 1obj-PV-love-PAST=1sg

"I loved you."

As seen above, both Georgian and Laz have a lot of parallelism with respect to the inversion process. Both languages exhibit inversion which leads to differences in the case of arguments and the agreement markers on the verb.

2.4.2.2. Syntax

Under this heading, we introduce some of the sentential properties of Pazar Laz that will enable us to follow the next chapters. Below we will discuss if overt subject is obligatory, whether wh-elements undergo movement, what the basic word order and sentential stress are, and how subordination is realized in Laz.

"Laz is a Split-Ergative Language"

Split Ergative languages show morphologically ergative behaviour. Languages with ergative systems make up almost twenty percent of the world's languages (Blake, 1994) and these languages differ from each other if they are syntactically or morphologically ergative. The discussions regarding this issue resulted in the answer that the former has an S(ubject)/O(bject) pivot, while the latter has S(ubject)/A(gent) pivot. It means that in a syntactically ergative language, two clauses can be joined in a coordinate structure only if they have an NP which is in S or O function in each clause (Dixon, 1979a:121;1994:154). Having the syntactically ergative system, Dyirbal is the only language that has been found so far. Other languages with ergative systems are morphologically-ergative and have S/A pivot as in Nominative-Accusative languages. Below in (i-ii), the difference between S/A and S/O languages given by Dixon:

i. S/A pivot – The coreferential NP must be in derived S or A function in each of the clauses being joined;
ii. S/O pivot – The coreferential NP must be in derived S or O function in each of the clauses being joined.

In (30) there is an example taken from Urdu which is morphologically ergative and in a coordinate structure like the one below, the NP agent *nadya=ne* is taken as the subject of the second sentence as in Nominative-Accusative languages.

(30) [nadya=ne*A* sabina=ko skul $c^{h}o_{\underset{\circ}{r}}$-a] or [____*S* phır nɑha-ya]

Nadya-Fsg=ERG Sabina-Fsg=ACC school leave-PERF=3sg then bathe-PERF=3sg

"Nadya left Sabina at school and [Nadya] then bathed."

Urdu (Manning, 1996:9)

As opposed to example (30) above, the coordinate structure taken from Dyirbal (31) shows that the object of the first sentence, *ŋuma* "father", is perceived as the subject of the second sentence. Thus, this indicates how morphologically and syntactically ergative languages differ as selecting S/A or S/O pivots.

(31) [ŋuma*O* yabu-ŋgu*A* buran] [____*S* banagan^{y} u]

father.Abs mother.Erg saw returned

"Mother saw father and [father] returned."

Dyirbal (Dixon, 1994:155)

Thus, Laz is a language which behaves similar to Urdu as Laz is not syntactically ergative as the case in Dyirbal. In the coordinate structure below is in Laz, and the subject of the second sentence is *Ali.*

(32) [Ali-k*A* Ayşe-∅ tsad-u] do [_____*S* c'ol-u]

Ali-ERG Ayşe-NOM watch-PAST=3sg and fall-PAST=3sg

"Ali watched Ayşe and (Ali) fell down. "

*"*Laz is a Pro-drop Language*"*

Laz is a pro-drop language as subject pronouns can be deleted and used covertly. The morphological codes on the verb give information about the subject and/or the object and the number of these constituents. The examples below are grammatical and acceptable sentences in Laz without using the subject and the object. In the following sentences, both the subject and the object information are attached to the verb, which makes it easy to drop the subject and the object pronouns.

(33) a. (Him) (Ma) **m**-imbaɣ-**s**

S/He I 1sg-beat-3sg

"(S)he beats me."

b. (Himuk) (Si) **g**-imbaɣ-**an**

They You 2sg-beat-3pl

"They beat you."

"Laz is a Wh-in situ Language"

Laz is a wh-in-situ language in which wh-elements do not undergo overt movement. In sentence (34), *muya* "what" is in the object position and direct object *mi-s* "to whom" is in-situ as well. Content questions have a falling intonation in Laz (Holisky, 1991). Although the data we have collected have shown that there is no movement, in Holisky (1991) it is supposed that wh-elements appear immediately before the verb

in the sentential focus position.[29] However, in all of the examples given in Holisky (1991) which are repeated in (36a,b), the wh-element is in its basic position and there is no instance where the position of a normal NP and a wh-NP is different.

(34) Amedi-k *muya* c'ar-u.
Ahmet-ERG what write-PAST=3sg
"What did Ahmet write?"

(35) Ahmedi-k *mi*-**s** svara-∅ mec'-u
Ahmet-ERG who(m)-DAT book-NOM give-PAST=3sg
"Whom does Ahmet give the book?"

(36) a. a bičі-s mušeni atxoz-i?
this boy-DAT why throw.out=2sg-QP
"Why did you throw out this boy?"
b. mi ye-n e bičі-∅?
Who be-3sg this boy-NOM
"Who is this boy?" (Holisky, 1991;465)

Although Holisky (1991) claims that wh-elements occur in the immediately preverbal position, he presupposes this for questions that are information seeking. Thus for rhetoric questions he does not provide any further examples.

[29] In Holisky (1991), it is suppsed that negation marker will precede immediately the preverbal position despite the presence of a wh-element.

"Laz is an SOV Language"

Laz is an SOV language, the basic and unmarked word order is SOV. Indirect objects precede direct objects. The immediate preverbal position is a focus position as it is in Turkish. Depending on semantics and pragmatics any constituent can occur in the preverbal position. The only exception that Holisky[30] mentions is the presence of a negative or interrogative which always occur in the preverbal position that we have mentioned above. Although SOV is the basic order, scrambling of the constituents is possible.

(37) a. Durani-k svara-∅ c'ar-u.

Duran-ERG book-NOM write-PAST=3sg

"Duran wrote the book."

b. Svara-∅ Amedi-*k* zerbi c'ar-u

Book-NOM Ahmet-ERG fast write-PAST=3sg

"Ahmet wrote the book fast."

c. Svara-∅ zerbi c'ar-u Amedi-*k*

Book-NOM fast write-PAST=3sg Ahmet-ERG

"Ahmet wrote the book fast.

Although there is flexibility in word order in Laz, the acceptability of the sentences varies as Gürpınar (2000) also noted. According to his observations all kinds of

[30] Although Holisky (1991) proposes that SOV is the basic word order in Laz, most of the examples taken from Holisky have SVO word order.

scramblings are not possible in Pazar Laz and lead to ungrammaticality in some occasions. Below we give some examples (38) taken from (Gürpınar, 2000).

(38) a. ?ǩinçi-∅ bere-k do-ʒam-u

bird-NOM child-ERG PV-kill-PAST=3sg

b. ?do-ʒam-u bere-k ǩinçi-∅

PV-kill-PAST=3sg child-ERG bird-NOM

"The child killed the bird."

In (27a) and (b) what we have observed is the presence of the subject between the object and the verb. Although these sentences have been shown as ungrammatical, our informants rated these sentences as problematic but not exactly ungrammatical.

Another issue that is interesting about this flexibility of word order is the non-presence of cases in Ardeşen[31] dialect of Laz. In this dialect, the cases have been disappeared, so the flexibility of the constituents has become restricted. Our informant who is also fluent in Ardeşen Laz has more difficulty scrambling the constituents as the movement leads to meaning difference. However with the help of

[31] In Ardeşen dialect neither ergative nor dative case appears on the nouns. Without contrastive focus (ii) is ungrammatical in that dialect. They give contrastive focus on the subject *bere* "child" to get a grammatical sentence.

(i) Bere-∅ koc'i-∅ ko-z'ir-u.
Child-NOM man-NOM see-3sg-PAST
"The child saw the man."

(ii) *koc'i-∅ bere-∅ ko-z'ir-u.
man-NOM child-NOM see-3sg-PAST
" The child saw the man."

contrastive focus on the constituents they can determine the grammatical roles of the constituents.

"Subordination in Laz"

In this section, sentential subject and object clauses, reported speech examples, and relative clauses are discussed. In (39) we illustrate a sentential object clause. This subordinate clause includes the complementizer *na,* and except than that all the other properties of the sentence are the same as the ones in a normal matrix clause. We analyze such clauses as "constructions with complementizer "na"" depending on the case, tense, agreement properties of the subordinate verb. We discuss their properties in detail in Chapter 3. The example (40) is another type of sentential clause which has the complementizer *ki* "that" which is a borrowed complementizer and the same complementizer exists in Turkish as well shown in the example (40b).

(39) Ma [Amedi-**k** svara-∅ **zerbi** na c'ar-u] ko-m-işk-un.

I Ahmet-ERG book-NOM fast COMP write-PAST=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that Ahmet wrote the book fast."

(40) a. badi-**k** uc'-u-ki: do-m-a-c'kind-u

old man-ERG say-PAST=3sg-COMP PV-1sg- tired--PAST=3sg

"The old man said, I have become tired."

(Holisky, 1991;455)

b. Yaşlı adam di-yor-∅ ki: çok yorul-du-m.

Old man-NOM say-PROG-3sg-COMP very tired-PAST-1sg

"The old man says that I have been tired."

The complementizer *-ki* in Pazar Laz can be deleted without leading to ungrammaticality as it is true for some cases of the complementizer "that" in English.

In (41)[32] we give examples of reported speech sentences. Reported speech sentences in Laz are produced in the same way that a direct speech is uttered except that there is a particle at the end of the clause (Holisky, 1991). *Ya* is the particle for reported speech sentences however there are different particles used for different subjects. *Ma* for the first person, *šo* for the second person and *deri* for the third person subjects (Holisky, 1991).

(41) a. tilki-k nek'na va go=m-anc'k'e-ya!

Fox-ERG door NEG open-I-QUOT

"the fox (said), I can't open the door." (Chik II.12.5)

b) ǯendɣani komoftar-ma do mendegionaten-ma

day after come-1sg-QUOT and take-1sg-2sg-QUOT tomorrow

. "I will come day after tomorrow and take you, I said"

(Kartozia 1970; 2.23)

[32] The morpheme breaks of the sentences taken from *Chik, Kartozia* are not clear to us either, so we do not change the exact morpheme breaks of these sentences. Holisky (1991) and Harris (1985) also put these sentences without emphasizing the morpheme breaks in detail. It will not change our analysis for this section.

The sentences in (41) exhibit reported speech structures in Laz, and the only difference is the presence of an article *ya;* however this particle as in the particle in complement clauses above can be deleted.

Relative clauses in Laz are constructed with the complementizer (relative pronoun *na*[33]) in the pre-nominal modifier which appears pre-verbally inside the relative clause (Harris, 1988; Holisky,1991). The sentence (42) is an object relative clause example, and there are further examples of the subject relative clauses, and adverbial clauses in Holisky (1991).

(42) padišaɣi-k d=u-ʒox-u [gyay na uxenamt'-u] k'ǒči-s

ruler-ERG call-PAST=3sg food COMP make-PAST=3sg man-DAT

"The ruler called the man [who made the food for him]"

(Kart II.197.16)

Relative clauses can have different forms as well in which the complementizer *na* is used with the interrogative pronoun (Holisky, 1991) as shown in (43).

(43) Ko=goyšin-es he kčini, [na-mu-k uškuri-∅ meč'-u]

remember-3pl that old.woman RP-who-ERG apple-NOM gave-PAST-3sg

"they remembered that old woman who gave them the apple"

(Kart II.173.18)

[33] What is interesting about the relativization is the position of relative pronoun *na* in the sentence. It precedes the subordinate verb which is followed by the head noun *k'o(či* "man" in example 29. This issue needs to be searched although it will be out of the concerns of the current paper.

As discussed in detail in Holisky (1991) and Harris (1988) there are also headless relative clauses and some cleft constructions in Laz shown in (44) and (45) respectively. In headless relative clause example in (44), the clause itself functions as the subject of the clause. In (45) the cleft construction[34] is derived from relative clause construction in Laz, and the focused noun phrase is in the subordinate clause (Harris, 1987).

(44) [xoʒa-k-na it'u-s] doɣ(r) on-u

Khoja-ERG-COMP say-3sg true be-3sg

"[what the King says] is true"

(Chik II.88.30)

(45) bee mu-ši na t'-u axel-e-n

child 3sg-GEN COMP be-PAST=3sg happy-ASP-3sg

"as for his child, he became happy."

These structures mainly involve all of the subordinate clause structures in Laz.

[34] Although (34) seems to be a strong topicalization case, Holisky names these constructions as cleft structures, so we will keep the name as she used it.

2.5. Summary

General morphological properties of Laz have been exhibited including nominal and verbal morphology. While the nominal morphology of Laz is fairly clear and simple, the verbal morphology is very complicated and verb complex has fourteen different positions for different affixes having various functions. Several morphemes may compete for the same position, however only one will appear on the verb depending on the sentential needs such as the subject-object hierarchy mentioned in the preceding sections. Object markers have priority over subject markers in slot 3, but when there is not a competing object agreement marker, the subject agreement marker appears instead.

Another major component that we have discussed is syntax and some syntactic properties of Laz. Laz is basically an SOV language which exhibits scrambling. Laz is a wh-in-situ language, since the wh-elements do not need to undergo movement. Laz is also a pro-drop language. As a last point we have discussed subordination under the syntax heading. Several different subordinate clause examples have been given, and their behaviors at the sentential level have been discussed shortly. Subject-object clauses, reported speech examples, and relative clauses have been exemplified above.

CHAPTER 3

FINITENESS AND COMPLEMENTATION PATTERNS IN PAZAR LAZ

3.1. Introduction:

The main concern of the current chapter is to examine the complementation patterns in Pazar Laz with comparative examples from Georgian – because it is genetically related to Georgian- and Turkish – because it is in close contact with Turkish- in search of what determines finiteness in Laz. We will apply finiteness tests to Laz data which were proposed in the literature for other languages and discuss how Pazar Laz behaves according to such criteria.

During our data elicitation sessions we have come across four different types of complementation patterns which appear to have a clausal architecture that can be tested for their finiteness properties. Note that while collecting data we were in search of constructions which would include a predicative core so that they would have the potential to have a clausal nature. We also took the complementation types found in Georgian and the ones found in Turkish as a guideline and referred to some written grammars of Laz as well. The followings are the four types of constructions that we determined during our data elicitation which involve a predicative core so that they can potentially have a clausal architecture and be tested for their finiteness properties:

a. Type 1: Constructions that can take the complementizer "na"[35]

(1) Ma [Amedi-*k* Ayşe-*s* svara-∅ *na* mec'-u] ko-m-işk-un.

I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

" I know that Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe."

b.Type 2: Bare nominalized verbs

(2) [Ali-*şi* o-dit'sin-u] odit'sinoni ort'u.

Ali-GEN smile-NML funny was

"Ali's smile was funny."

c. Type 3: Nominalized verbs with genitive and possessive markers

(3) Ma [Ali-*şi* o-kapin-u-*muşi*] b-gor-um.

I Ali-GEN run-NML-3sg 1sg-want-IMP.

"I want Ali to run."

d. Type 4: Constructions with nominative subjects

(4) Ma [bere-∅ bgar-*eri*] do-m-at'son-u.

I child-NOM cry-eri preverb-1sg-think-PAST

"I thought/belived the child to have cried."

[35] *Na* is shown as a complementizer in Holisky (1991), and Gürpınar (2000). However, from a syntactic view, we will see that it does not land in a normal complementizer position, but as it does not affect our analysis, we will not look at this issue in the current work.

In the following part, we use five different criteria to analyze the finiteness quality of each of these complementation types, which in return will help us determine their structural properties. The main features listed below are determined based on the previous works on finiteness discussed in chapter 1.

(i) Tense, case and agreement features

(ii) Presence or absence of Wh-Questions

(iii) (Im)possibility of extraction

(iv) The ability to use high (i.e. sentential) and low (i.e. manner) adverbs

(v) The ability to use different negation types

3.2. Complementation Types in Pazar Laz

In this section we will discuss the general properties of the four clause types mentioned above with respect to the issue of finiteness.

In the generative literature starting with Chomsky (1973), there are some basic criteria that are used to diagnose the finiteness properties of a clause. First, since Chomsky (1973) a tensed clause with a nominative subject is taken to be Finite, therefore, we will investigate case and tense properties of the four clause types in Laz. Second, for some languages, like Turkish, Agreement (George&Kornfilt,1981), Mood and Modality (Aygen, 2002) have been proposed to be the determining features for finiteness. Therefore, we will also discuss the Agreement, Mood and Modality features of the four complementation types in Laz. Rizzi (1997) claims that finiteness

is a feature related to the CP layer of the clause, which he takes to be split into several different layers. Thus, in order to test this claim we investigate whether WH-elements are compatible with the four complementation types or not and also whether they allow for extraction or not. In addition, we check what kind of adverbials can be used in the four complementation types in order to determine the presence or absence of finiteness related functional projections (e.g. TP, CP). Finally, we will discuss the role of negation in the four clause types, since in Pazar Laz we have observed that there are different kinds of negation markers with different modality selections which again takes us back to Aygen's claim
about the role of epistemic modality in defining finiteness.

In Chomksy (1973) main clauses are taken to be finite by definition. When we apply the five criteria to main clauses in Pazar Laz we also see that they pass the tests for finiteness.

The following examples illustrate main clauses in Pazar Laz. In (5a) subject, indirect object and direct object have ergative, dative and nominative case respectively. Any case and tense information is available for main clauses, so if finiteness is basically about structural and morphological properties of a sentence, then we can conclude that main clauses are by definition finite as Chomsky (1973) has stated.

(5) a. Amedi-**k** Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ mec'-u → Main Clause

Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-PAST=3sg

" Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe."

In (5b) there are two wh-elements in the main clause, and in (5c) there is scrambling which is perfectly acceptable. The indirect object *Ayşe-s* "to Ayşe" moves to topic position in (5c). As we mentioned in chapter 1, Rizzi proposes a split CP hypothesis and the presence of wh-elements and topics shows the presence of a CP layer, which is also a sign for finiteness

(5) b. *mi-k* *mi-s* svara-∅ mec'-u

who-ERG who(m)-DAT book-NOM give-PAST=3sg

"Who gave the book to whom?"

c. Ayşe-**s**$_i$ Ahmedi-**k** t_i svara-∅ mec'u

Ayşe-DAT Ahmet-ERG book-NOM give-PAST=3sg

"To Ayşe, Ahmet gave the book."

In (5d), we inserted a high adverb (i.e. sentential adverb) *mutlaka* "certainly", which occurs in different positions in the sentence and is attached to TP layer which is seen as a finite level by Adger (2007). *Mutlaka* can also be attached to CP in Pazar Laz, as the structure "mutlaka ki Amedi-k Ayse-s svara meça-sere." (lit. It is certain that Ahmet will give the book to Ayşe) in which the complementizer *ki* is preceded by the adverb *mutlaka* which is attached to CP in this case is also grammatical. In (5e) we have negation marker *var* which seems to be the only way to mark negation in main

clauses. Thus, for main clauses the modality properties of negation markers[36] do not hold as it does in subordinate clauses.

(5) d. (Mutlaka)Amedi-*k* (mutlaka) Ayşe-**s** (mutlaka) svara-∅ meça-sere
(Cert.)Ahmet-ERG (cert.)Ayşe-DAT (cert.) book-NOM give-FUT=3sg
"Ahmet will certainly give the book to Ayşe."

e. Amedi-*k* Ayşe-*s* svara-∅ *var* mec'-u.
Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM NEG give-PAST=3sg
"Ahmet did not give the book to Ayşe."

Below we discuss the properties of each complementation type in Pazar and the implications of their properties to finiteness.

3.2.1. Type 1: Constructions with the complementizer "na"

The first type of complementation pattern that we will take a look at is clauses which can take the complementizer "na".

(6) a. Ma [Amedi-*k* Ayşe-*s* svara-∅ *na* mec'-u] komişk'-un.
I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg know -IMP
" I know that Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe."

[36] There is a distinction between the distribution of two negation markers, *var* and *vati*, in embedded clauses which seem to be conditioned by the difference in the modality reading –deontic vs epistemic- of the clause. Thus properties of negation differ with respect to whether it is associated with a main clause or a subordinate clause.

b. Ma [Amedi-*k* Ayse-**s** svara-∅ *(na)* meça-sere] mepşon-un.

I Ahmet-ERG Ayse-DAT book-NOM COMP give-FUT=3sg hope-IMP

"I hope that Ahmet will give the book to Ayşe."

The first observation regarding this complementation type is that they should have some sort of a clausal architecture as the verbs in these constructions can fully project their argument structures as seen in (6). When we compare the constructions in (6) with their matrix counterparts in (7), it is seen that they also share the same properties with the main clauses in terms of case morphemes that NPs/DPs take, tense and agreement markers and all the other syntactic properties which will be discussed in detail in the following sections. As the comparison between (6) and (7) clearly shows, neither the word order nor case, tense and agreement morphology changes:

(7) a. Amedi-*k* Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ mec'-u → Main Clause

Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-PAST=3sg

"Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe."

b. Amedi-*k* Ayse-**s** svara-∅ meça-sere

Ahmet-ERG Ayse-DAT book-NOM give-FUT=3sg

"Ahmet will give the book to Ayşe."

In (6) the only difference that we observe is the presence of *na*, which is taken to be a complementizer both in Holisky (1991) and Gürpınar (2000), occupying a position

immediately before subordinate verbs.[37] *"na"* can move in the subordinate clause like a focus particle. It can precede direct object, indirect object and subordinate subject.

A similar complementation process can be observed in Georgian where the complementizer *rom* is used (Vamling, 1989). The main clause subject *Niko* has Nom case, and the noun *taxi* has Gen case as in (8a). When we look at the subordinate clause in (8b) the subject of the matrix clause is assigned ergative case, and the nouns in subordinate clause (i.e. *Niko* and *taxi*) are assigned exactly the same cases with their counterparts in the matrix clause (8a). These properties of finite subordinate clauses can be seen as evidence for claiming that such subordinate clauses in Georgian have the same structure with matrix clauses which are by definition finite (Chomsky, 1973). [38]

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[37] Note that in (6b) the complementizer "na" is optional. During our data elicitation we have observed that this optionality is sensitive to indicative vs. subjunctive distinction. Pazar Laz distinguishes between indicative and subjunctive forms in the matrix clauses. Indicative is what is known as "realis mood" and used for factual statements and positive beliefs. Such clauses show *actuality* and *strong probability.* Subjunctive on the other hand is used when the matrix predicate expresses a *wish, intention, necessity, possibility* or *fear* (Vogt 1971:200). Based on this semantic difference if the clause expresses subjunctive mood then the presence of *na* becomes optional but if indicative mood is of concern then the absence of *na* leads to ungrammaticality. Thus, it is clear that *na* is closely related to mood/modality. Furthermore, because it appears right in front of the matrix verb that is in between the verb and its arguments, it occupies an unlikely position to be a complementizer in the sense of English *that.* Therefore, although it has taken to be a complementizer in the literature as we have already pointed out, we observed that both its syntactic and semantic behaviours makes it more complicated and controversial than a simple complementizer. However, we will not dwell on this issue any further in the current thesis as it will not affect our analysis and leave its status as a complementizer for future research.

[38] Note that subjunctive clauses in Georgian as described by Vamling (1989), which also involve the complementizer *rom,* exhibit a change in subject case (i). She observes that although the whole subjunctive complement clause has the same word order properties as the matrix clause, case properties show differences in relation to the requirements of tense/aspect series in the complement predicate (Vamling, 1989:32). In (ia) there is a finite matrix clause in Georgian in which the subject is assigned Nominative and the verb *gaimardž* 'win' bears Future tense marker. In (ib), there is a finite subjunctive clause, where the case of the subject turned into Ergative from Nominative, and the verb has Optative instead of Future as in (ib).

(8) a. nik'o-∅ t'aksi-s mdzγolia

Niko-NOM taxi-GEN driver=is

"Niko is a taxi driver."

b. veno-*m* itsis, rom nik'o-∅ t'aksi-s mdzγolia

Vano-ERG 3=3=know=PRE that Niko-NOM taxi-GEN driver=is

"Vano knows that Niko is a taxi driver."

(Vamling, 1989:32)

In Turkish, too, a language which Laz is in close contact with, we observe the same tense and case properties between the matrix clause in (9a) and the subordinate clause in (9b).[39] As a Nom-Acc language, for a ditransitive verb *ver-* "give", the subject

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(i) a. Nino-∅ gaimardžverbs
Nino-**NOM** 3sg=win=**FUT**
"Nino will come"
b. gela-**s** unda, [rom nino-**m** gaimardž**os]**
Gela-DAT 3sg-=want=PRE that Nino-**ERG** 3-win-**OPT**
"Gela wants Nino to win."

Although there are case differences in Georgian sentences with *rom*, in Pazar Laz we have not come across such a difference in subordinate clauses with *na*. A finite subjunctive subordinate clause keeps both its case and agreement properties fully in parallel to finite matrix clauses.

[39] These subordinate clauses in Turkish can be used with or without an overt complementizer. "diye" is such a complementizer (i) and we have observed that Laz has "deyi" used exactly in the same position and in the same fuction (ii).

(i) Ben-∅ [Ali-∅ Ayşe-**ye** kitab-**ı** ver-di-∅] diye bil-iyor-um.

I-NOM Ali-NOM Ayşe-DAT book-ACC give-PAST-3sg linker know-PROG-1sg

"I know that Ali gave the book to Ayşe."

(ii) Ma [Amedi-**k** Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ na mec'-u] deyi komişk-un.

I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg linker 1sg=know-PRE

" I know that Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe

takes Nominative (Nom) case, the direct object Accusative (Acc) case and the indirect object Dative (Dat) case as in the example (9a). In the clause in (9b), both the subject of the matrix and subordinate clauses are assigned Nom case, and the other objects are assigned exactly the same cases in the subordinate clause. These similarities between the two types of clauses support that subordinate clauses can be seen in the same category with matrix clauses when we take finiteness as base (Chomsky, 1973).

(9) a. Ali-∅ Ayşe-**ye** kitab-**ı** ver-di-∅.

Ali-NOM Ayşe-DAT book-ACC give-PAST-3sg

"Ali gave the book to Ayşe."

b. Ben-∅ [Ali-∅ Ayşe-**ye** kitab-**ı** ver-di-∅] san-dı-m.

I Ali-NOM Ayşe-DAT book-ACC give-PAST-3sg think-PAST-1sg

"I thought that Ali gave the book to Ayşe."

As seen in the Georgian and Turkish examples above, subordinate clauses can have verbs inflected for tense and agreement fully in parallel with their main clause counterparts which are by definition finite. Now bearing in mind that the Laz subordinate clauses with *na* given in (6a) and (6b) above also have identical case,

tense and agreement morphology with their matrix counterparts. Let us take a close look at their behviour with respect to the tests of finiteness:

(i) Tense, Case and Agreement Properties of Constructions with "na"

Subjects in subordinate clauses with *na* can bear any case marker based on the semantic denotation of the verb as well as the tense and aspect system the sentence is introduced in. Examples (10-13) show such clauses with different verb types and tense aspect series including ditransitives with agent subjects, transitives with experiencer subjects, unaccusatives with theme subjects and inversion constructions with ditransitive verbs respectively.

(10) a. Amedi-**k** Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ mec'-u

Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-PAST=3sg

"Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe."

b. Ma [Amedi-**k** Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ na mec'-u] komişk-un.

I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

" I know that Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe."

In the example (10) the verb is a ditransitive verb with an ergative subject *Amedi-**k***, nominative direct object *svara-∅* "book", and dative indirect object *Ayşe-**s***. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the agent theta role requires the subject to have Ergative case as seen in the subject of the subordinate clause *Amedi-**k***, and theme theta role

results in Nominative case as illustrated by the direct object *svara*-∅ "book". In the example (a), there is a matrix clause and in the example (b) the same structure is seen as a subordinate clause of another matrix clause. In both (a) and (b) the sentences have the same case and agreement patterns. The only difference is the presence of *na*.

In the example below (11a), there is a transitive verb "miss", which is a psychological predicate and therefore the experiencer theta role results in Dative case marker on the subject *Amedi-**s***, and again the theme *Ayşe* is assigned Nominative case, which displays the importance of semantic denotation of the verb on the theta roles it assigns. The same structural properties of the matrix clause in (11a) have realization in (11b) as a subordinate clause.

(11) a. Amedi-**s** Ayşe-∅ ak'amand-u

Ahmet-DAT Ayşe-NOM miss-PAST=3sg

"Ahmet missed Ayşe."

b. Ma [Amedi-**s** Ayşe-∅ na ak'amand-u] ko-m-işk-un.

I Ahmet-DAT Ayşe-NOM COMP miss-PAST=3sg pv-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that Ahmet missed Ayşe."

The same directional relation between verb types and case assignment to arguments can also be observed in (12), where there is an unaccusative verb with a theme subject which bears Nominative case both in matrix and subordinate clause. The only difference is the presence of *na* in subordinate clauses.

(12) a. bere-∅ c'al-u

child-NOM fall-PAST=3sg

"the child fell down"

b. Ma [bere-∅ na c'al-u] ko-m-işk-un.

I child-NOM COMP fall-PAST=3sg pv-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that the child fell down."

Although "give" is a ditransitive verb with an agent subject, as it is seen in example (13b), the subject of the subordinate clause has a dative subject, which is due to the inversion construction as discussed in Chapter 2 and due to its matrix clause counterpart in (13a) in which there is the effect of inversion as well.

(13) a. Amedi-**s** (Ayşe-**s**) svara-∅ nuc'amap-u-n

Ahmet-DAT Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-3serie=3sg

"Ahmet has given the book to Ayşe"

b. Ma [Amedi-**s** (Ayşe-**s**) svara-∅ na nuçam-ap-un] ko-m-işk-un.

I Ahmet-DAT Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP give-III-PRE-3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that Ahmet has given the book to Ayşe."[40]

As illustrated by the data above, we can say that all kinds of processes concerning case, and tense/aspect selections observed in a matrix clause are realized in

[40] Although both Ahmet and Ayse have dative case, the sentence does not have the reading of *Ayşe gave the book to Ahmet.* Here the word order plays a crucial role to disambiguate the sentence.

subordinate clauses with *na*. The possibility of having all kinds of cases, tenses and verb types in such clauses contributes to the idea that such type of clauses share the same properties with matrix clauses, and if matrix clauses are finite (Chomsky, 1973), then the same analysis can also be extended to subordinate clauses with *na*. Now we turn to other finiteness tests to see if these clauses are finite in Pazar Laz as it is suggested for different languages in the literature.

(ii) WH-Questions in Constructions with "na"

WH-questions are possible in subordinate clauses with *na* in Pazar Laz. Pazar Laz is a WH-in situ language as we have already discussed in the preceding chapter. WH-questions require a CP layer as a landing site in a clause when they undergo movement (Chomsky, 1973), so the presence of such structures can be taken to be evidence for finiteness of a clause as it is claimed in Adger's (2007) analysis. In his analysis, he claims that all clauses with a CP layer have the [+finite] feature.

As seen in (14) the grammaticality of the sentences in Pazar Laz where the embedded clause hosts a wh-question implies that there must be a CP layer within the embedded clause, that is, in Adger's terms the clause is a finite clause.

(14) a. Si [*mi-k* *mi-s* svara-∅ na mec'-u] kogişk-un-i?

You who-ERG who(m)-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg know-IMP-QP

"Do you know who gave the book to whom?"

b. Si [mi-*k* mi-**s** svara-∅ na mec'-u] dogatsonu-i

You who-ERG who-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PRE=3sg think=PRE-QP

"Who do you think gave the book to whom?"

(iii) Extraction out of Constructions with "na"

Extraction out of a clause is one of the finiteness tests that has been used in the literature to define the notion of finiteness as this requires a CP layer at the subordinate level as a landing site for movement. If it is possible to scramble elements out of a clause without any ungrammaticality, this can be taken as a piece of evidence for finiteness of a clause as discussed in Adger (2007), as well.

As it can be observed from examples (15-16) extraction out of the subordinate clause via scrambling is possible. Either the Ergative subject, or the Dative goal or the Nominative theme can be extracted. That is, there is no subject vs. non-subject asymmetry.

(15) a. Ahmedi-k_i ma [t_i Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ na mec'-u] ko-m-işk-un.

Ahmet-ERG I Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

b. Ayşe-$\mathbf{s}_i$ ma [Ahmedi-*k* t_i svara-∅ na mec'-u] ko-m-işk-un.

Ayşe-DAT I Ahmet-ERG book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg- know-IMP

c. Svara-$\mathbf{∅}_i$ ma [Ahmedi-*k* Ayşe-*s* t_i na mec'-u] ko-m-işk-un.

book-NOM I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT COMP give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg- know-IMP

"I know that Ahmet gave a book to Ayşe."

(16) a. Ahmedi-k_i ma [t_i Ayşe-**s** svara-**Ø** (*na*) mec'as-ere] me-p-şon-un.
Ahmet-ERG I Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMPgive-FUT=3sg PV-1sg-hope-IMP
"I hope that Ahmet will give the book to Ayşe"

b. Ayşe-$\mathbf{s_i}$ ma [Amedi-*k* t_i svara-∅ *(na)* mec'as-ere] me-p-şon-un.
Ayşe-DAT I Ahmet-ERG book-NOM give-FUT=3sg PV-1sg-hope-IMP
"I hope that Ahmet will give the book to Ayşe"

c. Svara-$\mathbf{Ø_i}$ ma [Amedi-*k* Ayşe-*s* t_i (na) mec'as-ere] me-p-şon-un.
book-NOM I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT give-FUT=3sg PV-1sg-hope-IMP
"I hope that Ahmet will give the book to Ayşe"

Based on the examples above we further assume the presence of a CP layer in the subordinate clauses as the extraction does not result in any ungrammaticality or any restriction (Rizzi, 1997; Adger, 2007)

(iv) Adverb Placement in Constructions with "na"

As we have already mentioned above, subordinate clauses with na behave very similar to matrix clauses when we consider the general properties of both clause types. In this section, we analyze the presence of adverbials in subordinate clauses since the presence of especially high adverbs/sentential adverbs is a sign that the clause has a sentential layer, namely CP/TP layer and therefore it is finite. Note that we assume that clauses with CP/TP layer is finite in parallel to the truncation model

of Adger (2007) and Rizzi's (1997) split CP/FinP model (See chapter 1, section 1.3.4 and 1.3.5).

In such clauses, both sentential adverbs like mutlaka "certainly", and lower adverbs like zerbi "fast" are acceptable in the subordinate clauses as in examples (17a, b). In (17), the first mutlaka (i.e. the one out of the subordinate clause.) "certainly" governs the higher matrix clause, while the others govern the lower subordinate clause. As seen in (17), the high adverb mutlaka "certainly" can appear in various syntactic positions in the clause but not immediately before the complementizer na following the object.

(17) a. Ma (mutlaka) [Amedi-**k** (mutlaka) Ayşe-**s** (mutlaka) svara-∅ *(mutlaka)
I (certainly) Ahmet-ERG (cert.)Ayşe-DAT (cert.)book-NOM (cert.)
(*na*) meça-sere] ko-m-işk'-un.
COMP give-FUT=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP
"I know that Ahmet will certainly give the book to Ayşe."

b. Ma (mutlaka) [Amedi-k (mutlaka) Ayşe-s (mutlaka) svara-∅ *(mutlaka)
I (certainly) Ahmet-ERG (cert.) Ayşe-DAT (cert.) book-NOM (cert.)
(*na*) meça- sere] do-m-atson-u.
COMP give-FUT=3sg pv-1sg-think-PAST
"I thought that Ahmet will certainly give the book to Ayşe."

As seen in example (18), these clauses are also compatible with low adverbs like *zerbi* "fast":

(18) a. Ma [Amedi-*k* svara-∅ *zerbi* na ogitğ-u] ko-m-işk-un.

I Ahmet-ERG book-NOM fast COMP read-PAST=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that Ahmet read the book fast."

b. Ma [Amedi-*k* svara-∅ *zerbi* na ogitğ-u] do-m-at'son-u.

I Ahmet-ERG book-NOM fast COMP read-PAST=3sg pv-1sg-think-PAST

" I think Ahmet read the book fast."

Another important observation regarding adverbial modification in such subordinate clauses is that the derived modifiers should strictly be presented with adverbial morphology. Modifiers bearing the adjectival suffix *–neri* are not compatible with such clauses. As seen in (19) the adverb *ğoma* "yesterday (adv)", which can be turned into an adjectival by adding *–neri* leads to ungrammaticality. Thus, in subordinate clauses with *na* there can only be adverbial modification, and adjectival modification will be unacceptable.

(19) a. Ma [Amedi-*k* svara-∅ *ğoma/*ğomaneri* na ogitğ-u]

I Ahmet-ERG book-NOM yesterday COMP read-PAST=3sg

ko-m-işk-un.

PV-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that Ahmet read the book yesterday."

b. Ma [Amedi-**k** svara-**∅** **ğoma/*ğomaneri** **na** ogitğ-u]

I Ahmet-ERG book-NOM yesterday COMP read-PAST

do-m-at'son-u.

pv-1sg-think=PAST

" I think that Ahmet read the book yesterday."

This observation leads us to claim that there is at least a TP level projection that can host these temporal adverbs like *ğoma* "yesterday". This supports our claim that these constructions are finite.

(v) The Role of Negation in Constructions with "na"

There are two types of negation markers in Pazar Laz, that is, *var* and *vati*. Although there are examples where these two negation markers are used interchangeably (20-21), in some clauses only one of them is possible while the other results in ungrammaticality, which we will see in the following sections. In subordinate clauses with *na*, these two negation markers *vati* and *var* can both be used interchangeably without causing any meaning difference; however they differ in their positions with respect to *na* as seen in (20) and (21) respectively.

(20) Ma [Amedi-**k** Ayşe-**s** svara-**∅** na-**var** mec'-u] ko-m-işk-un.

I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP-NEG give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg- know-IMP

" I know that Ahmet didn't give the book to Ayşe."

The reason that we have shown the negation markers attached to the complementizer is a preference in writing as the complementizer *na* has conditional function[41] as well and in writing it is shown separately.

(21) Ma [Amedi-**k** Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ **vati**-na mec'-u] ko-m-işk-un.

I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM NEG-COMP give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg- know-IMP

" I know that Ahmet didn't give the book to Ayşe."

The linear sequence of these two negation markers can be considered as a sign for their location in syntax, which again leads us determine the finiteness nature of these clauses. Not only their positions, but also their usages with different modality types support our claim that they do not share the same slot in the structure. During our data collection period, we realized that *vati* occurs with epistemic modality reading, while *var* occurs only when there is a deontic modality reading in the sentence.[42] The examples given in (22a-d) are evidence for our discussion regarding the modalities they carry.

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[41] *Na* is a word that has several functions in Pazar. It can be used in conditional sentences as in (i), and with indefinite words like in (ii). To differentiate these usages of *na* in writing they prefer to use the complementizer *na* attached to the negation.

(i) Ma vulur na si-ti ela.
I go COND you-too come.
"I I go, you come too."
(ii) Mi-na moxtasen moxtas.
Who-ever come come.
"Lit:Whoever comes can come." (Kojima&Bucaklişi, 2003)

[42] Note that the form *var* shows variation among dialects of Laz, and interestingly Harris (1989) and Holisky (1991) do not mention the presence of *vati* negation in Laz at all.

(22) a. *vati*-na aç'andin-**as** ko-m-işk'-un → Epistemic Mod.-Possibility

NEG COMP play-Possibility=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

" I know that s/he may not play (any instruments)." (Future)

b. *vati*-na axap*ar-as* ko-m-işk'-un → Optative

NEG speak-Possibility=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that he may not speak." (Future)

c. na-*var* aç'andin-*en* ko-m-işk'-un. → Deontic Mod – Ability

COMP NEG play-Ability=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that s/he is not able to play (any instruments)."

d. na-*var* axapar-*en* ko-m-işk'-un.

NEG speak-Ability=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that he is not able to speak."

What Aygen proposes for Turkish in terms of modalities of finite and non-finite clauses seems to be relevant for the discussion of examples above in Pazar Laz as well. As Aygen proposes, the presence of epistemic modality is a sign of finiteness in Turkish as discussed in Chapter 1, and what we have observed in Pazar Laz, regarding negation markers and their co-occurrence with different modalities, has displayed results in the same line with other finiteness criteria that we used above.

In the following sections after analyzing all complementation types, it will be determined that the occurrence of *vati* is restricted to finite clauses, and these findings

indicate that 'epistemic modality' can be taken as a finiteness criterion for Pazar Laz as well when we take the criteria Aygen used for Turkish.

3.2.2. Type 2: Nominalized Verbs

The second type of complementation pattern that we studied involves nominalized verbs, as illustrated in (23):

(23) a. [Ali-**şi** o-dit'sin-u] odit'sinoni ort'u.
Ali-GEN smile-NML funny be-PAST
"Ali's smile was funny."

b. [Ali-**ş**i o-k'ap'in-u] odit'sinoni ort'-u.
Ali-GEN run-NML funny be-PAST
"Ali's running was funny."

These nominalized verbs in most cases involve the *o-…-u* circumfix. This circumfix behaves like a derivational suffix which derives nominals out of verbs in Pazar Laz (Kojima&Bucaklişi 2003). In the following we will apply our tests of finiteness to these constructions and see how they behave.

(i) Tense, Case and Agreement Features of Nominalized Verbs

When we take a look at their case, agreement and tense features, we see that these constructions lack any inflection specific to agreement and tense features on the predicate. Furthermore, if there is a subject, it appears in the genitive case, no other case marker is compatible with the subject. This implies the lack of a TP projection. Also more than one argument results in ungrammaticality in such constructions as in (24a). That is, no argument other than the subject can be case assigned and introduced. This implies the lack of the functional projection vP in addition to TP. However, when a transitive verb used with only one of its arguments, then the sentence turns to be grammatical as in (24b).

(24) a. *[Ali-**ş**i filimi-**s** o-dit'sin-u] odit'sinoni ort'u.
Ali-GEN film-DAT laugh-NML funny be-PAST
" Ali's laughing at the movie was funny."
b. [filimi-şi o-ditsin-u] oditsinoni ort'-u
film-GEN laugh-NML funny be-PAST

(ii) Wh-Elements in Nominalized Verb Constructions

Wh-question formation is not allowed in constructions with nominalized verbs either, which implies that they do not have a clausal structure and a CP layer to host wh-elements.

(25) *Si[*mi-şi* o-k'ap'in-u]-**s** tsadi-i?

You who-GEN running-NML-DAT watch-PAST-QP

"Lit: Whose running did you watch."

(iii) Extraction out of Nominalized Verb Constructions

Extraction out of such nominals is not possible as seen in (26). In addition to the two tests that we introduced above, this test also gives us evidence about the finiteness property of such constructions, implying that they fail to be finite.

(26) *Ali-$şi_i$ ma[t_i o-k'ap'in-u]-**s** p'tsadi.

Ali-GEN I running-DAT watch-PAST

"I watched Ali's running."

(iv) Adverb Placement in Nominalized Verb Constructions

Furthermore, nominalized verb constructions interestingly are not compatible with adverbial modification, rather they would allow for adjectival modification. As it can be observed in example (27), these structures can only be modified with adjectives like ğomaneri "yesterday (adj) and ocumeneri "tomorrow (adj)", but never with adverbs like zerbi "fast", ğoma "yesterday (adv) and ocume "tomorrow(adv)".

(27) a.[Ali-*şi* *ğomaneri* malva]-**s** p'-tsad-i.

Ali-GEN yesterday-ADJ come-DAT 1sg-watch-PAST-1sg

"Lit: *I watched Ali's yesterday's coming."

b.* [Ali-*şi* *ğoma* malva]-**s** p'-tsad-i.

Ali-GEN yesterday come-DAT 1sg-watch-PAST-1sg

c. [Ali-*şi* ocume*(*neri)* malva] ğoma ignap'-u.

Ali-GEN tomorrow-ADJ come] yesterday become/clear-PAST=3sg.

"Lit: Ali's tomorrow's visit became clear yesterday."

d. ***** İri-*k* [Ali-**şi** *zerbi* o-k'ap'in-u]-**s** tsad-u.

Everone-ERG Ali-GEN fast run-PAST=3sg-DAT watch-PAST=3sg

"Everyone watched Ali's running fast."

The fact that these nominals do not allow for adverbial modification implies that they do not have a clausal architecture including layers like CP, TP and vP. Therefore, we conclude that they are non-finite.

(v) The Role of Negation in Nominalized Verb Constructions

As we mentioned above, there are two negation markers in Pazar Laz, var and vati. These negation markers can be used interchangeably in subordinate clauses with na, but when we consider nominalized verb constructions, we see that not vati but var can be used. Vati has an epistemic modality reading (i.e. showing possibility, certainty etc.) as we illustrated above, which is repeated in (28). According to Aygen (2002)'s analysis mood/epistemic modality features occur both in C and F(initeness) head,

which supports that *vati* shows the presence of a F(initeness) Phrase, and the lack of it will be evidence for claiming that nominalized verb constructions are non-finite structures in Pazar Laz.

(28) a.[Ali-*şi* ğoma-neri *var/*vati* malva]-**s** p'-tsadi.

Ali-GEN yesterday-ADJ NEG come-DAT 1sg-watch-PAST=1sg

"Lit: *I watched Ali's yesterday's (not) coming."

The sentence (28) is ungrammatical only in the presence of *vati.* The presence of *var* does not lead to any ungrammaticality although our informants find the sentence semantically awkward.

Based on the tests of finiteness discussed above we can conclude that nominalized verb constructions fail to project levels such as CP, TP and vP. Thus they cannot be finite according to Adger's analysis. Furthermore, the fact that they do not allow for adverbial modification but adjectival modification indicates that even though they have a verbal core, externally they behave as nominals. Based on the data in (27), where we see that no arguments other than genitive subjects are compatible with these constructions implies that they also lack a verbal domain which can project its argument structure. That is why we conclude that these constructions are simply derived nouns, which we will call "result nominals". Result nominals are nominals that do not indicate events or states but instead, display "denotative" properties (Bisetto, Antonietta & Melloni, Chiara, 2005). Grimshaw (1990) differentiates between event nominals and result nominals based on the presence vs. absence of

argument structure (Grimshaw, 1990). However, in Vamling (1989), all nominalized verbs, whether they have an argument structure or not, are called "masdar" constructions.[43] In the current study, however, we will differentiate nominalized verbs on the basis of whether they have argument structure or not following Grimshaw (1990) and call nominals without argument structure "result nominals" and the ones with argument structure "masdar constructions" (as in Harris, 1981), which we will discuss in section 3.2.3 as the third clause type.

Harris (1981) shows that in Georgian result nominals lack any tense, mood, person information, also their arguments cannot have case realizations. In the sentences (29a,b), the 'derived nominals', here called "result nominals" do not have argument structure. In (29b) the noun *kalak* "city" has Genitive case which is not a verbal case. Harris (1981) uses several tests to support her claim that these structures are true nominal structures. In (29c,d,e) we have given some of these tests for Georgian.

(29) a. miqvars saubari
I=love=it=I=4 talk=NOM
"I love conversation / I love talking"

b. vilaparaket kalak-is mospobis šesaxeb.
We=talked=II=3 city-GEN destruction about.
"We talked about the destruction of the city."

[43] Vamling (1989) used this term to indicate the nonfinite nominal clauses in Georgian.

c. The derived nominals may have number:

mogoneb-ebi “memories”

d. They can be modified with relative clauses:

čxubi, rom elic unaxe “the fight which I saw”

e. They may have quantifiers and adjectives:

erti txovna “one request”

sašineli ṭquili “terrible lie”

(Harris, 1981;153-154)

When we consider the result nominals in Laz with Georgian data in Harris (1981), it is seen that they do not have an internal clausal structure, and simply behave as real nominals. Both of these constructions in Laz and in Georgian behave parallel and do not have a clausal architecture. As seen in the examples below (30a-d), the result nominal *o-dit'sin-u* “to smile-derivational marker” has been used with a relative clause construction (30a,b), it precedes postpositions *šuk'huri* “as much as” and *šeni* “about” (30c,d), and can be used with plural marking (30e) respectively. All these tests support the claim that these structures are true nominals in Laz.

(30) a. Ali-şi na-malimben o-ditsin-u

Ali-GEN REL-1sg=like smiling/smile-NML

“Ali's smile that I like.”

b.Ali-şi na-momtzondun o-ditsin-u

Ali-GEN REL-1sg=love/adore smiling/smile-NML

"Ali's smile that I love/adore"

c. Ali-şi o-dits-in-u şeni v-ixaphar-i-t

Ali-GEN smile-NML about 1p-talk-PAST-pl

"We talked about Ali's smile."

d. Ali-şi o-dits-in-u şukhuri mskva

Ali-GEN smile-NML as much nice

"As nice as Ali's smile."

e. o-dits-in-u = o-ditsin-u-pe

smile-NML smile-NML-pl

Going back to the our main concern, namely the issue of finiteness, as these nominals do not have any tense information, we consider this as the evidence for a lack of TP layer, and if we go back to Adger's (2007) proposal, a clause which does not have a TP layer cannot be finite. The other criteria regarding the finiteness of these clauses discussed below for result nominals, - the impossibility of temporal adverbs, non-presence of extraction out of these clauses - will further support Adger's claim. As we will state in the following sections, result nominals do show the same properties with Georgian "verbal nouns" and they do not act like verbal categories but exact nominals. This feature of result nominals leads us to futher claim that they are simple nominals and are not clause-level constructions, so the notion of finiteness is irrelevant for this pattern.

3.2.3. Type 3: Nominalized Verbs with Genitive-Possessive Markers

The third type of construction at first look seems to be very similar to result nominals. As seen in (31), again we are dealing with constructions which involve a nominalized core where the subject of the embedded clause has Genitive case, and the verb carries possessive agreement markers:

(31) Ma [Ali-*şi* Ayşe-s svara-∅ mec'am-u-*muşi*] b-gor-um. *ERG → GEN*

I Ali-*GEN* Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-NML-3sg*POSS* 1sg-want.-IMP

"I want Ali to give a book to Ayşe."

Note that these genitive-possessive structures are different from result nominals that we introduced above since they have agreement markers on the verb. They also differ in terms of their semantics they express a meaning which coincides with the reading of infinitivals in languages like English as can be seen in the translations of the examples in (31).

When we take a look at Caucasian languages like Georgian and Nakh-Daghestanian languages, we do not find such a pattern where a nominalized verb bearing nominal agreement markers similar to the infinitival structures in English and in Turkish, illustrated in (32) and (33) respectively (Vamling,1989; Kalinina& Sumbatova, 2007).

(32) He wants Ayşe to learn Georgian.

(33) a. Ali [(Ali) Gürcüce öğren-*mek*] isti-yor-∅.

Ali-NOM Georgian learn-INF want-PRE-1sg

"Ali wants to learn Georgian."

b. Ben [Ali-nin Gürcüce-∅ öğren-*me-sin*]-i isti-yor-um.

I Ali-GEN Georgian-NOM learn-NML-POSS-ACC want-PROG-1sg

"I want Ali to learn Georgian."

In Georgian, for example, either finite subjunctive or nominalized masdar verbs can be used to match the infinitival readings as seen in (34) and (35) respectively. (34a) exhibits an example of a finite subjunctive clause, while in (34b) the same sentence is used with an emphatic pronoun *man* "he-ERG". There is the complementizer *rom* "that" and following that there is theme *Tsitsino* with nominative case, and *man* "he" with ergative case. The verb of the complement clause has the agreement marker which shows us the controller, and even in (34b) the emphatic pronoun shows the controlee in the complement clause. These clauses are different from the infinitival clauses in English regarding the structure of the subordinate verb and the controller-controlee relation. In (34), there is a finite subjunctive clause, although the counterpart of this sentence in English is non-finite.

(34) a. vtxos Gia-s, rom Tsitsino-∅ gaatsilos saxlʃi

1=3=3=ask=PRE Gia-DAT that Tsitsino-NOM 3=3=accompany=OPT home-to

"I ask Gia to accompany Tsitsino to home."

b. vtxos Gia-s, rom *man* Tsitsino-∅ gaatsilos saxlʃi

1=3=3=ask=PRE Gia-DAT that he-ERG Tsitsino-NOM 3-3-accompany-OPT home-to

"I ask Gia to accompany Tsitsino to home."

(Vamling, 1989:85)

In masdar constructions in (35), on the other hand, the structure is not the same with infinitival clauses in English as the verb *dats'era* "writing" is nominalized, and bears dative case. Here the internal argument of *dats'era* is *st'at* "article" which is assigned genitive case. The external argument of the nominalized verb *dats'era* is corefential with the subject of the matrix clause (Vamling, 1989). The noncorefentiality leads to ungrammaticality or unacceptability as we will exhibit in Chapter 4.

(35) a. davap'irep st'at'-*iis* dats'era-**s**

1=3=intend-FUT article-GEN writing-*DA***T**

"I will intend to write an article."

b. davap'ire st'at**'-***iis* dats'era**-∅**

1=3=intended-AOR article-GEN writing-*NOM*

"I intended to write an article."

(Vamling, 1989: 34)

Coming back to our discussion on Laz, although Caucasian languages in general do not have infinitival clauses, we have, however, observed that Pazar Laz has

developed a construction formed with a genitive subject and a masdar verb bearing possessive morphology that has the property of an infinitival clause.

Given that other Caucasian languages do not have such structures like (32) in English and (33) in Turkish, it is not possible to argue that Laz has copied that structure from another Caucasian language, but this construction must have developed out of close contact with Turkish[44], which makes extensive use of such genitive-possessive constructions as infinitivals. Thus, Turkish and Pazar Laz seem to share a very similar infinitival clause structure. In both languages, in such constructions, genitive appears as the subject case, and there is possessive agreement on the subordinate predicate as it is the case in the Turkish example (33) above.

In the following we will apply our finiteness tests to these constructions and thus determine their structural properties with respect to finiteness.

(i) Case, Agreement and Tense Features of Nominalized Verbs

When we take a close look at these constructions as seen in (36a), the predicate of the embedded clause has third person agreement marker –muşi, while in (36b) the verb has second person agreement marker –skani. These morphemes are in fact possessive agreement markers, which are not from the verbal paradigm but from the nominal paradigm as illustrated in (36c):

[44] I thank A. Sumru Özsoy for reminding me that this hybrid construction which we have taken to be borrowed from Turkish could have been borrowed from other languages like Greek and Armenian which had been spoken for centuries in that area . We do not have any evidence about Greek and Armenian infinitival clause structures, but as this hybrid construction has been developed very lately we can still claim that it is the effect of Turkish rather than Greek and/or Armenian.

(36) a.Ma [Ali-**şi** Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ meçam-u-**muşi]** b-gor-um.

I Ali-GEN Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want.-IMP

"I want Ali to give a book to Ayşe."

b. Ma [(skani) Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ meçam-u-**skani]** b-gor-um.

I your Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-NML-2plPOSS 1sg-want-IMP

"I want you to give the book to Ayşe."

c. Ali-**şi** svara-**muşi**

Ali-GEN book-POSS

"Ali's book."

d. skani svara∅

your book

"your book"

e. svara-skani[45]

book-your

"your book"

f. Bere-şi svara-muşi

child-GEN book-POSS

"The child's book"

g. şkimi svara-şkimi

my book-POSS

"my book"

h. svara-hinişi

book-3plPOSS

"their book"

These constructions are parallel to regular genitive-possessive constructions in Laz. Just like a regular noun can take a genitive marked possessor and bear possessive suffix, such constructions take a genitive marked subject and nominal agreement on the nominalized verb. There is no limitation on the person number information of the subjects which can appear in these constructions. Any subject with any person and number information will have its matching agreement marker on the masdar verb, such as *–şkimi, -hinişi, -tkvani* for first person singular, third person plural, and second person plural respectively. The same pattern can be observed in Turkish

[45] i. ***SKANİ*** *svara-skani* can also be used but only when there is a contrastive focus, otherwise language is a pro-drop language and using the same element more than once leads to redundancy according to the native speakers' judgements.

examples given below. In the example (37a) there is genitive-possesive structure in Turkish. The first noun *Ali* has genitive case, while the second noun *şapka* "hat" has the possessive ending parallel to the examples of Laz given above. In (37b), there is a genitive-possesive nominalized verb construction in Turkish subordinate clause. In the example, the subject of the embedded clause *Ali* is again assigned genitive case as in the true genitive-possesive structure in (37a), and the verb of the subordinate clause *koş-* "run" has possessive ending –in the same way that the possessor of the example in (37a).

(37) a. Ali-*nin* şapka-*sı*

Ali-GEN hat-POSS

"Ali's hat."

b. Ben-∅ [Ali-*nin* koş -ma -*sın*]-ı isti-yor-um.

I-NOM Ali-GEN run-NML-POSS-ACC want-PROG-1ps

"I want Ali to run."

Note that there is an interesting restriction observed for case alternations in such nominalized verb constructions. In both of the examples (36a, b) ergative case, which would be the case marker of the finite clause agentive subject, turns into genitive as opposed to its finite counterpart in (38), and a similar process is observed in the Turkish example (37b) in which the nominative subject of the matrix clause turns into genitive in these constructions.

(38) Ma [Amedi-*k* Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ na mec'-u] ko-m-işk-un.

I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP

" I know that Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe."

However, when we look at the examples below (39a, b), we see that psychological verbs the subject of which always bears dative case cannot appear in genitive-possessive nominalized verb constructions. In (39c) the finite counterpart of the (39a) is given in which the subject is in dative case.

(38) a.*Ma [Ali-*şi* ma o-limb-u-*muşi*] b-gor-um → *Psychological Verbs*

I Ali-GEN me love-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want-IMP

"I want Ali to love me."

b.*Ma [Ali-**şi** o-ğal-u-*muşi*] b-gor-um. *DAT → GEN*

I Ali-GEN be happy-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want-IMP

"I want Ali to be happy."

c. Ma [Ali-**s** ma na olimb-*ap-un*] ko-m-işk-un → *"na" clauses*

I Ali-DAT me COMP love-SeriesIII-PRE PV-1sg-know-IMP

"I know that Ali has loved me."

Although dative case cannot alternate with genitive case as in (39a), when there is an unergative verb which assigns ergative, and an unaccusative verb which assigns nominative case to their subjects, then it is possible to form genitive-possessive nominalized verb constructions as in examples (40, 41). One potential reason for this

can be that dative case as opposed to ergative and nominative in Pazar Laz might exhibit inherent case features. However, this requires further investigation.[46]

(40) Ma [Ali-*şi* o-kapin-u-*muşi]* b-gor-um. *ERG → GEN*

I Ali-GEN run-NML-3sgPOSS 1subj.-know-IMP

"I want Ali to run."

(41) Ma [koc'i-*şi* o-ğur-u-*muşi*] b-gor-um. *NOM→GEN*

I man-GEN die-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want-IMP

"I want the man to die."

As seen in example (42) these constructions also allow for internal arguments that they would take when they appear in matrix clauses:

(42) a. Ma [Ali**-***şi* Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ meçam-u-*muşi]* b-gor-um.

I Ali-GEN Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want.-IMP

"I want Ali to give a book to Ayşe."

[46] Whether Nom or Erg case is sensitive to Tense feature in T is a question which requires further research. Although Ergative case is supposed to be an oblique agent case in ergative systems in the literature (Woolfort, 1997), in Pazar Laz there are examples in which the presence /non-presence of Erg case affects the tense information as in the case of verbs in Series III which can occur in default case only when Erg case turns into Dat. For example in inversion structures in Pazar Laz the verb final structural subject agreement emerges as the *default* third person regardless of the person information of the logical subject (Öztürk, 2008), however ergative subjects as below always need plural agreement on the verb. We will return to this issue in Chapter IV.

(i) Bere-pe-**k** i-bgar-**en**.
child-PL-ERG preroot-drink-3pl=PRE
'The children are crying.'

(ii)Bere-pe-**k** tzari -∅ shum-**an**.
child-PL-ERG water-nom drink-3pl=PRE
'The children are drinking water.'

b. Ali-*k* Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ mec'-u

Ali-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-PAST=3sg

" Ali gave the book to Ayşe."

As can be seen both in (42a) and (42b) there is a direct object and an indirect object in addition to the subjects. This implies that the predicative core in these constructions can project its full argument structure. Based on this fact we take these constructions to be the actual masdar constructions in Laz as would be classified under Harris (1981).

(ii) WH- Elements in Genitive-Possessive Masdar Constructions

As argued for other complementation types, the presence of WH-elements in a clause supports the claim that that clause has a CP layer. In the following example, (43), the presence of a WH-element in the subordinate clause with genitive-possessive structures leads to ungrammaticality. Thus, again in terms of wh-elements, such structures behave in parallel to result nominals. Given that in Turkish WH-questions and extraction do not lead to ungrammaticality (44a, b) in such constructions, we can say that the borrowed structure in Laz does not retain all the properties of these constructions in the source language, namely Turkish. This is not unexpected since the language can still be on the way to borrow the structure.

(43) a. * Si [Ali-*şi* mi-**s** svara-∅ meçam-u-*muşi*] gor-um-i ?

You Ali-GEN who-DAT book-NOM give-NML-3sgPOSS want-IMP=2sg-QP

"Whom do you want Ali to give the book?"

b. * Si [mi-*şi* Ayşe-*s* svara-∅ meçam-u-*muşi*] gor-um-i?

You who-GEN Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-NML-3sgPOSS want-IMP=2sg-QP

"Whom do you want to give a book to Ayşe?"

(44) a. Sen [Ali-nin kitab-ı *kim-e* ver-*me-sin*]-i isti-yor-sun?

You Ali-GEN book-ACC who-DAT give-NML-3sgPOSS-ACC want-PRE-2sg

"Who do you want Ali to give the book?"

b. Sen [*kim-in* *kim-e* kitab-ı ver-*me-sin*]-i isti-yor-sun?

You who-GEN who-DAT book-ACC give-3sg-ACC want-PRE-2sg

"Who do you want to give the book to whom?"

(iii) Extraction out of Genitive-Possessive Masdar Constructions

Extraction out of a genitive-possessive construction is not possible in parallel to what we observe in result nominals. Although in Turkish equivalent of that structure in (46) extraction via scrambling is possible, it is not in Pazar Laz - the language which is on the way to borrow that structure as seen in (45). This also implies the absence of a CP layer in these constructions in Pazar.

(45) a.* Ayşe-**s**$_i$ ma [Ali-*şi* t_i svara-∅ meçam-u-*muşi*] b-gor-um.
Ayşe-DAT I Ali-GEN book-NOM give-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want-IMP
b.*Svara$_i$-∅ ma [Ali-*şi* Ayşe-**s** t_i meçamu-*muşi*] b-gor-um.
Book-NOM I Ali-GEN Ayşe-DAT give-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want-IMP
"I want Ali to give a book to Ayşe."

(46) Ayşe-*ye*$_i$ ben [Ali-nin t_i kitab-*ı* ver-*me-sin*]-i isti-yor-um.
Ayşe-DAT I Ali-GEN book-NOM give-NML-3sg-ACC want-PROG-1sg
"I want Ali to give a book to Ayşe."

(iv) Adverb Placement in Genitive-Possessive Masdar Constructions

As for modification, as opposed to result nominals, which strictly require adjectival modification, genitive-possessive masdar structures allow for adverbial modification and rejects adjectival modification. Temporal high adverbs like *ocume* "tomorrow", or VP level low adverbs like *zerbi* "fast" are all acceptable as seen in (47 b,c). However, unlike the case of subordinate clauses with *na*, these constructions are not compatible with high sentential adverbs like *mutlaka* "certainly" (47a). This can be taken as evidence for the claim that genitive-possessive masdar constructions do not have a real sentential layer like the CP layer. The other adverbs *ocume* and *zerbi* are not as high as the adverb *mutlaka,* which can be a result of absence of a CP/FinP layer.[47] The reason that the examples in (47 b,c) can have adverbs contrary to result

[47] The reason we use CP/FinP interchangeably is due to Rizzi's (1997) claim that FinP is a sub-projection of CP layer.

nominals might be because these structures have a higher projection that result nominals do not have in accordance with the truncation model of Adger (2007), and the former is not as nominal externally as the latter.

(47) a. *Ma [Ali-şi *mutlaka* o-kap'in-u-muşi] b-gor-um.
I Ali-GEN certainly run-MNL-3sgPOSS 1sg-want-IMP
"??I want Ali to certainly run."

b. Ma [Ali-şi *ocume(*neri*) o-kap'in-u-muşi] b-gor-um.
I Ali-GEN *tomorrow* run-MNL-3sgPOSS 1sg-want-IMP
"I want Ali to run tomorrow."

c. Ma [Ali-şi svara-∅ *zerbi zerbi* o-g'itğ-u-muşi] b-gor-um.
I Ali-GEN book-NOM fast fast read-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want-IMP
" I want Ali to read the book fast."

(v) The Role of Negation in Genitive Possessive Masdar Constructions

As expected, genitive-possessive structures can only be negated with var, but not with vati as it is the case for result nominals. These structures and result nominals show nominal features. Having only var negation marker these structures also show a parallelism to result nominals, which makes it possible to claim that var can also be used as a nominal negation marker, since it is the only option available for the nominal structures. The impossibility of using vati in these structures also highlights the fact that they lack the epistemic modality level in their phrase structure.

(48) Ma [(skani) Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ **var/*vati** meçam-u-**skani]** b-gor-um.
I your Ayşe-DAT book-NOM NEG give-NML--2plPOSS 1sg-want-IMP
"I want you not to give the book to Ayşe."

3.2.4. Type 4: Constructions with Nominative Subjects

The fourth type of complementation pattern that we investigate is embedded clauses which have a nominative subject:

(49) Ma [bere-∅ bgar-**eri]** do-m-at'son-u.
I child-NOM cry-eri preverb-1sg-think-PAST
"I thought that the child cried."

As seen in (49) above the embedded subject which denotes an agent bears nominative case, which would appear as an ergative in a finite matrix clause. Note that nominative is the case which is typically associated with internal arguments bearing the theme theta role in Laz regardless of whether they appear in the subject (unaccusative) or the object (transitive) position. This resembles the Exceptionally Case Markes (ECM) constructions in English where the embedded clause subject bears accusative case which is the case associated with internal arguments

(50) John believes *Mary to be genious.*

(51) Mary expected *him to come earlier.*

ECM clause is a concept started to be used in GB (Government and Binding) theory to describe some atypical verbs such as *believe* and *expect*. In the GB framework these verbs are taken to assign accusative case to the subject of the embedded clause as there is a deficient IP so the subject of the embedded clause cannot get case from I(nfl) head (50, 51). The I(nfl) head of these compelement clauses are [-Tense] and cannot assign case to their external arguments *Mary* and *him.* Therefore the high matrix verbs assign case to these arguments in order not to violate Case Filter. For this exceptional case assignment to take place the complement of an ECM verb has to be an IP rather than a CP since CPs are islands and block external case assignment (Chomsky, 1981,1993; Heageman, 2003 among others).

In the Minimalist Program (MP), on the other hand, in a sentence formed with an ECM verb like (52a), Mary undergoes movement to the Spec position of the matrix VP/AgrO to check accusative case as illustrated below in the (52b). However this movement is a covert movement and takes place in LF. (Chomsky, 1993; Lasnik, 2005).

(52) a. John expected Mary to be informed about the meeting.

b. [$_{IP}$ John [$_{VP/AgrO}$ Mary expected [$_{IP}$ t to be informed about the meeting.

In both analysis (i.e in the GB and the MP), the complement clause is assumed to be an IP with the [-Tense] feature. The presence of a CP level is not accepted in such

type of clauses, which will block the case assignment of the subject of the complement clause.

Now bearing the properties of English ECM constructions, which also have subjects marked for an objective case, i.e. accusative, let us look at nominative subject constructions in Laz.

(i) Case, Tense, Agreement Features of Constructions with Nominative Subjects

In Pazar Laz as given in (53b and 54b) the subjects of such constructions always appear as Nominative – the case marker for theme arguments in Pazar Laz -associated with the objects of transitive verbs. Thus, regardless of their theta roles, all subjects appear as nominative. As seen in (53b, 54b) respectively, ergative agent and dative experiencer[48] subjects bear Nominative in such constructions. [49] Note that the verb in these constructions does not bear any tense/agreement markers either but only the suffix -eri[50].

[48] Here Dative alternates with Nominative case, and Dative case behaves as if it is a structural case however this issue requires further research. In the examples (39) above, Dative case shows some properties of Inherent case. It does not change into Genitive as opposed to other nominative and ergative subjects. Thus it needs further research to determine if dative case is a structural case or not, which will be out of our interest in the current study.

[49] Note that ditransitives cannot appear in ECM constructions as shown in (i).This is an interesting point about these structures. It may not be about the structure itself but the reason can be the presence of two Nominative cases in the same structure, one for the subject and one for the direct object. In the current paper, however, we will not go into detail about the reasons behind such a restriction.

i) *Ma [bere∅ Ayşe-**s** svara meçam-**eri]** domat'son-u.
I child-NOM Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-eri think-PAST
"I thought Ayşe gives the book to the child."

[50] *-eri* suffix is exclusively used in complementation structures with nominative subjects regarding the data we have collected and our informants' judgements. As we cannot find exact tense/aspect nature of *–eri,* we do not give a gloss for it.

(53) a. Bere-*k* ibgar-s → Finite clause

child-ERG cry-PRE=3sg

"The child cries."

b. Ma [bere-∅ bgar-*eri*] do-m-at'son-u. → ECM clause

I child-NOM cry-eri preverb-1sg-think-PAST

"I thought that the child cried."

(54) a. Ali-**s** timuşi/Ayşe-∅ mats'and-u. → Finite clause

Ali-DAT himself/Ayşe like-PAST=3sg

"Ali likes himself/Ayşe."

b. Ma [Ali-∅ timuşi mats'and-*eri*] do-m-at'son-u → ECM clause

I Ali-NOM himself like-eri preverb-1sg-think-PAST

" I thought that Ali liked himself/Ayşe."

As seen in (54) it is possible to have internal arguments in addition to the nominative subjects in these constructions. This implies that the verb can project its argument structure and hence these constructions have some sort of a clausal architecture at least a vP/VP domain.

The fact that case markers other than nominative is not available on subjects, on the other hand, indicates that we are dealing with a deficient TP, which would be in parallel to the TP in English ECM constructions. Öztürk (2008) claims that presence of ergative subjects and agreement morphology on the verb specified for ergative subjects is strictly related to the presence of a finite TP. Following Öztürk

the lack of ergative case and agreement morphology in these constructions indicates that we are faced with a deficient TP, which we can consider to be in parallel to the TP in ECM clauses in English.

(ii) Wh-Elements in Constructions with Nominative Subjects

WH-questions are possible in constructions with nominative subjects in Pazar Laz (55):

(55) Si [*mi* ham filimi-∅ zr-*eri*] do-g-at'son-u-i?
you who this film-NOM watch-eri PV-2sg-think-PAST-QP
"Who do you think watches this film?"

(56) Mualimi-**s** Ali-$∅_i$ ordo ordo [t_i çoteği şkhom-*eri]* dvatzo-nen.
teacher-DAT Ali-NOM often beating get-eri think/believe-PRE=3sg
"Lit: Teacher often believes that Ali gets beating."

The fact that wh-questions are compatible with these constructions suggests that the embedded domain should involve a CP layer, in other words a full clausal architecture. However, given that we can only have nominative but not ergative or dative subjects implies that the TP layer which is typically associated with ergative subjects (Öztürk 2008) is missing. Then how can we account for the availability of wh-questions in these constructions? The presence of wh-questions does not necessarily suggest that there is a CP layer of the subordinate clause. If we assume

that the derivation of these clauses is parallel to the ECM clauses in English, then we can say that in (55) the nominative subject of the embedded clause is the internal argument of the matrix clause, so the wh-element can land in the CP of the matrix clause at LF, which will result in a grammatical structure. So there is only one level of CP projection involved in the formation of wh-questions, namely the matrix CP.

Supporting evidence for this comes from the interaction between nominative subjects and adverbs. As seen in the example (56), the CP level adverb *ordo ordo* "often" modifies the matrix verb *dvatzonen* "think/believe", and follows the nominative subject *Ali.* The same adverb does not modify the subordinate verb *şkomeri* "eat/get". This implies that the nominative subject is in the matrix clause, since the matrix level adverb can follow the nominative subject in Pazar Laz as well.

(iii) Extraction out of Constructions with Nominative Subjects

It is not possible to extract elements out of constructions with nominative subjects in Pazar Laz which is in parallel to what we see in result nominals and genitive-possessive structures (57).

(57) a. *Ham filimi-$\varnothing_i$ ma [Ali-Ø t_i zr-*eri*] do-m-at'son-u.
this film-NOM I Ali-NOM watch-eri pv-1sg- think-PAST
"I thought that Ali watched the film."

Given the absence of a CP layer in the embedded clause domain, then it is expected for constituents within the embedded domain to fail to undergo overt movement into the matrix clause as they cannot find an intermediary landing site.

(iv) Adverb Placement in Constructions with Nominative Subjects

It is not possible to use constructions with nominative subjects with modality denoting high sentential adverbs like mutlaka "certainly", or beçi "probably" (58a), as well as with temporal adverbs like ğoma "yesterday"; however, VP level low adverbs like zerbi "fast" are compatible with these constructions (58b). This further implies that these constructions might even lack the TP layer as such adverbials are typically associated with the TP domain. Then maybe what we are dealing with here has even a shorter clausal architecture (i.e. like vP) in comparison to English ECM constructions. Given the parallelism in terms of their subjects though –that is in both complementation types the subjects exceptionally bear object case (i.e. accusative in English, nominative in Laz) we opt to call these constructions ECMs in Laz.

(58) a. *Ma [bere-∅ *mutlaka/ beçi/ğoma* k'api*n-eri*] do-m-at'son-u.
I child-NOM certainly/probably/yesterday run-eri pv-1sg-think-PAST
"I thought the child certainly/probably/yesterday ran yesterday."

b. Ma [bere-∅ *zerbi* ok'api*n-eri*] do-m-at'son-u.
I child fast run-eri pv-1sg- think-PAST
" I thought the child ran fast."

(v) The Role of Negation in Constructions with Nominative Subjects

Constructions with nominative subjects are only compatible with the negation marker var, but not with vati in parallel to what we observe in result nominals, and genitive-possessive masdar constructions. Given the lack of or the deficiency of the TP layer

then this is expected as vati indicates epistemic modality associated with the TP layer under Aygen (2002).

(59) Ma [Ali-∅ ti muşi *var/*vati* mats'and-*eri*] domat'son-u

I Ali-NOM himself NEG like-eri preverb-1sg-think-PAST

" I thought that Ali does not like himself."

The results of all these tests seem to indicate that ECM clauses with nominative subjects are nonfinite clauses in Pazar Laz as they share features that a nonfinite clause has in this language. The impossibility of the usage of *vati* in these kinds of clauses implies the absence of epistemic modality, which is proposed as the basic finiteness criterion in Aygen (2001).

3.3. Summary

The table below presents the general picture of the four complementation types discussed in terms of their shared and unshared properties; this will be our guide in making claims about their nature of finiteness.

Table 1: Finiteness Nature of Complementation patterns

	Tense	Agreement	Extraction	WH-questions	Adverbial Modification Low / High		Subject Case	Negation
na clauses	+	+(verbal)	+	+	+	+	All cases	Vati/var
Result Nominals	_	-	_	_	_	_	Genitive	Var
Genitive-Possessive masdar structures	_	+(nominal)	_	_	+	+	Genitive	Var
ECM Constructions	_	_	_	+	+	_	Nominative	Var

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there are different criteria for finiteness that are put forward in the literature. When we look at the table horizontally the listed features separate the clauses in the first column into two classes. The first complementation type, namely clauses with the complementizer na, behave differently from all other complementation types in terms of tense information, verbal agreement, subject cases, adverbial modification and negation markers. They behave identically with matrix clauses in Laz, which are by definition finite (Chomsky, 1973). The last three complementation types, namely result nominals, genitive-possessive masdar structures, and ECM constructions, have more in common and behave quite differently from the first complementation type in many ways. In contrast to the first complementation type, tense and agreement properties of the latter are totally

different. Tense and agreement information is missing in genitive-possessive masdar constructions, result nominals and ECM constructions. Although genitive-possessive masdars constructions do have agreement on the complement predicate, it is not verbal agreement, but nominal agreement as we have discusses at part 3.2.3.

3.4. Analysis

The table above shows us the general picture of all complementation types in Pazar Laz and summarizes how they behave with respect to the tests that we have applied. After determining the general features of all complementation types related to finiteness, in the following section we will focus on the issue of what finiteness is resulting from in Laz, and discuss whether any one of these features namely tense, agreement, case can be claimed to be the basic triggering feature for defining finiteness in Laz. In the second part of the analysis based on the account that we propose in the first section, we present the structural representation of all four complementation types in relation to finiteness taking Adger's "truncation model"(2007) as a base to our discussion.

3.4.1. Tense-Based Finiteness in Pazar Laz

One of the most influential hypotheses or discoveries of syntactic research in the 20th century was that the finite clause contains a functional element, Aux/Infl (Chomsky 1965) or is even headed by such an element, Infl or Tense (Chomsky 1981 and 1999,

respectively). This head is a compact head[51] and hosts the information about Tense, Aspect, and Agreement. Following this idea, Pollock's study on this issue (1989), lead to an entirely new dimension in this field of inquiry, namely that the clausal head might actually be a complex of more than one basic head. Pollock suggested that Infl should be split into Tense and Agr. Pollock used the data taken from French and English adverbs and their relative positions in the sentence structure and further suggested that Tense head is split and there is a separate Agr head under the Tense head.

Later in Chomsky (1993) and others suggested that AgrS, Tense and AgrO levels in which the information of subject-verb agreement, tense and object information are located respectively. For Turkish, too, Aygen (1998) has proposed SPLIT INFL hypothesis for which she proposes the occurrence of independent Agreement, Tense/Aspect, Modality and Negative syntactic heads. She shows the presence of adverbs that are semantically related to corresponding functional categories. As her analysis, Tense/Aspect Phrase hosts adverbs of frequency, NEGP hosts NPIs (Negative Polarity items), MODP hosts epistemic adverbs at SPEC positions of each respectively.

In his later works however, Chomsky (1998, 1999, 2001) has gone back to a single clausal head i.e. Tense, which is responsible for checking both tense and agreement features, as well as the case feature of the subject. Based on his analysis of expletive constructions in English and multiple subject constructions in Icelandic,

[51] 'Compact head' and 'fused Tense head' terms have been used interchangeably in the chapter.

Chomsky (1995, Ch.4) maintains that agreement phrases (AgrsP and AgroP) must be eliminated from the theory of clause structure. He concludes that the function of AgrsP "could perhaps be accommodated ". . .by assimilating it with T," (Chomsky, 1995:377) which is also responsible for defining the finiteness nature of the clause via tense.

Now let us consider the case of Laz. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Laz has a variety of affixes attached to the verb root as we have mentioned. Although the verb can express the meaning of all kinds of affixes, it is not always possible to parse these morphemes as there are no clear boundaries between the affixes and they mostly appear as fused. As an instance, the verb complexes in (60) show that there is a compact verbal morphology in Laz and sometimes it is not possible to differentiate single affixes. To illustrate this point if we take a look at (60a, b), we see that the same plural marker –t can signal more than one person and thus the meaning is derived from the context.

(60)	a.	g-zir-em-**t**	"we see you(sg)."
		2Obj-see-PRE-pl	"I see you (pl)."
			"We see you(pl)."
	b.	m-zir-em-**t**	"you (pl) see me."
			"you(sg)sg see us."
			"you(pl) see us."

As Lüders (1992) also put forward there is "cumulative marking" in Laz verbal morphology. For instance, in transitive clauses *m-* refers to the direct objects of 1st person and 2nd person. However the same marker refers to the logical subject of 1st person in inversion structures and in constructions with psychological verbs. In example (61), we see an example of transitive verb 'beat', which has 1st person singular/plural as its object and there is 1st person object marker *m-*.[52] In (64a) there is the subject agreement marker *v-* in Series I and II, however in inversion structures it turns out to be the object agreement marker *m-* as in (62b).

(61) *m-* imbaɣ-*t* 'You all beat me/us'

1p-beat-PRE-2pl

(62) a. Ma *v*-i-bgar-*i*

I 1ps.Subj-preroot-cry-1psg.*II*-PAST

"I cried."

b. Ma *m*-i-bgar-ap-*u-n*

I 1ps.Obj-preroot-cry-s.m-*III*-3ps.pre

" I have cried."

These examples show us that the same morpheme may have a cumulative function as Lüder suggested.

[52] These *m-* markers cannot be taken as two different homophonous markers since in inversion structures (62b), the subject is accepted as the logical object so there is the same 1st person object marker *m-* although in surface structure "ma" functions as subject..

In the following example in (63), it is really difficult to draw a boundary between the morphemes as there is more than one function of the same morpheme as we have also stated. In this verbal complex the morpheme *–es* at the end of the verb has the meaning of third person plural, and perfective or completive aspect. All these examples can be seen as an indication of a compact/fused TP layer in Laz, which is responsible for tense, aspect, modality and agreement features. In the example (64), the suffix *un-* gives information about both third person singular and non-perfective aspect, and the meanings are fused in the same morpheme.

(63) mu-l-u-t-**es**

m(o) → locative

-l- → root

-u (r) → intransitive formant

-t → past tense marker

-es → 3pl /Perfect aspect

"They came."

(64) mu-l-*un*-ko

LOC-go-IMP=3sg-COND

"If s(he) comes."

Given the data discussed above, it is seen that it is not possible to separate tense, aspect and agreement markers morphologically. This argues for a fused T(ense) head

at the morpho-syntactic level. We argue that it is the presence of this fused functional head which defines a clause as finite or non-finite. When we look at the Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle, it says that there is a close parallelism between the linear ordering of morphemes and the syntactic projections they are associated with. He states that morphological derivation reflects syntactic derivation and vice versa. If the morphological structure of a complex word is derived through head-movement of the lexical root to the heads where the morphemes are base-generated, the Mirror Principle follows straightforwardly: "the order of morphemes in a complex word reflects the natural syntactic embedding of the heads that correspond to those morphemes" (Baker 2002: 326). Baker's Mirror Principle supports our claim that in Pazar Laz there is not split functional heads for TAM, Agreement and Case checking, instead a fused head checks all these functions.

If we consider it from the perspective of the Distributed Morphology, on the other hand, then we can claim that even though at the level of syntax we have independent functional projections for Tense, Aspect, Mood/Modality and Agreement at the level of morphology they all appear as a fused functional head and hence are realized via a single functional morpheme (Halle and Marantz 1993). However, as we will show below, there is not only morphological evidence to propose a fused functional T(ense) head in Pazar Laz but also syntactic argumentations lead to the same conclusion. Therefore, we chose not to follow the path of Distributed Morphology but argue that at the level of syntax we are also dealing with a single head which has fused various functions in itself, as would be predicted under the Mirror Principle.

Now let us consider the syntactic indications that support the claim for the presence of a fused T(ense) head in Laz acting as the basic criterion for finiteness. In Caucasian languages like Georgian, the type of tense determines what kind of case can be used. For instance; Ergative case can only appear with the Aorist in Georgian, thus the choice of case is directly related to the type of tense, As illustrated in (65). In (65a) the verb is in Present tense (Series I) in which the subject *Nino* checks Nominative case as opposed to the example (65b) where the subject has Ergative case with the Aorist.

(65) a. Nino-∅ am-tknar-ebs.
Nino-NOM 3sg-yawn-PRE
"Nino yawns."

b. Nino-m da-am-tkn-ara
Nino-ERG PV-3sg-yawn-AOR
"Nino yawned."

Although the distribution of the Ergative case is wider in Laz as it is used both in Series I and II, it is also closely related to the kind of agreement on the verb. The subjects of transitive and unergative verbs check Ergative case, and the presence of Ergative case directly correlates with the agreement patterns (i.e. ergative requires full agreement on the verb) on the verb, which falls within the domain of the fused TP head as shown above. For instance in inversion structures, and clauses with tense/aspects (i.e perfect, pluperfect, subjunctive) in Serie III Ergative case turns into

Dative and this time the agreement on the verb is neutral and always appears in third person singular. In example (66), regardless of the person and number information of the actual subject, the verb final agreement marker always appears as the default third person singular as in (66b). See Öztürk (2008).

(66) a. ški *v*-o-k'ap-i-t

we 1subj-PV-run-PAST-PL

"We ran"

b) ški *m*-o-k'ap-u-n

we 1obj-PV-run-sIII-*3s***g**=PRE

"We have run."

These examples indicate the effect of T(ense) on the type of case arguments can take and the agreement on the verb. In Laz, as we have also shown above it is not always possible to draw a boundary between verbal affixes and Aspect-Modality and Agreement information are generally fused within the same morpheme which are parallel to the syntactic evidence that T(ense), the selection of Case and Agreement are closely related.

Following the examples and the arguments above, we argue that in Laz, tense information seems to be the basic determining factor for Finiteness, and the T head in that language has a fused nature. Alternations of case and agreement patterns result from the Tense information on the verb as we have seen in the discussion of clauses with the complementizer *na*. The only subordination type which behaves the same

way as matrix clauses-which are by definition finite- are the ones formed with *na*. They behave exactly the same as matrix clauses, and can pass all the finiteness tests that we have applied in the first part of the chapter.

As we have also observed, non-presence of tense information in genitive-possessive masdar structures, result nominals and ECM clauses repeated in (67,68,69) respectively, directly related to the non-presence of Ergative case on the subject, and verbal agreement on the subordinated verb. There is a special kind of agreement on genitive-possessive structures as in (66), however here the agreement *-muşi* is not verbal but nominal as mentioned above. In (68) *odit's-inu* "smile" behaves as a true nominal and does not get any kind of tense or agreement information, so we do not count these structures as a clausal level. In (69) the ECM verb has *–eri* suffix on the verb but information related to tense and agreement is missing.

(67) Ma [Ali-*şi* Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ meçam-u-*muşi***]** b-gor-um.
I Ali-GEN Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-NML-3sgPOSS 1sg-want.-IMP
"I want Ali to give a book to Ayşe.."

(68) [Ali-*şi* o-dit'sin**-***u***]** odit'sinoni ort'u.
Ali-GEN smile-NML funny was
" Ali's smile was funny."

(69) Ma [bere-∅ bgar-*er***i]** do-m-at'son-u.
I child-NOM cry-eri preverb-1sg-think-PAST
"I thought/belived the child to have cried."

With these examples, we further support our claim that in Laz there is a fused T(ense) head which carries the information of TAM and checks agreement and case features. The non-presence of a TP level results in clauses without tense information, verbal agreement and structural case. In the following section, the representation of each complementation type will be shown to formalize what we have said so far structurally.

3.4.2 Formal Representations of Complementation Types in Laz

In this section we present the structural representations of the four complementation types that we have analyzed in the current chapter. During our analysis, we focus on the truncation model of Adger (2007) in which (non)-finiteness feature has been associated with a three-level analysis. Although we adopt this model, we have some modifications to account for Pazar Laz data.

Adger proposes three levels of (non)finiteness, and further gives evidence from different languages showing that CP level (i.e. FinP in his analysis), and TP levels are the only levels through which finiteness is realized. He gives examples from various languages that have different finiteness levels, however he indicates that truncation under TP will never result in a finite clause. As an addition to his CP,TP and VP level truncation analysis, we have added vP as another potential level of truncationl for Pazar Laz as will be shown in the following part of the chapter.

We have given the examples of na constructions in which verbs fully realize their argument structure, thus these constructions are clausal in nature. This indicates

the presence of layers like vP and TP so that arguments can check their cases. Furthermore, facts of adverbial modification and the availability of the vati negation pattern lead to the same conclusion that we are dealing with a finite TP in these clauses. In these clauses, T head is a fused head as discussed above and checks case (i.e. Ergative case[53]) and person-number agreement features. Na clauses have verbs fully inflected for TAM, person and number information as shown in (70, 71) respectively. In the preceding section, we talked about the relationship between tense series and the Ergative case which is a reflection of a finite T in Laz. Also all kinds of CP level events including wh-question formation, the presence of sentential level adverbs, and extraction are possible so that CP is also available in these constructions.

(70) Ma [Amedi-**k** Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ na mec'-u] ko-m-işk-un.
I Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM COMP give-PAST=3sg PV-1sg-know-IMP
" I know that Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe."

(71) Ma [Amedi-**k** Ayse-**s** svara∅ (**na**) meça-sere] me-p-şon-un.
I Ahmet-ERG Ayse-DAT book-NOM COMP give-FUT PV-1sg-hope-IMP
"I hope that Ahmet will give the book to Ayşe."

In the tree structure below, T head has uninterpretable T(ense), Case, Agr(eement) features which are valued with the presence of these pieces of information on the verb

[53] In Chapter 4, we will discuss why we take Ergative as a structural case associated with TP in Laz.

and the Ergative subject. Following from Adger we can have a derivation as shown in (72):

(72) a. Tense [tense: ,agr: , case:erg/nom] ….. DP [agr:3sg , case:] →

b.Tense [~~tense~~:Pre,a~~gr:3~~sg,case~~:erg~~/nom]….DP[agr:3sg, case~~:erg~~/nom]

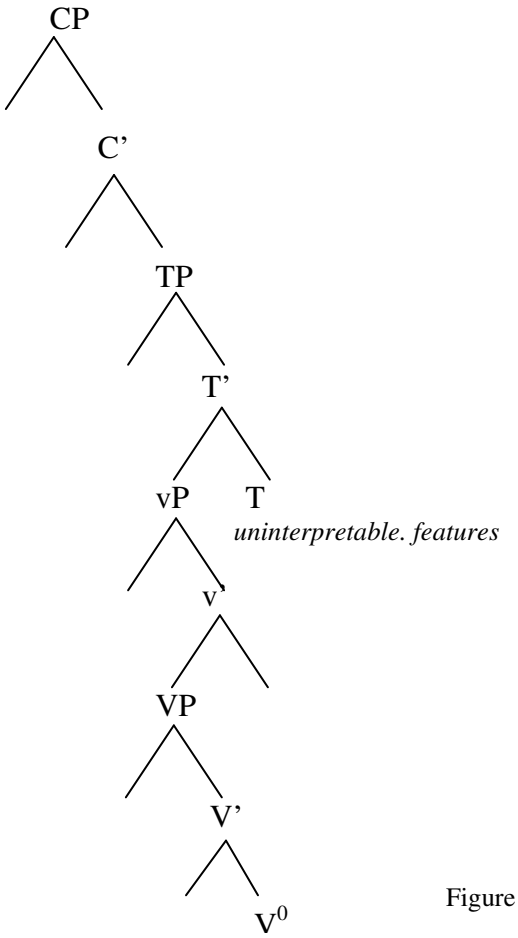


Figure 1: *na* constructions

Result nominals in Pazar Laz behave similar to real nominals and lack argument structure. Harris (1985) calls them 'verbal nouns' and when we applied the nominal tests to these structures we saw that they appeared exactly in the same positions that an NP/DP can occupy. In the following tree structure, the structure is truncated

below the vP level and there is a nominal layer (NP/DP) above VP. As verbal nouns cannot take any complements we assume that there cannot be any projection such as vP or TP to check the case features of the NP arguments. That is why we propose to truncate the tree of such structures at the level of the lexical VP, thus exclude any kind of functional projections within their representation.[54]

(73) *[Ali-şi o-dit'sin-u]* odit'sinoni ort'u.

Ali-GEN smile-NML funny was

" Ali's smile was funny."

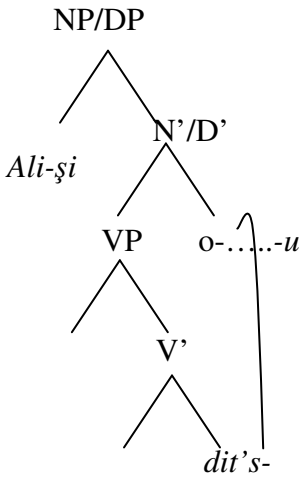


Figure 2: Result Nominals

Genitive-Possessive Masdar Constructions have a structure like the one shown below in which the nominalized verb (i.e. the subordinate verb which bears nominal agreement markers like *–muşi*, *-skani*) behaves mostly like a nominal element externally. Even though there is agreement on these nominalized verbs, the agreement marker is the same as the possessive marker in regular genitive possessive

[54] Note that it is possible to propose that such result nominals are not derived syntactically, but nominalized as such in the lexicon without undergoing any kind of syntactic operation as suggested by Chomsky (1995). However, it still needs further investigation which we leave for a future study.

constructions and is of nominal nature. In this type of clauses, we propose that the structure is truncated at the little vP level. That there is an overt subject in such clauses and objects bearing case features are available implies that the vP projection should be involved in the derivation of such clauses. However this time the subject can only have genitive case which implies the absence of a T(ense) head with uninterpretable tense, structural case, person, number features to be checked.

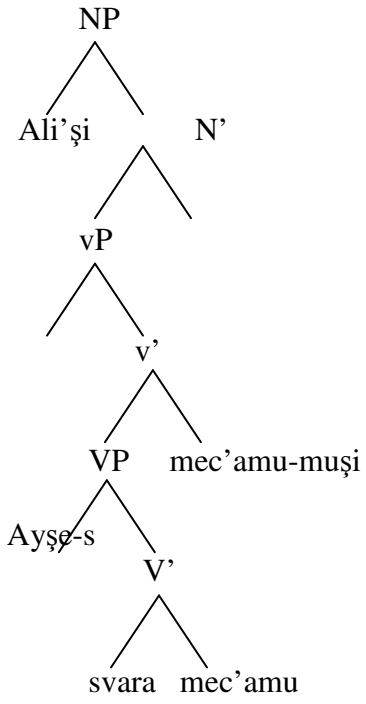


Figure 3: Genitive-Possessive Masdar Construction

As Adger claims, truncation below the TP level will never lead to finite clauses as this feature is kept on T(ense) and Fin(ite) heads. This is also borne out in the case of genitive-possessive masdar clauses which fail to behave as a finite clause either.

Another support to our claim is that only the negation marker *var* which marks deontic modality can appear in such non-finite clauses and *vati* denoting epistemic modality cannot as epistemic modality is only compatible with finite clauses as

discussed by Aygen (2002). That is why we assume that such clauses are truncated at the level of vP and lack the TP layer which denotes Epistemic modality meaning.

Given that the subject case is genitive and these clauses behave as nominals externally, we propose that above the vP layer there should be an NP/DP level which would explain the nominal character of these structures. Externally they can be case marked as nominals and get nominal agreement markers as we have already mentioned in the preceding sections, which also supports the presence of a nominal layer above the vP.

Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) clauses in Pazar Laz have a non-finite structure. The subject of the ECM clause appears in object case, Nominative, and the verb does not get any TAM marker or agreement. The subordinate verb has the suffix *–eri*. As Adger proposes, and we have also observed that ECM clauses in Pazar Laz seem to be truncated at the vP level, as subject has object case which is checked at the vP projection. There is not a CP level in ECM clauses in Laz as CP level extraction is not possible as we have already exemplified in the preceding sections. And the TP level adverbs like *mutlaka* "certainly" are not compatible with subordinate ECM clauses. Furthermore, there is not any Tense, Agreement information on the verb and ergative case is unavailable. This evidence points to the absence of a compact TP level which has uninterpretable features. All these properties of ECM clauses lead us to suggest that these clauses are truncated at the vP level. Below there is an example of an ECM clause (74), and in Figure (4), we have shown its tree structure.

(74) Ma [bere-∅ bgar-**eri]** do-m-at'son-u.

I child-NOM cry-eri pereverb-1sg-think-PAST

"I thought/belived the child to have cried."

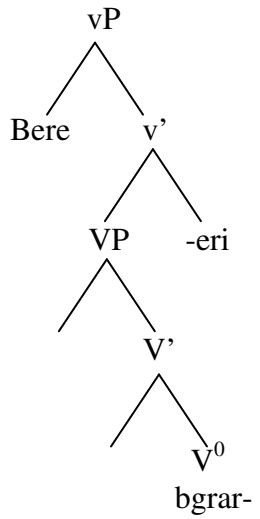


Figure 4: ECM Clauses

Thus as the discussion above puts forth there are at least 4 complementation types in Pazar Laz including *finite subordinate* clauses with *na*, *genitive-possessive masdar* constructions, *ECM* clauses and *Result Nominals*. The last category with respect to all the tests applied show that they may not be clausal in nature but lexically derived categories which enter syntax directly from the lexicon, so they are not true clausal structures and simply can be taken out of the subordinate clause list.

CHAPTER 4

FURTHER ISSUES: CONTROL AND ERGATIVE CASE IN LAZ

4.1. Introduction

As we have pointed out in the previous chapters, Laz as a Caucasian language does not originally have nonfinite infinitival clauses as observed by Vamling for Georgian. However the claim is that Pazar Laz has a hybrid structure[55], which shows the properties of an infinitival clause. We concluded that this hybrid structure is borrowed from Turkish resulting from close contact. After all the discussions and explanations, regarding this borrowed complementation pattern, we found it necessary to find the possible answers for the questions below;

(i) How is 'control' realized in a language like Laz, and especially in Pazar Laz which has developed an infinitival clause structure borrowed from Turkish ?

(ii) Can we talk about any kind of PRO or *pro* in the structure borrowed from Turkish in Pazar Laz?

Another issue that we discuss is the position of the ergative case in Pazar Laz. As Laz is a split-ergative language[56], being different from Nom-Acc case systems, it shows variety regarding the distribution of cases with different verb types. As we

[55] We use the term *hybrid* to indicate that the borrowed structure in Pazar Laz does not share all of the properties that the original structure has in Turkish. We have discussed the small differences between these structures in the Chapter 3.

[56] In Chapter 2, we gave a detailed definition of split ergativity under 'syntax'.

have discussed in detail, case system is closely related to thematic roles of the NPs in Pazar Laz. Ergative appears with Agent NPs, Nominative appears with Theme NPs, and Experiencer NPs appear with dative case (Holisky, 1991; Öztürk, 2008). Although this fact will lead us to consider the case in Laz as a semantic case at first sight, there are some susceptible cases related to Ergative case which behaves more like a structural case in Laz. The discussion related to case is very controversial, so we will discuss basic facts about the case system in Pazar Laz based on the tests used in literature.

4.2. Control Structures

Control is treated differently in different frameworks; so far it has considered as a syntactic, a semantic or a pragmatic issue. In the syntactic approach, basically in GB, the controller is identified as the closest NP that dominates the complement (Chomsky, 1981). Control structures are taken to be related to grammatical functions (Bresnan, 1982), thematic roles (Ružička, 1983), and semantic argument order (Bach, 1979) in the literature. In Comrie (1984), some pragmatic issues are put forth relating the meaning of the matrix predicate to complement constructions in terms of some probabilities and possibilities in the real world. We will mention some syntactic background for control in the following section from the point of the generative framework.

In Government and Binding Theory (GB), some verbs are taken to be control verbs like *want, try, convince, promise* etc. which are used with infinitival clauses.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, these control structures are analyzed as involving the null element, PRO. For example, the null element is controlled by "Mary" in the sentence (1). These control structures are typically compared to raising structures which are analyzed as involving an NP movement in (2).

(1) $Mary_i$ tried [PRO_i to pass the exam.] → (Subject Control)

(2) $Mary_i$ seems [t_i to pass the exam.] → (Subject-to-subject raising)

Later in the Minimalist Program (MP) (Chomsky, 1995) control structures still have PRO, but this time PRO is considered to have a null case. As opposed to the traditional analysis, in the Minimalist Program (MP), due to economy both the raising and the control structures are taken to involve NP movements (Hornstein, 1999; Boeckx&Horstein, 2003). In Hornstein's (1999) Movement Theory of Control (MTC)[57] this distinction between raising and control has been minimized. In this account, theta-criterion has been abandoned, and in control structures, the NP is assigned multiple theta roles both from the lower verb, and the matrix verb as it moves from its basic position to the matrix subject position. In (3,4), control and raising structures are exemplified from the latter perspective. Both of the structures are exhibited in the same way.

(3) $Mary_i$ tried [t_i to pass the exam.]

(4) $Mary_i$ seems [t_i to pass the exam.]

[57] The reason for us to mention this account is to simply generalize the basic control theories in the generative framework, and see which of these theories will define the ones in Pazar Laz.

In Hornstein's (1999) MTC, the only difference between control and raising structures is that PRO is coindexed with a theta position, while the trace in raising structure is coindexed with a non-theta position.

4.2.1. Control in Georgian

Now let's take a look at how control has been handled in Georgian and Turkish, which would help us to understand the issue of control in Laz. In Georgian, there are no non-finite complement *infinitival* clauses, however complements with subjunctive mood[58] are observed in environments that semantically correspond to infinitival clauses in English (Vamling, 1989). However since the predicates in subjunctive complements do bear agreement markers for subjects and/or objects, there is always a signal for the controller on the complement clause verb. In example (5a), the agreement on the complement predicate gives a clue about the 'missing subject', and in (5a) there is an instance of an object control. Example (5b) exhibits the same instance; however the only difference is the presence of an emphatic subject *man* "he-ERG". Vamling (1989) shows that only emphatic subjects[59] are possible in the position of the controlled subject as in (5b) *man* "he-erg".

[58] Optative and subjunctive moods are closely related in Georgian. This shows the grammatical mood in Georgian . In a language like English, the optative-subjunctive moods are expressed by the modal verbs. In the current chapter, we will use the term "subjunctive" to indicate the finite subordinate sentences in Georgian which has optative mood.

[59] Vamling (1989) calls these subjects as emphatic ones which only used when there has to be a focus on the subject.

(5) a. vtxos Gia-s, rom TsitsinoØ gaatsilos saxlʃi

1=ask=PRES Gia=DAT that Tsitsino-NOM 3=accompany=OPT home=to

"I ask Gia to accompany Tsitsino to home."

b. vtxos Gia-s, rom *man* Tsitsino gaatsilos saxlʃi

1=ask=PRES Gia=DAT that he=ERG Tsitsino=NOM 3=accompany OPT home=to

"I ask Gia to accompany Tsitsino to home."

(Vamling, 1989;85)

As seen in the examples above, the control structure is similar to the one in Turkish which we will examine in the following section. The agreement on the verb signals who the controller is and makes the example an instance of *pro,* rather than PRO. Such examples are taken to be finite in Georgian, and there is a null pronominal *pro* in the complement clause subject position which can be filled with an emphatic pronoun as shown in (5b).

Although, it is simpler to analyze finite clauses as equivalents of the control structures regarding the controller and controlee, when we come to the masdar structures in Georgian, Vamling (1989) claims that coreferential interpretation is more acceptable as shown in (6). As there is no marking on the verb regarding the subject of the complement clause, the coreferentiality test has been used. This issue regarding the control of masdar constructions has been discussed in detail in Vamling (1989).

(6) a.???mindoda am-is dats'era-∅, magram man es ar dats'era.

1=want=IMP it-GEN writing-NOM but he-ERG it-NOM not 3=write=PAST

"I wanted to write it but he did not write it."

b. mindoda am-is dats'era-∅, magram ar davts'ere.

1=want=IMP it-GEN writing-NOM but not 1=3=write=PAST

"I wanted to write it but I did not write it."

c. mindoda, rom es nino-s daets'era, magram man es ar dats'era

1=want-IMP that it-NOM Nino-DAT 3=write but she-ERG it-NOM not 3=write

"I wanted Nino to write it, but she did not write it."

(Vamling, 1989:110)

Above in example (6a), non-coreferentiality leads to unacceptability, while co-referential masdar example in (6b) is grammatical. In (6c), the same example is shown with a finite subordinate clause, and non-coreferentiality is acceptable this time, so this shows that coreferentiality is the unmarked case in Georgian masdar constructions, and mostly the controller is accepted as the corefential subject.

However in further examples which involve masdar constructions Vamling (1989) shows that in the case of some verbs like "offer", either subject or object control is possible. The example (7a) shows a case of object control while (7b)[60] is an example of subject control. In such cases, the interpretation is different from the

[60] In (7b) Vamling claims that there is only one interpretation, and the example is a subject control example, however in our judgement tests with Nino Amiridze - a Georgian linguist (personal communication), she claimed that (7b) is ambiguous and has both subject and object control meaning.

one in clauses with subjunctive mood as in (8a,b)[61]. In the subjunctive clauses, the agreement indicates who the controlee is, however in masdar constructions in (7a,b), there is no agreement marker on the embedded clause verb, so the judgements of native speakers are the base.. According to Vamling (1989) the choice of the complement verb has an influence on the preferred interpretation by taking world knowledge as the basis.

(7) a. man ʃestavaza st'umreb-s kalak-is datvaliereba.

He-ERG 3=3=3=offer-AOR guests-DAT city-GEN looking+at-NOM

" He offered the guests$_i$ a look$_i$ at the city."

b. dzmam ʃestavaza luiza-s saxurav-is ʃek'eteba.

brother-ERG 3-3-3-offer-AOR Luiza-DAT roof-GEN fixing-NOM

" The brother$_i$ offered Luiza to fix$_i$ the roof."

(8) a. man ʃestavaza st'umreb-s rom kalaki-∅ datvalierebinat.

he-ERG 3=3=offer=PAST guests-DAT that city-NOM looking+at=PLUP

"He offered the guests$_i$ to have a look$_i$ at the city"

b. dzmam ʃestavaza luiza-s rom saxuravi-∅ ʃek'etos.

brother-ERG 3=3=3=offer=PAST Luiza-DAT that roof-NOM 3=3=fix-OPT

" The brother offered Luiza$_i$ to fix$_i$ the roof."

[61] Nino Amiridze (personal communication) also points out that in the subjunctive clause example in (8b) there is not any ambiguity, and the sentence only has object control meaning as Vamling also puts forward.

Following these examples, the basic question will be if there is a PRO in masdar constructions as there is not any agreement marker on the complement predicate to show us the controller. PRO occurs in the argument position in which it gets a null case as proposed in Minimalist Program. As verbs have their argument structures in these examples, we go into detail to find out whether these embedded clauses are real clauses, or nominal elements which we cannot look for a PRO.

We analyzed the exact behavior of the masdar verbs in Georgian and we found out that these masdar constructions (7) seem to have nominal character in Georgian. We applied tests to determine if these structures are true nominals or not, and used two criteria for ensuring the claim that these structures do not have a verbal category, so we cannot talk about the presence of PRO.

As seen in (7a) and (7b), the masdar verbs *datvaliereba* "look", and *ʃek'eteba* "fix" take case (here nominative) just like regular nominals do. Following that verbal elements cannot occur with nominal inflections like case, we can assume that these constructions are not true verbs but nominalized ones.

Another support to our claim can be shown as the argument structure of these masdar verbs. Firstly, a nominal cannot have arguments, however in (7a,b) there are arguments of *datvaliereba* "look", and *ʃek'eteba* "fix". But in (7a), the object *kalak* "city", and in (7b) *saxurav* "roof" are assigned Genitive case which is not a verbal case. As opposed to the examples in (7), in subjunctive clauses (8a,b), the same arguments *kalak* "city", and *saxurav* "roof" have a verbal case, (i.e.Nominative case) as they appear in a finite construction with verbal predicates. Harris (1981) also calls similar structures as 'derived nominals' in her discussion of non-finite clauses in

Georgian. All these examples and discussions on masdar constructions lead us to propose that such masdar constructions in Georgian do not have real verbal predicates in their embedded clauses; they display the properties of nominalized structures without any agreement and argument structure.

4.2.2. Control in Turkish

Control structures in Turkish are constructed with the infinitival affix *–mAK*[62] as in the examples (9a,b).

(9) a. Ayşe$_{i-\varnothing}$ [PRO$_i$ koş-**mak**] iste-di.

Ayşe-NOM run-INF want-PAST-3sg

"Ayşe wants to run."

b. Ayşe-$_{\varnothing}$ Ali'yi-$_j$ [PRO$_j$ maraton-da koş-**mağ**-]a ikna et-ti.

Ayşe-NOM Ali-ACC marathon-LOC run-INF-DAT convince-PAST-3sg

"Ayşe convinced Ali to run the marathon."

(9a) is an example of obligatory subject control as the subject of the matrix clause controls the PRO, while (9b) is an obligatory object control example in Turkish.

As discussed in chapter 1, George&Kornfilt (1981) claim that finiteness in Turkish is determined by agreement on the verb, so the sentences formed with *–mA, -(y)ACAK, -DIK* nominalizers as illustrated in (10b-d), are finite structures . The

[62] Note that Kural (1993) analyzes the final /-k/ *-mAK* as a seperate suffix which stands for a complementizer. However for the sake of simplicity we do not adopt this analysis as it is not relevant to our discussion.

example (9) repeated in (10a) has a PRO, while (10b) is *pro* since there is agreement on the verb (George&Kornfilt,1981;Oded, 2006).

(10) a. Ayşe$_{i\text{-}\varnothing}$ [PRO$_i$ koş-**mak**] iste-di.

Ayşe-NOM run-INF want-PAST-3sg

"Ayşe wants to run."

b. Ayşe-$\varnothing$ [*pro* koş-ma-n-]ı iste-di.

Ayşe-NOM run-INF/NML-2sg-ACC want-PAST-3sg

"Ayşe wanted you to run."

c. Ayşe-$\varnothing$ [*pro* koş-acağ-ın-]-ı söyle-di.

Ayşe-NOM run-NML-2sg-ACC tell-PAST-3sg

"Ayşe told that you would run."

d. Ayşe-$\varnothing$ [*pro* koş-tuğ-un-]-u söyle-di.

Ayşe-NOM run-NML-2sg-ACC tell-PAST-3sg

"Ayşe told that you had run."

Thus, in Turkish if we adopt Oded's analysis on agreement (1981), only –mAK clauses can be taken to be real complement control structures which involve PRO.

4.2.3. Control in Pazar Laz

Caucasian languages do not have non-finite complement infinitival clauses (Vamling, 1989; Harris, 1981). Holisky (1991) further claims that Laz has no other non-finite verbal forms like infinitives or absolutes other than masdars, which he takes as examples of true nominals. Note that in Chapter 3 we called this type of complementation patterns 'result nominals' since they lack argument structure. The examples that Holisky gives behave exactly in the same way that a nominal does. These 'verbal nouns', i.e. result nominals are formed with the circumfix *o___u* like in the example (11a). In (11b and c), the nominalized verbs get case and number as regular nominals do. These result nominals do not have the genitive-possessive structure that we come across in genitive-possesive constructions in Pazar Laz.

(11) a.

Present		Verbal Noun[63]	
čališ-ap-s	"he works"	o-čališ-u	"working"
č'ar-up-s	"he writes it"	o-č'ar-u	"writing"
ʒir-op-s	"he sees it"	o-ʒir-am-u	"seeing"

b. ko=gyoč'k'-u nǯa-ši o-az-u-s

begin-3sg wood-GEN cut-NML-DAT

"He began to cut down/ cutting down." (Kart II.198.6)

[63] "Verbal Noun" term has been used by Holisky (1991) to define non-finite masdars in Laz. This is the only non-finite structure in Laz as supposed by Holisky, at the end of her discussion she takes them as true nominals which do not how any clausal structure. Holisky does not mention the clauses with genitive-possessive endings which we find out in our Pazar Laz data .

c. mcxuli-š o-xi-u- ša v-i-d-a-t-y-a

pear-GEN steal-MASD-ALL go-II/COND-1pl-QUOT

"Let's go pears' stealing, he said." (Chik I.27.34)

Not all dialects of Laz but Pazar Laz have developed an infinitival structure similar to the genitive-possessive subordinate clauses in Turkish (10b). Genitive-possessive subordinate clauses have a verb with nominal agreement but there is not any tense information on the subordinate verb. (12a) and (b) exhibit the agreement markers –*muşi* and –*skani* respectively. These clauses have a very similar structure to the Turkish example in (10b) which is repeated here as (13). The agreement marker on the subordinate verb leads to *pro* as proposed in George and Kornfilt (1981), Oded (2006) as the controller is overtly marked on the subordinate verb.

(12) a. Ma [Ali-**şi** Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ meçamu-*muşi*] bgorum.

I Ali-GEN Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-3sg 1sg=want=PRE

"I want Ali to give a book to Ayşe."

b. Ma [(skani) Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ meçamu-*skani*] bgorum.

I your Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-2pl 1sg=want=PRE

"I want you to give the book to Ayşe."

(13) Ayşe-∅ [*pro* koş-ma-*n*-]ı iste-di-∅ .

Ayşe-NOM run-INF-2sg-ACC want-PAST-3sg

"Ayşe wanted you to run."

We deduce that Laz examples in the (11a,b) have *pro* rather than PRO as there is agreement on the subordinate verb, so we can conclude that there are no true control structures[64] in Pazar Laz either.

As claimed, Pazar Laz has this hybrid structure borrowed from Turkish as a result of language contact, however only genitive-possessive construction structures, not all nominalizing processes have been borrowed, so there is only instances of null pronominal *pro* but not PRO.

There are result nominal structures in Pazar Laz as we pointed out in chapter 3, however as these result nominals constructions behave in parallel to true nominal structures (i.e. verbal nouns) in Georgian (Harris, 1985), these constructions are irrelevant for the control topic as we exemplified in (11).

4.3. Structural vs. Semantic Case

'Case' is among the most important notions in theoretical studies done on linguistics. Case is assumed to be syntactic and/or semantic depending on its function and meaning respectively. Below, there are general descriptions of case which show the relationship between nouns and other parts of the sentence resulting from its function and meaning in the sentence. First, we will state the distinctions made between syntactic and semantic cases in the literature, and indicate the supports for a case to be syntactic or semantic, then we will use these arguments as the basis to our claims for Ergative case in Pazar Laz.

[64] In Pazar Laz we mainly focused on complement subordinate clauses while investigating the control structures, so the adjunct subordinate clauses are out of the scope of the thesis when we think of control theory. Holisky does not mention any adjunct control structures for Laz, either.

> 'Case' has amounted to an examination of the variety of semantic relationships which can hold between nouns and other portions of the sentence. (Filmore, 1968:2)

> 'Case' is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. (Blake, 2001:1)

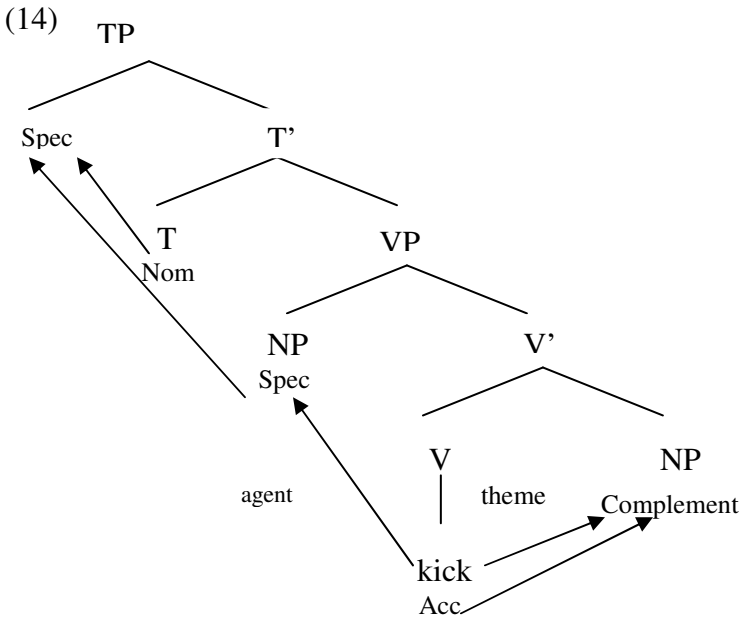
In both of the descriptions above, the relationship of nouns with the other portions of the sentence and with their heads is the way they describe "case". However Filmore's description of case is more semantic than Blake's. This relationship has been described syntactically relying on different bases, and sometimes semantically by putting forward various inducements. Sometimes syntactic case and semantic case may conflict with each other e.g. an NP is the object in the syntax (bears ACC.), and the goal in semantics (bears DAT.). Languages may differ in the way they choose one over the other (Jun, 2003).

In Government and Binding Theory (GB) (Chomsky, 1981), case is assigned by virtue of being in a specific position in syntactic structures (i.e. Nominative by Spec IP, Accusative by Comp of VP, and GEN by adnominal NPs).

In (14), there is a D-structure tree. A transitive verb like *kick* heads the VP projection which contains a specifier and a complement position. As the following is assumed to be a finite clause, a TP projection is assigned. The verb assigns *theta*-roles to the available structural argument positions. Although the number and type of *theta*-roles are specified lexically, the position and type of the arguments that are

available for *theta*-role assignment are determined structurally as specified in Projection Principle (Chomsky, 1981).

(14)



In Minimalist Program (MP), however, (Chomsky, 1995), the GB style has been abandoned and a lexicalist position has been advocated. In MP, nominals have case when they are inserted from lexicon to syntax and check their case features against a functional head under Spec-Head configuration. In both GB and MP, case is associated with grammatical function.

Baker (1988) discusses three types of case: (i) semantic case, (ii) inherent case and (iii) structural case. Assigning any of these cases is satisfactory for case filter. "Semantic case ensures that an NP appearing with a certain morphological case will always have a set thematic role". Baker (1988) exhibits Latin as a language in which all of the cases are semantically defined such that dative case always denotes the goal argument, the accusative denotes theme while ablative denotes source.

In (15), there are examples of English genitive case *'s.* The nouns with genitive case are associated with different thematic roles, which can be seen as evidence to the claim that genitive case is structural rather than semantic in English. The presence of genitive case in all of the examples below is not directly related to the theta-role of the nouns.

(15) a. The tyrant's destruction of the city (agent)

b. The city's destruction (theme)

c. John's backpack (possessor)

(Baker 1988:114)

In contrast any NP can be assigned structural case, which is canonically represented by nominative and accusative, whether the case assigner is thematically related to the NP or not. In (16a) and (16b) although the thematic roles of *John* and *window* do not change, they acquire different grammatical functions in each sentence. John is subject in (16a), while an adnominal NP in (16b); meanwhile *window* is direct object of the sentence(16a), but the subject of the (16b).

(16) a. John broke the window.

Agent Theme

b. The window was broken by John.

Theme Agent

As illustrated in (16) the theme argument *John* is assigned the structural case accusative in (16a), whereas in the passive construction it is assigned the structural nominative in (15b) in the subject position, which is distinct from its theta position.

Again according to Baker's (1988:46) UTAH (The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis) in (17), thematic roles and structural positions always stand in a one-to-one relationship, so having the same case with the same theta role does not necessarily mean that case is semantic, rather it shows that the same theta roles appear in the same structural positions that are matched with the same cases.

(17) The Uniformity of Theta assignment Hypothesis (UTAH)
Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.

When we look at the languages with Ergative systems, the discussions and the claims regarding the syntactic and the semantic positions of the cases change. Ergative case has been regarded as an inherent case and structural case by different linguists. Although all of the discussions regarding ergative case have language-specific explanations, we have seen that ergative case in Pazar Laz shows evidence supporting the idea that it is a structural case. In the following section, we specifically focus on arguments relating this issue.

For instance, Mahajan (1990) considers Ergative as an inherent case. He states that if a case is structural then verbs show agreement with the NPs bearing that particular case and in a language like Hindi, which also makes use of Ergative case,

Ergative is seen as an inherent case as Ergative subjects are unavailable for agreement in Hindi (18a), while nominative subjects agree with the verb (18b) –hence considered to be structural.

(18) a. ram-ne ṛoti-∅ k^{h}a-yi t^{h}-i

Ram-M=Sg=ERG bread=F=Sg=NOM eat-PERF=Sg be-Past=F=Sg

"Ram had eaten bread."

b. ram-∅ ṛoti-∅ k^{h}a-t-a t^{h}-a

Ram=M=Sg=NOM bread=F=Sg=NOM eat.IMPF-M=Sg be-PAST=M=Sg

" Ram used to eat bread."

(Butt, 2006: 166)

Another important indication for structural case is taken to be the developmental stages between structural vs. semantic/inherent cases during acquisition. According to studies done on acquisition of cases in languages, it has been indicated that structural cases are acquired in advance (Butt, 2006). In Nominative-Accusative languages, Nominative and Accusative cases are acquired prior to other cases, as they are structural; and in many Ergative-Absolutive languages Ergative is acquired earlier then other cases (Butt, 2006), which is taken to be an indication that ergative is a structural case.

Ergative case has been regarded as structural case by Wunderlich (1997), Ura (2000) and Davison (2004), among many others. However, given the fact that

Ergative is always associated with the arguments bearing the agent theta role many others have considered it to be an inherent case (Laughren, 1989; Mahajan, 1990; Woolford, 2001; Mohanan, 1994; Butt, 1995; Massam, 2002; Legate, 2003). Woolford assumes ergative as inherent case by giving the definition;

Inherent Case:
Case is inherently associated with certain theta positions

Now with this background on structural vs. semantic distinction in mind we will take a look at how ergative in Pazar Laz behaves.

4.3.1.Ergative as a Structural Case in Pazar Laz

Ergative in Laz is strictly associated with the agent theta role, which implies that it might be a candidate for semantic/inherent case. However, there is some conflicting data which also indicates that it can be taken as a structural case.

First, in Pazar Laz ergative case can alternate with Dative in inversion structures, which is a feature of structural cases, as inherent cases do not alternate. In the example (19a), there is an ergative case and the sentence is presented in past tense from Series II, in (19b), on the other hand, the same sentence is introduced in Series III which requires inversion, then we see that the ergative subject case alternates with dative. Thus, as it can alternate with other cases ergative behaves like a structural case like nominative and accusative cases.

(19) a. Bere-pe-*k* Ayşe-**s** svara-∅ mec'-an

Child-pl-ERG Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-II=3pl

"Children gave the book to Ayşe."

b. Bere-pe-*s* (Ayşe-**s**) svara-∅ nuçam-ap-un

Child-pl-DAT Ayşe-DAT book-NOM give-III-PRE=3sg

"Children have given the book to Ayşe."

As Mahajan (1990) pointed out structural cases – like the nominative in Hindi (18) - require full verbal agreement. When we consider agreement patterns of ergative case we see that it also requires full agreement. As discussed in Öztürk (2008) in (20d) when there is a plural subject in Pazar it has to have full agreement with the verb only if it bears ergative case, otherwise nominative and dative plural subjects are compatible with partial agreement (20 a,b,c). This also implies that ergative in Pazar has a special status and it can be considered to be a structural case in accordance with Mahajan (1990).

(20) a. Bere-epe-∅ col-*es/-u*

child-pl-NOM fall-3pl/-3sg

"The children fall."

b. Bere-epe-s ma go-c'ondr-*es/-u*

child-pl-DAT me preverb-forget-3pl/3ss

"The children forgot me."

c. Bere-epe-s u-bgar-ap-u-*ran/-n*

child-pl-DAT preroot-cry-s.m-SerieIII-3pl/3sg

"The child had cried.

d. Bere-epe-k u-k'ap'-*es/*-u*

child-pl-ERG preroot-run-3pl/3sg

"The children ran.

e. Bere-epe-k kart'ali do-t'k'v-*es/*-u*

child-pl-ERG letter preverb-write-3pl/3sg

"The children wrote the letter"

(Öztürk 2008)

As mentioned in Butt (2006), acquisition of structural cases precedes the acquisition of other cases. Although we have not done any detailed research on this issue, our informants corrected this claim by emphasizing how early children start to use the ergative case. This further supports the idea that ergative case is more like a structural case rather than a semantic one when we think of Pazar Laz example.[65]

In Pazar Laz cases are associated with specific theta roles, i.e. ergative=agents, dative=experiencers, and nominative=themes (Holisky, 1991). This stands as a challenge on the way to conclude that ergative in Pazar is a structural case; however, as stated above certain theta-roles can always occur in the same structural

[65] Ergative case always appears with action verbs which are used more than any other verb types during early childhood, so children are exposed to sentences with this case more than any other verb types, which may be another variable in that issue. This discussion requires further investigation and therefore will be out of the scope of this thesis.

position, which causes the same cases to appear with the same theta-roles. In Baker's (1988) UTAH it is further proposed that at D-level certain thematic relations are shared with certain structural positions. In the previous chapter, we indicated that ergative case is available when there is a finite T, which implies that T is responsible for checking ergative case and that is why it should be a structural case like nominative as in nominative-accusative systems. Then this means to say that the TP is a position where "agent" theta-role occurs. Thus, claiming that the selection of the same case marker with the same theta-role does not necessarily show that the case is determined via semantic rules.

However, arguing that agent role is introduced at the TP level clashes with the general consensus in the generative literature that agents are introduced at the vP level (Kratzer 1994). Therefore, it is not totally unproblematic to assume Baker's view for the ergative in Laz and conclude that ergative is "definitely" a structural case in Pazar. We leave the answer for this question for future research.

4.4. Summary

In this chapter we looked into some further issues such as control and structural case to complete the discussion related to finiteness and complementation. In chapter 3, we have concluded that Pazar Laz has borrowed a non-finite infinitival clause structure from Turkish resulting from close contact, and further in the current chapter we tried to find out how control is handled in this infinitival structure. The borrowed structure has nominal agreement on the verb which shows the controller, so we

conclude that there must be a *pro* rather than PRO in such structures as it was proposed for such structures in Turkish.

The position of ergative case is not completely explained, or there is not a common agreement on the question if ergative case is structural or semantic case. When we look at the definitions of structural vs. semantic case in the literature, we have found out that ergative case in Pazar Laz behaves more like a structural case, and there are structural indications such as ergative-dative alternation under inversion, agreement patterns and acquisition facts. Yet, given that it is strictly associated with the agent theta role, which also implies that it can be a semantic case, we still need further investigation in order to arrive at a conclusion regarding the status of ergative case as a structural case.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined finiteness and complementation patterns in Pazar Laz, which is a Western branch of the Laz language. We tried to determine the subordinate structures with a predicative core, and looked at their finiteness features comparing these structures with the ones in Georgian -which is a close relative of Laz-, and Turkish -which Laz is in close contact with-.

In order to investigate the finiteness features of the clauses we analyze, in Chapter 1, we looked at different analysis on the finiteness subject including the ones about other Caucasian languages related to Laz. We saw that finiteness feature has been defined quite differently for different languages, and there are different analyses even for the same language.

In Chapter 2, we presented some morphological and syntactic properties of Pazar Laz. We gave examples of verbal complex, agreement patterns, and case properties of language and further discussed some syntactic behaviour of the language that helped us to make our discussions clearer in the following chapters.

In Chapter 3, we focused on our main data which we have collected from native speakers of Pazar Laz. During data elicitation, we found out 4 different subordinate clause types -which have verbal predicative core- including: a) Type 1: subordinate clauses with complementizer “na”, b) Tpes 2:result nominals, c) Types 3:genitive-possessive masdar constructions, d) Types 4: ECM clauses with

nominative case marker. We realized that Type 3 which is a non-finite infinitival structure does not have its equivalent in any other Caucasian languages (Vamling, 1989; Haris, 1985) but in Turkish. Following this, we concluded that this subordinate structure which has a *genitive* subject and *possessive* agreement on the verbal core is borrowed from Turkish as a result of close contact. As we mentioned above, we looked for the presence of a predicative core so that they would have the potential to have a clausal nature. These five tests were i) Tense, agreement features of the clause, ii) the (non)presence of wh-questions, iii) the (im)possibility of extraction out of that subordinate clause, iv) high/low adverb placement, and v) negation test (i.e. negation markers with different modalities.).

Analyzing these clause types, we saw that only the "constructions with the complementizer "na"" passed all of the finiteness tests and only these constructions show exactly the same properties that matrix clauses have. These constructions carry the same tense, case, agreement information as matrix clauses do, and behave in parallel to matrix clauses in terms of syntactic behaviour including the presence of wh-questions, the possibility of extraction out of that subordinate clause, and possibility of high/low adverb placement.

After applying all the tests mentioned above, we tried to find out what the main finiteness indicator is in Pazar Laz. Taking Adger's (2007) truncation model as base, we concluded that there are four truncation levels in Pazar Laz including CP, TP, vP, VP which generalize all these clauses. The presence of CP and TP levels makes it possible for a clause to be finite, and the absence of these levels lead to nonfinite clauses which are constructions with genitive-possessive agreement, ECM

clauses with nominative case and result nominals. At the end of our analysis, we concluded that the last category (i.e. result nominals) behaves more like a nominal category and may not have a clausal structure but enters the syntax from lexicon.

Referring to fused vs. split TP analyses in the literature, we showed that Pazar Laz has a fused TP structure which checks Ergative case, verbal agreement and provides TAM (Tense, Aspect, Modality) information. This fused T(ense) head is the main finiteness indicator in Pazar; case and agreement are reflections of this fused T(ense) head. In order to support this claim we gave both morphological and syntactic evidence from Pazar Laz.

In Chapter 4, we focused on control issue in non-finite clauses in Pazar Laz. We gave the examples of non-finite structures from Georgian and Turkish, and compared how control has been dealt with in these languages. Then we presented non-finite structures from Pazar Laz and saw that there was not a PRO in Pazar, but *pro,* since the only infinitival clause structure has person agreement marker on the verb which overtly shows the controller (i.e. the genitive-possessive structure borrowed from Turkish.). Another important observation was that (also mentioned in Vamling (1989) for Georgian) Caucasian languages have finite subordinate clauses as corresponding constructions to infinitival structures, so there was not any referentiality question arising from these examples. There are not true control structures in Georgian and Laz since there is always an agreement on the subordinate verb that shows the controller.

There are various claims regarding the properties of ergative case in the literature. Whether ergative case is a structural or semantic case has been widely

discussed for other ergative languages, and since ergative case is a reflection of finiteness in Laz, we tried to find out the status of ergative case in Pazar as well. Although cases always appear with the same theta-roles (i.e. ergative=agent, dative=experiencer, nominative=theme), we saw that there are much more evidence showing that ergative case is a structural case in Pazar Laz. As claimed in Baker's UTAH (1988), this parallelism between theta-roles and cases of DPs/NPs may not necessarily show that they are semantic cases, but it shows that structural position of the case and the theta-role is the same. We put down both morphological (i.e. the necessity of full agreement on the verb), syntactic (i.e. ergative alternates with dative in inversion structures, never assigned by postpositions.), and acquisition evidence (i.e. structural cases are acquired earlier by children (Butt, 2006) to support our claim. Although there are still controversial parts about case topic, we left the discussion of further examples for the future studies.

The main aim of the current thesis was to show some theoretical implications and indications of finiteness in Laz, among the endangered Caucasian languages. Being among the first theoretical studies on Laz, it is hoped that this thesis will pave the way for further research on other areas in Laz, and contribute to the crosslinguistic understanding of the finiteness, control and structural case issues in general.

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