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Word Order and Information Structure in Turkish

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Word Order and Information Structure in Turkish

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Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

Sözen Özkan Grigoraş

2020

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Word Order and Information Structure in Turkish

by

Sözen Özkan Grigoraş
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics
University of California, Los Angeles, 2020
Professor Anoop Mahajan, Co-chair
Professor Dominique Sportiche, Co-chair

This dissertation investigates the interaction between syntax and Information Structure to account for the word order variations in Turkish. By examining the distributional and interpretive properties of Information Structural units, it proposes that semantically vacuous scrambling does not take place in Turkish. The dissertation brings in systematically built data sets from Turkish and argues that the long-lasting disagreements in the theory are due to the oversimplified nature of syntactic hierarchies. It puts forward that Turkish has five discourse-driven functional projections encoded in the syntactic structure– three Topic projections: Aboutness, Contrastive, Discourse-Given and two Focus projections: Contrastive, and Informational. I specifically show that: (i) the left periphery of the clause structure is for the Aboutness/Contrastive Topic and the Contrastive Focus of the sentence, and (ii) the Discourse-Given Topic and the Informational Focus are below the IP domain (cf. Rizzi, 1997). I propose that all of the Topic projections as well as the Contrastive Focus trigger movement to the specifier of the relevant head, while the Informational Focus stays in-situ. The arguments supporting these

claims result from a careful investigation of the interaction between scope-bearing elements and the Information Structure notions in Turkish.

The dissertation of Sözen Özkan Grigoraş is approved.

Victoria Mateu

Timothy Stowell

Dominique Sportiche, Committee Co-chair

Anoop Mahajan, Committee Co-chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2020

To my mom, my beloved heroine...

who taught me to love life.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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VITA

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

This dissertation explores the syntax of Information Structure (henceforth IS) to bring in a comprehensive account for the word order variations in Turkish (cf. Erkü 1982, Erguvanlı 1984, Kural 1992, Göksel and Kerslake 2004, Şener 2010, Gürer 2015). In particular, this study proposes that Turkish is a language that permits various word order patterns due to the presence of IS-related functional projections encoded in its syntax.

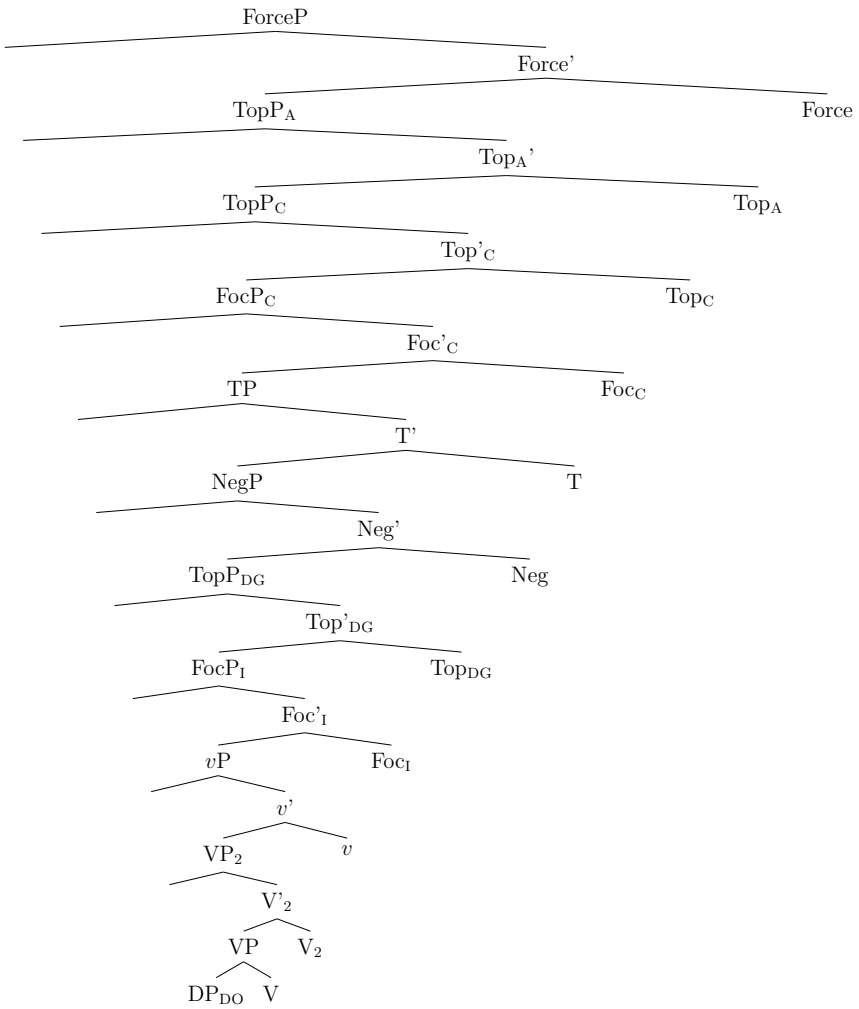
The proposal follows from the cartographical approach to the left-periphery as originally developed by Rizzi (1997), and introduces Turkish-specific alterations to the structure. Specifically, I propose that there are five IS-related functional projections: Aboutness Topic (A-Topic), Contrastive Topic (C-Topic), Contrastive Focus (C-Focus), Discourse-Given Topic (DG-Topic), and Informational Focus (I-Focus).

I assume that the relevant functional heads are projected in a given structure, and each of the above mentioned heads will not be projected if they are not relevant to the given context. Except for I-Focus, these functional heads attract a phrase with the matching feature to its specifier from a vP internal position. That is, the specifiers of these projections are landing sites for the displaced elements, and

the various word order patterns that we observe are actually the result of these discourse-driven movements. As for I-Focus, it is the lowest IS-related functional head in the hierarchy, and the head does not attract any DP to its specifier. Instead, I-Focus agrees with the lowest vP-internal phrase.

The following represents the proposal that this dissertation will put forward:

(1)



I construct this proposal by checking scope relations and ordering restrictions of the phrases. Unlike what is commonly assumed in the literature (see Section (4.3)

in Chapter 3), I suggest that sentential negation in Turkish has a fixed position in the syntactic hierarchy and projects NegP. After establishing the position of the NegP right below TP, I use the scope interpretations of the IS notions with respect to negation to motivate the relevant projection sites.

A-Topic, C-Topic and C-Focus take wide scope above negation, and thus project in the CP domain, above the TP. Via clearly established contexts, I show that A-Topic and C-Topic are the highest IS related projections. The data including both C-Focus and A-/C-Topic show that C-Focus projects below both of these topic positions. DG-Topic and I-Focus project below TP, as they take narrow scope under negation. Again, I show that I-Focus is strictly, immediately pre-verbal, and is consequently the lowest projection out of the five.

Moreover, I follow Öztürk (2005) in suggesting that subjects in Turkish do not obligatorily move to Spec,TP. Case is checked via Agree and Spec,TP does not have an EPP feature. Note that I do not entirely eliminate the Spec,TP position per the convincing arguments in Öztürk (2005) (see Section (4.4.1) in Chapter 3). Throughout the dissertation, I provide arguments resulting in the structure proposed in (5), and I motivate the assumptions that is needed for it.

In what comes next, I provide a comparative overview of the previous accounts pertaining to traditional scrambling, as well as Information Structure, and conclude that a more comprehensive analysis – as portrayed above – is needed to explain the phenomenon. At the end of the chapter, I lay out a road map for the rest of the dissertation.

1.2 Background on 'Scrambling' in Turkish

Turkish has traditionally been categorized as a scrambling language due to the variation in its word order. While the base generated word order is widely accepted to be SOV, any of the following six patterns can surface in the language: SOV, SVO, OSV, OVS, VSO, VOS. Such patterns were initially observed to be scrambling in the literature and were referred to as a 'free word order' phenomenon (Ross 1967). Over the years, its various aspects, i.e., optional vs. obligatory movement, A/A' movement, have been widely studied (Saito 1985, Miyagawa 2001, Mahajan 1990, Webelhuth 1989, among others). The studies on Turkish followed a similar fashion, and claim that the language has A/A' types of scrambling (Kural 1993, Öztürk 2005, among others). In more recent studies, Şener (2010) and Gürer (2015) implemented semantically informed analyses for Turkish, bringing in evidence from the Information Structure (IS) along side with the cartographical approach by Rizzi (1997) to account for the word order variations. In what comes next, I will show that A/A' movement accounts face fundamental problems, and, while the latter approaches are on the right track, a systematic investigation is needed to further understand the phenomenon.

1.2.1 Kural (1993)

Following Saito (1989), Kural (1993) analyzes all instances of NP fronting in Turkish to be examples of A' movement. His proposal is based on the properties of focus in Turkish, which he uses to diagnose the movement to be an A' movement, rather than A movement.

In (2b) below, the anaphor does not seem to reconstruct to its base position, so the movement seems to be into an A-position at first sight:

(2) a. Adam-lar birbirleri-ni gör-müş.
man-PL each.other-ACC see-PST
'The men saw each other.'

b. * Birbirleri$_i$-ni adam-lar t_i gör-müş.
each.other-ACC man-PL see-PST
'The men saw each other.' Kural (1993, 261)

However, Kural (1993) suggests that the movement in (2) is actually an A' movement, which can be observed once focus is introduced in the sentence. In his account, the neutral focus position is the immediate pre-verbal position in Turkish, so the unacceptability of (2b) is not due to the A-movement. He argues rather that there is a mismatch between the LF and S-structure representations of focus.

He claims that the focus falls onto the pre-verbal constituent *adamlar* 'the men' at S-structure in (3a) because the reciprocal *birbirlerini* 'each other' undergoes A' movement. On the other hand, the focus is on the reciprocal at LF in (3b), which reconstructs back into its base-position.

(3) a. * Birbirleri-ni$_i$ ADAM-LAR t_i gör-müş. (S-structure)
each.other-ACC man-PL see-PST
'The men saw each other.'

b. * Adam-lar BİRBİRLERİ-Nİ gör-müş. (after reconstruction-LF)
man-PL each.other-ACC see-PST
'The men saw each other.' Kural (1993, 267)

He further shows that a third element in the pre-verbal position, where the focus can fall, resolves this S-Structure vs. LF mismatch. In (4), *birbirlerini* 'each other'

safely reconstructs under the antecedent in the presence of another focus item:

(4) Birbirleri$_i$-ni adam-lar t_i DÜN gör-müş.
each.other-ACC man-PL YESTERDAY see-PST
'The men saw each other yesterday.'

(5) a. Birbirlerini adamlar t_i DÜN görmüş. (S-structure)
b. Adamlar birbirlerini DÜN görmüş. (after reconstruction-LF)
(Kural, 1993:267)

The focus is on the adverb in (5), so the reconstruction of the anaphora to the base position does not lead to ungrammaticality, as the LF representation matches the S-Structure. Therefore, the anaphor must have moved to an A' position in all of the instances above.

To further support his claim, Kural (1992: 78) posits the following generalizations:

(6) Scrambling is always to a position higher than the focus.

(7) A scrambled anaphor cannot be reconstructed to a position lower than the focus.

(7) is proposed to account for the contrast in grammaticality in (3) vs. (4). He further assumes there is an intrinsic focus preservation principle within the grammar of the language that enforces (7). He states this principle as follows (Kural, 1992: 75):

(8) Focus Preservation Principle (FPP):

A constituent c that is focused at S-structure must also be focused at LF.

Kural(1994) suggests that focus is recalculated at LF due to FPP. This way, the element in the immediate pre-verbal position is interpreted as focus at LF level. Conversely, Zubizarreta (1998) argues that focus marking is established prior to LF and the structure stays as it is in both S-structure and LF levels. Based on the evidence from Zubizarreta (1998), İşsever (2007) shows that there is no need to recalculate the focus at different levels and the focus structure is stable throughout the scrambling operations:

(9) a. Adam$_i$-lar$_F$ birbirleri$_i$-ni gör-müş.
man-PL each.other-ACC see-PST
'The men saw each other.'

b. * Birbirleri$_i$-ni adam$_i$-lar$_F$ gör-müş.
each.other-ACC man-PL see-PST
'The men saw each other.' (Işsever, 2007:7)

The subject in both (9a) and (9b) carries focus at S-structure and LF, since f-marking is established prior to LF. Thus, the attempt at trying to explain the ungrammaticality of (9b) by arguing that focus is different at LF and S-structure loses its validity.

Let us now turn to another argument made against Kural (1993). It is claimed that a scrambled anaphor cannot be reconstructed to a position lower than the focus. However, İşsever (2007) claims that empirical facts prove just the opposite. Regardless of the underlying order of the arguments, he observes reconstruction

below the focus site. Both in (10) and (11), the arguments typed in capital letters represent the place of the focus:

(10) a. Seren$_i$ bu kitab-ı KENDİ-NE$_i$ al-dı.
Seren this book-ACC self-DAT buy-PST
'Seren bought this book for HERSELF.'

b. Kendi$_i$-ne Seren$_i$ BU KİTAB-I t_i al-dı.
self-DAT Seren this book-ACC buy-PST
'Seren bought THIS BOOK for herself.' (Adapted from Issever 2007)

(11) a. Seren$_i$ bu iş-e KENDİ-Nİ$_i$ ada-dı.
Seren this work-DAT self-ACC devote-PST
'Seren devoted HERSELF to this work.'

b. Kendi$_i$-ni Seren$_i$ BU İŞ-E t_i ada-dı.
self-ACC Seren this work-DAT devote-PST
'Seren devoted herself to THIS WORK.' (Adapted from Issever 2007)

Issever (2007) does not assume a strict DO-IO or IO-DO underlying word order for the data above. He claims that in either case we should be able to see that reconstruction under the focus position is available. This is not entirely straightforward in (10b) and (11b) because in both pairs, there is no clear way to determine if the anaphor reconstructs to its base position or to an intermediary position, to which it moved via A-movement.

To test Issever's (2007) claim we need further data. Consider the following:

(12) a. Adam-lar birbirleri-ni gör-müş.
man-PL each.other-ACC see-PST
'The men saw each other.'

b. * Birbirleri$_i$-ni adam-lar t_i gör-müş.
each.other-ACC man-PL see-PST
'The men saw each other.'

c. Birbirleri$_i$-ni ADAMLAR t_i ara-dı. (kadınlar değil)
each.other-ACC man-PL call-PST (women not)
'The men called each other, not the women'. (Öztürk, 2005:172)

FPP is claimed to intervene for reconstruction in (2a) and (2b), repeated above as (12a) and (12b), as explained above. Note that (12c) was taken to be ungrammatical by Kural, showing that reconstruction under the focus site will not be possible. The crucial data here is observed by Öztürk (2004); she shows that contrastive focus is indeed possible in this sentence, with reconstruction below the focus. Unlike the anaphor data above in (10) and (11), there is actually no place for the reciprocal to reconstruct other than the position below the focused subject. This refutes any claim that has focus blocking reconstruction. That is, under Kural's approach, (12c) would be expected to be ungrammatical, contrary to fact.

In what follows, we will consider the analysis by Öztürk (2005).

1.2.2 Öztürk (2005)

Öztürk (2005), unlike Kural (1993), argues that clause-internal scrambling can be A or A' movement. Kural (1993) provides the following data of pronominal binding in (13) and (14) below, where she claims scrambling can create new binders as

predicted under A-movement.

(13) * [pro$_i$ sekreter-i] herkes$_i$-i ara-dı.
secretary-3s everyone-ACC call-PST
'His$_i$ secretary called everyone$_i$.'

(14) Herkes$_i$-i [pro$_i$ sekreter-i] ara-dı.
everyone-ACC secretary-3s call-PST
'His$_i$ secretary called everyone$_i$.' (Kural 1991:261)

Now contrast (13) with (15) below:

(15) Sekreter$_i$-i herkes$_i$-i DÜN ara-dı.
secretary-3s everyone-ACC yesterday call-PST
'His$_i$ secretary called everyone$_i$ yesterday.'

The adverb *dün* 'yesterday' is placed pre-verbally for focus reasons and it indicates how high the subject and the object have moved in the structure. This temporal adverb is in the TP domain according to Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, so it would suggest that the reconstruction into where the subject moved from is possible. This would further suggest that in (13), both the subject and the object are possibly at lower positions, and that reconstruction to the VP internal position the subject moved out of is impossible.

Following the points made above, Öztürk (2005) argues that there is no conceptual reason to not assume that there is A-scrambling in Turkish providing the following examples.

(16) Ali bütün test-ler-e gir-me-di.
Ali all test-PL-DAT take-NEG-PST
'Ali did not take all the tests.' (neg>all,* all>neg)

(17) Bütün test-ler-e Ali gir-me-di.
all test-PL-DAT Ali take-NEG-PST
'Ali did not take all the tests.' (*neg>all, all>neg)

(18) Bütün çocuk-lar Allahtan o test-e gir-me-di-ler.
all child-PL fortunately that exam-DAT take-NEG-PST-3PL
'All children didn't take the test fortunately.' (*neg>all, all>neg)

(Öztürk, 2005:170-171)

In (16), the object takes narrow scope with respect to negation, which means that it has not actually left its base-generated position. However, when the object is preposed, scope relations are reversed in that the object takes wide scope. This indicates that it has left its base-generated position in (17). In (18), the subject takes the wide scope reading, indicating that the subject is not in a vP internal position undergoing an A-movement. Öztürk (2004, 2005) argues that the movement in (12b) must be A-movement. If this claim is on the right track for (12b), then the same applies in (17) as well. The movement in (17) can also be an A-movement, as the object does not undergo reconstruction and cannot take narrow scope.

İşsever (2007) puts forward some empirical concerns about the analysis in Öztürk (2005). He states that his informants do not agree with the judgement of a wide scope reading of both the universally quantified subject and the object in (12b) and (17), respectively. Based on the unavailability of those judgements,

he regards the reconstruction argument establishing the existence of A-movement scrambling as a weakened analysis. For our purposes, overall disagreement with respect to the type of scrambling, as well as the available possible interpretations of the relevant data, indicate that there is more to these structures than we can capture via A/A' movement alone. Moreover, a carefully controlled for judgement task to provide contexts for such structures needs to be conducted (see Chapter 2 and 3).

1.2.3 Information Structure based accounts

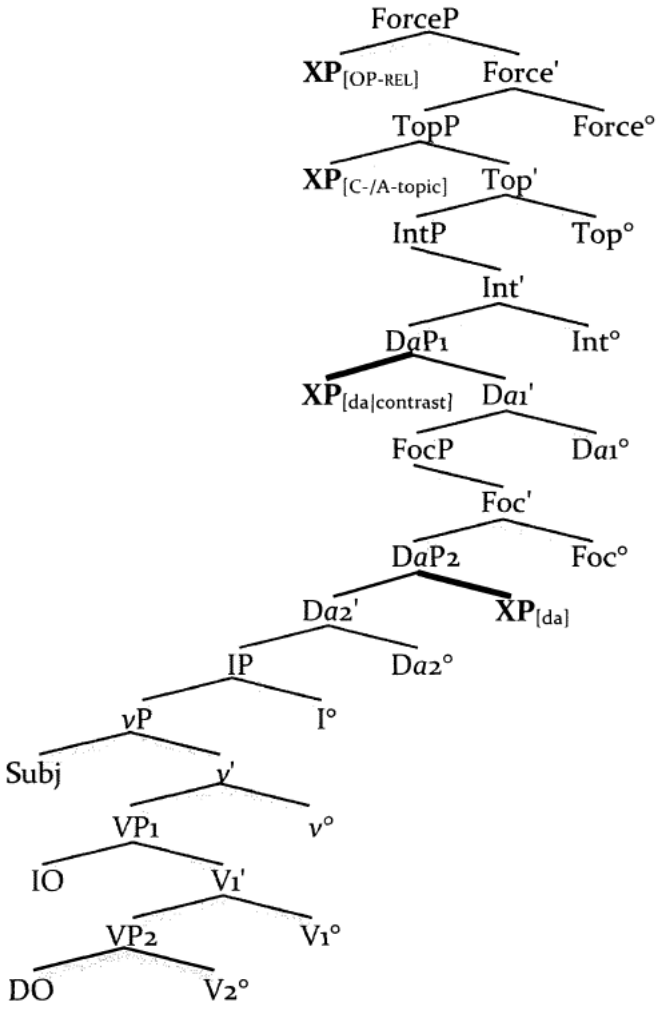
To recap, the literature on scrambling in Turkish has been without a doubt very extensive. There have been several questions raised with respect to A/A' scrambling and how to account for word order variations in the language (Erguvanlı 1984, Erkü 1982, Göksel 1998, Göksel and Özsoy 2000, İşsever 2003, Enç 1996, Kural 1997, Şener 2010, Gürer 2015). However, as illustrated above, there has not been a clear consensus with respect to the type of scrambling in Turkish. As we depart from the A/A' debate, we note multiple studies adopting the perspective of discourse-pragmatic driven scrambling and developed proposals referring to IS.

In this section, I will introduce two different analyses by Şener (2010) and Gürer (2015) who offer discourse-driven accounts. In particular, I show that while both of these accounts are on the right track in terms of motivating various word order patterns with discourse-driven features, their syntactic mechanisms fall short in explaining a wide range of data. This is mainly due to the lack of a NegP projection in both analyses, which proves to be one of the most solid diagnoses for detecting movement, as I discuss in detail in Chapter 3.

1.2.3.1 Şener (2010)

The main proposal in Şener (2010) is based on the claim that movement operations in Turkish syntax are motivated by discourse features. He adopts a version of Rizzi (1997)'s cartographic approach and offers an account in which Topic, Focus and Discourse Anaphoric elements (Discourse-Given Topic) have projections in the left periphery. (19) is the functional structure of Turkish clauses as proposed by Şener (2010):

(19)



Şener 2010, 65, (55)

Instead of following the Criterion Approach in Rizzi (1997), Şener (2010) employs the Move/Agree mechanisms. He assumes that the functional heads of the left periphery are introduced with the following features: [utop(|contrast)], [udA(|contrast)], and [ufoc(|ucontrast)]. Moreover, the functional heads with either the [utop] or [uda] features also have the [iOP] feature (to trigger movement) by default in his system. The IS elements – Topic, Focus and Discourse Anaphoric

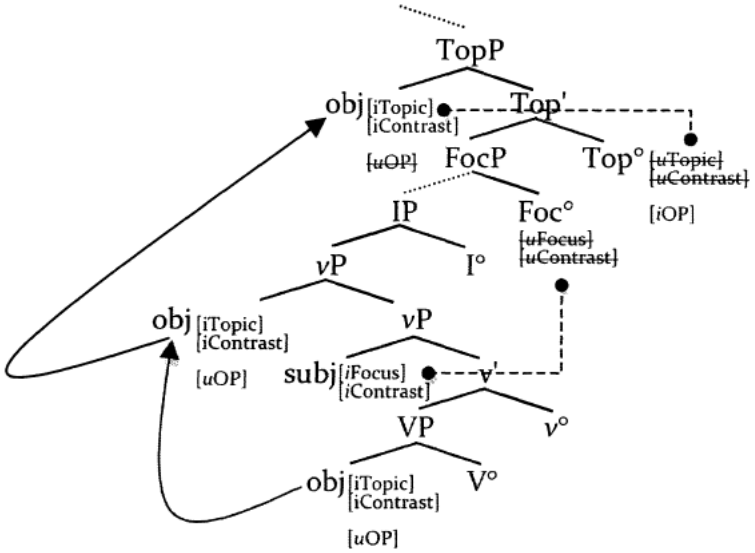
phrases– bear a relevant combination of these features, which are checked against the matching functional projections via Move/Agree. In his account, Focus lacks the [iOP] feature and therefore it is strictly in-situ. See the example below:

(20) *Çorbadan n'aber? Ondan içen oldu mu peki?*
'What about the soup? Has anyone eaten that?'
Valla çorbadan haberim yok ama...
Frankly, I don't know about the soup, but..

Dolma-lar-dan AYLIN $t_{dolmalardan}$ ye-di.
dolma-PL-ABL Aylin eat-PST
'Aylin ate from the dolmas.' Şener 2010, 72, (58)

The target sentence in (20) is placed in a context where the object *dolmalardan* is the C-Topic and the subject *Aylin* is the C-Focus. C-Topic precedes C-Focus, hence we observe OSV word order. He proposes the following derivation for it:

(21)



Şener 2010, 72, (59)

In (21), the C-Topic object has the [iTopic] and [iContrast] features as well as the [uOp] feature. The [uOp] feature makes the object move to the specifier of the TopP[1]. In this position, the object c-commands the head and checks the relevant features via Agree. Note that he assumes vP is a phase, so the object moves through the edge of the vP, as allowed by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) (cf. Chomsky 2000, 14). In his system, Move is subject to the PIC while Agree is not. So, the subject, which has the [iFocus] and [iContrast] features, establishes an Agree relation with the Foc head while being in-situ.

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[1] One question he raises within this system is: 'What guarantees that an XP with a [topic] feature does not land in the Spec position of DaPi, for example, given that it is the [uOP] of XP that triggers its movement?'

He offers three possible solutions for this question and he suggests any of those would be compatible with his analysis. See Şener 2010, 69-72 for a detailed discussion of this issue

While the feature checking system within this hierarchy works for the examples Şener (2010) provides, we run into problems with his analysis when we consider how scope interacts with negation. As I show in greater detail in Chapter 3, IS elements take narrow or wide scope with respect to negation depending on their position. That is, negation interacts with the IS notions and this type of data serves as a concrete diagnostic tool for establishing their hierarchical/relative position in the structure.

Given the powerful effects of negation in determining the positions of the IS notions, a fully operational analysis should be able to account for these scopal relations as well. The examples in (22) is from Şener (2010); it is used as a part of the diagnostic of C-Topic vs. C-Focus positions, not for a discussion of where negation is situated in the structure or what scope interactions we observe. However, it is still relevant for the discussion of negation.

In (22)[2], the subject NPI is C-Topic and the object is C-Focus[3].

---

[2] The cited examples show the original glossing and labeling, some of which may be presented differently in this dissertation. Specifically, I gloss *kimse* as 'anyone' instead of 'noone' (see Section (4.3.4.1) for a detailed discussion of NPIs) and I omit the nominative case on the subject since it is morphologically null.

[3] Although it is not relevant to the immediate discussion in this section, this example shows contradictory evidence for diagnosing focus. The object here is labeled as C-Focus by Şener (2010), however the context actually triggers an I-Focus. Indeed, Şener (2010) himself uses wh- questions as a diagnostic for detecting I-Focus phrases, so it is not clear to me why this object is analyzed as C-Focus.

(22) *Can'dan n'aber? O ne yedi partide?*

'What about John? What did he eat at the party?'

Can'ı bilmiyorum ama...

'Well, I don't know about John, but..'

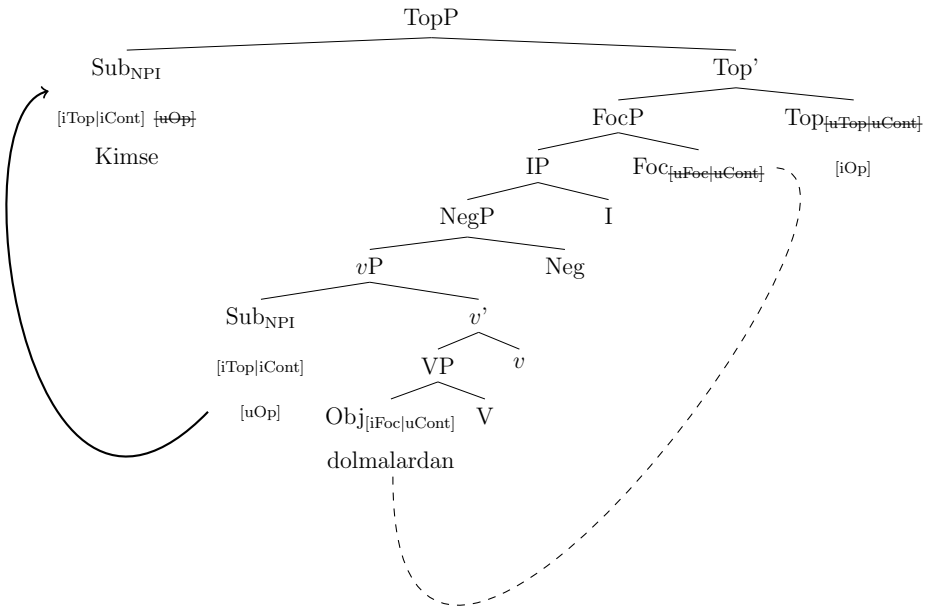
a. #Kimse dolma-lar-dan ye-me-di.
noone dolma-PL-ABL eat-NEG-PST
'Nobody ate from the dolmas.'

b. Aylin hiçbirşey-den ye-me-di.
Aylinanything-ABL eat-NEG-PST
'Aylin did not eat from anything.'

Şener 2010, 21, (13)

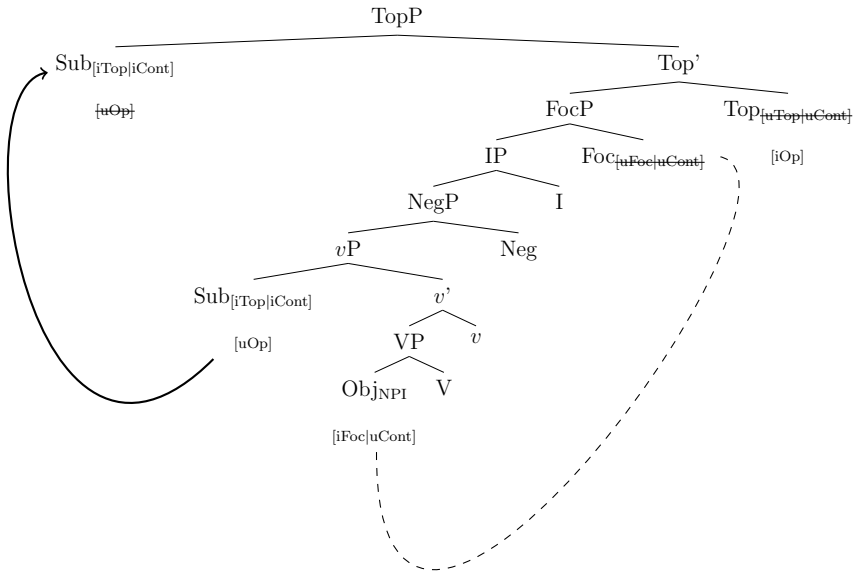
Note that the specifics related to the syntax of NPI licencing will be introduced and discussed in Section (4.3.4.1). For the purposes of this discussion, let us superficially assume that the NPI subject needs to be under the scope of the NegP, and the NegP projects right under the IP. When we integrate this into Şener's 2010 analysis, we see that we can predict why (22a) is illicit. Namely, the (moved) NPI subject is not under the scope of negation. Below is the anticipated derivation for (22a) under the given assumptions:

(23)



We are also able to predict what we find in (22b). The NPI object is under the scope of negation as it is the Focus phrase in this case; Focus is in-situ in Şener's 2010 analysis. Therefore, the NPI is licensed in-situ and the structure is predicted to be grammatical:

(24)



While the two examples above are able to be explained with these assumptions, Şener's 2010 analysis makes other predictions that we cannot account for. One straightforward prediction is that, except for Focus phrases, no other NPI can be licenced under negation, as they all move above the IP. This is problematic, given the fact that an NPI subject can be a Discourse-Given Topic (Discourse Anaphoric Phrase, in Şener's 2010 terms) and is still able to be licensed. Let us now see an example of this.

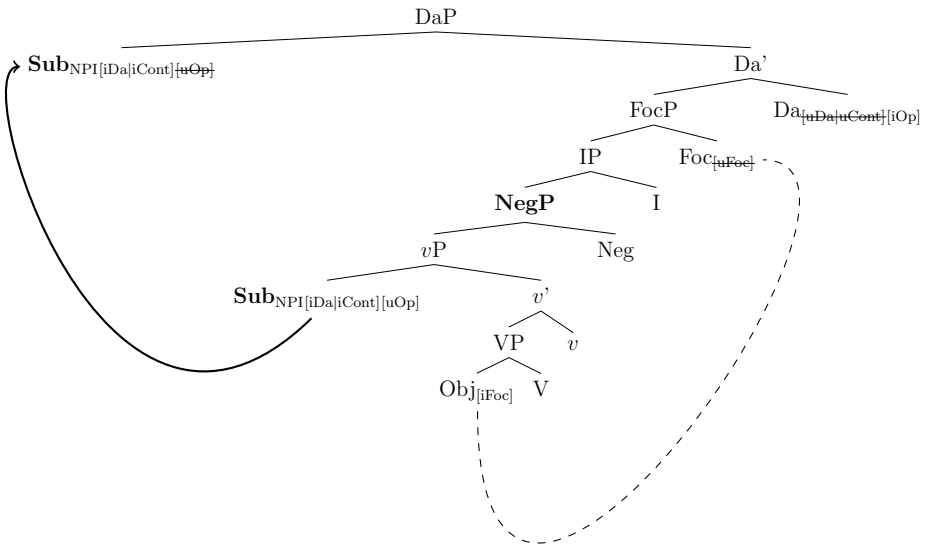
(25) Context: *Partiye bir sürü kişi çağırmışlar ama galiba bi kişiyi unutmuşlar. Kimi hiç kimse çağırmamış, senin haberin var mı?*
'Everyone who was invited to the party showed up but one person was missing. Who didn't anyone invite? Do you know anything about that?'
Valla duydugum kadariyla...

'As far as I heard...'

Hiç kimse Aylin-i çağır-ma-mış.
any one Aylin-ACC invite-NEG-perf
'Noone invited Aylin.'

In (25), the NPI subject is previously introduced in the context, so it is a "DaP"; therefore it moves to the relevant specifier in his analysis.

(26)



The problem is, though, that we expect this sentence to be ungrammatical given the structure, however, it is licit. This suggests that any proposal that suggests moving "DaP"s outside of the scope of negation obligatorily must be revised[4]

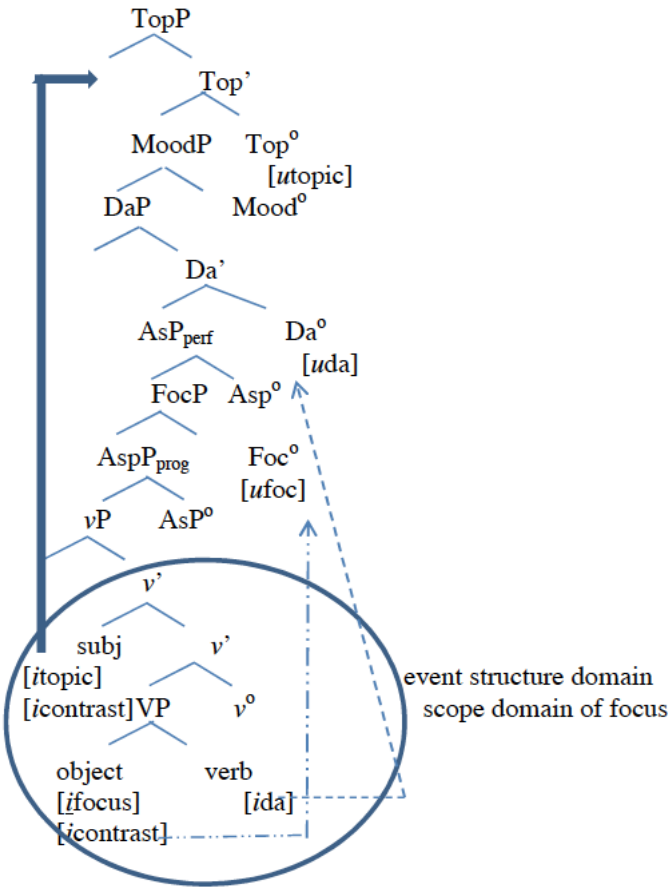
[4] Şener (2010) further offers that DaP can reconstruct under FocP, which could possibly be used to solve the NPI problem. However, as I will show in Chapter 3, we need a C-Focus phrase projection, and relying on this assumption of reconstruction will not be necessary.

Note that there also is the possibility of fixing this problem by placing NegP elsewhere, which is one of the core assumptions of Gürer (2015). I will discuss her analysis next.

1.2.3.2 Gürer (2015)

Gürer (2015) constructs a hierarchy in which she follows some of Şener's 2010 assumptions while updating the left-peripheral projections with respect to scope. Unlike Şener (2010), she assumes a series of AspPs between vP and MoodP (instead of a TP). FocP and DaP surface within these domains as seen in (27). In her analysis, when the word order is SOV, nothing except for the C-Topic moves. If the word order is OSV, all of the phrases move except for the Focus. Similar to Şener (2010), she also assumes a single FocusP projection.

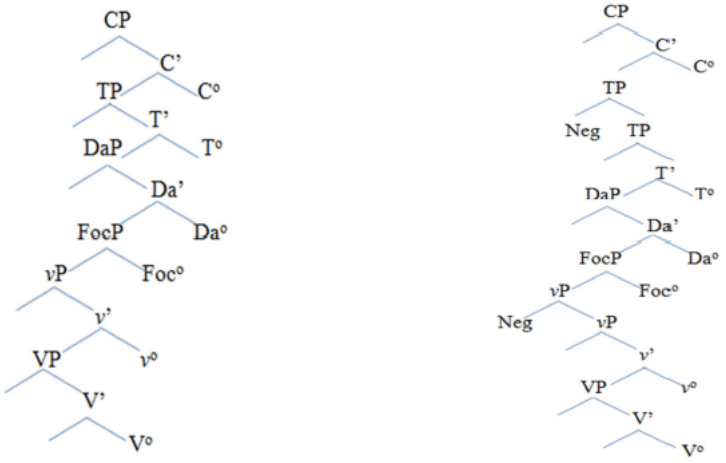
(27)



Gürer 2015, 24, (26)

She builds the analysis on quantifier scope, as well as variable binding data. While the examples presented exhibit consistent behavior for the assumed structure, NPI licensing and negation stand out to be an issue once again. Below are the simplified structures provided by Gürer (2015). We see that the one on the right includes negation.

(28)



Gürer 2015, 178, (20)

Following Kelepir (2001), Gürer (2015) assumes that negation in Turkish can project at multiple levels. She adjoins Neg to the vP or to the TP, and she also mentions it can also be adjoined to the CP. However, there is no consensus as to what regulates Neg adjunction to these sites, and tree derivations for the negation and quantifier scope data are not provided. Therefore, I assume that the type of puzzle that was introduced in the previous section would be addressed by projecting Neg right above the NPI at the nearest adjunction site.

In contrast to this assumption, I suggest that we can indeed have a fixed position for NegP in Turkish (as previously offered by McKenzie (2006), Öztürk (2005), Su (2012), Kamali (2008)). This claim will serve as the basis for one of the main differences between Gürer's (2015) analysis and the proposal that is put forward in this dissertation. Moreover, I will bring in novel data showing solid evidence for a C-Focus projection, which will in turn suggest that neither of the previous analyses can be sufficient.

1.2.3.3 Interim Summary

Neither Kural's (1992) blocking account, nor Öztürk's (2004) proposal, allow us to properly account for the contrast in grammaticality observed in examples with and without contrastive focus, or its interaction with reconstruction. Thus, it is still unclear whether clause-initial scrambling in Turkish is into an A- or an A-position. In summary, by taking a narrow look at scrambling, I have exemplified that existing accounts are inconsistent, and the counter-arguments provided to challenge these accounts are also problematic. I tried to show that there are multiple issues that we need to understand better. This dissertation offers a comprehensive analysis overcoming the problems posed by the lack of negation in Şener's (2010) proposal, and the strong assumption that there are multiple projections of negation in Gürer's ((2015) proposal. In the next section, I will provide a roadmap of the dissertation including a summary of the assumptions and the arguments.

1.3 The Roadmap

In this work, I build on previously initiated analyses while offering a new account. The purpose of this work is to present and analyze an exhaustive data set, in which we observe scope alterations with respect to the IS notion and the type of phrase we have in a given context. In particular, I ask and answer the following questions:

1. Why are the word order variations uninterpretable in certain contexts? What are the implications on the Information Structure of the language? Can we capture the interpretability of any given structure via a syntactic account?
2. What kind of mapping is there between syntax and Information Structure? How can we track syntactic movement?

In answering these questions, I establish the distributional properties of the five IS notions in Chapter 2 and 3. These properties are summarized in the table below and they lead the way for the hierarchy offered in (5).

IS notion	**linear position**	**can be post-V?**
Informational Focus	imm. pre-V	no
Discourse-Given Topic	below C-Focus	yes
Contrastive Focus	above DG-Top/imm. pre-V	no
Contrastive Topic	above C-Foc	no
Aboutness Topic	above C-Top	no

Table 1.1: Comparison of types of IS notions in Turkish

Chapter 4 moves on to the motivations and argumentation behind the proposed structure. In particular, I show that:

- A-Topic, C-Topic, C-Focus scope above negation.
- DG-Topic and I-Focus scope below negation.
- Negation cannot be a floating projection– there is no independent evidence for this claim. Studies that assume the floating Neg base their fundamental arguments on it. We can advance the proposal by bringing in independent evidence for assuming a fixed NegP.
- Sentential negation has a fixed position, it has a NegP projection immediately below TP. And indeed, previous scholars (McKenzie 2006, Öztürk 2005, Su 2012, Kamali 2008) have offered a fixed NegP position within different analyses, which are all in line with my proposal here (contra: Kelepir 2001, Gürer 2015).
- Moreover, the standard analysis is to assume that languages have a fixed NegP projection (i.e. Miyagawa (2001) for Japanese).
- While Kelepir (2001) poses potential problems for a NegP analysis, the purported 'floating' effects for the purposes of NPI licensing can be derived with a Negative Operator within NPIs, as proposed by McKenzie (2006) following Mathieu (2001).
- The distinct behavior of the PPI *bazı* 'some' can also be explained via Kelepir's intervention effects analysis, but following a fixed Sentential Negation.
- Assuming a single Focus projection below TP is one of the outcomes of the floating Neg analysis, which needs to be revised once the fixed NegP is established.

- Universal quantifiers scope above negation when moved to C-Focus or C-Topic. I show that this constitutes one of the core arguments for a higher Focus projection in the CP domain.

- I follow Öztürk (2005) in adopting the claim that Turkish does not have an EPP feature for Spec, TP.

  And finally in Chapter 4, I conclude.

CHAPTER 2

Information Structure Notions

2.1 Introduction

Information Structure and Syntactic Structure build up a core set of assumptions necessary for understanding the type of puzzles I introduced in Chapter 1. As presented in the brief discussion earlier, SOV – the basic word order in Turkish– surfaces in answers to questions like 'What happened?'. Whenever a speaker chooses a non-SOV word order, there is a specific, underlying information structure that triggers this non-basic word order. This chapter aims to take a step in understanding what the IS structure looks like for any given sentence and word order in Turkish.

For this purpose, I begin by describing the Information Structure (IS) notions and their distributional properties in Turkish. Using previously established diag-

nostic tests, I provide the reader with a systematic layout of these properties, upon which I build the main arguments in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. In an effort to build an analysis of word order permutations and the motivations behind it, this chapter serves as a fundamental survey of the relevant IS structure in Turkish.

This chapter is organized as follows:

First, I recap basic IS as described and analyzed by Krifka (2008). Then, I dive deeper into the IS of Turkish by testing the distribution and co-occurrence of each concept, wherever possible. By the end of Section 2.3, I summarize and unite various labels that have been used previously in Turkish literature.

2.2 A Brief Background on Information Structure

As a starting point, I adopt the definitions of IS by Krifka (2008) as well as other various resources in the literature. This section briefly summarizes Krifka's definitions of the basic IS elements and how to identify them.

2.2.1 Information packaging and Common Ground

Following Stalnaker (1974) and Reinhart (1982), Krifka (2008) claims that information structure notions, such as Focus, Givenness and Topic, should be established in theories of how communication works.

Within the discussion of IS, Krifka (2008) follows Chafe's 1976 approach, and adopts the idea that IS should be analyzed as information packaging. He states that the way a speaker packages information depends on how much information is shared between the speaker and the addressee. The term Common Ground (CG) was proposed by Stalnaker (1974, 2002) and has been often used for this notion of shared knowledge. In this analysis, the content of the CG keeps being updated by

the speakers as the discourse progresses. I revisit information packaging and the content of the CG as they become relevant in explaining the IS in the following subsections.

2.2.2 Focus

Krifka (2008) bases the definition of Focus on the theory of alternative semantics of Focus proposed by Rooth (1985, 1992). In this theory, Focus assigned to a linguistic expression α always indicates that there are relevant alternatives to α in the current discourse. In other words, anything that does not trigger any alternatives indicates an IS notion other than Focus.

Below is the definition of Focus by Krifka (2008):

(1) Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions.

Krifka (2008) makes a distinction between the two interpretative categories of Focus. He refers to the first one as Information Focus (henceforth I-Focus), which is relational to the information predicated about the Topic. The second type is referred as Contrastive Focus (henceforth C-Focus), as it has referential material that the speaker calls to the addressee's attention. The speaker evokes a contrast between this material and the other possibilities that could fill the position[1].

[1] There are different perspectives regarding what the 'contrast' entails. According to Chafe (1976) and Rooth (1985), the main function of Focus is to evoke alternatives, so this contrast provides the locus for Focus sensitive operators such as 'only', 'even', and 'also'. Horn (1981) and Vallduví (1992), on the other hand, treats contrast as 'secondary and derivative'. In their work, only the information status is primary.

One of the naturally arising questions concerning this subject is distinguishing, and correctly identifying, the Focus types. Krifka (2008) states that both I-Focus and C-Focus are marked in some way by linguistic prominence cross-linguistically, which leads to further confusion in trying to map the distinction between the two types.

Two main tests of identifying I-Focus are pitch accent prominence and question-answer congruence. Since I do not use pitch accent prominence as a formal diagnostic in this research, I refrain from discussing pitch accent in Focus vs. Topic phrases. The reader may refer to Gundel (1974), Selkirk (1986), Vallduví and Vilkuna (1998) as well as Büring (1999) for further discussion on the subject.

As for the question-answer test, Krifka (2008) states that I-Focus correlates with the questioned position in the relevant wh-question. Büring (2009) also defines this widely accepted test of identifying I-Focus as the following: "The material in the answer that corresponds to the wh-constituent in the (constituent) question is focused." In the data below, both sentences express the new information Focus that identifies the one who called 'the meeting' (the Topic) as 'Bill' (the Focus).

(2) A. Do you know who called the meeting?
B. (It was) BILL (who) called the meeting.

(3) Every time we get together I'm the one who has to organize things, but this time (it was) Bill (who) called the meeting.

Krifka (2008) shows that both Information Focus and Contrastive Focus may similarly be syntactically coded by placing the relevant constituent in a syntactically prominent position. There seems to be some confusion in the literature with the term 'topicalization' being used to mark preposing of (contrastively focused)

Topics, as well as preposing of new information Focus.

(4) We have to get rid of some of these clothes. That COAT you're wearing I think we can give to the Salvation ARMY.

(5) A. Which of these clothes do you think we should give to the Salvation Army?
B. That COAT you're wearing (I think we can give away).

The sentences in (4) and (5) are similar in that both have a prosodically prominent sentence-initial object [that coat you're wearing] which may be in contrast with other objects in some contextually relevant set. But the information status of the preposed objects is different. In (4), 'the coat' is a Topic, possibly (though not necessarily) contrasting with other members of the set of clothes that are candidates for being disposed of and to which the predicate 'we can give to the Salvation Army' would or would not apply. In (5) 'the coat' is part of the new information Focus, the new information identifying objects that would be included in the set described by the the Topic (clothes that would be suitable to give away), and possibly contrasting with other clothes that could also be included in that set.

2.2.3 Givenness

Givenness is an IS feature that is often contrasted with new information. The status of the referents can be new, in the sense that they might be inactive at the point of their introduction into the discourse, or given as an active element in the consciousness of the speaker and the addressee. According to Clark and Haviland (1977), given information is 'information [the speaker] believes the listener already knows and accepts as true', and new is 'information [the speaker] believes the

listener does not yet know'. Givenness is divided into text-givenness (previously mentioned in the discourse) and context-givenness (contextually salient). Using the notion of CG, Krifka (2008) defines givenness as in (6).

(6) A feature X of an expression is α is a Givenness feature iff X indicates whether the denotation of α is present in the CG or not, and/or indicates the degree to which it is present in the immediate CG.

This definition allows two different interpretations of givenness. First, givenness may be either a categorical feature– given vs. not given, i.e. new. Second, it can be a scale that expresses the degree of discourse salience, following two lines of theories of givenness (e.g. Schwarzschild 1999 for the former and Prince 1981, Gundel et al. 1993, Chafe 1976, and Lambrecht 1996 for the latter).

Krifka (2008) also notes that givenness may be part of the lexical information as we see in pronouns, clitics, and definite articles; or it may be arbitrarily assigned to linguistic expressions by means of various grammatical devices such as deaccentuation, word order, and deletion. Within the discussion of Turkish IS , I refer to Givenness in the context of Discourse-Given Topics.

2.2.4 Topic

The notion of Topic is related to the way information is stored in human memory and organized in communication. Krifka (2008) describes Topic as follows: '...topic is the entity that a speaker identifies about which the information, the comment, is given. This presupposes that information in human communication and memory is organized in a certain way so that it can be said to be "about" something' (Krifka 2008, 265). He adopts the following definition of Topic (often referred to

as Aboutness Topic), which makes use of the notion of CG.

(7) The Topic constituent identifies the entity or set of entities under which the information expressed in the comment constituent should be stored in the CG content.

This definition follows the proposal by Reinhart (1982), who uses the organization of a library catalogue as a metaphor for how Topics and comments are related to the CG. The CG (for which she uses the term 'context set') is organized like a subject-oriented library catalogue, in which book entries (propositions stored in the CG) are organized according to their subjects (topics). Krifka (2008) constructs the following analogy: 'A Topic is like a subject in the catalogue, according to which book entries are collected in a single file card. Each time a new book entry (a new proposition) is added to the catalogue (the current CG), the Topic specifies the file card to which the book entry is to be added.'

Building upon Reinhart (1982), Krifka (2008) also discusses the interaction between Topic and Focus to define Contrastive Topics. He claims that a Contrastive Topic contains a Focus, which induces a set of alternatives within a Contrastive Topic, and indicates the presence of other Topics relevant for the current CG. The presence of alternatives indicates that there are other Topics and their comments that may be added to the CG. In other words, a Contrastive Focus can imply the presence of further information to be added to the CG.

It is worthwhile to briefly summarize the understanding of Topic and Focus within cartographic approaches, as they are directly relevant to our discussion here. There are various accounts of the Topic and Focus projections within this framework. Belletti (2004) postulates a low Focus position, expressing new infor-

mation Focus, as well as a Topic in the vP periphery. In contrast, Rizzi (1997) assumes recursive TopP projections above and below FocP, which –under this analysis– has a single projection in the CP region and is not recursive. Other studies (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007, Neeleman and Vermeulen 2012) oppose the recursive projections of Topic phrases and instead offer distinct projections for each type of Topic.

Neeleman and Vermeulen (2012) provide a bipartite classification for Topic phrases, categorizing them as (i) an Aboutness Topic or (ii) a Contrastive Topic. While Aboutness Topic phrases bear only a Topic feature, Contrastive Topic phrases bear an additional contrast feature. Contrastive Topics differ from Aboutness Topics in that Contrastive Topics evoke alternatives, as I also illustrate for Turkish below. In this study, I follow Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) by adopting a three-way distinction for Topic phrases: (i) Aboutness Topics, (ii) Contrastive Topics, (iii) Familiar Topics; I will present an analysis (in more detail in Chapter 4) in which individual projections of these Topic phrases are required. The definition of Aboutness Topic is in line with the definition of Reinhart's sentence Topic, in that an Aboutness Topic is newly introduced, or marks a shift in the conversation. Familiar Topics are constituents that are given, or salient, in the discourse, and which are analyzed as Discourse-Given Topics within this study (as will be discussed in the next sections).

The discussion above summarizes what has been said in the literature for the purpose of this work; however, clear distinctions across the IS are lacking. This is mostly due to the fact that previous studies handle various aspects of the Information Structure, but to our knowledge, they do not necessarily focus on minimal pairs. Hence, the distinction between certain types, such as Contrastive Topic vs. Contrastive Focus, is not clear. I address these issues throughout the dissertation.

In particular, I present comparative data in Chapter 3, with a greater emphasis on context, to help us distinguish the IS concepts.

In the next section, I provide a detailed description of IS in Turkish.

2.3 Information Structure in Turkish

This section returns to Turkish and provides a survey of empirical facts on information structure in Turkish. Information structure of Turkish has mostly been studied in the context of accounting for the word order variations in Turkish (as opposed to EPP and case related accounts). Since Turkish is categorized as an SOV language, this literature mainly aims to motivate the movement operations with interpretational triggers (Kural 1992, Öztürk 2005, Şener 2010, İşsever 2003). As seen in (8) below, six different combinations are possible in Turkish given a simple structure with subject, object and verb.

(8) a. Kadın öğretmen-i gör-dü.
woman teacher-ACC see-PST
'The woman saw the teacher.' [2] SOV

b. Öğretmen-i gör-dü kadın.
teacher-ACC see-PST woman
'The woman saw the teacher.' OVS

c. Gör-dü kadın öğretmen-i.
see-PST woman teacher-ACC
'The woman saw the teacher.' VSO

[2] The '3rd person singular' subject does not have an overt agreement marker on the verb in Turkish. Therefore, I choose to omit it from the glosses throughout.

d. Kadın gör-dü Öğretmen-i.
woman see-PST teacher-ACC
'The woman saw the teacher.' SVO

e. Gör-dü öğretmen-i kadın.
see-PST teacher-ACC woman
'The woman saw the teacher.' VOS

f. Öğretmen-i kadın gör-dü.
teacher-ACC woman see-PST
'The woman saw the teacher.' OSV

The very first example is considered to be the underlying word order (SOV), and the availability of every combination of S, O, and V in Turkish has led researchers to often label Turkish as a 'free word order' language. Here in this work, I aim to show that this is an overstatement and is a simplified categorization for Turkish. The question, then, is, how can Turkish generate these examples above if the word order is not 'free'? There has been structural explanations to this question targeting an answer along the lines of A/A' movement.

I claim that the answer actually comes from the fact that all of the sentences above are presented without a context, and when you ask a native speaker to provide a grammatical judgement in any of these, the speaker puts them in an imaginary context or in some sort of perspective to provide grammaticality for them.

In other words, while it has been observed that these variations in word order are possible in Turkish, in order to understand the underlying structure, we have to ask: when are they possible? Or in what context are they possible? And what do these contexts mean for the information structure build-up of the language?

In anticipation of what I attempt to demonstrate in this section, I provide one example to illustrate that Turkish word order is in fact constrained by IS. (9) below demonstrates a simple structure with S, O, and V repeating the data from (8).

The answer to a wh- question as shown in (9) is uttered to provide new information, so the DP [içki-ler-i] '*the drinks*' bears I-Focus.

(9) Context: A woman came to the school that you work at to interview with the principal and a teacher. She is waiting in the hallway for her second appointment, and you are wondering who she saw for her first appointment.

Kadın kim-i gör-dü?
woman who-ACC see-PST
'Who did the woman see?'[3]

a. Kadın [öğretmen-i] gör-dü.
woman teacher-ACC see-PST
'The woman saw the teacher.' SOV

b. [Öğretmen-i] gör-dü kadın.
teacher-ACC see-PST woman
'The woman saw the teacher.' OVS

[3] As it is with all other structures in Turkish, the word order in wh- questions is also context-dependent. This particular example is SOV, however other orders are permitted based on the context in which the question is asked. See Şener (2010) for an extensive discussion of wh- questions in Turkish.

c. # Gör-dü kadın [öğretmen-i].
see-PST woman teacher-ACC
'The woman saw the teacher.' VSO

d. # Kadın gör-dü [öğretmen-i].
woman see-PST teacher-ACC
'The woman saw the teacher.' SVO

e. # Gör-dü [öğretmen-i] kadın.
see-PST teacher-ACC woman
'The woman saw the teacher.' VOS

f. # [Öğretmen-i] kadın gör-dü.
teacher-ACC woman see-PST
'The woman saw the teacher.' OSV

Once we put the sentence in a context where the response requires an Informational Focus (more on that in the next section), we observe that only the SOV and OVS orders are possible. Crucially, except for the OV sequence, no other order is licit when the object is the Focus.

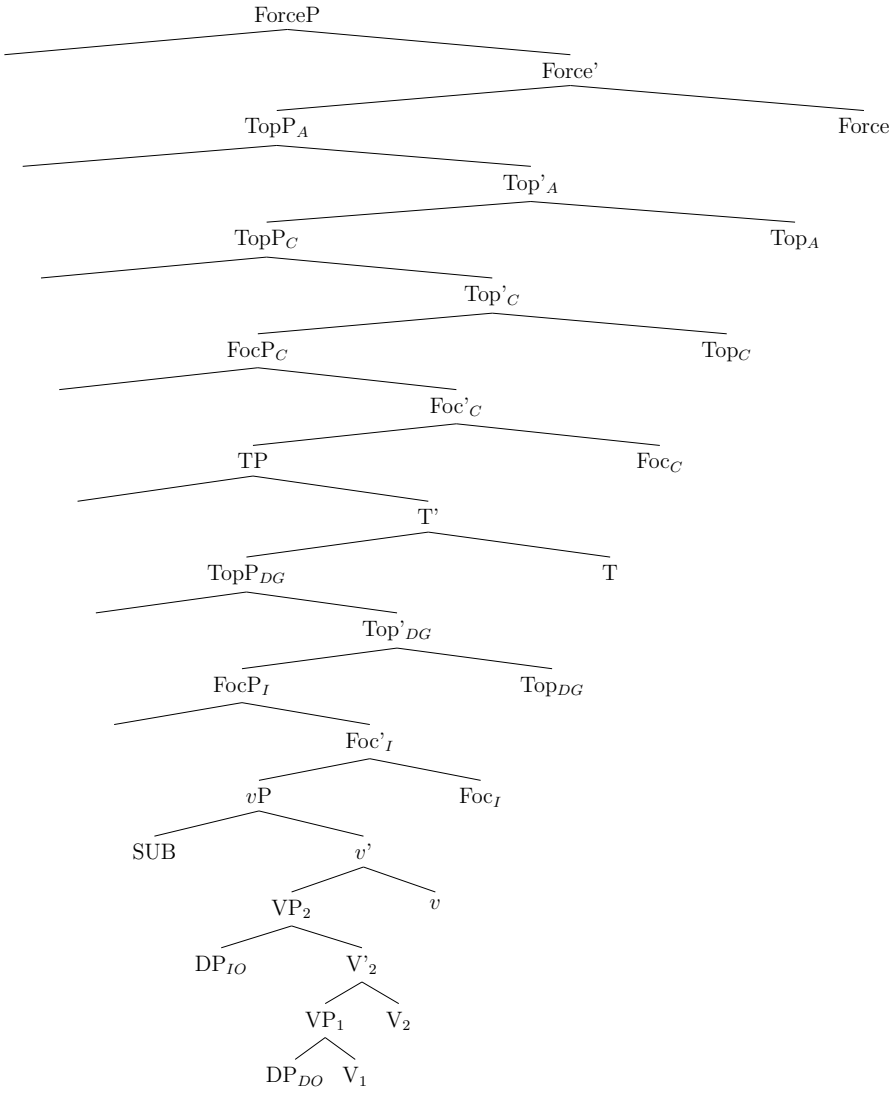
The otherwise available word order patterns become unavailable when the Information Structure does not comply with the word order. Therefore, I check the (un)availability of word order patterns across contexts to properly diagnose the Information Structure (IS) in Turkish.

Given the variety of opinions regarding the word order phenomena of Turkish in the literature, I choose to narrow down the discussion on how IS concepts are distributed in Turkish, and unite the descriptions made by previous scholars as a whole, rather than summarizing each work independently. The aim of the following sections is to provide the reader with the distributional properties of five

IS notions, which then feeds into the overall argument in the next chapter.

They are listed as follows: Aboutness Topic, Contrastive Topic, Contrastive Focus, Discourse-Given Topic, Informational Focus. I propose that all five IS categories in Turkish are syntactically encoded and are subject to a syntactic hierarchy as presented in (10).

(10)



I motivate this structure in three steps: first, via setting distinguishing contexts and definitions (in this chapter); second, via distributional properties of the IS (in Chapter 3); third, via scopal properties built upon the empirical facts (in Chapter 4).

In what comes next, I construct the fundamental building blocks, the definitions of the above mentioned IS categories in designated contexts. By the end of the chapter, I lay the foundation for understanding the properties in the following table:

IS notion	**linear position**	**can be post-V?**
Informational Focus	imm. pre-V	no
Contrastive Focus	above DG-Top/imm. pre-V	no
Discourse-Given Topic	below C-Focus	yes
Contrastive Topic	above C-Foc	no
Aboutness Topic	clause initial	no

Table 2.1: Comparison of types of IS notions in Turkish

By establishing these identificational properties of the IS throughout this chapter, I prepare the reader for the following chapter, in which I provide a distributional analysis of the types. With both Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, I aim to advance our understanding of the matter before we proceed to scopal relationships, where these concepts are used extensively to further unpack the structure proposed in (10)

2.3.1 Focus in Turkish

Focus in Turkish has been studied to some extent within the scrambling literature, and there have been several distinct views about whether Turkish has a designated position for Focus, and how it is realized if there is. The syntactic accounts in the literature (Erguvanlı 1984; Kornfilt 1998; Şener 2010; Gürer 2015, and the references therein) assign a Focus position in the immediate pre-verbal area. The second type of accounts (Kural 1992, Göksel 1998, and Göksel and Özsoy 2000) argue that there is no discrete syntactic Focus position in Turkish, and that Focus assignment is accomplished prosodically. Lastly, İşsever (2003) proposes that there is an I-Focus, encoded syntactically, whereas C-Focus is encoded prosodically.

For reasons that will become clear throughout the discussion of scopal matters in Chapter 4, I propose that there are indeed two distinct Focus positions in Turkish, and that they are both syntactically encoded. The data presented here is unique, because the type of scopal relations that I discuss in the next chapter have not been brought into attention previously.

I label the Foci in Turkish using Krifka's 2008 terms and referring to new information/informational Focus as I-Focus and Contrastive Focus as C-Focus. Note that Şener (2010) refers to I-Focus as P-Focus (for Presentational Focus).

2.3.1.1 Informational Focus

One widely accepted test for identifying I-Focus is the question-answer congruence test as defined by Büring (2005): "The material in the answer that corresponds to the wh-constituent in the (constituent) question is focused."

Following Büring (2007), I diagnose I-Focus in this study using the question-answer congruence test. Here I construct contexts with the relevant types of

wh-questions that are needed to invoke the Direct Object, Subject, and Indirect Object; this is done in order to lay out the linear pattern in which I-Focus occurs. By identifying the particular constituent that bares I-Focus through this test, I am able to show that I-Focus is position-restricted in Turkish; it can only surface in the immediate pre-verbal position.

It has been widely reported in the literature (Kural 1992 , Kornfilt (1997), İsşever (2003), Şener (2010)) that Informational Focus in Turkish is strictly only assigned in the immediate pre-verbal position. Crucially, the response to a wh-question cannot consist of the phrase bearing the new information anywhere else but the immediate pre-verbal position. [4]

(11) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friend and her kid. While they are at the table, Seren goes to the restroom and comes back. She sees that there is a variety of dishes on the table and wonders which one is for the kid. She asks the question below, her friend gives the response in (11a):

Garson çocuğa neyi getir-di?

'What did the waiter bring for the child?' DO question

a. Garson çocuğ-a [kızartma-yı] getir-di.
waiter child-DAT fries-ACC bring-PST
The waiter brought the fries for the child.[5] DO pre-verbal

[4] [* = ungrammatical, # = infelicitous]

[5] In both of these examples, and in some of the examples in the following sections, it is preferred to pro-drop the subject rather than to repeat it. However, I used a "speak your words" type of enforcement with my consultants throughout the dissertation, so that all of the arguments are overt and we can detect the word order clearly.

b. # Garson [kızartma-yı] çocuğ-a getir-di.
waiter fries-ACC child-DAT bring-PST
The waiter brought the fries for the child. DO non-preverbal

c. # [Kızartma-yı] garson çocuğ-a getir-di.
fries-ACC waiter child-DAT bring-PST
The waiter brought the fries for the child. DO non-preverbal

d. # [Kızartma-yı] çocuğ-a garson getir-di.
fries-ACC child-DAT waiter bring-PST
The waiter brought the fries for the child. DO non-preverbal

e. # Garson çocuğ-a getir-di [kızartma-yı].
waiter child-DAT bring-PST fries-ACC
The waiter brought the fries for the child. DO non-preverbal

f. # Çocuğ-a garson getir-di [kızartma-yı].
fries-ACC waiter child-DAT bring-PST
The waiter brought the fries for the child. DO non-preverbal

In (11b), when the DP that is the answer to Seren's question moves above the indirect object, the sentence becomes infelicitous.

Note that the same facts hold regardless of the argument type.[6] (12) and (13) below illustrate this with a subject and an indirect object, respectively.

[6] The data in this section features the Direct Object, Subject, and Indirect Object in similar contexts to show that different arguments do not cause a difference in grammatically judgements. That is, the reader should note that the distribution of these categories does not change depending on the argument type. To avoid repetition in each of the following sections, I provide additional examples with the Subject and Indirect Object in the Appendix for each type of IS notion, instead of in the body of the text. Therefore, the sections after this one will only have the Direct Object data analyzed.

(12) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friend and her kid. While they are at the table, she goes to the restroom and comes back. She sees the kid is drawing with some pencils and wonders who brought the pencils. She asks the question below, her friend gives the response in (12a):

a. Çocuğ-a kalem-ler-i kim getir-di?
child-DAT pencil-PL-ACC who bring-PST
'Who brought the pencils for the child?' Subj question

b. Çocuğ-a kalem-ler-i [garson] getir-di.
child-DAT pencil-PL-ACC waiter bring-PST
'That waiter brought the pencils for the child.' Subj pre-verbal

c. #Çocuğ-a [garson] kalem-ler-i getir-di.
child-DAT waiter pencil-PL-ACC bring-PST
'That waiter brought the pencils for the child.' Subj non-pre-verbal

d. #[garson] çocuğ-a kalem-ler-i getir-di.
waiter child-DAT pencil-PL-ACC bring-PST
'That waiter brought the pencils for the child.' Subj non-pre-verbal

As illustrated above, the informational Focus is on the subject, and the subject is positioned immediately before the verb. If we move the subject out of this position, the sentence is unacceptable in this context (12c).

As stated above, the same restriction applies to indirect objects as well:

(13) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friend and her kid. While they are at the table, she goes to the restroom and comes back. She sees there are some fries on the table and wonders who they are for. She asks the question below, and her friend gives the response in (13a):

a. Garson kızartma-yı kim-e getir-di?
waiter fries-ACC who-DAT bring-PST
'Who did the waiter bring the fries for?' IO question

b. Garson kızartma-yı [çocuğ-a] getir-di.
waiter fries-ACC child-DAT bring-PST
'The waiter brought the fries for the child.' IO pre-verbal

c. #Garson [çocuğ-a] kızartma-yı getir-di.
waiter child-DAT fries-ACC bring-PST
'The waiter brought the fries for the child.' IO non-pre-verbal

All these examples above show that the position for Information Focus is strict in Turkish. Moreover, discourse new information cannot be moved post-verbally either. In (14) below, I illustrate this with the direct object following the context in (11). The subject and the indirect object cases follow the same patterns.

(14) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friend and her kid. While they are at the table, she goes to the restroom and comes back. She sees that there is a variety of dishes on the table and wonders which one is for the kid. She asks the question below:

a. Garson çocuğ-a ney-i getir-di?
waiter child-DAT what-ACC bring-PST
What did the waiter bring for the child? DO question

b. # O çocuğ-a getir-di kızartma-yı .
3SG child-DAT bring-PST fries-ACC
He brought the fries for the child. DO post-verbal

(15) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friend and her kid. While they are at the table, she goes to the restroom and comes back. She sees the kid is drawing with some pencils and wonders who brought the pencils. She asks the question below, her friend gives the response in (15a):

a. Çocuğ-a kalem-ler-i kim getir-di?
child-DAT pencil-PL-ACC who bring-PST
'Who brought the pencils for the child?' Subj question

b. # Çocuğ-a kalem-ler-i getir-di [garson].
child-DAT pencil-PL-ACC bring-PST waiter
'That waiter brought the pencils for the child.' Subj post-verbal

(16) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friend and her kid. While they are at the table, she goes to the restroom and comes back. She sees there are some fries on the table and wonders who they are for. She asks the question in (16a), and her friend gives the response in (16b):

a. Garson kızartma-yı kim-e getir-di?
waiter fries-ACC who-DAT bring-PST
'Who did the waiter bring the fries for?' IO question

b. # Garson kızartma-yı getir-di [çocuğ-a] .
waiter fries-ACC bring-PST child-DAT
'The waiter brought the fries for the child.' IO post-verbal

As seen in (16b), discourse new information cannot be in a post-verbal position.

Foci type	**immediately pre-V**	**can be post-V?**
Informational	obligatory	no

Table 2.2: Distribution of I-Focus in Turkish

2.3.1.2 Contrastive Focus

As introduced in Section 2.2.2, the two interpretive types of Focus, namely I-Focus and C-Focus, are distinct from each other. In Turkish, we observe this distinction through the distributional properties of each Focus type. In this section, I use contexts that trigger contrast for informational units introduced in the Common Ground, and compare C-Focus to I-Focus. I show that C-Focus can occur in various positions in the pre-verbal domain, while I-Focus is restricted to the immediate pre-verbal position. Note that C-Focus needs to be separated from Contrastive Topic, which has unique distributional properties of its own. I discuss C-Topic in detail in Section 2.3.2.2.

A typical context requiring a Contrastive Focus occurs in cases of correction, such as in (17), where B corrects the statement made by A. [7]

(17) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friend and her kid. While they are at the table, she goes to the restroom and comes back. She sees that there is a variety of dishes on the table and wonders which one is for the kid. She asks what the waiter brought for the kid, and the kid replies with the sentence below. Her friend corrects him with the sentence in (17a) or (17b).

[7] In this work, C-Focus is indicated in capital letters for easier identification.

Garson bana [kızartma-yı] getir-di.
waiter 1SG.DAT fries-ACC bring-PST

'The waiter brought the fries for me.'

a. Hayır, garson sana [MEYVE-LER-İ]$_{CF}$ getir-di.
no waiter 2SG.DAT fruit-PL-ACC bring-PST
'No, THE FRUITS, the waiter brought for you (not the fries).'

b. Hayır, [MEYVE-LER-İ]$_{CF}$ garson sana getir-di.
no fruit-PL-ACC waiter 2SG.DAT bring-PST
'No, THE FRUITS, the waiter brought for you (not the fries).'

In (17a), the contrastively focused direct object is placed in the immediate pre-verbal position, as the triggering sentence has the direct object in that position. However, unlike I-Focus, this C-Focus DO can be placed clause-initially as seen in (17b). Recall from (11b) that it was not possible to place an I-Focus-bearing direct object (as well as subject in (12c) or indirect object in (13c)) anywhere but the immediate pre-verbal position.

We indeed see that C-Focus is interpreted higher in the structure, and that it precedes Discourse-Given Topic and Informational Focus. To demonstrate this, I will first lay out a pair-wise comparison of C-Focus vs. DG-Topic and C-Focus vs. I-Focus in Chapter 3, before examining the issue via an in-depth discussion of the interpretational analysis of C-Focus in Chapter 4.

We saw above that C-Focus can be in the immediate pre-verbal position if the contrasted element is already placed there. Below, we have a context where the

constituent is not in this immediate pre-verbal position.[89]

(18) Context: The children come home from school and the mother asks them: *'Bugün okulda neler oldu?'* 'How was school today?' And child 1 tells a story with the sentence below. Then, child 2 corrects her with the sentence in (22a) ("use your words" context)
... Sonra, öğretmen sınıf-a [araba-lar-i] sırayla getir-di.
then teacher classroom-DAT car-PL-ACC line.with bring-PST
'Then, the teacher brought the cars into the classroom one by one.'

a. Hayır! Öğretmen sınıf-a [BEBEK-LER-İ]$_{CF}$ sırayla
no teacher classroom-DAT doll-PL-ACC line.with
getir-di.
bring-PST
'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.'

---

[8] After setting up the contexts and examples, I elicited the grammaticallity judgement of each example in the dissertation from 8 native speakers. The consultants were between ages of 25-35, all born and raised in Istanbul; they either lived in Istanbul until they were 22 or still live in Istanbul.

According to my consultants, (22c) is a marginal response in this context, though not ungrammatical. I assume this sentence might be acceptable with a prosodic break or prominence on the constituent, but I leave this issue for further research.

[9] Şener (2010) reports that the dialect/variant of Turkish that he analyzes only allows Focus (regardless of the subtype) to be in the immediately pre-verbal position (See Şener (2010, 35-36) for a detailed report of the analysis in Göksel and Özsoy (2000)). My consultants allow C-Focus to precede DG-Topic and occur higher in the clause, rather than being strictly pre-verbal. My analysis takes this distributional property of C-Focus into account, so I report this dialect/variant of Turkish while proposing the syntactic hierarchy for Turkish in Chapter 4.

b. Hayır! [BEBEK-LER-İ]$_{CF}$ öğretmen sınıf-a sırayla
no doll-PL-ACC teacher classroom-DAT line.with
getir-di.
bring-PST
'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.'

c. Hayır! Öğretmen sınıf-a sırayla [BEBEK-LER-İ]$_{CF}$
no teacher classroom-DAT line.with doll-PL-ACC
getir-di.
bring-PST
'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.'

There are similar analyses suggesting that Contrastive Focus can appear before the verb, without restricting it to the immediate pre-verbal domain (Göksel and Özsoy 2000, İşsever 2003, Kılıçaslan 2004). However, İşsever (2003) suggests that this optionality is restricted to Contrastive Focus phrases, and discourse-new constituents can only appear in the immediate preverbal position. Now I investigate whether the optionality of appearing in the surface order is possible for discourse-new constituents or not.

As noted earlier, Focus bearing elements cannot be placed post-verbally. Following the same context above, the response by child#2 cannot have a C-Focus bearing DO in the post-verbal area:

(19) # Hayır! Öğretmen sınıf-a sırayla getir-di
no teacher classroom-DAT line.with bring-PST
[BEBEK-LER-İ]$_{CF}$.
doll-PL-ACC

Intended: 'No, the teacher brought THE DOLLS into the classroom one by one.'

The same restriction applies regardless of the complexity of the structure. Below is a variation of the data point we saw earlier in Section 2.3.1.1:

(20) a. Garson [yemek-ler-i] getir-di.
waiter food-PL-ACC bring-PST
'The waiter brought the food.'

b. # Hayır, garson getir-di [İÇKİ-LER-İ]$_{CF}$.
no waiter bring-PST drink-PL-ACC
'No, the waiter brought the drinks.'

Although there does not seem to be a known way of testing the two Foci in the same clause, they can still be distinguished via the linearization pattern and the context. I refer back to the relevant positions of the Foci as I introduce each type of Topic below.

In the next section, I offer a pair-wise comparison of DG-Topic and C-Focus, where I also show that C-Focus can optionally occur in the mid-positions.

Summary of Foci

2.3.2 Topic in Turkish

In this work, I divide Topic into three subtypes following terms introduced in the previous section: Discourse-Given Topic (DG-Topic), Contrastive Topic (C-Topic), and Aboutness Topic (A-Topic).

Foci type	**immediately pre-V**	**can be post-V?**
Informational	obligatory	no
Contrastive	optional	no

Table 2.3: Comparison of types of Foci in Turkish

Before I go into the specifics of each type of Topic in the next part, I would like to note that, similar to the notion of Focus, Topic has also been referred to with various labels in the Turkish literature. Theme, ground, link, and tail are some commonly used terms for somewhat similar versions of the notion Topic (see Erguvanlı 1984, Özge and Bozşahin 2010, İşsever 2003 for further discussion using these labels). The terminology used here is most similar to that of Şener (2010). He divides Topic into three types as well: Discourse Anaphoric Elements, Aboutness Topic, and Contrastive Topic. While I follow his analysis for A-Topic and C-Topic, I use the concept of 'Discourse-Given' for the discourse salient, pronominal constituents that fall under the Givenness definition of Krifka's and are not Contrastive.

2.3.2.1 Discourse-Given Topic

The concept of givenness and Topic have been analyzed from different angles. Büring (1999) successfully shows that it is not sufficient to assume everything that is non-Focus is background information in a sentence. This is because we need to distinguish between types of Topic. Here in this section, I start with Discourse Given Topic (DG-Topic), which is distinct from Contrastive and Aboutness Topics.

One clear diagnostic for it is that DG-Topic can be omitted, or it can appear in

the pronominal (or clitic in languages that have clitics) form. Below is an example using a pronoun from Turkish:

(21) *Seren'i nereye götüreceksin?*
Where are you going to take Seren?
a. (On-u) Boğaz'a götür-eceğ-im.
3SG-ACC Bosphorous-DAT take-FUT-1SG
'I will take her to Boshphorus.'

In (21a), the string 'Seren'i' can be omitted or replaced with the pronoun since it is present in the CG (as discussed earlier within the definition of Givenness by Krifka (2008) in Section 2.2.3). Although all Topic phrases carry the feature Givenness, omission of the pronominal form is not possible for the other types of Topic i.e., contrastive topic or aboutness topic, as they carry additional features. I introduce the relevant data in the next two sections where I cover these types.

The second way of diagnosing DG-Topic is the linear position we observe it occurring in. We have already established in the previous section that the I-Focus has to be in the immediate pre-verbal position. In a context like (22), where the answer to the question triggers I-Focus, DG-Topic cannot be immediately pre-verbal, but has to precede the I-Focus.

(22) *Seren'i nereye götüreceksin?*
'Where are you taking Seren?'
a. # Boğaz'a on-u götür-eceğ-im.
Bosphorous-DAT 3SG-ACC take-FUT-1SG
Intended: 'I will take her to Boshphorus.'

The I-Focus *Boğaz'a* precedes the DG-Topic pronoun, therefore (22a) is uninterpretable in the context. DG-Topic can be in the immediate pre-verbal position when there is no I-Focus involved in the clause. Recall from (2.3.1.2) that C-Focus could linearize anywhere in the clause except post-verbally. In a context where DG-Topic and C-Focus co-occur, DG-Topic linearizes in a position with respect to the C-Focus.

(23) Context: The school you are working at is getting new equipment and materials and you are expecting some deliveries. Your colleague tells you the following:
Bugün okula yeni kitaplar gelmiş diye duydum.
'I heard that new books arrived at school today.'

a. Hayır, okul-a [yeni masa-lar] gel-di.
No school-DAT new table-PL arrive-PST
'No, the new tables arrived at school.'

b. Hayır, [yeni masa-lar] okul-a gel-di.
No new table-PL school-DAT arrive-PST
'No, the new tables arrived at school.'

Both in (23a) and (23b), *okul-a* is the DG-Topic phrase, as the information is already in the Common Ground, and is repeated from the previous context. Note that unlike (21a), the focused new information is contrastive in these examples, therefore C-Focus can occur elsewhere and DG-Topic can linearize in the immediate pre-verbal position.

The next diagnostic test used for identifying DG-Topic is placing it in the post-verbal position (Erguvanlı 1984; Erkü 1982; Göksel 1998; Kornfilt 1998, Kornfilt

1998, 2005; Kural 1992, 1997; Şener 2010). This diagnostic test is very straightforward in Turkish, because no other IS notion can be placed post-verbally except for DG-Topic in Turkish.

(24) (Repeating the same context from (23):)

Hayır, [yeni masa-lar] gel-di okul-a.
No new table-PL arrive-PST school-DAT
'No, the new tables arrived at school.'

Şener (2010) explains that post-verbal DG-Topics as well as the omitted DG-Topics (since they are phonologically null) differ from the pre-verbal DG-Topics in terms of distributional restrictions.[10] As shown in the discussion above, DG-Topic cannot be immediately pre-verbal in the presence of a Focus element. To support this claim, Şener (2010) presents the following example where the pronominal refers to (the discourse-given element) 'Paul Auster's book':

(25) *Yeni aldigin Paul Auster kitabini ne yaptin?*
What did you do with the new Paul Auster book you bought?

a. #YARIN o-nu oku-ma-ya basla-yacag-im.
tomorrow it-ACC read-INF-DAT begin-FUT-1SG
'I will begin to read it tomorrow'

b. o-nu YARIN oku-ma-ya basla-yacag-im.
it-ACC tomorrow read-INF-DAT begin-FUT-1SG
'I will begin to read it tomorrow' adapted from Şener (2010)

[10] In Şener (2010)'s terminology, DG-Topics are Discourse anaphoric elements (DAs in short).

This example from Şener (2010) supports the same observation that the DG-Topic cannot be immediately pre-verbal when the Focus element is present as in (25a). However, Şener (2010) assumes only one Focus position in Turkish, while I assume two different foci. Hence, the co-occurrence restrictions of the DG-Topic and the foci need to be analyzed in more detail. I come back to this issue in Chapter 3, where I provide a pair-wise comparison of the IS components[11]

As shown in the beginning of this section, DG-Topic can be omitted or be placed post-verbally. The examples below complete Şener (2010)'s data set:

(26) *Yeni aldigin Paul Auster kitabini ne yaptin?*
What did you do with the new Paul Auster book you bought?

a. YARIN oku-ma-ya başla-yacag-im o-nu.
tomorrow read-INF-DAT begin-FUT-1SG it-ACC
'I will begin to read it tomorrow.'

b. YARIN oku-ma-ya başla-yacag-im.
tomorrow read-INF-DAT begin-FUT-1SG
'I will begin to read (it) tomorrow.' adapted from Şener (2010)

As seen in (26a) and (26b), the DG-Topic from (25b) may actually be placed in the post-verbal field or can be omitted all together.

---

[11] A further issue is how well controled the context in the example above is. The question('What did you do with the new Paul Auster book you bought?') triggers new information on every other element in the sentence except for the 'book', which, in return, makes it harder to detect the ordering relation between the relevant types. The phrase *... okumaya başlayacağım* 'I will start reading...' as well as the adverb *yarın* 'tomorrow' receive new information status in the sentence, which needs to be controlled for.

Topic type	**immediately pre-V**	**can be post-V?**
Discourse Given	can be	yes

Table 2.4: Distribution of Discourse Given Topic in Turkish

2.3.2.2 Contrastive Topic

Contrastive Topic (C-Topic) is an IS notion that shares the Common Ground feature with the DG-Topic. That is, just like DG-Topic, C-Topic is also pre-established information in the CG. However, unlike the DG-Topic, the context that C-Topic emerges in shows that the person is responding with a different constituent than the one being asked for. C-Topic must occur clause-initially as seen in (27a) (in the absence of A-Topic, see Section 3.1.1):

(27) *Bugün kitaplar ve masalar teslim edilecekti. Kimse kitaplari ofise getir-di mi?*
'The books and the desks were supposed to be delivered today. Did anyone bring the books to the office?'
Kitaplari bilmiyorum, ama...
'Well, I don't know about the books, but...'

a. [Masa-lar-ı]$_{CT}$ bir adam ofis-e getir-di.
desk-PL-ACC indef man office-DAT bring-PST
'A man brought the desks to the office.' DO C-Topic

b. ?? Bir adam [masa-lar-ı]$_{CT}$ ofis-e getir-di.
indef man desk-PL-ACC office-DAT bring-PST
Intended: 'A man brought the desks to the office.' DO C-Topic

c. ?? Bir adam ofis-e [masa-lar-ı]$_{CT}$ getir-di.
indef man office-DAT desk-PL-ACC bring-PST
Intended: 'A man brought the desks to the office.' DO C-Topic

d. # Bir adam ofis-e getir-di [masa-lar-ı]$_{CT}$.
indef man office-DAT bring-PST desk-PL-ACC
Intended: 'A man brought the desks to the office.' DO C-Topic

The summary for this section:

Topic type	**immediately pre-V**	**can be post-V?**
Discourse Given	can be	yes
Contrastive	no	no

Table 2.5: Types of Topics so far in Turkish

2.3.2.3 Aboutness Topic

Reinhart (1982) proposes "as for", "what about", and "said about" tests to identify the Topic phrases in an utterance. Neeleman et al. (2009) note that the "tell me about X" test (a la Reinhart 1982) forces an X(P) to be construed as an Aboutness Topic (A-Topic) in the reply.

As illustrated in (28), an A-Topic in Turkish must be placed in the left periphery of its clause (see also Erkü 1982, Erguvanlı 1984, İşsever 2003.) The data below is adapted from Şener (2010):

(28) *Bize biraz yeni evinden bahsetsene.*
'Tell us a bit about your new house.'

a. Ev-i yakın-lar-da bir emlakçı-da bul-du-k
house-ACC near-PL-LOC indef realtor-LOC find-PST-1PL
'We found the house at a real estate office nearby.'

b. # Yakın-lar-da ev-i bir emlakçı-da bul-du-k
near-PL-LOC house-ACC indef realtor-LOC find-PST-1PL

c. # Yakın-lar-da bir emlakçı-da ev-i bul-du-k
near-PL-LOC indef realtor-LOC house-ACC find-PST-1PL

d. # Yakın-lar-da bir emlakçı-da bul-du-k ev-i
near-PL-LOC indef realtor-LOC find-PST-1PL house-ACC

In the context above, A-Topic is triggered with the 'Tell me about your new house' phrase, and *evi* 'the house' is the A-Topic in the alternative responses below. Both (28b) and (28c) are infelicitous in the given context, therefore A-Topic has to occur clause-initially in Turkish. As expected, placing A-Topic post-verbally is not possible either, shown in (28d).

Şener (2010) offers an additional way of detecting A-Topic with the context below:

(29) *Pelin yarın bir konuşma verecek bölümde, haberin var mı?*
'Pelin will give a talk in the department tomorrow, did you know about that?'
Valla ondan haberim yok ama...
'Frankly, I do not know about tomorrow, but...'

haftaya Pelin BİR KONFERANS-TA konuş-acak, o-nu
next.week P a conference-LOC speak-FUT that-ACC

bil-iyor-um

know-PROG-1S

'next week, Pelin will (give a) talk at a CONFERENCE, I know that for sure.' Şener (2010)

Şener (2010) constructs the set above to show that *haftaya* 'next week' is an A-Topic and that *bir konferansta* 'at a conference' is a C-Topic. However, *haftaya* 'next week' can actually be interpreted as a contrastive element because the speaker is contrasting *yarın* 'tomorrow with *haftaya* 'next week'. Therefore, I will continue using 'Tell me about X' type of phrases to clearly identify A-Topic, and to avoid any vague interpretations. Further discussion on the comparison of A-Topic with the rest of the IS will take place in Chapter 3.

In sum, Turkish has three types of Topic: Discourse-Given (that has the Givenness feature in Krika's sense), Contrastive and Aboutness.

Topic type	**linear position**	**can be post-V?**
Discourse-Given Topic	after C-Focus	yes
Contrastive Topic	before C-Foc	no
Aboutness Topic	clause initial	no

Table 2.6: Types of Topics in Turkish

This chapter homes in on identifying each notion and distinguishing them from each other. The next chapter will look into their hierarchical ordering with respect to each other, and will motivate the linear order from a cartographic point of view.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented an overview of IS categories in previous literature and provided a unified analysis of IS components in Turkish. This analysis captures all of the distinct IS related projections in Turkish and proposes that Turkish has (i) two types of Focus: Informational and Contrastive; and (ii) three types of Topic: Discourse-Given (that has the Givenness feature in Krika's sense), Contrastive and Aboutness. After careful inspection of the distributional properties of these IS notions within pre-established distinctive contexts, I concluded that the elements of the IS in Turkish have the following distributional properties as summarized in Table (2.3):

IS notion	**linear position**	**can be post-V?**
Informational Focus	imm. pre-V	no
Discourse-Given Topic	below C-Focus	yes
Contrastive Focus	above DG-Top/imm. pre-V	no
Contrastive Topic	above C-Foc	no
Aboutness Topic	clause initial	no

Table 2.7: Comparison of types of IS notions in Turkish

The examination in this chapter crucially showed that we have tools to differentiate all five different types of IS items, as long as we construct careful contexts. Moreover, I have shown that what can be post-verbal is limited to the Discourse-Given material in the language. Building up on the existing literature on the matter, I brought in new data structures to analyze the IS with respect to the position of the material in the clause as well as their interpretational properties. I

concluded that, C-Focus and I-Focus are distinct subtypes of foci, which need to be identified syntactically as well. I also demonstrated preliminary evidence that C-Focus and C-Topic are also distinct IS concepts.

In the next chapter, I build on these findings to look deeper into the restrictions on linear order of the IS elements with respect to each other. Chapter 3 will illustrate their distribution further, which in turn will lead us into the discussion of the scopal relations in between these IS notions in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

The Cartographical Hierarchy

Now that the relevant individual Information Structure (IS) notions have been established in Chapter 2, we are able to further explore the cartographical hierarchy of these notions. In particular, I motivate the order in the following table:

IS notion	**hierarchy**	**position**
Aboutness Topic	1	above C-Top
Contrastive Topic	2	above C-Foc
Contrastive Focus	3	above DG-Top/imm. pre-V
Discourse-Given Topic	4	below C-Focus
Informational Focus	5	imm. pre-V

I do this by starting at the top of the hierarchy and working our way down, testing these notions pair-wise within carefully established and controlled contexts. All in all, I conclude that the hierarchy can be attested for all but two pairs:

For these two cases ($1 > 3$ and $3 > 4$), it is relatively more challenging to set contexts, however we still manage to derive those two via elimination. That is, once $1 > 2$ and $2 > 3$ are established, we can conclude $1 > 3$ by deduction– even if $1 > 3$ is not an ideal pair. I explain the particular challenges as they become relevant in each section.

Order	attested?
1 > 2	YES
1 > 3	see below
1 > 4	YES
1 > 5	YES
2 > 3	YES
2 > 4	YES
2 > 5	YES
3 > 4	YES (through scope)
3 > 5	YES
4 > 5	YES

In the next section, I start by comparing Aboutness Topic (henceforth A-Topic) with the rest of the notions.

3.1 Aboutness Topic

3.1.1 A-Topic > C-Topic (1 > 2)

Detecting the relative order of an A-Topic and a Contrastive Topic (C-Topic) is challenging and therefore requires carefully constructed contexts and minimal pairs

to unpack their syntactic position.[12]

I start by narrowing down the contexts where these two notions can co-occur and use them as tools for testing the hierarchy. The two tests are: (i) a contrastive item list as a response to 'Tell me about X' context; (ii) using these two topics in embedded clauses.

The first test involves initiating the conversation by using the phrase 'Tell me about X', and in the response, we are provided with items related to X. While the topic is about X, these response items are contrasted with each other, providing us the circumstances to have both an A-Topic and C-Topic in the same clause and test their relative order. The data below includes a 'Tell me about X' type of context, where we can reply with a contrastive item list.

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[1] While there are various inspirational studies in the literature, such as Sener (2010), I will not comparatively discuss their details here. This is purely because I am following a comprehensive, step-by-step approach and would like to avoid distracting the reader. I will, however, refer to relevant previous literature whenever applicable, mostly to acknowledge the research.

[2] The following examples from Sener (2010) served as a starting point to set the contexts triggering the relevant notions, and therefore are worth noting in relation to my data sets.

(1) Context: *Pelin yarın bir konuşma verecek bölümde, haberin var mi?*
'Pelin will give a talk in the department tomorrow, did you know about that?'
Valla ondan haberim yok ama...
'Frankly, I do not know about tomorrow, but...'

[haftaya]$_{AT}$ [BİR KONFERANS-TA]$_{CT}$ konuş-acak, o-nu bil-iyor-um
next.week a conference-LOC speak-FUT that-ACC know-pre-1sg

'Next week, she will (give a) talk at a conference, I know that for sure.'

(1) Context: *Bize biraz sizin bölümden bahsetsene.*
'Tell me about your department.'

Bizim bölüm-de, Syntax her dönem veriliyor. Semantics güz
our department-LOC syntax every quarter given Semantics fall
dönem-i-nde veriliyor ve Phonology iki dönem-de bir veriliyor.
quarter-3S-LOC given and phonology two quarter one given
'In my department, Syntax is taught every quarter. Semantics is taught in the Fall quarter and Phonology is taught every other quarter.'

In (1), the A-Topic "in our department" is placed clause-initially and the C-Topic "Syntax" follows it. Crucially, if we attempt to change this linear order, we see that the C-Topic can not precede the A-Topic:

(2) Context: *Bize biraz sizin bölümden bahsetsene.*
'Tell me about your department.'

*Syntax bizim bölüm-de her dönem veriliyor. (...)
syntax our department-LOC every quarter given
'In my department, Syntax is taught every quarter...'

Note that in (2), the sentence is illicit within the given context as the C-Topic "Syntax" is placed clause-initially and the A-Topic "in our department" follows it. I take this contrast as the first evidence towards establishing the $1 > 2$ order.

My second argument in support of this hierarchy is based on the behavior of C-Topics vs. A-Topics in embedded clauses. In particular, I show that A-Topics cannot occur in embedded clauses while C-Topics can.

As I briefly discussed in Chapter 2, A-Topics only occur in clause initial position. One might assume that they can also occur in the initial position of an

embedded clause, here is the data testing this assumption:

(3) Context: *Yeni evinizden bahsetsene, nasıl buldunuz orayı?*
'Tell us about your house, how did you find it?'

a. * Mahir [[ev-i]$_{AT}$ Seren-in mahalle-de gez-er-ken
Mahir house-ACC SerenGEN neighborhood-LOC wander-AOR-IKEN
gör-düğ̃-ün-ü] söyle-di.
see-NOM-3S-ACC say-PST
'Mahir said Seren saw the house while wandering around in the neigborhood.'

b. [Ev-i]$_{AT}$, Mahir [Seren-in mahalle-de gez-er-ken
house-ACC Mahir SerenGEN neighborhood-LOC wander-AOR-IKEN
gör-düğ̃-ün-ü] söyle-di.
see-NOM-3S-ACC say-PST
'The house, Mahir said Seren saw (it) while wandering around in the neigborhood.'

c. * Mahir [Seren-in mahalle-de gez-er-ken [ev-i]$_{AT}$
Mahir SerenGEN neighborhood-LOC wander-AOR-IKEN house-ACC
gör-düğ̃-ün-ü] söyle-di.
see-NOM-3S-ACC say-PST
'Mahir said Seren saw the house while wandering around in the neigborhood.'

While we can move the A-Topic all the way in front of the main clause in (3b), (3a) shows that A-Topics cannot be placed in front of the embedded clause. And as I established in Chapter 2, it is not possible to leave the A-Topic in-situ either (3c).

As discussed earlier, A-Topic assigns the topic of the conversation while C-Topic contrasts with the pre-existing information in list-like form.

Due to the contrast in C-Topic, it is challenging to set up a context where the topic of the conversation is preserved by A-Topic, even in the presence of the C-Topic. We do have the two arguments as listed above, however, because of this complexity, one might argue that A-Topic and C-Topic are actually in a topic-subtopic relation. To put it informally– the idea can be that once A-Topic is introduced, C-Topic can also be introduced as a subtopic. This would indicate that there is only a single Top head high in the CP region, and it can host both of them, as they seem to be subtopics.

To entertain this idea, I set up a context where there is no topic-subtopic relation between A-Topic and C-Topic and look to see if the ordering restriction still holds. In the following example, we are reading the biography of Beatles, in which Maharishi[3] is mentioned.

(4) Context:(While reading the biography of the Beatles...) *Maharishi'den bahsetsene biraz, neler olmuş?"*
"Tell me a little bit about Maharishi, what was up with that?"

a. Maharishi-ye, John hic bir zaman inan-ma-mış.
Maharishi-DAT John any one time believe-NEG-EVID
'Maharishi, John never believed him.'

b. * John, Maharishi-ye hic bir zaman inan-ma-mış.
John Maharishi-DAT any one time believe-NEG-EVID
'John, he never believed Maharishi.'

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[3] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maharishi$_M$ahesh$_Y$ogi

c. Maharishi-yi, Ringo çok yakından takip ed-iyor-muş.
Maharishi-ACC Ringo very close follow LV-PROG-EVID
'Maharishi, Ringo was following him very closely.'

d. * Ringo, Maharishi-yi çok yakından takip ed-iyor-muş.
Ringo Maharishi-ACC very close follow LV-PROG-EVID
'Ringo, he was following Maharishi very closely.'

Although 'Maharishi' is no longer a subtopic (assuming subtopics are members of the Beatles), the ordering restriction is still observed. We still do not know WHY this ordering is enforced –perhaps a language processing problem– but we can show evidence for the observation that this hierarchy indeed exists.

3.1.2 A-Topic > C-Focus (1 > 3)

In this section, I show that A-Topic and C-Focus are not compatible with each other, and therefore cannot occur within the same clause. In broad terms, the A-Topic sets an aboutness relation between the topic and the rest of the sentence. It establishes a new topic for the conversation by promoting a previously asserted notion. C-Focus, on the other hand, introduces a new piece of information, and contrastively highlights this new piece in a proposition.

As there is already a new topic in the discourse, any attempt to insert a C-Focus fails. More generally, if we do indeed have a C-Focus, the topic is no longer an A-Topic, but is rather interpreted as a Discourse-Given Topic (DG-Topic).

The following is the breakdown of the test:

- "Tell me about..." phrase targets the A-Topic.

- The wh- question targets the I-Focus.

- C-Focus emerges as a corrective response to the I-Focus.

- The co-occurrence of the A-Topic and the C-Focus is illicit.

- The reason the context includes a wh- question is to ensure I-Focus is contrasted and we have a C-Focus as a response. This way, we eliminate the possibility of triggering an accidental C-Topic.

Let us apply the test now:

(5) Context: A few friends are talking about various things they used to do when they were younger. Speaker A and B are from the same department, the rest attend other programs. Speaker C says: "Tell us about your department. What did you guys use to organize?"

a. (Speaker A:)

[Bölüm-de]$_{AT}$ her yıl [Noel parti-sin-i]$_{IF}$

department-LOC every year christmas party-3S-ACC

düzenle-r-di-k.

organize-AOR-PST-1PL

'In the department, we used to organize the Christmas party every year.'

b. (Speaker B:) *Hayır, yanlışın var...* 'No, I think you are mistaken...'

#[Bölüm-de]$_{AT}$ [Şükran günü yemeğ̃-in-i] her yıl

department-LOC thanksgiving dinner-3S-ACC every year

düzenle-r-di-k.

organize-AOR-PST-1PL

'We used to organize the Thanksgiving dinner every year in the department. (not the Christmas dinner)'

The A-Topic, *bölümde* 'in the department', is compatible with I-Focus in Speaker A's response in (5a). However, it can no longer be interpreted as an A-Topic once the C-Focus is present in the following sentence (5b).

Simply put, we interpret *bölümde* 'in the department' as a previously introduced discourse notion in the presence of the C-Focus, therefore it does not set the topic of the conversation.

For the sake of the argument, we can try to change the order of the two notions (assume the same context as above):

(6) (Speaker B':) *Hayır, yanlışın var...* 'No, I think you are mistaken...'

#[Şükran günü yemeg̃-in-i]$_{CF}$ [bölüm-de] her yıl
thanksgiving dinner-3S-ACC department-LOC every year
düzenle-r-di-k.
organize-AOR-PST-1PL
'We used to organize the Thanksgiving dinner every year in the department. (not the Christmas dinner)'

As expected, the reverse order does not ameliorate the structure within the same context.[4]

The data above shows that a fair[5] attempt to test 1 > 3 order fails, so I conclude that this result is not informative for this cartographic hierarchy. Instead, we will deduct the 1 > 3 order by process of elimination. That is, if 1 > 2 (already established above) and 2 > 3 (will be shown in Section 3.2.1), then 1 > 3 is a given.

[4] Note that both (5b) and (6) are grammatically correct structures. They are only infelicitous in the given contexts.

[5] 'fair' due to the carefully constructed context.

3.1.3 A-Topic > DG-Topic (1 > 4)

Constructing a context for the A-Topic - Discourse Given Topic (henceforth DG-Topic) pair is fairly straightforward. The context consists of two parts: (i) the question "How about X?" to set up the A-Topic of the response and (ii) a discourse-given phrase that is repeated in the response.

(7) Context: Two friends are talking about the school-related topics in general. They are both teachers at the same school. Can is one of the students at the school, and he has been skipping school frequently.
Can'dan ne haber? Senin sınıfındaki öğrenciler birşey dedi mi?
'How about Can? Did the students in your class say anything?'

a. Can-ı, öğrenci-ler perşembe gün-ü okul-da görmüş.
Can-ACC student-PL thursday day-3S school-LOC see-EVID
'The students saw Can at school on Thursday.'

b. # Öğrenci-ler Can-ı perşembe gün-ü okul-da görmüş.
student-PL Can-ACC thursday day-3S school-LOC see-EVID
'The students saw Can at school on Thursday.'

c. # Öğrenci-ler perşembe gün-ü Can-ı okul-da görmüş.
student-PL thursday day-3S Can-ACC school-LOC see-EVID
'The students saw Can at school on Thursday.'

d. # Öğrenci-ler perşembe gün-ü okul-da Can-ı görmüş.
student-PL thursday day-3S school-LOC Can-ACC see-EVID
'The students saw Can at school on Thursday.'

As seen above, the A-Topic DO, *Can-ı*, can only occur in the sentence initial position and the DG-Topic *öğrenciler* 'the students' follows it in (7a). None of the other orders is interpretable within the given context (7b - 7d). Therefore, this

data set provides necessary evidence for the A-Topic > DG-Topic hierarchy.

Let us now recall the counter-argument from Section (3.1.1). One may argue that the ordering restriction of any two topics could be due to the potential topic-subtopic interpretation. In other words, it is plausible to claim that the reverse order is not possible, because the A-Topic is introducing the DG-Topic, and they are in a topic-subtopic relation. In what follows, I will suggest that this counter-argument can be eliminated via another careful investigation. Specifically, I will construct a data set where the A-Topic is a pronominal DP and the DG-Topic is the antecedent. The logic is simple: if the pronominal A-Topic precedes the antecedent DG-Topic despite being a subtopic, then we can argue that topics are individually introduced in the structure and are not dependent on each other.

To execute this test, I present the antecedent 'Sorin$_i$' and the pronominal DP 'his$_i$ house' in the following context. Theoretically, 'his$_i$ house' could be a subtopic in a context where 'Sorin' is the topic. The data below disprove it:

(8) Context: *Sorin'in evini anlatsana biraz.*
'Tell me about Sorin's house.'

a. [Ev-in-i$_i$]$_{AT}$, [Sorin$_i$]$_{DGT}$ yakın zaman-da mavi-ye boya-dı.
house-3S-ACC Sorin near time-LOC blue-DAT paint-PST
'His house, Sorin recently painted blue.'

b. # [Sorin$_i$]$_{DGT}$, yakın zaman-da [ev-in-i$_i$]$_{AT}$ mavi-ye boya-dı.
Sorin near time-LOC house-3S-ACC blue-DAT paint-PST
'Sorin$_i$ recently painted his$_i$ house blue.'

c. # [Sorin$_i$]$_{DGT}$, [ev-in-i$_i$]$_{AT}$ yakın zaman-da mavi-ye boya-dı.
Sorin house-3S-ACC near time-LOC blue-DAT paint-PST
'Sorin$_i$ recently painted his$_i$ house blue.'

In (8a), A-Topic *evini* 'his house' precedes DG-Topic 'Sorin' in the clause initial position.[6] If there was indeed a topic-subtopic relation, the antecedent would have introduced the pronominal as a subtopic as opposed to the order in (8a). On the contrary, neither of the antecedent-pronominal sequences are plausible in (8b) and (8c). In sum, I conclude the following: (i) there is a true A-Topic vs. DG-topic distinction in Turkish; (ii) they belong to distinct positions in the hierarchical structure; (iii) the A-Topic precedes the DG-Topic. [7]

3.1.4 A-Topic > I-Focus (1 > 5)

Let us now turn our attention to the last pair in the A-Topic set. As discussed in Chapter 2, it is uniformly accepted that I-Focus occurs in an immediate preverbal position in Turkish. This fixed position is an advantage for testing the relative order of A-Topic vs. I-Focus; however, controlling the context is still vital to ensure a clear response.

I use deliberately constructed wh- questions to eliminate any shared information and assumptions between the speakers. I aim to make the contexts explicitly NOT out-of-the-blue, as truly out-of-the-blue contexts actually trigger shared knowledge/background/history, which would hinder clear identification of I-Focus.

The test is set up with two triggers: "Tell me about X" and a wh- question. This way, we get the A-topic and I-Focus as a response within the same clause.

Here the 'Tell me about X' context triggers the A-Topic, as expected; the verb is repeated from the previous context, so we assume it is given. In the response,

---

[6] Note that this DP is not a Hanging Topic, simply because it bares accusative case.

[7] As for the lack of Condition C effects, the underlying structure for *ev-in-i* 'his house' is [pro_i ev-in-i]. Therefore, the pro_i does not c-command 'Sorin'.

the pre-verbal locative is the new information.

(9) Context: Seren and Ecem are chatting and catching up with each other after a few months. Last time they spoke, Seren mentioned she was looking to buy various new things: a new pair of shoes, a ring, a house, etc. They first talk about the new house Seren bought, then...
Ecem: *Eee, biraz da şu yeni yüzüğü anlatsana. Nereden aldın?*
'So, tell me a bit about the new ring. Where did you find it?'

a. [Yüzüğ̃-ü]$_{\text{AT}}$ [Ulus'ta bir kuyumcu-dan]$_{\text{IF}}$ al-dı-m.
ring-ACC Ulus-LOC indef jeweler-ABL buy-PST-1S
'I bought the ring from a jeweler in Ulus.'

b. # [Ulus'ta bir kuyumcu-dan]$_{\text{IF}}$ [yüzüğ̃-ü]$_{\text{AT}}$ al-dı-m.
Ulus-LOC indef jeweler-ABL ring-ACC buy-PST-1S
'I bought the ring from a jeweler in Ulus.'

The response in (9a) is still relevant to what the hearer knows about the ring, or the process of looking for it. This way, 'buying' is backgrounded as it is already introduced in the context. Therefore, the follow-up wh- question ensures that we are directly targeting I-Focus, *Ulus'ta bir kuyumcu-dan* 'a jeweler in Ulus', and clearly identify it. The I-Focus cannot precede the A-Topic *yüzüğü* 'the ring' as seen in (9b), which proves once again that A-Topic is hierarchically higher than the I-Focus.

In this section, I discussed all of the IS notions with respect to A-Topic. The following table represents an interim summary of the section:

Order	attested?
$1 > 2$	YES
$1 > 3$	NO
$1 > 4$	YES
$1 > 5$	YES

3.2 Contrastive Topic

3.2.1 C-Topic > C-Focus (2 > 3)

Next I turn to how C-Topic and C-Focus are ordered. The following investigation will show that C-Topic precedes C-Focus, and that this order is not reversible.

I first set up the context to have a familiar list of topics, such as presidential candidates (as we will see below). This list enables the speaker to contrastively topicalize (C-Topic) one name out of the possibilities. Then, I follow up with a wh- question, the response to which triggers C-Focus in return.

(10) Context: The coordinator: *Bugün adaylar gelecekti. Warren'i kampüs-e bu sabah kim getirdi?*
'The candidates were supposed to come in today. Who brought Warren to campus this morning?'

a. Speaker 1:
Warren-i kampüs-e bu sabah Mert getir-di.
Warren-ACC campus-DAT this morning Mert bring-PST
'Mert brought Warren to campus.'

b. Speaker 2: *Şaşmamak lazım, buralarda her işi o görüyor gibi. Ama...*
'No suprise there, he seems to be doing everything around here. But...'

[Biden-i]$_{CT}$ kampüs-e bu sabah [SEREN]$_{CF}$ getir-di.
Biden-ACC campus-DAT this morning Seren bring-PST
'Seren brought Biden to campus this morning.'

The speakers have a background knowledge of the list of the candidates and out of this list, the coordinator in the context asks who brought Warrren to campus. Speaker 1 in (10a) first responds about Warren. Then, Speaker 2 in (10b) contrasts Warren with Biden (C-Topic) and Mert with Seren (C-Focus). Note that there is a wh- question to trigger an I-Focus in the initial context and we derive the C-Focus by contrasting it with the I-Focus. In the case above, Seren is introduced as a C-Focus. The comment in (10b) strengthens the surprise factor for Seren's involvement and therefore improves the interpretability of C-Focus in this context.

Per usual, I follow up with the alternative linear orders to complete our test:

(11) [Biden-i]$_{CT}$ [SEREN]$_{CF}$ kampüs-e bu sabah getir-di.
Biden-ACC Seren campus-DAT this morning bring-PST
'Seren brought Biden to campus this morning.'

(12) # [SEREN]$_{CF}$ [Biden-i]$_{CT}$ kampüs-e bu sabah getir-di.
Seren Biden-ACC campus-DAT this morning bring-PST
Intended: 'Seren brought Biden to campus this morning.'

(13) # [SEREN]$_{CF}$ kampüs-e bu sabah [Biden-i]$_{CT}$ getir-di.
Seren campus-DAT Biden-ACC this morning bring-PST
Intended: 'Seren brought Biden to campus this morning.'

(11) shows that C-Focus does not have to be in the immediate pre-verbal position. (12) and (13) show that C-Focus cannot precede C-Topic regardless of how high or low C-Topic is placed.[8]

[8] Sener(2010) also concludes C-Topic > C-Focus with the following data:

3.2.2 C-Topic > DG-Topic (2 > 4)

To test the hierarchical order of these two IS notions, I will employ two different tools in this section: (i) a test for Condition C effects; (ii) a test for embedded clauses.

Testing for Condition C effects will provide proof for the 2 > 4 order via elimination. I first set up a context where Condition C is violated when C-Topic (pronominal) precedes DG-Topic (referential within a possesive structure):

(14) *$[\text{pro}_i]_{\text{C-Topic}}$ ..... $[[\text{ref}_i]$ ...$]_{\text{DG-Topic}}$ (Condition C violation)

This structure purposefully violates Condition C, as the pronominal binds the referential element.

Next, for the sake of the argument, we reverse the DG-Topic (referential) > C-Topic (pronominal) order. The goal is the following: If there is no CT-Topic > DG-Topic restriction in the language, and the DG-Topic > C-Topic order is indeed legitimate, the reversed order below should salvage the Condition C violation because the pronominal is no longer binding the referential element. However, it does not:

---

(1) Context: *Can'dan n'aber? O ne yedi partide?*
'What about John? What did he eat at the party?'
Valla Can'i bilmiyorum ama...
'Frankly, I don't know about John, but...'

a. [Aylin] [DOLMA-LAR-DAN] ye-di.
A-nom dolma-pl-abl eat-past
'Aylin ate from the dolmas.'

b. # [DOLMA-LAR-DAN] [Aylin] ye-di.
dolma-pl-abl Aylin eat-past

(15) *[[ref$_i$] ...]$_{\text{DG-Topic}}$ .... [pro$_i$]$_{\text{C-Topic}}$ (2 > 4 order violation)

The structure was ungrammatical due to Condition C violation in (14). (15) attempts to salvage it by reversing the order so that the pronominal does not bind the referential element any longer. This attempt fails despite the fact that Condition C is satisfied, because the language does not allow for the DG-Topic > C-Topic (4 > 2) order. Let us now apply the test with an example:

(16) Context: Two people are discussing custody after the divorce of Ali and Gizem. In the context, Merve is the social worker; Ali is the father; the family refers to Ali's side of the family.

A: *Ali'nın oğlunu aileye her ay kim gösterecek?*

'Who will show Ali's son to the family monthly?

B: *Aileyi bilmiyorum amd Ali'nin programını öğrendim...*

'Well, I don't know about the family but I learned about Ali's schedule...'

a. *[O-na$_i$]$_{\text{CT}}$ [Ali'in$_i$ ogl-un-u]$_{\text{DGT}}$ Merve her hafta iki saat
3S-DAT Ali-GEN son-3S-ACC Mary every week two hour
göster-ecek.
show-FUT
'To him, Merve will show Ali's son every week for two hours.'

b. *[Ali-nin$_i$ oğl-un-u]$_{\text{DGT}}$ [o-na$_i$]$_{\text{CT}}$ Merve her hafta iki saat
Ali-GEN son-3S-ACC 3S-DAT Merve every week two hour
göster-ecek.
show-FUT
'To him, Merve will show Ali's son every week for two hours'

In (16a), the C-Topic (pronominal) precedes the DG-Topic (referential) which yields the order 2 > 4; but the structure is ungrammatical because of Condition

C.

In (16b), the DG-Topic (referential) precedes the C-Topic (pronominal), so we have the 4 > 2 order. This alteration should ameliorate the the structure as Condition C is no longer violated. However, it is still ungrammatical in the given context because the DG-Topic cannot precede the C-Topic. This is the first evidence I establish towards *4 > 2.

It is worthwhile to note that Ali's son > to.him order is fine otherwise, i.e. without the C-Topic and DG-Topic triggering context:

(17) Context: Two people are discussing custody after the divorce of Ali and Gizem. In the context, Merve is the social worker; Ali is the father; the family refers to Ali's side of the family.

Merve Ali'nin$_i$ oğl-un-u o-na$_i$ göster-mi-yor.
Merve Ali-GEN son-3S-ACC 3S-DAT show-NEG-NONPST

'Merve doesn't show Ali's son to him.'

Now let us return to the second test which employs embedded clauses. In Turkish, the subject (C-Topic) can move out of the embedded clause and it can be placed sentence initially. In executing the test below, I also move the DG-Topic out of the embedded clause. We observe that it can follow C-Topic but cannot precede it in the main clause.

(18) Context: Two friends are talking about a Beatles documentary that one of them watched recently. The other one asks about something she heard elsewhere: *Menajere gore Beatles-a en çok ünü Ringo getirmis, dogru mu?*
'Ringo earned the most fame for the Beatles according to the manager, is that true?'

Valla ünü bilmiyorum ama...

'Frankly, I don't know about the fame, but...'

a. (before movement)

Menajer [John-in$_i$ Beatles-a en çok para-yı
manager John-GEN Beatles-DAT most much money
kazan-dır-dığ̃-ın-ı] söyle-di.
earn-CAUS-NOM-3S-ACC say-PST
'The manager said John earned the most money for the Beatles.'

b. John-in$_i$ menajer [t$_i$ Beatles-a en çok para-yı
John-GEN manager Beatles-DAT most much money
kazan-dır-dığ̃-ın-ı] söyle-di.
earn-CAUS-NOM-3S-ACC say-PST
'John, the manager said earned the most money for the Beatles.' '

c. John-in$_i$ Beatles-a menajer [t$_i$ en çok para-yı
John-GEN Beatles-DAT manager most much money
kazan-dır-dığ̃-ın-ı] söyle-di.
earn-CAUS-NOM-3S-ACC said
'John, the manager said earned the most money for the Beatles.'

d. *Beatles-a John-in$_i$ menajer [t$_i$ en çok para-yı
To.Beatles John-GEN manager most much money
kazan-dır-dığ̃-ın-ı] söyle-di.
earn-CAUS-NOM-3S-ACC say-PST
'John, the manager said earned the most money for the Beatles.'

The embedded subject 'John' is a C-Topic, as it is an item out of the contrastive list that gets introduced when 'Beatles' and 'Ringo' are mentioned in the context. 'Money' is contrasted with 'fame', however it is not mentioned in the context

prior to the response, so 'money' is the C-Focus. 'Beatles' is a DG-Topic, as it is familiar to the speakers from the context. The embedded subject 'John' (C-Topic) can be left within the embedded clause (18a) or can be moved to the beginning of the main clause (18b). 'Beatles' (DG-Topic) can also move out of the embedded clause to follow C-Topic (18c), but crucially, it cannot move past the C-Topic to be positioned sentence initially. This result once again follows from the 2 > 4 order.

3.2.3 C-Topic > I-Focus (2 > 5)

Finally in this section, I cover the last IS notion with respect to C-Topic. The data and the contexts are indeed familiar from the earlier Section (3.2.1), as I chose to build a context where C-Topic and I-Focus are able to co-occur, before moving on to showing C-Focus.

Below, I present the first half of the data set, then alter the word order to show C-Topic > I-Focus is the only licit option:

(19) Context: *Bugün adaylar gelecekti. Biden'i kampüs-e kim getirdi?*
'The candidates were supposed to come in today. Who brought Biden to campus?'

a. *Biden'i bilmiyorum, ama...* 'Well, I don't know about Biden, but...'
[Warren-i]$_{CT}$ kampüs-e bu sabah [Mert]$_{IF}$ getir-di.
Warren-ACC campus-DAT this morning Mert bring-PST
'Mert brought Warren to campus this morning.'

b. # [Mert]$_{IF}$ [Warren-i]$_{CT}$ kampüs-e bu sabah getir-di.
Mert Warren-ACC campus-DAT this morning bring-PST
'Mert brought Warren to campus this morning.'

c. # [Mert]$_{\text{IF}}$ kampüs-e [Warren-i]$_{\text{CT}}$ bu sabah getir-di.
Mert campus-DAT Warren-ACC this morning bring-PST
'Mert brought Warren to campus this morning.'

The examples above show that the I-Focus subject still needs to be in the immediate pre-verbal position, staying below the C-Topic. In the next data set, I present a context where the subject is the C-Topic, the direct object is the I-Focus, and the indirect object is the DG-Topic. This way, we will observe a three-way comparison with respect to these IS notions, which will result in the $2 > 4 > 5$ order:

(20) Context: *Bugün adaylar gelecekti. Biden'i kampüs-e kim getirdi?*
'The candidates were supposed to come in today. Who brought Biden to campus?'
Biden'i bilmiyorum, ama...
'Well, I don't know about Biden, but...'

a. [Warren-i]$_{\text{CT}}$ [kampüs-e]$_{\text{DGT}}$ [Mert]$_{\text{IF}}$ getir-di.
Warren-ACC campus-DAT Mert bring-PST
'Mert brought Biden to campus.'

b. [Warren-i]$_{\text{CT}}$ [Mert]$_{\text{IF}}$ getir-di [kampüs-e]$_{\text{DGT}}$.
Warren-ACC campus-DAT Mert bring-PST
'Mert brought Biden to campus.'

c. # [Kampüs-e]$_{\text{DGT}}$ [Warren-i]$_{\text{CT}}$ [Mert]$_{\text{IF}}$ getir-di.
campus-DAT Warren-ACC Mert bring-PST
Intended: 'Mert brought Biden to campus.'

d. # [Kampüs-e]$_{\text{DGT}}$ [Mert]$_{\text{IF}}$ [Warren-i]$_{\text{CT}}$ getir-di.
campus-DAT Mert Warren-ACC bring-PST

Intended: 'Mert brought Biden to campus.'

e. # [Kampüs-e]$_{\text{DGT}}$ [Mert]$_{\text{IF}}$ getir-di [Warren-i]$_{\text{CT}}$.
campus-DAT Mert bring-PST Warren-ACC
Intended: 'Mert brought Biden to campus.'

Recall that the DG-Topic is the only IS notion that can be placed in the post-verbal area as seen in (20b). C-Topic is distinct from DG-Topic, in that it cannot occur post-verbally.

The following table is an interim summary of this section:

Order	**attested?**
$2 > 3$	YES
$2 > 4$	YES
$2 > 5$	YES

3.3 Contrastive Focus

We briefly saw in Chapter 2 that C-Focus is unique due to its surface versus underlying position. Specifically. C-Focus does not hold a strict position in the linear order. It can occur as low as the immediate pre-verbal position (unless the position is already occupied by the I-Focus). However, C-Focus still holds the 3rd position hierarchically because, regardless of its surface order, it is interpreted in this position. We will dive deeper into this issue in Chapter 4, where we will look into scope of each IS notion. In the two sections below, I investigate the relative order of C-Focus vs. DG-Topic and C-Focus vs. I-Focus.

3.3.1 C-Focus > DG-Topic (3 > 4)

DG-Topic occurs in what is called the middle field, whereas C-Focus (underlyingly) occurs right above it. However, due to the non-strict linear order of C-Focus, it is not possible to capture this hierarchy by means of linear order tests as we have been doing so far. The supporting evidence for this pair will emerge via diagnostics for scope in Chapter 4. In this section, I will still present two different data sets to illustrate the surface behavior of the two IS notions. Both of these data sets will show that we cannot determine the 3 > 4 order.

The first set below consists of a simple structure, where we have a subject, DO, IO and the verb. The context is set such that the first utterance comes as a response to the wh- question. As the subject *garson* 'the waiter' is repeated in the response, it is a DG-Topic:

(21) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friend and her kid. While they are at the table, she goes to the restroom and comes back. She sees that there is a variety of dishes on the table and wonders which one is for the kid. She asks what the waiter brought for the kid and the kid replies with the sentence below. After the utterance, her friend corrects him with the sentence in (21a) or (21b).

Garson bana kızartma-yı getir-di.
waiter 1SG.DAT fries-ACC bring-PST

'The waiter brought the fries for me.'

a. Hayır, [garson]$_{\text{DGT}}$ sana [meyve-ler-i]]$_{\text{CF}}$ getir-di.
no waiter 2SG.DAT fruit-PL-ACC bring-PST
'No, THE FRUITS, the waiter brought for you (not the fries).'

b. Hayır, [meyve-ler-i]$_{CF}$ [garson]$_{DGT}$ sana getir-di.
no fruit-PL-ACC waiter 2SG.DAT bring-PST
'No, THE FRUITS, the waiter brought for you (not the fries).'

Once again, the order for the C-Focus and the DG-Topic does not seem to be restricted. Next, I present an additional data set to further eliminate alternatives. The next data set includes a PP as well as the subject, DO, IO and the verb. The addition of a PP is intentional to test if the immediately pre-verbal position had any effect on the previous data set.

(22) Context: The children come home from school and the mother asks them: *'Bugün okulda neler oldu?'* 'How was school today?' And child 1 tells a story with the sentence below. Then, child 2 corrects her with the sentence in (22a) ("use your words" context)
... Sonra, öğretmen sınıf-a araba-lar-ı sırayla getir-di.
then teacher classroom-DAT car-PL-ACC line.with bring-PST
'Then, the teacher brought the cars into the classroom one by one.'

a. Hayır! [Öğretmen]$_{DGT}$ [sınıf-a]$_{DGT}$ [bebek-ler-i]$_{CF}$ sırayla
no teacher classroom-DAT doll-PL-ACC line.with
getir-di.
brought
'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.'

b. Hayır! [Bebek-ler-i]$_{CF}$ [öğretmen]$_{DGT}$ [sınıf-a]$_{DGT}$ sırayla
no doll-PL-ACC teacher classroom-DAT line.with
getir-di.
brought
'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.'

c. Hayır! [Öğretmen]$_{DGT}$ [sınıf-a]$_{DGT}$ sırayla [bebek-ler-i]$_{CF}$
no teacher classroom-DAT line.with doll-PL-ACC
getir-di.
brought
Intended: 'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.'

As we see throughout the examples above, the placement of the PP in the pre-verbal position did not affect the judgment. I will return to the ordering puzzle of this particular pair in the next chapter, where I will suggest a solution through scope.

3.3.2 C-Focus > I-Focus (3 > 5)

Following the hierarchical pattern, I will examine the relative order or C-Focus vs. I-Focus. These two foci are often taken for granted and assumed to be occupying the pre-verbal area. As we have observed in the previous sections, I-Focus strictly occurs in the immediate pre-verbal area, whereas C-Focus can be found elsewhere.

Based on the data presented so far, we expect to see C-Focus precede I-Focus. To test this assumption, I set up a context below, in which the I-Focus is triggered with a DO wh-question, and part of the first response to the wh-question is deemed incorrect by one of the listeners. Therefore, there is a second response, correcting the subject of the first response; this response answers the wh- question with a DO providing new information.

Let us now turn to the example below:

(23) Context: Seren is at a restaurant with her friends and their kid. While they are at the table, she goes to the restroom. When she comes back, she

asks what the waiter brought for the kid. The kid replies with the sentence in (23a), but the truth is that the waiter didn't come to the table at all, and the kid is answering randomly. So, her friend corrects the kid with the sentence in (23b).

Kim geldi? Çocuğ-a ney-i getir-di?
who came child-DAT what-ACC bring-PST

Who came (over to the table)? What did they bring for the child?

a. Garson geldi.
   waiter came
   'The waiter came (over to the table).'

b. Hayır, garson hiç gelmedi...
   'No, the waiter didn't come at all...'
   [Müdür]$_{CF}$ çocuğ-a [kalem-ler-i]$_{IF}$ getir-di.
   manager child-DAT pencil-PL-ACC brought
   'The manager brought the pencils (not the waiter).'

In the context above, the corrective response in (23b) answers Seren's wh-question in (23). The C-Focus is on *müdür* 'the manager', the subject. And the I-Focus is on *kalemler* 'pencils' as this DO is answering the initial wh- question.

In the following set of data, I change the order of the two notions and let the subject C-Focus follow the DO I-Focus. Note that the context is the same as above.

(24) a. # Hayır, çocuğ-a [kalem-ler-i]$_{IF}$ [müdür]$_{CF}$ getir-di.
   no child-DAT pencil-PL-ACC manager brought
   No, the manager brought the pencils (not the waiter).

b. # Hayır, [kalem-ler-i]$_{\text{IF}}$ çocuğ-a [müdür]$_{\text{CF}}$ getir-di.
no pencil-PL-ACC child-DAT manager brought
No, the manager brought the pencils (not the waiter).

c. # Hayır, [kalem-ler-i]$_{\text{IF}}$ [müdür]$_{\text{CF}}$ çocuğ-a getir-di.
no pencil-PL-ACC child-DAT manager brought
No, the manager brought the pencils (not the waiter).

As seen throughout the cases above, the DO I-Focus precedes the subject C-Focus in all of the alternatives, and none of them are compatible with the given context. In other words, if the I-Focus is placed anywhere else but the immediate pre-verbal position, it is no longer interpreted as new information. Contrary to I-Focus, C-Focus can be placed elsewhere in the clause, while following other cartographic restrictions, as discussed throughout the chapter so far.

Summary of this section:

Order	**attested?**
3 > 4	YES (through scope)
3 > 5	YES

3.4 Discourse-Given Topic

3.4.1 DG-Topic > I-Focus (4 > 5)

Finally in this section, I will motivate the relative order of the last pair, DG-Topic vs. I- Focus. As covered in Chapter 2, the answer to a wh- question targets the I-Focus element, and I-Focus is restricted to the immediate pre-verbal in Turkish and cannot be placed elsewhere. Therefore, the structure to test this hierarchy is

triggered simply by a wh- question. [9]

(25) Context: *Seren'i nereye götüreceksin?*
Where are you taking Seren?

a. [Seren'i]$_{DGT}$ [Boğaz'a]$_{IF}$ götür-eceğ-im.
Seren-ACC Bosphorous-DAT take-FUT-1SG
'I will take Seren to the Boshphorus.'

b. * [Boğaz'a]$_{IF}$ [Seren'i]$_{DGT}$ götür-eceğ-im.
Bosphorous-DAT Seren-ACC take-FUT-1SG
Intended: 'I will take her to Boshphorus.'

It is acceptable to utter (25a) as a response to the wh- question in (25) as the I-Focused indirect object is in the immediate pre-verbal position. However, (25b) is illicit in this context because it places the DG-Topic in the immediate pre-verbal position rather than the I-Focus.

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[9] Data from Şener (2010):

(1) Context: *Yeni aldığın Paul Auster kitabını ne yaptın?*
What did you do with the new Paul Auster book you bought?

a. #YARIN o-nu oku-ma-ya başla-yacağ-ım.
tomorrow it-ACC read-INF-DAT begin-FUT-1SG
'I will begin to read it tomorrow'

b. o-nu YARIN oku-ma-ya başla-yacağ-ım.
it-ACC tomorrow read-INF-DAT begin-FUT-1SG
'I will begin to read it tomorrow' Şener (2010)

Although this data potentially shows supporting evidence for the DG-Topic > I-Focus order, the context ('What did you do about X?') can trigger a variety of responses and may not clearly target the I-Focus element.

Recall from Chapter 2 that the DG-Topics can be pronominalized. To further eliminate any doubt regarding the IS assignments of the aforementioned phrases, we can also employ this pre-established test for clearly identifying the DG-Topic.

(26) Context: *Seren'i nereye götüreceksin?*
Where are you taking Seren?

a. [O-nu]$_{\text{DGT}}$ [Boğaz'a]$_{\text{IF}}$ götür-eceğ-im.
3SG-ACC Bosphorous-DAT take-FUT-1SG
'I will take Seren to the Boshphorus.'

b. * [Boğaz'a]$_{\text{IF}}$ [o-nu]$_{\text{DGT}}$ götür-eceğ-im.
Bosphorous-DAT 3SG-ACC take-FUT-1SG
Intended: 'I will take her to Boshphorus.'

Above in (26), the context is identical as (25); however, instead of repeating the DG-Topic [Seren], the pronominal form is used. The information make-up of the structure is identical to the previous ones, which further shows that the DG-Topic and I-Focus labels are correctly placed. Two final notes about the DG-Topic:(i) I showed that DG-Topic can be post-verbal, while none of the other notions can be placed in the post-verbal field, in Chapter 2; (ii) Subject and Indirect Object DG-Topics with respect to I-Focus yield the same results. See Appendix for the full paradigm.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I laid out the IS notions once again, this time by looking into the ordering restrictions across them. This investigation yielded interesting results, and showed that, unsurprisingly, not all pairs were viable. However, I demonstrated that the relevant hierarchy was possible to establish despite the unattested

pairs.

Order	**attested?**
$1 > 2$	YES
$1 > 3$	NO - incompatible
$1 > 4$	YES
$1 > 5$	YES
$2 > 3$	YES
$2 > 4$	YES
$2 > 5$	YES
$3 > 4$	NO (will be through scope)
$3 > 5$	YES
$4 > 5$	YES

CHAPTER 4

The Syntax of Information Structure in Turkish

4.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the relation between scope bearing elements and negation to motivate an Information Structure (IS)-driven 'scrambling' account for Turkish. To start with, I provide a glimpse of the puzzle I address in the following sections.

Certain existentially quantified (∃Q) elements in Turkish have to take wide scope over sentential negation.

(1) Seren bazı çocuk-lar-ı gör-me-di.
Seren some children-ACC see-NEG-PST
'Seren didn't see some children.'

In Turkish, (1) must mean 'There are some children such that Seren did not see them.' That is, the (∃Q) *bazı* 'some' takes wide scope over negation.

The structure in (2), however, is uninterpretable:

(2) *[Hiçbir kadın]$_{NPI}$ [bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
any.one woman some children-ACC school-LOC see-NEG-PST
Intended:'There are some children such that no woman saw them at school.'

(2) can be salvaged in one of two ways: (i) the ∃Q takes scope above negation via overt movement as in (3); (ii) the ∃Q is contrastively focused as in (4).

In (3), the ∃Q moved to a position above negation and takes wide scope.

(3) [Bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}$ [hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
some children-ACC any.one woman school-LOC see-NEG-PST
'There are some children such that no woman saw them at school.'

In (4), ∃Q is contrastively focused and is able to take wide scope over negation:

(4) [Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [BAZI ÇOCUK-LAR-I]$_{\exists}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
any.one woman some children-ACC school-LOC see-NEG-PST
'No women saw some children at school.'

The contrastive reading of *bazı çocuklar* 'some children' alters the meaning such that 'no women saw some children but saw some other children'.

The minimal pairs above raise multiple questions: 'Where does the ∃Q move to in (3)?', 'How does contrastive Focus (C-Focus) provide a reverse scope interpretation?', 'What do these structures entail in terms of the syntax of Information Structure (IS) in Turkish?'

This chapter aims to provide extensive answers to these questions. I suggest that these type of scope alterations indicate scrambling,[1] which is always motivated by IS in Turkish. I use this puzzle to further propose that C-Focus is the

[1] I am using the term 'scrambling' to refer to the word order variations involving nominal phrases that were traditionally called scrambling.

only IS notion in Turkish that can trigger covert movement[2]. I show that (4) is interpretable, while (2) is not, because ∃Q covertly moves to a higher position when contrastively focused in (4), but not in (2).

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 4.2, I present and summarize the claims and assumptions made in the chapter. Then I introduce the distributional properties of negation, NPIs and Quantifiers in Turkish, which make up the main components of the argument to follow (Section 4.3). I provide a critical background on these scope bearing elements and show that the sentential negation in Turkish should have a fixed position (Section 4.3). Building up on the empirical facts introduced in Chapter 2, and the distributional properties in Chapter 3, Section 4.4.2 lays out the proposal of the rich left periphery of Turkish, which enables the word order variations. Within Section 4.4.3, I provide derivations motivating the current proposal. The analysis employs both the diagnostic tools established in Chapter 3 and scopal relations. Section 4.4.4 contributes to the motivations for proposing two distinct positions for foci in Turkish. Section 4.5 concludes.

4.2 The Proposal

The main goal of this work is to present a fully syntactic analysis for the word order variations that are traditionally referred to as scrambling. In other words, I claim that the so-called nominal scrambling is Information Structure driven[3] The

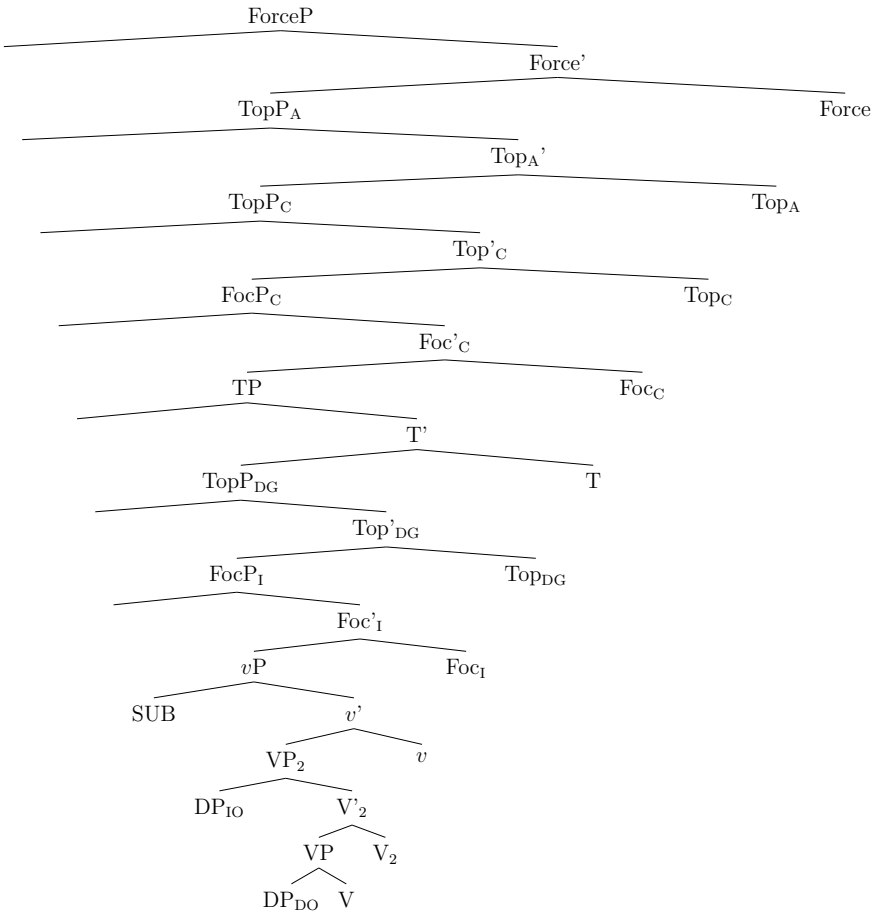
[2] The reason I am proposing a covert movement instead of an Agree operation is to account for the scope relations we observe with quantifiers and negation, which I cover in Section 4.3. These claims can be further investigated with scope and reconstruction data in future studies.

[3] Note that this does not directly exclude the possibility that there may be intermediate steps when nominals move to information structure positions. These steps may pertain to prop-

proposal suggests that the previous analyses of scrambling, and the discussions of A vs. A' movement for this phenomenon (Mahajan (1990) for Hindi; Saito (1985) for Japanese; Kural (1992), Öztürk (2005) for Turkish, among many others), may have overlooked the Information Structure properties of the respective languages.

I posit 5 distinct IS functional projections in the left periphery, expanding Rizzi (1997).

(5)



erties like reconstruction, hence resemble what was traditionally assumed to a A-movement. I do not posit any non-IS driven movement, but the question is open for discussion in future research.

There are five projections: Aboutness Topic is encoded in TopP_A and is the highest node after ForceP. Immediately below TopP_A is the Contrastive Topic TopP_C followed by Contrastive Focus FocP_C. Discourse-Given Topic (DG-Topic) TopP_DG[4] and the Informational Focus (I-Focus) FocP_I are below the TP projection, making FocP_I the lowest element in the IS hierarchy in Turkish.

Previously, I introduced and described the IS notions within contexts in Chapter 2, and then provided a pair-wise comparison of the IS notions in Chapter 3. As a result of these investigations, we concluded that the IS notions in Turkish come in the order presented in (5).

This chapter builds a syntactic analysis based on these findings. In particular, I show that the structure in (5) is constructed and supported via the scope and binding relations between the IS notions. As initially put forward in Chapter 1, this proposal follows from firmly grounded empirical evidence. Firstly, I show that A-Topic, C-Topic, and C-Focus scope above negation, and DG-Topic and

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[4] There are two points to note regarding the DG-Topics: (i) Unlike other IS elements, a structure can have multiple DG-Topics. I follow Şener (2010) and assume that the TopP_DG projection can have multiple specifiers, allowing the DG-Topics (Discourse Anaphoric elements (DAs) in his terminology) to be recursive.

(ii) As shown in Chapter 3, DG-Topics can also occur post-verbally. There are multiple accounts on this matter such as: the rightward movement analysis Kural (1997); the analysis against rightward movement (treating the post-verbal elements as low stranded nominals instead) Mahajan (1997); the extra clause analysis (the post-verbal element would be a remnant of a deleted extra clause) Tanaka (2001); and finally the placement of the specifier of the DG-Topic projection on the right Şener (2010). While I do not reconstruct the various analyses in the literature in this work, I assume rightward movement or the right specifier placement may be on the right track. I leave this issue for future studies.

I-Focus scope below negation[5]. I assume that sentential negation has a fixed position in a NegP projection immediately below TP in Turkish (following Öztürk 2005, Su 2012, Kamali 2008; contra Kelepir 2001, Gürer 2015). I argue against the assumption that Neg can be a floating projection and show that there is no independent evidence to support this. This finding has implications for previous studies where a floating Neg constructs the base of the analysis (such as Gürer (2015)).

I illustrate that the apparent 'floating' effects for the purposes of NPI licensing can be derived by a proposal that involves positing a NegOp within NPIs (as proposed by McKenzie 2006 following Mathieu 2001). The scopal interaction between the quantifiers form the basis of the argument. Adopting Kelepir's (2001) scope-rigidity claim for Turkish, I show that inverse scope is not available unless the phrase is contrastively focused. Once a controlled context is provided, the scope of the universal quantifier with respect to negation serves as a solid diagnostic, which indicates that C-Focus and C-Topic are above the TP domain. In this proposal, there is no role for an EPP feature for the Spec, TP in Turkish. I recap the basics of this by providing the arguments in Öztürk (2005).

I argue that all phrasal movement operations in Turkish are driven by IS features; there is no need for any operation that changes the linear order of constituents arbitrarily and/or without the involvement of an IS feature. While this claim is in line with the analyses by Şener (2010) and Gürer (2015), my proposal

[5] While I account for arguments in my proposal, it can potentially be extended to account for adjuncts or adverbs. I assume the syntactic mechanism may be expanded to include long-distance Agree or downwards/upwards Agree to capture a high adjunct (TP-level), possibly being assigned DG-Topic or I-Focus. I leave this matter to be explored further in future research.

departs from their work by positing two distinct foci: one within the TP, and one within the left periphery (as opposed to a single focus projection, as in their accounts).

Evidence that supports this conclusion is presented through a detailed examination of quantifier-scope data from Turkish. I follow Öztürk (2005) in claiming that subjects in Turkish do not undergo movement to Spec, TP and I argue that not all Foci stay in situ in Turkish, contra Şener (2010). In particular, I present new data showing that the previously-claimed obligatory adjacency of Focus to the verb in Turkish does not apply to Contrastive Focus. I show that the assumption regarding the strict in-situness of Focus in Turkish is invalidated once we have a closer look at the two different focus types.

With the elimination of 'scrambling' and subject movement to Spec,TP as non-discourse driven movement operations, a detailed characterization of different kinds of discourse related functional projections allows for a non-ambiguous mapping of the interfaces regarding the interpretation of the elements that are associated with them. I assume that a cartographic approach to the mapping of syntactic structures to discourse functions is on the right track in its essentials.

The building blocks of the argument come from the scopal properties of universal and existential quantifiers with respect to negation in Turkish. However, understanding the syntax of negation is complicated in and of itself. In what comes next, I lay out the reasons for why this is complicated, and provide an analysis of negation.

4.3 Scope and negation

This section builds the basis for understanding how negation works in the language and how we can implement a NegP analysis. There are two main challenges discussed in this section: (i) The first challenge is to understand Kelepir's (2001) arguments for building an analysis of negation, which assumes negation can merge at vP, TP or CP levels. (ii) The second is to build an alternative analysis of a fixed NegP.

In the next section, I first present the following components to unpack the claims in Kelepir (2001).

- The suffix *-mA* marks sentential negation. (Section 4.3.1)
- Turkish is scope rigid[6]. (Section 4.3.2)
- Universal quantifiers and existential quantifiers have distinct scope requirements with respect to negation. (Section 4.3.3)
- NPIs in Turkish are subject to the Immediate Scope Constraint (cf. Linebarger (1980)). (Section 4.3.4.2)
- According to Kelepir (2001), NPIs cannot move to Spec, NegP. The evidence comes from VP-internal objects and embedded clauses. (Section 4.3.4.3)
- Kelepir (2001) claims that negation can be interpreted at various positions in the structure as long as it is immediately above NPI. (Section 4.3.4.3)

Then, I proceed to present an alternative analysis of NegP following McKenzie (2006). The summary of the claims are as follows:

---

[6] The exception, in my analysis, is C-Focus. I will come back to this.

- NPIs have the internal structure of [OP_{NEG} [indefinite]]. (Section 4.3.4.4)
- The Negative Operator moves to Spec,NegP and the indefinite is left behind. (Section 4.3.4.4)
- Hence, NPIs are not forced out of VP or embedded clauses, resolving Kelepir's (2001) problems. (Section 4.3.4.5)
- A fixed NegP which marks the scope of negation is the default account in existing cross-linguistic accounts (cf. Beghelli and Stowell 1997, Haegeman et al. 1995, Zanuttini 1991). (Section 4.3.4.5)
- Hence, a fixed position for NegP projection is both more explanatory and favorable over a floating Neg. (Section 4.3.4.5)

4.3.1 Types of negation

There are two types of negation in Turkish, which surface depending on the type of predicate:

(i) if it is non-verbal, the free morpheme *değil* occurs after the predicate:

(6) a. Hasan kısa değil.
Hasan short NOT-COP-3SG
'Hsan is not short.'

b. Ben okul-da değil-di-m.
I school-LOC NOT-PST-1SG
'I was not at school.'

Kelepir (2001, 18)

If the clause is non-verbal, then the negative morpheme is a free morpheme: değil, not a suffix. It occurs after the predicate but before tense and agreement markers. It does not undergo vowel harmony, and it can bear primary stress.[7]

(ii) if the predicate is verbal, the suffix *-mA* is attached to the verbal root:

(7) a. Hasan gel-me-di.
Hasan come-NEG-PST
'Hasan didn't come.'

b. Bina yık-ıl-ma-dı.
building tear.down-PASS-NEG-PST
'The building hasn't been torn down.'

c. Hasan yıka-n-ma-dı.
Hasan wash-REFL-NEG-PST
'Hasan didn't take a bath.' Or lit. 'Hasan didn't wash himself.'

d. Hasan gel-m-iyor.
Hasan come-NEG-PROG
'Hasan is not coming.'

e. Hasan gel-me-meli-y-di.
Hasan come-NEG-SHOULD-COP-PST
'Hasan shouldn't have come.'

Kelepir (2001, 18)

The analysis below will account for the scope and syntactic representation of the suffix *-mA* as sentential negation.

[7] Note that Kelepir (2001) glosses *değil* as NOT and *-mA* as NEG.

4.3.2 Scope rigidity

In some languages, the relative order of elements bearing scope have interpretational effects at LF, while in others, scope is not entirely dependent on linear order and inverse scope is possible. English, for example, has been argued to exhibit scopal ambiguity, resulting from the possibility of surface scope and inverse scope in structures with two quantifiers (May 1985, Bruening 2001).

(8) Every student read three books by Dostoevsky.
(i) Surface ($\forall > 3$): For every student, there are three (potentially different) books by Dostoevsky that they read.
(ii) Inverse ($3 > \forall$): There are three (certain) books by Dostoevsky that every student reads.

Unlike English, Turkish has been claimed to have so-called 'scope rigidity' by Kural (1997), Göksel (1998), Kelepir (2001), among others. These linguists have shown that the higher-placed QP in overt syntax takes scope over the lower one. See the examples below:

(9) $\forall > 3$

Her çocuk üç yarışma-ya gir-di.
every child three contest-DAT enter-PST
'Every child entered three contests.' S O V
Interpretation: Every child is such that s/he entered three (non-specific) contests.

In (9), the ∀Q precedes the numeral and the interpretation is that every child entered three (any three) contests.

(10) 3 > ∀

Üç yarışma-ya her çocuk gir-di.
three contest-DAT every child enter-PST
'Every child entered three contests.' O S V
Interpretation: There were three contests such that every child entered them.

When the numeral precedes the ∀Q as in (10), the interpretation is that those were the same three contests that every child entered.

Similar to the order of QPs, negation and QP ordering has also been shown to have interpretational effects both in English (Beghelli and Stowell 1997) and in Turkish (Kelepir 2001). This ordering is crucial for my analysis, so I will continue the discussion of quantifiers and negation in more detail in the next section.

4.3.3 *bütün* and *bazı* in Turkish

The two quantifiers that we will see repetitively for the diagnosis of structural positions are the universal quantifier *bütün* 'all' and the existential quantifier *bazı* 'some'. These two have distinct scopal properties with respect to negation,

but before including negation, let's look at the following pair for scope rigidity[89]:

(11) $\forall > \exists$, $*\exists > \forall$

Bütün çocuk-lar bazı hayvan-lar-a yardım et-ti.
all child-PL some animal-PL-DAT help do-PST
'All children helped some animals.' S O V
Interpretation: All children helped some (non-specific) animals.

(12) $*\forall > \exists$, $\exists > \forall$

Bazı hayvan-lar-a bütün çocuk-lar yardım et-ti.
some animal-PL-DAT all child-PL help do-PST

---

[8] There does not seem to be uniform behavior in terms of scope rigidity, with respect to the so-called acc-maked indefinites in Turkish, and Kelepir (2001) has an extensive discussion on this issue.

(1) Her öğrenci bir kitab-ı okudu.
every student a book-ACC read
'Every student read a book.'
This sentence can be uttered in the following situations:
(i) There is a list of books and every student x read a book y from that list.
(ii) There is one book s.t. every student read that book.

That is, differential object marking alters the scopal facts. I am excluding such cases since my main purpose here is to use the unambiguous scope judgements as diagnostic tools.

[9] I use *bütün* 'all' for a unified use of universal quantifiers, but the scope facts hold for *her* 'every' and *her bir* 'each (lit. every one)'. See Appendix for additional data with 'every' and 'each'.

'All children helped some animals.' O S V

Interpretation: There are some animals such that all children helped those animals.

Similar to the cases discussed previously, the relative order in which *bütün* 'all' and *bazı* 'some' occur in overt syntax affects the scope as well. Below is another pair where we have the argument structure opposite of (11) and (12): $\exists$ quantifier as a subject and the $\forall$ quantifier as an indirect object. The same scopal facts hold:

(13) $\exists > \forall$, $*\forall > \exists$

Bazı çocuk-lar bütün hayvan-lar-a yardım et-ti.
some child-PL all animal-PL-DAT help do-PST

'Some children helped all animals.' S O V

Interpretation: There were some children such that they helped all animals.

(14) $\forall > \exists$, $*\exists > \forall$

Bütün hayvan-lar-a bazı çocuk-lar yardım et-ti.
all animal-PL-DAT some child-PL help do-PST

'Some children helped all animals.' O S V

Interpretation: All animals were such that some (non-specific) children helped them.

As I mentioned, these two quantifiers have distinct scopal relations with respect to negation. Kelepir (2001) shows that the following structure, in which a universal quantifier is found in a negated sentence, is unambiguous:

(15) neg > ∀, *∀ > neg

Bugün herkes gel-me-di.

today everyone come-NEG-PST

'Everybody didn't come today.' Kelepir (2001)

(i) It is not the case that everybody came today.

(ii) *It is true for every x s.t. x didn't come today. = Nobody came.

That is (15) can only be interpreted as shown in (i), where the universal quantifier takes narrow scope under negation. With this example, Kelepir (2001) concludes that the universal quantifier in Turkish has a certain property: "..it cannot be interpreted immediately outside the scope of negation."

For the existential quantifier 'bazı', Kelepir constructs the following structure:

(16) ∃ > neg, *neg > ∃

Hasan bazı müşteri-ler-i ara-ma-dı.

Hasan some customer-PL-ACC call-NEG-PST

'Hasan didn't call some customers.' Kelepir (2001)

(i)* It is not the case that John called some customers.

(ii) There are some people x s.t. Hasan didn't call x.

As Kelepir (2001) originally observed, (16) is unambiguous in the opposite way

of (15). *bazı* obligatorily takes wide scope over negation and it is not possible to have an interpretation with negation scoping over it, as in (ii).

4.3.4 Position of NEG *-mA*

Now we turn our attention to the building blocks of the analysis proposed in the previous section.

As a reminder for the reader, the structures like the following pose a challenge for existing accounts in Turkish literature, as the C-Focus phrases do not follow scope rigidity:

(17) [Bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}$ [hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
some children-ACC any.one woman school-LOC see-NEG-PST
'There are some children such that any woman saw them at school.'

(18) *[Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
any.one woman some children-ACC school-LOC see-NEG-PST
Intended:'There are some children such that any woman saw them at school.'

(19) Context: *Duyduğuma göre hiçbir kadın çocukların hiçbirini görmemiş. Doğru mu?*
'According to what I heard, none of the women saw any children. Is that correct?'

Hayır, [hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [BAZI ÇOCUK-LAR-I]$_{\exists}$ okul-da
no any.one woman some children-ACC school-LOC
gör-me-di.
see-NEG-PST

'No, no woman saw some children at school.' (There are some children such that no woman saw them at school.)

Recall that an otherwise unavailable structure with an ∃Q following an NPI in (19) is licit when C-Focus is placed on the ∃Q. To be able to unpack such structures, we first need to understand the scopal and distributional properties of quantifiers, NPIs and negation in Turkish.

Although there have been multiple studies offering different accounts on NPI licensing (Kayabaşi and Özgen 2018, Görgülü 2018, Kelepir 2001), explicit analyses of the syntax of negation have been rare. The most widely accepted (and implemented) syntactic account is that of Kelepir's (2001). Her main claim is that the sentential negation, which is *-mA* suffix[10] on the verb, can project at the vP, TP and (in some cases) CP level. In other words, Neg can be interpreted in various positions in the structure according to Kelepir's (2001) analysis.

McKenzie (2006) offers an alternative analysis to Kelepir's (2001) multiple projection account and proposes that the suffix *-mA* should have a fixed NegP projection. In what comes next, I will establish the empirical facts as introduced by Kelepir (2001) and summarize the questions raised by McKenzie (2006). At the end of this section, I will adopt a syntactic analysis with fixed sentential negation, following McKenzie's (2006) account.

[10] Traditionally, the sound variation is represented with a capitalized letter in Turkish literature. Due to vowel harmony, the *-mA* suffix can surface as *-ma* or *-me*.

4.3.4.1 NPIs

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) are expressions that need to occur in downward entailing environments, such as negation, questions, or conditionals (see Ladusaw (1980), Von Fintel (1999), among others).

There are certain words in Turkish whose behavior is quite similar to NPIs in other languages. That is to say, these words need to appear with certain elements like negation, or in certain syntactic contexts, such as in questions. There are only a few studies such as Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), Besler (2000), Kelepir (2000, 2001) and Yanılmaz (2009) that investigate NPIs. A discussion of certain characteristics and distribution of NPIs is found in Kelepir (2001:122) where she classifies Turkish NPIs into three different categories based on their morphological characteristics. This is illustrated in (20).

(20) (i) the adverb *hiç* "ever", "at all"
(ii) the words that begin with the morpheme *hiç* such as *hiçkimse* "anyone", *hiçbirşey* "anything", *hiçbir* N "any N"
(iii) the words that do not contain the morpheme *hiç* such as *kimse* "anyone", *asla* "never", *katiyyen* "in any way", *sakın* "ever"

The list in (20) covers the varieties of NPIs in Turkish. As far as the distribution of certain NPIs and their licensing environments are concerned, Kelepir provides examples of negated sentences,yes/no questions, and conditionals. For the purposes of this study, we will focus on the negated sentences. Consider the following:

(21) (Hiç) kimse gel-me-di.
ever anyone come-NEG-PST
'Nobody came.'

(22) Mert Seren-i hiç gör-me-di.
Mert Seren-ACC ever see-NEG-PST
'Mert never saw Seren.'

Note that *kimse* and *hiç kimse* are sometimes used interchangeably, but Kelepir (2001) notes that there is some disagreement among native speakers concerning which NPI sounds grammatical in terms of the distribution of these NPIs in yes/no questions. This is illustrated in the following pair:

(23) San-a kimse beş-te buluş-acağ-ımız-ı söyle-di mi?
you-DAT no.one five-LOC meet-FUT-1PL-ACC say-PST Q
"Did anyone tell you that we would meet at 5?"

(24) ?? San-a hiçkimse beş-te buluş-acağ-ımız-ı söyle-di mi?
you-DAT no.one five-LOC meet-FUT-1PL-ACC say-PST Q
"Did anyone tell you that we would meet at 5?"

According to Kelepir (2001), the NPI *kimse* is generally acceptable in yes/no questions. On the other hand, the NPI *hiç kimse* is regarded as less acceptable by some (but not all) speakers. Kelepir concludes that the disagreement in grammaticality judgments may stem from the strength of the NPIs in question. That is to say, *hiç kimse* is a strong NPI in the sense of Zwarts (1998) and van der Wouden (2002), and is only licenced by negation, while *kimse* can be licenced by yes/no

questions as well as negation. To ensure clarity across this study, I will only use *hiç kimse* in negated clauses.

4.3.4.2 The Immediate Scope Constraint

The basic word order in Turkish is SOV, and sentential negation attaches to the verb as a suffix (-mA). For this reason, the negated verb is not all that informative in regards to the scope of negation in Turkish, unlike the English counterpart 'not'. Let us begin by observing a numeral under negation:

(25) Hasan iki kapı-yı cilala-ma-dı.
Hasan two door-ACC polish-NEG-PST
'Hasan didn't polish two doors.' neg > 2
('Hasan didn't polish two of the doors.') Kelepir (2001)

(26) İki adam-ı Ali gör-me-di.
two man-ACC Ali see-NEG-PST
'Ali didn't see two men.' 2 > neg
Interpretation: There were two (specific) men such that Ali did not see them.

While the SOV order with the numeral object in (25) leads to neg > 2 interpretation, the numeral takes wide scope over negation in (26) in the OSV order. However, there is no context or an overt indicator for the position of the negation in the structure. Therefore, the sentences above are not quite informative enough to understand the structural hierarchy.

NPIs, on the otherhand, are much more strict in their distribution with respect to negation and therefore can serve as a diagnostic tool. Just like quantifiers, NPIs

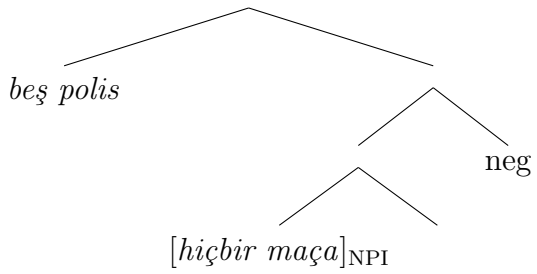
also interact with scope bearing elements and demonstrate scope rigidity. Let's have a look at the examples below from McKenzie (2006):

(27) Beş polis hiçbir maç-a git-me-di.
five policeman any match-DAT go-NEG-PST
'Five policemen didn't go to any match.' 5 > neg
Interpretation: There are five policemen such that they didn't go to any match.
McKenzie (2006)

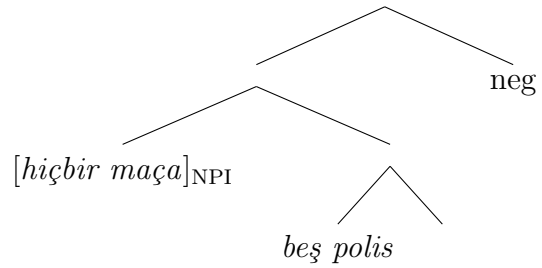
(28) Hiçbir maç-a beş polis git-me-di.
any match-DAT five policeman go-NEG-PST
'Five policemen didn't go to any match.' neg > 5
Interpretation: There are no matches such that five policemen went to them.
McKenzie (2006)

Unlike the existential quantifier *bazı*, the numeral can take narrow scope under negation as seen in in (28). Note that scope rigidity is still preserved and the examples above are not ambiguous. Note also that this is unlike the cases we saw with the universal quantifier *bütün* and the existential quantifier *bazı*.

(29) Corresponds to the sentence in (27)



(30) Corresponds to the sentence in (28)



Recall that NPIs in Turkish must occur in the presence of negation. Kelepir (2001) further shows that they also need to be in the immediate scope of negation. Following Linebarger (1980), she adopts the *Immediate Scope Constraint* (henceforth ISC):

(31) *Immediate Scope Constraint:*
No intervening operators can come between negation and the NPI.

That is, no scope-bearing element can be positioned in between negation and the NPI.

4.3.4.3 Multiple Neg account: Kelepir 2001

Kelepir (2001) argues for a multiple-position Neg projection and builds her argument upon the data presented above. Below, I will briefly present her analysis and the data she uses to argue against a fixed NegP.

∀Q cannot scope above negation as presented earlier. In (32) below, the ∀Q precedes the NPI, and the sentence is uninterpretable. However, it is licit in (32b) where the ∀Q follows the NPI.

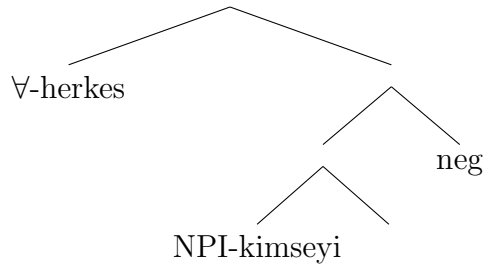
(32) a. *Herkes kimse-yi gör-me-di
everyone anyone-ACC see-NEG-PST
'Everyone didn't see anyone.'

b. Kimse herşey-den ye-me-di
anyone everything-ABL eat-NEG-PST
'Nobody ate from everything.'

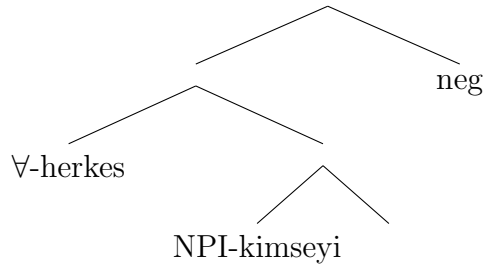
Kelepir (2001, 125,207a)

Technically, (32) can have either of the two structures below (cf. McKenzie 2006):

(33)



(34)



Assuming that ∀Q cannot be outside of the scope of negation, (33) is eliminated. Moreover, Kelepir (2001) suggests that, in (34), the ∀Q intervenes between negation and the NPI, in violation of the ISC. That is, in both (33) and (34), the

subject and the object are in the same position in the two structures, but negation is interpreted at different positions according to Kelepir (2001).

While Kelepir (2001) does not build an in-depth theory of a mobile negation beyond what is presented here, she puts forward two potential issues with a fixed NegP analysis.

The core of the problem lies in the assumption that the NPI has to move to the specifier of the NegP. Her analysis states that the fixed NegP analysis is challenged if the NPI has clearly not moved into NegP, but is yet still licenced somehow. Let us now return to her examples.

The first case below is based on object marking in Turkish. The contrast between (35a) and (35b) has been used to show that non-specific objects in Turkish do not bare accusative case, and therefore stay within the VP (contra acc-marked objects, which move out of the DP and receive accusative case (cf. Enç 1991, Zidani-Eroglu 1997)).

(35) a. Hasan aceleyle bir tavukgögsü ye-di, çık-tı
Hasan in.a.hurry a tavukgögsü eat-PST-3S leave-PST
'Hasan ate a tavukgögsü quickly and left.'

b. Hasan bir tavukgögsü-*(nü) aceleyle ye-di, çık-tı
Hasan a tavukgögsü-ACC in.a.hurry eat-PST, leave-PST

(Kelepir p 170, n. 298)

Kelepir (2001) places an NPI object in a similar structure and shows that it cannot get accusative case:

(36) *Hasan hiçbirşey-i acele-yle ye-me-di
Hasan anything-ACC hurry-with eat-NEG-PST-1sg

'Hasan didn't eat anything in a hurry.' Kelepir (2001)

The adverb *aceleyle* 'in a hurry' marks the edge of the VP in (36), and the NPI *hiçbirşey-i* 'anything-ACC' moves above the adverb (and outside of the VP). She uses this data point to support the idea that the NPI could not have moved to Spec, NegP because it is ungrammatical.

The second issue regarding the fixed NegP is long-distance licensing for NPIs in embedded clauses.

(37) Ben [Hasan-ın kimse-yi ara-ma-sı]-nı
I Hasan-GEN anybody-ACC call-NOM-3S-ACC
iste-mi-yor-um
want-NEG-PROG-BE.aux-1s
'I don't want Hasan to call anybody.' Kelepir (2001)

The NPI, which is within the embedded clause, is licensed by negation in the matrix clause. Therefore, it could not have moved to the matrix Spec, NegP. This point is further supported by considering the placement of an adverb modifying the matrix VP:

(38) Hasan inatla [Elif-in kimse-yi gör-me-si]-ne izin
Hasan stubbornly Elif-GEN anyone-ACC see-NOM-3S-DAT permission
ver-mi-yor.
give-NEG-PROG-BE.aux-3Sg.
'Hasan doesn't allow in a stubborn way Elif to see anybody.'

(39) *Hasan Elif-in kimse-yi$_2$ inatla [t t$_2$ gör-me-si]-ne
Hasan Elif-GEN anyone-ACC stubbornly t t see-NOM-3S-DAT
izin ver-mi-yor
permission give-NEG-PROG

Kelepir (2001)

As seen in (39), the NPI cannot precede the adverb *inatla* 'stubbornly', so it is once again assumed that Spec,NegP movement is impossible. And since it is impossible, negation should be interpreted in multiple locations, and a fixed NegP should not be considered, according to Kelepir (2001).

McKenzie (2006), on the otherhand, suggests that it seems unwarranted to assume a multiple-NEG account simply because NPIs do not move. He further concludes that the way Kelepir (2001) derives sentential negation is actually semantically contentful head movement. This 'mobile' treatment of negation is an assumption that is carried out throughout Kelepir's (2001) analysis without any external evidence for the existence of it. Instead, following McKenzie's (2006) claims, we can offer a fixed position for *-mA* in Turkish so that it would both be in line with the standard treatment of sentential negation in the literature, and it would require less stipulation of the intervention effects.

4.3.4.4 Fixed NegP account: McKenzie 2006

Traditional NegP accounts show that some operator in NegP licenses NPIs. Kelepir argues against a NegP analysis by showing that Turkish NPIs cannot raise to any NegP. She also mentions that this objection holds whether Turkish NPIs are true NPIs or negative quantifiers. However, she later points out that they fall somewhere in between. So if Turkish NPIs can be analyzed with a somewhat

different internal structure than the traditional NPIs, her argument against NegPs would become invalid.

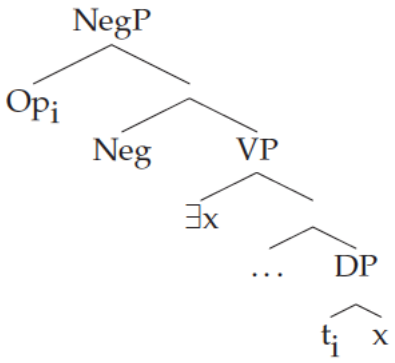
To this end, McKenzie (2006) constructs his main claim based on how French n-words work: they have an inherent negative feature, while needing to occur in negative contexts (cf. Mathieu (2001)). Therefore, a pure indefinite account does not suffice. Following Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002), Mathieu (2001) suggests that while NQs have quantificational force on their own, NPIs are indefinites which need a binding operator. In his analysis, French n-words do not fit in either category, so they must be indefinites with an internal null operator as shown below:

(40) [Op_{Neg} [indefinite]]

This operator raises to the specifier of the NegP, thus the indefinite can end up in a place other than the [Spec,NegP]. Here is the tree representation from McKenzie (2006)[11]

[11] The tree structures below are from McKenzie (2006), the finalized versions that I adopt will have changes based on my proposal in the next section.

(41) McKenzie (2006)

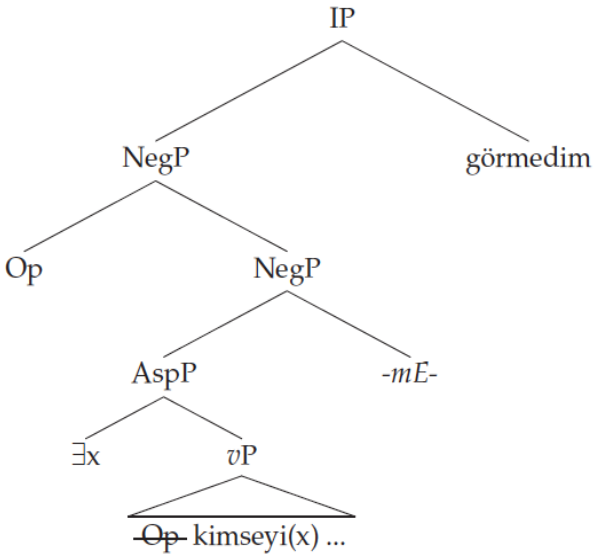


In lieu of a mobile neg analysis, McKenzie (2006) suggests analyzing the Turkish NPIs in a similar way. Adopting the structure in (40) for Turkish NPIs, he offers the following set:

(42) [Op$_{\text{Neg}}$ kimse$_{\text{[indef]}}$]

(43) Kimse-yi gör-*(me)-di-m.
anybody-ACC see-NEG-PST-1sg
'I didn't see anybody.'

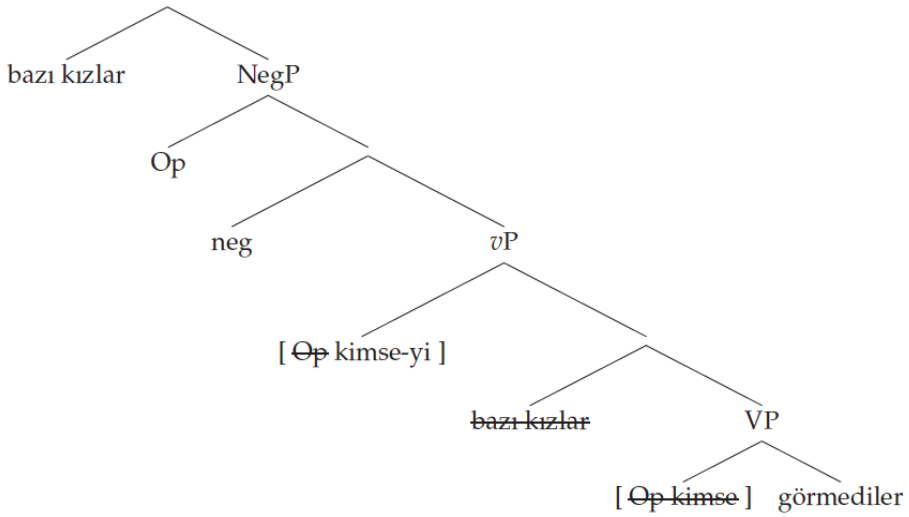
(44) McKenzie (2006)



This is a plausible account as our main goal is to align the functional projection of negation in Turkish with the rest of the cross-linguistic facts. Let us now apply this structure to cases where NPIs interfered with quantifier interpretation.

(45) Bazı kız-lar kimse-yi gör-me-di-ler.
some girl-pl anyone-ACC see-NEG-PST-3PL
'Some girls didn't see anyone.'

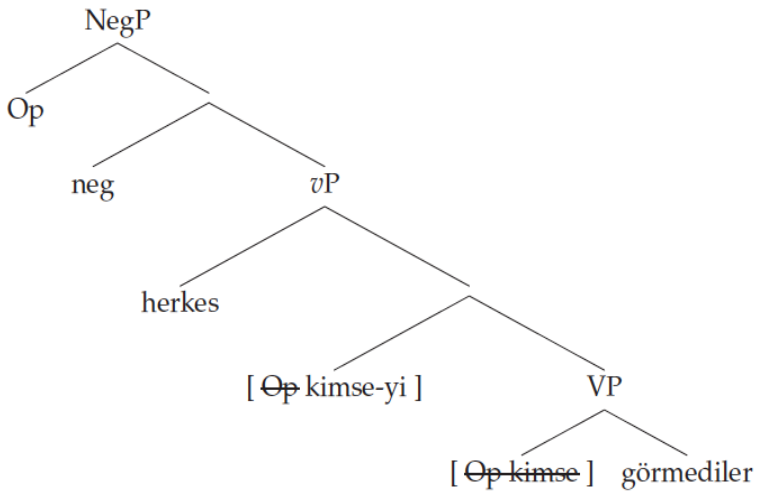
(46) McKenzie (2006)



In (46), the NPI is introduced in the structure with the Op: [Op *kimse*]. It moves to *v*P, then the Op raises to the Spec,NegP satisfying the licensing requirement for the NPI.

(47) * Herkes kimse-yi gör-me-di.
everyone anyone-ACC see-NEG-PST
'Everyone didn't see anyone.'

(48) McKenzie (2006)



As the universal quantifier has to stay below negation, its position between Neg and the NPI blocks Op from raising to Spec, NegP, causing an intervention effect. Note that we expect to get intervention effects from quantifiers, as they signal that movement has happened in the structure. That is, intervention effects emerge when a scope bearing element moves across another scope bearing element at LF (cf. Beck 1997).

In sum, McKenzie (2006) suggests that Turkish NPIs are indefinites occuring with a negative operator. This operator raises to Spec, NegP satisfying a feature and the indefinite that stays behind is bound existentially. This negative operator is blocked by islands when it moves, and triggers intervention effects if it moves across quantificational elements. Therefore, this mechanism differs from a traditional NPI account where the NPI moves to the Spec,NegP.

4.3.4.5 Resolving Kelepir's counter-arguments

As shown in Section 4.3.4.3, Kelepir (2001) presents two counter-arguments for a potentially fixed NegP position for Turkish. Now that the operator is introduced in the mechanism, we can account for these two problematic cases via McKenzie's account.

The first counter-argument concerns the bare object NPI, which has to stay within the VP:

(49) *Hiçbirşey aceleyle ye-me-di-m.
any thing in.a.hurry eat-NEG-PST-1sg
'I didn't eat anything in a hurry.'

The sentence above is ungrammatical because non-specific indefinites stay within the VP in Turkish. See the non-NPI example below:

(50) *Elma aceleyle ye-me-di-m.
apple in.a.hurry eat-NEG-PST-1sg
'I didn't eat apple in a hurry.'

This simple case shows that the ungrammaticality of (49) is not because NPI licensing fails. It is due to the particular behavior of indefinites, which has been widely studied in Turkish literature. See Kelepir (2001) and Öztürk (2008), among others, for extensive discussions on this issue.

In sum, when we adopt the [Op_{NEG} [indefinite]] account, the negative Operator of the NPI raises to NegP, and leaves the indefinite behind. Since the indefinite is also non-specific, it does not receive any case. Therefore, regardless of the case theory one adopts, this system can account for the licensing of the NPI.

The other problem Kelepir (2001) poses concerns NPIs that are stuck within an embedded clause, but that are still licensed:

(51) Hasan Elif-in inatla [t kimse-yi$_2$ gör-me-si]-ne izin
Hasan Elif-GEN stubbornly anyone-ACC see-NOM-3S-DAT permission
ver-mi-yor
give-NEG-PROG
'Hasan doesn't allow in a stubborn way Elif to see anybody.'

(52) *Hasan Elif-in kimse-yi$_2$ inatla [t t$_2$ gör-me-si]-ne
Hasan Elif-GEN anyone-ACC stubbornly see-NOM-3S-DAT
izin ver-mi-yor
permission give-NEG-PROG

Similarly to the previous case, the Operator within the NPI in (51) moves to the Spec,NegP instead of the NPI itself[12]. (52) is ungrammatical because the indefinite moves out of the scope of existential in the embedded clause. All in all,

[12] McKenzie (2006) further observes that not all embedded clauses allow this. The clause above is considered non-factive (due to the morpheme it is constructed with), while the nominalized clause below is factive:

(1) [Kimse-nin gel-diğ-i-]ni san-mı-yor-um.
anybody-GEN come-NOM-3S-ACC think-NEG-PROG-BE.aux-1sg
'I don't think that anybody came.'

(2) *[Kimse-nin gel-diğ-i-]ni bil-mi-yor-um.
anybody-GEN come-NOM-3S-ACC know-NEG-PROG-BE.aux-1sg
'I don't know that anybody came.'

this system of a fixed NegP alongside a layered inner structure of the NPI ([Op_{NEG} [indefinite]), is preferable over assuming multiple occurrences of Neg.[13]

4.3.5 Interim Summary

In this section, I established a strong diagnostic tool for detecting scope in Turkish, and I argued for a fixed NegP position. I summarized the claims by Kelepir (2001) and showed that a multiple-NEG account can be eliminated successfully if we adopt the analysis of NegP by McKenzie (2006). In what comes next, I employ this tool to construct the syntax of information structure in the language.

4.4 Implementation of the propsal

4.4.1 Background on EPP in Turkish

Öztürk (2005) establishes that Turkish lacks the EPP feature for Spec, TP and the movement into this position is not obligatory (cf. Öztürk 2008, İşsever 2008, Şener 2010, Kamali 2011). I will briefly summarize Öztürk's (2008) account below, as I adapt this account for the analysis to be presented in the next section.

Öztürk (2008) provides the following sentences where typical raising constructions do not require movement into matrix TP. The movement can be tracked via the subject verb agreement in (54) versus the lack of it in (53):

(53) [$_{TP}$ bana [sen üzül-müş-sün] gibi görün-üyor]
me you upset-PST-2S as seem-PROG
'It seems to me that you got upset'

[13] Note that I assume V-to-Neg-to-T movement for Turkish.

(54) [$_{TP}$ Sen$_i$ bana [t$_i$ üzül-müş-sün] gibi görün-üyor-sun]
you me upset-PST-2S as seem-PROG-2S
'You seem to me to be upset'

Agreement is missing on the verb in (53) as the subject does not raise to Spec,TP. In (54), we see that the 2SG morpheme surfaces on the verb, in agreement with the subject *Sen* 'You'. Note that the lack of agreement above shows that morphological agreement in Turkish requires a Spec-Head configuration.

Öztürk (2005, 2008) further discuss the of lack of an EPP for Spec,TP in Turkish drawing on evidence from passives and unaccusatives, as well as the scope of the subject. She concludes that there is no evidence for the need of an EPP feature in Turkish; the optional movement of the subject into Spec,TP is possibly due to a Topic-related feature to satisfy a discourse requirement.[14] These conclusions are directly compatible with the proposal I will be expanding upon in the next section.

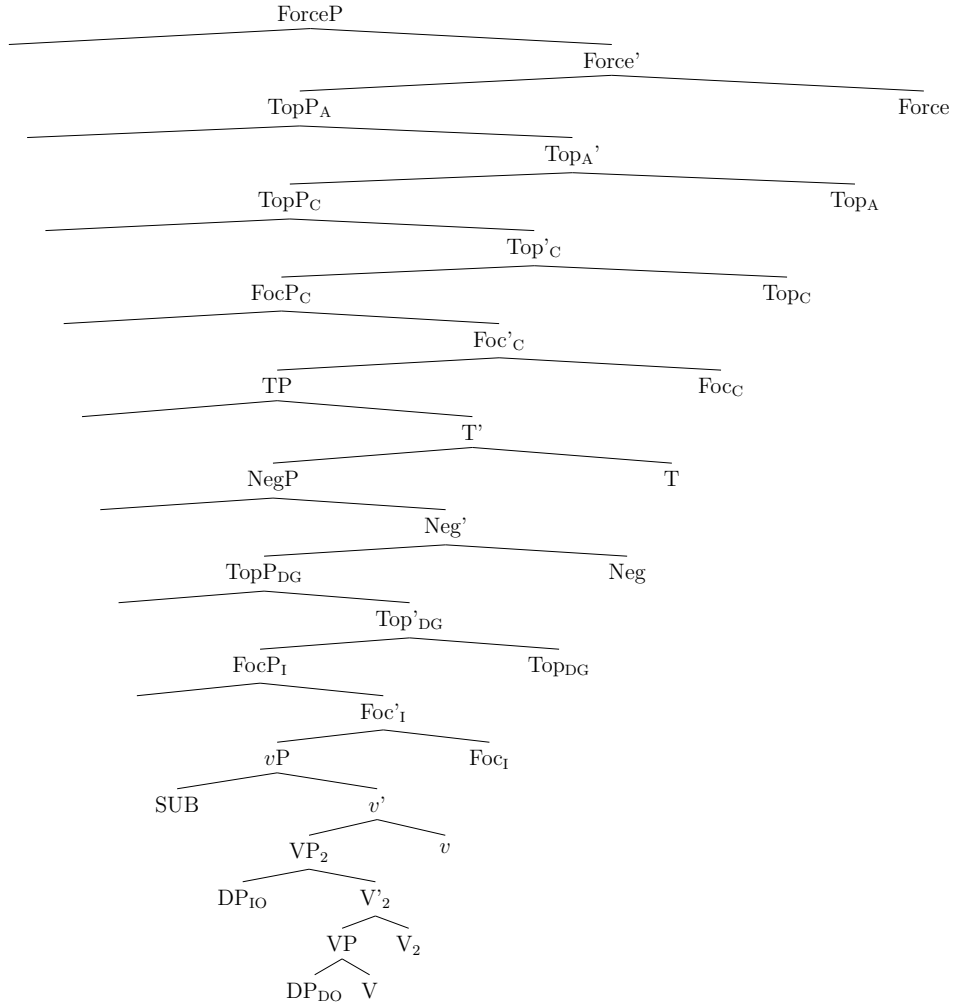
4.4.2 Analysis

So far, we have seen the hierarchical positions of the IS notions and the NegP in separate structures. As the reader may remember, the previous two chapters studied the descriptive features of the IS notions, and the distributional properties of the IS notions, respectively. Up until the discussion of the NegP, we did not establish the relative order of the TP with respect to the IS notions. Based on the discussion in the previous section, we now know that sentential negation in Turkish is indeed a fixed NegP, rather than a floating Neg operator. Therefore, we can now insert NegP in the previously provided clausal structure of Turkish.

[14] I refer the reader to the extensive discussion Öztürk (2005) provides for further evidence. I will refrain from recreating her arguments here to avoid distraction.

In this section, I start by proposing the following structure for Turkish:

(55)



As the tree diagram shows, I propose that all of the pre-established IS notions in Turkish are functional projections and NegP is below TP and above TopP$_{DG}$.

I suggest that all non-SOV orders (and even the SOV word order may convey a not-in-situ derivation based on the discourse) in Turkish are derived by discourse interpretational purposes (cf. Şener (2010)). I establish the above-mentioned structure on scopal relations of the IS notions with respect to negation. Particularly, I show in this section that the Discourse-Given Topic (DG-Topic) and the

Informational Focus (I-Focus) take narrow scope under negation, while Aboutness topic (A-Topic), Contrastive topic (C-Topic) and Contrastive Focus (C-Focus) scope above negation. On the basis of the fixed NegP analysis, I place the DG-Topic and I-Focus TP-internally below negation, while the rest is projected in the left peripherial region, above the TP (cf. Rizzi (1997)).

The summary of my claims:

- All topic phrases move to the specifier of the relative functional head overtly;
- C-Focus movement can be either overt or covert, but C-Focus phrases are always interpreted in the [Spec,Foc_{C}].
- I-Focus phrases, unlike C-Focus, stay in-situ, and focus is assigned to whatever is left inside the vP. It is the default for the pre-verbal position.
- Turkish does not have EPP.

There are two properties we can use to test this hierarchy:
- Due to scope rigidity, the universal quantifier takes narrow scope under negation when it is below TP;
- Sentential negation has a fixed position in Turkish.

The next section is dedicated to providing derivations by employing these two components on the basis of the proposal above.

4.4.3 Derivations with Universal Quantifier and negation

4.4.3.1 Universal quantifier in I-Focus position

The scope of the universal quantifier under negation has been observed and noted by Öztürk (2008) (among others):

(56) Bütün çocuk-lar dünkü test-e gir-me-di.
all child-PL yesterday's exam-DAT take-NEG-PST
'Not all the children took yesterday's exam.' NEG > ∀

Although Öztürk (2008) provides variations of the sentence above, these type of structures require a context to avoid ambiguity due to contrast, and to clearly determine scope judgements. Below, I present a version of the same structure within a context:

(57) Context: *Ev sahibi kimi evden cikarmis? Haberin var mi?*
'Who didn't the landlord kick out? Do you know anything?'
Valla tam bilmiyorum ama...
'Honestly, I don't know for sure but...'

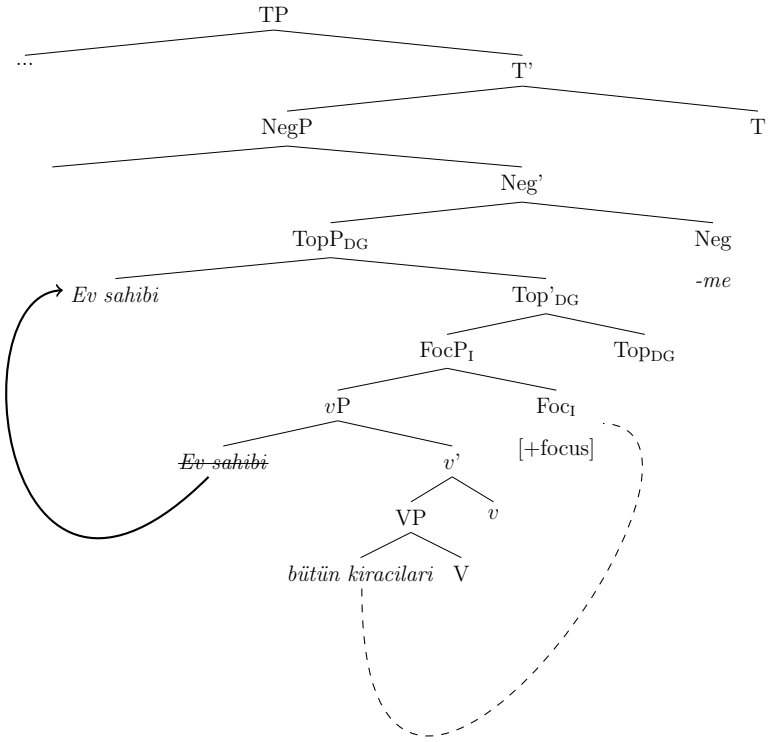
[Ev sahibi]$_{DG}$ [bütün kiraci-lar-i]$_{IF}$ cikar-ma-mis.
house owner all tenant-PL-ACC kick.out-NEG-PERF

'The landlord didn't kick out all tenants.' (He kicked out some of them.)
Neg > ∀, *∀ > Neg

I follow the previously established tests to identify the relevant IS notions. In what we see above, the universal quantifier is the response to a wh- question

placed in the I-Focus position, and therefore takes narrow scope under negation as expected.

(58)



In the derivation above, the subject *ev sahibi* 'the landlord' moves to Spec, TopP$_{DG}$, while the object *bütün kiracılari* 'all tenants' checks the [+ focus] feature via Agree, as illustrated with the dotted line. The theory I am adopting is feature-based and implements Agree. I-Focus essentially lacks EPP, so there is no movement to the specifier of the FocP$_I$. Instead, focus is checked via Agree. Note that, here in our system, the potential targets for focus to be assigned to would be the *v*P, the subject or the object; we attach the focus feature to any one of these. Both the subject and the object do not simultaneously get I-Focus; in such a case, *v*P is assigned I-Focus and agrees with Foc$_I$. There is no intervention, because if

the subject is assigned, then the subject is in focus; if the object is assigned, then the object is focused and if vP is assigned, then the whole proposition is in focus (as in 'What happened?' type of cases).

4.4.3.2 Universal quantifier in C-Focus position

Öztürk (2008) notes that the universal quantifier can take wide scope above negation when focused:

(59) BÜTÜN ÇOCUK-LAR dünkü test-e gir-me-di.
all child-PL yesterday's exam-DAT take-NEG-PST
'All children did not take yesterday's exam.' (No child took yesterday's exam)

$\forall >$ NEG, *NEG $> \forall$

What Öztürk (2008) highlights in the example above is that the wide scope of the universal quantifier above negation is actually C-Focus. Below is a similar structure, this time within a context:

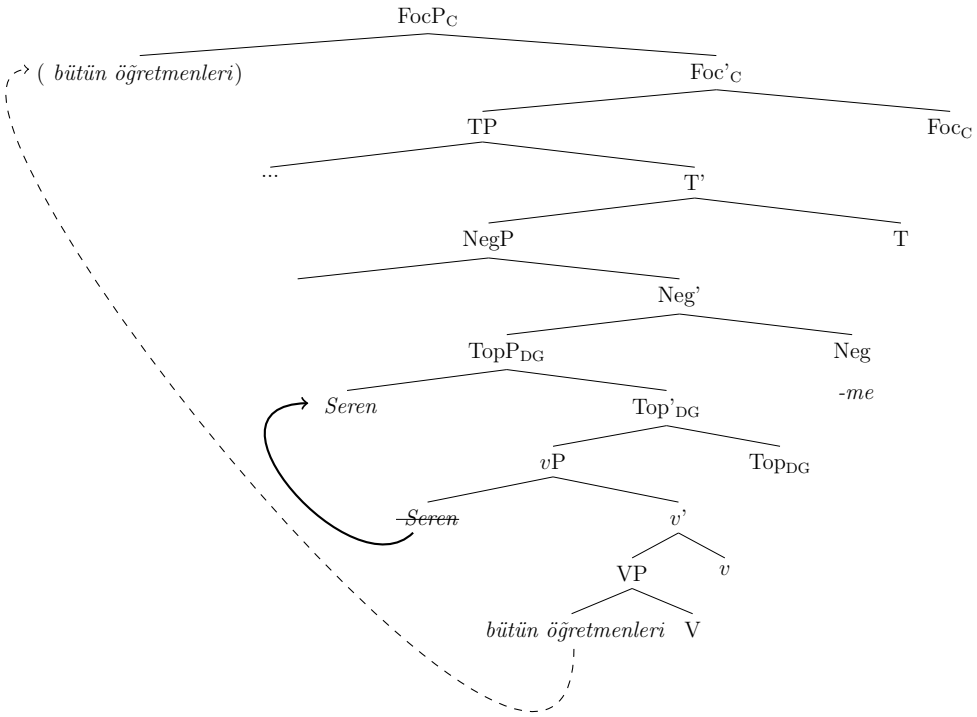
(60) Context: There is an event at the office where Seren is responsible for bringing in groups of people.
Seren bütün mühendisleri oldukları yerde bırakmış, kimseyi getirmemiş. Duydun mu olanları? 'I heard that Seren left all of the engineers where they were and didn't bring any of them. Did you hear what happened?'
Ama sen yanlış duymuşsun... 'But you heard it wrong...'

[Seren]$_{DG}$ [bütün öğretmen-ler-i]$_{CF}$ getir-me-di.

Seren all teacher-PL-ACC bring-NEG-PST

'Seren brought none of the teachers to the office.' $\forall >$ Neg, *Neg $> \forall$

(61)



C-Focus covertly moves to Spec,FocP$_C$ above. Alternatively, C-Focus can overtly move to the same position:

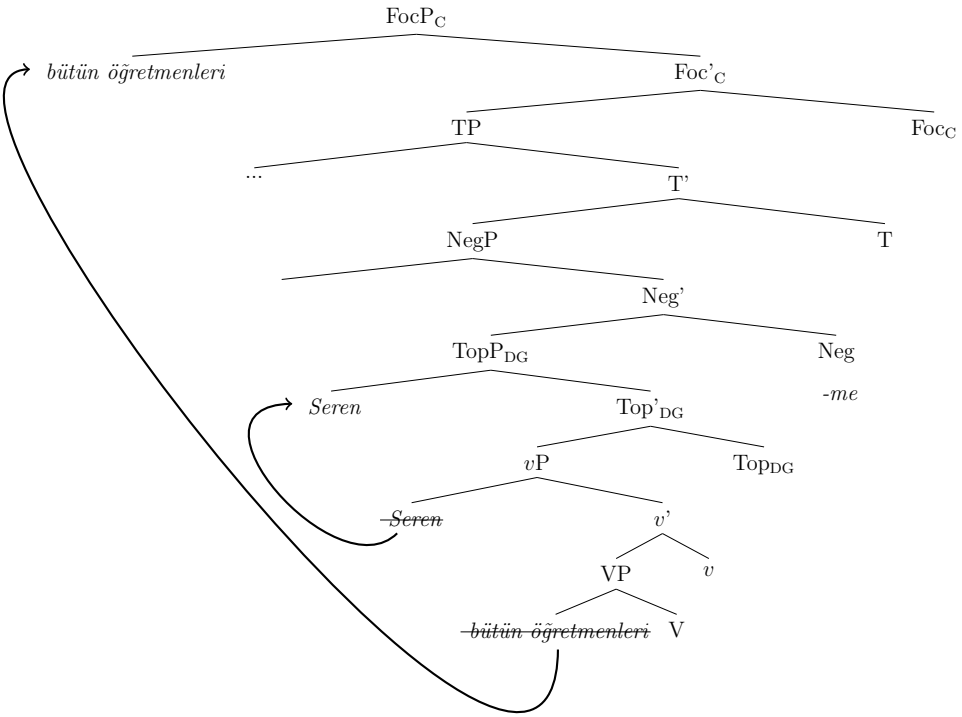
(62) (Same context as (60)

[Bütün öğretmen-ler-i]$_{CF}$ [Seren]$_{DG}$ getir-me-di.

all teacher-PL-ACC Seren bring-NEG-PST

'Seren didn't bring all of teachers to the office' $\forall >$ Neg, *Neg $> \forall$

(63)



Note that both (60) and (62) have the same scopal properties, because regardless of the surface order of the C-Focus, it is interpreted in the Spec,FocP$_C$ position. This also shows, once again, that the universal quantifier can indeed take scope above negation, if it is interpreted in a position above negation.

4.4.3.3 Object Universal Quantifier DG-Topic

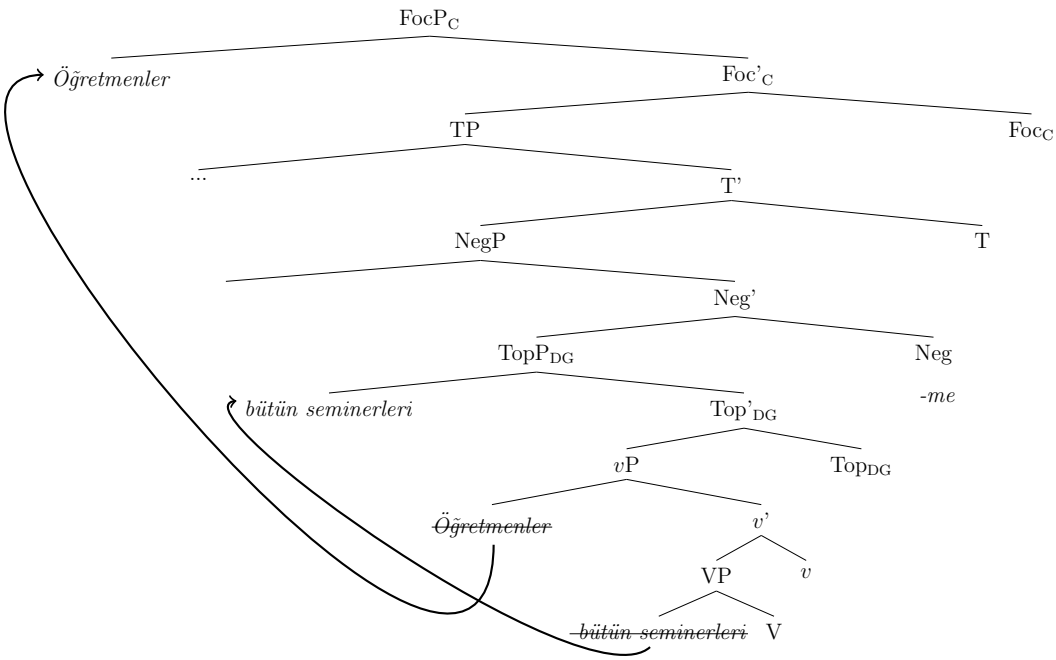
In the example below, the universal quantifier is the direct object, and it moves to the DG-Topic position. As predicted by the proposal, it takes narrow scope under negation because DG-Topic is below negation.

(64) Context: *Katılımcılarla görüstün mü? Seminerler çok ilgi görmedi galiba, mühendisler bütün seminerleri sevmemiş.* 'Did you talk to the participants? It seems like the seminars didn't attract much interest, the engineers didn't like all of the seminars.'
Valla mühendisleri bilmiyorum ama... 'Well, I don't know about the engineers but...'

[Öğretmen-ler]$_{CF}$ [bütün seminer-ler-i]$_{DG}$ sev-me-mis-ler.
teacher-PL all seminarPL-ACC like-NEG-PERF-PL
'Teachers didn't like all of the seminars.' Neg > ∀, *∀ > Neg

The subject is contrastively focused, so it moves to Spec,FocP$_C$; the universal quantifier object was already introduced in the context explicitly, and is thus a DG-Topic.

(65)



4.4.3.4 Object Universal Quantifier C-Topic

(66) Context: *Bu donemki kagitlari okuyorum. Quizler zordu galiba, bir ogrenci hepsinden sifir almis.* 'I am grading this semester's materials. It seems like the quizzes were hard, this student got a zero on all of them.'

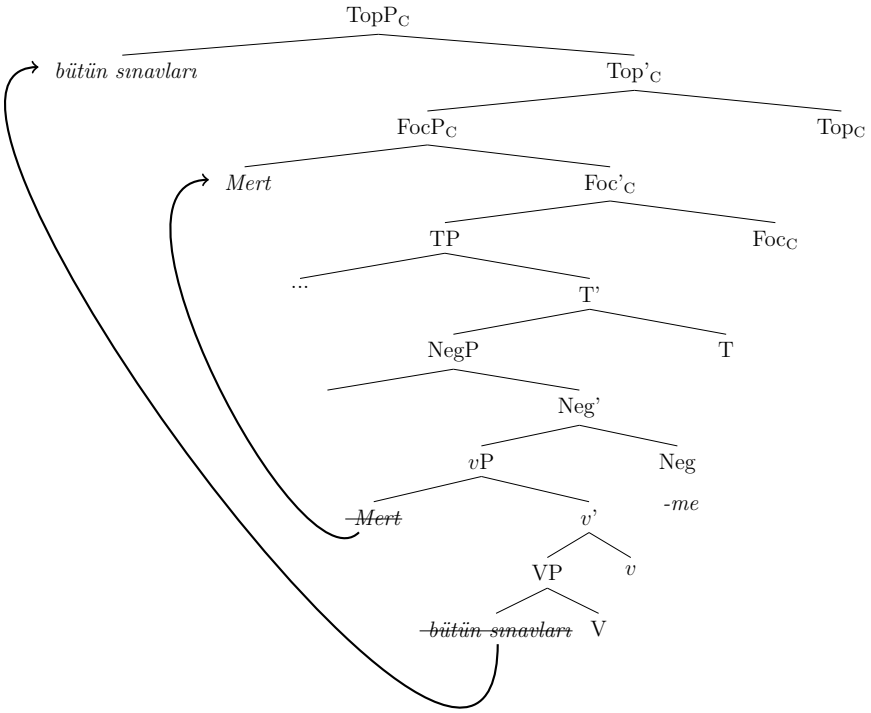
Valla quizleri bilmiyorum, ama... 'Well, I don't know about the quizzes, but...'

Bütün sınav-lar-ı Mert gec-e-me-mis.
all exam-PL-ACC Mert pass-ABL-NEG-PERF

'Mert couldn't pass all of the exams.'

(= Mert couldn't pass any of the exams.) Neg > ∀, *∀ > Neg

(67)



4.4.3.5 Object Universal Quantifier A-Topic

This time, the universal quantifier is the direct object, and it moves to the A-Topic position. As predicted by this proposal, it takes wide scope over negation since A-Topic projects above negation.

(68) Context: *Dun optik makina bütün sınavları okumamis diye duydum.* 'I

heard that the scantron reader didn't grade the exams yesterday.'

Yanlis duymussun... 'You heard it wrong...'

[Bütün sınav-lar-ı]$_{\text{AT}}$ [matematik öğretmeni]$_{\text{CF}}$ dün

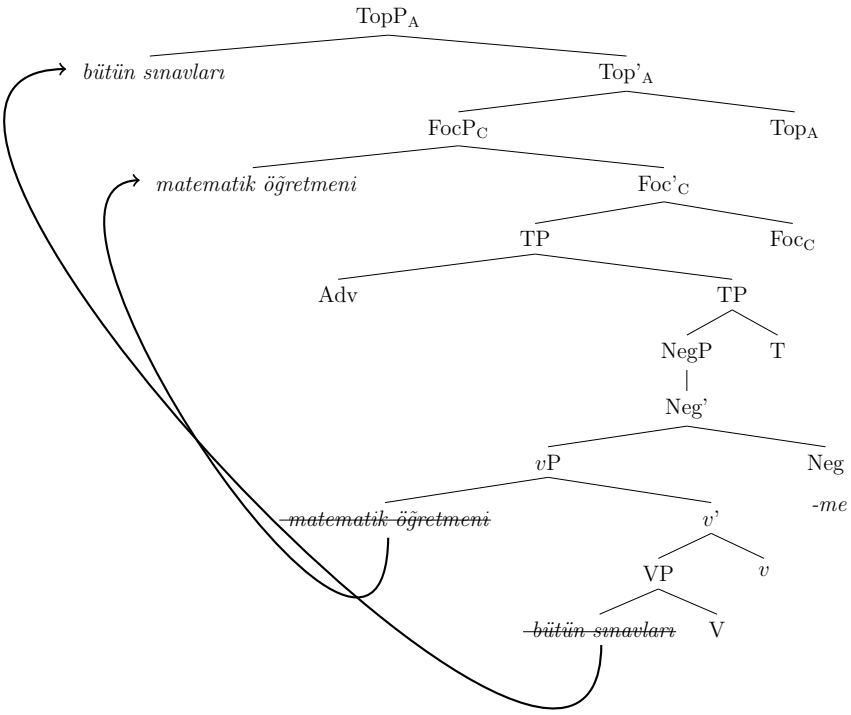
all exam-PL-ACC math teacher yesterday

oku-ma-mis.

grade-NEG-PERF

'The math teacher didn't grade all the exams.' $\forall >$ Neg, *Neg $> \forall$

(69)



4.4.4 Testing Intervention Effects

Recall that Kelepir (2001) assumed a mobile neg projection depending on the position of the NPI. Next, we look at the distribution of the quantifiers with respect to NPIs and negation. The main goal here is to derive these structures with the new negative operator analysis of NPI licensing, which we constructed earlier in support of a fixed NegP position. In particular, I show that the intervention effects can be captured with the current proposal without any problems.

4.4.4.1 Universal Quantifiers and scope w.r.t. Neg

Universal quantifiers (∀Qs) cannot scope above negation, and NPIs are in the immediate scope of negation. Therefore, ∀Qs must remain lower than the NPI and cannot scope over it.

In (70a), the NPI is above the ∀Q, and negation scopes over the ∀Q as predicted. When we move the ∀Q above the subject NPI in (70b), it intervenes between the negation and the NPI, and the ISC (Immediate Scope Constraint) is violated.

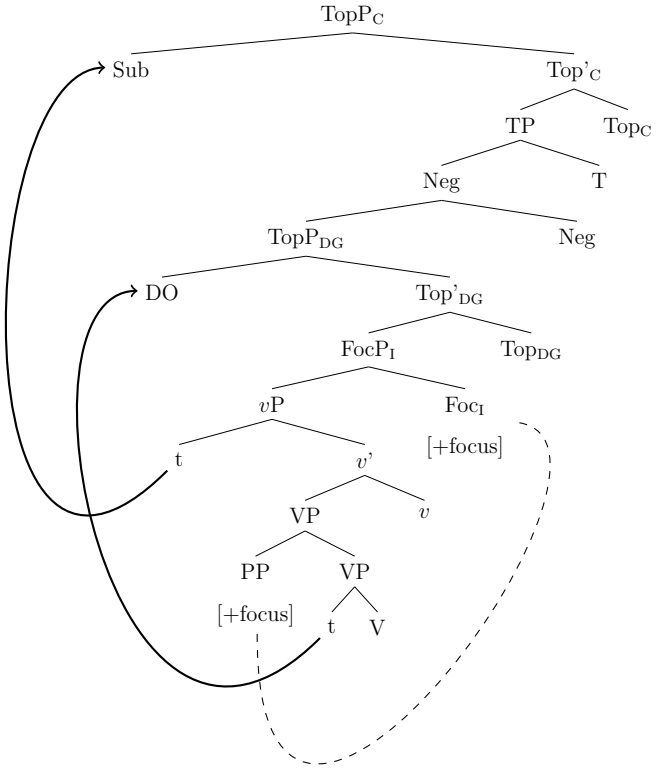
(70) a. Context: *Kadinlar çocuklari gordu diye biliyorum.*
'I thought the women saw the children'
Hayır, ... 'No, ...'
[Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [bütün çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\forall}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
any.one woman all children-ACC school-LOC see-NEG-PST
'It is not the case that any woman saw all the children at school.'

b. Context: *Cocuklari kadın lar gordu diye biliyorum.*
'I thought the women saw the children'
Hayır, ... 'No, ...'

*[Bütün çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\forall}$ [hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
all children-ACC any.one woman school-LOC see-NEG-PST
Intended: It is not the case that any woman saw all the children at school.

The derivation for (70b):

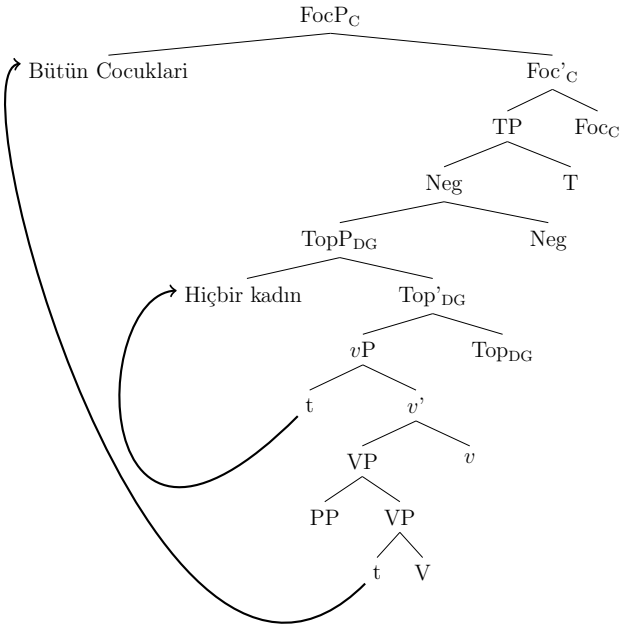
(71)



If the ∀Q is contrastively focused, it can take wide scope over negation, and it no longer acts as an intervener between Neg and the NPI:

(72) [Bütün çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\forall}$**C-Foc** [hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
all children-ACC any.one woman school-LOC see-NEG-PST
It is true for all children such that no woman saw them at school.

(73)



Unlike in (70b), the universally quantified DP scopes over negation when it is C-Focused in (72).

I use this to show that Contrastive Focus is syntactically encoded in a high position in the syntax (as in (73) above), above the negation.

4.4.4.2 Existential Quantifiers and scope w.r.t. Neg

Now I return to the second type of quantifier: existential (∃Q). ∃Qs have the opposite distributional properties, as discussed earlier. They must scope above the negation, and cannot take narrow scope. In (74a), the NPI is above the ∃Q, and the ∃Q is forced to take narrow scope, so the structure is illicit.

When we move the ∃Q above the subject NPI in (74b), it is then able to take wide scope over negation, and the structure is salvaged.

(74) a. *[Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
any.one woman some children-ACC school-LOC see-NEG-PST
Intended:There are some children such that no woman saw them at school.

b. [Bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}$ [hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
some children-ACC any.one woman school-LOC see-NEG-PST
There are some children such that no woman saw them at school.
(*It is not the case that any woman saw some children at school.)

When we contrastively focus the ∃Q below the NPI, it undergoes covert movement to the high C-Focus position, and thus escapes out of the scope of the negation. Hence, (74a) is salvaged in (75):

(75) [Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}^{\textbf{C-Foc}}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
any.one woman some children-ACC school-LOC see-NEG-PST
'There are some children such that no woman saw them at school.'

The C-Focus QPs are interpreted high in the Spec of C-FocP, and therefore

take wide scope. C-Focus ∀Q following an NPI enables ∀ > NEG interpretation in (76)[15], which is unavailable with the I-Focused ∀Q in (76b):

(76) a. Hiçbir kadın [bütün çocuk-lar-ı]$^{\text{I-Foc}}$ gör-me-di.
any.one woman all children-ACC see-NEG-PST
It is not the case that any woman saw all the children. NEG > ∀
(*It is true for all children such that no woman saw them.) *∀ > NEG

b. Hiçbir kadın [bütün çocuk-lar-ı]$^{\text{C-Foc}}$ gör-me-di.
any.one woman all children-ACC see-NEG-PST
It is true for all children such that no woman saw them. ∀ > NEG
(*It is not the case that any woman saw all the children.) *NEG > ∀

As the C-Focus position is above NEG, I predict that C-Focus ∃Q will take wide scope (77a), and thus salvage an otherwise illicit sentence (77b). This prediction is borne out in the following examples.

In (77a), the existential quantifier cannot be in a low position, but when it is covertly moved to the high C-Focus position, the structure is licit.

(77) a. *Kadın hiçbir çocuğ̃-a [bazı kitap-lar-ı]$^{\text{I-Foc}}$ ver-mi-yor.
woman any.one child-sat some book-PL-ACC give-NEG-NONPST
Intended: 'The woman doesn't give any child some books.'

---

[15] I leave the contexts out for these examples for reasons of simplicity, however a reminder may be needed here. (76a) would be constructed in a context where the I-Focus is triggered with a wh- question: *Kadinlar kimi gormedi?* 'Who didn't the women see?'

b. Kadın hiçbir çocuğ-a [BAZI KITAP-LAR-I]$^{\text{C-Foc}}$
woman any.one child-DAT some class-PL-ACC
ver-mi-yor.
give-NEG-NONPST
'The woman doesn't give any child some books.'

In (77a), the NPI is above the ∀Q, and negation predictably scopes over the ∀Q. In (77b), the ∀Q above the subject NPI intervenes between the negation and the NPI and the ISC is violated.

This is due to the position of the C-Foc. As C-Focus is higher in the left periphery, ∀Q undergoes covert movement to the high position and and it no longer acts as an intervener between Neg and the NPI.

For the following pair, we remove the PP from the pre-verbal position, and place the ∀Q pre-verbally in (78a). While the ∀Q cannot take wide scope over negation when it is I-Focused; it does scope wide scope when it is C-Focused in (78b).

(78) a. [Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [bütün çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\forall}$ gör-me-di.
any.one woman all children-ACC see-NEG-PST
'It is not the case that any woman saw all the children.' NEG > ∀, *∀ > NEG

b. [Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [BÜTÜN ÇOCUK-LAR-I]$_{\forall}^{\textbf{C-Foc}}$ gör-me-di.
any.one woman all children-ACC see-NEG-PST
'It is not the case that any woman saw all the children.' *NEG > ∀, ∀ > NEG

Note that the scopal relations in (78a) vs. (78b) are the opposite of one another. The ∀ that typically only takes narrow scope has to take wide scope when C-Focused.

In (79a), the NPI is above the ∃Q, and the ∃Q is forced to take narrow scope, resulting in an illicit structure. When we move the ∃Q above the subject NPI in (79b), it can now take wide scope over negation, and the structure is consequently salvaged.

(79) a. *[Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
any.one woman some children-ACC school-LOC see-NEG-PST
Intended:There is some children such that no woman saw them at school.

b. [Bazı çocuk-lar-ı]$_{\exists}$ [hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ okul-da gör-me-di.
some children-ACC any.one woman school-LOC see-NEG-PST
There is some children such that no woman saw them at school.
(*It is not the case that any woman saw some children at school.)

The example in (79a) is unacceptable because it would require both the subject and object DPs to move above Neg for the existentially-quantified DP to take wide-scope. This would prevent the NPI from being licensed in a position c-commanded by Neg. The presence of contrastive focus overcomes this problem, as it involves covert, LF-movement to a focus position.

When we contrastively focus the ∃Q below the NPI, it undergoes covert movement to the high C-Focus position and escapes out of the scope of the negation. Hence, (79a) is salvaged in (80):

(80) Context: Two journalists are talking about the events of the past few days.

A: *Kadinlarin hicbiri bazi danscilari okulda gormemis diye duydum. Dogru mu?* 'I heard that none of the women saw some dancers at the school. Is that right?

B: *Hayır, yanlis duymussun...* 'No, you heard that wrong...'

[Hiçbir kadın]$_{\text{NPI}}$ [BAZI ÇOCUK-LAR-I]$_{\exists}$**C-Foc** okul-da
any.one woman some children-ACC school-LOC
gör-me-di.
see-NEG-PST

There are some children such that no woman saw those children at school.

The C-Focus QPs are interpreted high in the Spec of C-FocP, and therefore take wide scope.

C-Focus ∀Q following an NPI enables ∀ > NEG interpretation in (81b), which is unavailable with the I-Focused ∀Q in (81a):

(81) a. Hiçbir kadın [bütün çocuk-lar-ı]$^{\text{I-Foc}}$ gör-me-di.
any.one woman all children-ACC see-NEG-PST
It is not the case that any woman saw all the children. NEG > ∀
(*It is true for all children such that no woman saw them.) *∀ > NEG

b. Hiçbir kadın [BÜTÜN ÇOCUK-LAR-I]$^{\text{C-Foc}}$ gör-me-di.
any.one woman all children-ACC see-NEG-PST
It is true for all children such that no woman saw x. ∀ > NEG
(*It is not the case that any woman saw all the children.) *NEG > ∀

4.4.5 Derivations without scope bearing elements

As stated throughout the dissertation, the purpose of using scope bearing elements, such as quantifiers and NPIs in relation to negation, was to track movement via scope. Otherwise, the main proposal for the left periphery of Turkish provided in Chapter 3 holds for any given context or linear order that was provided without any such scope relations. In this section, I provide derivations for selected contexts and sentences from Chapter 3 to illustrate the application of the proposal in not-quantifier-specific structures.

In the example below, C-Topic, DG-Topic and I-Focus co-occur in the same clause.

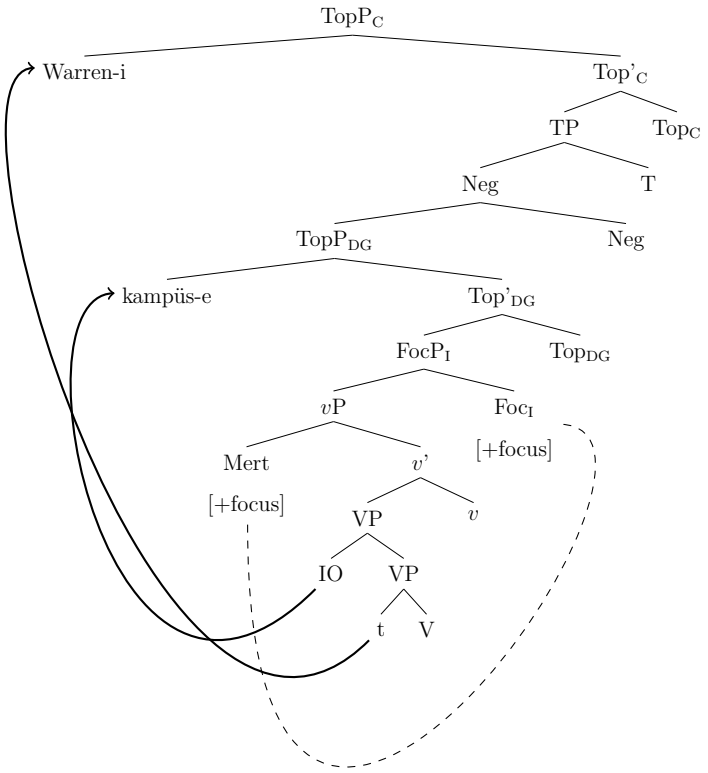
(82) Context: *Bugün adaylar gelecekti. Biden'i kampüs-e kim getirdi?*
'The candidates were supposed to come in today. Who brought Biden to campus?'
Biden'i bilmiyorum, ama...
'Well, I don't know about Biden, but...'

[Warren-i]$_{\text{CT}}$ [kampüs-e]$_{\text{DGT}}$ [Mert]$_{\text{IF}}$ getirdi.
Warren-ACC campus-DAT Mert brought

'Mert brought Biden to campus.'

The following is the derivation for this structure:

(83)



The direct object 'Warren-i' moves to Spec,TopP$_C$, the indirect object 'kampus-e' moves to Spec,TopP$_{DG}$, and the subject 'Mert' checks its focus feature with Foc$_I$ via Agree.[16]

[16] Provide more derivations as the committee sees it fit/needed here.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined and concluded the following:

- The treatment of negation in Turkish plays a crucial role in analyzing the underlying syntactic structure. As Şener's (2010) analysis does not involve negation, and Gürer's (2015) analysis assumes multiple-Neg projections, the clausal structures offered by these scholars need to undergo major revision.
- The proposal offered in this dissertation comprehensively captures the puzzles offered in the aforementioned literature, as well as the novel data presented throughout this chapter.
- Via eliminating the 'mobile'-ness of negation in Turkish, I illustrated that NegP could serve as a powerful and concrete diagnostic tool.
- I also demonstrated that C-Focus is above NegP, while DG-Topic is below NegP. This establishes the crucial $3 > 4$ hierarchy that could not be captured via word order alone in the Chapter 3.
- The resulting data showed that I-Focus and C-Focus must be syntactically distinct in Turkish, so Şener's (2010) feature checking+Op system is improved in this way.
- Additionally, I suggested that the negation-universal quantifier puzzles (Öztürk 2005) did not require postulating intrinsic features to the universal quantifier. In sum, C-Focus movement provides a broader understanding of 'scope-rigidity' for Turkish.
- The implementation of the proposal is supported by the empirical evidence of Öztürk's (2005) no-EPP for Spec, TP analysis.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

This dissertation investigated the syntactic mechanism that allows Turkish to have various word order permutations. As a result, the proposal validates the idea that Turkish has a one-to-one encoding of Information Structure in its syntax, which enables the word order permutations known as scrambling.

While I followed certain aspects of the previous accounts on this topic, I also demonstrated that there was a need for a more comprehensive analysis to capture previously-overlooked data sets.

The data sets in Chapter 2 provided a list of operational criteria for each of the IS notions. I built minimally different data sets to detect the distributional properties of these notions, which in in turn highlighted the distinct positions and interpretations of each notion. These properties are summarized in the table below, and lead the way for the hierarchy offered in (5). Without drawing a distinction between the two types of Foci in particular, focusing phenomena in Turkish cannot be explained, given that I-Focus exhibits a more restrictive distribution than C-Focus.

In Chapter 3, I proposed that the two Foci (Informational and Contrastive) are both syntactically encoded in Turkish. I-Focus is argued to be in a lower pre-verbal position, while the C-Focus is argued to be in a higher left periphery position. The covert movement of C-Focus brought in an understanding of various puzzles that

were previously left unresolved.

Moreover, the discussion relied heavily on the assumption that Negation cannot be a floating projection. I suggested that a fixed NegP position would indeed be in line with standard analyses cross-linguistically, while providing a consistent clausal hierarchy. The potential problems revolving around a fixed NegP anaylsis (as shown by Kelepir (2001)) were addressed and eliminated following the NPI-operator proposal by McKenzie (2006) and Mathieu (2001).

Furthermore, it became clear that the assumption of a single Focus projection was a consequence of the floating Neg analysis; this assumption is not needed with the current proposal.

The fixed NegP position not only unifies the various analyses preceding it, but it also serves as a powerful diagnostic tool. By examining the scopal interactions of quantifiers and negation with respect to NegP, I show that this constitutes one of the core arguments for a higher Focus projection in the CP domain. I followed Öztürk (2005) to adopt the analysis that Turkish does not have an EPP feature for Spec, TP.

The proposal offered in this dissertation comprehensively captures the puzzles offered in the aforementioned literature, as well as the novel data presented throughout the chapters. This work brings together a range of linguistic tools to give a better, semantically informed but structurally predictive account of word order variations.

APPENDIX A

Appendix a: The Complete Dataset for IS notions

A.1 C-Focus data

A.1.1 Subject C-Focus

(1) Context: The children come home from school and the mother asks them: 'Bugün okulda neler oldu?' 'How was school today?' And child 1 tells a story with the sentence below. Then, child 2 corrects her with the sentence in (1a) ("use your words" context)

... Sonra, [öğretmen] sınıf-a araba-lar-ı sırayla getir-di.
then teacher classroom-DAT car-PL-ACC line.with bring-PST

'Then, the teacher brought the cars into the classroom one by one.'

a. Hayır! [MÜDÜR] sınıf-a araba-lar-ı sırayla getir-di.
no principal classroom-DAT car-PL-ACC line.with bring-PST
'No! THE PRINCIPAL brought the cars into the classroom one by one.' Subj C-Focus

b. Hayır! Sinif-a araba-lar-ı sırayla [MÜDÜR] getir-di.
no classroom-DAT car-PL-ACC line.with principal bring-PST
'No! THE PRINCIPAL brought the cars into the classroom one by one.' Subj C-Focus

c. # Hayır! Sinif-a araba-lar-ı sırayla getirdi [MÜDÜR].
no classroom-DAT car-PL-ACC line.with brought principal

doll-PL-ACC
Intended: 'No, THE PRINCIPAL brought the cars into the classroom one by one.' Subj C-Focus
Post-verbal

A.2 Indirect Object C-Focus

(2) Context: The children come home from school and the mother asks them: 'Bugün okulda neler oldu?' 'How was school today?' And child 1 tells a story with the sentence below. Then, child 2 corrects her with the sentence in (2a) ("use your words" context)
... Sonra, öğretmen [sınıf-a] araba-lar-ı sırayla getir-di.
then teacher classroom-DAT car-PL-ACC line.with bring-PST
'Then, the teacher brought the cars into the classroom one by one.'

a. Hayır! Öğretmen [BAHCE-YE] araba-lar-ı sırayla getir-di.
no teacher garden-DAT doll-PL-ACC line.with brought
'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.'
IO C-Focus

b. Hayır! [BAHCE-YE] öğretmen araba-lar-ı sırayla getir-di.
no garden-DAT teacher car-PL-ACC line.with brought
'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.'
IO C-Focus

c. Hayır! Öğretmen araba-lar-ı sırayla [BAHCE-YE] getir-di.
no teacher car-PL-ACC line.with garden-DAT brought

Intended: 'No! THE DOLLS, the teacher brought into the classroom one by one.' IO C-Focus

d. # Hayır! Öğretmen araba-lar-ı sırayla getirdi [BAHCE-YE].
no teacher car-PL-ACC line.with brought garden-DAT
'No, the teacher brought the dolls into the classroom one by one.'
IO C-Focus Post-verbal

A.3 DG-Topic data

A.3.1 Subject DG-Topic with respect to I-Focus

(3) Context: Kadınlar Boğaz'a kimi götürecek?
Who will the women take to the Bosphorus?

a. (O-nlar) Boğaz'a Seren-i gotur-ecek-(ler).
3-PL Bosphorous-DAT Seren-ACC take-FUT-3PL
'I will take her to Boshphorus.' Subj DG-Topic

b. # Boğaz'a Seren-i o-nlar gotur-ecek.
Bosphorous-DAT Seren-ACC 3-PL take-fut
Intended: 'I will take her to Boshphorus.' Subj DG-Topic

c. Boğaz'a Seren-i gotur-ecek o-nlar.
Bosphorous-DAT Seren-ACC take-fut 3-PL
'I will take her to Boshphorus.' Subj DG-Topic Post-verbal

A.3.2 Subject DG-Topic with respect to C-Focus

(4) Context: The school you are working at is getting new equipment and materials and you are expecting some deliveries. Your colleague tells you the following:

Dun yeni masalar sınıfina gelmiş diye duydum.

'I heard that new tables arrived at your classroom yesterday.' Subj DG-Topic

a. Hayır, [yeni masa-lar] dun YEMEKHANE-YE gel-di.
no new table-pl yesterday dining.hall-DAT arrive-PST
'No, the new tables arrived at the dining hall yesterday.' Subj DG-Topic

b. Hayır, YEMEKHANE-YE [yeni masa-lar] dun gel-di.
no dining.hall-DAT new table-pl yesterday arrive-PST
'No, the new tables arrived at the dining hall yesterday.' Subj DG-Topic

c. Hayır, Dun YEMEKHANE-YE gel-di [yeni masa-lar].
No yesterday dining.hall-DAT arrive-PST new table-pl
'No, the new tables arrived at the dining hall yesterday.' Subj DG-Topic Post-verbal

A.3.3 Indirect Object DG-Topic with respect to I-Focus

(5) Context: Boğaz'a kimi götüreceksin?
Who are you taking to the Bosphorus?

a. (Boğaz-a) Seren-i götür-eceğ-im.
Bosphorous-DAT Seren-ACC take-fut-1sg
'I will take Seren to the Boshphorus.' IO DG-Topic

b. # Seren-i Boğaz-a götür-eceğ-im.
Seren-ACC Bosphorous-DAT take-fut-1sg
Intended: 'I will take Seren to the Boshphorus.' IO DG-Topic

c. Seren-i götür-eceğ-im Boğaz-a.
Seren-ACC take-fut-1sg Bosphorous-DAT
'I will take Seren to the Boshphorus.' IO DG-Topic Post-verbal

A.3.4 Indirect Object DG-Topic with respect to C-Focus

(6) Context: The school you are working at is getting new equipment and materials and you are expecting some deliveries. Your colleague tells you the following:
Bugün okula yeni kitaplar gelmiş diye duydum.
'I heard that new books arrived at school today.' IO DG-Topic

a. Hayır, okul-a YENI MASA-LAR gel-di.
No school-DAT new table-pl arrive-PST
'No, the new tables arrived at school.' IO DG-Topic

b. Hayır, YENI MASA-LAR okul-a gel-di.
No new table-pl school-DAT arrive-PST
'No, the new tables arrived at school.' IO DG-Topic

c. Hayır, YENI MASA-LAR gel-di okul-a.
No new table-pl school-DAT arrive-PST
'No, the new tables arrived at school.' IO DG-Topic Post-verbal

A.4 C-Topic data

A.4.1 Subject C-Topic with respect to DG-Topic

(7) Context: Bu hafta Seren ve Mert gelecekti. Seren bugün ofise uğradı mi?
'Seren and Mert were supposed to come in this week. Did Seren stop by

the office today?'

Sereni bilmiyorum, ama...

'Well, I don't know about Seren, but...'

a. Mert bugün ofis-e uğra-dı.

Mert today office-DAT stop.by-PST

'Mert stopped by the office today.' Subj C-Topic

b. ?? Bugün Mert ofis-e uğra-dı.

today Mert office-DAT stop.by-PST

Intended:'Mert stopped by the office today.' Subj C-Topic

c. # Bugün ofis-e Mert uğra-dı.

today office-DAT Mert stop.by-PST

Intended:'Mert stopped by the office today.' Subj C-Topic

d. # Bugün ofis-e uğra-dı Mert.

today office-DAT stop.by-PST Mert

Intended: 'Mert stopped by the office today.' Subj C-Topic

Post-verbal

A.4.2 Subject C-Topic with respect to I-Focus

(8) Context: Gonulluler bugün adaylari getirecekti. Seren kampüs-e kim-i getirdi?

'The volunteers were supposed to bring the candidates in today. Who did Seren bring to campus?'

Seren'i bilmiyorum, ama...

'Well, I don't know about Seren, but...'

a. Mert kampüs-e [Warren-i] getir-di.

Mert campus-DAT Warren-ACC bring-PST

'Mert brought Sanders to campus.' Subj C-Topic

b. # Kampus-e Mert [Warren-i] getir-di.
campus-DAT Mert Warren-ACC bring-PST
'Mert brought Sanders to campus.' Subj C-Topic

c. # Kampus-e [Warren-i] Mert getir-di.
campus-DAT Warren-ACC Mert bring-PST
'Mert brought Sanders to campus.' Subj C-Topic

d. # Kampus-e [Warren-i] getirdi Mert.
campus-DAT Warren-ACC bring-PST Mert
'Mert brought Sanders to campus.' Subj C-Topic Post-verbal

A.4.3 Subject C-Topic with respect to C-Focus

(9) Context: Bu hafta her gün adaylar gelecek. Planda bugünün adayı kampüs-e kacta gelecekti?
'The candidates are coming in every day this week. What time is today's candidate coming to campus according to the plan?'

a. Bugün Warren kampüs-e sekiz-de gel-ecek.
today Warren campus-DAT eight-at come-fut
'Warren will come at 8 today.' Subj C-Topic

b. Hayır canım, yanlış biliyorsun... 'No dear, you got it wrong...'
Bugün Sanders kampüs-e on-da gel-ecek.
today Warren-ACC campus-DAT ten-at come-fut
'Sanders will come at 10 today.' Subj C-Topic

A.4.4 Indirect Object C-Topic

A.4.5 Indirect Object C-Topic with respect to DG-Topic

(10) Context: Bu hafta Seren-e ve Mert-e birileri yardım edecekti. Bugün kimse Serene yardım etti mi?

'Someone was supposed to help Seren and Mert this week. Did anyone help Seren today?'

Sereni bilmiyorum, ama...

'Well, I don't know about Seren, but...'

a. Mert-e bugün biri yardım et-ti.
Mert-DAT today someone help make-PST
'Someone helped Mert today.' IO C-Topic

b. ?? Bugün Mert-e biri yardım et-ti.
today Mert-DAT someone help make-PST
'Someone helped Mert today.' IO C-Topic

c. # Bugün biri Mert-e yardım et-ti.
today someone Mert-DAT help make-PST
Intended: 'Someone helped Mert today.' IO C-Topic

d. # Bugün biri yardım et-ti Mert-e.
today someone help make-PST Mert-DAT
Intended: 'Someone helped Mert today.' IO C-Topic Post-verbal

A.4.6 Indirect Object C-Topic with respect to C-Focus

(This might be problematic like the Subj case above.)

(11) Context: Bugün adaylar gelecekti. Seren Sanders'i nereye getirdi?

'The candidates were supposed to come in today. Where did Seren bring

Sanders?'

a. Sanders'i bilmiyorum, ama... 'Well, I don't know about Sanders, but...'

Seren Warren-i bina-ya getir-di.
Seren Warren-ACC building-DAT bring-PST
'Seren brought Warren to the building.' IO C-Topic

b. Hayır canım, yanlış biliyorsun... 'No dear, you got it wrong...'

Seren Sanders-i bahce-ye getir-di.
Seren Sanders-ACC garden-DAT bring-PST
'Seren brought Sanders to the garden.' IO C-Topic

A.5 A-Topic data

A.5.1 Subject A-Topic

(12) Context: Bize biraz yeni evinden bahsetsene.
'Tell us a bit about your new house.'

a. [Ev] sabah-lar-ı çok güneş al-ıyor.
house morning-PL-ACC very sun get-nonpst
'The house gets a lot of sunlight in the morning.' Subj A-Topic

b. # Sabah-lar-ı [ev] çok güneş al-ıyor.
morning-PL-ACC house very sun get-nonpst
Intended: 'The house gets a lot of sunlight in the morning.' Subj A-Topic

c. # Sabah-lar-ı çok güneş [ev] al-ıyor.
morning-PL-ACC very sun house get-nonpst

Intended: 'The house gets a lot of sunlight in the morning.' Subj A-Topic

d. # Sabah-lar-ı çok güneş al-ıyor [ev].
morning-PL-ACC very sun get-nonpst house
Intended: 'The house gets a lot of sunlight in the morning.' Subj A-Topic Post-verbal

A.5.2 Indirect Object A-Topic

(13) Context: Geçenlerde satmaya çalştığın evden bahsetsene biraz bize.
'Tell us about that house you were trying to sell the other day'

a. [Ev-e] geçen hafta bir kadın talip ol-du.
house-DAT last week indef woman aspirant be-PST
'A woman aspired to the house last week.' IO A-Topic

b. ?? Geçen hafta [ev-e] bir kadın talip ol-du.
last week house-DAT indef woman aspirant be-PST
Intended:'A woman aspired to the house last week.' IO A-Topic

c. # Geçen hafta bir kadın [ev-e] talip ol-du.
last week house-DAT indef woman aspirant be-PST
Intended:'A woman aspired to the house last week.' IO A-Topic

d. # Geçen hafta bir kadın talip ol-du [ev-e].
last week house-DAT indef woman aspirant be-PST
Intended:'A woman aspired to the house last week.' IO A-Topic Post-verbal

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