Notes on *ki*

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1. Introduction: Turkish *ki*

(1)   Abim, [**ki** ödevini daima zamanında yapar], bu sefer geciktirmiş.   ⟶ [**ki** clause]
      'My brother, **ki** always does his homework on time, handed it in late.'

(2)   Adem, [**ki** en yakın arkadaşım], beni partiye davet etmedi.   ⟶ [**ki** XP]
      'Adem, **ki** my best friend, did not invite me to the party.'

proclitic ki

(3)   [Adem sanıyor **ki**] Havva elmayı yedi.   ⟶ [clause **ki**]
      'Adem believes **ki** Havva ate the apple.'

enclitic ki

(4)   O kadar güldük **ki**!
      'We laughed so much **ki**!'

(5)   [Güneş batmıştı **ki**] garip sesler duymaya başladık.
      'The sun had set **ki** we started to hear weird noises.'

(6)   Kemalnin**ki**ni okumadım.
      'I didn't read the **ki** by Kemal.'

➢   We will focus on (1), (2) and (3).
➢   In (1) and (2), *ki* is pronounced as contained within the prosodic domain of the structure that follows it.
     o   We call this **proclitic-*ki***. (PK-clause, PK-XP)
➢   In (3), *ki* is pronounced as contained within the prosodic domain of the structure that precedes it.
     o   We call this *enclitic-ki*. (EK-clause)

1.1. Background on Turkish

- Turkish is a head-final language.
- Subordination is derived via nominalizing the subordinated clause.
- Matrix verb is always finite.

1.2. Prosody

- Root clauses are parsed as Intonational Phrases (ι), which are right prominent
- ιs are composed of Phonological Phrases (Φ), which are left prominent

Prominence is conveyed via phrasing:
The most prominent part of ι is called *nucleus*, and it is the head of the rightmost Φ (final-Φ)
We call any pre-nuclear Φ, non-final-Φ.

- There is one and only one <u>nucleus</u> in each ι.
- Only syntactic XPs base-generated in root clause α can appear in the final-Φ of $ι_α$.
- Verb must occur in the final-Φ of its ι.
- Any prosodic excursion observed in post-nuclear area marks the start of a new ι.

The ι of Turkish declarative root clauses with accentless ωs:
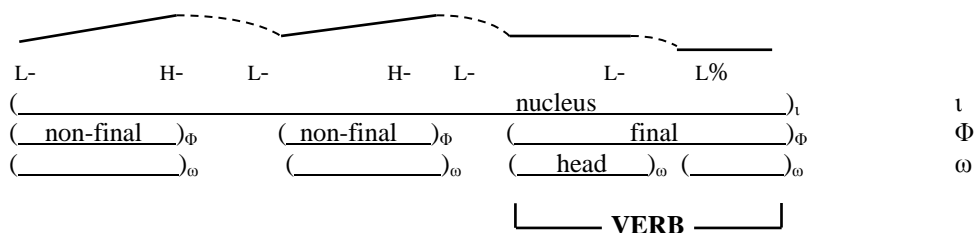
Road Map
>   §2. PK-clauses   = proclitic-*ki* as a coordinator
>   §3. PK-XPs   = PK-XPs as reduced PK-clauses (and a comparison to Germanic appositions)
>   §4. EK-clauses   = enclitic-*ki* as a clausal adjunct head (and a comparison with Germanic *I think*)

2. PK-clauses: Introduction

➢   (1) (repeated below) and (7) are equivalent in meaning (*both are non-restrictive*)

(1)   ***Ki*-clause:**
       Abi-m,   [**ki** ödev-i-ni   daima zaman-ı-nda   yap-ar],   bu sefer geciktir-miş.
       brother-1p   **ki** homework-2POSS-ACC always time-POSS-LOC do-AOR   this time delay-EVD
       'My brother, **ki** always does his homework on time, handed it in late.'

(7)   **NOM-clause**:
       [Ödev-i-ni   daima zaman-ı-nda   yap-**an**]   abi-m   bu   sefer geciktir-miş.
       homework-2POSS-ACC   always time-POSS-LOC   do-**NOM** brother-1P this time   delay-EVD
       'My always-on-time-homework₁-doing brother handed it₁ in late.'
       'My brother, who always does his homework on time, handed it in late.'

➢   **Hypothesis #1**:   PK-clauses are the Indo-European (i.e. head initial) version of NOM-clauses
                           They are adjoined to NPs.
                           Proclitic-*ki* is an appositive relative pronoun.
                                  (*Vaughan 1709, Underhill 1976, Erguvanlı 1981, Lehmann 1984,*
                                     Bainbridge 1987, Cagri 2005, implied in Göksel & Kerslake 2005)

➢   **Hypothesis #1 seems unlikely**

Ev #1: Head directionality
       ⋈ Adjunction is left-branching in Turkish (Potts 2005:107)
       ⋈ NOM-clauses branch leftwards
       ⋈ PK-clauses branch rightwards

Ev #2: Linear adjacency
       ⋈ Linear adjacency required between NOM-clause and its anchor.
       ⋈ Linear adjacency **not** required between PK-clause and its anchor.

(8)   a)   Mine-yi   [[evli   bir adam ol-**an**]   Ali Bey] taciz   et-ti.
            Mine-ACC   married a   man be-**NOM** Ali Mr.   harassment make-PST
            'Married-man-being Mr. Ali harassed Mine.'

       a´) * [Evli bir adam ol-**an**] Mine-yi [Ali Bey] taciz et-ti.

       b)   [Ali Bey] [**ki** evil   bir adam-dır] Mine-yi   taciz   et-ti.
             Ali Mr.   **ki** married a man-**COP** Mine-ACC harassment make-PST
            'Mr. Ali, **ki** (he) is a married man, harassed Mine.'

       b´) [Ali Bey] Mine-yi [**ki** evli bir adam-dır] taciz et-ti.

Ev #3: Sentence level prosodic prominence
       ⋈ NOM-clauses can be utilized as the nucleus or post-nucleus of the utterance's ι
         (*like arguments, central adjuncts, VP-adverbs, etc.*)
       ⋈ PK-clauses make for unsuitable nuclei and post-nuclei.

(9)   a)   [(Emine)_{NF-Φ} (Havva-yı)_{NF-Φ} (yanağ-ı-ndan_{N}   öp-en   çocuğ-u gör-dü)_{F-Φ}]_ι
       a´) [(Emine_{N}   Havva-yı   yanağ-ı-ndan   öp-en   çocuğ-u gör-dü)_{F-Φ}]_ι
            [_{CP1} Emine [_{NP} [_{CP2} Havva-yı   yanağ-ı-ndan   öp-en] [_{NP} çocuğ-u]] gör-dü]
             Emine   Havva-ACC   cheek-3S.POSS-ABL   kiss-NOM kid-ACC   see-PST

       b) * [(Emine)_{NF-Φ} (çocuğ-u)_{NF-Φ} (**ki** Havva-yı)_{NF-Φ} (yanağ-ı-ndan_{N}   öp-tü   gör-dü)_{F-Φ}]_ι
       b´) * [(Emine_{N}   çocuğ-u   **ki** Havva-yı   yanağ-ı-ndan   öp-tü   gör-dü)_{F-Φ}]_ι

2

[CP1 Emine [NP [NP çocuğ-u] [CP2 **ki** Havva-yı   yanağ-ı-ndan   öp-tü]] gör-dü]
  Emine   kid-ACC   **ki** Havva-ACC   cheek-3S.POSS-ABL kiss-PST see-PST
  'Emine saw the kid, who kissed Havva on the cheek.'

➢ That PK-clauses (or constituents thereof) cannot be utilized as the (post-)nucleus (i.e. the final-Φ) in the utterance suggests that PK-clauses are not contained within the clause that seemingly surrounds it. (*assuming the theories of syntax-prosody mapping, cf. Selkirk 2011*)

➢ **Conclusion:**
   o PK-clauses do not pattern like NOM-clauses: PK-clauses are **not adjuncts of NP**
   o **Ev#3** suggests that PK-clauses are syntactically isolated from their anchor

➢ If PK-clauses are syntactically isolated then PK-clauses are **independent root clauses**

** our approach**
- PK-clauses are independent root clauses
- Proclitic-*ki* is a coordinator

2.1. PK-clauses as independent root clauses

Ev#1: ⌑ PK-clauses may display independent illocutionary force

(10) Mine [**ki** kasaba-nın en   iyi   doktor-u-dur]   hala bekar mı?
    Mine **ki** town-GEN   most good doctor-3S.POSS-COP   still single Q
    'Is Mine – she is the best doctor in town – still single?'

Ev#2: ⌑ PK-clauses may host speaker-oriented adverbs

(11) Hasan [**ki** malesef   berbat   yemek yap-ar]   biz-i   yemeğ-e   davet et-ti.
    Hasan **ki** unfortunately   terrible   food   make-AOR we-ACC dinner-DAT invite make-PST
    'Hasan – *unfortunately* he cooks terribly – invited us to dinner.'

➢ Only relations permitted across root clause boundaries are permitted across the host/PK-clause boundary.

Ev#3: ⌑ Scope of negation

(12) a) # Ali-nin   araba-sı   hiç   ol-ma-mış.   Pencere-si   kırık-mış.
       Ali-GEN   car-3S.POSS   never   be-NEG-EVD.   window-3S.POSS broken-EVD
       'Ali has never had a car. (It's) window was broken.'

    b) # Ali-nin araba-sı [**ki** pencere-si   kırık-mış]   hiç   ol-ma-mış.
       Ali-GEN car-3S.POSS **ki** window-3S.POSS broken-EVD   never   be-NEG-EVD
       'Ali has never had a car – (it's) window was broken.'

(13) a) Ali araba-sı-nın   kırmızı-ya boyan-dığ-ı-nı   düşün-üyor.
       Ali car-3S.POSS-GEN   red-DAT   colour-NOM-POSS-ACC think-PROG.

       Araba-sı   yeşil-e   boyan-dı.
       car-3S.POSS   green-DAT   colour-PST
       'Ali thinks that his car has been painted red. His car has been painted green.'

    b) Ali araba-sı-nın, ki yeşil-e   boyan-dı, kırmızı-ya boyan-dığ-ı-nı   düşün-üyor.
       Ali car-POSS-GEN ki green-DAT colour-PST red-DAT   colour-NOM-POSS-ACC   think PROG.
       'Ali thinks that his car has been painted red – it has been painted green.'

       Interpretation for both a) and b):
       (i)   John thinks that his car has been painted red but in reality it has been painted green.
       (ii) * John thinks that his car has been painted red and John thinks that his car has been painted green.

2.2. The proclitic-*ki* as a coordinator

If PK-clauses are root clauses, what is proclitic-*ki*?

➤ Is proclitic-*ki* a complementizer?
    ○ **No:** Root clauses don't display complementizers.

➤ Is proclitic-*ki* the relative pronoun of an appositive relative clause?
    ○ **No:** PK-clauses may reduplicate their anchor internal to the PK-clause – appositive relative clauses do not permit this:

(14)   a)   Ahmet [**ki** öğrenci-ler **o-nu**   çok sever-ler] okul-dan   atıl-mış.[1]
            Ahmet **ki** student-PL he-ACC very love-3PL school-ABL   fired-EVD
            'Ahmet, *ki* the students love **him** very much, has been fired.'

      b) * Ahmet, whom the students loved him, has been fired.

** Proclitic-*ki* is a *coordinator* **   (*cf.* Lewis 1967, Schröder 2002)
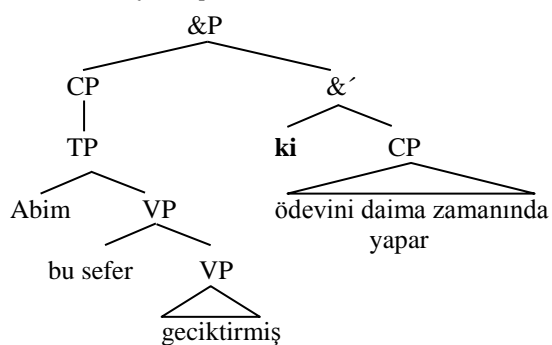
➤ *Immediate (and rather trivial) support*: regular coordinators in Turkish are pronounced as contained within the prosodic domain that follows them

(15)   a)   Ahmet ekmek al-dı   [ve   Ali peynir al-dı]ₗ.
      b) * [Ahmet ekmek al-dı   ve]ₗ Ali peynir al-dı.
         Ahmet bread buy-PST and Ali cheese buy-PST
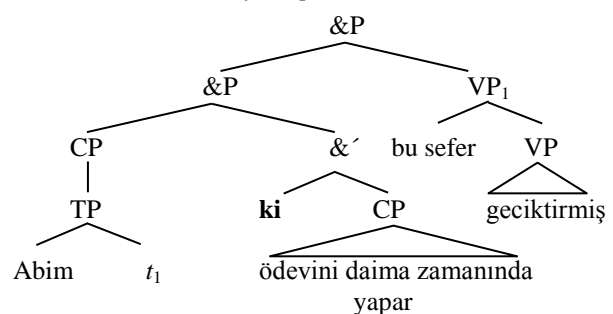   'Ahmet bought bread and Ali bought cheese.'

➤ **The syntax of PK-clauses:**

(16)   Abi-m,   [**ki** ödev-i-ni   daima zaman-ı-nda yap-ar],   bu   sefer   geciktir-miş.
       brother-1P   **ki** homework-2S.POSS-ACC always time-POSS-LOC do-AOR   this time   delay-EVD
       'My brother, **ki** always does his homework on time, handed it in late.'

(17)   a) *Before spell-out to LF*   b) *After spell-out to LF*

➤ (17) accounts for all the properties of PK-clauses discussed so far:

    (i)   PK-clauses exceptionally follow their anchor
    (ii) Linear adjacency between PK-clauses and their anchors is not required
    (iii) PK-clauses cannot be utilized in the ι-formation of their host
    (iv) PK-clauses display speaker oriented adverbs, thus independent illocutionary force
    (v) PK-clauses escape the scope of sentential negation and attitudinal verbs

➤ (17) provides the possibility that proclitic-*ki* may coordinate phrases of other semantic types (such as entities and properties), as well as root clauses.

➤ If this were true, we could extend the coordination approach in (17) to **PK-XPs** and say that *ki* can coordinate subclausal constituents?

3. PK-XPs

(18)   Adem, [**ki** en yakın arkadaşım], beni partiye davet etmedi.
      'Adem, **ki** my best friend, did not invite me to the party.'

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[1] The third person pronoun (*o*) is not a resumptive in (14a) – the only resumptive pronoun in Turkish is '*kendisi*'.

3.1. Pᴋ-XPs vs. *yani*-XPs

Distribution of yani-XPs

(19)   a)   [Altıgen, **yani** altı kenarlı şekil], Roma tanrı-sı   Satürn-ü   simgele-r.
             hexagon **yani** six sided shape Roma god-3S.POSS Saturn-ACC symbolize-AOR
             'A hexagon, ***yani** a shape with six sides*, symbolises the Roman god Saturn.'

       b)   [Büyük elma, **yani** New York], beş ilçe-den   oluş-ur.
             big   apple **yani** New York five borough-ABL consist.of-AOR
             'The Big Apple, ***yani** New York*, consists of five boroughs.'

➢   On the surface, like Pᴋ-XPs, *yani*-XPs are subclausal constituents preceded by *yani*.
➢   Like Pᴋ-XPs, *yani* is pronounced as part of the phonological phrase that contains the XP that follows it.
➢   *Yani* provides an *identification* (Heringa's 2012) or *reformulation* (Ruhi's 2009) of the constituent it immediately linearly follows.
➢   *Yani*'s English equivalent is *that is* or *namely*.

The properties of *yani*

P#1:   ¤   *Yani*-XPs and their anchors must be of same semantic type

(20)   a)   [[$_{\langle e,t\rangle}$ Ateist] **yani** [$_{\langle e,t\rangle}$ allahsız]] insan-lar   kilise-ye   git-mez.
             Atheist **yani**   godless person-PL church-DAT   go-NEG.AOR
             'Atheist, **yani** godless, people don't go to church.'

       b) * [[$_{\langle e\rangle}$ Adem], **yani** [$_{\langle e,t\rangle}$ tamamen   sarhoş]], kapı-da   uyuyakal -dı.
              Adem **yani**   completely drunk   door-LOC   fall.asleep-PST
              'Adem, **yani** completely drunk, fell asleep by the door.'

       c) * [[$_{\langle e\rangle}$ Adem],   **yani** [$_{\langle t\rangle}$ komşu-m-dur],   ban-a   kek   getir-di.
              Adem   **yani**   neighbour-1S.POSS-COP   I-DAT   cake   bring-PST
              'Adem – **yani** (he) is my neighbour – brought me cake.'

P#2:   ¤   *Yani*-XPs and their anchors must display the same Case (*if arguments*)

(21)   Adem Havva-yı, **yani** karı-sı-{nı/*Ø},   düğün-de   öp-me-di.
          Adem Havva-ACC, **yani** wife-POSS-{ACC/NOM} wedding-LOC   kiss-NEG-PST
          'Adem did not kiss Havva, **yani** his wife, at the wedding.'

P#3:   ¤   A *yani*-XP and its anchor must maintain linear adjacency.
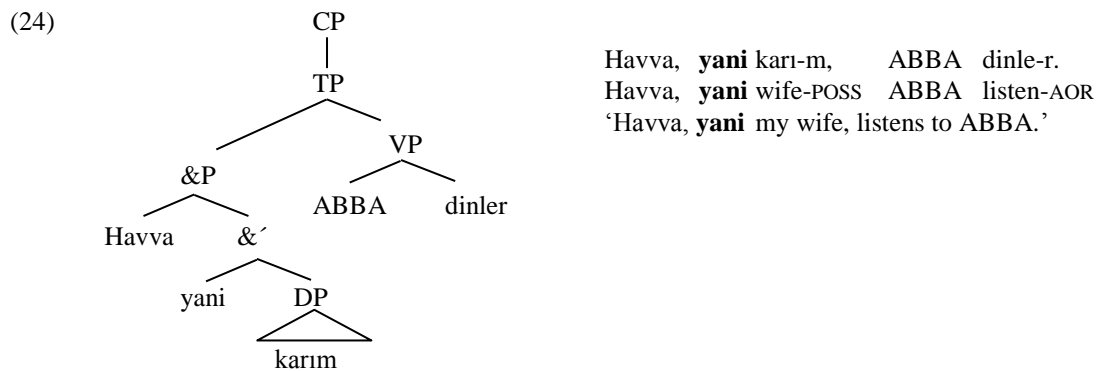
(22)   * Demir Leydi bu yıl **yani** Thatcher aramız-dan   ayrıl-dı.
          Iron   Lady this year **yani** Thatcher among.us-ABL depart-PST
          'The Iron Lady, **yani** Thatcher, this year departed from among us.'   (*intended*)

P#4:   ¤   *yani*-XPs cannot host speaker-oriented adverbs.

(23)   * Adem Havva-yı, **yani** maalesef   karı-sı-nı,   düğün-de   öp-me-di.
          Adem Havva-ACC **yani** unfortunately wife-POSS-ACC wedding-LOC   kiss-NEG-PST
          'Adem did not kiss Havva, **yani** unfortunately his wife, at the wedding.'

3.2. The syntax of *yani* as a coordinator

(24)

```
                    CP
                    |
                    TP
              ┌──────────┐
            &P           VP
        ┌────────┐    ┌──────────┐
     Havva      &´  ABBA       dinler
             ┌──────┐
           yani    DP
                  ╱╲
                karım
```

Havva, **yani** karı-m,   ABBA dinle-r.
Havva, **yani** wife-POSS ABBA listen-AOR
'Havva, **yani** my wife, listens to ABBA.'

Advantages of (24): ¤ accounts for why *yani* is pronounced as part of the prosodic domain of the XP that follows it
¤ accounts for (20): *Law of Coordination of Likes*
¤ accounts for (21): conjuncts typically receive the same Case
¤ accounts for (22): adjacency is a typical requirement of coordination
¤ accounts for (23): no independent force = not a root clause

What about proclitic-*ki*?
➢ If proclitic-*ki* could coordinate subclausal constituents (and hence display the syntax in (24)), we would expect PK-XPs to display similar properties to *yani*-XPs. **They do not**.

Ev #1: ¤ Unlike *yani*-XPs, PK-XPs and their anchors need not be of the same semantic type

(25)   [[$_{⟨e⟩}$ Adem] **ki** [$_{⟨e,t⟩}$ sarhoş]] ev-e   gel-me-yecek.
              Adem **ki**   drunk home-DAT come-NEG-FUT
        'Adem – **ki** drunk – will not come home.'

Ev #2: ¤ Unlike *yani*-XPs, PK-XPs need not display the same Case
¤ If the PX-XP is not assigned lexical or inherent Case, it must be assigned NOM Case.

(26) a)   Adem [Havva-yı,   **ki** karı-sı-{Ø/*nı}],   düğün-de   öp-me-di.
            Adem Havva-ACC **ki** wife-POSS-{NOM/*ACC}   wedding-LOC kiss-NEG-PST
            'Adem did not kiss Havva, ***ki** his wife*, at the wedding.'

      b)   Adem [bu saat-i,   **ki** Tiffany's-den], karı-sı-na   al-dı.
            Adem this watch-ACC **ki** Tiffany's-ABL   wife-POSS-DAT buy-PST
            'Adem bought this watch, ***ki** from Tiffany's*, for his wife.'

Ev #3: ¤ Unlike *yani*-XPs, linear adjacency need not be maintained between a PK-XP and its anchor

(27) a)   Adem Bey, [**ki** evili   bir adam], Havva-yı   taciz   et-ti.
            Adem Mr. ***ki** married a   man*   Havva-ACC   harassment make-PST

      b)   Adem Bey Havva-yı, [**ki** evili   bir   adam], taciz   et-ti.
            Adem Mr. Havva-ACC **ki** married a   man   harassment make-PST
            'Mr. Adem, ***ki** a married man*, harassed Havva.'

Ev #4: ¤ Unlike *yani*-XPs, PK-XPs may host speaker-oriented adverbs

(28)   Adem Bey [**ki** maalesef   evili   bir adam], Havva-yı taciz   et-ti.
          Adem Mr. **ki** unfortunately married a   man   Havva-ACC harassment make-PST
          'Mr. Adem, ***ki** unfortunately a married man*, sexually harassed Havva.'

Ev #5: ¤   Prosodic dissimilarities between *yani*-XPs and PK-XPs

➤   The *yani*-XP may occupy the nucleus of its ι (29a). This is not allowed in PK-XPs (29b).
➤   *Yani*-XP and its anchor may occupy the post-nuclear area of the ι (30a). This is not allowed in PK-XPs (30b).

(29)   a)   [(Adem)$_{NF-\Phi}$ (pazar-da)$_{NF-\Phi}$ (Havva-yı)$_{NF-\Phi}$ (**yani**   karı-sı-nı$_N$ kaybet-ti)$_{F-\Phi}$]$_\iota$
             Adem   market-LOC   Havva-ACC   **yani** wife-POSS-ACC lose-PST
             'Adem lost in the market place Havva, **yani** [his wife]$_N$.'

       b)   * [(Adem)$_{NF-\Phi}$ (pazar-da)$_{NF-\Phi}$ (Havva-yı)$_{NF-\Phi}$ (**ki** karı-sı$_N$ kaybet-ti)$_{F-\Phi}$]$_\iota$
             Adem   market-LOC   Havva-ACC   **ki** wife-POSS   lose-PST
             'Adem lost in the market place Havva, **ki** [his wife]$_N$.'

(30)   a)   [(Adem)$_{NF-\Phi}$ (pazar-da$_N$ kaybet-ti   Havva-yı   **yani** karı-sı-nı)$_{F-\Phi}$]$_\iota$
             Adem   market-LOC   lose-PST   Havva-ACC **yani** wife-POSS-ACC
             'Adem lost [in the market place]$_N$ Havva, **yani** his wife.'

       b)   * [(Adem)$_{NF-\Phi}$ (pazar-da$_N$ kaybet-ti   Havva-yı   **ki** karı-sı)$_{F-\Phi}$]$_\iota$
             Adem   market-LOC   lose-PST   Havva-ACC **ki** wife-POSS
   'Adem lost [in the market place]$_N$ Havva, **ki** his wife.'

➤   If PK-XPs were a case of subclausal coordination, it'd be rather exceptional:
     ➤   able to violate the *Law of Coordination of Likes*
     ➤   able to violate the linear adjacency constraint operative on coordination
     ➤   unable to occupy the final-Φ of the ι that contains them
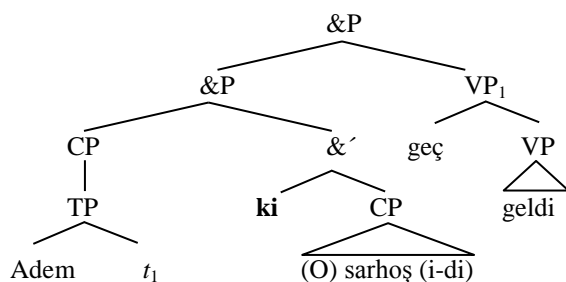
3.2. Our analysis of PK-XPs

➤   PK-XPs are **reduced** PK-clauses

(31)   [Adem] **ki**   [sarhoş]   geç gel-di.   *Surface string*
       [Adem$_i$] **ki** [(o$_i$) sarhoş   (i-di)]   late gel-di.   *Underlying representation*
        Adem **ki** (he) drunk   (COP-PST) late come-PST
       'Adem, ***ki* drunk**, came late.'
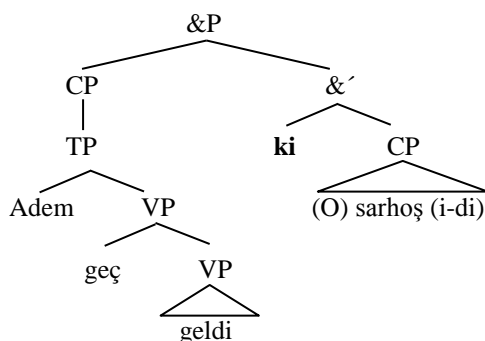
       a) *Before spell-out to LF*   b) *After spell-out to LF*

Advantages of (31):   ¤   accounts for why PK-XPs and their anchors may be of dissimilar semantic
                               types
                           ¤   explains why linear adjacency need not be maintained
                           ¤   explains why PK-XPs always display NOM Case
                           ¤   explains ability of PK-XPs to host speaker-oriented adverbs
                           ¤   accounts for the dissimilarity in prosodic distribution between *yani*-XPs and PK-XPs
                           ¤   unifies both proclitic-*ki* forms in one syntactic representation

3.3. Pᴋ-XP, *yani*-XP, and Germanic appositions

(i)	*Identificational*:	alternative description of their anchor	(32a)
(ii)	*Attributive*:	denote the set of which their anchor is a member	(32b)
(iii)	*Predicative*:	ascribe a stage-level property to their anchor	(32c)

(32)   a)   Jo drew an icosahedron, {Ø/*namely*/*that is*} *a shape with twenty faces*, in her maths class.
         b)   Tim's bike, Ø *a racer*, was stolen from outside his house last week.
         c)   Donna's idiotic boyfriend, Ø *steaming drunk*, fell asleep on the doorstep

➢   Identificational appositions share a number of properties with *yani*-XPs

Ev#1:   ⌑   Case-marking

(33)   Ich   habe   eben   mit   Herrn   Müller, { unserem / *   unseren}   Chef,   gesprochen.
         I   have   just   with   Mr.-DAT   Müller   our-DAT   our-ACC   manager   spoken
         'I just spoke to Mr. Müller, our manager.'   *German*

Ev#2:   ⌑   Law of Coordination of Likes

(34)   *   [₍ₑ₎ John], *namely* [₍ₑ,ₜ₎ *drunk*], fell asleep on the doorstep.
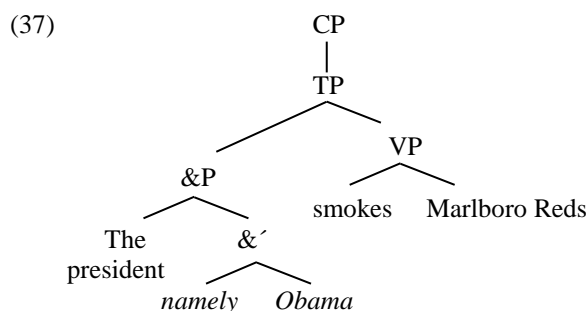
Ev#3:   ⌑   Linear adjacency

(35)   *   A planet has, *Saturn*, entered the constellation of Libra.

Ev#4:   ⌑   Speaker-oriented adverbs

(36)   *   My guitar instructor, *namely* (*fortunately*) *Jimmy Paige* (*fortunately*), taught me my scales.

•   The evidence suggests that identificational appositions, like *yani*-XPs, are directly coordinated with their anchor

(37)

```
                    CP
                    |
                    TP
                  /    \
                &P      VP
               /  \    /    \
          The      &´ smokes  Marlboro Reds
      president   /  \
             namely  Obama
```

➢   Attributive and predicational appositions share a number of properties with Pᴋ-XPs

Ev#1:   ⌑   Case-marking

(38)   a)   Man   pflichtete   dem   jungen   Atomphysiker, { *Student* /   *   *Studenten*}
                one   agreed   the-DAT   young   nuclear.physicist   student-NOM   student-DAT

               an einer   Renommieruniversität,   begeistert   bei.   *German*
               at a   renowned.university   enthusiastically   with
               'They enthusiastically agreed with the young nuclear physicist, *a student at a renowned university*.'

Ev#2:   ⌑   Speaker-oriented adverbs

(39)   My instructor, (*fortunately*) *the guitarist from Led Zeppelin* (*fortunately*), taught me my scales.

Dissimilarity: attributive/predicative appositions & linear adjacency

➢   Unlike Pᴋ-XPs, attributive and predicative appositions, in Germanic, must appear linearly adjacent to their anchor.
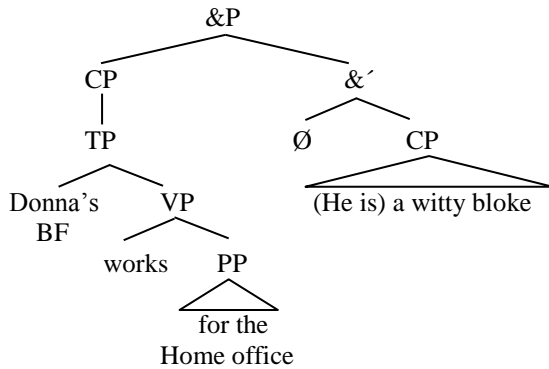
(40)   a)   Tim's bike, Ø *a racer*, was stolen from outside his house last week.
         a´) * Tim's bike was stolen, Ø *a racer*, from outside his house last week.
         b)   Donna's boyfriend, Ø *a witty bloke,* works for the Home Office.
         b´) * Donna's boyfriend works, Ø *a witty bloke,* for the Home Office.

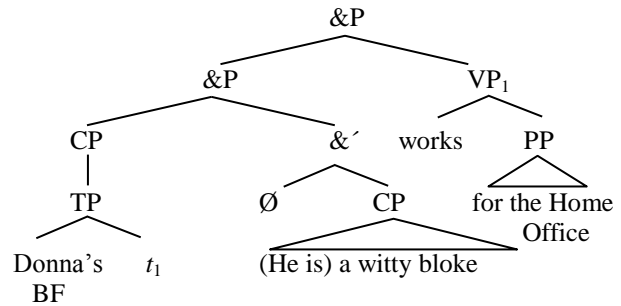➢ **How should this discrepancy be accounted for?**

Option #1:
(i) PK-XPs and attributive/predicative appositions display the same syntax
(ii) An extraneous restriction operative in Germanic but not in Turkish constrains movement to ensure that linear adjacency pertains between the anchor and the apposition

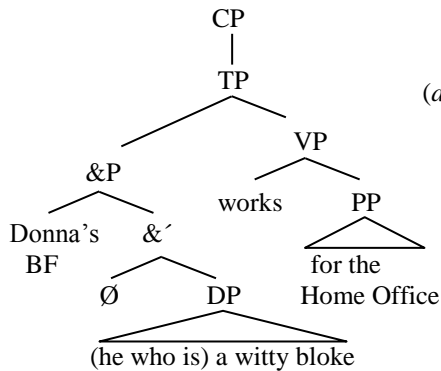(41) a) *Before spell-out to LF*   b) *After spell-out to LF*

Q: What's this extraneous constraint? Why does it hold in Germanic and not Turkish?

Option #2:
(i) Attributive and predicative appositions, in Germanic, are underlyingly **relativized** copula clauses (i.e. DPs)
(ii) They coordinate directly with the anchor (thus satisfying the LoCoL)

(42)

(*adopted by Cardoso & De Vries 2010*)

Q: Why is the high coordination option, which is available (and utilized) in Turkish, unavailable in Germanic?

3.3. Proclitic-*ki* and *yani*: semantics

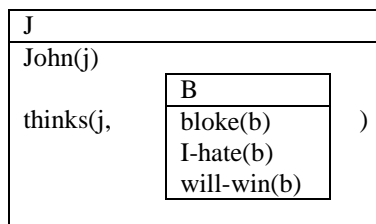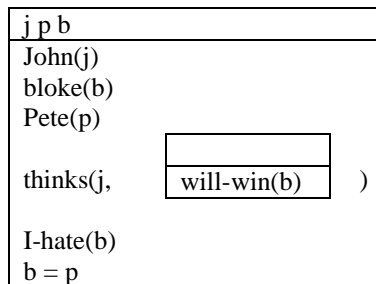➢ Like PK-clauses (see (12) and (13) above), *yani*-XPs display *scopelessness*

(43) # Ali-nin erkek kardeş-i   [**yani** Adem]hiç ol-ma-mış.
Ali-GEN male brother-3S.POSS   **yani** Adem never be-NEG-EVD.
'Ali has never had a brother, ***yani Adem***.'

(44) Ali Adem-in [New York-ta, **yani** Büyük Elma-da] yaşa-dığ-ı-nı düşün-üyor.
Ali Adem-GEN [New York-LOC **yani** Big   Apple-LOC] live-NOM-POSS-ACC think-PROG.
'Ali thinks that Adem lives in New York, ***yani the Big Apple***.'

• The same 'scopelessness' is observed with appositives of all types (i.e. *identificational*, *attributive* and *predicative*) in Germanic.

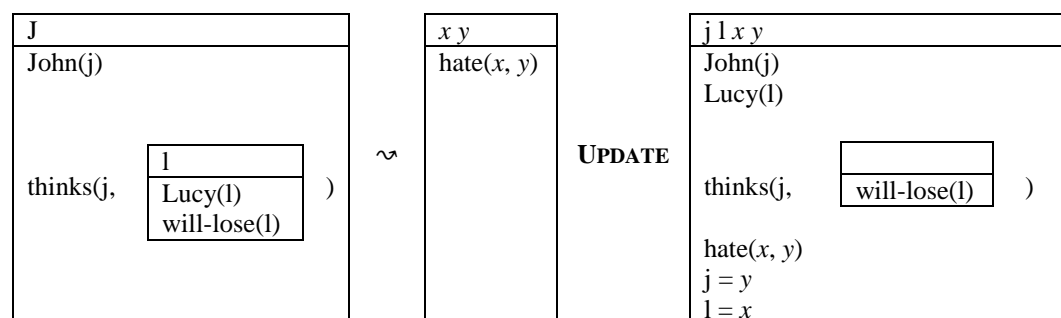(*for recent accounts, see Potts 2005, De Vries 2007, Arnold 2007*)

➢ **If *yani*-XPs and Germanic appositions (assuming (42)) are coordinated at the subclausal level, how can *scopelessness* be accounted for?**

Possible method: Arnold (2007)

(45) John$_j$ thinks a bloke$_b$ who I hate will win.   *Regular restrictive relative*

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│ J                           │
├─────────────────────────────┤
│ John(j)                     │
│          ┌──────────────┐   │
│          │ B            │   │
│ thinks(j,│ bloke(b)     │ ) │
│          │ I-hate(b)    │   │
│          │ will-win(b)  │   │
│          └──────────────┘   │
└─────────────────────────────┘
```

(46)   John$_j$ thinks Pete$_p$, (*a bloke$_b$*) *who I hate*, will win.   *Appositive relative clause*

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│ j p b                       │
├─────────────────────────────┤
│ John(j)                     │
│ bloke(b)                    │
│ Pete(p)                     │
│          ┌──────────────┐   │
│          │              │   │
│ thinks(j,│ will-win(b)  │ ) │
│          └──────────────┘   │
│                             │
│ I-hate(b)                   │
│ b = p                       │
└─────────────────────────────┘
```

➢   Arnold himself does not provide a syntactic trigger for this 'top-boxing' of appositive material
➢   We could provide one; and suggest that (in Turkish) *yani*'s lexical semantics triggers 'top-boxing' of its complement

**However**: 'top-boxing' is a general mechanism: it's what happens when DRSs are updated

(47)   John thinks Lucy will lose. He hates her.

```
┌──────────────────────┐       ┌──────────┐             ┌──────────────────────────┐
│ J                    │       │ x y      │             │ j l x y                  │
├──────────────────────┤       ├──────────┤             ├──────────────────────────┤
│ John(j)              │       │ hate(x,y)│             │ John(j)                  │
│                      │       │          │             │ Lucy(l)                  │
│                      │       │          │             │                          │
│        ┌──────────┐  │   ↝   │          │   UPDATE    │        ┌──────────────┐  │
│        │ l        │  │       │          │             │        │              │  │
│ thinks(j,│Lucy(l) │ )│       │          │             │ thinks(j,│ will-lose(l)│ )│
│        │ will-lose(l)│       │          │             │        └──────────────┘  │
│        └──────────┘  │       │          │             │ hate(x, y)               │
│                      │       │          │             │ j = y                    │
│                      │       │          │             │ l = x                    │
└──────────────────────┘       └──────────┘             └──────────────────────────┘
```

➢   Instead of 'top-boxing' being **triggered**, one might say that 'top-boxing' is the by-product of the fact that the complement of *yani* is represented in the syntax as an XP that demands its own DRS.

What XPs require their own DRSs? = *inter alia*, syntactically **undominated** XPs.

De Vries (2012)
➢   De Vries adds a new MERGE operation to structure-building primitives. This is ***par*-Merge**.
➢   The output of *par*-Merge does not syntactically dominate its input.
➢   *Par*-Merge is permitted only when one of the inputs for *par*-Merge is the functional head *Par*.
➢   *Par*-Merge can be bivalent or monovalent.
➢   When *par*-Merge is bivalent, *Par* is a **coordinator**.

(48)
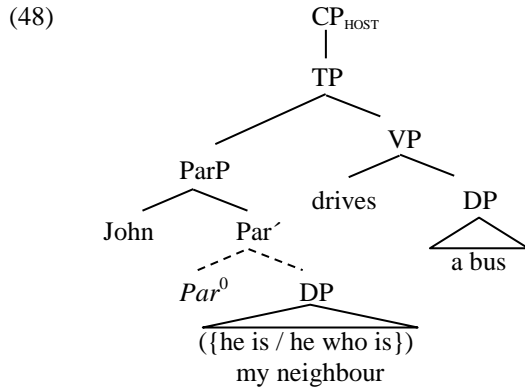
- *par*-Merge is clearly required for *yani*-XPs, but what about PK-XP/clauses, where scopelessness is provided by high-coordination?
- Do we need to say that proclitic-*ki* and its complement *par*-Merge too?

Regular coordination and PK-clause constructions do NOT pattern alike

(49) a)   Ali [**ki** iyi   bir koca-dır]   her   gün eş-i   için kahvaltı   hazırla-r.
           Ali **ki** good a   husband-COP every day wife-ACC for breakfast   prepare-AOR
           'Ali – he is a good husband – makes breakfast for his wife every day.'

     b) * Iyi bir kocadır [**ki** Ali] her gün eşi için kahvaltı hazırlar.

(50) PK-clauses (revised from (17))
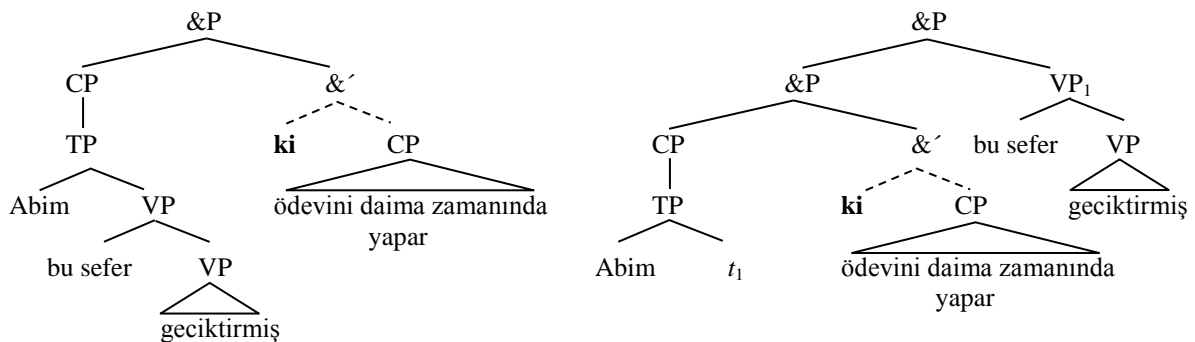
> **NB:** something similar might be required for the so-called 'plot-advancing' *and*:
>
> (i)   John cheated on Lucy(.) and that's not very nice.
> (ii) * That's not very nice(.) and John cheated on Lucy.
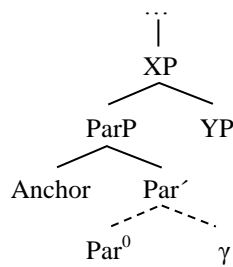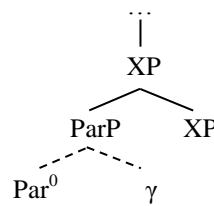
3.4. **PK-clauses (reduced or not): summary**

- Proclitic-*ki* is not a relative pronoun: it's a **coordinator**
- Proclitic-*ki* only coordinates clauses
- Coordination with proclitic-*ki* is *specificational*; it's an asymmetric coordination that treats its conjuncts as separate utterances in the discourse (and not as coordinated propositions that comprise a single utterance).
- Proclitic-*ki* and its complement are *par*-Merged.
- PK-XPs are the Turkish equivalent of Germanic predicative and attributive appositives. Thus, the presence of proclitic-*ki* provides indirect evidence for De Vries' (2006, 2012) idea that:
    - (i)   Appositions and their anchors are coordinated
    - (ii) This coordination is *specificational* (i.e. it involves *par*-Merge)

Conclusion being hinted at:
- Proclitic-*ki* is the morphological realization of De Vries' Par^0 in Turkish.

Looking ahead…
- "Par^0 is bivalent or monovalent" (De Vries, 2009)
- Proclitic-*ki* is bivalent = it selects for a complement and a specifier.

(51) a) <u>Bivalent *Par^0*</u>   b) <u>Monovalent *Par^0*</u>

```
            …                                          …
            |                                          |
           XP                                         XP
          /  \                                       /  \
       ParP   YP                                  ParP   XP
       /  \                                       /  \
   Anchor  Par´                               Par⁰    γ
           /  \
        Par⁰   γ
```

Prediction: There is also a monovalent form of Par^0 in Turkish.
Our claim: this is the enclitic-*ki* of EK-clauses.

4. Eκ-clauses

➢   *Ki* is pronounced as contained within the prosodic domain the precedes it: **enclitic-*ki***

(52) [Hasan san-ıyor   **ki**]ₜ Ahmet okul-a   git-ti.
       Hasan believe-PROG   **ki**   Ahmet school-DAT   go-PST
      'Hasan believes **ki** Ahmet went to school.'

4.1. Eκ-clauses as subordination

Hypothesis #1: Enclitic-*ki* is an Indo-European style complementizer
                    The finite clause that follows *ki* in (52) is <u>subordinated</u>.
                                          (*Underhill 1976, Kornfilt 1997, Göksel & Kerslake 2005*)

Hypothesis #1 is unlikely to be correct

Ev#1:   ⌑   quantifier binding

(53) a) Herkesᵢ [pro_{k/i} geç gel-**eceğ**-in]-i   söyle-di.[2]
          Everyone *pro*   late come-FUT.**NOM**-POSS-ACC say-PST
          'Everyoneᵢ said that (they_{k/i}) will be late.'

      b) [Herkesᵢ dedi   **ki**] {o/*pro*}_{k/*i} geç gel-ecek
          everyoneᵢ said   **ki** he/*pro*   late come-FUT
          'Everyone said **ki** (they_{k/*i}) will be late.'

Ev#2:   ⌑   scope of wh-phrases

(54) a) Ahmet-in [kim-i   öp-**tüğ**-ü-n]-ü   san-ıyor-sun?
          Ahmet-GEN who-ACC kiss-**NOM**-POSS-ACC believe-PROG-2S
          'Whom₁ do you believe Ahmet kissed t₁?'

      b) * [San-ıyor-sun   **ki**] Ahmet kim-i   öp-tü?
          believe-PROG-2S   **ki** Ahmet who-ACC kiss-PST
          'Whom₁ do you believe **ki** Ahmet kissed t₁?'   (*intended*)

Ev#3:   ⌑   Exceptional Case Marking

(55) a) Merve   [ben-Ø/**i**   plaj-a   git-ti-m] san-ıyor.
          Merve-NOM   I- NOM/ACC   plaj-DAT   go-PST-1S believe-PROG
          'Merve believes that I went to the beach.'

      b) * [Merve san-ıyor   **ki**] ben-Ø/***i** plaj-a   git-ti-m.
          Merve believe-PROG **ki**   I-NOM/ACC   plaj-DAT   go-PST-1S
          'Merve believes **ki** I went to the beach.'

Ev#4:   ⌑   finiteness

(56) a) Hasan   Ahmet-in   okul-a git-**tiğ**-i-ni   san-ıyor.
          Hasan Ahmet-GEN school-DAT go-NOM-POSS-ACC   believe-PROG
          'Hasan believes that Ahmet went to school.'

[2] Only *pro* or the reflexive *kendi* can be bound by universal quantifiers in Turkish.

b) Hasan san-ıyor   **ki** Ahmet okul-a   git-ti.
    Hasan   believe-PROG **ki** Ahmet school-DAT   go-PST
    'Hasan believes **ki** Ahmet went to school.'

Ev#5:   ⌑ speaker-oriented adverbs

(57) a) * Ahmet-in   **maalesef**   okul-a   git-tiğ-i-ni   san-ıyor-um.
         Ahmet-GEN   **unfortunately**   school-DAT go-NOM-POSS-ACC   believe-PROG-1SG
         'I believe that Ahmet, **unfortunately,** went to school.'

     b) San-ıyor-um   **ki** Ahmet   **maalesef**   okul-a   git-ti.
         believe-PROG-1SG **ki** Ahmet   **unfortunately** school-DAT go-PST
         'I believe **ki** Ahmet, **unfortunately,** went to school.'

Ev#6:   ⌑ No pitch excursion after the main verb (i.e. no other Φ-formation, the verb has to be in the final-Φ)
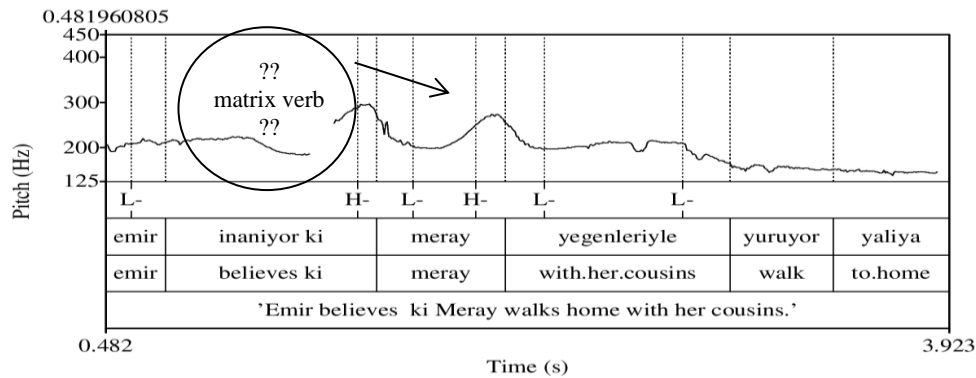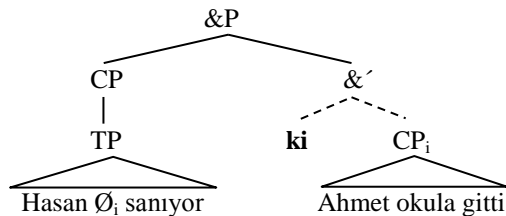

= *this suggests that the consequent clause is not prosodically dependent on ki-clause verb*:

4.2. Paratactic analyses

Hypothesis #2:   Enclitic-*ki* as PK-clause coordinator (i.e. bivalent *Par*^{0})   (cf. Kesici 2010)

(58)

Advantages of (58):
➢   Predicts the lack of quantifier binding, wh-scope, lack of ECM
➢   Predicts that the root clause properties of the consequence clause
Requirement: *sanıyor* 'believes' selects for a null object whose content is provided by the second conjunct.

Hypothesis #2 is unlikely to be correct:

Reason #1:   ⌑ discrepancy in interpretation

➢   PK-clauses: [At-issue assertion] **ki** [aside]
➢   EK-clauses: [aside] **ki** [At-issue assertion]

Under the *par*-Merge approach, the first conjunct cannot be undominated as it is not the complement of *ki*.

Reason #2:   ⌑ prosody

➢   Coordinators are usually parsed as contained within their second conjunct's prosodic domain. But enclitic-*ki* is contained within its apparent first conjunct's prosodic domain.

Reason #3:   ⌑ interpolating EK-clauses

➢   Like PK-clauses, EK-clauses can interpolate into their consequent clause
➢   An example like (59) is impossible to derive using movement, as it requires movement that target non-constituents.

(59) Ali Ayşe-yi [Hasan san-ıyor   **ki**] nazikçe   öp-tü.
      Ali Ayşe-ACC Hasan believe-PROG **ki** gently   kiss-PST
      'Ali, *Hasan believes*, kissed Ayşe gently.'
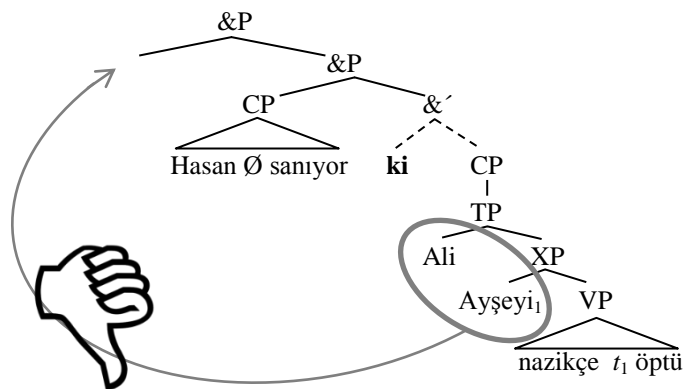
** **Our proposal**: enclitic-*ki* is an instantiation of De Vries' monovalent *Par* **

➢ Enclitic-*ki* and its complement *par*-Merge to create '*KiP*'
➢ KiP adjoins to any maximal projection of the host clause.

(60) a)   b)
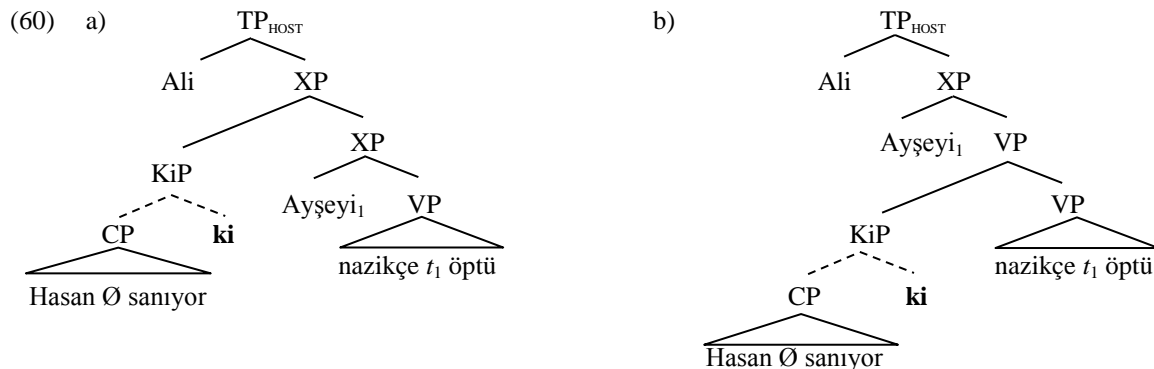
Advantages of our proposal:
➢ Predicts the lack of quantifier binding, wh-scope, lack of ECM
➢ Predicts that the root clause properties of the consequence clause
➢ Accounts for why enclitic-*ki* is pronounced as contained within the prosodic domain of the clause that precedes it.
➢ Accounts for why enclitic-*ki* linearly follows its complements (i.e. head-finality)

(61) a) [(Ali)$_\Phi$ (Ayşe-yi)$_\Phi$ (<u>nazikçe</u>$_N$ öp-tü   **ise**)$_\Phi$]$_\iota$, [Ayşe-nin hoş-u-na   git-miş-tir]$_\iota$.
          Ali   Ayşe-ACC   gently   kiss-PST **CON**   Ayşe-GEN   nice-POSS-DAT go-EVD-COP
          'If Ali gently kissed Ayşe, then Ayşe must have liked it.'

      b) [(Ali)$_\Phi$ (Ayşe-yi)$_\Phi$ (<u>öp-me-den</u>$_N$ **önce**)$_\Phi$]$_\iota$, [diş-i-ni   fırçala-dı]$_\iota$.
          Ali   Ayşe-ACC   kiss-NEG-ABL   before   tooth-POSS-ACC brush-PST
          'Ali brushed his teeth before he kissed Ayşe.'

4.3. The adjunction analysis of EK-clauses: further predictions

➢ No factive verbs permitted within the EK-clause
    Why? The host clause is an assertion, but the object of factive verbs must be presupposed

➢ No negation permitted within the EK-clause
    Why? The speaker shouldn't be able to assert something he doesn't *think/ believe/ guess* to be true

It's more complicated than this…
➢ Constructions in which the EK-clause takes an initial or medial position have two possible interpretations: either *quotative* or *non-quotative*

➢ On a quotative reading, (62) is acceptable (but pragmatically bizarre)
➢ On a non-quotative reading (62) is unacceptable.

(62) a) [Havva inkar ed-iyor   **ki**] Ali bir hırsız-dır.
           Havva deny make-PROG **ki** Ali a   thief-COP
           'Havva denys **ki** Ali is a thief.'

    b) [Havva inan-m-ıyor   **ki**] Ali bir hırsız-dır.
           Havva believe-NEG-PROG **ki** Ali a   thief-COP
           'Havva doesn't believe **ki** Ali is a thief.'

Interestingly: ¤ if the EK-clause linearly follows its host, only a non-quotative reading is permitted
                          (*We don't yet have an explanation for this*)

                     ¤ Only first-person permitted
                     ¤ Only present tense permitted

(63) a) Ali bir hırsız-dır, [{san-ıyor-um/   * san-ıyor-Ø}   **ki**].
           Ali a   thief-COP   believe-PROG-1S/   believe-PROG-3S **ki**
           'Ali is a thief, {I/ he} believe(s) **ki**.'

    b) Ali bir hırsız-dır, [{san-ıyor-um/   * san-dı-m}   **ki**].
           Ali a   thief-COP   believe-PROG-1S/   believe-PST-1S **ki**
           'Ali is a thief, I {believe/believed} **ki**.'

➢ In constructions where the EK-clause follows its host, factive verbs and negation are completely **unacceptable** (person and tense does not change the unacceptable judgement)**.**

(64) a) * Ali bir hırsız-dır, Havva inkar ed-iyor   **ki**.
           Ali a   thief-COP   Havva deny make-PROG **ki**
           'Ali is a thief, Havva denys **ki**.'

    b) * Ali bir hırsız-dır, Havva inan-m-ıyor   **ki**.
           Ali a   thief-COP   Havva believe-NEG-PROG **ki**
           'Ali is a thief, Havva denys **ki**.'

4.4. EK-clauses and reduced parenthetical clauses
➢ EK-clauses are the Turkish equivalent to *reduced parenthetical clauses* (**RPC**s) in English

(65) a) John will, *I think*, be late.
    b) John will be late, *I think*.

➢ Like EK-clauses, RPCs have a quotative and non-quotative reading:

(66) "I will," *I think* (*to myself*), "be late."

➢ Like EK-clauses, RPCs do not permit factive verbs or negation on a non-quotative reading:

(67) a) * John will, *I {deny/regret}*, be late.
    b) * John will, *I don't think*, be late.

➢ De Vries (2009) and Griffiths (2013) adopt a 'ParP adjunction approach' to RPCs (i.e. (60) *above*)

Par is not morphologically realized in English, Dutch or German

HOWEVER
➢ Turkish EK-clauses provide indirect evidence for this ParP adjunction approach, as *Par* is morphologically realized as enclitic-*ki*.

5. Conclusion
➢ Although *ki* appears to display myriad functions (see (1) to (6)), in PK- and EK-clauses at least, *ki*'s function is identical: *ki* is the morphological realization of Par^0: the functional projection that concatenates with its sister via *par*-Merge.

➢ Differences in prosody and linear order arise because proclitic-*ki* is a bivalent head (i.e. coordinating its spec. and comp.), while enclitic-*ki* is a monovalent head (i.e. the head of a clausal adjunct).

➤ Whether other uses of *ki* are realizations of *Par* is a matter for future investigation.

➤ At the very least, proclitic-*ki* is **not** an appositive relative pronoun, and enclitic-*ki* is **not** a complementizer. Whatever the correct analysis is, it should involve *parataxis*.

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