

THE SYNTAX OF INFORMATION STRUCTURE
IN TURKISH NOMINAL PHRASES



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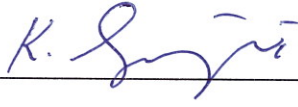
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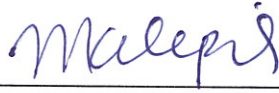
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I, Özlem Ergelen, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
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ABSTRACT

The Syntax of Information Structure in Turkish Nominal Phrases

This thesis aims to introduce a novel approach to the internal structure of Turkish nominal phrases by arguing that Turkish encodes information structure inside nominal phrases, possessing layers such as topic and focus. Rizzi's (1997) left periphery model is adopted as in previous studies on the Split-DP Hypothesis such as Giusti (1996) and Aboh (2004). First of all, it will be argued that Turkish has a DP layer, and the DP is dominated by a Possessive Phrase (PossP). PossP seemingly equals Rizzi's (1997) Finiteness Phrase (FinP). Above PossP, topic and focus phrases (TopP and FocP) are respectively positioned. DP-internal constituents such as adjectives, numerals and demonstratives move into these projections, depending on their interpretation. The closing projection of nominal phrases is the Case Phrase (KP), adopted from Kornfilt (2003, 2009), which equals the Force Phrase (FP) in Rizzi (1997). It will also be shown that Turkish nominals license a post-nominal position, hosting backgrounded information, akin to post-verbal position (Erguvanlı, 1984). After drawing an outline of a typical Turkish nominal phrase, it will be argued that both the CP and the DP project their own information structure related phrases, and that the nominal complex is able to move into relevant TopP and FocP inside the CP. It will be further shown that there are restrictions concerning the extraction properties of layered nominal phrases. The genitive-marked phrases have relatively more freedom to move out of the KP, whereas other constituents such as demonstratives and adjectives are not accessible for further operations.

ÖZET

Türkçe Adcıl Öbekler İçindeki Bilgi Yapısının Sözdizimi

Bu tezin amacı, Türkçe adcıl öbeklerin yapısına yeni bir bakış açısı getirmek ve Türkçe adcıl öbeklerin içinde konu, odak gibi öbekler olduğunu ve bunların bilgi yapısını yansıttığını savunmaktır. Bu çalışmada, Ayrık Belirleyici Öbeği (BelÖ) kuramı üzerine yapılan önceki çalışmalarda olduğu gibi (Giusti, 1996; Aboh, 2004), Rizzi'nin (1997) sola-çeperlenme modeli benimsenmiştir. Öncelikle, Türkçe'de BelÖ ulamı bulunduğu, bu ulamın üzerinde de İyelik Öbeği'nin (İyeÖ) yer aldığı savunulacaktır. İyeÖ, Rizzi'nin (1997) Çekimlilik Öbeği ile benzerlik taşımaktadır. İyeÖ'nün üzerinde, sırasıyla konu ve odak öbekleri (KoÖ ve OdÖ) bulunmaktadır. Yorumlanmalarına bağlı olarak, BelÖ içerisindeki sıfat, sayı ve gösterme sıfatları gibi kurucular bu yansıtımlara taşınmaktadır. Adcıl öbeklerini kapatan yansıtmanın ise, Kornfilt'in (2003, 2009) önerdiği gibi, Durum Öbeği (DÖ) olduğu ve DÖ'nün Rizzi'nin (1997) Güç Öbeği'ne benzediği tartışılacaktır. Ayrıca, Erguvanlı'nın (1984) tümce için savunduğu gibi, Türkçe adıcılarda artalan bilgisinin yer aldığı, adcıl-ardı konum olduğu gösterilecektir. Türkçe adıcılının yapısı verildikten sonra, Tümleyici Öbeği (TümÖ) ile BelÖ'nün kendi bilgi yapılarını yansıttığı ve karmaşık adcıl öbeğin TümÖ içindeki KoÖ veya OdÖ'ye çıkabildiği savunulacaktır. Buna ek olarak, adcıl öbekler içersinden çıkabilecek kurucular üzerinde kısıtlamalar olduğu gösterilecektir. Sıfat ve gösterme sıfatı gibi kurucuların aksine, tamlayan durumunda olan adcıl öbekler, DÖ'nün dışına taşınmada daha serbesttirler.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
CL	Classifier
DAT	Dative
DET	Determiner
EVID	Evidential
GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negation
NML	Nominalizer
PART	Particle
PAST	Past <i>-DI</i>
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
PSV	Passive
Q	Question particle
SG	Singular
TOP	Topic

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rizzi (1997), in his seminal paper, splits the Complementizer Phrase (CP) into separate functional projections, reflecting the information structure of expressions. Since then, some researches who argue that the structure of CPs and that of Determiner Phrases (DP) must parallel each other have attempted to split the DP into separate functional projections. They have argued that the nominal phrases also include split projections that reflect the information structure within those nominal phrases (Giusti, 1996; Aboh, 2004; Aboh, Corver, Dyakonova, & Koppen, 2010; Haegeman, 2004; Villalba & Bartra-Kaufmann, 2009; Caruso, 2012; among others). Such studies argue in favor of the Split-DP Hypothesis by focusing on DP-internal functional particles and movement operations. Researchers who defend the claim that the DP must be split into separate projections similar to CP argue that the DP also hosts projections such as topic and focus phrases. The DP-internal constituents which carry relevant topic and focus interpretations move into these projections. For instance, a constituent which marks the topic of the nominal construction moves into a Topic Phrase (TopP), and a constituent which bears stress is associated with a focus reading and moves into a Focus Phrase (FocP).

The aim of this thesis is to investigate whether such DP-internal information structure also exists in Turkish nominal phrases. There has been no study, at least to my knowledge, which has investigated this issue so far, so a novel approach to the structure of Turkish nominal phrases will be taken in this study. Before proceeding to discussion on whether the DP is split into separate discourse-related projections in Turkish, one needs to establish whether Turkish has a DP layer or not, which has

often been a debated issue in the literature of Turkish linguistics. After sorting out this issue, DP-internal movement in Turkish nominal phrases will be investigated. It will be shown that there is evidence for DP-internal information structure in Turkish as different orderings of nominal constituents give rise to different interpretations. I will argue that Turkish nominals project topic and focus phrases, and constituents which carry topic and focus information move into these phrases. Overall, I will present supporting evidence for the Split-DP Hypothesis by analyzing the structure of Turkish nominal phrases.

In this introductory chapter, Section 1.1 will present the theoretical framework of this thesis. Section 1.2 will give an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Theoretical framework

This study employs the Minimalist Program (MP) developed in Chomsky (1993, 1995). MP eliminates Deep Structure and Surface Structure, sending the syntactic expressions to the interfaces Logical Form (LF) for interpretation and Phonetic Form (PF) for phonetic realization. The expressions are derived through *phases* (Chomsky, 2000) in order to reduce the load on the computational mechanism. The CP and vP constitute phase domains, sent to PF and LF. After a phase is transferred to these interfaces for interpretation and phonetic realization, it is frozen for further operations. Only its *edge*, composed of a phase head and its specifier, is available for further syntactic operations such as movement. The domain of a phase is subject to *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC). The constituents in a phasal domain are no longer visible to the structure, hence banned from undergoing syntactic operations.

As for the representation of information structure of expressions, it is framed in Rizzi's (1997) model in this thesis. Rizzi comes up with a fine structure of the left

periphery and splits the CP into separate functional projections; Finiteness Phrase (FinP), TopP, FocP, and Force Phrase (ForceP). ForceP and FinP constitute the interfaces between the higher and lower structures. FinP acts as an intermediary between the Tense Phrase (TP) and the whole sentence, and ForceP between the sentence and a higher clause or even a discourse. FinP indicates whether the expression is finite or not; that is, whether the expression carries tense and agreement information. ForceP closes the projection and encodes the type of the expression, e.g. whether it is a declarative, a question, an exclamation etc. Between ForceP and FinP, topic and focus phrases are located. Topic roughly expresses old information, the information that is known to both the speaker and the hearer. Focus is the new information introduced into the discourse. As a representation of the left periphery of the complementizer system, Rizzi proposes the following structure:

- (1) [ForceP [Top* [FocP [Top* [FinP [TP]]]]]]

Rizzi (1997) claims that topic phrases are recursive, which is indicated by stars in (1). An expression can host more than one topic phrase in its domain. TopP can be positioned either above or under the FocP. The FocP, on the other hand, is not recursive; an expression can host only one FocP.

As most of the previous studies on DP-internal information structure, this thesis will also employ Rizzi's model to outline the information structure of Turkish nominal phrases.

1.2 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 discusses whether Turkish projects a DP or not. I go over the previous analyses proposed with respect to the existence of a DP layer in Turkish and present evidence in favor of a DP layer. Chapter 3 draws an

outline of Turkish nominal phrases. The positions of DP-internal constituents such as demonstratives, adjectives and numerals are examined. I also propose a representation of genitive-possessive constructions in Turkish. Chapter 4 introduces the information structure inside Turkish DPs. I talk about word order variation in nominal phrases and the interpretational differences resulting from such order variation. I argue that such differences in interpretation stem from the internal information structure of nominal phrases. Representations of the left periphery of Turkish nominals and movement operations are also given in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 briefly discusses the interaction between CP-level and DP-level information structure and the extraction out of layered nominal phrases. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis and suggests further studies and issues that need to be examined.

CHAPTER 2

TURKISH AND THE DP

This chapter sets out to determine whether Turkish has a DP layer or lacks it. Based on the data about Differential Object Marking (DOM), Differential Subject Marking (DSM) and referentiality properties of nominals in Turkish, it will be shown that Turkish does have a DP, checking definiteness and specificity of arguments and hosting demonstratives. The chapter will also present the deficiencies of the analyses in Öztürk (2005) and Bošković and Şener (2014) which argue that Turkish is an NP language and lacks the DP. Section 2.1 will introduce the DP Hypothesis, and Section 2.2 will evaluate the hypothesis in Turkish. The subsection 2.2.1 will go over the previous analyses on the DP Hypothesis, and the subsection 2.2.2 will present evidence for the existence of the DP in Turkish. Section 2.3 will conclude the chapter.

2.1 The Determiner Phrase

Abney (1987) introduced a DP layer whose D head hosts determiners and selects NP as its complement. Since then, it has led to debates regarding whether the DP is universal or not. Some researchers argue that the DP is parametrized and is not projected in all languages (cf. Bošković, 2008, 2012), whereas others maintain that the DP is a universal projection (cf. Longobardi, 1994). The latter argue that, regardless of the lack of articles in a given language, the DP projects in all languages. In Longobardi's (1994) model, the category D is responsible for converting nominal phrases into arguments. Bošković (2008, 2012), on the other hand, argues that the DP is projected only in languages which have articles; articleless languages do not

possess a DP layer. Bošković's argumentation is based on certain, almost universal, differences he identified between articleless languages and those with articles, such as left-branch extraction, scrambling and negative raising. For instance, he argues that languages which lack articles allow left-branch extraction and scrambling, whereas those which have articles ban such properties. In his analysis, nominal constituents such as adjectives, pronominal elements and numerals are adjoined to the NP layer in DP-less languages. Advocates of the universal DP hypothesis, on the other hand, show that such generalizations make wrong assumptions about articleless languages. Pereltsvaig (2013), for instance, shows that in Russian, an articleless language, nominal constituents cannot be freely adjoined to the head noun. The order variation inside nominal phrases induces differences in referentiality. She argues, for example, that definiteness and specificity of nominals are dependent upon the position of demonstratives, possessives and some adjectives relative to numerals in Russian. One instance of a demonstrative and numeral ordering is given in (2):

- (2) a. èti pjat' mašin
 these.ACC five.ACC cars.GEN
 "these five cars"
- b. pjat' ètix mašin
 five.ACC these.GEN cars.GEN
 "five cars of this kind" (Pereltsvaig, 2013: [11])

Pereltsvaig argues that (2a) has a definite reading, whereas (2b) is indefinite and non-specific. When a demonstrative precedes a cardinal number, the nominal is referential. When a cardinal number is followed by a demonstrative, she argues, the nominal is either partitive or refers to a "kind" represented by the head noun.

Pereltsvaig concludes that the referentiality of nominal phrases is assigned by a functional projection such as the DP.

Proponents of the universal DP Hypothesis often assume that the interpretations of nominal phrases regarding definiteness and specificity are provided by the DP layer. Referentiality, they argue, is associated with a functional layer and interpretational variation is not amenable to a single lexical projection such as an NP. In the subsequent section, I will go through the assumptions made in studies on the DP in Turkish to argue whether Turkish possesses a DP or not.

2.2 Turkish and the DP Hypothesis

2.2.1 Literature on the DP in Turkish

Turkish is an articleless language, so it is assumed to lack the DP projection above the NP by some researchers (Öztürk, 2005; Bošković & Şener, 2014). Still others argue that Turkish does possess a functional layer inside nominal phrases, regardless of its possession of articles, specifically due to the difference in behavior between bare nominals and case-marked nominal phrases (Arslan-Kechriotis, 2006). The DP layer, lacking morphologically realized articles, is assumed to carry definiteness and specificity features which in turn label the nominal phrase as definite specific, indefinite specific, indefinite non-specific or non-referential. First, I will go through the analyses in Bošković and Şener (2014) (B&Ş onwards) on the absence of a DP layer in Turkish to point out the deficiencies in their argumentation in correspondence with relevant data in Turkish.

As mentioned above, Bošković (2005, 2008, 2012) argues that Left-Branch Extraction (LBE) is a property which distinguishes between DP and NP languages.

LBE is the extraction of the leftmost constituents out of a nominal phrase. According to Bošković, languages which possess a DP layer do not allow LBE, whereas those that do not have a DP allow it. B&Ş (2014) compares Russian, an articleless language, with English, a DP language, given in (3). Since Russian is an NP language, they argue, an adjective can be extracted out of the nominal phrase and move into sentence-initial position. English, however, has a DP layer, so LBE is prohibited and adjectives cannot leave the nominal domain in which they are generated.

- (3) a. Doroguju_i on videl [t_i mašinu] (Russian)
 Expensive he saw cars
 b. *Expensive_i he saw [t_i cars]

(adapted from B&Ş, [12])

Bošković (2005, 2008) argues that the DP layer acts as some sort of a barrier, thereby disallowing extraction of nominal constituents. As the DP layer is missing in NP languages, there is no barrier that prevents LBE, so certain nominal elements can be left-dislocated in those languages.

B&Ş (2014) mention that Turkish does not allow LBE, but some adjoined phrases such as adjectives can move to the rightmost position, as depicted in (4). According to B&Ş, the data in (4) support the hypothesis that Turkish lacks the DP.

- (4) a. Pelin [kalın kitap] oku-du.
 Pelin thick book read-PAST¹
 b. **Kalın*_i Pelin [t_i kitap] oku-du.
 Thick Pelin book read-PAST

¹ The predicate needs to be glossed as “read-PAST.3SG” as this verb form indicates that it is 3rd person singular. However, since Turkish has overt 1st person and 2nd person marking on the predicate but no overt 3rd person marking, the predicates will be given glosses without indicating 3rd person due to space considerations.

c. ?Pelin [t_i kitap] oku-du *kalın_i*.

Pelin book read-PAST thick

“Pelin read a thick book.” (adapted from B&Ş, [13 - 14])

Turkish strictly disallows structures such as (4b) where a constituent inside a nominal phrase is left-dislocated. Right-dislocated elements in a configuration such as (4c) are more acceptable. For B&Ş, data such as (4c) suffice to show that Turkish allows adjectival LBE. Therefore, they conclude that Turkish is an NP language. However, adjectival LBE is possible in Turkish only when the object NP is a bare nominal, a fact which is not discussed in B&Ş (2014).² When the object has the accusative case, any type of extraction out of the noun phrase becomes ungrammatical, unlike other NP languages such as Russian and Serbo-Croatian.

(5) a. ?Zeynep araba al-dı kırmızı.

Zeynep car buy-PAST red

“Zeynep bought a red car.”

b. *Zeynep araba-yı al-dı kırmızı.

Zeynep car-ACC buy-PAST red

“Zeynep bought the red car.”

Additionally, it is not possible to move adjectives to a longer distance in the post-predicate position. When certain elements intervene between the predicate and the adjective or adjoined to the left of the moved adjective, the result is ungrammatical:

(6) a. Zeynep kalın kitap oku-du dün bütün gün.

Zeynep thick book read-PAST yesterday whole day

b. *Zeynep kitap oku-du dün bütün gün kalın.

Zeynep book read-PAST yesterday whole day thick

² Many native speakers of Turkish also find sentences like (4c) ungrammatical. This would further support the criticism being developed here, that Turkish disallows adjunct extraction.

“Zeynep read a thick book / did thick book-reading all day yesterday.”

When a sequence of adverbs such as *dün* “yesterday” and *bütün gün* “all day / the whole day” is positioned to the right or left of the right-dislocated adjective *kalin* “thick”, it leads to ungrammaticality. (5b) clearly demonstrates that extraction out of noun phrases is not possible because an adjective cannot freely move into a rightward position. Therefore, the operations which take place in (4c) and (5a) cannot be considered as extraction from the nominal domain.

In the light of these data, it is impractical to maintain that Turkish allows LBE. Turkish bans left-dislocation and allows right-dislocation only when the object is not case-marked.³ As a diagnostic, the LBE condition shows that Turkish is not an NP language. The difference between bare nominals and case-marked nominals in terms of extraction properties is an indication of the presence of a functional layer such as a DP in nominals with case marking. This observation is analogous to Arslan-Kechriotis’s (2006) claim that case-marked, hence referential, nominals project a DP, whereas non-case-marked, non-referential nominals are NPs.

In a similar vein, Bošković (2008, 2012) has another test regarding the existence of a DP, which is adjunct extraction out of nominal phrases. He suggests that DP languages do not allow extraction of adjuncts out of nominal phrases, as in English:

- (7) a. *[From which city]_i did Peter meet [girls t_i]
b. Peter met [girls from this city] (Bošković, 2008: [8])

Bošković argues that NP languages allow adjunct extraction with respect to data in Serbo-Croatian and Russian. With regard to this diagnostic, Turkish disallows adjunct extraction out of nominal phrases, as well, in line with other DP languages:

³ Rightward scrambling is discussed in more detail in Kornfilt (2003).

- (8) a. *[Hangi şehir-den / nere-li]_i Peter [t_i kızlar-la] tanış-tı?
 Which city-ABL where-from Peter girls-with meet-PAST
 “Peter met girls from which city / from where?”
- b. *[Ankara-dan / Ankara-lı]_i Peter [t_i kızlar-la] tanış-tı.
 Ankara-ABL Ankara-from Peter girls-with meet-PAST
 “Peter met girls from Ankara.”

As seen above, dislocation of the adjuncts *hangi şehirden* “from which city” and *Ankaralı* “from Ankara” is not allowed in Turkish, like in English. Consequently, Turkish must be classified as a DP, not an NP, language according to the generalization that only NP languages allow adjunct extraction.

Another observation made by Bošković (2012) is that in NP languages, there has to be a parallelism between the order of elements in a sentence and their scope properties. In other words, the scope interpretation has to be reflected in the PF alignment of constituents, so there should not be any inverse scope reading in languages which lack the DP layer. Bošković proposes scope interpretation as a diagnostic for the existence of a DP layer, but he does not account for the reasons of this diagnostic. B&Ş (2014) claim that Turkish does not allow inverse scope, which categorizes it as an NP language. However, the following data show that Turkish in fact displays inverse scope, contra Kural (1997) and Keleş (2001) who argue in favor of scope rigidity in Turkish.

- (9) Bütün doktor-lar üç hasta-ya bak-ıyor.
 All doctor-PL three patient-DAT care.for-PROG
 Surface-scope reading: “All doctors are such that they take care of three patients.” all > three
 Inverse-scope reading: “Three patients are such that all doctors take care

of them.” three > all

As seen in (9), both narrow scope and wide scope readings are available in Turkish.

The numeral “three” is able to scope over the universal quantifier “all” at the LF level without resorting to overt movement. Kennelly (1996) shows an example where there is an obligatory inverse reading:

(10) Üç çocuk bir araba al-mış.

Three child one car buy-EVID

Surface-scope reading: “Each of the three children bought a car.”

*three children > a car (Kennelly, 1996: [3])

Inverse-scope reading: “A car is such that three children bought it.”

a car > three children (Kennelly, 1996: [6])

In (10), the indefinite *bir* “a” takes scope over the numeral three. A scope-rigid reading of the sentence is not available. (10) demonstrates an obligatory wide scope reading. Overall, the data in (9-10) show that Turkish is able to take inverse scope, and there are even cases where a surface scope reading is not available.

A third diagnostic proposed by B&Ş (2014) is related to the majority superlative reading and the plurality reading. In (11a), for instance, the majority reading refers to the number of people, and the plurality reading refers to the object “beer”. In the first reading, the majority of the people drink beer. In the latter reading, beer is consumed more than any other beverage. It does not refer to the number of people, so less than half of the people could be drinking beer. B&Ş argue that the majority reading of such quantifiers like “most” is allowed only in DP languages, as shown in (11a) for English, further claiming that Turkish allows only the plurality reading of such quantifiers, forbidding the majority reading.

(11) a. Most people drink beer.

Majority reading: “More than half of the people drink beer.”

Plurality reading: “People mostly drink beer rather than any other beverage.”

b. İnsan-lar en çok bira iç-ti.

Person-PL most beer drink-PAST

“People drank beer the most.” (adapted from B&Ş: [17])

B&Ş argue that (11b) has only the plurality reading, not the other reading, which places Turkish among DP-less languages. A crucial problem in this data, however, is that they do not use a quantifier which roughly translates into the meaning of “most”. Rather, they use a verbal modifier that means “mostly/the most” which is in significant ways different from the quantifier “most”. Since *en çok* “the most” modifies the verb, the sentence in (9b) inevitably implies that the beverage that was drunk the most is beer, disallowing the majority reading. When a nominal quantifier such as *çoğu* “most” is used, the only reading that is obtained is the majority reading.

(12) [Çoğu insan] bira iç-ti.

Most person beer drink-PAST

The intended reading: “More than half of the people drank beer.”

The only interpretation obtained from (12) is the majority reading, the one which B&Ş argue that Turkish does not have. However, (12) clearly shows that Turkish does allow that reading, so Turkish is actually not an NP but a DP language according to this criterion.

After applying such tests to Turkish, B&Ş (2014) further proceed to displaying data based on which they claim to demonstrate the absence of a functional layer above the NP, such as (13) below. They argue the data in (13) is ungrammatical in Turkish, but native Turkish speakers generally disagree with their judgments and

contend that these sentences are acceptable. (In (13) below, only the grammaticality judgments are mine.)

- (13) a. [Özpetek_i-in film-i] o_i-nu hayal kırıklığına uğrat-tı.
Özpetek-GEN movie-POSS he-ACC disappoint-PAST
“Özpetek’s movie disappointed him.”
- b. ??[O_i-nun film-i] Özpetek_i-i hayal kırıklığına uğrat-tı.
he-GEN movie-POSS Özpetek-ACC disappoint-PAST
“His movie disappointed Özpetek.” (adapted from B&Ş: [25])

In contrast to their judgments, (13a) is generally considered to be a fully grammatical sentence. The ungrammaticality of these sentences, they argue, would give further evidence for the lack of a DP layer in Turkish nominal phrases. In their analysis, the genitive-marked R-expression *Özpetek-in* “Özpetek-GEN” in (13a) is adjoined to the NP, and therefore, it is able to c-command the co-indexed pronoun *o-nun* “he-GEN” in the object position. However, the grammatical status of the sentence returns stronger evidence as to the existence of a DP layer. Since the sentence is grammatical, one needs to conclude that the genitive-marked R-expression *Özpetek-in* “Özpetek-GEN” is not able to c-command the pronoun *o-nu* “he-ACC”, a property which classifies Turkish as a DP language according to B&Ş (2014) generalizations. The peculiarity of (13b), on the other hand, in fact results from Chomsky’s (1981) Avoid Pronoun Principle, a principle which states that the use of pronouns must be avoided unless needed.

- (14) *John_i would much prefer his_i going to the movie.

(adapted from Chomsky, 1981: 65 [4i])

In (14), *John* and *his* cannot be co-referential, the fact being explained by the Avoid Pronoun Principle. As an empty *pro* can fulfil the function, the use of an overt pronoun leads to ungrammaticality.

If the phi features of a pronominal can be expressed through a silent pronoun such as *pro*, then these features should not be overtly pronounced. The pronoun *o-nun* “he-GEN” that is co-indexed with the R-expression *Özpetek* is not needed in that position as the use of a silent *pro* instead to pronounce the phrase as [*pro film-i*] “[*pro film-ACC*]” suffices to establish co-referentiality with the R-expression. Consequently, the sentence may have been regarded ill-formed not because the pronoun c-commands the co-indexed R-expression, but because it is redundant.

The following binding facts further show that the genitive in subject position does not in fact c-command the object. If it were able to c-command the object, the Principle C of binding would be violated. In (15), however, the two R-expressions *Ayla* can refer to the same person, hence co-indexed. Principle C violation does not arise because the genitive *Ayla-nın* “Ayla-GEN” does not c-command the direct object *Ayla-yı* “Ayla-GEN”.

- (15) [*Ayla_i-nın* *baba-sı*] *Ayla_i-yı* *sinema-da* *gör-müş*.
 Ayla-GEN *father-POSS* *Ayla-ACC* *cinema-LOC* *see-EVID*

“Apparently, Ayla’s father saw Ayla at the cinema.”

Furthermore, if B&Ş (2014) were right in that the genitive is adjoined to the NP, then Principle A violation would not occur, and the genitive would be able to bind an anaphor. The data in (16) show that the genitive “I” cannot bind the anaphor *kendi-m* “self-1SG”, so (16a) is ungrammatical. Instead, the pronoun *ben* “I” needs to be used in order for the structure to be licensed, as in (16b).

- (16) a. **[Ben-im_i film-im] kendi-m-i_i mutlu et-me-di*.

I-GEN.1SG movie-POSS.1SG self-1SG-ACC happy make-
NEG-PAST

b. [Ben-im_i film-im] ben-i_i mutlu et-me-di.

I-GEN.1SG movie-POSS.1SG I-ACC happy make-NEG-PAST

The constructions in (15) and (16) falsify B&Ş's (2014) claim that the genitive-marked nominal is an adjunction to the NP, so it can c-command out of the NP. The binding properties show that the genitive cannot in fact c-command out of the nominal phrase. While Principle A is violated, there is no violation of Principle B and C. The genitive cannot bind an anaphor, and it can be co-indexed with a pronoun or an R-expression. These binding facts indicate that the genitive phrase is not adjoined to the NP. Rather, it must reside in a different layer such as a DP.

So far, I have addressed Bošković and Şener's (2014) empirical weaknesses in light of relevant Turkish data and argued that the tests proposed by them to determine whether a language has DP or not do not necessarily classify Turkish as an NP language. Their own tests show in several cases that Turkish does have a DP, and the data they propose in order to further support the claim that Turkish lacks it faces such serious problems as the stability of grammaticality judgments.

Another study which argues for a DP-less structure of the Turkish nominal phrase is Öztürk (2005). She cites Fukui (1995), who claims that a projection can be closed only by functional phrases such as demonstratives. She argues that various phrases such as genitive possessors and adjectives are able to occur in positions higher than demonstratives in Turkish, indicating that demonstratives do not close nominal projections. She analyzes demonstratives as prenominal modifiers based on the following data:

(17) a. John-un bu kitab-ı

John-GEN this book-ACC

“this book of John”

b. John-un kırmızı bu kitab-ı

John-GEN red this book-POSS

“this red book of John”

c. kırmızı bu kitap

red this book

“this red book”

d. bu kırmızı kitap

this red book

“this red book”

(Öztürk, 2005: 19 [5b-e])

According to Öztürk (2005), demonstratives in Turkish can occur freely in any prenominal position. For instance, they can either precede or follow an adjective as in (17b-d). Therefore, she concludes that demonstratives in Turkish do not close a projection unlike in English, where such structures as “*John’s this book” are banned. A demonstrative such as “this” being the highest functional head, a possessor such as “John’s” cannot appear above it. Öztürk (2005) also takes the data in (17) as evidence for the lack of a DP layer, arguing that demonstratives in Turkish cannot be in a functional projection and that Turkish NP-internal constituents are ordered freely by means of adjoining to the noun phrase. However, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, DP-internal operations take place in (17). It will be shown that the genitive marked possessor and the adjective in (17b-c) move into positions above the demonstrative, the movements being motivated by the DP-internal information structure. It will also be discussed that the constructions in (17b-c) are ungrammatical when the demonstrative does not receive focus. Consequently,

Chapter 4 will show that the data in (17) do not comprise evidence for free word order variation inside nominal phrases and for the lack of a DP layer. It is possible to maintain that Turkish possesses a functional category such as a DP without disturbing the claim that demonstratives are inside a functional projection. The following subsection will show that demonstratives are functional elements, not prenominal modifiers as Öztürk (2005) claims.

2.2.2 Turkish has a DP layer

In this section, I will present further evidence for the existence of a functional projection above Turkish noun phrases. I will show that, since Turkish displays DOM, nominals with accusative case marking and without any case marking behave differently in terms of the information they convey. Demonstratives inside a noun phrase in object position necessitate accusative case on the object, but such a requirement is eliminated when the object phrase has modifiers other than demonstratives such as numerals and adjectives.

- (18) a. Ben [bu kitab-ı] oku-du-m.
 I this book-ACC read-PAST-1SG
 b. *Ben [bu kitap] oku-du-m.
 I this book read-PAST-1SG
 “I read this book.”

- (19) a. Ben [iki kitap] oku-du-m.
 I two book read-PAST-1SG
 “I read two books.”
 b. Ben [yeşil elma] ye-di-m.
 I green apple eat-PAST-1SG

“I ate a green apple.”

In (18), the demonstrative *bu* “this” inside the bracketed object requires accusative case on the noun phrase. Thus, non-case-marked object renders (18b) ungrammatical. In (19), on the other hand, the object includes a numeral in sentence (a) and an adjective in sentence (b). These modifiers, unlike demonstratives, do not force accusative case marking on the object. The objects in (19) have an indefinite reading, while the only interpretation obtained in (18) is a definite specific reading. The features [definiteness] and [specificity] are in close relationship with the accusative case (Enç, 1991; Öztürk, 2005). Demonstratives are able to check these features, but the interpretation of these features are not determined by numerals and adjectives themselves; it seems to be contingent upon the presence of the accusative case. Consequently, demonstratives, and adjectives and numerals have to reside in different projections. They cannot be on the same level of representation as adjuncts to the head noun, as argued by Bošković and Şener (2014) and Öztürk (2005), since the requirements of case marking and feature specification between demonstratives on the one hand, and adjectives and numerals on the other, are radically different. One natural conclusion of such behavioral difference between NP-internal phrases would be that adjectives and numerals are positioned inside a lexical noun projection, as they are not licensed to check definiteness and specificity features, whereas demonstratives reside in a functional category where the features mentioned are checked. Therefore, I argue that there is a DP layer in Turkish, which hosts demonstratives. Adjectives and numerals, in contrast, are adjoined to the head noun below the DP.

Similar evidence comes from the relationship between demonstratives and the genitive marker. Turkish also displays DSM (cf. Kornfilt, 2009) when a nominal

phrase is in the subject position of an embedded clause. Arslan-Kechriotis (2006) argues that in nominalized embedded clauses, the genitive-marking on the subject differentiates between definite and non-definite readings of the subject. The data below also show the structural differences between demonstratives and adjectives along with numerals in embedded subject position.

- (20) a. ?[Ayla-yı iki arı sok-tuğ-un-u] bil-iyor-um.
 Ayla-ACC two bee sting-NML-POSS-ACC know-PROG-1SG
 “I know that two bees stung Ayla.”
- b. ?[Ayla-yı büyük arı sok-tuğ-un-u] bil-iyor-um.
 Ayla-ACC big bee sting-NML-POSS-ACC know-PROG-1SG
 “I know that a big bee stung Ayla”
- c. *[Ayla-yı bu arı sok-tuğ-un-u] bil-iyor-um.
 Ayla-ACC this bee sting-NML-POSS-ACC know-PROG-1SG
 “I know that this bee stung Ayla.”
- d. [Ayla-yı bu arı-nın sok-tuğ-un-u] bil-iyor-um.
 Ayla-ACC this bee-GEN sting-NML-POSS-ACC know-PROG-1SG
 “I know that this bee stung Ayla”

In (20a-b), the embedded subject is used with a numeral and an adjective respectively. Although the sentences are not judged to be completely acceptable, they are nevertheless grammatical. When the subject noun is used with a demonstrative in (20c), however, excluding the genitive case marker leads to ungrammaticality. In non-finite embedded clauses, the genitive marking on the subject NP becomes obligatory (20d) when the NP is used with a demonstrative, meaning that definiteness and specificity marking on the subject is needed. Numerals and

adjectives do not trigger such a requirement, so I conclude that demonstratives originate in a different position than numerals and adjectives.

I have so far argued that, as Enç (1991) discusses, the structural case marking such as the accusative and the genitive marks the nominal as specific, claiming that this difference is represented in the syntactic structure. As in Arslan-Kechriotis (2006), I have suggested that the D head carries the definiteness and specificity features to assign relevant readings. Additionally, Arslan-Kechriotis analyzes the differences between nonreferential bare nominals and bare nominals preceded by *bir* “a/one” in Turkish. She argues that the first ones are truly not referential, but the latter in fact possess referentiality. Contra Öztürk (2005), she claims that the referentiality is not assigned by a case marking, but rather by a functional head such as a D. One of her pieces of evidence is the following:

- (21) a. *Ali kitap oku-du. [_{pro}i Reng-i] kırmızı-ydı.

Yesterday Ali book read-PAST. Color-POSS red-PAST

“Yesterday, I did book-reading. Its color was red.”

(Öztürk, 2005: 27 [25a])

- b. Ali bir kitap_i oku-du. [_{pro}i Reng-i] kırmızı-ydı.

Ali a book read-PAST. color-POSS red-PAST

“Ali read a book. Its color was red.”

The empty pronoun *pro* in (21a) cannot refer to the object of the previous sentence *kitap* “book”, whereas this is possible in (21b). The bare noun *kitap* lacks referentiality, but the expression *bir kitap* “a book” is referential even though it lacks the accusative case. Arslan-Kechriotis (2006) argues that such difference in referentiality results from the fact that the object nominals in (21a) and (21b) have different structures. Bare nouns lack the DP layer, which is responsible for giving

nouns referentiality. Case-marked objects and those preceded by *bir* possess the DP layer, making the noun referential.

2.3 Summary

In this section, I have shown that Turkish does possess a functional category such as a DP. I went over the generalizations made in Bošković (2008, 2012) and Bošković and Şener (2014) to show that it is not plausible to categorize Turkish as an NP language. I have also criticized Öztürk's (2005) discussions about the lack of DP in Turkish to show that there is no need to dispense with a functional nominal category in order to explain relevant Turkish data. Based on the interaction between structural case and demonstratives in Turkish, I have shown that Turkish does have a DP layer, supporting Arslan-Kechriotis's (2006) proposal. Demonstratives originate in the DP, as opposed to adjectives and numerals which, I argue, are base generated inside the NP as adjunctions.

CHAPTER 3

THE STRUCTURE OF TURKISH NOMINAL PHRASES

This chapter deals with the internal structure of Turkish nominal phrases, without suggesting any information structure related projections. Following from the findings in Chapter 2, this chapter will present the overall structure of the Turkish DP, its lexical and functional categories reflected onto syntax. Section 3.1 will discuss genitive-possessive constructions in Turkish and present evidence for the two functional projections within Turkish nominal phrases and their hierarchical order. Section 3.2 will present the overall structure of a typical Turkish nominal phrase, with any type of movement within it disregarded, such as a small overview of the position of numerals and adjectives, following from Chapter 2, and an overall structure of a movement-less complex nominal phrase.

3.1 Genitive-possessive constructions in Turkish

3.1.1 Previous views

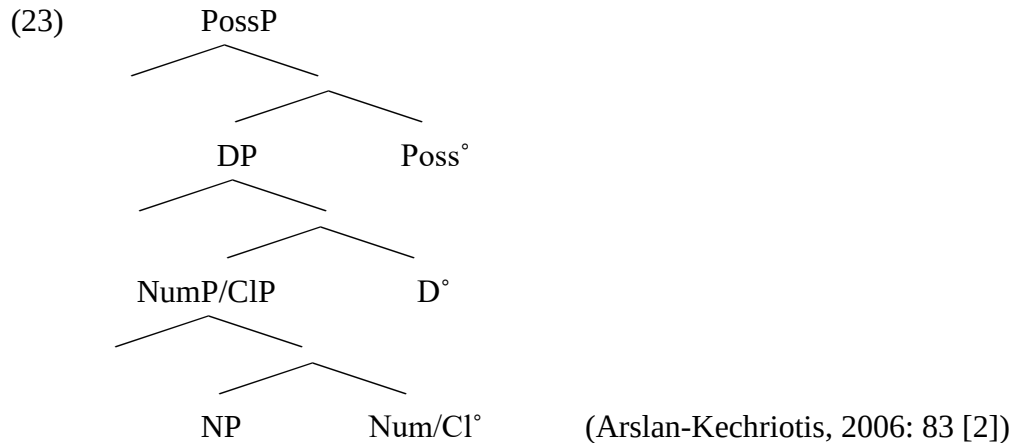
Turkish genitive-possessive constructions refer to those where the genitive case marked nominal is the possessor and the nominal with the possessive marker is the possessee.

- (22) Ayşe-nin defter-i
Ayşe-GEN notebook-POSS
“Ayşe’s notebook”

In the construction above, the genitive-marked DP *Ayşe-nin* is the possessor of the notebook. The head of the construction *defter* “notebook” takes the possessor marker

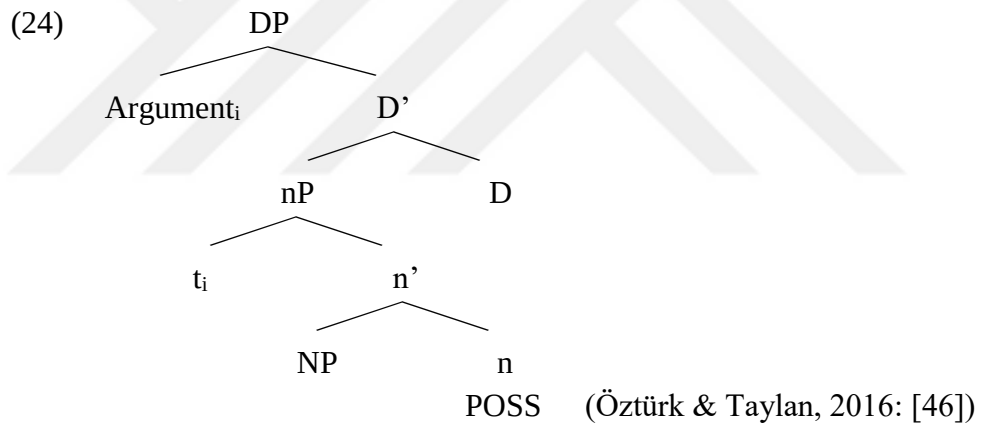
–(s)*I*, which Kunduracı (2013) argues to be indicating possession. There are various views on the structure of genitive-possessives in Turkish.

Kornfilt (1984) argues that a genitive-possessive structure is headed by an Agr head. Agr is responsible for assigning genitive case to the possessor as the Agr head governs the possessor NP. Yüксеker (1994) argues for a Possessive Phrase (PossP) as the topmost functional projection of genitive-possessive constructions. Its head is the possessive marker –(s)*I* and assigns genitive case to its spec position. It takes a possessee NP as a complement. In a similar vein, Arslan-Kechriotis (2006) suggests a Possessive Phrase (PossP) as the highest functional phrase, as well. In her model, it subcategorizes for DP. Lexical categories are dominated by two functional projections; DPs are responsible for assigning definiteness and specificity, and PossPs accommodate genitive-possessive constructions. The Poss head is the possessive marker –(s)*I*, and it checks the genitive case of the possessor DP, similar to Yüксеker’s (1994) analysis. The possessor DP is generated in the specifier position of the PossP. Below is her representation of possessive structures:



The possessive marker –(s)*I* is under Poss°, the genitive-marked DP being in its Spec position. The Poss head takes DP as its complement, where demonstratives are base generated.

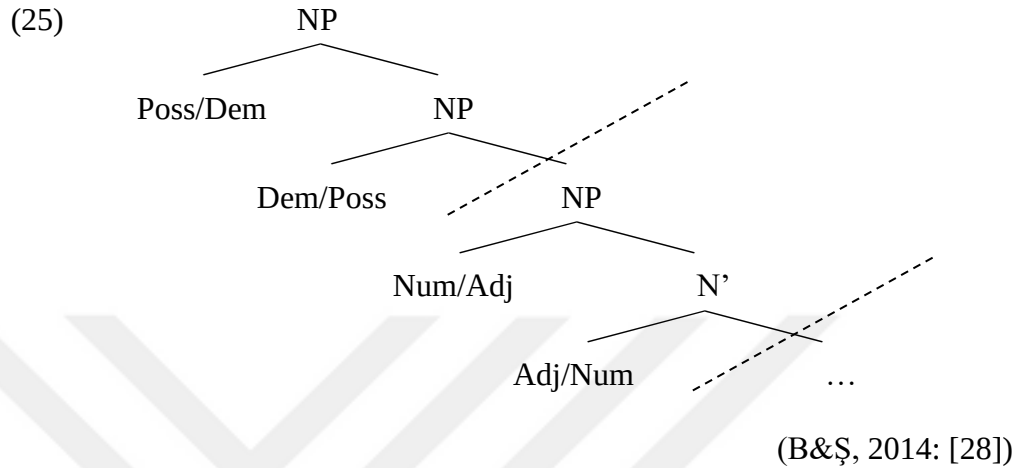
Öztürk and Taylan (2016), on the other hand, argue that there is a projection called Little n Phrase (nP) below the DP. This projection is responsible for introducing the arguments of the possessive construction, which are, in their sense, the genitive-marked possessor and the NP possessee. They draw a resemblance between the nP and the vP as theta-role assigning categories. Those arguments are given their theta roles by the little n head which is, they argue, the possessive marker *–(s)I*. The possessee NP is the complement of this n head, and in the spec position of this nP, the possessor is introduced. The possessor receives its genitive case by moving into the spec of DP as they take the D head to be the case assigner, in a similar fashion to the T head. They represent their genitive-possessive structure as below:



In this representation, POSS head is the possessor marker *–(s)I*, its NP complement being the possessee and its specifier being the possessor. This possessor moves into Spec,DP to check its genitive case.

Bošković and Şener (2014) take a different stance since they dismiss a DP layer in Turkish, as discussed before, and argue that all nominal constituents, the possessor NPs, demonstratives, numerals and adjectives, are adjunctions to the NP. Numerals and adjectives can freely change their order. Likewise, possessors and demonstratives can also switch their order, but they never occur below adjectives and

numerals. As a consequence, they nonetheless suggest that there is a hierarchical difference between a layer that hosts numerals and adjectives, and a layer that hosts possessors and demonstratives. In each layer, the constituents can be positioned interchangeably, as represented below:



According to B&Ş (2014), as indicated above, there are two structural positions into which adjuncts are merged. The first one is for possessors and demonstratives, and the latter is for numerals and adjectives, situated below the first layer. In B&Ş (2014), the possessor is generated lower, in the specifier position of the NP below the numeral, then moves higher when it is an overt possessor and not the empty category *pro*.

In the next subsection, I will go over these analyses and examine what kind of structure best represents genitive-possessive constructions.

3.1.2 The structure of genitive-possessives in Turkish

In the literature, there have been suggested roughly three representations of genitive-possessives in Turkish; a) PossP > DP, b) DP > PossP, c) Poss/Dem > Num/Adj. The first two analyses propose two functional categories within Turkish nominal phrases, namely the Possessive Phrase for the possessive structure and the Determiner Phrase. The third analysis suggests no functional layer for Turkish nominal phrases and

treats all modifiers as adjoined to the NP. First, I will go over this analysis suggested by B&Ş (2014) to depict its problems and deficiencies.

There are some serious problems in B&Ş (2014). First, if nominal constituents are true adjunctions of the NP, then we should expect free order variation among them. However, in their representation too, there is still a hierarchical order where possessor NPs and demonstratives are positioned higher than adjectives and numerals. There is not a strong theoretical account of such a free variation in their analysis where certain phrases can be used interchangeably in a certain position. A second crucial problem is related to how the possessor receives its genitive case. If possessors, too, are adjoined to the NP, then which head is responsible for checking its case feature? B&Ş do not address this question. Third, they show the examples below as equivalent.

- (26) a. Can-ın şu üç bisiklet-i
 Can-GEN that three bicycle-POSS (B&Ş: [26a])
- b. Şu Can-ın üç bisiklet-i
 That Can-GEN three bicycle-POSS
 “Those three bicycles of Can’s” (B&Ş: [27a])

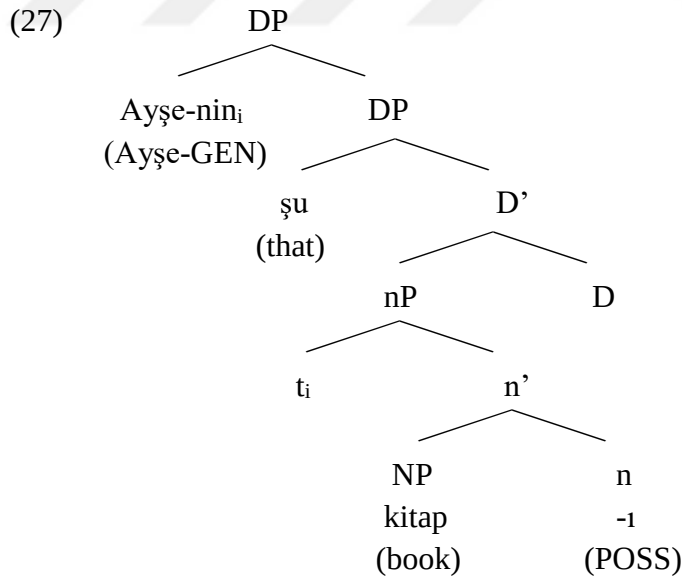
B&Ş (2014) argue that genitive-marked possessors and demonstratives like *Can-ın* “Can-GEN” and *şu* “that” above can swap their orders freely. However, as will be argued in more detail in Section 3.2, the interpretation of these two structures is not the same. While the demonstrative *şu* in (26a) points to three bicycles owned by Can, the one in (26b) is not used to point to the bicycles. *Şu* in (26b) is a “common ground management” particle,⁴ the function of which is to refer to an event previously known by both participants in the discourse (Krifka, 2008). As the two phonetically

⁴ I would like to thank B. Öztürk for this suggestion.

same demonstratives have totally different functions in the nominal structure, they must occur in two different positions. Thus, one should not analyze the difference in order in (26) as free order variation.

I conclude that B&Ş's (2014) analysis is not tenable for Turkish nominal phrases as it has serious issues including the structure of genitive-possessives. I will now go through the first two analyses proposed by Arslan-Kechriotis (2006) and Öztürk and Taylan (2016) to find out what kind of representation best reflects the structure of Turkish possessives.

In Chapter 2, I argued that demonstratives are generated inside the DP. If we were to take Öztürk and Taylan's (2016) approach, the possessor would also move into the DP, creating two spec positions in the DP in structures that have a demonstrative. Below is a representation of the nominal phrase *Ayşe-nin şu kitab-ı* "Ayşe's that book":



In that representation, it would not be clear how the DP *Ayşe-nin* "Ayşe-GEN" receives its case, but not the demonstrative *şu* "that". Since they are in the specifier positions of the same category DP, the demonstrative *şu* must also receive the genitive case marking. However, this would result in ungrammaticality:

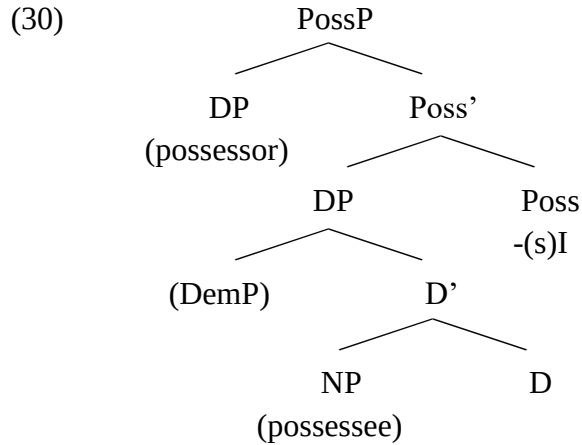
- (28) *Ayşe-nin şu-nun kitab-ı
 Ayşe-GEN that-GEN book-POSS
 “That book of Ayşe’s”

Additionally, the genitive DP and the DemP would be on the same level of representation when they are inside the two specifier positions of the same DP, rendering them equidistant for further operations. However, the data in (29) show that only the genitive possessor is available for further operations such as movement out of the DP. The demonstrative cannot leave the nominal domain.

- (29) a. Ayşe-nin ben [t kitab-ın]-ı oku-du-m.
 Ayşe-GEN I book-POSS-ACC read-PAST-1SG
 “I read Ayşe’s book.”
- b. *Şu ben [t kitab]-ı oku-du-m.
 That I book-ACC read-PAST-1SG
 “I read that book.”

The possessor can be left-dislocated in a sentence as in (29a), but demonstratives are not allowed to move out of the nominal phrase they are generated in as shown in (29b).

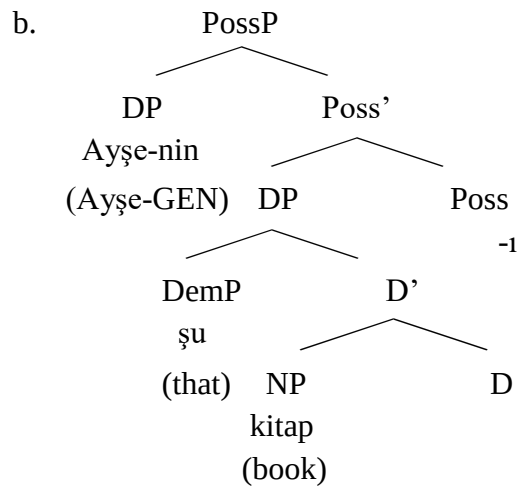
For these reasons, Öztürk and Taylan’s (2016) analysis also gives rise to problems and does not reflect the complete structure of Turkish nominal phrases. I will assume that the basic order is PossP > DP, as suggested in Yüksek (1994) and Arslan-Kechriotis (2006). Demonstratives are positioned in a functional category that is lower than possessives. The representation is given in (30):



PossP is the highest functional projection, its head being the possessive marker $-(s)I$.

As in Arslan-Kechriotis's (2006) model, the possessor is in the spec position of PossP, whose genitive case is checked by the Poss head. It subcategorizes for a DP, which may host demonstratives in its specifier position when they exist in the structure. The DP then takes the NP as its complement where the possessee is positioned. Then, the basic order will be as given in (31a), whose tree representation is given in (31b):

- (31) a. [Ayşe-nin [şu [kitab]]-ı]
- Ayşe-GEN that book-POSS-ACC
- “that book of Ayşe”



In (31), *kitap* “book” is the possessee NP, dominated by the DemP *şu* “that”.⁵ Then the genitive-possessive construction is introduced in the possessive phrase, whose head being the possessive marker *-(s)I* which takes the possessor DP *Ayşe-nin* “Ayşe-GEN” in its specifier position and checks its genitive case.

3.2 The overall structure of nominal phrases in Turkish

The preceding section presented an outline of the syntax of genitive-possessive constructions in Turkish and argued that Turkish NPs are dominated by two functional projections, a DP and a PossP. This section will present a summary of the overall structure of Turkish nominal phrases before suggesting discourse-related phrasal categories in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2 talked about the distinction between the case requirements of demonstratives, on the one hand, and adjectives and numerals, on the other hand. It showed that in contrast to adjectives and numerals, demonstratives require structural case marking on the DP they are generated in. The examples are repeated below for convenience:

- (32) a. Ben [bu kitab-ı] oku-du-m.
 I this book-ACC read-PAST-1SG
- b. *Ben [bu kitap] oku-du-m.
 I this book read-PAST-1SG

⁵ One might consider demonstratives as D heads, which are represented here not under the D head, but in its specifier position, which is an A'-position that needs a phrasal category. Putting D head on the right is compatible with the headedness parameter as Turkish is a strictly head-final language. More importantly, representing demonstratives as head-initial would violate the Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC) in Biberauer, Holmberg, and Roberts (2007, 2008), which disallows a head-initial phrase to be immediately dominated by a head-final phrase. The only possibility in languages that display both head-initial and head-final ordering is a head-final phrase being immediately dominated by a head-initial phrase. In the representation I have shown in (30), I proposed a PossP as the highest projection, immediately dominating a DP where demonstratives are base generated. Having the DP phrase as head-initial will violate the FOFC, as it would be immediately dominated by a head-final possessive phrase.

“I read this book.”

(33) a. Ben [iki kitap] oku-du-m.

I two book read-PAST-1SG

“I read two books.”

b. Ben [yeşil elma] ye-di-m.

I green apple eat-PAST-1SG

“I ate a green apple.”

Based on these data, I argued that demonstratives require structural case marking such as accusative case on the object. There is no such requirement for adjectives like *yeşil* “green” and numerals like *iki* “two”. Nevertheless, the nominals which contain an adjective and/or a numeral can have the accusative case marking to convey a specific reading (cf. Enç, 1991).

(34) a. Ben [iki kitap]-ı oku-du-m.

I two book-ACC read- PAST-1SG

“I read the two books.”

b. Ben [yeşil elma]-yı ye-di-m.

I green apple-ACC eat-PAST-1SG

“I ate the green apple.”

As accusative case marking is not optional for nominals that contain a demonstrative, I have argued that demonstratives must reside in a functional category, the DP, different than adjectives and numerals. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, I maintain that adjectives and numerals are adjoined to the NP layer, as in Bošković and Şener (2014). This explains their relatively free ordering.

(35) a. İki kalın kitap

Two thick book

- b. Kalın iki kitap
Thick two book
“Two thick books”
- (36) a. Bir kalın kitap
A thick book
- b. Kalın bir kitap
Thick a book
“A thick book”⁶

The examples in (35-36) show that the order variation among adjectives and numerals do not significantly affect the meaning. These examples further show that they are adjuncts of the NP.⁷

Turning back to possessive constructions, it is possible to integrate more than one possessive construction into a single possessive phrase. The possessor position of a genitive-possessive structure is the recursive position where an infinite number of genitive-possessives can be embedded as shown below:

- (37) a. Ayşe-nin defter-i
Ayşe-GEN notebook-POSS
“Ayşe’s notebook”

⁶ Here *bir* is used as an indefinite marker, rather than a numeral meaning “one”. The use of (36b) is much more frequent than (36a). The distinction between these two structures needs further investigation; therefore, I take (36a) and (36b) as equivalent.

⁷ I argued in Chapter 2 that Arslan-Kechriotis (2006) differentiates between bare nominals and *bir* + NP nominals, claiming that the latter is referential. Therefore, she places the indefinite *bir* in Spec,DP due to its referentiality. The data I have presented in Chapter 2&3 so far, however, show that all numerals, including the indefinite *bir* must be placed in a structurally different position than demonstratives, and it must not be a D position. Other numerals, too, have a referential interpretation, like the indefinite *bir*, in Arslan-Kechriotis’s sense.

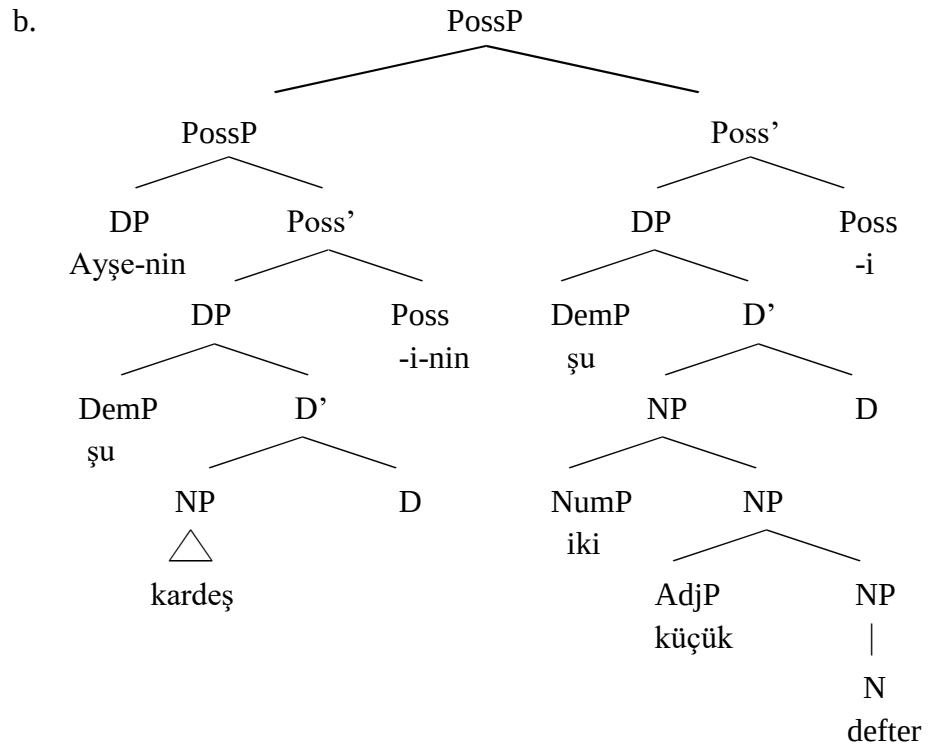
(i) Ali iki kitap_i oku-du. [pro_i Renk-ler-i] kırmızı-ydı.
Ali two book read-PAST. Color-PL-POSS red-PAST
“Ali read two books. Their color was red.”

Therefore, contra Arslan-Kechriotis, I place all numerals, including the indefinite *bir*, inside the same numeral projection. One might suggest another projection above the NP which hosts numerals and assigns the referentiality without any structural case marking. I leave this issue aside for further studies.

- b. [Ayşe-nin kardeş-i]-nin defter-i
 Ayşe-GEN sibling-POSS-GEN notebook-POSS
 “Ayşe’s sibling’s notebook”
- c. [[Ayşe-nin kardeş-i]-nin arkadaş-ı]-nin defter-i
 Ayşe-GEN sibling-POSS-GEN friend-POSS-GEN notebook-POSS
 “Ayşe’s sibling’s friend’s notebook”

It is possible to have such complex structures as given below with multiple possessive phrases with modifiers integrated. The representation of (38a) is given in (38b).

- (38) a. Ayşe-nin şu kardeş-i-nin şu iki küçük defter-i
 Ayşe-GEN that sibling-POSS-GEN that two small notebook-POSS
 “Those two small notebooks of that sibling of Ayşe”



I have disregarded so far the structures where demonstratives seem to head possessive constructions, which are only briefly discussed in (26), repeated below:

- As I mentioned, the demonstrative in (39b) does not have a function of pointing to someone or something when it precedes a possessive structure. For instance, the usage of demonstratives in a pointing function in (40) is not available when used comparatively.

- 35

The structure in (40) can be ameliorated when the demonstratives follow the possessor, as in (41):

- (41) Can-ın şu bisiklet-i-ni kullan-dı-m, ama o-nun
 Can-GEN that bicycle-POSS-ACC use-PAST-1SG but he-GEN
 bu bisiklet-i-ni gör-me-di-m.
 this bicycle-POSS-ACC see-NEG-PAST-1SG

“I rode that bicycle of John’s, but I did not see this bicycle of his.”

The demonstratives *şu* “that” and *bu* “this” in (41) do point to bicycles owned by Can. (40) and (41) show that there are in fact two types of demonstratives in Turkish. The first group does not have a true “demonstrating” function; they are rather “common ground management” particles, as mentioned in Section 3.1. Those in the other group are true demonstratives, used to point to an object or an animate being.

Common ground refers to knowledge mutually known to the speaker and the listener. Krifka (2008) introduces common ground management, which deals with introducing such knowledge into the common ground and roughly describes the function of demonstratives that precede possessive phrases.

- (42) a. [Şu [Can-ın [üç bisiklet]-i]] var ya...
 PART Can-GEN three bicycle PART
 “Those three bicycles of Can’s, you know, ...”
- b. Hani [bu [hoca-nın [geçen hafta ver-diğ]-i]
 PART PART prof-GEN last week give-NML-POSS
 ödev] var ya, oldukça zor-muş.
 homework PART very difficult-EVID
 “Apparently, that homework, you know, which the professor assigned
 last week, is very difficult.”

c. O Deniz-in sevgili-si var ya, tam bir yalancı!

PART Deniz-GEN beloved-POSS PART absolute a liar

“Deniz’s beloved friend, you know, is an absolute liar!”

As seen in (42), all demonstratives, or demonstrative-like particles, can be used as a common ground managing tool. These are used to integrate some already known knowledge into the common ground. These particles do not have a specific position, so they do not have to precede possessive phrases. True demonstratives, on the other hand, cannot occur before possessive phrases. Particles that resemble demonstratives can in fact select for all kinds of nominals, as shown below:

(43) a. [Can-in [şu [üç bisiklet]]-i] var ya...

Can-GEN PART three bicycle-ACC PART

“Those three bicycles of Can’s, you know, ...”

b. [Bu [sene-ye ver-il-ecek ders]] hakkında

PART year-DAT give-PSV-NML course about

bir fikir-in var mı?

a idea-POSS.2SG exist Q

“Do you have any idea about the course, you know, that will be offered next year?”

The function of demonstrative-like particles in (43), too, is bringing the shared information into the discourse. In (43a), *şu* precedes a possessee DP, following the possessor and is still used as a common ground managing particle, referring to the shared knowledge of the three bicycles that belong to Can. *Bu* in (43b) precedes only a bare nominal modified by a relative clause, integrating the knowledge about the course to be opened next year into the discourse. In (43), neither of the particles

precede a genitive-possessive construction, indicating that, unlike demonstratives, there is no specific position for these particles.

The discussion above shows that the demonstratives have two distinct functions, which require them to be represented in syntax distinctively. Those that are used with a “demonstrating” function are inside the DP below the PossP, as depicted in (40-41). On the other hand, those that are common ground managing particles are inserted into the nominal structure in a related projection where they are able to take the nominal under their scope, meaning that they have no specific syntactic positions.

3.3 Summary

This chapter has given a representation of nominal phrases in Turkish, with much of the discussion focusing on the genitive-possessive constructions. Section 3.1 has presented an outline of the structure of such constructions in Turkish, positing PossP as the highest functional phrase that subcategorizes for a DP. Demonstratives that are not discourse particles are generated inside this functional projection. Section 3.2 has given a complete structure of Turkish nominal phrases. It has suggested that the DP selects an NP. Adjectives and numerals are adjoined to this lexical category NP. It has also made a distinction between the two types of demonstratives in Turkish, one being true demonstratives, and the other one being common ground management particles. I have argued that the syntactic representation of these two must be different.

The next chapter will further suggest new functional and discourse-related categories to give a complete picture of Turkish nominal phrases.

CHAPTER 4

INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN TURKISH NOMINAL PHRASES

This chapter will deal with displacement properties that seem to occur inside Turkish nominal phrases. It will be argued that such kind of displacement is driven by the DP-internal information structure. The central argument of this chapter is that there are information structure related functional layers such as topic and focus phrases inside the Turkish DP in addition to the CP. Section 4.1 will present previous literature on the information structure inside the DP. Section 4.2 will give a detailed analysis of the information structure inside Turkish nominal phrases, where it will be argued that the order variation inside a nominal phrase brings about different readings and this differentiation is caused by the information structure related movements taking place inside the DP.

4.1 Background on DP-internal information structure

Giusti (1996) is attributed to be the initial work that argues for a split DP. For DP-internal FocP, she presents evidence from Albanian.

- (44) a. një grua e bukur b. një e bukur grua
a woman the nice a the nice woman
“a nice woman” “a *nice* woman”

(Giusti, 1996: [20])

(44a) is the basic order in Albanian. Giusti argues that when the adjective is fronted in (44b), the reading obtained is not contrastive focus, but rather emphatic focus. For the TopP, she gives the following data in Italian:

- (45) a. i suoi capelli bianchi

- the his/her hair white
- b. i bianchi, suoi capelli
- the white his/her hair

“his white hair” (Giusti, 1996: [40])

Giusti argues that (45a) either means that the hair is completely white or there is some white hair. (45b), however, only means that all of the hair is white. She also points out that (45b) is acceptable only when there is a pause after the adjective and the whiteness is the familiar information. Based on such data, she claims that prenominal adjectives are inside the TopP in Italian.

The DP-internal information structure in Giusti (1996) is derived by movement operations. Aboh (2004) presents the following data from Gungbe:

- (46) a. Setu no xo [lesi Gukome ton]
 Setu HAB buy rice Gukome POSS
 “Setu habitually buys the rice from Gukome.”
- b. Setu no xo [lesi Gukome ton lo]
 Setu HAB buy rice Gukome POSS DET
 “Setu habitually buys the aforementioned rice from Gukome.”

(Aboh, 2004: [2])

Aboh argues that the bracketed bare nominal phrase in (46a) is interpreted as non-specific definite. The one in (46b), however, is a definite specific nominal, hence is headed by a determiner. Aboh claims that the notions specificity and topicality are related to each other. Therefore, he argues that the nominal phrase in structures like (46b) is interpreted as the topic. According to Aboh’s analysis, the determiner is the head of TopP, and the rest of the expression is its complement.

Haegeman (2004) and Caruso (2012) suggest a DefP to host the definiteness feature. In Caruso (2012), it is an equivalent of FinP, whereas in Haegeman (2004), it corresponds to ForceP in Rizzi (1997). The data presented in Chapter 3 showed that definiteness and specificity readings are assigned in the DP which is below the PossP. PossP turns out to be the equivalent of FinP in Turkish.

4.2 The left periphery of Turkish nominal phrases

4.2.1 Word order variation in the DP

This section will show that Turkish displays displacement of constituents inside nominal phrases. Chapter 3 argued that the default position of phrases inside Turkish nominals is PossP > DP > NP. Leaving possessive constructions to section 4.2.3, I will focus on displacement properties occurring inside the DP-level nominals.

In (47), the nominal phrases consist of a demonstrative, an adjective and a bare noun.

(47a) gives the most natural order, namely DemP > AdjP > NP. However, it is also possible to swap the positions of the demonstrative and the adjective. When their positions are swapped, a difference in interpretation comes out.

- | | | | |
|---------|------------------|----|-------------------------------|
| (47) a. | şu kırmızı şapka | b. | kırmızı ŞU şapka |
| | that red hat | | red that hat |
| | “that red hat” | | “that red hat among red hats” |

(47a) merely points to a red hat. There is no presupposition of existence of other red hats. (47b), however, presupposes that there is more than one red hat, and it points to a specific red hat among the set of red hats. Furthermore, the demonstrative *şu* “that” has to be prosodically focused in order for the expression to be acceptable. No such

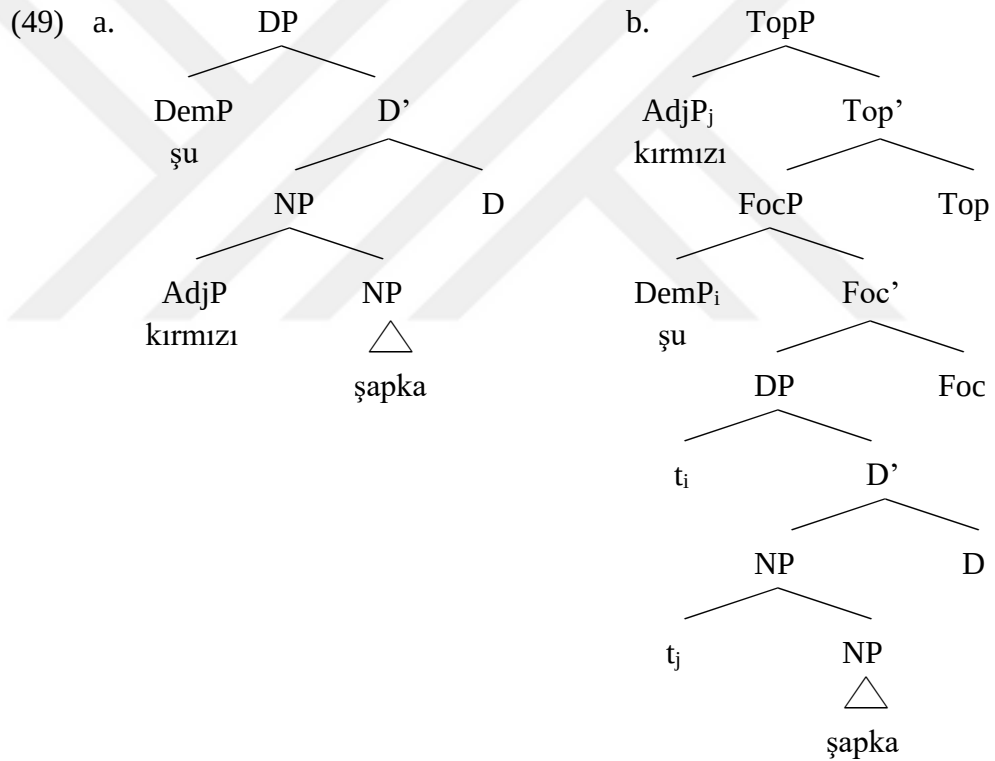
requirement is involved in (48a), but eliminating the focus in (48b) results in ungrammaticality.

- (48) a. Zeynep dün kırmızı ŞU şapka-yı tak-tı.
 Zeynep yesterday red that hat-ACC wear-PAST
 “Yesterday Zeynep wore THAT red hat (not the other red ones).”
- b. *Zeynep dün kırmızı şu şapka-yı tak-tı.
 Zeynep yesterday red that hat-ACC wear-PAST
 Intended: “Yesterday Zeynep wore that red hat.”

The data in (47-48) show that the change in order in a nominal phrase leads to different readings. A DemP > AdjP > NP order is used only to point to an entity denoted by the noun. The more marked AdjP > DemP > NP order, however, cannot be used to point to a single entity. It implies that there is a set of entities denoted by the noun phrase, and only one entity is given prominence among that set. Furthermore, the demonstrative has to bear focus when an adjective precedes it. One consequence of these data is that there is in fact no free ordering of phrases inside a nominal phrase in Turkish. The changes in order come along with different readings and different prosodic structure. Advocates of the NP/DP dichotomy often argue that NP languages have relatively free ordering of nominal adjuncts and any change in their order does not necessarily bring about differences in meaning (Öztürk, 2005; Bošković & Şener, 2014). The data we see in (47) and (48), in contrast, display a restricted ordering of nominal modifiers and interpretational differences in Turkish nominal phrases resulting from different ordering. These data further show that the demonstrative and adjectival modifiers are not freely adjoined to the head noun.

Recall that in Chapter 2 and 3, I stipulated that demonstratives originate inside the DP, and adjectives are adjoined to the NP. Hence, the adjective *kırmızı*

“red” must move to a position higher than the demonstrative *şu* “that”. Here, then, I argue that this is an information structure related movement. The motivation of the movement is purely interpretational. For (47b), I have already mentioned that the demonstrative *şu* “that” must bear focus. And the adjective *kırmızı* “red” is the topic since the color of the hats, its “redness”, is the old information, known to both the speaker and the hearer in the discourse. As a result, we can argue that the demonstrative moves up into a Focus Phrase, positioned above the DP, and the adjective moves into a Topic Phrase, which is higher than the Focus Phrase. The movements and landing positions can be represented as follows:



(49a) is a representation of (47a), where all elements are in their base-generated positions and there have taken no discourse-related movements. (49b) is the representation of (47b), where relevant movement operations occur. In (49b), it is shown that the demonstrative moves into the spec position of the FocP, and the adjective moves into the spec position of TopP. It is rather inconvenient to keep the

DP layer in the structure when it is suggested that the DP is also split like the CP.

Since I could not come up with a better label which represents the functional layer in question, I will keep the DP layer. Bear in mind that the function of this phrasal category is to assign definiteness and specificity readings to the nominal phrase.

The difference between the constructions in (47) can be clearly demonstrated by providing proper contexts.

(50) A: Zeynep dün balo-da ne tak-tı?

Zeynep yesterday ball-LOC what wear-PAST

“What did Zeynep wear in the ball yesterday?”

B: # Zeynep kırmızı ŞU şapka-yı tak-tı.

Zeynep red that hat-ACC wear-PAST

“Zeynep wore THAT red hat.”

B: ✓ Zeynep şu kırmızı şapka-yı tak-tı.

Zeynep that red hat-ACC wear-PAST

“Zeynep wore that red hat.”

(51) Zeynep went to a ball yesterday, and two of her friends are talking about it.

There are a bunch of red hats before them that belong to Zeynep.

A: Zeynep dün balo-da bu kırmızı şapka-yı mı

Zeynep yesterday ball-LOC this red hat-ACC Q

tak-tı.

wear-PAST

“Did Zeynep wear this red hat in the ball yesterday?”

B: Hayır, Zeynep dün kırmızı ŞU şapka-yı tak-tı.

No Zeynep yesterday red that hat-ACC wear-PAST

“No, Zeynep wore THAT red hat yesterday.”

In (50), the question only inquires information regarding what Zeynep was wearing in the ball, having no background information. Therefore, the first answer to the question where the adjective precedes the focused demonstrative is infelicitous. There is no shared information with respect to what Zeynep was wearing in the ball. The only possible answer is the second one, the whole nominal phrase *şu kırmızı şapka* “that red hat” being new information. It simply points to the red hat which was worn by Zeynep yesterday. It does not possess any complex DP-internal information structure. The only context where the answer *kırmızı ŞU şapka* (lit. red THAT hat) is felicitous is given in (51) where there is shared knowledge of the things worn by Zeynep. It is known by both speakers that Zeynep wore a red hat, which marks the old information. The answer to the question in (51) corrects it by pointing to the red hat which Zeynep actually wore in the ball. Hence the redness of the hat is the topic since it is known to both speakers that Zeynep wore a red hat, and the demonstrative is in focus as it points to the correct red hat worn by Zeynep.

Similar facts are observed in structures which lack a demonstrative and possess only nominal modifiers such as adjectives and numerals. (52) and (53) show the possible word order variations in nominals which include an adjective and a numeral. Note that in Chapter 3, it was mentioned that adjectives and numerals display more free order variation, repeated in (52).

(52) a. İki kalın kitap

Two thick book

b. Kalın iki kitap

Thick two book

“Two thick books”

(53) a. İki KALIN kitap

two thick book

“two THICK books”

b. Kalın İKİ kitap

Thick two book

“TWO thick books”

I will argue that the data in (53) also have movements motivated by the information structure. In (53a), for instance, the numeral *iki* “two” marks the topic and the adjective *kalın* “thick” the focus. The number of the books is the information that is familiar to both speakers, and its thickness being the new information. Similarly, in (53b), the adjective *kalın* is the topic, and the numeral *iki* is the focus. This time the thickness of the book is known to the participants of the discourse, whereas the number of the books is the new information. The felicity of these structures is further elaborated in (54-56) below:

(54) A: Sen mağaza-dan ne al-dı-n?

Sen store-ABL what buy-PAST-2SG

“What did you buy from the store?”

B: # Kalın İKİ kitap al-dı-m. / # İki KALIN kitap

Thick two book buy-PAST-1SG / Two thick book

al-dı-m.

buy-PAST-1SG

“I bought TWO thick books. / I bought two THICK books.”

B: ✓ İki kalın kitap al-dı-m. / Kalın iki kitap

Two thick book buy-PAST-1SG / Thick two book

al-dı-m.

buy-PAST-1SG

“I bought two thick books.”

- (55) Speaker B comes back home from the bookstore. Speaker A knows that B was going to buy some books including thick ones.

A: Sen dört beş tane kalın kitap mı al-dı-n?

You four five CL thick book Q buy-PAST-2SG

“Did you buy four or five thick books?”

B: Kalın İKİ kitap al-dı-m.

Thick two book buy-PAST-1SG

“I bought TWO thick books.”

- (56) Speaker B comes back home from the bookstore. Speaker A knows that B was going to buy two books.

A: Sen iki kitap-tan fazla-sı-nı mı al-dı-n?

You two book-ABL more-POSS-ACC Q buy-PAST-2SG

B: İki KALIN kitap al-dı-m.

Two thick book buy-PAST-1SG

“I bought two THICK books.”

In (54), there is again no shared knowledge of the things the participant bought from the store. As the speaker is asking for information about the content of B’s purchase, the first two answers become infelicitous as they involve particular topic-focus information. These answers become felicitous in proper contexts such as those given in (55) and (56). There is a mutually shared information of the thickness of the books in (55), the number indicating the new information. An answer which puts stress on the number is therefore viable. In (56), the shared information is the number of books to be bought. The inquirer does not have any other information about the properties

of the books bought. This makes the answer given in (56) with focus on the adjective felicitous.

4.2.2 The Case Phrase (KP)

I have proposed a TopP > FocP > DP > NP order as a representation of Turkish nominal phrases. What is problematic in this structure is that TopP is the highest projection to be selected as an argument by a predicate. Because it is highly impractical for a theory of grammar to posit the TopP as the highest projection to be selected by a predicate as an argument, a closing functional projection is needed to satisfy the selective properties of a predicate. Following Kornfilt (2003, 2009), I suggest that a Case Phrase (KP) is the closing projection, located on top of TopP, which is able to satisfy the selectional restrictions of predicates. In Kornfilt's model, KP hosts overt case markers. She proposes a KP to account for scrambling out of nominals and for differential object and subject marking in Turkish, namely to distinguish between case-marked and non-case-marked DPs. In the model proposed in this study, KP will close a nominal projection and host overt case markers such as the accusative and genitive.

4.2.3 Word order variation in genitive-possessive constructions

A similar analysis suggested in 4.2.1 also extends to genitive-possessive constructions in Turkish. I discussed in Chapter 3 that demonstratives in Turkish have two distinct functions. The one in (57a) is used as a common ground managing particle, rendering the nominal structures below more indifferent to the information structure. Recall also that Chapter 3 presented evidence for the inability of a true demonstrative to precede a genitive-possessive construction. The only position for

demonstratives with the pointing function is after the genitive-marked possessor.

When such a demonstrative receives prosodic focus, as exemplified in (57c) below, topic and focus information become relevant, as well.

(57) a. *şu* *Ayla-nın* *şapka-sı*

that Ayla-GEN hat-POSS

Intended: “If you remember, that hat of Ayla...”

b. *Ayla-nın* *şu* *şapka-sı*

Ayla-GEN that hat-POSS

Intended: “that hat of Ayla”

c. *Ayla-nın* *ŞU* *şapka-sı*

Ayla-GEN that hat-POSS

“that hat among Ayla’s hats”

(57a) both integrates some known information about a hat that belongs to Ayla. It does not bring forth any other information about the hat or hats possessed by Ayla.

(57b) points to a hat which belongs to Ayla. In (57c), however, there is a presupposition about Ayla’s possession of hats when a true demonstrative is used and it bears focus. (57c) presupposes that Ayla has more than one hat. The focused *şu* points to a specific hat among the set of hats owned by Ayla. The genitive-marked *Ayla-nın* marks the topic of the expression as the possessor of the hats is the old information that is already present in the discourse.

Unlike the data presented in Section 4.2.1, the demonstrative does not have to have focus when it follows the genitive-marked possessor. When an adjective is located higher than the demonstrative, then the demonstrative has to have prosodic focus. They can either receive focus or not when they are inside the possessive

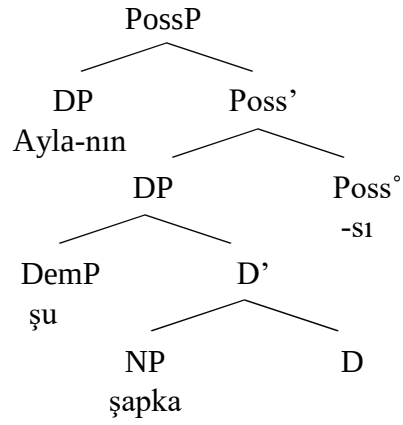
phrase. However, it gives rise to a significant difference in interpretation, as shown in (58):

- (58) a. Hoca-nın şu öğrenci-ler-i
 professor-GEN that student-PL-POSS
 “Those students of the professor”
- b. Hoca-nın ŞU öğrenci-ler-i
 professor-GEN that student-PL-POSS
 “Those students among the professor’s students”

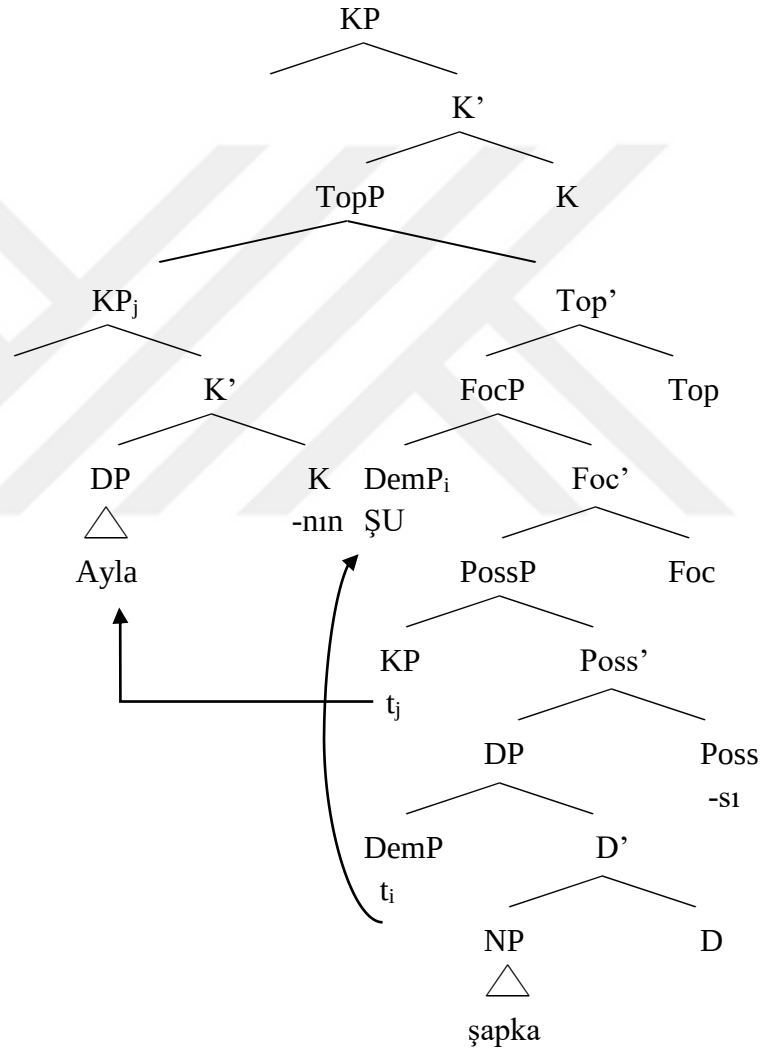
(58a) refers to all students of the professor. It does not have to pick up any specific group of students. (58b), however, brings along a partitive reading and refers to a particular set of students among the already contextually salient professor’s students. I argue that this interpretational difference results from different information structures of the nominal phrases. In (58a), the phrases do not move into information structure related projections. The genitive DP and the demonstrative stay in their base generated positions. In (58b), and in (57c) as well, I argue that discourse-related movements take place.

When the demonstrative receives focus, it moves into FocP. The genitive possessor moves into the TopP above the FocP since the possessor denotes the old information known to all participants of the discourse. The focalized constituent again leads to a contrastive reading. In (57c), it selects a particular hat among the set of hats, and in (58b), it selects a specific group of students. The movement operations that take place can be represented as follows:

(59) a.



b.



(59a) gives the basic structure of the possessive, the interpretation of which is to point to a hat owned by Ayla. (59b) represents movements driven by the information structure. The demonstrative *şu* “that” moves into the FocP, and the genitive *Ayla-*

nin “Ayla-GEN” into the TopP. It points to a specific hat that Ayla owns, contrasting it with the other hats in her possession.

4.2.4 Backgrounded information and the post-nominal domain

Erguvanlı (1984) describes the post-predicate domain as *backgrounding*; the constituents which occur after the predicate are the backgrounded information as they are not so prominent in the discourse while Topic and Focus information is contained in the preverbal domain. She notes that backgrounded elements cannot bear stress and question forms cannot be included in the postverbal position.

- (60) a. Murat dün dön-dü Ankara-dan
 Murat yesterday return-PAST Ankara-ABL
 (Erguvanlı, 1984: 45 [4b])
- b. *Murat dün dön-dü ANKARA-DAN
 Murat yesterday return-PAST Ankara-ABL
 “Murat returned from Ankara yesterday”
 (Erguvanlı, 1984: 45 [4c])

- (61) a. Para-yı kim çal-dı?
 Money-ACC who steal-PAST (Erguvanlı, 1984: 48 [14a])
- b. *Para-yı çal-dı kim?
 Money-ACC steal-PAST who
 “Who stole the money?” (Erguvanlı, 1984: 48 [14c])

In (60a), the DP *Ankara-dan* “Ankara-ABL” can be right-dislocated to the postverbal position as long as it does not bear stress. (60b) is ungrammatical when the DP has stress in the postverbal domain. In (61), the only position for the wh-phrase is the

preverbal domain. It cannot move into the postverbal position as in (61b) because a wh-phrase innately has focus.

The same pattern is observed in the nominal domain. While the topic and focus positions are present in the prenominal domain, it is also possible to trace backgrounding in the post-nominal domain. The elements that may occur in the post-nominal position are very limited, so the examples below include genitive-possessive constructions where the genitive DP appears dislocated.

(62) a. Ev-i-niz siz-in çok büyük.

House-POSS-2PL you-GEN very big

b. *Ev-iniz SİZ-İN çok büyük.

House-2PL you-GEN very big

“Your house is very big.”

(63) a. Kim-in ev-i sat-ıl-dı?

who-GEN house-POSS sell-PSV-PAST

b. *Ev-i kim-in sat-ıl-dı?

House-POSS who-GEN sell-PSV-PAST

“Whose house was sold?”

The data in (62) and (63) clearly show that post-nominal domain is almost identical to the post-predicate domain. Both positions host backgrounded information. The genitive marked DPs are positioned in the post-nominal domain, which is after the nominal *ev*- “house”. (62) shows that the constituents in the post-nominal position, the genitive DP in this case, cannot bear stress. And a wh-phrase cannot appear in that position, as well, as in (63). The genitive DPs that are placed after the possessive DPs are also backgrounded because they are less prominent and contain retrievable information. The constituents in the post-nominal position, too, cannot bear stress,

nor can the post-nominal domain host *wh*-phrases. I take these as denoting strong evidence for the existence of syntactic information structure within nominal phrases.

Note that the backgrounded phrases are inside the focus field suggested by Göksel and Özsoy (2000). They argue that there is not a specific focus position in the preverbal domain inside clauses. Constituents can receive focus in any position as long as they are inside the pre-predicate area. Although the genitive phrase and the *wh*-phrase in (62) and (63) are inside the focus field described by Göksel and Özsoy, they are still unable to bear stress, further supporting the claim that nominal phrases possess information structure.

4.2.5 Supporting evidence for the TopP > FocP order

4.2.5.1 DP-internal *wh*-phrases

So far, we have suggested a TopP > FocP order as the left periphery of the Turkish DP. The claim that these projections are in this order finds further support from the behavior of *wh*-elements. Turkish is a *wh*-in-situ language (Akar, 1990; Özsoy 2009), and the data in (64) include two *wh*-phrases within the bracketed nominal phrase, *hangi* “which” and *kim-in* “who-GEN, whose”. Depending on the theoretical approach, Turkish *wh*-phrases can be analyzed either as moving into CP at LF (as in Özsoy, 2009), or as staying in situ by means of an operator in CP.

- (64) a. *[Hangi kim-in elbise-sin]-i beğen-di-n?
 Which who-GEN dress-POSS.3SG-ACC like-PAST-2SG
- b. [Kim-in hangi elbise-sin]-i beğen-di-n?
 Who-GEN which dress-POSS.3SG-ACC like-PAST-2SG
- “Which dress of whom did you like?”

The wh-ordering in (64a) is ungrammatical. As will be shown in Chapter 5, constituents are not allowed to appear above the genitive marked DP, whether they are wh-phrases or not, so *hangi* “which” cannot move above the genitive marked *kim-in* “who-GEN”. The correct order is given in (64b), having the “whose > which” ordering. Since this is a multiple-wh question, it invokes pair-list answers. Büring (2003) argues that a question with two wh-elements has discourse-dependent sub-questions.⁸ The answers to one wh-phrase comprise the contrastive topic (CT), and the answers to the other wh-phrase are the focus phrases. The focused wh-phrase generates a set of propositions, and the other wh-phrase represents the set of questions under discussion, its topic value leading to a set of questions. (65) below represents the possible sub-questions of (64b):

(65) Question: *Kimin hangi elbisesini beğendin?*

“Which dress of whom did you like?”

Sub-questions: *Ayşenin hangi elbisesini beğendin?*

“Which dress of Ayşe did you like?”

Meralin hangi elbisesini beğendin?

“Which dress of Meral did you like?”

Zeynepin hangi elbisesini beğendin?

“Which dress of Zeynep did you like?”

Answers: *Ayşenin mavi elbisesini beğendim.*

“I liked the blue dress of Ayşe’s.”

Meralin kırmızı elbisesini beğendim.

“I liked the red dress of Meral’s.”

Zeynepin uzun elbisesini beğendim.

⁸ I would like to thank E. Guerzoni for suggesting Büring’s (2003) analysis.

The sub-questions indicate that the questioned information is given by *hangi* “which”. *Kimin* “whose” rather represents the set of propositions, that is old information, generating the set of questions under discussion in the discourse. Adopting Büring’s (2003) analysis, we can say that the answers to *kimin* “whose” are contrastive topics, and the answers to *hangi* “which” are foci.

“I liked the blue dress of Meral’s.”

Is it also possible for *hangi* “which” to be a focus that generates a set of propositions and *kimin* “whose” to be a contrastive topic that generates the set of questions under discussion? I will show that this is not possible. The question form in (64b) cannot generate the following sub-questions:

Sub-questions: # Kimin şu elbisesini beğendin?

“That dress of whom did you like?”

Kimin mavi elbisesini beğendin?

“Whose blue dress did you like?”

The sub-questions of the super question are not probable sub-questions, hence the following cannot be answers to the question.

(68) A: *Kim-in hangi elbise-sin-i beğen-di-n?*

Who-GEN which dress-POSS-ACC like-PAST-2SG

“Which dress of whom did you like?”

B: # *Ayşe-nin_{FOC} şu_{CT} elbise-sin-i beğen-di-m.*

Ayşe-GEN that dress-POSS-ACC like-PAST-1SG

“I liked that dress of Ayşe’s.”

B: # *Meral-in_{FOC} mavi_{CT} elbise-sin-i beğen-di-m.*

Meral-GEN blue dress-POSS-ACC like-PAST-1SG

“I liked the blue dress of Meral’s.”

The genitive DPs cannot be marked as foci, and the answers to *hangi* “which”, *şu* “that” and *mavi* “blue”, cannot be contrastive topics. We can conclude from the discussion above that in the multiple-wh question in (64b), *hangi* represents the questioned information, the set of questions, hence being focus, and *kimin* “whose” generates the set of questions under discussion, marking the contrastive topic. *Kimin*, being the contrastive topic, takes a focused wh-phrase *hangi* as its complement. Since the opposite interpretation where *hangi* is the contrastive topic and *kimin* is the focus is not acceptable, the left periphery of the Turkish DP has a strict Contrastive Topic > Focus order. Such compositionality, first forming a set of propositions and then forming a set of questions, seems to require Topic > Focus order in Turkish.

4.2.5.2 Forward gapping

Another piece of evidence in favor of a TopP > FocP order comes from forward gapping structures in Turkish. In forward gapping, particular constituents undergo deletion in the second clause, and only contrasted elements survive. In İnce's (2009) analysis of forward gapping structures in Turkish, remnants of deletion move into Contrastive Topic and Focus projections above the CP. The remnants carry topic and focus features which trigger movement into TopP and FocP. After the movement operations, the CP is deleted. An example is given below:

- (69) Ayla-nın kırmızı çanta-sı var, [TopP Ali-nin] [FocP yeşil] [CP ...]
Ayla-GEN red bag-POSS exist, Ali-GEN green
“Ayla has a red bag, Ali a green one.”

According to İnce (2009), the first remnant is a contrastive topic, being contrasted with the corresponding phrase in the initial clause. In (69), the contrastive topic is *Ali-nin* “Ali-GEN”, and it is compared with *Ayla-nın* “Ayla-GEN” in the preceding clause. The other remnant is a contrastive focus. It is *yeşil* “green” in (69), which is contrasted with *kırmızı* “red” in the first clause.

One can find evidence for a strict ordering of TopP > FocP when wh-phrases are used in forward gapping structures, as shown in (70) and (71):

- (70) a. Ayşe elma-yı ye-di, Ahmet ne-yi ye-di?
Ayşe apple-ACC eat-PAST, Ahmet what-ACC eat-PAST
“Ayşe ate the apple. What did Ahmet eat?”
b. Ayşe elma-yı ye-di, Ahmet ne-yi?
Ayşe apple-ACC eat-PAST, Ahmet what-ACC
“Ayşe ate the apple. What did Ahmet (eat)?”
- (71) a. Ayşe elma-yı ye-di, ne-yi Ahmet ye-di?

Ayşe apple-ACC eat-PAST, what-ACC Ahmet eat-PAST

“Ayşe ate the apple. What did Ahmet eat?”

b. *Ayşe elma-yı ye-di, ne-yi Ahmet?

Ayşe apple-ACC eat-PAST, what-ACC Ahmet

“Ayşe ate the apple. What did Ahmet (eat)?”

In (70), the first remnant *Ahmet* is the contrastive topic, and the latter remnant *ne-yi* “what-ACC” is the contrastive focus. Since the topic – focus order is preserved, (70b) is licensed. In (71), the accusative case-marked “what” precedes *Ahmet*. The wh-phrase is interpreted as contrastive topic. The subject *Ahmet* is in focus position, but it cannot receive focus. Göksel and Özsoy (2000) argue that a focused phrase cannot follow a wh-phrase since wh-phrases in fact possess inherent focus. In (71b), the topic – focus order is violated, thus ungrammatical. The data above show that in Turkish, there seems to be strict TopP > FocP ordering; TopP must precede FocP.

4.2.6 Multiple information structures

Consider the example below:

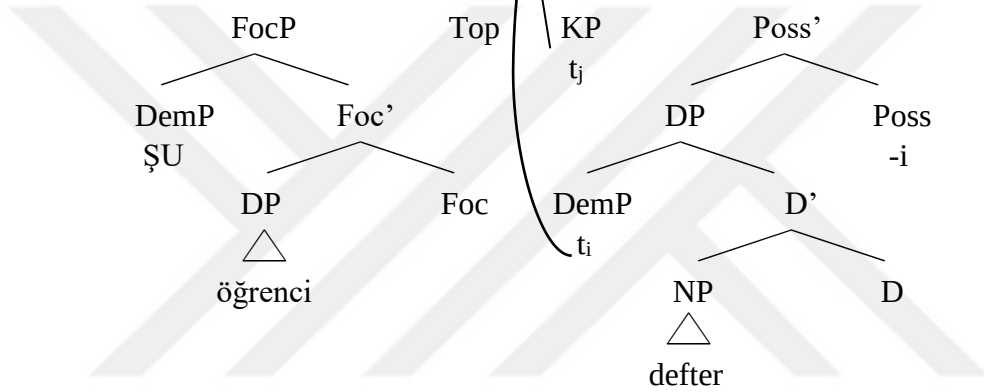
(72) ŞU öğrenci-nin ŞU defter-i

That student-GEN that notebook-POSS

“THAT notebook of THAT student”

Because it is possible to embed another complex nominal phrase into a genitive-possessive construction, one would expect each nominal phrase to display information structure, one in Spec,PossP and one in the maximal KP. That this is possible is demonstrated in (72), whose representation is given in (73):

(73)



In the tree representation above, the maximal KP and the possessor KP in the specifier position of PossP host their own information structure related projections. Inside the highest KP, the demonstrative *şu* “that” which modifies *defter* “notebook” moves into its FocP, and the possessor KP *şU öğrenci-nin* “THAT student-GEN” moves into its TopP. This genitive-marked KP hosts its own topic and focus phrases. The demonstrative *şu* “that” modifying *öğrenci* “student” moves into its FocP.

Similar observations are also relevant for more complex expressions like (74) with multiple PossP embeddings.

- (74) [[[[Öğretmen-in] ŞU öğrenci-si]-nin] ŞU defter-i]
 Teacher-GEN that student-POSS-GEN that notebook-POSS
 “THAT notebook of THAT student of the teacher”

In this example, the highest KP hosts the lower KP *öğretmen-in ŞU öğrenci-si-nin* “teacher-GEN that student-POSS-GEN” in its TopP. In this KP, *şu* “that” is in its FocP and *öğretmen-in* “teacher-GEN” in its TopP.

The data in this section show that each KP is able to project its own TopP and FocP without interfering with each other. Moreover, a phrase that contains constituents that are marked with topic and focus can reside in the TopP of a higher projection.

4.2.7 Alternative analyses

4.2.7.1 Revisiting TopP

The discussion presented in the preceding sections locates adjectives in Spec,TopP in constructions like below:

- (75) *kırmızı ŞU şapka*
red that hat
“THAT red hat”

I discussed in section 4.2.1 that the adjective *kırmızı* “red” moves into TopP and the demonstrative *şu* “that” moves into FocP. However, I also mentioned that the information known to the interlocutors is “red hats”. The known information is not actually “redness” or “red things”, thereby making “red hats” the topic of the expression. In order to derive (75), one may suggest that the whole NP *kırmızı şapka* “red hat” moves into the topic phrase. Because an NP cannot precede a demonstrative, as shown in (76), then we can propose that a “scattered deletion” operation applies in (75), which is originally proposed by Bošković and Nunes (2007).

(76) *[kırmızı şapka] ŞU

red hat that

Intended: “THAT red hat”

Scattered deletion is the deletion of the different parts of a chain in different positions. I suggest that a similar operation is applicable to structures such as those in (75), where different parts of the chain goes under deletion. Such a move will give us the surface structure as in Bošković and Nunes (2007), the operation being realized at the PF level.

(77) [kırmızı şapka] ŞU [kırmızı şapka]

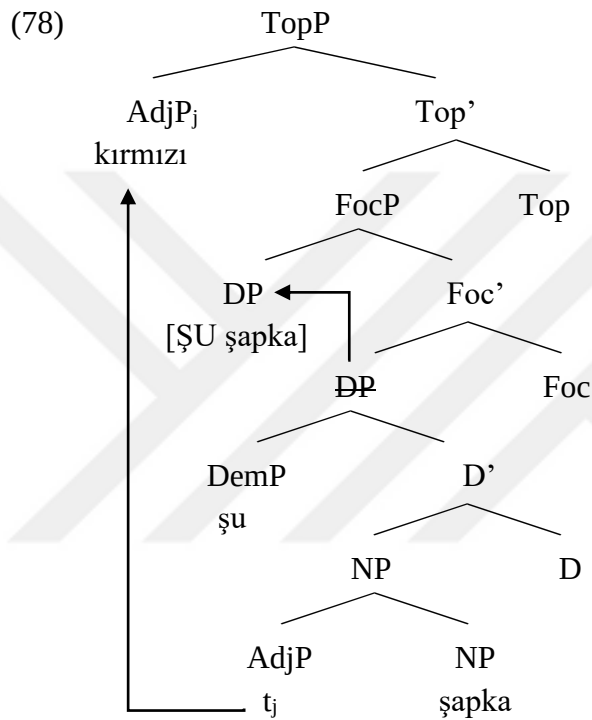
red hat that red hat

When this analysis is extended to genitive-possessive constructions, some problems occur. Recall (57b-c) where I suggested a PossP > DP > NP order. We argued that the genitive DP moves into TopP and the demonstrative into FocP. The topic of such structures is the set of hats that belong to Ayla. Adopting the scattered deletion operation would force us to move the whole possessive phrase *Ayla-nın şu şapka-sı* “Ayla-GEN that hat-POSS” into TopP while *şu* “that” still being in FocP. One possibility is to move *şu* into FocP first, then move the whole PossP into TopP, later applying scattered deletion to delete the corresponding bar level *şapka-sı* “hat-POSS”. Another possibility is to dispense with scattered deletion operation as a whole, stick to the analysis suggested in section 4.2.3 and move only the genitive KP into TopP. Genitive KPs are structurally more different than adjectivals, so it is likely that genitive KPs are able to be topics themselves.

4.2.7.2 Revisiting FocP

The preceding section has talked about an alternative where the whole NP moves into TopP. It is also possible that the whole DP moves into the focus phrase.

Consider (75) once more. As shown below, it is possible that the adjective phrase moves into TopP out of the NP, then the whole DP [~~şu kırmızı~~ şapka] “that red hat” moves into FocP.



In (78), the adjective moves out of the DP [~~şu kırmızı~~ şapka]. Also the DP [~~şu~~ şapka] itself moves into FocP to receive focus. The order of these movements needs more investigation. I leave these two alternative approaches aside for future studies.

4.2.7.3 Focus in situ

Another alternative approach is on the position of the focused phrase. Göksel and Özsoy (2000) argue that there is no specific focus position in Turkish. Rather, as mentioned before, they suggest a focus field inside which certain elements can receive focus without the need for movement. Consider the data below:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------|---------|-------|----|-------------------|---------|-------|
| (79) | a. | ŞU | kırmızı | şapka | b. | şu | kırmızı | ŞAPKA |
| | | that | red | hat | | that | red | hat |
| | | “THAT red hat” | | | | “that red HAT” | | |
| (80) | a. | İKİ | kalın | kitap | b. | iki | kalın | KİTAP |
| | | two | thick | book | | two | thick | book |
| | | “TWO thick books” | | | | “two thick BOOKS” | | |

In (a) expressions above, the initial constituents can receive stress to be interpreted as contrastive focus. In (b) phrases, the head nouns receive focus. The data in (79-80) seem to be suggestive of a focal domain rather than a focus position. However, for (a) phrases, it is possible to argue that only the contrasted phrases, *şu* “that” in (79a) and *iki* “two” in (80a), move into FocP. The rest of the phrase either remains in situ, or moves covertly into TopP to be interpreted as topic. In (b) expressions, the prenominal constituents must be interpreted as topics. In (79b), *şu* “that” and *kırmızı* “red” are topics because it is known in the discourse that the speaker points to a red thing, but it is not a hat. And in (80b), the interlocutors have the information about the number and thickness of the object in question, but that object itself is contrasted. Therefore, it is possible to argue for (b) expressions that the elements preceding the focus move into TopP, and the focused phrase moves into FocP.

I conclude that there is not a strong argument in favor of a focus field inside nominal phrases rather than a focus position. Unless further data are introduced, I will maintain that there is a focus position inside nominal phrases into which focused phrases move.

4.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced information structure in Turkish nominal phrases. I have first shown that the change in the ordering of an adjective and a demonstrative results in changes in interpretation. I have argued that when an adjective precedes a demonstrative, the demonstrative must bear focus, and the adjective is interpreted as the topic of the expression. After presenting evidence for DP-internal information structure in Turkish by means of discussing nominal phrases that have different ordering and different prosodic structure, I have argued that an equivalent of ForceP is needed in order for the nominal phrase to be selected as an argument by a predicate. KP is the equivalent of ForceP. I have shown that genitive-possessive constructions, too, display internal movements triggered by the information structure. PossP resembles the FinP in Rizzi (1997) in terms of structural position. I have also presented supporting evidence for the existence of information structure inside nominals by examining post-nominal domain. It is analogous to post-predicate position in CPs discussed in Erguvanlı (1984) in that it cannot host focus phrases or wh-phrases.

As I have assumed a TopP > FocP order inside the nominal phrase, I have gone over the evidence that supports this ordering of discourse-related projections by analyzing DP-internal wh-phrases, as well as forward gapping structures. Last but not least, I have discussed alternative approaches to the left periphery of Turkish nominal phrases such as the movement of the whole DP into TopP or FocP, which requires more investigation.

CHAPTER 5

EXTRACTION DOMAINS AND THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE CP AND THE DP

This chapter will shortly introduce the relation between the left periphery of the CP and the DP in Section 5.1 and the extraction properties out of the nominal domain in Section 5.2. Section 5.3 summarizes the chapter.

5.1 CP-level and DP-level information structure

After working out an outline of the left periphery of Turkish nominal phrases, one important question that remains to be asked is: what should be the interaction between clausal information structure and nominal information structure? Starting with topic phrases, it seems that one sentence can have more than one TopP. This case is also in line with Rizzi's (1997) argument that topic is recursive.

- (81) a. Ben_{TOP} [kırmızı_{TOP} ŞU elbise-yi] beğen-di-m.
I red that dress-ACC like-PAST-1SG
“I liked THAT red dress.”
- b. Ben_{TOP} [Ayşe-nin_{TOP} kırmızı_{TOP} ŞU elbise-sin]-i
I Ayşe-GEN red that dress-POSS-ACC
beğen-di-m.
like-PAST-1SG
“I liked THAT red dress of Ayşe's.”

As seen in (81a), both topic phrases are licensed, one being sentential-level *ben* “I”, the other being nominal-level *kırmızı* “red”. Consequently, *ben* resides in the TopP of the CP, and *kırmızı* moves to the TopP of the bracketed DP. (81b) further shows that

besides the CP, the DP can host two topic phrases *Ayşe-nin* “Ayşe-GEN” and *kırmızı* “red”.

The recursiveness of focus phrases is a more complicated issue. Rizzi (1997) argues that focus is not recursive. In the model that I have proposed, both the CP and the DP should be able to project their own FocPs. Considering (82) below, many native speakers of Turkish find the sentence grammatical.

- (82) ?[Kırmızı ŞU elbise-yi] BEN beğen-di-m.
 red that dress-ACC I like-PAST-1SG
 “I liked THAT red dress.”

In (82), *şu* “that” is the nominal FocP, and *ben* “I” is the clausal FocP. For those speakers who find (82) acceptable, a sentence can have one focus phrase in nominal information structure and one in clausal information structure. Both focus phrases have contrastive readings. The issue is intricate with respect to those speakers who find (82) unacceptable when a sentence has more than one contrastive FocP. The following data will show that the difficulty of interpreting multiple foci in a single sentence does not result from the number of focus phrases, but from a deeper mechanism that prevent multiple contrastive foci from being processed (recall that multiple foci in complex possessive phrases in (72) and (74) are licensed). In the example below, a structure has two CPs, one being an embedded clause, and both of them project a FocP. Although the FocPs are inside different clauses, speakers who regard (82) unacceptable also find (83) uninterpretable.

- (83) ?[[_{CP} Sırf BEN beğen-di-m diye] kırmızı ŞU elbise-yi
 Only I like-PAST-1SG PART red that dress-ACC
 değiş-tir-di]
 change-CAUS-PAST

“Just because *I* liked (it), she changed THAT red dress.”

The focus phrase *ben* “I” is inside the embedded clause, and the other focus phrase *şu* “that” is inside the matrix clause. The FocPs are in two separate CPs, but (83) is still unacceptable for those native speakers who judge (82) to be ungrammatical.

More interestingly, multiple contrastive foci are difficult to interpret even in two separate sentences. Consider the example in (84):

- (84) ?Ali-nin DEFTER-İ kaybol-du. ARKADAŞ-I
 Ali-GEN notebook-ACC get.lost-PAST. Friend-POSS
 bul-du.
 find-PAST

“The student’s NOTEBOOK was lost. His FRIEND found it.”

In (84), the FocP *defter-i* “notebook-ACC” is in the first sentence, and the other FocP *arkadaş-ı* “friend-POSS” is in the latter sentence. Both are clause-level FocPs. Nevertheless, the speakers who judge (82) and (83) to be uninterpretable find (84) difficult to interpret. In conclusion, the problem with having both CP-internal and DP-internal focus results from discourse-specific issues. It is not due to the incongruence of CP-level and DP-level information structure. The difficulty to interpret multiple foci seems to be caused by some discourse-related mechanism that does not allow more than one contrastive focus in the discourse. This problem is way beyond the scope of this paper, so I leave it as a possible future study.

In addition, a nominal phrase that possesses information structure can move into a discourse-related phrase inside the CP, as exemplified below:

- (85) [Kırmızı ŞU elbise] ise oldukça güzel.
 red that dress PART quite beautiful

“As for THAT red dress, it is quite beautiful.”

The bracketed KP in (85) has its own TopP and FocP projected. That KP is under the scope of the particle *ise*, which functions as a topicalizer. The use of that particle indicates that the whole bracketed phrase is a topic. The KP that carries TopP and FocP is inside the TopP of the CP. What (85) displays is that a KP that projects a TopP and FocP can be inside the TopP of a clause.

5.2 Extraction out of the nominal phrases

Proceeding further into the interaction between the CP and the DP, another case to be considered is the extraction out of nominal phrases for movement into higher clauses. In this subsection, it will be shown that possessive phrases have the properties of a phase. Svenonious (2004) and Bošković (2016) argue that in addition to the CP and the vP, the DP constitutes a phase, as well. Bošković (2016) further claims that in languages which do not possess the category DP, the NP is a phase. Their argumentation is mainly based on what can be extracted out of a nominal phrase and what cannot. For Turkish, consider the data below:

- (86) a. kırmızı_i ŞU [t_i şapka]
 red that hat
 “THAT red hat”
- b. *kırmızı_i Ali-nin [t_i şapka]-sı
 red Ali-GEN hat-POSS
 “Ali’s red hat”
- c. *kırmızı_i ALİ-NİN [t_i şapka]-sı
 red Ali-GEN hat-POSS
 Intended: “ALİ’S red hat”

For (86a), I were discussing that the adjective moves up from its base generated position into TopP and the demonstrative into FocP. When the expression is a genitive-possessive construction, the adjective cannot move above the genitive-marked possessor, regardless of the information structure of the expression. In (86b), the genitive possessor does not receive any stress, and it cannot also bear stress unlike the demonstrative as in (86c). In both cases, the adjective cannot move above the genitive possessor. I argue that this is due to the fact that PossP acts as a phase and does not allow the extraction of phrases lower than PossP. Furthermore, it seems that only the genitive phrase can be extracted out of the nominal phrase in which it is generated.

- (87) a. Murat-ın_i ben dün [t_i araba-sın-ı] kullan-dı-m.
 Murat-GEN I yesterday car-POSS-ACC use-PAST-1SG
 b. Ben dün [t_i araba-sın-ı] kullan-dı-m Murat-ın_i.
 I yesterday car-POSS-ACC use-PAST-1SG Murat-GEN
 “I drove Murat’s car yesterday.”

- (88) a. *Bu_i Murat [t_i araba-yı] beğen-di.
 This Murat car-ACC like-PAST
 b. *Murat [t_i araba-yı] beğen-di bu_i.
 Murat car-ACC like-PAST this
 “Murat liked this car.”

- (89) a. *Pahalı_i Murat [t_i araba-yı] beğen-di.
 Expensive Murat car-ACC like-PAST
 b. *Murat [t_i araba-yı] beğen-di pahalı_i.
 Murat car-ACC like-PAST expensive
 “Murat liked the expensive car.”

As seen in (87), the genitive phrase *Murat-ın* “Murat-GEN” can move out of its base position into clause-initial or clause-final position. Such kind of extraction is banned for demonstratives and modifiers like adjectives. the demonstrative *bu* “this” in (88) and the adjective *pahalı* “expensive” in (89) cannot be extracted from the nominal phrase, unlike the genitive phrase. The data above provide evidence for the claim that the possessive phrase is a phase and the genitives are positioned on its edge. The genitive phrases are in the specifier position of PossP, thus on the edge. They are available for further operations such as extraction. Adjectives and demonstratives, on the other hand, are below the PossP, hence not on the edge. They are positioned inside the domain of the phase where they are frozen and cannot undergo any operation. Their extraction out of the nominal phrase is thus ungrammatical.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have shown a preliminary analysis on the interaction between the CP and the DP in terms of information structure and extraction out of nominal phrases. Both the CP and the DP can host their own TopPs and TopP is recursive in both domains. Projection of FocPs in both domains is more complicated. Some native speakers of Turkish are able to interpret sentences where FocP is projected both in the CP and the DP. Some other speakers do not find such structures acceptable. I have shown cases where the projection of two focus phrases is not acceptable even in two separate CPs for these speakers. I have concluded that the reasons are discourse-related rather than being related to the interaction between CP-level and DP-level information structure.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have proposed a fine left periphery in Turkish nominal phrases. Before proposing a syntactic representation of this left periphery, I have argued that Turkish projects a DP layer where demonstratives are base generated. The feature specifications of demonstratives are different than adjectives and numerals. Demonstratives require accusative case marking on the object and genitive case marking on embedded subjects in contrast with adjectives and numerals. I have shown that demonstratives are not prenominal adjectives as Öztürk (2005) claims. Rather, adjectives and numerals are adjunctions to the NP layer. Regarding genitive-possessive constructions in Turkish, I have proposed that the DP is dominated by a PossP, whose head is the possessive marker *-(s)ı*. It checks the genitive case of the possessor DP, or KP.

Proceeding to the representation of information structure in Turkish nominal phrases, I have proposed a TopP > FocP order as the left periphery. I have shown that DP-internal movements raise interpretational differences and argue that these differences result from the fact that nominal constituents move into these TopP and FocP projections. For instance, an adjective can be interpreted as the topic of the nominal construction, thereby moving into TopP, and a demonstrative can bear prosodic focus, being marked as contrastive focus in FocP. I have also shown that, in addition to topic and focus inside the nominal phrase, a postnominal position also exists similar to a postverbal position in CPs. Both postverbal and postnominal positions accommodate backgrounded information since a focused phrase or a wh-phrase cannot occur there. On top of these layers, I have proposed a KP (Kornfilt,

2003, 2009) as the topmost functional projection closing the nominal construction. Cases are heads in KPs.

I have also shown that each nominal phrase has its own left periphery. In a complex possessive construction, both the higher and the lower KPs can have their own topicalized and focalized constituents. This is also true of DP-internal and CP-internal information structure. For some Turkish speakers, the left peripheries of the CP and the DP do not interact with each other, and each has its own topic and focus phrases. For those who find multiple foci uninterpretable in a sentence, I have presented data where multiple foci are not acceptable when particular sentences are articulated one after another. Additionally, I have shown that the KP itself with its left periphery can move into TopP or FocP of the CP.

Furthermore, I presented a preliminary representation of the phasal domain of nominal phrases in Turkish. I have shown that PossP behaves as a phase, with its specifier position being the phase edge. The genitive-marked possessors are positioned on the phasal edge, so they are able leave the nominal domain to move up further. On the other hand, other nominal constituents such as demonstratives and adjectives cannot leave the nominal domain because they are not on the phasal edge. Their extraction violates the PIC.

Proceeding to issues that need to be further investigated, a more thorough analysis on the phase structure of nominal phrases need to be done in order to determine which layers constitute phasal domains and which are not. For instance, the phasal status of the KP needs more investigation.

Another issue has to do with the recursiveness of FocPs. More elaborate research is needed to establish whether FocP is recursive or not, or whether there is speaker variation.

Last but not least, which categories can be topics or foci inside a nominal phrase requires more research, as I also mentioned in Chapter 4. For instance, whether demonstratives and adjectives can be topics or foci themselves is not an issue that can be resolved in this thesis. I leave all those issues I have mentioned for future studies.



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