

ON WORD ORDER IN GOSTIVAR TURKISH

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## ABSTRACT

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by

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This study, first, determines whether G.T. is a free word order language or a configurational language. An analysis of quantifier scope relations in simplex structures in G.T. suggests that G.T. is a configurational language. Hence, a question is raised as to whether G.T. is SVO or SOV language. Focus and quantifier scope relations are used as a testing ground. Simplex sentences with a postverbal complement can receive both focused and non-focused reading on the postverbal complement in G.T, a fact which provides an evidence for the underlyingly SVO structure. It is also evident that in G.T. simplex sentences with a preverbal complement can receive both focused and non-focused reading on the preverbal complement, indicating that such constructions are SOV. Evidence from the structures with quantifier phrases also implies that both SVO and SOV structures are base generated in G.T.

The study also gives a description of the word order at phrasal level. The analysis of the phrasal categories shows that there are some phrasal projections which are strictly head-final as well as those which show a variation between head-final and head-initial nature.

Furthermore, wh – constructions are analyzed, the evidence of which shows that wh-constructions in G.T. reveal SOV properties.

In conclusion, the study argues that G.T. exhibits properties of a language undergoing a syntactic change with respect to word order. The evidence shows the co-existence of both SOV and SVO structures as base generated in G.T. The SOV nature of G.T. is seen as a result of the fact that G.T. is a Turkic language which is SOV. On the other hand, the SVO properties of G.T. can be argued to reflect the influence of the surrounding IE languages, i.e. Macedonian and Albanian, which are SVO languages.

## KISA ÖZET

Bu çalışma Gostivar Türkçesinin tümce yapısını incelemekte ve öncelikle tümce diziliş özelliklerini saptamayı amaçlamaktadır. Gostivar Türkçesinde basit tümce yapılarındaki niceliyicilerin etki alanları bu dilin aşamalı bir düzene sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu da Gostivar Türkçesinin özne-nesne-yüklem (ÖNY) ve özne-yüklem-nesne (ÖYN) dizilişlerinden hangisini sergilediğini sorusunu gündeme getirmektedir. Çalışmada bu sorunun yanıtlanmasında sınama aracı olarak odaklama ile niceliyicilerin açısı arasındaki ilişkiler incelenmiştir. Eylem-arkası konumunda bulunan tümleçlerin odaklanabilmesi Gostivar Türkçesinin derin yapıda ÖYN dizilişine sahip olduğunu gösteren bir kanıt olarak alınmıştır. Aynı biçimde eylem-öncesi konumunda bulunan bir tümleçin odaklanabilmesi, Gostivar Türkçesinin derin yapıda ÖNY dizilişine de sahip olduğu sonucunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ayrıca niceliyici öbekli yapılar da Gostivar Türkçesinin derin yapıda ÖYN ve ÖNY dizilişlerinin bulunduğunu göstermektedir.

Bu çalışma ayrıca öbek düzeyi sözcük dizilişinin özelliklerini betimlemektedir. Öbek ulamlarına ilişkin çözümleme ön başlı ve son başlı öbek yansımalarının yanısıra katı bir biçimde son başlı öbek yansımalarının da bulunduğunu göstermektedir.

Çalışmada ayrıca NE-sözcüklü soru yapıları da çözümlenmiştir. Bulgular Gostivar Türkçesinde NE-yapılarının ÖNY özelliklerine sahip olduğunu göstermektedir.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma Gostivar Türkçesinin sözcük dizilişine ilişkin olarak sözdizimsel değişime uğrayan dil özellikleri sergilediğini öne sürmektedir. Bulgular

Gostivar Türkçesinde ÖYN ve ÖNY yapılarının derin yapıda üretildiğini göstermektedir. Gostivar Türkçesinin ÖNY özelliği Gostivar Türkçesinin sözcük dizilişi ÖNY olan bir Türk dili olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Öte yandan, Gostivar Türkçesinin sergilediği ÖYN özelliklerinin, sözcük dizilişi ÖYN olan çevredeki Hint-Avrupa dillerinin (Makedonca, Arnavutça) etkisi ile açıklanmıştır.

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Aim and Scope

The aim of this study is to determine whether Gostivar Turkish (henceforth G.T.) is a free word order language or a configurational language. If the latter, the study also aims at determining whether it is SOV or SVO.

The discussion is held within the theoretical framework of GB ( Government and Binding) theory as developed by Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1986). A synopsis of the theoretical framework assumed within this thesis is given in the second part of this chapter.

Chapter Two describes the word order of G.T. phrasal categories with respect to the position of the heads within the phrasal projections. The chapter presents evidence that G.T. exhibits both head -initial and head-final properties with respect to the structure of its phrasal categories.

The properties of word order at the sentential level are investigated in Chapter Three. The chapter first attempts to determine whether G.T. is configurational or non-configurational. Evidence is presented through quantifier scope relations wherein it is argued that G.T. is configurational. Quantifier scope relations and focus provide evidence for the co-existent SOV and SVO structures in G.T.

Chapter Four focuses on the word order of Wh-constructions in G.T. wherein it is shown that Wh-constructions exhibit syntactic properties of an SOV structure in

nature.

An attempt to account for the head-initial and head-final nature of the projections in G.T. is given in the concluding chapter.

Analysis in this study was mainly based on the data reflecting the language intuitions of the informants.

## 1.2. Theoretical Framework

With Hale's (1980) classification of languages into those that are configurational and those that are non-configurational a new dimension has emerged in the principles and parameters era. A configurational language is viewed with a hierarchical structure, whereby subject-object asymmetry is present, while a non-configurational language is associated with flat phrase structure.

Ever since Hale's work, various scholars approached configurational languages as those with phrase-structural VPs (Saito and Hoji 1984) and non-configurational languages as those that lack VPs, wherein all phrases in a sentence appear in a symmetrical relation to the verb and the word-order is free.

Thus, in accordance with Hale's (1980) "configurationality parameter", certain languages were classified as configurational, others as non-configurational. For instance, with respect to word order flexibility, Hale (1980) classified Japanese as a non-configurational language with a flat phrase structure. Hale's non-configurational assumption comprises two components according to which:

- a. The possible word orders are all *base-generated*.
- b. The choice among them is strictly *optional*.

Ever since Hale's inceptive study, an area in linguistic research has focused on investigating the configurationality properties of the languages that Hale claims are configurational or non-configurational. Saito and Hoji (1983) showed that languages such as Japanese are in fact configurational (like English) with a hierarchical structure. According to their analysis, free word order derives by scrambling, a strictly optional movement operation that is responsible for flexible word order (e.g. Fukui 1993, Hoji 1985, Saito 1985, 1992, Tada 1989, 1993) taken from Miyagawa (1997).

However, Miyagawa (1997) argues that the apparent "free word order" in languages like Japanese is not really free. He shows that scrambling does not constitute a strictly optional movement. Each word order is distinct and motivated by some syntactic or semantic consideration. The two word orders, i.e. IO-DO and DO-IO for VP-internal word order permutation, are viewed as being base-generated instead of as one being derived from the other. For IP-adjunction scrambling, he gives a number of arguments that A-scrambling is driven by a Case agreement feature, and  $\bar{A}$ -scrambling is motivated by an operation like focus. In Miyagawa (1997), following the general framework of Mahajan (1990), it is proposed that A-movement scrambling is due to some features associated with the local T. In Miyagawa (1999) it is proposed that the relevant feature on T is the EPP. Thus, A-movement scrambling is triggered by the EPP. An important result of his analysis is that the A-movement scrambling environment has a "nonconfigurational" form as originally proposed by Hale, but instantiated within a configurational structure, thus capturing Hale's initial intuition about free word order and structure. The configurationality parameter on this account reduces to whether a language has a particular type of verbal movement to T at overt syntax.

Summarizing Hale's approach, i.e. whether non-configurational languages are word-order free, lack (genuinely syntactic) movement rules, and lack (at least some kinds of) empty categories Kornfilt (1994) notes that at first glance there seems to be a paradox with respect to freedom in word order. She raises the question as to how languages can lack movement rules, if they are word order free.

Kornfilt (1994) compares and contrasts Hale's approach with that of the "traditional" generative grammar. In "traditional" generative grammar approaches, she claims, deviations from a basic word – order have been assumed to be due to "Scrambling" rules. The basic word-order in a language is generated by the phrase-structure component (via principles of X'-Syntax), and the transformational component of the syntax (i.e. essentially Move- $\alpha$ ) derives all other orders. Within Hale's approach, on the other hand, she notes that, although non-configurational languages would exhibit effects of "Scrambling", such variation in word order would not be due to Move- $\alpha$ ; rather, this would be the result of just one central base rule (Kornfilt 1994):

$$(1) X' \rightarrow W^* X$$

where  $W^*$  stands for a sequence of zero or more categories that are maximal projections (perhaps NP or S'), and X is the head of the maximal projection X'.

Kornfilt (1994) also points out that the rule (1) would also explain the ease with which non-configurational languages "elide" constituents. Since the term  $W^*$  does not specify how many occurrences of maximal projections need to be realized, the number of such occurrences will be free. She notes that within this framework instances of missing constituents will not be instances of empty categories in non-

configurational languages. In configurational languages, on the other hand, the existence of empty categories will be assumed, since the Projection Principle (cf. Chomsky 1981) will dictate their existence: selectional properties of lexical items are preserved throughout all levels of syntactic representation. Hence, wherever a constituent which is specified in the lexical entry of an item like a verb is missing, Kornfilt observes that it is assumed that the missing constituent is not phonologically realized, but the syntactic position is nevertheless existent in the syntactic structure. It is a corollary of this approach that the Projection Principle would not hold for non-configurational languages. Kornfilt further claims that Turkish exhibits some evidence for genuine syntactic movement, and also that the language has a variety of different kinds of empty categories, in particular, empty categories that behave like variables, i.e. entities that are A-bound and correspond to wh-traces in languages like English. It has empty categories that are (non-overt) A-bound anaphors (in parallel to NP-traces of languages like English). Further, Turkish also has the empty pronominal *pro* as well as the anaphoric pronominal *PRO*. The evidence Kornfilt presents in favor of Turkish being a configurational language is based on facts of subject/object asymmetries and processes referring to VP (-like) constituents, implying hierarchical phrase structure.\* Kornfilt adds that there are some facts about pronominal reference, discussed by Erguvanlı-Taylan (1986), which suggest that both c-command (a hierarchical notion) and linear sequence are important. In determining free versus disjoint reference for pronouns in Turkish, Kornfilt notes, however, that it might well be true that with respect to a variety of syntactic phenomena even clear-cut configurational languages integrate linearity (i.e.

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\* As an evidence for VP as a constituent in Turkish, Kornfilt presents the “*öyle* - pronominalization” syntactic process wherein identical sequences in conjunctions are replaced by using the free morpheme *öyle*, i.e. *Ben kitabı Ahmete vereceğim, Mehmet de öyle.*, \**Ben kitabı Ahmede vereceğim, Mehmet de gazeteyi öyle.*

precedence relations) with hierarchical relations. If so, Turkish might not be very different from such languages in this regard.

Kelepir (1996) and Kural (1997) argue against Kayne's (1994) claim that some languages with the surface SOV are head-initial. Kayne (1997) notes that arguments in favor of the head-initial structure of SOV languages have been presented for Dutch and German based on evidence from children learning these languages. Based on the fact that both languages are predominantly prepositional, have postnominal complements inside noun phrase, and inflected verbs appear on the left due to the verb-second phenomenon, they claim these languages have a head-initial structure.

Kural (1997), on the other hand claims that none of these is a factor in Turkish, so children learning the language have no empirical reason to assume a head-initial structure. In fact, data regarding quantifier scope relations indicate that they do not make this assumption, and that the Turkish SOV is truly head-final. Kural states that, since head-initial structures can also produce the SOV order, one may conjecture that it is a marked option for languages to be head-final though possibly just as natural as left-handedness is for humans. This would imply that right-branching is not the universal rule and that left-branching is a legitimate but perhaps more restricted option. Kural also adds that the availability of head-final structures and/or languages indicates that LCA (the Linear Correspondence Axiom) is stated too strongly in Kayne (1994) and must be relaxed to accommodate the attested crosslinguistic variation. Kayne's prohibition against head-final structures comes about when the LCA is applied to order heads and the material inside their complements. Kural proposes that one way to avoid this result is to relativize the LCA with respect to heads and specifiers, separately from the  $X^0$  heads. This would

produce a universal SO order in accordance with the dominance of SOV, SVO, and VSO languages, and order heads (including verbs and inflectional heads) independently as if they belonged to a different tier. Once the LCA is fine tuned enough to incorporate the observations made above, states Kural, it will become a much more effective principle of Universal Grammar.

Kelepir (1996) also argues against Kayne's (1994) claim providing evidence for Turkish wherein structures with the constituents that must occur in the immediately preverbal position such as non-specific objects, focused constituents and wh-phrases imply that the Antisymmetry Theory of Kayne must propose obligatory movement rules to move these constituents to the immediately preverbal position. She gives an analysis of non-specific objects which also suggests that the complement is base-generated to the left of the verb in Turkish, not to the right as expected by the Antisymmetry Theory.

## Chapter II

# HEAD-INITIAL AND HEAD-FINAL CONSTRUCTIONS AT PHRASAL LEVEL

### 2.1. Introduction

Gostivar Turkish (G.T) is an agglutinative language with morphological case – marking, postpositions, and head – final constructions. At the phrasal level, there are some phrasal projections which are strictly head-final as well as those which show a variation between head-final and head-initial nature. Thus, while adjective phrases, for example, with respect to Spec – head ordering are strictly head-final, those with NP complements and PP adjuncts may be both head-final and head-initial. Adpositional phrases are mainly head-final. The order of elements in a NP, on the other hand, reflects a variation from a more typical head-final sequencing in that where adjuncts which are projections of lexical categories like AP both precede and follow the head, and also clausal adjuncts may be both head-initial and head-final. Hence, G.T. seems to exhibit properties of a language undergoing syntactic change with respect to word order.

In the following discussion, first the structures of adjective phrases will be presented, and then those of adpositional phrases and noun phrases will be discussed respectively.

## 2.1. Adjective Phrase

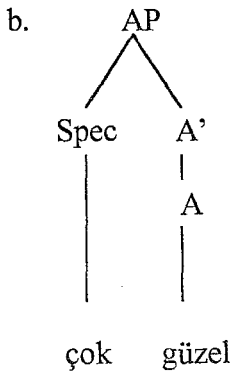
In this section examples of simplex adjective phrases in G.T. will be discussed.

### 2.1.1. Simplex APs

Simplex adjective phrases are phrasal projections with or without an overt specifier, NP complements, and PP adjuncts.

Consider the following example in which ‘çok’ occurs in [SPEC, AP]. (1a) is the S-structure of the AP, (1b) is its structural representation. Note that (1c) illustrates that the relative order in (1a) is obligatory.

(1) a. çok güzel  
       very pretty  
       ‘very pretty’



c. \* güzel çok

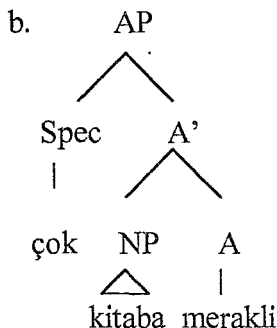
The examples presented above are manifestations of a simplex AP structure with an overt specifier and no complements or adjuncts. Note that the adverb in the SPEC position precedes the head 'güzel'. Variation in the word order of the elements in the above presented AP leads to the ungrammaticality of (1c). Thus, it can be said that simplex APs with overt specifiers are strictly head-final in G.T.

### *APs with NP Complements*

In G.T., NP complements in AP may occur both before and after the head. Consider the following example in which an AP with a NP-complement functions as an adjunct of a NP:

- (2)a. [[çok [kitab-a]<sub>NP</sub> merakli]<sub>AP</sub> kadın]<sub>NP</sub><sup>\*</sup>  
 very book-Dat interested woman  
 'a woman very much interested in books'

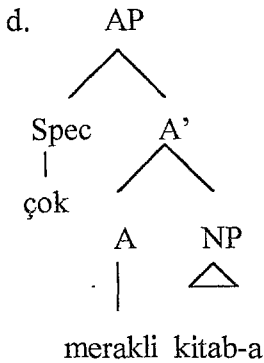
The representation of the above adjunct phrase is given in (2b):



\* The orthography used for G.T. data reflects the phonology of the language. General properties of the G.T. phonology will be presented in Appendix II.

- c. [[[çok] merakli ]<sub>AP</sub> kitab-a]<sub>AP</sub> kadın]<sub>NP</sub>  
 very interested book-Dat woman  
 ‘a woman very much interested in books’

The representation of the adjunct phrase in (2c) is given in (2d):



- e. [kadın [çok [kitab-a]<sub>NP</sub> merakli]<sub>AP</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 woman very book-Dat interested  
 ‘a woman very much interested in books’
- f. [kadın [[[çok] merakli ]<sub>AP</sub> kitab-a]<sub>AP</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 woman very interested book-Dat  
 ‘a woman very much interested in books’

In (2a-b) the NP complement ‘kitaba’ precedes the head ‘merakli’, yielding a head-final construction which may contain a head final AP. In (2c-d) on the other hand, the order of the elements reflects a variation from a head-final sequencing. Note that the NP complement follows the head in (2c-d). Hence, it can be said that the maximal projections of adjective phrases with NP complements are both head-final and head-initial. Also note that the AP with NP complement in (2a-f) functions as an adjunct of a NP, whereby in (2a-d) it follows the N-head, while in (2e-f)

precedes the N-head. Whether they are both base generated orders or whether one is derived from the other will be discussed later.

Note that both orders are also possible in those cases in which the AP functions as predicative adjective. Consider the following example:

- (3)a. O kadın [kitab-a merakli].  
 that woman book-Acc interested  
 ‘That woman is interested in books’
- b. O kadın [merakli kitab-a].  
 that woman interested book-Acc  
 ‘That woman is interested in books’

In (3a) the NP complement ‘kitaba’ precedes the predicative adjective ‘merakli’, yielding a head-final construction. However, (3b) is an example of a head-initial construction in which the NP complement follows the predicate of the clause. Note that further details of such constructions will be given in the section on word order of sentence constituents.

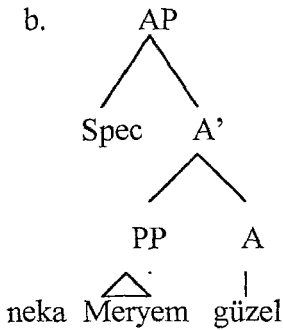
### *APs with PP adjuncts*

The position of the head with respect to its PP adjuncts exhibits word order properties similar to those in APs with NP complements. Thus, APs with PP adjuncts have variants both of head-final and head-initial nature.

Consider the following example in which an AP functions as an adjunct NP:

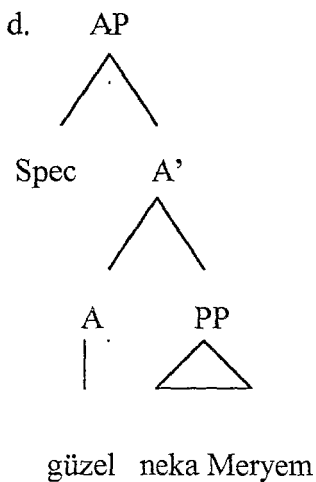
- (4)a. [[[neka\* Meryem]<sub>PP</sub> güzel]<sub>AP</sub> kız]<sub>NP</sub>  
 as much as Meryem beautiful girl  
 ‘a girl as beautiful as Meryem’

The representation of the adjunct phrase in (4a) is given in (4b):



- c. [[[ güzel [neka Meryem]<sub>PP</sub>]<sub>AP</sub> kız]<sub>NP</sub>  
 beautiful as much as Meryem girl  
 ‘a girl beautiful as much as Meryem’

(4d) is the representation of the adjunct phrase in (4c):



\* “neka” seems to be a preposition here. It is assumed to be a shortened form of “nekadar”. The [neka Meryem] construction seems to be a loan structure with translation. Note that [neka Meryem] corresponds to Macedonian [kolku Meryem]. ‘kolku’ means ‘as much as’, ‘what’.

e. [kız [[neka Meryem]<sub>PP</sub> güzel]<sub>AP</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 girl as much as Meryem beautiful  
 ‘a girl as beautiful as Meryem’

f. [kız [[ güzel [neka Meryem]<sub>PP</sub> ]<sub>AP</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>  
 girl beautiful as much as Meryem  
 ‘a girl as beautiful as Meryem’

In (4a-b) the adjunct PP ‘neka Meryem’ precedes the head adjective, yielding a head-final construction. However, (4c-d) are variant examples with head-initial construction, the PP adjunct following the head. Thus, the maximal projections of adjective phrases with PP adjuncts in G.T. are both head-final and head-initial in nature. Further, (4e-f) are examples in which the AP functioning as an adjunct of NP follows the N-head in contrast to (4a-d) where it precedes the N-head. Note that both orders are also possible in those cases in which the AP functions as the predicate of the clause. Consider the following example:

(5)a. Merve [[neka Meryem] güzel].  
 Merve as much as Meryem beautiful  
 ‘Merve is as beautiful as Meryem’

b. Merve [[ güzel [neka Meryem].  
 Merve beautiful as much as Meryem  
 ‘Merve is as beautiful as Meryem’

In (5a) the PP adjunct precedes the predicative adjective yielding a head-final construction. However, (5b) is an example of a variant word order in which the PP adjunct follows the predicate yielding a head-initial construction. Therefore, it can be said that APs in G.T. function either as adjuncts or as predicative adjectives. With respect to word order facts both are head-final and head-initial.

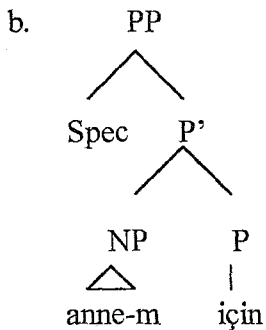
## 2.2. Adpositional Phrases

In this section PPs with canonical postpositions as head will be discussed.

### *PPs with canonical postpositions*

Adpositional phrases formed with canonical postpositions as head are strictly head-final in G.T. Consider the following examples:

(6)a. anne-m için  
 mother-1sg for  
 'for my mother'



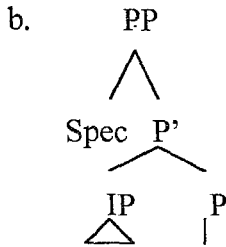
c. \* için annem

In (6a-b) the head 'için' is a postposition. The NP complement 'annem' precedes the head yielding a head-final construction. The ungrammaticality of (6c) shows that no variation is allowed in the order of the elements in such constructions, providing evidence to the fact that these structures are head-final.

Note that postpositions in clausal complements also behave in a similar manner.

Consider the following examples:

(7)a. [ Gostivar-a gitmek] üzere  
 Gostivar-Dat go-Inf about  
 ‘about to go to Gostivar’



Gostivar'a gitmek üzere

c.\* üzere [Gostivar'a gitmek]

Similar to (6a-b), in (7a-b) the clausal complement ‘Gostivar’a gitmek’ precedes the head ‘üzere’. The alternative structure in which the clausal complement follows the head is not possible, as can be observed by the ungrammaticality of (7c). Thus, it can be said that in G.T. the maximal projections of adpositional phrases with canonical postpositions as heads are strictly head-final.

### 2.3. Noun Phrases

Noun phrases will be treated in two categories, where the distinction will be

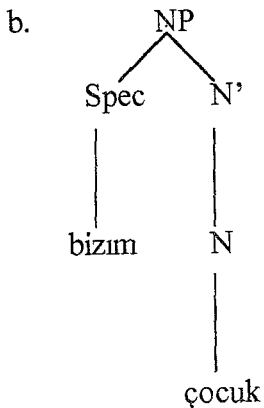
based on the presence / lack of a sentential complement or adjunct. Those NPs with a sentential complement or adjunct will be labelled as ‘complex’ NPs, those with no sentential complement or adjunct will be referred to as ‘simplex’ NPs.

### 2.3.1. Simplex Noun Phrases

Simplex Noun Phrases are phrasal projections with or without an overt specifier, and DemP or AP adjuncts. Since word order of elements in a phrase is of main concern in this chapter, examples provided for simplex NPs will be those of NPs with overt specifiers, and overt adjuncts.

Consider the following example in which ‘bizim’ occurs in [Spec,NP]:

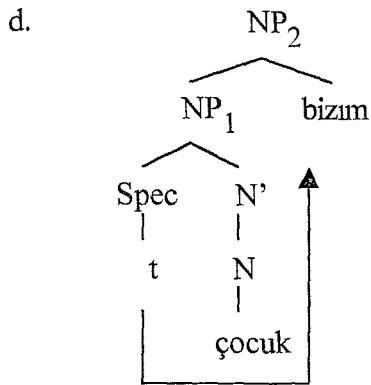
(8)a. bizim çocuk\*  
 our boy  
 ‘our boy’




---

\* Note that (8a) is taken as basic since the informants identify it as the unmarked structure.

c. çocuk bizim  
 boy ours  
 'our boy'



In (8a-b) the head 'çocuk' follows the specifier 'bizim', as a result of which the maximal projection of simple noun phrases is head-final. However, considering the examples of (8c-d) the specifier can also follow the head.\* These structures have a different reading from that of (8a-b). They are derived by movement of the specifier.

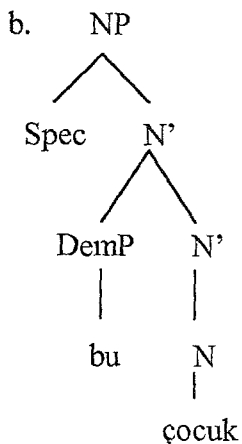
The two adjunct categories within a NP, DemP and AP, behave in a similar manner in that both occur in the pre-head position. Each of them will be discussed respectively.

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\* Note that the informants identify it as a marked structure with a stress on 'bizim'. Whether the movement in (8c-d) is a result of focus or any other pragmatic condition needs further investigation.

NPs with DemP adjuncts are strictly head-final in G.T. Consider the following example:

- (9)a. bu çocuk  
       this boy  
       ‘this boy’

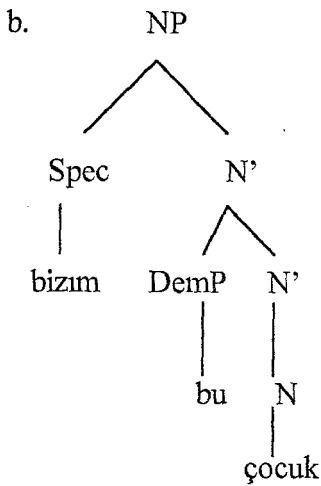


- c.\* çocuk bu

In (9a-b) the DemP adjunct ‘bu’ precedes the head ‘çocuk’, yielding head-final construction. (9c) shows that no other variant of (9a-b) is possible. Hence, NPs with DemP adjuncts are strictly head-final. Note that a demonstrative pronoun occurs in adjunct position (9a-b) since the position of Spec is already filled by a possessive pronoun, as in (10a-b).

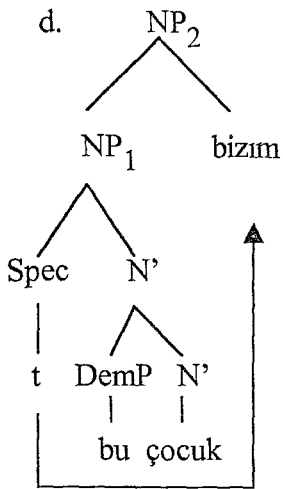
Consider the following example:

- (10)a. bizim bu çocuk  
 our this boy  
 'this boy of ours'



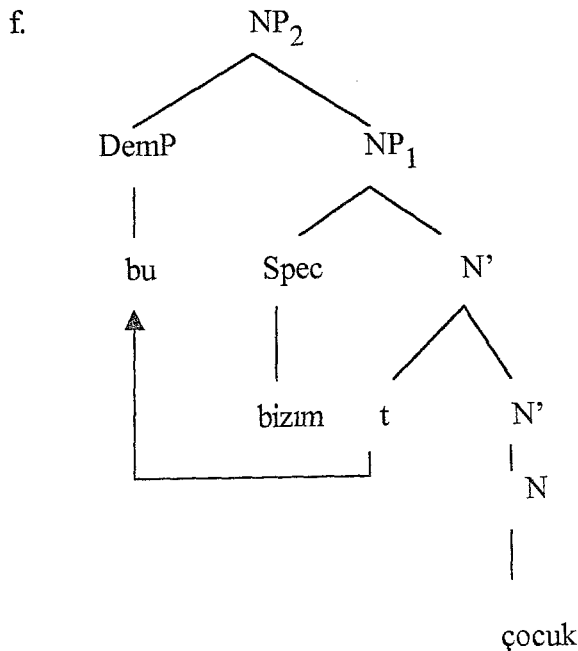
In (10a-b) the DemP 'bu' is in adjunct position preceding the head 'çocuk', while the PossP 'bizim', preceding both the DemP adjunct and the head, occupies the Spec position. Thus, in G.T. the maximal projections of NPs with Spec PossP and DemP adjuncts are head-final. However, other word orders of the elements are also observed in such constructions. Consider the following examples:

- c. bu çocuk bizim  
 this boy our  
 'this boy of ours'



In (10d) the Spec follows the head. Note that the DemP adjunct preceding the head preserves its head-initial nature. However, there are instances in which the DemP adjunct precedes both the head and the Spec PossP. Consider the following example:

- e. bu bizim çocuk  
 this our boy  
 'this boy of ours'



In (10 e-f) the DemP adjunct precedes both the head and the Spec. The position of the DemP adjunct is derived by movement.\*

g. \* çocuk bu bizim

h. \* çocuk bizim bu

The ungrammaticality of (10g-h) is evidence for the claim that NPs with DemP adjuncts are strictly head-final in G.T.

### *NPs with Nominal Head adjuncts*

Adjunct phrases in the form of NPs with nominal heads are strictly head-final in G.T.

Consider the following examples:

(11)a. [[anne-m        hakkında]<sub>NP</sub> kitap]<sub>NP</sub>  
           mother-1sg about        book  
           ‘a book about my mother’

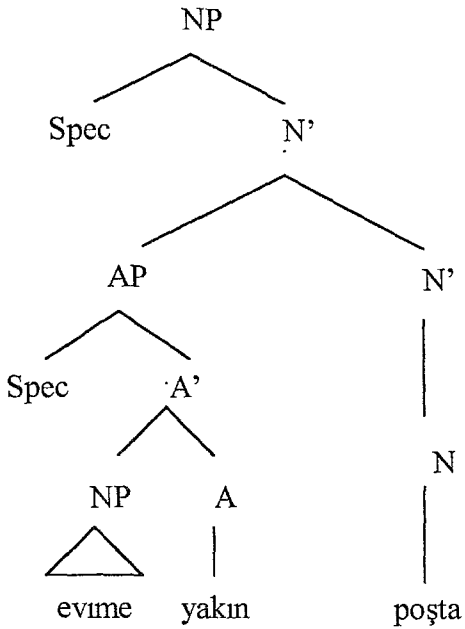
b. the representation of the adjunct phrase in (11a):

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\* Note that the informants referred to both focused and non-focused readings of (10d-f). Whether the movement in (10f) is a result of focus, topicalization or any other pragmatic condition, needs further investigation.

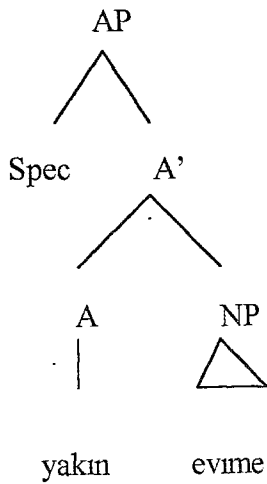


b. the representation of the NP with an adjunct phrase in (12a):



c. [[yakın ev-im-e]<sub>AP</sub> poшта]<sub>NP</sub>  
 close house-1sg-Dat post office  
 'the post office close to my house'

d. the representation of the adjunct phrase in (12c):

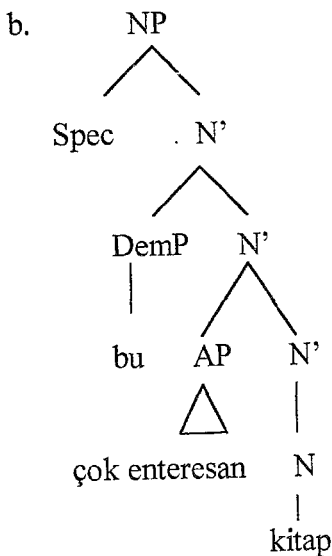


e. poшта evime yakın

In (12a-b) the NP complement ‘evime’ precedes the head ‘yakın’, yielding a head-final construction. However, examples (12c-d) in which the variant construction to (12a-b) is observed, i.e. the NP complement follows the head ‘yakın’, indicate that adjectival phrases are also head-initial. Hence, it can be said that the maximal projections of adjectival phrases, with NP complements behave both head-finally and head-initially in G.T. Further, note that the grammaticality of (12e) shows that NPs with AP adjuncts can be head-initial, as well head-final as in (12a,c).

Also consider the following examples of NPs with AP adjuncts :

- (13)a. bu [çok enteresan]<sub>AP</sub> kitap  
 this very interesting book  
 ‘this very interesting book’



- c. bu kitap çok enteresan  
 d. çok enteresan bu kitap bizim  
 e.\* bu kitap çok enteresan bizim

d.\* kitap bu bizim çok enteresan

In (13a-b) the head N ‘kitap’ is in final position, the DemP adjunct ‘bu’ and the phrasal modifier adjunct AP ‘çok enteresan’ both precede the head. (13c) shows that the adjunct AP can also follow the head N. Therefore, it can be said that adjuncts that are projections of lexical categories like AP both precede and follow the head, and NPs with such constructions are both head-final and head-initial. Note that in (13d) the AP adjunct precedes both the DemP adjunct and the head, while the Spec follows the head. However, the ungrammaticality of (13e-d) shows that a NP can not have both the AP adjunct and the Spec PossP following the head noun.

The head N also has variants with respect to the word order of the adjuncts it bears. Consider the following examples:

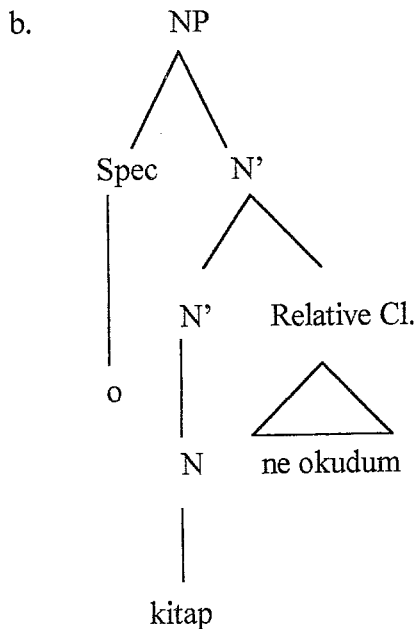
- d. bizim bu çok enteresan kitabımız
- e. bizim çok enteresan bu kitabımız
- f. bu bizim çok enteresan kitabımız
- g. çok enteresan bu bizim kitabımız
- h. bu çok enteresan bizim kitabımız

In (13d-h) variants in the word order of the adjuncts phrases within a NP are observed. Whether there is a basic order of the adjuncts in G.T. and via movement different constructions are derived or there is no determined order are questions for a further research.

### 2.3.2. Complex NPs

In this section examples of a complex NP with a relative clause adjunct will be illustrated. The relative clause construction in G.T. resembles that of IE languages in that there is a relative pronoun in the structure and this relative pronoun precedes the predicate of its clause. The predicate of the clause is fully inflected with the morphology of a matrix predicate, marking tense, aspect and agreement. Consider the following example:

- (14)a. o kitap [ne oku-du-m]\*  
 that book [that read-Pst-1sg]  
 'the book that I read'



- c. [ne okudum] o kitap

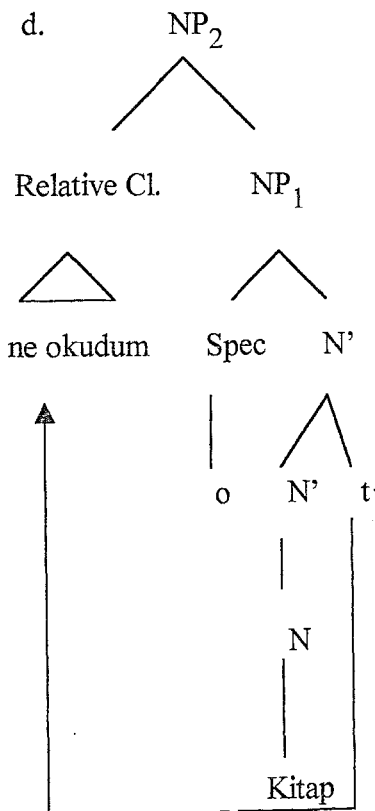
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\* [ne okudum] seems to be a loan translated structure from the neighboring IE languages. Note that 'ne' corresponds to Macedonian 'što' meaning 'that', 'what'.

In (14a-b) the clausal adjunct (*ne okudum*) follows the head N 'kitab'.\*

The clausal adjunct can also precede the head as in (14c). Note that (14c) has both unmarked and marked readings. The marked reading of (14c) is interpreted to be the result of topicalization in whereby the structure is derived by movement of the adjunct clause. This phenomenon can be explained in terms of **adjunction** (Haegeman,1994). The relative clause (*ne okudum*) being in the adjunct position of N' moves to the empty position of the new node NP2 which dominates the **base maximal projection** NP1. \*\*

This operation is illustrated in the following diagram:



Thus, the maximal projections of noun phrases with relative clause adjuncts are both head-initial and head-final.

\* Note that (14a) is taken as basic since the informants produce it unmarked.

\*\* The movement of the relative clause in (14c) leads to topical interpretation of the whole phrase. Note that the topical reading is pragmatically determined.

## Chapter III

# CO-EXISTENT SVO AND SOV STRUCTURES: EVIDENCE FROM QUANTIFIER SCOPE RELATIONS AND FOCUS

### 3.0. Introduction

This chapter investigates the properties of word order of G.T. at the sentential level. There are various word order possibilities of sentence constituents in G.T., the existence of which raises the issue as to whether G.T. is underlyingly a free word order language or whether it is a configurational language, (cf. Hale, 1980).

In this chapter, we first attempt to determine whether G.T. is configurational or non-configurational using quantifier scope relations as a testing ground . It will be noted that G.T. exhibits properties of a configurational language; in other words, it will be shown that G.T. presents evidence to the fact that it is configurational. The next question to be raised will be whether G.T. is SVO or SOV. Hence, the chapter continues with a separate section presenting an analysis of the assumption that G.T. is an SOV language. This assumption is due to the fact that G.T. is Turkic language which is SOV. However, the data indicate that there is also an underlying order of constituents other than that of SOV. Hence, the chapter ends with a conclusion that there are both SOV and SVO orders in G.T., which are base generated.

### 3.1. Constituent order at IP-level

Note that the following sequences are possible in G.T.:

(1) a. Meryem ye-di balıg-i  
 Meryem eat-Past fish-Acc.  
 'Meryem ate the fish'

b. Meryem balıg-i ye-di  
 Meryem fish-Acc. eat-Past  
 'Meryem ate the fish'

c. Balıg-i Meryem ye-di  
 fish-Acc Meryem eat-Past  
 'Meryem ate the fish'

d. Balıg-i ye-di Meryem  
 fish-Acc. eat-Past Meryem  
 'Meryem ate the fish'

e. Ye-di Meryem balıg-i  
 eat-Past Meryem fish-Acc.  
 'Meryem ate the fish'

f. Ye-di balıg-i Meryem  
 eat-Past fish-Acc. Meryem  
 'Meryem ate the fish'

Examples (1a-f) are sentences with a verbal predicate and a definite internal argument, exhibiting variations with respect to word order of sentence constituents. For instance, in (1a) the subject 'Meryem' is in sentence initial position, where it immediately precedes the verbal head, with the verbal complement 'balıgı' following the verbal head, yielding a head-initial construction in the surface structure. In (1b),

on the other hand, there is an apparent head-final construction, where the verbal complement precedes the head. (1c) is a structure in which the verbal complement is in the sentence initial position. In (1d) the verbal complement is in preverbal position, while the subject is in the postverbal position. (1e) has a structure in which both the subject and the verbal complement are in postverbal position, where the verbal complement follows the subject. (1f), on the other hand, has a structure where the subject and the verbal complement are in reverse order. As seen from the above examples, there are various word order possibilities of the sentence constituents in G.T.

However, (1a) is judged to be the most unmarked of the possible word orders, while the others are judged to be increasingly more marked down the list. This raises the issue as to whether G.T. is underlyingly a free word order language or whether it is a configurational language.

In the next section, quantifier interpretation will be presented. We will consider scope relations of quantifiers to determine whether G.T. is configurational or non-configurational and what the nature of the underlying order of constituents in a sentence is. Consequently, if it is the case that G.T. presents evidence to the fact that it is configurational, the question will be raised as to whether it is SVO or SOV.

### 3.1.1. Quantifier Interpretation

Consider the following Turkey Turkish (TT) examples taken from Kural (1997):

- (2) a. [Üç kişi]yi herkes dün ara-mış. (Kural's (16b))  
 three person-Acc everyone-Nom yesterday call-Past-3sg  
 'Everyone called three people yesterday'  
 (3y  $\forall$ x [ x called y yesterday ]; \*  $\forall$ x  $\exists$  y [ x called y yesterday])

b. Herkes dün ara-muş [üç kişi]yi. (Kural's (18a))  
 everyone-Nom yesterday call-Past three person-Acc  
 'Everyone called three people yesterday'  
 ( $3y\forall x [x \text{ called } y \text{ yesterday}]$ ); \*  $\forall x 3y [x \text{ called } y \text{ yesterday}]$ )

c. Herkes [üç kişi]yi dün ara-muş. (Kural's (16a))  
 everyone-Nom three person-Acc yesterday call-Past  
 'Everyone called three people yesterday'  
 ( $\forall x 3y [x \text{ called } y \text{ yesterday}]$ ); \* $3y\forall x [x \text{ called } y \text{ yesterday}]$ )

Kural (1997) states that the above presented examples do not yield ambiguity under neutral intonation and quantifier-scope relations in TT are determined at S-Structure. In (2a) the verbal complement 'üç kişi' is in a sentence initial position, where it precedes the subject NP of the clause in the surface structure. This is an unambiguous sentence with only one interpretation (collective), that is, with 'üç kişi' having wide scope. In (2b), on the other hand, the verbal complement is in a sentence final position, still with a collective interpretation. (2c) having the verbal complement in a preverbal position yields distributive interpretation. Kural takes the evidence presented by the unambiguous interpretation of (2b) as the basis for this argument that the post-verbal constituents in TT are in a higher position than the subject. Note that these sentences exhibit different interpretations in G.T.

Consider the following G.T. examples:

- (3) a. [Üç kişi]yi herkes dün ara-mış.  
 three person-Acc everyone-Nom yesterday call-Past-3sg  
 'Everyone called three people yesterday'  
 (i)  $3y\forall x [x \text{ called } y \text{ yesterday}]$   
 (ii)\*  $\forall x 3y [x \text{ called } y \text{ yesterday}]$

- b. Herkes dün ara-mış [üç kişi]yi.  
 everyone-Nom yesterday call-Past three person-Acc  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’  
 (i)  $3y\forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]  
 (ii)  $\forall x 3y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]
- c. Herkes [üç kişi]yi dün ara-mış.  
 everyone-Nom three person-Acc yesterday call-Past  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’  
 (i)  $\forall x 3y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]  
 (ii)  $3y\forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

Note that G.T. also has a variant such as:

- d. [Üç kişi]yi dün ara-mış herkes.  
 three person-Acc yesterday call-Past everyone-Nom  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’  
 (i)  $3y\forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]  
 (ii)\*  $\forall x 3y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

(3a) is an unambiguous sentence with only one interpretation, which is, with ‘üç kişiyi’ having wide scope. The verbal complement is in a sentence initial position. (3d) similar to (3a) is an unambiguous sentence with collective interpretation. (3b), on the other hand, is an ambiguous sentence, with two interpretations, having collective and distributive meanings. In the interpretation of the collective meaning of (3b) represented in (i) there are three people such that these three people are called. In the interpretation of the distributive meaning (ii) each individual has called three different people. (3c) is also an example of an ambiguous sentence with both collective and distributive readings. The ambiguity of (3b) and (3c) raises the question of configurationality and non-configurationality of G.T.

### 3.1.2. Configurational or Non-configurational

If it is the case that G.T. is a non-configurational language, note that a principle other than c-command relation would have to determine the scope relations in (3a-d), since all constituents would be mutually c-commanding each other at S-structure.

One such possible principle would be precedence relations. Note that in (3a) in which ‘üç kişiyi’ occurs to the left of ‘herkes’, the sentence receives an unambiguous reading in which ‘üç kişiyi’ takes ‘herkes’ into its scope. Note that (3d) is also an unambiguous sentence with ‘üç kişiyi’ taking ‘herkes’ into its scope. Given that the two constituents c-command each other in the free word order analysis, it seems as if the precedence relations can explain the interpretation (3a) and (3d) receives. However, note that precedence cannot be the principle that explains scope relations in (3b-c). (3b) and (3c) are in fact ambiguous, indicating that a quantifier that occurs to the right of another quantifier in the surface structure can actually take the latter into its scope. This we will take as evidence that precedence is not the principle that can explain the scope relations in G.T.

Note that the ambiguity of (3b) and (3c) also indicates that scope relations are not determined at S-level in G.T, but have to be accounted for at LF. Recall that scope relations in Turkish were determined at S-Structure (Kural 1997). In the next section, scope relations of quantifiers will be discussed.

## 3.2. Scope Relations

A general definition of scope relations accepted in the literature can be stated as

follows:

(4) *Scope Assignment*

QP1 takes scope over QP2 only if QP1 c-commands QP2 at the relevant (syntactic) level where scope is established.

In the following discussion we will attempt to investigate how this generalization holds for G.T. Reconsider the following G.T. examples :

- (5) a. [Üç kişi]yi herkes dün ara-mış.  
 three person-Acc everyone-Nom yesterday call-Past-3sg  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’  
 (i)  $\exists y \forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]  
 (ii)  $*\forall x \exists y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

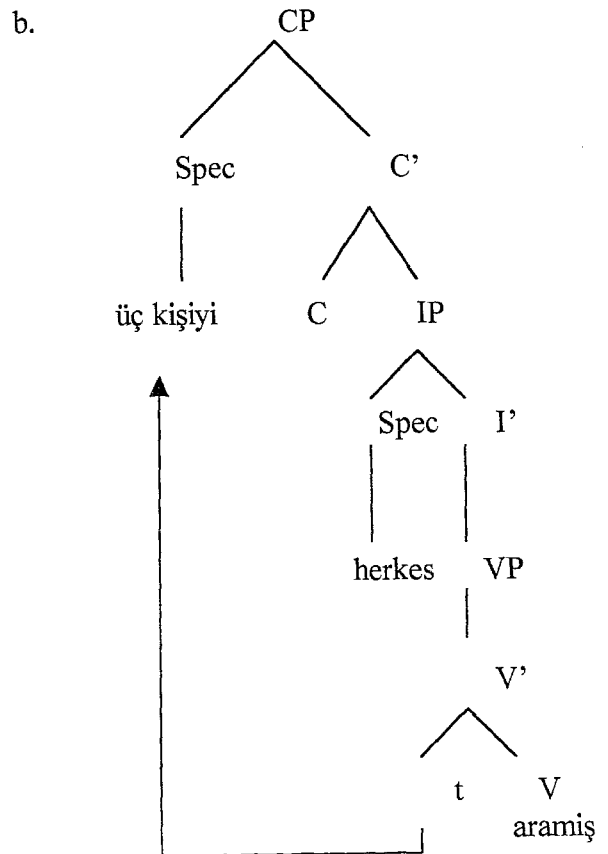
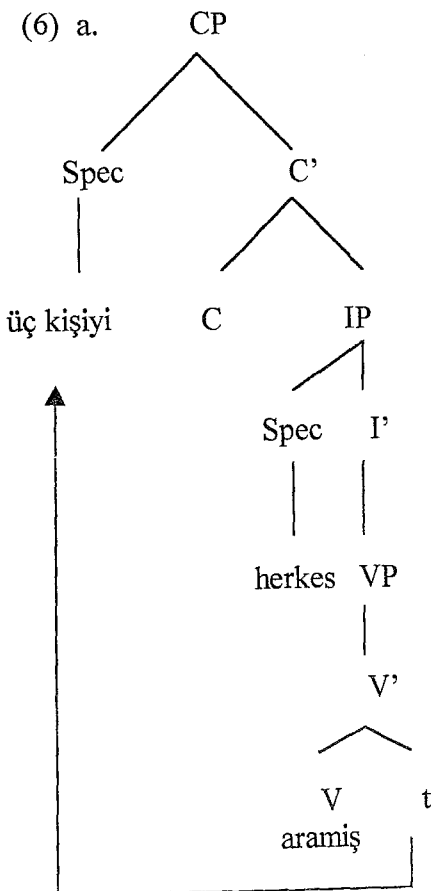
- b. Herkes dün ara-mış [üç kişi]yi.  
 everyone-Nom yesterday call-Past three person-Acc  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’  
 (i)  $\exists y \forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]  
 (ii)  $\forall x \exists y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

- c. Herkes [üç kişi]yi dün ara-mış.  
 everyone-Nom three person-Acc yesterday call-Past  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’  
 (i)  $\forall x \exists y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]  
 (ii)  $\exists y \forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

- d. [Üç kişi]yi dün ara-mış herkes.  
 three person-Acc yesterday call-Past everyone-Nom  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’  
 (i)  $\exists y \forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]  
 (ii)  $*\forall x \exists y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

Recall that in (5a) the verbal complement ‘üç kişiyi’ occurs in sentence initial position preceding the subject NP of the clause. This sentence is unambiguous with only one interpretation, which is, with ‘üç kişiyi’ having wide scope. Since precedence is not the determining factor in scopal interpretation of quantifiers in G.T. (cf. the preceding discussion) the ambiguity of (5a) can only indicate that ‘üç kişiyi’ is in a higher position than the subject. The movement of the verbal complement to sentence initial position is a typical instance of topicalization, where it has been moved to [Spec,CP]. Note that in this example the sentence initial constituent does not receive focal stress in G.T.

The following tree-diagrams represent (5a) in which no claim is made as to whether the complement is generated in the preverbal or postverbal position:



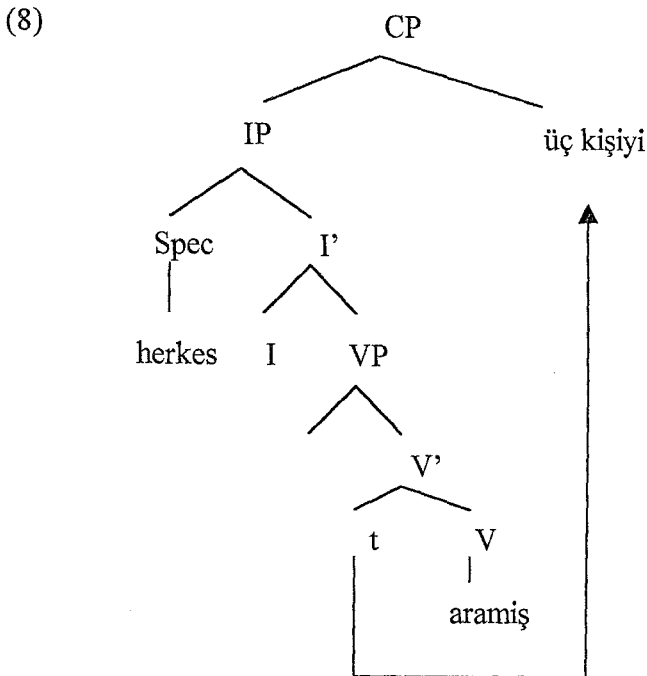
Note that two derivations given above make no claim for the underlying structure of (5a) at this stage of the analysis. (5d) is also an unambiguous sentence with only collective interpretation. There is subject-object inversion in this sentence where the verbal complement is moved to a sentence initial position (topicalization) and the subject backgrounded to sentence final position. Note that no claim is made as to whether the verbal complement is generated in the preverbal or postverbal position.

In contrast to (5a) and (5d), on the other hand, the sentence in (5b) is an ambiguous sentence with two interpretations. These are given in (7a-b):

- (7) a. *There are 3y, such that for every x, it is the case that x called y.*  
 b. *For every x there are 3y such that it is the case that x called y.*

(7a) represents the collective reading of (7b) which is interpreted as there being only three people called. This interpretation of the sentence is accounted for if it is the case that the postverbal QPs asymmetrically c-command subject QPs at the level of representation, i.e. S-structure, where scope is assigned (cf. Kural 1997). In other words, ‘üç kişi’ takes ‘herkes’ into its scope at the surface level which is the level where the interpretation takes place. This is only possible if ‘üç kişi’ is higher than ‘herkes’ so that it can c-command the subject position. A position higher than the subject position can only be an adjoined position, which means that the element that occurs in the postverbal position has been moved to that position and adjoined to IP. Thus, the position of the verbal complement is a derived position, explaining how the scope of postverbal QPs is determined by their c-command relations at

The following tree diagram represents the S-structure of (5b) in terms of the above assumption:

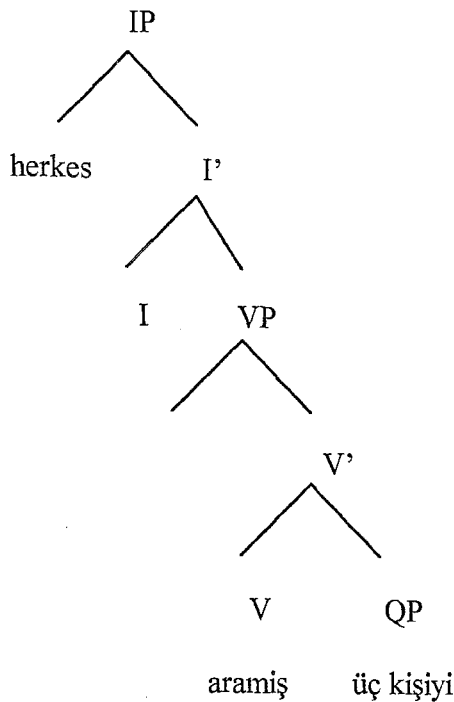


However, as stated in (7b), (5b) also has a distributive reading in which each individual in 'herkes' has called three different people indicating that 'herkes' has wide scope over 'üç kişiyi'. This means that 'herkes' takes 'üç kişiyi' into its scope, indicating that 'üç kişiyi' is lower in the structure than the subject position, and the subject 'herkes' being higher in the structure, can c-command the verbal complement 'üç kişiyi'. Note that this presents evidence to the fact that Q-interpretation in G.T. takes place not at S-structure but at LF. \*

\* Note that in the distributive interpretation this sentence receives neutral stress in G.T. where stress is kept constant on the verb.

Consider the following tree diagram for (5b) with the reading of (7b) :

(9)



Thus, since Q-interpretation takes place at LF, the definition of *scope* as proposed by May (1985) explains the facts of G.T. as well :

(10) The scope of  $\alpha$  is the set of nodes that  $\alpha$  c-commands at LF.

Furthermore, (5c) has an ambiguous reading as well. Thus, (5c) has both distributive and collective interpretation. In the distributive reading 'herkes' takes 'üç kişiyi' into its scope, that is, the subject 'herkes' is in a higher position than the QP-complement so that the subject NP c-commands the complement which is in a lower position. Thus, it can be said that the surface position of the verbal complement is its base position. However, the collective reading of (5c) indicates that the QP-complement moves to the [Spec, CP] to reach a position higher than the subject QP



In order to check whether G.T. is SOV or SVO reconsider the examples (5a-d), presented below as (12a-d) :

(12) a. [Üç kişi]yi herkes dün ara-mış.  
 three person-Acc everyone-Nom yesterday call-Past-3sg  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’

(i)  $3y\forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

(ii) \* $\forall x 3y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

b. Herkes dün ara-mış [üç kişi]yi.  
 everyone-Nom yesterday call-Past three person-Acc  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’

(i)  $3y\forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

(ii)  $\forall x 3y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

c. Herkes [üç kişi]yi dün ara-mış.  
 everyone-Nom three person-Acc yesterday call-Past  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’

(i)  $\forall x 3y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

(ii)  $3y\forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

d. [Üç kişi]yi dün ara-mış herkes.  
 three person-Acc yesterday call-Past everyone-Nom  
 ‘Everyone called three people yesterday’

(i)  $3y\forall x$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

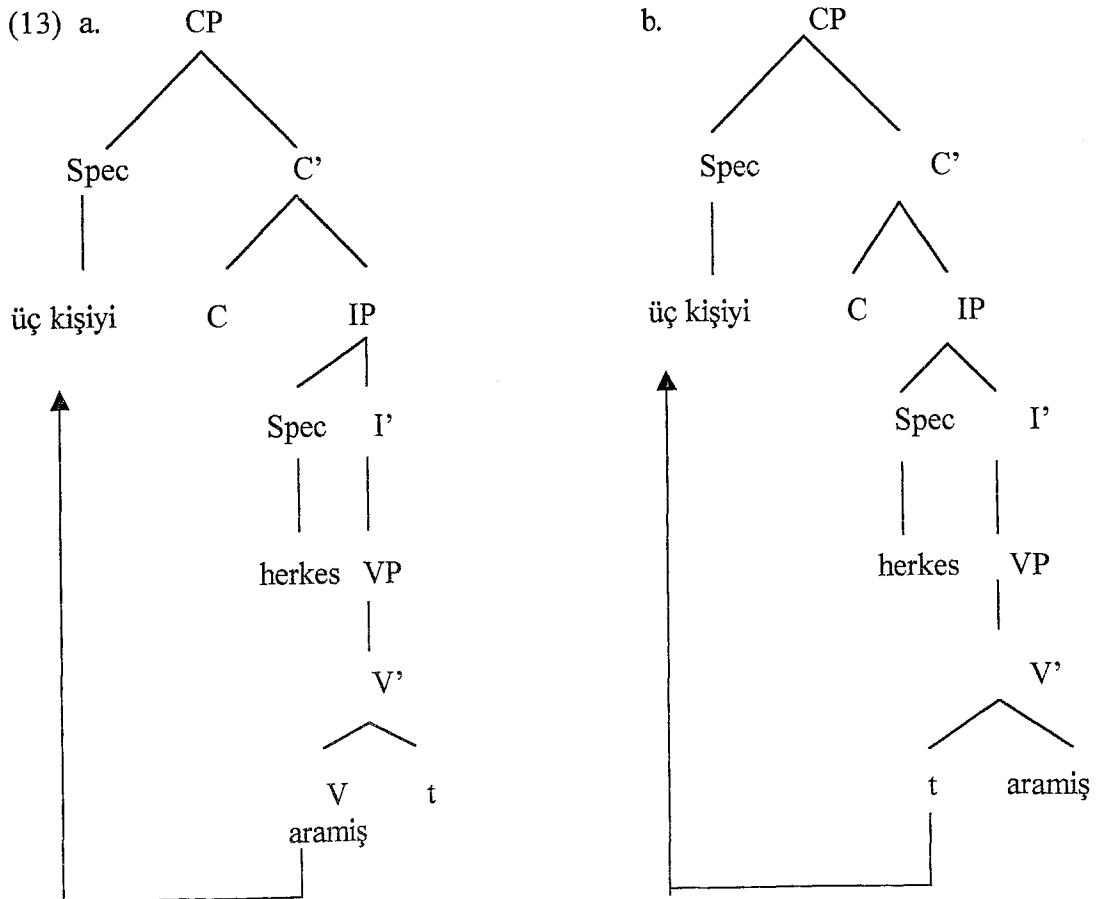
(ii) \* $\forall x 3y$  [  $x$  called  $y$  yesterday ]

(12a) was observed to be an unambiguous sentence in G.T. with only collective reading. The complement ‘üç kişiyi’ occurs in sentence initial position preceding the subject NP of the clause, which indicates that ‘üç kişiyi’ is in a higher position than the subject. As pointed out earlier, this is a typical topicalization movement where the complement has been moved to [Spec, CP].

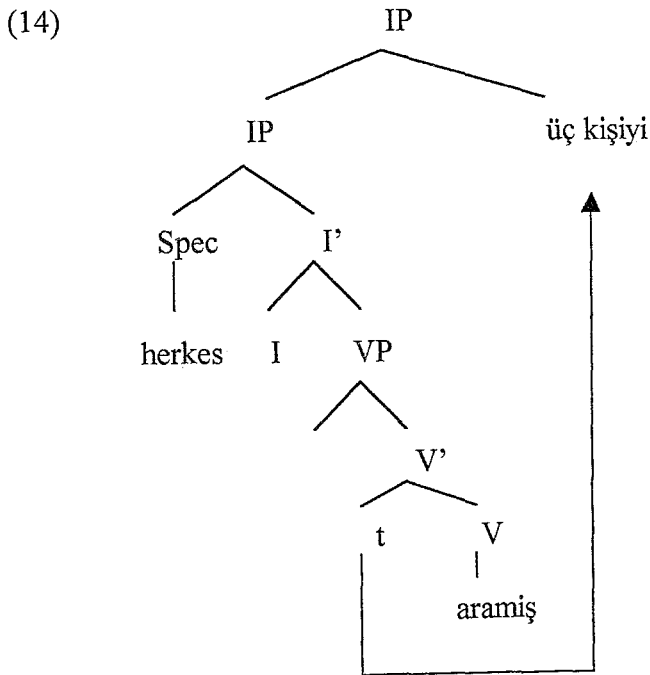
The movement of the complement to sentence initial position is generally considered to be an A'-movement. One property of A'-moved elements is that they can reconstruct to their deep positions, which implies that in (12a) an ambiguous reading should be available. However, note that (12a) is unambiguous, indicating that 'üç kişiyi' does not reconstruct. The fact that reconstruction is not possible in this instance can be taken as evidence that [Spec, CP] is not an A'-position, but an A-position.

However, the movement of the complement to [Spec, CP] indicates that (12a) is a derived structure, underlyingly derived either from an SVO or SOV structure.

Possible derivations (12a) undergoes are repeated below for ease of exposition :

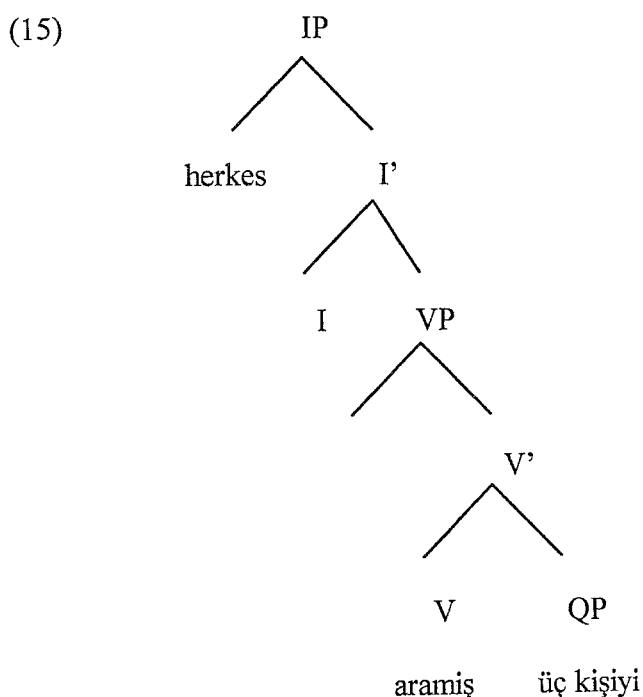


Recall that the sentence (12b), on the other hand, is an ambiguous sentence with both collective and distributive readings. The collective interpretation of (12b) suggests that the postverbal complement ‘üç kişiyi’ takes the subject QP ‘herkes’ into its scope at the surface level which is the level at which the interpretation takes place. This is only possible if ‘üç kişi’ is higher than ‘herkes’ so that it can c-command the subject position. As a position higher than the subject position can only be an adjoined position, this seems to indicate that the element that occurs in the postverbal position has been moved and adjoined to IP. Assuming an underlying SOV structure for G.T., the derivational history of (12b) can be represented on the following tree diagram:



However, recall that (12b) also has a distributive reading, which means that ‘herkes’ takes ‘üç kişi’ into its scope. This indicates that the subject ‘herkes’ is higher in the structure so that it can c-command the verbal complement ‘üç kişiyi’

which is lower in the structure. This presents evidence to the fact that Q-interpretation in G.T. takes place at LF.\* This then implies that the postverbal complement ‘üç kişiyi’ may not be in a derived position, but in fact may be in its base position, i.e. in a position lower than the subject. We here take this as an evidence that the underlying order of constituents in (12b) is not necessarily SOV but can also be SVO. Thus the derivation of (12b) is not necessarily as represented in (14) but in fact maps on to its base generated form represented in (15):



From the above presented analysis of the two interpretations of (12b) it can be concluded that there are two underlying orders for G.T., SOV and SVO.

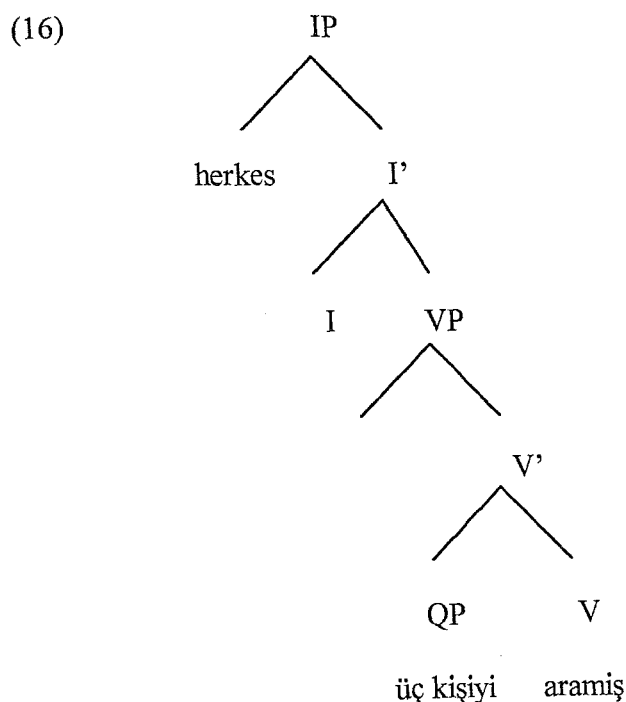
However, now consider the ambiguous reading of (12c). Recall that, (12c) also has both distributive and collective interpretations. In the distributive reading

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\* Note that Q-interpretation of this sentence takes place at S-Structure in TT.

'herkes' has a wide scope. That indicates that the subject 'herkes' is in a higher position than the QP-complement. So the subject c-commands the complement which is in a lower position. Thus, it can be said that the surface position of the verbal complement is its base position, and the Q-interpretation takes place at the S-structure. So, the structure is underlyingly SOV.\*

Consider the following tree diagram for (12c) with distributive reading:

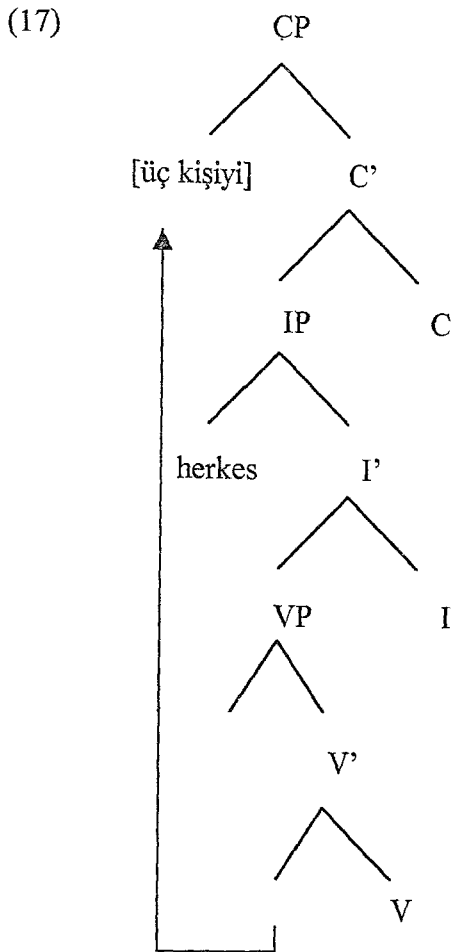


However, in the collective reading of (12c) we assume that the QP complement moves to the [Spec,CP] to reach a position higher than the subject QP at LF. Therefore, it can be said that the underlying order of (12c) with collective reading is also SOV.

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\* Note that the distributive interpretation in this sentence receives neutral stress where stress is kept on the verb.

Consider the following tree diagram of (12c) with collective reading:



Thus, from the above presented analysis of quantifier scope relations it can be concluded that there are two underlying orders for G.T. SOV and SVO. Hence, the fact that both (12b) and (12c) have distributive readings\* with respect to their QP-complements can be taken as evidence that both orders are base generated.

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\* Note that both sentences bear neutral stress in their distributive interpretations.

### 3.3. Stronger Evidence

Stronger evidence to the fact that both word orders SOV and SVO are base generated in G.T. is presented by focused and non-focused constructions.

Consider the following examples:

(18) a. Meryem ye-di balıg-i  
 Meryem eat-Past fish-Acc.  
 ‘Meryem ate the fish’

b. Meryem balıg-i ye-di  
 Meryem fish-Acc. eat-Past  
 ‘Meryem ate the fish’

Note that both sentences (18a-b), can receive focused and non-focused reading on the verbal complement. The non-focused reading of (18a) indicates that the postverbal complement is in its base position, and the underlying structure is SVO. However, (18a) also has a focused reading, in which the postverbal complement ‘balıgı’ is stressed. Whether focus is determined by stress only or whether there is an encoded focus position requires further research.

In (18b) also both readings are existent. With respect to non-focused reading, (18b) as opposed to (18a) has ‘balıgı’ as a preverbal complement. This indicates that (18b) is SOV. Hence, the fact that both sentences can receive both a focused and a non-focused reading can be taken as evidence that both orders are base generated.

## Chapter IV

### WORD ORDER OF WH-CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 4.0. Introduction

This chapter investigates the properties of word order of G.T. wh-constructions. The order of wh-words in simplex sentences and scrambling of q-words will be discussed respectively.

#### 4.1. Question-Words in simplex sentences

Q-words in G.T. appear either in-situ or in a preverbal position, never in post-verbal position. Note that the (b) sentences in (1-3) in which the q-word occurs post-verbally are ungrammatical.

Consider the following examples in which the Q-word is an argument:

(1)a. **Kim** yedi balg-i?  
 who eat-Past fish-Acc  
 "Who ate the fish?"

b. \* Balg-i yedi **kim**?  
 fish-Acc eat-Past who

(2)a. Meryem **ne-yi** yedi?  
 Meryem what-Acc eat-Past  
 "What did Meryem eat?"

b. \*Meryem yedi **ne-yi**?  
 Meryem eat-past what-Acc

(3)a. Meryem **kim-e** ver-di çanta-yi?  
 Meryem who-Dat give-Past bag-Acc  
 "To whom did Meryem give the book?"

b. \*Meryem çanta-yi ver-di **kim-e**?  
 Meryem bag-Acc give-Past who-Dat

In the (a) sentences of the above presented examples the q-words **kim**, **neyi**, **kim** occur in the D-structure position of their lexical NP counterparts. Hence, the q-words appear in-situ. The post-verbal position of the q-words in the (b) sentences, on the other hand, yields ungrammaticality. The contrast in the grammaticality of the (a) and (b) sentences above indicates that wh-constructions in G.T. exhibit SOV behavior, rather than SVO. The same generalization can be made for adjunct q-words.

Consider the following examples in which the q-word is an adjunct:

(4)a. Meryem **ner-den** gel-di ?  
 Meryem where-Abl come-Past  
 "Where did Meryem come from?"

b. \* Meryem gel-di **ner-den**?  
 Meryem come-Past where-Abl

(5)a. Meryem **niçin** git-ti?  
 Meryem why go-Past  
 "Why did Meryem go?"

b.\* Meryem git-ti **niçin** ?  
 Meryem go-Past why

(6)a. Meryem **nere-ye** git-ti?  
 Meryem where-Dat Go-Past  
 "Where did Meryem go?"

b. \*Meryem git-ti **nere-ye**?  
 Meryem go-Past where-Dat

(7)a. Meryem **nasıl** yap-ti oni?  
 Meryem how do-Past it  
 "How did Meryem do it?"

b.\*Meryem yap-ti oni **nasıl**?  
 Meryem do-Past it how

The above presented (a) sentences are grammatical, in which the adjunct q-words **nerden**, **niçin**, **nereye** and **nasıl**, similar to the argument q-words, occur in-situ. The (b) sentences, on the other hand, are ungrammatical with the q-word in a post-verbal position.

#### 4.2. Scrambling of q-words

Note that there are instances in which q-words do not appear in-situ in G.T. Those structures in which a q-word appears S-initially, in fact, are derived by the application of a set of rules referred to as Q-Scrambling rules which can all be

shown to be instances of Move-alpha.

Consider the following examples:

- (8)a. **Ne-yi** Meryem yedi?  
 What-Acc Meryem eat-past  
 “What did Meryem eat?”
- b. **Kim-e** Meryem çanta-yi ver-di?  
 who-Dat Meryem bag-Acc give-Past  
 “To whom did Meryem give the book?”

In examples (8a-b) the argument q-words, DO, IO respectively, occur in S-initial position. The q-words have moved to S-initial position through a process of q-scrambling.

Note that the adjunct q-word **niçin** also occurs in S-initial position.

- c. **Niçin** Meryem git-ti?  
 why Meryem go-Past  
 “Why did Meryem go?”

However, note that not all q-words can occur sentence initially. In G.T. there are some constraints on the movement of q-words to sentence initial position .

Consider the following examples:

- (9) a. **Ne-yi** Meryem yedi?  
 what-Acc Meryem eat-past  
 “What did Meryem eat?”
- b.\* **Ne** Meryem ye-di?  
 what Meryem eat-past

In (9a) the q-word **neyi**, the accusative-marked complement, has been moved to [Spec,CP] position. However, (9b) in which the unaccusative-marked complement appears in S-initial position is ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of (9b) can be explained in terms of the definiteness constraint.

Note that there is also a difference in the movement of oblique Q-words to S-initial position as well.

Consider the following examples in which oblique q-words cannot occur sentence initially:

(10)a.\* **Ner-den** Meryem gel-di?  
 where-Abl Meryem come-Past

b.\* **Nere-ye** Meryem git-ti?  
 where-Dat Meryem go-Past

c.\* **Nasıl** Meryem yap-ti oni?  
 how Meryem do-Past it

Compare the above presented examples with the sentences in (11), where the oblique q-words occur sentence initially :

(11)a. **Niçin** Meryem git-ti?  
 why Meryem go-Past  
 “Why did Meryem go?”

b. **Neden** Meryem ders-ler-e katıl-ma-z?  
 why Meryem class-Pl.-Dat join-Neg-3p.s.  
 “Why does not Meryem attend the classes?”

The q-words in (11) are adverbials of cause. Note that the adjuncts in (11) are VP-external, while the adjuncts in (10) are VP-internal. Note that movement out of a VP-internal adjunct will be ECP violation . \* Hence, the difference in grammaticality judgments of (10) and (11) reflects the structural difference between the two types.

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\* Akar (1990) proposes the same analysis for TT q-words.

## Chapter V

### CONCLUSION

The discussion in the preceding chapters indicates that G.T. exhibits properties of a language with morphological case-marking, postpositions and head-final constructions. However, with respect to the order of sentence constituents it seems to exhibit properties of a language undergoing syntactic change; there are various word order possibilities in G.T. both at the phrasal and sentential levels, a fact which raises the issue as to whether G.T. is underlyingly a free word order language or whether it is a configurational language.

Evidence provided by a number of syntactic phenomena indicates that G.T. is a configurational language possessing both SVO and SOV structures. There is also evidence that both orders are base generated. Evidence for configurationality is provided by the scope relations of quantifiers, where the precedence principle fails to explain the nature of the interpretation assigned to those constructions which contain an existential and a universal quantifier. Scope relations in G.T. have to be determined at LF. Thus, those constructions in which one of the quantifiers occurs in postverbal position indicate that both SVO and SOV structures have to be posited at the base level.

Facts from focused and non-focused constructions in G.T. provide further evidence for the co-existence of base generated SVO and SOV structures. Those structures with a postverbal complement receive both focused and non-focused interpretations. The non-focused reading of such structures indicates that the postverbal complement is in its base position, hence presenting evidence to the underlying SVO structure. Such structures also have a reading in which the postverbal complement is focused. The fact that structures with preverbal complement can also receive both focused and non-focused reading can also be taken to indicate that the preverbal position of the complement is its base position and the structure is underlyingly SOV.

Further, the phrasal categories in G.T. exhibit properties which indicate that some phrasal projections vary with respect to their head-initial and head-final nature. Thus while adjective phrases are strictly head-final with respect to their ordering, those with NP complements and PP adjuncts may be both head-final and head-initial. Adpositional phrases are mainly head –final , while the order of elements in a NP also reflects a variation from a more typical head-final sequencing in that while adjuncts which are projections of lexical categories like AP precede the head, clausal adjuncts follow the head.

Finally, the facts of the word order of wh-constructions in G.T. show that wh-constructions in G.T. exhibit SOV behavior. Q-words in simplex sentences appear either in- situ or in a preverbal position, never in postverbal position, with the same generalization for adjunct q-words.

The evidence presented above can be argued to indicate that G.T. is a language in the process of syntactic change, particularly with respect to word order. While, as a Turkic language, it preserves its SOV properties, it also exhibits SVO properties. This latter fact can be explained in terms of the result of long contact between G.T. and the surrounding IE languages, i.e. Macedonian and Albanian, which are SVO languages. The effect of this contact is also evident in the existence of loan-translated constructions such as [ neka Meryem] which in turn might have affected the change in word order facts of the language.

## APPENDIX I

## Data

Data from daily speech recordings\*

Şe : Gostivarda düğünler bej gün sürür. Birinci günü erkekler topulur. Üleden sora rubalari geline yolarsık. O gün muzika da var. Erkekler toplulurler oynarler. Ondan sora gelinin evinde giderler. Üteye ikramederler rubacilara.... çay ve içki, meyve suyi. Ondan sora eve dünerler. Erkekler erkes evine dagılır. Akşam kadınlar gelirler; dairelerle oynarler, haykırırler. Akşamdan sora evlerine giderler. Yarındasi kadınlar yoktur. Akşam erkekler gene topulur, traş olur. Damadın bütün arkadaşlari gelir, muzika çadır onlar oynarler. Sonunda arkadaşlari güvegi: traş ederler, haykırırler, etrafında oynarler. Oniki bir vakti traş da biter. Herkes evine gider. Yarındasi akşam karilar topulur; haykırırler, oynarler evinde, ondan sora arabalarle gelini giderler alsınler. Üte: de haykırırsık, oynarsık; ondan sora gelini çıkarırler. Biz epımıs gelini kucaklarsık, haykırırsık... sonra gelini biraz orda brakarız; onun en yakın hısım, akreba topulur, gelini kucaklarler ve gelin ağlarken arabaya biner... biz haykırırsık,

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\* The data base consists of real communicative situations. The informants were people living in the area and mostly taped in their homes. There is 2 hours recording, half of which being of a narrative character, where an informant is talking either about him/herself or other general subjects, and the other half being of an interactive character where more than two people are talking to each other. The number of informants was 5, with age rate between 10-50. Educationwise 2 of the informants were highly educated people, while the other 7 were with a quite low educational level.

gelin aglar, sora o da tsısar... em eve gelırsık. Evde güveginin annesi, cicasi, daytsasi, halasi tezesi bekler gelini arabadan endırelım. Güvegi gelini kolundan tutar, arabadan endırır; biraz sora bir sandaliye üstüne gelini bindırırısık, hepisi hısım akreba gelini güürür ... hem gelini sandaliyeden endırırler, ortada brakarler. Etrafında gençler, kızlar, gelinler oynarler.

Biraz sora episi eve gider; kızlar kalır niçin kızlarla gelin o gece uyur. Yarındasi saba evde hiçbişi yok. Üleden sora bütün hısımlar, arkadaşlar, dostlar düğüne yemege çağırılıdırler. Hepisi üteye toplulurler. Üteye... şimdi bizim Gostivarda düğünler evde olmas Perşembe günü; düğünler okulda olur, yoksam birangi ka:vede olur, büyük ka:velerde üte: toplulurler, çünkü bizim düğünler bin kişi kari çağırılır, onun için ev sığmas. Üte: toplulurler, haykırırler, oynarler, karılar ekmek yer... A bizim düğünlerin yemekleri çorba, kompir yanisi, helva. Yemekten sora herkes evine gider, gelini da annesi, kıskardeşi güvegiden gelinle beraber eve giderler; o gece gelini damatle kaparler. Yarındasi saba gelin da: erken kolkar ve akıtmalar yaparsık, gene en yakın insanlarımızı çağırırısık. Akıtmaları yerler, gelinin dulagını çıkarırler. Akşam sofrayı yapılır, yemek... em herkes evine gider, düğün biter.

Şe: Bizim Gostivarda en çok ne yenılır yemeklerden birisi büryan. Büryan için lazımlar satınalayım... et ya tavuk butkalari, pirinç, biraz sogan, tuz, kara biber ve yağ. Eti peşin kaynatırırım, sora pirinci temiz yikarım. Pirinci yikamaktan sora kavururum temiz yağle; sora üstüne biraz sogan dograrım, em kaynamış suyle pirinci haşlarım. Biraz kaynar, sora üstünde dizerım etleri ve fırına atarım. Kaç kişi insan evde ısık, okadar et parçeleri koyarsık.

Z: Meraba cicianne, nasısın ?

Şeh: İyim. Sen nasısın ?

Z: Ben da iyim. Ne yapalım te koşturursuk....

Açın gidecesın Gostivara ?

Şeh: Bugün üleden sora.

Z: Açın geldınıs ?

Şeh: İki hafta evel.

Z: Nasıldır Mesut Aco ?

Şeh: İ:dir. Selam etti çok.

Z: A gürmişın o kariyi ne idi sizin komşı, Kasımıtısa ?

Şeh: Gürmemişım.

Z: Bilersın ki ben gürdüm oni İstanbulda.

Şeh: A be !

Z: Valla.

Şen: Ne dedi ?

Şeh: Ben gürdüm Kasımı kapalı çarşıda birgün.

Z: Gerçek be... te em benda gürdüm. E te şi: ... nerde otururmuşler ?

Şen: Şirinevlerde.

Z: Şirinevlerde otururmuşler.

Şeh: Bilerım nerde oturur, ama gitmemişım.

Z: Te divırdı sen ne:ka saygılar yaparmışın.

Şeh: E yapardım, ama şimdi nere bulayım yapaim.

Şen: Nerden bilersın sen ki oturur Şirinelverde o be?

Şeh: Bilerım be.

Şen: Nerden bilersın ?

Şeh: Bilerim... e o idi Gostivarda divirdi bana ki oturur Şirinevlerde.

Şen: A:

Şeh: Em çok çağirdi beni gidim onlarda, ama te gidemedim.

Şen: Yok başka işin... gelmişin çocukunda gidecesin Kasımitsada. Tut Kasımitsayı taşı uşka !

Şen: Nerde yaşarsın sen ?

Şeh: Gostivarda.

Şen: Neredir o Gostivar ?

Şeh: Makedonyada.

Şen: Ne var o Gostivarin da: yakın bişi diviresin ki tanıım, niçin duymamışım o Gostivar için.

Şeh: Gostivar orta büyük bir şe:r. Onun ortasından Vardar geçer. Vardar en büyük ırmak Makedonyadadır. Var sora bir büyük dag, onun adi Şardır.

Şen: Başka ne var ? Da: yakın bain şehir vardır orda etrafında da: büyük ?

Şeh: Vardır. Kasaba şe:ri. Bis dersik Kasaba, ama Tetova dır onun adi.

Şen: A: bilerim. Ne millet yaşar o Gostivarda ?

Şeh: Gostivarda yaşarler Türkler, Arnavutlar, hem Makedonlar.

Şen: Başka yoktur ?

Şeh: Var em Çingeneler, em Torbeşler.

Şen: A: ben duymışım ki vardır orda em Ege: tsler bişi. Vardır oyle bişi sizde ?

Şeh: Vardır, ne gelmişirler Yunanistandan.

Şen: A: ...nası dedim.. bir Torbeşler dedim. Onlar nedir, kimdir onlar ?

Şeh: Onlardırler Müslimanlar ama Makedonce lafederler.

Şen: Nerde yaşarler onlar ? Gostivarda ?

Şeh: Yok. Gostivarın dag küvlerinde. Rostuşe var, Bituşe var, Jerovnitza var.. Velebirdo var. Te o küvlerde onlardırler Gostivarın daglarında yerleşik; bunlar Makedonce okurler ama Müslimandırler.

Şen: Gostivarda ne derler ki var Türkler, onlardır kapanık Türkler a açık Türkler ?.. karilar düşünürüm, erkekler için yok.

Şeh: Vardır em açık em kapanık.

Şen: Okula giderler, gitmezler ?

Şeh: Giderler şimdi, okula giderler okurler. Gostivarda okul Türkçe var çak lise, sora fakülteye Üskübe kim ne ister, ama Makedonce. Türkçe fakülte Makedonyada yok.

Z: Ani duymışdım ben ki liseleri kapatmışidiler.

Şeh: Yok.. yok. Var.. var. Kapattiler ama bir sene o iş oldi, bir generatsiya oldi. ..Tamam şimdi var.

Şen: Yok.. yok. O ... kapanma dildir oyle. O kapanma dır başka turli. O kapanma [oldi... oldi

Şeh : [Karıştırdiler. Türkler, Arnavutlar, Makedonlar bir sınıfta okurdiler.

Şen: Tamam, ama oldi üç dortte bir ikide di:l, çünkü bir vakıt Makedonyada oldi aktarılmış lise, demek bizim bildığımız normal lise yok da aktarılmış lise. Birinci em ikinci sene okurdiler yalnız Türkler, a üçüncü em dorduncü sene karıştırdiler Türk, Makedon, Arnavut episini birden.

Z: Peki, o mektepte ne okurler Türkçe, nası bir Türkçedir ? Türkiyede ne konuşulur o Türkçe?

Şeh: Oyle oyle... o Türkçe ama evde lafetmesık oyle.

Z: Evde kendi [diyalektinizde

Şeh: [Oyle... ama şimdi başlamıştır bu Türkçe doğrusun bizdeda.

Z: A:, televizyondan ?

Şeh: Evet evet.. satelitskadan.

Z: Epımız ne seyredersınız ? Türk kanallarını ?

Şeh: Türk.. Türk kanallarını... Ama şimdi mekteplerde var başka bir zorluk. Makedonce dilni bizim ürenciler şimdi iç bilmes.

Z: Haa.. [niçin

Şeh: [Türkçe i: lafederler, a Makedonce çok zayıf.. çok zayıf.

Şen: A da: evvel Makedonce i: lafederdiler.

Z: Şimdi em Türkçe artık başladı degışsm. ... da: bir Öztürkçe oldi.

Şeh: Çok da: iy Türkçe lafederler. [Küçükler

Z: [televizyondan

Şeh: Ama çok zor Makedonce. Te mesela bizim Medyen çok zorluk çeker, hiç bilmes Makedonce.

Z: Arkadaşları Makedon yok .

Şeh: Yok.

Şen: Bu mektepliler ne dırler. Gostivarda, ne bitirmiştirler fakultet, a ayrılırler bayın çift ? Gelırler da: yakın obir fakultetlilerle, a dırler bayın turli da: farklı?

De: lım, örnek mektepliler a giderler kışın skiyanyeye ? A giderler yazın ne bilim ben odmora yikansılar ?

Şeh : Giderler.

Şen: A evlenırler açık karırler ? A evlenırler kapanık karırler ? A.. ?

Z: Nası dır sosyal hayatları ?

Şeh: Gostivarda mektepliler açık karırler çok az var ne evlenmiştirler. Ama böyle şı.. giderler. Em istira: ta giderler em demek dagda, bizim Mavrova ... Orda var bir

Mavrova güli orda giderler ... Etrafında var daglar, giderler kaymaya. Ama evlenmek meselesinde.. o biraz zor bizde. Çok az var mektepli kızlar.. em evlenirler kapanık kızlarla.

Şen: Onlar ne dırler evli kapanık kızlarla a kendisidir mektepli, diyelim bitirmiştir fakultet.. yok doktordur, yok inşinyerdir, yok profesor.. neise, şimdi olur ben neka ne bilerim yanlış di:lseem.. olur toplantılar, ne bilim ben restoranlarda yemek olur, olur o olur bu. Nasıl gider o kapanık karisi:le ? A yalnız gider ?

Şeh: Var kim ne gider em kapanık karisi:le. Alır karısını, ama var yalnız gider karısını almas. Kari evde oturur evlatlarla. A var ne giderler kapanık karılar. Bizde

[şimdi

Şen: [Gezerler demek kapanık karılarle, giderler ortamlara.

Şeh: Giderler em kontsertlere, giderler ne gelirler boyle, giderler. Giderler ama erkeke bagli. İse erkek da : [şi

Şen: [İyi şimdi bu kapanık karılar ne giderler toplantılara, orda vardır açık karılar. Birbirleri:le yaparler konuşmak?.. lafederler birbirleri:le ? ... var muabetleri ?

Şeh: Yaparler... Var, çok i: geçinirler.

Şen: Konuşurler düğünleri ?.. te de:lim örnek, a bu kapanık karılar bilerler bain bişi fazla ? konuşurler da: sağlam baimbişi ?

Şeh: Yok.. bilerler bilerler. Şimdi dedim ya, televiziya var, satelitska var em erşi: bilerler şimdi em kapanık karılar.

Şen: Duymışım Gostivarda yapılmış bir karılar derneği de: lım: O karılar derneğinde duymışım ki em kapali karılar imişler aynı yazılı.

Şeh: Var.

Şen: E, orda ne yapar ? .. O dernekte ne yaparler ? beni o interesieder, kapanık

karılar em açık karılar.

Şeh: Topulurler... e ne lazım yardımetsınler yardımederler. Sora bu topulurler kuşluklar yaparler. Giderler biran büyük ka:vede o gün. Em episi.. em kapanıklar em açıklar. Episi bir yerde, muzika, yemek.. Te akşam sora erkes evine gider. Var.. Çok i: geçımler. Topluluklar olurler.

Şen: Demek kapanık karılar açık karılardan kalmazler içbişi geriye. Ne mutli kapali karılara !

Şen: Ne yersın ?

M: La: macun.

Şen: A seversın la: macuni ye: sın be Meryem ?

M: Severım.

Şen: Neka seversın ?

M: Çok.

Şen: Niçin çok seversın la: macuni ?

M: Bilmem.

Şen: Nasıl bilmesın ? Seversın a bilmesın .

M: Bilmem

Şeh. Nere : gicesın o Meryem ?

M: Makedonyaya.

Şen: Nasıl Makedonyaya ? Ne yapacasın Makedonyada ?

M: Gostivara

Şen: Aha.. Gostivara gicesin. Kim bekler seni Gostivarda ?

M: Dedem.

Şen: Seversın dedeni ?

M: Severim.

Şen: Neka seversin ?

M: Çok.

Z: Kimi en çok seversin ?

M: Em dedemi em babaannemi, episini. Ayırmamışım ki !

Şen: Ayırmaz !

Z: En çok ne üzlemişim ?

M: En çok üzlemişim dedemi.

Şen: A üzlememişim Abdülkerimi, Venhari ?

M: Üzlemişim.

Şen: Em onlari çok üzlemişim ? En çok en çok, a biraz biraz ?

M: En çok.

Şen: A kimi da: çok üzlemişim Abdülkerimi a Muamedî ?

M: İkisini.

Şen: E... Venhari ? a Hirai ?

M: İkisini.

Şen: A Medyeni a Hirai ?

M: İkisini

Şen: A kimi seversin da: çok ? Zepa alani, a Seyhan alani ?

M: İki[sini]

Z: [A : yalancitsa !

M: Seyan alai !

A: : Şimdi açın gidecesin Gostivara ne yapacasın ?

M: Arkadaşlari ziyaret edecim oynaycis. Ne demeli ?

- A: A dedeni açın gürecesin ne yapacasm ? Sıkacasm bikate ?
- M: Sıkacim em kouguracim !
- A: Başka ? .. Upecesin bikate yanaklarımı ?
- M: Ohoo
- A: Neka üpecesin, ne ka ?
- M: Ço:k.
- A: A açın gürecesin çocuklari ?
- M: Em onlari.
- A: En çok kimi üpecesin ?
- M. Hepisini.
- A: Ama en çok en çok ?
- M: Hepisini.
- A: Ayde:
- M: Medyeni.
- A: Medyeni ?
- M: Hı hı.
- A: Uh.. Bilerim niçin üpecesin en çok Medyeni.
- M: Niçin ?
- A: Niçin vardır nere üpesin. Oyle ?
- M: Yo:k.
- A: E niçin üpecesin en çok Medyeni ?
- M: [Üpecim.
- S: [Arkadaşkasıdır.. Di:mi ?
- A: A orda koyşılarda kimi gicesin güresin ilk ?
- M: Kimseyi.

A: Yarın sabayle!

M: Kimi gürecim ?

A: İlk kimi gicesin güresin ? A Nurcan ablani ? A Üseime ablani ? A gicesin

Sevdiye ablai güresin karşıda ? A gicesin hocahanımı güresin ? Nerden bilim ?

M: Babaaanneyle hepisini gezecis.

A: Başka ? ... Gicesin bikate Cevat dayoda güresin Şpresayi ?

M: Gicim. Zaten evni isterim gürim.

A: Niyini güresin, niyini ?

M: Evni !

A: Hangi evni ?

M: Yeni evni.

A: Ha: .. Nere idi Cevat dayonun yeni evi ?

M: Bize yakın.

A: Nerde bize yakın ?

S: Hangi ma:lede ?

M: Bilmem adını ki.

A: Rizvançelerde.

M: A: ! Rizvançeler ma:lesi.

A: Moşa Piyadenın karşıında. Dilidi mektebın karşıında ?

M: M...

A: Orda kimi gürecesin ?

M: Şpresa. Paşako.. Cevat dayo.

A: E nasıl geçirecesin ondort gününü Gostivarda ?

M: Oynarken gezerken.

A: Oyle ?

M: Okurken.

A: Of bayıldım. Okuyacımış ondort günde birisi. Ne ise, dur bakalım.

E.. bilersın ne dedi babaenne ?

M: Ne ?

A: Açın bitecek tatilin orda ki gelesın geriye Kumburgaza getirecek deden.

M: Oley !

## APPENDIX II

## Lexical Aspects of the Morphology of Gostivar Turkish

## 2.1. Introduction

This section provides a brief outlook on the lexical aspects of the morphology of G.T.

## 2.2. Vowels in G.T.

## 2.2.1. The Vowel Inventory

G.T. has a 7 vowel system.\* The table below presents the vowel system of G.T. with contrasts in [ $\pm$  back], [ $\pm$  high], and [ $\pm$  round] features:

	/ - back /		/ + back /	
	/ - round /	/ + round /	/ - round /	/ + round /
/ + high /	i	ü	ɪ	u
/ - high /	e		a	o

\* The non-occurrence of “ö” is a characteristic of many Western Rumelian dialects (Nemeth 1956)

Vowels in G.T. can occur in any position:

	Syllable initial		Syllable final	
i	igne	'needle'	çarşı	'market'
ı	ırz	'honour'	takı	'jewelry'
e	eşek	'donkey'	size	'to you'
a	ayna	'mirror'	sora	'later'
ü	üle	'afternoon'	sürü	'flock'
u	un	'flour'	uyu	'sleep'
o	orda	'there'	dayo	'uncle'

However, note that examples for “ı” in initial and “ı”, “ü”, “u” and “o” in word final position are rare.

### 2.2.2. Vowel Harmony

There are some occurrences of vowel harmony in G.T., but most suffixes are non-harmonic. In this section, first examples of non-harmonic words and suffixes will be given and then those of harmonic root morphemes and suffixes.

#### 2.2.2.1. Non-harmonic suffixes

Non-harmonic suffixes seem to be more frequent in G.T. Consider the following examples:

- a. Genitive suffix is expressed by “-ın”.

ev	/evın/	'of the house'
ben	/benım/	'my'
sen	/senın/	'yours'

hal	/halım/	'my state'
dert	/derdım/	'my sorrow'

b. Accusative case is expressed by '-i'.

su	/sui/	'the water'
kız	/kızı/	'the girl'
tuz	/tuzi/	'the salt'
kuzi	/kuzii/	'the lamb'
tatli	/tatlii/	'the sweet'
araba	/arabai/	'the car'
sogan	/sogani/	'the onion'
çocuk	/çojugi/	'the child'

c. Instrumental is expressed by '-(y)le'.

araba	/arabayle/	'by car'
biçak	/biçakle/	'with a knife'
anahtar	/anahtarle/	'with a key'
saat	/saatile/	'by watch'

d. The second person singular suffix following the aorist -(A)r has highback unrounded vowel -sın.

gider	/gidersın/	'you go'
sever	/seversın/	'you love'
üper	/üpersın/	'you kiss'
gelir	/gelırsın/	'you come'
serilir	/serılırsın/	'you lay'

e. The 3.p. plural is expressed by ‘-ler’.

yapar	/yaparler/	‘they do’
alır	/alırler/	‘they take’
kapar	/kaparler/	‘they close’

f. The suffix expressing definite past in 3p. singular is expressed by –Di.

yap	/yaptı/	‘did’
al	/aldı/	‘took’
koy	/koydı/	‘put’

g. The suffix used for reported past occurs as –miş in 3p. singular.

oku	/okumuş/	‘has read’
yap	/yapmış/	‘has done’
ül	/ülmüş/	‘has died’

h. Noun to noun suffixes are –Ci.

araba	/arabayı/	‘car seller’
oyuncak	/oyunjakçı/	‘toy seller’
üti	/ütiji/	‘a person who is ironing’
kaşık	/kaşıkçı/	‘spoon maker’
oyun	/oyunji/	‘player’

i. Adjective to adjective suffix is expressed by ‘- Dır :

bin	/bindır/	‘put on board’
dik	/diktir/	‘make sew’

### 2.2.2.2. Non-harmonic word internal structure

a. There is lexical “i” in word final position of the nouns.

ari	/ari/	‘a bee’
kuyi	/kuyi/	‘a well’
üti	/üti/	‘an iron’
gürülti	/gürülti/	‘noise’
sıkıntı	/sıkıntı/	‘worry’

G.T. shows tendency to end in i.

uyki	/uyki/	‘sleep’
korki	/korki/	‘fear’
kuzi	/kuzi/	‘lamb’
doli	/doli/	‘full’
komşı	/komşı/	‘neighbor’
oni	/oni/	‘it/him/her’
oldi	/oldi/	‘done’
su	/suyi/	‘the water’

### 2.2.2.3. Harmonic Roots

şefteli	/şefteli/	‘a pitch’
kirez	/kirez/	‘a cherry’
lastık	/lastık/	‘a rubber’
mektüp	/mektüp/	‘a letter’

Note that. the above presented examples of harmonic roots in G.T. are non-harmonic in TT.

### 2.2.2.4. Harmony across Morpheme Boundaries

a. The aorist is expressed by (I)r or (A)r:

yürü	/yürür/	‘walk(s)’
bul	/bulur/	‘find(s)’
yap	/yapar/	‘make(s)’
git	/gider/	‘go(es)’
agla	/aglar/	‘cry(s)’

However, note that the aorist shows variation in its suffixes. The same is observed in the conditional –sA. The process affecting the vowel variation is not clear in either case. Consider the following examples:

a. The aorist (I)r or (A)r:

kolk	/kolkar/	‘stand(s)’
gel	/gelir/	‘come(s)’
ser	/serilir/	‘lay(s)’

b. Conditional is expressed by ‘-sA’:

gel	/gelsa/	‘if only comes’
bil	/bilsa/	‘if only knows’
kes	/kessa/	‘if only cuts’
git	/gitsa/	‘if only goes’
ül	/ülsa/	‘if only dies’
agla	/aglarse/	‘if cries’
yapar	/yaparse/	‘if does it’
okur	/okurse/	‘if reads’
çalışır	/çalışırse/	‘if works’

## APPENDIX III

### History of Gostivar Turkish

#### 3.1. Historical Background

The Republic of Macedonia is situated in the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Her boundaries are with Albania on the west, Bulgaria on the east, Greece on the south and Serbia and Kosovo on the north.

Macedonia is an historical and geographical name which originates from the time of Alexander (III) the Great. It was a kingdom ruled by Philip II and Alexander (III) the Great in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. and fell under Roman and Byzantine rule afterwards. In the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. Slavs moved to the Balkans and by the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century Slav colonization ended with the creation of the Slavic population in the Macedonia.

In the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> Century with the Slavic migrations and their settlement in the region, the creation of a population with a common Slavic language was a result of the process of cultural interaction and integration among the Slavs, ancient Macedonians, some of the Turkish tribes (Avars, Oghuz, Pechenek, Kumans) and the others who were living in the region.

In the period of time between the Slavic invasions in the 9<sup>th</sup> Century and the Turkish rule in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, Macedonia has been under Bulgarian and Serbian domination. In the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> Century, almost all Macedonia, except Sailonika, became a part of the Bulgarian Empire.

The Ottomans entered Rumelia for the first time in the period of Orhan Ghazi (1326-1360). Balkan Slavs went under Turkish rule at the end of the first Kosovo War (1389), which was won against Serbia's King Lazar I and his crusader army: Serbia's kingdom was abolished and Turkish borders stretched until the Danube valley, including the whole of Macedonia.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, Yıldırım Beyazıt settled his ethnic element – the Turkish population – in Skopje and the whole of Macedonia. The Turkish migrations, from Anatolia to Macedonia, between the years 1371-1389, led to a decrease in the local population, and resulted in the Turkish – Muslim majority in Macedonia<sup>2</sup>.

The Macedonian Slavs and Turks lived in peace and harmony until the Russo-Turkish war of 1876-8. The Russians as victors, were provoking the Macedonian Slavs, which led to unease. Russians wanted Macedonia to become a part of the so-called Great Bulgaria according to the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878. However, “the Great Powers, notably Britain and Austro-Hungary both of whom feared that such a large Bulgaria dominating the Balkans and straddling the Bosphorus would be a client-state of Russia, forced its abandonment and its replacement instead by a severely truncated state at the Treaty of Berlin (1878)”<sup>3</sup>.

According to this treaty, ‘*Vilayeti selase*’ (the three vilayets *Selanik* (Salonika), *Manastir* (Bitola) and *Kosova* (Kosovo), which had previously been accepted as part of Macedonia, subsequently went back to the Ottoman rule, but supervised by the big powers.

One result of the Treaty of Berlin was the rise of the Macedonian question. Starting from 1901, uprisings in Macedonia were a constant feature of its political landscape. To prepare the ground for the break-up of Macedonia, committees which

<sup>1</sup> Hammer, J.V. (1992). *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*. İstanbul : Üçdal neşriyat. p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Inalcık, H. (1993). ‘Türkler ve Balkanlar’ in *Balkanlar*. İstanbul: Eren yayınevi. p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3.

were both internally and externally focused were formed not only in Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, but also in Russia.

Eventually, with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans in 1912, Macedonia was divided into three regions by the Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks.

At the beginning of the Second World War in 1941 Macedonians joined Marshal Tito's partisans who were fighting not just against the Germans and Italians, but also the Bulgarians, Greeks and the other Balkan fascists.

Between 1941-44, Marshal Tito ensured Yugoslavia's liberation from Germany. In 1944 Macedonia was proclaimed a federal state in the newly established Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. as one of the six federal republics within the framework of the new SFRY.

The Macedonian dialect was given the status of a separate language, distinct from the other South-Slavonic languages. Macedonian was the official language of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, based on the Veles-Prilep-Bitola-Ohrid dialects, the grammar of which was fairly quickly constructed. In schools, public institutions and the University of Skopje, Macedonian was the official language not just for the Christian-Orthodox Macedonians, but also other ethnic groups, such as Albanians, Turks, Gypsies etc. were obliged to learn it. In this way, Macedonian as the official language of the SRM replaced the old official Bulgarian and Serbian languages.

However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, symbolically marked by a breaching of the Berlin Wall in 1989, a new era in world politics has begun. Truly independent Balkan states, such as Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia, etc. have emerged.

On 11 November 1990 the first multi-party elections for representatives in the

Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia were followed by the Declaration of International Recognition of the RM on 8 September 1991 as a sovereign and independent state.

### **3.2. Turkish in Macedonia**

Turkish being the mother-tongue of the Turks in Macedonia is primarily used not only at home, but also in various cultural organizations and institutions. Turks in Macedonia have television and radio programs, theatre performances and concerts, all carried out in Turkish as well as three times weekly published newspaper “Birlik”, various books, periodicals and journals (“Sesler”, “Sevinç”, “Tomurcuk”). Furthermore, Turkish pupils have their primary and secondary education in Turkish. However, Turkish used in educational and cultural organizations and institutions is that of Standard Turkish spoken in Turkey, while everyday language is a spoken Turkish dialect. Indeed, there are various Turkish dialects within the borders of RM, which predominantly vary in their phonological features, while morpho-syntactic variations are less occurant.

Macedonia as ethnically and linguistically diverse country whitenesses not only the process of bilingualism, but also trilingualism. Turks living in the eastern part of the Republic share their neighborhoods mostly with Slav Macedonians, as a result of which grammatical and structural effects of bilingualism are evident in the Turkish spoken there. While western Macedonia, on the other hand, embraces Turks, Macedonians and Albanians within the same socio-geographic environment, creating a base for trilingual interaction. Hence, in the undertaken analysis on Turkish spoken in the western part of Macedonia (Gostivar in particular)

phonological, morphological and syntactic effects of Macedonian and Albanian were occurant.

Thus, most of the studies done on Turkish spoken in Macedonia, indeed on Turkish spoken in the Balkans, were basically based on linguistic interaction and dialectal variation.

### 3.3.Literature Survey on the Linguistic Analysis

Turkish dialects of Macedonia and the whole of the Balkans were appealing to linguist for many years. The very first studies on Macedonia Turkish dialects date back to Kowalski (1919), followed by Kowalski (1926) were Turkish riddles and folk songs from various parts of Macedonia (Tetovo, Radoviš etc.) are elaborated.

Work on the phonological features of the Rumelian Turkish dialects occurs in Kowalski (1930, 1932-34, 1936, 1938-40, 1941, 1963), followed by Nemeth (1956)'s subdivision of the Rumelian Turkish dialect group into a Western Rumelian dialect group and Eastern Rumelian dialect group. Within the Western Rumelian dialect group, Nemeth studies Kumanovo, Skopje, Tetovo, Gostivar and Ohrid dialects<sup>4</sup>.

Turkish influence on Macedonian creates the main scope of studies for Yaşar-Nasteva (1962, 1970, 1972, 1976) cited in Yaşar-Nasteva (1987)<sup>5</sup>. There are also many recent works dealing with Balkan Turkish Dialects (Kakuk 1972, Ibrahim

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<sup>4</sup> Tryjarski, E. (1990). Balkan Dialects in *Handbuch der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Teil 1, György Hazai Akadémiai Kiado. Budapest.

<sup>5</sup> Yaşar – Nasteva, o. (1987). *Turški Elementi vo Jazikot i Stilot na Makedonskata Narodna Poezija*. Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na Naukite i Umetnostite.

1982, Yusuf 1987, Teodosiyeviç 1985,1987,1988, Johanson 1992,Matras 1990,1996) all cited in Friedman (1996)<sup>6</sup>.

Studies on Turkish dialects in Kosovo reveal in Hafiz (1976, 1979, 1980)<sup>7</sup> and Morina (1985, 1985)<sup>8</sup>. Tryjarski (1980) cites works on Turkish in Albania by Myderriz (1950, 1955) and also works on the Turkish dialects of Greece. Work done by the Turcologists in Bulgaria (Mollova 1960, 1962-71, 1973-74, 1976-78, 1980, 1986; Mollov 1966; Boev 1960, 1968, 1972, 1975), Romania ( Drimba 1962-63, 1967, 1970, 1972, 1975), and other regions ( Hazai 1959-68, 1970-71, 1973-74, 1976, 1978; Kakuk 1956, 1958, 1960-61, 1966, 1968, 1972, 1974, 1977) is also cited in Tryjarski (1990).

The number of the studies on Balkan Turkish Dialects could be undoubtedly extended, however, all the works cited unite in the point of being diachronically oriented with a focus on the historical background of the Turkish dialects spoken in the Balkans.

<sup>6</sup> Friedman, V. A. (1996). *West Rumelian Turkish in Macedonia and Adjacent Areas*. University of Chicago.

<sup>7</sup> Hafiz, N. (1976). 'Prizren'de (Kosova) Türk Ağzının Başlıca Özellikleri' in *Çevren*. IV/12. Priştine. pp. 29 - 37.

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<sup>8</sup> Morina. I. (1985). 'Mamuşa Ağzının Fonetik Özellikleri' in: *Çevren*. XII/49. Priştine. pp.23-33.

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\* The non-occurrence of "ö" is a characteristic of many Western Rumelian Dialects (Nemeth 1956)

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