

THE STRUCTURE OF *DİYE* CLAUSES IN TURKISH

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THE STRUCTURE OF *DİYE* CLAUSES IN TURKISH

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

The Structure of *Diye* Clauses in Turkish

This study investigates morpho-syntactic properties of the subordinator *diye* in Turkish, which is mentioned in a limited number of studies in the literature but not studied in a comprehensive way. An exhaustive analysis of TS Corpus and METU Corpus reveals that *diye* not only is a very frequent word in Turkish but also has various functions; it occurs in (i) CP level adverbial clauses denoting reason, purpose / result; (ii) VP level adverbials denoting manner with verbs including verbs of communication, perception and cognition, and emotion, and assumption, understanding, precaution, an agreement when verbs of cognition are dropped; (iii) adjectival clauses. Throughout this thesis, I focus on various tests to better understand that syntactic relationship between the matrix clause and the subordinate clause. The results indicate that (i) there is no unified *diye*, but two different realizations: non-decomposable (lexicalized) *diye*, and another one that can be decomposed into *de+ye* (say+Optative); (ii) connected to the decomposable *diye*, I argue that there is an operator that shifts the indexicals. The adverbial clauses with a decomposable *diye* are manner adverbials which by nature introduces the content of the verb *de-* ‘say’. The only time *diye* cannot mark manner adverbials is when it occurs successively with the verb *de-* ‘say’. I claim that because of the two operators that need to operate on the indexicals inside the quotations at the same time, the derivation crashes. However, when they do not occur successively, the derivation does not crash for prosodic reasons.

ÖZET

Türkçe’de *Diye* Tümceciklerinin Yapısı

Bu çalışma, alanyazında sınırlı sayıda çalışmada bahsi geçen ancak kapsamlı bir şekilde çalışılmamış olan Türkçe’nin bir yantümce bağlacı *diye*’nin biçim-sözdizimsel özelliklerini araştırmaktadır. TS Derlemi ve ODTÜ Derlemi’nin kapsamlı analizleri *diye*’nin Türkçe’de yalnızca çok sık kullanılan bir sözcük olduğunu değil, aynı zamanda çeşitli işlevleri olduğunu da ortaya çıkarır; (i) sebep, amaç / sonuç bildiren tümleyici öbeği seviyesindeki zarf yan tümcelerinde; (ii) iletişim fiillerinin (*de-* hariç), algılama ve biliş fiillerinin, ve duygu fiillerinin fiil öbeği seviyesindeki niteleme zarf yan tümcelerinde ve biliş fiilleri düştüğü zaman varsayım, anlayış, önlem ve anlaşma zarf yan tümcelerinde; (iii) sıfat tümcelerinde görülür. Bu tez çalışması boyunca, ana tümce ve yantümce arasındaki sözdizimsel ilişkiyi daha iyi anlamak için çeşitli sınamalar üzerine yoğunlaşıyorum. Sonuçlar gösteriyor ki (i) *diye* için tek bir analiz söz konusu olamaz, *diye* hem *di-* ve *-ye* olarak bölünebilir hem de tek bir kelime olarak var olmaktadır; (ii) bölünebilir *diye* alıntılar içindeki kişi özellikli zamirleri işleyen bir işlemcinin varlığına sebep olur. Bu tür *diye* ile birlikte gözlemlenen zarf yantümceleri doğası gereği *de-* fiilinin içeriğini belirten niteleme zarf yan tümceleridir. *Diye* sadece *de-* fiili ile art arda geldiğinde niteleme zarf yan tümcelerini belirtemez çünkü kişi özellikli zamirler üzerinde işlem yapması gereken iki işlemci türetmenin çökmesine neden olur. Böyle olmadığı durumlarda ise türetme çökmez çünkü *diye* ve *de-* fiili farklı bürün öbeklerinde bulunmaktadır.

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to my dear mother Nazike and dear father Hamdi,

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I dedicate this thesis with love and gratitude

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ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	First Person Singular
2SG	Second Person Singular
3SG	Third Person Singular
1PL	First Person Plural
2PL	Second Person Plural
3PL	Third Person Plural
ABLE	Ability
ABL	Ablative Case Marker
ACC	Accusative Case Marker
ADJ	Adjectival
ADV	Adverbial
AOR	Aorist
ASS	Associative
CAUS	Causative
CM	Compound Marker
COM	Comitative Case Marker
CON	Conditional Copula
CVB	Converbial
DAT	Dative Case Marker
EVID	Evidential Marker
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive Case Marker
GenCop	Generalizing Copula
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitival
INS	Instrumental Case Marker
LOC	Locative Case Marker
NEC	Necessity
NEG	Negation
NML	Nominalizer
NPrt	Negation Particle
NOM	Nominative Case Marker
NONF	Nonfinite
OPT	Optative
OREL	Object Relativizer
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past
PL	Plural
PastCop	Past Copula
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possibility

PROG	Progressive
REC	Reciprocal
QPrt	Question Particle
SREL	Subject Relativizer

Abbreviations special for Kalmyk from Knyazev (2015)

CVB.IPFV	Imperfective Converb
JUSS	Jussive

Abbreviations in Popjes and Popjes 1986 as cited in Cristofaro, 2013)

TEMPRY	Temporary
--------	-----------

Abbreviations in Aarts (2006)

3.SING	Third Person Singular
ABS	Absolutive
CLASS	Classifier
ERG	Ergative
NPAST	Nonpast
SUFF	Suffix

Abbreviations in Göksel (2014)

CM	Compound Marker
COMP	Complementizer
NDER	De-verbal noun forming derivational suffix
1POSS.PL	First person plural possessive marker

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the morpho-syntactic properties of *diye* are analyzed. In many works, *diye* is assumed to be the *-(y)A* converbial form of the verb *de-* ‘say’ (Emre, 1945, p. 388; Underhill, 1976, p. 431; Lewis, 1978, p. 174; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 462), although, rarely, it has been stated that *diye* ‘saying, so that’ is the optative participle of the verb *de* ‘(to) say’ (Sebüktekin, 1971, p. 72). The cognates of *diye* do not only occur in other Turkic languages, e.g. Sakha (Baker, 2011) and Uzbek (Rancador, 1988, as cited in Chisarik and van der Wurff, 2003), and other languages from the lakoffnuage family, e.g. Kalmyk (Knyazev, 2015; Baranova, 2010) but they also occur in geographically widespread areas and genetically unrelated languages such as Bengali (cf. Chisarik and van der Wurff, 2003), Akan, Ga, Makah, Hungarian (Rancador, 1988; Saxena, 1995, both cited in Chisarik and van der Wurff, 2003), Japanese.¹ *Diye* tends to occur very frequently both in formal language and colloquial language, with 558,778 hits among 491,360,398 tokens which gives us the 1,137.21 instances per million words in TS Corpus² and 3,969 instances of *diye* in METU Corpus.³

In many studies, *diye* is treated as a subordinator, a marker that combines a subordinate clause to a main clause (Hatipoğlu, 1972; Kornfilt, 1997; Karahan, 1997; Lewis, 2001; Delice, 2003; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; İnce, 2006; Erkman, Delikgöz

¹ I would like to thank Savaş Çetin for pointing out that Japanese uses a subordinator derived from ‘to say’.

² (T)aner (S)ezer Corpus is a large dataset of over 500 million tokens derived from various sources including online newspapers, forums, social media, academic papers, etc.

³ (M)iddle (E)ast (T)echnical (U)niversity Turkish Corpus is a collection of 2 million words of post-1990 written Turkish samples. The words of METU Turkish Corpus are taken from 10 different genres.

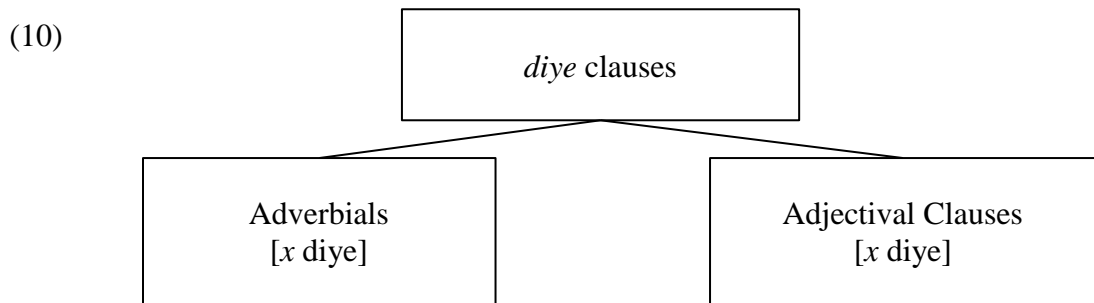
and Görür, 2006; Göksel, 2014 among many others). More specifically, it has been stated that a subordinate clause with *diye* is an adverbial phrase headed by a converb (Karahan, 1997, p. 144). In addition to that *diye* that occurs with Noun Phrases (NPs) is listed among postpositions such as *gibi* ‘as, like’, *kadar* ‘till, until’, *dek* ‘till, until’, *ile* ‘with’, *için* ‘for’, *göre* ‘according to’, *rağmen* ‘despite’, etc. These postpositions are stated to “allow the nouns to function as adverbs, adjectives or conjunctions” (Karahan, 1997, p. 22, my translation).

One of the main points that will be raised in this thesis is the multifunctional aspect of *diye*. We observe that *diye* occurs in constructions as varied as the ones below:

- (1) Ahmet [[ders çalış-acağ-ım] diye] ev-den çık-tı.
 Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FUT-1SG *diye* home-ABL leave-PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet left home because I will study.’
- (2) Bahşiş bahşiş diye turist-ler-in peş-in-den koş-uyor.
 tip tip *diye* tourist-PL-GEN behind-3PL-ABL run-PROG.3SG
 ‘(S)He is running after the tourists saying “tip tip”.’
- (3) Baş-ın-ı [[küt] diye] tabut-un kapağ-ın-a çarp-tı.
 head-3SG-ACC *küt diye* coffin-GEN cover-3SG-DAT hit-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He hit his/her head to the coffin’s cover very hard.’
 Lit: ‘(S)He hit his/her head to the coffin’s cover (like) “küt”.’
- (4) Yarıyıl tatil-in-e ilişkin plan-lar-ın-ı [[kitap
 semester break-CM-DAT about plan-PL-3SG-ACC book
 oku-yacağ-ım oyun oyna-yacağ-ım] diye] özetle-di.
 read-FUT-1SG game play-FUT-1SG *diye* summarize-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He summarized his/her semester break plans like “I’ll read books and play games.’
- (5) [[Bennu-dan 10000 USD al-dı] diye] gör-dü-m.
 Bennu-ABL 10000 USD take-PAST.3SG *diye* see-PAST-1SG
 ‘I assume (s)he took 10000 USD from Bennu.’
 Lit: ‘I saw it as if (s)he took 10000 USD from Bennu.’

- (6) [[On-un gibi ol-abil-ir mi-yim] diye] hayal.et-ti-m.
 (s)he-GEN like be-POSS-AOR QPrt-1SG *diye* dream-PAST-1SG
 ‘I imagined (what) if I could be like him/her.’
- (7) [[Sayı-mız art-ıyor] diye] sevin-di-m.
 number-1PL.NOM increase-PROG.3SG *diye* be.glad-PAST-1SG
 ‘I was glad that our numbers are increasing.’
- (8) [[Gece çalış-ıl-m-ıyor] diye] o iş-e gir-di.
 night work-PASS-NEG-PROG.3SG *diye* that work-DAT begin-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He had gone into that job on the understanding that there was no night working.’
- (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 401)
- (9) Masumiyet diye film
 Innocence *diye* movie
 ‘a movie called Innocence’

We propose that *diye* is special in that (i) it occurs in adverbial clauses denoting purpose / result or reason, as in (1); (ii) adverbials denoting manner, as in (2) and (3), with verbs including verbs of communication, perception and cognition, and emotion, as in (4-7), respectively, and assumption, understanding, precaution, an agreement, as in (8); (iii) it occurs in adjectival clauses, as in (9). *Diye* fulfills the following functions:



Diye and its complement must be ‘close’, sometimes adjacent. As seen, it is grammatical when its complement immediately precedes *diye* (11); however, when an

element interferes between *diye* and its complement, it yields ungrammaticality as in (12).

- (11) Oya kitab-ı oku-du-m diye konuş-tu.
Oya.NOM book-ACC read-PAST-1SG *diye* say-PAST.3SG
- (12) *Kitab-ı oku-du-m Oya diye konuş-tu.⁴
book-ACC read-PAST-1SG Oya.NOM *diye* say-PAST.3SG

‘Oya_j said that I_j read the book.’

In this section, an overview of *diye* is presented. In the next section, the aim of this current work is presented.

1.1 The aim of the thesis

The functions of *diye* and the morpho-syntactic structure of the clauses and other structures with *diye* will be analyzed in the light of the following question:

What syntactic function does *diye* have and what are its syntactic positions?

In the end, we will have the division in (1) above. The important point in this division is that the subordinate clauses which occur with the verbs of communication, verbs of perception and cognition, and verbs of emotion and are marked by *diye* are (manner) adverbials rather than complements contrary to expectation.

The aim of the present work is twofold. The major aim is to investigate the morpho-syntactic properties of the subordinator *diye* by analysing different clauses in which it occurs so that a comprehensive and systematic analysis can be developed and the internal structure of the constructions with *diye* can be represented. Related to that

⁴ This sentence is grammatical under the reading that ‘(S)He_j said that Oya, I_j read the book.’

aim, I also hope to see whether these constructions share the same structure and whether there is an instance of convergence that leads to a unified definition for *diye* or these constructions have different structures and there is an instance of divergence.

1.2 The data

The data is based on METU Corpus and TS Corpus (see fn. (1) and (2)). There are 3,969 instances of *diye* in METU Corpus, and 558,778 hits among 491,360,398 tokens in TS Corpus which gives us the 1,137.21 instances per million words. It is so common that it is not unusual to find it more than once in a sentence as in the examples (13-16) excerpted from METU Corpus and TS Corpus.

- (13) Yenilik ol-sun diye senatör pipi-si diye tatlı mı
 originality be-IMP.3SG *diye* senator dick-3SG *diye* dessert QPrt
 uydur-acağ-ız şimdi?
 make.up-FUT-1PL now

‘Are we going to make up a dessert *called* “senator’s dick” to be original?’

- (14) Can-ı sıkıl-an adam diye şarkı mı
 soul-3SG.NOM get.bored-SREL man *diye* song.NOM QPrt
 ol-ur diye on-dan hesap.sor-ar.
 be-AOR.3SG *diye* (s)he-ABL call.to.account-AOR.3SG

‘(S)He calls him/her to account *by asking* how there can be a song *called* “The man who got bored”.’

(15) Yeteneğ-im var diye her şey-i
talent-1SG.NOM exist.GenCoP.3SG *diye* every thing-ACC

yap-abil-ir-im diye düşün-mek kadar kötü bir şey
do-ABLE-AOR-1SG *diye* think-INF as bad a thing.NOM

ol-a-ma-z.
be-POSS-NEG-AOR.3SG

‘There cannot be anything as bad as the thought: “I can do everything because I have the talent.”’

(16) Böyle şey-ler-e inan-ma-yacağ-ım diye kendi-m-e
such thing-PL-DAT believe-NEG-FUT-1SG *diye* self-1SG-DAT

söz.ver-miş-ti-m ama belki ben-i affed-er
promise-PERF-PAST-1SG but maybe I-ACC forgive-AOR.3SG

diye düşün-dü-m.
diye think-PAST-1SG

‘I promised myself not to believe such things but I thought that maybe (s)he would forgive me.’

De- is a verb of quotation.⁵ Therefore, it is plausible for it to keep its quotative feature while subordinating a clause. However, this is not the whole story. The embedded clause that is *diye* and its complement, behaves in two ways. Assuming that quotations are frozen expressions and thus, do not allow some operations,⁶ the complements of *diye* are sometimes quotatives and sometimes non-quotatives. For string-identical sentences, we can have two different interpretations. This ambiguity is represented in examples (17) and (18) below.

⁵ Quotation will be addressed in Chapter 4.

⁶ These operations are Indexical Shift, A’ Extraction and NPI licensing and they are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

(17) A: Funda Yusuf Atılgan'ın bir kitabını okumuş, günlerdir sadece bundan bahsediyor.
'Funda has read one of Yusuf Atılgan's books, and it's the only thing she has been talking about for days now.'

B: Funda_j-nın (*pro_j/*_k*) oku-du-m diye bahset-tiğ-i
Funda-GEN read-PAST-1SG *diye* mention-OREL-3SG

kitap aslında Oğuz Atay-ın.
book.NOM in.fact Oğuz Atay-GEN.GenCop.3SG

'The book that Funda mentions as having read is one of Atay's (not Atılgan's).'

(18) A: Funda bana dedi ki sen Yusuf Atılgan'ın bir kitabını okumuşsun ve beğenmişsin.
'Funda told me that you read and loved one of Yusuf Atılgan's books.'

B: Funda_j-nın (*pro*_j/_k*) oku-du-m diye bahset-tiğ-i
Funda-GEN read-PAST-V1SG *diye* mention-OREL-3SG

kitap aslında Oğuz Atay-ın.
book.NOM in.fact Oğuz Atay- GEN.GenCop.3SG

'The book that Funda mentions as me having read it is one of Atay's (not Atılgan's).'

The embedded subject in (27) refers to Funda, i.e. the topic of the context of the utterance (subject of the matrix clause) while in (28) it refers to the speaker, i.e. the subject of the reported event. Although the sentences are string identical, they have different interpretations. It seems that the complement clauses of *diye* are open to some operations; i.e. certain elements outside of the embedded clause can 'see' inside that clause in (27) but this is not the case in (28).⁷

Another ambiguity is given in example (29) below. This sentence is ambiguous and this ambiguity is also related to functions of a function word *diye*. The clause marked by *diye* can either present the content of the action denoted by the matrix verb or it can state the reason or purpose of the action denoted by that matrix verb. Although

⁷ This problem and the motivation for the differences between these string identical sentences are addressed in Chapter 6 section 6.5.2.

there may be a prosodic difference so that the sentence is disambiguated, which indicates that they are actually not identical, we will not concentrate on prosody in this thesis.

- (19) Oya ben gel-di-m diye bağır-dı.
Oya.NOM I.NOM come-PAST-1SG *diye* shout-PAST.3SG
(a) Oya_j shouted: ‘I_j came.’
(b) I shouted because Oya came.

There is a correlation between the coreference of the subject of the embedded and matrix verb, and in what respect the embedded clause modifies the matrix clause. The embedded clause introduces the content when the subject in the embedded clause and the one in the matrix clause corefer, i.e. when the indexical “I” shifts; this is the interpretation in (19a). On the other hand, the embedded clause introduces the reason of the matrix clause in (19b) but in this reading the subjects do not corefer, i.e. the indexical “I” does not shift, it refers to the speaker of the main clause.⁸

In consideration of all the functions of *diye* and the data presented here, in the following chapters, you will find discussions of subordination, adverbials, complementation and quotation in Turkish.

1.3 Summary of the findings

Based on tests of complementhood (Chapter 5), it is concluded that the constructions with *diye* are adjuncts rather than complements. They are either CP level or VP level adverbials or DP level adjectivals. However, there is a distinction in the internal structure of *diye*. The analysis (Chapter 6) shows that (i) there is no unified *diye*, but two

⁸ See Chapter 6, section 6.4 for the reason reading and 6.5.2 for the content reading.

different realizations: non-decomposable (lexicalized) *diye*, and another one that can be decomposed into *de+ye* (say+Optative); (ii) connected to the decomposable *diye*, there is an operator that shifts the indexicals.

I will come to the conclusion that that the sentences in 1-9 and 13-19 fall under four types of construction:

(20) a. Masumiyet *diye* film

Innocence *diye* movie

‘a movie called Innocence’

(cf. §3.3)

b. Ahmet_i ders çalış-acağ-ım_k *diye* ev-den çık-tı_i.

Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FUT-1SG *diye* home-ABL leave-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet_i left home because I_k will study.’

(cf. §3.2.3)

c. Ahmet_i ödev-i bitir-di-m_i *diye* düşün-üyor_i.

Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG *diye* think-PROG.3SG

‘Ahmet_i thinks that I_i finished the homework.’

(cf. §4.1)

d. Ahmet_i ödev-i bitir-di-m_k *diye* düşün-üyor_i.

Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG *diye* think-PROG.3SG

‘Ahmet_i thinks of me_k as having finished the homework.’ (cf. §4.1)

I will argue that these constructions have the following properties, as illustrated below in Table 1:

Table 1. Structures with *Diye*

(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(i4)
[_{PP} <i>diye</i>]	[_{CP} <i>diye</i>]	[_{CvBP} <i>di+ye</i>]	[_{CvBP} [_{SC} <i>di+ye</i>]]
Adjectival	Reason, Purpose Adverbial	Manner Adverbial	
DP-level	CP-level	VP-level	

These finding will be argued in the subsequent chapters.

1.4 The outline of the thesis

The thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter 2 begins with a literature review on subordination and continues with a literature review of *diye* as a subordinator in Turkish.

Chapter 3 focuses on the adjunct clauses that are marked by *diye*. It describes and analyzes adverbial clauses denoting reason, purpose/result, assumption, understanding, precaution, and agreement as well as adjectival clauses but leaves manner adverbials that introduce the content of *de-* ‘say’ to Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 begins with a literature review on indexical shift and quotatives and moves to the discussion of *diye* in relation to these phenomena.

Chapter 5 addresses the issue of why constructions with *diye* are not complement clauses. These constructions include manner adverbials of verbs of communication, perception and cognition, and emotion.

Chapter 6 presents the analysis of the constructions with *diye* in the light of the findings in the previous chapters.

Chapter 7 summarizes the main points and claims of the current work and concludes it with some remaining issues that need to be addressed in future studies.

CHAPTER 2

SUBORDINATION

In this chapter, an overview of subordination will be given. Upon presenting the defining characteristics of subordination, its types will be examined. Following that, we will have a look at the subordinate clauses in Turkish and see how *diye* is related to this topic.

2.1 Overview of subordination

As Andersson (1975, i.a.) points out, some sentences occur as parts of other sentences.

This happens in at least two different ways, as illustrated by (1) and (2).

- (1) John defeated Bill and Bill defeated Sam and Sam defeated Max and Max defeated me and I defeated no one.
- (2) John asked if Bill had told them that Sam explained how Max proved that I defeated no one.

(Andersson, 1975, pp. 2-3)

“The combining of sentences as in (1) is referred to as coordination. ... The combining of sentences as in (2) is called subordination” (Andersson, 1975). In this study, we will deal with sentences that are similar to the one in (2) but not to the one in (1).

As Andersson (1975, p. 42) highlights, there is no correlation between whether a clause is a main clause or a subordinate clause and whether this clause carries the important information or just plays a parenthetical role within the sentence. Jespersen (1968 as cited in Andersson, 1975, p. 42) notes that

It should first be remarked that the principal idea is not always expressed in the 'principal clause', for instance not in "*This was because he was ill*". The idea which is expressed in the 'principal clause' in "*It is true that he is very learned*", may be rendered by a simple adverb in "*Certainly he is very learned*" - does that change his being learned from a subordinate to a principal idea? (p. 105)

The answer is "no". Although *he is very learned* is the principal idea in both of the clauses, it seems that it is not always expressed in the main clause and this issue brings us to the division between semantic and syntactic subordination. Semantically, a main clause is a clause that makes a statement, asks a question or gives a command, whereas a semantically subordinate clause is a clause that does not perform one of the main types of speech acts that are making a statement, asking a question or giving a command but a clause that denotes facts, beliefs, ideas, places, times, etc. (Andersson, 1975, p. 45-6).

A semantically subordinate clause is not necessarily a syntactic subordinate clause. Syntactically, it can be either subordinate as in (2) repeated below or a main clause as in (3).

- (2) John asked if Bill had told them that Sam explained how Max proved that I defeated no one.

(Andersson, 1975, p. 3)

- (3) It's true that never in his life has he had to borrow money.

(Hooper and Thompson, 1973, p. 476 as cited in Andersson, 1975, p. 21)

Syntactic subordination is related to the dependency relations between bigger or higher clauses and smaller or lower clauses. Asher and Simpson (1993) define subordination as "a type of syntactic linking strategy in which one linguistic unit, the subordinate one, is dependent on another, e.g., *He said that he was ill* or *if you don't stop you will be ill*" and subordinate (dependent) clause as "a clause which cannot stand

on its own but is linked by a subordinating conjunction or subordinator to a main clause, e.g. *that he was ill, if you don't stop*, etc.” (p. 5176).

Cristofaro (2003 as cited in Aarts, 2006, p. 251) regards subordination as “a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events, such that one of them (which will be called the dependent event) lacks an autonomous profile, and is construed in the perspective of the other event (which will be called the main event)” (p. 2).

Van Valin (1984, p. 546) makes a distinction between coordinate and subordinate clauses in terms of [\pm dependent] and [\pm embedded]. Coordinate sentences are [-dependent, -embedded]. In subordination, on the other hand, only one of the clauses is in a fully independent form; the other occurs in a form which precludes its occurrence as a complete sentence. This clause, the subordinate clause, is dependent upon the other, independent clause for its occurrence. The relation between the dependent and the independent clause is [+dependent, +embedded]. In addition to these, [-dependent, +embedded] defines a potential relation in which a clause functions as part of another clause but is fully independent of it. Parentheticals (McCawley, 1982 as cited in Van Valin, 1984, p. 547) and direct discourse complements are given as possible candidates for that combination. Finally, [+dependent, -embedded] is a relation between a matrix clause and an adverbial clause (Van Valin, 1984, p. 544-5).

In general, subordinate clauses can be assumed to include all clauses which are non-“main” (Haiman and Thompson, 1984, p. 510). (Jespersen, 1933) calls clauses “containing a statement which is not a sentence by itself, but is made part of a sentence”

as ‘content clauses’ (p. 349).⁹ He adds that “Such content-clauses are very often introduced by means of the conjunction *that* [in English]” (p. 349). Aarts (2006) does not limit subordinate elements to clauses and states that “if an element α is subordinate to an element β , it is less prominent than β and usually α is dependent on β ” (p. 248). Therefore, an adjective is also subordinate to a head noun within the same noun phrase.

In conclusion, it is pointed out by many that subordinate clauses are structurally dependent on the matrix clause they are subordinate to. However, I must note that this does not mean that these clauses cannot stand on their own as independent clauses; e.g. the finite subordinate clauses that are fully inflected with tense and subject agreement markers can stand on their own.

Stassen (1985 as cited in Cristofaro, 2013) makes a distinction between balanced and deranked subordinate clauses and highlights that the balancing/deranking distinction overlaps with, but is not equivalent to that between finiteness and non-finiteness.

Cristofaro (2013) summarizes that distinction as follows:

non-finite verb forms have reduced inflectional potential, while finite verb forms display full inflectional potential. The balancing/deranking distinction, on the other hand, is based exclusively on the ability of a verb form to occur in independent declarative clauses. Many verb forms with reduced inflectional potential (infinitives, participles and the like) cannot occur in independent declarative clauses, and thus count as deranked forms. However, verb forms with reduced inflectional potential do count as balanced if they can occur in independent declarative clauses. (p. 1)

In this section, we gave an overview of subordination. In the following section we are going to focus on the defining characteristics of subordination.

⁹ Note that this term does not correspond to the content of *de-* ‘say’ although it includes them, as well. I will come back to this issue in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

2.2 Defining characteristics of subordination

A complex sentence is a sentence consisting of a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses (Asher and Simpson, 1993, p. 5104). Below there is a summary of the defining characteristics of these subordinate clauses which are presented in Rutherford (1970), Haiman and Thompson (1984), Van Valin (1984), and Aarts (2006) and Haegeman (2010).¹⁰

(i) “When a clause is subordinate to another clause, the subordination is often marked” (Aarts, 2006, pp. 248-9),¹¹ as illustrated in the examples in (4) below.

- (4) a. [[when they arrived] all hell broke loose.]
b. [we liked the play [because the acting was superb.]]
c. [he never calls you [although he says he likes you very much.]]
d. [he claims [that the trains [that go to Edinburgh] are running on time.]
e. [I don’t know [whether they will cancel the appointment or not.]]
f. [the committee will decide [if you’re suitable for this position.]
g. [it is entirely appropriate [for you to comment on his management style.]]

(ii) “One clause can be contained within the other, that is, surrounded by material from the other, as illustrated by the following schema: $S_1[...[S_2]...]S_1$ ” (Haiman and Thompson, 1984, pp. 513-4).¹² This is illustrated in an example from Mandarin in (5) below.

- (5) wo bu xihuan [chou-yan de] xuesheng.
I NEG like extract-tobacco REL student
‘I don’t like students who smoke.’

¹⁰ Turkish subordinate clauses are examined in terms of these characteristics except for (vi) in this list. This will be represented in §2.5.

¹¹ Related Turkish data is given in §2.5-i.

¹² Related Turkish data is given in §2.5-i.

(iii) “Negative element in the main clause can take scope over the subordinate clause” (Aarts, 2006, pp. 250-1)¹³ and this is illustrated in example (6) below.

(6) I didn’t go to the gallery because I wanted to meet Sue.

As Aarts (2006) points out, the sentence in (6) is ambiguous. The difference between the two readings has to do with the scope of the negative element in the main clause. He states that

The negative element extends into the subordinate clause under the reading that *the reason for my not going to the gallery was that I wanted to meet Sue in some other location*. However, the negative element does not extend into the subordinate clause under the reading *I did in fact go to the gallery, but the reason for my going there was not that I wanted to meet Sue but some other reason*. (p. 251)

A pause is only possible with the reading that *the reason for my not going to the gallery was that I wanted to meet Sue in some other location* and that is the reading that negation has scope over the subordinate clause (Aarts, 2006, pp. 250-1).¹⁴

(6) I didn’t go to the gallery because (PAUSE) I wanted to meet Sue.
“The reason for my not going to the gallery was that I wanted to meet Sue in some other location.”

I didn’t go to the gallery because I wanted to meet Sue.
“I did in fact go to the gallery, but the reason for my going there was not that I wanted to meet Sue but some other reason.”

Haiman and Thompson (1984) state that “intonational linking and intonational breaking between two clauses correlate with a difference in communicative intent” (p. 516). This is illustrated in an example from Japanese in (7) below.

¹³ Related Turkish data is given in §2.5-ii.

¹⁴ Related Turkish data is given in §2.5-ii.

Van Valin (1984 as cited in Aarts, 2006, p. 250) notes that

the verb in the first clause must be in the neutral nonpast tense form, and the two clauses must have the same subject. The tense interpretation for the whole sentence is a function of the tense inflection of the verb in the second clause; there is therefore G[rammatical] C[ategory] dependence between the clauses. (p. 546)

2.3 Types of subordinate clauses

In this section, I will briefly explain (syntactic) types of subordinate clauses.

Syntactically, subordinate clauses can be complement clauses, adverbial clauses or relative clauses.

2.3.1 Argument clauses

Argument clauses can be clauses that stand in subject or object positions in a clause.

First, we will define subjects and then move to complements, i.e. the direct objects of verbs.

Subjects are the external arguments of the predicates. These clauses stand in the specifier position of the predicates. They can have finite or non-finite predicates and can be clausal. In that case they are called subject clauses.

Complements are the internal arguments of the predicates. They are direct objects. Asher and Simpson (1993) define the complement as follows:

The complement is an obligatory element in the [transitive or ditransitive] predicate excluding the verb, e.g., ‘She ate *a banana*.’ In Generative Grammar, it is a sister constituent of a zero-level category. In X-Bar Syntax, it is defined as one of the major components of a phrasal category. Sometimes it can be applied to categories other than the verb, e.g., the *of* phrase in *Spirit of St Louis* may be termed the complement of *spirit*. (p. 5104)

In many languages, certain verbs -notably ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘know’, ‘believe’, ‘like’, and often also ‘tell’ and ‘want’- can take a clausal complement as a core argument. This is called a complement clause (Dixon, 2006, p. 1). The semantic types of these verbs can be grouped as in (13) as listed in Dixon (2006, p. 13).

(13) ATTENTION, including

(a) see, hear, notice, smell, show

(b) recognize, discover, find

THINKING, including

(a) think (of/about/over), consider, imagine, dream (of/about)

(b) assume, suppose

(c) remember, forget

(d) know, understand

(e) believe, suspect

LIKING, including

(a) like, love, prefer, regret

(b) fear

(c) enjoy

SPEAKING, including

- (a) say, inform, tell (one sense)
- (b) report
- (c) describe, refer to
- (d) promise, threaten
- (e) order, command, persuade, tell (one sense)

According to Dixon (2006, p. 15) a complement clause has the following basic properties:

- a. It has the internal constituent structure of a clause.
- b. It functions as a core argument of a higher clause.
- c. It will always describe a proposition; this can be a fact, an activity, or a potential state, etc.

Especially for speaking verbs, Dixon (2006) notes that

The complement clauses for Speaking verbs (and sometimes for certain Thinking verbs) constitute ‘indirect speech’. Some languages lack this grammatical technique and simply employ ‘direct speech’; for example, ‘John promised: “I’ll go”’ rather than ‘John promised (that) he would go.’ In such languages, Speaking verbs lack complement clauses, and do not enter into complementation strategies. (p. 10)

In this thesis, we will discover the curious case of *diye*, whether it introduces indirect speech or direct speech, or none at all.¹⁸

¹⁸ This issue will be addressed in Chapter 4.

2.3.2 Adjunct clauses

An adjunct is an optional element in a grammatical construction which may be added or omitted without any consequent syntactic change (Asher and Simpson, 1993, p. 5089).

Adjuncts can be adverbials of verbs, adjectives of nouns, etc. In this section, I will briefly discuss adverbial clauses and then move to relative clauses, i.e. complex adjectival clauses, in the following section.

2.3.2.1 Adverbial Clauses

“Adverbs are considered as modifiers of verbs [...] and while certain adverbs may not occur with verbs of certain classes, other adverbs seem to have to occur with certain classes of verbs” (Lakoff, 1966, p. 1). Lees, 1960 and Chomsky, 1965 (both as cited in Lakoff, 1966, pp. 1-2) state that different types of adverbs were introduced at different levels in the hierarchy. This attempt divided the VP and they claimed that certain verbs needed to take certain adverbs as in *John remained ‘in England’* and other verbs did not need to occur with adverbials as in *John solved the problem ‘in England’*. Lakoff (1966, p. 5) also claims that [some adverbials] are outside of the verb phrase (are not constituents of VP).

An adverbial clause is a clause which functions like an adverb to express various relationships (Asher and Simpson, 1993, p. 5090). Aarts (2006) states that

adjunct clauses furnish circumstantial information that is supplementary to the proposition expressed by the main clause. The subordinators that introduce adjunct clauses can signal a wide variety of meanings, among them ‘time’ (when, while since), ...; ‘reason’ (because, since, as), ...; ‘concession’ ((al)though, (even) though), ...; ‘condition’ (if), ...; ‘result’, ...; ‘purpose’, ... (this is by no means an exhaustive list of the meanings that can be expressed). (p. 252)

Now, let's see the defining characteristics of adverbial clauses that are listed in Diessel (2001).¹⁹

(i) An adverbial clause that occurs before the clause that it modifies can include a pronoun that is controlled by a coreferential noun in the following main clause (as in (14a)); however, coordinate clauses do not allow for this kind of a 'backwards pronominalization' (as in (14b)) (Reinhart, 1983; Haspelmath, 1995 as cited in Diessel, 2001, p. 437) as illustrated in example (14) below.

- (14) a. When he_i came to Paris, Peter_i met John. (subordination)
b. *He_i came to Paris, and Peter_i met John. (coordination)

(ii) While "it is possible extract an element from a clause that is modified by an adverbial clause [(as in (15a))], nothing can be extracted from a clause that is accompanied by a coordinate clause" (as in (15b)) (Ross, 1967; van Oirsouw, 1987 both cited in Diessel, 2001, p. 438).

- (15) a. What did you tell her _ when you left? (subordination)
b. *What did you tell her _ and you left? (coordination)

(iii) While the adverbial clauses of many languages may occur in various positions relative to the associated main clause/predicate (as in (16a-c)), the position of coordinate clauses is usually invariable vis-à-vis the other conjunct (as in (16d-f)) (Haspelmath, 1995 as cited in Diessel 2001, p. 438).

- (16) a. Peter admitted that Mary was right [before he left]. (subordination)
b. [Before he left] Peter admitted that Mary was right. (subordination)
c. Peter admitted, [before he left], that Mary was right. (subordination)

¹⁹ Whether the clauses with *diye* are adverbial clauses or not will be examined in Chapter 3, section 3.1.

- d. Peter admitted that Mary was right [and (he) left]. (coordination)
- e. *[And he left] Peter admitted that Mary was right. (coordination)
- f. *Peter admitted, [and he left], that Mary was right. (coordination)

(iv) While adverbial clauses cannot occur with a tag question (as in (17a)), a tag question can always be added to a coordinate clause (as in (17b)) (Cristofaro, 1998a,b as cited in Diessel, 2001, p. 438).

- (17) a. *She will assist you if she is there, isn't she? (subordination)
- b. She will assist you, but she isn't there, is she? (coordination)

(v) While the coordinate clauses of many languages allow for 'gapping' (deletion of the verb in one of the conjuncts of a coordinate structure; Ross, 1970 as cited in Diessel, 2001, p. 438) (as in (18b)), gapping is not possible in (adverbial) subordinate clauses (as in (18a)).

- (18) a. *Bill played the guitar when John _ the piano. (subordination)
- b. Bill played the guitar and John _ the piano. (coordination)

2.3.2.2 Relative clauses

A typical case of a relative clause is a clause which modifies a noun (Fabb, 1999, p. 3520; Lehmann, 1986, p. 664; Trask, 1993, p. 238, i.a.). According to Hartmann and Stork (1972), it is "a subordinate clause introduced by a relative pronoun or adverb, e.g. *who is sitting near the window* in *The man who is sitting near the window is my uncle* or *where he was born* in *This is the place where he was born*" (p. 195). As Fabb (1999) points out

A relative clause resembles an attributive adjective [...]. It acts as a modifier by restricting the semantic domain covered by a syntactic constituent (typically a noun). [...] Relative clauses can be built in many different ways. [...] Typological distinctions involving relative clauses includes the position of the head relative to the clause, the grammatical functions within the clause which the NPrel can occupy, the extent to which the clause is nominalized, and whether the clause forms a constituent with its head. [...] As Keenan and Comrie point out, given their semantic definition which we are using here, relative ‘clauses’ are not always actually clauses. For example, the following Turkish relative clause is expressed syntactically by a noun phrase which is headed by a nominalized verb (nominalized with the suffix *-diğ*) and has a genitive subject (*Hasan-ın*). The noun phrase which expresses the relative clause itself carries possessive morphology, and in effect ‘possesses’ its head *patates-i*:

- (19) [_{NP} Hasan-ın Sinan-a ver-diğ-i] patates-i ye-di-m.
 Hasan-of Sinan-to give his potato-ACC I-ate
 ‘I ate the potato that Hasan gave to Sinan.’ (p. 3521)

In this section, I discussed the types of subordination; argument clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses as complex adjectival clauses.²⁰ In the next section, we will have a look at subordination in Turkish and the status of *diye* in connection to this topic.

2.4 Subordination strategies in Turkish

Turkish has two types of subordination strategies which are the primary focus in many studies in the literature.

- a. Non-finite verb forms are subordinated via suffixation and they are of the three following types; (i) verbal nouns (non-finite verbs of noun clauses) (as in (20)), (ii) participles (non-finite verbs of relative clauses) (as in (21)), (iii) converbs (non-finite verbs of adverbial clauses) (as in (22)) (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005 i.a.).

²⁰ In Chapter 3, adjectival clauses with *diye* are presented. Whether these clauses are relative clauses or not will be discussed in a future study.

(20) Bu yaz İtalya'ya git-me-yi düşün-üyor-uz.
this summer Italy-DAT go-NONF-ACC think-PROG-1PL
'We're thinking of going to Italy this summer.'
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 360)

(21) geçen hafta bitir-diğ-im roman
last week finish-OREL-1SG novel
'the novel I finished last week'
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 391)

(22) Çalış-ır-ken radyo-yu hep açık tut-ar-ım.
work-AOR-CVB radio-ACC always on keep-AOR-1SG
'I always keep the radio on while/when I'm working.'
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 407)

In (20) the verb form is nominalized with *-mA* and it stands in the object position. Those kinds of verbal nouns can stand in a subject or object position or can function as a complement of an adposition since they are nominalized. Because they often occur in NP positions and can take nominal inflectional suffixes, they are also called nominal clauses or argument clauses and subordinating suffixes are thus called nominalizing suffixes. Besides being nominal on the surface, they still have full predicative potential to include a predicate and an overt subject different from the subject of the matrix clause if they are not in subject positions themselves (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005 i.a.). In (21) the participle form of the verb forms a relative clause. In (22) the suffix *-ken* derives adverbs from verbs and these converbs form adverbial clauses (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005 i.a.).

b. Finite subordinate clauses, on the other hand, can either simply be inserted within the superordinate clause or can be linked to their superordinate clause by *diye*, *gibi*, or *şeklinde* as in (23) or two root clauses are coordinated by *ki* as in (24) (Griffiths and Güneş, 2014).

- (23) Ahmet okul-a git-ti diye/gibi/şeklinde konuş-tu.
 Ahmet.NOM school-DAT go-PAST.3SG *diye/gibi/şeklinde* speak-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He spoke that Ahmet went to school.’

The subjects of finite subordinate clauses are nominative case marked (or accusative case marked when the matrix predicate is a verb of cognition, communication or perception) (Emre, 1945; Underhill, 1976; Lewis, 1978; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Kornfilt, 2013).

- (24) [Hasan san-ıyor ki] Ahmet okul-a git-ti.
 Hasan.NOM think-PROG.3SG *ki* Ahmet.NOM school-DAT go-PAST.3SG
 ‘Hasan thinks that Ahmet went to school.’

Subordinate clauses as in (24) are Indo-European type of subordinate clauses as the subordinate clauses are introduced by a subordinating conjunction and have a finite verb (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005 i.a.). For that matter, Griffiths and Güneş (2014) notes that “traditionally ... *ki* is understood as the complementizer of a finite CP ... and the clause to which *ki* is encliticized is analyzed as the matrix clause” (p. 200). However, they claim that “it functions as a parenthetical coordinator of the two root clauses and it stands at the end of the parenthetical clause” (p. 201).

Subordinate clauses, finite or non-finite, can be either complements or adjuncts of the main verb. In this thesis, we will not concentrate on subordinate clauses with non-finite verb forms but on subordinate clauses with finite verb forms that occur with *diye*.

2.5 *Diye* as a subordinator

Diye has generally been treated as a subordinator in many studies (Hatipoğlu, 1972; Kornfilt, 1997; Karahan, 1997; Lewis, 2001; Delice, 2003; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005;

İnce, 2006; Erkman, Delikgöz and Görür, 2006; Göksel, 2014 among many others).

More specifically, in Karahan (1997, p. 144), it is stated that the following example in

(25) includes a subordinate clause which is an adverbial phrase headed by a converb.

(25) Demek “On-u dünya-ya ben getir-di-m” diye
So (s)he-ACC world-DAT I.NOM bring-PAST-1SG *diye*

öldür-me-ye kalkış-acak-sın.
kill-NONF-DAT attempt-FUT-2SG

‘So you_j will attempt to kill him/her because I_j brought him/her into the world.’
(Karahan, 1997, p. 144)

As you can see here, the subordinate clause headed by *diye*, i.e. a converbial

form of the verb *de-* ‘say’, denotes the reason of the action denoted by the matrix verb; therefore, it is an adverbial clause.

This is confirmed when we take into consideration the defining characteristics of subordination that are mentioned in 2.2 above. It is shown by these defining characteristics of subordination in the previous section that clauses with *diye* are subordinate clauses of higher clauses. Now we will have a look at the examples with *diye* by taking these characteristics into account.

(i) As illustrated in the example in (26) below, “when a sentence is subordinate to another, the subordination is often marked” (Aarts, 2006) (cf. 2.2-i), in our example with *diye* and its complement are surrounded by material from the other clause (Haiman and Thompson, 1984) (cf. 2.2-ii), as shown by the boundaries of S₁ and S₂.

(26) [_{S1}Adam tüm bu hasret-i [[_{S2}can-ı gibi sev-diğ-i
man.NOM all this longing-ACC soul-3SG like love-OREL-3SG
ülke-sin-e zarar gel-me-sin] diye]] çek-iyor.]
country-3SG-DAT harm.NOM come-NEG-IMP.3SG *diye* have-PROG.3SG

‘He is putting up with this longing so that his country will come to no harm.’

(ii) In addition to that, as illustrated in the examples in (27) and (28) below, negation in the main clause may take scope over the subordinate clause (Aarts, 2006) (cf. 2.1.1-iii).

- (27) Sen mutlu ol diye git-me-di-m.
 you.NOM happy be.IMP.2SG *diye* leave-NEG-PAST-1SG
 a. ‘It’s because you will feel happy that I didn’t leave this place.’
 b. ‘It’s not because you will feel happy that I didn’t leave this place (it’s for some other reason).’

However, it is not the case in Turkish that “intonational linking and intonational breaking between two clauses correlates with a difference in communicative intent” (Haiman and Thompson, 1984, p. 516) (cf. 2.2-iii). The reason why we get different interpretations for the sentences in (27a) and (27b) has nothing to do with a pause between the sentences but with the prosody. When we have stress on the subordinate clause we get the interpretation in (27a) and when we have stress on the matrix verb, then we get the interpretation in (27b).

(iii) The Turkish data in (28) and (29) below show that speech act adverbials *iyi ki* ‘fortunately’ and *maalesef* ‘unfortunately’ are not compatible with adverbial clauses (Haegeman, 2010) (cf. 2.2-iv).

- (28) *[[*iyi ki o gel-ecek*] diye yemek.yap-tı-m.
 good that (s)he.NOM come-FUT.3SG *diye* cook-PAST-1SG
 Intended: ‘I cooked because (s)he will come (and I find it pleasing).’

- (29) *[[*maalesef o git-ti*] diye eşya-lar-ın-ı
 unfortunately (s)he.NOM leave-PAST.3SG *diye* stuff-PL-3SG-ACC
 toplad-ı-m.
 pack-PAST-1SG

Intended: ‘I packed his stuff for the reason that unfortunately (s)he left.’

The adverbials *iyi ki* ‘good that/fortunately’ and *maalesef* ‘unfortunately’ are only interpretable as modifying the main clause not the subordinate clause. This suggests that [o gelecek] ‘(s)he will come’ and [o gitti] ‘(s)he left’ are subordinate clauses rather than main clauses.

(iv) “Switch reference is only possible in subordinate clauses” (Aarts, 2006) (cf. 2.2-vii). We can also say that it is an example for grammatical category dependence between clauses in terms of pronoun reference (cf. Van Valin, 1984 as cited in Aarts, 2006, p. 250 discussed in 2.2-v). This is illustrated in example (30) below.

(30) İki-nci ol-du-m diye hayıflan-ıyor.
two-ORD come-PAST-1SG *diye* cry-PROG.3SG
‘He is crying because he came in second.’

As it is clear now, clauses with *diye* are subordinate clauses and *diye* is a subordinator. In addition to that, Karahan (1997, p. 22) states that *diye* that occurs with nouns is listed among postpositions such as *gibi* ‘as, like’, *kadar* ‘till, until’, *dek* ‘till, until’, *ile* ‘with’, *için* ‘for’, *göre* ‘according to’, *rağmen* ‘despite’, etc., as in (31) below. “These postpositions allow the nouns to function as adverbs, adjectives or conjunctions” (Karahan, 1997, p. 22, own translation).

(31) Sabah-a kadar bekle-di.
morning-DAT till wait-PAST.3SG
‘He is crying because he came in second.’

In the following section, I would like to highlight the relationship between *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ based on the literature.

2.6 *Diye* and *de-* ‘say’

In this section, I will present you how *diye* and also *de-* ‘say’ have been treated in the literature in order to present a background about them. Most of the time, *diye* is treated as the -(y)A converbial form of the verb *de-* ‘say’ (Emre, 1945, p. 388; Underhill, 1976, p. 431; Lewis, 1978, p. 174; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 462). However, it has rarely been stated that *diye* ‘saying, so that’ is the optative participle of the verb *de-* ‘(to) say’ (Sebüktekin, 1971, p. 72) which is a quotative verb.²¹ Göksel and Kerslake (2005) highlight that

²¹ Since *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ are related, they present commonalities. Definite descriptions such as accusative case marked NPs are not acceptable with *de-* ‘say’ This is illustrated in (i) below. Definite descriptions are not acceptable with *diye*, either. This is shown in (ii) below.

(i) *Oya [kitab-ı] / [Özge-nin Ankara-ya git-tiğ-in-i] de-di.
 Oya.NOM book-ACC Özge-GEN Ankara-DAT go-NML-P3SG-ACC say-PAST.3SG
 *‘Oya said [the “book”] / [Özge’s going to Ankara].

(ii) *Oya [kitab-ı] / [Özge-nin Ankara-ya git-tiğ-in-i] diye
 Oya.NOM book-ACC Özge-GEN Ankara-DAT go-NML-P3SG-ACC diye
 konuş-tu.
 say-PAST.3SG

*‘Oya said [the “book”] / [Özge’s going to Ankara].

However, the following sentences are acceptable since the complements of *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ are quotations, quoted utterances are given in quotation marks. In that sense, an accusative case marked NP is acceptable only if it is the exact utterance of the speaker.

(iii) Oya ["kitap"] / ["kitab-ı"] / ["Özge Ankara-ya git-ti"] /
 Oya.NOM book book-ACC Özge.NOM Ankara-DAT go-PAST.3SG

["Özge-nin Ankara-ya git-tiğ-in-i"] de-di.
 Özge-GEN Ankara-DAT go-NML-P3SG-ACC say-PAST.3SG

‘Oya said [“book”] / [“the book”] / [that Özge went to Ankara] / [“Özge’s going to Ankara”].

(iv) Oya ["kitap"] / ["kitab-ı"] / ["Özge Ankara-ya git-ti"] /
 Oya.NOM book book-ACC Özge.NOM Ankara-DAT go-PAST.3SG

["Özge-nin Ankara-ya git-tiğ-in-i"] diye konuş-tu.
 Özge-GEN Ankara-DAT go-NML-P3SG-ACC diye say-PAST.3SG

the most straightforward use of *de-* ‘say’ is in representations of direct speech, where the speaker claims to present the exact words spoken in another context by himself/herself or someone else. It should be noted that *de-* [‘say’], whether in a finite form or a non-finite one such as *diye* ... , is the *only* verb that can be used for this purpose. (p. 352)

(32) O gün Suzan artık dayan-a-m-ıy-or-um
that day Suzan.NOM any.longer bear-ABLE-NEG-PROG-1SG

de-miş-ti ban-a.
say-NAR-PAST.3SG I-DAT

‘That day Suzan said to me “I can’t bear (it) any longer”.’
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 353)

In other words, *diye* marks subordinated direct speech, i.e. connects the embedded direct speech to the matrix clause (Underhill, 1976; Erguvanlı Taylan, 1984; Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Erkman, Delikgöz and Görür, 2006).²² The

‘Oya said [“book”] / [“the book”] / [that Özge went to Ankara] / [“Özge’s going to Ankara”].

De- ‘say’ and *diye* are not compatible with definite entities. They are only acceptable if they are the exact utterances of the speaker (these are the expressions with quotation marks above). Definite descriptions (i.e. accusative case marked NPs without quotation marks) are acceptable if the matrix verb is *söyle-* ‘tell’ instead of *de-* ‘say’. Colley and Davis (to appear) argue that Nominalized Clauses in Turkish are CPs and they further speculate that another complementizer, *diye*, cannot mark a Nominalized Clause and that is why sentences like (i) and (ii) are unacceptable. This is actually very interesting to me; however, as this is beyond the scope of this study, I do not focus on this.

²² An example for direct speech is the following:

(v) Oya: “Özge Ankara-ya git-ti”.
Oya Özge.NOM Ankara-DAT go-PAST.3SG
‘Oya: “Özge Ankara’ya gitti.”

An example for reported speech is given below.

(vi) Oya-∅ [Özge-nin Ankara-ya git-tiğ-in-i] söyle-di.
Oya-NOM Özge-GEN Ankara-DAT go-NML-3SG-ACC tell-PAST.3SG
‘Oya told Özge’s going to Ankara.

Subordinate clauses with *diye* are somewhere between these two examples above. If we think of direct speech and reported speech as two edges of a continuum, clauses with *diye* are just in the middle of that continuum. They contain utterances that seem like the quotation in (v) but part of a sentence as in (vi).

(vii) Oya [Özge Ankara-ya git-ti] diye konuş-tu.
Oya.NOM Özge.NOM Ankara-DAT go-PAST.3SG *diye* say-PAST.3SG
‘Oya said [that Özge went to Ankara].

quotation itself occupies the immediately preverbal position (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 352), as shown in (33) below.

- (33) Hasan [okul-a sen mi git-ti-n] diye sor-du.
Hasan.NOM school-DAT you.NOM QPrt go-PAST-2SG *diye* ask-PAST.3SG
'Hasan asked: "Did *you* go to school?''
(Kornfilt, 1997, p. 198)

In (34) below, the subordinate clause of *de-* 'say' is not claimed to present "the exact words uttered by a specific person on a specific occasion, but rather to encapsulate the gist of a more generalized utterance, attributed to unspecified people" (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 353).

- (34) New York ağustos-ta çekilmez di-yor-lar.
New York.NOM august-LOC be.unbearable say-PROG-3PL
'People say New York is unbearable in August.'
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 353)

Diye also marks subordinated quotation of thought (Lewis, 1978; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005) as illustrated in the example (35) below.

- (35) Kim bun-u yap-tı diye düşün-üyor-du-m.
who.NOM this-ACC do-PAST.3SG *diye* think-PROG-PAST-1SG
'I was wondering who had done this.'
(Lit.: *I was thinking, saying "who has done this?")
(Lewis, 1978, p. 175)

Moreover, *de-* 'say' can be used to express unspoken thoughts (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 352; Lewis, 1978, p. 175). "This use of *de-* 'say' is very common in informal registers" (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 352), as in (36).

- (36) Tören bir saat sür-er di-ye-lim.
ceremony.NOM an hour last-AOR.3SG say-OPT-1PL
'Let's suppose the ceremony will last an hour.'
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 353)

“Where the verb in the subordinate clause is marked with one of the optative forms *-sIn*, *-(y)AyIm*, *-(y)AlIm* or the conditional *-sA*, the thought is also a desire for something to happen” (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 353), as illustrated in (37).

(37) Herkes kendi yiyecek-lerin-i getir-sin
 everyone.NOM own food-P3PL-ACC bring-OPT.3PL

di-yor-um ben.
 say-PROG-1SG I.NOM

‘I think everyone should bring their own food.’

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 353)

Other examples are listed below.

(38) Çocuğ-um *de-di-m* affet-ti-m.
 child-1SG.GenCop.3SG say-PAST-1SG forgive-PAST-1SG
 ‘I said (s)he is my child (and) I forgave him/her.’

(39) A: Ben-i böyle tut-a-ma-z-sın.
 I-ACC like.this keep-ABLE-NEG-AOR-2SG
 ‘You cannot keep me like this.’

B: Öyle mi *de-r-sin?*
 so QPrt say-AOR-2SG
 ‘Do you say so?’

(40) *De-mek* bugün okul-a git-me-di-n.
 say-INF today school-DAT go-NEG-PAST-2SG
 ‘So you didn’t go to school today.’

According to my observation, in (38), we see a statement which is given as a justification of the matrix verb ‘forgive’. Although these two sentences are syntactically coordinated, the first sentence seems to be subordinate to the second one. In (39), we see *de-* ‘say’ in an interrogative sentence. *Diye* again introduces a thought. Finally in (40), we see *de-* ‘say’ in its nominal form and it introduces the statement following it.

As it is derived from a verb of communication, *diye* may keep its quotative feature while subordinating a clause. It seems that performs two functions at a time; it behaves like a subordinator, embedding a clause into a higher one, while stating the speaker's utterances at the same time, i.e. taking a quotation as its complement.²³ This is illustrated in (41) below.

- (41) hemen gel-iyor-um diye git-ti dön-me-di.
soon come-PROG-1SG *diye* go-PAST.3SG come.back-NEG-PAST.3SG
‘(S)He went saying “I will come soon” but (s)he didn’t come back.’

Below in (42-44) you will see more examples with *diye*.

- (42) Neden sus-uyor-sun diye sor-du.
why keep.silent-PROG-2SG *diye* ask-PAST.3SG
‘(S)He asked me “why are you silent?”’
(Yusuf Atılğan, *Aylak Adam*, p. 103)

- (43) Öteki-ler duy-acak diye kork-uyor-du.
other-PL.NOM hear-FUT.3PL *diye* fear-PROG-PastCop.3SG
‘(S)He feared that/as others might hear (it).’
(Yusuf Atılğan, *Aylak Adam*, p. 130)

- (44) Yılbaşın-ı birlikte geçir-e-lim diye gel-miş-ti-m.
new.year-ACC together spend-OPT-1PL *diye* come-PERF-PastCop-1SG
‘I came to spend New Year’s together.’
(Yusuf Atılğan, *Aylak Adam*, p. 29)

As illustrated in the examples (42-44) above, *diye* and its clausal complement contribute to the meaning in various ways. While *diye* seems to introduce the content of a verb of communication, which is *sor-* ‘ask’, in (42), it occurs with a verb of emotion in (43). In (44), on the other hand, it states the purpose of the action denoted by the matrix verb.

²³ The discussion of whether *diye* is a quotative will be given in Chapter 4.

In this section, I have listed the examples from the literature, TS Corpus, and METU Corpus with my own observations. We have seen that *diye* establishes various relations between the subordinate clause and the matrix clause. Moreover, it keeps its quotative feature while doing this. These examples and more will be elaborated in Chapter 3.

2.7 Summary

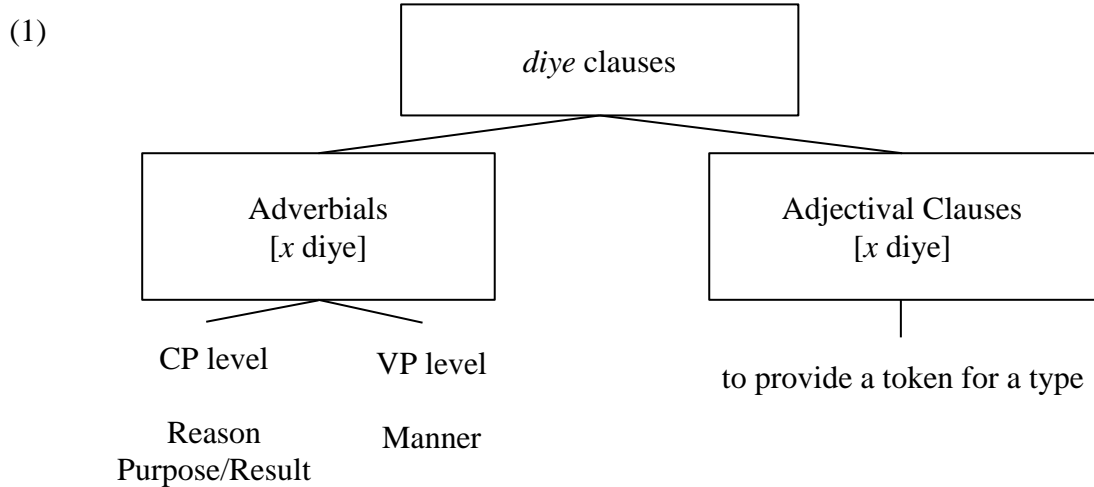
In this chapter, I have tried to explain what subordination is and introduced the subordinator *diye* in Turkish. Subordination can either be semantic or syntactic. Throughout this thesis, we will focus on syntactic subordination. This is a type of linking strategy between clauses. A clause inside of another clause, i.e. structurally lower than the matrix clause, is the subordinate clause. There are three types of subordinate clauses: complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and adjectival clauses. *Diye* is special in that it marks both adverbial clauses and adjectival clauses.²⁴ Moreover, as we will see in Chapter 3, it is present in adjectival clauses. In the following chapter, we will focus on adverbial clauses and adjectival clauses with *diye*; however, we will leave adverbial clauses of verbs of quotation, verbs of perception and cognition, and verbs of emotion to Chapter 5 while comparing these adverbial clauses with complement clauses. In Chapter 6, we will make an analysis of the constructions with *diye*.

²⁴ The adjectival clauses with *diye* can be relative clauses but I leave that issue to future studies.

CHAPTER 3

ADVERBIAL AND ADJECTIVAL CLAUSES WITH *DIYE*

In this chapter, we will investigate clauses with *diye* as falling into two groups: those that are adverbials, and those that are adjectival clauses. In Chapter 6, we will argue that the first type either modifies VPs or CPs (cf. Chapter 6). These can be grouped as in the schema in (1) below.



We will examine manner, reason, purpose / result adverbial clauses and also the adjectival clauses marked by *diye* in this chapter but manner adverbial clauses of the verbs of communication, perception and cognition, and emotion to Chapter 5 since they are part of another issue, quotations (cf. Chapter 4). Let's have a look at the following examples to have an idea about this critical issue.

- (2) Bun-u konuş-tu.
this-ACC tell-PAST.3SG
'(S)He told this.'

- (3) [[Oya gel-ecek] diye] konuş-tu.
 Oya.NOM come-FUT.3SG *diye* tell-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He told that Oya will come.’
 ‘(S)He told this because Oya will come.’
- (4) Bun-u [[Oya gel-ecek] diye] konuş-tu.
 this-ACC Oya.NOM come-FUT.3SG *diye* tell-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He told this because Oya will come.’
 # ‘(S)He told that Oya will come.’

There is an accusative case marked NP *bun-u* ‘this-ACC’ in (2). This NP is the internal argument of the verb *konuş-* ‘tell’. In (3), there is a subordinate clause *Oya gelecek diye* ‘that Oya will come’ that stands in the same position that the NP stands in (2). Moreover, (4) indicates that the subordinate clause and the NP that introduce what ‘is told’ are in complementary distribution; therefore, it is plausible to argue that the subordinate clause in (3) is a complement clause just like the NP that is a complement in (2). However, I claim that the subordinate clauses headed by *diye* as in the examples (3) and (4) are adverbial clauses. I will present more examples and related tests in Chapter 5.

3.1 *Diye* marking adverbial clauses

An example with *diye* is given below.

- (5) Oya [[ne gör-dü] diye] şaşır-dı?
 Oya.NOM what see-PAST.3SG *diye* be.surprised-PAST.3SG
 ‘What was Oya surprised for seeing?’

The subordinate clause that is marked by *diye* in (5) is an adverbial clause that modifies the matrix verb just like the adverbial clauses in the following examples (6-9) although their contribution to the sentence meaning varies. In (5), the adverbial clause

introduces the reason of the action expressed by the matrix verb while in (6) the adverbial clause pinpoints a point in the timeline, in (7) the adverbial clause describes how the action denoted by the matrix verb is realized, in (8) the adverbial clause denotes the reason of the matrix clause (similar to (5)), and finally in (9) the adverbial clause introduces a contradiction.

- (6) Oya Ali-yi gör-ünce şaşır-dı.
 Oya.NOM Ali-ACC see-CVB be.surprised-PAST.3SG
 ‘What did Oya see that made her surprised?’

In (6), there is a *-(y)IncA* converbial form of the verb *gör-* ‘see’. This converbial clause modifies the matrix verb.

- (7) Oya Ali-yi gör-erek şaşır-dı.
 Oya.NOM Ali-ACC see-CVB be.surprised-PAST.3SG
 ‘What did Oya become surprised by seeing?’

In (7), there is a *-(y)ArAk* converbial of the verb *gör-* ‘see’. The clause it marks modifies the matrix verb.

- (8) Oya Ali-yi gör-düğ-ü için şaşır-dı.
 Oya.NOM Ali-ACC see-PastNom-3SG for be.surprised-PAST.3SG
 ‘Oya was surprised because of seeing what?’

In (8) above, there is a postposition *için* ‘for’ that takes a non-finite clause *neyi gödüğü* ‘seeing what’ as its complement. This converbial clause modifies the matrix verb *şaşır-* ‘be surprised’.

- (9) Oya Ali-yi gör-me-sin-e rağmen şaşır-ma-dı.
 Oya.NOM Ali-ACC see-NONF-3SG-DAT despite be.surprised-PAST.3SG
 ‘Oya was surprised despite seeing what?’

In (9), again there is a converbial clause. This phrase is headed by the postposition *rağmen* ‘despite’. This posposition takes a non-finite clause *neyi görmesine* ‘seeing what’ as its complement and modifies the matrix verb.

The clauses that are marked by *diye* modify the matrix verbs. They are part of the matrix clause. They are not independent like coordinate clauses. As discussed in §2.3.2.1, phrases with *diye* present the same characteristics typical of adverbial clauses as opposed to coordinate clauses. These characteristics include the following:

- (i) wh- extraction is possible from a clause modified by an adverbial clause (cf. §2.3.2-ii)
- (ii) impossibility of questioning the adverbial via a tag question (cf. §2.3.2-iv)
- (iii) gapping is impossible with adverbial clauses (cf. §2.3.2-v)

In the following section, we will discuss these evidences. Other characteristics such as the possibility of ‘backwards pronominalization’ (cf. §2.3.1-i as discussed in Reinhart, 1983; Haspelmath, 1995 as cited in Diessel, 2001, p. 37) and the occurrence of adverbial phrases at various positions (cf. §2.3.1-iii) are not given here since the former cannot apply to Turkish and the latter cannot prove that the subordinate clauses in question are adverbial clauses since any element in a sentence can occur at various positions in Turkish.

3.1.1 Possibility of wh- extraction from a clause modified by an adverbial clause

In (10) below, it has been illustrated that an element from a clause that is modified by an adverbial clause can be extracted; however, it is not possible to extract an element from a clause that is accompanied by a coordinate clause (as in (11)) (cf. §2.3.2-ii).

- (10) Oya ne.zaman [[Ali-yi gör-dü] diye] şaşır-dı?
 Oya.NOM when Ali-ACC see-PAST.3SG *diye* be.surprised-PAST.3SG
 ‘When was Oya surprised she saw Ali?’ (subordination)
- (11) *Ne pişir-ecek-sin ve o gel-ecek?²⁵
 what cook-FUT-2SG and (s)he.NOM come-FUT.3SG
 * ‘What will you cook and (s)he will come?’ (coordination)

A subordinate clause with *diye* is an adverbial clause, as in (10) since it is grammatical to extract a wh- element the main clause modified by this adverbial clause, i.e. the whole sentence is interpreted as an interrogative sentence rather than an affirmative sentence. However, we conclude that there are two coordinate sentences in (11) since extracting an element from one of the coordinate sentences leads to ungrammaticality.

3.1.2 Impossibility of questioning the adverbial via a tag question

It has been stated that while subordinate clauses cannot be questioned via a tag question, a tag question can target the first conjunct of a coordinate clause (cf. §2.3.2-iv). This holds for Turkish as well (in a slightly different manner). In Turkish, while subordinate clauses cannot be questioned via a tag question, as in (12), a tag question can target target the totality of a coordinate structure, as in (13).

²⁵ This sentence is acceptable when we replace the coordinator *ve* ‘and’ with *de* ‘so that’.

- (i) Ne pişir-ecek-sin de o gel-ecek?²⁵
 what cook-FUT-2SG so.that (s)he.NOM come-FUT.3SG
 ‘What you will cook so that (s)he will come?’

In that sense, *de* ‘so that’ does not coordinate sentences but subordinates a lower clause into a higher one.

- (12) Oya parti yap-acağ-ız diye gel-ecek
 Oya.NOM party-NOM give-FUT-1PL *diye* come-FUT.3SG

değil mi?
 NPrt QPrt

Intended: #‘Oya will come because we will give a party, won’t we give a party?’
 (SUB.)

- (13) Parti yap-acağ-ız ve Oya gel-ecek
 party.NOM give-FUT-1PL ve Oya.NOM come-FUT.3SG

değil mi?
 NPrt QPrt

‘We will give a party and Oya will come, isn’t it the case (we will give a party and Oya will come)?’
 (COOR.)

This further shows the subordinate status of the *diye* clause.

3.1.3 Impossibility of gapping with adverbial clauses

Example (14) below does not allow ‘gapping’ (deletion of the verb under ellipsis) as is the case with adverbial clauses; however, gapping does not yield ungrammaticality in (15) which is the case with coordinate clauses (cf. §2.3.2-v).

- (14) *Oya kitab-ı _ diye Özge dergi-yi oku-du.
 Oya.NOM book-ACC *diye* Özge.NOM dergi-ACC read-PAST.3SG
 *‘Özge read the magazine as Oya did the book.’ (SUB.)

- (15) Oya kitab-ı _ Özge dergi-yi oku-du.
 Oya.NOM book-ACC Özge.NOM dergi-ACC read-PAST.3SG
 *‘Özge read the magazine and Oya did the book.’ (COOR.)

The adverbial clause and the matrix clause share a verb in (14). The shared verb in the adverbial clause is deleted and it yields ungrammaticality. However, deletion of the shared verb in coordinate sentences is grammatical, as shown in (15).

As seen from the discussion in this section, *diye* marks adverbial clauses of matrix verbs. In the following section, I will replace *diye* with certain adverbials in Turkish in order to determine what kind of a relation *diye* establishes between the matrix and the subordinate clause. These adverbials that *diye* is replaced by are *sebebiyle/nedeniyle* ‘with the reason’ that introduces reason clauses, *amacıyla* ‘with the aim’ that introduces purpose clauses, *olarak* ‘as’, the $-(y)ArAk$ converbial form of *ol-* ‘be’, that introduces an attributive name of an entity. We will focus on most of the adverbial clauses that are marked by *diye*; however, adverbial clauses of the verbs of cognition and verbs of quotation will be examined and they will be compared to complement clauses later in Chapter 5. The internal structure of the constructions with *diye* will be presented in Chapter 6.

3.2 Types of adverbial clauses with *diye*

Diye marks various types of adverbial clauses in Turkish. They include the following:

- (i) manner adverbials
- (ii) reason adverbials
- (iii) purpose/result adverbials
- (iv) assumption, understanding, precaution, and agreement

In the following sections, we are going to exemplify these adverbial clauses.

3.2.1 Manner adverbials

As mentioned in various places before, *diye* is a derived form of the verb *de-*. As a verb of quotation, *de-* ‘say’ takes a quotation as its complement and so does *diye*. This will be given in the next section and quotations with onomatopoeic words will be given in the following section.

3.2.1.1 Manner adverbials with quotations

Below in the examples in (16-17), you will see examples with the least lexicalized form of *diye*.

- (16) Bahşış bahşış diye turist-ler-in peş-in-den koş-uyor.
tip tip *diye* tourist-PL-GEN behind-3PL-ABL run-PROG.3SG
'(S)He is running behind the tourists saying “tip, tip”.'

- (17) Nere-den bul-up çıkar-t-ıyor-sun bunlar-ı
where-ABL find-CVB take.out-CAUS-PROG-2SG these-ACC

bil-me-m diye diz-im-e vur-arak küçüc-ük
know-NEG.AOR-1SG *diye* knee-1SG-DAT hit-CVB little-DIM

bir çocuk gibi ban-a sarıl-dı.
a child like I-DAT hug-PAST.3SG

'He hugged me like a little child, tapping on my knee while saying “I don't know where you are find these”.'

It is possible to replace *diye* in these examples with *diyerek*, the *-(y)ArAk* converbial of *de-*. This suffix contributes to the meaning with “by doing so”. Therefore, *diye* in these examples means “by saying that”. The embedded subject and the matrix subject must be co-referential as is the case with all verbs that have the suffix *-(y)ArAk* on them.

In the following section, we will see a special kind of manner adverbial with *diye*. These adverbials are formed by onomatopoeic forms and *diye*.

3.2.1.2 Manner adverbials with quotations that include onomatopoeic words

Together with onomatopoeic words, *diye* relates modifiers to the verb (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Erkman, Delikgöz and Görür, 2006) as in (18) below.

- (18) Çat diye gel-di.
çat diye come-PAST.3SG
'(S)He came like *çat*.'
'(S)He came very quickly.'
(Erkman, Delikgöz and Görür, 2006, p. 164)

Diye and an onomatopoeic word as its complement modify the verb and describe how the action denoted by this verb is realized, i.e. present the manner of how this action is realized, as in (19).

- (19) Baş-ın-ı küt diye tabut-un kapağ-ın-a çarp-tı.
head-3SG-ACC *küt diye* coffin-GEN cover-3SG-DAT hit-PAST.3SG
'(S)He hit his/her head on the coffin's cover very hard.'
Lit: '(S)He hit his/her head on the coffin's cover like "küt".'

Onomatopoeic words are bound roots in Turkish (Hatipoğlu, 1971 as cited in Baturay, 2010, p. 205). They are acceptable when reduplicated²⁶ or in derived forms.

According to (Baturay, 2010)

²⁶ Reduplication is found in a wide range of languages. "[It] is a morphological process in which the root or stem of a word or part of it is repeated" (Nadarajan, 2006, p. 39) or even simply as the repetition of a sequence of segments (Spencer, 1991; Raimy, 2000) or of phonological information present in the base lexeme (Olsen, 2014). Marantz (1982, p. 318) defines it as "a morphological process relating a base form of a morpheme or a stem to a derived form that may be analyzed as being constructed from the base form via the affixation (or infixation) of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the phonemic content of the base form". Inkelas and Zoll (2005) highlight that reduplication is a word-formation process and it doubles morphological constituents as well as phonological constituents; it can target morphological subconstituents of a word regardless of phonological size. Reduplication can be of a

Reduplication seems to be a morphological device with which onomatopoeic stems are turned into usable linguistic forms with a function in the sentence. That is, an onomatopoeic form such as *şak* cannot stand alone, but reduplication which is used as a word formation process can form a new lexical item out of *şak*, namely *şak şak* (sound of applause), which now has a semantic value. (p. 205).

Onomatopoeic words occur in reduplication, as in (20). There are other constructions that onomatopoeic stems occur in. These constructions are onomatopoeic stem+*-la* (*-la* is a derivational morpheme that derives verbs),²⁷ onomatopoeic stem+*gibi* ‘like’, and finally onomatopoeic word+*diye*, as exemplified in the following examples (21-23) below.

- (20) Bilye-ler cup cup düş-tü deniz-e.
 marble-ball-PL.NOM *cup cup* fall-PAST.3PL sea-DAT
 ‘The marble balls fell into the sea like “cup”.’
- (21) Bilye-ler cup-la-dı.
 marble-ball-PL.NOM *cup*-MAKE-PAST.3SG
 ‘The marble balls fell into the sea while making the sound “cup”.’
- (22) Bilye-ler cup gibi düş-tü deniz-e.
 marble-ball-PL.NOM *cup like* fall-PAST.3PL sea-DAT
 ‘The marble balls fell into the sea while making the sound “cup”.’
- (23) Bilye-ler cup diye düş-tü deniz-e.
 marble-ball-PL.NOM *cup diye* fall-PAST.3PL sea-DAT
 ‘The marble balls fell into the sea while making the sound “cup”.’

As shown in the examples above in (20-23) an onomatopoeic stem can be reduplicated, as in (20), or it can occur with a derivational morpheme *-la*, as in (21) or it can be the complement of the postposition *gibi* ‘like’, as in (22), or it can occur with *diye*, as in (23). We will focus on examples (20) and (23). Reduplication of

great variety of types (Spencer, 1991 and Olsen, 2014) and assign new meanings (Gaby and Inkelas, 2014).

²⁷ There is also another construction: onomatopoeic stem+*-da* (*-da* is a derivational morpheme that derives verbs). However, the derivational morpheme *-da* attaches to different stems than the stems like “cup”; therefore, it is not included here.

onomatopoeic stems, as in (20) and the occurrence of onomatopoeic stems with *diye*, as in (23) resemble each other. It seems that the role of *diye* is similar to the one of reduplication. The onomatopoeic word together with *diye* functions as a modifier of a verb. Particularly, the onomatopoeic word and *diye* function as a manner adverbial; they introduce how the action expressed by this verb is realized. The manner adverbials in (20) and (23) cannot be used interchangeably, though. While in (21) the interpretation is that the marble balls fall into the sea one by one making the sound “cup” each time while in (23) the marble balls fall into the sea all together making the sound “cup”.

In this section, we have discussed manner adverbials that are headed by *diye*. The subordinate clauses of verbs of communication, perception and cognition, and emotion also form manner adverbials just like the adverbials we have discussed in this section (see (24)).

- (24) Yarıyıl tatil-i-ne ilişkin plan-lar-ın-ı [[kitap
semester break-CM-DAT about plan-PL-3SG-ACC book
oku-yacağ-ım oyun oyna-yacağ-ım] diye] özetle-di.
read-FUT-1SG game play-FUT-1SG *diye* summarize-PAST.3SG

‘(S)He summarized his/her semester break plans like “I’ll read books and play games.’

However, I will discuss the subordinate clauses of verbs of communication, perception and cognition, and emotion in detail in Chapter 5 while trying to answer why they are not complement clauses contrary to expectation.

3.2.2 Reason clauses

Cristofaro (2013) regards a reason construction as “one encoding a causal relation between two events, such that one of the two (the event coded by the reason clause, or the dependent event) represents the reason for the other event (the main event) to take place” (p. 1).

Diessel and Hetterle (2011) state that “causal relationships are commonly expressed by complex sentences consisting of a main and a subordinate clause, but they can also be expressed by two coordinate sentences” (p. 23). For *two coordinate sentences*, Aarts (2006, p. 251) points out that as in a sentence like “Do that again and I’ll punch you.” the imperative clause seems to be coordinated with the clause *I’ll punch you*, but it is interpreted as a conditional adjunct clause, that is as *if you do that again*.

This is exemplified in Cristofaro (2013) as well.

- (25) wa ha ma ajcau [i-mã hũpati.]
1 FUT away run 1-TEMPRY 3.fear
‘I will run away because I am afraid of it.’
(Popjes and Popjes 1986 as cited in Cristofaro, 2013, p. 1)

The linked clauses are juxtaposed and there is no grammatical marker signaling their linkage. [...] However, the clause expressing the speaker’s fear is regarded as a reason clause here, because it expresses the same kind of conceptual situation associated with clauses that are explicitly marked as expressing a reason relation between events in other languages. (p. 139)²⁸

Again in Cristofaro (2013, p. 1) it is pointed out that the reason clauses are (i) introduced by specific reason conjunctions, as in (36) and (27); (ii) non-finite clauses, as in (28); (iii) introduced without a marker in Canela-Krahô as in (29) (the same with (25) above).

²⁸ We will not see examples of this sort in this thesis.

- (26) I couldn't go to Paris last week [because all the trains were booked out].
- (27) [Since it will be raining soon], it's better not to go out.
- (28) [Being so busy], I couldn't do anything else.
- (29) wa ha ma ajcau [i-mã hũpati]
 1 FUT away run 1-TEMPRY 3.fear
 'I will run away because I am afraid of it.'
 (Popjes and Popjes 1986, p. 139 as cited in Cristofaro, 2013, p. 1)

We will now look at the reason clauses with *diye* in Turkish. *Diye* marks subordinated reason clauses (Underhill, 1976; Lewis, 1978; Özsoy and Erguvanlı Taylan, 1998; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Erkman, Delikgöz and Görür, 2006), as in example (34).

- (30) Kalabalık ol-acağ-ız diye bir ekmek daha al-mış-tı-m.
 crowded be-FUT-1PL *diye* one loaf more buy-NAR-PAST-1SG
 'As there were going to be a lot of us, I had bought another loaf.'
 (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 400)

The examples from METU Corpus and TS Corpus are given in (31-34). They are similar to the ones in (26) and (27) in that they denote the reason of the action expressed by the main verb and introduced by a specific conjunction that is *diye* in our case.

- (31) Moral-i bozuk-muş diye pavyon karı-lar-ı²⁹
 psychology-3SG.NOM down-NAR.3SG *diye* night.club woman-PL-CM
 gibi süslen-ecek-miş
 like tog.up-FUT-EVID.3SG

'She said she will tog up like a night club woman because she was depressed.'

²⁹ Pejorative usage

- (32) Biz Lucescu-yu en başarılı ol-duğ-u zaman-da
 we.NOM Lucescu-ACC most successful be-OREL-3SG time-LOC
 medya-da çok yer al-m-ıyor diye
 media-LOC mostly place take-NEG-PROG.3SG *diye*
 gönder-me-di-k mi?
 send-NEG-PAST-1PL QPrt

‘Didn’t we send Lucescu away at his most successful times just because he wasn’t on the media that much?’

- (33) Sadece Kıvanç var diye izle-n-iyor
 only Kıvanç.NOM exist.AOR.3SG *diye* watch-PASS-PROG.3SG
 dizi.
 tv.series.NOM

‘This TV series is being watched only because Kıvanç is in it.’

- (34) Bey-im diye söyle-m-iyor-um pehlivan gibi
 husband-1SG.GenCop.3SG *diye* say-NEG-PROG-1SG wrestler like
 bir insan-dır.
 a man-GenCop.3SG

‘I don’t say it because he is my husband but he is well-built like a wrestler.’

The subordinate clauses that are headed by *diye* can be paraphrased by the adverbs *sebebiyle* or *nedeniyle* which literally mean ‘with the reason’, as in the examples (35-37) or the ablative case marker can attach to the nominalized counterpart of the subordinate clauses, as in (38), which indicates that the subordinate clauses marked with *diye* denote the reason of the actions expressed by the matrix verbs.

- (35) Moral-i-nin bozuk ol-ma-sı sebep-i-yle
 psychology-3SG-GEN down be-NONF-3SG reason-CM-INS
 pavyon karı-lar-ı gibi süslen-ecek-miş.
 night.club woman-PL-CM like tog.up-FUT-EVID.3SG
 ‘She said she will tog up like a night club woman because of her feeling depressed.’
- (36) Biz Lucescu-yu en başarılı ol-duğ-u zaman-da
 We.NOM Lucescu-ACC most successful be-OREL-3SG time-LOC
 medya-da çok yer al-ma-ma-sı sebep-i-yle
 media-LOC mostly place take-NEG-NONF-3SG reason-CM-INS
 gönder-me-di-k mi?
 send-NEG-PAST-1PL QPrt
 ‘Didn’t we send Lucescu away at his most successful times because of his not being on the media that much?’
- (37) Sadece Kıvanç ol-ma-sı neden-i-yle
 only Kıvanç.NOM be-NONF-3SG reason-CM-INS
 izle-n-iyor dizi.
 watch-PASS-PROG.3SG tv.series.NOM
 ‘This TV series is being watched only because of Kıvanç’s acting is in it.’
- (38) Bey-im ol-duğ-un-dan söyle-m-iyor-um
 husband-1SG.GenCop.3SG be-PastNom-3SG-ABL say-NEG-PROG-1SG
 pehlivan gibi bir insan-dır.
 wrestler like a man-GenCop.3SG
 ‘I don’t say it because he is my husband but he is well-built like a wrestler.’

The subordinate clause can preserve its quotative feature as in the example (39)

below.

- (39) Herif karı-dan³⁰ dayak ye-di-m diye kendin-e
 man.NOM wife-ABL beat.up get-PAST-1SG diye self-DAT
- sık-acak tabanca-yı.
 draw-FUT.3SG gun-ACC

‘The man will draw the gun to himself because he got beaten up by his wife.’

In this section, we discussed reason clauses in general, reason clauses in Turkish and particularly reason clauses with *diye*. Finally, we focused on the features that are specific to reason clauses. In the next section, we will see purpose/result clauses.

3.2.3 Purpose/result clauses

Cristofaro (2013) regards purpose construction as “one of the linked events (the one coded by the main clause, or the main event) is performed with the goal of obtaining the realization of another one (the one coded by the purpose clause, or the dependent event)” (p. 1).

Similarly, Schmidtke-Bode (2009) states that “purpose clauses are part of complex sentence constructions which encode that one verbal situation, that of the matrix clause, is performed with the intention of bringing about another situation, that of the purpose clause” (p. 1), as in the following examples (40-42) below.

- (40) Maria went to the bakery [in order to get some croissants].
- (41) Brendan put the bike into the garage [so that it wouldn’t get wet in the rain].
- (42) I brought a book [for Aaron to read on the plane].

³⁰ Pejorative usage

Now, let's consider purpose clauses with *diye* in Turkish. *Diye* marks subordinated purpose clauses (Lewis, 1978; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005), as in (43).

- (43) Allah seni-i dünya boş kal-ma-sın diye
 god.NOM you-ACC world.NOM empty stay-NEG-IMP.3SG *diye*
 yarat-ma-mış.
 create-NEG-EVID.3SG

'God did not create you just to take up room.'
 (Lit.: God did not create you saying "let the world not remain empty.")
 (Lewis, 1978, p. 175)

The examples from METU Corpus and TS Corpus in (44-46) below are similar to the ones in (40-42) in that they denote purpose of the action denoted by the main verb and introduced by a specific conjunction *diye*.

- (44) Çikolata-nın kâğıt-lar-ın-ı anne-m gör-me-sin
 chocolate-GEN cover-PL-P3SG-ACC mother-1SG.NOM see-NEG-OPT.3SG
 diye koyn-un-da sakl-ıyor.
diye bosom-3SG-LOC hide-PROG.3SG

'(S)He is hiding the wrapping of the chocolate in his/her bosom so that my mother doesn't see (the chocolate).'

- (45) Nobre 3 defans oyuncu-sun-un ara-sın-da top
 Nobre.NOM three defense player-CM-GEN middle-3PL-LOC ball
 al-acağ-ım diye uğraş-ıyor.
 take-FUT-1SG *diye* try-PROG.3SG

'Nobre is trying to take the ball amidst three defensive players.'

- (46) Bu rapor-u Bıçakçı Federasyon-un-a gerekli işlem-ler-i
 this report-ACC Bıçakçı federation-CM-DAT necessary action-PL-ACC
 yap-ın diye gönder-di-m.
 take-IMP.2PL *diye* send-PAST-1SG

'I sent this report to Bıçakçı Federation for you to take the necessary actions.'

Some properties of these clauses have been mentioned before. The subordinate clause can preserve its quotative feature, as in (44-45). As noted by Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p. 78), the optative suffix may occur usually in adverbial clauses of purpose with the subordinator *diye* or *ki*, as in (44). Özsoy and Erguvanlı-Taylan (1998, p. 120) add that future suffix may also appear on the verb in the subordinate clause as in (45). Moreover, the predicate in the subordinate clause can have the imperative marker as in (46).

In these sentences, *diye* can be replaced by the adverb *amacıyla* which literally means “with the aim of” as illustrated in the examples in (47-49) below, which indicate that the subordinate clauses that are marked by *diye* introduces the purpose of the action denoted by the matrix verb.

- (47) Çikolata-nın kâğıt-lar-ın-ı anne-m-in gör-me-me-si
 chocolate-GEN cover-PL-3SG-ACC mother-1SG-GEN see-NEG-NONF-3SG
 amac-ı-yla koyn-un-da sakl-ıyor.
 purpose-CM-INS bosom-3SG-LOC hide-PROG.3SG

‘(S)He is hiding the wrapping of the chocolate in his/her bosom with the purpose of hiding it from my mother.’

- (48) Nobre üç defans oyuncu-sun-un ara-sın-da top
 Nobre.NOM three defense player-CM-GEN middle-3PL-LOC ball
 al-mak amac-ı-yla uğraş-ıyor.
 take-INF purpose-CM-INS try-PROG.3SG

‘Nobre is struggling with the purpose of taking the ball amidst three defensive players.’

- (49) Bu rapor-u Bıçakçı Federasyon-un-a gerekli işlem-ler-i
this report-ACC Bıçakçı federation-CM-DAT necessary action-PL-ACC
yap-ma-nız amac-ı-yla gönder-di-m.
take-NONF-2PL purpose-CM-INS send-PAST-1SG

‘I sent this report to Bıçakçı Federation for you to take the necessary actions.’

Diye can be used in order to question the reason as well (Emre, 1945, p. 388).

The example in (50) below presents this.

- (50) Ne diye buraya gel-di-m.
what *diye* here come-PAST-1SG
‘I came here for what?’

Up to this point, we have discussed manner adverbials, reason clauses and purpose/result clauses with *diye* in Turkish. In the following section, we will see adverbial clauses that denote assumption / understanding / precaution and agreement.

3.2.4 Assumption, understanding, precaution, and agreement

Diye also marks adverbial clauses which denote assumption, as in (51), understanding, as in (52-53), precaution, as in (54-55), and agreement, as in (56) (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, pp. 400-1) when assumption, understanding, precaution and agreement denoting verbs are not uttered.

- (51) [[Bir daha gör-üş-e-me-z-se-k] diye]
 one more see-REC-ABLE-NEG-ABLE-CON-1PL *diye*

anahtar-ları şimdi-den san-a ver-iyor-um.
 key-PL-ACC now-ABL you-DAT give-PROG-1SG

‘In case we don’t have the chance to see each other again, I’m giving you the keys now.’

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 400)

- (52) [[Gece çalış-ıl-m-ıyor] diye] o iş-e gir-di.
 night work-PASS-NEG-PROG.3SG *diye* that work-DAT begin-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He had gone into that job on the understanding that there was no night working.’

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 401)

- (53) [[Spor-la yak-ar-ım] diye] aşırı ye-mek-ten
 sports-INS burn-AOR-1SG *diye* much eat-INF-ABL

kaçın-ın.
 avoid-IMP.2PL

‘Avoid eating too much with the assumption “I can burn the calories with sports”.’

- (54) Herkes rahatlıkla tüm gazete-ler-i oku-r-ken
 everyone.NOM casually all paper-PL-ACC read-AOR.3SG-CVB

o yanlış.anlaş-ıl-ır-ım diye
 (s)he.NOM misunderstand-PASS-AOR-1SG *diye*

göze.batmayan gazete-ler-i oku-yor-du.
 inconspicuous paper-PL-ACC read-PROG-PAST.3SG

‘While everyone was casually reading all of the papers, (s)he was only reading the inconspicuous ones for the fear of being misunderstood.’

- (55) Kimse gel-me-yecek diye ödüm.kopuyordu.
 noone.NOM show.up-NEG-FUT.3SG *diye* worried
 ‘I was worried that noone would show up.’

- (56) [[Tülin İstanbul-a gel-ince yeniden buluş-ur-uz]³¹
 Tülin.NOM İstanbul-DAT come-CVB again meet-AOR-1PL
 diye] ayrıl-mış-lar o gün.
diye leave-EVID-3PL that day

‘Apparently they had parted that day on the understanding that they would meet again when Tülin came to İstanbul.’

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 401)

While assuming something, the verb that denotes assumption such as *düşün-*,

san-, *zannet-* ‘think’ or *varsay-* ‘assume’ is generally dropped. This is illustrated in (57) below.

- (57) Oya çay-ın-a şeker diye (düşün-erek) tuz koy-muş.
 Oya.NOM tea-3SG-DAT sugar *diye* think-CVB salt add-NAR.3SG
 ‘Oya added salt in her tea, thinking that it was sugar.’

Moreover, *diye* specifically modifies verbs such as *nitele-* ‘describe’, *adlandır-* ‘name, call’, *tanımla-* ‘define’ as in the examples (58) and (59) below.

- (58) Mucize diye nitele-n-dir-il-en bazı olay-lar-ın
 miracle *diye* define-PASS-CAUS-PASS-SREL some event-PL-GEN
 kısmen açıklama-sı özellikle fizik bilim-i tarafından
 partial explanation-3SG.NOM especially physics science-CM by
 yap-ıl-makta-dır.
 make-PASS-PROG-GenCop.3SG

‘Especially physics provides the partial explanation of some phenomena which are defined as miracles.’

³¹ As in the example (54), the embedded verb is reciprocal in the subordinate clauses that denote agreement. Göksel and Kerslake (2005) note that “Where the subject is plural, understanding may represent an agreement made between the people referred to” (p. 401).

- (59) ABD-li yetkili-ler-in istihbarat başarısızlık-lar-ı diye
USA-ASS authority-PL-GEN intelligence failure-PL-CM *diye*

adlandır-dık-ları başarısızlık-lar art-makta-dır.
name-OREL-3PL failure-PL.NOM increase-PROG-GenCop.3PL

‘The failures that the US authorities deem to be intelligence failures are increasing.’

In these sentences, *diye* can be replaced by *olarak* ‘as’, which is the *-(y)ArAk* converbial form of the verb *ol-* ‘be’ and which is an adverbial.

- (60) Mucize *olarak* nitele-n-dir-il-en bazı olay-lar-ın
miracle as define-PASS-CAUS-PASS-SREL some event-PL-GEN

kısmen açıklama-sı özellikle fizik bilim-i tarafından
partial explanation-3SG.NOM especially physics science-CM by

yap-ıl-makta-dır.
make-PASS-PROG-GenCop.3SG

‘The partial explanation of some phenomena which are defined as miracles is made especially by physics.’

- (61) ABD-li yetkili-ler-in istihbarat başarısızlık-lar-ı *olarak*
USA-ASS authority-PL-GEN intelligence failure-PL-CM as

adlandır-dık-ları başarısızlık-lar art-makta-dır.
name-OREL-3PL failure-PL.NOM increase-PROG-GenCop.3PL

‘The failures that the US authorities deem to be intelligence failures are increasing.’

The following question in (62) for (59) also explains that the embedded clause is adverbial to the matrix clause. The clause with *diye* gives the answer to the question *nasıl* ‘how’ which is an adverb.

(62) ABD-li yetkili-ler bu başarısızlık-lar-ı nasıl
USA-ASS authority-PL.NOM these failure-PL-ACC how

adlandır-ıyor-lar?
name-PROG-3PL

‘How do the US authorities name these failures?’

I will show in Chapter 5 that these adverbials are adjuncts, not complements.

3.3 Adjectival clauses with *diye*

Diye relates modifiers to the noun by expressing the name of an entity (Lewis, 1978; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Erkman, Delikgöz and Görür, 2006). As Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p. 175) points out “*diye* has an adjectival function of indicating what something is called. ... Adjectivals constructed with *diye* are used exclusively in indefinite noun phrases”. This is illustrated in (63-65).

(63) Bizim mahalle-de Güneş Gıda diye bir market
our neighbourhood-LOC Güneş Gıda *diye* a self-service.shop.NOM
var.
exist.AOR.3SG

‘In our neighbourhood there’s a self-service shop called Güneş Gıda.’
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 401)

(64) Mehmet diye bir oğl-u daha var.
Mehmet *diye* one son-3SG.NOM more exist.AOR.3SG
‘(S)He has got another son, called Mehmet.’

(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 175)

(65) Masumiyet diye film
Innocence *diye* movie
‘A movie called Innocence’

In that sense, *diye* plays a role in adjectival clauses, as well.

Diye can be replaced by *ad-li*, *isim-li* ‘name-WITH - with that name’, *başlık-li* ‘title-WITH - with that title’ as in (66).

- (66) Masumiyet ad-lı bir film
Innocence name-WITH a movie
‘a movie with the name Innocence’

Since the construction with *diye* modifies a noun and since *diye* is a converbial form of verb, *de-* ‘say’, this construction in (68) can be “likened” to relative clauses.³² It resembles a very specific kind of relative clauses in Turkish. It resembles the relative clauses that modify the subjects rather than the objects. A relative clause that modifies a subject is given in (67) and a relative clause that modifies an object is given in (68) below.

- (67) kedi-yi gör-en çocuk
cat-ACC see-SREL child
‘the child who saw the cat’

- (68) çocuğ-un gör-düğ-ü kedi
child-GEN see-OREL cat
‘the cat that the child saw’

The sentence in (66) can be paraphrased as the following, which looks similar to the example in (67), but not (68) above.

- (69) ad-ı Masumiyet ol-an bir film
name-3SG.NOM Innocence be-SREL a movie
‘a movie whose name is Innocence’

I must note that among the relative clauses that modify subjects, this kind of examples are called the “başlıbozuk construction” in Turkish (Lewis, 1967, p. 259). For

³² I leave the question whether the adjectival clauses with *diye* are relative clauses to future studies.

example, in an example like “*şu adam-ın baş-ı bozuk* ‘that man’s head is deranged’, the phrase *baş-ı bozuk* ‘his head deranged’ can be used to qualify *adam* by placing them before it: *baş-ı bozuk adam* ‘the his-head-deranged man, the man whose head is deranged’” (Lewis, 1967, p. 259). There is a possessive relationship between “man” and “head” just like “movie” and “name”.

We can approach this example in (65) differently. It can be paraphrased like (70).

(70) Masumiyet de-n-en film
 Innocence say-PASS-SREL movie
 ‘a movie called Innocence’

It is similar structurally to the examples (71-73) below.

(71) çiçek ver-il-en kadın
 flower give-PASS-SREL woman
 ‘a woman who is given a flower’

In example (71), the woman is the one who is given a flower just like a movie which is called “Masumiyet”, i.e. the subject of the passive construction. These two phrases are structurally similar.

(72) başkan seç-il-en çocuk
 president elect-PASS-SREL child
 ‘a child who has been elected class president’

(73) hedef göster-il-en oğlan
 target point-PASS-SREL boy
 ‘a boy who has been pointed as a target’

The relationship between the movie and Masumiyet is not like “man” and “head” (cf. Lewis, 1967, p. 259) but rather is like the examples in (72) and (73). There is an attribution between the movie and Masumiyet, class president and the child, and the boy and target. There is an “is-a” relation between them.

In this section, I have presented most of the usages of *diye*. These include adverbial and adjectival clauses with *diye*.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the examples of *diye* modifying verbs and nouns.

Adverbial clauses contribute to the whole sentence meaning by denoting manner, reason, purpose / result, assumption, understanding, precaution, and agreement. Moreover, *diye* and an onomatopoeic word as its complement modifies the verb, describes how it is realized. Adjectival clauses can be said to introduce a token for a type.

There are other adverbial clauses that are marked by *diye*. However, we leave them, i.e. manner adverbials of verbs of communication, perception and cognition, and emotion to Chapter 5 after we discuss quotation and indexical shift in Chapter 4. We need to discuss quotation and indexical shift since the subordinate clauses with *diye* present these phenomena.

CHAPTER 4

QUOTATION AND INDEXICAL SHIFT

In this chapter, I will discuss first indexical shift and quotation. Later, I will present how they are related to *diye*. I will do so since the subordinate clauses with *diye* present these phenomena.

Some subordinate clauses that are marked by *diye* are ambiguous. This is because certain verbs optionally shift the indexicals in their complement yielding two interpretations while some other verbs shift the indexicals obligatorily and leads to only one interpretation. For (1) below, we have two different interpretations as in (2) and (3).

- (1) Funda-nın oku-du-m diye bahset-tiğ-i
Funda-GEN read-PAST-1SG *diye* mention-OREL-P3SG

kitap aslında Oğuz Atay-ın.
book.NOM in.fact Oğuz Atay-GEN.3SG.GenCop

- (2) A: Funda Yusuf Atılğan'ın bir kitabını okumuş, günlerdir sadece bundan bahsediyor.
'Funda has read one of Yusuf Atılğan's books, and it's the only thing she has been talking about for days now.'

- B: Funda_j-nın (*pro_j/*_k*) oku-du-m diye bahset-tiğ-i
Funda-GEN read-PAST-1SG *diye* mention-OREL-3SG

kitap aslında Oğuz Atay-ın.
Book.NOM in.fact Oğuz Atay-GEN.3SG.GenCop

'The book that Funda mentions as having read is one of Atay's (not Atılğan's).'

(3) A: Funda bana dedi ki sen Yusuf Atılgan'ın bir kitabını okumuşsun ve beğenmişsin.
'Funda told me that you read and loved one of Yusuf Atılgan's books.'

B: Funda_j-nın (*pro**_{j/k}) oku-du-m diye bahset-tiğ-i
Funda-GEN read-PAST-1SG *diye* mention-OREL-3SG

kitap aslında Oğuz Atay-ın.
book.NOM in.fact Oğuz Atay-GEN.3SG.GenCop

'The book that Funda mentions as me having read it is one of Atay's (not Atılgan's).'

The sentence in (1) is two ways ambiguous since there is indexical shift in (2) and there is no shift in (3).

Another ambiguity is given in (4) below. This sentence is ambiguous since the indexical "I" in the subject position of the subordinate clause either shifts as in (4a), or the indexical "I" does not shift as in (4b). When it does not shift, the subordinate clause introduces the reason of the action expressed by the main verb, not the content of *de*- 'say' (as opposed to (3) in which the indexical does not shift, yet the subordinate clause still introduces the content of *de*- 'say').

(4) Oya ben gel-di-m diye bağır-dı.
Oya.NOM I.NOM come-PAST-1SG *diye* shout-PAST.3SG
(a) Oya_j shouted: 'I_j came.'
(b) Oya shouted because I came.

In this chapter we will focus on indexical shift and quotation to better understand the role of *diye*.

4.1 Overview of indexical shift

As Anand and Nevins (2004, among many others) point out, there are two contexts of speech: the utterance context and the reported speech context (p. 20). "Every natural

language known so far has indexicals -expressions whose meanings are dependent on the context of utterance (e.g. *I, you, here, now, etc.*)” (Sudo, 2010a, p. 441). “Indexicals are free to pick up reference from either context, that is why they are two-ways ambiguous” (Anand and Nevins, 2004, p. 23). In addition to John’s report of speaker’s hunger, “sentences with the form *John said that I am hungry* may report John’s *self-report of hunger*” (Anand and Nevins, 2004, p. 20).

Turkish (Gültekin-Şener and Şener, 2011) and Uyghur (Sudo, 2010a, 2010b) presents similarities and differences in terms of indexical shifting. In Uyghur, captured by Sudo (2010a, 2010b), verbs of communication (e.g. *de-* ‘say, tell’, *sözle-* ‘speak, talk’, *maxtan-* ‘brag’, *qayil qil-* ‘persuade, convince’, *aghrin-* ‘complain’, *wede qal-* ‘promise’, etc.) shift both 1st and 2nd person indexicals, as in (5) and (6), respectively, whereas verbs of believing (e.g. *bil-* ‘believe, know’, *oyla-* ‘think’, *ansir-* ‘worry’, *ümid qil-* ‘hope’, *xejal qil-* ‘dream about’, etc.) and verbs of hearing (e.g. *angla-* ‘hear’, *oqu-* ‘read’, etc.) shift only 1st person indexicals, and 2nd person indexical shift under these verbs are infelicitous, as in (7-10), respectively (p. 448).³³

(5) Ahmet [*pro kim-ni jaxshi kör-imen*] di-di?
 Ahmet [*pro who-ACC well see-IMPERF.1SG say-PAST.3*]
 ‘Who did Ahmet say that he likes?’

(6) Ahmet Aygül-ge [*pro kim-ni jaxshi kör-isen*] di-di?
 Ahmet Aygün-DAT [*pro who-ACC well see-IMPERF.2SG say-PAST.3*]
 ‘Who did Ahmet tell Aygül that she likes?’

(Sudo, 2010a, p. 448)

(7) Ahmet [*pro kim-ni jaxshi kör-imen*] dep bil-du?
 Ahmet [*pro who-ACC well see-IMPERF.1SG C believe-IMPERF.3*]
 ‘Who does Ahmet believe that he likes?’

³³ Indexical shift is triggered by monster operator (Sudo, 2010a,b). This term is going to be explained in §6.2.2.

- (8) *Ahmet [*pro* kim-ni jaxshi kör-*isen*] dep bil-du?
 Ahmet [*pro* who-ACC well see-IMPERF.2SG C believe-IMPERF.3
 (Sudo, 2010a, p. 450)

- (9) Ahmet Aygül-din [*pro* qaysi imtihan-din öt-*tim*] dep]
 Ahmet Aygül-from [*pro* which test-from pass-PAST.1SG C

angla-di?
 hear-PAST.3

‘Which test did Ahmet hear from Aygül that he passed?’

- (10) *Ahmet Aygül-din [*pro* qaysi imtihan-din öt-*ting*] dep]
 Ahmet Aygül-from [*pro* which test-from pass-PAST.2SG C

angla-di?
 hear-PAST.3

(Sudo, 2010a, p. 451)

Indexical shifting takes place only in finite complement clauses in Turkish.

Although indexical shifting takes place in Turkish as well as in Uyghur, only null pronouns are shifted in Turkish unlike Uyghur (Gültekin-Şener and Şener, 2011, p. 279).

See the examples (11) and (12) below.

- (11) Seda_j ben*_{j/k} sınıf-ta kal-dı-m san-ıyör.
 Seda.NOM I.NOM class-LOC flunk-PAST-1SG believe-PROG.3SG

Shifted reading: *
 Non-shifted reading: √

- (12) Seda_j *pro*_{j/k} sınıf-ta kal-dı-m san-ıyör.
 Seda.NOM *pro* class-LOC flunk-PAST-1SG believe-PROG.3SG

Shifted reading: √
 Non-shifted reading: √

(Gültekin-Şener and Şener, 2011, pp. 272-3)

Kelepir and Göksel (2013), Anand and Nevins (2004), and Gültekin Şener and Şener (2011) (among others) claim that utterances like (12) cannot be instances of direct

quotation since there is the possibility of interpreting the reference of the 1st person singular in (12) with respect to the context of utterance. In other words, *pro* may refer to Seda as well as the speaker of the whole sentence.

Indexical shift is not unique to verbs of quotation in Turkish. Indexicals shift with certain verbs of cognition such as *bil-*, *san-*, *zannet-* ‘suppose’, *hatırla-* ‘remember’, etc. as well, as shown in (12) repeated below.

- (12) Seda_j *pro*_{j/k} sınıf-ta kal-dı-m san-ı-yor.
 Seda.NOM *pro* class-LOC flunk-PAST-1SG believe-PROG.3SG

Shifted reading: √
 Non-shifted reading: √
 (Gültekin-Şener and Şener, 2011, p. 273)

Now, we will have a look at the constraints on shifting. We will see an example from Zazaki in (13) below. Anand and Nevins (2004) state that

It contains two contexts of speech, the utterance context, *c**, and the reported speech context. Zazaki indexicals are free to pick up reference from either context. In principle, then, the introduction of an additional indexical should render these sentences four-ways ambiguous. However, they are not; speakers systematically exclude interpretations where the two indexicals pick up reference from different contexts: (p. 23)

- (13) Vizeri Rojda Bill-ra va kε ez to-ra miradiša.
 Yesterday Rojda Bill-to said that I you-to angry.be-PRES
 ‘Yesterday Rojda said to Bill, “I am angry at you.”
 ‘Yesterday Rojda said to Bill, “AUTH(*c**) is angry at ADDR(*c**).”
 # ‘Yesterday Rojda said to Bill, “AUTH(*c**) am angry at you.”
 # ‘Yesterday Rojda said to Bill, “I am angry at ADDR(*c**).”

Anand and Nevins (2004) call this constraint “shift-together constraint” (p. 21).

According to this constraint, all indexicals within a *speech-context domain* must pick up their references from the same context.

Another observation by Anand and Nevins (2004) is that “while certain attitude verbs always shift indexicals under them, others allow an indirect discourse reading” (p. 30). For example, in the Slave data below, *want* optionally shifts indexicals in its complement while *say* obligatorily shifts them. See (14) and (15) below.

(14) WANT: optionally shifts indexicals in its complement

John [beya ráwoz'ie] yudeli.
 John [1.sg-son 3.sg-will-hunt] 3.sg-want-4.sg
 ‘John wants his son to go hunting.’ (direct)
 ‘John wants my son to go hunting.’ (indirect)

(15) SAY: obligatorily shifts indexicals in its complement

Simon [rásereyneht'u] hadi.
 Simon 2.sg-hit-1.sg 3.sg-say
 Simon said that you hit {him, *me}.

While the sentence in (14) is ambiguous since the indexical optionally shifts, in (15), on the other hand, there is only one reading with an obligatory indexical shift.

Until now, we have looked at indexical shift and some constraints on it. Now, we will discuss quotation and then move on to the quotatives in Turkish.

4.2 Overview of quotation

In their book, Cappelen and Lepore (2007) discuss quotation which they define as, “by borrowing Donald Davidson’s apt phrase, “a way of language turning to itself”” and becoming self-reflective (p. 1). According to them, quotation is an important but wrongly neglected philosophical topic.

As they list, there have been various theories of quotation. According to them, quotation expressions are:

- (16) a. demonstratives demonstrating a pattern (Davidson),
- b. quantifiers ranging over tokens (a prior time-slice of Cappelen and Lepore),
- c. unstructured proper names referring to classes (Tarski),
- d. descriptions of concatenations of classes (Geach),
- e. functions referring to abstract entities (Richard), or
- f. illustrations (Recanati).

Cappelen and Lepore (2007, p. 2)

We do not know for sure which one of these theories better explain the nature of quotation, yet. However, the observations about the characteristics of quotation highlighted in many studies are listed below.

(i) Quotation creates pragmatically opaque contexts (Quine, 1966, p. 159 as cited in Cappelen and Lepore, 2007, p. 3) and that is why substitution of co-referential or even synonymous expressions fails to preserve truth-value. This is illustrated in (17) and (18) below.

(17) 'Bachelor' has eight letters.

(18) 'Unmarried man' has eight letters.

Cappelen and Lepore (2007, p. 3)

(ii) Quotation enables us to compose novel sentences e.g. English sentences out of (an unlimited resource of) quotable items that are not themselves part of the English lexicon (Cappelen and Lepore, 2007, p. 6). It reaches beyond the extant lexicon as we can quote items from languages other than English (19); combinations of linguistic items that don't mean anything in any natural language (20); units that are not part of the language or the sign system we typically use (21).

- (19) ‘Snøman’ isn’t a word in English; it’s a word in Norwegian.
- (20) ‘Kqxf’ is not a meaningful linguistic expression. (Wertheimer 1999, p. 515)
- (21) ‘☺’ will be stamped on the forehead of every semantic minimalist.

Cappelen and Lepore (2007, p. 23)

(iii) The syntactic category of quotation is not clear (Cappelen and Lepore, 2007, p. 27).

- (22) Quine said ‘has a certain anomalous feature’.
- (23) Quine said that quotation ‘has a certain anomalous feature’.

According to Cappelen and Lepore (2007),

the syntactic category of “has a certain anomalous feature” in these [(two)] sentences is not obviously the same. ... in (22) it’s unclear what its syntactic status is. On its face, it looks to be the direct object of the verb ‘said’, and so it should be a noun phrase, but on second glance it would seem that the story is more complicated. (p. 27)

On that point, they compare the sentence in (22) with the sentences in (24) and (25).

- (24) John boiled the water.
- (25) The water boiled John.

They highlight that, for an ordinary verb like ‘boil’ in our example, it is not possible to substitute the direct object for the subject and preserve the same meaning. However, in the example (22), it is possible.

- (22) a. Quine said ‘has a certain anomalous feature’.
- b. ‘has a certain anomalous feature’ said Quine.

As Cappelen and Lepore (2007) states “this data suggests a more complicated story about the syntactic status of quotations in direct quotations” (p. 27).

4.3 Indexical shift and quotation

In this section, I discuss indexical shift and quotation. Defining what quotation is has been very controversial from a linguistic point of view. While some linguists assume that they must be frozen expressions like definite descriptions (e.g. proper names) and therefore the structures which allow indexical shift, A' extraction and embedded NPI's licensing by a matrix verb are predicted not to be quotations (Anand and Nevins, 2004 among others), some of them still include these structures into quotations and add that quotations should be studied by considering these phenomena (Cappelen and Lepore, 2007 among others). Although there is no consensus yet, common observations include that quotation creates pragmatic opaque contexts (Quine 1966, p. 159 as cited in Cappelen and Lepore, 2007) and "the syntactic category of quotation is not clear ... quotation is a strange sort of syntactic beast -a syntactic chameleon- apparently taking on distinct linguistic environments" (Cappelen and Lepore, 2007, p. 27).

As you see, defining quotation is done through referring to indexical shift and vice versa. It has been assumed that certain constructions cannot be quotations as they are open to some operations involving indexical shift. However, I propose that indexical shift and quotation are not the two opposite sides of a coin; rather, there is the following relation between them: quotations are not frozen expressions, i.e. they are open to some operations including indexical shift.

In the following sections, we will discuss indexical shift and quotation by addressing NPIs and A' Extraction by giving reference to Anand and Nevins (2004).

4.3.1 Negative polarity items

The word *kes* 'anyone' is an NPI in Zazaki, see (30) below.

- (30) Mi kes paci *(ne) kerd.
I.ERG anyone kiss *(not) did
'I did *(not) kiss anyone.'

(Anand and Nevins, 2004, p. 22)

Within a shifted context it can be licensed by a matrix licenser, contrary to expectation if these are cases of direct quotation (Anand and Nevins, 2004, p. 22). This is illustrated in (31).

- (31) Rojda ne va ke mi kes paci kerd.
Rojda not said that I anyone kiss did
'Rojda_i didn't say that she_i kissed anyone.'

(Anand and Nevins, 2004, p. 22)

As in Zazaki, Turkish NPIs behave the same way. NPIs can be licensed by a matrix licenser within a shifted context. This is shown in (32).

- (32) Oya kimse-yi gör-dü-m de-me-di.
Oya.NOM anyone-ACC see-PAST-1SG say-NEG-PAST.3SG
'Oya_i did not say that she_i saw anyone.'

NPIs when licensed by an affirmative predicate yield ungrammaticality.

Therefore, based on the grammaticality of (35) with an NPI and an affirmative predicate next to each other, we can say that these two elements do not belong to a frozen structure like a direct quotation; rather the matrix predicate can see inside the embedded clause and license the NPI.

4.3.2 A' extraction

A' extraction is possible out of complements of *vano* 'say' with shifted indexicals

(Anand and Nevins, 2004, p. 22).

- (33) čeneke [ke Heseni va mi t paci kerda] rindeka.
girl that Heseni said I t kiss did pretty.be-PRES
'The girl that Heseni said {Heseni, I} kissed is pretty.'

When we have a look at Turkish, it is no different.

- (34) Hasan-ın [(ben) t öp-tü-m] de-diğ-i kız
Hasan-GEN (I.NOM) t kiss-PAST-1SG say-OREL-3SG girl.NOM

çok güzel.
very beautiful.3SG.GenCop

'The girl that Hasan said "I kissed" is very beautiful.'

As you can see in Zazaki and Turkish examples, 'say', the verb of communication, does not take complements that are frozen expressions; rather, its complement is open to certain operations. In other words, this verb of communication can 'see' inside its complement.

4.3.3 Coreference

Cappelen and Lepore (2007, p. 145) give an example from Partee (1973, p. 412).

- (35) The sign says 'George Washington slept here' but I don't believe he really did.

In example (35), *George Washington* in the quotation corefers with the pronoun *he* outside the quotation. The possibility of a pronoun inside a quotation and another one outside the quotation to corefer indicates that there is an interaction between the quotation and outside the quotation. This is illustrated with Turkish data below.

- (36) Ali_j Ahmet_k cimri de-di
 Ali.NOM Ahmet.NOM mean.GenCop.3SG say-PAST.3SG
 gerçekten de t_k öyle.
 really Prt so.GenCop.3SG

Ali_j said that Ahmet_k is mean, he_k really is.

In (36) we know, for sure, who is ‘mean’, which indicates that the sentence *gerçekten de öyle* ‘he really is’ can ‘see’ inside the quotation. This implies that quotations are not frozen expressions but are open to some interactions.

4.4 Quotative verbs and quotatives selected by *diye*

De- ‘say’ is a verb of quotation in Turkish. It takes quotations as its complement, as in (37).

- (37) [Kedi-ler uyu-yor] de-di.
 cat-PL.NOM sleep-PROG.3PL say-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He said that the cats are sleeping.’

As seen throughout this thesis, *diye* is the $-(y)A$ converbial of the verb *de-* ‘say’ which is a verb of quotation. Therefore, it is plausible for *diye* to keep this verb’s quotative feature while subordinating a clause. This is illustrated in (38) below.

- (38) [Kedi-ler uyu-yor] diye konuş-tu.
 cat-PL.NOM sleep-PROG.3PL *diye* say-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He said that the cats are sleeping.’

In Table 2 below, there is a list of quotative verbs that occur with subordinate clauses with *diye* in Turkish.

Table 2. Verbs of Communication with Subordinate Clauses Marked by *Diye* ³⁵

Verbs of manner of speaking		Verbs of transfer of a message, <i>Talk</i> verbs, <i>Say</i> verbs				
bağır 'shout'	kükre 'roar'	açıkla 'explain'	konuş 'talk'	yanıtla 'answer'	şikayet et 'complain'	tehdit et 'threaten'
söylen 'murmur'	mırıldan 'mumble'	aktar 'quote'	söyle 'say, tell'	cevapla 'answer'	itiraz et 'object'	tezahürat et 'shout slogans'
inle 'groan'	fısılda 'whisper'	oku 'read'	dile getir 'utter'	özetle 'summarize'	dua et 'pray'	ifade et 'express'
seslen 'call'	haykır 'shout out'	yaz 'write'	yalan söyle 'lie'	iddia et 'claim'	tekrar et 'repeat'	belirt 'express'
		anlat 'tell'	sor 'ask'	itiraf et 'confess'	bahset 'mention'	

These so-called verbs of communication occur with their contents. These verbs (except for other verbs of quotation *de-* 'say' and sometimes *yaz-* 'write') require *diye* marking the quotation i.e. the content of the action denoted by these verbs, as in the examples (39-41) below.

(39) [[On-u ye-me] diye] bağır-dı.
it-ACC eat-NEG.IMP.2SG *diye* shout-PAST.3SG
'(S)He shouted that "Don't eat it!".'

(40) [[Vicdanî ret konusunda siz ne düşün-üyor-sunuz]
conscientious objection about you(PL) what think-PROG-2PL

diye] sor-du.
diye ask-PAST.3SG

'What do you think about conscientious objection?'

³⁵ Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p. 408) list these verbs as verbs of communication other than *de-* 'say'. I prefer calling *de-* 'say' a verb of quotation but the rest of the verbs that have been called verbs of quotation as verbs of communication. These verbs of communication need *diye* to mark the quotations for grammaticality.

(41) Yarıyıl tatil-in-e ilişkin plan-lar-ın-ı [[kitap
semester break-CM-DAT about plan-PL-3SG-ACC book

oku-yacağ-ım oyun oyna-yacağ-ım] diye] özetle-di.
read-FUT-1SG game play-FUT-1SG *diye* summarize-PAST.3SG

‘(S)He summarized his/her semester break plans as “I’ll read books and play games.’

This subordinator does not only mark subordinate clauses of verbs of quotation, as in the examples (39-41) above, but also marks subordinate clauses of verbs of perception and cognition and verbs of emotion. These verbs are listed in Table 3 below:

Table 3. Verbs of Perception, Cognition, and Emotion that can Occur with Subordinate Clauses Headed by *Diye*

Verbs of Perception and Cognition			Verbs of Emotion
gör ‘dream’	düşün ‘think’	varsay ‘assume’	um ‘hope’
duy ‘hear’	içinden geçir ‘think’	farzet ‘assume’	umut/ümit et ‘hope’
	bil ‘know’	kabul et ‘accept’	şüphelen ‘doubt’
	hayal et ‘imagine’	say(ıl) ‘count as’	sevin ‘be glad’
	hatırla ‘remember’	tahmin et ‘predict’	üzül ‘be sorry’
	anla ‘understand’	ayır ‘divide’	kork ‘be frightened’
	hisset ‘feel’	addet ‘be assumed’	

In (42) below, there is a verb of perception that occurs with a subordinate clause marked by *diye*. In (43), there is a verb of cognition as the matrix verb and it occurs with a subordinate clause headed by *diye*. Finally in (44), a verb of emotion stands in the matrix verb position and it occurs with a subordinate clause marked by *diye*.

- (42) [Kedi-ler uyu-yor] diye duy-du-m.
 cat-PL.NOM sleep-PROG.3PL *diye* hear-PAST-1SG
 ‘I heard it like the cats are sleeping.’
- (43) [Kedi-ler uyu-yor] diye düşün-üyor.
 cat-PL.NOM sleep-PROG.3PL *diye* think-PROG.3SG
 ‘(S)He thinks that the cats are sleeping.’
- (44) [Kedi-ler uyu-yor] diye sevin-di.
 cat-PL.NOM sleep-PROG.3PL *diye* be.glad-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He was glad that the cats were sleeping.’

Moreover, *diye* marks adverbial clauses that denote reason, as in (45), purpose/result, as in (46), and assumption, understanding, precaution, and agreement (cf. 3.2.4).

- (45) Kedi-ler uyu-yor diye git-ti.
 cat-PL.NOM sleep-PROG.3PL *diye* leave-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He left because the cats were sleeping.’
- (46) Kedi-ler uyu-sun diye git-ti.
 cat-PL.NOM sleep-IMP.3PL *diye* leave-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He left so that the cats could sleep.’

Quotations, as in the examples above, are not frozen expressions. As in Slave (cf. 4.1), certain verbs shift the indexicals in their complement optionally while certain verbs shift them obligatorily. Therefore, if a verb has the optionality to shift the indexicals in their complements, the embedded clause that is *diye* and its complement, behaves in two ways. For string-identical sentences, we will have two different interpretations. This ambiguity is represented in examples (2) and (3) repeated below.

(2) A: Funda Yusuf Atılgan'ın bir kitabını okumuş, günlerdir sadece bundan bahsediyor.
'Funda has read one of Yusuf Atılgan's books, and it's the only thing she has been talking about for days now.'

B: Funda_j-nın (*pro_j*/_k*) oku-du-m diye bahset-tiğ-i
Funda-GEN read-PAST-1SG *diye* mention-OREL-3SG

kitap aslında Oğuz Atay-ın.
Book.NOM in.fact Oğuz Atay-GEN.3SG.GenCop

'The book that Funda mentions as having read is one of Atay's (not Atılgan's).'

(3) A: Funda bana dedi ki sen Yusuf Atılgan'ın bir kitabını okumuşsun ve beğenmişsin.
'Funda told me that you read and loved one of Yusuf Atılgan's books.'

B: Funda_j-nın (*pro*/_j/_k*) oku-du-m diye bahset-tiğ-i
Funda-GEN (I.NOM) read-PAST-1SG *diye* mention-OREL-3SG

kitap aslında Oğuz Atay-ın.
book.NOM in.fact Oğuz Atay-GEN.3SG.GenCop

'The book that Funda mentions as me having read it is one of Atay's (not Atılgan's).'

In the real world, the embedded subject in (2) refers to Funda, i.e. the topic of the context of the utterance (subject of the matrix clause) while in (3) it refers to the speaker, i.e. the subject of the reported event. Although the sentences are string identical, they have different interpretations. It seems that the complement clauses of *diye* are open to some operations; i.e. certain elements outside of the embedded clause can 'see' inside that clause in (2) but this is not the case in (3).

This problem is not special to verbs of communication, verbs of perception and cognition, and verbs of emotion, or, in other words, is not special to verbs that occur with their contents. If there are indexicals in the subordinate clause marked by *diye*, they may shift, that is why the subordinate clauses that contain indexicals are two-way

ambiguous. In (47) below, there is a subordinate that introduces the purpose of the action denoted by the matrix verb.

- (47) Çalış-a-yım diye git-ti.
study-OPT-1SG *diye* leave-PAST.3SG
'(S)He left so that I could study.'
'(S)He left in order to study.'

Another puzzle is given in example (4) repeated below. This sentence is ambiguous and this ambiguity is also related to functions of a function word *diye*. The clause marked by *diye* can either present the content of the action denoted by the matrix verb or it can state the reason or purpose of the action denoted by that matrix verb.

- (4) Oya ben gel-di-m diye bağırdı.
Oya.NOM I.NOM come-PAST.1SG *diye* shout-PAST.3SG
(a) Oya_j shouted: 'I_j came.'
(b) Oya_j shouted because I_k came.

There is a correlation between the coreference of the subject of the embedded and matrix verb, and in what respect the embedded clause modifies the matrix clause. The embedded clause introduces the content when the subject in the embedded clause and the one in the matrix clause corefer, i.e. when the indexical "I" shifts; this is the interpretation in (4a). On the other hand, the embedded clause introduces the reason of the matrix clause in (4b) but in this reading the subjects do not corefer, i.e. the indexical "I" does not shift, it refers to the speaker of the main clause. This implies that indexical shift correlates with adverbial vs. quotative reading.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of indexical shift and quotation with some data in Turkish. We have seen that quotation and indexical shift are related concepts. Indexical shift is a phenomenon that is present in quotations (as well as present with some verbs of cognition). As derived from a verb of quotation *de-* ‘say’, *diye* present these phenomena. The complements of both *de-* ‘say’ and *diye* are quotations that allow the indexicals inside them to shift. That does not happen only when *diye* marks a subordinate clause of verbs of quotation but also when *diye* marks subordinate clauses of verbs of perception and cognition, and verbs of emotion. In addition to that, *diye* keeps its quotative feature while subordinating reason, purpose/result, assumption, understanding, precaution, and agreement adverbial clauses (cf. Chapter 3). In that sense, *diye* carries two functions: subordinating a clause and introducing the quotation. As a subordinator, it seems lexicalized; however, its still keeps its quotative nature as a derived form of a verb of quotation.

In the next chapter, we will see *diye* with verbs of quotation, verbs of perception and cognition, and verbs of emotion. We will show that some of the subordinate clauses of these verbs are not their complements contrary to expectation.

In chapter 6, I will analyze these constructions as containing master operators, in line with Sudo (2010a,b).

CHAPTER 5

DİYE CLAUSES: COMPLEMENTS OR ADJUNCTS?

In Chapter 3, I presented an overview of some usages of *diye*. These include the adverbial clauses that are marked by *diye*. Specifically, these adverbial clauses introduce the relations between main and subordinate clauses that involve reason, purpose / result as CP level, and manner, assumption, understanding, precaution, and agreement at VP level. Following that, I mentioned quotation and indexical shift in Chapter 4 since the subordinate clauses with *diye* present these phenomena. Now, in Chapter 5, I will discuss why particular subordinate clauses cannot be complement clauses contrary to expectation. These clauses include the subordinate clauses of verbs of communication, verbs of perception and cognition, and verbs of emotion.

5.1 Verbs with *diye*

In addition to the various relations that *diye* forms between verbs and their modifiers (cf. Chapter 3), *diye* occurs with verbs of communication, verbs of perception, verbs of cognition, and verbs of emotion. Below, there is a list of these verbs in Table 4.³⁶ Some verbs of cognition such as *san-*, *zannet-* ‘suppose’, *bul-* ‘find, evaluate’ and verbs of emotion such as *iste-* ‘want’ do not allow clauses with *diye* but they require finite

³⁶ This list is composed of the verbs listed in reference grammars of Turkish (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, i.a.) and the verbs collected from TS Corpus and METU Corpus.

clauses (without a subordinator) as their complements. Therefore, they are not included in this list.

Table 4. Verbs of Communication, Perception, Cognition, and Emotion that can Occur with Subordinate Clauses Headed by *Diye*

Verbs of Quotation ³⁷				Verbs of Perception and Cognition		Verbs of Emotion
Verbs of manner of speaking	Verbs of transfer of a message, <i>Talk</i> verbs, <i>Say</i> verbs					
bağır 'shout'	açıkla 'explain'	söyle 'say, tell'	itiraf et 'confess'	gör 'dream'	hisset 'feel'	um 'hope'
söylen 'murmur'	aktar 'quote'	dile getir 'utter'	şikayet et 'complain'	duy 'hear'	varsay 'assume'	umut/ümit et 'hope'
inle 'groan'	oku 'read'	yalan söyle 'lie'	itiraz et 'object'	düşün 'think'	farzet 'assume'	şüphelen 'doubt'
seslen 'call'	yaz 'write'	sor 'ask'	dua et 'pray'	içinden geçir 'think'	kabul et 'accept'	sevin 'be glad'
kükre 'roar'	anlat 'tell'	yanıtla 'answer'	tekrar et 'repeat'	bil 'know'	say(ıl) 'count as'	üzül 'be sorry'
mırıldan 'mumble'	konuş 'talk'	cevapla 'answer'	bahset 'mention'	hayal et 'imagine'	tahmin et 'predict'	kork 'be frightened'
fısılda 'whisper'	belirt 'express'	özetle 'summarize'	tehdit et 'threaten'	hatırla 'remember'	ayır 'divide'	
haykır 'shout out'	ifade et 'express'	iddia et 'claim'	tezahürat et 'shout slogans'	anla 'understand'	addet 'be assumed'	

These verbs occur with *diye*, as in the examples (1-8) below. In (1-3), the matrix verb is a verb of communication that takes a subordinate clause with *diye*.

- (1) [[On-u ye-me] *diye*] bağır-dı.
 it-ACC eat-NEG.IMP.2SG *diye* shout-PAST.3SG
 '(S)He shouted "Don't eat it!".'

³⁷ Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p. 408) list these verbs as verbs of communication other than *de-* 'say'. I prefer calling *de-* 'say' as a verb of quotation but the rest of the verbs that has been titled verbs of quotation as verbs of communication. These verbs of communication need *diye* to mark the quotations for grammaticality.

- (2) [[Vicdanî ret konusunda siz ne düşünüyorsunuz]
conscientious objection about you(PL) what think-PROG-2PL

diye] sor-du.
diye ask-PAST.3SG

‘(S)He asked “What do you think of conscientious objection?”’

- (3) Yarıyıl tatil-in-e ilişkin plan-lar-ın-ı [[kitap
semester break-CM-DAT about plan-PL-3SG-ACC book

oku-yacağ-ım oyun oyna-yacağ-ım] diye] özetle-di.
read-FUT-1SG game play-FUT-1SG *diye* summarize-PAST.3SG

‘(S)He summarized his/her semester break plans as “I’ll read books and play games.’

In (4) below, there is a verb of perception as the matrix verb.

- (4) [[Çukurova Grubu anlaşma yap-tı] diye] duy-du-m.
Çukurova Group.NOM agreement make-PAST.3SG *diye* hear-PAST-1SG
‘I heard that Çukurova Group made an agreement.’

Examples (5) and (6) illustrate verbs of cognition that occur with subordinate clauses with *diye*.

- (5) [[Cumartesi yine yoğun ol-acak] diye] düşün-dü.
saturday.NOM again busy be-FUT.3SG *diye* think-PAST.3SG
‘(S)He thought that Saturday will be busy again.’

- (6) Ömer [[Ceren git-ti] diye] bil-iyor.
Ömer.NOM Ceren.NOM leave-PAST.3SG *diye* think-PROG.3SG
‘Ömer thinks that Ceren left.’

Example (7) and (8) are instances of sentences in which the matrix verbs are verbs of emotion that take subordinate clauses with *diye*.

- (7) [[Benim için mi gel-di-ler] diye] şüphelen-di.
my for QPr come-PAST-3PL *diye* become.suspicious-PAST.3SG
‘(S)He became suspicious, thinking “Did they come for me?”.’

- (8) [[Böyle bir şey-i nasıl yap-tı-m] diye] üzül-dü.
 such a thing-ACC how do-PAST-1SG *diye* be.sad-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He was sad, thinking “How did I do such a thing?”.’

At first glance, it may seem that the subordinate clauses with *diye* in square brackets as the complements of the (transitive) verbs listed in Table 4 since their nominal clausal counterparts are the complements of these verbs. In fact, this has been the assumption in many works (cf. §2.3.1). For example, the subordinate clause, e.g., in (5) repeated as (9a), can be paraphrased as the following example in (9b).

- (9) a. [[Cumartesi yine yoğun ol-acak] diye] düşün-dü.
 saturday.NOM again busy be-FUT.3SG *diye* think-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He thought that Saturday will be busy again.’
- b. [[Cumartesi-nin yine yoğun ol-acağ-ın-ı] düşün-dü.
 saturday-GEN again busy be-FutNom-3SG-ACC think-PAST.3SG
 ‘(S)He thought that Saturday will be busy again.’

The subordinate clause with *diye* in (9a) can be paraphrased as a nominalized clause that has accusative case marker on it, as in (9b). This may suggest that the subordinate clause in (9a) is the complement of the matrix verb just like the nominalized clause in (9b). In the following sections, I will use tests to understand whether these subordinate clauses with *diye* are in fact complement clauses. I will suggest that the subordinate clauses with *diye* are not complements, rather they are adjuncts.

5.2 Tests for ‘complementhood’: Tests to see if *diye* clauses are complements

In this section, we will focus on the relationship between a subordinate clause with *diye* and the matrix clause. Van Valin (1984: 544-545) defines the relation between a main

clause and its subordinate clause as [\pm dependent] and [\pm embedded]. He assumes that an embedded clause is always an argument (in our case, complement) of the matrix verbs and subordinate clauses are always modifiers.

[-dependent, - embedded] is the class of coordinate sentences. For the subordinate clauses with *diye*, this value is ruled out; the tests to distinguish coordinate sentences and subordinate clauses listed in Diessel (2001, pp. 437-8) indicate that they are not coordinate sentences.

[-dependent, +embedded] defines a potential relation in which a clause functions as part of another clause but is fully independent of it. Parentheticals (McCawley, 1982 as cited in Van Valin, 1984, p. 547) and direct discourse complements are given as possible candidates for that combination. The examples with *diye* that are subordinate to verbs of communication, (as in (12) and (13) above) cannot reflect this relation since a clause with *diye* cannot stand on its own.

[+dependent, +embedded], on the other hand, is the relation between an independent clause and a dependent clause that is dependent upon the independent clause for its occurrence. Göksel and Kelepir (2015) state that “the most obvious indication of clausal complementation one would look for in a sequence of clauses is the presence of complementizers” (p. 67). We observe an element, i.e. *diye* that seems to serve as a complementizer which possibly governs a reported utterance. This value might reflect the relation between a subordinate clause with *diye* and the matrix clause. However, I doubt whether the subordinate clauses in (12) and (13) are complement clauses. Kelepir and Göksel (2013) state the following:

Structures with reported speech involve two logically related but syntactically independent clauses. ... Clauses with SAY contain semantic complementation but not syntactic complementation. ... unlike verbs which take sentential complements, the relation between SAY and its complement may be of a semantic nature and not a syntactic one. (p. 207)

Finally, [+dependent, -embedded] is a relation between a matrix clause and an adverbial clause. If *diye* clauses are not complements, they will be a member of this group.

My aim in this section is to test the subordinate clauses of verbs of communication to see if these subordinate clauses are Van Valin's (1984) [+dependent, +embedded] type of complement clauses or they are just instances of adverbials. In order to answer this, I will make use of passivization and causativization tests. There are two possibilities:

(i) If the subordinate clauses pass the tests, they are complements (the internal arguments of the matrix verbs), and this gives them the value [+dependent, +embedded].

(ii) If the subordinate clauses fail the standard tests of argumenthood, they are not complements, and this gives them the [+dependent, -embedded] which is the relation between a matrix clause and an adjunct.

In the rest of this section, I will discuss whether these subordinate clauses of verbs of quotation, cognition, perception, and emotion are the syntactic complements of these verbs or not. I will apply the following tests to determine whether an item is a direct object.

- a. Passivization
- b. Causativization

- c. Complementary distribution with an NP
- d. Replacement of *diye* with other adverbials

With passivization and causativization tests in (a) and (b) respectively, we will observe the changes in terms of the case markers on nominal element in the sentence in order to determine that syntactic status of the subordinate clauses with *diye*. Then, we will observe if a nominalized clause and a subordinate clause with *diye* that introduces the content of the matrix verb can occur together; this is given in (c). If they can, it means that they are not in complementary distribution, which indicates that the subordinate clause is an adverbial as the nominalized clause is the complement of the matrix verb. If they cannot occur together, we may conclude that the subordinate clause with *diye* is complement just like the nominalized clause. Finally, we will replace *diye* and the clauses with *diye* with adverbials in Turkish; this is given in (d). If the output is a grammatical construction, we can conclude that the clauses with *diye* are adverbials.

5.2.1 Passivization

One of the implications of Burzio's generalization (1986) is that direct object of an active clause is the subject of a passive clause.

- (10) Ben-i kovala-dı.
I-ACC chase-PAST.3SG
'(S)he chased me.'
- (11) Ben kovala-n-dı-m.
I.NOM chase-PASS-PAST-1SG
'I was chased.'

(Çetinoğlu and Butt, 2008, p. 218)

“Inherent case is always retained in passive constructions” (Öztürk, 2007, p. 313).

(12) Ali top-a vur-du.
Ali.NOM ball-DAT kick-PAST.3SG
'Ali kicked the ball.'

(13) a. Top-a vur-ul-du.
ball-DAT kick-PASS-PAST.3SG
'The ball was kicked.'

(Öztürk, 2007, p. 313)

b. *Top vur-ul-du.
ball-NOM kick-PASS-PAST.3SG

An adverbial does not bear case and do not change under passivization.

(14) Ben-i para-sın-ı çal-dığ-ım için kovala-dı.
I-ACC money-3.SG-ACC steal-NML-1SG because chase-PAST.3SG
'(S)he chased me because I steal her/his money.'

(14) Ben para-sın-ı çal-dığ-ım için kovala-n-dı-m.
I.NOM money-3.SG-ACC steal-NML-1SG because chase-PASS-PAST.3SG
'I was chased because I steal her/his money.'

Bearing in mind the relation between a verb and its complement (10-13) or its adverbial (14-15), we will have a look at verbs and the clauses with *diye* that occur with these verbs. We will observe their behavior under the passivization test. Now, let's consider *bağır-* 'shout', a verb of communication, and the subordinate clause with *diye*.

(16) Ali [[Mehmet Ali] diye] bağır-dı.
Ali.NOM Mehmet Ali *diye* shout-PAST.3SG
'Ali shouted "Mehmet Ali".'

(17) [[Mehmet Ali] diye] bağır-ıl-dı.
Mehmet Ali *diye* shout-PASS-PAST.3SG
'It was shouted "Mehmet Ali".'

Based on the grammaticality of (17), we can say that there is no change in the shape of the subordinate clause and it is similar to (13a); however, we would never be able to observe Acc-Nom alternation through case marking, since the subordinate clause is not a nominalized clause and cannot bear an overt case-marker.³⁸ Therefore, we cannot conclude whether the embedded clause is a complement as in (13a) or an adjunct, as in (15). However, an interesting fact is that the sentence in (17) is an instance of impersonal passive and as Öztürk (2005, p. 47) highlights, “impersonal passives are formed with unergative verbs, i.e. verbs without internal arguments”. Since the passive sentence with *bağır-* ‘shout’ is perceived as an impersonal passive, we can speculate that this verb is a verb without an internal argument. *Bağır-* ‘shout’ actually behaves in two ways. It is an intransitive verb, as in (18), or a transitive verb, as in (19). A subordinate clause with *diye* can present extra information, as in (20), or a DP in the object position and the subordinate clause with *diye* can occur together, as in (21).

(18) Mehmet bağır-dı.
Mehmet.NOM shout-PAST.3SG
‘Mehmet shouted.’

(19) Mehmet ad-in-ı bağır-dı.
Mehmet.NOM name-3SG-ACC shout-PAST.3SG
‘Mehmet shouted his name.’

³⁸ Baker (2011) contrasts English *that* clauses to Sakha *dien* clauses and based on the fact that “English *that* is cognate with the demonstrative pronoun *that* [and] Sakha *dien* is historically derived from the verb *die* ‘to say’” (Baker, 2011, p. 1171); he concludes that English *that*-clauses are more or less nominal in origin and therefore can stand in positions where an NP can stand such as the subject position whereas Sakha *dien* clauses cannot stand in e.g. subject positions. Baker (2011) concludes that “although there is ample reason synchronically to say that the complementizers are not identical to their historical sources in either language; it is plausible to assume that some vestiges of these origins remain” (p. 1171). Turkish *diye* is very similar to Sakha *dien* in that it is derived from the verb ‘to say’ and this might be the reason why it cannot occur in NP positions.

(20) Mehmet [[Mehmet Ali] diye] bağırdı.
 Mehmet.NOM Mehmet Ali diye shout-PAST.3SG
 ‘Mehmet shouted “Mehmet Ali”.’

(21) Mehmet ad-ın-ı [[Mehmet Ali] diye] bağırdı.
 Mehmet.NOM name-3SG-ACC Mehmet Ali diye shout-PAST.3SG
 ‘Mehmet shouted his name as “Mehmet Ali”.’

Bağır- ‘shout’ and a group of verbs such as *haykır-* ‘shout out’, *murıldan-* ‘mumble’, *fısılda-* ‘whisper’, *söylen-* ‘murmur,’ *inle-* ‘groan’, *seslen-* ‘call’, *kükre-* ‘roar’, etc.³⁹ presuppose their contents, i.e. ‘Mehmet Ali’ above in (20) and (21). The reported utterance is extra information about this presupposed content.

We will now consider another verb of communication.

(22) Ahmet *(bu soru-yu) ([[bil-m-iyor-um] diye])
 Ahmet.NOM this question-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG diye
 yanıtla-dı.
 answer-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet answered that question like “I don’t know”.’

(23) Bu soru ([[bil-m-iyor-um] diye]) yanıtla-n-dı.
 this question.NOM know-NEG-PROG-1SG diye answer-PASS-PAST.3SG
 ‘This question is answered like “I don’t know” (by Ahmet).’

Based on the accusative-nominative alternation and non-optionality of a DP (*bu soru* ‘this question’) in (22) and (23), we know that this DP is the internal argument of the root verb *yanıtla-* ‘answer’ and we can therefore say that the subordinate clause is not the internal argument of the matrix verb as in (13a); rather it is an adverbial as in (15). This is also supported by the fact that the subordinate clause with *diye* can be omitted without yielding ungrammaticality.

³⁹ Levin (1993) calls these verbs in English as verbs of manner of speaking.

It seems that verbs of communication take the subordinate clauses with *diye* as adverbials not as complements. In the following section, we will test these verbs by causativization test to see if we can support our claim.

5.2.2 Causativization

The standard analysis for causativization is that “if the verb is intransitive, the subject becomes an accusative object” (Çetinoğlu and Butt, 2008, p. 222, i.a.), as in (24-25).

(24) Kedi uyu-du.
cat.NOM sleep-PAST.3SG
'The cat slept.'

(25) Çocuk kedi-yi uyu-t-tu.
child.NOM cat-ACC sleep-CAU-PAST.3SG
'The child made the cat sleep.'

The nominative subject *kedi* in (24) becomes the accusative case marked object *kedi-yi* 'cat-ACC' under causativization, as shown in (25). With transitive verbs, “the canonical nominative/accusative object preserves its case and function when the verb is causativized. The causee (former nominative subject) is marked with the dative” (Çetinoğlu and Butt, 2008, p. 222, among many others), as in example (26-27).

(26) Köpek kedi-yi kovala-dı.
dog.NOM cat-ACC chase-PAST-3SG
'The dog chased the cat.'

(27) Çocuk köpeğ-e kedi-yi kovala-t-tı.
child.NOM dog-DAT cat-ACC chase-CAU-PAST.3SG
'The dog made the dog chase the cat.'

(from Çetinoğlu and Butt, 2008, pp. 18-23)

The accusative case marked object *kedi-yi* ‘cat-ACC’ in (26) preserves its case under causativization, as shown in (27). The causee that is nominative case marked in (26), on the other hand, is dative case marked now, as in (27).

As Öztürk (2007, p. 312) notes “if there is an inherent dative as in [(28)] then the agent can get only accusative as the second argument to be marked for structural case”, as in (29).

(28) Ayşe Ali-ye gül-dü.
Ayşe.NOM Ali-DAT laugh-PAST.3SG
‘Ayşe laughed at Ali.’

(29) Ahmet Ayşe-yi/*ye Ali-ye gül-dür-dü.
Ahmet.NOM Ayşe.ACC/DAT Ali-DAT laugh-CAU-PAST.3SG
‘Ahmet made Ayşe laugh at Ali.’

(Öztürk, 2007, p. 312)

An adverbial does not bear case and do not change under causativization.

(30) Ali ben-i para-sın-ı çal-dığ-ım için
Ali.NOM I-ACC money-3.SG-ACC steal-NML-1SG because

kovala-dı.
chase-PAST.3SG

‘Ali chased me because I steal his money.’

(31) Ahmet Ali-*yi/ye ben-i para-sın-ı çal-dığ-ım
Ahmet. NOM Ali-ACC/DAT I-ACC money-3.SG-ACC steal-NML-1SG

için kovala-t-tı.
because chase-CAU-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet made Ali chase me because I stole his money.’

We will test the verbs of communication to have a better insight into their argument structure and determine whether the clauses with *diye* are their complements

or they are adjuncts. If they are not sensitive to causativization, they must be adjuncts.

Let's begin with *bağır-* 'shout'.

- (32) Ahmet [[Ayşe bayıl-dı] diye] bağır-ıyor.
Ahmet.NOM Ayşe.NOM faint-PAST.3SG *diye* shout-PROG.3SG
'Ahmet is shouting that Ayşe fainted.'

- (33) Mehmet Ahmet-i/*e [[Ayşe bayıl-dı] diye]
Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-ACC/DAT Ayşe.NOM faint-PAST.3SG *diye*

bağır-t-tı.
shout-CAU-PAST.3SG

'Mehmet made Ahmet shout that "Ayşe fainted".'

- (34) Ahmet ad-ın-ı Hasan diye bağır-dı.
Ahmet.NOM name-3SG-ACC Hasan *diye* shout-PAST.3SG
'Ahmet is shouting that Ayşe fainted.'

- (35) Mehmet Ahmet-*i/e ad-ın-ı
Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-ACC/DAT name-3SG-ACC

Hasan diye bağır-t-tı.
Hasan *diye* shout-CAU-PAST.3SG

'Ahmet is shouting that Ayşe fainted.'

(33) is not similar to (27) in case of the case marking on the causee; therefore, we can say that *bağır-* 'shout' is not a transitive verb. This is also supported by the following similarity: (33) is similar to (25) in that the causee, i.e. Ahmet, is acceptable with the accusative case marker on it. According to this, we can say that *bağır-* 'shout' is an intransitive verb.

(33) is also similar to (29) in terms of the case marking on the causee; therefore, we might have concluded that *bağır-* 'shout' is a transitive verb which assigns dative case on its internal argument but we know that a *diye* clause cannot bear case. (33) is not

similar to (31) in terms of the causee; therefore, *bağır-* ‘shout’ is not a transitive verb but *diye* clause is similar to *parasını çaldığım için* ‘because I still her/his money’ because it does not change its shape because it does not require case.

(35), on the other hand, is similar to (27) in terms of the case marker on its internal argument and causee, and the subordinate clause is similar to *parasını çaldığım için* ‘because I still her/his money’ in (31). Both (33) and (35) show that *bağır-* ‘shout’ behaves like a transitive verb and an intransitive verb just like ‘eat’ in *John ate* and *John ate an apple*. The fact that the case marker on the causee when the sentence is passivized changes has nothing to with the adjunct clause but is related to the verb.

Now, we will move to another verb of communication *yanıtla-* ‘answer’ for which the subordinate clause with *diye* is actually proved to be an adjunct rather than a complement by the passivization test in 5.2.1. Now, let’s see how it behaves under causativization test.

(36) Ahmet bu soru-yu [[bil-m-iyor-um] diye]
 Ahmet.NOM this question-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG *diye*

yanıtla-dı.
 answer-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet answered that question like “I don’t know”.’

(37) Mehmet Ahmet-*/i/e bu soru-yu [[bil-m-iyor-um]
 Mehmet-NOM Ahmet-ACC this question-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG

diye] yanıtla-t-tı.
diye answer-CAU-PAST.3SG

‘Mehmet made Ahmet answer that question like “I don’t know”.’

(36) and (37) suggest that the DP (*bu soru* ‘this question’) is the internal argument of the matrix verb and thus, the subordinate clause cannot and is not the internal argument of the matrix verb *yanıtla-* ‘answer’. Therefore, this example is similar to (27) in terms of the case marker on the internal argument and the causee and the subordinate clause is similar to *parasını çaldığım için* ‘because I still her/his money’ in (31). Other verbs of communication that behave like *yanıtla-* ‘answer’ are the following:⁴⁰ *cevapla-* ‘answer’, *özetle-* ‘summarize’, *açıkla-* ‘explain’, *anlat-* ‘tell’, *aktar-* ‘quote’, *oku-* ‘read’, *ifade et-/belirt-* ‘express’, *itiraf et-* ‘confess’, *tehdit et-* ‘threaten’, *şikayet et-* ‘complain’, *dua et-* ‘pray’, *itiraz et-* ‘object’, *tezahürat et-* ‘shout slogans’, *tekrar et-* ‘repeat’, *iddia et-* ‘claim’, *yalan söyle-* ‘lie’, *bahset-* ‘mention’, *sor-* ‘ask’, *yaz-* ‘write’, *dile getir-* ‘utter’, *söyle-* ‘say, tell’, *konuş-* ‘talk’.⁴¹

In this section, we applied passivization and causativization tests to determine whether the subordinate clauses with *diye* are complements or adjuncts of the verbs of communication. The results indicate that these subordinate clauses with *diye* are not their complements; contrary to expectation, they are adjuncts which are adverbial clauses.

⁴⁰ Levin (1993) calls these verbs in English as verbs of transfer of a message, talk verbs, say verbs.

⁴¹ There are verbs that allow dative case marked causee under causativization. They are verbs of cognition such as *hayal et-* ‘imagine’, *kabul et-* ‘accept’, *farzet-* ‘assume’, *tahmin et-* ‘predict’ and verbs of communication such as *itiraf et-* ‘confess’, *tehdit et-* ‘threaten’, *şikayet et-* ‘complain’, *dua et-* ‘pray’, *itiraz et-* ‘object’, *tezahürat et-* ‘shout slogans’, *tekrar et-* ‘repeat’, *iddia et-* ‘claim’, *yalan söyle-* ‘lie’, *bahset-* ‘mention’, *ifade et-* ‘express’. One might think that subordinate clauses with *diye* are complement clauses of these verbs as they allow dative case marked causes under causativization. However, there is something special about these verbs. These verbs are composed of a noun and the light verb *et-* ‘make’. Öztürk (2005) argues for the nouns in these constructions that “bare nouns are not syntactic heads but XP categories” (p. 43). These verbs mentioned above behave like *yanıtla-* ‘answer’, a transitive verb, and the NPs behave like the internal argument of the verb *et-* ‘make’, so the subordinate clause can only be an adjunct. This is going to be mentioned in §5.2.3 as well.

5.2.3 Complementary distribution with NPs

So far, we have tested verbs of quotation by passivization and causativization tests. They work well to make a distinction between verbs of communication in terms of their argument structure. They also work well with other verbs listed in Table 3, i.e. verbs of perception, cognition and emotion. We see that subordinate clauses with *diye* are adverbials rather than complements of some verbs of perception, cognition, and emotion.

(38) Ahmet [[deprem ol-acak] diye] kork-tu
Ahmet.NOM earthquake happen-FUT.3SG *diye* fear-PAST.3SG
'Ahmet feared that there will be an earthquake.'

(39) Mehmet Ahmet-i [[deprem ol-acak] diye]
Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-ACC earthquake happen-FUT.3SG *diye*

kork-ut-tu.
fear-CAU-PAST.3SG

'Mehmet made Ahmet fear that there will be an earthquake.'

(40) *Mehmet Ahmet-e [[deprem ol-acak] diye]
Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-DAT earthquake.NOM happen-FUT.3SG *diye*

kork-ut-tu.
fear-CAU-PAST.3SG

#'Mehmet made Ahmet fear that there will be an earthquake.'

In (38), we see that the verb *kork-* 'fear' occurs with a subordinate clause with *diye*. (39) shows that when this verb is causativized the causee bears accusative case marking rather than dative case marked, as in (40), which indicates that the subordinate clause is an adjunct rather than a complement of the verb *kork-* 'fear'. Some verbs behave in a different way. Let's see an example.

(41) Ahmet [[mezuniyet güzel ol-acak] diye] hayal.et-ti.
 Ahmet.NOM graduation.NOM good be-FUT.3SG *diye* imagine-PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet imagined that the graduation ceremony will be good.’

(42) *Mehmet Ahmet-i [[mezuniyet güzel ol-acak]
 Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-ACC graduation.NOM good be-FUT.3SG
 diye] hayal.et-tir-di.
diye imagine-CAU-PAST.3SG

‘Mehmet made Ahmet imagine that the graduation ceremony will be good.’

(43) Mehmet Ahmet-e [[mezuniyet güzel ol-acak]
 Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-DAT graduation.NOM good be-FUT.3SG
 diye] hayal.et-tir-di.
diye imagine-CAU-PAST.V3SG

‘Mehmet made Ahmet imagine that the graduation ceremony will be good.’

In (41) we have a verb which is composed of a bare noun, e.g. *hayal*

‘imagination’ and a light verb *et-* ‘make’. Öztürk (2005) argues that “bare nouns are not syntactic heads but XP categories. Furthermore, bare nouns are still visible to syntactic processes like causativization” (p. 43). This verb and similar verbs that we will see below do not have the structure [VP [V hayal et]] but [VP [NP hayal] [V et]]. In that sense, *et-* ‘make’ behaves like *yanıtla-* ‘answer’, a transitive verb, and *hayal* ‘imagination’ behaves like the internal argument of the verb *et-* ‘make’, leaving the subordinate clause only the adjunct possibility. This example is just similar to (44-46) repeated below.

- (44) Ahmet bu soru-yu [[bil-m-iyor-um] diye]
Ahmet.NOM this question-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG *diye*

yanıtla-dı.
answer-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet answered that question like “I don’t know”.’

- (45) *Mehmet Ahmet-i bu soru-yu [[bil-m-iyor-um]
Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-ACC this question-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG

diye] yanıtla-t-tı.
diye answer-CAU-PAST.3SG

‘Mehmet made Ahmet answer that question like “I don’t know”.’

- (46) Mehmet Ahmet-e bu soru-yu [[bil-m-iyor-um]
Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-DAT this question-ACC know-NEG-PROG-1SG

diye] yanıtla-t-tı.
diye answer-CAU-PAST.3SG

‘Mehmet made Ahmet answer that question like “I don’t know”.’

In 5.2.2 we have seen that *yanıtla-* ‘answer’ already has a direct object *bu soru-yu* ‘this question-ACC’, indicating that the subordinate clause with *diye* can only be an adverbial that modifies that verb, and an adjunct.

There are other verbs of cognition that behave like *hayal et-* ‘imagine’. They are *kabul et-* ‘accept’, *farzet-* ‘assume’, *tahmin et-* ‘predict’. Moreover, there are other verbs of communication similar to these. They include *tezahürat et-* ‘shout slogans’, *dua et-* ‘pray’, *yalan söyle-* ‘tell a lie’, *bahset-* ‘mention’, *ifade et-* ‘express’, *itiraf et-* ‘confess’, *şikayet et-* ‘complain’, *itiraz et-* ‘object’ and *tehdit et-* ‘threaten’. They are going to be listed in 5.3. These verbs allow dative case marked causee under causativization, indicating that the subordinate clauses with *diye* that occur with these verbs are adverbials that function as adjuncts.

(47) Oya [[Özge sınav-ı geç-sin] diye] dua.et-ti.
Oya.NOM Özge.NOM exam-ACC pass-OPT.3SG *diye* pray-PAST.3SG
'Oya prayed that Özge shall pass the exam.'

(48) *Tuba Oya-yı [[Özge sınav-ı geç-sin] diye]
Tuba.NOM Oya-ACC Özge.NOM exam-ACC pass-OPT.3SG *diye*

dua.et-tir-di.
pray-CAU-PAST.3SG

'Tuba made Oya pray that Özge shall pass the exam.'

(49) Tuba Oya-ya [[Özge sınav-ı geç-sin] diye]
Tuba.NOM Oya-DAT Özge.NOM exam-ACC pass-OPT.3SG *diye*

dua.et-tir-di.
pray-CAU-PAST.3SG

'Tuba made Oya pray that Özge shall pass the exam.'

In (49) we see that *et-* 'make' in *dua et-* 'pray' allows dative case marked causee under causativization, which indicates that it behaves like *yanıtla-* 'answer' with an NP *dua* 'pray' behaving as its internal argument and a subordinate clause with *diye* as its adverbial.

Now, consider the following constructions with a verb of emotion.

(50) Oya [[Özge sınav-ı geç-ti] diye] sevin-di.
Oya.NOM Özge.NOM exam-ACC pass-PAST.3SG *diye* be.glad-PAST.3SG
'Oya was glad that Özge passed the exam.'

(51) Tuba Oya-yı [[Özge sınav-ı geç-ti] diye]
Tuba.NOM Oya-ACC Özge.NOM exam-ACC pass-PAST.3SG *diye*

sevin-dir-di.
be.glad-CAU-PAST.3SG

'Tuba made Oya glad that Özge passed the exam.'

(52) *Tuba Oya-ya [[Özge sınav-ı geç-ti] diye]
 Tuba.NOM Oya-DAT Özge.NOM exam-ACC pass-PAST.3SG *diye*

sevin-dir-di.
 be.glad-CAU-PAST.3SG

‘Tuba made Oya glad that Özge passed the exam.’

Baker (2011) examines Sakha, a Turkic language which has many commonalities with Turkish such as being head-final, having SOV word order and a nominative-accusative case system, subject agreement on finite verbs, and extensive vowel harmony. For a very similar example to (50), he states that

I assume that the embedded clause [Min ehigi kyajdygyt dien üördüm] ‘I was glad that (because) you won’ is an adjunct, not an argument, because ‘be glad’ is not otherwise a transitive predicate in Sakha, and when the embedded clause is expressed as a participle, an oblique (ablative) case marker is required to appear along with it. (p. 1169)⁴²

We see this time that an accusative case marked causee is acceptable, as in (51), and not a dative case marked one, as shown in (52). Does that mean that the subordinate clause is a complement? No, rather, it seems that *sevin-* ‘be.glad’ is an intransitive verb and the subordinate clause expresses the reason of the subject’s being glad. This verb is just like *bağır-* ‘shout’ in example (37-39) repeated below as (53-55).

(53) Ahmet [[Ayşe bayıl-dı] diye] bağır-ıyor.
 Ahmet.NOM Ayşe.NOM faint-PAST.3SG *diye* shout-PROG.3SG
 ‘Ahmet is shouting that Ayşe fainted.’

⁴² He continues like this: “it is also impossible to raise the subject out of the embedded clause [in the example here] suggesting it is an adjunct island, whereas raising out of a clausal complement like [Sardaana бүгүн Aisen keler dien ihitte] ‘Sardaana heard that Aisen is coming today’ is possible”. Raising is possible in similar sentences in Turkish. However, I do not address raising in this thesis.

(54) Mehmet Ahmet-i [[Ayşe bayıl-dı] diye]
Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-ACC Ayşe.NOM faint-PAST.3SG *diye*

bağır-t-tı.
shout-CAU-PAST.3SG

‘Mehmet made Ahmet shout that “Ayşe fainted”.’

(55) *Mehmet Ahmet-e [[Ayşe bayıl-dı] diye]
Mehmet.NOM Ahmet-DAT Ayşe.NOM faint-PAST.3SG *diye*

bağır-t-tı.
shout-CAU-PAST.3SG

‘Mehmet made Ahmet shout that “Ayşe fainted”.’

Another evidence of the adjunct status of the subordinate clauses with *diye* may come from the grammaticality of sentences in which a subordinate clause with *diye* occurs together with an internal argument. I will put a DP (determiner phrase) to see whether this DP and the subordinate clause with *diye* that introduces the content (not reason⁴³) can occur together. We can basically assume the following: If they cannot occur together, we can say that the DP and the subordinate clause with *diye* are in complementary distribution, which may suggest that the subordinate clause is a complement just like a DP. If the DP can occur with the subordinate clause with *diye*, we can say that the subordinate clause is an adverbial that behaves like an adjunct.

⁴³ In the string-identical construction where this clause introduces the reason of the action denoted by the matrix verb, we already concluded that this is an adverbial clause (cf. 2.5.2) and adverbial clauses can always co-occur with a DP that is the internal argument of the verb.

- (56) Emre ve Zehra birbirlerinden hoşlanıyor ama birbirlerine henüz açılmadılar.
Emre and Zehra like each other but they haven't told this to each other.

Emre, Zehra'yla sinemaya gitmek istiyordu ancak yalnız gitmelerini teklif etmekten çekindiği için Eda'yı da davet etti ve bunu Zehra'ya söyledi.
Emre wanted to go to the cinema with Zehra but he was too shy to propose this; therefore, he invited his friend Eda as well and told this to Zehra.

Zehra ise Eda'yı Seda ile karıştırdı.
But Zehra confused Eda with Seda.

Seda'yı sevmediği için yıkıldı ve Emre'yi reddetti.
Since she didn't like Seda, she rejected Emre's offer.

Anlaşılan o ki
It seems that

- (57) Zehra [Eda'nın gel-eceğ-in-i]
Zehra.NOM Eda-GEN come-FutNom-3SG-ACC

[[Seda gel-ecek] diye] anla-dı.
Seda.NOM come-FUT.3SG *diye* understand-PAST.3SG

'Zehra understood Eda joining them as Seda joining them.'

Here we see that it is possible to complete this paragraph in (56) with the last sentence in (57). It is true that Eda will join Zehra and Emre in cinema; however, Zehra misunderstood this as Seda will join them. Özyıldız (2017, p. 5) calls *diye* as a non-factive complementizer in that sense.

If we turn back to example (57), we see that a verb of cognition *anla-* 'understand' has a complement that is an argument clause, *Eda'nın geleceğini* 'that Eda would join them'. There is also a subordinate clause headed by the subordinator *diye*, *Seda gelecek diye* 'as Seda would join them', which indicates that this verb does not require a clause with the subordinator *diye* as its complement because it already has one, i.e. the nominal clause; rather, this subordinate clause is an adverbial. Other verbs that

are similar to *anla-* ‘understand’ are *gör-* ‘see’, *duy-* ‘hear’, and *hatırla-* ‘remember’.

They are going to be listed in 5.3.

5.2.4 Replacement of *diye* with other adverbials

Another support for the claim that the majority of subordinate clauses with *diye* are adverbials that function as adjuncts and not complements comes with the replacement of *diye* and clauses with *diye* with particular adverbials in Turkish.

Diye can be replaced with *şeklinde* which literally means ‘in the shape of’ and which is an adjunct (since it cannot be the subject of a passive sentence), as illustrated in (54) below.

- (54) Oya [[Özge sınav-ı geç-sin] diye/şeklinde]
Tuba.NOM Özge.NOM exam-ACC pass-OPT.3SG diye/in.the.shape.of

dua.et-ti
pray-PAST.3SG

Oya prayed in the shape that Özge shall pass the exam.

In addition to that, the whole subordinate clause can be replaced by *bu/şu şekilde* ‘in this/that shape’ or *şöyle* and *böyle* ‘like that’ and ‘like this’, which are adverbials.

- (55) Oya bu şekilde / şu şekilde / böyle / şöyle dua.et-ti
Tuba.NOM in.this.shape / in.that.shape / like.this / like.that pray-PAST.3SG
Oya prayed in this shape / in that shape / like this / like that.

The replacement of *diye* and subordinate clauses with *diye*, as in (54) and (55), indicates that the subordinate clauses with *diye* are adverbial clauses.

This replacement is only possible if the subordinate clause introduces the content and when there is indexical shift (cf. Chapter 4). There is a correlation between the

presence of indexical shift and the function of the *diye* clauses; (i) with indexical shift, the subordinate clause is interpreted as a content; (ii) without indexical shift, there is a tendency towards reason reading. To remind ourselves about indexical shift, consider the following example.

- (56) Ali yemeğ-i yi-ye-me-di-m diye söylen-di.
 Ali-NOM meal-ACC eat-ABLE-NEG-PAST-1SG *diye* murmur-PAST.3SG
 a. Shifted reading: √ ‘Ali murmured saying that *he* couldn’t eat the meal.’
 b. Non-shifted reading: √ ‘Ali murmured because *I* couldn’t eat the meal.’

The subordinate clauses that occur with verbs of quotation which are intransitive are interpreted as a content when there is an indexical shift, as in (56a). However, they are interpreted as reason clauses when there is no indexical shift, as in (56b).

Indexical shift is not special to verbs of communication (see (57) below).

- (57) Para kazan-acağ-ım diye 5-te çık-ıyor ev-den.
 money earn-FUT-1SG *diye* 5-LOC leave-PROG.3SG home-ABL
 a. Shifted reading: √ ‘(S)He_i leaves home at 5 saying that (s)he_i will earn money.’
 b. Non-shifted reading: √ ‘(S)He leaves home at 5 because *I* will earn money.’

The replacement of *diye* and the subordinate clauses with *diye* with adverbials in Turkish is only possible in examples like (56a) but not (56b), i.e. when the subordinate clauses introduce the content, not reason, and when the indexicals shift.

- (58) Ali yemeğ-i yi-ye-me-di-m şekilde
 Ali.NOM meal-ACC eat-ABLE-NEG-PAST-1SG in.the.shape.of
 söylen-di.
 murmur-PAST.3SG
 a. Shifted reading: √ ‘Ali_i murmured (lit. in the shape of) he_i couldn’t eat the meal.’
 b. Non-shifted reading: # ‘Ali murmured because *I* couldn’t eat the meal.’

The subordinate clause can be replaced with *bu/şu şekilde* ‘in this/that shape’ or *şöyle* and *böyle* ‘like that’ and ‘like this’ which are adverbials in Turkish (see (59)).

- (59) Ali bu şekilde / şu şekilde / şöyle / böyle söylen-di.
 Ali.NOM in.this.shape / in.that.shape / like.this / like.that murmur-PAST.3SG
 Intended: ‘Ali murmured in this shape / in that shape / like this / like that.’

The grammaticality of (64) supports our claim that the subordinate clause is not the internal argument of the matrix verb.

5.2.5 Marginal cases

A small class of verbs behaves differently with the tests I have listed in 5.2.2, 5.2.3 and

5.2.4. They are verbs of emotion.

- (60) Hasan bu sene şenliklere Demet Akalın'ın gelebileceği haberine epey üzüldü.
 Hasan was very sad about the announcement that Demet Akalın will be on the stage this year during the festivals.

O MFÖ'nün gelmesini istiyor.
 He wants MFÖ to be on stage.

"Keşke Demet Akalın'ın yerine MFÖ gelse" diyor.
 "I wish MFÖ would come instead of Demet Akalın." he says.

Kısacası,
 In short,

- (61) *Hasan [Demet Akalın-ın gel-eceğ-in-i]
 Hasan.NOM Demet Akalın-GEN come-FutNom-3SG-ACC

[[MFÖ gel-ecek] diye] um-uyor.
 MFÖ.NOM come-FUT.3SG *diye* hope-PROG.3SG

‘Hasan hopes that MFÖ, not Demet Akalın, would be on stage during the festival.’

The co-occurrence of the NP [Demet Akalın'ın geleceğini] 'that Demet Akalın would be on stage' and the subordinate clause [MFÖ gelecek diye] 'that MFÖ would be on stage' leads to ungrammaticality but we cannot say that the subordinate clause with *diye* and nominalized clauses are in complementary distribution. The verb *um-* 'hope' do not let two content denoting elements in the same clause, this is semantically forbidden. Other verbs that are similar to *um-* 'hope' are *umut/ümit et-* 'hope' and *düşün-* 'think'.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the closeness of the verbs and the “subordinate” clauses that seem to be complements at first. With a set of examples, I observed the possible alternation scenarios (passivization, causativization, complementary distribution)⁴⁴ and they indicated that some of the subordinate clauses that are headed by *diye* are not complements but adverbials that are not sensitive to grammatical function changing processes, hence adjuncts. They are listed in Table 5.

⁴⁴ I have not addressed issues like island constraints, neg-raising, Exceptional Case Marking and interpretation of the embedded question (with matrix scope). A further study will focus on that. However, I can give you a hint: it is not optional, but rather a must for a wh- element to move out of the subordinate clause with *diye*.

Table 5. Verbs that Take the Subordinate Clauses with *Diye* as Their Adjuncts (Contrary to Expectation)

Adv						
Verbs of Quotation ⁴⁵			Verbs of Perception and Cognition			Verbs of Emotion
bağır 'shout'	konuş 'talk'	dua et 'pray'	gör 'dream'	düşün 'think'	tahmin et 'predict'	sevin 'be glad'
haykır 'shout out'	dile getir 'utter'	tezahürat et 'shout slogans'	duy 'hear'	bil 'know'	hayal et 'imagine'	üzül 'be sorry'
mırıldan 'mumble'	söyle 'say, tell'	itiraz et 'object'		hatırla 'remember'	kabul et 'accept'	kork 'frighten'
fısılda 'whisper'	belirt 'express'	itiraf et 'confess'		say(ıl) 'count'	farzet 'assume'	um 'hope'
söylen 'murmur'	sor 'ask'	tehdit et 'threaten'		anla 'understand'	varsay 'assume'	umut/ümit et 'hope'
inle 'groan'	yaz 'write'	şikayet et 'complain'		ayır 'divide'	içinden geçir 'think'	şüphelen 'suspect'
seslen 'call'	yanıtla 'answer'	bahset 'mention'		hisset 'feel'	addet 'be assumed'	
kükre 'roar'	cevapla 'answer'	ifade et 'express'				
	özetle 'summarize'	yalan söyle 'lie'				
	açıkla 'explain'	iddia et 'claim'				
	anlat 'tell'	tekrar et- 'repeat'				
	aktar 'quote'					
	oku 'read'					

As shown in Table 5, except for the subordinate clauses of a very limited number of verbs of emotion and verbs of cognition, the subordinate clauses that occur with verbs of quotation, verb of perception and cognition, and verbs of emotion occur with *diye* are adverbials rather than complements.

⁴⁵ Göksel and Kerslake (2005, p. 408) list these verbs as verbs of communication other than *de-* 'say'.

- (66) Euro 8 bin lira-lık değer kaybıyla 1 milyon
euro.NOM 8 thousand lira-ADJ value lost-CM-INS 1 million
644 bin lira-ya gerile-di.
644 thousand lira-DAT fall-PAST.3SG
‘Euro fell to 1 million 644 thousand liras with a 8-thousand-lira loss in value.’
- (67) Göç ed-en-ler-in sayı-sı son 2 hafta-da
migration make-SREL-PL-GEN number.NOM last 2 week-LOC
iki-ye katla-n-di.
two-DAT multiply-PASS-PAST.3SG
‘The number of the people who migrated was *multiplied* by two (doubled) in the last 2 weeks.’
- (68) Sıcaklık-lar 25 Ekim Perşembe gün-ü yurd-un
temperature-PL.NOM 25 October thursday day-CM country-GEN
kuzey bölge-ler-in-de 8 derece azal-acak.
north region-PL-3SG-LOC 8 degree decrease-FUT.3PL
‘Temperatures will *decrease* by 8 degrees in the north regions of the country on the 25th of October.’
- (69) Bir sigara ömr-ü 5 dakika kısalt-ıyor.
one cigarette.NOM life-ACC 5 minute shorten-PROG.3SG
‘One cigarette is *shortening* life by 5 minutes.’
- (70) *1.57 cm incel-di.*
1.57 cm become.thin-PAST.3SG
‘(S)He *became thinner* by 1.57 cm.’
- (71) Üç kişi-den bir-i ter kok-uyor.
three person-ABL one-3SG.NOM sweat smell-PROG.3SG
‘One in every three people is smelling sweat.’
- (72) Arzu Aslan Durun yüzüğ-ü 15 bin TL’ye satın.al-di.
Arzu Aslan Durun.NOM ring-ACC 15 thousand lira-DAT buy-PAST-3SG
‘Arzu Aslan Durun *bought* the ring for 15 thousand liras.’

- (73) Fenerbahçe seyirci-sin-e Şansal-ı *hedef* göster-di.
 Fenerbahçe.NOM audience-3SG-DAT Şansal-ACC *target* show-PAST.3SG
 ‘Fenerbahçe showed Şansal as a target to its audience.’
- (74) %63 daha *fazla* süt
 63% much more milk
 ‘63% more milk’
- (75) 1.5 milyar lira *nafaka*
 1.5 billion lira alimony
 ‘1.5-billion-lira alimony’

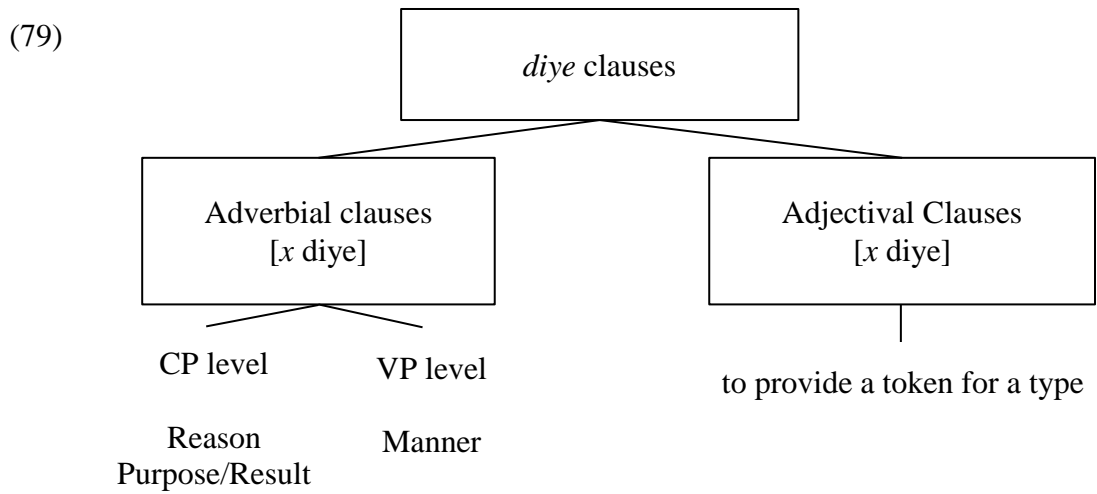
These examples are always similar to quotational compounds in which the non-head of the compound is mentioned rather than used and gives the content of the head (c.f. Göksel, 2014) as in the following examples (76) and (77).

- (76) 20 cm en
 20 cm width
 ‘20 cm width’
- (77) 24 saat süre
 24 hour time.period
 ‘20-hour time period’

I think that the adverbials in (62-75), nouns in compounds in (76-77), and the adverbials of verbs of communication, verbs of perception, verbs of cognition, and verbs of emotion are similar in their function. They provide extra information about the content of the heads that they modify.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed that the subordinate clauses that are marked by *diye* are not complement clauses; rather, they are adjunct clauses. They are represented in (79) below.



In Chapter 6, we analyze the findings so far and provide the representation of the internal structure of the constructions with *diye*.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND REPRESENTATION OF *DIYE* CLAUSES

In this chapter, I will present the internal structure of constructions that contain *diye*.

Based on the discussions in the preceding chapters, the constructions that contain *diye* are of four types.

- (1) ‘Masumiyet’ *diye* film
 Innocence *diye* movie
 ‘a movie called Innocence’ (cf. §3.3)
- (2) Ahmet_i ders çalış-acağ-ım_k *diye* ev-den çık-tı_i.
 Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FUT-1SG *diye* home-ABL leave-PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet_i left home because I_k will study.’ (cf. §3.2.3)
- (3) Ahmet_i ödev-i bitir-di-m_i *diye* düşün-üyor_i.
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG *diye* think-PROG.3SG
 ‘Ahmet_i thinks that I_i finished the homework.’ (cf. §4.1)
- (4) Ahmet_i ödev-i bitir-di-m_k *diye* düşün-üyor_i.
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG *diye* think-PROG.3SG
 ‘Ahmet_i thinks of me_k as having finished the homework.’ (cf. §4.1)

I will argue in this chapter that these constructions have the following properties, as illustrated below in Table 1 repeated as Table 6 below:

Table 6. Structures with *Diye*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
[_{PP} <i>diye</i>]	[_{CP} <i>diye</i>]	[_{Cvbp} <i>di+ye</i>]	[_{Cvbp} [_{SC} <i>di+ye</i>]]
Adjectival	Reason, Purpose Adverbial	Manner Adverbial	
NP-level	CP-level	VP-level	

These properties can be summarized as follows:

- (i) There is no unified *diye*, but two different realizations: non-decomposable (lexicalized) *diye*, and another one that can be decomposed into *de+ye* (say+Optative), see Chapter 2.
- (ii) Connected to the decomposable *diye*, I will argue that there is an operator that shifts the indexicals.
- (iii) The *diye* clauses in all four constructions are adjuncts, one an adjectival, the other three are adverbials. One of these attaches at the NP level, another at the CP level, two of them at the VP level.
- (iv) Internally, one of these *diye* constructions is a PP, one is a CP, the other two are converbial clauses; there is a small clause in one of them.

Thus, there is a great variety within *diye* clauses, which contrasts with the previous studies made on *diye* clauses (see Chapter 2) that propose it is a complement. Crucially, here none of the realizations of *diye* clauses is a complement (see Chapter 5).

In the remainder of the chapter, I will motivate the analyses of the four types of *diye* clauses. In section 6.1, I will argue that there are two types of *diye*. I will also introduce indexical shift operators (monster operator) in this section. In section 6.2, we will look closely at the lexicalized *diye* in adjectival function. Following that, in section 6.3, we will see decomposable *di+ye* and its relation to the verb *de-* ‘say’ while we discuss content denoting manner adverbials ((3) and (4) in Table 6).

6.1 *Di+ye*, *diye* and indexical shift operators

An exhaustive analysis of the examples with *diye* reveals that there are two types of *diye*; one that can be decomposed as *di+ye*⁴⁶ and one that is lexicalized, thus non-decomposable. In this section, we will discuss these two. First we will look at the decomposable and then the non-decomposable *diye*.

6.1.1 *Di+ye* and *diye*

The motivation for decomposing *diye* as *de-* ‘say’ and *-ye* is based on the fact that *de-* ‘say’ is already a verb root (see chapter 4) and *-ye* is a converbial marker (see chapter 4). The decomposition of *diye* leads to positing a separate subject for the verb ‘say’. This subject acts like a bridge between the subject of the matrix clause and the subject inside the quotation (for the quotative nature of this clause see chapter 4). In other words, the subject of *de-* ‘say’ enables the interaction between the clause above it and the clause that it is contained in. The monster operator (cf. §6.1.2) above the embedded nominative subjects shifts that pronoun according to the subject of the verb ‘say’ and this subject of *de-* ‘say’ is controlled by the highest subject. In other words, the separate subject of *de-* ‘say’ allows for the following two crucial properties: (i) the indexical shift of the subject of the embedded clause. This will be achieved via monster operator (see §6.1.2 below) triggered by *de-* ‘say’; (ii) control structure that will allow coindexation with the higher subject.

⁴⁶ *De-* ‘say’ is realized as *di-* in *diye*.

- (5) Ahmet_i [PRO_i [*pro*_i ödev-i bitir-di-m] di]ye
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG *diye*

düşün-üyor.
 think-PROG.3SG

‘Ahmet_i thinks that I_i finished the homework.’

A non-decomposable *diye*, on the other hand, is far removed from the meaning of *de*- ‘say’, and is lexicalized. The evidence for this comes from the absence of indexical shift, as in (6) below. In that sense, *diye* is like other subordinators in that it does not trigger a shift in indexicals (i.e. it does not trigger monster operators, see §6.2.2), as in (7).⁴⁷

- (6) Ahmet_i [[*pro*_k ders çalış-acağ-ım] diye] ev-den çık-tı.
 Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FUT-1SG *diye* home-ABL leave-PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet_i left home because I_k will study.’ (cf. §3.2.3)

- (7) Ahmet_i [[*pro*_k ders çalış-acağ-ım] için] ev-den
 Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FutNoM-1SG because.of home-ABL

çık-tı.
 leave-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet_i left home because I_k will study.’ (cf. §3.2.3)

Diye can occur in adjectival or adverbial clauses, see §6.3 for *diye* in adjectivals and 6.3 and 6.4 for *diye* in adverbials.

⁴⁷ Similar to *bole*, a derived form of ‘say’ in Bengali, which means ‘having said/spoken’; ‘that’ (mainly in quotative context); and ‘because’(cf. Chisarik and van der Wurff, 2003, p. 30), *diye* extends from its strictly quotative use to meanings such as ‘because’, ‘in order to/so that’, as well.

6.1.2 Monster operators

Indexicals such as *pro* in (5) are “expressions whose semantic values are contextually determined” (Sudo, 2010b, p. 1). Indexicals are not limited to (1st and 2nd person) pronouns but also include “temporal adverbials such as *now* and *yesterday* and locative adverbials such as *here* and *there*” (Sudo, 2010b, p. 1). Sudo (2010b, p. 9-10) illustrates this phenomenon with the following examples from Uyghur.

- (8) Ahmet [men ket-tim] di-di
Ahmet.NOM leave-PAST.1SG say-PAST.3SG
'Ahmet said that he_{Ahmet} left.'
*‘Ahmet said that I_{speaker} left.’
- (9) Tursun Muhemmet-ke *pro* xet jaz-ding] di-di
Tursun.NOM Muhemmet-DAT letter write-PAST.2SG say-PAST.3SG
'Tursun told Muhemmet that he_{Muhammet} wrote a letter.'
*‘Tursun told Muhemmet that you_{hearer} wrote a letter.’

In (8) above, 1st person indexical shifts according to the speaker of the reported speech while in (9) 2nd person indexical shifts according to the hearer of the reported speech.

De- ‘say’ is a verb of quotation which obligatorily triggers an operator that causes indexicals to shift according to the speaker of the reported speech, i.e. the subject of the verb of quotation *de-* ‘say’. Such indexical shifting operators are called monster operators. Since decomposable *diye* carries the features of *de-* ‘say’, it allows indexical shift just like this verb (see §6.5 for details).

Below, we first discuss the lexicalized forms of *diye* and then in section 6.5 the decomposable *diye*.

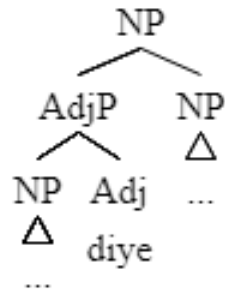
6.2 Lexicalized *diye* in adjectival function

Diye occurs in its lexicalized form in constructions like the following:

- (10) ‘Masumiyet’ *diye* film
 Innocence *diye* movie
 ‘a movie called Innocence’

As discussed in chapter 5, *Masumiyet* ‘Innocence’ provides the content for the NP *film* ‘a movie’. In this sense, the phrase containing *diye* modifies the NP and therefore is similar to adjectival constituents.

(11)



This adjectival might be similar to PPs in (12-21) below. The postpositions are *karşı* ‘against’, *aşkın* ‘over’, *gibi* ‘like’, *ait*, *hakkında*, *dair*, *ilgili* ‘about’, *göre* ‘for’, *ilişkin* ‘related to’, and *yönelik* ‘towards’.

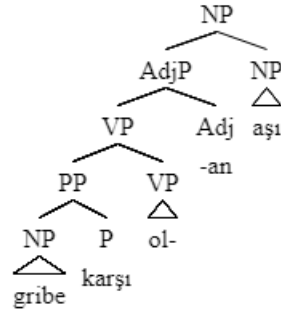
- (12) [NP[PP[NP nezle-ye] [Pkarşı]]] (bir) aşı]
 flu-DAT against a vaccine
 ‘vaccine against flu’
- (13) [NP[PP[NP beş sene-yi] [Paşkın]]] (bir) süre]
 five year-ACC over a duration
 ‘duration over five years’
- (14) [NP[PP[NP bu] [Pgibi]] neden-ler]
 that like reason-PL
 ‘reasons like that’

- (15) [NP[PP[NP aday-a] [pait]] bilgi-ler]
 candidate-DAT about information-PL
 ‘information about the candidate’
- (16) [NP[PP[NP Adem] [phakkında]] (bir) dedikodu]
 Adem about a rumor
 ‘rumor about Adem’
- (17) [NP[PP[NP geleceğ-e] [pdair]] kaygı]
 future-DAT about worry
 ‘worry about the future’
- (18) [NP[PP[NP saldırı-yla] [pilgili]] (bir) haber]
 flu-DAT about a news
 ‘news about the attack’
- (19) [NP[PP[NP Meryem-e] [pgöre]] (bir) elbise]
 Meryem-DAT for a dress
 ‘dress for Meryem’
- (20) [NP[PP[NP sınav-a] [pilişkin]] (bir) soru]
 exam-DAT related.to a question
 ‘(a) question about the exam’
- (21) [NP[PP[NP geleceğ-e] [pyönelik]] beklenti-ler]
 future-DAT towards expectation-PL
 ‘expectations towards the future’

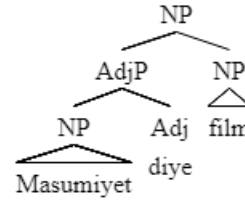
Diye and its complement seem similar to postpositions in (12-21); however, there are actually more layers above the postposition heads based on the fact that they are acceptable with *ol-an* ‘be-SRel’, as in (22) but the phrase with *diye* is not acceptable with it, as shown in (23). This shows that *diye* phrase is similar to adjectivals above

postpositions, not postpositions. *Diye* and its complement in these constructions form an AdjP which modifies an NP, as shown in (23).^{48 49}

(22) a.



(23) a.



b. nezle-ye karşı ol-an aşı
 flu-DAT against be-SRel vaccine
 ‘vaccine against flu’

b. ‘Masumiyet’ diye *ol-an film
 Innocence diye be-SRel movie
 ‘A movie called Innocence’

In this section, we discussed adjectival clauses with *diye*. In the following sections, we are going to examine adverbials with *diye*.

6.3 Lexicalized *diye* in reason, purpose/result clauses

Another function of lexicalized *diye* is as a subordinator which introduces the reason or purpose/result adverbials:

(24) Ahmet_i [[pro_k ders çalış-acağ-ım] diye] ev-den
 Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FUT-1SG *diye* home-ABL
 çık-tı.
 leave-PAST.3SG

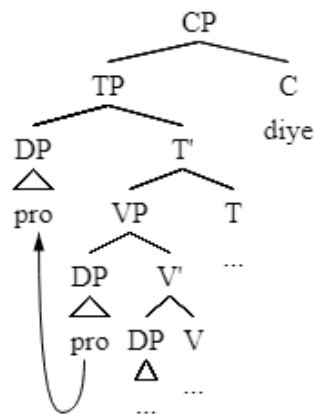
‘Ahmet_i left home because I_{*i/k} will study.’ (cf. §3.2.3)

⁴⁸ *Diye* in its adjectival use might be decomposable just like *ol-an* ‘be-SRel’. I will not go deeper into that issue and leave it to future studies.

⁴⁹ ‘*Masumiyet*’ *diye* *film* ‘A movie called Innocence’ can be paraphrased as ‘*Masumiyet*’ *denen* *film* Innocence say-PASS-SRel movie ‘A movie called Innocence’ which may supports the relative clause-like analysis of adjectival *diye*. However, I leave that issue to future works.

As mentioned above (cf. §6.2.1), these structures do not have indexical shift. The following representation accounts for non-indexical shift since *diye* is not decomposed as *di-* ‘say’ and *-ye* (cf. §6.1.1), indicating that *diye* does not contain the properties of the verb *de-* ‘say’. This subordinator is lexicalized. I propose that the structure of the subordinate clause is the following.⁵⁰

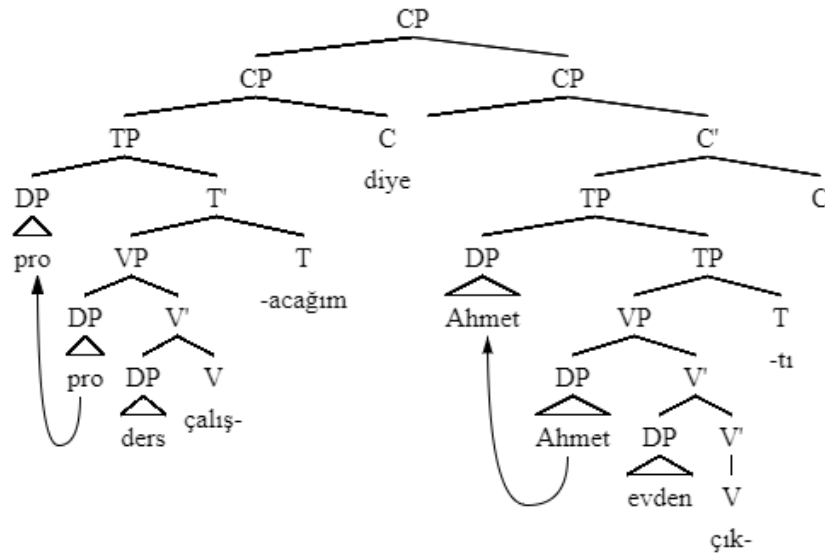
(25)



This structure in (25) modifies CPs. The *diye* clause modifies the matrix predicate and since there is 1st person singular agreement marker on the embedded verb, the embedded subject cannot be coindexed with the matrix subject, 3rd person singular.

⁵⁰ The subordinate clause with *diye* is a CP level adverbial because it occurs higher than another CP level adverbial *maalesef* ‘unfortunately’ (cf. Cinque, 2001).

(26)^{51 52}



In this

sentence, *diye* is not different from other monomorphemic subordinators in Turkish, as in (27).

(27) Ahmet_i [[pro_k ders çalış-acağ-ım] için] ev-den
 Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FUT-1SG because.of home-ABL
 çık-tı.
 leave-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet_i left home because I_k will study.’

In the last two sections, we discussed lexicalized *diye*. Now, we will move to decomposable *diye* and examine content adverbials.

6.4 Decomposable *di+ye* and content denoting manner adverbials

Diye can be decomposed as *di-* ‘say’ and *-ye* (converbial marker, see §6.2.1 above) and therefore, carries the features of *de-* ‘say’ just like its Kalmyk counterpart *gižə* that

⁵¹ I consider φ features are checked within the domain of TP.

⁵² Ahmet occurs at the very beginning of the sentence at SS via scrambling.

carries the features of *gi-* ‘say’. In the next section, we will discuss Knyazev’s model for *gi-* ‘say’ and *gižə*, and then move to *de-* ‘say’, *diye*, and content denoting manner adverbials.

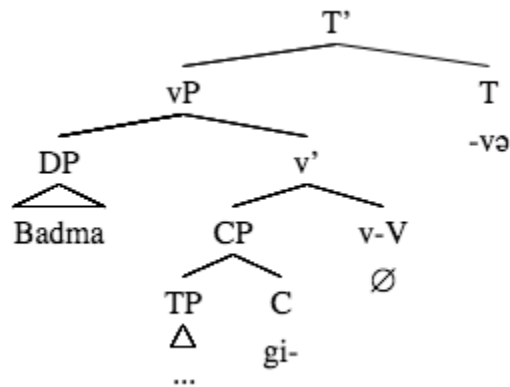
6.4.1 Knyazev’s (2015) model for Kalmyk *gi-* and *gižə*

Kalmyk has a subordinator that is derived from the verb ‘say’, as well. We will first begin with *gi-* ‘say’ and then move to *gižə*, a derived form of it that serves as a complementizer. In (28) below, *gi-* ‘say’ is in the main verb position.

- (28) Badma [Ajsa-gə us-ə av-čə ir-txä] gi-və.
 Badma Ajsa-ACC water take-CVB.IPFV come-JUSS say-PAST
 ‘Badma said that Ajsa should bring some water.’
 (Knyazev, 2015, p. 145)

The representation of (28) is given below in (29).

(29)



(Knyazev, 2015, p. 152)

The crucial claim that Knyazev (2016) makes for *gi-* is that it is both a verb and complementizer at the same time:

gi- spans across two adjacent heads (V and C) in a nanosyntactic fashion (see Starke 2009). That is, *gi-* is associated in the lexicon with a two-head C-V structure. This explains why *gi-* bears syntactically active verbal morphology while otherwise behaving like a complementizer in (obligatorily and uniquely) selecting a finite clause immediately adjacent to it. (p. 2)

In addition to that, he proposes that *gi-* lacks encyclopedic content and it is a functional element:

gi- lacks any encyclopedic content, like a functional element. The verbal meaning that we perceive in (3) arises as the result of a postsyntactic (presumably, pragmatic) rule of default semantic interpretation, assigning the meaning ‘say’ to the V whose complement is a CP (along the lines of Pustejovsky 1995) (p. 2).

In order to show that an element may lack ‘encyclopedic content’ Knyazev (2016, p. 2) provides an example from Russian; a zero-verb construction is interpreted as a speech act in (30) below.

- (30) Ja ej: ‘Id-i sjuda!’
I-NOM her.DAT go-IMP here
‘I *tell* her “Come here!”’

(Knyazev, 2016, p. 2)

Moreover, the idea that ‘say’ lacks any encyclopedic content can be supported by the fact that in Russian “some speakers in certain contexts translate the unembedded *gi-* as ‘want’, which shows that its meaning is not fixed in the lexicon” (Knyazev, 2016, p. 2).⁵³ There are similar examples in Turkish, as shown in (31-33) below.

- (31) Di-ye-lim Taksim-e git-ti-k... hangi cafe-de maç
say-OPT-1PL Taksim-DAT go-PAST-1PL which cafe-LOC match

izle-r-iz?
watch-AOR-1PL

‘Say we’re going to Taksim, in which cafe could we watch the match?’

⁵³ Unfortunately, Knyazev (2016) has not exemplified this statement.

(32) A: Duru-ya kitap mı al-a-lım gitar mı?
 Duru-DAT book QPrT buy-OPT-1PL gitar QPrT
 ‘Shall we buy a book or a guitar for Duru?’

B: Ben kitap de-r-im.
 I.NOM book say-AOR-1SG
 ‘I prefer (buying a) book.’
 Lit: ‘I say book.’

(33) Yemek.yap-a-yım de-r-ken el-in-i yak-tı.
 cook-OPT-1SG say-AOR-CVB hand-3SG-ACC burn-PAST.3SG
 ‘While (s)he intended to cook, (s)he burnt her/his hand.’
 Lit: ‘While saying “let me cook”, (s)he burnt her/his hand.’

In (31), *de-* ‘say’ means ‘suppose’ while in (32) it means ‘prefer’ or ‘want’, and in (33) it substitutes for ‘intend’ or ‘plan’. However, both the Russian zero-verb constructions and the possibility of various interpretations of ‘say’ do not mean that it is lexically empty. Therefore, I do not claim that *de-* ‘say’ is a lexically empty verb.

Related to this, I will not claim that *de-* ‘say’ is realized in C.

The converbial form of *gi-* ‘say’, *gižə* introduces the subordinate clause. As you can see in (7), a reported speech is the complement of the verb *gi-* ‘say’ in Kalmyk.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Knyazev (2015) assumes that these subordinate clauses are complement clauses since the subject of the subordinate clause can be accusative case marked as in (i) below.

(iii) Badma_j [PRO_j [Ajsa-gə usə av-čə ir-txä gi-žə] kelə-v.
 Badma Ajsa-ACC water take-CVB.IPFV come-JUSS say-CVB.IPFV say-PAST
 ‘Badma said that Ajsa should bring some water.’

(Knyazev, 2015, p. 153)

The idea is the following: complement clauses are not islands and an element from it can move as opposed to adjunct clauses from which movement is constrained. Turkish allows movement from subordinate clauses with *diye*. However, this does not mean that these clauses are complements (The evidence is explained in chapter 5). In Turkish, we see that the adjunct clauses are more flexible than their English counterparts. For example, the following sentence is not ungrammatical in Turkish but not in English: *Kim gelirse sevinirsin?* *‘Who will you be happy if comes?’

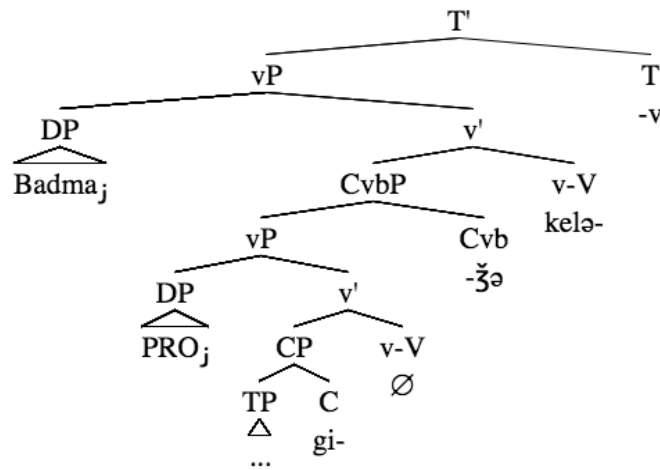
- (34) Badma_j [PRO_j [Ajsa-gə usə av-čə ir-txä
 Badma Ajsa-ACC water take-CVB.IPFV come-JUSS
 gi-žə] kelə-v.
 say-CVB.IPFV say-PAST

‘Badma said that Ajsa should bring some water.’

(Knyazev, 2015, p. 153)

The model for this sentence is provided below in (35).

- (35)



(Knyazev, 2015, p. 154)

The important point here is that *gi-* ‘say’ has a separate subject. This subject accounts both for the indexical shift and control structure just like the subject of *de-* ‘say’ in decomposable *diye* (cf. §6.2). Therefore, we adopt this idea.

In this section, we considered the structure of Kalmyk *gižə* that is proposed by Knyazev (2015). For Turkish *diye*, we will abandon the analysis which proposes a C-V structure but adopt that the decomposable *diye* since it has a separate subject which allows indexical shift and control structure (cf. §6.2.1). We will also adopt the idea that *diye* must be decomposable, as we discussed in section 6.2.1 above.

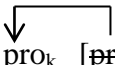
6.4.2 Content denoting manner adverbials in Turkish

I finally come to the constructions in (3) and (4), repeated below as (36) and (37).

- (36) Ahmet_i [PRO_i [pro_i ödev-i bitir-di-m] di]ye
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG *diye*

düşün-üyor.
 think-PROG.3SG

‘Ahmet_i thinks that he_i finished the homework.’

- (37) Ahmet_i  pro_k [~~pro~~ ödev-i bitir-di-m] diye
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG *diye*

düşün-üyor.
 think-PROG.3SG

‘Ahmet_i thinks of me_k as having finished the homework.’ (cf. 5)
 # ‘Ahmet_i thinks that he_i finished the homework.’

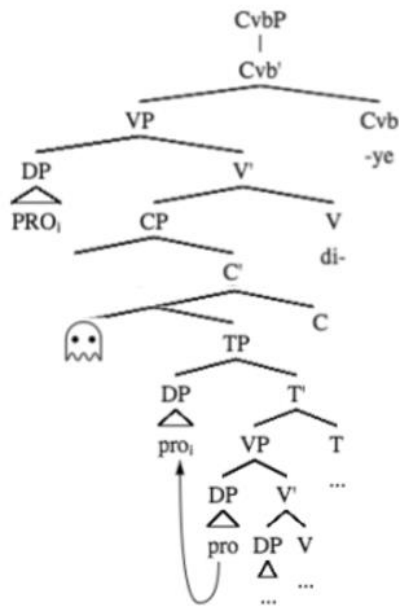
I will claim here that the difference between these two has to do with the movement of an indexical pronoun to get out of the domain of the monster operator. I will also claim that (37) contains a small clause.

In these examples, complement of *de-* ‘say’ provides the content of this verb of quotation. As a derived form of *de-* ‘say’, decomposable *diye* introduces the content of *de-* ‘say’: it provides what is said.

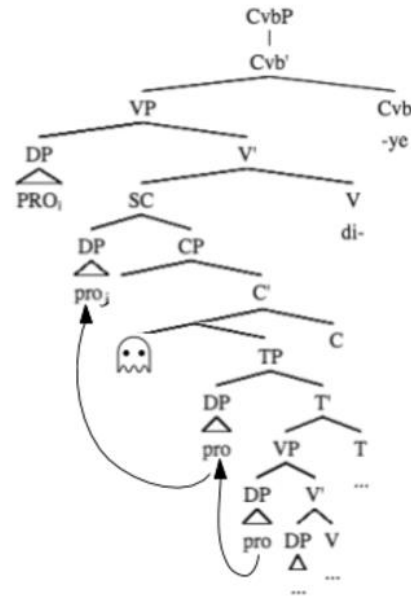
The decomposition of *diye* allows for a separate subject of *de-* ‘say’ and this accounts both for the indexical shift of the embedded subject according to the subject of *di-* ‘say’ if it is in the domain of the monster operator triggered by *de-* ‘say’ (Sudo, 2010a, 2010b). In the control structure, i.e. the subject of *de-* ‘say’ will be controlled by the matrix clause subject and is coindexed with it (cf. §6.2).

The structure for (36) and (37) is given below in (38) and (39), respectively. The difference lies in whether there is a movement of an indexical pronoun out of the domain of monster operator. This will be further explained in this section.

(38)



(39)



In a subordinate clause marked by *diye*, as in (36) above, the monster operator (cf. 6.1.2) forces the embedded little *pro* to be shifted according to the subject of the verb *de-* ‘say’ hidden in *diye*, i.e. intermediate subject PRO. In other words, the monster operator enables the embedded subject to shift according to the context of the reported speech. Little *pro* in the quoted subordinate clause must be coindexed with PRO, i.e. the subject of *de-* ‘say’. In addition to that, the intermediate subject, i.e. PRO, is controlled by the matrix subject. The subordinate subjects in adverbial clauses of this type are always coindexed with the matrix subject, as in (40). PRO is coindexed with the matrix subject.

- (40) Ahmet_i PRO_i koş-arak git-ti
 Ahmet.NOM run-CVB go-PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet went running.’

In sum, *diye* in (36) and (37) has the most transparent structure. Transparent in a way that *diye* carries the features of *de-* ‘say’, i.e. marks quotations, carries the content of *de-* ‘say’, and forces the indexicals to shift via the monster operator, and forms a converbial phrase similar to other converbials in Turkish.

The subordinate clause presents the content of saying as *diye* still carries the semantics of *de-* ‘say’. It introduces the content of *de-* ‘say’ which can be subordinate to any verbs, i.e. not only to verbs of communication,⁵⁵ perception, cognition, and emotion, as in (41), but also to other verbs such as *koş-* ‘run’ or *çık-* ‘leave’, etc, as in (42), because what it introduces is not the content of the matrix verb but the content of the subordinated verb *de-* ‘say’.

- (41) Ahmet_i [PRO_i [*pro*_i ders çalış-acağ-ım di]ye düşün-üyor.
 Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FUT-1SG *diye* think-PROG.3SG
 ‘Ahmet_i thought that he_i would study.’

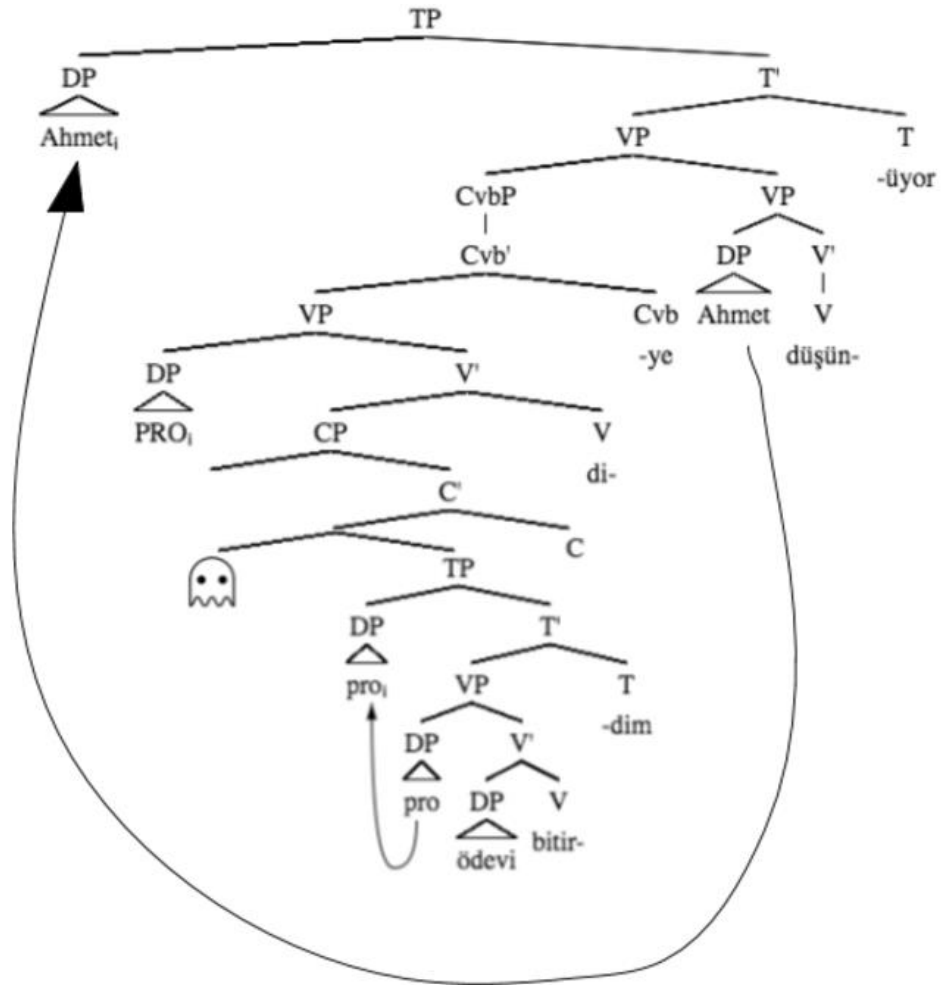
- (42) Ahmet_i [PRO_i [*pro*_i ders çalış-acağ-ım di]ye ev-den
 Ahmet.NOM lesson study-FUT-1SG *diye* home-ABL
 çık-tı.
 leave-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet_i left home saying that he_i would study.’

⁵⁵ *Diye* does not introduce the contents of verbs of communication in the matrix clause. *Diye* introduces the content of *de-* ‘say’ that is hidden inside that subordinator and when it occurs with a verb of communication in the main clause, we may falsely think that it introduces the contents of these verbs.

This kind of adverbial clause with *diye* is a lower level adverbial in Cinque's (2001) terms.⁵⁶ The subordinate clause with *diye* is a VP-level adverbial.⁵⁷ The structure of (41) is given below in (43).

(43)



⁵⁶ Cinque (2001) claims that adverbials are not generated at the same level. While some of them occur higher, i.e. CP level, some of them occur lower, i.e. TP or VP level.

⁵⁷ While the subordinate clause does not allow evaluative adverbs such as *kesinlikle* 'certainly', it allows temporal adverbs which are VP-level adverbs to occur above the subordinate clause. This shows us that the subordinate clause is below this temporal adverb.

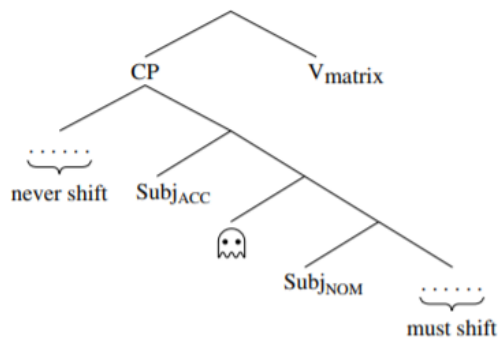
(iv) Ahmet_i bugün [PRO_i [pro_i ders çalış-acağ-ım di]ye *kesinlikle
Ahmet.NOM today lesson study-FUT-1SG *diye* certainly

ev-den çık-tı.
home-ABL leave-PAST.3SG

‘(*Certainly) Ahmet_i left home today saying that he_i would study.’

In constructions similar to the reading where there is no indexical shift as in (37), Shklovsky and Sudo (2014) assume that there is an accusative embedded subject.⁵⁸ I propose that these constructions have the structure of small clauses. The accusative subject moves from nominative subject position to a higher level where it is not in the domain of the monster operator (cf. Shklovsky and Sudo, 2014).

(44)



(Shklovsky and Sudo, 2014, p. 394)

Let's see example (45) below.

(45) Ahmet_i ben-i_k [pro ödev-i bitir-di-m] diye
 Ahmet.NOM I-ACC homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG diye

düşün-üyor.
 think-PROG.3SG

‘Ahmet_i thinks of me_k as having finished the homework.’ (cf. 5)

‘Ahmet_i thinks that he_i finished the homework.’

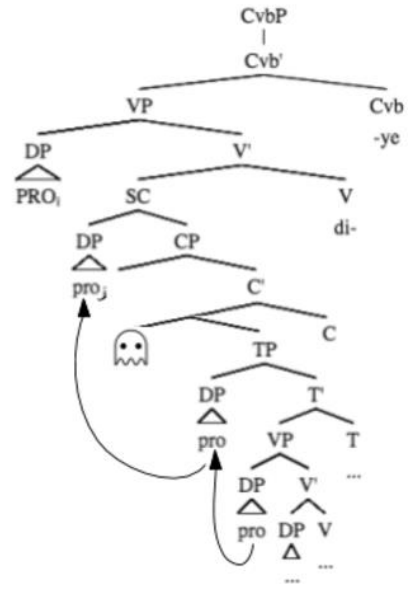
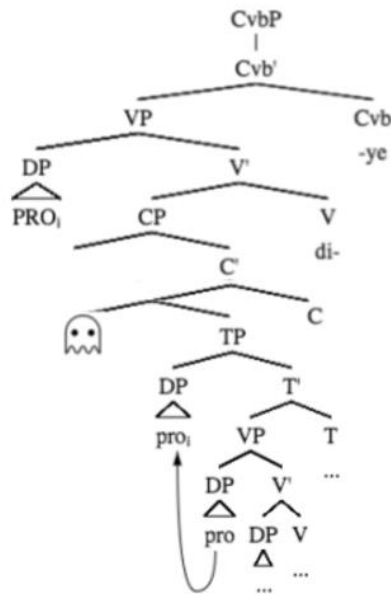
The difference between a shifted (41) and non-shifted indexical (45) lies in the presence of the movement of the embedded subject to the position within the small clause.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Uyghur examples are given in Sudo (2010b, p. 12) under the title “A puzzle: Correlation between shift and case”.

⁵⁹ The reason for proposing that this is a small clause is that it features the agreement pattern of small clauses, e.g. the following is also a possible construction:

(46) shifted reading

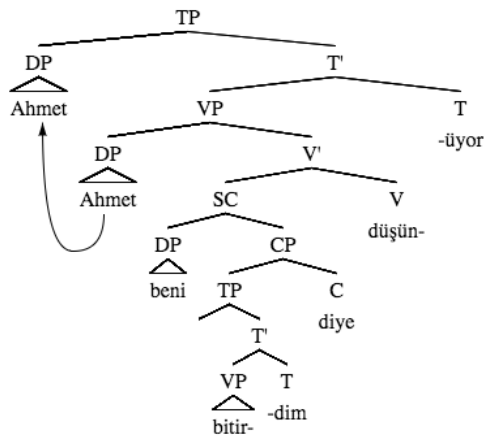
(47) non-shifted reading



- (v) Ahmet_i ben-i_k [pro ödev-i bitir-di-m] diye düşün-üyor.
 Ahmet.NOM I-ACC homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG diye think-PROG.3SG
 ‘Ahmet_i thinks of me_k as having finished the homework.’ (cf. 5)
 # ‘Ahmet_i thinks that he_i finished the homework.’

There could be an alternative to this analysis pointed out to me by Balkız Öztürk-Başaran, a member of the thesis committee. Instead of the movement of the embedded subject to a higher position than the monster operator, this subject can be contained in a small clause that involves a non-decomposable *diye* which does not bring a monster operator to syntax. The structure posited by this analysis is the following (SC stands for small clause):

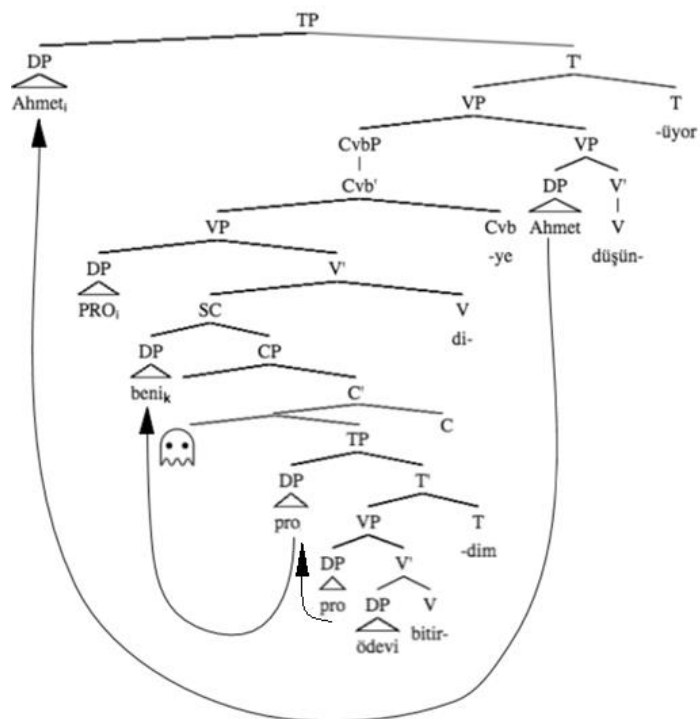
(vi)



I leave this issue to further studies.

The structure of (45) is the following:

(48)



Since the embedded subject raises, it leaves the domain of the monster operator.⁶⁰

In this section, we have looked at the internal structures of subordinate clauses with *diye*. In the following section, an interim summary is presented and then we will move to the discussion of why we could not explain indexical shift with binding and rather used the monster operator triggered by *de-* ‘say’.

6.5 Interim summary

So far, we have looked the structure of *diye* and clauses with *diye*. We concluded that there are two types of *diye*; one is decomposed and one is lexicalized. The decomposable

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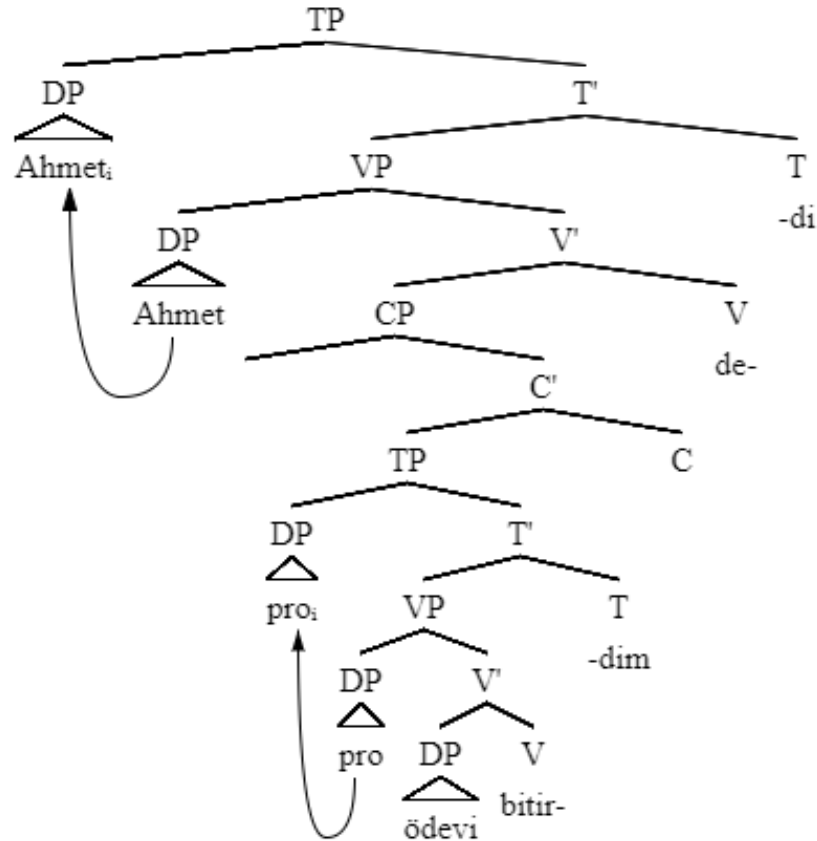
diye allows for a subject of *de-* ‘say’ and therefore, presents contents of the verb of quotation *de-* ‘say’. Non-decomposable *diye* does not allow the coindexation of the matrix and embedded subjects unless they have the same agreement markers on them. While decomposable *diye* creates converbial phrases (sometimes with a small clause inside it) and modifies verbs, non-decomposable *diye* is either a postposition that modifies DPs or it is a CP that modifies a CP.

6.6 Why not binding?

We considered examples with *diye* and concluded in the previous section that there are three different structures with *diye* (exemplified in (2), (3), and (4)) that occurs in adverbial clauses. Having three different structures could be costly, and the question arises as to whether we could have had only one structure which provides a unified analysis by using Binding Theory. However, binding does not work. I explain why it does not work below. Let’s go back to our example with indexical shifted content reading repeated below.

- (49) Ahmet_i [pro_i ödev-i bitir-di-m] de-di.
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST-1SG say-PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet_i said that he_i finished the homework.’

(50)



1st person singular pronoun in the embedded clause is coindexed with the matrix subject. According to Principle B of the Binding Theory, a pronoun cannot be bound in its binding domain. Since the little pro and its antecedent Ahmet are not in the same CP, we can say that this is not a violation of the Binding Principle B. Binding Theory can explain this example. Now let's see 2nd person singular indexical.

(51) Ahmet Ayşe-ye_i [pro_i ödev-i bitir-di-n]
Ahmet.NOM Ayşe-DAT homework-ACC finish-PAST-2SG

de-di.
say-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet said to Ayşe_i that she_{i/*k} finished the homework.’

Coindexation between the embedded 2nd person singular pronoun and the context listener is obligatory here.⁶¹ Coindexation does not yield to the violation of Binding Principle B because the 2nd person singular and Ayşe are in different binding domain. It is not a problem for Binding Theory to explain this example.

However, 3rd person singular behave differently.

- (52) Ahmet_i [pro_{*i/k} ödev-i bitir-di] de-di.
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PAST.3SG say-PAST.3SG
 ‘Ahmet_i said that he_{*i/k} finished the homework.’

According to Binding Principle B, it should be possible for the embedded subject and the matrix subject to co-refer, as in (44) below.

- (53) Ahmet_i [pro_{i/k} ödev-i bitir-diğ-in]-i
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-PastNom-3SG-ACC
 söyle-di.
 say-PAST.3SG

‘Ahmet_i said that he_{i/k} finished the homework.’

However, this is not possible when the matrix verb is *de-* ‘say’. The embedded subject can be anyone *but* Ahmet. This is a problem for the Binding Theory. We cannot explain this example by Binding Theory. Therefore, there is a need for an operator to shift 1st and 2nd person indexicals but not 3rd person indexicals. And this is the monster operator (cf. Sudo, 2010a, 2010b).

In this section, we have seen that indexical shift cannot be explained by binding. We need monster operators that enter syntax with *de-* ‘say’ to trigger indexical shift. In

⁶¹ As stated earlier in this chapter, in some dialects, 2nd person indexical is optionally shifted and the starred reading is acceptable. Even in these cases, there is not a violation of Principle B, though. The embedded pronoun can have another antecedent outside the clause.

the next section, we will discuss some problems related to the ungrammaticality of *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ together when *diye* introduces the content of this verb.

6.7 Two contexts where *diye* can be used with matrix *de-* ‘say’

There is a problem of the unavailability of the co-occurrence of *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ when *diye* introduces the content of this verb. In other words, it is common for *diye* to introduce the content when the matrix verb is e.g. a verb of communication; however, this is not the case when this matrix verb is *de-* ‘say’, as shown in example (54).⁶²

- (54) Ahmet ödev-i bit-ir-di-m diye de-di.
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-CAU-PAST-1SG *diye* say-PAST.3SG
 “Ahmet said it because/thinking I finished the homework.”
 # “Ahmet_i said that he_i finished the homework.’

Example (54) can only mean that the speaker said something *because the actual speaker finished the homework*. It cannot mean that the subject said *that the speaker of the reported speech finished the homework*. However, with a verb of communication other than *de-* ‘say’, this interpretation is possible, as shown in (55) below.

- (55) Ahmet ödev-i bit-ir-di-m diye
 Ahmet.NOM homework-ACC finish-CAU-PAST-1SG *diye*

 söyle-di.
 say-PAST.3SG

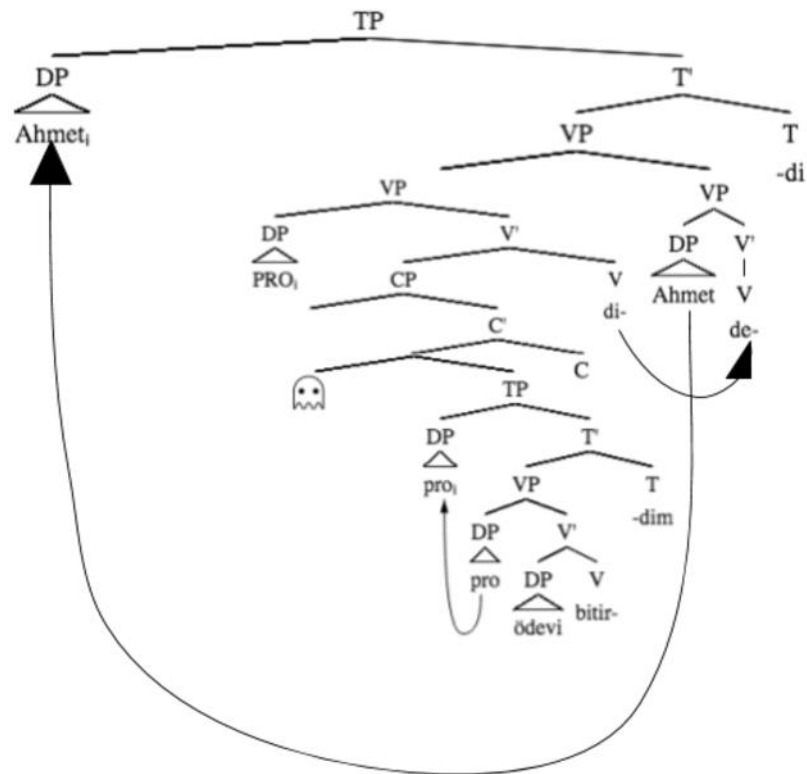
“Ahmet said it because/thinking I finished the homework.”
 “Ahmet_i said that he_i finished the homework.’

It is mysterious why a content reading is not possible in (54), i.e. with the verb *de-* ‘say’ while it is possible in (55), i.e. with other verbs of quotation other than *de-*

⁶² It is possible for *diye* to introduce the reason of the action denoted by the matrix verb which is *de-* ‘say’ in this case.

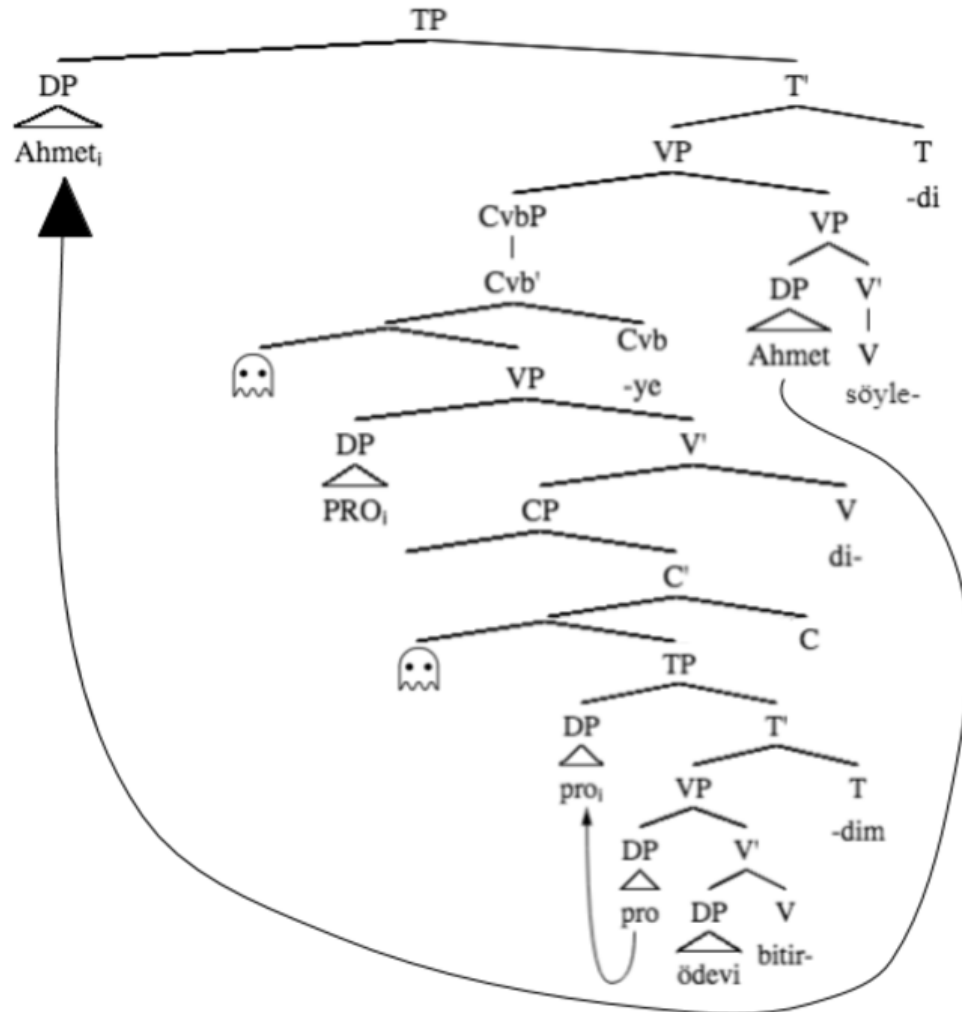
‘say’. In other words, why should *de-* and *diye* be in complementary distribution? There is a potential analysis that explains the exception in (54). According to this analysis, both *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ that are realized as *de-* are base-generated in the same position, i.e. the V head that subordinates a quotation, in a sentence like (54) above. When the upper predicate position is empty, as in (56) (for the sentence in (54)), *de-* moves upwards to fill that position.

(56)



If this position is filled, as in (57) (for the sentence in (55)), on the other hand, *de-* stays where it is base-generated.

(57)



Unfortunately, this analysis does not explain how *-ye* is not present in (49) or how it attached to *de-* ‘say’ when the matrix verb position is filled. In addition to that, the structure of the sentence in (54) cannot be movement since it is not possible to have *şeklinde* ‘in the shape’ in the position of *diye*, either. There is nothing that can trigger this movement.

as in (61) below. Here, we see that *diye* introduces the content of the action denoted by the matrix verb *de-* ‘say’.

(61) A: Sen gid-ince çiçek-ler-i kim su-la-yacak?
you.NOM leave-CVB flower-PL-ACC who.NOM water-MAKE-FUT.3SG
‘Who will water the flowers when you have left?’

B: Elif-e de-di-m [[bak] diye.]
Elif-DAT say-PAST-1SG take.care.IMP.2SG *diye*
‘I told Elif to take care of them.’

B’s answer cannot be the following in (62).

(62) *Elif-e [[bak] diye] de-di-m.⁶³
Elif-DAT take.care.IMP.2SG *diye* say-PAST-1SG
#‘I told Elif to take care (of them).’

Despite the fact that Turkish is said to be a verb-final language, we find numerous instances in Turkish discourse in which a constituent of the sentence appears in the post-predicate position (Schroeder, 1999; Göksel, 1998; Göksel; 2010, i.a.). Schroeder (1999, pp. 194-5) gives an example of an interrogative sentence that occurs post-verbally to show a complex construction in the post-predicate position (see (63)).

⁶³ This can only mean ‘I said it to Elif so that you will take care of them.’

(63) A: Bu iş-i otuz sene-dir yap-ıyor-um.
this work-ACC thirty year-SINCE do-PROG.1SG

On-dan önce bayan terzi-si-ydi-m.
that-ABL before lady tailor-CM-PastCop-1SG

‘I have been doing this work for thirty years. Before that.. I was a lady’s tailor.’

B: Yani nasıl ol-du [dikiş-i bırak-ıp bun-a
well how be-PAST.3SG tailoring-ACC leave-CVB this-DAT

geç-iş-in?]
go-NONF-2SG.NOM

‘Well, how did it happen that you left tailoring and came to do this?’

The subject clause between square brackets in (62-B) above is another complex construction that occurs post-verbally. It has been stated in the literature that postverbal material often functions as background information in Turkish (Erguvanlı, 1984; Veld, 1998; Göksel, 1998). This statement clearly *describes* our example but still cannot *explain* it. The problem is that *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ co-occur when the *diye* clause is in the postverbal position.

The sentence in (64) can be paraphrased as the following sentence in (65). *Diye* and *de-* ‘say’ co-occur and *diye* introduces the content of the action denoted by the matrix verb *de-* ‘say’.

(64) Gizem Büşra yarın gel-ecek (*#diye) de-di.
Gizem.NOM Büşra.NOM tomorrow come-FUT.3SG *diye* say-PAST.3SG
‘Gizem said that Büşra will come tomorrow.’

(65) Gizem de-di Büşra yarın gel-ecek diye.
Gizem.NOM say-PAST.3SG Büşra.NOM tomorrow come-FUT.3SG *diye*
‘Gizem said that Büşra will come tomorrow.’

This shows us that *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ can co-occur when *diye* is in a certain position. We need to find out how this is not prohibited.

In the next section, we will see another example when *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ co-occur and then we will discuss how it is possible.

6.7.2 *Diye* and *de-* ‘say’ with an intervening element

The second case of the co-occurrence of *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ in content adverbials is when there is an intervening adverb between them. In addition to the occurrence of the adverbial clause with *diye* post-verbally, it is possible for *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ to co-occur when the adverbial clause appears pre-verbally with an intervening matrix clause element as shown in (59) repeated below.

- (66) Gizem Büşra yarın gel-ecek diye
Gizem.NOM Büşra.NOM tomorrow come-FUT.3SG *diye*

şu.anda de-di.
right.now say-PAST.3SG

‘Gizem said that Büşra will come tomorrow right now.’

The subordinate clause with *diye* appears pre-verbally with an intervening matrix clause element and still denotes the content of the matrix verb.

The examples in (59) and (60) are similar in that *de-* ‘say’ do not follow *diye*. Anything but *diye+de* order is acceptable with content reading. This might be because it is redundant for a particular verb to be reduplicated, as in (67) below.

- (67) *Gizem sigara iç-me-me-si gerek-tiğ-in-i
 Gizem.NOM cigarette smoke-NEG-Nonf-3SG have.to-PastNom-3SG-ACC
 hamile ol-duğ-un-u düşün-erek düşün-dü.⁶⁴
 pregnant be-PastNom-3SG-ACC think-CVB think-PAST.3SG

‘Gizem thought that she shouldn’t smoke thinking that she is pregnant.’

The co-occurrence of *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ when they do not follow each other is probably due to the fact that an intervening element between them that takes stress yields two Phonological Phrases (cf. Gürer and Göksel, 2016).

- (68) Gizem [_{PhP} Büşra yarın gel-ecek diye]
 Gizem.NOM Büşra.NOM tomorrow come-FUT.3SG *diye*
 [_{PhP} şu.anda de-di.]
 right.now say-PAST.3SG

‘Gizem said that Büşra will come tomorrow right now.’

Whereas there is one Phonological Phrase below.

- (69) *Gizem [_{PhP} Büşra yarın gel-ecek #diye de-di.]
 Gizem.NOM Büşra.NOM tomorrow come-FUT.3SG *diye* say-PAST.3SG
 ‘Gizem said that Büşra will come tomorrow.’

The reason why *diye* introducing the content of the matrix clause cannot occur in this sentence is because *diye* and *de-* are in the same Phonological Phrase⁶⁵ and it leads to ungrammaticality when they are in the same Phonological Phrase. If there is an intervening matrix clause element between the clause with *diye* and the matrix verb, it leads to two Phonological Phrases.⁶⁶

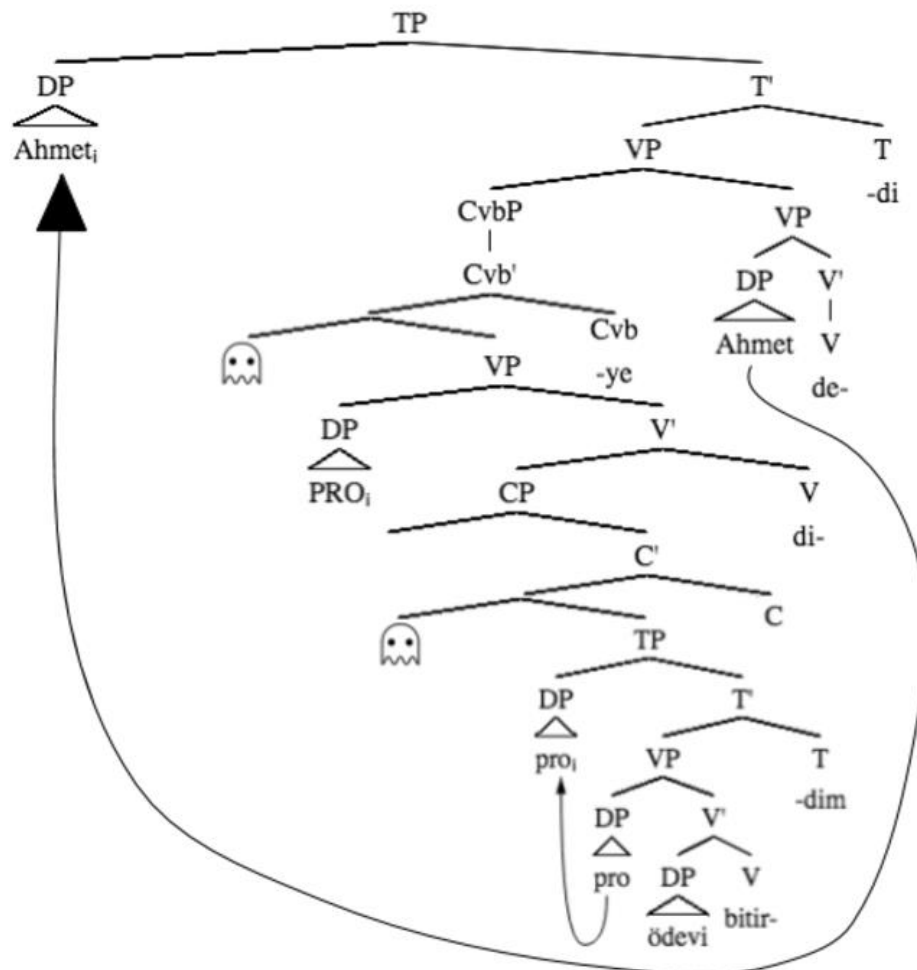
⁶⁴ This sentence is only grammatical with the reading ‘Gizem thought that she shouldn’t smoke assuming that she is pregnant.’ In other words, it is only grammatical when one of the reduplicated verbs has a different meaning, in our case ‘assume’ instead of ‘think’.

⁶⁵ I will leave that issue to future studies.

⁶⁶ This ungrammaticality can also be blocked by changing prosody but I will not go into the details here and leave it to future works.

In addition to this, I think that both *di-* ‘say’ in *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ in the matrix verb position lead to the presence of two monster operators⁶⁷ and therefore, there may be a problem related to that PRO enters into two different computations and the derivation crashes. PRO is an operand for the monster operator. The operator works on the PRO to shift it according to the context speaker Ahmet; however, since this is a control sentence as well, Ahmet already controls PRO. The movement of the *diye* clause saves it from the domain of another operator triggering element *de-* ‘say’ and the sentence is grammatical.

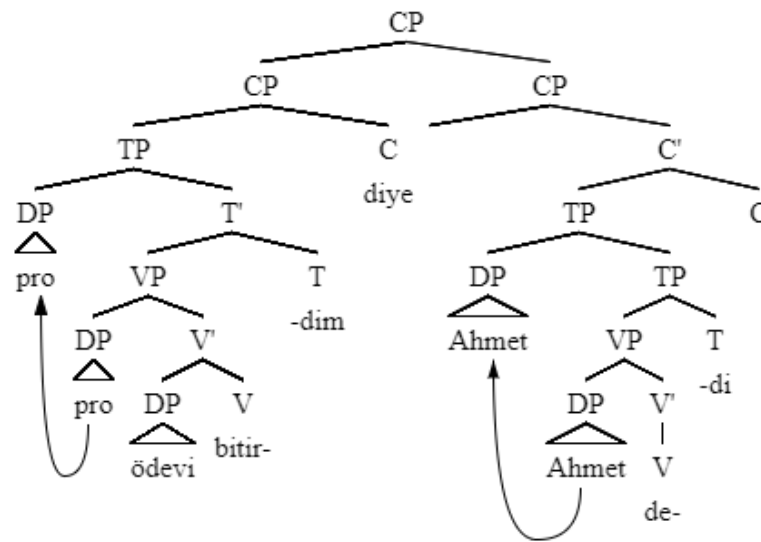
(69)



⁶⁷ Linebarger (1980) states that an operator cannot intervene between another operator and a negative polarity item, this is called intervention effect and leads to ungrammaticality and we cannot process the sentence. The ungrammaticality of *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ could be because of a similar condition.

Although it is common for *diye* to introduce the content of verbs of quotation, this is not the case when this verb is *de-* ‘say’ unless the subordinate clause with *diye* denotes the reason of the action denoted by the matrix verb which is *de-* ‘say’ in our case. The two operators lead to a clash and the sentence is recovered only if the *diye* clause into is interpreted as a reason clause.

(70)



6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the internal structure of the clauses and other structures with *diye*. There are two types of *diye* and four different structures. *Diye* is decomposable or lexical. Decomposable *diye* allows for a subject of *de-* ‘say’ and therefore, presents contents of the verb of quotation *de-* ‘say’; lexical *diye*, on the other hand, does not allow the coindexation of the matrix and embedded subject. Decomposable *diye* creates converbial phrases (sometimes with a small clause inside it) and modifies VPs. Lexical *diye*, on the other hand, is either a postposition that modifies DPs or it is a CP that modifies a CP.

Diye and *de-* ‘say’ cannot occur successively when *diye* is decomposable because when it is decomposable, the subordinate clause contains the content of *de-* ‘say’ which is identical to the matrix verb. When there is an intervening element between the matrix verb and *diye*, no matter which occurs first, this intervening element leads *de-* ‘say’ and *diye* to form two different Phonological Phrases. This is important because it shows that syntax is in collaboration with phonology.

The cognates of *diye* do not only occur in other Turkic languages, e.g. Sakha (Baker, 2011) and Uzbek (Rancador, 1988, as cited in Chisarik and van der Wurff, 2003), and other languages from the Altaic language family, e.g. Kalmyk (Knyazev, 2015; Baranova, 2010) but they also occur in geographically widespread areas and genetically unrelated languages such as Bengali (cf. Chisarik and van der Wurff, 2003), Akan, Ga, Makah, Hungarian (Rancador, 1988; Saxena, 1995, both cited in Chisarik and van der Wurff, 2003), Japanese.⁶⁸ Chisarik and van der Wurff (2003, p. 30) point out that for Bengali that there is a grammaticalization path for *bole*, a derived form of ‘say’ in Bengali, which means ‘having said/spoken’, ‘that’ (mainly in quotative context), and ‘because’. Similarly, *diye* extends from its strictly quotative use to meanings such as ‘because’ and ‘in order to/so that’, as well. If we think of a grammaticalization path for *diye* as in its Bengali counterpart it will be like the following in Table 7:

⁶⁸ I would like to thank Savaş Çetin for pointing out that Japanese uses a subordinator derived from ‘to say’.

Table 7. Grammaticalization Path of *Diye*

—————→		
di+ye	di+ye	diye
content adverbials	content adverbials	reason, purpose/result reading
compulsory indexical shift ⁶⁹	no indexical shift	no indexical shift
VP-level adverbial	VP-level adverbial	CP-level adverbial

Di+ye is the most transparent form with a verb of quotation and a converbial marker that links the verb of quotation to a clause. The indexicals inside the quotation embedded under this verb shift because of the monster operator triggered by this verb. When the indexical pronoun moves to a higher position and leaves the domain of this monster operator, then the indexical pronoun cannot shift, while we still have a content adverbial. Finally, the subordinate clause does not provide content reading at all. The indexicals in this subordinate clause do not shift since *diye* does not carry the properties of *de-* ‘say’. The pronouns inside the subordinate clause are rather subject to binding principles.

⁶⁹ Therefore, in a subordinate clause with *diye* that carries the content of the action denoted by the matrix verb of communication, 1st and 2nd person indexical shift is obligatory. 3rd person does not shift as it is not contextually relevant for communication.

If the indexicals do not shift, when the matrix verb is a verb of communication, we get the reason reading, as shown in (i). In other words, there is a correlation between indexical shift and content reading or non-indexical shift and reason reading with verbs of communication.

- (i) Ahmet gid-eceğ-im diye söyle-di
 Ahmet.NOM leave-FUT-1SG *diye* say-PAST.3SG
 a. ‘Ahmet said (it) because I will leave.’
 b. ‘Ahmet_i said that he_i will leave.’

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I investigated the morpho-syntactic properties of the subordinator *diye* in Turkish. This current work is special in that it contains an exhaustive investigation of *diye* that is present in various constructions in Turkish. A limited number of previous works in the literature on this subordinator failed to consider all instances of it.

Based on an exhaustive analysis of TS Corpus and METU Corpus, there has been two basic claims in this thesis. First of all, I claim that all of the structures with *diye* including the subordinate clauses of verbs of communication, verbs of perception and cognition, and verbs of emotion are adjuncts rather than complements. This is supported by passivization and causativization tests, non-presence of complementary distribution of the subordinate clauses with *diye* and noun phrases, and replacement of *diye* and the clauses with *diye* with particular adverbials in Turkish. These adjuncts are either CP level adverbials denoting reason, purpose / result or VP level adverbials denoting assumption, understanding, precaution, agreement, and manner, or adjectival clauses.

Secondly, this study supports Phonological Phrases. The evidence comes from the fact that *diye* cannot mark content adverbials only when it occurs successively with the verb *de-* ‘say’. Because of the two operators that need to operate on the indexicals inside the quotations at the same time, the derivation crashes. However, when they do not occur successively, the derivation does not crash because *diye* and *de-* ‘say’ are in

two different Phonological Phrases (cf. Güner and Göksel, 2016). This shows that syntax is in collaboration with phonology.

7.1 Summary of the findings

Throughout this thesis, we looked at the internal structure of *diye*. There are two main findings.

First of all, there are two types of *diye*. a non-decomposable (lexicalized) *diye*, and another one that can be decomposed into *de+ye* (say+Optative). Related to the decomposable *diye*, I argue that there is a monster operator higher than nominative subject and lower than accusative subject that shifts the indexicals and I call the subordinate clauses with a decomposable *diye* as content adverbials. While decomposable *diye* allows for a subject of *de-* ‘say’ and therefore, presents contents of the verb of quotation *de-* ‘say’, lexical *diye*, on the other hand, does not allow the coindexation of the matrix and embedded subjects unless they have the same agreement markers on them and can be coindexed by Binding Principles.

Secondly, there are four different structures that *diye* occurs in. Decomposable *diye* creates converbial phrases and modifies verbs. Sometimes a small clause can be embedded under the converbial phrase. Lexical *diye* is either a postposition that modifies DPs or it is a CP that modifies a CP.

I hope these findings will shed light on the future studies on this subordinator.

7.2 Questions for further research

There remain some issues that need to be discussed in the future. Testing the subordinate clauses that are marked by *diye* through island constraints, neg-raising, Exceptional Case Marking and interpretation of the embedded question (with matrix scope) may present more evidence about the relationship between subordinate and matrix clause. They would provide more empirical support about the status of the subordinate clauses with *diye*.

I am well aware that the analyses in this thesis are not conclusive. I hope a better analysis can be built in future works.

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